

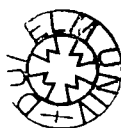
**The Development of English-language Hymnody
and its Use in Worship; 1960-1995**

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**A thesis submitted to the University of Durham,
in the Department of English Studies,
in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

2000



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Abstract

Beginning about 1960 a new spirit of religious belief developed amid the burgeoning of secular interests and popular culture in British society. A number of scholarly initiatives, including projects in biblical translation and liturgical reform, indicated that the study of religion was being taken seriously following the years of post-war reconstruction. By 1965 a 'hymn explosion' was underway: the renewal of religious belief was being expressed in new hymns and songs. This dissertation assesses the nature of the new hymn writing and its influence upon congregational worship. The 'hymn explosion' was one of three movements towards the reform of Christian worship in the twentieth century: ecumenism, the renewal of liturgy, and hymn writing converged in the creation of new hymn and worship books published during the closing decades of the century.

This study charts the development of English-language hymnody between 1960 and 1995. Its purpose is to identify the main contributors, to note the factors which determined the content of the hymns and songs, and to assess the use of new hymnody in contemporary worship. The thesis concentrates on the turning points in this development; it does not endeavour to provide detailed analysis of the hymns and tunes produced during the 'hymn explosion' (1965-75) and afterwards. It takes stock of the conditions of hymnody around 1960 before examining the work of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation between 1962 and 1968. Various forms of experimental hymnody and song writing are considered, along with the introduction of contemporary language in hymn writing. The study concludes by noting the influence of the 'hymn explosion' on the contents of the new hymn books.

Declaration

The research presented in this thesis has been carried out between 1996 and 2000 under the supervision of Professor J. R. Watson at the University of Durham. It is the original work of the author unless stated otherwise. None of this work has been submitted for any other degree.

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Introduction

In the realm of hymnody, we may well ask ourselves whether some of the hymns that maintain their place in our standard hymnals speak to 'the common people' in a language they can vitally apprehend. ... There is a growing sense of the need for contemporary writers who can express themselves in forms of thought more obviously congenial to our own day. Our hymnody cannot live upon its past.

While the attempt is being made to meet this need, there must of necessity be a great deal of experimentation, and we may be thankful if, from time to time, a few experimental hymns vindicate their title to a place in general use.

Millar Patrick,
Bulletin of the Hymn Society (October 1939)¹

Hymns for the Times was small collection of hymn texts published in 1939 by Thomas Tiplady, Methodist chaplain and superintendent of the Lambeth Mission in London. The reviewer, Millar Patrick, editor of the *Bulletin*, was looking ahead to the development of new hymn writing to meet the needs of a changing world. During the war years Tiplady continued to publish collections of new hymns, including *Hymns for the Present Age* (1940) and *Hymns for the Pocket* (1942), to provide suitable hymns for his inner-city mission where he was working with a predominantly secular population. In July 1946, at the Bristol conference of the Hymn Society, he led a discussion about writing new hymns for the modern era. According to Erik Routley's report in the *Bulletin*:

The two main points in his argument were that modern pagans are unmoved by the appeal of our classical hymns, and that the art of hymn-writing is at the present time sadly in decline; this latter symptom he suggested was due to the suffocating effect of the 'Official Hymn-book' on individual and local effort. ... From the discussion that followed, in which many points of view were expressed, the suggestion arose that local hymn-writing should be encouraged. The official hymn-book of a denomination, we felt, need not necessarily suffocate local talent. It is one thing for a book to be produced which a whole community of Christians would want to use and should be encouraged to use; in that book nothing that is not of general value and significance can be included.

¹ Millar Patrick, review of *Hymns for the Times* by Thomas Tiplady (London: Epworth Press, 1939), *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 9 (October 1939), 10-11 (p. 10).



But is it not another thing altogether to encourage local churches to produce their own hymn-supplements of words and tunes, which they do not insist must be used by everybody, but which they can call their own and be proud of? ... Who knows what talent lies buried yet?²

Twenty years later the ‘hymn explosion’ erupted. This dissertation addresses two central questions: ‘What was the “hymn explosion”?’ and ‘What did it accomplish?’

The dissertation is a study of the development of English-language hymnody and its use in worship, beginning with the burst of hymn writing in the 1960s and ending with the publication of new hymn and worship books between 1980 and 1995. Two broad currents run through contemporary hymnody: the first consists of hymns written in modern English on biblical subjects and tenets of Christian belief, new hymns for the sacraments, ordinances and festivals of the church, together with hymns on contemporary issues about faith and doubt, stewardship of the earth and of its people, and ecumenical worship; the second consists of hymns and songs written in lighter vernacular language and in popular musical idioms, generally for use at a particular moment in time.

For the purpose of this study, a hymn is a strophic text on a biblical, theological or liturgical subject, written to be sung in worship, usually to a set metre. Although many well-known hymn texts are associated with specific hymn tunes, the words of a hymn are not dependent upon a given tune. However, the hymn tune chosen for a text interprets it in an act of worship.³ A religious song is a lighter, often freely-written text, bound in most instances to a tune composed in a popular style.

The primary focus of the dissertation is on the development of new hymns, although it also discusses the simultaneous emergence of new forms of popular religious

² Erik Routley, ‘The Bristol Conference, 9th to 12th July 1946’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 37 (October 1946), 1-6 (p. 3).

³ J. R. Watson begins his study of English hymnody with essays on the hymn as a genre of literature and on the relationship of hymn texts to music through the common element of metre. See ‘Discussing Hymns: The State of the Art’ and ‘The Singing of Hymns, and the Experience of Metre’ in *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 1-41.

songs. It identifies turning points in that development, mapping out the directions taken by hymn writers who created new models of hymnody in the terms of post-war belief (and doubt), language, knowledge, and culture, beginning with the work of writers such as Albert Bayly, James Quinn, S.J., and Sydney Carter. The flood of hymns and religious songs written since 1960 makes it impossible to attempt comprehensive coverage of the collections published during the designated thirty-five year period. Instead, a number of works have been selected to illustrate the essential characteristics of the ‘hymn explosion’ and its contribution to the renewal of congregational worship. In an age of rapid global communication, British hymn writing has exercised a direct influence upon the development of contemporary hymnody in North America and in Australia and New Zealand. For that reason the discussion occasionally takes into consideration parallel developments outside the United Kingdom, and it also acknowledges a number of reciprocal influences upon British hymnody and worship.

This study begins by examining the situation of congregational hymn singing at 1960. The following three chapters trace the emergence of new thinking about hymns in worship and the testing of those ideas through experimental hymn forms and lighter styles of church music during the first half of the 1960s. The study turns next to the ‘hymn explosion’ itself, from 1965 to 1975, and examines ways in which the new hymns gradually changed congregational worship patterns. Several denominational hymn books published between 1970 and 1980 tested hymn texts and tunes from the ‘hymn explosion’ along with other new worship materials associated with the renewal of liturgy. These trial hymn books are assessed in the eighth chapter. The dissertation concludes by taking note of the influence of new hymnody upon the last round of twentieth-century hymn books published between 1980 and 1995.

The purpose of this study is to build a base and framework for further study of contemporary hymnody. Several topics mentioned in it deserve greater attention, including the development since Vatican II of Roman Catholic hymnody and religious songs; the changing dimensions of worship songs and charismatic hymnody; and the hymns, songs and liturgical compositions of the Taizé and Iona Communities. The musicology of contemporary hymnody is not discussed, but it is a field which requires critical assessment.⁴ The dissertation identifies many components of contemporary English-language hymnody and their function in the revised liturgies of worship; it has not, however, attempted to study the new hymns as a genre of poetry. This is an important topic for future hymnological study.⁵

The research for this dissertation has been concentrated in the Pratt Green Hymn Collection at Palace Green Library, University of Durham. Founded in 1987 by Fred Pratt Green through the Pratt Green Trust, the collection contains a reproduced set of the Pratt Green Scrapbooks (52 volumes documenting the writing and publishing history of his hymn texts), his correspondence, and his personal collection of hymn books, hymnal supplements and books about hymnology.⁶ The Pratt Green Hymn Collection has been augmented through hymn book donations and by purchase through the Pratt Green Trust. It also includes the John Wilson Hymn Papers and the J. P. Morison

⁴ See, for example, John Wilson, *Looking at Hymn Tunes: The Objective Factors*, The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Paper, Second Series, 1 (June 1991); and Erik Routley, *The Music of Christian Hymns* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1981).

⁵ The terms for future critical analysis of the hymn genre have been established by J. R. Watson in *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study*. See also Maureen Elizabeth Harris, 'The Drama, Poetry and Hymns of Fred Pratt Green: a bibliographical and critical study' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Durham, 1995). J. R. Watson has published: 'The Language of Hymns: some contemporary problems', in *Language and Worship of the Church*, ed. by David Jasper and R. C. D. Jasper (Basingstoke, Hampshire: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1990), 174-95, reprinted with a postscript in *The Hymnology Annual: An International Forum on the Hymn And Worship, Volume Three*, ed. by Vernon Wicker (Berrien Springs, MI: Vande Vere Publishing Ltd, 1993), 311-49; 'Alphas and Omegas of Hymn Writing', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 215 (April 1998), 126-31; and 'Farewell to the Twentieth Century', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 223 (April 2000), 50-57. A fourth article on this subject is by Gordon S. Wakefield - 'The Language of Hymnody', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 202 (January 1995), 106-11.

⁶ The original set of the Pratt Green Scrapbooks is located at Pitts Library, Emory University in Atlanta, GA.

Papers (an uncatalogued collection documenting the development of Roman Catholic hymnody since the 1960s) which were consulted for this thesis. The Pratt Green Collection holds a complete set of the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, a partial set of *The Hymn* (the journal of the Hymn Society in the United States and Canada), and three volumes of *Church Music* (the journal of the Church Music Association, published by the English Roman Catholic Church from 1959 until 1974). The papers of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation, at Scottish Churches' House, Dunblane, have also been consulted.

Several hymn writers, composers and other participants in the 'hymn explosion' have most kindly replied to enquiries about their work. I am greatly indebted to Patrick Appleford, John Bell, Basil Bridge, Peter Cutts, Ian Fraser, Alan Gaunt, David Goodall, Fred Pratt Green, Christopher Idle, Fred Kaan, Alan Luff, Caryl and Ruth Micklem, Bernard Massey and Brian Wren. The Reverends Appleford, Bridge and Kaan also generously allowed me to read several unpublished essays and other pieces.

In addition to the manuscript collections and personal communications, published hymnal supplements and hymn books in the Pratt Green Hymn Collection constitute primary source material for the dissertation. Given the recent time-frame for this study, secondary sources on the development of post-war hymnody also function as primary sources. Books by Erik Routley, several excellent hymnal companion volumes, and other studies of contemporary hymnology serve a dual purpose for this dissertation.

I am grateful to Elizabeth Rainey, Sheila Doyle and the staff at Palace Green Library, and to Roger Norris and Wendy Stevenson at the Dean and Chapter Library, for their unfailing kindness, support, and friendship while this work was in progress. Eric Watchman provided valuable guidance to the theology collection at the Main Library.

Brian Baker and his staff at Scottish Churches' House, along with Dr. Ian Fraser, made my stay there pleasant and productive.

Many others at the University of Durham, and in the community, contributed significantly to the work being done and to the well-being of my family and myself during our years in Durham. The International Students' Office provided information when it was required. At the Graduate Society, Dr. Michael Richardson and Dr. Michael Rowell were kind beyond measure, offering direction, financial support, and their personal interest in the research and in the family's welfare. I am particularly grateful to the Department of English Studies for the staff's kind support - personal and financial, and for the opportunity to act as tutor for the Background to Classical and Biblical Literature course. It was also a pleasure to work with the members of St. Aidan's College with whom we shared two years as college tutors. Among many individuals at the university who took an interest in the research, I would be remiss not to acknowledge Dr. Ann Orde, who gave me the benefit of her historical perspective on religion and worship in contemporary British society; Mrs. Anne Harrison, Dr. Alistair MacGregor and Dr. Charles Yeats, each of whom extended invitations to participate in public forums about contemporary worship; and to Drs. Alan and Jennifer Suggate for their helpful insights. Mrs. E. W. Wright kindly offered her hospitality when it was needed. Dr. Maureen Harris welcomed me to Durham and has become a friend and mentor.

It would not have been possible to do this research without the E. J. R. Jackman Hymnody Award granted by the Reverend Dr. Edward J. R. Jackman, O.P., and the Jackman Foundation of Ontario. I and my family are grateful to Father Jackman for his direct personal interest in the project and his careful oversight of it. It is also essential to acknowledge St. Paul's College at the University of Waterloo (Ontario) and its principal

from 1995 to 1999, Dr. Helga Mills, for including this project as part of the college's mandate to encourage academic research in Religious Studies.

To Professor J. R. Watson, who supervised the research and writing of this dissertation, I and my family owe our deepest gratitude. He thought that the work was worth doing, and he enabled it to be accomplished. It is a great privilege to have worked with him.

My last, but foremost, thanks are given to Douglas Leask, my husband, and our daughters, Anne and Ellen, who relinquished the certainties of home, family and friends to move the household to Durham for three years while I tended to this work. I am grateful for all they have given with so much love. Together we express our gratitude to our immediate families and Canadian friends for their constant support. Enriched by our experiences, we will not forget the friendships made and the kindness shown to us by so many in Canada and in the United Kingdom.

Chapter 1 ‘Whither Hymnody?’

1960, a benchmark

‘Whither hymnody?’ On 12 July 1960 Erik Routley raised this question before the members of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland who were gathered at Cambridge for the annual conference. Canon George W. Briggs, a founding member of the Hymn Society had died the previous December 30th, and with his passing the society had lost the last of the first generation of its leaders. It was time now to reflect upon the work of the society over its first quarter century and to plan the future direction of English hymnody.¹

Some good hymns had been written since Robert Bridges published his *Yattendon Hymnal* in 1899, in which he had set new standards of literary excellence for twentieth-century hymnody. Routley cited, among others, G. K. Chesterton’s ‘O God of earth and altar’ from the *English Hymnal* (1906), the American writer W. Russell Bowie’s ‘Lord Christ, when first thou cam’st to man’ in *Songs of Praise* (1931), and ‘God of love and truth and beauty’ by Timothy Rees in the *BBC Hymn Book* (1951), by way of the *Mirfield Mission Hymn Book* (1922), as examples of well-written texts. He noted that the *English Hymnal* and *Songs of Praise* had contributed substantially to the rise of musical and literary standards in twentieth-century hymnody. A third factor was the increase in hymn singing which had occurred over the past few decades. While he commended the practice of hymn singing, he cautioned his audience to beware of singing well-known hymns only, a form of self-indulgence in Routley’s view and not conducive to the development of hymnody. Hymn singing by 1960 had become habitual. In his address Routley urged his fellow hymn society members to encourage the singing of

¹ Erik Routley, ‘Whither Hymnody?’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 90 [Autumn/Winter 1960], 24-30.

unfamiliar hymns, to keep worship alive and to make religion relevant to contemporary society.

John Wilson, then director of music at Charterhouse, was also concerned about the state of English hymnody in 1960. 'We are not privileged to live in a great age of hymn-writing, and our selection must draw chiefly on the fine things of the past,' he commented in a review of *The Public School Hymn Book* (two editions, 1949 and 1959) printed in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* issued just before the 1960 conference. Wilson protested that the newest school hymn book was 'carrying far too big a load of second-class material'.²

Earlier in the year Erik Routley had stirred up a hornet's nest with his provocative essay, printed in the spring edition of the *Bulletin*, on 'The Case Against Charles Wesley'.³ The title of the article itself probably roused sufficient ire to put Routley into fine fettle for the summer conference. In the article he challenged the prevailing views of the late Bernard Manning, who in his lectures and in the essays published in 1942 on the hymns of Watts and Wesley, had vigorously defended the hymnody of the early Protestant masters against the reforms of Percy Dearmer in *Songs of Praise*. Routley rebutted:

Songs of Praise represented to Manning everything that he hated; everything that to him was eroding theology and piety. ... His judgment has been uncritically accepted by too many for too long. *Songs of Praise* had its curious moments; it had its unsingable hymns and its editorial oddities. But too few realise at present, and too few value, the gesture made by that book in favour of uncompromising literary standards and a general dissent from the conventional hymn-form.⁴

He thus set out deliberately to provoke controversy before the Hymn Society's conference, to instigate debate over the current state of hymnody in English worship.

² John Wilson, 'The *Public School Hymn Book* 1949 and 1959', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 89 [Summer 1960], 1-10 (pp. 7-8).

³ Erik Routley, 'The Case Against Charles Wesley', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 88 [Spring 1960], 252-259.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 254.

Writing in the 1930s, Routley continued: 'Manning was really using Wesley as an instrument for promoting that revival of theological awareness and sensitiveness and responsibility for which, as he was convinced, the church was looking at that time. ... But whether his almost unreserved praise of Wesley is the last word is the question I now ask.'⁵

Routley reiterated his personal respect for Wesley's hymns. His concern in 1960 centred on the need for the continuous development of hymnody, in step with the theology and language of congregations who sing the hymns:

Hymnody should, surely, be a living force in the Church. Hymnody is not to be settled into a canon, but should always be adapting itself to the purpose of setting forth the Gospel to each generation. Anything that clogs the stream, or that seems to claim the status of unalterable revelation for any corpus of hymnody, is to be protested against by those who care for its health. There is, in particular, a chronic shortage of hymns on the social applications of the Gospel that are neither trivial nor dated. There is a shortage of good missionary hymns. But worse - there is a tendency to ignore those hymns which are modern and relevant for the sake of perpetuating those which are now merely sentimental.⁶

Routley went on to argue that, in his view, Charles Wesley had focussed hymn writing too narrowly on the 'evangelical' themes of personal salvation. He thought that people were no longer confined to the 'hymn canons' of Watts or Wesley. They were, however, guilty of restricting their choices to familiar hymns which were sung frequently and were, therefore, not using the full range of hymns available in their hymn books. He recalled a particular incident where alternative hymns were suggested to a committee planning a university worship service. 'It was not that anybody objected to these livelier and more relevant hymns,' he continued. 'It was rather that nobody had thought to go through a hymn book and find what would really meet the situation. By uncritical habit,

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 256-257.

excellent hymns that were well known but that did nothing more than give the congregation a “breather” were at first suggested.’⁷

Routley argued that Wesley’s ‘prodigality’ may have contributed to narrow and unthinking views of hymnody. Clearly, in Routley’s view, it was time to broaden the scope of hymnody:

We must have new hymns. ... The modern hymn-writer should be encouraged, surely, to be critical of Wesley, not to reverence him over-much: to see what Wesley and Wesley’s generation missed because they could not have known about it: to see where communication needs to be established in new directions. He should be encouraged to go where Wesley did not go: to write about the majesty and power of God the Father, about the relevance of the saving Gospel to things in life which Wesley regarded as beyond the Gospel’s notice: art, business, love and science. ... He should in no circumstances attempt to emulate Wesley’s prodigality. Hymn-writing should come to him with difficulty. ... Charles Wesley, beloved and rightly honoured, has this to answer for, that he has made hymn-writing appear too easy to us.⁸

By the summer of 1960 Erik Routley had been campaigning for new hymns for at least fifteen years. He had begun on 21 June 1945, at the first post-war conference of the Hymn Society. As assistant editor of the *Bulletin*, he addressed the gathering on the subject of ‘Some Modern Needs in Hymnody’.⁹ He called for new hymns in several subject areas: 1) social hymns; 2) hymns on nationhood and on the commonwealth, including ones on respect for neighbours and about the stewardship of God’s gifts; 3) hymns on the life and ministry of Christ, including ones on the parables; and 4) hymns for children under the age of fourteen. As a member of the committee reviewing hymn texts for a new edition of the Congregationalist hymnal, formed in October 1944, Routley was keenly aware of the gaps in contemporary hymnody.

⁷ Ibid., 257.

⁸ Ibid., 258-259.

⁹ Erik Routley, ‘Some Modern Needs in Hymnody’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 32 (July 1945), 4-6 (pp. 4-5).

He returned to the subject of new hymnody at the following annual conference of the Hymn Society, held in Bristol in July 1946. There he reiterated the need for new hymn texts: on Christian social service, the work of the Holy Spirit, ministry of Christ, words of Christ, baptism, and children's hymns.¹⁰ At that conference the proposed Library of New Hymns was approved, creating a repository of new hymns for the use of editors of future hymnals. Submissions were to be directed to the assistant editor of the *Bulletin*. They would be reviewed by a committee appointed by the Hymn Society for that purpose, and those accepted would be incorporated into the Library of New Hymns.¹¹ Three hymn book committees had resumed their deliberations in the mid-1940s. Need existed for such a collection.

On 7 October 1952 Erik Routley presented a BBC broadcast on the topic 'What makes a good hymn?'.¹² By then the three new hymn books were in use - *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950), *B.B.C. Hymn Book* (1951) and *Congregational Praise* (1951).¹³ In this talk Routley described a good hymn as one with good verse, good music and one which serves its purpose. Hymns are essential to the liturgy of Christian worship, he maintained, but they are of no use if they do not sing well. He gave, as an example, 'Through all the changing scenes of life', identifying three strengths in this hymn: 1) it is true for all who sing it; 2) the language of the text is 'simple and forthright' and, as it is a paraphrase of Psalm 34, it is recognized by singers; and 3) it is set to 'a fine, swinging tune'. Other elements of good hymnody, in the speaker's view, included the use of an objective viewpoint, reliance upon scriptural sources and making

¹⁰ Erik Routley, 'The Bristol Conference, 9-12 July 1946', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 37 (October 1946), 4-6 (p. 4).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Erik Routley, 'What Makes a Good Hymn?', published in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 63 (Spring 1953), 90-96.

¹³ *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (Hymns Ancient & Modern Ltd, 1950); *B.B.C. Hymn Book* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951); and *Congregational Praise* (London: Independent Press Ltd, 1951).

the effort to write strong beginnings and endings for each hymn. Routley cited 'God of love and truth and beauty' by Timothy Rees as an example of a 'simple but not wearisome pattern' set to a strong tune (CAROLYN). Furthermore, good hymn texts did not have to be simple. Hymns about the mystery of God might be complex, yet they were worth the effort of learning: 'You have to sing them often, you have to work on them, before they yield up all their treasures.'¹⁴ Nor do good hymns necessarily require a scriptural text, Chesterton's 'O God of earth and altar' being a case in point.

A 'second-rate' or a 'bad' hymn, Routley told his audience, was one 'which either leaves you in doubt or subtly misleads you' - including hymns which painted unrealistic portraits of saints, were self-indulgent, or complained to God.¹⁵ Bad hymn tunes were those which were too ornate, dull or depressing: they could lead one away from worship. Good hymn tunes, on the other hand, would lead one to worship. They had 'something to say ... economically, modestly and directly' and would wear well with frequent use.¹⁶ In the broadcast Routley had outlined his standards for the new hymnody he was seeking.

A year later he was, once again, raising the issue of new hymnody at the annual conference of the Hymn Society on 29 September 1953 at Stratford on Avon. On this occasion he asked: 'What remains for the modern hymn writer to do?'.¹⁷ In his address he focussed on the elements of hymnody which differentiate the great hymns from the general body of hymns produced by each generation of hymn writers. His choices included 'When I survey the wondrous cross', 'Lift up your heads, ye gates of brass', 'Ride on, ride on in majesty', and 'The church's one foundation', saying: 'Is it not hymns like these that lift hymnody out of the commonplace and assure it a place of merit

¹⁴ Routley, 'What Makes a Good Hymn?', 95.

¹⁵ Ibid., 93-94.

¹⁶ Ibid., 95.

¹⁷ Erik Routley, 'What Remains for the Modern Hymn Writer to Do?', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 66 (January 1954), 148-153.

and eminence from which it can direct and reconcile the powerful forces of theology and culture?’.¹⁸

Routley went on to quote Stephen Leacock on the essence of good comic writing, arguing that the characteristics which shape good humorous writing also shape good hymns; that is, ‘correctness, aptness and simplicity’. Effective humour and hymnody can be spoiled by ‘a single pretentious line’.¹⁹ Misuse of language produces second-rate hymns.

He then turned his attention to the influence of the new translations of the Bible upon the work of modern hymn writers. Routley anticipated great change in the language of hymnody as congregations began to hear readings of translations other than the Authorized Version of the Bible in their regular worship. ‘For although that [the Authorized Version] has been a sheet-anchor of pious diction for three hundred years, radical alterations are likely in our religious talking-habits as a result of the revisions achieved in America and projected in this country’, he told his listeners. ‘For enduring greatness you will have to rely on the *thought* of Scripture rather than on the shifting and unreliable ground of seventeenth-century *words*.’²⁰

Routley reminded the audience that it was Robert Bridges who, in his *Yattendon Hymnal* of 1899, first drew attention to the need for improvement in the language of hymns, moving away from what Bridges saw as ‘conventionality and dullness’. The editors of *Songs of Praise* (1925, 1931) maintained the high literary standards envisioned by Bridges and managed to set these as the model for subsequent hymn books. ‘They [the editors] sought the modern and sub-modern poets to breathe fresh air into the stuffiness of conventional Christian diction.’²¹ They also introduced a range of literary

¹⁸ Ibid., 149.

¹⁹ Ibid., 150.

²⁰ Ibid. Italics were used in the original text.

²¹ Ibid., 152.

texts from the seventeenth century to the early twentieth century to bolster the language of religious devotion in contemporary society. Routley commented: 'Much of this was erratic. Some of it was too contemporary to last. ... But when one looks through the modern hymn books of the 'fifties, the question remains, — has this gesture of S. P. been fully assessed and appreciated? Do our modern hymn writers want to do this kind of thing, or do they want to carry on in the style of Christopher Wordsworth?'²² He mentioned John Arlott's 'We watched the winter turn its back', and 'God of love and truth and beauty' by Timothy Rees, as examples of the successful use of contemporary language in hymnody.²³

Music was faring less well than texts in 1953: 'The outlook there is, on the whole, bleaker than in the area we must keep to.'²⁴ Routley did, however, see some hope in a few new tunes published in the revised edition of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* (1950), and in tunes such as TEILO SANT commissioned from Jack P. B. Dobbs for *Congregational Praise* (1951).²⁵

Routley urged members of the Hymn Society to be alert to the 'cardinal sin' of hymn writing which he identified as 'blunted, journalistic, careless writing', and to the sins of 'narrowness of vision and specialisation of devotional sympathy' and of 'shockable conventionality'. Indeed, the purpose of the Hymn Society, in Routley's view, was to identify and campaign against such sins. He concluded his address in 1953: 'We can be thankful for that disciplined simplicity, that authentic clarity which raises the truly great above the common run, and we can urge that it be cultivated.'²⁶

²² Ibid.

²³ *B.B.C. Hymn Book*, #435 and #273.

²⁴ Routley, 'What Remains for the Modern Hymn Writer to Do?', 153.

²⁵ *Congregational Praise*, #21(i). The situation would be turned around in the 1960s with the publication of *Hymns for Church and School* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1964), the *Anglican Hymn Book* (London: Church Book Room Press Ltd, 1965) and the collections of new hymn tunes published by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group.

²⁶ Routley, 'What Remains for the Modern Hymn Writer to Do?', 153.

Routley's was not the only voice to be heard calling for reform in hymnody, although perhaps his was the most vociferous. In the first issue of the *Bulletin*, published in October 1937, the editor, Dr. Millar Patrick, announced the intentions of the fledgling Hymn Society to 'serve as a clearing house for new hymns'. There was need for such work as he explained in his inaugural editorial: 'But many hymns that have proved of highest value are expressed in language which is not congenial to the modern mind; they cannot be sung without some degree of mental qualification or reservation. The needs of the present age call for expression in literary forms which will carry the undivided mind of the worshipper with them.'²⁷ Although numerous hymns were being written in the mid-1930s, the editor did not expect many to have lasting merit.

The needs of contemporary hymnody had dominated the work of the Hymn Society during its first years. At the 1938 conference held in Cambridge, Canon G. W. Briggs presented a paper on 'The Place of Hymns in Worship' in which he called for an assessment of the sentimental doctrine taught in the hymns in general use in the Anglican church.²⁸ He noted gaps in the current hymnody about God, about Christ's ministry and his parables, and about the strength of the Holy Spirit in contrast to the existing hymns on the gentleness of the Holy Spirit, and, above all, a significant need for new hymns for children, written in their language rather than in the language which adults thought they should use.

In the United States new hymnody was also the subject of much debate among members of the Hymn Society of America. The *Bulletin* carried excerpts of a paper given by Canon Louis E. Daniels of Christ Church in Oberlin, Ohio, to that society's annual meeting in January 1940. In it he praised the shift away from sentimentalism,

²⁷ Millar Patrick, 'New Hymns', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 1 (October 1937), 3. See also Introduction, 1.

²⁸ George W. Briggs, 'The Place of Hymns in Worship', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 5 (September 1938), 3-4.

saying: 'There is also a greater atmosphere of reality. Human affairs, life in a modern world, the work of the Church in spreading the Kingdom of Christ in all the earth, form the subjects of many hymns. The facts of Nature are referred to with the accuracy of the new science.'²⁹

In addition to the campaign for higher literary and musical standards in denominational hymnals, sustained by the *English Hymnal* and the two editions of *Songs of Praise*, from 1930 to 1960 the need for much-improved children's hymnody, the influence of the new translations of the Bible - the Revised Standard Version (1952) and the New English Bible (New Testament, 1961), and the introduction of broadcasting religious services and hymn-singing programmes, occupied the attention of hymn committees. These, and other, concerns were addressed in the pages of the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* and *The Hymn* (published by the Hymn Society of America) and in the prefaces to the hymnals published during these decades. Change was present in all these sources, but it had yet to reach the thinking of most congregations and pastoral leaders. Congregational hymn singing in 1960 appeared to be predictable and static.

Remodelling hymnody

Between 1960 and 1964 members of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland became aware of new structures in hymn texts and music. Church organists and experienced hymn writers introduced new hymn writing within traditional patterns of worship. In a parallel development, some newcomers to hymn writing began adapting the music of popular culture into hymnody for worship.

Membership in the society numbered about three hundred, many of whom had been instrumental in shaping the hymnals published in Great Britain and Ireland since the

²⁹ Louis E. Daniels, 'Recent Tendencies in Hymn and Hymn-Tune Writing', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 11 (April 1940), 3-4 (p. 4).

formation of the group in 1936. The society had witnessed, indeed instigated, some of the initial changes in hymnody.³⁰ By 1964 Routley was informing his readers that a full-scale revolution in hymnody was underway:

Possibly the organ will go; possibly four-part harmony; possibly the hallowed phrases of the Authorized Version, which to so many of us have been illuminated and adorned by their incorporation into the text of so many great classic hymns, will turn out to be far less moving to a generation which increasingly hears other versions of Scripture. Possibly, the further consequences of the Vatican Council will make us, in an ecumenical setting, re-think our settled convictions about the place of hymns in the church's worship. ... And now as we enter our second century of *Bulletins*, we enter also what may be a period of profound revolution in hymnody. The preparation for this revolution has been going on for some years.³¹

The most obvious change was the introduction of so-called 'quasi-pop' hymn tunes, composed as new settings for familiar hymn texts by Geoffrey Beaumont and the members of what became the 20th Century Church Light Music Group.³² The BBC first broadcast music by him during its 'Sunday Half Hour' radio programme on 14 October 1956. A year later his *Twentieth-Century Folk Mass* was published. At the time Routley drew the society's attention to 'A New Development in Hymn Tune Writing' in a long editorial published in the Summer 1957 issue of the *Bulletin*:

Mr. Beaumont's aim is to provide a kind of church music which assimilates itself to the idiom of the music that the nonchurchgoing, unevangelized Christian hears in the secular world. He makes war, that is, on ecclesiastical conventionality.³³

The society would engage in a vigorous discussion of 'Church pop' at its Malvern conference in the summer of 1963.³⁴

³⁰ See, for example, Millar Patrick, 'New Hymns' (at #27 above), and Erik Routley, 'Some Modern Needs in Hymnody' (#9 above).

³¹ Erik Routley, 'The First Hundred', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 100 (Spring 1964), 193-97 (p. 194).

³² The group consistently used arabic numerals for twenty in its title, a symbol of its contemporary style.

³³ Erik Routley, 'A New Development in Hymn Tune Writing', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 79 (Summer 1957), 85-91 (p. 86).

³⁴ Arthur S. Holbrook, 'The Malvern Conference', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 99 (Winter 1963), 170-72 (pp. 171-72).

In the meantime, the Australian-born composer Malcolm Williamson was introducing a very different type of church music.³⁵ Routley described his work as ‘a special case’. Williamson, a professional composer, was integrating elements of ‘pop’ idiom into the framework of mainstream contemporary composition. Routley described Williamson’s approach to church music as writing in dialect, his hymn tunes being ‘studies in various styles’. Whereas Beaumont and members of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group had ‘vivid moments’ in their writing, Williamson was different in that he could maintain ‘musical integrity’ while experimenting with forms of popular music.³⁶ Two other new styles of church music were being heard in the 1960s. Heinz Werner Zimmermann had introduced a jazz element to church music.³⁷ In France, Joseph Gelineau had developed alternative models for writing hymnody and setting the Psalms, using speech rhythms.³⁸ The editor of the *Bulletin* was wondering ‘just what the present age is going to be moved by’.³⁹

By 1964 the future use of the organ as the exclusive, or best, instrument to accompany congregational singing was in doubt. Conventional four-part harmony was also being assailed. The editors of the *English Hymnal* (1906, 1933) and *Songs of Praise* (1925, 1931) had established unison singing as a useful model for church hymnody in their settings of traditional English folk songs for hymn texts. Clearly the time for remodelling church hymnody had come. ‘We are in for any amount of speculation, experiment, and debate,’ Routley noted: ‘There will be a great deal of disposable music composed by the experimenters.’⁴⁰

³⁵ Malcolm Williamson, *Twelve Hymn Tunes* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd, 1962).

³⁶ Erik Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1964, 1966; Carol Stream, IL: Agape, 1984), 144-46; and Chapter 14, ‘Mr. Williamson’s Dialect’, 176-82.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 93. Routley referred to Zimmermann’s comment that in his *Psalmkonzert* (1958) he was ‘using a “jazz” technique because jazz is the only kind of contemporary music that can still express joy.’

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 107-10. Routley described Gelineau’s contribution as a ‘demythologised plainsong’.

³⁹ Routley, ‘The First Hundred’, 195.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 196.

The language of church hymns had also become vulnerable to change within Protestant worship by the early 1960s. While Roman Catholic congregations were moving from the Latin liturgy to vernacular services, English Protestants were hearing alternative English translations of the Bible being read in services where the language of English hymnody and liturgy had long enjoyed a common base in the Authorized Version of the Bible. The publication of the New Testament section of the New English Bible in 1961 brought a simmering issue up to boiling point. Previous translations of the English biblical text had prepared the way for the New English Bible; nevertheless, the impact of its publication was considerable.⁴¹ Reading weekly from the new translations would lead eventually to reassessment of the language of church hymns.

New directions

In retrospect, one can see the old ways overlapping the new at the Hymn Society's annual conference in July 1960 at Westminster College, Cambridge. *The Act of Praise* service, prepared by Erik Routley, was accompanied by organist Peter Cutts, a student at Clare College and a new member of the society, who contributed WYLDE GREEN to the programme. The most recent hymn texts sung on that occasion were in tribute to the memory of George Wallace Briggs, Howell Elvet Lewis and Henry Carter, three influential hymn writers from the first half of the twentieth century. Erik Routley delivered his lecture on 'Whither Hymnody: Forward from Wesley', as requested by the society in the aftermath of his article on 'The Case Against Charles Wesley'.⁴² Arthur S. Holbrook, secretary of the society, reported that, in the ensuing discussion, members acknowledged the progress achieved in hymn music over the preceding fifty years [the

⁴¹ Translations in use at the time included, among others, the Revised Version (New Testament, 1881, and Old Testament, 1885), James Moffatt's translations (1913 and 1924, respectively), the Revised Standard Version (1946, 1952), Ronald A. Knox's translations (1945, 1949), and J. B. Phillips's *Letters to Young Churches* (1947) and his New Testament translations completed by 1958.

⁴² Routley, 'Whither Hymnody?' and 'The Case Against Charles Wesley'; see pp. 8-11 above.

tunes by Ralph Vaughan Williams, for example], but noted a lack of similar advancement in hymn texts. Furthermore, the attitudes of post-war youth greatly concerned the group. 'They have a gang mentality and want only that which is easy and common. There is a desperate craving for what is familiar,' Holbrook recorded. Near the end of the session, the discussion centred on new translations of the Bible: 'Finally the question was put: If we are all going to have new translations of the Bible, what will happen to our hymns?'⁴³

By the winter of 1961 Erik Routley was observing that: 'Signs are abroad that the time is ripe for a new advance in hymnody towards a truly contemporary style. We shall await with interest the new EH book and the new Baptist Hymnal to see whether that which we hope for is to be realized sooner or later.'⁴⁴ The new hymn books were conservative, to the disappointment of those seeking fresh contemporary idioms for worship in the 1960s. The editor of the *Bulletin* reserved most of his comment until after the reviews by Cyril Taylor and Caryl Micklem were presented in the journal. He could not refrain, however, from declaring on the first page of this issue:

It is perfectly clear that in hymnody we are coming to a parting of the ways. Many of our assumptions are being seriously challenged, and in this assault on some of our most precious strongholds of secondary doctrine the ecumenical movement is playing an important part. In every part of the church, history is offering us more exciting and more perilous possibilities than it has done at least since the days of the Reformation.⁴⁵

He was writing shortly before the consecration of Coventry Cathedral on 25 May 1962. Routley thought of the new building as a symbol of the 'assaults on our secondary doctrines' to which he had referred in the comment quoted here. He then asked

⁴³ Arthur S. Holbrook, 'Conference of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, held at Westminster College, Cambridge, July 12th-14th, 1960', *Bulletin*, 90 [Autumn/Winter 1960], 22-24 (p. 24). Holbrook encouraged music editors of new hymn books to look closely at WYLDE GREEN.

⁴⁴ Erik Routley, 'Editorial', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 94 (Winter 1961). 78. The 'EH book' was the *English Hymnal Service Book* published in 1962.

⁴⁵ Erik Routley, 'Editorial', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 96 (Summer 1962), 109-11 (p. 109).

rhetorically, 'What kind of hymnody is really appropriate to that which Coventry Cathedral stands for?'⁴⁶

One development in the new hymn books did receive Routley's unqualified praise. Instead of increasing the number of communion hymns in the *English Hymnal Service Book*, the committee advocated the use of 'familiar hymns which, though mainly confined to use at certain festivals or seasons, take on new significance when sung at various junctures in the Eucharist at any time of the liturgical year, even though their words are not explicitly eucharistic'.⁴⁷ The emphasis on thanksgiving and on 'a new and joyful approach to the Lord's Supper', evident in both new hymnals, seemed to Routley to be in keeping with the thinking symbolized by the new cathedral.⁴⁸

In his review of *The English Hymnal Service Book*, the composer Cyril Taylor commented on the committee's decision to reverse the policy established by Ralph Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw to encourage composition of new hymn tunes.⁴⁹ Among eighty tune changes, only three new tunes entered the collection - Noël Boston's FIFER'S LAND, Guthrie Foote's TREDEGAR and Arthur Hutchings's FUDGIE. Thirty-two tunes had been restored from hymnals which had preceded the *English Hymnal* (1906); twenty-three had been redeemed from the Appendix of the 1906 volume - the infamous 'Chamber of Horrors'; and eighteen were borrowed from *Hymns Ancient & Modern*. None of the daring of the 1906 volume would be found in this book. Musically, in the reviewer's opinion, it was a close replica of *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950). Over half the hymns in the *English Hymnal* had been removed, including medieval office hymns, hymns for saints' days and mission services and those 'self-consciously aimed at children'. Not all of this was a loss. Much of the material had

⁴⁶ Ibid., 110. See also Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music*, 77-80.

⁴⁷ 'Preface', *English Hymnal Service Book* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 4.

⁴⁸ Routley, *Bulletin* 96, 110.

⁴⁹ Cyril V. Taylor, 'The English Hymnal Service Book', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 96 (Summer 1962), 111-15, and 118.

not been used in the course of ordinary parish worship. It would not be missed. Cyril Taylor did, however, regret the loss in the new *Service Book* of the distinctive character of the *English Hymnal*. He observed, wryly: 'But most worshippers ask lamentably little of their hymn book, and they will not be disposed to quarrel ... about what they find, and do not find, here.'⁵⁰

'A very good hymn book,' wrote Caryl Micklem of the *Baptist Hymn Book* (1962); in his review; however, he went on to condemn the state of hymnody in the early 1960s.⁵¹ In contrast to the much reduced *English Hymnal Service Book*, the new Baptist hymnal was trying to meet all that was expected of it, by retaining old hymns for those who liked them while introducing new texts and tunes favoured by the committee. He praised the hymns by Albert Bayly, Erik Routley and Geoffrey Beaumont which represented the most recent developments in hymnody. 'But oh, the lumber!', Micklem continued. 'Oh, the challenge to the self-discipline of ministers and congregations that these worthy pages represent! It is all here.'⁵² Should a congregation choose to retreat to the hymns of the past, he warned, it would effectively close that church's doors to newcomers whose views differed from those of the existing membership. On the other hand, 'as far as words are concerned it is the New English Bible that has finally torn the curtain.'⁵³ In his opinion it was time to move ahead into the new era which was unfolding - 'up with local enterprise, loose-leaf books, and *ad hoc* hymnodists.'⁵⁴

Erik Routley had the final word on the two new books.⁵⁵ Although each book might, at first glance, appear to be forward-looking, in his view both were disappointingly conservative. He dismissed the *English Hymnal Service Book* as a

⁵⁰ Ibid., 113.

⁵¹ Caryl Micklem, 'The Baptist Hymn Book, 1962', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 96 (Summer 1962), 118-20.

⁵² Ibid., 119.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 120.

⁵⁵ Routley, 'Comment', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 96 (Summer 1962), 120-24.

middle-of-the-road hymn book: 'It might be said, but the expression is bound to be inflammatory, that it is profoundly and somewhat miserably middle-class.'⁵⁶ The editors of the *Baptist Hymn Book* exercised a different form of caution by giving congregations the hymns they wanted, to justify inserting new hymns which the editors themselves wished to introduce. Erik Routley thought both committees had erred in their judgement. He contrasted, at length, their work with the efforts of Ralph Vaughan Williams and Percy Dearmer on the first edition of the *English Hymnal*, which was not at all cautious. 'It is indeed a young man's book. V-W, we remember, was 34 in 1906, and Percy Dearmer 39. They knew what they wanted. And they gave very little ground.'⁵⁷ Hymn book editors in 1962 were not prepared to take such risks. Were they right to take such a conservative stand?

Does the view of the church's contemporary duty which is implied in the production of one book of 300-odd hymns scaled down to the popular religious taste of three generations ago, and another of nearly 800 hymns whose new musical material is entirely conservative in idiom, chime with the view of Christian enterprise which in the farthest out-reaches of the ecumenical movement is being urged on us? ... More disquieting is their cavalier treatment of the social applications of the Gospel, for which they make virtually no provision.⁵⁸

Routley suggested that both books missed the mark precisely because 'they exasperate us so little'. Instead of presenting a new contemporary style, as he had hoped for in the winter *Bulletin* of 1961, the books were tailored to meet the 'mediocre congregational demand' described by Cyril Taylor in his review. Routley asked:

Need we be so cautious? Need we be so terrified of our congregations?
Need we exclude what will be rarely sung? Need we be quite so polite?
Need we be so unsure, where V-W and Dearmer were in their generation
so sure? Must we be so much more afraid than they were that posterity
will write us down fools for our judgement?⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibid., 121.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 123.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Clearly, in his opinion, more work needed to be done to release the new hymnody to congregations.

At the Bristol Conference in September 1962, Hugh Martin, head of the committee responsible for the *Baptist Hymn Book*, and Eric Sharpe, its musical editor, defended the development of their new hymnal. The committee had inserted a full range of ecumenical hymn tunes, including plainsong, French Church tunes, folk songs and traditional melodies, thirty-five Welsh tunes and over two hundred hymn tunes by contemporary composers. Victorian tunes were halved. The musical editor noted, with regret, that younger composers were reluctant to write church music.⁶⁰ Martin indicated that the committee was aware of numerous points at which hymnody was changing in response to changes in the world at large, specifically in the countries for which the new hymn book was prepared, including Scotland, Wales, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The committee was sensitive to the emergence, by 1960, of new nations in Africa and in the East which necessitated a close scrutiny of international and missionary hymns.⁶¹ It searched for hymns from the new churches, but could find only two by N. V. Tilak and a Korean prayer for international peace. The shortage of such hymns was disappointing. 'Similarly the social revolution at home and the coming of the Welfare State has made many hymns impossible,' he added.⁶²

He also identified a number of subjects on which the committee sought new hymns - including baptism, the Lord's Supper, children's hymns, and ones for evangelistic services. He commented further: 'In the baptismal hymns there is a greater emphasis on God's action in the sacrament, as well as on the witness and vows of the

⁶⁰ 'The Annual Conference of the Society, Bristol, 1962', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 97 (Winter 1962-63), 125-29.

⁶¹ Hugh Martin, 'The Making of the Baptist Hymn Book', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 98 (Spring 1963), 147-54 (p.148).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 149. Martin did not elaborate on this point.

believer.’⁶³ The Baptist committee had to struggle with ‘Gospel hymns’, aware of the need to provide for the worship practices of all Baptist churches. The editors hoped they might in due course be able to raise the general standards of hymnody among Baptists; however, Martin concluded: ‘The disconcerting fact is that God uses hymns which I dislike intensely to reach men and women whom the hymns and music I love leave cold and unmoved.’⁶⁴ Against Erik Routley’s criticism that the committee had been overly cautious he replied, ‘that in fact we have taken as big a step forward as our churches are ready for.’ In his view the Baptists’ acceptance of the new hymn book justified his committee’s decisions.⁶⁵

New Songs

The harbinger of new contemporary language in English hymnody took the form of a small booklet of hymns edited by Bernard Massey in 1962 for the Congregational Church at Redhill, Surrey. *New Songs* contained hymn texts and tunes newly composed or not published in *Congregational Praise* (1951). John Wilson later described it as ‘the first of the supplements’.⁶⁶ A brief description of the collection was printed on the back of the cover page:

None of the items in this book (except tune 910) has previously appeared in any major hymnal. Most, in fact, are here published for the first time. The book will thus supplement any of the hymnals in current use. For simplicity, however, the references to hymns and tunes are only to *Congregational Praise* (C.P.), 1951.⁶⁷

In the acknowledgements which followed Kenneth Finlay and Eric Shave were thanked, in particular, for their advice. The collection was compiled to raise money for

⁶³ Ibid., 151.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 152.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 154.

⁶⁶ Dr. Bernard S. Massey, letter to the author, 8 January 1997.

⁶⁷ *New Songs* (Redhill, Surrey: The Congregational Church, 1962), ii.

refurbishing the pipe organ in Redhill Congregational Church.⁶⁸ Some churches purchased sets for their choirs, and copies were available from the Congregationalist bookshop. Erik Routley took an interest in *New Songs*. According to its editor, 'Erik Routley helped to "plug" the book, reviewing it in the *British Weekly* for instance, and through him I had access to the Hymn Society file of new hymns and tunes. In addition a number of personal friends contributed.'⁶⁹

New Songs contained sixteen hymn texts and twenty tunes. It included texts by Albert Bayly, George W. Briggs and R. T. Brooks, among others. Tunes by Peter Cutts, Kenneth Finlay, Erik Routley, Eric Shave, John Lyddon Thomas and Bernard Massey were introduced as settings of new and old hymn texts. The one tune which had been published previously was MANNA, an early nineteenth-century tune by J. G. Schicht, used to present George Caird's 'Not far beyond the sea nor high'. *New Songs* achieved considerable success in promoting new hymns. Three by Albert Bayly entered standard hymnals, particularly in North America - 'Lord, whose love through humble service', 'Thy love, O God, has all mankind created', and 'Fire of God, thou sacred flame'.⁷⁰ A hymn by G. W. Briggs - 'Jesus, whose all-redeeming love' - was later printed in *Hymns Ancient & Modern New Standard* (1983) and in Routley's *Rejoice in the Lord* (1985). Two others - 'Thanks to God whose Word was spoken' by Reginald Thomas Brooks and 'Not far beyond the sea nor high' by George Caird - were widely disseminated after their first appearance in *New Songs*. The tunes which travelled into standard hymn books included WYLDE GREEN by Peter Cutts, MANSFIELD COLLEGE and LIVING

⁶⁸ Massey, 8 January 1997.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ In North America they were published variously in the *The Hymn Book* (1971), the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978), *The Hymnal 1982* (1985), *The United Methodist Hymnal* (1989), *The Presbyterian Hymnal* (1990) and *Voices United* (1996); in addition to *Hymns and Psalms* (1983) and *Rejoice and Sing* (1991). A review of *New Songs*, written by Alec Wyton, had been published in *The Hymn*, 14:4 (October 1963), 98.

BREAD by Bernard Massey, and VARNDEAN and PANTYCELYN by Erik Routley.⁷¹

Commenting thirty-five years later, Massey wrote: ‘Such influence as it [the booklet] had was of course secondary rather than primary, though I like to think that George Caird’s “Not far beyond” and R. T. Brooks’s “Thanks to God”, for example, thereby came to public notice earlier than they otherwise would (if at all).’⁷²

Bernard Massey promoted the new book at the inaugural meeting of the London Area Branch of the Hymn Society held in January 1963. The *Bulletin* reported his remarks in its spring issue: ‘While the main emphasis has been on the quality of the words and music, an attempt has also been made to include only hymns which have something new to say.’⁷³ For the Act of Praise service at the Malvern Conference of the Hymn Society in July, Erik Routley selected ‘In thine hour of grief and sorrow’ by Joan Rogers, set to COLLARDS LANE, a tune composed for the text by J. Lyddon Thomas and published in *New Songs*.⁷⁴ New structures for traditional expressions of church hymnody were beginning to take shape.⁷⁵

Church music consultations

About the same time Bernard Massey was compiling *New Songs* at Redhill in Surrey, Ian Fraser was organizing a consultation on the music of worship at the newly established ecumenical centre founded by the Scottish Churches’ Council at Dunblane in Perthshire. As Warden of the centre, he extended an invitation to ministers and church musicians, a number of whom in fact wore both hats and who collectively represented a

⁷¹ The tunes were published in, among others, *Hymns and Psalms* (1983), *The Hymnal 1982* (1985), *Rejoice in the Lord* (1985), *The United Methodist Hymnal* (1989), and *The Presbyterian Hymnal* (1990).

⁷² Massey, 8 January 1997.

⁷³ ‘Report of the Inaugural Meeting of the London Area Branch’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 98, (Spring 1963), 167-68 (p. 168).

⁷⁴ Holbrook, ‘The Malvern Conference’, 170-71.

⁷⁵ In April 1966 John Wilson led a session on ‘The Use of Hymns in Worship’ at a day-long conference held by Congregational Union organists in Surrey celebrating the completion of the work on the Redhill organ. Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 1, John Wilson Hymn Papers, Box 1B: Lectures and Broadcasts pre-1970. This lecture was revised into one entitled ‘Who Cares About Hymns?’.

broad range of musical styles, to come to Dunblane in October 1962 to discuss the current state of church music. Reginald Barrett-Ayres of the University of Aberdeen acted as convener; and Erik Routley, as secretary, worked with Ian Fraser to co-ordinate the work of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation. Plenary sessions and working groups were held at Dunblane periodically between 1962 and 1968. The initial purpose for these meetings was to find new music settings to be considered by the revision committee for the Scottish *Revised Church Hymnary* (1927), which began its work in October 1963. Although only one translation published by the consultation was included in *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* (1973), much constructive work was accomplished producing new models for contemporary church hymnody. Ian Fraser was frequently told in later years that 'it was from the Dunblane enterprise that the world "hymn explosion" took off.'⁷⁶

20th Century Church Light Music Group I: 1956-62

Then came the beginnings of a revolution. This was in the first place, musical, and the first shots were fired with the publication in [1956] of the *Folk Mass* by Geoffrey Beaumont ..., which at once raised the question whether styles up to then regarded as quite alien to English church music could be used in worship and which also gave at once a new connotation to the word 'Folk'.

Erik Routley⁷⁷

The radical transformation of church music began with the publication of Geoffrey Beaumont's *Twentieth Century Folk Mass* in 1956 and his *Eleven Hymn Tunes* in 1957.⁷⁸ The Mass was composed for 'one or more cantors and congregation' with

⁷⁶ Ian M. Fraser, 'Beginnings at Dunblane', in *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered*, ed. by Robin A. Leaver, James H. Litton and Carlton R. Young (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company; Norwich: Canterbury Press Norwich, 1985), pp. 171-90 (p. 171). See Ch. 3, 89-120, and Ch. 5, 167-81, below.

⁷⁷ Erik Routley, *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1979), 187.

⁷⁸ Geoffrey Beaumont, *A Twentieth Century Folk Mass* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd., 1956) and *Eleven Hymn Tunes* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd, 1957). The contents of the tune collection included: 1) SOL/'Sun of my soul' by John Keble; 2) WELLS WAY/ 'Jesu, lover of my soul' by Charles Wesley; 3) CROSBY/'Lead, kindly Light' by John Henry Newman; 4) SERVIDOR/'Teach me, my God and King' by George Herbert; 5) WANSTEAD/'Who would true valour see' by John Bunyan;

Proper, written in popular musical idiom, provided in an appendix. It was set to a piano accompaniment which Beaumont suggested should be used only as a guide to indicate rhythm and harmonies. He hoped that the accompaniment might be adapted by small orchestras of the kind heard in London theatres and music halls.⁷⁹ He set Psalm 150, for example, for piano, trumpets, guitars, violins and clarinets. He used the tempo of the beguine in his settings of the Kyrie and the Agnus Dei. It was a bold step in a new direction for church liturgy.⁸⁰

Beaumont explained his purpose in the preface:

This setting was composed at the request of an East London Vicar who said he was 'deeply concerned that nothing has been written since the Elizabethans which can properly be called a Folk Mass, and that church music is utterly foreign to the majority of people.'

The theory behind this setting is that the music used at the Holy Eucharist in apostolic days was the normal music of the day and only became 'church music' when it arrived with definite church associations in Western Europe where it developed itself into the plainsong we know.

In the title, the word 'Folk' is used literally to mean the normal every day popular type of music.⁸¹

It was a broad definition of 'folk'. This was not a reference to traditional folk songs of the kind Ralph Vaughan Williams had adapted so successfully into hymn tunes a generation earlier. Nor did it refer to the folk song movement in clubs and coffee shops which was gaining popularity in the mid-1950s and would produce a new form of social protest hymn under the leadership of Sydney Carter and others.⁸² Instead Beaumont

6) HOUSE OF GOD/'We love the place, O God' by William Bullock and Henry Williams Baker; 7) HARVEY/'King of glory, King of peace' by George Herbert; 8) VENGO/'Just as I am' by Charlotte Elliott; 9) CHUBB/'Ten thousand times ten thousand' by Henry Alford; 10) OBLATION/'Wherefore, O Father, we thy humble servants' by W. H. H. Jervois; and 11) PETER AD VINCULAR/'Fight the good fight' by J. S. B. Monsell.

⁷⁹ An edition of the *Folk Mass* arranged for small orchestras was listed in the *Weinberger Catalogue: Religious Music* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd, December 1980), 2.

⁸⁰ Routley, 'A New Development in Hymn Tune Writing', 86. See p. 18 above.

⁸¹ Beaumont, 'Preface', *A Twentieth Century Folk Mass*.

⁸² However, it could perhaps be argued that Geoffrey Beaumont's music prepared the way for the acceptance by church congregations of Sydney Carter's innovative writing. In his obituary tribute to Geoffrey (Gerard) Beaumont, Erik Routley noted that the composer did not view his own music as exceptional. Instead, Beaumont 'claimed only that it was equally suitable for use in church and in other far less expected places for the communication of the Gospel. And it is certainly true that it sounded no more incongruous in the pub (a favourite instrument of his was the pub piano) than it sounded in the

was alluding to the style of popular music heard in general light radio programming, a style based upon dance rhythms and musical revue tunes. In his hymn tune collection he provided settings for eleven texts from *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950) by adapting popular rhythms from secular culture to create new music for congregational worship.

Beaumont's two publications became models for the 20th Century Church Light Music Group which was co-founded about 1957 by Beaumont and Patrick Appleford.⁸³ Appleford served as secretary and editor for the group from 1958 to 1966.⁸⁴ It consisted of Anglican clergy and musicians who are remembered for their hymn tunes, including Beaumont's PETER AD VINCULAR [sic], a setting of J. S. B. Monsell's 'Fight the good fight', and HATHEROP CASTLE for 'O Jesus, I have promised' by J. E. Bode.⁸⁵ Michael Brierley's CAMBERWELL, set to 'At the name of Jesus', has since become widely adopted.⁸⁶ TERSANCTUS [sic] by Gordon Hartless for Reginald Heber's 'Holy, Holy, holy', and Beaumont's CHESHUNT for Patrick Appleford's

sanctuary'. See 'Geoffrey Beaumont', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 120 (January 1971), 124-25 (p. 125).

⁸³ The London firm of Josef Weinberger Limited published: *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1960) and *More 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1962). Anne Harrison, at St. John's College, University of Durham, very kindly made her copies of these books available to me. Other early titles published by the company for the 20th Century Church Light Music Group included *Rhythm in Religion* (1960) - a small collection of religious solo 'pop' songs, *Seven Songs for Christmas* (1960), and *Is this your life?* (1964), another set of popular religious songs for solo voice to be sung at mission services and for special occasions. Patrick R. N. Appleford, 'A Potted Musical Biography', enclosed with a letter to the author, 22 February 1999.

The group's publications and its recordings, up to 1964, are listed in two indexes prepared by Erik Routley and appended to his *Twentieth Century Church Music*: 'Bibliographical Index of Music and Musicians' and 'Discography', 217-39.

⁸⁴ Appleford, 'A Potted Musical Biography', 2.

⁸⁵ These tunes were first published in *Eleven Hymn Tunes* (1957) at #11 and in *Thirty 20th Century Hymns Tunes* (1960) at #22 respectively.

⁸⁶ It was first published in *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1960) at #8. CAMBERWELL was included in *Hymns & Songs* (1969), Supplementary Tunes #6; *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977) / *With One Voice* (1979), #170(ii); *Hymns for Today's Church* (1982), #172(i); and *Hymns & Psalms* (1983), #74(ii).

communion hymn, 'Father all powerful' are among other tunes which found occasional use.⁸⁷

Erik Routley associated Beaumont's early hymn tunes with the song style of contemporary musicals for the theatre or cinema, such as Rogers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma*. The tunes in the *Folk Mass* seemed to him to be more closely allied with dance-band rhythms.⁸⁸ Writing in the summer of 1957, Routley concluded that Beaumont's experimental hymn tunes 'must be taken seriously. ... There are many hymns which can be sung not unsuitably to this kind of music; the best suited for it are, of course, those which are more religious songs than hymns of dogmatic devotion.'⁸⁹

The first book by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes*, was published in 1960. It attracted considerable attention, and sales. By October 1964 the book was into its eighth reprinting.⁹⁰ The views of Geoffrey Beaumont and Patrick Appleford on the usefulness of popular music forms were reflected in the 'Composers' Note' printed opposite the table of contents:

These hymn tunes have been written for congregational worship by 20th century congregations. The styles vary, but they all seek to express in the musical idiom of light music, - music which is common to almost everyone - the common worship of the People of God. They are offered in the belief that not only the great and lasting music of the past but also the ordinary and transient music of today - which is the background to the lives of so many - has a rightful place in our worship.⁹¹

The composers advocated the use of a variety of instruments, including the organ, to accompany their new tunes. They suggested that drums could assist in establishing

⁸⁷ Both tunes were first published in *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1960) at #16 and #6 respectively. Appleford wrote the text about 1957 to be sung at the Royal Albert Hall during the offering at rallies organized by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

⁸⁸ Routley, 'A New Development in Hymn Tune Writing', 86-88.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 90.

⁹⁰ *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes*, by members of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd., 1960). The tunes in this collection were composed by Geoffrey Beaumont, Patrick Appleford, Gordon Hartless, Michael Brierley, Cheslyn Jones, Lancelot Hankey and John Glandfield. It was reprinted in 1961, June 1962, October 1962, May 1963, September 1963, January 1964, March 1964, and October 1964.

⁹¹ Ibid.

rhythm, adding that, in their experience, congregations learned the tunes quickly after hearing a unison choir sing one or two verses.

The initial purpose of the Light Music Group was to introduce new music into worship. However, in retrospect, it is striking that the first collection published by the group opened with six original texts written by Patrick Appleford. An advertisement for words-only leaflets, placed at the foot of the table of contents, drew attention to their presence in the book. In Patrick Appleford's work, the seeds of the coming 'revolution' in hymnody were evident.⁹² These hymns were written for the communion service:

- 1) 'Father Almighty we come to thee' (At the Entry)
- 2) 'Go into all the world' (Before the Gospel)
- 3) 'Heavenly Father who made us' (At the Offertory)
- 4) 'Lord Jesus Christ' / LIVING LORD (At the
Communion)
- 5) 'Christ our King' (At the Offertory or General)
- 6) 'Father all-powerful' (At the Offertory or General)

Following the reform efforts which produced the 1928 Prayer Book, and after the hiatus of the war years, the Church of England had resumed a formal assessment of its liturgical practices by appointing a Liturgical Commission in 1955.⁹³ The post-war movement toward liturgical renewal took its initial steps with the tabling of the Report on the Book of Common Prayer at the Lambeth Conference of 1958.⁹⁴ Patrick Appleford was among the first Anglican hymn writers who responded to these initiatives by writing new texts for parish communion.

His 'Father almighty we come to thee' was an 'Entry' hymn:

⁹² In his letter of 22 February 1999, Canon Appleford wrote: 'I have always seen our [the 20th Century Church Light Music Group's] efforts as part of the liturgical movement, providing words and music for people to sing themselves as they participate in worship.'

⁹³ Colin Buchanan, 'Liturgical Revision in Anglicanism', *Ushaw Library Bulletin and Liturgical Review*, No. 7 (Ushaw College, February 1999), 3-5 (p. 4).

⁹⁴ John R. K. Fenwick and Bryan D. Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995), 71. I am grateful to Dr. Fred Graham of the United Church of Canada for telling me about this study.

Father Almighty we come to thee,
 As friends of thy only Son
 Send us thy Spirit that we may see
 The wonders our God has done:
 Coming to live as one of us,
 Bearing our sins upon the Cross,
 Rising from death, he has set us free
 To live the new life he has won.⁹⁵

The text expressed a traditional Christian view of Christ's sacrifice. Its vernacular character was conveyed in its tune, NEWBY PLACE, composed by Patrick Appleford for this text. His music direction encouraged congregations to sing this tune 'cheerfully, with a swing'. The hymn spoke of the church as the community of Christ. At communion 'heaven meets earth, / Just as they met at Jesu's birth'.⁹⁶ In the closing verse Appleford stressed the importance of taking the commitment made to God at the communion service out into the week-day world of work and secular living:

Father Almighty we go with thee
 To serve thee in all we do.
 All we have offered comes back from thee
 Made holy and strong and new.⁹⁷

Another hymn in that group of six texts told of Christ's ministry within the secular community. In 'Christ our King in glory reigning / All our strength from thee proceeds', set to SUNDERLAND by Geoffrey Beaumont, Appleford had written a text which linked worship with secular vocation:

Lord, to everyone supplying
 Different gifts for all to use:
 Give us strength on thee relying,
 All our selfishness to lose;
 May we each in our vocation
 With thy Spirit be instilled;
 By thy humble incarnation,
 Christ in us thy Church rebuild.

⁹⁵ *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes*, #1, v.1.

⁹⁶ #1, v. 2:5-6.

⁹⁷ #1, v. 4:1-4.

Lord, thou callest us to witness
 By our worship and our love;
 Lord, look not on our unfit-ness,
 Send thy Spirit from above;
 Jesu, humbly we adore thee,
 Make us thine as thou hast willed;
 By thy reign of endless glory,
 Christ in us thy Church rebuild.⁹⁸

Having written his first hymn texts in traditional language, using familiar hymn tunes, Patrick Appleford began to experiment by writing hymn texts in contemporary vernacular language: 'My next efforts endeavoured to grasp the nettle of 20th century language, and the first of these was the hymn that has since become my best known, LORD JESUS CHRIST, written in 1958 and published in *Thirty 20th Century Hymn* tunes in 1960.'⁹⁹ A hymn about the humanity of Christ (that he came to live as one of the people of God on earth), it was a paraphrase of 'Living Doll', a popular song composed by Cliff Richard:

Lord Jesus Christ,
 You have come to us,
 Born as one of us,
 Mary's Son.
 Led out to die on Calvary,
 Risen from death to set us free,
 Living Lord Jesus, help us see
 You are Lord.

Lord Jesus Christ,
 I would come to you,
 Live my life for you,
 Son of God.
 All your commands, I know are true,
 Your many gifts will make me new,
 Into my life your power breaks through,
 Living Lord.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Ibid., #5, vv. 3-4. Patrick Appleford's first hymn was written in 1954 for the Bishop of Stepney's East London Church Congress on the theme 'The Church Rebuilds'. It was originally set to HYFRYDOL. Appleford, 'A Potted Musical Biography', 1.

⁹⁹ Appleford, 1. It was reprinted in *Hymns & Songs* (1969); *100 Hymns for Today* (1969); *Praise for Today* (1974); *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977); *Hymns & Psalms*; and in the *New English Hymnal* (1986) - the only example of the Anglican experimental group's work accepted for the *New English Hymnal*. It is not found, however, in mainstream North American hymn books.

¹⁰⁰ *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes*, #4, vv. 3-4, for use 'at Mission Services'. See Wesley Milgate, *Songs of the People of God: A Companion to The Australian Hymn Book/With One Voice* (London:

Appleford is a liturgist interested in writing new worship materials.¹⁰¹ In 1961 he composed a *Mass of Five Melodies*, a unison setting of the traditional communion text, written for parish congregations in the style of Geoffrey Beaumont's *Folk Mass*, but without a cantor. It was sung widely until a range of alternative services written in contemporary English became available.¹⁰² Appleford revised this setting in 1985 to adapt it for use with Rite A texts in the *Alternative Service Book* (1980), and for use with communion rites written for the International Consultation on English Texts [ICET].¹⁰³

More 20th Century Hymn Tunes was published in 1962.¹⁰⁴ The heading across the top of the cover page advertised it as a collection of 'Hymns for Advent, Lent, Holy Week, Easter, Ascension, Whitsun, Transfiguration, Purification, Feasts of our Lady, Evening, Confirmation, Vocation, Holy Communion, Matrimony [and] Thanksgiving'. With the exception of the six new hymns by Patrick Appleford, the contents of the first book were organized in alphabetical order. Those in the second supplement were set out according to the church year, followed by feasts, sacraments and general hymns in the customary manner of *Hymns Ancient & Modern*. Eight new hymns were offered, in addition to twenty-two new hymn tunes for texts from the *English Hymnal* and *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised*. The new hymns included one each for Advent, Lent, Easter,

Collins Liturgical Publications; Sydney: Collins Liturgical Australia, 1982, revised 1985), #451 (p. 169); and *Companion to Hymns & Psalms*, ed. by Richard Watson and Kenneth Trickett (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1988), #617 (pp. 356-57).

¹⁰¹ Appleford began his work in this field as chaplain and lecturer in worship at Bishop's College Cheshunt between 1958 and 1960, which coincided with his first years as secretary and editor for the 20th Century Church Light Music Group. Appleford, 'A Potted Musical Biography', 2.

¹⁰² Ibid., 1. See also Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music* (1964), 167-68.

¹⁰³ The 1985 arrangement retained the unison congregational setting, but it also provided optional two-part harmony at certain points in the mass. The traditional texts in the 1961 mass included: 'Lord have mercy'; 'Creed'; 'Sanctus and Benedictus'; 'O Lamb of God'; 'The Lord's Prayer'; and 'Glory be to God on high'. The texts for the revised setting reflected the use of contemporary language in the new liturgies: 'Lord have mercy'; 'Gloria'; 'Holy and Blessed'; 'Acclamations'; 'Blessing and Honour'; 'Our Father'; and 'Lamb of God'. Appleford, 'A Potted Musical Biography', 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ *More 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (London: Josef Weinberger, 1962).

It was a collection of tunes composed for use in congregational worship, including some for church festivals. The character of these musical settings is indicated in the instruction given for users of the book: 'All should be sung with their natural rhythm, in the style of popular music, rather than "straight" as written.'¹⁰⁶

The opening Advent hymn, contributed by Nicholas Graham of the Community of the Resurrection, was in fact a three-fold hymn about the presence of Christ at Advent, at the Eucharist, and at the final Judgement. Patrick Appleford set it as a slow ballad:

At the next coming of the Lord
He came in bread and wine,
His flesh he gave, his blood outpoured,
True manna and true vine.
And still his promise holds — to come
Till sacraments shall cease,
In humble hearts to find a home,
And they in him their peace.¹⁰⁷

The hymns for Holy Week and Easter included new settings for essential hymns of the season in Anglican worship - Isaac Watts's 'When I survey the wondrous cross' to NAPIER, in an interpretation described as a 'slow rock' idiom by Michael Marshall; a syncopated alternative to PANGE LINGUA composed by Bazil (sic) Marsh for the sixth-century hymn 'Sing my tongue the glorious battle' by Venantius Fortunatus (translated by J. M. Neale); and two settings by Geoffrey Beaumont of nineteenth-

¹⁰⁵ The hymns were #1) 'At the first coming of the Lord' by Nicholas Graham, of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, set to ADVENT CAROL by Patrick Appleford; #2) 'The love of God is strong to give' by Patrick Appleford to PATTISWICK by Gerald Shaw; #6) 'Jesus Christ is risen' to COOPER, text and tune by Frederick Parsonage; #8) 'In Bethlehem a stable saw a new creation's dawn', text and unnamed tune by Geoffrey Brown; #12) 'You are my star', text by Nicholas Graham and unnamed tune by Geoffrey Beaumont (a Marian hymn); #17) 'Today we have made our [own] promise' by Geoffrey Brown to KEYS composed by Michael Marshall (for confirmation); #18) 'Jesus our Lord' to HENFIELD, text and tune by Patrick Appleford; and #19) 'Sons of the living God', text and unnamed tune by John Glandfield.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 'Composers' Note', 2.

¹⁰⁷ *More 20th Century Hymn Tunes*, #1, v. 2.

century texts, ALLELUIA for Robert Campbell's translation of a Latin breviary hymn, 'At the Lamb's high feast we sing', and a tune in 'Tempo di Bolero' for 'The Lord is risen indeed' by Thomas Kelly. The hymn for Whitsun was a new setting of Samuel J. Stone's 'The Church's one foundation' to GARSINGTON, written in 'Martial' time by Michael Marshall.¹⁰⁸

In 'Jesus our Lord', a hymn on vocation, Appleford made use of several biblical names for the Son of God - 'Jesus our Lord, our King, and our God', priest, suffering servant, prophet, and 'the Way, the Truth and the Life'. The third verse was a prayer, based upon the metaphor of Jesus as the Good Shepherd, which expressed concern for the welfare of others:

Jesus our Lord, and Shepherd of men,
Caring for human needs;
Feeding the hungry, healing the sick,
Showing your love in deeds;
Help us in your great work to share —
People in want still need your care,
Lord we are called to follow you,
This we ask strength to do.¹⁰⁹

Appleford moved freely between the language of 'thee/thou' and 'you' in his second person references to God and Christ. His writing coincided with the preparation and publication of the New Testament section of the New English Bible (1961) in which the use of 'thee/thou' was retained.

The settings for Holy Communion included well-known texts such as Reginald Heber's 'Bread of the world in mercy broken' to REDSTONES by Lancelot Hankey; F. S. Pierpoint's 'For the beauty of the earth' to RED BERRIES with Geoffrey Beaumont's syncopations; a contrasting meditative interpretation of Horatius Bonar's 'Here, O my Lord, I see thee face to face' by David Heneker; and a syncopated rendering, in

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., #3, #4, #5, #7 and #9.

¹⁰⁹ *More 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1962), #18. Appleford also composed HENFIELD, a tune in syncopated rhythm, for this hymn. This hymn may be found in *100 Hymns for Today* (1969), at #49 and in *Hymns Ancient & Modern New Standard* (1983) at #382.

ANSTON by Michael Brierley, of Bonar's 'I heard the voice of Jesus say'.¹¹⁰ Each piece in the collection was arranged with tonic solfege markings running above the stave and guitar chords placed below it. Although many of the texts were ingrained in congregational memories, the music in the first two collections by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group did not look or sound like tunes published in the *English Hymnal* and *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950). The Light Music Group's popular musical style provided a well-defined alternative to the hymn-singing culture of the Church of England.

Two tunes by Geoffrey Beaumont won the approval of the committee for the *Baptist Hymn Book* (1962). They chose GRACIAS, his setting of 'Now thank we all our God', as the first tune for Martin Rinkart's hymn; the second tune was NUN DANKET.¹¹¹ The committee also selected CHESTERTON as the alternative tune for 'Lord, Thy Word abideth' by Henry Williams Baker. Beaumont's tunes were among the two hundred by contemporary composers in that collection. In *The Baptist Hymn Book Companion* Eric Sharpe discussed Beaumont's attempts to make worship more accessible to people who did not attend church - above all, to young people - by using dance rhythms from contemporary popular music in his hymn tunes and *Folk Mass*. Sharpe was aware of Beaumont's goals, but he had misgivings about the means being employed to achieve those goals: 'It may be questioned how long this particular idiom will reflect "popular" usage, and therefore whether it can really be compared with "folk music"; but there is, nevertheless, in this tune a robust melodic line which makes it suitable for congregational unison singing, especially with young people.'¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ibid., at #20, #22, #23 and #24.

¹¹¹ GRACIAS is given as the third tune in the *Methodist Hymns & Psalms* (1983) at #566, after NUN DANKET and FALMER, a new tune by Ian Alfred Copley.

¹¹² *The Baptist Hymn Book Companion*, ed. by Hugh Martin (London: Psalms and Hymns Trust, first edition 1962), 62-63. The tunes had been published with a 1957 edition of Beaumont's *Twentieth Century Folk Mass*, and also in a separate leaflet entitled *Three Hymn Tunes from 20th Century Folk Mass* (1957). Watson and Trickett, #566 (p. 333).

The purpose of church light music

Appleford wrote an article on 'Music in Church' in which he defended the use of light music in contemporary worship. Interestingly, he was prepared to accept that new church music might be ephemeral: he suggested that the central question in contemporary hymn writing ought to be: 'Does it help with the task in hand?', rather than: 'Will it last?'.¹¹³ He commented on the growing gap between 'the sophisticated and the popular in 20th century music', and pointed to the even greater gap developing between popular music and church music. The task at hand, in his view, was 'to provide the People of God with music which can be a spontaneous expression of worship and love and thanksgiving.'¹¹⁴ Appleford acknowledged the usefulness of well-known church music where it suited a service, and then he added: 'sometimes something more in touch with the world of today is required, music which underlines God's concern with the whole of life as it is in the 20th century.'¹¹⁵ Noting the success of the Pentecostal movement, he suggested that, in order to involve whole congregations in singing the liturgies, the Anglican church needed to consider using lighter music with rhythms and melodies 'common to the greatest number of people'. He continued: 'Have we something to learn from their [the Pentecostals'] zest and enthusiasm in worship? It is a liberating tonic to worship with a congregation who have rid themselves of some of their Anglican inhibitions and have come together to *celebrate* the Eucharist.'¹¹⁶ LIVING LORD served as a model of hymn writing which 'celebrates' communion. The text reflected a change in liturgical perspective, from the traditional western church's focus upon Christ's suffering and death for the remission of human sin to an Eastern

¹¹³ Patrick Appleford, 'Music in Church', in *Modern Hymn Tunes: 69 Twentieth Century Hymns* (Miami: Charles Hansen Publications, Inc., 1966), 78-80 (p. 78). This essay appears to have been reprinted from a pamphlet prepared by the author on the use of music in parish worship and in a 'teaching ministry'.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 79.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. The italics are reproduced from the original text.

Orthodox view of the Eucharist as a celebration of Christ's resurrection and redemption of humanity.¹¹⁷

Appleford was addressing the needs of parish worship. In his view the cathedral model of professional choral music led by the organist did not encourage congregations - the 'local People of God' - to participate actively in the music of worship. In the parish church 'the music is a corporate concern, not merely the concern of the musicians'.¹¹⁸ As it falls to the parish priest to organize and oversee planning for congregational worship, including the contribution of musicians, that individual must encourage the congregation to take part with understanding. The priest must 'reconcile the demands of varying cultural groupings' and 'prevent the development of an esoteric cult by the infusion of what is new and relevant to the secular world here and now. Time and trouble need to be taken to provide appropriate hymns and music for the liturgy.'¹¹⁹ He advocated the use of piano, guitar, strings or brass instruments to supplement, not replace, the organ in leading congregational music. Appleford concluded:

No one wants this music to be exclusively Light Programme or exclusively traditional. Exclusiveness of this kind is a denial of Christian community. God gathers together not like-minded people, but the unlike - the whole variety of his creation; and churches which seek to be culturally exclusive render themselves spiritually the poorer.¹²⁰

In his view, if the Church of England was to remain part of the contemporary community, it needed to provide a form of worship which was relevant, including the use of popular music forms.

¹¹⁷ Fenwick and Spinks discuss this change in emphasis; see *Worship in Transition*, 97.

¹¹⁸ Appleford, 'Music in Church', 80.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

The Malvern Conference

In 1963 the Hymn Society began, warily, to investigate this new form of contemporary hymnody at the Malvern Conference. Arthur Holbrook described the topic as 'one that has seemed to be quite beyond the interests and service of The Hymn Society'.¹²¹ He reported that the lecturer, Father Robin Dix, had described himself as a reluctant convert to 'beat' music, one who had adopted it to reach out to those not connected with the church and for whom this kind of music was daily fare. Beginning in 1958, Dix had for several years been testing the new church music composed by Geoffrey Beaumont, Patrick Appleford and their colleagues, using it at his early family service with favourable results in terms of increasing attendance. Through his experience Dix had come to believe that 'there are devotionally minded people for whom this is a recognisable idiom through which they can understand the deep purposes of God and by which they can best express their faith'.¹²² Holbrook wrote: 'It was all quite exciting and, when the illustrations concluded the lecture, a number of very critical questions were asked and a good deal of discussion ensued. Expressions of favour, and of disfavour, made it more exciting still.'¹²³

The hundredth issue of the *Bulletin* published in the spring of 1964 reflected the change now well under way. Erik Routley was immersed in the Dunblane enterprise. The early family services in some churches were converting to the music of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group. In contrast, *Hymns for Church and School*, the new hymnal for public schools, offered the creative work of John Wilson and others in developing new shapes and sounds for traditional hymnody.

¹²¹ Holbrook, 'The Malvern Conference', 171.

¹²² Ibid., 172.

¹²³ Ibid.

Chapter 2 New Principles

Scholarship

In January 1965 Erik Routley declared *Hymns for Church and School* to be ‘an entirely new edition [of the *Public School Hymn Book*] made on entirely new principles, ... as pure a piece of hymnological scholarship as has been printed in this century’.¹ The new book was, in his view, comparable in its newness to *Songs of Syon* compiled by George Ratcliffe Woodward and Charles Wood in 1904 and to the *Oxford Hymn Book* of 1908 edited by Basil Harwood. *Hymns for Church and School* contained more tunes from the twentieth century than from any preceding century, a first among contemporary hymnals in this regard. The committee, led by John Wilson and Leonard Blake, had elected to maintain high musical and textual standards. Its members chose to search for the best possible original settings of the hymns to preserve the characteristic styles of each century of hymn writing.

In his review for the *Bulletin*, Cyril Taylor pointed to Albert Bayly’s ‘O Lord of every shining constellation’, a hymn text using metaphors from science and set to RERUM CREATOR composed by John Wilson, as an example of the new hymn writing to be found in *Hymns for Church and School*:²

O Lord of every shining constellation
that wheels in splendour through the midnight sky;
grant us thy Spirit’s true illumination
to read the secrets of thy work on high.

And thou who mad’st the atom’s hidden forces,
whose laws its mighty energies fulfil;
teach us, to whom thou giv’st such rich resources,
in all we use, to serve thy holy will.

¹ Erik Routley, ‘Editorial’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 102 (January 1965), 238.

² Cyril V. Taylor, ‘Hymns for Church and School: 2) A Review’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 102 (January 1965), 240.

O Life, awaking life in cell and tissue,
 from flower to bird, from beast to brain of man;
 O help us trace, from birth to final issue,
 the sure unfolding of thine ageless plan.

Thou who hast stamped thine image on thy creatures,
 and though they marred that image, lov'st them still;
 uplift our eyes to Christ, that in his features
 we may discern the beauty of thy will.

Great Lord of nature, shaping and renewing,
 who mad'st us more than nature's sons to be;
 help us to tread, with grace our souls enduring,
 the road to life and immortality.³

Bayly had written a text which mixed the old and the new: the fourth verse could have been written earlier in the twentieth century, and 'thee/thou/thine' are used throughout; but, in the second verse Bayly prayed for responsible use of atomic energy. At the end of the hymn his phrase 'Great Lord of nature' drew together the previous images of constellation, atom, energy, cell, tissue, flower, bird, beast, and brain, to return to the opening idea of God as Creator of our environment. It was written to sound like a traditional hymn. Bayly's ideas, however, looked forward to the hymnody which was about to develop.

Taylor noted that 'there is vastly more new music than new words in this book, as anyone would expect. At present the words are just not there to be had.'⁴ John Wilson contributed five tunes, two of which were composed for this hymn book - RERUM CREATOR and LALEHAM. Herbert Howells was commissioned to write TWIGWORTH, SANCTA CIVITAS, NEWNHAM, and SALISBURY, to add to his well-known MICHAEL. Leonard Blake composed six new tunes, and John Gardner

³ *Hymns for Church and School* (London: Novello and Company Ltd, 1964), #13. The hymn came from Bayly's first privately published collection, *Rejoice, O People: Hymns and Verse* (1950), #4. See also #19 in that volume, 'Lord of the boundless curves of space', which he wrote in response to a BBC 4 radio broadcast on 'Poetry and Science' made in January 1949 by J. Isaacson.

⁴ Taylor, 245. The situation which Erik Routley had lamented in 1953, when new hymn tunes were scarce, had been reversed by 1965. The lack of strong new hymn tunes is mentioned at Ch. 1, 15, above.

added three more. Others came from the pens of C. S. Lang, editor of the preceding edition of the *Public School Hymn Book*, and of William Harris, John Dykes Bower and Sydney Watson, all three active organists in important posts.⁵

Among the newer hymn texts chosen by the headmasters' hymnal committee were several by Canon G. W. Briggs, the hymnologist and educator who had drawn upon Percy Dearmer's *Songs of Praise* to compile numerous anthologies of hymns for use in British schools. *Hymns for Church and School* included seven hymns written by Briggs; two of these came from *Songs of Praise*. Erik Routley might, in his phrase 'new principles', have been thinking of several subjects addressed in these hymns: Christ's ministry on earth ('Son of the Lord most high'); Christ the Light of the world ('Christ is the world's true Light'); eschatology ('Now is eternal life'); the Bible ('Word of the living God'); the corporate nature of the Eucharist ('Come, risen Lord, and deign to be our guest'); the friend of sinners ('Jesus, whose all-redeeming love'); and science ('God who hast given us power to sound depths hitherto unknown').⁶

These subjects were taken from intensive scholarship in biblical translation and commentary dating from the publication of the Revised Version of the Bible in 1881 and 1885. That groundwork prepared the way for the new translations which culminated in the Revised Standard Version and the New English Bible. It also produced theologies

⁵ Leonard Blake's tunes were: ACKERGILL, MARKENHORN, GROVE HILL, BEACON, HEMPRIGGS, and GENNESARETH. John Gardner composed HILLSBOROUGH, ILFRACOMBE and WATERSMEET for the school hymn book. C. S. Lang added TRES MAGI and EUROCLYDON. William Harris, organist at St. George's Chapel, Windsor (1933-61) provided PETERSFIELD, NORTH PETHERTON, and STONERHILL; John Dykes Bower, organist at St. Paul's Cathedral (1936-67), composed HARESFIELD; and Sydney Watson, organist at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford (1955-70) wrote MEON, LEXHAM, and MORESTEAD.

⁶ 'Christ is the world's true Light' and 'Come, risen Lord, and deign to be our guest' were reprinted from *Songs of Praise*. Two hymns in this list were written in response to current issues - the publication of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible in 1952 and the development of new technology. Others reflected the ecumenical work of the Faith and Order Commission (formed after the world missionary conference held at Edinburgh in 1910 and also in response to a resolution passed by the 1910 conference of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States). See also John Macquarrie, *Jesus Christ in Modern Thought* (London: SCM Press, 1990) for a study of twentieth-century Christology - the theological source of such hymns as these.

about the person of Christ and his role in the world and about the nature and function of the Holy Spirit, the beginnings of a new eschatological theology, and a reassessment of Creation in the terms of scientific research. Biblical scholarship was responsible in large measure for liturgical renewal, especially the development of a corporate celebration of Holy Communion. Briggs wrote hymns to fill the gaps he could see opening up in the existing hymn literature. Even his 'Jesus, whose all-redeeming love', which might appear to be a throwback to an older style of traditional hymn writing, reflected the results of New Testament scholarship about the life and teaching of Jesus.⁷

Hymns for Church and School contained an extensive selection of hymns written to standards of literary and musical excellence established by Robert Bridges in the *Yattendon Hymnal*, by George Woodward and Basil Harwood, and by Percy Dearmer and Ralph Vaughan Williams. It had twelve new texts, including 'Creator of the earth and skies' by Donald Hughes, headmaster of Rydal School, and twenty-six new tunes. It did not, however, include a large number of new communion hymns representing the work of the liturgical movement within the Church of England, and there was a notable absence of 'beat' hymns. R. W. Powell, headmaster of Sherborne School, commented that the religious 'pop' tunes, such as the hymn tunes written by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, would have to stand the test of time before being considered for a public school hymnal.⁸ Fifteen years on Erik Routley would describe *Hymns for Church and School* as the last hymnal to meet the criteria which had prevailed in English hymnody from 1906 to 1964.⁹

⁷ Six of these hymns would be selected by the editors of *100 Hymns for Today: A Supplement to Hymns Ancient & Modern* [1950] (London: William Clowes and Sons Ltd, 1969) and *More Hymns for Today: A Second Supplement to Hymns Ancient & Modern* [1950] (London: Hymns Ancient & Modern Ltd, 1980) to represent new hymnody in the *Hymns Ancient & Modern* tradition. The exception was his 'Word of the living God'.

⁸ [R. W. Powell], 'Hymns for Church and School: 1) A Commendation', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 102 (January, 1965), 239.

⁹ Erik Routley, *English Hymns and Their Tunes: a survey*, (London: Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1981), 1-17 (p. 17); a booklet published for the first international conference on hymnody held

Ecumenical hymns from Asian churches

A contrasting 'new principle' in hymnody, in the form of a distinctive ecumenical hymnody, was introduced in the *East Asia Christian Conference Hymnal* published in 1963.¹⁰ This book reversed the traditional direction of missionary hymns, by introducing hymns from Asian Christian churches to western congregations. The new hymn book was designed for use at international Christian conferences hosted in Asian countries (including India and Australia). Almost half of the two hundred entries in the collection, edited by Daniel T. Niles, General Secretary of the East Asia Christian Conference, represented hymnody from its member churches. In addition to translations into English, the 'eastern' hymns also included some texts written in English by Australian authors. Many were on personal and biblical themes central to the evangelical worship practised by a large number of Christian churches in the eastern hemisphere. Niles contributed psalm paraphrases in English and English translations of Tamil and Indian hymns. He wrote new hymn texts for tunes from Thailand, Japan, Indonesia, Korea, Burma, China, Taiwan, Pakistan, the Philippines, New Zealand (a Maori hymn), and Malaysia. A number of his new texts were based upon the themes of the indigenous texts associated with those tunes. Although the remaining half of the contents included three Scottish paraphrases, ten American spiritual songs and ninety traditional western Christian hymns, new voices from the 'Third World' were making themselves heard and calling for action. Editorial committees would turn to this book as a source of ecumenical hymns for hymnal supplements and hymn books published over the next twenty-five years.

at Oxford. It was a revised edition of his introduction to *Hymns for Church and School*, entitled 'Hymns and Their Tunes: An Historical Survey' (pp. i-xxxv).

¹⁰ *E.A.C.C. Hymnal*, ed. by Daniel Thambyrajah Niles and John Milton Kelly, musical editor (Kyoto, Japan: Kawakita Printing Company, Ltd., 1963); reviewed by Erik Routley in *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 102 (January 1965), 255-256.

The future of hymnody

The Hymn Society celebrated its thirtieth anniversary at Charterhouse School in Godalming, Surrey, in July 1965. John Wilson, director of music at Charterhouse, and Leonard Blake, music director at Malvern College, led the annual Act of Praise service which featured their new *Hymns for Church and School*. Donald Hughes gave a paper on 'Hymns in School Worship', referring to worship at the public schools. In it he raised the sensitive issue of the future of hymnody. 'We have got somehow to solve the problem of writing new hymns,' he began.¹¹ 'The preoccupation with setting familiar words to popular tunes is, I believe, wrongly conceived.' The brief interlude of hymn tune composition in the 'pop' style, which had begun in the 1950s with works such as Geoffrey Beaumont's *Folk Mass*, was coming to an end.

Hughes was aware of the pitfalls which loomed before the writer of new hymns in the mid-1960s:

I have already mentioned one grave obstacle in the way of writing new hymns - that the contemporary idiom in serious verse is unfriendly to the regular metre and rhymes which we generally find needful in hymns. I find another and even greater obstacle in the fashionable current idiom of theology. It is one thing to sing about the panoply of God; it is another and a very different thing to make a joyful noise about the armoury of Woolwich Arsenal. If God, as we have just been told, is intellectually superfluous, how can we sing

Thou art the Truth, Thy word alone
True wisdom can impart?

If He is emotionally dispensable, it is no good crying to Him for those in peril on the sea; if He is morally intolerable, we shall find no comfort in the Rock of Ages, cleft for us, and when the darkness deepens, He will not be there to abide with us in the shadows. Would you join with much enthusiasm in a hymn which began

Eternal God of everything,
To whom we tentatively sing,
O image that has got to go,
Since Dr. Bultmann tells us so?

¹¹ Donald Hughes, 'Hymns in School Worship', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 104 (September 1965), 25-36 (p. 34).

Hymn singing cannot really be indulged in unless faith is stronger than doubt: if the old simplicities are believed to have lost their validity: if in an age which is more scientific than poetic we no longer understand, as our fathers understood, that mystery can be conveyed only in metaphor, then hymn-singing is bound to flag. ... but when the new Watts and Wesley appear - as they must and will if we are to be faithful to the contemporary guidance of the Spirit - they will write in some other terms than the woolly and worldly scepticism which does duty today as the accent of faith.¹²

For Hughes, weak theology, such as the 'death of God' debate which had come across the Atlantic from the United States, had raised barriers to good hymn writing. His comments reflected the confusion caused by the publication of John Robinson's *Honest to God*, and also by public doubt raised by free-wheeling critical (but not always self-critical) discussions in theological seminaries about the nature of God and, ultimately, the need for God, which were capturing headlines in the press. Ideas about demythologization (Rudolf Bultmann) and theology of the Word (Karl Barth) required greater distillation before lay people could engage in debate over these concepts. In contrast, Paul Tillich and Jürgen Moltmann were introducing new dimensions in theology - acknowledging God as Ultimate Being and restoring the concept of hope - which would prove to be more congenial to hymn writing than the 'death of God' speculations.¹³

The free structure of contemporary poetry, with its absence of rhyme, tended to separate the work of some secular poets from that of hymn writers. Fred Pratt Green would become an exception to the secular/sacred divide; he had published poetry in journals and anthologies, such as *Outposts* and *Poetry Review*, while he was working full-time in the Methodist ministry and before he embarked on his hymn-writing career.

¹² Ibid., 35.

¹³ See John Macquarrie, *Twentieth Century Religious Thought* (London: SCM Press, 4th edition, 1988; Paul Tillich (pp. 368-72); and Jürgen Moltmann (pp. 394-96). This edition contained a new section, entitled 'The Fourth Phase', where Macquarrie discussed new theologies which had developed between 1960 and the mid-1980s.

In practice, the freer style of contemporary poetry generally suited religious songs better than it did the formal structure of hymn texts.

Confusion over contemporary theologies was a thornier issue. Concepts such as ‘demythologization’ and ‘religionless Christianity’, debated by theologians, were difficult for others to grasp. How could lay people cope with such theological tangles, much less incorporate them into congregational hymnody? If, indeed, God could continue to create humanity, but was no longer needed to sustain, comfort or lead the ‘people of God’, how could such a Creator be worshipped? Although the anchors of those undefined ‘old simplicities’ might be longed for, their time of service seemed to have passed. No clear alternatives had emerged to replace the old certainties in hymnody.

Sydney Carter’s songs were attracting the attention of youth under twenty-five. The hymns of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were also being tested among this age group. Older folk and children had less to choose from. By 1965, however, the influence of the new translations of the Bible, and that of the conversion of the Roman Catholic church to vernacular worship, had begun to create a demand for scripture-based hymnody. Biblical metaphors would become acceptable in hymns written in contemporary language. The parables and stories of the life of Jesus needed to be taught to the young people of the ‘baby boom’. The time seemed to be ripe for Hughes to be justified in his hope that under ‘the contemporary guidance of the Spirit’ new hymn writers would appear.

The future of hymnody was being worked out on several fronts. Routley had become deeply involved in the Scottish Churches’ Music Consultation at Dunblane, debating the function of church music in worship and searching for new ways forward in the development of hymn writing.¹⁴ During the summer of 1962, before the opening

¹⁴ The initial work of the Scottish Churches’ Music Consultation at Dunblane will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

session at Dunblane, he had lectured on contemporary church music at Union Theological Seminary in New York and at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois. The lecture series led to the publication of Routley's *Twentieth Century Church Music*. Writing on 16 May 1963, he began the preface to this book by saying: 'In church music there has been no age so full of surprises, and so full of creative promise, as our own.'¹⁵ It was a time when church music was once again attracting serious attention from professional composers and church musicians, as part of 'a process of radical experiment, of deep and ruthless questioning, and of the sacrificial exploration of its relation to life'.¹⁶ Routley mused that had he written the book even a decade earlier its subject would have been 'much less interesting'. He suggested that a possible solution to the problem of writing new hymnody might lie in new hymn tunes, such as those composed by John Wilson and his colleagues for *Hymns for Church and School*, which were 'freeing hymnody from the ponderous conventionality by which it had been bound in the previous generation'.¹⁷ Despite the success of the new public school hymn book, it was evident to those who were participating in the process of writing hymns that more work needed to be done to shape new and acceptable verse forms and worship structures for church hymnody.

At the Charterhouse conference Gerald Knight started a discussion about modern hymnody by reading a letter written by the Bishop of Woolwich to the proprietors of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* 'just about the time That Book was written', referring to *Honest to God* published by SCM Press in 1963. The executive of the Hymn Society had been advised against publishing the letter in the *Bulletin* for legal reasons:

¹⁵ Erik Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1964, 1966; repr. Carol Stream, IL: Agape, 1984), 7.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Erik Routley, 'Hymns and Their Tunes: An Historical Survey', in *Hymns for Church and School*, i-xxxv (pp. xxxii-xxxiii).

But it said all the Woolwich-like things about the words of our popular hymns, making such points as that their teaching about Baptism and the Lord's Supper was woefully defective, that they were positively misleading about heaven and 'the kingdom', and that they took no account of the situation of the modern seeker after truth.¹⁸

Robinson urged the proprietors of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* to address the need for new hymns. The letter sparked a lively discussion in an open forum at the conference. Both Knight and Routley, who co-chaired the session, saw merit in Bishop Robinson's criticisms. Routley used the occasion to report on developmental work being done by the church music consultation at Dunblane.

Robinson's letter, and the debate it fostered, contributed toward the emergence of a different kind of new principle in hymnody - the publication of hymnal supplements. The proprietors of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* invited Robinson to join a committee to develop new hymn resources.¹⁹ The committee eventually published its response to the bishop's letter in the form of *100 Hymns for Today*, the first supplement to *Hymns Ancient & Modern*.²⁰

Redesigning the hymn book

A new hymn book for the evangelical Anglican community in England was published in June 1965. Printed in sans-serif type, the *Anglican Hymn Book* looked quite different from *Hymns for Church and School*. It replaced *The Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer* (third edition, 1890) and the *Church Hymnal for the*

¹⁸ [Erik Routley], 'The Hymn Society in Its Thirtieth Year', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 104 (September 1965), 21-25 (p. 22).

¹⁹ 'Minutes of a Meeting of the Proprietors of Hymns Ancient & Modern at Church House, Westminster, 3 March 1964', from the archive of the Canterbury Press at Norwich, courtesy of Gordon A. Knights, copy enclosed with a letter to the author dated 13 August 1997. See also Cyril Taylor's comment noted by Wilfrid Little in his 'Report of the Conference, July 21st to 23rd, 1969' in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 117 (Autumn 1969), 61-63 (p. 62): 'that *100 Hymns for Today* had its origin in the letter written by Dr. John Robinson, Bishop of Woolwich, to Dr. Lowther Clarke in 1963, in which he pointed out that hymn writing was falling far behind the requirement to express the theological revolutions and the new understandings of the Church marking the 20th century'.

²⁰ *100 Hymns for Today: A Supplement to Hymns Ancient & Modern* [1950] (London: William Clowes and Sons Ltd, 1969).

Christian Year (1920). The editors noted in the preface that the goal of the book was to be 'faithful in doctrine to Scripture and the Book of Common Prayer'.²¹ They offered a range of hymns from translations of the early hymns of the Christian church to the most recent hymns available. About twenty new texts were included. As in the case of *Hymns for Church and School*, more new tunes were composed than texts. New works were commissioned from Derek Kidner, William Harris, J. E. Seddon, Robin Sheldon, George Thalben-Ball, David Willcocks, Sydney Watson (Winchester, Eton), William Llewellyn (Charterhouse) and K. G. Finlay. In his *Music of Christian Hymns*, Erik Routley recalled that the major contribution of the *Anglican Hymn Book* was 'to offer a far more cultivated standard of music to "low-church" congregations, much influenced by the fact that some useful school-musicians on the committee fed into it some of the best of the school music'.²²

In John Wilson's opinion, school worship was the most active forum for the development of new hymnody in the 1960s. Pupils were constantly trying out new texts and tunes in school assemblies, and at chapel in the public schools. Based on his personal experience working with school groups, Wilson advocated regular congregational practices to enhance congregational worship. In October 1966 he told members of the Methodist Church Music Society: 'Not only does it give the congregation a stronger sense of unity, it also permits running-repairs to the singing and frequent additions to the repertoire.'²³ Congregations needed to work harder at learning new hymns. 'To be tackling something new is a normal thing in school worship, and I suspect that nowadays it is really the schools, and not the churches, that are the chief

²¹ 'Preface', *Anglican Hymn Book* (London: Church Book Room Press Limited, 1965).

²² Erik Routley, *The Music of Christian Hymns* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1981), 162.

²³ John Wilson, 'Who Cares About Hymns?', 15; an address to the Methodist Church Music Society, 29 October 1966, in Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 1, John Wilson Hymn Papers, Box 1B: Lectures and Broadcasts, pre- 1970.

nurseries where new hymns are fostered and fledged.²⁴ He thought that churches ought to regain the initiative for encouraging new hymn writing, but that they would require two essential ingredients - leadership by the clergy and congregations who were willing to learn new hymns.

The 'hymn explosion' began with Timothy Dudley-Smith's 'Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord', his paraphrase written in 1961 of the translation of Mary's 'Magnificat' in Luke 1: 46-55 from the New English Bible, published for the first time in the *Anglican Hymn Book*:

Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord:
unnumbered blessings, give my spirit voice;
Tender to me the promise of his word;
in God my Saviour shall my heart rejoice.

Tell out, my soul, the greatness of his name:
make known his might, the deeds his arm has done;
His mercy sure, from age to age the same;
his holy name, the Lord, the Mighty One.²⁵

Here was a new voice drawing upon the most recent biblical scholarship to write a hymn in the revised language of contemporary worship. The text was set to TIDINGS, a tune composed for the hymn book by William Llewellyn. The more traditional WOODLANDS was suggested as an alternative tune.

The editorial committee for the *Anglican Hymn Book* developed two useful tools for worship planning which previous hymnal committees had tested. The *BBC Hymn Book* (1951) and the *Baptist Hymn Book* (1962) each included a brief index of scripture references associated with specific hymns. *Hymns of Faith*, published by the Scripture Union in 1964, featured a melody index in which the opening bars of each tune were

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ *100 Hymns for Today*, #89, vv. 1 and 2. The editors of *100 Hymns for Today* chose WOODLANDS for Timothy Dudley-Smith's hymn, the setting by which this hymn has become best known. *Anglican Hymn Book* (1965), #439.

listed by metre. The committee expanded each of these into a substantial reference index.

Bernard Massey thought the long-heralded book was not completely successful, but ‘the attempt has been a brave one and there is much of interest in the book.’²⁶ He identified ‘Lord Thy word hath taught’ by T. C. Hunter Clare, set to WESTRON WYNDE, a new tune by William Llewellyn, as an example of the new texts and tunes being written. He liked the new descants and arrangements of familiar tunes by contributors such as David Willcocks, who composed CONQUERING LOVE as a setting for the Ascension hymn ‘Let all the multitudes of light’. Some gospel hymns of the Sankey type were to be found in the hymnal, ‘but the ephemera of twentieth-century “pop” are sternly excluded’.²⁷ The time had not yet come for the informal religious songs of the 1960s to enter a hymn book intended for general use.

The editorial team was criticized for altering hymn texts to bring the language up to date, and for omitting older favourite hymns such as ‘Lead, kindly light’ and ‘Nearer, my God, to thee’. The absence of hymns by Albert Bayly and Timothy Rees, for example, was also noted. In his 1980 survey of contemporary hymn books, Robin Leaver described the hymns of Timothy Dudley-Smith and T. C. Hunter Clare and the work of composers David Grundy, Kenneth Finlay, William Llewellyn, Robin Sheldon and Derek Kidner as markers of the new style of hymnody, observing that some of the settings were more choral than congregational.²⁸ He concluded that from the perspective of 1980 the new material in the *Anglican Hymn Book* seemed small; however, at the time of its publication in 1965 the introduction of approximately forty new tunes and twenty original texts, and many alternative musical settings, was ‘certainly a creditable

²⁶ Bernard Massey, ‘The Anglican Hymn Book’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 105 (December 1965), 41-50 (p. 44).

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Robin A. Leaver, ‘A Hymn Book Survey 1962-80’ (Bramcote, Nottinghamshire: Grove Worship Series No. 71, January, 1980), 7-8.

achievement' preceding as it did the rapid expansion of hymnody about to unfold in the coming decade.

'Wanted! New Hymn Writers'

The principal of Northern Congregational College in Manchester, Hubert Cunliffe-Jones, issued an urgent call for new hymn writers in an article published in the *Congregational Monthly*, which Erik Routley reprinted in the December issue of the *Bulletin*.²⁹ The new call echoed Routley's similar campaign launched at the Jordans conference in 1945.³⁰ Cunliffe-Jones argued that the range of hymn texts available in *Congregational Praise* (1951) was no longer adequate for worship in the mid-1960s, a view Routley evidently shared. Before a revised hymn book could be contemplated, however, new hymns had to be written. Cunliffe-Jones strongly recommended that hymn writing be made a priority over the next decade. He wrote: 'One of our real needs is for new hymns to sing the impact of Christ on the world around us. ... We need, of course, an ecumenical hymn book shared in common by all Christians,' he continued. 'If this can be achieved so much the better.'³¹

Cunliffe-Jones identified numerous fields in which hymn writers ought to be encouraged to work: hymns on providence and creation; on Christ's life and ministry; on Christ's power in the world; on eschatology, and on the assurance that God 'will finally overcome wickedness and evil'. He called for strong hymns on the Holy Spirit, the Trinity and the scriptures. Hymns were needed on the unity of the Christian church, on the presence of God in the church, on the 'task and calling of the local church' and on 'membership and responsibility in the Church of Christ'. Existing baptismal hymns were

²⁹ H. Cunliffe-Jones, 'Wanted! New Hymn-Writers', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 105, (December 1965), 56-58.

³⁰ Erik Routley, 'Some Modern Needs in Hymnody', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 32 (July 1945), 4-6 (pp. 4-5).

³¹ H. Cunliffe-Jones, 56.

weak. New hymns were urgently required for home missions as well as overseas missions. Social and national hymns needed immediate attention: 'Here both God's demand upon all men and blessing given to them in the sphere of secular life needs to be sung, and also the meaning of Christian discipleship in this field in the midst of all the complexity of this fast-moving time. We are not singing the impact of the Christian faith on our time.'³²

He questioned the provision of hymns for the ordination and dedication of ministers only. 'Has God no other servants we need to sing about?', he asked, referring to lay members.³³ Could the existing hymns about hospitals and charities be improved upon? The ordinances of marriage and burial required new hymns. He concluded the long list of subjects with a call for more hymns of intercession, as surely the need for hymns on this topic was growing in the world around him. In fact, Cunliffe-Jones was seeking as thorough a revision of congregational hymnody as Routley had done twenty years earlier.³⁴

A decade seemed a reasonable length of time to seek and test new hymns. Cunliffe-Jones anticipated the necessity to cull the 'dross' which was bound to accumulate in the process of encouraging the development of new hymns: 'But it is high time that we recognized our urgent need, and set ourselves in the way of asking God to meet it.'³⁵ Within that decade the roster of hymn writers expanded at an exceptional

³² Ibid., 57.

³³ Ibid., 58.

³⁴ Three years later John Macquarrie called for a new system of theology, which he mapped out in 'God's Presence and Manifestation', the ninth chapter in *God and Secularity* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1968), his contribution to a series entitled *New Directions in Theology Today* edited by William Hordern. Some of the themes identified by H. Cunliffe-Jones were addressed by Macquarrie in this book. See his analysis of the influence of Paul Tillich, Rudolf Bultmann and Dietrich Bonhoeffer in the fourth chapter, 'God in the World', and his sixth chapter on 'God and Contemporary Thought'. In the latter he wrote: 'If the gospel is to be heard in the modern world, where secularization has been carried far beyond what Thomas Aquinas knew, then again there will have to be taken the intellectual risk of thinking in the thought forms of this world though once more the taking of the risk must be coupled with an obedience to the gospel.' (p. 90)

³⁵ Cunliffe-Jones, 58. His article was reprinted in *The Hymn*, 17:2 (April 1966), 45-47.

rate. By 1975 it included Fred Pratt Green, Fred Kaan, Brian Wren, James Quinn, Timothy Dudley-Smith, Alan Gaunt, Rosamond Herklots, Emily Chisholm, John Geyer, Ian Fraser, Tom Colvin, Sydney Carter, J. R. Peacey, Michael Baughen, Christopher Idle, Brian Foley, Caryl Micklem, and many more.

Changing attitudes

Six months later at the annual conference held in July 1966 at Westminster College, Cambridge, the issue of modern hymnody could not be ignored. John Geyer delivered 'a rousing and most entertaining paper on contemporary needs in hymnody'.³⁶ The speaker was a versatile hymn writer, who had written hymns in traditional, jazz and 'pop' styles. A member of the Dunblane Working Group in 1964-65, his previous pastoral experience had included two Scottish extremes - a chaplaincy at the University of St. Andrews, and an appointment to a Congregational church at Drumchapel in an impoverished district of Glasgow.³⁷ In St. Andrews he worked with students, and in Drumchapel with teenagers and with those who had little knowledge of traditional church hymnody. Routley commented that the session on new hymnody was 'a great deal more fruitful in good comment than discussions on such occasions normally are'.³⁸

In his article on 'Beginnings at Dunblane', Ian Fraser has noted that Erik Routley was aware of the potentially divisive effects of new hymns and liturgies upon congregations. In preparation for a workshop held by the Dunblane Working Group in

³⁶ [Erik Routley], 'Cambridge Conference, 1966', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 107 (September 1966), 77-78 (p. 78). At the time Geyer was a tutor in Old Testament at Cheshunt College, Cambridge.

³⁷ Ian M. Fraser, 'Beginnings at Dunblane', in *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered*, ed. by Robin A. Leaver, James H. Litton and Carlton R. Young (Norwich: Canterbury Press Norwich; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1985), 171-90 (p. 177); and Marilyn Kay Stulken, *Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), #189 (pp. 274-75). In 1967 John Geyer wrote a baptismal hymn, based on Romans 6:9, in response to the experiments on human cells to produce an embryo which were taking place in laboratories near Cheshunt College. The hymn, 'We know that Christ is raised and dies no more', was first published in *Hymns and Songs* (1969), #72. See also the *Lutheran Book of Worship*, #189. The hymn, later revised, has become associated with Easter. See also Ch. 6, 237.

³⁸ Erik Routley, 'Cambridge Conference', 78.

1965, Routley sent a notice to members of the group to initiate thinking for a session entitled 'Forty-eight Hours of Composition and Consultation on Music and Words to catch the ear of our time'. The group was asked to consider the respect, or lack of it, accorded to existing liturgical traditions. They were also assigned a number of specific discussion topics relating to worship - including the presentation of doctrine, use of antiphony, desire for spontaneity in public worship, attitudes towards drama in worship, and various means of addressing the nature of sin. Routley summarized the goals for this workshop, and he warned its participants of the danger of fragmenting congregations through the use of experimental liturgies. As so often, Routley was thinking ahead of his time. He wrote:

The Consultation will do something very useful if it can, through corporate thinking and discussion, help artists to see just how far they ought, in writing words or music for the Church, to regard existing liturgical customs as a framework within which they must operate, and how far they are permitted to present material whose use would involve considerable (if temporary) change in liturgical habits.

There is one very great danger, a sense of which has prompted these notes: namely, that Sunday Morning and Sunday Evening become divorced from each other and lead to an aesthetic and social schism in the local community. How much may the informed and responsible bearers of the church's tradition insist on? How much is dispensable? How much requires translation?³⁹

Reading these instructions thirty-five years later, his phrase 'considerable (if temporary) change in liturgical habits' is noteworthy. On the other hand, perhaps by the late 1990s that schism between the proponents of church light music and those for whom the language of worship is expressed in traditional forms of hymnody is now being bridged in places where efforts to integrate old and new forms of church music are carefully planned.⁴⁰

³⁹ Erik Routley, from a flyer quoted by Ian Fraser in 'Beginnings at Dunblane', 179.

⁴⁰ By 1999, the Sunday morning services on Radio 4 reflected these changing worship patterns. Strict separation of 'contemporary worship' services (led by music groups) from traditional parish worship (led by a minister, vicar or priest supported by the organist and choir) no longer prevailed. Instead the radio congregation would hear a service in which both styles were integrated by theme and scripture readings. See also *Renew! Songs and Hymns for Blended Worship* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company,

The Scottish Churches' Council established its ecumenical conference centre at Dunblane in 1960, the year that the General Conference of the Methodist Church in the United States authorized the formation of a hymnal committee to prepare a new book to succeed the one published in 1935. The chairman of the tunes committee, Austin C. Lovelace, drew upon his experience with the committee to write a small book on *The Anatomy of Hymnody* (1965). It was a manual offering a straightforward analysis of the elements of hymn writing for use by future hymn writers. Whereas Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley had both received an extensive education in Greek and Latin language and literature, with formal training in metre and poetry, modern hymn writers required a reference book to inform them of the structure of hymn texts. Lovelace wrote:

The modern horizon of hymnody reveals only an occasional molchill, for the past fifty years has not been notable for its contributions to the field of hymnody. It has been said that the chief contribution of the church in latter days has been the mimeograph machine. Perhaps it is true that our concern has been mass media, lifting up emphases and projects, and in general being activists rather than artists.

Yet there are encouraging signs in church architecture which reveal a careful restudy of the relationship of art to theology, of form to meaning, which may indicate that a new day is at hand in the church's understanding and use of art forms. If a revival of hymnody is to occur, there must be a new study and understanding of the relations of the forms of poetry to the subject matter of hymnody. And it is toward a better understanding on the part of clergy, musicians, and congregations that this small book is directed.⁴¹

At the conclusion of his monograph Lovelace reiterated Erik Routley's concerns about the potential divisiveness of hymn renewal. Lovelace also described what, in his opinion, was the essential purpose of hymnody:

1995), a collection of hymns and songs drawn from liturgical worship and from contemporary informal worship for use in congregational services. The editors organized the contents of this collection to fit 'the biblical and historical fourfold pattern of worship: gathering, hearing God's word, offering thanksgiving (at the table or in prayer and song), and the dismissal.' (Foreword)

⁴¹ Austin C. Lovelace, *The Anatomy of Hymnody* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965; repr. Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1982), 6.

The spirit of hymnody is found in movement - in the development of Christian concepts. Its purpose is not the creation of an aura or mood of vague 'spiritual emotion' or the Sunday-nightish feeling which Erik Routley calls most dangerous; but rather development of thought along scriptural and theological lines using those poetic devices which will speed the processes and make vivid the imagery. Poetry thus is the handmaid of Piety and not a god to be adored or worshiped.⁴²

'Some books are written before their time,' Lovelace commented nearly twenty years later. When Abingdon Press first published his manual in 1965, 'there was little interest in new hymns', and the book was discontinued. 'Since then there has been a literal explosion of new hymns and hymnals,' Lovelace wrote in his preface note dated September 1982; 'and it is the author's hope that this book will be of value to new hymn writers, poets, hymnal editors, hymn lovers, and composers.' In that year, G.I.A. Publications, publisher of several American Roman Catholic hymnals, decided to reissue the book during the Hymn Society of America's celebration of its sixtieth anniversary.

Promoting new hymnody

The prospects for new hymnody proved to be less bleak than Austin Lovelace, and Abingdon Press, had thought in 1965. In 'A Glimpse at Hymnody Today' printed in *The Hymn* in January 1966, Deane Edwards, president of the Hymn Society of America, wrote with enthusiasm: 'we are now, and have been for some time, in a vigorous hymnic revival.'⁴³ Edwards noted that the number of new hymn texts had been growing steadily. The new writing had begun with the publication of a number of denominational hymn books, in particular the Episcopalian *Hymnal 1940* (1943).

He thought the Hymn Society could claim credit for much of the work done since the early 1950s through its series of hymn-writing competitions which had produced a substantial set of new texts published by the society. Between 1952 and 1965, the

⁴² Ibid., 103-04. 'Worshiped' is an American spelling.

⁴³ Deane Edwards, 'A Glimpse at Hymnody Today', *The Hymn* 17:1 (January 1966), 12-15.

society produced twenty collections of varying sizes - from a single hymn, for example, 'Hope of the World' written in 1954 by Georgia Harkness for the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, Illinois, to *My God Is There, Controlling* (1965), an anthology of hymns by William Watkins Reid. The series included:

Ten New Hymns on the Bible (1952)
Eleven Ecumenical Hymns (1954)
Five New Hymns on the City (1954)
Fourteen New Rural Hymns (1955)
Five New Hymns for Youth (1955)
Twelve New World Order Hymns (1958)
Fifteen New Christian Education Hymns (1959)
Seven New Social Welfare Hymns (1961)
Ten New Stewardship Hymns (1961)
Thirteen New Marriage and Family Life Hymns (1961)
Hymns of the Twentieth Century (1963)
Twelve New Hymns for Children (1965)⁴⁴

The titles suggest that hymn writers were trying to fill the gaps identified by Louis Daniels at the Oberlin meeting of the American society in 1940, by the editors of *The Hymnal 1940*, by Erik Routley at the first post-war conference of the British society in June 1945, and by H. Cunliffe-Jones in the Winter 1965 issue of the *Bulletin*.⁴⁵ It remained to be seen whether or not they would succeed. In contrast to the British experience, hymn tune composition appeared to be at a low ebb among American churches during the 1960s. Edwards informed the National Music Council that the Hymn Society had begun to intensify its efforts to encourage musicians to compose new tunes for use in congregational worship.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ *Holding in Trust: Hymns of the Hymn Society in the United States and Canada* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1992); see 'Hymn Society Collections (1952-1982)', 176. This series requires a separate study to ascertain how 'new' these hymns actually were. Lovelace's experience on the committee for the *Methodist Hymnal* (1966) convinced him that there was relatively little new content in much of the hymnody available for that hymn book.

⁴⁵ See Ch. 1, 11 and 16-17, and Ch. 2, 56-58 above.

⁴⁶ Edwards, 15. In his address to the 1953 conference at Stratford on Avon, Erik Routley had described the new texts being written and had made a similar complaint about the state of British hymn-tune composition in the early 1950s. See Ch. 1, 13-15.

The Hymn Society of America had published 144 hymn texts during the forty-three years since its founding in 1922. Most of these had been written over the previous twenty years. Within a decade it would become apparent that these texts marked the transition to a much larger expansion of hymn writing. Edwards was somewhat premature in his claim to be living in the midst of 'a vigorous hymnic revival'.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it is clear that he sensed a growing interest in hymnody. In his address to the National Music Council he also drew attention to the publication of several hymnal handbooks associated with the new denominational hymnals; and he spoke about Leonard Ellinwood's work on the Dictionary of American Hymnology project. Hymnological scholarship was advancing in step with new hymnal publications.⁴⁸

Congregational hymnody had developed more gradually in the United States than it did in Great Britain after the First World War. Denominations replaced their hymn books at regular intervals between 1930 and 1960, allowing new material to become integrated into worship in smaller increments. Clarence Dickenson and Calvin W. Laufer edited *The Hymnal* (1933) for the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, a collection which reflected their expertise in the field of church music.⁴⁹ The book was primarily an English and European hymnal, but it contained nine texts by Louis F.

⁴⁷ On 2 December 1972, John Wilson told a group of church musicians at the annual general meeting of the Royal School of Church Music that within the past eight years sixty to seventy new hymns had been written which he would have included in *Hymns for Church and School* were he editing it in 1972. They were the products of the new translations of the Bible, of Vatican II and of the new liturgies for communion: 'And gradually - through all these developments - there has been growing up a substantial corpus of new and worthwhile (and not ephemeral) hymns and songs for worship - partly, like the new Bible translations, restating the old truths in a new way - and partly widening the scope of Congregational Song in its relation to the modern world.' 'New Hymns & Tunes from New Hymn Books', 2, in the Pratt Green MSS 1, John Wilson Hymn Papers, Box 3B: Hymns and Broadcasts, 1972-78.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁴⁹ *The Hymnal*, published by the authority of The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1933). Clarence Dickenson and his wife Helen A. Dickenson, both church music historians, founded the School of Sacred Music at Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1929. See Talmage W. Dean, *A Survey of Twentieth Century Protestant Church Music in America* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1988), 174-75. Calvin Weiss Laufer had previously edited hymnals for young people and had written extensively on hymnody. See LindaJo H. McKim, *The Presbyterian Hymnal Companion* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), #392, (pp. 274-75).

Benson, hymnologist and editor of the 1911 hymn book, and one by Emily S. Perkins, a founder of the Hymn Society of America, as well as a scattering of tunes by Laufer and by others, including Healey Willan and Charles Winfred Douglas. The largest number of copyrights in the 1933 hymn book represented hymns and service music from two British publishers - Novello and Oxford University Press. The book adhered to *The English Hymnal*'s policy of high literary and musical standards. Talmage Dean noted one indicator of change in that, of twenty-four single tune entries by Americans, eighteen compositions were accepted from musicians active in the twentieth century.⁵⁰

'Changing Trends in Today's Hymnody'

The January 1966 issue of *The Hymn* contained an second article about new hymnody, one by Harry Eskew on 'Changing Trends in Today's Hymnody' in which he listed hymnals published by the larger American Protestant churches since 1940:

The Hymnal (Evangelical and Reformed, 1941)
The Hymnal 1940 (Episcopal, 1943)
The Hymnbook (Presbyterian and Reformed, 1955)
Baptist Hymnal (Southern Baptist, 1956)
Service Book and Hymnal (Lutheran, 1958)
Pilgrim Hymnal (Congregational, 1958)
Christian Worship (American Baptist and Disciples, 1961)⁵¹

Eskew noted that the hymnals 'clearly indicate a trend toward unity in the hymnody of these older church bodies'. There were two reasons for this trend: some churches were choosing to co-publish joint hymnals, and, secondly, that most of the newer hymnals

⁵⁰ Dean, 105.

⁵¹ Harry Lee Eskew, 'Changing Trends in Today's Hymnody', *The Hymn* 17:1 (January, 1966), 21-26 (p. 23). Deane Edwards also referred to the number of recent American hymnals, including *The Brethren Hymnal* (Church of the Brethren); *Hymns for the Celebration of Life* by the Unitarians and Universalists; the Jewish *Union Hymnal*; and several Roman Catholic publications. In addition to these congregational hymnals he noted that 'many hymn books are coming from denominational presses which are providing books for various groups such as youth hymnals, children's hymnals, hymnals for students and others. The independent publishing houses are also busy with hymnals. So we might go on. There is no end of hymnals today!' See 'A Glimpse at Hymnody Today', 13.

shared a large common core of hymnody.⁵² *The Hymnbook* (1955), for example, was produced by five American denominations in the Reformed tradition - The Presbyterian Church (U.S.), The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), The Reformed Church in America, The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, and The United Presbyterian Church.⁵³ In his article Eskew went on to discuss the new directions developing in hymnody since Vatican II. But, before turning to his observations on those points, it is worth looking at *The Hymnal 1940* which proved to be the benchmark American hymnal of the first half of the twentieth century. Although it was published long before the beginning of the period under discussion in this thesis, its influence cannot be ignored.

The contents of the hymn book demonstrated how the decisions taken by Percy Dearmer and Ralph Vaughan Williams for their British hymnals and book of carols shaped American Episcopalian hymnody.⁵⁴ The committee also identified a number of contemporary topics it wished to address in this book, and it began to look for more American material. Its dual purpose - to provide the best of traditional hymnody and to introduce new hymns to meet the needs of contemporary society in 1940 - was evident in the preface:

our Hymnal has been enriched by the best hymns now in use in the English-speaking world and by a number of new translations of hymns in foreign languages, including some of the great German chorales. Especial efforts were made to secure new hymns suitable for children, and hymns which voice the social aspirations of our day. Some of the latter group express the hope of a new world founded upon justice and expressive of international brotherhood. The ecumenical movement, with its hope of Christian unity, has also received fitting recognition in the Hymnal.⁵⁵

⁵² Ibid. These hymnals also contained new hymns published by the Hymn Society, including 'Hope of the World' by Georgia Harkness.

⁵³ Hymnal co-publication by these churches was discussed by Talmage Dean in his survey of twentieth-century hymnody, 105.

⁵⁴ Leonard Ellinwood and Charles G. Minns, 'The Publication of the Hymnal of the Episcopal Church', in *The Hymnal 1982 Companion: Volume One - Essays on Church Music*, ed. by Raymond F. Glover (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1990), 74.

⁵⁵ *The Hymnal 1940*, With Supplements I and II (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1940, 1943, 1961, 1975), iii. See hymns listed in the table of contents under 'Hymns for Children', in the Subject Index for General Hymns under 'Social Religion', and in the Topical Index under 'Youth', 'Brotherhood', 'Christian Unity' and 'World Friendship'.

High literary and musical standards remained a priority. Within that framework however, new themes were emerging as topics for contemporary hymn writing. They mirrored topics identified by Erik Routley at the post-war conferences of the British Hymn Society: new hymns for children, following the example of - and borrowing from - *Songs of Praise Enlarged* (1931); hymns reflecting the theology of the social gospel; concern about justice and the well-being of others in the aftermath of a decade of economic depression and labour unrest capped by a growing awareness of wartime atrocities - the latter in stark contrast to the initiatives toward mutual understanding taken since 1910 by participants in the international ecumenical movement.⁵⁶

There was sufficient exchange between the two hymn societies - through dual memberships, reprinted journal articles, and reciprocal visits by executive members - to guarantee that each was aware of the other's work and of mutual priorities. The two societies shared common thinking in many respects, perhaps particularly among members of the Anglican communion.⁵⁷ In order to go forward, new hymn writing had to meet the needs of the communities for whom it was being written.

The Hymnal 1940 contained forty-eight new hymn tunes, selected from four thousand tunes submitted in response to a search for new music for the hymn book.⁵⁸ Two decades later, in his speech to the National Council of Music, Deane Edwards would take this hymn book as a model for encouraging the composition of new congregational hymn tunes. Was the increase in tune writing in the 1930s a response to

⁵⁶ Hymns on the themes of judgment, justice and peace included, for example, R. B. Y. Scott's 'O day of God, draw nigh' (#525) written in 1937, and 'Peace in our time, O Lord' (#527) written by John Oxenham in 1938, both set to newly-composed tunes - BELLWOODS by James Hopkirk (1938) and TAYLOR HALL by Leo Sowerby (1943). The committee prepared a section of fifty-three hymns (#518-#570 inclusive) to sustain congregations, military personnel and individuals during wartime. Three prominent members of the hymnal committee, Leo Sowerby, Francis Bland Tucker and David McKinley Williams, had served in England and France during World War I. They, and other war veterans, would have been aware of the need for such hymns. For their biographies, see *The Hymnal 1982 Companion: Volume Two - Service Music and Biographies*, ed. by Raymond F. Glover (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1994), 619-20, 637-40, and 669.

⁵⁷ Louis Daniels, the Oberlin conference in 1940; above at Ch. 1, 16-17.

⁵⁸ *The Hymnal 1940*, v. Separate acknowledgement was made of this new work. (p. 798)

the work by Ralph Vaughan Williams, Gustav Holst and Martin and Geoffrey Shaw in the *English Hymnal*, *Songs of Praise* and the *Oxford Book of Carols*? How ‘new’ were these hymn tunes? It is not within the scope of this dissertation to analyse the musicology of the tunes composed for *The Hymnal 1940*, only to note that the committee’s search for indigenous hymn tunes had elicited a substantial response. In the 1930s American musicologists were researching traditional folk music: the Episcopal hymnal included Charles Winfred Douglas’s arrangement of MORNING SONG, an arrangement of KEDRON made in 1934 by Hilton Rufty, and PLEADING SAVIOUR (a tune which came to the American hymn book by way of the *English Hymnal*), but it was too soon for the results of the research to filter into many congregational hymn books.⁵⁹ In addition to Douglas’s original hymn tunes and his arrangements of plainsong, other American contributors of newly-composed tunes included the composer Leo Sowerby and David McKinley Williams, a professor of sacred music at Union Theological Seminary. Alec Wyton later compared Sowerby to Herbert Howells: both men began composing for orchestras, chamber groups and solo instruments before moving into full-time composition of church music.⁶⁰ The musical shape of hymnody was beginning to change from a nineteenth-century British and European style to a twentieth-century North American style which integrated traditional folk tunes, various types of gospel songs, and newly-composed hymn tunes into the inherited body of Christian hymnody.

Francis Bland Tucker, an Episcopalian priest, prepared six new hymn texts - a number of translations from Latin, Greek and older French hymns, and original texts - all

⁵⁹ Carlton R. Young, *Companion to the United Methodist Hymnal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 490. Marilyn Kay Stulken, *Hymnal Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship*, 318 and 454. David Farr, ‘Protestant Hymn-Singing in the United States, 1916-1943: Affirming an Ecumenical Heritage’, *The Hymnal 1982 Companion, Volume One*, 504-26 (p. 515). See also the publication of historical folk-hymn books such as *Wyeth’s Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second*, edited by Irving Lowens (New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), reviewed by Erik Routley in *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 103 (April, 1965), 16-17.

⁶⁰ Alec Wyton, ‘Twentieth Century American Church Music’, in *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered*, 79-88, (p. 79).

set to strong tunes. His work is pivotal in American hymn writing as it pointed hymnody in the direction being set for worship in the second half of the twentieth century, by biblical scholarship and by liturgical revision. *The Hymnal 1940* included: 'Alone thou goest forth, O Lord', 'Father, we thank thee who hast planted' (from the Didache), 'The great Creator of the worlds', 'Master of eager youth', 'All praise to thee', and 'Our Father by whose Name'.⁶¹ Tucker's hymn writing represented a combination of the talents of the nineteenth-century British translator J. M. Neale and the modern hymn writer Albert Bayly. His work would be claimed by most of the larger denominational hymn committees which were convened after 1945.

Other contributors included Harold Chandler Robbins, who provided a translation of the hymn of St. Francis of Assisi as well as several new hymns, and Winfred Douglas, who worked with Arthur W. Farlander to prepare new translations of German hymn texts for *The Hymnal 1940*. The committee accepted two hymns from the spiritual tradition, 'Were you there?' and MCKEE, a hymn tune arranged by Harry T. Burleigh for John Oxenham's 'In Christ there is no east or west'.⁶² Unlike the Baptist and Reformed hymnals it contained only a few tunes by the nineteenth-century American hymn-tune composers and choral conductors Lowell Mason and William Bradbury (the latter representing American gospel hymnody of that era). The Episcopal hymn book contained enough material written on the 'new principles' of mid-twentieth century hymnody to ensure its use by an entire generation of American Episcopal congregations. It survived the onslaught of hymnological change by means of two supplements appended to it in 1961 and 1975.⁶³

⁶¹ *The Hymnal 1940*, #68) BANGOR, #195) RENDEZ A DIEU, #298) TALLIS' ORDINAL and SCARBOROUGH (a new tune), #362) MONKS GATE, #366) ENGELBERG, and #504) RHOSYMEDRE.

⁶² Ibid. #80 and #263(i).

⁶³ It was a pattern established by the proprietors of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* in their *Standard Edition* (1922), where the supplements of 1916 and 1922 were appended to the 1889 edition, and repeated by

Twenty years after the publication of *The Hymnal 1940* Harry Eskew could write about the ‘many-sidedness of today’s hymnody’ in contemporary American hymn writing. He began his article by describing three types of gospel hymnody: Stamps-Baxter gospel music, black gospel hymnody, and youth gospel music.⁶⁴ The first was a commercial religious music product published by a Dallas firm, founded in 1926 by V. O. Stamps and J. R. Baxter, Jr. They produced a form of gospel hymnody based upon the style and notation of shape-note folk hymnody, to which were added ‘such characteristics as syncopation, echo effects, and piano accompaniment derived from popular music’.⁶⁵ It also incorporated aspects of the country music tradition through its use of guitars and banjos. Eskew wrote that Stamps-Baxter gospel music was led by professional performers, but that these quartets were accompanied by congregational singing where this type of gospel song was used regularly at Baptist singing conventions. The blending of professionalism and popular content in Stamps-Baxter gospel hymnody prefigured the music of worship groups and that of televised services broadcast by American mega-churches in the 1980s and 1990s.

Writing in 1966, the term ‘Negro gospel music’ was still in general use to describe the gospel hymnody created largely by Thomas A. Dorsey, a black Baptist musician in Chicago, who adapted the rhythm and singing style of the city’s jazz and blues clubs into an acceptable form of sacred music.⁶⁶ His ‘Precious Lord, take my

them in *Hymns Ancient & Modern New Standard* (1983), where the supplements of 1969 and 1980 were added to the 1950 edition.

⁶⁴ Eskew, ‘Changing Trends in Today’s Hymnody’, 21-23.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶⁶ Carlton R. Young, *Companion* (1993), 742: ‘Dorsey’s contribution to sacred music with more than 200 songs to his credit, is an amalgam of African-American ‘worldly music’ (rhythm and blues) and the religious devotion of Charles Albert Tindley’s hymns and songs. Dorsey’s music was popularized largely through the founding of the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses in 1932, and gospel singers such as Mahalia Jackson, Sallie and Roberta Martin, Theodore Frye, Kenneth Morris, Lillian Bowles, J. Herbert Brewster, Sr., and Clara Ward.’

hand', arranged in 1932, is one of the best-known examples of twentieth-century American urban folk hymnody. It was an antiphonal style of writing which could feature the leadership of 'a virtuoso soloist singing a stanza joined by a choir on the refrain, with a rhythmic piano and full vibrate electronic organ accompaniment, the congregational participation sometimes taking the form of echo phrases, clapping, or "amens"'.⁶⁷ Dorsey's arrangements allowed for the emotional expression of faith practised by black congregations. Eskew drew attention to the continuity in the black gospel hymnody of the 'rich biblical imagery found in the older tradition of Negro spirituals'.⁶⁸ Black gospel music played an essential role in the civil rights movement. No longer exclusive to Baptist churches and gospel choirs, it gradually found its way into the worship of most North American denominations.

The third form of gospel hymnody was still relatively new in 1966, but youth gospel music was attracting attention. It was unabashedly 'pop' gospel music.⁶⁹ Eskew wrote: 'A third recent gospel hymn movement, which often utilizes choruses geared to youth groups, has a musical style exploiting the harmonies of popular music, and texts which are frequently romantic in association.'⁷⁰ It was an entirely new style of writing religious music. He gave, as an example, the work of John W. Peterson, a composer of gospel cantatas, who was writing numerous gospel songs using harmonies from secular music.⁷¹

Eskew concluded this section on a note of surprise: 'In spite of predictions to the contrary, these three Gospel hymn movements - Stamps-Baxter, Negro Gospel

⁶⁷ Eskew, 'Changing Trends in Today's Hymnody', 22.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ In contrast to the 20th Century Church Light Music Group's pattern of composition for youth by clergy and organists, much of the American youth gospel music was written by younger composers and song writers many of whom were not ordained.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ John W. Peterson was the music editor of Singspiration, Inc., which had been purchased in 1963 by Zondervan Publishing Company of Grand Rapids, Michigan. See William Reynolds, *Companion to Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1976), 399-400.

Music, and Youth Gospel Music - are reportedly flourishing now to a greater degree than a decade or two ago.'⁷² His comment suggests that efforts to establish high musical and literary standards for hymnody could not preclude the appeal of gospel hymnody. Moreover, other social factors had combined to increase the demand for the lighter, folk-style hymnody. The popular style of performance music developed by the Stamps-Baxter Music Company met a favourable response among Southern Baptists who had formerly sung folk hymns for entertainment as well as in worship. The effect of the 'baby boom' was being felt by the churches in the increased need for religious music for young people - written in a youthful and independent idiom.

In his paper to the School of Music at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, Harry Eskew told his Southern Baptist audience about the sweeping changes in Roman Catholic hymnody - the introduction of English-language hymns, many of them from Protestant hymnals, to replace the historical Latin office hymns, and the increasing amount of congregational hymn singing and of congregational participation in the Ordinary of Mass.⁷³ He played a Kyrie and Gloria from a recording of a *Demonstration English Mass* composed by Dennis Fitzpatrick in 1963, and also a Communion hymn 'God is love' by a black American priest, Clarence Joseph Rivers, from his 'American Mass Program'. Both works were products of the Roman Catholic liturgical renewal in the United States. The hymn text based upon the New Testament reflected Roman Catholic interest in biblical studies in vernacular language. The hymns of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group did not capture the interest of American hymnal editors; however, Geoffrey Beaumont's *Folk Mass*, using the rhythms of popular music, was widely imitated, as in this setting of the 'American Mass Program'. What was astonishing about Harry Eskew's paper, in fact, was his audience. American Southern

⁷² Ibid., 22-23.

⁷³ Eskew, 'Changing Trends in Today's Hymnody', 23-24.

Baptists were a conservative community, imbued in folk hymns and gospel songs, and not given to contemplating the use of new forms of hymnody - much less studying a hymn written by a black Roman Catholic priest from the north at a southern seminary in 1966.

Eskew also introduced the new directions taken by the committee of the *Methodist Hymnal* (1966), a book which to him captured the spirit of Christian unity.⁷⁴ It was exciting to see new hymns from African and Asian churches, several unfamiliar hymns from European Protestant and Roman Catholic traditions, American folk hymns and spirituals, and traditional folk tunes from around the world. He noted the arrangement of the hymns in four sections which allowed for the diversity of liturgical practice among Methodists, a comment indicative of the growing awareness of liturgical matters. The categories included 'The Gospel and Christian Experience', 'Hymns of the Christian Church', 'The Christian Year', and 'Times, Seasons and Occasions'. He drew attention to new settings - of a Wesley hymn to a southern folk hymn tune, and the inclusion of a North American hymn from the Dakota people ('Many and great, O God' to the folk tune LACQUIPARLE).⁷⁵

He then discussed changing trends in Southern Baptist hymnody, describing the *Baptist Hymnal* (1956), which had moved from the 'all-purpose' model of the *Broadman Hymnal* (1940) edited by B. B. McKinney, with its collection of gospel songs, hymns, anthems and solos, to a congregational hymnal similar to those being published by other Protestant denominations. While the more recent hymn book contained a balance of gospel hymns and hymns from other Christian denominations, and it was organized by

⁷⁴ Ibid., 24.

⁷⁵ The Wesley hymn, unidentified by Harry Eskew, may have been 'Spirit of faith, come down' which was set to BEALOTH, a tune from *The Sacred Harp* (Boston, 1840) edited by Timothy B. Mason. It was arranged by Austin Lovelace for the 1966 hymnal. See Fred D. Gealy, Austin C. Lovelace and Carlton R. Young, *Companion to the Hymnal: A Companion to the United Methodist Book of Hymns* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), 378. On the Dakota hymn, see p. 283.

topics, it lacked plainsong melodies, twentieth-century English hymn tunes from the *English Hymnal* and *Songs of Praise*, and American spirituals. It had only a few eighteenth-century American folk hymns, and it had no representation of the historical Baptist tradition - there were no hymns by John Bunyan and Anne Steele, for example. The Church Music Department of the Southern Baptists had embarked upon a course to develop a more formal congregational hymnody, by organizing hymn writing competitions and by sponsoring the publication of hymn study courses and hand books. Under these circumstances, the Baptist hymnologist William J. Reynolds began his writing with *A Survey of Christian Hymnody* (1963) and *Hymns of Our Faith* (1964) published by Broadman Press.

Harry Eskew's paper not only brought his audience in New Orleans up to date with recent developments in American hymnody, but, through its publication in *The Hymn*, it made the changing trends in hymnody known to a much larger constituency of church musicians. It serves as a useful example of the role played by the journals of the two hymn societies in encouraging new hymn writing and scholarship.

Many rooms

The *Methodist Hymnal* (1966), edited by Carlton R. Young and Austin C. Lovelace, had only twenty-six new hymns and fifteen new tunes, but some of these represented important new directions in contemporary hymn writing, as Harry Eskew acknowledged in his lecture.⁷⁶ It included, for example, a Nigerian hymn for the opening of worship, written and composed in 1949 by A. T. Olajide Olude and sung for Lovelace by a member of his congregation at Christ Methodist Church in New York.⁷⁷ The hymn

⁷⁶ See also Erik Routley, 'Two Reviews: 1) The Methodist Hymnal (USA), 1966; and 2) Hymns Unbidden', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 108, (Winter 1966 -67), 106-113 (p. 106).

⁷⁷ Gealy et al., *Companion to the Hymnal*, 258.

was one of the first hymns from the world church to enter an American denominational hymn book. A Thai folk tune, SRI LAMPANG, appeared in the book as the third tune for Reginald's Heber's 'Bread of the world in mercy broken'.⁷⁸ The book extended the repertoire of American folk hymn melodies with several new arrangements by Lovelace - of MORNING SONG (CONSOLATION) and PISGAH, and by Young - of COMPLAINER, FOUNDATION, and WONDROUS LOVE. The 'dispersed harmony' of open fourths and fifths was restored, establishing once again the distinctive sound of early American hymn tunes.⁷⁹ New hymn tunes by British composers included Kenneth Finlay's AYRSHIRE and GLENFINLAS, and Peter Cutts's WYLDE GREEN. Carlton Young adapted a Scottish folk tune ('Ye banks and braes') into CANDLER, as a setting for Charles Wesley's 'Come, O thou traveller', one of several additional Wesley hymns in the hymn book. Erik Routley described the tune (with approval) as 'the most surprising Desecularization of the year'.⁸⁰ Routley supported Lovelace's view that the hymn book was 'rather short of good modern hymns'.⁸¹ In the same review he urged that younger writers should be encouraged to write more hymns.

American hymnological scholarship moved forward with the publication of the *Companion to the Hymnal* in 1970. In addition to commentaries on the contents of the hymn book, it contained three general articles on 'The Psalms and Hymns of the Church' by Fred Gealy, on hymn tunes by Austin Lovelace, and on the historical development of American Methodist hymnals by Carlton Young. Gealy discussed the development of gospel songs out of the earlier folk hymns and camp-meeting songs. He identified these light religious songs as 'pop art':

⁷⁸ Ibid., 122.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 222. See Carlton Young's note on his own harmonization for FOUNDATION. See also Daniel Read's WINDHAM, 220.

⁸⁰ Erik Routley, 'Two Reviews', 111.

⁸¹ Ibid.

In the 'non liturgical' churches, at least, the history of hymnody in the American nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been characterized by this struggle between the 'standard' hymns and 'pop art' of one kind or another. In 'advance guard' circles today, the 'hardback' hymnal is as suspect as it was in the early years of the nineteenth century. If at the beginning of this century pop art took the form of camp-meeting songs, at the end of the century it took the form of the gospel song; now it is guitar music.⁸²

Gealy noted the increasingly 'eclectic and ecumenical' nature of recent hymnals, particularly among Roman Catholic publications, which, by the late 1960s, could include Martin Luther's 'A mighty fortress is our God'. The new Roman Catholic song books for youth contained large amounts of 'pop art' religious songs. Gealy concluded:

The watchman still needs to stand upon the mountaintop to see what the signs of promise are. It is too soon to despair in tagging guitar music as 'liturgical and artistic degeneration,' as a throwing 'out of the window more than 2,000 years of beauty.' Such hymns as those in the Roman Catholic *Hymnal for Young Christians*, issued by F. E. L. Publications, 1967, and quantities of others like them will most certainly prove a significant stimulus to the creation of new hymns of praise which may give more significant expression to the Christian faith in forms yet to be made known than did the pop art of the nineteenth century. In any case, in the Father's house there are many rooms.⁸³

Austin Lovelace's article discussed the various types of hymn tunes to be found in the 1966 hymnal. It also contained a hint that the opprobrium of the Victorian hymn tune was beginning to lift. Lovelace wrote: 'It has been fashionable for many years to condemn all Victorian tunes of the nineteenth century, but to do so is musically dishonest.'⁸⁴ The image of the 'saccharine melody and harmony' remained predominant; but, by 1970, Lovelace could put forward the view that 'some of their tunes are eminently singable and "right" for the texts which they serve'. He credited Erik Routley for giving an 'honest and fair appraisal' of the Victorians' work in his *Music of Christian Hymnody* (1957). It marked the beginning of a reassessment of the Victorian legacy.

⁸² Fred D. Gealy, 'The Psalms and Hymns of the Church', in *Companion to the Hymnal* (1970), 15-40 (p. 38).

⁸³ Ibid., 40. Gealy's reference to John 14:2 provides a useful perspective for interpreting the coming 'hymn explosion'.

⁸⁴ Austin C. Lovelace, 'A Survey of Tunes', in *Companion to the Hymnal* (1970), 48.

In his tune survey Austin Lovelace wrote about the English, Welsh and Irish folk tunes which the Methodist committee had chosen for the 1966 book. He mentioned a number of tunes selected from European and Asian folk hymnody. He also included in this group the early American psalm tunes and spirituals which were being introduced to Methodist congregations. By the mid-1960s, however, an old form of religious folk song was returning to prominence, but it did not come soon enough for the *Methodist Hymnal*. The medieval carol became a 'new principle' in the development of religious song in Great Britain and in North America, largely through the work of a folk singer who, like many contemporary 'pop' music stars, became an international celebrity.

Sydney Carter

But it was the arrival of Sydney Carter on the scene, with *Lord of the Dance*, unlike anything English congregations had been asked to sing, which dramatically opened the way for experiment. The folk hymn was born, or perhaps we should say reborn, bearing medieval carols in mind. With the Beatles about, and the Beat Generation in the wings, youth took to Sydney Carter, and momentarily the guitar displaced the organ.

Fred Pratt Green⁸⁵

Sydney Carter's name appears with those of the hymn writers Fred Pratt Green, Fred Kaan, Brian Wren and Timothy Dudley-Smith in most hymnal supplements published from 1965 onwards. Carter is a folk-song writer - an iconoclast with a Christian perspective. In his preface to *Green Print for Song* he writes: 'This is a book of carols. I call them that for lack of a better word.'⁸⁶ In many of his songs he looks back, beyond the nineteenth-century Christmas carol, to the imaginative world of the medieval carol. Yet, he views the carol as a viable contemporary mode of song, preferring a description from *A New Dictionary of Music* (Penguin) of the carol as 'a

⁸⁵ Fred Pratt Green, 'Speaking Personally', in *The Hymns and Ballads of Fred Pratt Green* (London: Stainer & Bell; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1982), xiii-xiv.

⁸⁶ Sydney Carter, *Green Print for Song* (London: Galliard/Stainer & Bell, 1974), 7.

seasonal religious song for use by ordinary people, not trained singers - most commonly, though not necessarily, for Christmas'.⁸⁷

Carter agrees in principle with Percy Dearmer who, in his preface to *The Oxford Book of Carols* (1928), described carols as 'songs with a religious impulse that are simple, hilarious, popular and modern'; to which Carter adds: 'I would define a carol as a dancing kind of song.'⁸⁸ Dearmer himself had called attention to the association between dance and the carol form, noting that the word *carol* once meant to 'dance in a ring'. He further suggested that it could possibly be linked with the Greek word *choros* meaning a circling dance.⁸⁹ He thought dance was the element which made carols, even medieval carols, modern. Dearmer wrote: 'The carol, in fact, by forsaking the timeless contemplative melodies of the Church, began the era of modern music, which has throughout been based upon the dance.'⁹⁰ This remark might explain the immense popularity and endurance of 'Lord of the Dance' by Sydney Carter. 'I danced in the morning when the world was begun' has often been compared with the medieval Cornish carol 'Tomorrow shall be my dancing day'.⁹¹ Like Dearmer and his colleagues, Carter has rejected the conventional notion that a carol ought to be restricted to the Christmas narrative.⁹² Writing in the idiom of folk culture, Carter uses the idea of dance as a

⁸⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁸ Percy Dearmer, 'Preface', *The Oxford Book of Carols* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928, revised 1964), v. See also Carter, 7.

⁸⁹ Dearmer, v. Carter had witnessed a ring dance performed at a Friends' meeting in Sunderland: 'I encountered a perfect survival of the medieval carol: of a ring dance accompanied by song. It was called "A was an Archer". Dancers held hands in a ring, every man between two women, and circled (walking) while a singer standing in the middle of the circle sang.' Carter, 21.

⁹⁰ Dearmer, v. Geoffrey Beaumont and the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, who initiated the revision of hymn tunes during the 1950s, seem to have developed their work based upon this notion of the importance of dance in religious folk song. Dance rhythms from the Thirties appeared in many tunes composed by the group, to whom *the Oxford Book of Carols* would have been a familiar resource.

⁹¹ Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music*, 184-85. The association of the two carols is generally noted in hymnal companion books such as Wesley Milgate, *Songs of the People of God: A Companion to The Australian Hymn Book/With One Voice* (Sydney: Collins Liturgical Australia; London: Collins Liturgical Publications, 1982, rev. ed. 1985), #183, (pp. 89-90).

⁹² Dearmer, xi. Books published during the 1830s and 1840s contained Christmas hymns and poems. "'Carol" had come to mean printed matter suitable for Christmas,' Dearmer wrote, especially among London printers. However, broadsheets carrying the full range of traditional carols continued in publication throughout the middle of the nineteenth century. These became valuable sources for the

metaphor for life itself -with a beginning, middle, and end. Sung antiphonally by a soloist and congregation to a Shaker tune, the carol may be used in worship as an effective piece of liturgical drama.⁹³

The editors of the *Oxford Book of Carols* identified the various forms in which carols could be expressed: narrative, dramatic, personal and, occasionally, secular.⁹⁴

Carter makes use of these forms in his own song writing. In 'Judas and Mary', for example, narrative and dramatic elements overlap:

Said Judas to Mary
 'Now what will you do
 with your ointment
 so rich and so rare?'
 'I'll pour it all over
 the feet of the Lord
 and I'll wipe it away with my hair'
 She said
 'I'll wipe it away with my hair.'⁹⁵

In his article about 'Carols' in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* Thomas Helmore had defined a carol as 'a song of joy originally accompanying a dance'.⁹⁶ Joy and celebration were essential aspects of the carol form in the nineteenth century. Dearmer added the point that the strength of a true carol lay in its sincerity:

Carols, moreover, were always modern, expressing the manner in which the ordinary man at his best understood the ideas of his age, and bringing traditional conservative religion up to date. ... The charm of an old carol lies precisely in its having been true to the period in which it was

revival of English folk songs which flourished between 1880 and the beginning of World War I and in due course resulted in the publication of *The Oxford Book of Carols*.

⁹³ In his discussion of Sydney Carter's 'Lord of the dance', Wesley Milgate provided an extended commentary on biblical references to dance in worship, and on the association of dance with the carol form. He described Shaker dances as 'a genuine "folk" art, indeed an interesting resurgence of the carol'. See Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 89-90. See also Ch. 8, 311.

⁹⁴ Dearmer, v.

⁹⁵ Carter, 15-16. This song was written for an Easter television programme on BBC where it was first sung by Donald Swann. Carter comments: 'What I have done here is to take a Christian theme to see what kind of truth it held for me.' He improvised words for Judas, Mary and Jesus to recreate an incident from the New Testament as a carol which he set in 6/8 rhythm.

⁹⁶ Thomas Helmore, 'Carols', in *Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. by John Julian, 2 vols (London: J. Murray, revised 1907; repr. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1985), I, 205i-213ii. (p. 205i.). Yet, Helmore also described a fourteenth-century carol, included in Thomas Wright's *Songs and Carols* (1847), with its blend of religious and secular text, mentioning famine, pestilence, and death. See 'Carol Literature', 208ii.

written, and those which are alive to-day retain their vitality because of this sincerity; for imitations are always sickly and short-lived.⁹⁷

Sydney Carter has adapted the time-proven structures of medieval carol writing for his carols. He has used the burden-stanza format from the medieval processional dance to write antiphonal pieces for solo voice and audience or congregation. His 'Standing in the Rain' is a well-known example:

No use knocking on the window,
There is nothing we can do, sir.
All the beds are booked already -
There is nothing left for you, sir.

*Standing in the rain,
Knocking on the window,
Knocking on the window,
On a Christmas Day.
There he is again,
Knocking on the window,
Knocking on the window,
In the same old way.*⁹⁸

The later medieval form, that of the ballad carol, he has adapted into narrative carols written in short stanzas. 'Bitter was the night' is a good example:

Bitter was the night,
Thought the cock would crow for ever.
Bitter was the night
Before the break of day.

Saw you passing by,
Told them all I didn't know you.
Bitter was the night
Before the break of day.⁹⁹

Writing in vivid language, using skilful repetition, and with adept use of story, colourful

⁹⁷ Dearmer, vi.

⁹⁸ Carter, 80-82. Carter comments: 'The easy way to sing this song is to caricature the singer [the one who answers the knocking at the door]. But try for a change, to see it from his point of view. Try to convince the listeners that you (he) are right. "Do not say: I am a villain! Boo me!" Try to get inside the character. It may hurt a bit, but try.'

⁹⁹ Ibid., 52.

imagery, and metaphor - above all, the metaphor of dance - Carter makes the most of the freedom of the carol form.

He differs from the nineteenth-century carol convention in his use of the form to explore doubt and fear. Carter identifies himself with St. Thomas, sharing a need to test truth for himself. Like Thomas he will not readily trust evidence given by others.

However he continues, saying: 'Faith must be prepared to trust the reality of its desire: to lean on something which, in time, and place, may not be there - not yet, at any rate.'¹⁰⁰ He compares such trust to that of the artist who has to have confidence in the emergence of the item visualized but not yet created. He comes to the conclusion that, while Thomas was right to doubt second-hand evidence: 'He was wrong in not trusting, as Jesus did, the evidence he was born with. So was I.'

The living truth
Is what I long to see;
I cannot lean
Upon what used to be.
So shut the Bible up
And show me how
The Christ you talk about
Is living now.¹⁰¹

Carter comments on how difficult it is to follow Jesus's example of faith and to measure up to his expectations of resiliency and faith similar to his own. 'I was not encouraged to believe it, but I do now begin to.'¹⁰²

Carter's songs at times demonstrate the 'calculated incongruity' of medieval popular religion described by Erik Routley in *The English Carol*.¹⁰³ As did story-tellers in the predominantly oral popular culture of the middle ages, Carter is able to see the shape of the whole story of the nativity, the death, and the resurrection of Christ. The

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 12.

¹⁰¹ 'The Present Tense', v. 2, in Carter, 10.

¹⁰² Carter, 10.

¹⁰³ Erik Routley, *The English Carol* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1958), 67.

medieval singers' ability to juxtapose mourning with celebration is evident in Carter's work. Writing in *Green Print for Song* about 'Bitter was the night', his carol about Peter's denial, Carter discusses his understanding of the central paradox of Christian theology:

The resurrection in which I can believe is the resurrection, or insurrection, if you like, of the good against the bad, the Light against the Dark, the joy against the agony. It did not begin when Jesus died, but at the moment of his birth: it happens all the time. So did, so does, the Crucifixion. Like two stars they dance around each other: one a Black Hole of prodigious gravity, the other a shining Light. What is astonishing is not the Black Hole, but the Light. Blackness, nothingness, is what you would expect. Utter oblivion, from the end to the beginning. But something happened: the Creation.¹⁰⁴

Carter is a twentieth-century 'wait' or 'minstrel'. He has made effective use of the ballad carol developed by his predecessors who once entertained at village dances. The ballad carol, however, was developed within village life in an agrarian society.¹⁰⁵ Sydney Carter's work differs significantly in that his songs are derived from a metropolitan base - sung by him in live performances in pubs and coffee houses, and for television audiences. Elsewhere his songs have received a wide following on university and college campuses, and in schools.¹⁰⁶ They appeal to students because of their idealistic, direct, and unstuffy language.

In a village the medieval processional dance took place out of doors, going from place to place. It often formed part of a community festival. The medieval carols blended secular and sacred elements of celebration. So, too, Carter's carols and songs

¹⁰⁴ Carter, 55.

¹⁰⁵ Routley noted that carols and Methodism developed in the same regions of England - in Cornwall, the Marches, the Black Country and Yorkshire. He added: 'The ballad-carol, in a very real sense, comes up from the mud of agricultural life, and if we are right to say that it is essentially world-affirming, then it was a gracious product of a society that had much sin and sourness in it, and that might have engulfed it in squalor and despair had not puritanism's denial come, in a paradoxical way, to rescue it from its environment.' *The English Carol*, 88.

¹⁰⁶ Erik Routley discussed how the creation of new university chapels, established as a result of university expansion during the 1960s, influenced church music composition in favour of experimental sacred music, including that of Sydney Carter whom he described as a 'Christian prophet' in that era. See Erik Routley and Lionel Dakers, *A Short History of English Church Music* (London: Mowbray, 1977, revised 1997), 104-5 and 109.

exist at the border between the sacred and the secular. In *Green Print for Song* he describes the 'Folk Scene' as an international society of friends united by a common interest in folk music, including words and tunes, who offer fellowship to one another. He then adds: 'You might even say that a folk club is a kind of church though few folk singers would thank you for saying it. For me the acid test of a religious song is not whether it will get into a hymn book but whether I can sing it in a folk club.'¹⁰⁷

Towards the end of *The English Carol* Routley asked: 'Where are the carols now?'¹⁰⁸ Apart from the original texts and tunes commissioned for the *Oxford Book of Carols* most of the new songs were popular ditties for Christmas, including American secular songs such as 'Jingle Bells' and 'Have yourself a merry little Christmas'. Routley concluded that, in a 'post-Christian culture', the apparent separation of the practising religious community from society at large meant the loss of carol singing. 'Nothing so self-conscious as modern religious society can produce naive folk-song of that kind,' he noted.¹⁰⁹ By the late 1950s it was only during the Christmas season that people would still gather to sing carols, and then only those about Christ's nativity. Christ's death and resurrection had become 'no more than a fable' to secularized society. He concluded: 'But otherwise than at Christmas you find no folk-song in the modern religious context.'¹¹⁰ Did jazz and ragtime function as alternative forms of folk song? Routley thought not, for they were specialized interests. Nor did he believe that ephemera, such as the then very new style of church light music represented by Geoffrey Beaumont's controversial *Folk Mass* (1956), would 'have the staying power to become folk-song'.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Carter, 90.

¹⁰⁸ Routley, *The English Carol*, 234.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 'There is no doubt that in a post-Christian society, where the religious are becoming increasingly marked off from the rest in respect of their whole culture and many of their interests, as well as of their outward habits, you normally must not look to religious circles for the survival of a carol-habit.' Routley, 234-35.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 235.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 235. Routley added: 'Folk-song does not "date" as do the ephemera.'

He continued: 'The world-affirming [folk-songs] will contain those bold juxtapositions of incongruous things, those impudent parodies of the sacred, those uncompromising affirmations about the terrifying and the sinister which crop up again and again in the folk-songs and to some extent even in the carols.'¹¹²

Satire returned as a central element of British entertainment during the early 1960s. 'That Was The Week That Was' premiered on BBC television between December 1962 and April 1963. Revues such as 'Beyond the Fringe' and 'The Second City' captured public imagination. By the spring of 1963 Routley could write: 'Satire has for the moment replaced romance as the entertainment of the sophisticated.'¹¹³ In fact, satire had moved beyond the field of entertainment in contemporary British culture. Routley continued: 'It is this juxtaposition of real things with imaginative and witty treatment that characterises, in a way, Sydney Carter's writing.'¹¹⁴ In these songs, Routley found the carol writer he had been looking for in 1958. He introduced Carter's work to church musicians in his *Hymns Today and Tomorrow* and *Twentieth Century Church Music*.¹¹⁵

A satirist, Carter has the ironic touch required to write carols. Routley quoted the 'Friday Morning' carol with its controversial refrain attributed to the penitent thief: 'It's God they ought to crucify, / Instead of you and me.'¹¹⁶ Carter used secular language and the direct dialogue of daily speech in a dramatic situation to accentuate the central paradox of Christian faith. It was a startling text when it was first sung in

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Erik Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music*, 187. In his preface to this book Routley paid tribute to the work being done by the Dunblane consultations in Scotland, giving thanks 'to my friends of the Dunblane Church Music Group who have stimulated my otherwise sluggish perceptions of present-day social needs'. (p. 8)

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Erik Routley, *Hymns Today and Tomorrow* (New York: Abingdon, 1964; London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1966), 168-70; and *Twentieth Century Church Music*, 184-87.

¹¹⁶ Carter, 'Friday Morning', 28-30.

October 1959 at a folk festival at Cecil Sharp House; it continues to be a surprising text forty years later:

To hell with Jehovah,
To the carpenter I said,
I wish that a carpenter
Had made the world instead.
Goodbye and good luck to you,
Our ways will soon divide.
Remember me in heaven,
The man you hung beside.
It's God they ought to crucify
Instead of you and me,
I said to the carpenter
A-hanging on the tree.¹¹⁷

'This is not a hymn,' Carter writes in his comments in *Green Print for Song*. 'A hymn is a religious statement, made in song, to which the congregation can say "Amen". This is not that kind of statement. It is a device to make something happen.'¹¹⁸ What happened was a 'mixed reception'. The World Council of Churches office in New York received 2000 letters of protest after 'Friday Morning' was published in *Risk*, the ecumenical organization's magazine. In his discussion about this song Carter tackles the problem of 'What is a hymn?'. He agrees that, if interpreted as a hymn, this text would cause a storm:

But can you call it a carol? Does it celebrate? Yes and no: it is a negative, from which to print a positive. What is sung aloud is not the carol; the carol is (or could be) in the silent part, sounding in the listener. ... What it contemplates, celebrates, is the Atonement.¹¹⁹

Carter set out his views on the differences between hymns and songs in his introduction to *Gospel Song Book*, a collection of 'contemporary gospel songs' arranged for guitar, compiled by Malcolm Stewart in 1967. He wrote:

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 30.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Hymns try to tell the truth directly. There may be the need now for another kind of song which serves the truth more indirectly: by raising a question which demands an answer, by making a statement which demands a contradiction. This is not the kind of song after which you say 'Amen'. It does not tell you what you ought to feel; but it tries to make you feel it.¹²⁰

Carter acknowledges the continuing value of great hymns of the past which have a 'timeless quality'; but he argues that as long as new hymns, however 'amateur', are being written then Christianity itself is still living.¹²¹ 'We are called to be creators, Sons of God', he writes.¹²² His songs and carols invite singers to think actively about their religious beliefs. Moreover, in his view, it is becoming the job of lay members to write the songs in the place of clerical hymn writers who dominated the field in the nineteenth century:

The new impulse in religious song is coming more and more not only from the un-ordained but even (sometimes) from the unbaptised. The upsurge of new singing and song-writing which, for want of a better word, is labelled 'folk' is something which a Christian can be glad of, however un-Christian it may sometimes look. At the heart of it is a revolt against the outworn, the phoney and the second-rate: a thirst for truth, life, sincerity in song which can only come from God and which, a Christian must hope, can only lead to God. Though it may not lead there so quickly, so accurately or, at any rate, so recognizably as some Christians would like.¹²³

Carter identifies the impulse for new religious songs as the work of the Holy Spirit

¹²⁰ Malcolm Stewart, ed., *Gospel Song Book* (London: Geoffrey Chapman Ltd, 1967), 5. It was published simultaneously by Abingdon Press, in New York and Nashville, under the title *Now Songs*. In this introduction Carter offers his rationale for songs such as 'Friday Morning'. The collection included songs by Père Duval, Hubert Richards, Peter de Rosa, Mother Mary Oswin and Nigel Collingwood, in addition to those by Malcolm Stewart and Sydney Carter. Wesley Milgate commented: 'This book had a limited circulation but a great influence in revealing the possibilities of an informal "folk music" style of hymn. [Malcolm Stewart] was an accomplished guitar-player and writer of texts and tunes, and a friend of some other "troubadour" singers like Sydney Carter.' Wesley Milgate, *A Companion to Sing Alleluia* (Sydney: The Australian Hymn Book Pty Ltd, 1988), #92 (pp. 110-111).

¹²¹ Geoffrey Wainwright made a similar point in his *Doxology* (London: Epworth Press, 1980), where he wrote: 'Hymns can take all the risks of exploration and particularity. ... Whether or not the compositions prove durable, fresh composition is a sign of vitality in the faith.' (pp. 214-15)

¹²² Carter, *Now Songs*, 7.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

moving across the Christian church. At the height of the 'God is dead' controversy, which Carter does not mention, he can proclaim that 'new songs are being written and performed (with guitar, acoustic or electric, or without) which are unashamedly Christian.'¹²⁴

It may be useful to think of Carter's songs as a twentieth-century form of *laude spirituali*. The Italian religious songs of the thirteenth century, in their monophonic form, were derived from the strophic *rondelli* and *ballata*.¹²⁵ Written in stanzas with a refrain, they existed outside the liturgy to be sung by congregations in vernacular language and were set to popular tunes rather than church plainsong or formal court melodies. *Laude spirituali* emerged in the aftermath of a 'penitential mania' which crossed northern Italy and southern Germany and France.¹²⁶ The songs were not associated with the festivities of Christmas or New Year. The *laude* appear to have begun as songs of praise sung by lay groups such as the Franciscans. St. Francis of Assisi's 'Canticle of the Sun' is thought to have been one of the first religious songs written in vernacular Italian.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ *New Oxford History of Music II: The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. by Richard Crocker and David Hiley (London/New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 399-402, 436. The *rondelli* were strophic dance songs. *Ballata* also referred to a song associated with a dance. It became the ballad song with dance rhythms underlying a narrative text.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 435.

¹²⁷ 'Lauda', by John Stevens and William F. Prizer, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980), X, 538-43 (p. 539). Stevens described the origins of the *laude* as 'an extraordinary religious hysteria'. He continued: 'In an attempt to atone for the sins of the age, to expiate the guilt of internecine war, civil corruption and savage pestilence, the inhabitants of cities in north Italy, Provence and Germany (see GEISLERLIEDER) were seized by a penitential frenzy.' The cultural conditions which fostered the *laude spirituali* were tumultuous, as were those which gave birth to the new carols written by Sydney Carter. Moreover, these were also urban songs. Stevens identified the religious themes of the early monophonic songs as ones of praise despite the horrible conditions. Praise is directed to Mary, to the birth, death and resurrection of Christ, to the saints, to the Holy Spirit, to divine love, and to the 'approach of death'. Stevens further observed that: 'These familiar topics are treated in a familiar way - familiar in the sense that each text is a tissue of commonplaces, familiar also in tone, which is easy, natural and unforced.' The parallel between monophonic *laude spirituali* of the thirteenth century and Sydney Carter's post-war carols written in the 1960s is striking.

A lauda would begin with a refrain, which was repeated between the stanzas of the song and at the end. The stanzas were sung to a syllabic melody. *Laude spirituali* were sung in celebration of Christ's birth, life, death and resurrection, of saints' lives, and of the Virgin Mary. In contrast to nineteenth-century carols which praised the nativity of Christ almost exclusively, these early religious songs would 'also lament the sufferings of Christ, the hardness of man's heart, the imminence of death. The *laude* are not liturgical, though later they were sung by the guilds in quasi-liturgical rituals, but popular religious songs.'¹²⁸ *Laude spirituali* belonged to the folk-song genre which included Italian *ballata*, French *virelai* and English medieval carols. Sydney Carter's religious songs seem to be modern equivalents.

New ways

'In my Father's house there are many dwelling places': Fred Gealy's insight offers a useful perspective on developments in congregational hymnody between 1960 and 1975. The 'new principles' for hymn writing embraced a number of fields - scholarship, new theologies, ecumenism, redesigning the hymn book, changing patterns in congregational worship, and teaching new hymns. New hymns and songs occupied many rooms. John Wilson and Harry Eskew, among others, presented papers and conducted congregational workshops to introduce the great variety of new hymns and songs being written during this period. Wilson was introducing texts and tunes prepared only days before he met with a group of interested musicians or spoke at a congregational event. Harry Eskew had demonstrated to Baptists at the New Orleans seminary that new congregational music offered an extraordinary choice in traditional forms of service music and in lighter church music.

¹²⁸ Crawford and Hiley, 438.

For the most part, North American hymnody was modelled after British hymnody, with the exception of the spirituals and the gospel and civil rights songs. It took about a decade for new trends in hymn writing to cross the Atlantic from Great Britain to North America. The revisions of the *English Hymnal* (1906/1933) and of *Songs of Praise* (1931) strongly influenced the making of *The Hymnal 1940* (1943). New tune composition, initiated by Geoffrey Beaumont and the 20th Century Church Light Music Group in the 1950s, became a priority of the Hymn Society of America by 1966. Sydney Carter, on the other hand, designed a room entirely his own, which many hymn writers and folk singers have tried since to emulate. Moreover, his career coincided with the development of rapid communication of ideas and of popular music, enabling his work to become known simultaneously around the world through the international folk movement. The trends in congregational music were changing rapidly; new materials were being disseminated almost as soon as they were written. It was in this milieu that the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation was conceived. It is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Dunblane Initiatives

Scottish Churches' Music Consultation

A group of twenty-four musicians and ministers from the Church of Scotland, the Congregational Union of Scotland and the Scottish Episcopal Church met at Scottish Churches' House in Dunblane in October 1962 to assess the state of church music in their respective denominations. The idea for a consultation on church music had germinated the previous year, after members attending a consultation on evangelism at Dunblane became engaged in a heated discussion about some 'modern hymns' published in a church magazine.¹ The consultation on evangelism gave birth to an unexpected offspring.

Topics suggested for the first meeting indicated that the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation would be making a comprehensive assessment of existing congregational hymnody. The list began with 'standards of Church music; the need for an adequate, probably ecumenical, hymn book; the note the Christian community should take of the rhythms and modes of music which have gained the ear of our contemporaries; the place music holds in teenage culture, and the significance for church practice of that influence; and music as a divisive agent between the generations'.² The purpose of this initial consultation was to determine the essential elements and the potential breadth of church music reform.

¹ Ian M. Fraser, 'Beginnings at Dunblane', in *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered*, ed. by Robin A. Leaver, James H. Litton and Carlton R. Young (Norwich: Canterbury Press Norwich; Carol Stream, Illinois: Hope Publishing Company, 1985), pp. 171-190 (p. 171).

² Ian M. Fraser, 'Music in the Church', an undated typescript notice advertising the first meeting of the consultation on church music. He invited recipients of this letter to suggest further concerns which could be raised at the consultation, and he also asked them to submit the names of musicians and denominational representatives who might be interested in attending the meetings. He concluded: 'At greater leisure please jot down notes to help me mark out the ground of the consultation.' Dunblane, Scottish Churches' House, 'Music/Drama' File. I am grateful to Dr. Fraser for informing me about these records of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation.

Ian Fraser, Warden of the new ecumenical centre, which represented seven non-Roman Catholic denominations in Scotland, expected participants would take a 'radical look' at church music as practised in Scottish Protestant churches in the early 1960s.³ In his letter of 5 September 1962 to the members of the forthcoming consultation he expressed his hope that the meeting might 'bring conservative and radical thinking into fruitful relationship'.⁴ Among others, the group included Thomas Keir, head of the hymnal committee for the Church of Scotland, and Ian Pitt-Watson, a member of that committee, as well as several ministers working with youth in Scotland, an organist who advocated the use of plainsong, and Reginald Barrett-Ayres, head of the music department at the University of Aberdeen, who served as convener. Erik Routley was secretary.⁵

The primary concern of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation was the music of church hymnody. Ian Mackenzie led a discussion about tension between 'high-brow' and 'middle- and low-brow' music in churches. He asked those present to 'suspend our prejudices', to be 'open to the young people of to-day and let them bring what they are and what they have' to church music, including the use of guitars and their own styles of hymn tunes.⁶ Erik Routley introduced tapes of Joseph Gelineau's psalm-settings, of Charles Cleall's arrangements of Sankey hymn tunes, examples from Geoffrey Beaumont's *Folk Mass* (1956), and of jazz settings of church music by the Australian composer Malcolm Williamson and by the German composer Heinz Werner

³ The Roman Catholic Church of Scotland joined in 1990, when the ecumenical group Action for Churches Together in Scotland was formed. Information from Mr. Brian Baker, Warden of Scottish Churches' House, 8 September 1998.

⁴ Ian M. Fraser, 'Music in the Church: Consultation at Scottish Churches' House, Dunblane, October 2nd to 4th, 1962', a memo dated 5 September 1962 to members of the first consultation on church music, Dunblane, 'Music/Drama' File. Fraser wrote in full: 'Our intention was to provide opportunity for those who were prepared to take a radical look at Church Music. Some are obviously coming prepared for a much less searching form of Consultation. I hope that their being in on this may bring conservative and radical thinking into fruitful relationship.'

⁵ At the time Routley was minister to Augustine-Bristo Congregational Church in Edinburgh.

⁶ Jock Wilson, 'Musical Encounter', *British Weekly*, 11 October 1962, clipping in Dunblane, 'Music/Drama' File. See also Ian Fraser, 'Beginnings at Dunblane', 172-73.

Zimmermann. It was reported in the *British Weekly*, that 'a lively discussion followed, largely around the problem of assimilating what is revolutionary and new'.⁷

David Hamilton spoke for the people in the pews who 'resist innovations in praise because it is almost the only expression allowed to people in church, and they do not wish to have this, their only means of overt worship, changed in any way'. Hamilton echoed Mackenzie's call for care in initiating experimentation in church music. The speakers were addressing the needs of two very different groups within congregations - those who had been attending church for a long period of time, and youth.

University and college youth groups were well represented at the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation. In addition to Ian Mackenzie (the Scottish secretary of the Student Christian Movement), two university chaplains attended the 1962 sessions. John Geyer, chaplain at St. Andrew's University, talked about pop music within the teenage culture of the day. John Cheyne, chaplain to overseas students at Edinburgh University, proposed the formation of a School of Church Music in Scotland, similar to the Royal School of Church Music in England, to raise standards in church music. Cheyne urged that the most skilled among contemporary Scottish composers be invited to compose hymn tunes and anthems for the present day.⁸ He also suggested that a loose-leaf hymn collection - a 'supplement' - ought to be developed, rather than a conventional, bound hymn book. It would allow congregations to try 'interesting works which come our way, even if they should prove to be expendable after a time'.⁹ Ian Pitt-Watson, a former chaplain at the University of Aberdeen, asked 'how much is expendable in church music? How much is disposable, or is anything disposable?' 'Expendable' and 'disposable' were used as interchangeable terms in the discussion

⁷ Jock Wilson, 'Musical Encounter'.

⁸ Eleven years later, one of the distinctive features of the *Church Hymnary, Third Edition*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), would be the new hymn tunes and service music contributed by contemporary Scottish composers.

⁹ Jock Wilson, 'Musical Encounter'.

about new church music. It was a sensitive notion - among advocates of sacred 'pop' music and among those seeking contemporary expressions of traditional hymn themes.

Erik Routley tested the idea of establishing a chair in church music at every seminary in Scotland. He, an English-born member of the consultation, put forth the view that: 'Scotland was perhaps the one country where an Ecumenical Hymn Book could be produced, one edition with Psalms and Paraphrases for the Presbyterians and those who wish to use them, and the other with Office Hymns and Hymns for Saints' Days for the Episcopal Church.'¹⁰ Reginald Barrett-Ayres defended the role of the professional church musician who can offer a thorough knowledge of musical forms proven in worship - for example, sixteenth-century polyphony, the Lutheran chorale, and the adaptation of traditional folk melodies into church music. The organist of Govan Old Parish Church, John Currie, made a case for the use of plainsong in church music. Jock Wilson, an Ayrshire member of the consultation and reporter to the *British Weekly*, observed that: 'Much of the discussion here and throughout the conference was around the tension between the "Establishment" in the Church and the creative artist.'¹¹

At the end of the first round of discussions, it was decided that a working party of six members ought to meet three times over the coming year to prepare for a second consultation in the autumn of 1963. It seems that those present at the 1962 session may have felt a sense of occasion about their work. Wilson concluded his report to the *British Weekly*: 'This informal meeting may well be the beginning of something historic in the praise of all the Churches in our land.'¹²

No records documenting the efforts of the working party exist in the file at Scottish Churches' House. The contents of the agenda proposed for the 1963

¹⁰ The idea of a Scottish ecumenical hymn book was realized in *Common Ground: A Song Book for All the Churches* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1998).

¹¹ Jock Wilson, 'Musical Encounter'.

¹² Ibid.

consultation suggest that considerable thought was given to finding practical means of developing new church music.¹³ Members were asked to present results known to them of congregational experiments already in progress. Useful 'insights', gaps identified, and successful ventures would be discussed. Erik Routley proposed a programme to link composers with congregations in need of experienced musicians who could help them produce experimental materials, or write specific pieces required for a particular congregational purpose. Were interested composers available? If so, how could such a link be forged? What kind of material would be successful?¹⁴ The working party was interested in Sydney Carter's work with folk song and his knowledge of the social function of folk song groups, but he was not able to attend the 1963 consultation. Responding to Ian Pitt-Watson's question, the matter of 'disposable music' would be included in the second programme. The idea of an ecumenical hymnary would also be considered. Did denominational hymnaries still 'make sense' in a new era?

Participants in the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation were expected to bring open minds to their proceedings. Critical assessment of existing hymnody did not lead automatically to the rejection of older hymns. Nor was every new piece deemed acceptable by virtue of its newly-minted condition. Instead, the intent of the consultation was to identify the purpose of hymnody in the practice of congregational worship, and also for personal devotion and in developing an individual's understanding of God. The role of church music, in all its forms, became the focal point of the 1963 meeting.

¹³ 'Music in the Church: Consultation at Scottish Churches' House, Dunblane, October 8th - 10th, 1963', proposed agenda for the second consultation, dated 'September, 1963', in Dunblane, 'Music/Drama' File. See also Ian Fraser, 'Beginnings at Dunblane', 173.

¹⁴ Erik Routley, letter to composers entitled 'Dunblane Consultation on Church Music, September, 1963', Dunblane, 'Music/Drama' File.

We are looking for a music that might provide a real breakthrough in the exciting and perplexing situation which at present confronts our churches.

Erik Routley¹⁵

Prior to the autumn gathering, Erik Routley drafted a letter to composers inviting them to join in the experimental development of church music. By September 1963 it had become evident that churches being built in the new metropolitan suburbs as well as older churches, left almost empty in inner-city areas by church families who were moving to these new estates, had needs which were not being met entirely by the music available in the existing church hymn books. 'Particularly this is what we hear from ministers of church-extension charges, where the force of tradition is not high, and where the need for experiment is most evident,' Routley wrote. He added: 'But there are not a few "run-down" churches in down-town areas where the same problem presents itself.'¹⁶

It is worth remembering how fixed and established church music was in 1963. At the time the standard Protestant hymn books in use included *Revised Church Hymnary* (1927), *English Hymnal* (1933 edition), *Methodist Hymn Book* (1933), *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950), and *Congregational Praise* (1951). State schools used hymn books based upon *Songs of Praise* (1931, enlarged edition) and public religious broadcasting in Great Britain made use of the *BBC Hymn Book* (1950). Although new hymns could be found in these books, for the most part the new material was cast in long-established forms of hymn writing and hymn language. The hymns did not sound 'modern', even those hymns where the ideas might be well in step with the times, as in the case of much of the writing of George W. Briggs and Albert F. Bayly.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

There were few alternatives. In Routley's view, Geoffrey Beaumont's hymn writing 'appeals more to the sophisticated than to the genuinely unchurched young'; and Malcolm Williamson's music was too 'difficult' to be used by most congregations. What was being sought was a simpler style of music, 'without a traditional ecclesiastical accent', using instruments other than the piano or organ, such as the recorder, trumpet, clarinet and strings.¹⁷ Composers were to be asked if they would consider working directly with congregations to develop new forms of church music and to test the new material in congregational worship. It was anticipated that much of this type of composition would be used for a period of time and then discontinued. 'Do you think it is possible to have a "disposable" music that is free of the pretentiousness of "pop" as it is normally understood?', Routley asked.¹⁸ He acknowledged that the scheme 'might not come off'. It was one of the new directions to be considered.¹⁹

The second Scottish Churches' Music Consultation, held 8-10 October 1963, assessed the function of church music and how to provide adequate resources for contemporary worship. Ian Fraser reported: 'The thinking of the Consultation ranged over music in the worship of the Church, the meaning of music for people of very different kinds of background, and practical experiments being undertaken and practical work to do.'²⁰ The group began their work by discussing two points from a written submission by Anthony Hedges, who raised questions about the role of music in a church service and about the idea of 'disposable' church music.²¹ 'We need to consider afresh, without any prejudice of custom or association, what reason we have for including music

¹⁷ Ibid. Yet, it was Routley who had brought tapes of Beaumont's and Williamson's church music to the 1962 meetings. Had he changed his mind about the usefulness of such models?

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ David Goodall does not recall that any 'systematic contact' was ever made with churches about such a scheme, although 'soundings' may have been taken. Letter to author, 16 October 1998.

²⁰ 'Music in the Church, 1963', 1.

²¹ Anthony Hedges, editor of *Sunday School Praise* (1958), lectured in counterpoint and music history at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music at Glasgow, 1957-63. *Handbook to the Church Hymnary, Third Edition*, ed. by John M. Barkley (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 281.

in a Church Service,' Hedges wrote. Instead of trying to choose music to fill a set number of places in each worship service, he suggested that it could be useful to assess the functions of music in worship and then determine what type of music, if any, would be required at each point in the service. His comments were favourably received. It was agreed that hymn singing generally served as a 'fill-in' or a 'stimulant' in the service. 'A real concern for music should make us concentrate on the development of an act of worship so that it really brings men and women into true relationship with God - particularly sacramental worship,' the report stated.²²

The idea of 'disposable' church music was controversial. Hedges objected to the presupposition that a composer should assume only temporary use of the work. In his view, 'a religious composer may communicate spiritual experience through his music.'²³ This led to debate over its potential to spark a spiritual response. It was one of the ways in which music could function in worship, but only high-quality music could be expected to achieve this purpose. Listeners would need to be trained to hear such music, through experience and education. How could one compose music to be used for a brief period? Others maintained that church music had to find its own niche, permanent or temporary. It needed to be tested, and proved or discarded: 'The Consultation as a whole thought that there was something in disposable music which was relevant to the experimental time we were in.'²⁴

The debate centred on matters of taste, as determined by personal experience. One of the difficulties acknowledged by the group was that most Protestants like themselves had been raised in the 'good music' tradition of church music. For others, 'a good crowd sing' could provide an acceptable alternative to the beauty of formal

²² 'Music in the Church, 1963', 1.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ 'Music in the Church, 1963', 2.

composition. Which was the way forward? Should hymn composers move in the direction of popular hymn singing? Should they try to bring the general public to appreciate the strengths of 'good music'? The report asked: 'Is there some point or points of common meeting? Or is all that we can say that we must be much more humble and teachable before an enjoyment of music which is not of the same kind as our own?'²⁵ There were no ready answers. Later in the session the group returned to this issue as members discussed the popularity of singing hymn tunes at rallies. Having had some time to think about the issue, concerns were raised about the danger of 'just letting people fall into self-gratification and self-indulgence' by wallowing in the sentiment of favourite, singable tunes without giving thought to the content of the hymns.²⁶

Colin Day introduced yet another type of popular religious music - in the form of experimental music for religious broadcasting on television. Working in the 'Kirk Week' Office in Glasgow, he was responsible for developing new programmes for Scottish Television. He gave a fascinating glimpse of the difficulties faced by television producers searching for a musical style acceptable to a varied audience outside the churches. According to the report, 'what was sought [presumably by Day and his staff] was some ballad-type idiom which was not strictly contemporary but which people today found singable and which they were at ease with musically.'²⁷ Day presented some of this experimental material. The members of the consultation found that these songs:

were strictly for the type of performance and the type of medium envisaged when they were written and that they lost their value if the performance were not professional. As a pointer to what might be done more generally it was not felt that these had achieved a bridging effect between different musical traditions. It was particularly queried whether the young people would find them up their street.²⁸

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

Day's goal was to find a singable contemporary idiom with which his audience would be 'at ease'. Was he looking for music his audience could sing? As it was for television, probably not; although the producer may still have assumed he needed a modified choral style for church music on television. To his audience at Scottish Churches' House in October 1963, his songs presented a new performance idiom developed specifically for television. They were impressed by the need to have professional musicians perform this new style of church music. A television audience was not a congregation. Perhaps unwittingly, the television producer was not trying to write congregational hymns. Instead, his work came closer to a twentieth-century Scottish version of West Gallery music, where community musicians performed music for public worship.²⁹ Performance music was not the goal of the consultation, however well it might suit television broadcasting. The group also came to the conclusion that this form of music would probably not appeal to youth. Their reasoning was not given in the report. Was it because the music may have been directed to an older audience?

European forms of contemporary church music were introduced by Werner Becher, a German pastor from Emmanuel House in Glasgow. He brought to the consultation some examples of French and German church music, performed by groups and by individuals. In the mid-1960s a number of competitions in experimental church music were being held in Germany. One song, 'Danke', won favour among the group; and 'certain French ballads showed a winning jauntiness or esprit.' Nevertheless, the consultation found that 'there was still some doubt about whether a note was being struck which would help us to gain the right kind of musical ear today.'³⁰

²⁹ Professor Nicholas Temperley commented on the similarity between this type of professional, popularly-styled music performed by a worship leaders' group and the West Gallery style of music known in the eighteenth century, in conversation at St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church in York during a session of the International Hymn Conference, 11 August 1997, on 'The Future of Worship Song'. See also Ian Bradley, *Marching to the Promised Land: Has the Church a Future?* (London: John Murray, 1992), 110.

³⁰ Dunblane, 'Music in the Church', 2.

Reginald Barrett-Ayres suggested that the working group ought to gather at Scottish Churches' House early in the new year to write twelve texts and compose thirty-six tunes. 'These would be submitted to the most rigorous criticism in terms of their theology, their music and their capacity to communicate with congregations and to be sung with understanding and spirit by congregations.'³¹ The new materials would then be tested and assessed from the spring until the autumn consultation:

There would be an attempt to break obsolete forms, for instance abolishing the idea that hymns had to have lines and had to have regular metre. It might be possible to use material from modern versions of the Bible. The Psalms could be re-paraphrased. A good deal of discussion took place about the kind of writing which was needed, e. g. it was thought that the detail of industrial life belonged more to the bidding prayer and the sermon than to hymns and yet hymns which arose from the life of men today had to take account of the industrial context in which people lived. The need to preserve the note of mystery was underlined: and comment was made that in this space age, the new realisation of the marvel of the universe, this note could be related to man's present situation.³²

The emphasis upon tune writing was consistent with the thinking of the members of the consultation who had gathered to discuss the music of hymnody. However, it seems that this proposal may have marked a shift in direction in the work of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation. Without realizing it, the group's attention was moving from music to text. The mandate for the working group included trying out texts without lines and regular metre, in keeping with changing styles in secular poetry. The newest version of the Bible, the New English Bible (New Testament), had been published only two years earlier, adding to the biblical sources available to hymn writers. Translations by James Moffatt, William Barclay, Ronald A. Knox, J. B. Phillips and the American Revised Standard Version (1952) were readily available and were becoming known to congregations as churches chose to include the newer versions alongside the

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 3.

Authorized Version in their regular readings. A year earlier, at the first consultation, Erik Routley had introduced tapes of Joseph Gelineau's paraphrases of the Psalms, written in Hebraic rhythms. Now members of the group were being invited to experiment with the Old Testament texts. It was part of the rebirth of psalmody in the 1960s. The context of contemporary society could not be ignored. Members were urged to think about the industrial setting of urban lives, and - that most contemporary development in 1963 - entry into the space age. Yet, writers were also being urged 'to preserve the note of mystery' in their texts. It was a tall order.

One other aspect of writing was introduced at this point. Reginald Barrett-Ayres was interested in exploring the use of drama, possibly in place of the sermon, in experimental services of worship. It seemed that writers were available who were interested in creating this type of material. The report noted: 'here was a point where non-church writers could be brought in, both to contribute and assess.' The comment suggests that the members of the consultation were aware of a need to reach outside the church to develop new materials which would speak to the community at large.³³ Experiments with dramatic writing are evident in hymns, songs and psalm materials published in the *Dunblane Praises* series.

Toward the end of the session Tom Keir, from the *Revised Church Hymnary* committee, led a discussion about developing an ecumenical hymnary. The idea had been broached the previous year with enthusiasm. The time had now come to give it a serious airing. Ian Fraser has provided much of the detail of this debate in his article on 'Beginnings at Dunblane'.³⁴ Practical considerations, such as the expense of preparing a new hymnary, particularly at a time when some churches had recently produced new

³³ The 'Music /Drama' file at Scottish Churches' House contains plans for a meeting of a Drama Working Group on contemporary religious drama to be led by Reginald Barrett-Ayres in August 1967. A note indicates that this session was cancelled owing to his illness. It was to have been rescheduled for September 1968. No further notes exist in the file.

³⁴ Fraser, 'Beginnings at Dunblane', 174-75.

hymn books, and acceptance by all churches in order to achieve its purpose as a common book of ecumenical praise, were paramount in the view of the consultation. In the 1960s a keen interest existed in ecumenical conferences, and in promoting the work of the World Council of Churches. At the level of theological doctrine, ecumenical relationships were not as comfortable. Participants in the discussions at Dunblane knew how much reconciliation would be required to draw together into an ecumenical hymn book such disparate ideas on baptism, transubstantiation, and the veneration of Mary, to name a few contentious issues. A hymn book restricted to topics amenable to all churches would not be worth doing. Matters such as sharing communion at one table needed to be settled.³⁵ Perhaps it would be wiser to defer plans for an ecumenical hymnary until the direction of development in the church at large became clearer. Erik Routley favoured proceeding immediately with an ecumenical volume. He viewed Scottish culture as one which straddled denominational boundaries in such a way that a Scottish Churches' hymnary might succeed. No comment on that remark was noted in the report.³⁶ Other speakers thought a common lectionary 'would appear to be a more profitable next step ... to avoid standardisation which curbed vitality'.³⁷

³⁵ See Brian Wren's hymn, 'Lord Christ, the Father's mighty Son', one of his first hymns, written on the theme of sharing Holy Communion. It was included in *Dunblane Praises No. 1* (1965) at #3. See p. 114 below.

³⁶ Routley went on from Dunblane to become editor of the fourth edition of *Cantate Domino*, the ecumenical World Christian Student Federation hymn book, issued in 1974 under the auspices of the World Council of Churches. He also became a member of the editorial board of the American publication, *Ecumenical Praise* (Carol Stream, IL: Agape, 1977). Routley had begun advocating the development of a broadly-based ecumenical Christian hymnody as early as 2 November 1956, when he spoke to the Council of British Missionary Societies at Edinburgh House on the subject of ecumenical and missionary hymnody. He published a revised version of that address in a booklet entitled *Ecumenical Hymnody* (London: Independent Press Ltd, 1959).

³⁷ 'Music in the Church, 1963', 3. See also *The Revised Common Lectionary*, ed. by the Consultation on Common Texts (Winfield, BC: Wood Lake Books, Inc.; Nashville: Abingdon Press; and Norwich: The Canterbury Press Norwich, 1992). This ecumenical lectionary is based upon the Roman Catholic *Lectionary for the Mass*, 1969, and the *Common Lectionary*, 1983. Scripture readings in the 1992 edition are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (1989). Based in Washington, D.C., the Consultation on Common Texts is an ecumenical body, formed in North America in the mid-1960s 'as a forum for consultation on worship renewal'. (*The Revised Common Lectionary*, 7) The International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) is a member of this group. A Roman Catholic group of scholars, known as the International Consultation on English Texts, initiated the work in preparing

Jock Wilson and Reginald Barrett-Ayres produced the first pieces of music to come out of the consultation. Wilson composed a setting of 'Worthy is the Lamb', and Barrett-Ayres prepared two settings of the 'Nunc Dimittis'. The works prompted comments about the dearth of 'rhythmic interest' in existing hymn books, where melody took precedence over rhythm. Moreover, the opinion was voiced that: 'the Church was anaemic for want of use of prose psalms.' The choice of metrical psalms, and of related metrical psalm tunes selected for regular use, had also become restricted.³⁸ The report continued with an emphasis on the need for congregational input: 'Probably the most important thing of all is to get good congregational praise: that is, to get congregations participating with a clear understanding of what they are doing, and a willingness to take their part in building up worship.'³⁹

About the time these words were written, John Wilson, co-editor with Leonard Blake of *Hymns for Church and School* (1964), was embarking upon his personal campaign to encourage the growth of informed congregational participation in worship. Erik Routley had contributed the historical introduction on the development of English hymnody to Wilson's and Blake's public school hymn book. It is possible that, during the October 1963 sessions, Routley discussed John Wilson's insights and concerns with the members of the Dunblane consultation. The statement above reflected Wilson's personal creed.⁴⁰ Wilson and the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation shared the common wisdom of the day, that where choral skills were weak unison singing should be promoted. Colour and variety could be provided in the musical arrangement. The 1963 report gave the gist of this thinking: 'Far too often choirmasters attempted to get part-

biblical and liturgical texts in English. It has become the English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC).

³⁸ 'Music in the Church, 1963', 3.

³⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁰ See John Wilson, 'Who cares about hymns?', an address to the Methodist Church Music Society, 26 October 1966, on the topic of 'Congregational Practices', 13-14; Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 1, John Wilson Hymn Papers, Box IB: Lectures and Broadcasts pre-1970.

singing out of choirs which could not tackle this adequately on the resources they had. It would be much better to get good unison singing, building up the interest through the musical backing or the use of a variety of instruments.’⁴¹

A useful ferment

The consultation encouraged Erik Routley to proceed with his plan to link composers with congregations interested in doing experimental work in congregational music. It was anticipated that ‘if this could be developed it would produce a very useful ferment which could ensure other things of musical interest to sprout.’⁴² The working party would meet at Scottish Churches’ House in February 1964, to write new texts and tunes for distribution and congregational trial until the full consultation met again in the autumn. Its members included Reginald Barrett-Ayres, Erik Routley, Jock Wilson, John Currie, John Cheyne, Stewart Todd, Tom Keir and Ian Mackenzie. They were given two mandates. The first was to write new tunes for selected hymn texts from the *Revised Church Hymnary*. The second was to write new hymns, above all for topics not adequately represented in the existing hymnary. Themes to be considered included:

Baptism in relation to Christ’s baptism and baptism as incorporation; the Church militant in the Communion of Saints; eucharistic hymns; marriage hymns; hymns dealing with the mission ministries, [and] reconciling work of the World Church; the mystery of the Godhead; the Holy Spirit in its exciting Pentecostal manifestation and in the corporate action of the community; eschatological hymns; [and] processional hymns for certain occasions.⁴³

Clearly one of the goals for the working party was to provide new materials to be considered by the revision committee for the forthcoming hymnary of the Church of Scotland.

⁴¹ ‘Music in the Church, 1963’, 4.

⁴² Ibid. It appears that this plan was never implemented.

⁴³ ‘Music in the Church, 1963’, 4.

The consultation extended an open invitation to all its members, and to any interested parties outside its membership, to try writing draft texts and tunes. These works did not have to be submitted as polished, final products. The experimental nature of this assignment was highlighted by the fact that a working draft might be preferable, as 'it could suggest insights and a development which could be taken up and worked at.'⁴⁴ New materials were to be posted to Scottish Churches' House by 1 December 1963, in sufficient time to be duplicated and sent off to the members of the working party for critical assessment. It was suggested that tapes might be made available for congregations to test the new church music.

The first sets of hymns and tunes, the products of the spring working session, were sent out in August 1964 for critical assessment, trial and revision before the October consultation. The tunes remained anonymous. The texts, however, were identified by author. Evidently the consultation on church music remained primarily a music workshop - in the thinking of its co-ordinators. Routley asked that the composers' anonymity be respected until the revision work was completed. The set included one identified tune, a French hymn by Jean Langlais. It required translation. Further submissions were due by 25 August 1964. The fact that the group would receive new work for consideration, apart from the products of its working party, underscores its open, experimental nature. Additional materials would be distributed in September.

Two pieces of news were conveyed in the letters sent out in August. Erik Routley apologized in advance for his absence on the first day of the autumn consultation. On October 6th, he would be attending a meeting of the Proprietors of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* 'who are having a private consultation similar to ours. I shall be at our Consultation for the first session on the 7th, and hope to be able to tell you

⁴⁴ Ibid.

what has happened south of the Border. Possibly we may wish to exchange notes with those other explorers.’⁴⁵ He would be meeting with the group led by Canon K. W. Lowther Clarke, who were considering a supplement of modern hymns to *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950). Another member of the Scottish consultation, Ian Mackenzie, had participated in the first meeting convened by the *Hymns Ancient & Modern* committee on 3 March 1964. Peter Cutts also worked with the two committees.⁴⁶ It seemed to Ian Fraser that the Dunblane enterprise was ‘becoming British, not just Scottish’.⁴⁷ Fraser’s letter of 11 August 1964 explained Routley’s desire to be present for the first session on the morning of 7 October: Sydney Carter had agreed to attend the consultation and would be leading its work that morning. The agenda for the autumn meetings consisted of Carter’s session and ones on ‘composing and considering new hymns and new tunes for hymns’.⁴⁸ The time had come to test the thinking of the past two years.

The first session on 6 October was devoted to singing the texts and tunes submitted for analysis by members of the consultation. At the second session Stewart Todd led a discussion about hymn writing - on how to create strong hymn texts. Todd urged writers to restrict themselves to one or two ideas per hymn, rather than overwhelming a text with too many thoughts. He suggested that authors choose to write for one of three categories: 1) approach to God; 2) the Word of God; and 3) response to the Word of God. These categories reflected the revision of liturgy in which most of the large Christian denominations were engaged by the mid-1960s. For his third point Todd returned to the debate about the quality of hymn writing. He suggested that a hymn

⁴⁵ Erik Routley, undated letter [ca August 1964] to members of the Scottish Churches’ Music Consultation, ‘Music/Drama’ File, Dunblane.

⁴⁶ ‘Minutes of the Proprietors of Hymns Ancient & Modern, Church House, Westminster, 3 March 1964, Archives of the Canterbury Press, Norwich; included with a letter from Gordon A. Knights to author, 13 August 1997. Peter W. Cutts, letter to author, 1 March 2000.

⁴⁷ Fraser, ‘Beginnings at Dunblane’, 176.

⁴⁸ Ian Fraser, 11 August 1964, ‘Music/Drama’ File, Dunblane.

ought not to attract attention to itself as an art form - 'Forms should serve: not be too beautiful or too absorbing in themselves.'⁴⁹ Todd had suggested some useful terms by which the group could analyse the hymns before them.

The following morning Sydney Carter took the debate to the boundaries between church and secular music. Ian Fraser reported that 'he pointed to the way in which submerged belief and unbelief were becoming articulate' among the groups he knew.⁵⁰ Carter invited his audience to consider with him the concerns of the folk music community. The fellowship of people from diverse backgrounds, as experienced in coffee bars and pubs, seemed to Carter to be similar to the fellowship found within church congregations: 'from time to time moments of unity were experienced and [those present] became all of one mind, almost as in an act of worship.'⁵¹ By 1964 it was a worldwide network. Carter told his audience of the success of the folk movement in the United States, how it was overtaking jazz music in popularity. At the time the pirate station Radio Caroline was feeding much of the folk music being broadcast into the United Kingdom. Carter thought that Scotland had retained a firmer grip on the traditional music of its folk culture than England had. He argued that folk tune collectors and arrangers, such as Cecil Sharp, Ralph Vaughan Williams and others, had formalized British folk music. Much of this material had been further ironed out in schools, losing its character in the process.

Folk music had acquired an 'acceptable image'. It appealed to the under twenty-five year olds particularly. Furthermore, he pointed out, 'those who appreciate it [folk music] often appreciate classical music and, surprisingly often, church music.'⁵² There is no record of why he thought this was the case. Carter maintained that the element of

⁴⁹ 'Consultation on Music at Scottish Churches' House, Dunblane, 6th-8th October 1964', 'Music/Drama' File, 1.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 2.

drama in folk music was essential to its success. The skill of the performer determined to a large degree the effectiveness of the song. An experienced radio and television broadcaster, he also noted that religious programmes experienced greater freedom to experiment musically than other television programmes: 'There one is much freer of blue pencil interference.' It seemed to him that school broadcasts enjoyed similar privileges.⁵³ Towards the end of the session the discussion changed to the topic of religious theatre as an alternative to worship. The dramatic form might provide means to express religious concerns which could not be sung about in church. No topics were mentioned in the report.

Following Sydney Carter's presentation the next item on the agenda, coming under the general designation of Christian communication, was the nature of 'the 11 o'clock service'. All agreed it would be foolhardy to experiment freely with the traditional Sunday morning service. On the other hand, smaller groups might well serve as centres where experimental worship could take place and even provide a welcome alternative to familiar congregational practices. It was anticipated that new groups could spring up spontaneously to try experimental forms of worship; however, no such groups should be contrived for the purpose. The report continued:

They should be encouraged to present a theological challenge to the '11 a.m. service', since the powerful dialectic which could exist in worship, e.g. between doubt and faith, sin and salvation, is most often lost. There may well be a place for the expression of doubt, yearning, [and] uncertainty at the beginning of the service, and possibly particularly related to prayers of confession.⁵⁴

Out of the worship developed within these smaller units new liturgies might evolve. The participants in the consultation anticipated that it could require experimentation by a generation of church members before new forms of worship would become established.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Ian Fraser's notes caught fragments of these discussions, using terms current in 1964 - 'freedom to grow up', 'speaks to our condition', and 'religious "cabaret" song'.⁵⁵ He recorded a comment about 'the good songs at present are those of seekers not of finders; and for this the "cabaret" song is a fine vehicle.'⁵⁶ The group came to the conclusion that the use of a hymnal supplement, rather than a hymn book, would allow congregations to try various texts and tunes. It would suit the need for 'expendable' congregational song.

Members of the consultation reminded themselves that they had to be considerate of others and 'not cause them to stumble'. People needed to take part in the experiments to make them effective, but this was not done easily. A sense of humour would help, for 'humour is a way of acknowledging one's insufficiency'.⁵⁷ Humour was characteristic of medieval carols. The discussion then continued: 'It might be that the man who can write hymns is the man who can write good light verse - verse which is light but deep, making an immediate impact which gains the attention and then revealing level upon level of meaning.'⁵⁸ The value of dance in religious music entered the discussion at various points. Spirituals possessed a dance quality which made their repetition tolerable. The Salvation Army also made effective use of dance rhythms. 'Is the organ a dissuasive to real worship?' Some thought the organ was not a 'rhythmic' instrument. Perhaps it could be let go and other instruments be used with a percussion ensemble. Others defended the organ, which, in experienced hands, could give clear rhythmic leadership. Should new works be commissioned? The reply was that they should, but at the

⁵⁵ 'Music in the Church, 1964', 3.

⁵⁶ Ibid. David Goodall's 'I want to go out', first published in *Dunblane Praises No. 2* (1967), was arranged by Donald Swann into an effective 'cabaret' song and published in that form in *New Church Praise* (1975) at #42. David Goodall, 16 October 1998.

⁵⁷ 'Music in the Church, 1964', 3.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

individual congregational level, in order to be tested, accepted or rejected by local congregations, and revised if necessary before being released for general use.⁵⁹

Erik Routley reported on his visit with the proprietors of *Hymns Ancient & Modern*. As the two groups seemed to be working in related areas, the notion was considered that representatives of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* ought to be invited to work with the consultation. No further mention was made in the records at Dunblane of a potential collaboration.⁶⁰

The time had come to produce more new materials. Plans were made to allow members to work together to co-ordinate their efforts in writing texts and tunes. A variety of styles would be considered, from the traditional mode of text writing and tune composition to jazz and folk. Liturgies old and new ought to be examined closely for effectiveness. Works tried on television programmes might also be considered. The date for the working party session was set for November 1964. The next consultation was scheuled for May 1965 to provide materials for Colin Day to consider for 'Kirk Week' 1965. Members were asked to think about reaching out to the musical world and inviting representatives of different musical styles to the next consultation. Ian Fraser reported that the group deliberately decided to 'draw on the experience of unbelievers too'.⁶¹

⁵⁹ John Bell and Graham Maule, leaders of the Wild Goose Worship Group in the Iona Community, have followed this practice with notable success. They have adapted the Dunblane method of working collectively to produce hymns which are tested by the congregations for which they have been written and by groups meeting for worship at Iona. See 'An Introduction to Wild Goose Songs', by John L. Bell and Graham Maule, in *Heaven Shall Not Wait*, Wild Goose Songs No. 1 (Glasgow: The Iona Community, 1987), 7.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 4. Peter Cutts remembers the 1964 meeting as an exploratory session. He suspects that, after that meeting, Cyril Taylor had to persuade the members of the committee to proceed with the supplement. Cutts, 1 March 2000.

⁶¹ 'Beginnings at Dunblane', 178. He was thinking of secular composers, writers and performers (particularly among folk singers).

We have looked only for modern expressions of the great Christian themes, and for some way of responding to the emotional and religious demands of our time.

Preface

The first anthology of experimental hymns and songs, *Dunblane Praises No. 1*, became available in January 1965. The materials appeared in manuscript form, to emphasize that this was a trial edition. The Dunblane group sought feedback from all who purchased copies of *Dunblane Praises No. 1*. It was hoped that congregations who tested these materials would submit reports to the secretary, Ian Fraser, or directly to members of the consultation. “‘Experimental’ is the important word,” Fraser wrote in the preface. Some sources of texts and tunes in the collection were identified as ‘Dunblane’. Such pieces were the product of ‘communal thinking and criticism’. The purpose of the collection was to stimulate further hymn writing and composition. It was not expected that this material would enter the core body of Christian hymnody.

The book offered a wide range of hymns and songs designed to meet the needs of different congregations and of groups within congregations. The editors noted that it was unlikely that any congregation would choose to sing all the items in the book. Some of its hymns would fit Sunday morning services; others would fit better at meetings or conferences. A few in this first collection were written for youth. In the preface it was also pointed out that some items would suit a dramatic presentation, or an experimental liturgy. Accompaniment varied from the organ, or piano, to the use of guitars or instrumental groups. In the preface it is possible to discern elements from various debates of the first three meetings of the Scottish Churches’ Music Consultation held between 1962 and 1964.

The group looked forward to publishing a series of collections which would explore several forms of church music. In the next publication they hoped to include

‘pop’ hymns, as none of this sort of church song was found in the first collection. The Dunblane group had ‘not laid down any narrow definition of the need, or of the form which new hymns should take to meet it’.⁶² Instead it was looking for new ways to express Christian truths in the spirit and language of the day.

Three experimental formats were evident in the sixteen pieces in this first collection. One was the pattern established in the 1950s, where new music structures were applied to familiar hymn texts. That these hymns were placed at the end of the collection suggests that the model created by the 20th Century Church Music Group was about to be overtaken by newer forms of hymn writing.⁶³ Secondly, hymn writers experimented with new structures applied to new hymn texts. The new thinking was tested in a variety of ways: in subject matter (for example, ‘Lord, look upon our working days’, a hymn by Ian Fraser about factory, office and commercial work); by using different textual models (such as Fraser’s hymn-poem ‘Christ, burning past all suns’, and Didier Rimaud’s antiphonal hymn ‘God, your glory we have seen in your son’); and by trying various forms of contemporary language throughout the collection of hymns.⁶⁴ A third format, that of writing in conventional verse patterns to enable congregations to sing texts which expressed new theological views, had been used effectively by Albert Bayly and George W. Briggs among others. Brian Wren took this model for his ‘Lord Christ, the Father’s mighty son’, a hymn on Christian unity expressing the desire for a common Eucharist table to be shared by Christians of all denominations.⁶⁵ The three formats provide a framework for discussing the hymns published in *Dunblane Praises No. 1*.

⁶² ‘Preface’, *Dunblane Praises No. 1* (Dunblane Consultation on Music, Series 1, 1965).

⁶³ Examples were included at #10 to #16.

⁶⁴ Ibid., #1, #2, and #8.

⁶⁵ Ibid., #3.

The first hymn spoke of the nature of work. It was an attempt to interpret the Christian calling of labour, a theme discussed at the 1963 consultation.⁶⁶ Ian Fraser's 'Lord, look upon our working days, / busied in factory, office, store;' was derived from his personal experience as an ordained labourer (following the example of French worker priests), and his subsequent twelve-year ministry among dockyard employees in Rosyth. He asked: 'May wordless work thy name adore, / the common round spell out thy praise?'⁶⁷ The text acknowledged the experience of doubt:

Bent to the lot our crafts assign,
Swayed by deep tides of need and fear,
In loyalties torn, the truth unclear,
How may we build to thy design?

and prayed for pardon:

Cover our faults with pardon full,
Shield those who suffer when we shirk:
Take what is worthy in our work,
Give it its portion in thy rule.⁶⁸

Written in long metre, the poetic structure was traditional, with an ABBA rhyming scheme throughout. The language was contemporary, except in the author's use of the second person singular 'thy'. Because the New English Bible (New Testament), published less than four years earlier, had retained the vocabulary of 'thee/thou/thy', this style was still current in hymn language. The tune, ST. BLANE, was itself a product of the working party's efforts, composed by Erik Routley and named in honour of the medieval monk who founded a religious community at Dunblane - the 'home of Blane'.

'Christ burning past all suns' was an attempt to break from the traditional structure of hymnody. Written in poetic rather than biblical imagery, this piece did not look like a traditional hymn:

⁶⁶ See p. 99 above.

⁶⁷ Dunblane [Ian Fraser], 'Lord, look upon our working days', *Dunblane Praises No. 1*, #1, v. 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vv. 2 and 5.

Christ, burning
 past all suns,
 stars beneath thy feet
 like leaves on forest floor:
 Man, turning
 spaceward, shuns
 knowledge incomplete,
 fevered to explore.⁶⁹

The contents touched upon a number of contemporary interests. Having referred to exploration in outer space, it also addressed the deep fear of atomic warfare prevalent during the Cold War. Both were products of the intense post-war rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. In the second verse, Fraser associated Christ with the Creator who designs the scientific structure of the world. He contrasted:

Christ, holding
 atoms in one,
 loom of light and power
 to weave creation's life:

with:

Man, moulding
 rocket, gun,
 turns creation sour,
 plots dissolving strife.⁷⁰

The hymn text also acknowledged growing restlessness and uncertainty among youth in the mid-1960s:

Youth, restive,
 seek new word,
 beat of life in blood,
 chill of death in heart.⁷¹

The hymn closed with references to the restoration of peace and hope in the world: 'inch our gains of peace, / work a work of hope.'⁷²

⁶⁹ Dunblane [Ian Fraser], 'Christ, burning past all suns', *Dunblane Praises No. 1*, #2, v. 1. It was set to a new hymn tune composed at Dunblane for solo voice or high voices singing in unison. A second arrangement of the tune for congregational singing was also included.

⁷⁰ Ibid., v. 2.

⁷¹ Ibid., v. 3:5-8.

⁷² #2, v. 4: 7-8. See also Fraser, 'Beginnings at Dunblane', 185-87, for his account of this hymn.

Brian Wren's 'Lord Christ, the Father's mighty Son', based on John 17.21, was set to the tune HAMPTON POYLE composed by Peter Cutts for this text. 'Make all our scattered churches one / That the world may believe:' the hymn was written out of the pain of rejection Wren had experienced at an ecumenical service where the communion meal was refused to worshippers from Christian denominations other than the host church. The text concluded: 'But reconcile our warring views / That the world may believe.'⁷³ In this hymn the first three lines of each verse referred to Christ's ministry on earth; the last two lines offered a prayer for united belief in Christ.

The fourth hymn was different in content and style from other hymns in the collection. David Goodall's 'When the pious prayers we make / are a wall of pride' was set to a jazz tune he composed for the text. It had been sung previously at a youth conference:

When the pious prayers we make
are a wall of pride,
lest the faithful few awake
to the world outside;
when a man won't mix with a race
which he disapproves,
only God descends to make clean the face
of the world he loves.⁷⁴

The view expressed here was that of a person inside the church who was not afraid to identify human weakness within the institution, but it was too sharply ironic for widespread adoption as a congregational hymn. The text probed the contentment of the corporate church of its day. Set in the jazz idiom, its content and structure would appeal to young people searching for answers to doubt about the purpose and function of the congregational church in the world as they knew it. The song is similar to Sydney Carter's protest songs; but it offered more than social criticism in that each verse ended

⁷³ Brian Wren, 'Lord Christ, the Father's mighty Son', #3, v.1: 4-5 and v. 4: 4-5. Wren wrote this hymn while he was a student at Mansfield College, Oxford.

⁷⁴ David Goodall, 'When the pious prayers we make', #4, v. 1.

with an affirmation of a central tenet of the Judaeo-Christian covenant with God.

Human pride and sin were the subjects of the first six lines, and God's response to human waywardness was clearly stated in lines seven and eight. In the first verse Goodall named the sin of retreating behind a ritual of public confession while ignoring responsibility for the conditions of the surrounding community, citing as a specific example the case of blatant racism. This was written in the early 1960s when the turmoil of interracial tension was rising in British cities. His response recalled the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament: 'only God descends to make clean / the face of the world he loves.'

In the second verse, the blindness of self-deception - by succumbing to the lure of attractive lies and giving way to the temptation of lust and greed - could be put right by 'the Word of the Lord / made flesh in the world he loves'. Goodall made the point that it is God's people who have abandoned the covenant, yet God in Christ continues to be active in the world through those who choose to acknowledge God's presence.

The hymn did not 'take'. Perhaps there were too many ideas in it to make it work as a congregational hymn or song. It also issued great challenges to comfortable congregational self-esteem. The syncopated rhythms in the jazz setting probably limited it to use among youth groups. The critical text and the musical setting would suit them, particularly as it was so different from hymns for children and from hymns for adults.

John Geyer was another hymn writer who, in 'Our risen Lord we will adore', worked within the traditional hymn structure to express the hope of the 1960s that perhaps war was truly defeated and that the kingdom of God was at hand:

The elemental powers are dead,
The rule of sin and fear,
All by our God are captive led:
His kingdom now draws near.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Dunblane [John B. Geyer], 'Our risen Lord, we will adore', #5, v. 3. It was set to ALLELUIA SURREXIT, a hymn tune composed at Dunblane.

'Christ the Lord is risen from the tomb' was a song of praise with a spirited tune sung in unison.⁷⁶ The text and its tune were attributed to 'Dunblane'. The words were from I Corinthians 15. 54-55: 'Death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' A strong scriptural song, it seemed to have been patterned after the hymn writing in the early Christian church. It was not a folk song, or a protest song, and it was not a children's hymn. Its setting began in a simple unison and then it ventured into dissonant chords which may have deterred congregations and church musicians unused to its musical language. The performance comment on the back page of the book suggested that this tune could be taught by rote and be accompanied by any choice of instruments. The sequence of closing lines created an effective Easter proclamation:

Christ the Lord is risen from the tomb.
 Christ the Lord is risen from the grave.
 Christ the Lord is risen! Let us sing.

One gap targeted by members of the consultation was in church music celebrating Pentecost. John Geyer provided a text set by Eric Reid for women's voices in unison. In this case, too, the choice of instrumentation was open. In 'Fire is lighting torch and lamp at night', the Holy Spirit is portrayed as an active agent of spiritual transformation through fire, wind and water, giving the hymn its impetus. The author was also experimenting with descriptive language:

Water gushes down the cleft of space,
 Living water and spring of grace.
 Come, O Spirit, God, Creator, now,
 Grant us thy life and thy light.⁷⁷

The next hymn was imported, in part, from France: 'God, your glory we have seen in your Son' was a product of the French *Bible de Jérusalem*.⁷⁸ It was an antiphonal setting prepared for the Bible and Liturgy Congress held at Strasbourg in

⁷⁶ [Dunblane], 'Christ the Lord is risen from the tomb', #6.

⁷⁷ Dunblane [John B. Geyer], 'Fire is lighting torch and lamp at night', #7, v. 3.

⁷⁸ Didier Rimaud, S.J., translated by Ronald Johnson and Brian Wren, 'God, your glory we have seen in your son', #8, to DIEU NOUS AVONS VU TA GLOIRE by Jean Langlais.

1957. Jean Langlais composed the setting. The original text was by Didier Rimaud, a Jesuit priest. It was the only Roman Catholic piece in *Dunblane Praises No. 1*. The translation was made for the Scottish group; Ronald Johnson wrote the antiphon, and Brian Wren translated the verses. Langlais set the antiphon in unison to facilitate congregational singing, itself an innovation in Roman Catholic worship in the 1950s. The verses could be sung in unison or in harmony. It represented the development of vernacular liturgies within the Roman Catholic Church, which became models of liturgical reform for Protestant denominations. Rimaud's hymn would be the one piece from the Dunblane series of publications eventually accepted by the revision committee for the *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* (1973).⁷⁹

James Fraser, a self-declared agnostic, contributed the carol "'Where is he?', the wise men asking'. The text was an item gathered by an unidentified member of the working party which met in 1964. Its subject was the Christmas story of the visit by the wise men to see the infant Jesus in Bethlehem. The tale had been reset in twentieth-century Bethlehem amid the early-morning clamour of dustbins and the music of dancing at the inn:

Morning brought the clang of dustbins
City cleaners passing by.
Long we knelt in adoration,
In the inn the dancers swirled.⁸⁰

The author used an inverted sentence structure; perhaps for him it was an essential element of a religious text. The piece was set as a folk song for guitar and voice, the verse to be sung as a solo and the refrain treated as a chorus. The refrain was colloquial: 'In a shake-down in the garage / Lies the Saviour of the world.' This carol was an

⁷⁹ The French hymn, in its Dunblane version, was published in *The Australian Hymn Book* (Blackburn, Victoria: Collins Liturgical Australia, 1977), #395. Wesley Milgate gives a full account of its origins in *Songs of the People of God: A Companion to The Australian Hymn Book/With One Voice* (Sydney: Collins Liturgical Australia, 1982, rev. ed. 1985), #395 (pp. 156-157).

⁸⁰ Anonymous [James Fraser], "'Where is he?', the wise men asking', #9, v. 2:3-6. (Fraser was no relation to Ian Fraser.)

experiment in setting the traditional story in a contemporary context using the folk-song style of Sydney Carter and others.

New tunes composed for known texts began at the tenth hymn. In this case Horatius Bonar's 'Fill thou my life, O Lord my God, / In every part with praise' was set to a simple solo melody accompanied by a series of sustained chords for organ. Ian Fraser wrote a new set of words for the tune. Both texts were printed below the tune. Fraser's was a Christmas text: 'Bright angels thrumming through the air / Announce a holy birth.' The text held to the traditional story, but it highlighted the paradox of a powerful king who came to earth as a helpless child:

He who all power and might commands,
Of time and space the king,
Is cradled in a mother's hands,
Is made a little thing, –

Not in a blaze of terrors wild,
High majesty expressed,
But in a frail and helpless child
Held to a mother's breast⁸¹

CLARITAS was composed for the Student Christian Movement's quadrennial congress in Bristol in 1963.⁸² The only tune arranged in four parts among the sixteen items in this collection, it provided a new and unusual setting for Charles Wesley's 'Love divine, all loves excelling.' GIFFORD was a unison setting of Bonar's 'By the Cross of Jesus standing', which moved from 2/2 into 5/4 back to 2/2 and into 3/2 before finishing in 5/4. It was an experimental rhythm pattern probably intended to follow the speech rhythms of the text, as advocated by Sir Walford Davies. The tempo was described as 'speaking speed'. Both tunes offered a modern interpretation of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century hymn texts.

⁸¹ Dunblane [Ian Fraser], 'Bright angels thrumming through the air', #10-B, vv. 2 and 3.

⁸² Performance Notes, #11, on the inside of the back cover of *Dunblane Praises No. 1*.

David Goodall contributed two new tunes in addition to his song. The first, an unnamed tune to Lewis Hensley's 'Thy kingdom come, O God', was a unison setting of a hymn anticipating the coming of the kingdom of God. Despite the fact that Hensley's text was almost a century old, it remained apt in 1965:

When comes the promised time
That war shall be no more –
Oppression, lust and crime
Shall flee thy face before?⁸³

Not only did this hymn text raise the spectre of war, the text also brought to mind the theological debates over the existence of God which were taking place at the time of the Dunblane consultations. Hensley wrote:

Men scorn thy sacred name
And wolves devour thy fold;
By many deeds of shame
We learn that love grows cold.⁸⁴

It was a text similar to the searching texts David Goodall himself was writing. Goodall's second contribution was a unison setting of 'Stand up and bless the Lord', named MONTGOMERY after the author of the hymn text. It was in free rhythm throughout. The composer provided a musical cue to prepare congregations for their entries, using a staccato rising fourth immediately before the start of each line of text.⁸⁵

Reginald Barrett-Ayres composed a new setting for F. S. Pierpoint's 'For the beauty of the earth'. The Latin tune name SACRIFICIUM LAUDIS referred to the phrase 'sacrifice of praise' in the refrain of Pierpoint's communion hymn - an example of an old custom applied to a new tune. The final entry was KIRK WEEK, a hymn tune composed by Barrett-Ayres for Horatius Bonar's 'Glory be to God the Father, / Glory be to God the Son', taken from a report of Kirk Week in Ayr, 1962.

⁸³ Lewis Hensley, 'Thy kingdom come, O God', #13, v. 2:1-4.

⁸⁴ #13, v. 3:1-4.

⁸⁵ *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977), #383(ii), included David Goodall's MONTGOMERY as a setting for 'Stand up and bless the Lord'. See also Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985) #383 (p. 153).

The work by the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation was experimental. Members of the consultation began their work by focussing on church music to provide new materials for use in worship. While church liturgies were being rewritten, a demand was created for new settings of the service. The purpose of the consultation was to make a thorough examination of the function of church music. The shift in emphasis from tune to text seems to have been a natural progression in the development of new hymn writing, one which took place so finely as to go unnoticed by the participants. Composers and hymn-text writers took their work seriously. The contents of *Dunblane Praises No. 1*, and subsequent publications in the Dunblane series, were transitional works serving as bridges to newer styles of hymn writing which would emerge during the last three decades of the twentieth century. Elements of atonal composition and jazz music were tested, as were various styles of text. New materials were prepared for liturgical use and for worship among youth and among children. The experiments at Dunblane, carried out by *experienced composers and writers representing clergy and laity*, were unique in scope and intensity.⁸⁶ Elsewhere the ferment which fuelled the Scottish consultation was emerging in various pockets around the world. Hymnal supplements began to document the hymn writing activity.

⁸⁶ Paul Westermeyer, *With Tongues of Fire: Profiles in 20th Century Hymn Writing* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 19. 'There was no comparable meeting in the 1960s on this side of the Atlantic.' Instead the initiative towards new hymn writing came from American songbooks and youth worship books.

Chapter 4 Lighter Styles and the Use of Contemporary Language

Vernacular hymnody

One of our real needs is for new hymns to sing the impact of Christ upon the world around us.

Hubert Cunliffe-Jones

As Cunliffe-Jones wrote these words in 1965 the hymns he was seeking were being written in communities around the world, more often than not to meet a need for texts and tunes suited to local congregational worship. The methodology of the Dunblane experiments reflected current practice, where a minister or a church musician created new hymns and songs to convey the themes of the service. Such material was put immediately to the test within its creator's community and was refined by experience before publication. 'Expendable' church music became the substance of hymnal supplements published, privately and corporately, during the decade Cunliffe-Jones had allocated for new hymn writing. Hymn writing followed two broad ways - a traditional style, using the hymn form but written in contemporary language, and an informal or lighter style, frequently using the form of a religious song.

New hymnody was emerging in Australia, New Zealand and the United States as well as in Great Britain during the 1960s; but not, however, in the concentrated production of entirely new texts and tunes as experienced at the Dunblane consultations on church music. Committees preparing new worship materials for their churches compiled items from many sources, including some original texts and tunes, to produce the first experimental supplements to their existing hymnals.

An ecumenical experiment

At the end of 1966, the Joint Board of Christian Education of Australia and New Zealand published *Songs of Faith*, an ecumenical collection of hymns and songs 'for

genuine contemporary worship in churches, schools, camps and conferences and informal singalongs'.¹ The compilers of this eclectic songbook drew upon recent hymns written by Australian and New Zealand authors and composers, and they introduced materials representing the newest hymn writing from around the English-language world. In effect the compilers created a preliminary model for a world church anthology. Roland Giese conveyed his committee's excitement about the changing aspect of song in contemporary worship:

Today there is an urgent request for a song to express the Christian faith in a way which rings true for the 20th century. 'Songs of Faith' is published in response to that request. ... Although we include a number of modern compositions, we do not expect this selection to be definitive. We are only at the beginning of the songs which will arise from the Christian revolution which is coming upon us.²

The collection embraced a mix of new and old hymns to supplement existing hymnaries in use by Australian and New Zealand congregations. The committee acknowledged the contributions of all who had submitted manuscripts; moreover, Giese encouraged hymn writers to send new work to the Joint Board of Christian Education in anticipation of further publications. Anglicans, Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians in Australia had formed committees to revise their respective congregational hymn books. In 1968 representatives of these hymnal committees would agree to prepare a joint ecumenical volume under the direction of the Australian Hymn Book Committee.³ *Songs of Faith* provided a taste of the materials to be considered by that committee.

It opened with a 'new' hymn which was probably known to many congregations, Harry Emerson Fosdick's 'God of grace and God of glory' from 1930. Recent materials

¹ *Songs of Faith* (Melbourne: The Joint Board of Christian Education in Australia and New Zealand, 1966). See 'Foreword' by Roland Giese, November 1966. The use of the word 'genuine' is intriguing: it suggests that the Board felt that much contemporary worship was actually not contemporary - or perhaps not genuine.

² Ibid.

³ 'Committee Foreword' by Lawrence Bartlett, to *The Australian Hymn Book* (Blackburn, Victoria: Collins Liturgical Australia, 1977), ix.

from English sources included Sydney Carter's 'Lord of the dance', written only three years earlier in 1963. Five of Carter's songs were scattered through the songbook, including 'Standing in the rain', 'Judas and Mary', 'Bitter was the night' and 'Every star shall sing a carol'.⁴ The work of the Notting Hill ecumenical ministry in London was represented by Geoffrey Ainger's 'Mary's child', 'Men from the east came to Mary' and 'Crucify that man'.⁵ *Dunblane Praises No. 1* was identified as the source of the nativity carol set in a contemporary urban community, "'Where is he?" the wise men asking'. Ian Fraser's hymn from that source, 'Lord, look upon our working days' was printed, in addition to G. A. Studdert-Kennedy's hymn for the Industrial Christian Fellowship written in the 1920s, 'When through the whirl of wheels and engines humming'.⁶

The *Rodborough Hymnal* (1964) was known to the committee, who chose 'O God of towns and city squares' by John Ticehurst, and it also chose Joan G. Rogers's adaptation of the parable of the Good Shepherd into a hymn about multicultural Christian brotherhood.⁷ Ticehurst's text introduced imagery about urban commuting and office work into a hymn. It had unexpected phrases alluding to alienation in urban society - 'O God ... of those with friends, and those without, / of those with faith, and those with doubt':

O God of towns and city squares,
Where rush-hour kills our morning prayers,
Be with us all, we ask:
Give patience in the haste each day,
So guard our lips and what we say
that joy may fill our task.

⁴ *Songs of Faith*, #16, #21, #38 and #81 respectively, all written between 1961 and 1964.

⁵ *Ibid.*, #7, #37 and #43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, #46 and #23.

⁷ *The Rodborough Hymnal* was a hymnal supplement, compiled in 1964 by John and Mary Ticehurst for Rodborough Tabernacle Congregational Church, Gloucestershire (now Rodborough United Reformed Church). A number of hymns by Albert Bayly were published for the first time in this collection, including his harvest hymn 'Praise and Thanksgiving'. None of Bayly's hymns appeared in *Songs of Faith*, however. Information about *The Rodborough Hymnal* is taken from *Enchiridion* (1998), a trial edition of a compact disc resource being developed by David S. Goodall and Bernard S. Massey.

O God — of office, desk and stool,
 Of drawing-board and typing-pool,
 Of every shop and store;
 Of those with friends, and those without,
 Of those with faith, and those with doubt —
 Be near us evermore.⁸

Joan Rogers used the parallel structure of strophic hymn verse to link two contrasting ways of doing Christ's work in the world - the mission of rebuilding distant communities and the mission of local outreach to newcomers in expanding British cities. It was an attempt to express urgent social concerns in the language of worship:

We would remember those who serve —
 The black man and the white —
 In distant lands where hate divides
 The flock they would unite.
 They strive together in Christ's name
 To heal and house and feed
 The victims of men's lust for power,
 The helpless tools of greed.

Yet many sheep of other folds
 Today are close at hand.
 They come to live and learn and work
 From many a far-off land.
 And are they welcomed when they come?
 Their problems understood?
 And do they find the helping hand
 Of Christian brotherhood?

She concluded:

O give us wider vision, Lord,
 To see that all are thine —
 Each race and colour, creed and tongue
 Form part of one design.⁹

The committee also made use of American worship songbooks. Members selected ten spirituals, some of which were less predictable than 'Let us break bread together on our knees', 'Lord, I want to be a Christian' and 'We are climbing Jacob's

⁸ Ibid., #52, vv. 1 and 3.

⁹ Ibid., # 54, vv. 2, 3, and 4:5-8.

ladder', also present in the collection.¹⁰ From the publishing firm Co-operative Recreation Service, Inc., they obtained rounds and other part-songs, including translations of German songs such as 'Come and Sing' based on Psalm 106.1.¹¹ A number of pieces were selected from the American Lutheran Church's collection *Songs for Today*, edited by Ewald Bash and John Ylvisaker. This set of biblical songs contained a paraphrase of Psalm 137 by Ewald Bash which would become widely used in supplements and hymn books. A footnote described 'By the Babylonian rivers' as 'a prayer for modern refugees or victims of tyranny'.¹² It became a lament for those who had been forced into exile in the twentieth century.

Drawing upon the relatively recent publication of hymns from neighbouring southeast Asia, the committee chose several by Daniel T. Niles from his *East Asia Christian Conference Hymnal* (1963). 'Come let us sing unto the Lord / songs of all our joy and praise' was a paraphrase of Psalm 95. Another was a communion hymn, 'Holy, most holy Lamb of God', and the third, his Trinitarian hymn beginning 'Father in heaven', all prepared for use by the member churches of the East Asia Christian Conference.¹³ It was this hymnal supplement which reversed the tide of missionary hymns by introducing hymns and songs from eastern churches into the essentially western culture of English-speaking congregations in Australia and New Zealand and elsewhere.¹⁴

¹⁰ Ibid., # 78, #68 and #40; less familiar texts identified as spirituals included #29) 'Amen, Amen / See the baby lying in a manger' and #77) 'Tell me, how did you feel when you come out the wilderness'. No sources were given for these selections.

¹¹ Ibid., #62.

¹² Ibid., #76. From *Songs for Today*, ed. by Ewald Bash and John Ylvisaker (Minneapolis, MN: for the American Lutheran Church, by Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1964). For a detailed account of the use of this paraphrase of Psalm 137 see Wesley Milgate, *A Companion to Sing Alleluia* (Sydney: The Australian Hymn Book Pty Ltd, 1988), #16 (p. 36).

¹³ Ibid., # 72, #82 and #91.

¹⁴ See the 'Preface' to *Sound the Bamboo*, ed. by I-to Loh, Francisco Feliciano and James Minchin (Manila: Asian Institute for Liturgy and Music and the Christian Conference of Asia, trial edition, 1990), 10: 'Even though the book [*The E.A.C.C. Hymnal*] has had little impact on the repertoire of local congregations, its use at international Christian gatherings has heralded elements of Asian spirituality and enriched the life and witness of the ecumenical movement. Importantly it has stimulated later

The work of four individuals in *Songs of Faith* represented new directions in hymn writing by Australian and New Zealand contributors. Two Australian Roman Catholics, James McAuley and Richard Connolly, were already known for their work in the *Living Parish* series of hymns and songs published between 1959 and 1966. A newly-ordained Anglican priest, James Minchin from Melbourne, and the Methodist organist and composer Colin Gibson from Dunedin, New Zealand, were beginning their work in the field. All four contributors were musicians and writers. McAuley, a poet and translator of the 'Song of Songs' for the *Jerusalem Bible*, used Joseph Gelineau's model of antiphonal settings for cantor and choir in his own writing of hymns in contemporary language for Australian Roman Catholic congregations.¹⁵ Five were selected from *We Offer the Mass* (1959), *Hymns for the Year of Grace* (1963) and *The Living Parish Hymn Book*, second edition (1964).¹⁶ The first, a hymn for Christmas, 'Now let men and angels sing', conveyed the sense of new beginnings which pervaded many texts from the 1960s:

generations of Asian Christians to express their faith through hymnody that wells up from their own heritage, place and time.' The *E.A.C.C. Hymnal* strongly influenced the fourth edition of *Cantate Domino*, published by the World Council of Churches. While its use among local congregations may not have been great, its influence is noticeable in denominational hymn books published in North America since the late 1980s in the significant number of hymns printed in Asian languages and set to Asian hymn tunes printed in the Methodist, Presbyterian and United Church of Canada hymn books.

¹⁵ James McAuley was named as one of the principal translators and literary revisers of *The Jerusalem Bible*, along with Walter Shewring and J. R. R. Tolkien among others. *The Jerusalem Bible*, Alexander Jones, general editor (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1966). McAuley, an Anglican, converted to Roman Catholicism in 1951. He began writing poetry in the 1940s; in 1960 he was appointed Reader in Poetry at the University of Tasmania, and Professor of English from 1961 until his death in 1976. He was also a church organist, with an interest in jazz piano. Wesley Milgate, *Songs of the People of God: A Companion to The Australian Hymn Book/With One Voice* (Sydney: Collins Liturgical Australia, 1982, rev. ed. 1985), 284-85. Richard Connolly, composer and organist, was a staff composer with the Australian Broadcasting Commission, becoming Director of Radio Drama and Features by the mid-1980s. He collaborated with James McAuley between 1959 and 1966 writing some hymn texts and composing tunes for *The Living Parish Hymn Book* (Sydney, 1961; second edition, 1964). He was also a contributor to two English Roman Catholic hymn books, *Praise the Lord* (revised edition, 1972) and the *Catholic Community Hymnal* (1974). Milgate, 236.

¹⁶ *Songs of Faith*, #11 'Now let men and angels sing'; #35 'By your kingly power' (*Australian Hymn Book* #306); #48 'O Jesus crucified' (*AHB* #273); #50 'Come, O Jesus' (*AHB* #211); and #53 'Seek, O seek the Lord' (*AHB* #397).

Antiphon:

Now let men and angels sing
A new song, a new song;
Christ is born, our saviour King.

Verse:

The old world has vanished,
A new age begun,
Darkness is banished,
Bright shines our sun.¹⁷

The second text was an Easter hymn:

Antiphon:

By your kingly power, O risen Lord,
All that Adam lost is now restored:
In your resurrection be adored.

Verse:

Sing the joyful Easter cry,
Sound it to the souls in prison,
Shout our triumph to the sky
Sing Christ risen,
Sing Christ risen.¹⁸

His Advent hymn linked Adam with the ultimate redemption of God's people at the

Second Coming of Christ:

Antiphon:

Come, O Jesus,
Come, O Lord,
Fulfiller of the Father's word.

¹⁷ Ibid., #11, v. 1.

¹⁸ Ibid., #35, v. 1 It was first published in *Hymns for the Year of Grace* (1963). Two verses only appeared in *Songs of Faith*. The version published later in the *Australian Hymn Book* (#306) included a third verse for baptism. The hymn book committee obtained the author's permission to change the baptismal reference from 'newborn child' to newborn soul' to make the text suitable for adult baptism. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), #306 (pp. 132-33):

Death has lost and life has won;
every newborn soul we christen
now becomes the Father's son:
sing Christ risen, sing Christ risen.

Drawing upon Romans 5: 15, 17-19, Romans 8: 14, and 1 Peter 3: 19-22, it is addressing a similar theme to that of John Geyer's hymn 'We know that Christ is raised', written in 1967 and based on Romans 6: 3-4, 9. Geyer's hymn was first published in *Hymns & Songs* (London: Methodist Publishing House, 1969), #72; and it may be found in *Rejoice and Sing* (1991) at #426. See Ch. 6, 225-26.

Verse:

When Adam fell God gave his word
He would not leave man in defeat,
And far ahead he then prepared
The day when heaven and earth should meet.

Verse:

In Advent we commemorate
That first great coming of the Lord
And, looking forward, celebrate
The day when all shall be restored.¹⁹

McAuley's texts addressed many of the themes identified by Cunliffe-Jones as suitable topics for new hymns - on Christ's life and ministry, on eschatology, and on the 'meaning of Christian discipleship ... in the midst of all the complexity of this fast-moving time'.²⁰

McAuley's 'Seek, O seek the Lord, while he is near' was a prayer for God's work in the world through individuals:

Antiphon:

Seek, O seek the Lord, while he is near;
Trust him, speak to him in prayer, and he will hear.

Verse:

God be with us in our lives,
Direct us in our calling;
Break the snares the world contrives,
Keep us from falling.

Verse:

Strengthen in our hearts the love
We owe to one another.
How can we love God above
And not our brother?²¹

Four of the hymns in *Songs of Faith* were subsequently published in *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977), with their respective tunes composed by Richard Connolly.²²

¹⁹ Ibid., #50, vv. 1 and 3.

²⁰ Hubert Cunliffe-Jones, 'Wanted! New Hymn-Writers', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* 105 (December 1965), 56-58 (p. 57). See Ch. 2, 56-58.

²¹ Ibid., #53, vv. 1 and 3. This hymn brings to mind another approach to the theme of individual Christian stewardship published in *Dunblane Praises No. 2* (1967), John Ferguson's 'Am I my brother's keeper?'

²² See footnote 16 above.

James Minchin's hymn 'Praise to you, Lord of Life, Holy Spirit' was written for Trinity College, Melbourne:

Deep at the heart of all that is,
You are the hidden Creator,
Bringing from waters of chaos
Creatures free to praise their Maker.²³

It also met some of the criteria for new hymn writing set out by Cunliffe-Jones. The first four of its eight verses told of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament. As quoted above, it opened with the presence of the Holy Spirit at the creation of the world. Verse four referred to the coming of the Holy Spirit to God's people in water and fire:

Wise man and monarch, prophet and priest,
Each one you chose to inspire,
By them you built up a people
To be saved through water and fire.²⁴

The second half of the hymn celebrated the work of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament - in Christ's baptism and through his ministry, crucifixion and resurrection. In the closing verse Minchin created a bridge between the practice of worship and that of daily living: 'Fed by his life, send us daily / To embrace all the world in your heaven.'²⁵

Several years later Minchin worked with the Christian Conference of Asia, the successor to the East Asian Christian Conference. He contributed hymn translations and a paraphrase to *Hymns from the Four Winds* (1983), a supplemental collection of Asian American hymns edited by I-to Loh and published by the United Methodist Church.²⁶ Minchin became a member of the editorial group led by I-to Loh which produced *Sound the Bamboo* (1990), the sequel to the *E.A.C.C. Hymnal* edited by D. T. Niles.²⁷ The

²³ Ibid., #49, v. 1. James Minchin is an organist, composer and ordained Anglican priest who has contributed to Asian church development. He has composed jazz piano settings of the Anglican liturgy, as well as hymn settings and texts. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 294.

²⁴ Ibid., v. 4.

²⁵ Ibid., v. 8.

²⁶ *Hymns from the Four Winds: A Collection of Asian American Hymns*, ed. by I-to Loh (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983), # 8, #11 and #29.

²⁷ The East Asia Christian Conference was renamed the Christian Conference of Asia in 1973. 'Foreword', *Sound the Bamboo*, 9.

Australian hymn writer and composer provided two hymn tunes and over sixty translations and texts to that collection.

Colin Gibson contributed two arrangements to *Songs of Faith*. For the 1966 songbook he prepared a paraphrase of Psalm 150 - 'Alleluia, alleluia / Praise God within his sanctuary', and an arrangement of an Old Shaker hymn, 'When we assemble here to worship God / ... We will walk softly.'²⁸ The text of this gathering hymn suggests that it may have been a circle dance in the Shaker custom. It began:

When we assemble here to worship God,
To sing his praises and to hear his word,
When we assemble here to worship God
We will walk softly, softly.²⁹

Once assembled, the singers would 'worship and bow down' as they prepared to hear the word of God.³⁰

Songs of Faith served as a springboard to the ecumenical *Australian Hymn Book* published eleven years later. It brought together an unusual breadth of resources, offering alternatives to the hymns in standard denominational hymnals available in

²⁸ Ibid., #4 and #15. Colin Gibson was Donald Collie Professor of English at the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand, until his retirement in 1998. In addition to his work as a composer and organist, he is also a Methodist lay preacher. He co-edited a sequel to *Songs of Faith*, entitled *Sing a New Song* (Melbourne: [Australian] Methodist Federal Board of Education, 1970). Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 257. Since 1970 Colin Gibson has co-edited several hymnal supplements and, more recently, he was co-editor of the New Zealand hymn book *Alleluia Aotearoa* (1993). He has collaborated with the hymn writer Shirley Erena Murray, setting many of her hymns and songs, some of which are found in her two collections: *In Every Corner Sing* and *Every Day In Your Spirit* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1992 and 1996). In addition to his work found in hymnal supplements and denominational hymn books, two volumes of his hymn texts and tunes have been published by Hope Publishing Company: *Reading the Signature* (1994) and *Songs for a Rainbow People* (1998).

²⁹ #15, v. 1. The other Shaker tune in the collection was Sydney Carter's arrangement of 'Simple Gifts' for his 'Lord of the Dance' at #2.

³⁰ #15, v. 3

We'll worship and bow down, we will rejoice
And when we hear the Shepherd's gentle voice
We'll worship and bow down, we will rejoice
We will walk softly, softly.

Australia and New Zealand in the 1960s. Hymn writers and composers had a forum to write for and the encouragement to try new ways of expressing their views - using the Gelineau model, Sydney Carter's folk song style, and hymns written in contemporary language about the traditional themes of Christian hymnody.

Hymns for Now

Some people are saying that we are living in a revolution. If that's true, it might help to explain the exciting barrage of folk songs coming to us from every corner of our globe. ... Most of these hymns were written by youth. Maybe because youth are usually the closest to the action of a revolution.³¹

Much of the experimental hymnody written and collected in the United States in the 1960s was directed toward the burgeoning youth population. Supplements published during this decade, and into the early 1970s, were eclectic compilations of sacred and secular texts. In some collections boundaries between the sacred and the secular, particularly in music, were imperceptible. In July 1967 the *Workers Quarterly*, published by the Walther League in Chicago, featured twenty-six contemporary hymns for youth in a publication entitled *Hymns for Now: A Portfolio for Good, Bad or Rotten Times*.³² The editors of this volume gathered together American, British, European and African materials to create an exceptional ecumenical mixture; its contents represented most of the new experimental forms of contemporary sacred light music available at that time.

Their enthusiasm for the new hymns was evident in the unusual bibliography of contemporary hymns and liturgical settings printed at the back of the book.³³ This

³¹ *Hymns for Now: A Portfolio for Good, Bad or Rotten Times*, edited by R. Paul Firnhaber, for *Workers Quarterly*, 39:1 (July, 1967), formerly published by the Walther League, Chicago, Illinois. The Walther League held copyright for this collection. The Board For Young People's Work of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, St. Louis, Missouri, took over publication of the *Workers Quarterly*, renaming it *Resources for Youth Ministry*, and continued publishing the experimental youth supplement to meet the demand for it. (pp. 4-5)

³² *Ibid.* The editors were Dean Kell, Sue Ball and R. Paul Firnhaber (guest editor), with two consultants - Paul Abels and Warren Wetherell.

³³ *Hymns for Now*, 60.

comprehensive list serves as a valuable document of the developments in church music, especially in hymnody for youth during the sixties. The bibliography included Geoffrey Beaumont's *20th Century Folk Mass*, several recordings of American Roman Catholic folk masses published by F. E. L. Publications in Chicago - including two masses by Ray Repp for high school students and *Missa Bossa Nova* by Peter Scholtes, and the *American Mass Program* by Clarence Rivers issued by the World Library of Sacred Music in Cincinnati.³⁴ 'Praise the Lord in Many Voices' was the title of a set of three records made at 'a recent session in Carnegie Hall devoted to modern sacred music'. Recordings of new hymns and biblical songs introduced the innovative work of Sister Miriam Therese Winter, M.M.S., and of the Lutheran folk singer and musician John Ylvisaker, among others. Four jazz settings of the liturgy were listed, including a 'Concert of Sacred Music' recorded in 1965 by Duke Ellington at Grace Cathedral in San Francisco. Each of the folk and jazz recordings cited in the bibliography offered repertoire which was substantially different from traditional settings of Protestant and Roman Catholic liturgies. None of these qualified for the 'experimental' category in this bibliography, which included a 'Rock 'n' Roll Mass' by The Exceptions (published by F. E. L. Records), and a dramatization of 'The Easter Story' interpreted by a group of West Side Chicago teenagers known as ACT IV, who wrote their songs as they listened to the Passion story for the first time.³⁵ The reference list also included three folk masses - *Missa Luba* and *Missa Bantu*, both recorded by singers in the Congo, and *Misa Criolla* - a Latin American setting of the mass.

The editors identified eight books which contained the most recent materials from the United States, England, and Scotland; the bibliography included *Songs of Faith* from

³⁴ See Ch. 2, 'Changing Trends in Today's Hymnody', 64-65, and 'New varieties of congregational hymnody', 69-73.

³⁵ See *Hymns for Now*, #15; 'Who is this man of the world?' was taken from the teenagers' drama.

Australia and New Zealand and *Hymns for a New Day* published by the World Council of Churches.³⁶ Most of the hymns and songs in *Hymns for Now* came from these sources. In addition to spirituals and freedom songs such as 'We shall overcome' and 'Oh, Freedom', it carried an Israeli round, 'Shalom', in an English translation by Paul Abels, and it included a popular contemporary American folk hymn written by Peter Sholtes - 'They'll know we are Christians by our love'.³⁷ The editors found Sydney Carter's 'Lord of the dance' in *Songs of Faith*. Two songs by Geoffrey Ainger were reprinted from *Songs from Notting Hill* - a nativity song, 'A cry in the night' which was set to a tune by Ian Calvert, and 'Crucify that man' (text and tune by Geoffrey Ainger). A second contemporary carol for Good Friday, written by Mary Edwards, was taken from Brian Frost's *Songs from the Square*, an English publication which also supplied a song by Ivor Sperring and Peter Sharrocks called 'The Carpenter'.³⁸

It is surprising how quickly new materials were spreading beyond the local community for which they were written, going worldwide within a few years or even months. One hymn taken from *Songs of Faith* had been written by Fred Kaan for a BBC television programme only a year earlier. 'We meet you, O Christ, in many a guise', set to a melody named FREEDOMS FIELDS composed by Philip Humphreys, was sung by the folk singer Len Percy on a 'Seeing and Believing' programme broadcast on Passion

³⁶ The eight books were: *Songs for Today*, ed. by Ewald Bash and John Ylvisaker (Minneapolis, MN: American Lutheran Church, [1964]); *New Hymns for a New Day*, in *Risk II:3* [1966] published by the Youth Department of the World Council of Churches in New York; *Hymnal for Young Christians* (Chicago: F.E.L. Publications); *Songs from the Square*, ed. by Brian Frost (Reigate, Surrey); *Sing!*, ed. by Ronald Beasley and Douglas Galbraith (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland); *Alleluia: Songbook for Inner City Parishes*, traditional and contemporary hymns published for East Harlem Protestant Church, New York (Delaware, Ohio: Cooperative Recreation Service, Inc.); *Songs from Notting Hill*, by Geoffrey Ainger, Ian Calvert, Handley Stevens, and Harry Goodram (London: Notting Hill Methodist Church, c. 1964); and *Songs of Faith* (Melbourne, Australia: The Joint Board of Christian Education of Australia and New Zealand [1966]).

³⁷ 'We are one in the Spirit, / We are one in the Lord', *Hymns for Now*, #24.

³⁸ 'Hanging on a tree he was', *Hymns for Now*, #12, (p. 28). The second song, at #23, was 'To you we come who made us all'.

Sunday in 1966. In this hymn the author experimented with a series of 1960s' images of

Christ in the world:

We hear you, O Man,
in agony cry.
For freedom you march,
in riots you die.
Your face in the papers
we read and we see.
The tree must be planted
by human decree.³⁹

Translations of three hymns by the Dutch Roman Catholic hymn writer, liturgist and poet Huub Oosterhuis were taken from *New Hymns for a New Day*, an issue of the World Council of Churches' journal, *Risk*, published in 1966.⁴⁰ The first was a song of thanksgiving, 'As long as men on earth are living', set to a Portuguese tune arranged by Paul Abels. In the second hymn, associated with a Dutch folk tune, the influence of contemporary theological thinking about the humanity of Christ was evident:

You are not far from those who adore you,
Not far or high from this earth away.
You are so humanly our companion
That you will hear the words we say.

The hymn celebrated the newly found place of the laity in Roman Catholic worship:

In all things you are deeply hidden,
In all that blossoms and that unfolds;
But it's in people that you will flower,
At one with us in heart and soul.⁴¹

³⁹ *Hymns for Now*, #13, (p. 31). See Fred Kaan, *The Hymn Texts of Fred Kaan* (London: Stainer & Bell, Ltd; and Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1985), #119, (pp. 140-41). The notes identified Erik Routley as the composer of a tune for this text named DURHAM (England or North Carolina?) for *Ecumenical Praise* (1977); and Pablo Sosa, the Argentinian Methodist musician, as the composer of BOSSEY (a tune named after the ecumenical study centre in Switzerland) for the World Conference on World Mission and Evangelism in Melbourne in 1980.

⁴⁰ Huub Oosterhuis, a Jesuit leader who contributed to the revision of the Roman Catholic liturgy, was a founding member of the Vernacular Liturgy Workgroup at Groningen in the 1950s which published the first modern Dutch liturgical resources. In addition to writing over two hundred hymns published in Dutch hymn books during the 1970s, he formed the Association for Study and Liturgy in 1981 to encourage further study of theology, liturgy and contemporary issues. Marilyn K. Stulken, 'Authors and Composers', in *Hymnal Companion to Worship - Third Edition*, ed. by Catherine Salika and Marilyn K. Stulken (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1998), 160-61.

⁴¹ *Hymns for Now*, 'O Lord, our Lord, We sing of your presence', # 17, vv. 2 and 4.

His third text also focussed on the humanity of Christ, present in the world among God's people:

Everywhere He's at our side,
Human 'mongst the human;
Nowhere He is recognized,
No one sees the New Man.⁴²

It was given the title 'Song of the Lord among us' and set to a tune by a Dutch colleague, Bernard Huijbers, S.J. The refrain for this song was a single repeated phrase: 'Among you is standing He whom you don't know.' Oosterhuis concluded the hymn with a strong reaffirmation of praise to God, who 'is infinitely near' and 'dwells where we are living.'⁴³

By 1967 the renewal of the Roman Catholic and Anglican liturgies was well underway. Several pieces in *Hymns for Now* were designated for use in experimental liturgies. The discography at the back of the collection identified further resource material. *New Hymns for a New Day* supplied a Nigerian antiphon, 'O God, our Father', to be sung as an invocation to prayer. The Nicene Creed was set to a rhythmic melody by Herbert G. Draesel, Jr., to be sung 'with pulse' and composed in the style of the 20th Century Church Light Music group. This setting may have been taken from an American recording.⁴⁴ The songbook contained a translated version of a contemporary German litany of thanksgiving, 'Thank you for giving me the morning', written by Martin G. Schneider with copyright dated 1964.⁴⁵ It appealed to children's imaginations. It also made reference to the communion service:

⁴² Ibid., 'He did not want to be far', #26, v. 2.

⁴³ Ibid., v. 5.

⁴⁴ *Hymns for Now*, 'O God, our Father', #8; and 'I believe in one God, the Father Almighty', #20, from 'Rejoice' by Scepter Records, Inc.

⁴⁵ This may have been the 'Danke' song discussed at the Dunblane consultation in that year. See Ch. 3, 'Dunblane Initiatives', 98.

Thank you, O Lord, you spoke unto us,
 Thank you that for our words you care,
 Thank you, O Lord, you came among us,
 Bread and wine to share.⁴⁶

The tune rose by a semitone at the end of each verse, giving it a strong impetus. An American Roman Catholic hymn for communion, 'Sons of God, hear his holy word' by James Thiem, would become very popular for a decade or so, probably owing to its jaunty tune and an unusually youthful text for a communion hymn. Thiem began with the following invitation to participate in the Eucharist:

Brothers, sisters, we are one,
 And our life has just begun;
 In the Spirit we are young;
 We can live forever.

The song bubbled with the optimism of youth:

Shout together to the Lord
 Who has promised our reward:
 Happiness a hundredfold,
 And we'll live forever.⁴⁷

Several songs from the Church of Scotland's youth supplement expressed the doubt and uncertainty of teenage years. 'What will I do?', by a music group named The Bawbees, spoke of teenagers' concern about social and political problems - starvation (in contrast to their own experience of plenty), racism, and other forms of social injustice. Each verse closed with the antiphon: 'Tell me what do You want me to do. What will I do?'⁴⁸ The contents of the Scottish experimental supplement contained 'hymns' which bordered on popular folk songs in the secular genre. In this case boundaries between the two did not exist.

⁴⁶ 'Thank you for giving me the morning', in *Hymns for Now*, #2, v. 6.

⁴⁷ *Hymns for Now*, #9, vv. 1 and 2.

⁴⁸ *Hymns for Now*, #7. Others from this source were #14) 'Go for me', a biblical song by George Charlton, based on imagery of the Israelites' flight from Egypt; and #25) 'Song Maybe for Teenage Christians' by Ralph Taylor and Douglas Galbraith, which began 'If you're looking for an answer, If you're looking for a way'. In the bibliography this book is described as a collection of hymns written by youth, all of which were set to 'pop' and folk tunes.

Hymns for Now was intended to be a disposable hymn book, of the kind discussed at the Dunblane music consultations. The editors urged users of the book to wear it out and then throw it out:

All speak today, for today, to today. That's what's important. That's why they are here. They're for now. ... Which means they are to be used. Which means learn them. Hum them. Sing them. Whistle them. Strum them. Put them in the pew racks in church. Pile them in your guitar case. Toss them into the car. Throw them away when they wear out. Because by then there will be new ones.⁴⁹

The design of the book itself reflected the energy and the enthusiasm of youth for the present moment, and also their concern about social injustice. It was filled with phrases such as 'You never had it so good' wrapped around the text of the song 'Thank you for giving me the morning', and a caption - 'It started a quiet revolution' - printed at the foot of Geoffrey Ainger's nativity carol 'A cry in the night'.⁵⁰ Photographs of black Americans, of elderly folk, and of youth gathered in groups, were used to create a series of collages across the pages of hymn texts and tunes. It contained newspaper clippings about the racial riots, world hunger and homelessness, the Vietnamese war, and the anticipation of a power crisis in America. *Hymns for Now* was a book designed to raise questions about the state of the world and the purpose of worship in that world. The answers were to be worked out by those who chose to sing these songs.

Use of lighter styles in American worship

Church light music was a dominant factor in American hymn writing during the decade between 1965 and 1975. To a certain extent it paralleled the development of

⁴⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁰ It was with a touch of irony, even satire on some pages, that the editors added phrases such as these to the page layouts: 'The words and pictures are not intended to interpret the songs. Only to stimulate your thoughts about what you are singing. They are suggestive, not definitive.' 'Introduction', 5.

British church light music led by Geoffrey Beaumont and Patrick Appleford (and in a different mode by Sydney Carter) between 1955 and 1965. *Hymns for Now* was an exceptional publication owing to the breadth of its sources. It was one of many small paperback songbooks produced for youth rallies and singalongs which contained a mixture of spirituals, civil rights songs, folk hymns, secular folk songs and contemporary service music for use with experimental liturgies. Another book, *The Genesis Songbook*, compiled by Carlton R. Young and published early in 1973 by Agape (a division of Hope Publishing Company), belonged to a series of songbooks from the seventies.⁵¹ In it one finds songs by Sydney Carter, Bob Dylan, Woody Guthrie, Gene MacLellan, Pete Seeger, and Paul Simon, published alongside hymn texts and tunes from British sources, including David Evans (music editor of the *Revised Church Hymnary* of 1927), John Newton, and Erik Routley, and by contemporary American hymn writers such as Richard Avery and Donald Marsh, Ray Repp, and Jim Strathdee. The item by David Evans was his arrangement of the Scottish folk tune BUNESSAN, set to 'Morning has broken' by Eleanor Farjeon; John Newton's entry was 'Amazing grace'. Both songs climbed the charts of the 'hit parade' during this period. A surprising item in this collection was Charles Wesley's 'Come, O thou traveller unknown' set to Erik Routley's WOODBURY.⁵² Young contributed a modified chant setting of the Lord's Prayer and an antiphonal arrangement for soloist and singers of John Cosin's translation of a ninth-

⁵¹ *Songbook for Saints and Sinners*, compiled by Carlton R. Young (Carol Stream, IL: Agape, 1971), was a previous volume in this series. It contained a greater proportion of religious songs, including ones by the Lutherans Ewald Bash and John Ylvisaker, by the Roman Catholic writers Willard F. Jabusch, Joseph Wise and Ray Repp, by the Baptist hymnal editor William J. Reynolds, and by the contemporary worship writers Richard K. Avery and Donald S. Marsh, as well as some contributions by Methodists such as Lloyd Pfautsch and Carlton R. Young. The collection also contained two songs by Sydney Carter ('Friday Morning' and 'Lord of the Dance') and several settings of familiar hymn texts to lighter musical interpretations following the example of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, although none of that group's work appeared in this collection.

⁵² The source for this entry is Erik Routley's *Eternal Light: 15 Hymn Tunes by Erik Routley* (New York: Carl Fischer, 1971). Young's experience in Methodist church music, as editor of the *Methodist Hymnal* (1966) and biographies' editor for the *Companion to the Hymnal* (1970), is evident in his choice of 'Wrestling Jacob' to a tune by Routley who was lecturing frequently in the United States between 1962 and 1975.

century 'Canticle for Pentecost' attributed to Rhabanus Maurus, 'Come, holy Ghost, our souls inspire'. It was suggested that the canticle should be sung in 'Straight 8 rock beat throughout'.⁵³ He also composed a 'ballad style' tune for the Gloria Patri, arranged for choir and congregation, and dedicated it to the American contemporary worship leaders Dick Avery and Don Marsh.⁵⁴

Definitions of culture were in flux by 1973. Young's introduction to the songbook indicates how aware people were of their changing circumstances:

Jan. 1, 1973

GENESIS = NEW BEGINNINGS

Someone has said, 'Life is an endless series of new beginnings, abrupt changes and new affirmations.' To be alive spiritually is to be able to change, adapt, move, drop-out and start all over again - and again. This little book is filled with songs which tell how we got where we are, how we can change and where we are going.⁵⁵

Numerous options were being explored as means of expressing religious doubt (and conviction) and social concerns. Bob Dylan's 'The times they are a-changing' (1963) and Pete Seeger's song based upon Ecclesiastes, 'Turn! Turn! Turn!' (1962) represented the mood of the era. An earlier song by Sy Miller and Jill Jackson expressed an urgent desire for world peace:

Let there be peace on earth
And let it begin with me;
Let there be peace on earth,
The peace that was meant to be.
With God as our Father,
Brothers all are we.
Let me walk with my brother
In perfect harmony.⁵⁶

The folksinger Gene MacLellan advocated a direct biblical approach to address the needs of contemporary society in his song, 'Put your hand in the hand of the man

⁵³ *The Genesis Songbook: Songs for Getting It All Together* (Carol Stream, IL: Agape, 1973), #21.

⁵⁴ Ibid., #71. Carlton R. Young, *Companion to the United Methodist Hymnal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 717 and 794 (biographies of Avery and Marsh). Their work began shortly after the publication of the *Methodist Hymnal* (1966).

⁵⁵ *The Genesis Songbook*, inside the front cover.

⁵⁶ Ibid., #23, v. 1. The copyright date for this song is 1955.

who stilled the water'. It was a text about the practical application of faith to daily life, written in a country and western song format, in fact using an antiphonal style of writing where the soloist told the story and the audience could sing the refrain:

Put your hand in the hand of the man who stilled the water.
Put your hand in the hand of the man who calmed the sea.
Take a look at yourself and a you can look at others diff'rently
By puttin' your hand in the hand of the man from Galilee.⁵⁷

In 1967 Jim Strathdee, a singer and composer from California, wrote 'I am the light of the world', based on a Christmas poem by Howard Thurman. It was an example of a cross-over song, blending the styles of folk and church music. Strathdee took up the Christmas story after the shepherds and wise men had departed:

Refrain:
'I am the light of the world!
You people come and follow me!
If you follow and love
You'll learn the mystery
Of what you were meant to do and be

When the song of the angels is stilled,
When the star in the sky is gone,
When the kings and the shepherds
Have found their way home,
The work of Christmas is begun.⁵⁸

It was an example in the American hymn repertoire of the new form of biblical song writing which was beginning to develop after the publication of new translations of the Bible, including the Revised Standard Version (1952) and *The New Testament in Today's English Version* (1966), and in response to the decision by the Second Vatican Council to sanction the use of vernacular language in worship.⁵⁹ It was a biblical and a

⁵⁷ Ibid., #42. The copyright for this song is 1970.

⁵⁸ Ibid., #32, refrain and v. 1. This song is in *The New Century Hymnal* (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 1995), #584, and in *Voices United: The Hymn and Worship Book of the United Church of Canada* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1996), #87. Information about the hymn is taken from *The New Century Hymnal Companion: A Guide to the Hymns*, ed. Kristen L. Forman (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 1998), #584 (p. 503).

⁵⁹ The complete edition of the *Good News Bible: The Bible in Today's English Version* was published by the American Bible Society in 1976.

social text. The third verse, for example, conveyed New Testament teachings about social reconstruction:

To free the prisoner from his chains,
To make the powerful care,
To rebuild the nations
With strength of good will,
To call a man your brother everywhere!

The *Genesis Songbook* embraced a wide range of contemporary worship materials from secular and church sources. Its subtitle, *Songs for Getting It All Together*, defined the purpose of the book which was intended primarily for use among youth groups. Published in a small, pocket-sized, paperback format, it was designed to be portable, used frequently and then disposed of as new songbooks became available. Songbooks of this kind served a useful function as transitional books, creating a bridge between the hymn books modelled after *Hymns Ancient & Modern* (1861) and the new, comprehensive worship books to come in the next two decades, beginning in North America with the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978).

Hymns for Now and the *Genesis Songbook* contained a spectrum of new hymnody far removed from the hymn writing discussed by Deane Edwards in his article published in the January 1966 issue of *The Hymn*. Harry Eskew was closer to the mark with his comments, printed in the same issue, on youth gospel hymns and on recent developments in liturgical hymnody. The experimental work in Great Britain was beginning to influence American hymn writing. At the same time, social issues related to the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War campaign, and the needs of an unusually large youth population exerted their own demands upon American hymn writers. Three celebrations also influenced hymn writing in North America - the Canadian centennial in 1967, the fiftieth anniversary in 1972 of the founding of the Hymn Society of America,

and the American bicentennial in 1976.⁶⁰ Each of these events served as a point of reference for taking stock of current conditions, and to call for new hymns to celebrate the occasions. Only the first ripples of the British 'hymn explosion' were reaching North America by the late 1960s.

20th Century Church Light Music Group II: 1962-66

From 1962 to 1966 the 20th Century Church Light Music Group met at Patrick and Ann Appleford's home in Myatts Fields, Camberwell. He has described the group as 'an informal and highly stimulating gathering of clergy and teachers who were writing words or music or both that would mean something to their particular congregations'.⁶¹ Members of the group were writing for local situations, setting sacred texts in the musical language of popular culture. By addressing immediate needs within their own congregations the Light Music Group were consciously limiting their aims. Its members were not trying to express Christian thinking in the terms characteristic of the core of Christian hymnody: they were exploring instead the lighter musical idioms and the use of contemporary English vocabulary and syntax in hymns written for a forthcoming worship service or for a congregational occasion.

Two new collections were published by the group in 1965. A words-only edition, containing hymns written between 1958 and 1965, bore the title *20th Century Hymn Book Supplement*. It was the first publication by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group to be identified as a hymn book supplement. In 1965 *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* was still a newish volume, and the revised edition of the *English Hymnal* was bearing up relatively well after thirty-two years. The *Anglican Hymn Book*,

⁶⁰ In 1989 the name of the North American society was changed from the Hymn Society of America to the Hymn Society in the United States and Canada.

⁶¹ Patrick R. N. Appleford, 'A Potted Musical Biography', 2; manuscript enclosed with a letter to the author, 22 February 1999.

published in 1965, would have provided a modern alternative hymn book for congregations seeking a change in their hymnody. For those congregations who wished to try new hymns in their worship, but who did not want to go so far as to purchase the newest hymn book, 'a supplement would seem to be the only solution.'⁶² The first two Congregationalist supplements, *New Songs* (1962) and *The Rodborough Hymnal* (1964), were becoming known. *Dunblane Praises No. 1* had just been issued by the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation in January as a trial collection of new church music. In the mid-sixties supplements became the sequels to specialized youth hymnals such as those developed by G. W. Briggs and others for use at school assemblies and by youth groups.⁶³

The second volume, *Twenty-seven 20th Century Hymns*, contained new hymns only. Previous publications by the Light Music Group had used the phrase '20th century hymn tunes'; this one referred only to hymns. The two earlier volumes had each contained a few new texts and tunes, but for the most part they had provided new tunes to familiar texts. According to the 'Publisher's Note', it was not feasible at that time to publish a music edition of the entire collection of new hymns to date by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group.⁶⁴ Instead, Josef Weinberger Limited offered separate words-only and music editions of the twenty-seven hymns which were being published for the first time, in addition to the complete text-only supplement containing the hymns published since 1958.

It is evident that the focus of the work of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group had changed from its first efforts to provide popular music settings for well-

⁶² 'Preface', *20th Century Hymn Book Supplement* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd, 1965).

⁶³ G. W. Briggs used *Songs of Praise* (1925) as a source book for his *Prayers and Hymns for use in Schools* (Oxford University Press, 1927) which became a model for school worship books in Great Britain. *The Canadian Youth Hymnal*, edited by Stanley L. Osborne and Frank B. Houston, served a similar purpose. It was published in Toronto, by the United Church Publishing House, in 1939.

⁶⁴ 'Publisher's Note', *20th Century Hymn Book Supplement* (1965).

known hymn texts to writing entirely new hymns. In the preface to the words-only edition of these new hymns Patrick Appleford described the group's purpose:

The hymns in this collection have all been written in the last seven years. Some set out to express in a simple and direct way themes that have been the subject of many traditional hymns. There is simply a change of literary and musical idiom. Others reflect theological insights of the Church in recent times, and have no obvious parallels in earlier hymn books. All have tried to be honest in expressing what Christians of today want to sing about to God.⁶⁵

By the mid-1960s the 20th Century Church Light Music Group was providing two strands of hymn writing. They had begun their work with the intention of making traditional hymnody accessible to members of their congregations, by rephrasing the hymns in the language and musical styles which were current in the popular culture of the early 1960s. Some members of the group, led by Patrick Appleford, started writing entirely new hymns on subjects drawn from contemporary theological and liturgical debate. Most of these hymns were also set in lighter musical forms.

Appleford discussed the use of hymns in the parish communion service. For congregations who were used to attending Matins and Evensong, the liturgy for communion was not as familiar as that of the daily offices. While parish communion was in the process of becoming established as the central weekly service of worship, congregations and parish clergy in the Church of England were learning how to integrate hymnody into the church's liturgy. Appleford explained that: 'Hymns are usually sung at the gathering together at the beginning, as the response to God's Word at the Gradual, at the Offertory, the Communion and the sending out into the world at the end.'⁶⁶ By 1965 not only were congregations exploring their hymnody, they were also being introduced to two experimental series of liturgical rites. Series 1 was derived from the 1928 Prayer Book. By December the *Alternative Services Second Series*, containing an entirely new

⁶⁵ Patrick Appleford, 'Preface' (1965).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

service for Holy Communion, was made available for congregational use.⁶⁷ It was in this context that the 20th Century Church Light Music Group offered its set of hymns for 'The Ministry of Word and Sacrament'.

Appleford strongly advocated the wider dissemination of hymns, urging that they should not be locked into the section in which they were placed in the hymn book, or in this supplement. Hymns for the Gradual could be sung with other scripture readings; seasonal hymns, such as those about Christ's incarnation, could also be sung at different times in the year: hymns for Advent and Christmas would fit at communion, and Lent and Easter hymns could be sung wherever the themes supported the lesson or sermon. Appleford's suggestions may sound commonplace today, but it is useful to remember that he was writing seven years before Alan Dunstan recommended this as a strategy in planning music for a service of worship in his guide to the use of hymns in Anglican worship.⁶⁸

The contents of the 1965 supplement reflected those new expectations of hymnody in Anglican worship. Appleford placed a group of hymns on 'Mission and Service' immediately after the ones for communion. He drew attention to the importance of Christian service in the contemporary ministry of the Anglican church:

The Church's renewed concern to be outward looking is reflected in the number of hymns in the section on Mission and Service. Most of these are suitable final hymns at any act of worship because of their emphasis on going out into the world. We hope these will to some extent meet the need caused by the lack of hymns of this kind in many hymnals.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ John R. K. Fenwick and Bryan D. Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd; New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995), 73-74.

⁶⁸ Alan Dunstan, *These are the Hymns* (London: SPCK, 1973). The editors of the *English Hymnal Service Book* (1962) had suggested that hymns not written specifically for communion could be used in the Eucharist service.

⁶⁹ Appleford, 'Preface' (1965).

Appleford wrote six of the eight texts in this section. Some of his first hymns were included in it; for example, 'Christ our King in glory reigning', on vocation, and his 'Father all-powerful' written for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.⁷⁰ He also contributed a new religious song which reflected the idealism of the mid-1960s: 'O Lord, all the world belongs to you' was one of a number of texts published at this time advocating the urgent need to restructure the social order.⁷¹ Its central idea was the theme of 'turning the world upside-down':

O Lord all the world belongs to you,
And you are always making all things new,
What is wrong you forgive,
And the new life you give
Is what's turning the world upside-down.⁷²

As Education and Youth Secretary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he wrote this song for a youth rally at Liverpool's Philharmonic Hall.⁷³ The third verse expressed the optimism of the era, and a sense of hope that youth could make a fresh start:

The world lives divided and apart;
You draw men together, and we start,
In your body to see
That in fellowship we
Can be turning the world upside-down.

⁷⁰ See Ch. 1, 33-35 above, and 149-50 below.

⁷¹ See, for example, David S. Goodall's 'When the pious prayers we make / are a wall of pride' and John B. Geyer's 'Fire is lighting torch and lamp at night' (on the power of the Holy Spirit to effect change), in *Dunblane Praises No. 1* (1965), #5 and #7 respectively. Alan Luff's song for Christian Aid, 'Where can we find bread to feed these people?' and John Ferguson's 'Am I my brother's keeper?' were published in *Dunblane Praises No. 2* (1967), #5 and #12. Fred Kaan was writing 'For the healing of the nations', 'Sing we a song of high revolt' and 'Sing we a song of the modern city', published in his *Pilgrim Praise* (1968), #49, #4 and #41. Fred Pratt Green wrote 'When the Church of Jesus shuts its outer door', printed in *Hymns Songs* (1969), #74. Brian Wren commented on the disharmony within the Christian world church in his 'Lord Christ the Father's mighty Son' in *Dunblane Praises No. 1*, #3. In 1963 Sydney Carter was questioning the spirit of neighbourliness in the modern city in 'When I needed a neighbour were you there?', in *Green Print for Song*, 76-78. See also the contents of *Songs for the Seventies*, the Church of Scotland's supplement prepared by the Church Hymnary Revision Commission and published by Galliard Limited in 1972.

⁷² *20th Century Hymn Book Supplement* (1965), #918, v. 1.

⁷³ Appleford, 'A Potted Musical Biography', 2.

The text pre-dated the debate over inclusive language, but it mirrored the social upheaval of the moment. It closed with yet another theme of its era, that of the power of the Holy Spirit to make things new. The image is that of an active Holy Spirit, not a passive one:

O Lord, all the world belongs to you,
And you are always making all things new,
Send your Spirit on all
In your Church whom you call
To be turning the world upside-down.⁷⁴

The song is included in the BBC's *Come and Praise* (1990) and in *Rejoice and Sing* (1991), but without the closing verse. Instead, in both books the first verse is recapitulated at the end. The call upon the Holy Spirit to lead the Christian community to turn the world upside-down is missing.⁷⁵ It is interesting to speculate on this omission: it is perhaps a sign that the optimism of 1965 had evaporated by 1990.

To facilitate the introduction of new hymns in Anglican worship, the hymns in the *20th Century Hymn Book Supplement* were numbered from 901 onwards so that they could be recognized on the hymn board and be used in conjunction with any standard congregational hymn book. The editors of the supplement hoped that this method might encourage congregations to try a new hymn periodically in the course of regular worship. By this means, and by the content of the hymns offered, Patrick Appleford and the 20th Century Church Light Music Group sought to breathe a contemporary spirit into Anglican worship.

The 20th Century Church Light Music Group attracted considerable attention in the 1960s. Multiple printings of several collections, and the advertisements for leaflets posted inside these booklets, indicate that a strong demand existed for this new material.

⁷⁴ #918, v. 5.

⁷⁵ *The Complete Come and Praise*, compiled by Geoffrey Marshall-Taylor, music arrangements by Douglas Coombes (London: BBC Enterprises Limited, 1990), #39; and *Rejoice and Sing* (London: Oxford University Press, 1991), #90. Bernard Massey and David Goodall, have noted the absence of Patrick Appleford's closing prayer in the 1990s' version of this song. [David S. Goodall and Bernard S. Massey], *Companion to Rejoice and Sing* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press Norwich, for the United Reformed Church, 1999), #90 (p. 93).

In 1966 a full music edition was published for American distribution.⁷⁶ It contained a selection of their work, concentrating on the hymns rather than the songs. The contents of this collection were organized alphabetically, with a description of their purpose given at the heading. In addition to his LIVING LORD, eleven other pieces by Patrick Appleford were published in *Modern Hymn Tunes* (1966), including a tune for an Advent carol, several more hymns for communion, one to be sung before the gospel reading, and one for Lent.⁷⁷ In the American edition an index of hymns, classified by liturgical purpose, was printed on the back cover.

Although the hymns of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were available in the United States, they were not taken up by American hymnal committees, with the exception of 'Father all-loving' by Patrick Appleford in *The Hymnal 1982*.⁷⁸ Few hymn books were being compiled in the 1960s, and therefore new hymns were not in great demand. The texts for the *Methodist Book of Hymns* (1966), for example, had already been selected and approved by the 1964 General Conference. Its new material included spirituals and adaptations of traditional American folk tunes following the model established by Ralph Vaughan Williams in the *English Hymnal*. Radical change in American hymn tunes, particularly those for youth, did not become prominent until the 1970s, a result of the folk song and civil rights movements discussed above. As noted

⁷⁶ *Modern Hymn Tunes: 69 Twentieth Century Hymns* (Miami: Charles Hansen Publications, Inc., [1966]).

⁷⁷ *Modern Hymn Tunes*: #1) ADVENT CAROL, a ballad setting for 'At the first coming of the Lord', a text by Nicholas Graham, C.R.; #7) 'Christ our King'/SUNDERLAND; #10) an offertory hymn text, 'Father all-powerful'/CHESHUNT by Geoffrey Beaumont; #11) 'Father Almighty we come to thee'/NEWBY PLACE (Cheerfully, with a swing), text and tune by Appleford for the entry of the communion elements; #14) ALTON ('Firmly with a strong rhythm'), for J. H. Newman's 'Firmly I believe and truly / God is Three, and God is one'; #17) 'Go into all the world', text and tune of a march to be sung before the Gospel; #21) 'Heavenly Father, who made us,'/IVANHOE (Brightly), text and tune for the offertory; #28) 'Jesus our Lord, our King, our God'/HENFIELD, a hymn on vocation; #38) 'Lord Jesus Christ'/LIVING LORD, for communion; #41) 'The love of God is strong to give'/PATTISWICK by Gerald Shaw, a hymn for Lent; and #60) CHRISTOPHER, a tune setting for T. Kelly's evening hymn 'Through the day thy love has spared us'.

⁷⁸ *The Hymnal 1982* (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1985), #568, where it is set to WAS LEBET.

there, some efforts were being made by American composers to emulate the example of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group by writing new tunes for well-known hymn texts.⁷⁹

In Great Britain, *100 Hymns for Today* (1969), the first supplement to *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised*, contained four hymns by Patrick Appleford.⁸⁰ No other text or tune by a member of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group was included in this volume, or in *More Hymns for Today* (1980). The committee divided his long communion hymn, 'Father all-powerful, thine is the kingdom', into two self-sustaining trinitarian hymns set out on facing pages. The two texts shared a common seventh verse. The second hymn began 'Father all-loving, thou rulest in majesty'. A note above each text suggested that the texts could be combined, with a soloist or choir singing the even-numbered verses. The committee chose WAS LEBET, the familiar eighteenth-century German tune which Appleford had first used with this text, rather than CHESHUNT by Geoffrey Beaumont from *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1960).⁸¹

With the publication of *100 Hymns for Today* and *More Hymns for Today* in *Hymns Ancient & Modern New Standard* (1983) these four hymns became the legacy of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group to mainstream Anglican hymnody in Great Britain. In spite of the fact that few of the hymns and tunes have survived, the group's impact was important at the time, and significant for the development of hymnody in worship in the last quarter of the twentieth century. In Cyril Taylor's view:

⁷⁹ See, for example, three tunes composed by Virgil T. Ford for #12) 'O for a thousand tongues to sing', #42) 'For the beauty of the earth', and #58) 'Crown him with many crowns', in *Songbook for Saints and Sinners* (1971).

⁸⁰ They included #21(i) and #22(ii) from his 'Father all-powerful, thine is the kingdom'. #46) 'Jesus, humble was your birth' was first published in 1965 in *20th Century Hymn Book Supplement* and in *Twenty-seven 20th Century Hymns*, with a tune by Geoffrey [Gerard] Beaumont. It was set to the nineteenth-century tune BUCKLAND by the supplement committee. Two other choices were Appleford's text and his own tune, HENFIELD, at #49) 'Jesus our Lord, our King and our God', and at #58) 'Lord Jesus Christ'/LIVING LORD.

⁸¹ See also Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), #104 (pp. 61-62). *The Hymnal 1982* of the American Protestant Episcopal Church reprinted 'Father-all loving' from #22ii.

However ephemeral may have proved the output (in the 1960s, mainly) of The 20th Century Church Light Music Group, its members - among whom Patrick Appleford was outstanding - deserve much credit for having alerted the Church to consider the possibility of new ways, at a time when the current was certainly not running with them.⁸²

Taylor's perception that the current was not running in favour of this kind of innovation contrasts interestingly with the atmosphere invoked in the preface to *Hymns for Now*, in which the editors write of a revolution as if their hymn writing was an expression of a necessary and natural change. This may be an indication of different perceptions on either side of the Atlantic; but it also shows how difficult it is to generalize about the hymn writing of this period, and its relation to worship.

Cambridge connections

The 20th Century Church Light Music Group had strong links with Trinity College, Cambridge. Geoffrey Beaumont, a graduate of Trinity College in 1931, began his ministry in the diocese of Southwark. After war service, he became chaplain of the college from 1947 to 1952.⁸³ Patrick Appleford was a student there during Beaumont's chaplaincy, taking his undergraduate degree in 1950.⁸⁴ He lectured in church history and worship at Bishop's College, Cheshunt, from 1958 to 1960 during the years when the Light Music Group's first collection was being prepared. Beaumont was vicar of St. George's, Camberwell, and warden of Trinity College Camberwell Mission in South London, from 1957 to 1959. Michael Brierley's hymn tune CAMBERWELL, first

⁸² Cyril V. Taylor, *Hymns for Today's Church Discussed* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press; and London: The Royal School of Church Music, 1984), 20. Taylor compared 'Jesus our Lord, our King and our God' with Isaac Watts's 'Join all the glorious names', as Appleford had used a different title in each verse to describe the 'Offices of Christ', 17. Appleford's LIVING LORD was included in *The New English Hymnal* (1986) at #297, the only item from the 20th Century Church Light Music Group.

⁸³ Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 218-19.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 214.

published in *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1960), is named after the church and mission in recognition of Beaumont's support of his work.⁸⁵

A third Cambridge figure, who professed to have no musical skills but who wrote new liturgies and became a member of the committee which prepared *100 Hymns for Today*, was John A. T. Robinson, Dean of Chapel at Clare College, Cambridge (1952-59), Bishop of Woolwich in Southwark (1959-69) and Dean of Chapel at Trinity College, Cambridge (1969-83). He was the author of *Liturgy Coming to Life* (1960), before his more famous *Honest to God* (1963). It was at the time of controversy over the latter book that Bishop Robinson wrote to the proprietors of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* about the urgent need for new hymns for baptism and communion.⁸⁶ By 1963 he had been revising and testing new forms of worship for a decade, working within the framework of the Book of Common Prayer. He had also been active in the field of New Testament translation as one of the group of scholars who were preparing the New English Bible.

While he was at Clare College, Robinson oversaw the refurbishment of the chapel. Together he and Professor C. F. D. Moule, his predecessor as Dean of Chapel, developed the 'Clare College Liturgy' of 1954, which they prepared in the form of a manual for college worship. The Order of Holy Communion from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer was printed on the right-hand side of the page, with a commentary explaining each step of the service printed on the left-hand side. In addition to the booklet, Robinson introduced a number of innovations in the presentation of the service which linked the act of communion with daily life in the college. The bread and wine were supplied by the college kitchen. He invited fellows and students at Clare to

⁸⁵ *Companion to Hymns & Psalms*, ed. by Richard Watson and Kenneth Trickett (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1988), #74 (pp. 76-77).

⁸⁶ See Ch. 2, 51-52.

participate in the readings, intercessions, and the offering of bread and wine. The presider now faced the congregation to receive the elements of bread and wine and to lead the communion service. The sacrament of communion was set in the context of a service of bible readings, preaching and prayer. While retaining the Order of Holy Communion, Robinson introduced many new ideas from the liturgical movement.⁸⁷ His *Liturgy Coming to Life* was written out of his experience.

In an article on the orthodoxy of John Robinson's theology, Henriette Donner has argued that Robinson defended Christian religion as 'a living tradition ... [which] had to be rooted in *common* understanding.' She continued: 'To Robinson, the modern situation demanded *new popular foundations* on which the Church could base its authority. The first step toward laying this foundation was to clear away the obstacles that prevented the assent of the mass of modern people.'⁸⁸ In her view, Robinson's purpose in writing *Honest to God* was to dispel the perception that God exists outside the sphere of human life, in order to help people recognize the 'holy dimensions of everyday existence'.⁸⁹ It is at this point where the work of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group intersects with the thinking of its contemporary theology, particularly with the experimental forms of worship being developed during the 1960s. Henriette Donner argued that Robinson maintained a consistent and integrated theology on the 'liturgical church, the Eucharist and worship', interpreting the thinking of Bonhoeffer, Bultmann and Tillich in the context of Anglican tradition. His purpose in writing the book was to dislodge the apparent paralysis in Anglican institutional thinking about Christianity in order to enable the church to continue to bring the gospel to the people.

⁸⁷ Paul A. Welsby, *A History of the Church of England, 1945-1980* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), 70. See also Eric James, *A Life of Bishop John A. T. Robinson: Scholar, Pastor, Prophet* (London: William Collins Sons and Co. Ltd, 1987), 46-49.

⁸⁸ Henriette T. Donner, 'Where Were You When *Honest to God* Appeared? Remembering Bishop John A. T. Robinson', *Theology*, 99 (July/August 1996), 276-284 (pp. 278-79). The italicized text is given as it appeared in the article.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 279.

In her editorial preface to the 'Remembering ... Robinson' number of *Theology*, Ann Loades noted the influence of Michael Ramsey's writing about the revival of biblical theology, in his *The Gospel and the Catholic Church* (1936, 1956), upon the thought of John Robinson. She commented that Ramsey and Robinson interpreted the consequences of biblical theology differently. Robinson 'wanted a doctrine of the "body of Christ" which would be at home in "evangelical" circles, and a doctrine of the Kingdom of Christ to which the church was to take second place'.⁹⁰ The two themes reflected his thinking about the role of the laity in the church and about the work of the church in the world. In their experimental writing of new hymn tunes and texts, members of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were exploring these issues with their congregations.

'Light', 'Folk', or 'Pop'?

Writing in 1956 Geoffrey Beaumont described folk music as 'the normal every day popular type of music'.⁹¹ His compositions sparked debate over the nature of the emerging alternative music for worship. What exactly was encompassed by the phrase 'church light music'? No one was quite sure. The debate would continue for at least the next two decades, during which time popular music in western culture changed considerably from the idioms known at the time of Beaumont's *20th Century Folk Mass*. At the outset Erik Routley thought Beaumont's new perspective on congregational church music deserved to be taken seriously by church musicians.⁹² The Baptist tunes committee tested the new style in *The Baptist Hymn Book* (1962). Yet even in the early

⁹⁰ Ann Loades, 'On Ramsey and Robinson', in *Theology* (July/ August 1996), 257. I am grateful to Professor Loades who drew my attention to this issue.

⁹¹ Geoffrey Beaumont, 'Preface', *A Twentieth Century Folk Mass* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd., 1956).

⁹² Erik Routley, 'A New Development in Hymn Tune Writing', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 79 (Summer 1957), 85-91 (p. 90).

1960s Eric Sharpe, the tunes convener for the hymn book, was conscious of the ephemeral nature of popular music, wondering how long this style would remain 'popular' and questioning whether it qualified as 'folk music', referring to traditional idioms of folk culture.⁹³

The trend toward church light music was sufficiently well underway by 1963 to allow Erik Routley to make these new developments the subject of the final section of his *Twentieth Century Church Music* (1964). In his chapter on 'The Vexation of "Pop"', he discussed the changing nature of 'pop' music between 1920 and 1950, from dance to cult.⁹⁴ As a result of the mechanization of music production, 'pop' music had become increasingly commercialized. Routley noted that the 'pop' musician, in turn, had acquired a role as the 'ruler of culture', Elvis Presley being a prime example. Dance music was being replaced by music performed for audiences who listened at concerts or in their own homes, by radio and record player. Routley was already commenting on the social change which had taken place in the 1950s: 'The affluence of the young has made them a new and receptive market for commercially promoted music.'⁹⁵ He also detected a 'more passive ethos' in the new 'pop' music. Interest in it was sustained by vigorous marketing of the 'Top Twenty' most popular songs rather than by the musical ideas expressed in them. Routley continued: "'Pop", then, is in its own right a new phenomenon, corresponding with the new society of the West which arose after the Second World War.'⁹⁶ It was similar to the 'pop' music of the music hall in that it depended for its success upon the performer's interpretation, embellished by free improvisation; but it allowed the hearer to be more passive, and it was certainly more

⁹³ Eric Sharpe, note on GRACIAS in *The Baptist Hymn Book Companion*, ed. by Hugh Martin (London: Psalms and Hymns Trust, first edition 1962), #18 (pp. 61-63).

⁹⁴ Erik Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1964, 1966; repr. Carol Stream, IL: Agape, 1984), 151-62.

⁹⁵ Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music*, 157.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 158.

commercial. It was apparent, to Routley at least, that popular music producers were 'cashing in on a social revolution' to promote their wares, with results which Routley saw as being more 'corrupt' than the magnetism of compelling personal performances by singers in the music hall tradition. The danger lay in the attitude of the 'pop' music agent who 'does not feel it is his business to criticise a social order which allows people to associate mental effort with snobbery, and to exalt its evasion into a cult'.⁹⁷ An emerging anti-intellectual ethos was changing the character of 'pop' music.

In the next chapter Routley drew attention to new directions in church music.⁹⁸ He described the work of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, commenting on Geoffrey Beaumont's use of singable melodies characterized by strong rhythmic patterns and 'pop'-like accompaniments as a model for current experiments in the use of popular music for worship. For Routley, Beaumont's jazz setting of Psalm 150 successfully interpreted the colourful Old Testament text in a contemporary idiom, better than the repetitive bass patterns from commercial 'pop' music applied elsewhere in his *Folk Mass*. He compared it to the big musical production which made use of mixed compositional styles to tell its story. Beaumont had applied his experience in writing for such musicals to his *Folk Mass*.⁹⁹ Apart from professional recordings, what the Mass lacked when it was performed in churches was the polish of a big musical production. As a result it did not appeal to the non-churchgoing youth in the way that an expensively-staged secular musical production did. Routley offered the following observations on contemporary response to the *Folk Mass*:

the homely setting of a church hall with its youth-group stamping on the bare boards rather seldom provides enough impetus to take the music of the *Folk Mass* along with it. So, in practical experience, young people of the kind it wished to evangelise have sometimes found it unsatisfying; and those who have manifested the greatest interest in it have been intellectual

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid., Ch. 13, 'Church Light Music', 163-75.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 166.

Christians who thought it a useful vehicle of evangelism. It still gets a good hearing in the Student Christian Movement; but it is more rarely that one meets anybody from the section of society that is truly pop-addicted who has much time for it. ... It has not filled the churches with pop-worshippers, or done anything to transfer their worship away from the pop-idols.¹⁰⁰

While the music had disturbed conservative church-goers, it did not appear to be achieving its intended goal to build a bridge between the churches and post-war youth culture. What the music of the *Folk Mass* did accomplish, however, was to start raising questions about the nature of church music. In Routley's view the significance of Beaumont's mass was that: 'it started something, and awakened the minds of church musicians to a quite new situation and a series of quite new questions.'¹⁰¹

Writing amid the first stirrings of the Dunblane music consultations, Routley found the hymns and songs of the early 20th Century Church Light Music publications to be venturesome in their choice of outward forms for church music, but conservative in musical language and in hymn texts. The experiments were confined to importing familiar elements of 'pop' idiom into church music; no attempt was made to try writing in the rhythms of Stravinsky or in the twelve-tone idiom of twentieth-century European composition. 'What one finds all through these two books is the concentration on unconventionality of outward manner, for which the composer always pays by being wedded to a profound and unshakable conventionality of musical thought-form', he wrote.¹⁰² The two collections of hymns and songs represented the work of clergymen and organists from the Church of England who were writing for an ecclesiastical purpose - the evangelisation of those outside the church - rather than composing for secular entertainment. Routley did notice the six new texts by Patrick Appleford which represented to him the ethos of the group's efforts. He thought Appleford was a capable

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 167.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., 172.

writer, only that 'his idiom is usually as strictly ecclesiastical as anything in the *English Hymnal*'.¹⁰³ Presumably the term 'usually' allows for the exception of 'Lord Jesus Christ' which Routley did not mention in this chapter. Otherwise, there was little evidence of the group trying out 'new verbal images' in their hymns and songs. What he did like was the collection of eight religious 'pop' songs in *Rhythm in Religion* (1960). That small offering included some rock 'n'-roll solo songs for use in worship, such as 'You've got a Rock to scare your blues away' - an update of the gospel songs. This group of songs attempted to build a bridge between religion and secular society. For the most part, Routley thought that many of the songs and hymns by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were paternalistic in their efforts to reach out to young people outside the church.¹⁰⁴ What Routley did not appear to notice, or to pay much attention to, was the link between the group's hymn writing and the liturgical reform movement then gathering momentum within the Church of England. Although they had begun their work by composing new music to revitalize worship, by 1962 this group had moved into the domain of text writing to fill the gaps created by episcopal-led efforts towards liturgical revision.

With hindsight, the 20th Century Church Light Music Group marked a significant but not entirely successful period in modern worship. It was helpful in that it was innovatory, disturbing the tranquillity of Anglican words and music which had become set in their ways under the influence of *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* and the *English Hymnal*. The 20th Century Church Light Music Group stirred things up: but its long-term contribution to worship has not been great. Apart from 'Living Lord', CAMBERWELL, and a few other hymns and tunes, the productions of the group have

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 173-74. In *The Music of Christian Hymns* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications Ltd, 1981), he also protested vigorously against the uniformity of the modern gospel-song style developed by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group. (pp. 158A-59B)

been largely forgotten.¹⁰⁵ There are two principal reasons for this. The first is the departure of the two leaders of the founding group, beginning with Appleford's transfer to Lusaka in 1966 and Beaumont's death in 1970; the second is the extraordinary development of secular music after the arrival of the Beatles in 1962.¹⁰⁶ In the light of the revolutionary lyrics and tonalities of the Beatles, the popular music of the 1950s appeared traditional and uninspired. It is very possible that the innovations of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were designed to appeal to the modern and the young, and that the attention of the young was directed to the other, even more modern, modes. The 'newness' of these hymns was overtaken by an even more radical 'newness'.

Church light music: bridging secular and religious cultures

While this transformation of popular song was taking place, Routley concluded his study of the new developments in church music up to 1963 by looking at the work of Malcolm Williamson and Sydney Carter, and at contemporary gospel hymns associated with the Billy Graham Crusades, as examples of various forms of 'light', 'folk' and 'pop' music. Malcolm Williamson's contributions to church music represented the lighter side of the professional composer's work. Routley described it as 'dialect' writing.¹⁰⁷ Josef Weinberger Limited published Williamson's church music, and that by G. B. Timms who would become the editor of the *New English Hymnal* (1986), in addition to the 20th Century Church Light Music Group's work.¹⁰⁸ In 'A Touch of Satire', Routley

¹⁰⁵ The 20th Century Church Music Group continued to produce occasional collections of new material until 1979, but its most influential work was accomplished in the sixties. See Ch. 7, '20th Century Church Light Music Group III: 1966-79', 257-59.

¹⁰⁶ *The Oxford History of the Twentieth Century*, 407. The Beatles came to prominence in 1962 with 'Love me do'.

¹⁰⁷ 'Mr. Williamson's Dialect', in Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music*, Ch. 14, 176-83.

¹⁰⁸ *Weinberger Catalogue: Religious Music* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd, December 1980).

introduced Sydney Carter's questioning mode of 'folk' music to church musicians.¹⁰⁹

Carter's searching social and religious critique, expressed in the form of the carol, redefined the word 'folk' as a type of popular music.

On the other hand, the origins of modern church 'pop' music could be traced back to the gospel songs of Ira D. Sankey and Dwight L. Moody, which, in the 1950s, became models for the songs associated with the Billy Graham Crusades. In his closing chapter on 'Evangelistic "Pop"' Routley discussed the continuing popularity of this form of church light music.¹¹⁰ He warned that its use would date the Graham crusades by associating them with religious thinking of previous generations. Routley was interested in the work of Charles Cleall, who reharmonized a set of Sankey hymns.¹¹¹ Cleall, organist at St. Paul's, Portman Square in London, whom Routley identified as representing the 'evangelical' side of the contemporary church, reset the American gospel songs to extend the mission of his church to the 'unevangelized of Paddington and the Edgware Road', amid the secular community in the heart of London. What is interesting about Cleall's work is that he appears to have used the updated Sankey songs to serve as a bridge between secular culture and religious faith. Routley quoted Cleall's description of these songs which: 'express a consciousness of Christ in rapture, and of self in humility. ... They make no demands: the pleasure they give is unquestioned and unquestioning.'¹¹² The purpose of these songs was to articulate the experience of worship at its first stage. Routley continued:

¹⁰⁹ Routley, *Twentieth Century Church Music*, 184-95.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 'Evangelistic "Pop"', 196-209.

¹¹¹ This refers to Charles Cleall, *Sixty Songs from Sankey* (Pilgrim Press, 1961), see Routley *Twentieth Century Church Music*, 203.

¹¹² Ibid., 204.

Mr. Cleall makes it clear that he is re-presenting Sankey in order to give expression, for those who sing it, to an experience which must be passed through, and passed quickly. This, then, is another approach to 'throw-away music', but this time in a different plane. It is music of permanent standing which can be used properly only at a certain stage of spiritual development.¹¹³

It was expected, it seems, that once the first stage of religious awareness had finished its course, the newcomer to church would make use of existing resources for worship.

Cleall was well aware of the sexual lyrics, and their musical interpretations, which were becoming dominant in the 'pop' culture of London in the mid-1960s. The quotation mentioned above moved on from the idea of rapture to note the self-centredness of such thinking. 'To seek milk, when we ought to be digesting stronger meat, is the mark of carnality; of self-gratification;' Cleall wrote.¹¹⁴ He was making an effort at his inner-city church to provide an alternative to the erotic 'pop' music which was supplanting the dance music of previous decades.¹¹⁵

'But "pop" church music is at present always mission-music', Routley wrote.¹¹⁶ It was a means of challenging the carnality so prevalent in secular 'pop' music. Charles Cleall considered the Sankey songs a possible antidote. Sydney Carter sought to make people think through for themselves the purpose of Christian faith in contemporary society. Geoffrey Beaumont and the 20th Century Church Light Music Group demonstrated that there were other ways to sing about God, Christ and the Holy Spirit, using informal musical idioms as an alternative to four-part harmony in Anglican worship.

¹¹³ Ibid., 205.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 204. Routley drew his quote from Cleall's introduction to *The Selection and Training of Mixed Choirs in Churches* (Independent Press, 1961).

¹¹⁵ The nature of sin was one of the topics mentioned for the 1965 Dunblane consultation. These pages of *Twentieth Century Church Music* (pp. 203-06) might offer some insight to the discussion intended for that meeting. Routley then assessed the constituents of 'good music', from a musical perspective, also a theme at Dunblane.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 208.

By the spring of 1963 Routley was writing about the wholesale reconstruction of church music and worship. Not all parishioners occupying church pews on Sunday mornings or those who participated in weekly activities (and certainly not the people who chose to attend infrequently, if at all) would be aware of the scale of the transformation which was taking place around them. Meanwhile, delegates and observers present at the Second Vatican Council were conscious of participating in a momentous event in history. Delegates to the congresses of the World Council of Churches were excited about their efforts to find common liturgical ground for worship among Christian denominations. The Church of England, and therefore the worldwide Anglican Communion, had embarked on a full-scale revision of its liturgical practices. Change in the life and worship of the church was evident to any who cared to see it. A great many church people were uneasy about the loss of well-loved prayers and familiar liturgies, about the replacement of the Authorized Version of the Bible, and about the experimental music and liturgical drama which were disrupting the orderliness of Sunday worship. Amid the whirl of secular social change taking place outside the church, it seemed extraordinary, and unnecessary, to many people that the Christian church - Protestant and Roman Catholic - should also take up its anchor and allow itself to be buffeted by storms of change.

Erik Routley was in a unique position to witness the events unfolding around him. He could describe, from personal experience, the pedagogical change in church music during the first half of the twentieth century, followed by an 'alarming creativeness' in the second half. He wrote about the unprecedented use of sacred and secular elements in church music by the midpoint in the century, in a process which he described as a conversation between the church and society:

Nothing, perhaps, is more important than that the conversation should not stop. ... But history and one's neighbours matter; and it is the creative counterpoint between different musical cultures, and different classes of men, and between the sacred and the secular which will in the end determine the course that church music takes. There is at present no reason for supposing that that course will not take us through more exciting country, and more vital experience, than it has passed through up to now. All the signs are that it will, perilous though the journey will be from time to time.¹¹⁷

The 'conversation' between sacred and secular elements in church music was nowhere more evident than in the music supplements compiled during the mid-sixties by the joint board of the Australian and New Zealand churches, by the Walther League in Chicago, and in the experimental collections of hymns and songs written by members of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group. Various light musical styles were being tested by these groups in their search to find acceptable musical languages to express the experience of religious faith, particularly by youth. Across the spectrum of text writing, from traditional hymn formats to biblical songs and revised liturgies, authors were exploring the use of contemporary language for worship purposes. The way was being prepared for the 'hymn explosion' which would erupt in the second half of the sixties.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 'Conclusion', 213.

Chapter 5 The ‘Hymn Explosion’: Writing New Materials for Worship

Beginnings

The *Dunblane Praises* series represented the work of contributors who were experimenting with a variety of themes and formats under the umbrella of hymns and songs for contemporary worship.¹ Brian Wren and John Geyer were trying to convey new theological insights in hymn texts. David Goodall and Eric Reid, experimented with the song format for youth and young adults. Alan Luff tried out new liturgical settings for use in Anglican services, particularly for Holy Communion Series II. Ian Fraser and Gracie King developed hymns and songs for children. Peter Cutts responded to requests for tunes to set hymns and songs across the spectrum of contemporary texts written by various authors for children, youth and adults. Erik Routley wrote texts and tunes to meet specific needs as they emerged. The decade between 1965 and 1975 was a creative time for hymn writing in Great Britain. It culminated in the publication of *New Church Praise*, printed in Edinburgh for the United Reformed Church in England and Wales.

While the Scottish Protestant churches were experimenting with new forms of church music at Dunblane, James Quinn, a Jesuit priest, was working for three years with two colleagues in Edinburgh writing hymns for Mass to be sung in schools and churches, and subsequently published in *New Hymns for All Seasons* (1969). Elsewhere at this time in Great Britain, Fred Kaan began writing hymns for baptism and communion, and for worship in urban communities, to supplement gaps in *Congregational Praise* for his congregation in Plymouth. A preliminary edition of his *Pilgrim Praise* was produced on

¹ *Dunblane Praises No. 1* (Dunblane: Scottish Churches' House, 1965); *Dunblane Praises No. 2* (Dunblane: Scottish Churches' House, 1967); Reginald Barrett-Ayres and Erik Routley, eds, *New Songs for the Church: Book I - Psalms, Children's Songs, Ballads and Hymns* and *Book II - Canticles for Holy Communion, Series II* (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk: Galliard Ltd; and New York: Galaxy Music Corporation, 1969); and *Dunblane Praises for Schools I: Juniors* (Dunblane: Scottish Churches' House, [1970]).

mimeographed sheets in 1967 and then printed privately for Pilgrim Church in the following year.² In 1967 Fred Pratt Green was asked to join a committee (formed two years earlier) of the Methodist Church charged with preparing a collection of new hymns and songs for contemporary worship (*Hymns & Songs*, 1969). He was joined by John Wilson, marking the beginning of an exceptional hymn-writing partnership. Under the leadership of Cyril Taylor and others, the proprietors of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* were actively pursuing their search for new hymns and songs, begun in 1963 and working in conjunction with the Methodist committee by 1967. Hymns by Albert Bayly, Timothy Dudley-Smith, Fred Pratt Green, Rosamond Herklots, Fred Kaan, J. R. Peacey, James Quinn, the American hymn writer F. Bland Tucker, and Brian Wren, and the songs of Sydney Carter, would be introduced to Anglican congregations in *100 Hymns for Today* (1969). In London, Timothy Dudley-Smith began overseeing the development of new worship resources for Anglican youth under the auspices of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society. Michael A. Baughen and Richard T. Bewes compiled and edited the first volume of *Youth Praise* in 1966. Its popularity led to the production of *Youth Praise Book 2* in 1969. It was an independent development of evangelical Anglican materials by a group of clergy and musicians who would evolve into the Jubilate group. At the edge of church-led hymn development, Galliard Press was supporting the song writing of Sydney Carter and others, including a Methodist minister, Peter D. Smith who compiled several volumes of songs of faith, worship and social justice: *Faith, Folk & Clarity* (1967), *Faith, Folk & Nativity* (1968), and *Faith, Folk & Festivity* (1969). New worship materials were flooding the church song market.

² Fred Kaan, 'Saturday Night and Sunday Morning', *The Hymn*, 27 (October 1976), 100-08 (p. 102).

The 'explosion' metaphor

In October 1967 Erik Routley used the term 'the Church explosion' in his regular column on church music published in the *British Weekly*.³ Routley expanded the phrase to the 'Church Music explosion' in his preface to *New Songs for the Church*, dated June 1969. He began:

The 'Church Music explosion' which during the past ten or fifteen years has produced new music in so many different styles, and which has been both the generator and the product of great and searching controversy, has created a demand which in these two books we offer an attempt to supply.⁴

Several months later, John Wilson introduced 'Newer Trends' in hymnody to a group of Methodist ministers. He explained:

and there has lately been almost an explosion. We have had very good work - immediately suitable for congregations (though desirably with new tunes) from Albert Bayly, Fred Kaan, F. Pratt Green, [and] Donald Hughes, all in the Supplement [*Hymns & Songs*], and others such as in *100 Hymns for Today*. ... The more orthodox-style writers are men who know their theology, and who know the modern world, and who have worked at the practical level with typical congregations. ... These writers (and especially Fred Pratt Green) are doing for hymnody exactly what the new translations are doing for the Scriptures - and it is a very valuable service.⁵

Wilson referred again to an 'explosion' in his address to the Guild of Congregationalist Organists and Choirmasters at Guildford Congregational Church on 2 August 1970:

None of us can have failed to notice that there is now - in all denominations - a renewed interest in worship and the forms it should take. And particularly - in the field of music, of religious song, there has been something like an explosion of new material, of which quite a large part is intended for general use by congregations.

³ 'The Church Explosion' was published in the *British Weekly* of 12 October 1967. It is listed in the Routley bibliography printed as an appendix to *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered*, ed. by Robin A. Leaver, James H. Litton and Carlton R. Young (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company; Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1985), 243-261 (p. 255).

⁴ *New Songs for the Church* (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk: Galliard Limited, 1969), inside the front cover.

⁵ John Wilson, 'Thoughts on Congregational Singing', 4 February 1970, 23-24, Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 1, John Wilson Hymn Papers, Box 2B: Lectures and Broadcasts, 1970. It was a lecture given at a further training course for '20-year' Methodist ministers in which he identified the elements of the 'hymn explosion', including the work of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation, the songs of Sydney Carter and Peter Smith, psalm arrangements by Joseph Gelineau, and liturgical settings for the vernacular mass.

Historians will look back, I am sure, on this part of the 20th century as a time of great significance - a time when the need was felt for a new relevance and candour in worship, a time when (as well as preserving what is really great from the past), people in church wanted to speak and sing the needs of today, in the sort of language and style that belongs to today.⁶

In 1990, one of the historians looking back, Robin A. Leaver, described the decade between 1965 and 1975 as the period of the actual ‘hymn explosion’.⁷ These were the years when the great outpouring of new texts and tunes occurred. New hymn writing continued vigorously after 1975, but, by then, it had become an accepted fact in the development of worship in a fast-changing world. Leaver quoted John Wilson, from his address to the Hymn Society in Great Britain and Ireland at the Leeds conference in 1987 where Wilson asked ‘How long can we continue speaking of a “Hymn Explosion”?’.⁸ Leaver wrote that, after twenty years, new hymn writing was no longer ‘instantaneous’. Two studies published in 1981 indicate that by the end of the seventies the ‘hymn explosion’ had become an historical event. Alan Dunstan prepared a handbook about it for the Royal School of Church Music, and Eric Sharpe delivered an address about the recent British ‘hymn explosion’ to the international conference on hymnody held at Oxford in that year.⁹ New models for hymn writing had become established, and contributed to the restructuring of congregational worship.

⁶ ‘Guildford’, 2 August 1970, Pratt Green MSS 1, Wilson Box 2B (1970), 2. The conference was organized by Peter Cutts.

⁷ Robin A. Leaver, ‘British Hymnody Since 1950’, in *The Hymnal 1982 Companion, Volume One: Essays on Church Music*, ed. by Raymond F. Glover (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation (1990), 555-99 (p. 589).

⁸ John Wilson, ‘Some Hymns for Tomorrow’s Church?’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* 174 (October 1987), 255.

⁹ Alan Dunstan, *The Hymn Explosion*, RSCM Handbook No. 6 (Croydon: The Royal School of Church Music, 1981); and Eric Sharpe, ‘1970-1980: The Explosive Years for Hymnody in Britain’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 153 (January 1982), 9-20. Although the title of Eric Sharpe’s lecture suggests that he pushed the years of the ‘hymn explosion’ ahead to 1970-80, those dates actually represented the years of the supplement publications, from *Hymns & Songs* (1969) to *Broadcast Praise* (1981), which he used as sources for his lecture. In the actual address he acknowledged that the new hymn writing dated from the mid-sixties onwards. See Ch. 7, ‘Taking stock of the changes in congregational hymnody’, 301-06.

Experimental supplements: the Dunblane series

Fourteen hundred copies of *Dunblane Praises No. 1* sold between January 1965 and January 1967. The demand for these experimental hymns had surprised even the editors, who had expected that two hundred copies would be sufficient. Comments in response to the contents of the first set of hymns indicated ‘that the demand for new words, with new tunes, was far greater than that for new tunes to familiar words.’¹⁰ The second volume was the product of two working sessions held at Scottish Churches’ House in Dunblane on 6-8 December 1965 and 5-8 October 1966. In preparation for the first session Erik Routley sent out a memo entitled ‘Can there be new forms of worship?’. It was accompanied by an outline of the work proposed, under the heading ‘48 Hours of Composition and Consultation on Music and Words to Catch the Ear of Our time - Folk Song, Dramatic Pieces, Hymns, etc.’ The memo for the 1966 session indicated that it would be a ‘Consultation on [the] Supplement to the Hymnary’. Routley wrote that this consultation ‘should foster the writing of new words in new forms’.¹¹ By the beginning of 1967 several other independent compilations were available to congregations who wished to explore new hymnody.¹² Nevertheless the Dunblane group proceeded with the publication *Dunblane Praises No. 2*. With the exception of three items from *Sing!* (a Scottish youth collection published in 1964), the materials in this volume had not been published in existing collections.¹³

¹⁰ ‘Preface’, written by Erik Routley, to *Dunblane Praises No. 2*, 2.

¹¹ Dunblane, Scottish Churches’ House, Scottish Churches’ Music Consultation, ‘Music/Drama’ File. See also Ian M. Fraser, ‘Beginnings at Dunblane’, in *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered*, 171-90 (pp. 178-80).

¹² See Chapter 4.

¹³ *Sing!*, published by the Church of Scotland, was edited by Ronald Beasley and Douglas Galbraith who attended the Scottish Churches’ Music Consultation in October 1964. It was a collection of original songs set to pop and folk tunes, some of which were composed by youth. The three songs from *Sing!* were #11) ‘Christ before us’ by Douglas Galbraith; #16) ‘God came, body and blood’ by Peter Youngson; and #18) ‘Children, go’, an anonymous song.

As promised in the preface to the first collection, the second set of songs from the Dunblane consultations offered different types of experimental hymnody, including ballads, folk songs, and songs for young children, in arrangements for guitar, piano, and instruments other than the organ (although the organ was not to be dismissed). Some were songs of doubt to be sung as a solo or by a small group at the moment of general confession in the worship service. Others were written in dramatic forms, in response to 'an increasing use of drama for the purposes of making the Gospel intelligible to contemporary eyes and ears.'¹⁴ The collection was divided into three sections of hymns and songs for 'Church', 'Porch' and 'Street'. The first section, 'In the Church', included a paraphrase of Psalm 46, written in contemporary language by Eric Reid, who also composed the tune:

God breaks the crossbow and cleaves the spear;
melts down the guns in heat of fire;
only trust that the Lord
God of Jacob is always
our strength and defence: have no fear!¹⁵

Erik Routley's 'All who love and serve your city', written during the 1966 Dunblane working session, was published for the first time in this collection. It was set to BIRABUS, a tune composed in 1962 by Peter Cutts (a member of the consultation) as a setting for John Bowring's 'In the cross of Christ I glory'.¹⁶ Routley used an urban setting for this hymn on the theology of Christ in the world. It was a reflection on the race riots in Oakland, California, in 1966:

Risen Lord, shall yet the city
be the city of despair?
Come to-day, our Judge, our Glory,
be its name, 'The Lord is there!'¹⁷

¹⁴ 'Preface', 2.

¹⁵ *Dunblane Praises No. 2*, #1, v. 3.

¹⁶ Peter Cutts also composed a tune for the third hymn in the collection, 'Lord, we are blind' by David Edge.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, #4, v. 5. Wesley Milgate, *Songs of the People of God: A Companion to The Australian Hymn Book/With One Voice* (Sydney: Collins Liturgical Australia, 1982, rev. ed. 1985), #562 (p. 198).

This text was followed by Alan Luff's 'Where can we find bread?', a song written for Christian Aid, based on the New English Bible version of John 6:1-13.¹⁸ Written in parallel couplets, the biblical story of the feeding of the five thousand was retold as a dialogue between Jesus and Philip and Andrew, with commentary on the responsibility of the West to care for the majority of the world's people suffering from lack of food and modern technology:

'Where can we find bread to feed these people?'
said Jesus to Philip as the great crowd grew.
'Where can we find bread to feed these people?'
says Jesus to his church as the crowd still grows.

In response to Andrew's question about what to do with the boy's loaves and fishes, Jesus answers:

'Make them sit down,' said Jesus sharing,
'Collect what is over so that nothing is lost.'
Make nations that have share their knowledge and technology,
give money and yourselves to help your brothers' need.¹⁹

Alan Luff had come to Dunblane in 1966 at Erik Routley's invitation, after Luff had written to him to ask if the consultation was interested in experimenting with the Gelineau model of psalmody.²⁰ For that session Alan Luff also prepared draft texts of several canticles based on modern translations of the Bible.

Dunblane Praises No. 2 included five hymns and songs for young children, addressing a perpetual need in hymnody. Shortly after the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland was founded in 1936, George Wallace Briggs had called for hymns

¹⁸ *Dunblane Praises No. 2*, #5. Evidently it was Alan Luff's efforts to create a tune to help him write his Christian Aid text which drove Erik Routley to give up his own attempt to compose a hymn tune in the neighbouring room at the Dunblane cottages. Routley turned his attention instead to what would become one of his best known hymn texts. See Fraser, 'Beginnings at Dunblane', 183.

¹⁹ *Dunblane Praises No. 2*, #5, vv. 1 and 3. The underlining occurred in the printed text. Alan Luff was experimenting with various forms of antiphonal writing during his work at Dunblane, including this dramatized version of Christ's teaching from the Gospel of John.

²⁰ Transcript of a taped interview between Ian Fraser and Alan Luff, undated but commenting on a draft of Ian Fraser's account of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation for *Duty and Delight* (1985), Dunblane, Scottish Churches' House, 'Music/Drama' File, 1-2.

written in children's language (rather than texts written by adults in language that they thought was appropriate for children), which Briggs had set about providing in his hymn anthologies for schools.²¹ Erik Routley had raised the issue again at the Jordans conference in 1945, and at the Bristol conference in 1946 where he had encouraged hymn writers to create new hymns for children under fourteen to be submitted to the committee preparing *Congregational Praise*.²² He returned to this endeavour at Dunblane. The second volume of *Dunblane Praises* contained 'Think of a world without any flowers', a hymn written in the spring of 1966 by children at Emmanuel Congregational Church in Cambridge, with the support of their teacher, Doreen Newport. Peter Cutts arranged the children's tune for the Scottish supplement.²³ A Palm Sunday hymn for young children, 'Trotting, trotting through Jerusalem' by Eric Reid, has travelled from the Dunblane collection into several hymn books by way of the Methodist supplement *Hymns & Songs* (1969).²⁴ Reid also contributed a hymn explaining the concept of the Holy Trinity to very young children. In 'God is our friend' he described an essential Christian doctrine in the clear, concrete thinking of children under ten:

Jesus like us
played in the street,
grew up to heal, and made life complete,
helping everyone.

²¹ George W. Briggs, 'The Place of Hymns in Worship', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 5 (September 1938), 3-8 (pp. 3-4). See Ch. 1, 16.

²² Erik Routley, 'Some Modern Needs in Hymnody', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 32 (July 1945), 4-6 (pp. 5-6); and 'The Bristol Conference', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 37 (October 1946), 4-6 (p. 4). See Ch. 1, 11-12.

²³ 'Think of a world without any flowers' has continued in regular use through the BBC school songbook, *Come and Praise* (1978, revised 1993) at #17 (p. 23), *Hymns & Psalms* (1983) at #572, and *Rejoice and Sing* (1991) at #123. In 1973 Graham Westcott composed an alternative tune (GENESIS) which has guaranteed the hymn's success. *Companion to Hymns & Psalms*, ed. by Richard Watson and Kenneth Trickett (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1988), #572 (p. 336).

²⁴ It is in *Hymns & Songs* at #92, in *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977)/*With One Voice* (1979) at #187, and in *Hymns & Psalms* at #162. John Wilson noted that Eric Reid had written an action song where children could place themselves in the actual event with Jesus. Reid's melodic writing appealed to Wilson: 'The present writer would add that the reverse 'ee-aw' in bar 4 is a delightful, if unconscious, touch.' John Wilson, *A Short Companion to 'Hymns & Songs' 1969* (Methodist Church Music Society, 1969), #92 (p. 21).

His verse about Jesus developed the hymn's central theme about the friendship of God,

Jesus and the Holy Spirit combined as one person:

God is our friend
 Jesus is our friend,
 and the Holy Spirit is our friend,
 all made into one.²⁵

Two other songs were directed to the infant classes - a Christmas carol about the visit of the kings, by Reginald Barrett-Ayres, and 'Lord, I love to stamp and shout' by Ian Fraser, a song in which young children could tell God directly about their activities and interests:

Lord, I love to probe and pry
 seeking out the reason why:
 looking inside things and out,
 finding what they're all about.²⁶

It was printed with tunes by Reginald Barrett-Ayres and by Eric Reid, each of whom experimented with the changing rhythms in the text.

The second section - 'In the Porch (songs of faith, with a touch of drama)', and the third - 'In the Street (songs of irony, anger, and worldly holiness)', offered the more experimental materials in the collection. Most of the 'Porch' songs were drawn from other sources. John Ferguson's 'Am I my brother's keeper?', was a contemporary song derived from the ancient tale of rivalry between Cain and Abel, sharpened by its final image from the trial of Jesus before Pilate:

As long as people hunger,
 As long as people thirst,
 And ignorance and illness
 And warfare do their worst,
 As long as there's injustice
 In any of God's lands,
 I am my brother's keeper,
 I dare not wash my hands.²⁷

²⁵ *Dunblane Praises No. 2*, #8, v. 3, and verse 1 which was repeated at the end of the hymn.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, #10, v. 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, #12, v. 3. Reginald Barrett Ayres composed the tune for *Dunblane Praises No. 2*.

Some of the the 'Street' songs were edgier. Peter Youngson's folk song about the life of Christ, 'Christ came, body and blood', was set out for a narrator and chorus.

The text of the refrain emphasized the violence experienced in Christ's lifetime:

Break the body, spill the blood!
Break the body, spill the blood!
'Kill him at birth.'

Changing with each verse, the closing line of the refrain reiterated the narrator's theme:

v. 2) Christ before Caiphas: 'Blasphemers must die'; v. 3) Christ before Pilate: 'Take Him away'; and v. 4) Christ on the cross: 'Don't let him live'. The song concluded with Christ's resurrection. At this point the refrain changed from remembering the past to sharing the present event of the Lord's Supper:

Christ rose,
Showing his scars,
Showing his scars,
'Give Him His right.'
We obedient,
Eat at His table,
Eat at His table,
Live in His might.

Break the bread up, drink the wine!
Break the bread up, drink the wine!
Live in his might.²⁸

In an interview about the developments in church music at Dunblane, Alan Luff referred to this song as an example of the 'sense of violence' common among the protest songs and folk hymns of the 1960s which did not last into the supplements of the 1970s. The earlier 'hymn ballad type things had a sort of indignation or protest feeling' which was evident in some of the Dunblane items, as demonstrated in Peter Youngson's song, first published in 1964. Luff thought that the material in the later supplements was 'more finished', but, he continued, 'it is very much in the line of mainstream hymnody and

²⁸ Ibid., #16, v. 5.

perhaps that development in the 70s has squeezed out some of this rather wilder stuff I suppose, which was around during the Dunblane period.'²⁹

The 'Street' songs included a ballad written by Alan Gaunt. 'God is the boss, the poster said' was an unusual piece by this hymn writer. He had seen a copy of the first volume of *Dunblane Praises* and decided to try writing an informal song:

God is the boss, the poster said,
But I just don't believe it;
God will be angry, the preacher said,
But I just don't believe it.
We waited for God the boss to come,
To hail his fire and brimstone;
Instead of that a baby was born,
And where had God the boss gone?³⁰

He submitted his song to the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation for consideration. Eric Reid composed a dissonant setting for solo voice, experimenting perhaps with the musical language of Webern and his contemporaries.³¹ The tune was far removed from the traditional style of a congregational hymn, or even a colloquial piece for use by youth groups. The format of the text was also quite different from the hymns Alan Gaunt had already written before he tested the folk hymn style.³² A few years later the author rewrote this piece in the form of a hymn on the theme of God's helplessness:

I was very aware of 'helplessness of God theology' at the time, and thought that it did deserve more serious treatment. 'Lord Christ, we praise your sacrifice' was, as I remember, a genuine rewriting of 'God is the boss' although, apart from the theme, I cannot see much connection between them now!³³

²⁹ Interview with Alan Luff, 3. Ian Fraser explained that Peter Youngson was writing from first-hand experience as parish minister 'in the territory of the gangs, Easterhouse' [Glasgow]. 'Beginnings at Dunblane', 189.

³⁰ Ibid., #20, v. 1. Alan Gaunt, letter to the author, 6 October 1998.

³¹ Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 310-11. Webern's music was the subject of Eric Reid's doctoral dissertation in music composition at the University of Aberdeen.

³² Alan Gaunt: 'I think that the writing of 'God is the boss' probably convinced me that I would not write in that sort of style anymore.' Letter, 6 October 1998.

³³ Ibid. The Scottish theologian Ronald Gregor Smith was making Rudolf Bultmann's theology known to English readers about the time of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation. In his controversial book *Secular Christianity*, he referred to Bultmann's concept that 'only in human weakness is the power of God made known'. See Ronald Gregor Smith, *Secular Christianity* (London: Collins, 1966), 55-56. He cited his source as Rudolf Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity* (London, Fontana edition, 1956), 231.

‘Lord Christ, we praise your sacrifice’ became Alan Gaunt’s most frequently published hymn text following its publication in *New Church Praise* (1975).³⁴

The final song in *Dunblane Praises No. 2* was David Goodall’s ‘Song for a not-quite-converted Christian’, first published in the Easter (1966) edition of the *British Weekly*. Goodall, who was registrar at the Technical College at Sunderland (University of Sunderland) in 1965, was well placed to observe the struggle between doubt and faith experienced by students:

I want to get out,
I want to stay here,
I want to be welcomed
I want to keep clear;
I want to believe,
I want to be sure.
Show me the man who knows the way, the truth, the life, and who
 is yesterday, to-day and everlastingly the same;
tell me his name.³⁵

He set the text to a sparse, rhythmic tune. A few years later the song caught Donald Swann’s attention. He sought David Goodall’s permission to rearrange it into a sing-along version for the ecumenical London Festival of Worship, ‘That’s the Spirit’, held in the spring of 1973. According to Goodall, ‘The D. P. version had a very elementary accompaniment: Donald turned it into a rumbustious duet between soloist and audience, which was adapted for the version in NCP.’³⁶ In this way, writers and composers of new hymnody supported one another’s work and made it known to a wider audience.

In retrospect, it is intriguing to notice the emergence about 1960 of several groups of hymn and song writers who initiated the renewal of hymnody, preparing the

³⁴ See Ch. 7, 294.

³⁵ *Dunblane Praises No. 2*, #21, v. 4.

³⁶ David S. Goodall, letter to author, 16 October 1998, 1. The Swann arrangement was printed at #42 in *New Church Praise* (1975).

Fred Pratt Green also contributed at least two pieces to the London Festival in 1973. See his ‘Sing, one and all, a song of celebration’ and ‘All who worship God in Jesus’ in *The Hymns and Ballads of Fred Pratt Green* (London: Stainer & Bell, Ltd.; and Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1982), #42 and #43 (pp. 55-57).

way for the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation. Erik Routley had encouraged the development of new hymn writing at Mansfield College, Oxford, from 1948 until his departure for Edinburgh in 1959, when David Goodall took Routley's place as chaplain and organist in addition to his own duties as college bursar. Goodall worked with a number of individuals whose periods of study or teaching overlapped at Oxford in the 1950s and the early 1960s. He had been a student at Mansfield College during Erik Routley's chaplaincy, where Routley was his tutor in Church History and Liturgy while the latter was preparing his first book on the history of Christian hymnody and while he was on the committee for *Congregational Praise*.³⁷ Another figure in the development of contemporary hymnody, Caryl Micklem, was a fellow student.³⁸ In 1960 Brian Wren and Peter Cutts entered the college to read theology. Goodall has commented on the 'combination of top class scholarship, radical theology, musical brilliance, and youthful enthusiasm from the students to whom I was chaplain' which shaped the spirit of Mansfield College. He added:

I think I shared much of their questioning about the traditions in which we had all grown up. To that extent I was sympathetic to the mixture of 'faith and doubt', which surfaced at that time in writers such as Sydney Carter, and which he took rather further away from 'main-stream' theology than others have done.³⁹

³⁷ Routley was appointed editor of the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* in 1948, having worked for several years as assistant editor to Millar Patrick. His first book, *The Church and Music: An enquiry into the history, the nature and scope of Christian judgement on music* (London: Duckworth, 1950), was a revision of his Bachelor of Divinity thesis (Mansfield, 1946). Routley lectured in church history and served as librarian, chaplain and director of music at Mansfield College from 1948 until 1959. Before he left Oxford for Edinburgh, he would publish ten more books, in addition to his contribution of the music notes to the *Companion to Congregational Praise*, ed. by K. L. Parry (London: Independent Press Ltd, 1953), and numerous articles. During this period he also wrote his doctoral dissertation on 'An Historical Study of Christian Hymnology: Its Development and Discipline' which was submitted to Oxford University in 1952. It was revised and published under the title *The Music of Christian Hymnody* (London: Independent Press Ltd, 1957). See the Routley bibliography in *Duty and Delight*, 244-52 and 262.

³⁸ Caryl Micklem did not participate in the Dunblane Consultations. He became associated with Scottish hymnody a few years later as convener of the texts for *New Church Praise* (1975). Letter to the author, 28 September 1998.

³⁹ David S. Goodall, letter to author 16 October 1998. In *The Music of Christian Hymns*, Erik Routley praised David Goodall's creativity: 'But if we here mention that talented composer and lyric writer David Goodall ... we are not even mentioning an imitator [to Sydney Carter], since this composer - who has the advantage of an articulate theology - was writing songs of this kind before he had heard of Carter.' (p. 160)

Others interested in hymnody at Mansfield College during these years included the biblical scholar, theologian and hymn writer George Bradford Caird, his wife Viola Caird who took a particular interest in the development of contemporary hymnody, and the distinguished theologian Nathaniel Micklem.⁴⁰ These hymn writers were present at Mansfield College at approximately the same time that the 20th Century Church Light Music Group was formed by Geoffrey Beaumont and Patrick Appleford, and while the renewal of the Anglican liturgy was being initiated at Clare College, Cambridge, by John A. T. Robinson and C. F. D. Moule. New developments in hymnody and in liturgical renewal were occurring simultaneously at Oxford, Cambridge and Dunblane.⁴¹

A third writing session for the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation was held in May 1967: the mandate for that session was to select and prepare items to be published as a possible supplement to the *Revised Church Hymnary*. It had gained the working title 'Antiphon', owing to the amount of discussion within the group about antiphony.⁴² The notice sent out to the participants requested new materials in a more finished state than the trial items selected for the first two volumes of *Dunblane Praises*. They were also invited to bring hymns and songs for the proposed collection for children. By 1967 hymnal committees were seeking new material which they could 'test out in practice to

⁴⁰ George Bradford Caird was the author of 'Almighty God, who for us thy Son didst give' in *Congregational Praise* (1951) and 'Not far beyond the sea, nor high' in *New Songs* (1962); Viola Caird wrote several articles about hymnody published in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* [see, for example, 'The Hymn as a Literary Form', *Bulletin* 38 (January 1947), 1-9]. Erik Routley identified Nathaniel Micklem as the paraphraser of Timothy T'ing Fang Lew's hymn about the heavenly city, 'Salem, from heaven descending', an appeal in 1937 for God's mercy in the face of human oppression. Erik Routley, *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 177), 185 and 221.

⁴¹ Basil Bridge has commented on the notable hymn writers of the twentieth century who were connected with Mansfield College, naming W. T. Pennar-Davies, H. C. Carter, Albert Bayly, Erik Routley, Brian Wren, Colin Thompson, John Geyer, David Fox, and Caryl Micklem. He concluded that 'Mansfield's contribution to English hymnody is a reminder that hymn writing and sound theology go hand in hand.' P. Dely [Basil E. Bridge], 'Hymn Text Writing in the United Kingdom 1910-55' (unpublished essay, July 1993). It is one of three essays on British hymn writing in the twentieth century which Mr. Bridge graciously allowed me to read for this dissertation.

⁴² Alan Luff, Interview with Ian Fraser: 'this became something of a catch-word over the last meetings of consultations and working groups.' (p. 2)

see if it is capable of establishing itself'.⁴³ The material would be used in several hymnal supplements which were being compiled and would be published by 1969. The Dunblane group prepared *New Songs for the Church*, published jointly by Galliard and the Scottish Churches' Council in two volumes: *Book 1* contained psalms, children's songs, ballads and hymns; *Book 2* was the projected 'Antiphon', a collection of psalms and canticles for use with Holy Communion, Series II.⁴⁴ *New Songs for the Church* was a more formal publication than either of the two previous trial books, demonstrating the results of almost a decade of concentrated work on the revision and modernization of congregational church music.

Ecology and the threat of nuclear weaponry were topics addressed in 'Lord, bring this day to pass', a new hymn by Ian Fraser published for the first time in *Book 1*. The hymn spoke of human responsibility for the care of our planet and of others with whom we share our environment:

Forgive our careless use
of water, ore and soil –
the plenty we abuse
supplied by other's toil:
save us from making self our creed,
turn us towards our brother's need.

Give us, when we release
creation's secret powers,
to harness them for peace —
our children's peace and ours:
teach us the art of mastering,
which makes life rich, and draws death's sting.⁴⁵

⁴³ 'Consultation on Music at Scottish Churches' House, Dunblane, May 3rd (7 p.m.) to 5th (lunch) 1967', in the 'Music/Drama' File. Two committees are mentioned by name in this document - those reviewing the *Revised Church Hymnary* (1927) and *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950), both of which called upon Erik Routley as an adviser.

⁴⁴ *New Songs for the Church, Book 1* and *Book 2* (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk: Galliard Limited, in association with Scottish Churches Council; New York: Galaxy Music Corporation, 1969). The Scottish Churches' Music Consultation thereby fulfilled its commitment to provide new hymns and service music for the committee working on the *Revised Church Hymnary*.

⁴⁵ *New Songs for the Church*, #24, vv. 2 - 3. It is in *Rejoice and Sing* (1991) at #87, where it is set to RAWTHORPE, the tune composed at Dunblane by Peter Cutts.

The canticles in *Book 2* were Alan Luff's contribution to the Scottish Churches'

Music Consultation. He was primarily interested in creating new materials for worship using modern translations of the Bible.⁴⁶ Ten canticles were based on the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. He also translated the Te Deum. Erik Routley composed music for it. Confounding Luff, he turned the text around by setting the antiphon for the choir and the verses for the congregation.⁴⁷ Routley thought it was necessary to write congregational settings of the liturgy for use by churches which lacked well-trained choirs. In his introduction to *New Songs for the Church, Book 2*, he described the purpose of these new settings:

The presupposition is that the church using this book would be prepared to renounce the tyranny of 4-part uniformity, and to experiment by the use of solo voices and separated singing groups within the whole congregation — antiphony, for example, between 'choir', or cantor, and congregation, or between one side of the congregation and the other. The organ can always be used if it is played in the appropriate style, which rather often means abandoning the traditional obligatory and rhythmless *legato*: but other instruments at most points can supplement or replace it with very good effect.⁴⁸

Years later Alan Luff noted with regret the loss of a creativity in dealing with the rhythms of scriptural texts which he had found only at Dunblane. However, he had made a valuable contribution to the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation by drawing attention to the need for new service music in response to the changing liturgy of the Church of England and the new translations of the Bible.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Interview with Alan Luff, 1. See also Alan Luff, *Psalms and Hymns* (Carol Stream, IL: Agape, [1981], a collection of psalms and hymns, based upon the New English Bible and the Revised Standard Version, set for parish churches with limited musical resources. Alan Luff explained: 'They are offered, too, in the conviction that the words of Scripture can and should be still the chief source of our praises, and that modern translations of the Bible have hidden treasures of poetry that can be found and used.'

⁴⁷ Interview, 2-3.

⁴⁸ *New Songs for the Church: Book 2*, inside the cover page. Routley composed music for Luff's Offertory, Prayer, Easter, and Whitsun canticles. Christopher Dearnley's setting of the Venite (adapted by C. Day Lewis) was also included in this volume at #34. Dearnley would become a music editor for the *New English Hymnal* (1986).

⁴⁹ After the work at Dunblane was completed, Erik Routley wrote to Alan Luff to thank him for his contribution of the canticles, which Routley thought were an important development for the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation. Interview with Alan Luff, 2.

Dunblane Praises for Schools: I Juniors (1970) proved to be the final

publication in the series, although not intentionally so. Gracie King co-ordinated the project, which was prepared jointly by Scottish Churches' House and the Iona Community:

This is a try-it-and-see book for junior pupils. Day schools and Sunday schools are asked to bring it into use, allow time for children to familiarise themselves with words and music, and judge what meets the mind of children and speaks truly of the faith, and what does not.

They are asked to enter further into the spirit of experiment which produced this book. Is this note or that theme missing? Why not get children to share their thoughts about it and shape these into verse? Or let an adult try to frame words and music which catch the imagination of children. As *Dunblane Praises* 1 and 2 were try-it-out publications which led to the more definitive 'New Songs for the Church' ... so we hope for a ferment of creation of school praises.⁵⁰

The Scottish Churches' Music Consultation intended to publish a separate trial collection for school seniors, with the eventual publication of a complete school edition in mind. This never took place, although Galliard subsequently implemented the plan through its series of songbooks for infant, junior and senior classes published in the 1970s.⁵¹

'When I see the salmon leap the fall', a text by Gracie King set to the Irish tune LARK IN THE CLEAR AIR, would be chosen for *New Church Praise* (1975). It was a hymn about the five senses:

When I see the salmon leap the fall,
or the aer'plane's silver trail
or a drop of water magnified
then my eyes and soul bless the Lord.⁵²

Its vivid images appealed to children - hearing 'the frosty crunch of snow' and a 'well-tuned engine whine with power'; smelling the strawberries 'turned to jam'. After a song

⁵⁰ [Preface], *Dunblane Praises for Schools I: Juniors* (Dunblane: Scottish Churches' House, [1970]), i.

⁵¹ In the 1970s Galliard published a series of school songbooks modelled after the Dunblane trial collection, beginning with *New Life. Songs and Hymns for Assemblies, Clubs and Churches*, ed. by John Bailey (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk: Galliard Ltd, 1971).

⁵² *New Church Praise*, #105.

had been created and then tested among several children's groups it would be put away for a few weeks:

Only those songs which were remembered and re-requested in several schools or Sunday Schools would be submitted for consideration for a *Dunblane Praises* publication. Those songs that were not asked for again were jettisoned. In this way child creativity, adult experience and popular acceptability were married to form child folk hymns.⁵³

The strength of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation stemmed from its community effort. Texts and tunes came from many sources across the United Kingdom. They were revised and adapted through a process of testing by numerous church and school groups. Moreover it was an ecumenical group, extending the potential use of the Dunblane materials. To Ian Fraser's knowledge 'no such ecumenical "intentional community" existed previously. The accent was on gifts brought together to serve one another and build one another up in a common initiative to which all sorts contributed.'⁵⁴

Hymns and songs published by the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation spread quickly around the world. Some were being reprinted in the United States, Australia and New Zealand shortly after their publication in *Dunblane Praises No. 1* and 2. Caryl Micklem, an observer of the work at Dunblane, recalls:

Looking back now, I think I should probably generalize by saying that the lasting influence of those consultations and of the books that were produced in 1965 and 1967 was/has been through the subsequent work of those who were there. There was ... a huge sense of creative release for those who took part - a sense of opportunities in hymnody opened up that had not been perceived before. ... I think that Dunblane assisted mightily in the unbuttoning which has been characteristic of the 'hymn explosion'.⁵⁵

The Scottish Churches' Music Consultation created new structures for contemporary church hymnody. The group established a different model of hymn writing which

⁵³ Fraser, 'Beginnings at Dunblane', 181.

⁵⁴ Fraser, 'Beginnings', 182.

⁵⁵ Letter to the author, 28 September 1998, 2. Caryl Micklem did not participate directly in the music consultation; as co-editor with Peter Cutts of *New Church Praise* he followed up the work at Dunblane by ensuring its dissemination to church congregations.

involved congregations, youth groups and schools directly in the creation and assessment of new worship materials. The practice of testing new hymns and songs before publication set an example for subsequent hymnal committees. Not all the Dunblane materials succeeded in capturing attention, but the methods of development and assessment were widely adopted.

'A fresh response to God'

A key factor in the success of the Dunblane initiative, was its theological framework. Ian Fraser articulated the theology which sustained the development of new hymnody and materials for worship in an article entitled 'Theology and Action', published in the *Scottish Journal of Theology* in 1949. He began: 'We stand now at some watershed of history. It is of urgent importance that sound theology and right action should have a church wedding.'⁵⁶ Christ's incarnation meant the 'full acceptance of man's human and historic lot'. To Ian Fraser, writing from the perspective of his dockside ministry in Rosyth, a theology based on Christ's identification with the world in which he lived made good biblical sense:

In our earthly discipleship we are to identify ourselves with men in the context of their surroundings, their social habits, their insecurities, their leisure-time occupations, possibly from time to time their work-situations – even as Christ did: in order that a kinship might be established from which real obedience, and in consequence true knowledge of God, might spring.⁵⁷

In essence, this became the theology practised by the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation. Ian Fraser wrote that worship, while informed by theology, is an act made by the whole self in response to God: 'worship, an act of response, stands beyond the

⁵⁶ Ian M. Fraser, 'Theology and Action', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 2 (1949), 411-23 (p. 411). I am grateful to Dr. Fraser for directing me to this article. Interview at Scottish Churches' House, Dunblane, 10 September 1998.

⁵⁷ 'Theology and Action', 412.

boundaries which theology, an intellectual science, may try to set it.’⁵⁸ Moreover, he continued:

In a time of theological ferment and flux, such as that in which we now stand, the limitations of systematic theology are especially apparent. ... Theological systems are end-products. They follow times in which the Church has made some fresh response to God’s revelation of His purpose.⁵⁹

The post-war years were a time for ‘a fresh response to God’. Theologies have difficulty expressing:

the mystery of God’s revealed nature, and the ultimate frailty in comprehension of man’s reason. From Sterne to Joyce, a literary Remnant have affirmed that the only pattern which does justice to our understanding of life is a pattern which shadows out the disjointedness and inadequacy of our knowledge. The Bible, in the manner of its proclamation, should give us a salutary jerk at this point. Who will fathom and set in order the revelation of God contained in parable, paradox and sacrament?

The awareness we have of the limitations of theology when we deal with action taken in response to God must have this added to it – a discovery of gifts, sometimes overlooked, by which theological utterance may sharpen its prophetic character.⁶⁰

Over a decade later, the work of the Scottish Churches’ Music Consultation would ‘fathom and set in order the revelation of God contained in parable, paradox and sacrament’, by ‘the discovery of gifts, sometimes overlooked, by which theological utterance may sharpen its prophetic character.’

In this article Ian Fraser argued that our particular time is a gift from God within which we are to make our contribution to the development of theological understanding. Rather than thinking of theology as a timeless system of thought, in his view theology ought to be rooted in our contemporary experience:

Our own age is a gift from God. It follows that we, in our response to God, must be ‘incarnational’. We must stand in full identification with the particular loves, frustrations, and longings of mankind to-day. ...

⁵⁸ Ibid., 414. He argued that theology, in fact, ‘draws its very life from worship’, and from obedience to God. Ibid., 415.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 415.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 415-16.

Where the age is accepted as a channel of revelation, and the particular response sought which God requires in a contemporary situation, theology may glean, with patience and sympathy, a lasting harvest. It is where the attempt is made to understand our age, and find what in particular God requires of us within it, that theology gains.⁶¹

He also put forward a strong case for Bible study, arguing that it was essential as a means of understanding daily life and solving problems which emerged within communities. Devotional reading could not be restricted to personal adoration of God if it was to be an effective support to theology or to the work of the church:

We must ask a pertinent question. Are the Scriptures given for the salvation of men to-day, in the whole nexus of their relationships and decisions, or are they not? If they are, and we enter into our closet and shut the door to study the Scriptures, we must shut in the particular needs of our time – not shut them out.⁶²

Almost twenty years later Fred Pratt Green wrote a hymn advocating these views:

When the Church of Jesus
Shuts its outer door,
Lest the roar of traffic
Drown the voice of prayer:
May our prayers, Lord, make us
Ten times more aware
That the world we banish
Is our Christian care.⁶³

Bible study was a necessary step toward Christian action. Fraser argued that: 'Biblical action of this nature should not stand as an offence to theology, but should nourish theology. Indeed, without it theology will become a dessicated branch in God's hand, instead of a weapon of light.' (Was he anticipating the onslaught of the 'death of God' theologies in 1960s?) He concluded: 'By biblical action such as we have described, we may see the Holy Spirit initiating within the Church a response to His own gracious work

⁶¹ Ibid., 418.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Fred Pratt Green, 'The Church in the World', in *The Hymns and Ballads of Fred Pratt Green* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1982), #1, v. 1, (p. 2).

in the world.’⁶⁴ This practical application of theology in action was evident in the work of the Scottish Churches’ Music Consultation.

Three decades later, speaking to the 1998 Norwich conference of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland about ‘*Dunblane Praises* and After’, Ian Fraser recalled the efforts of the members of the Scottish consultation to ‘start a ferment’ in the development of church music.⁶⁵ By 1969, when he and his wife left Scottish Churches’ House to take up an appointment in Geneva, ‘the leaven was working in the lump and could be left to go on doing so’. At the Norwich conference, he described the ‘theological perceptions which underpinned the initiative and its development’. He began:

Our time and place in history is a gift of God and should be honoured as such. Jesus Christ was given a particular time and place. It was in terms of that time and place that he had to work out his life. ... Our life today has different terms. It’s from these that we must offer our praise and service. Because of our particular time and place, we are given particular questions and insight. This can be a basis for hymn-writing.⁶⁶

Fifty years on, in his view, the principles articulated in ‘Theology and Action’ remain valid as a theological foundation for contemporary hymn writing. He commented on the leadership of the laity in developing new resources for worship, supported and encouraged by the ordained clergy. In his experience one of the main roles of the ordained clergy is to help people participate in making decisions:

to release and develop the gifts of God’s people, and help them to be contributed in the right way; and to interrelate what is happening more widely in the Church - both so that what is locally creative can be picked up more widely and so that what is populist and eccentric can be identified and ‘cast out’ if it negates the Gospel.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Fraser, ‘Theology and Action’, 420-21.

⁶⁵ Ian M. Fraser, ‘*Dunblane Praises* and After’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* 217 (October 1998), 181-85 (pp. 181-82).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 182-83.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 183.

Personal and communal experience create contemporary perspectives which shape hymn writing. In the twentieth century the dismantling of colonial empires, the destructive power of political ideologies, programmes in space exploration, and the emergence of global financial and political hegemonies are among the factors which have moulded the perspectives of our time: Ian Fraser noted that contemporary perspectives 'should instruct our worship, providing fresh perceptions of the being and work of God to enlarge the hymn-themes of the past.'⁶⁸ To these he added other factors such as the use of the guitar in popular music, and the link between the campaign to save our environment and the teachings of Celtic Christianity about respect and responsibility for the natural world.

The first principle is to write hymns out of our particular experience of the world's time. The second principle is that 'What is offered to God has to be worthy. It therefore needs stringent, critical appraisal.'⁶⁹ The third principle is the 'participation of children. Yes, a theological element!'⁷⁰ This referred to the experience of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation in its work with children to apply their perceptions to hymn writing. The principles of 'Theology and Action', implemented at Scottish Churches' House during the church music consultations, continue to influence current hymn writing.

Fred Kaan and Pilgrim Praise

Ian Fraser expressed the desire that ministers and the laity should, in partnership, find new and authentic patterns of worship. While the church music consultations were being held in Scotland, the laity were at work on the south coast of Devon. In 1963, in

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid. Ian Fraser referred to these principles as elements of theology, which he described as theological 'perceptions' and 'guidelines'.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 184-85.

Plymouth, the members of Pilgrim Congregational Church called Fred Kaan to help the congregation develop its interests in formulating new ways of worship and in finding practical means toward the social application of the Gospel. He later recalled:

In fact they had articulated very clearly in the letter which called me what they saw as the role of a Christian minister. One of these points was that of helping a congregation to express its faith in contemporary terms. They were all very much involved in the social and political life of the city of Plymouth and were anxious to see the worship reflecting this in their discipleship and witness, and also the other way round.⁷¹

Working with the Plymouth congregation, Kaan soon established a 'regular discipline' of writing new hymns, almost weekly - 'it was part of my preparation for Sunday worship'. The practice was reinforced by a lack of hymns on the subjects for his sermons. *Congregational Praise*, which he considered to be a good hymn book 'by any standards', could not provide the hymns he needed.⁷² He began by writing post-communion hymns:

there were so few hymns enabling us to make the transition from breaking bread at the table to sharing bread in the world. But then, of course, there were also the other gaps which come under the heading of our social and political involvement in the world. There were no specific hymns about living in a modern city and an urbanized society. There were so few hymns which spoke about the glory of our humanness, so few hymns which emphasised the humanity of Jesus.⁷³

Kaan's hymn writing at Plymouth coincided almost exactly with the Dunblane years, from 1963 to 1968. He viewed his work as that of a 'supplement writer, putting things alongside that which is already available and enjoyed in the church.'⁷⁴ In 1967 the

⁷¹ 'New Hymnody: Some Problems and Prospects', a conversation among Fred Pratt Green, Fred Kaan and Brian Wren, in response to questions from Robin A. Leaver, in *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered*, 217-228 (p. 218). See also his introduction to *The Hymn Texts of Fred Kaan* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1885), xvi, where he paid tribute to a congregation which possessed 'remarkable agility of spirit, and eagerness to try out what had not been tried before'.

⁷² Fred Kaan, 'About this Book', in *The Only Earth We Know* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1999), xi.

⁷³ 'New Hymnody: Some Problems and Prospects', 218-19. See also Harry Eskew, 'An Interview with Fred Kaan', *The Hymn* 31: 3 (October 1980), 226-30 (pp. 229-30); and Fred Kaan, 'One Man's Hymn-Writing Journey', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 206 (January 1996), 194-99 (p. 197).

⁷⁴ 'New Hymnody', 219.

congregation urged him to collate the most useful hymns to prepare a small typescript collection of fifty hymns. It was printed the following year and soon began to circulate as the hymns became more widely known.⁷⁵ Not being a trained musician, Fred Kaan deliberately chose to write his new texts to familiar hymn tunes from *Congregational Praise*, which most Congregational churches would have had immediately at hand.

The local supplement became well enough known to be of interest to a commercial publisher. The Galliard edition of *Pilgrim Praise* (1972) contained seventy hymns covering many subjects. It opened with 'God who spoke in the beginning', set to CORBRIDGE, a tune composed for this text in 1970 by Erik Routley. The last verse of this hymn provided a concise statement of Fred Kaan's theology:

God whose speech becomes incarnate
— Christ is servant, Christ is Lord! —
calls us to a life of service,
heart and will to action stirred;
he who uses man's obedience
has the first and final word.⁷⁶

The collection began with hymns about creation and about God's presence in the world.

One hymn, entitled 'God in the midst', made use of Martin Shaw's popular tune LITTLE CORNARD to restate the doctrine of the Trinity in contemporary language for use during Advent:

⁷⁵ Kaan, 'Saturday Night and Sunday Morning', 102. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 275-76. When Kaan sent some of his first hymn texts to Erik Routley for comment Routley was not interested in the materials, seeing nothing new in their content. A few years later, by the time *Pilgrim Praise* was published in 1968, Routley had changed his opinion of Kaan's hymns and had begun to recommend some of them to hymnal committees. Pratt Green et al., 'New Hymnody', 219. Routley would be reconsidering the texts after six years of work at Dunblane. See also his 'New Hymns from Two Generations: Reviews of Booklets by Albert Bayly and Fred H. Kaan', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 113 (Summer, 1968), 220-22.

⁷⁶ *Pilgrim Praise* (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk: Galliard Ltd, 1972), #1, v. 3 (p. 1). Fred Kaan's hymn is printed with Erik Routley's tune in the current United Reformed Church hymn book, *Rejoice and Sing* (1991), at #60. See [David S. Goodall and Bernard S. Massey] *Companion to Rejoice and Sing*, (Norwich: The Canterbury Press Norwich, 1999), #60 (p. 57).

God is unique and one —
 father, sustainer, Lord!
 Patterns of life were spun
 by his creative Word.
 Of his intention, love and care
 we are with growing trust aware.

In this hymn Kaan argued that it is possible to come to know God through other human beings because Christ himself took human form. The theme was repeated in each succeeding verse: 'Love came to earth in Christ, / man's common life to share'; 'The Holy Spirit moves / man to discover man'; and finally, 'God in the midst of men, / seen in the human face'. It concluded: 'We give expression to our creed / by love in thought, in word and deed.'⁷⁷

Similar to the supplements published by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, *Pilgrim Praise* contained modern hymns written for use by a particular congregation in regular worship. Its contents followed the church year, from Advent through Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. Fred Kaan's social criticism, however, contrasted sharply with the content of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group's texts. In Advent 1965, Fred Kaan wrote a controversial version of the Magnificat for his congregation at Pilgrim Church.⁷⁸ His 'Sing we a song of high revolt' was a social paraphrase of the biblical text: its central theme was justice for the poor, the hungry and the disenfranchised. Kaan transformed Mary's prayer into a contemporary religious song about 'God at war with human wrong', about the one who 'brings down the mighty from their thrones', and about feeding 'the hungry men of many lands' while 'the rich must go with empty hands'. The hymn caused an uproar a few years later when

⁷⁷ Ibid., #3 (p. 3). At that time, the term 'man' was still in common use as an acceptable generic reference to all humanity. Given Fred Kaan's focus on the personhood of the Trinity, his hymn texts did not conform easily to the rules of inclusive language when they came into force in the 1980s. For his discussion about this concern see 'A note on inclusive language' in *The Hymn Texts of Fred Kaan* (1985), xxx-xxxi; and in his 'About this Book' in *The Only Earth We Know* (1999), x.

⁷⁸ His 'Magnificat Now!' followed Timothy Dudley-Smith's 'Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord' by just four years, but Kaan cast the text in an entirely different light.

Galliard included it in their school songbook, *New Life* (1971). Perhaps with a lack of political tact, it was set to the German carol tune TANNENBAUM (which had become politicized as the Labour Party Conference song, 'The Red Flag'). A misprint in the schoolbook edition, which read 'Sing we *the* song of high revolt', probably intensified the storm. Kaan's Christian Socialism appeared to be inviting children to sympathize with the British Labour Party. The British Conservative politician, Enoch Powell, raised the matter in Parliament in response to many complaints about the direct social critique expressed in a school song:

He calls us to revolt and fight
With him for what is just and right,
To sing and live Magnificat
In crowded street and council flat.⁷⁹

It was a religious song of protest which did not mince words (of the kind Alan Luff remembered from the 1960s).⁸⁰ The text became associated with the new liberation theology of this period. Kaan told the following story:

The addition of the exclamation mark in the title came later. It goes back to the day when my friend and WCC [World Council of Churches] colleague, Harry Daniel, a priest of the Church of South India, was released from a Manila prison after detention for his involvement in urban industrial mission activities in the Philippines' capital. The first words he spoke to me when we met after his release were: 'Magnificat Now!' Ever since then, there has been an exclamation mark in the title. In parts of South East Asia, some people have even coined the phrase: 'Magnificat Now' theology.⁸¹

Pilgrim Praise also contained a number of texts suitable for the new order of worship centred around communion. It included hymns which reflected new thinking

⁷⁹ *New Life: Songs and Hymns for Assemblies, Clubs and Churches*, ed. John Bailey, #12, v. 4 (p. 12), and *Songs for the Seventies* (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk: Galliard Ltd; Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press; and New York: Galaxy Music Corporation, 1972), #47 - both of which carried the misprint in the first line of the text, although it was listed in the index of first lines in the latter book as 'Sing we *a* song of high revolt'. See *Pilgrim Praise* (1972), #4 (p. 4), and *The Hymn Texts of Fred Kaan*, #93 (pp. 106-07), especially his 'Introduction', xxiv.

⁸⁰ See pp. 172-73 above.

⁸¹ Kaan, *Hymn Texts*, #93 (p. 107).

about baptism and Christian unity.⁸² On these themes, and on the topic of mission and service, both Fred Kaan and Patrick Appleford were identifying large gaps in their respective Congregational and Anglican hymnodies of the 1960s. Among Kaan's earliest hymns were several post-communion texts linking the spiritual renewal gained in worship with service in the world. He paid careful attention to the content of the last verse, as in his well-known 'Now let us from this table rise / renewed in body, mind and soul'. The congregation concluded the service by singing:

Then grant us courage, father God,
to choose again the pilgrim way
and help us to accept with joy
the challenge of tomorrow's day.⁸³

Similarly, the title, 'From Worship to Service', identified the purpose of 'Lord, as we rise to leave this shell of worship'. The closing hymn is, in Kaan's view, an important point in the worship of the people and not a moment to be thrown away with an uplifting tune but with no attention paid to the text: 'A major concern in my ministry has always been the making of a good transition from worship to service, from celebration to action.'⁸⁴ In 1972 Galliard published this hymn twice, setting it to LAMBHAY HILL by Philip Humphreys in *Pilgrim Praise* and to Erik Routley's WANSBECK in *Songs for the Seventies*.⁸⁵ Fred Kaan presented it at a 'Come and Sing' session at Westminster Abbey in May 1973. The text embraced a number of central themes in his hymn writing. The second verse referred to 'the love we owe the modern city'. The third concentrated on

⁸² For hymns of baptism, see #23) 'Now in the name of him, who sent' (HERONGATE), #24) 'With grateful hearts our faith professing' (ST. CLEMENT), and #25) 'Out of deep, unordered water' (SHIPSTON); for communion, see #26) 'As we break the bread' (ST. MACHAR); for after communion, see #27) 'Father, who in Jesus found us' (QUEM PASTORES LAUDAVERE); and #28) 'Now let us from this table rise' (TALLIS' CANON); and for Christian unity, see #30) 'We dare not, Father, ask to be as one' (ELLERS) and #31) 'Gathered here from many churches' (KINGSTON by Doreen Potter).

⁸³ *Pilgrim Praise* (1972), #28, v. 4 (p. 47). See also Fred Kaan, *The Hymn Texts of Fred Kaan*, ix and #79 (p. 90), where the fourth verse begins 'Then grant us courage Father-God'.

⁸⁴ *Hymn Texts*, #65 (p. 74).

⁸⁵ See *Pilgrim Praise* (1972), #55 (p. 92); and *Songs for the Seventies*, #24 (p. 28).

finding opportunities for service: 'Give us an eye for openings to serve you'. The fourth prayed for release from old habits and constraints, in order to serve God fully:

Lift from our life the blanket of convention;
give us the nerve to lose our life to others.
Be with your church in death and resurrection,
Lord of all ages!⁸⁶

Some of his hymns for baptism contained images of birth and death. The hymn which began: 'Now in the name of him, who sent / to preach by word and sacrament', went on to tell the parents and the congregation attending this sacrament that:

The water is a seal and sign
of costly love that makes us clean.
This love we see in Christ portrayed,
who rose triumphant from the dead.⁸⁷

It closed with thanksgiving for the gift of a 'covenant of grace'. The hymn text included references to the experiences of Noah, Moses and Jonah, whose covenants with God were sealed with water. Kaan wrote the hymn in 1964 to supplement the conventional baptismal texts available in *Congregational Praise*. He explained that: 'Water is a symbol of both birth and death. The hymn incorporates early Christian thoughts that link the sacrament of baptism with Old Testament traditions.'⁸⁸

'We dare not, Father, ask to be as one' was written for the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, held in January 1968. It contained prayers for greater awareness of injustice and pain in the world at large, and concluded with a prayer that the church might find the courage to strike out in new directions:

We dare to ask that you will guide us first
to waste no longer things we hold in trust;
Lord, set us free from all that ties us down
and lead your church into the great unknown.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *Pilgrim Praise* (1972). #55, v. 4 (p. 92).

⁸⁷ *Pilgrim Praise* (1972), #23, v. 4 (p. 39).

⁸⁸ *Hymn Texts*, #77 (p. 87).

⁸⁹ *Pilgrim Praise*, #30, v. 3 (p. 50). See also *Hymn Texts*, #116 (p. 137).

'The earth, the sky, the oceans', was a hymn about careful stewardship of the earth's resources, written in 1968 to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Robert Falcon Scott, the Antarctic explorer who had grown up in Plymouth. In this hymn Kaan addressed the issue of responsible use of scientific knowledge and research to benefit the earth's inhabitants:

For quest and exploration,
our God has given the key
to free the hidden forces
and wealth of soil and sea.
To new advance in science,
research to conquer pain,
to growth in skill and knowledge
we are by God ordained.⁹⁰

The closing verse pledged commitment to able and responsible stewardship of the resources discovered in earth or in outer space, the latter being the contemporary equivalent of the Antarctic which so attracted Scott.

It was followed by a hymn entitled 'The Rape of the Land' - an arresting title for a hymn, then and perhaps even now. The text spoke of our human 'un-caring hand' which had destroyed the green of creation and 'raped the land'. It declared:

We strip the trees and leave them bare,
pollute the streams, the soil, the air,
and we have never truly faced
the outcome of our ways of waste.

This plain speech continued in the next verse which referred to 'millions underfed / and poison in our daily bread', and asked if it was still possible for us to 'undo the harm?'.

Kaan concluded the hymn with a prayer:

May God forgive the curse of greed,
alert our mind to human need,
that we again may purify
the life of earth and sea and sky.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *Pilgrim Praise*, #38, v. 3 (p. 65).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, #39, v. 2 and v. 4 (p. 67). It was set in *Pilgrim Praise* to BRESLAU, and to a new tune by Peter Tranchell, a composer who had provided settings for the Dunblane publication *New Songs for the Church* (1969) and contributed a number of tunes to the 1972 edition of *Pilgrim Praise*. This hymn was

A similar theme lies at the heart of Fred Kaan's well-known harvest hymn of thanksgiving written for the Pilgrim congregation - 'Now join we, to praise the Creator'. The hymn begins where customary harvest hymns begin, with thanks for the gift of God's bounty. It is the second verse which delineates a new style of hymn writing. Here Kaan contrasts the want which is endemic in much of the contemporary world with the prosperity and well-being celebrated in the opening verse. The hymn text turns on itself:

But also of need and starvation
we sing with concern and despair,
of skills that are used for destruction,
of land that is burnt and laid bare.

We cry for the plight of the hungry
while harvests are left on the field,
for orchards neglected and wasting,
for produce from markets withheld.⁹²

It is Kaan's view that 'the world writes the agenda' for new hymnody. In that context, he has explained how his harvest hymn came to be written:

Biblical language in itself is not enough and its relevance in a general way needs to be supplemented with the type of language and insights that will enable the singing congregation to put side by side the eternal message of the scriptures and the haunting images we receive on television.⁹³

The hymn text was published in the *New Catholic Hymnal* (1971), where it was set to HARVEST, composed by Geoffrey Laycock, an association of text and tune which has commended both to hymnal editors.⁹⁴

not included in *New Life* (1971), and it did not appear in *Songs of the Seventies*. If it had been, would this text have attracted the public attention given to 'Magnificat Now!'?

⁹² *Pilgrim Praise*, #60, vv. 3-4 (p. 97). See also *Hymn Texts*, #78 (p. 88). It is printed in its original metre of 9.8.9.8.

⁹³ Kaan, 'Introduction', *Hymn Texts*, xxii-xxiii.

⁹⁴ *New Catholic Hymnal*, ed. by Anthony Petti and Geoffrey Laycock (London: Faber Music Limited, 1971), #170. On the success of Laycock's tune, see Kaan, *Hymn Texts*, #78 (p. 89).

The editors of the *New Catholic Hymnal* selected five texts by Fred Kaan. The others were #78) 'God who spoke in the beginning/VERBUM DEI (G. Laycock), #260) 'We dare not, Father, ask to be as one'/UNITAS VERA (Inglis Gundry, commissioned for this text), #263) 'We meet you, O Christ'/THE TREE SPRINGS TO LIFE (William Tamblyn, commissioned for this text), and #268) 'We turn to you, O God'/INTERCESSOR (C. H. H. Parry).

While it is impossible in the context of this dissertation to give a comprehensive account of Fred Kaan's work, it is essential to acknowledge the main themes of his contribution to the 'hymn explosion' and long after it. Kaan has written, and still does write, primarily for urban congregations. In 'Sing we of the modern city', his theme is stated in its title - 'People Matter':

Sing we of the modern city,
scene alike of joy and stress;
sing we of its nameless people
in their urban wilderness.

The hymn speaks of living in a 'world of speed and hectic days', constantly changing at the mercy of the 'latest trend and craze'. Amid the turmoil, Kaan asserts that:

Christ is present, and among us,
in the crowd, we see him stand.
In the bustle of the city
Jesus Christ is every man.

Writing after the publication of John Robinson's *Honest to God* (March, 1963), Kaan could make use of the hymn form to proclaim that God is not a distant and disengaged deity, but that, through Christ, God is active in human experience:

God is not remote in heaven
but on earth to share our shame;
changing graph and mass and numbers
into persons with a name.
Christ has shown, beyond statistics,
human life with glory crowned;
by his timeless presence proving:
people matter, people count!⁹⁵

This hymn contrasts with John Ticehurst's awareness of alienation amid the city's hustle and bustle in the latter's hymn written at about the same time and published in the *Rodborough Hymnal* (1964). Instead, Kaan has argued:

⁹⁵ *Pilgrim Praise*, #41, v. 1:1-4; v. 2:5-8; and v. 3 (p. 73).

I believe with all my heart that this is the kind of language that needs to emerge today, as it speaks to the soul of the household of God, and with unmistakable directness proclaims a Christ who beyond statistics has shown that human life *is* crowned with glory, and who by his timeless presence proves that people *do* matter and count.⁹⁶

An urban dweller, who became a regular traveller to international cities, including ‘some of the most “soul-less” capitals of the world’, Kaan writes:

it has always struck me how desperately necessary it is to sing of the modern rather than of the golden city, and to stress the basic message of the Gospel, that people matter, especially in the concrete anonymity and deprivation that are such typical symptoms of the urbanisation of our times.⁹⁷

Another hymn which represented new directions in hymnody was Kaan’s ‘Jesus, shepherd of our souls’, written for a BBC service from Plymouth, broadcast on Good Shepherd Sunday, 2 May 1965, following the Labour Day celebrations on May 1st. In this text Kaan intentionally drew the pastoral tradition of the twenty-third psalm into an urban environment:

Jesus, be our shepherd still,
though the settings alter;
grant us for our changing days
faith that will not falter.
Bless us in our modern scene
of computer and machine.⁹⁸

The congregation sang this hymn to Erik Routley’s VARNDEN. In his commentary in the companion book to the Canadian *Hymn Book* (1971), Stanley Osborne indicates that

⁹⁶ ‘Introduction’, *Hymn Texts*, xxiv.

⁹⁷ *Hymn Texts*, #94, (pp. 108-09). In this edition the closing line of the second stanza reads ‘Jesus Christ is Everyman’. Kaan wrote the hymn as a foil to Felix Adler’s ‘Sing we of the golden city, pictured in the legends of old’ from *Congregational Praise* at #557. In his recent collection, *The Only Earth We Know* (1999), #83 (p. 101), he comments further about Adler’s once popular text: ‘But what on earth (EARTH!) does this mean to a single teenage mum with a baby in a push-chair, living on the 14th floor of an apartment block where the lift isn’t working? I thought I’d ask.’ He also notes that the figure of ‘Everyman’ comes from the English morality play. Kaan knew it as a fifteenth-century Dutch play entitled ‘Elckerlijc’.

⁹⁸ *Pilgrim Praise*, #18, v. 2 (p. 32). In the 1972 edition of *Pilgrim Praise*, published by Galliard, this hymn was set to SONG 13 by Orlando Gibbons.

Kaan thought of this text as an endeavour at 'seeing Jesus in the context of a post-industrial society'. It must rank among the first hymns to refer to the computer.⁹⁹

Pilgrim Church had called Fred Kaan to help the congregation find ways to express its faith in contemporary terms. His 'Thank you, O Lord, for the time that is now' became one of the texts most sought after by hymnal editors at the time.¹⁰⁰ Having begun by giving thanks to God for the opportunities of the immediate moment, the second verse then acknowledged the benefits of past experience and sought to discriminate between 'stagnant tradition' and legacy. It was an interesting idea, not in this case matched by the expression:

Thank you, O Lord, for the time that is past,
for all the values and thought that will last.
May we all stagnant tradition ignore,
leaving behind things that matter no more.¹⁰¹

The third verse asked God for help in preparing for the unknown in the future: 'hallow our doubts and redeem us from fear.' It concluded with thanksgiving for the gift of the present time: 'thank you that now is the time of our life!'

Kaan wrote 'O God of the eternal now', in response to Lesslie Newbigin's account of the protracted negotiations which eventually led to the formation of the Church of South India. The hymn began 'O God of the eternal now, / why is your church so slow?'¹⁰² Its hymn title was 'Abrahamic Faith', and it was to the story of Abraham that Kaan turned to work out his theme:

⁹⁹ *Hymn Texts*, #59 (p. 68); Kaan wrote: 'I have tried to bring the idea of pastoral caring into the context of a modern technological world.' Stanley Osborne, *If Such Holy Song* (Whitby, Ontario: Institute of Church Music, 1976), #224. For further discussion about Kaan's hymns, see Ch. 8, 313-14.

¹⁰⁰ *Hymn Texts*, #97 (p. 112). Kaan identifies his 'For the healing of the nations' as the hymn which has gone into the widest use of all his texts. See *The Only Earth We Know*, #82 (p. 100).

¹⁰¹ *Pilgrim Praise* (1972), #35, v. 2 (p. 59). F. R.C. Clarke composed a tune for this hymn text, which he named TRADITION; it was published in *The Hymn Book* (1971) at #224.

¹⁰² *Pilgrim Praise* (1972), #36, v. 1 (p. 61). After Lesslie Newbigin died on 30 January 1998, *The United Church Observer* published a brief tribute. It indicates how closely Fred Kaan's hymn writing reflects contemporary theology about the social gospel as practised by Newbigin and others: 'An ecumenical leader, Newbigin pushed the World Council of Churches to grow beyond its Eurocentric origins. On retiring from India, he returned to Britain's United Reformed Church. The author of more than 200 titles, he was an outspoken critic of the 'Western free-market culture' and was dedicated to the

If, Lord, it is our love of ease
by which we thwart your plan,
then call us out, unsettle us,
and lead us by the hand.¹⁰³

The hymn concluded with a request that God would ‘Give us the heart of Abraham’ to strengthen the resolve to make changes, and that God would bless the work of today.

Evidently the mandate Fred Kaan shared with the Pilgrim Church congregation to develop new worship resources appealed to a much wider church audience. As soon as the first editions of *Pilgrim Praise* became available in 1967 and in 1968 they seem to have gone into circulation well beyond Plymouth, in a similar manner to the dispersal of *New Songs* (Redhill, 1962), *The Rodborough Hymnal* (1964) and *Dunblane Praises No. 1 and 2* (1965 and 1967), and of other supplements published during the mid-sixties. Fred Kaan’s hymns found their way very quickly into congregational hymn books; twenty-five appeared in *The Hymn Book* (1971) published jointly by the Anglican Church and the United Church of Canada, and five in the *New Catholic Hymnal* (1971). Several of these were set to newly-composed hymn tunes commissioned by the hymnal committees - as in the case of four of the five hymns in the *New Catholic Hymnal* and of six new tunes and two new arrangements of folk tunes in the Canadian book. Kaan was introducing a thoroughly contemporary hymn language, pre-eminently concerned with social and political themes, simultaneously into Roman Catholic and Protestant congregational worship.

He published a second collection of hymns and songs at the end of the decade of the ‘hymn explosion’, collaborating with the composer Doreen Potter to produce *Break Not the Circle* (1975), an anthology of hymns and songs introduced that year at the Nairobi Assembly of the World Council of Churches. It was an offshoot of their work as

‘re-evangelization’ of the West.’ See ‘Changes’, *The United Church Observer*, New Series, Vol. 61, No. 9 [Toronto] April 1998, 53.

¹⁰³ *Pilgrim Praise*, #36, v. 2 (p. 61).

members of the editorial body which prepared the fourth edition of *Cantate Domino*, edited by Erik Routley for the World Council of Churches. The hymn which has attracted the greatest attention is 'Communion Calypso'. In this instance, Doreen Potter turned the tables on Fred Kaan by handing him an arrangement of a Jamaican folk tune, LINSTeAD, asking for a hymn text to go with it. The spirit of the tune inspired a joyful text celebrating the Eucharist:

Let us talents and tongues employ,
reaching out with a shout of joy:
bread is broken, the wine is poured,
Christ is spoken and seen and heard.

*Jesus lives again, earth can breathe again,
pass the Word around: loaves abound!*¹⁰⁴

Kaan has identified this element of celebration as one of the new traits in the language of hymnody:

The new language which I see emerging, and want to help emerge in the church's hymnody and worship is a celebratory language that bears within itself the vocabulary of commitment to the people of today and to their world, to the earth and its precarious life, and to God and his Christ. It is the language of the faith that believes not merely in life *after* death, but in life *before* death.¹⁰⁵

Kaan described the central image in his hymn writing as that of 'Christ in the midst'. In his introduction to *Hymn Texts* (1985), which was derived from his thesis on 'Emerging Language in Hymnody', he discussed his views about the humanity of Christ:

Another dominant feature in my work is the emphasis I put on the humanity and here-and-now-ness of Christ, Word in human form. I have been more consistently criticised on this point than about any other facet of my work. ... but the point is that we already have so many exciting texts emphasising the majesty and transcendence of God and the divinity of Christ, that I see it as part of my calling to try and articulate that the contemporary Christian experience *also* includes at its very heart the longing to respond to the person of Christ, that Man for others, the Lord of all.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ *Break not the Circle: Twenty New Hymns* (Carol Stream, IL: Agape, 1975), #13, entitled 'A hymn of first, last and in between'.

¹⁰⁵ 'Introduction', *Hymn Texts*, xxvii.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, xxiv-xxv.

In 1985, the hymn which best expressed his theology about the humanity of Christ was 'In the beginning, God!' - a text from 1974, written as a tribute to Duke Ellington. It was included in *Break not the Circle*. This hymn stated Kaan's thinking about 'the immediacy of human existence, wholly interwoven with the real presence of Christ in contemporary life'.¹⁰⁷ He concluded his discussion about the new language in hymnody with the final verse of this hymn:

The great between is now
and time is ours to tell.
God comes and shows us how
to stand and walk and spell.
So life becomes a feast,
a round to set us free,
for God is first and last
and in between are we.¹⁰⁸

By 1975 Fred Kaan was well established as a major contemporary hymn writer, with particular reference to the social gospel. He had developed his own independent style by integrating his hymn writing into the weekly regimen of pastoral care and preparing for congregational worship at Pilgrim Church in Plymouth. After his transfer to Geneva in 1968 to take up the post of Secretary to the International Congregational Council, he extended the dimensions of his hymn writing to embrace the diverse concerns which he encountered in his work with the world church. Issues about human welfare, care for the environment, social justice, and urban ministry, which he had begun to address at Plymouth, would be interpreted in the context of his experience of the Third World and its relationship to the West, and also in the context of his observation of the church in industrialized countries.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., xxviii.

¹⁰⁸ *Hymn Texts*, #56, v. 4 (p. 64).

¹⁰⁹ Since 1975 Fred Kaan has published *Songs and Hymns from Sweden* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd, 1976); *The Hymn Texts of Fred Kaan* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1985); *Planting Trees and Sowing Seeds* (London: Oxford University Press; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1989), with four new hymn tunes by Peter Cutts; and *The Only Earth We Know* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1999). Dr. Kaan

In June 1980, Harry Eskew interviewed Fred Kaan for *The Hymn*. When asked what advice he might give to a beginner in the field of hymn writing, Kaan spoke about his interest in language, particularly in etymology. He explained his own method of exploring the various meanings of words before writing; and he encouraged hymn writers to work with a dictionary of etymology close at hand. A linguist, with a fluent command of English, French, German and Dutch, and knowledge of some Scandinavian languages, in addition to a working knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, he has tested and deliberately played with the meaning of words in his hymn texts and in his sermons. It is the discipline of word study which has shaped his hymn writing.¹¹⁰ He has also made an effort to explore the relationships between the Old and the New Testaments and to apply those relationships to contemporary worship. Fifteen years later, at the 1995 conference of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Kaan restated his commitment to writing hymns which address present needs in society:

And so throughout my hymn-writer's life, I have poured my concern and commitment into the crafting of a number of texts that focus on human society, on the earth and the city, on Christ among us in the here-and-now, sharing our humanity, on justice and life in all its fullness for all women, men and children, on the pursuit of human rights for everyone.¹¹¹

Renewing the social gospel hymn

In his foreword to *The Only Earth We Know* (1999), Carlton Young describes the ways in which the 'hymn explosion' in Great Britain restored the social gospel hymn:

One of the most significant consequences of the British hymnic explosion of the 1960s and 1970s for American hymnody was its authors' reconstruction and restatement of the social gospel hymn. During this period, hymnal committees began to cast aside this genre because it featured an excessively optimistic appraisal of human endeavour to defeat

kindly answered questions and brought me up to date with his work while he was preparing the manuscript for *The Only Earth We Know*. Letter to author, 4 January 1999.

¹¹⁰ 'An Interview with Fred Kaan', *The Hymn* 31: 3 (October 1980), 226-30 (pp. 228-29). He added: 'And then, one should read literature, poetry, and a good newspaper in order to be in touch with the times.'

¹¹¹ Kaan, 'One Man's Hymn-writing Journey', 197.

systemic and surd evil. Local churches began singing reductionist-rhetoric peace-and-protest pop-style hymns from disposable supplements, which further challenged the style and message of classic social gospel hymns such as Frank Mason North's 'Where cross the crowded ways of life' [1903].

He attributes the restoration in large measure to Fred Kaan:

Just when it appeared that the future of hymns on social concerns might be determined by purveyors and consumers of a capricious pop culture, Erik Routley brought to the attention of US teachers, musicians, hymnal editors and publishers, including those involved with *Ecumenical Praise* (1977), hymns by Fred Kaan composed on a variety of social issues: these included world peace, reconciliation, liturgy and sacraments in a global and ecumenical setting, God's people gathered to be sent into the world as God's servant, and its people as pilgrims in a world in which the environment, as well as the human family, faced extinction.¹¹²

He recalls the occasion when Routley brought to an editorial meeting for *Ecumenical Praise* a marked-up copy of *Pilgrim Praise* (1972) in which he had annotated Kaan's hymns according to their potential use. The committee chose twelve, the most by a single author to appear in that experimental supplement published by Agape (a division of the Hope Publishing Company). Young notes that Kaan's hymns have attracted the attention of a large number of North American hymnal committees, and that they have been set to diverse musical styles.¹¹³

In his autobiographical account published in the *Bulletin* in January 1996, Kaan observed that he had entered the ordained ministry unfettered by conventional worship habits, a situation which allowed him a great deal of freedom to explore new means to express personal and corporate faith:

When I finally reached the point of ordination and entering the ministry, it was in a country other than the country of my birth, having to speak a language my mother and father never taught me. But also I was pretty well unencumbered by a vast quantity of traditional luggage

¹¹² Carlton R. Young, 'Foreword', *The Only Earth We Know: Hymn Texts by Fred Kaan*, vi. Albert Bayly, Fred Pratt Green and Brian Wren also contributed to the rewriting of social gospel hymnody.

¹¹³ Young cites, as examples, eight hymns by Fred Kaan in his own *United Methodist Hymnal* (1989), ten in *The Presbyterian Hymnal* (1990), nine in *The Chalice Hymnal* (Disciples of Christ, 1995), four in *The New Century Hymnal* (1995) and nineteen in *Voices United* (1996). Young composed seven tunes for hymns included in *The Only Earth We Know*.

consisting of theological jargon, churchy idiosyncrasies and also (I should like to think) of parsonic mannerisms - whether in Dutch or English.¹¹⁴

As a result, the themes and language of the hymns printed in *Pilgrim Praise* contrasted greatly with those in any other existing hymn book. At the time, only Sydney Carter's songs would have seemed as radically new. For many people, their first awareness of the 'hymn explosion' may have come through their encounters with Fred Kaan's hymns.

A decade of change

The 'hymn explosion' in the 1960s was, in fact, a series of spontaneous combustions which occurred during this decade of social and cultural change. New translations of the Bible, liturgical renewal, and the international ecumenical movement combined forces with the development of a popular 'folk' culture (with its secular 'liturgies' centred around the themes of justice, peace and social harmony) and the redefinition of the world as a 'global village' in terms of economics, politics and communications, to produce independent hymn-writing initiatives. It was an extraordinary outpouring of hymns and religious songs written out of contemporary experience to meet the needs of a changing social and theological order.

Ian Fraser's article on 'Theology and Action', written in 1949, outlined the future direction of the social gospel. The article caught the essence of its time, advocating that theology and the practice of worship should be contemporary expressions of Christian faith. Ten years later, hymn writers such as Albert Bayly, Fred Pratt Green, Fred Kaan, Brian Wren, Timothy Dudley-Smith, and James Quinn, and psalmodist and liturgist Joseph Gelineau, along with Sydney Carter and other song writers, including the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, responded to the times with new hymns and songs

¹¹⁴ Kaan, 'One Man's Hymn-writing Journey', 195.

which music publishers (Oxford, Weinberger, Galliard, and Hope) sold in large quantities.

Coming, as it did, in the midst of the widely advertised secularization of western culture, the 'hymn explosion' seems all the more surprising. But it was one response to secularization: a response which acknowledged the need for new expressions of worship for the age. New hymnody entered the churches by means of the supplements published by various denominations and by independent religious publishing houses. At first, the 'hymn explosion' divided congregations over the use of guitars and secular musical idioms in worship. In time it would renew congregational worship through the use of the best of the new styles of sacred songs and of hymns written in contemporary language about God at work in the world: as Creator; as Jesus Christ, the Redeemer; and as the Holy Spirit present in the world. Religious imagery took on new forms, while a growing awareness of social justice precluded some older hymn language. Beginning in 1969, hymn writing moved from experimental work sessions (as at Dunblane) into the churches to be tested in congregational worship.

Chapter 6 The 'Hymn Explosion': Singing New Hymns and Songs

And when the hymnless cultures crack,
O give us all our voices back
To shake your joyless skies.
Fred Pratt Green¹

From writing to singing

By 1969 new hymns, songs and other worship materials, including the Gelineau psalmody and musical settings for revised liturgies, were available for use in congregational worship. It was time for these resources to move into pew racks and choir stalls for testing by the church in worship. In that year a number of influential hymnal supplements were published for general distribution by Methodist, Anglican, and Roman Catholic churches. By Advent 1969 Methodist congregations were singing from *Hymns & Songs*, Anglican congregations were becoming acquainted with *100 Hymns for Today* and Roman Catholic congregations (at the beginning of the two-year period of official experimentation in church music authorized by the church) were being introduced to James Quinn's biblical hymns from his *New Hymns for All Seasons*, which extended the base of congregational music established by the Gelineau psalter.² The decade for new hymn writing was divided into two parts: a great variety of innovative writing had taken place between 1965 and 1969; while the writing did not let up, in the second half

¹ Quoted by Arthur S. Holbrook in his report on the 'Annual Conference, July 15th-17th, 1968, St. Mary's College, Cheltenham', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* 114 (Winter, 1968-69), 235-39 (p. 236).

² *Hymns & Songs: A Supplement to the Methodist Hymn Book* (London: Methodist Publishing House, 1969); *100 Hymns for Today: A Supplement to Hymns Ancient & Modern* [1950] (London: Hymns Ancient & Modern Ltd, 1969); and James Quinn, S.J., *New Hymns for All Seasons* (London: Geoffrey Chapman Ltd, 1969). The traditional Latin Mass was officially replaced by a vernacular Mass on the first Sunday in Advent, 30 November 1969. *The Sunday Telegraph* published an article on the 'New Mass for the masses' which declared: 'In one country after another, between now and November, 1971, [the Latin Mass] will be replaced by a ritual hotch-potch, providing for as much audience-participation as possible, and chosen at the discretion of local bishops and priests.' Newspaper clipping, Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 1, John Wilson Hymn Papers, Box 2B: Lectures and Broadcasts 1970-71.

of that ten-year period (1965-75) the results of this work travelled swiftly among the churches. In addition to new hymns, an assortment of song collections, aimed primarily at youth, also entered the general market of church music in 1969. The Church Pastoral-Aid Society issued the second volume of its successful *Youth Praise* books. Galliard continued its *Faith Folk* series compiled by the Methodist minister Peter Smith, who prepared *Faith, Folk and Festivity* for that year; and it published Sydney Carter's three volumes of *Songs in the Present Tense*. This chapter will concentrate on the introduction of the three denominational supplements published in 1969, initiating the transition from an experimental stage of hymn writing to the implementation of the new materials into weekly congregational worship.

The ground was prepared for the forthcoming supplements at the Cheltenham conference of the Hymn Society, where the programme featured the art of hymn writing over the preceding fifty years (1918-58). In anticipation of the annual conference, the summer issue of the *Bulletin* contained an article by Cyril E. Pocknee on the influx of 'Hymns at the Holy Communion', written to meet the requirements for congregational hymnody which were being established by the Roman Catholic and Anglican revisions of the liturgy.³ Erik Routley reviewed the two new collections by Albert Bayly and Fred Kaan, under the title 'New Hymns from Two Generations', and he included Albert Bayly's address on 'Hymn Writing for Our Times', given to the London Branch of the Hymn Society on 27 January 1968. Bayly's piece prepared the way for a panel discussion at the conference on the subject of 'The problems in hymn-writing today'.

³ C. E. Pocknee, 'Hymns at the Holy Communion', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 113 (Summer 1968), 223-25.

Bayly started his account of modern hymn writing with *Songs of Praise*.⁴ While acknowledging that it had significant weaknesses as a hymn book for congregational worship, nevertheless ‘*Songs of Praise* broke new ground from which fruitful harvests have been reaped.’⁵ He quoted a few lines about contemporary working life in the ‘mills and the mines, / The factories, offices, stations, and lines, / The airplanes and steamers that pass to and fro’, taken from a hymn entitled ‘Onward ever’, written by Percy Dearmer and Martin Shaw for use as a school processional hymn. What did not attract Bayly’s comment in 1968, but certainly would have done so at the end of the 1990s, was Dearmer’s opening verse:

O Father above us, our father in might,
All live by thy love, as the flowers in the light;
Our father and mother and maker art thou.

Forward!

Forward ever, forward now!

In thee move the infinite stars on their rounds,
The planets, the sun, and the moon in their bounds,
As they kindle and glitter and sparkle and glow:

Onward!

Onward ever, onward go!⁶

In his writing for children, Deamer appears to have referred to God as mother in the natural flow of his thought.

The science imagery in the second verse would have caught the attention of the author of ‘O Lord of every shining constellation’. Indeed, his next point was to discuss the cento drawn by Dearmer from a poem of thanksgiving written on 21 August 1897 by Sir Ronald Ross, the medical scientist who had, that day, discovered that malaria could

⁴ The first edition of *Songs of Praise* was published in 1925, the year that Albert Bayly began his training for the Congregational ministry at Mansfield College, Oxford, and also the year that Fred Pratt Green entered Didsbury College to train for the Methodist ministry.

⁵ Albert F. Bayly, 'Hymn Writing for Our Times', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 113 (Summer 1968), 211-20 (p. 211).

⁶ 'O Father above us, our father in might', *Songs of Praise Enlarged* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), # 396, vv. 1 and 2.

be controlled by removing pools of stagnant water in which the larvae of the malaria-carrying mosquitoes lived. Bayly described 'Before thy feet I fall' as the 'authentic response of a man of science to his discoveries in the microscopic as well as those in the astronomic world'.⁷ Bayly conceded that Ross's text erred on the side of being a private response to personal experience, rather than a hymn about science appropriate for corporate worship. It did, however, represent the 'freshness of thought and expression, imaginative freedom and catholicity of spirit which ... were very welcome in the rather narrow and stuffy traditional world of much 19th- and early 20th-century hymnody.'⁸

In this address Bayly set out his guidelines for good hymn writing. He noted that, in their search for poetry and music in hymnody, the editors of *Songs of Praise* at times ignored the basic rule of thumb that 'a true congregational hymn must be simple in expression.' He continued: 'Hymns may deal with the most profound ideas, but unless these are expressed in the simplest and clearest possible way they can be nothing but words to many of those who sing them.'⁹ Moreover, the ideas ought to express the hymn writer's experience of the time in which that person lives. Bayly's argument addressed similar themes to those discussed by Ian Fraser, almost twenty years earlier, in 'Theology and Action'.¹⁰ Bayly's approach to hymn writing was to work in small units:

To put in small words and phrases, without bathos, without clichés, with a feeling for the proper dignity of worship and the rhythmic quality needed in a hymn - to express thus our human response to God in his truth and glory, and to interpret our human experience in this light - that is surely what the hymn writer must try to do. And he must be sensitive to the knowledge and modes of life and expression of his time, not in order to say just what his contemporaries think and feel, but to express

⁷ Bayly, 212. 'Before thy feet I fall', *Songs of Praise Enlarged*, # 452; and Percy Dearmer and Archibald Jacob, *Songs of Praise Discussed* (London: Humphrey Milford for Oxford University Press, 1933), #452 (p. 244). The second verse of this hymn began 'Lo, while we ask the stars / To learn the will of God'.

⁸ Bayly, 212-13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹⁰ See Ch. 5, 'A fresh response to God', 181-85.

the response of a man of faith to experience of the world in which he lives.¹¹

Bayly identified several aspects of the contemporary 'human situation' which governed hymn writing in the 1960s. The first was the loss of idealism and hope for peace, a casualty of the Second World War. The hopes raised by the creation of the League of Nations after the First War could not be held for the United Nations, especially not in a nuclear era. Although the former Western empires had dissolved, 'race consciousness and conflict' had increased; and new world powers had appeared. Technology had continued to advance rapidly. Most daunting of all, in January of 1968, 'biological science has also made tremendous progress, and now seems near the brink of creating life'.¹² The prospect of such power led to doubt about its proper usage. Bayly wrote: 'But with growing appreciation of man's almost limitless power in the natural sphere goes deep questioning of his capacity to use this power safely and beneficially. Each new discovery or achievement brings a new danger.'¹³

In Albert Bayly's forty years of ministry, theology had changed almost as dramatically as technology had done, moving from early twentieth-century liberalism to Karl Barth's biblical analysis of the transcendence of God, while Dietrich Bonhoeffer was considering a concept of 'religionless Christianity' which became part of John Robinson's 'Honest to God' theology. Toward the end of Bayly's ministry, Teilhard de Chardin's ideas seemed to be leading toward 'a new *rapprochement* between science and a revived Christian humanism'. At the same time, the strength of conservative evangelical congregations steadily gained ground. Despite the flurry of theological activity, the influence of the Christian church in contemporary Western society was

¹¹ Bayly, 213.

¹² Ibid., 214. John Geyer's 'We know that Christ is raised and dies no more' was written in 1967, in response to controversial experiments in the Cambridge laboratories to conceive a child outside the womb. The hymn was first published in *Hymns & Songs* (1969). See Marilyn K. Stulken, *Hymnal Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), #189 (pp. 274-75).

¹³ Bayly, 214.

waning. Bayly summed up his assessment of the current 'climate of our Faith' by highlighting its paradoxes:

Humanism divorced from Christian beliefs seems to gain wide acceptance. At the same time the Ecumenical Movement has drawn the Churches closer together, and the world mission of the Church has entered on a new stage. ... In what ways may we expect the hymn writer to respond to them if his words are to express a living, relevant Faith for such times?¹⁴

Bayly answered his own question by urging hymn writers to write from their situations, incorporating the world in which they live into their hymn texts: 'Science and technology now touch our lives at so many points that to sing hymns without reference to them must encourage the idea that religion and worship are irrelevant to much of life.'¹⁵ It was not sufficient only to name the world in which the hymn writer lived. He commented on the effort made by John and Mary Ticehurst to connect the elements of daily living with the practice of religious faith, in the hymns collected for their *Rodborough Hymnal* (1964).

Bayly himself had been encouraged some years earlier to 'write hymns with modern metaphors'. This was taking the integration of contemporary experience an important step forward into the creation of religious poetic imagery which could express the mystery of God in terms of the writer's knowledge. Bayly turned to a hymn published in *Again I Say, Rejoice* (1967) to share with the audience his personal endeavours at creating modern metaphors. Addressing the threat of nuclear power and the problem it poses for the human conscience, Bayly wrote:

Locked in the atom God has stored a secret might,
Energy unmeasured hidden deep from human sight;
Gift of God for blessing, made by man the tool of fear;
Shall it evermore be so?

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Unexpectedly, this was the opening verse of a Christmas carol which had been written in October 1955 for a youth centre in Essex. In it Bayly developed the metaphor of the atom as a symbol of God's power of love and energy released on earth through the birth of the infant Christ:

Cradled with cattle lay an infant weak and small,
Born of humble peasant, with no dwelling but a stall,
Yet that heart was pulsing with the Love that made the stars:
Is it Love with Power too?¹⁶

Human relationships were becoming an issue for hymn writers interested in the churches' work in local and world mission. Bayly singled out Joan Rogers' hymn about racial relationships in the *Rodborough Hymnal* of 1964.¹⁷ He noted in 1968 that: 'the Church-Mission relationship has given place to one between Church and Church. The former "sending countries" have become mission fields themselves. The Ecumenical Movement has built up a consciousness among Christians of world-wide partnership in a common task.' The older empire-based mission hymns needed to be replaced by texts which respected the new partnership among the world's churches and the status of newly-independent former colonial territories.

Other changes which had direct bearings upon the work of hymn writers included the translations of the Bible and John Robinson's 'Honest to God' theology. By 1968 it was apparent that hymn writers would have to take into account the knowledge gained from critical analysis of the newly translated texts. Bayly approached this work by choosing the Old Testament prophets as a source for writing hymns. Although he made no reference to the development of new lectionaries, he suggested that it would be useful for writers to work directly with specific books in the Bible. Robinson's theological questioning, and the ferment of political and social ideas of the 1960s, could not be

¹⁶ Ibid., 216. See also Albert F. Bayly, *Again, I Say Rejoice: Hymns and Verse; with Supplement: Rejoice Always* (Saffron Walden, Essex: The Talbot Press (S.P.C.K.), 1967 and 1971), #39, vv. 1-2.

¹⁷ See Ch. 4, 123-24.

ignored by hymn writers. Bayly spoke about a direct relationship which exists at all times between theological debate and hymn writing: 'Current theological thinking is naturally reflected in hymn writing, now as in the past.'¹⁸ He mentioned David Goodall's 'When the pious prayers we make' (written originally for the London Missionary Society in 1962, and subsequently published in the Dunblane series) as a hymn 'with a cutting edge of thought and expression for our generation.'

Bayly drew attention to Erik Routley's comments on 'Images for Today' in his *Hymns for Today and Tomorrow* (1964).¹⁹ He agreed that, as so many new translations of the Bible were available, hymn writers had to learn to convey the central truth of a scriptural passage rather than rely on direct quotation to convey a biblical idea in a hymn text. He fully supported Routley's expectation that hymn writers ought to respond directly to human experience of the world:

to nature in its varied aspects and moods - still the every-day environment of millions of people and eagerly sought by millions more when released from daily tasks - to home and friendship and Christian fellowship - to music and the other arts, to life's common joys and sorrows, temptations, tasks and trials, to stages in the Christian life, baptism, profession of faith, Christian marriage, and so on. Each generation makes its own characteristic response to such experiences and needs to find expression for it in its own way.²⁰

Bayly concluded:

In my view, the task of the hymn writer today is to look at the *whole* of modern man's life, relationships and experience, not only that which he finds within Church walls, and to try to express what he sees there in the light of his vision of God's character, purpose and message of deliverance through Jesus Christ.²¹

¹⁸ Bayly, 'Hymn Writing for Our Times', 218.

¹⁹ Erik Routley, *Hymns Today and Tomorrow* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964; London: Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd, 1966.).

²⁰ Bayly, 219-20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 220. Albert Bayly's blend of a conservative approach with an open mind would bring forth Cyril Taylor's obituary tribute that Bayly was 'the last of the old and the first of the new' hymn writers. See 'Albert Bayly: A Forerunner', by Edward Jones, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* 161 (September, 1984), 201-02 (p. 202).

In this article he identified themes which the panel discussion group might take up at the Hymn Society's summer conference, and which readers of the *Bulletin* could look for in the forthcoming hymnal supplements.

Hymnody in transition: 1968

The Cheltenham conference marked a turning point in the development of new hymnody, although those present were probably not aware that they were participating in a transition, almost a rite of passage, from the hymnody largely defined by *Hymns Ancient & Modern* (1861) and its successors to that initiated by the supplements which would be introduced at Liverpool in 1969. The transition is evident in the two consecutive Acts of Praise. The 1968 conference celebrated fifty years of hymn writing since the end of the First World War. On the opening day of the conference Professor A. J. B. Hutchings, of the University of Durham, gave a lecture on 'The music of hymnody of the past 50 years, 1918 to 1968'. The next morning a paper by the distinguished Methodist minister, Gordon S. Wakefield, on hymn texts of the previous fifty years, was read to the conference in the author's absence by Fred Pratt Green.²² The panel discussion about contemporary hymn writing took place at the final session of the conference. By planning or by accident, the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland bade farewell to older practices of hymnody and was preparing itself to embrace newer forms of congregational singing.

²² The conference programme was printed in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 112 (Spring, 1968), 210. Gordon Wakefield had been called away to the Uppsala Assembly of the World Council of Churches. In his stead, Fred Pratt Green read the paper to the conference, with commentary. Arthur Holbrook reported that 'in one sense it was an added advantage to have it read: we were able to hear the illuminating interjections of Mr. Pratt Green.' Arthur S. Holbrook, *Bulletin* 114, 237. Although Holbrook anticipated its publication, the paper by Arthur Hutchings was never printed in the *Bulletin*.

Chapel conveyed the spirit of the evening. It would 'be remembered with joy by all who shared it':

In a lovely chapel, with a fine organ, a well-balanced choir, singing with very good tone; what more can you want? This was a way to heaven's door, and that is enough. The hymns and tunes! They also marked the last fifty years, and some of them were written by members of the Society past and present. When all was over many of the large congregation stayed around the Chapel - as people often do when they have been bonded together in worship.²³

In contrast, Gordon Wakefield's paper began in a pessimistic mood describing the grip of *malaise* which seemed to be dominating the practice of faith at the time. During the course of the paper Wakefield worked his way from doubt to a glimmer of hope and renewal. His initial remarks encapsulated the struggles with which the Hymn Society had been wrestling since the issue of new hymnody was raised at the 1963 conference, in response to the 'pop' style of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group.²⁴ Wakefield commented:

In an age of scepticism and revolt, when beat groups have replaced community singing in the social clubs of the North of England, we wonder if we are not in the twilight of Church praise. ... Few of us are as confident as we were twenty years ago that the Church, the great Church,

²³ Holbrook, 239. The programme for the 1968 Act of Praise indicated that some strong hymns were written in response to contemporary circumstances during a generally fallow period of hymn writing between 1918 and 1968. Hymns such as these pointed the way towards the 'hymn explosion'. The first hymn on the programme, Timothy Dudley-Smith's hymn text on the Magnificat written in 1961, had signalled its beginning: 1) 'Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord' (Timothy Dudley-Smith)/TIDINGS (William Llewellyn); 2) 'Lord Christ, when first Thou cam'st to men' (W. Russell Bowie)/LINDEMAN (Ludvig Mathias Lindeman); 3) 'God of grace and God of glory' (Harry Emerson Fosdick)/RHUDDLAN (Welsh Traditional Melody); 4) 'O Lord of every shining constellation' (Albert F. Bayly)/HIGHWOOD (Richard Runciman Terry); 5) 'Not far beyond the sea nor high' (George B. Caird)/MANNA (J. G. Schicht); 6) 'O Holy Father, God most dear' (G. A. Tomlinson)/VATER UNSER, harmonized by J. S. Bach; 7) 'God is Love: let heav'n adore him' (Timothy Rees)/ABBOT'S LEIGH (Cyril V. Taylor); 8) 'Give me, O Christ, the strength that is in thee' (H. C. Carter)/SONG 24 (Orlando Gibbons); 9) 'God, who hast given us power to sound' (G. W. Briggs)/BANGOR (from W. Tans'ur's *Compleat Melody* (1735); and 10) 'All praise to thee, for thou, O King divine' (F. Bland Tucker)/LALEHAM (John Wilson). The hymns were chosen from *The Hymnal 1940* (1943); *The Anglican Hymn Book* (1965); *Hymns for Church and School* (1964); *Congregational Praise* (1951); *The BBC Hymn Book* (1951); and *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950).

²⁴ See Ch. 1, 'The Malvern Conference', 42.

will advance singing to capture the citadels of the world and of the soul of man.²⁵

Wakefield shared Bayly's doubt that humanism could be substituted for Christian belief. He acknowledged that there are 'cynics who would say (forgive the deliberate blasphemy of the imputation) that since God seems able to do so little for us, a dose of idealism and assertion of our own will to peace and righteousness may help.'²⁶ But Wakefield was not convinced by the solutions offered through self-help theologies.

In his survey of hymn texts written over the previous fifty years, he traced the work of writers in the *Public School Hymn Book* tradition, drawing attention to the contributions made by Cyril A. Alington, George W. Briggs, John McLeod Campbell Crum and Jan Struther, and the beginnings in hymn writing made by Donald Hughes. It was among this group where he found the most creative writing of the early years of the century, much of it channelled through *Songs of Praise*. Donald Hughes represented the current generation of public school hymn writers. Wakefield described the Methodist headmaster's hymns as 'Songs of Faith and Doubt', written in part for his students at Rydal School, Colwyn Bay, but also 'inspired ... latterly by critical and sometimes scornful and satirical reaction to the so-called "new theology".'²⁷ Although he was a contributor himself to the satire, Hughes was searching for new metaphors to reassert the certainty of God in modern hymn writing. In his 'Credo', he took the name of God as a metaphor which could extend beyond the reach of temporal change in the human condition. Wakefield described this hymn as a 'triumph of trust in God, "whose nature and name is love"':

²⁵ Gordon S. Wakefield, 'The Hymnody of the Past Fifty Years: Words'. *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 114 (Winter, 1968-69), 239-51 (pp. 239-40). Wakefield's section on theological perspectives in contemporary hymnody was reprinted, under the title 'Beliefs in Recent British Hymnody', in *The Hymn* 22:1 (January, 1971), 13-19. The same issue of *The Hymn* carried an article by Lee Hastings Bristol, Jr on 'F. Pratt Green: Creative Methodist Contemporary', 5-7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 240.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 244. See 'Neo-Matins', by Donald Hughes, reprinted posthumously in the *Bulletin* 116 (Summer, 1969), 40-43.

Beyond the mist and doubt
 Of this uncertain day,
 I trust in Thine eternal name
 Beyond all changes still the same,
 And in that name I pray.²⁸

Wakefield's spirits lifted as he considered the developments in hymnody over the previous decade, seeing hope in the restoration of older forms of folk song - the medieval ballad, carol and spiritual. He welcomed the fact that, even though many new hymns were being written in traditional metres and styles, 'hymnody has become more aware of the world in which we live, and of its urban culture.' He then turned his attention to the 'theological presuppositions' in recent hymnody, asking: 'What beliefs about Christ, God, man, and the Church does it reflect?'²⁹

He found that the concept of the humanity of Christ was well presented in Geoffrey Ainger's 'Born in the night, / Mary's child' and in Patrick Appleford's 'Lord Jesus Christ, ... You are one with us / Mary's son'. Wakefield appreciated the scope of Sydney Carter's carols about the life of Christ: 'The importance of Carter cannot be exaggerated because he is concerned with more than the earthly life of Jesus. He relates him to the whole cosmic process. Jesus was there when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy. He is still there.'³⁰ Wakefield thought Carter's 'Friday Morning' carol ('It's God they ought to crucify') taught a Barthian view of the Gospels, that it is through Jesus Christ alone that humans come to know God. Others, such as Fred Kaan and Richard Jones 'want to find God in the secular, at the centre of life and its skills.'³¹ He thought Fred Kaan's hymn about 'The first and final word' represented a modern paraphrase of the Prologue to the Gospel of John:

²⁸ Wakefield, quoting Hughes, 244.

²⁹ Ibid., 245. The following is a synthesis, with some comment, of Gordon Wakefield's views expressed at pp. 245-50.

³⁰ Ibid., 246.

³¹ Ibid. Wakefield linked Richard Jones's 'God of concrete' with Psalm 24, describing it as a 'latter-day extension' of the psalm about the 'fulness' of God's creation on earth. See Ch. 8, 311-12.

God who spoke in the beginning,
forming rock and shaping spar,
set all life and growth in motion,
earthly world and distant star;
he who called the earth to order
is the ground of what we are.³²

On the the theological idea of 'Man: in society and as an individual', Wakefield pointed out that, by 1968, recent hymnody had already become known for its social compassion, expressing a collective will for peace and social justice within the urban setting. Erik Routley's 'All who love and serve your city, / All who bear its daily stress' was proving its worth during the spring and summer of 1968, 'because it is aware of protest in the city and could have been sung any day in these months of violence and strikes.'³³ At the same time, Wakefield lamented what he described as 'a great casualty of the last fifty years' - the loss of pietism, of personal faith and salvation. 'We are involved in all mankind and think of "sin" more in terms of the frustration of the race and the iniquities of the system than as personal transgression,' he wrote. Charismatic hymnody was developing during the 1960s, and would soon reintroduce a form of pietism, but not a pietism encompassing the breadth of personal religious experience (including the idea of individual transgression) envisaged by Wakefield.³⁴

His fourth theological theme was the 'church and sacraments'. Apart from Fred Pratt Green's 'The Church and the World', which had just been written in that year about the need for the church to practise its stewardship in the whole community and not restrict its activities to congregational membership, Wakefield could not see much else in the form of 'distinguished' hymnody about Christian unity or other issues related directly

³² Fred Kaan, *The Hymn Texts of Fred Kaan* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1985), #46, v. 1 (p. 51).

³³ Wakefield, 247. It was the summer of the 'Prague Spring', of wide spread racial violence in the United States following the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr, and Robert Kennedy, of anti-Vietnam War demonstrations, and of violent student protests in Paris and other European cities. *The Oxford History of the Twentieth Century*, edited by Michael Howard and William Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 412.

³⁴ See Ch. 7, 'A note on "charismatic" songs', 274-83.

to the Christian church.³⁵ He did, however, draw attention to the growing number of good sacramental hymns which were being written.³⁶ He thought sacramental hymns were the ones most likely to attract the attention of those who were in doubt about faith in God: 'One of the characteristics of the spirituality of our time is the hold of the Sacraments even on those who question faith in a personal God.'³⁷ Those in doubt might continue to hold on to the corporate character of sacramental hymns, choosing to participate with others in the sacraments. He explained further:

But it is the symbolism of the Sacraments which makes them ever relevant to the world. On the day of Robert Kennedy's death the London *Evening News* described the crowds of city-workers who went to lunch-time Mass in Westminster Cathedral. The ancient, mysterious words did not seem to belong to a remote age. They spoke to the hour of tragedy, above all those said over 'the cup of my blood'.³⁸

Much of the new hymn literature for the Eucharist, specifically the hymns of Patrick Appleford and Fred Kaan, made a point of linking the church with the world its people served. Baptism was the other sacrament which was receiving the close attention of theologians and hymn writers. The emphasis in the new liturgies for baptism was moving away from the role of parents caring for their children towards the notion of baptism as God's gift of new life to each person.

At the end of his survey of developments in hymn writing over the previous fifty years, Wakefield concluded that perhaps his diagnosis of '*malaise*, a failure of nerve' among those who remained committed to the Christian church was not entirely justified. It seemed to him that 'the art of hymn writing has been shown to be sinewy, adaptable and resilient.'³⁹ He thought theology in the late 1960s was stronger than it had been in

³⁵ Wakefield thought Pratt Green's hymn text was 'a masterpiece of simple language, free of sesquipedalian triumphalism.' *Ibid.*, 249.

³⁶ See also Cyril Pocknee's 'Hymns at the Holy Communion' published in the *Bulletin* just before the conference, at footnote 3 above.

³⁷ Wakefield, 249.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 251.

the 1920s, at the beginning of his survey and before Karl Barth's work became known, even taking into consideration the efforts of certain radical theologians to 'reduce and debunk the Gospel'. In his view:

Hymnody, however experimental and *avant garde*, helps to keep the old symbols of faith alive. ... Radical poetry must use images. And, to speak in literary and human terms, Christianity, which starts from life, not from philosophy, not even existentialism, cannot exist without the poetic image.⁴⁰

Looking ahead, Wakefield hoped that Protestants might share their hymnody with the Roman Catholic community. In fact, that would occur officially at the next conference of the Hymn Society in Liverpool in 1969. Unaware of the ecumenical exchange which was in the offing, Wakefield turned to the eastern Orthodox church for a symbol of hope in dark times:

But, even if we are in the twilight I spoke of in my first paragraph, we must still take heart. One of the most ancient of all Christian hymns belongs to that very hour - the hymn of the lighting of the lamps. And even in the catacombs or dug-outs of nuclear holocaust we shall still sing:
 Hail gladdening light of his pure glory poured
 Who is the immortal Father, heavenly blest,
 Holiest of holies, Jesus Christ, our Lord.⁴¹

At the end of the Cheltenham conference Albert Bayly, Michael Hewlett, Fred Pratt Green, Margaret Dickie (from the Dunblane Group), Joan Rogers and Rosamond Herklots participated in the discussion about 'The Problems in Hymn-Writing Today'. Fred Pratt Green was a newcomer: his gifts of poetry and humour were appreciated immediately. Eric Sharpe, the convener of the panel session, opened the discussion by reading from a hymn parody by 'one of the team' on the problems confronting hymn writers:

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

O God of Hymns (but not for long)
 Help us to frame the transient song
 That shall stave off the time
 When the Non-Church in loud non-praise
 Your non-existent Will obeys
 And no one needs to rhyme.⁴²

It was a lively session, according to Arthur Holbrook, with discussion about 'rhyme, mood, modern tensions, understanding the mind of modern youth and matching it by adequate response, finding the right entry into the mind of the child without seeking to inject the adult form of ideas and concepts, [and] the use of secular song or ballad tunes to sacred words and images'.⁴³ The report suggests that the panel began by discussing the elements of poetry in hymn writing - rhyme, mood and contemporary subject matter. On request, Peter Cutts played Eric Reid's 'Trotting, Trotting' to demonstrate an effective musical interpretation of a text for children. Fred Pratt Green, in his inimitable way, expressed his hope that congregational song might be restored to the 'hymnless cultures' of the mid-twentieth century. From the synopsis given, it seems that the leaven of the Dunblane meetings was working within a much larger hymn-writing constituency.

Hymnody in transition: 1969

The next year members of the Hymn Society began their conference for the first time in a Roman Catholic church, by attending Low Mass at Metropolitan Cathedral in Liverpool.⁴⁴ Father Wilfrid Purney, Secretary of the National Commission for Roman Catholic Church Music, gave the first lecture of the conference on 'Developments in

⁴² Holbrook, *Bulletin* 114, 238.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ 'Report of the Conference, July 21st to 23rd. 1969, by Wilfrid J. Little, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 117 (Autumn, 1969), 61-63. The conference congregation sang two hymns - 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence' from the liturgy of St. James, and 'O praise ye the Lord' to LAUDATE DOMINUM. At that time hymn singing was a relatively new development in the liturgy for Mass.

Roman Catholic Worship'.⁴⁵ Gordon Wakefield's wish for greater co-operation between Roman Catholics and Protestants in sharing their hymnody was granted much sooner than he may have expected. Not only did the conference reflect a growing ecumenism (which was to receive a serious setback in the collapse of Anglican-Methodist unity proposals in 1972); it also made a point of emphasizing and publicizing the new material which was being considered for wider use. From the 'consolidating' conference of 1968, the Society turned to a more 'exploratory' mode.

The Methodist and Anglican hymnal supplement committees each presented their new collections at the afternoon session preceding the annual Act of Praise. Norman Goldhawk, chairman of the *Hymns & Songs* committee, introduced its contents. New materials in the collection indicated the directions taken in the development of worship since the publication of *The Methodist Hymn Book* (1933):

The book sought to interpret with new emphasis the mission of the Church to the world, the longing for social justice and the ecumenical movement. Eighteen hymns had been included for use at the Service of Holy Communion, reflecting a development in the life of the Church during the past 30 years and [answering] the requirements of the new Methodist Sunday Service, passed by a recent conference for experimental usage. Account had been taken also of the outburst of experimental lyrics and melodies. About 50 per cent of the contents had been written during the 1960s.⁴⁶

Cyril Taylor, editor of *100 Hymns for Today*, explained how the project had been launched by the letter from John Robinson to W. Lowther Clarke in 1963 drawing attention to the growing gap between the church's hymnody and twentieth-century views of theology and of the role of the church in the world. *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950) actually dated from 1939, when the materials for the revised edition had

⁴⁵ The lecture was not published in the *Bulletin*. Father Purney was the director of the Church Music Association (the Roman Catholic counterpart to the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland), founded in 1955.

⁴⁶ Little, 62. Six years later the Methodist Conference Office authorized the publication of a revised service manual, *The Methodist Service Book* (London: Methodist Publishing House, 1975). The original text has 'answered'.

been prepared but not developed into a full hymn book owing to the outbreak of the war.⁴⁷ The delay created similar gaps to those faced by the Methodist committee.

Anglicans concentrated their efforts on finding texts which could be sung with the newly-revised liturgies of Series 2, allowing only eight 'songs' into their supplement, whereas the Methodist collection contained twenty-five 'songs'.

The Act of Praise for 1969 was conducted at Liverpool Cathedral (Church of England) by William Llewellyn, with commentary by John Wilson.⁴⁸ It began with two new Roman Catholic hymns: a translation by Ronald A. Knox, 'Father most holy, gracious and forgiving' set to THEOPHILIA by John Rush in *The Parish Hymnal* (1968); and James Quinn's canticle for Christian unity: 'Here in Christ we gather, love of Christ our calling', from his *New Hymns for All Seasons*.⁴⁹ Gregory Murray composed a new harmonization of his tune UBI CARITAS for this hymn. The third and fourth hymns came from *100 Hymns for Today* (which would be published in September 1969), including a hymn for the offertory - 'Good is our God who made this place' by J. K. Gregory to HAMBLEMEN by W. K. Stanton; and the fourth, 'As the bridegroom to his chosen' to BRIDEGROOM by Peter Cutts, with the text for which he had composed the tune, a paraphrase of a fourteenth-century text by John Tauler. The music was set out for antiphonal singing by two groups of voices.

The first hymn had been reproduced from a Roman Catholic hymn book published in the previous year. The next three settings were printed in manuscript.⁵⁰ Fred Pratt Green's 'When the Church of Jesus' was set to his own tune SUTTON TRINITY, included in *Hymns & Songs* along with the TE DEUM by Erik Routley and

⁴⁷ Alan Luff, '100 Hymns for Today - A Supplement to *Hymns Ancient & Modern*', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 118 (Spring, 1970), 51-53 (p. 51).

⁴⁸ Programme for the 'Act of Praise in Liverpool Cathedral, 22 July 1969' (The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1969).

⁴⁹ Quinn, #23. See p. 240 below.

⁵⁰ 'Act of Praise, 1969': Murray's harmonization of UBI CARITAS and the two following hymns from *100 Hymns for Today*.

Alan Luff.⁵¹ These were followed by two hymns which would be published in the Methodist and Anglican supplements: Emily Chisholm's song 'Peter feared the cross', with a tune composed by Francis B. Westbrook, and Rosamond Herklots's 'Forgive our sins as we forgive', which the conference sang to ST. BERNARD from *Hymns & Songs*:

'Forgive our sins as we forgive'
 You taught us, Lord, to pray,
 But you alone can grant us grace
 To live the words we say.

How can your pardon reach and bless
 The unforgiving heart
 That broods on wrongs and will not let
 Old bitterness depart?

Lord, cleanse the depths within our souls
 And bid resentment cease;
 Then, reconciled to God and man,
 Our lives will spread your peace.⁵²

The programme concluded with two hymn tunes by Walford Davies, BRAINT and VISION, to commemorate the centenary of his birth and in tribute to his efforts in reshaping congregational singing during the twentieth century. The Act of Praise service at Cheltenham had included some of the first products of the 'hymn explosion'; the service at Liverpool Cathedral set the Hymn Society on course to explore the expanding dimensions of new hymnody.

Hymns & Songs

The committee for *Hymns & Songs*, formed in 1965, was assigned the task of bridging a gap of thirty years. It selected a large number of texts and tunes written 'in an idiom and style which answer the demand for more contemporary expressions and

⁵¹ 'Act of Praise', #5 and #6. The TE DEUM would be included in the Dunblane collection *New Songs for the Church: Book 2 - Canticles* (1969).

⁵² *Hymns & Songs*, #18, vv. 1, 2 and 4. In *100 Hymns for Today* (#29) the hymn was set to CROWLE, with ST. BERNARD suggested as an alternative tune. This hymn was included in many supplements and hymn books published during the next twenty-five years.

themes.’⁵³ The most notable contributor of eight of these new hymns was Fred Pratt Green.⁵⁴ The committee also revived some older hymns which had been left out of the 1933 hymnal; two by Isaac Watts, six by Charles Wesley, and two by James Montgomery - including ‘Songs of praise the angels sang’, for which John Wilson had composed a new tune, LAUDS.⁵⁵ A number of older hymn tunes were printed at the end of the collection in a Supplementary Tune Index.⁵⁶ The book was published at a time ‘when lively discussions on hymnody are going on within the churches, and a great many items of an experimental nature are being written for Christians to sing.’⁵⁷ The committee expected that many of the selections would be only of ‘passing interest’, as part of the on-going experimentation. It was thought that these songs and some written for solo voices or groups would ‘not seem likely to find a permanent place in congregational worship as normally understood at present.’⁵⁸ The committee was careful not to criticize the value of these type of songs, only to ask how useful they might be in a hymn book published for prolonged use by congregations. In keeping with the times, a brief section of canticles and psalms, including three Gelineau psalms and the Te Deum written by Alan Luff and Erik Routley at Dunblane, were included. Antiphons by

⁵³ ‘Preface’, *Hymns & Songs*, v.

⁵⁴ *Hymns & Songs*: 8) ‘Christ is the world’s Light’/CHRISTE SANCTORUM; 20) ‘Glorious the day when Christ was born’/ILFRACOMBE (J. Gardner); 51) ‘O Christ the Healer’/INVITATION (18th c., J. F. Lampe); 66) ‘The first day of the week’/GARELOCHSIDE (K. G. Finlay); 70) ‘This joyful Eastertide’/VRUECHTEN; 74) ‘When the Church of Jesus’/SUTTON TRINITY (Fred Pratt Green); 85) ‘Life has many rhythms’/JONATHAN (R. Sheldon); and 98) ‘When Jesus walked by Galilee’/SAWARD PEEL (Erik Routley).

⁵⁵ *Hymns & Songs*, #64, where it was also set with NORTHAMPTON, a tune composed for Montgomery’s text by C. J. King, and first published in the *Shortened Music Edition of Hymns Ancient & Modern* (1939). John Wilson composed LAUDS at the request of the committee. *Companion to Hymns & Psalms*, ed. by Richard Watson and Kenneth Trickett (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1988), #512 (pp. 304-05).

⁵⁶ In fact, a mixture of established and recent tunes appeared among the ‘Supplementary Tunes’, including LUX BENIGNA, by J. B. Dykes, HEREFORD by S. S. Wesley, LUCERNA LAUDONIAE by David Evans, and ALBERTA by W. H. Harris; three tunes by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group - Michael Brierley’s CAMBERWELL, and Geoffrey Beaumont’s CHESTERTON and HARVEY; Francis Jackson’s EAST ACKLAM (to ‘Through the love of God, our Saviour’ at the *Methodist Hymn Book* #525); and Francis Westbrook’s ISRAEL for Charles Wesley’s ‘Come, O Thou Traveller unknown’.

⁵⁷ *Hymns & Songs*, ‘Preface’.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Joseph Gelineau and by A. Gregory Murray were set with Gelineau's psalm tones. New directions in psalmody, coming from the ecumenical movement, were being implemented by a worshipping community which had experienced relatively less change in its congregational hymnody than had other denominational groups.

At first glance, Methodists may have been surprised by the number of new names given in the acknowledgements of copyright: Ainger, Appleford, Arlott, Bayly, Caird, Carter, Gelineau, Kaan, Luff, Pratt Green, Routley, Sherlock, Stewart and Tucker⁵⁹. Among these, Geoffrey Ainger, Fred Pratt Green and Hugh Sherlock were Methodists. The list of composers also contained a large number of newcomers to the pages of a Methodist hymn book - Beaumont, Brierley, Cutts, the Evangelical Sisters of Mary (Darmstadt), Gardner, Jones, Llewellyn, McCarthy, Westbrook, Wilson and Zimmerman. Ivor Jones, David McCarthy, Francis Westbrook and John Wilson (an ecumenist with Congregational, Anglican and Methodist allegiances) came from the Methodist ranks of congregational worship. In short, the roster of new names represented the ecumenical spirit of the times.

At the back of the supplement an 'Index of Seasons and Subjects' reflected the changes initiated by the liturgical movement in Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. It listed hymns and songs for the seasons of the church year; for each person in the Holy Trinity - God, Christ and the Holy Spirit; and, under a particularly descriptive title, hymns for 'The Church: its unity, renewal, mission and worship' which gathered up into one category hymns for church unity, the sacraments of baptism and communion, and for the world and world peace. A third section identified hymns written about 'The

⁵⁹ Sydney Carter's name was prominent on the first page of the copyright agreements, with four lengthy notes identifying songs written between 1961 and 1965, published in a book with an unusual title as a source for new hymns: *Sydney Carter in the Present Tense* (Galliard Ltd, 1969). The songs, now so very familiar, were 'Every star shall sing a carol' (1961); 'I danced in the morning' (1963); 'Said Judas to Mary' (1964); and 'When I needed a neighbour' (1965).

Christian life', including ones about reconciliation, science and religion, and service and citizenship.

Reviews of *Hymns & Songs* and *100 Hymns for Today* were published in the Autumn 1969 issue of the *Bulletin*.⁶⁰ Caryl Micklem and Alan Luff highlighted the mixture of old and new elements found in each collection. Micklem commented on the number of tunes from the 'school chapel' tradition to be found in *Hymns & Songs*, mentioning John Wilson's LALEHAM and Stanford's ENGELBERG by name.⁶¹ He was not taken with John Geyer's 'We know that Christ is raised' (set to ENGELBERG), protesting that the words were 'quite rhymeless'. He added: 'This, with some odd metaphors to boot, produces a distinctly quirky effect.'⁶² Geyer had adapted the twentieth-century mode of rhymeless verse into a hymn text. He had also created metaphors in which a cell was treated as a symbol of creation, and the 'Spirit's fission' represented the power of the Holy Spirit at work in God's church:

We know that Christ is raised and dies no more:
Embraced by futile death he broke its hold:
And man's despair he turned to blazing joy:
Alleluia!

We share by water in his saving death:
This union brings to being one new cell,
A living and organic part of Christ:
Alleluia!

The Father's splendour clothes the Son with life:
The Spirit's fission shakes the Church of God:
Baptized we live with God the three in One:
*Alleluia!*⁶³

⁶⁰ 'Hymns & Songs - a supplement to the *Methodist Hymn Book*', reviewed by Caryl Micklem, 48-50, and '100 Hymns for Today - a supplement to *Hymns Ancient & Modern*' by Alan Luff, 51-53, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 117 (Autumn, 1969).

⁶¹ Other tunes from public school sources included COME, MY WAY by Alexander Brent Smith of Lancing College; CITIZENS by William Llewellyn of Charterhouse School; CROSSINGS by C. Armstrong Gibbs for Charterhouse; GONFALON ROYAL by Percy C. Buck of Harrow; MICHAEL and TWIGWORTH by Herbert Howells of St. Paul's Girls School, REDEMPTOR and RERUM CREATOR by John Wilson of Charterhouse; and ST. ENODOC by C. S. Lang of Clifton College and Christ's Hospital, Horsham, editor of two editions of the *Public School Hymn Book*.

⁶² Micklem, 48.

⁶³ *Hymns & Songs*, #72, vv. 1-3.

In this hymn Geyer developed language to suit a new form of hymn based upon the New Testament theology of baptism to new life through the death of Christ, from Romans 6.9.

Urban hymns attracted the attention of both reviewers, but for opposite reasons. Micklem was pleased to see Erik Routley's 'All who love and serve your city' - a hymn which was 'already establishing itself as one of the most useful texts from *Dunblane Praises*', set in *Hymns & Songs* to CITIZENS, a new tune by William Llewellyn.⁶⁴ The tune name reinforced the civic concern expressed in Routley's text. The two books included Sydney Carter's 'When I needed a neighbour' and 'God of concrete, God of steel' by Richard Jones.⁶⁵ Alan Luff was disappointed by the few urban texts in *100 Hymns for Today*: 'Despite the Preface's claim that the book does not assume 'a society more agricultural than industrial', the City receives little attention.'⁶⁶

The Methodist supplement listed urban hymns under two subject headings - 'The World' and 'Service and Citizenship'. Fred Pratt Green's hymn 'When the Church of Jesus', about the responsibility of urban congregations to the world around them, was first published in *Hymns & Songs*.⁶⁷ His 'Dialogue' song, 'Life has many rhythms', was written in 1967 in response to a request from the committee for an experimental text in the folk song style for group singing:

Life has many rhythms, every heart its beat;
Everywhere we hear the sound of dancing feet.
Life is this world's secret: Lord of Life forgive
If we never asked you what it means to live.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Micklem, 48.

⁶⁵ See also Ch. 8, 311-12 ('God of concrete').

⁶⁶ Luff, 53. Russell Bowie's 'O Holy City, seen of John' was the only notable example, set to Herbert Howell's SANCTA CIVITAS, #76(i). Perhaps the committee's decision to limit the number of songs in the supplement produced the shortfall in texts about urban experience.

⁶⁷ *Hymns & Songs*, #74, v. 1. He had given it the title 'The Church in the World'. It was set to SUTTON TRINITY, a tune composed by Fred Pratt Green for this text. See Ch. 5, 183.

⁶⁸ *Hymns & Songs*, #85, v. 1. It was set to Robin Sheldon's JONATHAN from the *Anglican Hymn Book* (1965). Pratt Green commented: 'It is experimental in the sense that it *argues rather than states* a Christian view of life (hence *Dialogue*). I called it, to the amusement of some, my *Hymn for Hippies*, who were then much in the news!' Italics are quoted from the note by Fred Pratt Green in *The Hymns and Ballads of Fred Pratt Green* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1982), #5 (p. 10).

Ian Fraser's song about 'Christ the Workman' began 'Lord, look upon our working days, / Busied in factory, office, store'. It was set to Erik Routley's ST. BLANE from *Dunblane Praises No. 1*.⁶⁹ Geoffrey Ainger's 'Born in the night, / Mary's child;' had, as its closing verse:

Hope of the world,
Mary's Child,
You're coming soon to reign;
King of the earth,
Mary's Child,
Walk in our streets again.⁷⁰

Hugh Sherlock's hymn, to ABBOT'S LEIGH, 'Lord, thy Church on earth is seeking / Thy renewal from above', established itself as a splendid hymn for the new model of mission. It had been written in January, 1965, for the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church, to launch a year of renewal for the church in Jamaica.⁷¹ The fourth verse interpreted the social gospel in terms of inner-city mission work:

In the streets of every city
Where the bruised and lonely dwell,
We shall show the Saviour's pity,
We shall of his mercy tell.
In all lands and with all races
We shall serve, and seek to bring
All mankind to render praises,
Christ, to thee, Redeemer King.⁷²

A skilful modernization of Frank Mason North's 'Where cross the crowded ways of life', the hymn was an affirmation of the gospel at a time of racial tension in the United States and Great Britain, and its provenance in Jamaica was indicative of a concern for a fairer society in both the 'developing' and the 'developed' worlds.

Fred Pratt Green's hymns received a succinct tribute from Caryl Micklem: 'His eight contributions are all worthwhile, and quite different from one another except in

⁶⁹ *Hymns & Songs*, #87.

⁷⁰ *Hymns & Songs*, #76, v. 4.

⁷¹ Watson and Trickett, #774 (p. 440).

⁷² *Hymn & Songs*, #42, v. 3.

their telling economy of phrase.’⁷³ Micklem particularly liked ‘Glorious the day when Christ was born’, set to John Gardner’s ILFRACOMBE. It was a hymn about the work of Christ in the world, written at the request of the committee specifically for the Gardner tune:

Glorious the days of gospel grace
When Christ restores the fallen race;
When doubters kneel and wavers stand,
And faith achieves what reason planned.⁷⁴

Only one hymn by Fred Pratt Green was published in *100 Hymns for Today*, his hymn for ‘The Lord’s Day’, written in 1967 for *Hymns & Songs*; which explains the absence of any mention of Fred Pratt Green in the review.⁷⁵

In addition to hymns about urban life and world mission, the supplements also contained hymns that reflected new theological thinking. ‘Christ, our King before creation’, was written by Ivor H. Jones to replace a text withdrawn from the collection by its author after the layout and indexing of the volume had been completed. This hymn text demonstrated the close link between theology and hymn writing mentioned by Albert Bayly.⁷⁶ The hymn text on ‘Praying for the Kingdom’ was a response to Hans Küng’s book on *Justification* (1965) which the author had been reading:

Christ, our King, before creation,
Son, who shared the Father’s plan,
Crowned in deep humiliation
By your friend and partner, man:
Make us humble in believing,
And, believing, bold to pray –
‘Lord, forgive our self-deceiving,
Come and reign in us today!’⁷⁷

⁷³ Micklem, 49.

⁷⁴ *Hymns & Songs*, #20, v. 3. *The Hymns and Ballads of Fred Pratt Green*, #3 (pp. 6-7).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, #66) ‘The first day of the week’, to GARELOCHSIDE by the Scottish composer K. G. Finlay. *The Hymns and Ballads of Fred Pratt Green*, #8 (pp. 14-15).

⁷⁶ See pp. 210-11 above.

⁷⁷ *Hymns & Songs*, #10, v. 1. See Watson and Trickett, #75 (p. 77).

It was set to HANDSWORTH, a tune composed by Ivor Jones for the text he had had to replace.⁷⁸

Albert Bayly's 'O Lord of every shining constellation', George Caird's 'Not far beyond the sea', and Fred Kaan's 'God who spoke in the beginning', 'Now let us from this table rise', and 'We turn to you, O God of every nation', which had only been available in single-author publications or in small, privately printed collections, became widely known through their almost simultaneous publication in *Hymns & Songs* and *100 Hymns for Today*. Other hymns were not so fortunate: Brian Wren's first hymns were missing in the Methodist supplement, and no hymns by James Quinn or by Timothy Dudley-Smith were included in it. However, *100 Hymns for Today*, carried 'Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord' now set to WOODLANDS, and 'Lord Christ, the Father's mighty Son' to HAMPTON POYLE by Peter Cutts.⁷⁹ Four tunes from the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were printed in *Hymns & Songs*; two by Patrick Appleford appeared in *100 Hymns for Today*. The two committees consulted each other regularly during the latter years while they prepared their congregational supplements, and so, to some extent, the books complemented each other.

100 Hymns for Today

Alan Luff drew a deft sketch of the situation faced by the editors of *100 Hymns for Today* as they presented their work to the congregational constituency of *Hymns Ancient & Modern*:

⁷⁸ John Wilson, *A Short Companion to 'Hymns & Songs'* (Borough Green, Kent: Novello and Company Ltd, for the Methodist Church Music Society, 1969), #10 (p. 3). Ivor Jones also provided two translations of contemporary German texts, one of which was a translation of Heinz W. Zimmermann's paraphrase of Psalm 46 (#80) which was set to the German musician's tune. A performance note on the page suggested various ways of singing the psalm antiphonally.

⁷⁹ WOODLANDS was the alternative tune suggested for Timothy Dudley-Smith's hymn in the *Anglican Hymn Book* (1965).

The new supplement to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* will receive a very wary reception. It will be seen by some as being in the tradition of the First and Second Supplements that make up the Standard Edition. Others will hope to find in it some reflections of present interests, rather than the bringing up to date of an existing book. Some will hope that it will be very modern. Many more will fear precisely that.

This is not a Supplement in the old sense. Modest though the experimentation may be, it is a kite-flyer for a possible new book, rather than a part to be added to either Standard or Revised *A & M*. This is a sound approach. With due respect to the work in progress on Revised Church Hymnary, this is a bad time for producing hymn books. We have just been through a very lean period as far as writing hymns for traditional usage goes, and we are still in the middle of a time of great activity in all manner of other kinds of church music - the ballad, psalmody, canticles.⁸⁰

Luff was identifying a wariness about new hymns and their place in worship among the traditional users of *Hymns Ancient & Modern*. The sense of uncertain and tentative progress persisted (even as the 'hymn explosion' continued), and was one reason why *Hymns Ancient & Modern* became the 'New Standard' edition of 1983 (with its two supplements printed at the end) rather than a new hymn book.

In his review, Luff identified the new directions in which contemporary hymn writing was going. His experience at the Dunblane consultations had alerted him to the potential for developing congregational worship through hymnody. He chose, as examples, several hymns on the subject of Christ's ministry, especially 'Jesus, whose all-redeeming love', the last hymn written by George Wallace Briggs.⁸¹ He encouraged users of the supplement to see Fred Kaan's freer style of writing, differing as it does from the traditional hymn mode, as a new perspective on hymnody. He also drew attention to the five hymns by Albert Bayly (whose writing he had first encountered at Dunblane), especially Bayly's 'What does the Lord require?' from Micah 6, set to SHARPTHORNE by Erik Routley:

⁸⁰ Luff, 51.

⁸¹ *100 Hymns for Today*, #50, set to the Scottish tune STRACATHRO.

What does the Lord require
 for praise and offering ?
 What sacrifice desire
 or tribute bid you bring?
 Do justly;
 Love mercy;
 Walk humbly with your God.⁸²

Luff also noticed that subtle revision of hymn texts which seems to have occurred while the supplements were being prepared, before introducing the experimental hymn writing into congregational worship. He commented on a refinement in the last verse of a hymn by David Edge. In its original text, as printed in *Dunblane Praises No. 2*, 'Lord, we are blind' read:

Lord, we are blind; our sight, our life
 by our own efforts cannot be:
 spit on our clay and give us sight;
 we would serve thee.⁸³

The rough and direct language of the third line was adapted to a more poetic and biblical phrase for *100 Hymns for Today*, where it was printed as 'Breathe on our clay and touch our eyes'.⁸⁴

Other new directions identified by Luff included those which related to new developments in liturgy. H. C. A. Gaunt's hymns for Communion were 'useful' contributions to the revised services in the Church of England.⁸⁵ Luff also liked hymns which related that new liturgy to the world. In his view, J. R. Peacey's 'Filled with the Spirit's power', for example, 'speaks strongly of unity and race relations within the firm sweep of a hymn on the Holy Spirit'.⁸⁶ This hymn was first published in the 1969 supplement. The author of the commentary in *Companion to Hymns & Psalms* noted

⁸² Ibid., #99.

⁸³ *Dunblane Praises No. 2* (Dunblane: Scottish Churches' House, 1967), #3, v. 3.

⁸⁴ *100 Hymns for Today*, #66, v. 3.

⁸⁵ Ibid., #19) 'Dear Lord, to you again our gifts we bring'; and #83) 'Praise the Lord, rise up rejoicing'.

⁸⁶ Luff, 52. Peacey was a retired principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.

that Peacey's text is 'valuable in that it speaks of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, rather than the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the individual believer.'⁸⁷ It concludes:

Widen our love, good Spirit, to embrace
in your strong care the men of every race.
Like wind and fire with life among us move,
till we are known as Christ's, and Christians prove.⁸⁸

In the provision of new liturgical hymns Luff also noted the absence of the Rimaud/Langlais canticle 'Dieu, nous avons vu ta gloire', written for the 'Bible and Liturgy Conference' held in Strasbourg in July 1957, and translated by Ronald Johnson and Brian Wren for the Dunblane series as 'God, your glory we have seen in your Son'.

Micklem and Luff protested over the amount of older hymnody which had been included in the two supplements, material they each thought should have been held back until new hymn books were prepared. Supplements, in their view, were primarily for the provision of new material. It is possible, however, to argue that the success of the supplements was owing precisely to the mixture of old and new hymnody achieved by the editors. *Hymns & Songs* and *100 Hymns for Today* may have been used regularly in congregational worship because they could provide for the needs of congregations by offering older hymns, not available in *The Methodist Hymn Book* (1933) and in *Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised* (1950), and by introducing new approaches to worship.⁸⁹ Not only did the presence of older hymn texts attract long-standing church members to the supplements, but the content of the established hymns by Watts, Wesley, Montgomery and others may have met a deep need for assurance that the God they had

⁸⁷ Watson and Trickett, #314 (p. 206).

⁸⁸ *100 Hymns for Today*, #26, v. 3. The text was modified for *Hymns & Psalms* to read 'Widen our love, good Spirit, to embrace / With your compassion all the human race', an example of textual revision to meet the more recent development of inclusive language.

⁸⁹ In their preface to *100 Hymns for Today*, the editors [John Dykes Bower, Gerald H. Knight, Edgar Bishop, Cyril Taylor, and Henry Chadwick] explained their policy for developing the hymnal supplement: 'Today's Christians need today's songs to sing as well as yesterday's. ... About forty [hymns] will probably be new to worshippers of all traditions. The remainder have been gathered from many books in course of a long search for hymns that speak to today.'

always worshipped remained present in a world where doubt was rife. Wesley's resurrection hymn in *Hymns & Songs*, 'All ye that seek the Lord who died', concluded with the message given to the women who had come to the empty tomb on Easter morning:

Go tell the followers of your Lord
Their Jesus is to life restored;
He lives, that they his life may find;
He lives to quicken all mankind.⁹⁰

Luff recognized that certain older hymns had a liveliness and relevance that made them valuable, because, in one sense, they were surprisingly modern. In *100 Hymns for Today*, Wesley's 'Help us to help each other, Lord', and his 'Jesu, Lord, we look to thee', along with Doddridge's 'Jesu, my Lord, how rich thy grace' were described by Luff as 'object lessons in hitting the contemporary nail right on the head by being supremely loyal to the New Testament.'⁹¹ He also admitted that when he saw the name of Ephraim the Syrian on the list of authors his heart sank, until he noticed that Ephraim was acknowledged as one of the authors of 'Strengthen for service, Lord, the hands', a hymn which 'I would not like to be without'. Luff concluded that the newest *Ancient & Modern* supplement was a book 'intended for that deprived class in our [Anglican] churches - the regular Sunday Congregation. I hope that they have not been deprived for so long that they are unable to take the help now offered.'⁹² The success of the Anglican supplement suggests that congregations did indeed take the help which was offered: in this process, it is arguable that the older hymns may have anchored the new material, providing a continuum into which congregations could place the variety of styles and content which they encountered among the new texts and tunes.

⁹⁰ *Hymns & Songs* #4, v. 4.

⁹¹ Luff, 52-53.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 53.

The third collection of hymns introduced at the Act of Praise in Liverpool was *New Hymns for All Seasons* (1969) by James Quinn, S.J. It was a set of hymn texts he had written to use with the English liturgy for Mass, based upon the Revised Standard Version (Catholic Edition) of the Bible. The hymn texts and psalm paraphrases were tested by St. Joseph's parish church and school in Sighthill, Edinburgh.⁹³ His co-editors were the parish priest, Joseph Maccabe (who had initiated the project when he asked Quinn to write a hymn to St. Joseph), and the headmaster of the primary school, a musician, James Victor Gaffney. In the preface they emphasized the importance of teaching Roman Catholic doctrine and scripture to congregations:

The doctrinal content of the hymns has been a constant care. They form a 'catechism in song' for schools, and a source-book for instructions and sermons.

The collection forms a rich Scriptural quarry. In translating Scripture into metrical form it has been found that the absence of rhyme (provided that there are compensating cadences) makes for greater fidelity to the original without loss of beauty.

The tunes have been carefully selected from the mainstream of Christian song: this has an incidental but important ecumenical value. In composing the text, close attention has been paid to a happy marriage of words and music, in mood and accent.⁹⁴

Quinn's hymns were claimed by hymnal committees as quickly as were those by Fred Pratt Green, Fred Kaan, Brian Wren and Sydney Carter.⁹⁵ They created a model

⁹³ Letter from James Quinn, S.J. to John Wilson, ca 20 May, 1969, in which he gave Wilson an account of the development of the hymns in *New Hymns for All Seasons* (1969). In the letter Quinn commented that: 'The hymn-book fits in admirably into the new structure of the Mass, which will be introduced in Advent of this year. (This is called rather clumsily the 'Missa Normativa', or standard Mass.)' Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 1, John Wilson Hymn Papers, Box 10: Recent Hymns and Tunes, 'James Quinn' file. His only previous hymn, 'Jesus, Redeemer, from Thy heart', had been published in the Roman Catholic *St. Andrew Hymnal* (Edinburgh, 1964) at #225. Beginning in Advent 1964, the Roman Catholic Church had authorized the singing of vernacular hymns at Low Mass. See Erik Routley, 'Hymns at the Mass', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 105 (December, 1965), 51-55.

⁹⁴ James Quinn, S.J., *New Hymns for All Seasons* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1969), vii.

⁹⁵ *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977), an ecumenical publication, selected nine texts from *New Hymns for All Seasons*, including Quinn's versions of the Te Deum, Nunc Dimittis, Veni, Sancte Spiritus, St. Patrick's Breastplate, and Philippians 2.5-11. It was published in two editions, one of which contained a Roman Catholic supplement. It was reprinted by Collins Liturgical Publications for British churches in 1979, under the title *With One Voice*.

for the integration of congregational hymnody into Roman Catholic worship, and provided a significant contribution toward the expansion of ecumenical hymnody written in contemporary idiom. The collection began with two sets of 'Mass verses', one for adults and one for children, to be sung at the processional, gospel reading, offertory, communion and before the recessional. The opening words in the book called together the 'people of God':

God's holy people, gathered in his presence,
Come to renew his covenant of mercy,
Made in the life-blood of our paschal victim,
Jesus, our Saviour.

In his note on these 'Mass verses', Quinn described how they were based upon the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy issued by Vatican II.⁹⁶

The notes appended to *New Hymns for All Seasons* differed from conventional hymn notes which describe the origins of a text or tune. Instead, Quinn explained how the hymn texts could be used in worship. The commentary on each hymn supplemented a general essay, printed with the preface, on the use of hymns during Mass.⁹⁷ They served as a teaching aid to educate Roman Catholic worshippers about the nature of congregational hymnody. One good example of the use of a hymn as a source of instruction was the offertory hymn 'Come down, O Spirit blest', modelled after R. F. Littledale's translation of the fourteenth-century hymn 'Come down, O love divine'. Whereas Bianco da Siena's text celebrated the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, this hymn invoked the presence of the Holy Spirit at the communion meal:

Come down, O Spirit blest!
Here on this altar rest!
Bless these our gifts and with them all creation!
Change thou this bread and wine;
Make them the gift divine
of Christ, our sacrifice of adoration!

⁹⁶ Quinn, *New Hymns for All Seasons*, #1 and p. 135.

⁹⁷ Ibid. Quinn wrote a brief introduction on the place of hymns in the order of Mass; see 'How to use this book', ix-x.

Spirit of heavenly light,
 Shine on our inward sight,
 Thy splendour all our darkness dispossessing!
 Our hearts create anew
 To offer homage due
 Through God's own Son, to God, thy love confessing!⁹⁸

In his notes Quinn explained how the offertory hymn prepared communicants for participation in the Eucharist :

This offertory hymn is an 'epiklesis' (or invocation of the Holy Spirit to effect the consecration of the bread and wine). The last line of stanza 2 shows the movement of sacrifice in terms of the Blessed Trinity: through the Son to the Father in the power and love of the Holy Spirit. The last stanza stresses the relation of the eucharistic sacrifice *to the whole Church* (God's holy people, who will be the perfect Temple of God's glory in heaven), and not simply to the individual.⁹⁹

The closing lines of the hymn emphasized the concept of the church as the 'people of God', which was so closely associated with the deliberations of Vatican II: 'Make present at this feast / Our everlasting priest, / His priesthood with his holy people sharing.'¹⁰⁰

In 'Come down, O Spirit blest', Quinn demonstrated his ability to work with the rhymed structure of traditional hymnody. He also made effective use of rhymeless verse to paraphrase scripture. His metrical version of Psalm 99 (100) was set to the French church melody *ISTE CONFESSOR (ROUEN)*:

Sing, all creation, sing to God in gladness!
 Joyously serve him, singing hymns of homage!
 Chanting his praises, come before his presence!
 Praise the Almighty!

⁹⁸ Ibid., #13, vv. 1-2. The text is a perfect fit for *DOWN AMPNEY*, but it is set in the collection to two other tunes, *SIGHTHILL* by Peter Sheehan and *S. [ST.] BRUNO* by Colin Kingsley. Quinn regretted the loss of *DOWN AMPNEY* which, Vaughan Williams had insisted in his will, could only be used with Bianco da Siena's text. When the editors learned of the copyright stipulation, they asked the two Edinburgh musicians to compose new tunes for Quinn's text. Quinn to John Wilson, ca 20 May 1969. Wesley Milgate reported that the original plan for this collection stipulated that two tunes were to be selected for each text, one from the established hymn repertoire and one newly composed; however, the response from contemporary composers was insufficient to carry this plan out fully. Wesley Milgate, *Songs of the People of God: A Companion to The Australian Hymn Book/With One Voice* (Sydney: Collins Liturgical Australia, 1982, rev. ed. 1985), 64.

⁹⁹ Quinn, 136.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., #13, v. 3:4-6.

Enter his temple, ringing out his praises!
 Sing in thanksgiving as you come before him!
 Blessing his bounty, glorify his greatness!
 Praise the Almighty!¹⁰¹

Similarly, his unrhymed translation of the TE DEUM provided a modern liturgical text in English. He set it to SONG I by Orlando Gibbons:

We praise you, God, confessing you as Lord!
 Eternal Father, all earth worships you!
 Angelic choirs, high heavens, celestial powers,
 Cherubs and seraphs praise you ceaselessly:
 'All-holy Lord, O God of heavenly hosts,
 Your glorious majesty fills heaven and earth!¹⁰²

He prepared an English translation of 1 Corinthians 13: 4-7 for weddings. It was set to the 18th-century tune ABRIDGE:

Love is long-suff'ring, love is kind,
 love envies not, nor boasts,
 Love knows not pride but courtesy,
 love does not seek its own.¹⁰³

His 'catechism in song' included Philippians 2: 5-11, in a much simpler version of the New Testament hymn than the one prepared by F. Bland Tucker for *The Hymnal 1940*:

Let all be one in mind and heart
 With Jesus Christ, our Lord,
 Who, though he was by nature God,
 God's glory laid aside.

Now God has raised him up, to bear
 The name above all names;
 At Jesus' name all knees shall bow,
 All tongues proclaim him Lord.¹⁰⁴

The purpose of teaching doctrine in song form was evident throughout the collection. Quinn noted that his processional hymn, 'I believe in God, the Father',

¹⁰¹ Ibid., #5, vv. 1 and 3. In his discussion of this hymn text, Wesley Milgate gave a detailed account of James Quinn's approach to hymn writing. See *Songs of the People of God* (1985), #111 (pp. 63-64), and the biographical sketch of Quinn, 308-09.

¹⁰² Ibid., #335, v. 1.

¹⁰³ Ibid., #53, v. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., #54, vv. 1 and 3. This one was set to the familiar ST. STEPHEN, also known as NEWINGTON.

described the commitments of faith, hope, charity and contrition in Roman Catholic practice:

I believe in God, the Father;
I believe in God, his Son;
I believe in God, their Spirit;
Each is God, yet God is one.

All my hope is in God's goodness,
Shown for us by him who died,
Jesus Christ, the world's Redeemer,
Spotless Victim crucified.

All my love is Love eternal;
In that Love I love mankind.
Take my heart, O Heart once broken,
Take my soul, my strength, my mind.

Father, I have sinned against you;
Look on me with eyes of love;
Seek your wand'ring sheep, Good Shepherd:
Grant heav'n's peace, O heav'nly Dove.¹⁰⁵

The hymn concluded with a benediction based upon the opening verse. Other hymn texts which served the function of catechism included a translation of *Pange Lingua* by Thomas Aquinas; two texts associated with *Ubi Caritas*, one translated from the Liturgy of Maundy Thursday, the second a hymn set to *GLENFINLAS* by Kenneth George Finlay; and the *Magnificat*; *Benedictus*; and *Nunc Dimittis*.

Quinn developed two hymns based upon the contrasting sections of St. Patrick's Breastplate - a prayer of thanksgiving and a hymn for a wedding Mass. In the section of hymns written for the seasons of the church year, Quinn provided translations of traditional Latin carols, including 'Veni, veni Emmanuel', 'Quem pastores laudavere', 'Corde natus ex parentis', and 'Adeste fideles'. He also translated other Latin office hymns which were central to the church's worship - 'Vexilla regis prodeunt' by Venantius Fortunatus, 'Gloria, laus et honor' attributed to St. Theodulph of Orleans, and

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., #8, vv. 1 and 3-5, to the English melody *SUSSEX* arranged by Ralph Vaughan Williams. See also the author's note, 135.

the anonymous medieval office hymns ‘Christus vincit’, ‘Victimae paschali’, ‘Regina caeli, laetare’, ‘Veni, sancte Spiritus’ and ‘Veni, creator Spiritus’. Toward the end of the collection Quinn provided translations of three ‘Hymns to Our Lady’ - ‘Ave maris stella’, ‘Angelus ad virginem’, and ‘Salve, regina’. He added two new Marian texts, setting his ‘O Mary, conceived in the grace of your Son’ to the familiar Welsh tune JOANNA (also known as ST. DENIO).

The pattern of hymn development in this Roman Catholic supplement, making use of old and new materials, mirrored the contents of the Methodist and Anglican collections. Through his translations of Latin hymns, which had been essential elements of the traditional pattern of worship in the church, the author built a strong bridge between the universal Latin liturgy and the new vernacular liturgy written in the cultural idiom of the community it served. In addition to translations and paraphrases, he wrote several original hymns based upon scriptural sources from the Roman Catholic edition of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. ‘Word of God, come down on earth’ was derived from a series of gospel verses which could be sung individually, in conjunction with the gospel reading assigned for the service, or collectively as a hymn about the word of God. Its four stanzas drew from Isaiah 55: 10-11, John 1: 1-18, the healing miracles as told in the gospels, and from John 6, interpreting Jesus as the Bread of Life in his teachings and in the eucharist service.¹⁰⁶ In the third verse Quinn applied that healing to the present time:

Word that caused blind eyes to see,
 Speak and heal our mortal blindness;
 Deaf we are: our healer be;
 Loose our tongues to tell your kindness.
 Be our Word in pity spoken,
 Heal the world, by our sin broken.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. #10; see the author’s note, 135-36.

Quinn followed a similar pattern of rhymed text in one of his new hymns for Advent, 'O Child of Promise, come!'. It was constructed around the Messianic themes in the book of Isaiah, its six verses presenting Jesus as Emmanuel, the Lord's Servant, the anointed One, Man of sorrows, God's holy Lamb, and Messiah King.¹⁰⁷

For the sacrament of baptism, he turned to Romans 6: 3-11. Quinn described the text as one 'suitable for baptisms or for renewal of baptismal promises or for services of Christian unity (emphasizing the unity we share with other Christians through baptism)'.

Quinn used rhymeless verse to interpret this text:

We who live in Christ were born in his death:
Baptized in Christ's death, with Christ we lay
in the tomb;
As God the Father's power awoke him from death,
So we are raised to walk in newness of life.¹⁰⁸

Among Quinn's best known hymns is his version of 'Ubi caritas et amor' from the Liturgy of Maundy Thursday, a sacramental hymn to be sung while a priest is washing the feet of twelve men, commemorating Christ's act of washing the feet of his disciples before their Passover meal. Quinn described the text as 'a canticle of Christian unity'. With its tune composed by A. Gregory Murray it has been well received as an ecumenical hymn. It begins with an antiphon: 'God is love, and where true love is God himself is there.' The second verse expresses hope for the union of Christians into one Body of Christ:

When we Christians gather, members of one Body,
Let there be in us no discord but one spirit.
Banished now be anger, strife and every quarrel.
Christ, our God, be always present here among us.¹⁰⁹

As Fred Pratt Green and Fred Kaan have done, Quinn has written texts to specific tunes. One of the strengths of these hymn texts is the overlay of verbal rhythm

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. #57. The textual sources in Isaiah were identified in the note, along with related gospel and New Testament readings.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., #51, v. 1, and the author's note, 139.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., #23, v. 2.

and accent matching that of the musical phrase. As a result his hymns are sung readily.

It is an important factor in teaching the new skill of congregational singing to a worshipping community which has a long history of listening to priests and choirs singing the liturgy. Quinn explained to John Wilson how the three editors combined their respective skills and experience to create such close-fitting hymns:

I don't sing myself. Dr. Gaffney had to analyze the mood of the tunes for me. He would play them over, so that I got the rhythm in my head. When I produced a version, we studied it for the marriage between music and accent. I would alter words at his suggestion. Fr Maccabe pointed out difficulties that would arise in congregational singing (pauses for breath etc.), and would reject words that would be unintelligible to the person in the pew. ...

Our main aim was to provide hymns that could be sung by school-children and an average congregation, and that would cover the main occasions of the Christian year. This seemed too ambitious at first, but we have managed to produce a hymn-book that is literally 'for all seasons'.¹¹⁰

For the most part, the tunes in *New Hymns for All Seasons* were ones which Roman Catholic congregations would recognize from their known repertoire of service music, or tunes drawn from the established Protestant hymnody and from traditional folk melodies. In addition to UBI CARITAS, the Roman Catholic hymn tunes included ISTE CONFESSOR (ROUEN), LASST UNS ERFREUEN, MELCOMBE and VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS by Samuel Webbe the Elder, and plainsong melodies such as VENI, EMMANUEL. Quinn chose a number of proven hymn tunes found commonly among Protestant hymn books: DARWALL'S 148TH, LOBE DEN HERREN, HORSLEY, PICARDY, SONG 1, 22, and 34 (ANGELS' SONG) by Orlando Gibbons, PRAISE MY SOUL, AURELIA, RENDEZ À DIEU, DIADEMATA, WACHET AUF, DOMINUS REGIT ME, RICHMOND, ROCKINGHAM and FRANCONIA. He used

¹¹⁰ Quinn to Wilson, May 1969, 1. Marilyn Kay Stulken provides a biography of James Quinn in *Hymnal Companion to Worship - Third Edition* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 1998), 177-78.

Scottish melodies such as BUNESSAN and STRACATHRO, and folk tunes from

Ireland and Wales - SLANE, AR HYD Y NOS, GWALCHMAI, and LLANFAIR.

He chose BUNESSAN, for example, as the setting for the two texts adapted from St. Patrick's Breastplate - 'This day God gives me' and 'Christ be beside me'. The texts demonstrate his acquired skill in writing for a specific tune:

This day God gives me
 Strength of high heaven,
 Sun and moon shining,
 Flame in my hearth,
 Flashing of lightning,
 Wind in its swiftness,
 Deeps of the ocean,
 Firmness of earth.

Christ be beside me,
 Christ be before me,
 Christ be behind me,
 King of my heart.
 Christ be within me,
 Christ be below me,
 Christ be above me,
 Never to part.¹¹¹

James Quinn drew upon his knowledge of Roman Catholic liturgy and his ability to write hymn verse in various styles to produce a useful model for congregational hymnody.¹¹² His ecumenical experience and familiarity with Christian hymnody made this collection one which was sought after by hymnal editors. It also served as a Roman Catholic supplement to the *Dunblane Praises* series being published by the Protestant Scottish Churches' Council during the 1960s.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Ibid., #7, v. 1, and #36, v. 1.

¹¹² James Quinn, S.J., 'The Ministry of a Hymn-writer', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 185 (October 1990), 141-46.

¹¹³ A sequel, *Praise for All Seasons: The hymns of James Quinn, S.J.*, was issued in 1994 by Selah Publishing Company in Kingston, N. Y. It is a collected edition of his hymn writing over thirty years, which includes a section of 'Hymns for the Church in the World' in addition to the scriptural texts, hymns for Mass, and hymns for the seasons of the church year published in his first anthology.

Fred Pratt Green's parody was prophetic. With his wit and gentle satire, he poked kindly fun at the seriousness of the world about him, while providing windows on God's grace through the substance of his hymns. As a member of the committee for *Hymns & Songs*, and through his collaboration with John Wilson, he was aware of the transition in favour of congregational singing which was underway. Albert Bayly and Gordon Wakefield had drawn attention to the hymn writing being accomplished by the 1960s. The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland changed its direction between 1968 and 1969, from concentrating on hymn models established by the *English Hymnal* (1903), *Songs of Praise* (1925/1931), *Revised Church Hymnary* (1927), and the *Methodist Hymn Book* (1933) to promoting the new hymnody of its time represented in the three supplements published in 1969: *Hymns & Songs*, *100 Hymns for Today* and *New Hymns for All Seasons*. Albert Bayly, Fred Pratt Green, John Wilson, James Quinn and Sydney Carter, among many others, became known for the first time through these books. By the end of the sixties the Hymn Society, along with several church administrations, had begun advocating the new hymnody. Congregational singing habits were about to alter.

Chapter 7 Changing Congregational Singing Habits

New patterns of worship

The practices of congregational worship which had prevailed during the fifty years after Armistice in 1918 were being transformed by 1970. The change was owing in part to the liturgical revision which had begun in Great Britain with the 1928 Prayer Book; but it also came in response to the perceived need to bring the theology, language and music of congregational worship up to date with contemporary Christian thinking. During the early 1970s it appeared that church light music might overtake traditional hymnody in the worship of the churches. Publications such as *Youth Praise*, the *Faith Folk* series and Sydney Carter's *Songs in the Present Tense* were purchased by congregations anxious to provide for the youth in their communities. The folk hymn with guitar accompaniment seemed to be the best way forward. At the same time, congregations began to become more aware of social conditions locally and in the world: the contents of the hymnal supplements published in 1969, and their successors, appealed to many who were searching for ways to respond to the times in their worship. Folk hymns, new varieties of psalms and canticles, and contemporary interpretations of traditional hymnody - the products of the 'hymn explosion' - were being tested by congregations to meet new needs in worship and to prepare for the revision of denominational hymn books.

Church light music developed along several different lines between 1965 and 1975. The 20th Century Church Light Music Group had opened up this field of church music allowing others to pursue their own interpretation of it. The Church Pastoral-Aid Society (Church of England) sponsored *Youth Praise*, a collection of 150 songs for young people edited by Michael Baughen and Richard Bewes, published in March 1966. Its production was overseen by Timothy Dudley-Smith, who also contributed some texts. The editors explained in the preface that: 'Its purpose is not to provide "musical entertainment with a religious flavour", but the provision of words and tunes, in adequate number and variety, to allow contemporary expression of youth praise and prayer and worship.'¹ It contained songs and choruses known across Great Britain in the mid-sixties, printed together with 'a considerable quantity of new material, and a number of translations' written to suit the great variety of musical tastes and abilities among the younger generation. The book sold in overwhelming numbers, being reprinted in June, November and December of 1966, and a further eight times (in three to six month intervals) between March 1967 and July 1970. Agents in Sydney, Christchurch, and Cape Town handled its sales overseas.

Much of the material in this collection served its purpose and then went out of use after a few years. Some hymns, such as Timothy Dudley-Smith's 'Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord', 'Lord who left the highest heaven' and 'Christ be my leader by night as by day' (set to new tunes by Michael Baughen), were more durable.² Michael Saward wrote 'Christ triumphant' and 'Lord of the cross', also set to tunes by Michael Baughen. The collection included a new translation of the German song 'Thank you'

¹ *Youth Praise* (London: Falcon Books, 1966), v. The compilers noted that this material had been tested by congregations and youth groups for two years before its publication.

² *Ibid.*, #3, #89 and #97. The tune for 'Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord' was named GO FORTH in *Hymns for Today's Church* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd, 1982, revised 1987), #42(ii).

which seems to have become a popular item in youth song books in Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States. The *Youth Praise* version was recorded by the British ‘pop’ singer Petula Clark.³ Following the example set by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, David Wilson composed a new tune for Wesley’s ‘Jesus, lover of my soul’ and one for ‘Ride on, ride on in majesty’ by Henry Hart Milman. Patrick Appleford’s ‘Lord Jesus Christ’ was included, along with a new text for this tune written by J. E. Seddon (‘Reigning Lord’).⁴

A second volume, *Youth Praise 2*, followed in 1969. This book adhered more closely to the format of a hymn book, moving from an opening section of praise, to psalms and then to hymns and songs about God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, mission and outreach, prayer and the Christian life. It contained 150 psalms, hymns and songs, most of which were published for the first time. Timothy Dudley-Smith contributed more new texts.⁵ Music arrangers for the second volume included Norman Warren, David Wilson, Christian Strover, and George Timms (who would convene the committees which compiled *English Praise* and the *New English Hymnal*). Wilson, the music editor for this volume, continued to experiment with unusual hymn tune settings for well-known texts; for example, he associated ‘When I survey the wondrous cross’ with the traditional English tune known generally as O WALY, WALY. The popular idiom of the hymn tunes appealed to youth, especially those arranged for guitars and rhythm instruments. In addition, *Youth Praise 2* served as a testing ground for modern paraphrases of the Psalms, part of the ongoing experimentation with new forms of liturgy within the Church of England. This trial edition led to the production of *Psalm Praise* in

³ Ibid., #13, with a note about the recording.

⁴ Several of these texts and tunes were printed in *Hymns for Today’s Church*, including ‘Lord, who left the highest heaven’ by Timothy Dudley-Smith, and the two hymns by Michael Saward (all with tunes composed by Michael Baughen), and David Wilson’s LITTLE HEATH for ‘Jesus, lover of my soul’, at #97(i), #173(i) and #548, and #438(ii).

⁵ *Youth Praise 2* (London: Falcon Books, 1969): #156) ‘Lord of the years your love has kept and guided’, among others. The second volume continued the numerical sequence from *Youth Praise 1*.

1973. Michael Baughen later referred to the section in *Youth Praise 2* as a 'pilot project on the psalms'.⁶

Psalm Praise, the third volume published by the Church Pastoral-Aid Society, was a product of the renewal of psalmody initiated by Joseph Gelineau in the 1950s in conjunction with the translation of the Jerusalem Bible. The Anglican psalter drew upon the Authorized Version, the Revised Standard Version, and the New English Bible, for its texts. The experimental development of contemporary psalms drew together the results of intensive biblical scholarship over the previous fifty years, the renewal of liturgy and the new musical idioms into congregational worship. The editors introduced their work by setting it in the context of other resources available to congregations in the early 1970s:

We hope that the use of Psalm Praise will often lead people back to the original psalms in the Scriptures with fresh understanding and joy. We hope too that the use of the psalms in worship will include reading them aloud from the Bible, singing them in metrical hymn versions (Appendix 2 contains a list of some of the traditional ones), singing them to chants, hearing them as solos, using them in Gelineau and other styles, as well as using Psalm Praise. Although the arrangement of the book has an eye to Anglican use, we hope this will in no way restrict other denominations from using the book and developing the valuable part that psalms have in worship.⁷

Psalm Praise brought a new perspective to psalmody, with its mixture of metrical, pointed and blank-verse psalms, supplemented by a number of liturgical settings of the Venite (Psalm 95), Te Deum, Benedicite, Jubilate Deo, Magnificat, Cantate Domino (Psalm 98) and Nunc Dimittis, and canticles from the Old and the New Testaments. Michael Perry contributed a youth version of the Venite, set to his popular tune CALYPSO CAROL.⁸ A set of newly-created 'psalms' were prepared for use during the church year - at Christmas, Passiontide, Easter, Ascension, Whitsun, and

⁶ *Psalm Praise* (London: Falcon Books, 1973), 'Acknowledgments'.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 'Introduction'.

⁸ *Ibid.*, #4.

Harvest. Timothy Dudley-Smith's 'The darkness turns to dawn' was described as 'A Christmas Psalm', its text taken from Isaiah, Luke, John, Philippians and Hebrews. It began:

The darkness turns to dawn,
The dayspring shines from heaven;
For unto us a child is born,
To us a Son is given.

The Son of God most high,
Before all else began,
A virgin's son behold him lie,
The new-born Son of Man.

God's Word of truth and grace
Made flesh with us to dwell;
The brightness of the Father's face,
The child Immanuel.⁹

His fine Whitsun Psalm, 'Born by the Holy Spirit's breath' came from Romans 8.

Born by the Holy Spirit's breath,
Loosed from the law of sin and death,
Now cleared in Christ from every claim
No judgement stands against our name.

In us the Spirit makes his home
that we in him may overcome;
Christ's risen life, in all its powers,
Its all-prevailing strength, is ours.

Nor death nor life, nor powers unseen,
Nor height nor depth can come between;
We know through peril, pain and sword,
The love of God in Christ our Lord.¹⁰

Christopher Idle and Michael Saward contributed other pieces in this group.¹¹

Noël Tredinnick, Norman Warren and Michael Baughen composed the tunes. Pointed psalms were borrowed from the *Parish Psalter*, and set to a variety of older chants and

⁹ Ibid., #46, vv. 1-3.

¹⁰ Ibid., # 57, vv. 1, 2, and 5. Timothy Dudley-Smith supplied twenty-three psalm texts and scripture paraphrases to *Psalm Praise*, including those reprinted from the *Youth Praise* books.

¹¹ Christopher Idle wrote #48) 'To this we have been called' (1 Peter), and #55) 'Since our great high priest' (Hebrews 4), among others. Michael Saward prepared a Harvest psalm, #59) 'The earth is yours, O God' (from Psalm 65).

newly-composed ones. Norman Warren created a system of congregational chanting, identified as 'People's Chants'. Retaining the given pointing of a psalm, he would write a simple congregational melody for the second and fourth sections of the chant while providing a more complex choir or solo setting for the first and third parts. The 'People's Chants' were designed to extend the Anglican custom of using pointed psalmody by facilitating the congregation's role.¹² With such breadth of styles and content, *Psalm Praise* helped restore the flagging practice of congregational psalm singing.¹³

Two other British publishers actively supported the development of church light music during the decade of the 'hymn explosion' - Galliard Limited and Mayhew-McCrimmon. At Galliard, Bernard Braley printed a wide range of new worship materials, from folk songs and religious 'pop' music to contemporary hymnody. The company also acted as distributor for American and Australian publications, including the Lutheran *Songs for Today* (1964) edited by Ewald Bash and John Ylvisaker, Miriam Therese Winter's biblical songs composed for the Medical Mission Sisters and published in her first collection, *Joy Is Like the Rain* (ca 1966), and, from Australia, the ecumenical *Songs of Faith* (1966) and James Minchin's *Jazz in Church* (ca 1964) containing jazz settings of well-known hymns and some contemporary texts.¹⁴ In the late sixties the

¹² *Psalm Praise*, #3) 'O come, let us sing unto the Lord', a 'People's Chant' set to the Authorized Version of Psalm 95 (Venite), and #9) 'We praise thee, O God' (the Te Deum in the Authorized Version).

¹³ *Psalm Praise* was later revised and expanded into *Psalms for Today* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd, 1990) and *Songs from the Psalms* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd, 1990). Michael Perry, *Singing to God: Hymns and Songs 1965-1995* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1995), ii, v-vi.

¹⁴ Bernard Braley, 'The Baby and the Bath Water', a clipping from an unidentified church music journal published in 1968. Dunblane: Scottish Churches' House, Music/Drama File. In the article Braley described recent titles published by Galliard, and he announced a number of imminent publications in the fields of worship and church music. Braley also described several books distributed in Great Britain by his company. Braley became managing director of Galliard Limited in 1965. For a brief biography, see Wesley Milgate, *A Companion to Sing Alleluia* (Sydney: Australia Hymn Book Party Ltd, 1988), 109.

James Minchin published three series of hymn settings under the title *Jazz in Church*. His interpretation of 'The strife is o'er' was printed in *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977) at #287(ii). Wesley Milgate,

company published three volumes of Sydney Carter's *Songs in the Present Tense* (1969), the *Faith Folk* series of folk songs, freedom songs, spirituals and biblical songs compiled by the Methodist minister Peter D. Smith between 1967 and 1969, and the Scottish experimental supplements based upon the work of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation (*New Songs for the Church: Book 1 and 2*, 1969). At the time Braley (a Methodist local preacher) wrote of Sydney Carter's songs:

Sydney Carter reminds us that most people outside church life are much happier with a church which does not adventure into the life of the community. A live church makes too uncomfortable an impact on the status quo.¹⁵

Braley also noted the work of several clergy and musicians at the Notting Hill Ecumenical Centre who were writing new forms of worship and of contemporary hymnody under the leadership of Geoffrey Ainger.¹⁶ By 1968 Braley was noticing a change in the pattern of hymn development:

The current scene shows a greater emphasis being placed on the need for new words rather than new music. To date, success in avoiding the banal has been limited to a very few writers.¹⁷

Galliard expanded into the school songbook market with the controversial *New Life: Songs and Hymns for Assemblies, Clubs and Churches* in 1971.¹⁸ In 1972 alone, Galliard published *New Orbit*, the second volume in its school series, *Songs for the*

Songs of the People of God: A Companion to The Australian Hymn Book/With One Voice (Sydney: Collins Liturgical Australia, 1982, rev. ed. 1985), #287(ii) and biography at p. 294.

¹⁵ Ibid., 25. Satire also targets the status quo in society. See Chapter 2, 83-84, where Carter's writing is set in the context of satirical reviews written for town hall performances and for television in the 1960s.

¹⁶ Notting Hill Music Group, *Songs from Notting Hill* (London, 1964). Two of the best known pieces from this collection of eight songs were 'A cry in the night' by Geoffrey Ainger and Ian Calvert and 'Born in the night Mary's child' also by Ainger. In addition to other songs by Ainger and Calvert, Handley Stevens contributed 'The twelve disciples' and Harry Goodram wrote 'It's a funny old world we live in'. Requests for permission to reproduce these songs were to be sent to a company in London named 'New Directions Ltd'.

¹⁷ Ibid., 27. Braley also named Donald Swann as being one of the musicians associated with Geoffrey Ainger at Notting Hill.

¹⁸ *New Life*, edited by John Bailey, opened with Charles Wesley's 'Come, thou long-expected Jesus' to STUTTGART and ended with Pete Seeger's setting of 'Tomorrow is a highway broad and fair / And we are the many who'll travel there' by Lee Hays, indicative of the eclectic nature of the song collections published in the early seventies. Fred Kaan's 'Sing we the song of high revolt' [changed from 'a song of high revolt'] and Sydney Carter's 'Lord of the Dance' appeared at # 12 and #28.

Seventies for the Scottish Churches' Council, and the revised and enlarged edition of Fred Kaan's collection of contemporary hymns, *Pilgrim Praise*. Peter Smith's *Faith Folk* series of contemporary folk and religious songs were the British equivalent to the youth songbooks edited by Carlton R. Young in the Agape series issued by Hope Publishing Company in the United States. Michael Hewlett, a contributor to *Faith, Folk and Festivity* (1969), described the criteria for writing contemporary hymn texts:

But a contemporary hymn needs also to be evocative of the world which the congregation knows, if it is to be sung with any reality. This applies not only to the words used, but even more to the attitudes of mind behind them. ... This is a world-affirming age; its hymns must reflect it. It is also an age when we know much more than we did about the affairs of our fellow-men all over the world; its hymns must not be too parochial — God must not be thanked too glibly for a good harvest in England if there is persisting famine in India. Congregations need hymns about the lack of time, about being an untriumphant and tiny percentage of the world, about a post-Darwin, post-Einstein, post-Teilhard doctrine of creation, about war as an evil thing, about the advance of knowledge and the 'God of the groups,' about the things which are unshaken when so much is shaken, fear and how to face it, perhaps about God as the ground of our being. Only if they evoke some of these things will our hymns speak to - and therefore from - our people. It may of course mean that the relevant hymns for 1960 are out of date by 1970.¹⁹

His hymn, 'When God almighty came to be one of us', set to the Northumbrian folk tune the KEEL ROW, demonstrated this approach to hymn writing: 'God in his mercy uses the commonplace, / God on his birthday had a need of you.'²⁰

A hymn written by Stewart Cross in March 1964 for students at the University of Manchester illustrates Michael Hewlett's argument, with its references to the theology of Paul Tillich and Dietrich Bonhoeffer and its theme of social responsibility:

¹⁹ Michael Hewlett, 'Thoughts about Words', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 115 (Spring, 1969), 11-14 (p. 13). His article was reprinted in *The Hymn*, 20:3 (July 1969), 89-92.

²⁰ Michael Hewlett's text was also printed in *Songs for the Seventies: A Collection of Contemporary Hymns* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press; Great Yarmouth: Galliard Ltd; and New York: Galaxy Music Corporation, 1972), #19; and *Praise for Today* (London: Psalms and Hymns Trust, 1974), #96.

Father, Lord of all Creation,
 Ground of Being, Life and Love;
 Height and depth beyond description
 only life in you can prove:
 You are mortal life's dependence:
 thought, speech, sight are ours by grace;
 Yours is every hour's existence,
 sovereign Lord of time and space.

Jesus Christ, the Man for Others,
 we, your people, make our prayer:
 Give us grace to love as brothers
 all whose burdens we can share.
 Where your name binds us together
 You, Lord Christ, will surely be;
 Where no selfishness can sever
 There your love may all men see.²¹

Entitled 'Renewal', the hymn responded in part to the debate initiated by John

Robinson's book *Honest to God* published in the previous year.²²

Braley's firm merged with Stainer & Bell Limited in London and obtained the rights to act as agents for Hope imprints in the United Kingdom. This inter-continental commercial arrangement would prove to be instrumental in coalescing the various pockets of new hymnody into an ecumenical and global hymn literature, embracing the work of the English authors Fred Pratt Green, Brian Wren, Fred Kaan, Timothy Dudley-Smith and Alan Gaunt, the American hymn writer Carl P. Daw, Jr, and two New Zealand writers Shirley Erena Murray and Colin Gibson (also a composer), among many others.²³

²¹ *100 Hymns for Today* (Hymns Ancient & Modern Ltd, 1969), #23, vv. 1-2.

²² For a detailed commentary on this hymn, see Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), #567 (pp. 199-200).

²³ In July 1995 Bernard Braley announced that a new long-term agreement had been reached between Stainer & Bell Ltd and Hope Publishing Company, making contemporary hymn publications more readily available. Furthermore, he noted that Oxford University Press, Stainer & Bell Ltd and Hope Publishing Company had also agreed to participate in the Church Copyright Licence, enabling congregations owning that licence to use the new hymns in their church services. Bernard Braley, 'Hope Publishing Company: Its Contribution to Hymnody', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* 204 (July 1995), 165-68. Braley provided an annotated list of titles named in the new arrangement, including collections by hymn writers who were unfamiliar to most British congregations: Margaret Clarkson, Carl P. Daw, Jr, Joy F. Patterson, Dan Damon, Mary Kay Beall and John Carter, Shirley Erena Murray, and Colin Gibson.

Mayhew-McCrimmon Limited and its successors - Kevin Mayhew Limited and McCrimmon Publishing Co. Ltd - have become the primary publishing venues for Roman Catholic church light music.²⁴ One of their first titles was *Sing a New Song to the Lord* (1970), edited by Kevin Mayhew and Luke Connaughton, a collection of folk hymns and new hymns for Mass and for the church year, to be used by parish churches, schools and community groups. It was co-published by Galaxy Music Corporation in New York. In his review for *The Hymn*, Carlton Young commented on the presence of rhymeless verse in the contemporary hymn texts, and on some appealing new tunes by A. Gregory Murray and Kevin Mayhew in this collection.²⁵ The literary editor, Luke Connaughton (who also used the pen names 'Peter Icarus' and 'J. Smith') contributed 'Reap me the earth as a harvest to God', a hymn which would be accepted by the editors of several hymnal supplements and denominational hymn books:

Reap me the earth as a harvest to God,
 Gather and bring it again,
 All that is his, to the Maker of all.
 Lift it and offer it high:
Bring bread, bring wine,
Give glory to the Lord.
Whose is the earth but God's.
*Whose is the praise but his?*²⁶

Twenty years later, Murray's tune JUCUNDA LAUDATIO and John Ainslie's tune WORLEBURY (composed for the Roman Catholic hymn book *Praise the Lord*, revised

²⁴ Kevin Mayhew Limited, established by 1977, was publishing folk hymnals at first and then the company diversified into hymn books (beginning with *Hymns Old and New*, 1977, rev. ed. 1979), liturgical books, collections of carols, and other worship materials. Mayhew-McCrimmon Limited published the Roman Catholic *Celebration Hymnal* (1978, 1984). McCrimmon Publishing Co. Ltd produced *New Songs of Celebration* in 1989. See Donald Webster, 'A Hymn-Book Survey 1980-93', The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Paper, Second Series No. 4 (October 1994), 'Roman Catholic Hymnody', 20-22.

²⁵ 'Book Reviews', *The Hymn*, 22:3 (July, 1971), 94-95.

²⁶ *Partners in Praise* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; Nashville: Abingdon, 1979), #133, v. 1, where it was set to BAY HALL by the Roman Catholic composer Michael Dawney. See also Michael Dawney, 'Writing Music for Hymns', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 155 (October, 1982), 66-69.

edition) were chosen for the United Reformed Church hymn book.²⁷ In the *Companion to Rejoice and Sing*, Bernard Massey comments:

Roman Catholic hymnody is a comparative newcomer (or recent returner) to a field long thought (by some Protestants) to be the preserve of Protestant hymn-writers, both 'established' and 'dissenting'. This hymn uses imaginative and exciting words for a eucharistic theme as old as Christian worship itself; and it is one of many 20th century hymns to demonstrate that Protestants have no monopoly of creative ability in this field.²⁸

In 1976 Connaughton and Mayhew produced a book of service music for use with the new vernacular liturgies for the Roman Catholic Mass. Their *English Chant Book* contained Luke Connaughton's translations into English of the texts long associated with plainsong melodies from the Latin Mass. Kevin Mayhew arranged the music of the chants to suit the new texts: 'The pieces presented are among the best-known of the Chant, familiar melodies and memories to a great majority of Catholics. The text of the English Mass here offered is experimental, as is unavoidable in these times.'²⁹ These translations and settings were being offered for use at Mass until such time as new forms of service music, written in the vernacular, should be composed. The editors set the pitch of the music at a level which they hoped would 'accommodate the average parish voice so as to encourage the whole community to share in the liturgy.'

In 1977 Damian Lundy, F.S.C., collaborated with Kevin Mayhew to prepare the first edition of *Hymns Old and New*.³⁰ The new book, modelled after Anglican hymn books, incorporated worship material for Mass from the *English Chant Book* and the Grail translations of the psalms alongside traditional hymns and the lighter music of folk

²⁷ *Praise the Lord* (1972), #62(i) and (ii). The hymn text is signed 'Peter Icarus'.

²⁸ [David S. Goodall and Bernard S. Massey], *Companion to Rejoice and Sing* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press Norwich, 1999), 534.

²⁹ *English Chant Book*, edited by Luke Connaughton and Kevin Mayhew (Great Wakering, Essex: Mayhew-McCrimmon Ltd, 1976). This work is similar to the translations of parts of the traditional repertoire of the Mass by James Quinn in his *New Hymns for All Seasons* (London: Geoffrey Chapman Ltd, 1969). See the 'Foreword'.

³⁰ *Hymns Old and New*, ed. by Damian Lundy F.S.C. and Kevin Mayhew (Leigh-on-Sea, Essex: Kevin Mayhew Limited, 1977, rev. ed. 1979).

hymns and songs from the charismatic movement, to serve the needs of the whole worshipping community.

Mayhew also published two collections primarily consisting of the new style of Roman Catholic 'folk' music: a *20th-century Folk Hymnal* in 1974, followed by *Folk Praise* in 1977, through which Estelle White's biblical songs became known to a wider audience.³¹ After a first career as a physiotherapist, she took a teaching degree in music and religious education and taught in schools from 1970 to 1982 before she turned her attention to full-time composition and lecturing.³² She is known for her folk hymns and children's songs. Her first collection of twelve songs for guitar and voice was published 1969. It included a song based on the exile theology current in the sixties, with a refrain about the 'people of God':

'Moses, I know you're the man',
the Lord says.
'You're going to work out my plan',
the Lord says.
'Lead all the Israelites out of slavery,
and I shall make them a wandering race
called the people of God.'
*So every day we're on our way,
for we're a travelling, wandering race;
we're the people of God.*

The song is built upon a sequence of scriptural references from the Old and New Testaments. Bernard Massey notes that 'their primary purpose is simply to illustrate the underlying theme of the song: the need for movement and change which faces the true

³¹ Kevin Mayhew's *20th-century Folk Hymnal* (Great Wakering, Essex: Mayhew-McCrimmon Ltd, 1974) was one of the first sources of Sebastian Temple's 'Make me a channel of your peace', according to Milgate, in *A Companion to Sing Alleluia*, 88. See also *Folk Praise* (Leigh-on-Sea, Essex: Kevin Mayhew Ltd., 1977) which contained a large number of songs by Estelle White, Sebastian Temple, and Michael Cockett, and tunes by Kevin Mayhew. It also contained songs by the American Roman Catholic priest Willard R. Jabusch, and several from American Roman Catholic publishing houses including North American Liturgy Resources, World Library Publications (Cincinnati) and Franciscan Communications Center of Los Angeles.

³² *Companion to Hymns & Psalms*, ed. by Richard Watson and Kenneth Trickett, (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1988), biography at p. 607.

“people of God””, set within the context of the historical covenant between God and the Israelite people.³³

Some of her songs for children draw out their natural, boisterous enthusiasm, while leaving many adults indifferent at best. Perhaps her medical and teaching experience with young children taught her a language of childhood which is lost with maturity. In any case, schoolchildren sing ‘Autumn days when the grass is jewelled’ gleefully, shouting out ‘And a win for my home team’ with a spirit which is fitting for school assemblies but would be disruptive in the context of most congregational worship:

Autumn days when the grass is jewelled
And the silk inside a chestnut shell,
Jet planes meeting in the air to be refuelled,
All the things I love so well,
So I mustn’t forget.
No, I mustn’t forget,
To say a great big thank-you,
I mustn’t forget.

Her imagery portrays the pleasures (and curiosities) of a child’s day: ‘clouds that look like familiar faces’; ‘smell of bacon as I fasten up my laces’; ‘whipped-up spray that is rainbow-scattered, / and a swallow curving in the sky’; leading to the final verse:

Scent of gardens when the rain’s been falling,
And a minnow darting down a stream,
Picked-up engine that’s been stuttering and stalling,
And a win for my home team.³⁴

The rhythm of Estelle White’s tune appeals to children, especially when they are encouraged to chant it aloud while singing the chorus.

³³ *Rejoice and Sing*, #547, v. 1. Bernard Massey identified the first publication by this singer, as *Harvey and Co.: 12 Songs by Sister Estelle* (1969). This song was included in *Praise for Today* (1974) and *Hymns & Psalms* (1983). Estelle White was born in South Shields near Newcastle upon Tyne, one of the centres of British folk culture in the sixties. Goodall and Massey, #547 (p. 665) and p. 1277.

³⁴ *The Complete Come and Praise*, compiled by Geoffrey Marshall-Taylor and arranged by Douglas Coombes (London: BBC Enterprises Limited, 1990), #4, vv. 1 and 4. The text is similar to a number of the children’s hymns printed in *Dunblane Praises for Schools 1: Juniors*, prepared by Gracie King and Ian Fraser.

20th Century Church Light Music Group III: 1966-79

Between 1966 and 1979 the 20th Century Church Light Music Group had continued to publish various collections of new hymns and liturgical settings. While Patrick Appleford was dean of the cathedral in Lusaka, Zambia, the group issued a small anthology of *Six Hymns for All Seasons* (1970), which included a new hymn setting by Geoffrey Beaumont and music written by Appleford for worship services at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross.³⁵ Church music at the cathedral consisted of a mixture of African and European traditional music. Appleford commented on the development of blended forms of worship music: 'Many old hymns had been Africanised and sung with new rhythms. The cathedral could host the choral society singing Fauré and a West Indian steel band and the congregation were drawn from many tribes and languages. The music had to be equally varied.'³⁶

At the request of Ronald Jasper, on behalf of the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England, Appleford composed a setting for the Series 3 service. After his return to England, the *New English Mass* was published by Josef Weinberger Limited in 1973. Two years later he was appointed director of education for the Diocese of Chelmsford, where he continued to compose new music for worship, writing hymns and songs as required for the churches in the diocese.³⁷ At the end of the decade he compiled *Living Lord: Eighty Hymns for the Eighties*, a supplement containing a selection of texts and tunes from previous collections by Weinberger with additional new

³⁵ Between 1966 and 1973 the 20th Century Church Light Music Group published: *Six New Carols* (1966); *Eight Songs to Sing about Christmas* (1968); *Father Forgive Them* (1969), seven songs by Hayward Osborne; *Six Hymns for All Seasons* (1970); *The Christmas Tree - 20th Century Carols and Songs for the Young* (1971); and *Teach Me How to Look* (1973), a collection of twenty new hymns. Appleford, 'A Potted Musical Biography', 3. The 1970 collection included five pieces by Patrick Appleford - 'Cattle Shed', 'Holy Cross', 'Empty Tomb', 'Daily Bread' (music only), and 'Follow Me'. Geoffrey Beaumont's contribution was a new setting for 'Breathe on me, breath of God', a tune Beaumont had sung for the Applefords while he was visiting in Lusaka. Most of these works were listed in the *Weinberger Catalogue: Religious Music* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd, December 1980).

³⁶ Appleford, 4.

³⁷ Patrick Appleford, *Ten Folk Songs on the Gospel and Life* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd, 1975).

hymns by Appleford.³⁸ Coming after the first round of supplements from the ‘hymn explosion’, Appleford noted that ‘*Living Lord* was rarely used as a supplement but became a resource book.’³⁹ By 1980 the publisher was no longer interested in publishing new hymnody. This collection concluded the church music series by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group.

Appleford joined Kevin Mayhew’s group to work with Mayhew, Robert Kelly and Michael Proctor to compile *Sing Praise*, an experimental loose-leaf hymnal.⁴⁰ He also co-edited the Anglican edition of *Hymns Old and New*, with Kevin Mayhew and Susan Sayers.⁴¹ The company published his *Mass for All Seasons*, a setting for Rite A Communion, and *Glimpses of Glory*, a volume of meditations and hymns related to weekly scripture readings printed in the Alternative Service Book.⁴²

Although his work is not as well-known as that of other participants in the ‘hymn explosion’, Patrick Appleford’s career serves as a vignette of the development of church music and hymnody between 1960 and 1995. He has composed new tunes in the lighter vein, written hymn texts and composed service music to fill the gaps, and has composed

³⁸ *Living Lord: Eighty Hymns for the Eighties* (London: Josef Weinberger Ltd, 1979). It contained twenty-eight hymns by Patrick Appleford, some published for the first time. I am grateful to Wendy Herring of Josef Weinberger Limited, who sent a packet of information and a copy of *Living Lord* in response to a letter enquiring about the later publications by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group.

³⁹ Appleford, 5. The Australian hymn committee chose several pieces for its supplement *Sing Alleluia* (1987). Milgate, *A Companion to Sing Alleluia* (pp. 18, 24 and 26). Commenting on the worship songs which had taken the place once filled by the hymns of the 20th Century Light Music Group, Appleford reiterated his view that ephemeral music makes a useful contribution to congregational worship: ‘Much new material [in 1980] tended to be choruses with little theological content, but popular expressions of worship. Geoffrey Beaumont had never been worried whether his music would last, only whether it served its purpose at the time. There is a proper place for what is transient and immediate, and if a few filter through to be sung by succeeding generations that is a bonus.’

⁴⁰ ‘A Compile-It-Yourself Hymnal’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 61 (September 1984), 206.

⁴¹ *Hymns Old and New* (Anglican Edition) (Bury St Edmunds: Kevin Mayhew Ltd, 1986). The hymn book contained a number of hymns and tunes from the 20th Century Church Light Music Group’s publications - including ones by Patrick Appleford, Geoffrey Beaumont, Michael Brierley, Lancelot Hankey, and Hayward Osborne.

⁴² Since his retirement in 1990, Patrick Appleford has written musical dramatizations (for soloists, choir and orchestra) of Christ’s incarnation and the passion as found in the Gospel of Luke. His *Messiah Comes to Town* and *The Way to Glory* have been performed in Chelmsford. Appleford to author, 22 February and 5 April 1999.

settings for numerous liturgies produced by the Church of England since the 1960s. He has also participated in the emergence of African hymnody, one of the multicultural influences of former mission churches upon Western congregational music. Appleford has edited several supplements, written hymns for special occasions at the request of congregations and community groups, and co-edited a hymn book. He has written an anthology of lectionary-related hymns and meditations. Since his retirement from full-time ministry, he has written cantatas and musical dramas based on the Gospels and Acts. Throughout his career he has consistently articulated the aims of the group he and Geoffrey Beaumont co-founded about 1957. Through Patrick Appleford, the Mayhew group has inherited the mantle of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group. Four decades after that group's first innovative steps towards modernizing hymnody, church light music is one of the accepted strands of contemporary worship.

Erik Routley: 'the most serviceable musical form ... is the hymn'

The habits of congregational worship were gradually transformed during the early 1970s; in part, by the introduction of lighter church music styles, but, fundamentally, by the remodelling of traditional forms of corporate worship - the hymns and liturgies. By January 1971, Erik Routley was assessing the 'revolution' in hymnody which he had described in 1964 in the hundredth issue of the *Bulletin*.⁴³ Although he believed that the 20th Century Church Light Music Group had successfully challenged the practice of 'thoughtless hymn-singing', it seemed to him that their combination of serious traditional hymn texts with light musical settings lacked integrity.⁴⁴ Others, such as the folk singers Sydney Carter and Malcolm Stewart, had provided 'new words and new thoughts which

⁴³ Erik Routley, 'On Congregational Singing - The Next Chapter', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 120 (January, 1971), 113-22. The editorial essay was followed immediately by Fred Pratt Green's article on 'Hymn Writing To-day', 122-24. See footnote 53 below.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 116. It was a general statement: Routley did not comment on Patrick Appleford's hymns for Series 1 and 2, or other similar work by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group.

are at their best incisive and irreplaceable', and, in his view, well suited for use at General Confession. Yet, he also shared Alan Luff's opinion about the abrasiveness of the folk-hymn text: 'It is always in danger of communicating the Gospel as one long nag.'⁴⁵ Moreover, he thought that while the guitar could be played musically it could also become boring in congregational worship. Most players lacked the skill to provide the interpretative counterpoint written into hymn tunes. By 1971 Routley had decided that:

whatever additions and embellishments may be offered in musical worship, *the most serviceable musical form for congregational praise is the hymn, and that there is no serious competition with a decent organ decently played for its accompaniment.* Nor is it difficult to show that most of the popular objections we hear nowadays to the traditional kind of hymn are really objections to hymns ill chosen, ill played and ill sung. ... Those who choose hymns too often fail to take them seriously as lyrics or as music; those who play them too often play unrhythmically and monotonously; and it is not surprising at all that in consequence the congregation utter them listlessly.⁴⁶

Routley went on to argue that hymns ought to be 'treated by liturgists and musicians as precision instruments. It can now go without saying that as literature and music they should be worthy, since we have said all that a generation and more ago.'⁴⁷

He added:

We have come to appreciate the possibilities in hymns for communicating the truth with gracefulness and public courtesy. We have not yet on anything like such a general scale appreciated the precision in their use which gives them a chance to do what their gifted authors and composers designed them to do.⁴⁸

Above all, in Routley's opinion, it was essential that the participants in congregational hymnody - clergy, organists and congregations - be educated in the skilful use of hymns in worship. Instead of looking back only to the most worthy texts and tunes written by earlier generations of hymn writers, he reminded his readers of the great selection of recent material, especially the profusion of new hymn texts, available to those who were

⁴⁵ Ibid., 116-17.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 117. Italics added.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

planning worship services. Clergy needed to learn how to work with the liturgy to decide what categories of hymns would be required for a service, and then be trained in choosing appropriate hymns which would work well together in a service of worship. Organists should be encouraged to study the details of the hymns selected in order to interpret them to the congregation within the context of the service. Finally, following the lead given by John Wilson (in the footsteps of Walford Davies), Routley advocated the occasional ten-minute congregational practice when all were gathered before the beginning of a worship service: 'It is vital that the congregation should be taken into the workshop and shown round - shown why hymns are chosen, what makes them great, what pleasures can be got from singing them.'⁴⁹

The plentiful new hymn material included hymns by Albert Bayly, Fred Kaan, Brian Wren, J. R. Peacey, Fred Pratt Green, John Geyer, Emily Chisholm and others.⁵⁰ There were new forms of congregational music to choose from, such as the Dunblane canticles with antiphons, 'Hymn to the Trinity' by Fred Pratt Green and John Wilson, the Langlais canticle, and Gelineau psalmody. The selection of good hymn material was further enhanced by the precise editorial work carried out by the compilers of *Hymns & Songs* and *100 Hymns for Today*. With all these resources at hand, it seemed to Routley that congregational singing could be on the verge of 'quite a new chapter'.

Fred Pratt Green

The new chapter opened with the hymns of Fred Pratt Green, who provided traditional interpretations of the Bible and of the Christian viewpoint in hymns written in modern English addressing contemporary concerns. Pratt Green employed the poet's skill to enrich the twentieth-century's hymn literature; in a body of work which has

⁴⁹ Ibid., 119.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 120.

profoundly encouraged the use of contemporary hymns in worship. Urged on by John Wilson, he published his first collection, *26 Hymns*, in 1971.⁵¹ 'This is not so much a review as a celebration', Erik Routley wrote in the *Bulletin*.⁵² Pratt Green's hymns illustrated Albert Bayly's points about 'freshness of thought and expression; imaginative freedom and catholicity of spirit' in hymn writing.⁵³ The collection began with 'The Hymn in Honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity', written at John Wilson's request. The arrangement for choir and congregation was made by Wilson, who asked the choir to sing the antiphon and set the verses for the congregation, as Erik Routley had done with Alan Luff's translation of the Te Deum in *New Songs for the Church, Book 2* (1969).⁵⁴ Pratt Green's hymn is contemporary *and* timeless:

Antiphon:

Rejoice with us in God the Trinity,
the Three for ever One, for ever Three,
Fountain of Love, Giver of Unity!

We would rejoice again, and yet again,
that God reveals his truth to mortal men,
unveils for all to see,
in what he is, what man himself may be.

How long and earnestly the Fathers strove
to frame in words a faith we cannot prove;
but O how dead our creeds
unless they live in Christlike aims and deeds!⁵⁵

⁵¹ Fred Pratt Green, *26 Hymns* (London: Epworth Press, 1971).

⁵² Erik Routley, '26 Hymns', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 123 (January, 1972), 180-85 (p.180).

⁵³ See also Fred Pratt Green, 'Hymn Writing To-day', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 120 (January, 1971), 122-24. In this essay Pratt Green discussed the importance of communication in hymn writing, maintaining that the 'greatest hymns are masterpieces of profound simplicity'; no obscurity could be tolerated and the ideas must be expressed in a form compatible with the metre of a hymn tune. He described the new style of the folk hymn as a 'breakthrough', but one which had yet to be proven. Looking ahead, he commented: 'It also remains to be seen whether the hymn itself, in any recognizable form, will survive an age which looks like computerizing the numinous out of religion.'

⁵⁴ John Wilson asked Fred Pratt Green to collaborate in writing a new Trinity hymn for the Hymn Society's annual conference held at Charterhouse in May 1970, beginning on the day after Trinity Sunday. 'F.P.G. gave us something new - both in the way it clothes the majestic but rather "dry" subject of the Trinity with living contemporary thoughts, and in its format with antiphon - in which the choir (as it were) "invites" the congregation to join in the praise.' John Wilson, 'Not in M.H.B. or the Supplement', lecture to the Methodist Church Music Society, Redhill, 1 May 1971; Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 1, John Wilson Hymn Papers, Box 2 B: Lectures and Broadcasts 1970-71.

⁵⁵ Fred Pratt Green, *26 Hymns*, #1, antiphon and vv. 1 and 2.

Routley commented: 'That speaks for itself. If FPG had written nothing else, this would establish him as a creative hymn writer of the first rank.'⁵⁶

But there was more. In this first review, Routley noted that two of Fred Pratt Green's hymns (from *Hymns & Songs*) had already been published in translation in a Swedish hymn book. 'FPG will translate well, because he is so direct and simple,' he wrote.⁵⁷ Routley knew about Pratt Green's translation skills through his own commissioning of new English translations for the fourth edition of *Cantate Domino* (1974). The personal friendship between Routley and Pratt Green stemmed from the latter's quick return of first-rate translations to Routley for this ecumenical hymn book.⁵⁸

Bayly's criteria for hymn texts, that they should be simple in expression and clarity and written for the time in which the author lives, were easily met in this collection. In addition to the eight hymns already published in *Hymns & Songs*, Fred Pratt Green introduced a hymn about 'The Caring Church' (which followed immediately after his critical hymn text 'When the Church of Jesus shuts its outer door'). The author's preferred tune for this hymn is HERONGATE by Ralph Vaughan Williams:

The Church of Christ, in every age
Beset by change but Spirit led,
Must claim and test her heritage
And keep on rising from the dead.

She has no mission but to serve,
In proud obedience to her Lord;
To care for all, without reserve,
To spread his liberating word.

⁵⁶ Routley, '26 Hymns', 182.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 183. The texts translated into Swedish were 'Christ is the world's light' and 'When the Church of Jesus'. One measure of the successful translation of Fred Pratt Green's hymn texts is the number of hymn books in various languages, each containing several of his hymns, to be found in the Pratt Green Hymnody Collection at the University of Durham.

⁵⁸ Fifteen translations by Fred Pratt Green were published in the melody edition of *Cantate Domino* (Kassel/Basel/London: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1974).

Then let the Servant Church arise,
 A caring Church that longs to be
 A partner in Christ's sacrifice,
 And clothed in Christ's humanity.⁵⁹

He retold the story of the Passion in 'Jesus in the olive grove' set, at Wilson's suggestion, to the German chorale tune HEIL'GER GEIST. Routley commented: 'I think that here the exceedingly risky line, "How much darker can it get?" turns out to be precisely right.'⁶⁰

Jesus in the olive grove,
 Waiting for a traitor's kiss,
 Rises free from bitterness.

As he wakes his comrades up,
 Torches flicker in the glen;
 Shadows turn to marching men.

In that dawn of blows and lies
 Church and State conspire to kill.
 Hang three rebels on a hill.

Innocent and guilty drown
 In a flood of blood and sweat,
 How much darker can it get?

It is God himself who dies!
 God in man shall set us free:
 God as Man — and only he.⁶¹

In contrast, Pratt Green could choose to describe 'Christ, in the commonplace', as he did in an offertory hymn for communion:

Homely the bread we eat,
 The wine we drink,
 Harvest of vine and wheat.

⁵⁹ *26 Hymns*, #6, vv. 1, 2 and 5. In his essay on hymn writing, Pratt Green discussed contemporary Christian attitudes which influenced texts in the early years of the 'hymn explosion'. He referred to the need of the hymn writer to share 'the humanism of the age without accepting the conclusion that there is no God to praise.' 'Hymn Writing To-day', 123.

⁶⁰ Routley, '26 Hymns', 184. Routley recalled the 'specially poignant experience of singing his Passiontide hymn' at the 'Come & Sing' session dedicated to Pratt Green's presentation of his collection which was held at Westminster Abbey in May 1971. Gordon S. Wakefield, in 'The Language of Hymnody', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 202 (January, 1995), 106-11 (pp. 109-10), discusses Pratt Green's text.

⁶¹ *26 Hymns*, #12. *Hymns & Psalms* (1983), #169, vv. 1-4 and v. 6; for commentary see Watson and Trickett, #169 (pp. 126-27).

Christ, in the commonplace
 Of bread and wine,
 Offers himself, his grace.

The sixth verse of this hymn echoed George Herbert, a poet who could also write about worship and daily tasks:

Come then, O holy Guest,
 And be the Host,
 Yourself our Food and Feast.⁶²

The contents of *26 Hymns* embraced many topics which would, in due course, be listed in the subject indexes of most standard hymn books. Pratt Green's harvest hymn, 'For the fruits of his creation' was written to Francis Jackson's EAST ACKLAM, at John Wilson's instigation. Hymns for marriage, baptism, the call to ministry and the church and the kingdom all appeared in this volume.⁶³ A hymn, entitled 'A Mature Faith', addressed the problem of doubt:

When our confidence is shaken
 In beliefs we thought secure,
 When the spirit in its sickness
 Seeks but cannot find a cure:
 God is active in the tensions
 Of a faith not yet mature.

In the discipline of praying,
 When its hardest to believe;
 In the drudgery of caring,
 When its not enough to grieve:
 Faith maturing, learns acceptance
 Of the insights we receive.⁶⁴

Fred Pratt Green wrote this text for NEW MALDEN by David McCarthy of Woodhouse Grove School, who also composed the settings for two youth songs included in the

⁶² *26 Hymns*, #13) 'Here are the bread and wine', vv. 2, 3 and 6. Francis B. Westbrook composed ENDSLEIGH GARDENS for this hymn. I have in mind two poems from *The Temple* (1633): The Elixir - 'Teach me, My God and King / in all things Thee to see', and Love - 'Love bade me welcome'.

⁶³ Ibid., #6) 'The grace of life is theirs', #17) 'Lord Jesus, once a child', #18) 'Whom shall I send? our Maker cries', and #22) 'Where Christ is, his Church is there' from the writings of Irenaeus.

⁶⁴ Ibid., #21, vv. 1 and 3. The heading for Psalm 25 in the New English Bible (Old Testament, 1970) is 'Self-confidence shaken'. Was there perhaps a connection between the psalm translation and this text which was written in 1970?

collection - THE JERICHO ROAD and SONG OF PETER. Francis Westbrook

composed OAKLEIGH PARK for a text which celebrated the ongoing work of doctors and nurses, 'O God of all, our Servant God'.⁶⁵

Such a breadth of topics reflected the experience of forty years in the Methodist ministry which preceded Fred Pratt Green's entry into the field of hymn writing. The language indicated the sure hand of a published poet and an acknowledged writer.⁶⁶ Among his suggested tunes, Pratt Green had included work by several well-known contemporary English composers of church music - John Wilson, Francis Westbrook, Erik Routley, John Dykes Bower, and Robin Sheldon, as well as introducing David McCarthy to their ranks. He preferred to write a text for an existing hymn tune: 'Ideally the hymn should fit the tune like a glove.'⁶⁷ This one small collection identified several new directions in which texts and musical settings were developing. 'What about the *modern* hymn writer?', Pratt Green asked. 'What makes a hymn writer modern is not that he happens to write in 1970 but that he is in sympathy with contemporary Christian attitudes and expresses himself, as far as possible in a hymn, in the modern idiom.'⁶⁸

Fred Pratt Green's consistently relevant and singable hymnody has made him a figure whose importance for this study can hardly be over-estimated: he has shown that contemporary issues can be addressed in ways that have been accepted. In her dissertation on Fred Pratt Green's writing, Maureen Harris comments: 'What is seen in all Pratt Green's hymns is his faith and trust in God. ... This confirmation of faith is never missing; his hymns are traditional in this respect. They are not traditional, however, in the way he presents his faith.'⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Ibid., #25, #26, and #24.

⁶⁶ Pratt Green referred to himself as one 'who did not start by writing hymns in earnest until late in life, after a long apprenticeship in the workshop of poetry'. 'Hymn Writing To-day', 122.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 123.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Fred Pratt Green's writing has been carefully analysed in a doctoral dissertation written by Maureen E. Harris. Therefore, this dissertation will concentrate only on identifying points where his work created

Other supplements

The supplements of the 1970s introduced the new hymn forms into congregational worship, altering the singing habits of those who attended worship and participated in church groups. One of the influential supplements, *Praise for Today*, supplied Baptist congregations with a large selection of hymns written during the twelve years since the publication of their denominational hymn book.⁷⁰ According to the editors' preface these were hymns and tunes 'which by their choice of contemporary themes and use of up-to-date musical idiom, have something particularly relevant and meaningful to say to present-day congregations'.⁷¹ In his review, Geoffrey Wrayford described this new material as being 'essentially main-stream hymnody, soundly based on well-tried patterns', although lacking perhaps in appeal to youth attuned to secular musical idioms.⁷² As it contained thirty-one texts and fifty-one tunes published for the first time, Wrayford thought *Praise for Today* could serve as a useful resource for the whole Christian church. The largest portion of its 104 hymns (71) were identified by the publisher as being traditional in type but written on a 'modern' theme. The rest were folk hymns, or fell in between traditional and folk hymn structures.⁷³

transitions in the development of contemporary English-language hymnody, leading in ways which others would follow to shape the new congregational literature. See Maureen E. Harris, 'The Drama, Poetry and Hymns of Fred Pratt Green: a bibliographic and critical study' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Durham, 1995).

⁷⁰ *Praise for Today* (London: Psalms and Hymns Trust, 1974). In this case, the relatively recent denominational hymn book was itself the context for the new material in the supplement.

⁷¹ Geoffrey Wrayford, 'Praise for Today', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 133 (June, 1975), 112-17 (p. 112).

⁷² *Ibid.*, 113.

⁷³ For instance, four new texts by Fred Pratt Green were published for the first time in *Praise for Today*: #2) 'All of you share my gladness', a ballad about the Prodigal Son, written to try out the metre of a German tune sent to him by Erik Routley; #4) 'All who worship God in Jesus', for VISION by Walford Davies (arranged by John Wilson); #63) 'You must be ready' (A Gospel Song for a Guitar Group), written to a tune by David McCarthy for a Youth Makes Music Conference held in 1971; and #98) 'When Jesus came preaching the Kingdom of God' to ACACIA by Francis B. Westbrook. The tunes or arrangements were also making their first appearance in a supplement. See the commentary in *The Hymns and Ballads of Fred Pratt Green*, ed. by Bernard Braley (London: Stainer & Bell; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1982), 184-85; 56-57; 186-87; and 180-81.

The Baptist editorial committee had found a great number of hymns from other countries to fill the gap identified by Hugh Martin, editor of the 1962 hymnal. Wrayford commented that: 'British Christianity in the 1970s is being forced to recognize that it can learn much from the churches in countries to which it was quite recently sending missionaries.'⁷⁴ One of the essential roles for this new hymn material was its use with the revised liturgies. In Wrayford's view:

Hymnody is the servant of liturgy; it also has a privileged place in being able to comment upon the action of worship. *Praise for Today* goes some of the way in narrowing the gap between life and liturgy through the words the committee selected. Many of the authors are sensitive to the questionings and the doubts that face the Christian today, and which should not be suppressed in favour of a false triumphalism, paraded under the label 'hope'. Similarly, the harsh realities of suffering and privation, of violence and hatred, have provided other authors with opportunities to meditate on the mystery of God's love in creation, and his continuing presence in the world.⁷⁵

It is instructive to note the date of this review. By 1975, Wrayford was able to write, 'Already one is tempted to talk of "old" favourites, for some of the contents of *Praise for Today* have become standard fare through other publications.'⁷⁶ He was referring to hymns and songs by Albert Bayly, Fred Pratt Green, Fred Kaan, Brian Wren and Sydney Carter. Wrayford noticed a need for newly-composed tunes to convey the meaning of Fred Kaan's texts adequately: 'The directness and unexpectedness of his language demands similar treatment from the composer. Most of the tunes offered here, by their predictability, rob the words of their punch.'⁷⁷ These new texts, though not

⁷⁴ Wrayford, 113. He added that the collection might have 'benefited from a larger injection of the zest and gusto which mark the musical life of some of the churches in developing countries.'

⁷⁵ Ibid., 114. Some hymns in *Praise for Today* which addressed these points included #95) 'When from darkness comes no light' (Brendon McLaughlin, *New Catholic Hymnal*); #21) 'For the fruits of his creation' (Fred Pratt Green, *26 Hymns*); and #58) 'Lord, look upon our working days' (Ian Fraser, *Dunblane Praises No. 1*).

⁷⁶ Ibid., 115.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 116.

their tunes in his opinion, could 'strengthen the worship of any church seriously trying to get to grips with a theology of the contemporary society'.⁷⁸

A number of other supplements contributed to the changing patterns of congregational worship. *English Praise* bridged the gap between the *English Hymnal* (1906, 1933) and the mid-seventies by providing hymns for the church year, festivals and sacraments.⁷⁹ Its focus on hymns for the Anglican liturgy set this supplement apart. Although, at the outset, the editorial group had intended to produce a complete revision of the seventy-year old *English Hymnal*, hymnody and liturgy were in such a state of flux in the 1970s that they decided to wait until the new liturgies were in place.⁸⁰ Even the older hymn tunes, included in a brief section of 'Additional Tunes' appended to the collection, were filling gaps in the *English Hymnal*.⁸¹ From the Roman Catholic liturgical writing published by The Grail, the editors selected a set of responsorial psalms for Advent, Christmas and Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Whitsunday and Harvest, written by A. Gregory Murray.⁸² In its search for hymns to sing with the liturgy, the committee drew upon several recently-published Roman Catholic hymn collections, such as the *New Catholic Hymnal* - the source of Anthony Petti's arrangement of AVE VERA VIRGINITAS (to 'O Song of God, eternal Love', a hymn for the Gradual written by George Timms) and Elizabeth Poston's MY LIFE IN GOD (a setting of Brian Foley's paraphrase of Psalm 139).⁸³

⁷⁸ Ibid., 117.

⁷⁹ *English Praise: A Supplement to the English Hymnal*, ed. by Christopher Dearnley, Howard Hollis, Arthur Hutchings, Cyril Pocknee and George Timms (chair) (London: Oxford University Press, 1975).

⁸⁰ In their words: 'in a period of liturgical change which might well result in a radical revision of the calendar, it seemed preferable to be content for the time being with a supplement.' *English Praise*, 'Preface', v.

⁸¹ Among the 'Additional Tunes' were CWM RHONDDA (John Hughes), LUCKINGTON (Basil Harwood), LOVE DIVINE (John Stainer) and FAIREST ISLE (Henry Purcell), HEREFORD (S. S. Wesley), and GERONTIUS and DOMINUS REGIT ME (J. B. Dykes) - tunes rejected by Ralph Vaughan Williams or (in the case of Harwood's tune) not available in 1903 for the *English Hymnal*.

⁸² Ibid., #107-#114.

⁸³ Ibid., #69) 'O Son of God, eternal Love'/AVE VERA VIRGINITAS (Josquin des Prés, arr. A. Petti), and #78) 'There is no moment of my life'/MY LIFE IN GOD. Another hymn, #12) 'Now let men and angels sing' by James McAuley and Richard Connolly, came from the Australian Living Parish series.

The editors of *English Praise* also made selective use of other material which had been produced during the 'hymn explosion'. Non-Anglican hymn writers received short shrift in this collection: none of Fred Kaan's hymns were used; only two by Brian Wren (who had not yet published a separate anthology), and only 'Lord of the boundless curves of space' by Albert Bayly and 'Long ago, prophets knew' by Fred Pratt Green were included.⁸⁴ Among the Anglican contributors, Timothy Dudley-Smith's hymns included one for Christmas - 'Child of the stable's secret birth', and one for the Nunc Dimittis - 'Faithful vigil ended', and his hymn on the Magnificat - 'Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord'; and there were others whose work was introduced to Anglican congregations, among them Michael Hewlett, J. R. Peacey, and Christopher Dearnley. Hewlett wrote a processional hymn, 'Sing to him in whom creation', and texts for Eastertide, the Transfiguration and Holy Communion.⁸⁵ J. R. Peacey provided a Marian hymn and a post-Communion text, 'Go forth for God'.⁸⁶ Christopher Dearnley composed twenty-two hymn tunes and arrangements, including arrangements of Sydney Carter's songs and some African-American spirituals. In his review of *English Praise* for the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, Bernard Massey commented: 'One of the strengths of *EP* is the substantial provision of carols and spirituals in congregationally practicable settings, and it is in this field that other editors will doubtless wish to take especial note

⁸⁴ Ibid., 169. Brian Wren's hymns were #52) 'Christ upon the mountain peak' and #96) 'Lord Christ, the Father's mighty Son' to HAMPTON POYLE by Peter Cutts. It was among three hymns on Christian Unity, a section added to the framework of the *English Hymnal*. Bayly's hymn at #87 was set to KONOMICHI by Christopher Dearnley, and placed in the new Praise and Thanksgiving section. Fred Pratt Green's hymn to PERSONENT HODIE (#5) was among the hymns for Advent. A third new section contained nine hymns and songs about social justice, including #98) 'A cry in the night' by Geoffrey Ainger and Ian Calvert of the Notting Hill group, #99) 'Am I my brother's keeper?' by John Ferguson from *Dunblane Praises No. 2*, #101) 'Christ is the world's true light' by G. W. Briggs, and #102) 'God of love and truth and beauty' by Timothy Rees from *100 Hymns for Today* by the Hymns Ancient & Modern committee.

⁸⁵ Hewlett's other hymns were #51) 'Mary, Mary, where are you going?'/BUNESSAN, #53) 'Once on a mountain top'/TRANSFIGURATION (Christopher Dearnley), #59) 'Bread on the table'/COLYTON (Arthur Hutchings), and #65) 'Jesus, our Master, on the night that they came'/HARWICH.

⁸⁶ #47) 'For Mary, Mother of our Lord' to MARY, MOTHER, a new tune by Arthur Hutchings; and #77) to EDENHALL by Howard Hollis. [Hutchings may have also contributed #57) 'O praise the Lord, ye servants of the Lord', a hymn for a Dedication Festival which was derived from a nineteenth-century pamphlet at St. Oswald's Church, Durham.]

of it.’⁸⁷ Dearnley could claim much of the credit for adapting these songs from the performance idiom of folk song into congregational hymns. Massey also drew attention to ‘Forgive our sins as we forgive’ by Rosamond Herklots, the only hymn text to appear in all five supplements in general use among British congregations.⁸⁸ Although it was not overtly experimental, the supplement made those congregations which had used the *English Hymnal* aware of the new forms of hymnody available to them.

The ‘hymn explosion’ spread further with the publication of the fourth edition of the World Student Christian Federation hymnal *Cantate Domino*.⁸⁹ As it had by then become the hymn book of the World Council of Churches, its revision was authorized in 1968 by that organization’s Uppsala Assembly. This international, ecumenical and experimental hymnal was prepared by Roman Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox representatives, in the persons of Joseph Gelineau, Dieter Trautwein, Erich Weingärtner (an American Lutheran) and Dimitri Stefanovic. Erik Routley acted as general editor. They were supported by Konrad Raiser of the Faith and Order Secretariat, the composer Doreen Potter, and Fred Kaan, who was at the time a staff member of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in Geneva. The group used the Dunblane model of organizing working parties in various national centres to gather and assess materials from the world church, extending the compass of the book well beyond that of the predominantly European hymnody which had been featured in the three previous editions of *Cantate Domino*.

Under Routley’s leadership, the editorial group commissioned translations of hymn texts to be written in modern idiom. He began the process by asking Fred Pratt

⁸⁷ ‘Review’, by Bernard S. Massey, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 136 (June, 1976), 167-70 (p. 170).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 168. See Ch. 6, 222. Sydney Carter’s song, ‘Lord of the dance’, also appeared in the five supplements. See Ch. 8, 311.

⁸⁹ *Cantate Domino: An Ecumenical Hymn Book*, Full Music Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). In contrast to the melody edition of 1974, published by Bärenreiter-Verlag (Kassel), with its several translations per text, the music edition provided each text in its original language and, where required, in an English translation.

Green and Fred Kaan to prepare new versions of German, French and Scandinavian hymn texts.⁹⁰ Fred Pratt Green collaborated with Joseph Gelineau to write a translation of a hymn written by Dietrich Bonhoeffer on New Year's Eve in 1944:

By gracious pow'rs so wonderfully shelter'd,
and confidently waiting come what may,
we know that God is with us night and morning
and never fails to greet us each new day.

Yet is this heart by its old foe tormented,
still evil days bring burdens hard to bear;
O give our frightened souls the sure salvation
for which, O Lord, you taught us to prepare.

Now when your silence deeply spreads around us,
O let us hear all your creation says:
That world of sound which soundlessly invades us,
and all your children's highest hymns of praise.⁹¹

With this hymn, the compilers of *Cantate Domino* brought to the modern Christian world an expression of trust and faith that was made authentic by Bonhoeffer's tragic martyrdom.

Fred Kaan's contributions included a translation of a Swedish hymn by Anders Frostenson, 'Faith while trees are still in blossom'.⁹² This text represented a similar 'hymn explosion' which was taking place in Sweden while the English one was unfolding. Kaan also wrote a text entitled 'A hymn for an international act of worship', to be sung at events sponsored by the World Council of Churches. It was set to KINGSTON, by the Jamaican-born Doreen Potter:

Gathered here from many nations,
one in worship and intent,
let us for the days that face us
all our hopes to God present,
that our common life may be
full of joy and truly free.

⁹⁰ The committee chose Pratt Green's 'Christ is the world's light', as well as the fifteen English texts for other hymns. Fred Kaan prepared sixteen translations, in addition to the committee's selection of twelve hymns, most of which were taken from *Pilgrim Praise*.

⁹¹ *Cantate Domino* (1980), #48, vv. 1, 2 and 5. Joseph Gelineau's tune was LE CÉNACLE.

⁹² *Ibid.*, #44.

May the spring of all our actions
be, O Lord, your love for man;
may your word be seen and spoken
and your will be clearly done.

Help us, who your image bear,
for the good of each to care.⁹³

Work for the *Cantate Domino* project resulted in two other successful collections of contemporary hymnody - *Break not the Circle* by Fred Kaan and Doreen Potter, and an anthology of *Songs and Hymns from Sweden* co-authored by Fred Kaan and Anders Frostenson.⁹⁴

Emily Chisholm, Ivor Jones and Caryl and Ruth Micklem contributed translations into English, while other hymn writers and translators produced texts in twenty-eight languages (representing thirty-six countries) for the melody edition published in 1974.⁹⁵ Following the precedent established by Daniel T. Niles in the *East Asian Christian Council Hymnal*, Erik Routley supplied some paraphrases of Asian hymn texts and some new texts for Asian hymn tunes. He treated one Hungarian hymn in a similar manner.⁹⁶ This work for *Cantate Domino* encouraged other hymnal committees to commission new hymn translations, and it enlarged the field of hymn texts to be considered by them.⁹⁷

⁹³ Ibid., #141, vv. 1 and 2. See *The Hymn Texts of Fred Kaan* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1985), #33 (p. 36).

⁹⁴ *Break Not the Circle*, by Fred Kaan and Doreen Potter (Carol Stream, IL: Agape, 1975); and *Songs and Hymns from Sweden*, by Anders Frostenson and Fred Kaan (London: Stainer & Bell, 1976). The second volume contains translations of hymns from the Swedish 'hymn explosion' led by Anders Frostenson and Olov Hartman among others. Erik Routley, *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications Inc., 1979), 216.

⁹⁵ 'Reviews: *Cantate Domino*', David Goodall, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 152 (September, 1981), 234-37 (p. 235).

⁹⁶ Routley wrote fourteen translations, composed three tune arrangements, and he contributed three new hymns. For his translations of hymns not found in European hymnals, see #7 (from Thailand), #70 (India), #86 (Cameroon), #87 (Tanzania), #130 (Taiwan), and #131 (Hungary). His paraphrase of the Hungarian hymn by Kiralyi Imre von Pécselyi ('There in God's garden stands the Tree of Wisdom') would become one of the hymns selected for other hymnals.

⁹⁷ See Erik Routley's article entitled '*Cantate Domino*: Hymns from Modern Foreign Sources', describing new directions taken in the fourth edition of this influential ecumenical hymn book; in *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody*, 215-22. In it Routley included a useful synopsis of the German *Kirchentag* movement (p. 216). The concluding essay in this book, it gives a panoramic view of the development of the 'hymn explosion' between 1950 and 1975.

Routley and his committee anticipated that the hymn book would serve as an ecumenical hymnal for international conferences, and that it might also become a hymnal supplement for some churches and at university and school chapels. It proved to be more successful, however, as a book from which hymnal committees took useful items. Of the 160 hymns chosen, sixty-nine were new texts written within the preceding twenty years.⁹⁸ Other commissioned texts, liturgical pieces and biblical canticles, increased that number. The ecumenical hymn book established a modern standard for hymn translations, and it increased the number of international hymns available to hymnal committees.

A note on 'charismatic' songs

In the space available, I am not able to do more than note the advent of 'charismatic' worship. It is a topic for a separate dissertation. While the 'hymn explosion' was occurring in Great Britain and the Roman Catholic renewal of liturgy and hymnody was developing after Vatican II, charismatic worship, expressed in a form of personal devotional songs appealing to youth and young adults, was springing up in various centres and found its way into the worship of denominational congregations as a form of evangelization of the young.⁹⁹ Charismatic songs represent yet another type of supplement to the hymn books.

⁹⁸ Goodall, 234.

⁹⁹ Charismatic songs have been taken up by young people, but they are not the separate domain of youth in the way that the folk hymns and songs of protest largely were in the 1960s and 1970s. The charismatic renewal movement is more inclusive of age, gender and denomination. Donald Hustad gives 1960 as the generally accepted date for the beginning of the Charismatic Renewal Movement. Donald Hustad, *Jubilate II: Church Music in Worship and Renewal* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1981, rev. ed. 1993), 273. See also 'The Impact of the Charismatic Movement', which includes a useful reading list, in John R. K. Fenwick and Bryan D. Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd; and New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995), 105-14.

One influential organization, the Community of Celebration, incorporated praise songs into its worship during the sixties. This ministry originated at the Church of the Redeemer (Episcopalian) in Houston, Texas, led by Graham and Betty Pulkingham. The community moved to the Isle of Great Cumbrae on the west coast of Scotland in the 1970s, which became the base for its itinerant ministry by the 'Fisherfolk'.¹⁰⁰ The Pulkinghams brought with them a well-established collection of light, rhythmical music for use in worship by the community. A graduate of the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York, Betty Pulkingham has edited three volumes of songs and choruses collected from the work of the 'Fisherfolk' and from other sources. *Sound of Living Waters: Songs of Renewal* and *Fresh Sounds*, co-edited with Jeanne Harper, a graduate of the Royal Academy of Music, and *Cry Hosanna*, co-edited with Mimi Farra, a graduate of the New England Conservatory of Music, became source books for congregational settings of charismatic songs for use by denominational churches.¹⁰¹ The three books contained a mixed repertoire of traditional hymns, folk hymns, and newly-composed music designed for community mission services. The hymn tune ST. JOHN BAPTIST, for example, was composed by a music leader named Gary Miles during a ten-day mission at Durham (United Kingdom). A contemporary setting of the eighteenth-century hymn 'On Jordan's bank the Baptist's cry' by Charles Coffin, it was

¹⁰⁰ Milgate, *Companion to Sing Alleluia* (1988), #2 (p. 15). The Community of Celebration is currently located at Aliquippa, Pennsylvania.

¹⁰¹ *Sound of Living Waters: Songs of Renewal*, ed. by Betty Pulkingham and Jeanne Harper (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1974); *Fresh Sounds*, ed. by Betty Pulkingham and Jeanne Harper (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1976); and *Cry Hosanna*, ed. by Betty Pulkingham and Mimi Farra (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, 1980). An American edition, *Sound of Living Waters: Songs of the Spirit*, was published in 1974 by William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Mimi Farra worked with the Community of Celebration as a music leader, song writer, and copy editor for the first two volumes in this series. Milgate, *A Companion to Sing Alleluia*, Betty Carr Pulkingham, #2 (p. 15); and Mimi Farra, #89 (p. 108). See also the 'Acknowledgments' in *Sound of Living Waters*, where Betty Pulkingham and Jeanne Harper paid tribute to Mimi Farra for her work on that book.

arranged by Betty Pulkingham and published in *Sound of Living Waters*.¹⁰² These books also contained Donald Fishel's 'Alleluia No. 1', Terrye Coelho's round, 'Father, we adore you', and Sebastian Temple's paraphrase of the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi, 'Make me a channel of your peace'.¹⁰³ To these songs of praise and supplication, the editors added contemporary (but not charismatic) hymns and songs by Michael Baughen, Timothy Dudley-Smith, Michael Perry, Michael Saward, and James Seddon, from the *Youth Praise* publications, and songs by American writers including John Ylvisaker (Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship), Carey Landry (North American Liturgy Resources) and Miriam Therese Winter (Medical Mission Sisters) making the song repertoire international as well as ecumenical.

Another representative figure of the charismatic movement is Karen Lafferty, whose song 'Seek ye first, the kingdom of God', (a paraphrase of two texts from the Gospel of Matthew and one from Deuteronomy) became the theme song of a large international youth rally held at the Taizé centre in France in the summer of 1974.¹⁰⁴ The composer was a member of the Maranatha Music group at Costa Mesa, California.¹⁰⁵ Her song was included by Betty Pulkingham in *Sound of Living Waters* and has been widely reproduced in hymn books and song collections. It is mentioned here as one of the influences on contemporary patterns of worship.

The strength in charismatic singing is derived from the worshippers' exuberant response to God, expressed through musical forms adapted from secular music. These songs appeal to many because they invoke the immediate presence of God (often in the persons of Christ or the Holy Spirit) in a service of celebration, using scriptural phrases

¹⁰² It was included in *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977) at #199. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), #199 (p. 95). The influence of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group is evident in such a tune.

¹⁰³ *Sound of Living Waters*, #1) 'Alleluia, Alleluia, give thanks to the risen Lord' and #26) 'Father, we adore you'; and *Fresh Sounds*, #97 'Make me a channel of your peace'.

¹⁰⁴ Clipping in Pratt Green Scrapbook # 9, 8. Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 10/9.

¹⁰⁵ Watson and Trickett, #138 (pp. 111-12 and 585).

interpreted through the rhythms of popular music. The American experience of 'praise singing' was featured in *The Hymn* in January 1987. The issue set charismatic hymnody in the context of worship; it is useful for a similar purpose in this dissertation. It was guest edited by Donald Hustad, a noted American evangelical church musician, who compared the charismatic renewal movement to its antecedents in Pentecostal worship, identifying the unique characteristics of charismatic worship which differentiate it from Pentecostal practices.¹⁰⁶ Charismatic and Pentecostal worshippers view music as a gift of the Holy Spirit. Hustad explained that charismatic 'praise singing' takes this view one step further: 'it also demonstrates the doctrine of *ethos*, which implies that music can affect the actions of persons.' He continued:

'Praise worship' characterizes the gatherings of members of the twenty-year old 'charismatic renewal movement,' which evidences many of the phenomena of historic Pentecostalism, but with an ecumenical spirit that allows a good deal of theological pluralism and ignores denominational boundaries. So it is that Catholics, Episcopalians, Lutherans and believers of many other fellowships meet together for worship. Their common bond is the experience of charismatic worship.¹⁰⁷

Charismatic songs not only supplement denominational hymnody, but they also override denominational differences in worship. In this latter respect, they are a product of the ecumenical thinking of their time.

An article by Paul Wohlgemuth explained how the choruses evolved as a 'neo-Pentecostal' form of worship associated with house meetings and prayer meetings. According to Wohlgemuth, the theology of 'praise singing' focusses on the role of the Holy Spirit in individual lives, taking as its model David's celebration before the Ark at Jerusalem. Services of 'praise and worship' consist of three elements: thanksgiving,

¹⁰⁶ Donald Hustad, 'The Historical Roots of Music in the Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Movements', *The Hymn* 30:1 (January 1987), 7-11.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 9-10. Hustad emphasizes the distinctiveness of charismatic practices: 'Praise singing has been the unique musical contribution of recent charismatic fellowship leaders. Many of the older Pentecostal groups have also adopted it, but not all. Some are concerned because the singing is limited to such simplistic, ephemeral materials, with no historic hymns or even gospel songs.' (p. 10)

praise, and worship. He identified verse four of Psalm 100 as the Old Testament guideline for charismatic renewal services: 'Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise: be thankful unto him, and bless his name.' Wohlgemuth argued that the charismatic format of worship mirrors the ancient biblical procession into the temple at Jerusalem, where acts of thanksgiving (clapping, singing, shouting and dancing) would begin as the pilgrims entered the gates into the outer courts. Thanksgiving would change to praise at the inner court (manifested by singing in the Spirit with glossolalia, also known as tongue-singing, in the contemporary charismatic rite). At the entrance to the 'Holiest of Holies' the rite changed again to worship, characterized by solemn, quiet music where the pilgrim would bow, kneel or become prostrate before God. In charismatic worship, praise singing incorporates the physical phenomena of Pentecostal worship in an emotionally intensifying religious experience directed by a worship leader, who chooses and leads the songs, prayers, and scripture readings with commentary. The leader directs the 'flow with the Spirit', assisted by a worship group using the best available electronic sound technology.¹⁰⁸

Writing in 1987, Wohlgemuth commented on the 'fading' use of church hymn books among independent charismatic congregations who had come to rely on scriptural songs and short choruses sung from memory, or with the use of overhead projectors. Mainstream church congregations, on the other hand, were choosing to blend the choruses with hymns and liturgies from their hymn books and worship books for use at ordination services and other occasions. In his assessment of charismatic worship practices, Wohlgemuth identified several factors as weaknesses: the loss of congregational hymns - by singing only 'snatches' of scripture and of the Psalms, rather

¹⁰⁸ Paul Wohlgemuth, 'Praise Singing', *The Hymn* 30:1 (January 1987), 18-23 (pp. 19-21). A book by Terry Law, *The Power of Praise and Worship* (Tulsa, OK: Victory House Publishers, 1985) is identified by Wohlgemuth and others writing about the American charismatic movement as a useful reference work regarding the theology of 'praise and worship' groups.

than singing a complete version of a psalm or experiencing the thorough treatment of scripture to be found in the hymns of Watts and the Wesleys; the prevalence of emotion over knowledge; the loss of Christian heritage especially among children who would grow up 'locked into the contemporary pop-style of music'; and the narrowness of charismatic religious experience owing to the exclusive theme of praise which did not allow a congregation to sing 'its total theology and biblical understanding'.¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, Wohlgemuth concluded that praise singing was too influential to be rejected as a 'peripheral' movement.¹¹⁰

The charismatic renewal movement contrasts substantially with the religious experience of the evangelical revivals of the eighteenth century and with that of the Roman Catholic liturgical reform movement since Vatican II. Gordon Wakefield, in his address to the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1968, had lamented the loss of pietism (of personal faith and salvation as defined by John and Charles Wesley) over the previous fifty years. He argued that the concept of sin had changed from the idea of personal transgression to the notion that sin represented 'the frustration of the [human] race', or that it referred to 'the iniquities of the system'.¹¹¹ Wakefield's was not the only voice defending orthodox Christian theology of repentance and salvation: Roman Catholic liturgists retained the prayers of confession and the believer's acknowledgment of contrition in their new vernacular orders of service. This conviction, that sin is an act of personal transgression which requires confession and redemption through God's

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 22.

¹¹⁰ See also Donald P. Hustad, 'Let's not *just* praise the Lord: What is the proper place of those popular praise and worship songs?', reprinted from *Christianity Today* (6 November 1987) in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* 178 (January 1989), 74-79. Hustad developed his arguments further in 'Charismatic Renewal Worship', in *Jubilate II: Church Music in Worship and Renewal*, 273-74 and 279-97. In his section on 'The Celebration Era', he described the development of 'New Pietism' (a 'now' theology) among the mainstream churches, beginning around 1960 and subsequently adopted by evangelical churches (265-70). Hustad also suggested that British charismatic worship differs from the American experience, as in the case of songwriter Graham Kendrick who 'presents a much broader, more traditional biblical approach to worship, but he too uses the Davidic tabernacle imagery.' (Hustad, 273 and 288)

¹¹¹ See Ch. 6, 216.

grace, is often missing in charismatic worship. In the place of the five progressive stages of Christian experience preached by Jonathan Edwards and John and Charles Wesley during the religious revivals of the eighteenth century, the 'new pietism' of the charismatic renewal movement offered three closely-related functions of religious experience. During the Great Awakening and the Methodist revival, the five stages of personal religious development began with the individual's search for knowledge of Christian doctrine and scripture, which in turn led to conviction of one's sinful spiritual condition, followed by an intense experience of spiritual rebirth (conversion). The fourth stage consisted of occasional periods of doubt and backsliding (pilgrimage), which resulted ultimately in the assurance of salvation.¹¹² Confession of personal sin and the experience of sacrifice for spiritual salvation are notably absent in the sequence of thanksgiving, praise, and worship described by Paul Wohlgenuth as the primary theological constituents of charismatic worship. Wohlgenuth alluded to the loss of the experience of sin and redemption in his comment on the 'narrowness' of charismatic experience centred exclusively upon praise.¹¹³ Charismatic songs do not express the gamut of Christian faith, which makes them a supplement to the hymn books rather than a separate and fully-functional ecumenical hymnody.

In his ground-breaking study of the development of English hymnody, published in 1915, Louis F. Benson drew attention to a similar narrowness in the content of gospel

¹¹² The religious experience of the Great Awakening, and the role of hymnody in that revival movement, is the subject of my master's dissertation. Margaret A. Filshie, 'Redeeming love shall be our song: Hymns of the First Great Awakening in Nova Scotia', (unpublished master's dissertation, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1983).

¹¹³ In recent years the scope of charismatic worship seems to be enlarging, at least within the mainstream churches. In 1996 Andrew Maries (one of the leaders of the British charismatic movement in the 1970s and 1980s with David Watson and Graham Cray at St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York) began publishing a series entitled 'Clergy and Musicians in the process of change' in which he is advocating the restoration of balance between charismatic renewal songs and more traditional forms of worship (psalms, hymns and liturgical settings). See Andrew Maries, *CPAS Church Leadership Pack* (1996 ff.). He is also reprinting chapters of his *One Heart, One Voice* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, 1986), a book now out of print, in a series of 'Keynote Booklets'; see No. 4 'Music in Worship: the role and function of music in worship' (Cullompton, Devon: Keynote Trust, 1995). See also Donald Webster's note on 'Charismatic Worship' in *A Hymn-Book Survey 1980-93*, 29.

hymns, the light contemporary hymnody based upon popular music styles of the nineteenth century. 'It was the lack of any educational ideal or development in the "Gospel Hymns" school of Hymnody that has caused its rapid deterioration,' he wrote.¹¹⁴ Benson noticed several patterns in the late nineteenth-century hymnody which reappeared a century later: static content, dominance over traditional hymnody, and a broad ecumenical appeal. In two paragraphs of Benson's text it is almost possible to substitute names and examples from the late twentieth century for those which he mentioned in his analysis of the equivalent hymnody of his day:

As to the effect of the Gospel Hymn movement upon church Hymnody, it threatened at first to be very serious. In the Methodist Episcopal Church it almost uprooted the established Hymnody, and made the task of those who would conserve the old standard of worship very difficult for a time. In many other denominations the Gospel Hymns took possession of the Sunday schools, Christian Endeavor societies and devotional services, and encouraged a generation to grow up largely without the help and inspiration of great hymns. To many of these the tone of Church Praise seems still to lack the 'go' and vivacity to which they had grown accustomed; and Gospel Hymns, old or new, keep knocking at the church gates for admission. The time has come when it is perceived that all songs called Gospel Hymns are not a homogenous mass, and that they should be judged like other hymns upon their individual merit. And as affecting the standard of that judgment it cannot count for nothing that a generation of active Christians has been accustomed to associate these sentimental verses and contagious melodies with the offices of religion.

One influence of the Moody and Sankey movement on Church Song, already very marked, is the new recognition or at least tolerance of an Evangelistic Hymnody given by all denominations. Either as a department of 'mission services' in the church hymnal or as an authorized 'mission hymnal,' the needs of evangelistic work are being met. In these, it seems likely that some of the Gospel Hymns may find some permanence. The recent *The English Hymnal* (Oxford, 1906) contains for instance no less than five hymns with their original settings from the first number of *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs*.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1925; reprinted, Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1962), 490-91.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 490-91. Benson identified the gospel hymns in the *English Hymnal* as being: 'Ho! my comrades', 'I hear Thy welcome voice', 'Safe in the arms of Jesus', 'Tell me the old, old story' and 'There were ninety and nine'. Confidence in God and assurance of God's love, two essential elements for mission work, are the strengths of gospel hymnody.

Benson commented that 'Gospel hymnody' lacked development. Charismatic songs and much of the lighter church music also serve the need of the moment but tend to go no further. These songs are attractive because they make use of the popular music styles of their day. Singers recognize the musical idioms and can sing these songs immediately. For that reason popular hymn tunes, such as those composed by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group and the folk hymnody of the 'baby-boom' era, can threaten to 'uproot established hymnody' from time to time, particularly when they capture the attention of a large identifiable group within (or on the periphery of) the churches. As Benson pointed out, intentionally or not, Moody and Sankey had created an interdenominational model for future local and foreign mission meetings in the twentieth century. Their practice of preaching to large nondenominational crowds created a niche for their hymnody which guaranteed it a measure of permanence. Once established, that niche would continue to be filled by various evangelical movements, among them the charismatic renewal movement in the 1970s.

Benson wrote his study of English hymnody at a time when the focus of contemporary hymnody was changing from gospel hymns to social and ethical hymns typified by Frank Mason North's 'Where cross the crowded ways of life', G. K. Chesterton's 'O God of earth and altar' and Henry Scott Holland's 'Judge eternal, throned in splendour'. Biblical theology was beginning to influence hymn writers such as Walter Russell Bowie who wrote 'O holy city, seen of John' for *Hymns of the Kingdom of God* (1910) edited by Henry Sloane Coffin. The era of gospel and Victorian hymnody had ended, putting Benson in an excellent position to assess what was now past and to look ahead to the hymnody of the twentieth century. It is fascinating that he could describe the situation of hymnody in 1915 in terms which are as apt for the situation which exists today as they were then. Benson noted that, as the turn of the century

approached, gospel hymns were beginning to be selected for new hymn books, such as the YMCA's *Praise Songs* (1897) edited by Charles Cuthbert Hall who chose some lighter texts to include with hymns from the established hymnody of the day. Benson also gave the example of three well-known gospel hymn writers - Ira D. Sankey, James McGranahan and George C. Stebbins - who had 'restored the standard hymns to their rightful precedence' (in Benson's opinion) in *Church Hymns and Gospel Songs*, a hymn book which they compiled in 1898 for the Biglow and Main Company.¹¹⁶

Seventy-five years later Betty Pulkingham, Jeanne Harper and Mimi Farra published hymns and popular religious songs intermixed in each of the three books prepared for the Community of Celebration and for other congregations who were interested in exploring charismatic songs in their worship. Within a decade, hymnal revision committees would be sifting through the charismatic literature to find suitable pieces for new editions of congregational hymn books.

The end of the 'hymn explosion'

New Church Praise, the hymnal supplement published by the United Reformed Church in 1975, marked the end of the decade of hymn writing which Hubert Cunliffe-Jones had called for in the autumn of 1965.¹¹⁷ Edited by Peter Cutts and David Gardner (from the *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* committee), it was a rich resource including many newly-written hymns by Albert Bayly, Alan Gaunt, Caryl Micklem, Fred Pratt Green and Brian Wren, and new tunes by Peter Cutts, Caryl Micklem and Erik Routley. It also contained a significant representation of texts and tunes composed for the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation.¹¹⁸ In *The Music of Christian Hymns*, Erik Routley

¹¹⁶ Benson, 490.

¹¹⁷ *New Church Praise*, Full Music Edition (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975). See Ch. 2, 56-58.

¹¹⁸ The two opening hymns in the new book came from *Dunblane Praises No. 2*: 'All who love and serve your city' by Erik Routley, set to BIRABUS by Peter Cutts and to CHARLESTOWN, a nineteenth-

commended Cutts for his work as editor of *New Church Praise*, referring to the composer's musicianship and his understanding of the texts: 'He derives a great versatility from a true sympathy both with music in popular styles and with learned church music. ... Of all contemporary hymn tune composers Peter Cutts has the widest vocabulary and the keenest eye for the subtleties of a modern text.'¹¹⁹

The nucleus of the editorial committee for *New Church Praise* had been formed before the hymnal supplement was commissioned by the General Assembly in 1973. At Erik Routley's suggestion Caryl Micklem had organized a meeting in Kensington about 1970 - 'to discuss the monitoring, weeding and distribution of new material so as to get the best of it sung by the Christian community'.¹²⁰ Routley was unable to attend, but Reginald Barrett-Ayres, Carolyn Brock (Mansfield College organist), Sydney Carter, Christopher Driver (of *The Guardian*), David Goodall, a representative of Galliard (Stainer & Bell Ltd), and some others, met with Peter Cutts and Caryl and Ruth Micklem to assess ways of making the new hymnody and worship materials known to congregations. A 'round robin' group was formed after that meeting. Caryl Micklem recalls that, in addition to himself, Routley and Cutts, it included John Gregory, Ann Phillips, and Charles Strange (three members who wrote a number of texts and one tune for the supplement), along with other representatives of the Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches.¹²¹ An envelope was started to which the participants contributed new items known to them, with sheets for comment by the reviewers. When a sufficient number of texts and tunes had received the approval of the group, copyright permission was obtained for trial use by approximately forty Congregationalist and twenty

century American tune harmonized by Carlton R. Young for *The Methodist Hymnal* (1966); and 'Am I my brother's keeper?' by John Ferguson, set to ABEL by Reginald Barrett-Ayres.

¹¹⁹ Erik Routley, *The Music of Christian Hymns* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1981), 165.

¹²⁰ Caryl Micklem, 'Erik Routley, 1917-1982', in *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered* (Norwich: Canterbury Press Norwich; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1985), 3-15 (p. 10).

¹²¹ Caryl Micklem, letters to author, 23 February 1999, 1 March 1999 and 16th March 1999.

Presbyterian churches.¹²² The committee sent out two mailings of new materials for assessment by these congregations. Owing to the cost and the time required to prepare test packets in such quantities, the hymn trials came to an end. Nevertheless, Caryl Micklem thinks that the trial process succeeded in alerting congregations to new developments in hymnody and that it prepared the way for *New Church Praise*. The ‘round robin’:

continued to circulate, and the new United Reformed Church incorporated our little group as a Hymnody group within its Doctrine and Worship Committee. This group very soon turned into the core of the editorial committee for *New Church Praise*, but was re-convened as an on-going Hymnody Group after the publication of *New Church Praise*.¹²³

In his review for the *Bulletin*, Norman Goldhawk counted 71 of the 112 items in the collection as first-time publications among the hymnal supplements.¹²⁴ Previous supplements had included a greater number of older hymns and had reprinted many new texts and tunes known to all the churches. Cutts and Gardner drew upon their considerable experience to select new material at the peak of the actual ‘hymn explosion’. In addition to contemporary hymns, *New Church Praise* concluded with an order of worship for the Lord’s Supper prepared by the Doctrine and Worship Committee of the United Reformed Church, with newly commissioned music for the liturgy.¹²⁵

Goldhawk liked Albert Bayly’s hymn, ‘Joy wings to God our song’, for its ‘straightforward expression of praise and thanksgiving’. Written in the unusual metre of

¹²² Cutts and Gardner acknowledged the support given to the editorial committee by the congregations which had tested new materials for two years. ‘Preface’, v.

¹²³ Caryl Micklem to author, 23 February 1999. The Hymnody Group continued to meet in the interim between the supplement and the creation of a new hymnal revision committee for *Rejoice and Sing*.

¹²⁴ Norman P. Goldhawk, ‘New Church Praise’, *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 134 (November 1975), 125-30 (p. 126).

¹²⁵ *New Church Praise* contained three settings composed by Erik Routley for the new order of service - #110) GLORIA IN EXCELSIS, #111) SANCTUS AND BENEDICTUS, and #112) ACCLAMATIONS.

6.444.6, the text required new music. Caryl Micklem and Peter Cutts obliged, composing EMLEY MOOR and CAERLAVEROCK:

Joy wings to God our song,
 for all life holds
 to stir the heart,
 to light the mind
 and make our spirit strong.

Joy wings to God our prayer.
 All gifts we need
 of courage, faith,
 forgiveness, peace,
 are offered by his care.

Joy wings our heart and voice
 to give ourselves
 to Christ who died
 and, risen, lives
 that we may all rejoice.¹²⁶

Goldhawk noted the presence of eight hymns by Fred Pratt Green, including the first publication in a hymnal supplement of ‘When, in man’s music, God is glorified’ to Stanford’s ENGELBERG. It was one of the few publications of this hymn before the first line was altered to meet objections raised by the committee for the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978) against the use of ‘man’ as a collective noun. Pratt Green agreed to the substitution of the inclusive ‘our’, but he regretted the loss of the strong contrast between ‘man’ and ‘God’ in the opening phrase.¹²⁷ *New Church Praise* also contained a revised version of ‘Sing, one and all, a song of celebration’, a hymn Pratt Green had written for ‘That’s the Spirit: a Festival of New Forms of Worship’ held in London in

¹²⁶ *New Church Praise*, #48, vv. 1, 4 and 5. It was published two years later in Albert Bayly’s third collection of hymns, *Rejoice in God* (1977). The hymn and its two tunes were included in *Rejoice and Sing* (1991), #112.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, #106. Carlton Young commented: ‘That change tends to weaken the affirmation that mere mortal musicians and their music may and often do glorify God; and it sets aside the poet’s imaginative and sure instinct for alliteration: “man’s - music,” “God - glorified.” Hymnal committees are often forced to choose between aesthetics and social witness.’ *Companion to the United Methodist Hymnal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 693.

June 1973. It was set to CELEBRATION, a tune composed by David McCarthy for this hymn.¹²⁸

Fred Kaan, based in Geneva at the time, had nine hymns in the collection. His 'Praise the Lord with joyful cry' (a paraphrase of Psalm 150, first published in *Pilgrim Praise*) was set to two tunes: ONE-FIFTY was composed for the text in 1970 by the Australian composer and hymnal editor Lawrence Bartlett, and the second was an arrangement of ORIENTIS PARTIBUS made by Eric Thiman for *Congregational Praise* (1951). This hymn is a good example of the way in which new hymnody developed during the decade: Kaan wrote the hymn text for his congregation at Pilgrim Congregational Church in Plymouth about 1965; ONE-FIFTY was introduced in London in May 1973 when the composer included it in his lecture at the annual 'Come and Sing' series at Westminster Abbey organized by John Wilson, who wrote a descant for it. In the process it evolved into an ecumenical and an international hymn.¹²⁹

Caryl Micklem's 'Father, we thank you' to ALL KINDS OF LIGHT and 'Give to me, Lord, a thankful heart' to GATESCARTH represented two new directions taken in the development of congregational hymnody during ten years of exploratory hymn writing.¹³⁰ Bernard Massey has noted that Micklem's purpose for 'Father, we thank you' was to expand the dimensions of traditional children's hymns to include adults in a text suitable for 'family worship'. The hymn was written for a 'Hymns for Children' competition sponsored by Southern Television in 1974, just as the concept of the church

¹²⁸ *New Church Praise*, #87. *The Hymns and Ballads of Fred Pratt Green*, #42 (pp. 55-56). Goodall and Massey, #581 (p. 706). The baptismal hymn, 'Lord Jesus, once a child', set in this book to the universal FRANCONIA, and 'The Church of Christ in every age', to GREEN LAKE by Erik Routley, were also making their first appearances in a hymnal supplement.

¹²⁹ Lawrence Bartlett's tune and John Wilson's descant were published in *New Church Praise* (1975) at #80, in the American experimental supplement *Ecumenical Praise* (1977) at #100, and in *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977) at #108, demonstrating the worldwide dissemination of new hymns. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), #108 (p. 63).

¹³⁰ *New Church Praise*, #22 and #27 respectively. Both hymns were carried over to *Rejoice and Sing* (1991), #110 and #497. They were among the fourteen tunes and nine texts by Caryl Micklem in *New Church Praise*.

as a 'family' was changing the nature of congregational worship. Micklem's text addressed the youth and adult generations in church:

Father, we thank you.
For the lamps that lighten the way;
for human skill's exploration
of your creation;
Father, we thank you.¹³¹

The unusual metre of 5.88.55 required an original tune, composed by Micklem.

The tune preceded its text in the case of 'Give to me, Lord, a thankful heart'.

Micklem had composed GATESCARTH as a setting of Fred Pratt Green's hymn celebrating the work of medical science, 'O God of all, our Servant God' from *26 Hymns* (1971).¹³² He wrote the new text to provide a contemporary hymn for *New Church Praise* on the growth of personal faith. Bernard Massey commented about this text: 'The resulting words are, however, not just a vehicle for an attractive tune, but a valuable addition to the stock of reflective hymns which do not browbeat either the worshipper or the Almighty in the search for spiritual strength and insight.'¹³³

Give to me, Lord, a thankful heart
and a discerning mind:
give, as I play the Christian's part,
the strength to finish what I start
and act on what I find.

When, in the rush of days, my will
is habit-bound and slow
help me to keep in vision still
what love and power and peace can fill
a life that trusts in you.¹³⁴

Micklem also contributed several single-verse hymns and scriptural paraphrases, based on the New English Bible, to be sung as responses to prayers and readings. Service music of this type provided more opportunities for the laity to participate in the liturgy of

¹³¹ *New Church Praise*, #22, v. 2. See Goodall and Massey, #110 (p. 119).

¹³² Caryl Micklem's tune complements OAKLEIGH PARK composed by Francis Westbrook for this text at #24 in Pratt Green's *26 Hymns*.

¹³³ Goodall and Massey, #497 (pp. 604-05).

¹³⁴ *New Church Praise*, #27, vv. 1 and 2.

worship. He wrote 'No one has ever seen God' from John 1.18 and 'Nothing in all creation' from Romans 8. 38-39 as scriptural responses. 'We praise you, Lord, for all that's true and pure' is a hymn from Philippians 4.6-8.¹³⁵

It was through his work for *New Church Praise* that Brian Wren became known as a hymn writer. The supplement contained fifteen of his texts, the most by a single author. It was an opportunity to continue the collaboration with Peter Cutts begun at Mansfield College, Oxford.¹³⁶ Ordained into the Congregational Church in 1965, Wren had returned to hymn writing to provide new hymns for his congregation at Hockley in Essex, where he ministered from 1965 to 1970.¹³⁷ After he became a consultant in adult education for the Churches' Committee on World Development (1970-1976), creating study programmes about Third World development, he wrote a number of new hymns on the subject of social justice and world peace. During these years he was also a member of the committee which compiled *New Church Praise*. 'Christ is alive! Let Christians sing', written at Easter in 1968 within days of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., was first published in this book:

Christ is alive! Let Christians sing.
His cross stands empty to the sky.
Let streets and homes with praises ring.
His love in death shall never die.

¹³⁵ Ibid., #68, #69 and #104. All three were carried over from the supplement into *Rejoice and Sing*, at #395, #397 and #516.

¹³⁶ Of the two hymns from this period (1960-63) 'Christ upon the mountain peak'/SHILLINGFORD and 'Lord Christ, the Father's Mighty son'/HAMPTON POYLE, the latter was included in *New Church Praise*, #55. Peter Cutts would prepare the music editions of Brian Wren's first two collections of hymns: *Mainly Hymns* (Leeds: John Paul The Preacher's Press, 1980); and *Faith Looking Forward: The Hymns & Songs of Brian Wren with many Tunes by Peter Cutts* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1983).

¹³⁷ Working in the pastorate, he was writing hymns to meet 'pastoral needs, worship needs, trying to fill the many gaps in our hymnal', as Fred Kaan was doing in Plymouth. Letter to author, 2 February 1999. During this period, he completed his doctoral dissertation on the language of the Hebrew prophets, under the direction of George B. Caird at Oxford (1968), a study which is one of the foundations of his hymn writing.

In every insult, rift and war
 where colour, scorn or wealth divide
 he suffers still, yet loves the more,
 and lives, though ever crucified.¹³⁸

In a letter to the author, he commented: “‘Christ is alive’ probably marked a turning point: I think I found my voice in that hymn.”¹³⁹ It preceded ‘I come with joy to meet my Lord’ and ‘There’s a spirit in the air’, also included in *New Church Praise*.

Wren wrote several hymns to fill gaps identified by the committee. One was on the topic of ‘Caring for planet Earth’:

Thank you, Lord, for water, soil and air -
 large gifts supporting everything that lives.
 Forgive our spoiling and abuse of them.
 Help us renew the face of earth.

Thank you, Lord, for priceless energy -
 stored in each atom, gathered from the sun.
 Forgive our greed and carelessness of power.
 Help us renew the face of earth.¹⁴⁰

Out of his work for the Churches’ Committee on World Development came an unusual hymn text based on a note written to a white South African who was participating in a march held in December 1972 to draw attention to the living and working conditions of black South Africans. The writer of the note cautioned the marchers to remember that ‘The justice some men seek is the change others fear.’¹⁴¹ Wren turned this incident into a thought-provoking, even disturbing, hymn text:

Lord Jesus, if I love and serve my neighbour
 out of my knowledge, leisure, power or wealth,
 open my eyes to understand his anger
 if from his helplessness he hates my help.

¹³⁸ *New Church Praise*, #9, vv. 1 and 4. It was set to ST. MARY’S, a tune from *Cantate Domino* (1974), composed by Doreen Potter. The hymn text is quoted as it appeared in *New Church Praise*. Brian Wren has revised his hymn texts to bring them up to date with the changing language of contemporary hymnody. His preferred texts are available in *Piece Together Praise: A Theological Journey* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; and Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1996), where the revised text of ‘Christ is alive!’ is found at #52 (p. 50).

¹³⁹ Brian Wren to author, 2 February 1999.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, #93, vv. 1 and 3. Two new tunes were composed for this text: DEANE by Caryl Micklem and HOLNICOTE by Charles Strange. For the revised text, see *Piece Together Praise*, #111 (p. 106).

¹⁴¹ Brian Wren, *Faith Looking Forward*, note to hymn #40.

When I have met my brother's need with kindness
 and prayed that he could waken from despair,
 open my ears if, crying now for justice,
 he struggles for the changes that I fear.¹⁴²

One other hymn in *New Church Praise* summarized the theme of a study programme

Wren had written for Christian Aid and the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development:

This we can do for justice and for peace:
 we can give
 till every man can take life in his hands, and live.
 This we can do in love
 and see it through -
 for Jesus is alive today.¹⁴³

Wren composed the melody for this text, which Peter Cutts arranged. It is named GAUDIUM ET SPES after the opening phrase of the 'Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World', published by the Roman Catholic Church following Vatican II, in which the council reassessed the church's approach to world development, justice and peace.¹⁴⁴ The name of the tune is a reminder of the ecumenical initiatives of those years.

Brian Wren also compiled a detailed subject index for *New Church Praise*.¹⁴⁵

The hymns were organized into three sections - The Christian Year, Worship (including Sacraments and Special Occasions), and Worship Themes. The subject index profiled the revised structure of worship, including new hymns for confession and penitence, communion, prayer responses, and canticles. Only two new baptismal hymns were offered; more would be written for the new hymn books. The headings of the section on

¹⁴² *New Church Praise*, #58, vv. 1 and 2. It was set to CITY OF GOD, a hymn tune by Daniel Moe published in the American Lutheran supplement *Contemporary Worship-I* (1969). Wren describes this hymn as one of the turning points in his hymn writing, 'prompted by my 1973 visit to South Africa' (January to March 1973). Wren, 2 February 1999. He has revised the text several times to make the language inclusive: it begins 'Spirit of Jesus, if I love my neighbour', in *Piece Together Praise*, #131 (p. 134).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, #99, v. 2. Brian Wren rewrote this text in 1994, retaining the first line but otherwise setting the text directly in the context of Christ's life. *Piece Together Praise*, #129 (p. 122).

¹⁴⁴ Brian Wren, *Faith Looking Forward*, note to #41.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, note to #21.

Worship Themes indicated at a glance the subject matter of the new hymnody: the city, ecology and conservation, questioning or doubt, and world and society (with three subsets - justice and peace, service, and world development). The largest group of hymns in the index consisted of those referring to God - as the Father and Creator, in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit.

By 1973, moreover, Wren was beginning to search for non-masculine metaphors for God: 'Awareness of sexism in hymn language led me to revise the "he/man" language of previously written hymns, and avoid it thereafter.'¹⁴⁶ 'How can we name a love?' tested the language of hymnody in this respect. Wren wrote the text for Malcolm Williamson's tune MERCER STREET, a tune being considered by the committee:

How can we name a love
deeper than heart and mind,
basic to all we know
or think or do
or seek or find?

Look at your life, your world:
in each familiar face
where joy is found
love's echoes sound,
hid in the commonplace.¹⁴⁷

Although it was not included in *New Church Praise*, the text changed Wren's approach to hymn writing. His quest for new metaphors would lead to the hymn 'Bring many names' written in 1986-87, and to his book *What Language Shall I Borrow?* (1989).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Wren, 2 February 1999. See also Brian Wren, 'Nudged, Annoyed, Inspired, and Still Travelling: Seasons in a Language Journey', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 210 (January 1997), 2-11.

¹⁴⁷ *Faith Looking Forward*, #2, v. 1. The title for this text is 'The Beyond in the midst of life'. The next hymn in this collection was 'Dear Sister God', written in March 1980. It was Wren's first text using feminine imagery for God, and it was set to GREENWELL, a melody by Wren, arranged by Cutts. The tune is named after the nineteenth-century hymn writer Dora Greenwell. See his 'Notes', #2 and #3, and also *Piece Together Praise*, 'How can we name a love' at #136 (p. 129), and 'Dear Mother God' at #176 (p. 165).

¹⁴⁸ 'Bring many names' was first published in *New Songs of Praise 3* (London: Oxford University Press, 1987), and subsequently as the title hymn in *Bring Many Names: 32 New Hymns by Brian Wren* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1989). See also *What Language Shall I Borrow? God-Talk in Worship: A Male Response to Feminist Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1989). The contents of the hymn collection document his hymn writing from 1986 to 1988 while he was working on this book.

Under the topic of ‘questioning and doubt’ he included two pieces by David Goodall - ‘I want to go out’ from the Dunblane series, and a new text, ‘Where is God today?’ to SWITHIN by Peter Cutts.¹⁴⁹ Fred Pratt Green’s ‘Dialogue’ hymn - ‘Life has many rhythms’ was also listed under this topic. John Gregory contributed a hymn text made up entirely of questions, set to Goodall’s tune PIOUS PRAYERS:

When you started off the universe, Lord most high,
 did you know just what would happen as years went by?
 Did you in your infinite mind
 everything foresee?
 Or does being God mean you make a place for uncertainty?

When we’re told our faith has got to be more assured,
 does it mean we ought to know all the answers, Lord?
 If we had true faith in our God,
 would our doubts all flee?
 Or does having faith mean we thank you, Lord, for uncertainty?¹⁵⁰

Among the new hymns written for Pentecost, was Ann Phillips’s imaginative text linking the coming of the Holy Spirit at Creation:

Into a world of dark,
 waste and disordered space,
 he came a wind that moved
 across the waters’ face.

with the Spirit’s presence in the midst of human doubt:

Into a world of doubt,
 through doors we closed, he came,
 the breath of God in power
 like wind and roaring flame.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ *New Church Praise* #42) ‘I want to go out’ to Goodall’s tune WATERLOO arranged by Donald Swann, and #108) ‘Where is God today?’.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, #107, vv. 1 and 4. The tune, with its original text (‘When our pious prayers’), was printed in *Dunblane Praises No. 1* at #4. Caryl Micklem has commented that John Gregory’s text was well received among those who were looking for God amid the chaos of their world. Micklem to the author, 28 September 1998.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, #43, vv. 1 and 3. The hymn juxtaposes Genesis 1 with Acts 2. It was written in 1972 for the Pentecost service at Emmanuel United Reformed Church, Cambridge. ‘Think of a world without any flowers’ from *Dunblane Praises No. 2* came from this congregation. Both hymns were written in response to hymn-writing initiatives sponsored by the church. Goodall and Massey, #123 (pp. 134-35) and #325 (pp. 412-13).

A note on this hymn in the *Companion to Hymns and Psalms* comments: 'It celebrates the creative and recreative power of the Holy Spirit by a skilful blending of Old Testament and New Testament passages. ... What distinguishes the hymn, however, is its fine use of imagery and rhythm, together with an effective economy of expression.'¹⁵²

The transition in *New Church Praise* away from the religious ballads and songs of the sixties to new hymns was demonstrated in the metamorphosis of Alan Gaunt's 'God is the boss' into 'Lord Christ, we praise your sacrifice'. The idea of the song was retained, but it had been rewritten in hymn form:

Lord Christ, we praise your sacrifice,
your life in love so freely given.
For those who took your life away
you prayed, that they might be forgiven;
and there, in helplessness arrayed,
God's power was perfectly displayed.

Though helpless and rejected then
you're now as reigning Lord acclaimed;
for ever by your victory
is God's eternal love proclaimed —
the love which goes through death to find
new life and hope for all mankind.¹⁵³

By 1975 the editorial committee had come to prefer a hymn format over most of the song experiments. In its preface, the new book was clearly identified as 'a supplementary collection of hymns which might be used alongside the parent books ... as a vehicle for worship in the last quarter of the twentieth century.'¹⁵⁴

A few months after its publication, *New Church Praise* provided useful examples for a symposium on 'The Hymn Today' led by Brian Wren, John Wilson and Alan Luff at the annual conference of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland at Norwich in 1976. The symposium was another marker indicating the end of the 'hymn explosion'.

¹⁵² Watson and Trickett, #290 (p. 194).

¹⁵³ *New Church Praise*, #56, vv. 1 and 3. It was first printed in *New Hymns for Worship* (1973) by Alan Gaunt. See also Ch. 5, 173-74.

¹⁵⁴ *New Church Praise*, v.

Brian Wren discussed the presence of new theology in contemporary hymn texts: 'The generation whose understanding was radically altered by *Honest to God* needs to be able to sing that new understanding - yet to sing it from the heart, almost unawares, not in any polemical or self-conscious way.'¹⁵⁵ He quoted Alan Luff's paraphrase of the *Te Deum* as an example of Paul Tillich's influence shown in the hymn phrase 'To you all orders of being, / every power that is'. Wren also spoke about the task of 'bringing the world to church' in contemporary hymn texts:

The challenge of contemporary words is ... to sing *to* the Lord *from* the real world in which we live. ... The explosion in hymn-writing has come about because the majority of worshippers want to be able to bring their fears and hopes about the world to the Lord.¹⁵⁶

Among other examples, he referred to two hymns from *New Church Praise* - his own hymn, 'Lord Jesus, if I love and serve my neighbour', quoted above, and also to the verses in Fred Kaan's 'Now join we to praise the creator':

Although not written in technical jargon, these lines show an acute awareness of market economics and the causes of the world food crisis. They do not preach at the singer, but rather invite him or her to share in their awareness and, out of that new awareness, to worship God at harvest time in a more honest and praying way.¹⁵⁷

John Wilson spoke about the collective merit of new words and tunes in worship.

He acknowledged that contemporary texts were expected to be challenging, and urged similar expectations of the tunes:

In providing tunes we shall diminish the role of music if we think that its case is different - that the tune is no more than a vehicle for the words. A worthy tune is itself an *utterance* (think of the world's great instrumental melodies), with a musical 'meaning' for mankind, and this, as well as the meaning of the words, must be evaluated. It is the two meanings together that must call for our 'utmost concentration' in Worship - neither of them dominating, or failing, the other.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Brian Wren, John Wilson and Alan Luff, 'The Hymn Today', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 138 (January 1977), 197-209; Brian Wren, 'The Challenge of the Words', 198.

¹⁵⁶ Wren, 201. The italics are in the original text.

¹⁵⁷ Wren, 203. For Fred Kaan's hymn text, see Ch. 5, 193.

¹⁵⁸ John Wilson, 'The Challenge of the Music', 205. The italics are in the original text. The phrase 'utmost concentration' referred to a description of worship given by Archbishop William Temple, who was the first president of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

He went on to discuss the scope of music available for use in contemporary worship, from the ‘highbrow’ tunes in *The Cambridge Hymnal* and *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* to songs ‘as good as “Sing Hosanna” which say simple but profound things in a simple and infectious way’.¹⁵⁹ Wilson mentioned numerous strong tunes in the middle which were serving congregations well; from John Gardner’s ILFRACOMBE, Michael Dawney’s FELINFOEL, Peter Cutts’s SWITHIN and Richard Dirksen’s VINEYARD HAVEN on the ‘highbrow side’, to Robin Sheldon’s JONATHAN, Eric Reid’s TROTting, Peter Cutts’s LITHEROP, and several tunes by Doreen Potter in *Break not the Circle* (1975) on the ‘lighter side of centre’.¹⁶⁰

In Wilson’s view, unfamiliar hymn tunes were not as much of a ‘stumbling-block’ to learning new hymns as many at the conference might have assumed. Because music notation had been taught in schools for many years, he had found that congregations could learn new tunes quickly from melody editions of the supplements. He urged ministers and organists to use a tune half a dozen times in church services before asking a congregation to judge its worth. Wilson concluded by suggesting, for their consideration, his definition of a hymn as being something more than an item from their congregational hymn book:

Could we have a new definition and say that, with all today’s new possibilities, a hymn is any congregational song that will enhance your Worship next week, or the week after, or in three months’ time? If it is in your book, well and good. If it isn’t, what are you and your congregation going to do about it?¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 206. ‘Sing hosanna’ was in *New Church Praise*, #26.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 207. Wilson returned to this theme in his talk to the Hymn Society at its 1979 conference where he asked the question ‘What makes a hymn-tune successful, and why?’. A revised version of this lecture was later published under the title, ‘Looking at Hymn-Tunes: The Objective Factors’ in *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered*, 123-52; and by the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland: Occasional Paper, Second Series, No. 1 (June 1991).

Alan Luff's title, 'The Art of the Possible', defined his approach to the challenge of using new hymns and tunes in worship. He maintained that ministers and organists needed to be as well acquainted with their constituency as did the editors of hymnal supplements. He urged his audience to work at knowing, rather than guessing, what hymns would suit their congregations, and at finding the actual gaps in their congregations' knowledge of hymns. Church members could, through school assemblies and hymn-singing broadcasts, become familiar with hymns not used in their own churches, opening up unexpected possibilities for enhancing their worship. 'We often think of the needs of youth, because they are clamorous,' but, Luff cautioned, the adult members of a congregation also needed to be fed more than the standard fare to keep their faith alive. It was important to ensure 'a continuing healthy demand for the new'.¹⁶²

Three supplements published after 1975 brought the new hymns to the attention of many congregations and hymnal revision committees. *Ecumenical Praise* (1977), *Partners in Praise* (1979) and *More Hymns for Today* (1980) consolidated the work accomplished between 1965 and 1975. *Ecumenical Praise* was an American publication, edited by Carlton Young, with the assistance of Austin Lovelace, Erik Routley and Alec Wyton.¹⁶³ The editors described the book as 'a supplemental hymnal designed to serve the growing points of the church'.¹⁶⁴ It contained 117 items, with performance notes, including a good representation of the hymns from the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation, Fred Kaan's *Pilgrim Praise* (1972 edition), the Contemporary Worship series published by the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship, the Grail version of the

¹⁶² Alan Luff, 'The Art of the Possible', 207-09.

¹⁶³ *Ecumenical Praise* (Carol Stream, IL: Agape [a division of Hope Publishing Company], 1977). Contributors identified on the title page included: Samuel Adler, William Albright, Emma Lou Diemer, Calvin Hampton, Sr. Theophane Hytrek, Fred Kaan, Marilyn Keiser, Robert Mitchell, Daniel Moe, Lloyd Pfautsch, Carl Schalk and Heinz Werner Zimmermann.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 'Preface'.

Psalms with antiphons by Joseph Gelineau and A. Gregory Murray; and also from several American publications of new hymns, canticles and responses. For venturesome churches it included two compositions by Richard Feliciano for unison voices and taped electronic sounds.¹⁶⁵ *Ecumenical Praise* contained the most experimental forms of music to be found in the three supplements.¹⁶⁶

Partners in Praise was a collection of hymns for young and old to sing together in congregational worship. Commissioned by the Division of Education and Youth of the Methodist Church, the book addressed the problem of preparing a service 'so that the event is not an occasion for adults with children looking on, or for children with adults on the sideline'.¹⁶⁷ Fred Pratt Green and Bernard Braley, with music editors Allen Percival and Brian Coleman, intentionally combined a cross-section of older hymns handed on from generation to generation with a selection of contemporary hymns: 'Insights given to Christian believers over many centuries are a necessary balance to be set alongside the theological emphasis of a particular time and place.' The editors hoped that the book would 'encourage contemporary writers to put into hymn and song what the theologians are discerning may be the special contribution of this last part of the twentieth century.'¹⁶⁸ Its contents were set out in the format of a hymn book - beginning with hymns of praise celebrating God and creation, to hymns about Jesus Christ, discipleship, church and community, and concluding with hymns about the 'promise and fulfilment' of God's purpose. The hymns and songs of Sydney Carter, Timothy Dudley-Smith, Ian Fraser, Fred Pratt Green, Fred Kaan, Peter Smith, and Brian

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., #49) 'Cosmic Festival' and #106) 'The Not-Yet Flower (A Crisis of Growth)', from *Two Public Pieces* (Boston: E. C. Schirmer, Inc., 1972), composed for the American Cathedral Organists' and Choirmasters' Association.

¹⁶⁶ David Goodall assessed the contents of *Ecumenical Praise* in his review in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 140 (October 1977), 249-52.

¹⁶⁷ *Partners in Praise* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd, 1979), 'General Preface', iii. An American edition was published in 1982 by Abingdon Press (Nashville), for North American congregations who were also searching for hymns tailored for 'intergenerational' worship.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

Wren were well represented. Donald Swann rearranged THE SONG OF CAEDMON into a unison setting for congregational use with the fragment of a hymn text written by a lay brother at Whitby Abbey in the seventh century.¹⁶⁹ Valerie Ruddle composed STEWARDSHIP for Fred Pratt Green's hymn 'God in his love for us lent us this planet', a hymn about ecology, an important 'theological' issue made prominent the 1970s.¹⁷⁰

More Hymns for Today provided hymns for the revised liturgies of the Church of England.¹⁷¹ Published in 1980, the same year as the Alternative Service Book, it contained six hymns for baptism and forty-four hymns for holy communion. It was a conservative rather than an experimental book, designed to supplement further the contents of *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950) and 'to draw the best from the rich store of material generated since 1969 [the year of the first supplement *100 Hymns for Today*].' The editors added that: 'the book seeks to be forward looking without abandoning ordered restraint; to be sensitive to the changing needs and renewed vitality of the Church in a turbulent world, while being rooted in the long, living tradition of the people of God.'¹⁷² Fred Pratt Green's texts included one on the baptism of Jesus, 'When Jesus came to Jordan', written in 1973. It was one of seven hymns about the Holy Spirit, a topic which had not yet received much attention in new hymn writing:

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., #10, from a cantata by Arthur Scholey, *The Song of Caedmon* (1971).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., #21. Pratt Green's hymn was first published in *Sixteen New Hymns on the Stewardship of the Environment [Ecology]*, (Fort Worth, Texas: The Hymn Society of America, Inc., 1973), 7. Austin Lovelace set this text to ECOLOGY for *Ecumenical Praise*, #75.

¹⁷¹ *More Hymns for Today: A Second Supplement to Hymns Ancient & Modern* [1950] (Hymns Ancient & Modern Limited, 1980). The editors were John Dykes Bower, Edgar Bishop, Cyril Taylor, Henry Chadwick, Lionel Dakers, and Gerald H. Knight.

¹⁷² Ibid., 'Preface'.

Come, Holy Spirit, aid us
 to keep the vows we make;
 this very day invade us,
 and every bondage break;
 come, give our lives direction,
 the gift we covet most -
 to share the resurrection
 that leads to Pentecost.¹⁷³

The editors chose several of Pratt Green's hymns from *Hymns for Celebration: A Supplement for Use at Holy Communion Today* (1974), edited by Erik Routley and John Wilson, and from *Sixteen Hymns of Today for use as Simple Anthems* (1978), edited by John Wilson.¹⁷⁴ Also among the new hymns which would go into the forthcoming hymn books was Elizabeth Cosnett's 'Can man by searching find out God'. The text became the subject of much debate over 'inclusive' language in contemporary hymnody:

Can man by searching find out God
 or formulate his ways?
 can numbers measure what he is
 or words contain his praise?

Although his being is too bright
 for human eyes to scan,
 his meaning lights our shadowed world
 through Christ, the Son of Man.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Ibid., #193, v. 3. Other hymns about the Holy Spirit included #145) 'Let every Christian pray', a hymn by Fred Pratt Green on 'the Holy Spirit and the Church', and at #170) his 'Of all the Spirit's gifts to me'. The section contained a sequence of hymns by John E. Bowers set to SALVA FESTA DIES, beginning at #111) 'Christians, lift up your hearts' (antiphon); #138) 'Holy Spirit, come confirm us' by the Roman Catholic hymn writer Brian Foley; #171) T. C. Hunter Clare's 'On the day of Pentecost' to Erik Routley's tune WHITSUN CAROL; and #182) 'There's a spirit in the air' by Brian Wren to LAUDS by John Wilson.

¹⁷⁴ *Hymns for Celebration. A Supplement for Use at Holy Communion Today*, ed. by John Wilson and Erik Routley (Croydon: Royal School of Church Music, 1974); and *Sixteen Hymns of Today for Use as Simple Anthems*, ed. by John Wilson (Croydon: Royal School of Church Music, 1978). By retaining a traditional style, the two collections brought new hymns, and the adaptation of older hymns in modern settings, into favour in the Church of England. 'An upper room did our Lord prepare' to Wilson's arrangement of an English traditional melody was known to Anglican congregations through each of these collections. From *Sixteen Hymns* the committee chose 'What Adam's disobedience cost' to Jeremiah Clarke's HERMON, adapted by Wilson, 'To mock your reign', set to Wilson's arrangement of Tallis's THIRD MODE MELODY. Cyril Taylor also created an imaginative setting for the Good Friday text by combining two seventeenth-century tunes, ST. MARY and WIGTOWN.

¹⁷⁵ *More Hymns for Today*, #105, vv. 1 and 2. Elizabeth Cosnett wrote an article about her gradual acceptance of 'inclusive' language after being asked by American hymn committees to alter her hymn text to begin 'Can we by searching find out God' and changing the masculine imagery throughout. Her 'Language in Hymns: One Woman's Experience', was published in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 182 (January 1990), 158-63.

Taking stock of the changes in congregational hymnody

In 1981 Alan Dunstan and Eric Sharpe assessed recent developments in hymnody and liturgical renewal, in a pamphlet on *The Hymn Explosion* prepared for the Royal School of Church Music and in a lecture given at the international conference on hymnody held at Oxford. That the time had come for retrospective analyses signalled the end of an era. Alan Dunstan discussed various means of using the new resources to renew congregational worship, and he included a useful select bibliography of other reference works already available to assist congregations in this work.¹⁷⁶ Eric Sharpe, in his lecture entitled '1970-1980: The Explosive Years for Hymnody in Britain', described the developments in hymn writing in two areas - in language and liturgy, and in beliefs and attitudes.¹⁷⁷

Dunstan's pamphlet was a teaching manual, continuing the work he had begun in his book *These are the Hymns* (1973).¹⁷⁸ By 1981 he could ask the question, 'What has happened to Hymnody?': discussing the influence upon hymnody of science and technology, of the new social gospel, the liturgical revival (with Parish Communion as the main service), the introduction of 'Modern English' into worship, of allowing doubt to be expressed in hymns, and, above all, of the 'creativity' being demonstrated in the writing of new hymns and tunes.¹⁷⁹ He identified the supplements associated with existing hymn books and strongly recommended *With One Voice* (1979) as the best single volume available to meet the needs of a congregation in search of a new hymn

¹⁷⁶ Alan Dunstan, *The Hymn Explosion*, RSCM Handbook No. 6 (Croydon: The Royal School of Church Music, 1981).

¹⁷⁷ Eric Sharpe, '1970-1980: The Explosive Years for Hymnody in Britain', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 153 (January 1982), 9-20.

¹⁷⁸ Alan Dunstan, *These are the Hymns* (London: SPCK, 1973). Regarding the response of Church of England congregations to the 'hymn explosion', he commented: 'No doubt some of the opposition to "new" hymns may disappear in churches where there is constant and unremitting emphasis on the fact that our God is Lord of the twentieth century, and that his spirit is still leading us into all the truth, and that the Church exists for mission in the here and now.' (p. 21)

¹⁷⁹ Dunstan, *The Hymn Explosion*, 3-8. On the creativity in hymn writing, Dunstan commented: 'for when the wonder of Christ grips men and women, there will be some with the desire and skill to sing about it.' (p. 7)

book. Moreover, the ecumenical Australian hymnal provided an adequate index to use in choosing hymns for worship, the subject of the second half of the pamphlet.¹⁸⁰

Eric Sharpe's purpose was to inform delegates to the Oxford conference about developments in British hymn writing since 1950, with emphasis on the contents of hymnal supplements and hymn books published between *Hymns & Songs* (1969) and *Broadcast Praise* (1981).¹⁸¹ 'We have in the past ten years reaped a superabundant harvest of hymnody', he declared, and then went on to delineate the conditions which produced the 'hymn explosion':

The post-war years were years of rapid change in world and church. Enormous advances in technology and biological sciences were raising new questions about the value of human personality; yet we were living increasingly under the threat of self-destruction by nuclear war and racial violence. Internally the church was experiencing renewal through the ecumenical movement, the liturgical revival and the charismatic movement; yet she remained just as alienated from the common man as ever. The soil might appear at once both fertile and sour, the climate both favourable and hostile; yet it was from this soil and in this climate that the extraordinary harvest of hymnody came.¹⁸²

In the lecture he pinpointed the sources of new hymn writing in a contradictory environment. He identified Fred Pratt Green's skill at re-examining the basic Christian truths expressed in older hymnody in 'a new light, in full awareness of the sort of world we live in today' as the primary insight required for writing hymns in this setting.¹⁸³

From that starting point, Sharpe proceeded to analyse the factors which shaped contemporary hymn writing. The first factor was the conversion of hymn language to modern English, from Latin for Roman Catholic worshippers and from the English of the

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 9 and 14. Alan Dunstan rewrote his 1973 study and published it in 1990 under a new title - *The Use of Hymns: A Practical Exploration of the place of Hymnody within the Liturgy* (Bury St Edmunds: Kevin Mayhew Limited, 1990).

¹⁸¹ Sharpe had worked in the field of hymnody from the beginning of the 'hymn explosion', having first encountered Geoffrey Beaumont's hymn tunes when he was chairman of the Musical Advisory Committee for the Baptist hymnal revision committee formed by the Psalms and Hymns Trust in 1954. He had lectured and written about hymn writing throughout this period.

¹⁸² Eric Sharpe, 9-10.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 10. Sharpe quoted Fred Pratt Green directly from his article on 'Hymn Writing To-day' in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 120 (January 1971). See footnote 59 above.

Authorized Version of the Bible for Protestants. Modern language was necessary for hymns on contemporary topics and for reinterpreting Christian beliefs in the context of post-1960 culture. Following the preliminary experiments by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group in writing new tunes for older hymn texts, he considered Brian Wren's 'Lord Christ, the Father's mighty Son' in the first volume of *Dunblane Praises* to have been a sign of the change in verbal language which was about to transform hymnody: 'The language of this hymn was sufficiently simple and direct to match the increasingly familiar modern English of the New English Bible and the new prayers then being used in church. From now on, all parts of the liturgy - prayers, scripture readings and hymns - were being expressed in contemporary forms.'¹⁸⁴ He mentioned writers such as Rosamond Herklots and Timothy Dudley-Smith who made good use of the direct language of New English Bible, and Brian Foley who had found a lyrical style in writing paraphrases of the psalms and New Testament canticles in modern English. Sharpe acknowledged the change in hymns for Holy Communion after the Eucharist service had been reinstated as the central act of congregational worship, requiring hymns that were 'less subjective and personal in approach, and stressed rather the celebratory character of the rite and its corporate significance.'¹⁸⁵ He commented on how the inclusion of children in the revised liturgies had created the need for new hymns for 'all-age' worship, naming Caryl Micklem's 'All kinds of light' as one of the most successful.

Sharpe then turned to the influence of changing beliefs and attitudes upon contemporary hymn writing. He noted that the acceleration of scientific knowledge and technological expertise had altered western society's thinking about the world and about the Creator:

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 11.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 12-13. He gave two examples from *More Hymns for Today* - Brian Wren's 'I come with joy to meet my Lord' (#140) and Fred Kaan's 'Let us talents and tongues employ' (#148).

On one hand, God was diminished - pushed out to the perimeter of our world and the fringes of our thought. ... On the other hand, the great advances in scientific discovery led some to enlarge their concept of God. He became greater, not less, and we owe it to hymn-writers as much as to theologians that our knowledge of God has expanded with our growing knowledge of the world.¹⁸⁶

He named Albert Bayly's 'Lord of the boundless curves of space' as one of the first new hymns to celebrate the growing dimensions of God's creation. Another important change in belief was the focus in new hymnody upon the humanity of Christ, as demonstrated in Alan Gaunt's 'Lord Christ, we praise your sacrifice' and W. H. Vanstone's 'Morning glory, starlit sky'. He commented:

This recurring picture of God's involvement in the world through Christ's participation in our present sufferings is a welcome correction of the once popular image of God sitting in distant majesty, governing the world by remote control, and Christ seated at his right hand far removed from the scenes of his earthly life.¹⁸⁷

Eric Sharpe also drew attention to the relatively slow development of new hymn writing about the Holy Spirit, 'especially at a time when the charismatic movement is spreading across all denominational barriers.' He noted the small increment from two hymns for Pentecost included in *Hymns & Songs* and in *100 Hymns for Today* to seven in *More Hymns for Today*, adding 'and many contemporary hymns on the Holy Spirit still use traditional scriptural images.'¹⁸⁸ However, Brian Wren, in his 'There's a spirit in the air', demonstrated an entirely new approach to writing hymns for Pentecost by putting aside traditional imagery. Sharpe commented: 'the hymn gradually reveals the nature of

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 13-14.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 15. Vanstone's 'Morning glory, starlit sky' was first published as a hymn in *More Hymns for Today* (1980), #163.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. The two hymns for Pentecost in *Hymns & Songs* were #78) John Geyer's 'Fire is lighting torch and lamp' to Eric Reid's WESTHOLME from the Dunblane series, and #32) Timothy Rees's much earlier text, 'Holy Spirit, ever dwelling', first published in the *Mirfield Mission Hymn Book* (1922). *100 Hymns for Today* included #20) J. W. Chadwick's 'Eternal ruler of the ceaseless round', written in 1864 but not printed in previous editions of *Hymns Ancient & Modern*, and #26) J. R. Peacey's new hymn, 'Filled with the Spirit's power'. *Partners in Praise* contained nine hymns written about the Holy Spirit in the section of hymns about church and community. Numerous cross-references in the index to other hymns which mentioned the Holy Spirit suggest that interest in this topic was growing by 1979.

this power of love at work equally in the church at worship as in its service to the hungry and homeless of the world, till its identity becomes explicit at the end:

May his Spirit fill our praise,
guide our thoughts and change our ways.
God in Christ has come to stay;
we can see his power today.

There's a Spirit in the air,
calling people everywhere:
praise the love that Christ revealed,
living, working, in our world.¹⁸⁹

Hymns about the church in the world represented the most startling change in contemporary hymnody. Drawing his audience's attention to Fred Pratt Green's austere text, 'When the Church of Jesus shuts its outer door', Sharpe commented: 'Thus jolted out of our comfortable pews we are not surprised to find that the hard realities of the world are continually being brought to our attention in the new hymns we sing. We are rightly being invited to sing the Lord's song *in the real world* in which we live.'¹⁹⁰ He acknowledged Fred Kaan's considerable contribution to this type of hymn writing, especially with its characteristic 'urban idiom', also used by other writers since the experimental work at Dunblane. 'It's all part of the process of bringing the contemporary world into the heart of our religion,' Sharpe concluded.¹⁹¹ By contrast, he observed, the charismatic movement seemed to have rejected the world, at least in its hymnody, choosing instead to focus on 'personal religion' to the exclusion of all else. He also noted the strength of some contemporary hymns in voicing 'doubts, protests and questions' which needed to be addressed by the churches: 'The hymn writer who truly reflects the age in which he lives will not be blind to the kind of doubts and uncertainties which many experience today.'¹⁹² Hymns by Donald Hughes, David Goodall, Sydney

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 16. He quoted Brian Wren's hymn from *More Hymns for Today*, #182, vv. 6-7. Wren's revised text is included in *Piece Together Praise*, #101 (p. 95).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 16.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 17.

¹⁹² Ibid., 18.

Carter, Donald Swann and Estelle White received mention in this area, especially the 'folk hymns'. While Sharpe thought that the informality of folk hymnody would keep it as a 'second-best form of religious praise', it did, however, strike him as being 'a genuine part of the church's hymnody'.¹⁹³

The lecture defined the nature and scope of the 'hymn explosion' for the delegates attending the Oxford conference, and for readers of the *Bulletin*. Sharpe's address itself became a benchmark in the development of new hymnody, serving as a reference point in analyses of contemporary British hymn writing. The period of experimentation and trial had come to an end. By 1981 most churches had begun to use at least some contemporary hymns and liturgies in their worship; in the process of learning new hymns and service music congregational singing habits had also changed.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 20.

Chapter 8 Hymnal Prototypes

Integrating new ways of thinking

Amid the excitement of experimental hymn writing and composition and the revision of liturgy which led to the proliferation of hymnal supplements, a few hymn books also went to press during the years of the ‘hymn explosion’. Committees preparing these books faced the difficult task of interpreting the scale of religious and cultural change in their time. They had to identify what should be kept of the hymnody they knew so well, and what could usefully be garnered from the new worship materials. Congregational worship after 1960 began to encompass a large spectrum of new thought: ecumenism, biblical translation, antiphonal settings of the Psalms to engage lay members of the church in the practice of liturgy (in vernacular language); radical change in popular music styles and also in concert music, rhymeless poetry; adapting religious language to modern idiom, changing imagery about God; and concern about social justice, peace, caring for God’s people and stewardship of the world in which we live. These factors, and more, had become the elements of contemporary hymnody and religious songs. Hymnal revision committees searched for ways to integrate new expressions of faith with the valid and essential elements of the existing hymnody in their congregational books.

A Canadian ecumenical experiment

The Hymn Book published jointly in 1971 by the Anglican Church of Canada and the United Church of Canada proved to be a prototype of the hymn books which would be placed in the hands of congregations during the last quarter of the twentieth century. It was among the first hymnals published in the aftermath of Vatican II; and it was a

precursor to the *Lutheran Book of Worship*, the North American benchmark hymnal published in 1978 which introduced the new language and style of hymnody in a completely revised volume.

The joint hymnal committee which compiled *The Hymn Book* declared in its preface:

It has been the earnest intention of the Committee to provide a comprehensive selection of hymns from the best of inherited hymnody. At the same time, it has been their aim to produce a book of contemporary hymns expressive of the church's mission in, and to, the world of our times. ... To be true to the character of both churches, a hymnal must be comprehensive. It must meet the needs of people of different religious traditions and cultural backgrounds, of widely separated areas and of every age group. It must be useful to churches large and small, rural and urban, old and new. It must reflect the ecumenical dialogue and aspirations of our times. A hymnal that is to be serviceable today must be not only ecumenical but contemporary.¹

Members of the committee were aware of new expectations for the shared hymn book, and they were particularly sensitive to the changing theological, liturgical and musical climates of the 1960s. Yet, they also wished to retain the standards of hymn writing and composition established by the committees which had produced the *English Hymnal* (1906, 1933), *Songs of Praise* (1925, 1931) and the *Revised Church Hymnary* (1927).

The joint hymnal retained the language of the Authorized Version of the Bible characteristic of hymn texts written up to 1960; but it also incorporated the language of

¹ 'The Preface', *The Hymn Book of the Anglican Church of Canada and the United Church of Canada* (Toronto, 1971). The ecumenical character of this hymn book was established at the outset of the project when the Committee on the Revision of *The Hymnary* first met in February 1963. At that time the committee sent invitations to the Anglican Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Baptist Federation of Ontario and Quebec to prepare a joint hymnal. The Baptists turned down the invitation. Representatives of the Presbyterian Church participated in several meetings of the Revision Committee and recommended the project to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada which rejected the proposal at its meeting in June 1964, forming instead an independent committee to revise *The Book of Praise*. The new edition of the Presbyterian hymn book was published in 1972, and a revised edition of the *Baptist Hymnal* was issued in 1973. The revision committee for *The Hymnary* was restructured as a joint committee of the Anglican and United Churches beginning in November 1965. Stanley L. Osborne, *If Such Holy Song: The Story of the Hymns in The Hymn Book 1971* (Whitby, Ontario: The Institute of Church Music, 1976), xi. But, by 1975, the plans for an Anglican-United Church union had dissolved, leaving *The Hymn Book* (1971) as the sole product of that endeavour.

hymns based upon the *Revised Standard Version* (1952) and the *New English Bible* - New Testament (1961) and Old Testament (1970). Old and new forms of religious language were used together in worship in the 1970s. The debate over 'inclusive language' had not yet entered hymnal committees' deliberations; it was enough for the joint committee to respond to new styles of hymn composition which had emerged since the 1960s, particularly folk hymns and religious songs in contemporary idiom. New liturgies required original musical settings. Contemporary theological debate introduced new subjects which needed to be addressed in congregational hymnody. Above all, the hymn book committee had to meet the needs of diverse styles of worship practised by the 'free church' constituents of the United Church of Canada, by broad-church Anglican congregations, and by high-church Anglican worshippers, living across the geographical breadth of the country.

'Not only ecumenical but contemporary'

Scanning the names of contributors, it is astonishing to note the number of new hymn writers whose work appeared in *The Hymn Book* (1971). It was primarily an Anglo-Canadian hymnal, in keeping with the church music tradition practised in Canada until the 1980s.² Some of the first products of the British 'hymn explosion' are found in this book. 'Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord', by Timothy Dudley-Smith, was set to a new tune, ELING, composed by Godfrey Ridout of Toronto.³ It contained George Bradford Caird's - 'Not far beyond the sea nor high' from *New Songs* compiled

² Erik Routley commented on the Anglo-Canadian character of the hymn book in *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, 1979), 211-12; and in *The Music of Christian Hymns* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1981), 177-78. In the latter book Routley compared the new tune writing by Canadian composers to that by Scottish composers for *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* (1973). *The Hymn Book* (1971) contained a large number of new texts by British authors, including John Arlott, Albert Bayly, Basil Bridge, Reginald Brooks, George B. Caird, Sydney Carter, T. C. H. Clare, Timothy Dudley-Smith, Rosamond Herklots, Richard G. Jones, Fred Kaan, J. R. Peacey, Fred Pratt Green, Erik Routley, and Brian Wren.

³ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #495. Osborne, *If Such Holy Song*, #495.

by Bernard Massey, and 'Almighty Father, who for us thy son didst give', described by Stanley Osborne as 'one of the finest hymns of stewardship to come out of this century'.⁴ A second hymn from *New Songs*, 'Thanks to God whose word was spoken' by R. T. Brooks, was included among the hymns about the Bible. By the mid-1970s its author was expressing concern about the future direction of contemporary hymnody. Osborne commented:

While Brooks welcomes the increasingly free and relaxed style in the writing of hymns today, he wonders whether there is 'a danger of losing the hymn for general congregational singing in favour of more idiosyncratic styles'. He seems to imply that there are those who are satisfied with the eclectic and may be warped by the narrowness of its vision.⁵

The committee selected five hymns by Albert Bayly from his first collection *Rejoice, O People* (1950) and from *Again, I Say Rejoice* (1967), all in their original forms.⁶ He provided a new perspective on Pentecost in his 'Fire of God, thou sacred flame', a hymn also taken from *New Songs*. Osborne commented: 'Its appearance in *The Hymn Book* lends strength to a section that heretofore has not emphasized the vitality and energy of Pentecost.' In this hymn the Holy Spirit was portrayed as an active presence, one which directs human affairs:

Breath of God, that swept in power
in the pentecostal hour,
holy breath, be thou in me
source of vital energy.⁷

⁴ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #96 and #291, and Osborne, #96 and #291. The first hymn was taken from *New Songs* (Redhill, Surrey: The Congregational Church, 1962). George Caird taught Old Testament Language and Literature at St. Stephen's College in Edmonton, Alberta (1946-50), before going to McGill University in Montreal to teach New Testament Language and Literature until he returned to Oxford in 1959.

⁵ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #94, and Osborne, #94.

⁶ The five hymns were #83) 'O Lord of every shining constellation'; #208) 'Lord, save thy world'; #212) 'Thy love, O God, has all mankind created'; #247) 'Fire of God, thou sacred flame'; and #295) 'Lord of all good'.

⁷ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #247, v. 2. Osborne, #247. 'Thy love, O God, has all mankind created' was also published in *New Songs* (1962).

One of the most contemporary voices in *The Hymn Book* (1971) was that of the folk singer Sydney Carter.⁸ His 'Lord of the Dance', set to the Shaker tune, SIMPLE GIFTS, caught the imagination of many Canadian congregations:

I danced in the morning when the world was begun,
and I danced in the moon and the stars and the sun;
and I came down from heaven and I danced on the earth —
at Bethlehem I had my birth.

Dance then wherever you may be;
I am the Lord of the Dance, said he;
I'll lead you all wherever you may be,
I will lead you all in the dance, said he.⁹

In his *Green Print for Song* he commented: 'I see Christ as the incarnation of that piper who is calling us. He dances that shape and pattern which is at the heart of our reality.'¹⁰ Carter employs cosmic images in these songs which dwell on the immanence of God in the world through Christ:

Every star and every planet,
every creature high and low,
come and praise the King of heaven
by whatever name you know.
God above, Man below,
holy is the name I know.¹¹

One of the most controversial hymns in the 1971 collection was 'God of concrete' by the English Methodist Richard Granville Jones. Written in 1964 for a youth group in Sheffield, the unrelenting stream of images from twentieth-century urban and industrial society was set by the Canadian composer F. R. C. Clarke to a tune which the

⁸ Osborne, #106. See also Wesley Milgate, *Songs of the People of God: A Companion to The Australian Hymn Book/With One Voice* (Sydney/London: Collins Liturgical Publications, 1982, rev. ed. 1985), 231. Sydney Carter became interested in folk song during his wartime service in Greece. He began his folk-singing career in about 1960 while doing freelance work as a scriptwriter and broadcaster for BBC radio and television.

⁹ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #106, v. 1. The text in *The Hymn Book* differed from the text given in Carter's *Green Print for Song* (London: Galliard/Stainer & Bell, 1974), 84-86 (p. 85).

¹⁰ Carter wrote this hymn as a 'salute to the Shakers', whose hymns he described as 'odd, but sometimes of great beauty'. *Green Print for Song*, 86.

¹¹ *The Hymn Book*, #428, v. 1. Osborne, #428. In *Hymns & Songs* (1969), this song was given the title 'A Carol of the Universe'. Stanley Osborne has suggested that a poem by Alice Meynell may have inspired 'Every star shall sing a carol'. Alice Meynell's 'Christ in the Universe' was published in *The Poems of Alice Meynell* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd, 1923, 4th reprint 1927), 92.

composer himself has described as 'astringent', adding 'it probably owes something to the idiom of Hindemith'.¹² It opened with images of technology:

God of concrete, God of steel,
 God of piston and of wheel,
 God of pylon, God of steam,
 God of girder and of beam,
 God of atom, God of mine:
 all the world of power is thine.

The second verse focussed on modes of transportation and communication - cable, rail, freeway, mail, rocket, and satellite. It concluded: 'all the world of speed is thine.' The third verse celebrated learning - in science, in the arts, in design, and in biblical knowledge and faith: 'Lord of sequence and design: all the world of truth is thine.'¹³ Osborne commented: 'To those who murmur that the immanence of God is stretched to the breaking point in these verses, there is but one reply: read through to the end - God, at loose in the world, saving and redeeming "with Easter's might".'

God whose glory fills the earth,
 gave the universe its birth,
 loosed the Christ with Easter's might,
 saves the world from evil's blight,
 claims us all by grace divine:
 all the world of love is thine.¹⁴

When it first appeared the hymn text seemed contemporary in the extreme, yet even by the mid-1960s some of the technology was already obsolete or becoming so (steam and cable, for example), and the word 'thine' sounded archaic at youth services which by then were using revised liturgical language.

¹² Osborne, #90.

¹³ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #90. It is also found in *Hymns Ancient & Modern New Standard* (1983) at #366, where it was reprinted as part of *100 Hymns for Today* (1969). Apart from these two books, it has appeared primarily in hymnal supplements.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 4, and Osborne, #90. The committee chose three other hymn texts by Richard Granville Jones - #23) 'The God of Bethlehem praise' (LEONI), #80) 'God who created this garden of earth' (QUEDLINBURG), and #124) 'Jesus is the man who cares for others' (CWM RHONDDA). According to Osborne, the fourth hymn was based upon a publication by the hymn writer Geoffrey Ainger, entitled *Jesus our Contemporary*. Osborne, #124.

Fred Kaan bore the distinction of having the greatest number of hymns by a single author in *The Hymn Book* (1971).¹⁵ It was from his work that the committee drew many of its 'contemporary hymns expressive of the church's mission in, and to, the world of our times'. Kaan's texts for urban congregations about Christ's presence in the city reflected contemporary theological thinking, and they emphasized the need for social responsibility.¹⁶ The committee selected 'Sing we of the modern city' and his version of the Magnificat, 'Sing we a song of high revolt', with their themes of justice for the poor, the hungry and the disenfranchised in urban centres.¹⁷ The committee also chose 'For the healing of the nations', Kaan's hymn written in 1965 for the celebration of Human Rights Day (December 10th). This hymn was well received by the United Church of Canada which has made social justice a priority in the life and work of the church:

For the healing of the nations,
 Lord, we pray with one accord;
 for a just and equal sharing
 of the things that earth affords.
 To a life of love in action
 help us rise and pledge our word.

All that kills abundant living,
 let it from the earth be banned:
 pride of status, race or schooling,
 dogmas keeping man from man.
 In our common quest for justice
 may we hallow life's brief span.¹⁸

Similarly, 'Lord, as we rise to leave this shell of worship' was adopted by United Church congregations as a closing hymn.¹⁹

¹⁵ *The Hymn Book* contained twenty-five hymns by Kaan, chosen from his *Pilgrim Praise* (Plymouth: Pilgrim Congregational Church, mimeographed first edition 1967, revised 1968).

¹⁶ See also Ch. 5, 185-202.

¹⁷ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #125 and #177.

¹⁸ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #210, vv. 1 and 3, where it was set to WOLVESEY. The masculine language in verse 3 at line 4 has been changed to 'dogmas that obscure your plan', in keeping with the language guidelines developed by most hymn book committees over the past twenty years. Fred Kaan, *The Hymn Texts of Fred Kaan* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; and Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1985) #32 (pp. 34-35).

¹⁹ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #305. Kaan, *Hymn Texts*, #65 (p. 74).

Kaan's hymns were the dominant contemporary British influence in *The Hymn Book* (1971). It also introduced to Canadian congregations the work of four other English hymn writers - J. R. Peacey, Erik Routley, Brian Wren, and Fred Pratt Green. J. R. Peacey's hymn for Pentecost, 'Filled with the Spirit's power, with one accord', was set by the tune committee to SHELDONIAN, composed by Cyril Taylor and published in the *BBC Hymn Book* (1951).²⁰ Erik Routley's 'All who love and serve your city', written in October 1966 at Scottish Churches' House in Dunblane, spoke about Christ's presence in the heart of the city.²¹

Brian Wren's text 'I come with joy to meet my Lord' was written in July 1968 to conclude a series of sermons about communion.²² The hymn opens in the first person singular, describing the gathering of individuals who meet together at the eucharist meal. Sharing in the meal draws the individuals together to form a community:

As Christ breaks bread for men to share
each proud division ends.
The love that made us makes us one,
and strangers now are friends.

Once the bond has been forged the personal pronoun changes from singular to plural. The fourth verse reflects upon the communicants' experience of Christ's presence at the communion table - 'And thus with joy we meet our Lord'. It concludes with a pledge to serve God in the world:

Together met, together bound,
we'll go our different ways,
and as his people in the world,
we'll live and speak his praise.²³

²⁰ Ibid., #226.

²¹ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #168, and Osborne, #168. The hymn was set to a new tune, DOMINION-CHALMERS, composed by William France and named after his church in Ottawa. See Ch. 5, 168.

²² *The Hymn Book* (1971), #328. It is mentioned by Erik Routley in his *Panorama of Christian Hymnody* at #498, where *The Hymn Book* (1971) is cited as the source hymnal. The revised text, 'I come with joy, a child of God' is included in Wren's hymn anthology, *Piece Together Praise: A Theological Journey* (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd; and Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1996), #97 (p. 91).

²³ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #328, vv. 3 and 5. It was first published in *The Hymn Book*. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), #452 (p. 169).

This hymn, which articulates so clearly the coming together of God's people in the Eucharist and their going out again into the world, has become one of the best-known hymns of this period.

Two of Fred Pratt Green's first hymn texts were chosen for the joint Anglican-United Church hymnal - 'Christ is the world's light' and 'O Christ, the healer'.²⁴ These hymns, and others such as Rosamond Herklots's 'Forgive our sins as we forgive' and Basil Bridge's 'The Son of God proclaim', were signs of an infusion of new British hymn writing in *The Hymn Book*.²⁵

Canadian hymn writers and composers

The Canadian theologian, R. B. Y. Scott, was influential in the development of modern hymnody. His 'Eternal, Unchanging, we sing to thy praise' and 'O day of God draw nigh' were first published in 1938 by the Fellowship for Christian Social Order, on a broadsheet of new hymns.²⁶ In the first hymn, written while Adolf Hitler was staking out his political claim to Europe, Scott referred to the 'hope that no power can destroy':

We praise thee for Jesus, our Master and Lord,
the might of his Spirit, the truth of his word,
his comfort in sorrow, his patience in pain,
the faith sure and steadfast that Jesus shall reign.²⁷

It was set to ST. BASIL by Healey Willan, the most famous Canadian sacred music composer of his day.²⁸ Scott's second text, on the day of judgement, has entered

²⁴ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #119 and #229. Until the publication of *26 Hymns* in 1971, only the texts from *Hymns & Songs* (1969) were known to hymnal revision committees.

²⁵ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #74 'Forgive our sins, as we forgive', and #323 'The Son of God proclaim'.

²⁶ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #25 and # 275. The two hymns were written after the publication of the first United Church hymnal, *The Hymnary* (1930). 'Eternal, Unchanging, we sing to thy praise' was included in *The Canadian Youth Hymnal* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1939) at #50. 'O day of God draw nigh' was published in *Hymns for Worship* (1939). R. B. Y. Scott taught Old Testament studies at United Theological College in Montreal (1931-55) and in the Department of Religion at Princeton University (1955-68). Osborne, #25.

²⁷ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #25, vv. 2:4 and 3.

²⁸ For more information, see 'The Hymn Tunes of Healey Willan (1880-1968)' by Giles B. Bryant in *The Hymn* 31: 3 (October 1980), 236-39.

numerous hymnals in Great Britain and in North America. Stanley Osborne has described it as ‘one of the best hymns to have come out of Canada in this century.’²⁹ It was a powerful, poignant text in 1938:

O day of God, draw nigh
in beauty and in power;
come with thy timeless judgement now
to match our present hour.

Bring to our troubled minds,
uncertain and afraid,
the quiet of a steadfast faith,
calm of a call obeyed.

Bring to our world of strife
thy sovereign word of peace,
that war may haunt the earth no more
and desolation cease.³⁰

The content of the text is not dated yet.

‘Sing ye praises to the Father’, written by Scott in 1964, was printed with the Welsh tune ARFON arranged in the major key by Stanley Osborne.³¹ Scott wrote ‘O world of God’ in 1965 to provide Canadian congregations with an alternative text to William Blake’s ‘And did those feet in ancient time’, and to encourage the continued use of JERUSALEM by C. H. H. Parry. It concluded with the hope of the Easter paradox:

²⁹ Osborne, #275.

³⁰ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #275, vv. 1, 2 and 4. The tune, BELLWOODS, was composed by the Canadian organist James Hopkirk as a setting of ‘Blest be the tie that binds’ for *The Hymn Book* (1938). The editors of the *American Episcopal Hymnal 1940* first associated Hopkirk’s tune with Scott’s text.

³¹ Osborne, #38. This use of ARFON in the major mode appears to be a North American custom. Carlton Young composed the harmony for ARFON (MAJOR) for the *American Methodist Hymnal* (1966). See Fred D. Gealy, Austin C. Lovelace and Carlton R. Young, *Companion to the Hymnal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), 368. Fred Pratt Green encountered difficulty with this tune which he favoured for his hymn on the Church and the Kingdom, ‘Where Christ is, his Church is there’. When he received the printer’s proof pages for his *26 Hymns* he discovered that the hymn had been set to ARFON in a different metre. He had written it for the version published in the *American Methodist Hymnal* (1966). Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 10, Scrapbook 3, 4-5.

O world of time's far-stretching years!
 There was a day when time stood still,
 a central moment when there rose
 a cross upon a cruel hill;
 in pain and death love's power was seen,
 the mystery of time revealed,
 the wisdom of the ways of God,
 the grace through which man's hurt is healed.³²

Other Canadian hymn writers in *The Hymn Book* (1971) included Walter Farquharson, a United Church minister from Saltcoats, Saskatchewan, and T. Herbert O'Driscoll, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral in Vancouver at that time. Farquharson's 'God who gives to life its goodness' quickly became one of the favourite new hymns in the book:

God who gives to life its goodness,
 God creator of all joy,
 God who gives to man his freedom,
 God who blesses tool and toy:
 teach us now to laugh and praise you,
 deep within your praises sing,
 till the whole creation dances
 for the goodness of its King.³³

Among his other hymns were one for baptism, 'Father of the human family', and two on stewardship of the earth and its resources.³⁴ 'For beauty of prairies' celebrated the author's Canadian geographical location; it also lamented human failure to care for the land that we have been given to use:

As stewards of beauty received at your hand,
 as creatures who hear your most urgent command,
 we turn from our wasteful destruction of life,
 confessing our failures, confessing our strife.³⁵

³² *The Hymn Book* (1971), #89, v. 3. Following Dr. Scott's death on 1 November 1987, an anthology of forty-two hymns was compiled by Margarete Emminghaus and Gordon Nodwell. *Hymns by R. B. I. Scott* was published by Deer Park United Church in Toronto.

³³ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #88, v. 1. The appeal of the text was enhanced by Cyril Taylor's popular tune, ABBOT'S LEIGH. See Osborne, #88.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, #319) 'Father of the human family', #378) 'For beauty of prairies', and #380) 'Hear us, our Father, as we pray for those who till the soil'.

³⁵ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #378, v. 2. It was one of fifteen hymns listed in the subject index under the sub-title 'Ecology'.

In the third and final stanza of this ecology hymn from the mid-1960s Farquharson noted that 'all nature around us is ours but on lease'.³⁶ His second hymn was written at a time when international grain markets were glutted, and prairie grain elevators were overflowing. It was a prayer that God would 'give purpose to our toil'. Living in an era of chemical fertilizers and extensive mechanization of farming, he called for responsible use of human knowledge in nurturing the land:

Our work, our knowledge, and our plans,
we offer for your use;
teach us to live in such a way
this land knows no abuse.³⁷

Herbert O'Driscoll contributed 'God who hast caused to be written thy word for our learning', a hymn based on the Collect, Epistle and Gospel in the Anglican lectionary for the second Sunday in Advent. It was set to CAUSA DIVINA by F. R. C. Clarke.³⁸ A second hymn, 'From the slave pens of the delta' reflected the Exodus theology of the 1960s. The concluding stanza vividly depicted the turmoil of the decade:

In the maelstrom of the nations,
in the journeying into space,
in the clash of generations,
in the hungering for grace,
in man's agony and glory,
we are called to newer ways
by the Lord of our tomorrows
and the God of earth's todays.³⁹

³⁶ In 1975 Fred Pratt Green used the idea that God's creation is ours 'on lease' in his 'Of all the Spirit's gifts to me', based on Galatians 5:22, where he wrote: 'And life itself is ours on lease'. *Hymns & Psalms* (London: Methodist Publishing House, 1983), #320; and *Companion to Hymns & Psalms*, ed. by Richard Watson and Kenneth Trickett (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1988), #320 (p. 208).

³⁷ 'Hear us, our Father, as we pray for those who till the soil', *The Hymn Book* (1971), #380, v. 3.

³⁸ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #99. A graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, O'Driscoll emigrated to Canada in the 1950s. Osborne, #99. This Canadian hymn attracted attention in Great Britain. It was included in the *Act of Praise* (Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1972), *Hymns for Celebration* (1974) edited by Erik Routley and John Wilson, *Praise for Today* (1974), *Hymns & Psalms* (1983), and in *Praise and Thanksgiving* (supplement to *Hymns for Church and School*, 1985). F. R. C. Clarke, letter to author, 24 October 1994.

³⁹ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #170, v. 4.

The psalms were recognized as a continuing source of inspiration in the modern world. John Webster Grant prepared a new translation of Psalm 122 - 'With joy we go up to the house of the Lord'.⁴⁰ His approach to translating psalm texts was similar to concurrent work being done by Joseph Gelineau. Grant explained:

what I have done in each case is to try to envisage the meaning of the words for the 20th century and to reproduce it as well as I could. At various times I have been seized with the conviction that a particular set of words needed to be given an updated English version. In a sense, translation seems to be an extension of editing.⁴¹

Grant translated four Latin hymns for the new hymn book. 'O Holy Spirit, by whose breath' was printed alongside John Cosin's translation of the ninth-century text, 'Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire', sharing the same plainsong melody, VENI CREATOR, in Healey Willan's arrangement. Grant described the work of the Holy Spirit in active terms, taking an approach similar to that of Albert Bayly:

O Holy Spirit, by whose breath
life rises vibrant out of death:
come to create, renew, inspire;
come, kindle in our hearts your fire.

In you God's energy is shown,
to us your varied gifts made known.
Teach us to speak; teach us to hear;
yours is the tongue and yours the ear.⁴²

In the second hymn, 'Holy Spirit, font of light', translated from a thirteenth-century text, he again offered a contemporary perspective on the work of the Holy Spirit:

⁴⁰ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #17. The tune is WISBECH, a new composition by Alfred E. Whitehead, an English organist from Peterborough, who taught at the University of McGill in Montreal and was Dean of Music at Mount Allison University in Sackville, NB, from 1947 to 1953. Osborne, #17.

⁴¹ Osborne, #17. See Routley, *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody*, 212, where he praised the hymns by R. B. Y. Scott and the translations by John Webster Grant.

⁴² *The Hymn Book* (1971), #246, vv. 1 and 3. John Cosin's 'Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire' is at #245.

Holy Spirit, font of light,
 focus of God's glory bright,
 shed on us a shining ray.
 Father of the fatherless,
 giver of gifts limitless,
 come and touch our hearts today.

With your soft, refreshing rains
 break our drought, remove our stains;
 bind up all our injuries.
 Shake with rushing wind our will;
 melt with fire our icy chill;
 bring to light our perjuries.⁴³

Although the second of these verses begins with a phrase from 'We plough the fields and scatter' ('soft, refreshing rain', here turned into a metaphor), usually the imagery of the Holy Spirit in recent hymns and translations contrasts strongly with that common in nineteenth-century hymns, where the Holy Spirit often appeared as a quiet agent of God's grace. Hymn writers had used the metaphors of 'Comforter', 'Friend', and 'Guide'. The Holy Spirit was the source of sanctification, the purifier of the inner spirit of the worshipper, the 'Breath of God' - the One who would enable the saints on earth to be united with the saints in heaven at the end of the earthly pilgrimage. *The Hymn Book* (1971) contained a mixture of such nineteenth-century hymns along with new texts which presented the Holy Spirit as an energetic, creative force in human life.

Grant also prepared modern translations of 'Vexilla regis prodeunt' by Venantius Fortunatus, and of the sixth-century hymn - 'Rex gloriose martyrum'.⁴⁴ In its search for modern texts and tunes, the joint hymnal committee commissioned Canadian contributors to provide contemporary translations of ancient texts and to make new arrangements of older tunes written for those hymns.⁴⁵ In addition to the translations of Latin office

⁴³ Ibid., #248, vv. 1 and 4.

⁴⁴ Ibid., #446) 'The flaming banners of our king' (set opposite to J. M. Neale's 'The royal banners forward go'); and #500) 'King of the martyrs' noble band'.

⁴⁵ The two translations of the Fortunatus text were set to its proper plainsong tune, VEXILLA REGIS, in a Willan arrangement. The sixth-century hymn was also set to its proper tune, REX GLORIOSE MARTYRUM, arranged by Willan, and to a tune from the Andernach 'Gesangbuch' of 1608, REX

hymns, the committee requested one of its members, Jay Macpherson, to write new translations of German hymns. Her version of 'Ein feste Burg' began:

Our God's a fortress firm and sure,
a strong defence around us.
With him we know our cause secure,
though griefs and pain surround us.
Our old malicious foe
is set to work us woe:
both force and sly deceit
he'll use for our defeat:
no earthly power can match him.⁴⁶

The others were 'Sun of righteousness, shine forth' and "'Sleepers, wake!" the watch are calling'.⁴⁷ As it had done with the Latin hymn tunes, the music committee asked Canadian composers to make new arrangements for some of the well-known tunes associated with the German hymn texts.⁴⁸ The joint committee was assisted in this work by two distinguished Canadian consultants, Professor Northrop Frye and Sir Ernest MacMillan.⁴⁹

Women hymn writers contributed several new texts to *The Hymn Book* (1971). 'God who stretched the spangled heavens', by Catherine Bonnell Arnott [Cameron], conveyed a sociologist's perspective on modern urban society:

GLORIOSE, in an arrangement by Charles Peaker, organist at the University of Toronto and at St. Paul's Anglican Church in the city.

⁴⁶ Ibid., #135, v. 1. Jay Macpherson, a published poet, was professor of English at Victoria College, University of Toronto.

⁴⁷ Ibid., #227) a translation of 'Sonnen der Gerechtigkeit', a composite hymn by Christian David, Christian Gottlob Barth and Johann Christian Nehring; and #394) a new version of 'Wachet auf' by Philip Nicolai.

⁴⁸ F. R. C. Clarke, 'Some musical aspects of *The Hymn Book*, 1971', in *Sing Out the Glad News: Hymn Tunes in Canada*, ed. by John Beckwith (Toronto: Institute for Canadian Music, 1987), 149-55 (p. 151). Clarke noted that where copyright costs were prohibitive for well-known tune arrangements, Canadian composers were asked to reharmonize some tunes in the public domain.

⁴⁹ Professor Frye was ordained as a minister in the United Church of Canada before he began teaching at the University of Toronto. Sir Ernest MacMillan, Dean of the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto (1927-52) and conductor of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (1931-56), had arranged hymn tunes for his father, Alexander MacMillan, who edited two Canadian hymn books - *The Book of Praise* (1918) and *The Hymnary* (1930), and was the author of *Hymns of the Church* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1935). Osborne, #183.

Proudly rise our modern cities,
 stately buildings, row on row;
 yet their windows, blank, unfeeling,
 stare on canyoned streets below,
 where the lonely drift unnoticed
 in the city's ebb and flow,
 lost to purpose and to meaning,
 scarcely caring where they go.⁵⁰

Her second hymn, 'O Christ, who came to share our human life', was set to Erik

Routley's tune CLIFF TOWN.⁵¹ Frances Wheeler Davis wrote 'Let there be light' in

1968, during a period of intense political and social conflict in Quebec:

Let there be light,
 let there be understanding,
 let all the nations gather,
 let them be face to face;

open our lips,
 open our minds to ponder,
 open the door of concord
 opening into grace;

perish the sword,
 perish the angry judgement,
 perish the bombs and hunger,
 perish the fight for gain;

let there be light,
 open our hearts to wonder,
 perish the way of terror,
 hallow the world God made.⁵²

⁵⁰ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #158, v. 1. The hymn was set to CARN BREA, a new tune composed by Derek Holman of the University of Toronto, named after a granite outcrop in his native Cornwall. The author, Catherine Cameron, is a Canadian-born sociologist who taught at the University of La Verne in California. Osborne, #158. This hymn text was first published in the supplement, *Contemporary Worship 1 - Hymns* (1969), by the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship (ILCW), a coalition of Lutheran churches in the United States and Canada formed in 1966 to prepare a new hymnal and service book. The commission published a series of booklets entitled *Contemporary Worship* to test new hymns and service music. R. Harold Terry, 'Lutheran Hymnody in North America', in Marilyn Kay Stulken, *Hymnal Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 113.

⁵¹ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #251.

⁵² *The Hymn Book* (1971), #274, vv. 1-3 and 6. Born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Frances Wheeler Davis, a poet and English lecturer, has taught in Montreal since the early 1960s at Concordia University and at Vanier College. Frances W. Davis to author, 9 June 1994.

Robert Fleming, one of the Canadian musicians recruited to compose new hymn tunes for *The Hymn Book* (1971), created CONCORD for this text.⁵³ He also composed HERITAGE, a tune for a prairie carol written in 1958 by Frieda Major of Winnipeg. 'No crowded eastern street' expresses a distinctively western Canadian view of the nativity, setting the birth of the Christ child in the present:

No crowded eastern street,
no sound of passing feet;
far to the left and far to the right
the prairie snows spread fair and white;
yet still to us is born tonight
the child, the King of glory.⁵⁴

The joint committee succeeded in finding hymns written and composed by contributors from across the country, a necessary balance for an ecumenical hymn book being compiled at the time of the Canadian centennial celebrations in 1967 when awareness of national identity was at a peak. Along with the more traditional church music, it chose a Canadian carol, 'Twas in the moon of wintertime', written about 1642 by the French missionary Jean de Brébeuf for the aboriginal community at Ste-Marie-among-the-Hurons at Georgian Bay on Lake Superior.⁵⁵ It was also essential that the committee include a number of French texts. The small Église Unie du Canada, based in the province of Quebec, deserved recognition although it had its own French-language

⁵³ Robert Fleming, from Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, studied with Arthur Benjamin and Herbert Howells at the Royal College of Music in London. Later he became a student of Healey Willan at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto. An associate professor of music at Carlton University in Ottawa, he composed fifty hymn tunes and at least eight settings for the Anglican Eucharist, including a *Mass of St. Thomas*. He completed a setting of the new Canadian Anglican rite just before his death in November 1976. Osborne, #274. 'Robert Fleming', by Elaine Keillor, in *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981, rev. ed. 1992), 468-69.

⁵⁴ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #428, v. 1. Osborne, #428.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, #412. Osborne, #412. It was printed in English only, in a translation made in the 1920s by Jesse Edgar Middleton of Toronto. The hymn is set to JESOUS AHATONHIA, a tune derived from the melody of a sixteenth-century French song known as 'Une Jeune Pucelle'. No record exists of the tune sung by Brébeuf. The arrangement in *The Hymn Book* (1971) was prepared by H. Barrie Cabena, an Australian who studied with John Dykes Bower, W. S. Lloyd Webber, Herbert Howells, and Eric Harrison at the Royal Conservatory of Music (London) before he emigrated to Canada in the mid 1950s. He took up a post as professor of organ and church music at Wilfrid Laurier University in 1970. '(Harold) Barrie Cabena', by Walter H. Kemp, in the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (rev. ed. 1992), 182.

hymn books for weekly use.⁵⁶ Moreover, at that time national sensitivity to the Franco-Canadian community was acute, following several years of political lobbying and violent demonstrations culminating in the 'October Crisis' of 1970.⁵⁷ The collection was small, only fourteen texts, but it marked the development of a new dimension in Canadian hymnals.⁵⁸ *The Hymnary* (1930) and *The Hymn Book* (1938) did not contain any French texts, not even the national anthem, 'O Canada' - a French text written in 1880 by Judge Adolphe B. Routhier.⁵⁹ The French hymns in *The Hymn Book* (1971) provided a small collection of familiar hymns for use in ecumenical services at Christmas and Easter, at general occasions of Christian worship, and at occasions of bilingual national celebration.

Contemporary influences

Although it followed Vatican II, and was influenced by the international ecumenical spirit fostered by the renewal of the Roman Catholic Church, *The Hymn Book* (1971) did not contain any hymns by James Quinn, S.J., from his *New Hymns for All Seasons* (1969), or any other substantial contributions from Roman Catholic sources.⁶⁰ However, a hymn by Isaac Watts was set to a tune by a Scottish Roman

⁵⁶ *Livret des fidèles* (Montreal, 1966) was widely used by French-Canadian Protestant congregations. 'Hymn singing', by Stanley Osborne and John Beckwith, in the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (rev. ed. 1992), 621.

⁵⁷ During the 1960s Canadians witnessed the emergence of Quebec separatism, letter-box bombings by the Front de la Libération du Québec and other underground political cell groups, the destruction of the computer laboratories at Sir George Williams University in Montreal (now Concordia University), and ultimately the kidnapping and murder of the deputy premier, Pierre Laporte, in October 1970. Desmond Morton, *A Short History of Canada*, third revised edition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1997), 280-84.

⁵⁸ *The Hymn Book* (1971), #1) 'Vous créatures du Seigneur', trans. by J. J. Bovet; #12) 'Vous, qui sur la terre habitez' by Théodore de Bèze; #41) 'A toi la gloire' by Edmond Louis Budry; #55) 'La grâce de notre Sauveur'; #146) 'L'église universelle a pour roc Jésus Christ', trans. by Fernand Barth; #174) 'Debout, sainte cohorte, soldats du Roi des rois'; #179) 'Jésus vit'; #217) 'O Canada' by Adolphe B. Routhier; #218) 'Dieu protège la Reine'; #326) 'Pain vivant donné pour nos âmes', trans. by Henri Capieu; #332) 'Oh! que toute chair se taise', trans. by Suzanne Bidgrain; #348) 'Seigneur, daigne affermir ma main', trans. by Flossette du Pasquier; #409) 'Les anges dans nos campagnes'; and #465) 'Aujourd'hui, jour de mémoire'. Several translations were taken from the 1951 edition of *Cantate Domino*.

⁵⁹ 'O Canada', by Gilles Potvin and Helmut Kallmann, in *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (rev. ed. 1992), 957-59.

⁶⁰ James Quinn, S.J., *New Hymns for All Seasons* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1969).

Catholic priest. 'My God, the spring of all my joys' was associated with CLONARD by William McClelland, from *The St. Andrew Hymnal* (1964).⁶¹

The work of the joint committee for the Canadian hymn book coincided with the early stages of liturgical renewal. Godfrey Ridout was commissioned to compose new music for Holy Communion, setting a text developed by the International Consultation on English in the Liturgy.⁶² Other liturgical materials, familiar to Anglican congregations in Canada, included Healey Willan's arrangement of the Merbecke service and Willan's setting for Holy Communion taken from *The Hymn Book* (1938).⁶³ The committee made an effort to provide various settings of the liturgy composed by Canadian musicians. The roster of composers included Healey Willan, F. R. C. Clarke, Alfred Whitehead, Godfrey Hewitt, Derek Holman, Robert Bell, Godfrey Ridout, and Frederick Chubb.⁶⁴

The committee's choices reflected the musical and textual standards of the first half of the twentieth century, with a strong Canadian national bias. Very little of the 'quasi-pop', or even of the older gospel hymn genre, appeared in *The Hymn Book* (1971). Within a few months of its publication, however, a small supplement entitled *Sing 1* was issued by a sub-committee of four Anglican members of the original joint committee.⁶⁵ The introduction began:

This booklet brings to our congregations
a collection of hymns and songs
that can in general be called folk.
Some of these embody the hope and faith of the oppressed
who lived many years ago.

⁶¹ Osborne, #136.

⁶² *The Hymn Book* (1971), #509.

⁶³ Ibid., #507 and #508.

⁶⁴ F. R. C. Clarke named twenty Canadian composers who contributed forty-seven tunes to the hymnal, and nine others who wrote service music and provided harmonizations and arrangements of existing hymn tunes. Clarke chaired the hymn tune committee. Clarke, 'Some Musical Aspects', 153-54.

⁶⁵ *Sing 1*, (Toronto: Joint Committee on the Preparation of the Hymn Book, The Anglican Church of Canada and the United Church of Canada, May, 1972). The members of the committee were the Reverend David R. McGuire, the Reverend Edgar S. Bull, Professor William Kilbourn and the Reverend John E. Speers.

Others are of our time,
 written in contemporary style,
 dealing with our scene.
 Some are published here for the first time.⁶⁶

It was a collection of thirty-six hymns, songs and liturgical pieces, similar to the songbooks edited by Peter Smith for Galliard and by Carlton Young for Hope Publishing Company. It contained contemporary hymns by Fred Kaan and Brian Wren, African-American spirituals and Lutheran songs for young people, a modern carol by Herbert O'Driscoll, a song by the Dutch Roman Catholic writer Huub Oosterhuis, and Psalm 23 by Joseph Gelineau from the Grail publications. Two popular religious songs of the era appeared in this booklet - 'Shalom', an Israeli round, and the American freedom song 'We shall overcome' from the civil rights movement. One of the folk songs caught the spirit of the collection itself, 'Christ is changing everything':

I sense an unseen world beyond the swirling sun,
 I look for mysteries that haven't yet begun,
 I trust in hands of love to heal the wrong we've done,
 for I believe that Christ is changing everything,
 everything, everything, everything!⁶⁷

The Hymn Book (1971) and its first supplement *Sing I* (1972) marked the change in hymnody from the model established by *Hymns Ancient & Modern* (1861) to a new style of hymn book which would be introduced in North America with the publication of the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978). Old and new modes of hymn-singing functioned side by side in the early 1970s. Numerous hymn supplements, such as *Sing I*, were issued to test various new forms of sacred song. The traditional hymn form continued, albeit in current language and responding to changing theological perspectives. The development of new liturgies and the introduction of the Roman Catholic *Lectionary for Mass* (1969) created a need for new hymnody to supplement or replace existing liturgical

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ 'Christ is changing everything', by Norman C. Habel and Richard Koehneke, in *Sing I* (1972), #31, v. 3. It was published in 1968 by the Lutheran Church in America at Fortress Press in Philadelphia.

settings. Hymnody which reflected the immediate social and cultural circumstances of the community seemed to take a dramatic turn in favour of the popular music of the youth culture. New rhythms, and instruments, were beginning to be heard in church chancels as well as church basements. A unison folk-song style, linking text and tune, was modified from popular concert venues and recordings into a new format for religious music. By 1972 it was clear that congregational hymnody was changing. No one could predict where the quest for new hymns and songs would lead.

Post Vatican II: Roman Catholic congregational hymnody

An official trial period for the development and testing of new congregational hymnody written in vernacular language for the Roman Catholic Church began on the first Sunday in Advent in 1969. It was to continue until the first Sunday in Advent of 1971.⁶⁸ The Roman Catholic Church was implementing a programme of 'theology and action', similar to the one Ian Fraser had advocated in 1949. Its 'Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy', permitting the use of vernacular languages in the liturgy and declaring that the laity should participate directly in it, had been proclaimed on 4 December 1963. The ecclesiastical authorities at Rome were applying the church's imprimatur to a body of congregational music which had been in use for some time: the deliberations at Vatican II codified worship practices rather than initiating them.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ 'New Mass for the masses', *Sunday Telegraph*, 30 November 1969, Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS 1, John Wilson Hymn Papers, Box 2B: Lectures and Broadcasts 1970-71, newspaper clipping. This section will concentrate exclusively upon the emergence of Roman Catholic hymnody immediately following Vatican II. It will not address the coincidental development of scriptural and other lighter forms of Roman Catholic worship songs.

⁶⁹ Frank C Quinn, O.P., gives a useful overview of the initiatives and struggles in the development of hymnody within Roman Catholic liturgy, after Pope Pius X permitted congregational singing in the worship of the church with his *Motu proprio* issued on St. Cecilia's Day in 1904. 'Liturgical Music as Corporate Song 2: Problems of Hymnody in Catholic Worship', in *Liturgy and Music: Lifetime Learning*, ed. by Robin A. Leaver and Joyce Ann Zimmerman (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 308-23. A second, more general article, by Michael James Molloy, explains the historical practice of hymn singing in Roman Catholic worship. 'Liturgical Music as Corporate Song 3: Opportunities for Hymnody in Catholic Worship', 324-339.

The momentum for change stemmed from the French translation of the *Bible de Jérusalem* in the 1950s, providing biblical text in the vernacular which could be adapted into congregational psalms and hymns for use in worship. Already having started work on developing a new way for congregations to sing the Psalms, Joseph Gelineau became associated with the translators of the Psalms to work together to prepare text suitable for congregational singing. Gelineau published his first volume of psalm tones and antiphons in 1953.⁷⁰ The Centre of Pastoral Liturgy hosted its conference on the 'The Bible and Liturgy' at Strasbourg in 1957, where the canticle 'Dieu, nous avons vu ta gloire en ton Christ' set by Jean Langlais was first sung at the Saturday service of Vigils in which lessons were read in the vernacular and Gelineau's psalm settings were used.⁷¹ In that year, Gelineau and a group of colleagues including the liturgist Lucien Deiss, C.S.Sp., formed the Association of St. Ambrose for the study of congregational singing, a group which was responsible for the review *Église qui chante* and a study series on aspects of congregational music known as *Études de 'Kinnor'*, named after the instrument used by the Hebrew people to accompany their psalm-singing and prayers.⁷² That momentum to provide texts and music for congregational participation in Roman Catholic worship gained strength as church musicians and liturgists became informed about one another's work through such reviews and study books, and at annual congresses of church musicians.

After meeting informally at Crésuz, Essen, Taizé, and Fribourg, Joseph Gelineau and others interested in the reform of Roman Catholic church music decided at their meeting in Lugano, Switzerland, in 1966, to form *Universa Laus*, an international

⁷⁰ Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 255.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, #395, 156-57.

⁷² Joseph Gelineau, S.J., *Chant et Musique dans le Culte Chrétien*, Collection 'Kinnor' (Paris: Editions Fleurus, 1962), 1-2. Gelineau's book launched the series published by the Association of St. Ambrose.

association for research in liturgical music.⁷³ Papers presented by members of *Universa Laus* indicate that their enquiries followed similar lines to those being investigated, at the same time, by the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation at Dunblane. Both groups were formed to study the music of congregational worship. Musicologists in *Universa Laus* initially concentrated their discussion on the function, form and meaning of liturgical music.⁷⁴ The group then turned its attention to testing liturgical settings for the revised mass.⁷⁵ The work of two Dutch Jesuit hymn writers and liturgists, Bernard Huijbers and Huub Oosterhuis, represented their country's interest in the relationship of poetry, music and hymnody.⁷⁶ As occurred at the Dunblane consultations, members of *Universa Laus* engaged in debate over what constituted 'good' music and how to cope with the growing use of 'pop' styles of music in liturgical rites:

⁷³ 'Universa Laus: A Brief History', unsigned, 1-11 (p. 1), Durham University Library, Pratt Green MSS, J. P. Morison Papers, uncatalogued, *Universa Laus*, 1973 File. One year after *Universa Laus* was chartered, a second international society for the study of liturgy was organized. *Societas Liturgica* is an interdenominational group of scholars and liturgists who concentrate on ecumenical studies in worship and liturgy. The two societies met independently at Montserrat in the summer of 1973. By that time each was searching for ways to cope liturgically with extensive social, religious and cultural change. J. P. Morison Papers, uncatalogued, 'Two meetings at Montserrat', *Universa Laus*, 1973 File.

⁷⁴ 'Universa Laus: A Brief History', 7. Jean Lebon, 'Ten Years after Vatican II', Durham University Library, Pratt Green Collection, J. P. Morison Papers, uncatalogued, Strasbourg, 1974 File.

⁷⁵ 'Universa Laus: A Brief History', 8-9. 'Whereas at the very beginning Univ. Laus was very sensitive about celebrating model liturgies, in the various languages represented, in perfect compliance with the reformed regulations then in effect, as a means of demonstrating that worship could be functionally correct and artistically in good taste, the emphasis has since then gradually shifted, after a strenuous, exhausting twist with all possible functions analyzed inside out, towards stimulating and fostering complete celebrations of a more experimental nature, trying to draw on the local talent available and to involve responsible church musicians in the planning from the start.' (p. 9)

⁷⁶ The anonymous author [J. P. Morison?] of 'Universa Laus: A Brief History' described the productive experimental work being accomplished in The Netherlands: 'The Dutch scene is also witnessing some very efficient cooperation between poets and composers, whereby the emphasis lies textually rather on more recent, existential, theological currents, on the surface not quite as biblically impregnated as the French repertoire. Here again ample use is made of cheaper, looseleaf, unbound editions, which because of the size of the country, quickly go the rounds and are thus exposed to immediate experimentation.' (p. 5)

But no matter how different the traditions and cultural habits of each nation, we have all been confronted with one common experience: the apparent cheap, repetitious, folksy or popular text productions known under the more or less felicitous concept of 'rhythmical' selections. The question confronting us here however is an earnest one: when are the words being sung in liturgical worship of major impact, when are they of relatively minor importance? At what moment of what type of celebration is concentration on the sung text desirable and for what reasons?⁷⁷

The purpose of *Universa Laus* was to serve the international Roman Catholic community as a forum for exchanging ideas and knowledge about revisions in the liturgy, and to assess various approaches to the writing of new liturgies. Its members did not meet to write new hymns or other pieces which could be sent directly to congregations for trial.⁷⁸ In this respect it differed from the Dunblane consultations, where working parties were assigned the task of creating new hymns and tunes for congregational use. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to study the development of contemporary European hymnody, only to acknowledge it and to note the existence of striking similarities between the Roman Catholic congress on church music, and the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation in their mutual work to encourage participation by the laity in the worship of the Christian church after Vatican II.⁷⁹

Congregational hymnody written in the vernacular for the English Roman Catholic Church had its origins in the nineteenth century. Three Anglo-Catholic participants in the Oxford Movement who converted to Roman Catholicism between 1845 and 1847 - John Henry Newman, Edward Caswall, and Frederick William Faber -

⁷⁷ Ibid., 6. The author goes on to comment on the importance of gramophone recordings (by companies such as SM studios in Paris, Schwann records in Düsseldorf, and the Didascalia series in Hilversum) in disseminating newly-composed hymns and psalm settings across Europe.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁷⁹ The J. P. Morison Papers in the Pratt Green Collection at Durham University Library contain transcripts of papers given at congresses which preceded the formation of *Universa Laus* and of the early meetings of that association. The Pratt Green Collection also holds issues of *Church Music*, the English Roman Catholic journal which documented the development of congregational liturgy after Vatican II. Used in conjunction with the hymnal collection, the Morison Papers provide a useful starting point for research on contemporary Roman Catholic congregational hymnody.

had established its foundation, beginning with Caswall's hymns and translations of Latin hymns published in his *Lyra Catholica* (1849), *Masque of Mary and Other Poems* (1858) and other volumes.⁸⁰ Richard Runciman Terry, also an Anglican by birth who joined the Roman Catholic church in 1896, edited the *Westminster Hymnal* (1912, 1940), the first official English Roman Catholic hymnal.⁸¹ It was his student, Anthony Gregory Murray, O.S.B. - a novice at the Westminster Choir School only two years after the first edition of the hymnal was published, who led the development of liturgical music and congregational hymnody for the English Roman Catholic church during the years of its transformation between 1932 (when he was first appointed organist and choirmaster at Downside Abbey) and the mid-1970s.⁸² In addition to his work as an organ recitalist and educator, Murray contributed hymn tunes, harmonizations and arrangements of plainsong to the revised edition of the *Westminster Hymnal*. His UBI CARITAS, a plainsong setting for the translation of this text by Ronald A. Knox for the 1940 revised edition, was subsequently set to two other translations of the same text - James Quinn's 'God is love, and where true love is' in his *New Hymns for All Seasons* (1969) and Anthony Petti's 'Where true love and kindness are found' for the *New Catholic Hymnal*

⁸⁰ Edward Caswall, author of 'See, amid the winter's snow' and translator of 'When morning gilds the skies', also published *A May Pageant and Other Poems* (1865) and *Hymns and Other Poems* (1873). Frederick William Faber, author of 'Faith of our fathers' and 'There's a wideness in God's mercy', published *Jesus and Mary: or Catholic Hymns for Singing or Reading* (1849, 1852) and *Oratory Hymns* (1854). Marilyn Kay Stulken, 'Authors and Composers', in *Hymnal Companion to Worship - Third Edition*, ed. by Catherine Salika and Marilyn Kay Stulken (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1998), 'Edward Caswall', pp. 39-40, and 'Frederick William Faber', pp. 69-70. John Henry Newman wrote 'Lead, kindly light' in 1836 before his conversion, and later, 'Praise to the holiest in the height' (from *The Dream of Gerontius*, 1865); Watson and Trickett, *Companion to Hymns & Psalms*, #67 (pp. 72-73), #231 (pp. 159-60), and pp. 592-93. For an analysis of the hymn writing by Newman, Faber and Caswell see J. R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), Chapter 14: 'The Oxford Movement, and the Revival of Ancient Hymnody', 355-73.

⁸¹ Watson and Trickett, 555.

⁸² Erik Routley considered Murray to be 'the most beneficial and vigorous single influence in English Catholic hymnody during his lifetime', a composer with a 'gift for healthy and singable melody' in a dignified style. Routley, *The Music of Christian Hymns*, 'The Roman Catholics in the 20th Century', 168-70 (p. 168).

(1971).⁸³ Murray also conducted research on the historical records of Gregorian chant, publishing the results of his studies in *Gregorian Chants According to the Manuscripts* (1963).⁸⁴ His work on the restoration of historically authentic Gregorian chant paralleled John Wilson's analysis of the original forms of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century hymn tunes for *Hymns for Church and School* (1964). The two musicians also shared a common interest in encouraging the improvement of congregational singing. According to Marilyn Stulken, Murray conducted a lecture tour in the United States in 1959, 'speaking on church music, with a special concern for the introduction of the vernacular into Roman Catholic worship'.⁸⁵

In the 1960s Murray began a successful collaboration with Joseph Gelineau, to adapt the French method of setting the psalms to create an English Grail edition of the Gelineau psalter. Murray composed antiphons in English musical idiom, to supplement the French antiphons Gelineau had created out of his study of French folk music and of the structure of French recitative. Murray's antiphons took up the rhythmic patterns of Gelineau's psalm tones, which were derived from the rhythms of the Hebraic texts.⁸⁶ Gelineau had recommended that new antiphons be composed in an English musical style suited to English congregations, rather than adapting English texts (translated directly from Hebraic sources) to French antiphons. Murray commented: 'The wisdom of this stipulation reveals a broadmindedness somewhat rare on the part of composers and inventors of new discoveries and has made it possible to produce an entirely English

⁸³ While Ronald Knox was working on his translations of the Vulgate Bible into contemporary English, New Testament (1945) and Old Testament (1950), he also made some hymn translations including 'Where is love and lovingkindness, / God is fain to dwell'.

⁸⁴ Pope Pius X had called for the restoration of Gregorian chant in his *Motu proprio* in 1904. Frank C. Quinn, 'Liturgical Music as Corporate Song 2', 312-13.

⁸⁵ Stulken, *Hymnal Companion to Worship III*, 'A. Gregory Murray', 152-53.

⁸⁶ Milgate gives a synopsis of Gelineau's method in *Songs of the People of God* (1985) at #99 (p. 59). In his *Reflections on the Psalms* (London: Collins, 1961, 1967), C. S. Lewis commented on how the structure of the Psalms facilitated their use in translation: 'I mention only what is most obvious, the Parallelism itself. It is (according to one's point of view) either a wonderful piece of luck or a wise provision of God's, that poetry which was to be turned into all languages should have as its chief formal characteristic one that does not disappear (as mere metre does) in translation.' 'Introduction', 1-2.

equivalent of the original French book, without the shortcomings of a mere 'translation' or adaptation of something essentially foreign.'⁸⁷ In his introduction to the Grail edition of *The Psalms: A New Translation* (1963), Murray compared the rhythm Gelineau had found in the ancient poetry to the pattern of 'sprung rhythm' identified by the nineteenth-century Roman Catholic poet, Gerard Manley Hopkins. This was a pattern known to English readers; they could recognize a similar one in the new psalm tones and antiphons. The one exception in the Gelineau psalter was his melodic setting of Psalm 22/23, which predated his adaptation of the elements of recitative composition into psalm tones.⁸⁸ In Murray's view, the Gelineau psalms had 'the power to re-establish the Psalter as the essential hymnal for the laity'.⁸⁹

From 1948 until his retirement, Murray served as priest to two small congregations. Thus, in addition to his work as organist at Downside Abbey and his composition of liturgical music, he maintained an active role in congregational ministry.⁹⁰ He contributed tunes and arrangements to several Roman Catholic hymn books published in English, including *New Catholic Hymnal* (Faber, 1971) and the revised and enlarged edition of *Praise the Lord* (Geoffrey Chapman, 1972). His music was also accepted for the Scottish *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* (Oxford, 1973), an interesting development in ecumenical relations between the established Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. Each of these hymn books was innovative, but in very different directions.

⁸⁷ A. Gregory Murray, 'Grail-Gelineau Psalms' (London: Grail Publications, n.d.), 4.

⁸⁸ A. Gregory Murray, 'Gelineau Psalmody', in *The Psalms: A New Translation* (London: Collins, 1963, 1966), 11-14.

⁸⁹ Murray, 'Grail-Gelineau Psalms', 6.

⁹⁰ Stulken, 153. Milgate noted that Joseph Gelineau also participated in the training of lay leaders who would serve in communities where no priest was available. *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 255-56. It is interesting that John Wilson, Joseph Gelineau and Gregory Murray maintained direct links with congregational worship, practising the skills they were teaching.

The *New Catholic Hymnal* was compiled by Anthony Petti and Geoffrey

Laycock, who adapted the model of the *Cambridge Hymnal*, a school and student hymn book of 1967, to produce a congregational hymn book. Petti, a poet and professor of English, and Laycock, organist and composer in the cathedral tradition and a lecturer in music at a Norwich college, strove for the highest possible literary and musical standards, within the scope of contemporary language and musical idiom. They modified the literary and musical ambitions of the editors of the *Cambridge Hymnal* (David Holbrook and Elizabeth Poston), and enlarged the liturgical dimensions of that book to create an imaginative hymnal which could serve as a congregational worship book, in contrast to the school book which deliberately lacked a 'church ethos'.⁹¹

Laycock followed the example set by Elizabeth Poston in her choice of twentieth-century composers to create new hymn tunes. He commissioned three tunes and one harmonization by Elizabeth Poston, one by Lennox Berkeley, two arrangements of hymn tunes by Benjamin Britten (with texts by Peter Pears), two tunes by Herbert Howells, and one by Edmund Rubbra. To these Laycock added two tunes by William Tamblyn, one of which was a setting of Brian Wren's 'Lord Christ, the father's mighty son'. Laycock chose several hymn tunes composed by twentieth-century Roman Catholic church musicians: SEEK THE LORD by Richard Connolly to the text by James McAuley, from the Australian 'Living Parish' series; two, including UBI CARITAS, by A. Gregory Murray; and five by R. R. Terry. Laycock and Petti also commissioned a large number of new hymn texts. Through their commissions Brian Foley came into prominence as a hymn writer. The *New Catholic Hymnal* introduced the first tune by Michael Dawney, FELINFOEL, as a setting for 'See Christ was wounded for our sake'

⁹¹ Erik Routley, 'The Cambridge Hymnal, 1967', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 109 (Spring 1967), 132-41. Routley described it as a carol and anthem book rather than a hymnal: 'It is fine literature set to music.' (p. 132) Following in the steps of Percy Dearmer's *Songs of Praise Enlarged*, the book did not offer enough hymns for the church year, or hymns to meet the liturgical needs of regular worship, to function alone as a congregational hymn book.

by Foley.⁹² The editors did not include recent hymn texts by James Quinn and by Fred Pratt Green. Anthony Petti revised many texts to remove archaic phrases and to replace 'thee' and 'thou'. Geoffrey Laycock wrote new hymn tunes and revised others to provide a contemporary sound to the music of the hymn book. As in the case of the *Cambridge Hymnal*, the *New Catholic Hymnal* became a quarry of strong contemporary hymn tunes to be mined by future hymnal editors. Laycock's NIAMRYL, set to 'Forgive our sins as we forgive' by Rosamond Herklots, and his HARVEST, to Fred Kaan's 'Now join we to praise the creator', travelled quickly to supplements and hymn books published in response to the 'hymn explosion'.⁹³ One of Anthony Petti's adaptations was published in the *Australian Hymn Book*.⁹⁴ His revised texts and new translations of Latin hymns, including 'Where true love and kindness are found' (*Ubi caritas*), demonstrated new ways of bringing older hymn texts up to date.⁹⁵

A spirit of experiment and new beginnings dominated the introductory pages to this hymn book. The Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Heenan, anticipated that 'the period of experiment in liturgical music is likely to be prolonged'. After noting the generations of effort which had produced the most distinguished settings of the Mass, and the long genesis of Gregorian chant, he continued:

Small wonder that we are still struggling to find worthy music for the vernacular literature with which we are still far from familiar. Fortunately the ecumenical climate allows us to borrow melodies from those other Christian churches which have always praised God in the English tongue. Catholics are already at home with the splendid hymns traditionally and beautifully sung by Anglican and Non-conformist congregations.⁹⁶

⁹² *New Catholic Hymnal*, compiled and edited by Anthony Petti and Geoffrey Laycock (London: Faber Music Limited, 1971), #209. See also Michael Dawney, 'Writing Music for Hymns', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 155 (October, 1982), 66-69.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, #60 and #170. NIAMRYL and HARVEST were included in the Baptist supplement *Praise for Today* (1974) and in the Methodist hymn book *Hymns & Psalms* (1983). HARVEST appeared in the second *Hymns Ancient & Modern* supplement, *More Hymns for Today* (1980).

⁹⁴ His adaptation of C. A. Walworth's translation of the *Te Deum*, 'Holy God, we praise thy name', was reprinted in *The Australian Hymn Book* (1977) at #86.

⁹⁵ *New Catholic Hymnal*, #276.

⁹⁶ 'Foreword', *New Catholic Hymnal*, ix.

It was premature to presume that English Roman Catholics were, by 1971, 'at home' with Protestant hymn tunes, but the Archbishop's words indicated his expectation of the future development of Roman Catholic congregational hymnody. He also acknowledged the folk songs, spirituals and 'protest songs' included by the editors for the young people in the church. Both elements of hymnody, liturgical and lighter styles, were being made available (in English) to Roman Catholic congregations.

The editors used more measured terms to describe the changing circumstances which led to the production of the new hymnal:

Now that sung participation in the Mass is fast becoming the norm, the necessity of having a good and varied repertoire of hymns and spiritual songs is greater than it has ever been. Fortunately, in the new spirit of co-operation among Christian churches the problem is not how the Catholic Church can establish a firm tradition of exclusively her own vernacular hymns, but how she can best further the musical life of the Church Vocal.⁹⁷

Anthony Petti and Geoffrey Laycock had collected more than fifty new settings and seventy new texts and translations for this hymnal, most of which were commissioned specifically for it. They also included a number of hymns written within the preceding decade, and some hymns which were new to a Roman Catholic hymn book. In recognition of the movement toward Christian unity, they drew attention to a hymn entitled 'Into Reunion', written by an Anglican priest (Michael Hewlett), set to UNITY composed by a Methodist, Ewart Knight, and published for the first time in a Roman Catholic hymn book:

Glory to you, dear Christ, who in our day
Call to your brothers to be brothers still;
Out of our hearts and minds to put away
The hurt and prejudice of an ancient ill.

⁹⁷ 'Introduction', xi.

Now, piece by piece, the shattered body stirs,
 Bone to his bone, as in the Prophet's dream.
 Painfully, from the dark unconscious years,
 The Church is waking to her common theme.⁹⁸

The editors described how they chose traditional hymns for the most part, but that they modified both texts and tunes as required in order to bring them up to date. While respecting tradition, the editors reharmonized many hymn tunes to create a harmony consistent with the date of composition of the tune itself, or to strengthen weak arrangements. Textual revision was undertaken 'in the interests of relevance, clarity, and singability, care being taken to preserve literary merit. Modernity for its own sake was not the criterion employed.'⁹⁹ The commissioned hymns were satisfying: 'since they help to dispel two recent myths: that it is impossible to write good modern hymn verse and that great composers do not write good hymn tunes'.¹⁰⁰

The editors urged that teachers (and adults in church congregations) should respect children's abilities to learn and to appreciate well-constructed hymn tunes:

Teachers tend to underestimate the musical potential of children by teaching successive generations the tunes they themselves were taught when young. Children have an instinct for rejecting the less worthy and are able to accept the force of, and enjoy, modern musical concepts more readily than older generations. The alleged unsuitability of some music and words for children is more often imagined than real, except of course in the case of the very young.¹⁰¹

These words echoed John Wilson's convictions that the schools were the creative centres of new hymnody, more so than the churches; and that, with some preparation, children could lead the introduction of new music to congregations. After a few repetitions the new hymn could become accepted as part of the congregation's familiar repertoire.

Four principles determined the choice of texts. First that the language of the texts should be as natural as possible, and not 'highly formalised and ritualistic'. The

⁹⁸ *New Catholic Hymnal*, #72, vv. 1 and 4, xii.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, xii.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, xiii.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, xv.

second priority was to provide hymns with ‘a greater concentration in content on Christ in the World and on the concrete actualities of Christianity’ and less emphasis on the ‘unseen world and the mysteries of life to come’.¹⁰² The focus of hymnody in the early 1970s was on the experience of the present moment; the future should be left to take care of itself. Thirdly, the editors and hymn writers strove to find a balance between intellectual and emotional language in the hymns. The fourth principle which governed the choice of texts was that they should convey ‘a general spirit of happiness and joy (though not complacency)’. The new Roman Catholic hymnody was being shaped, in this book at least, by similar principles to those which guided the work of hymnal supplement committees and the few other hymn book revision committees active at this time. Petti and Laycock concluded: ‘Most important of all, the Editors have tried to ensure that words and music form an integrated and vital act of worship.’¹⁰³

Another Roman Catholic book, the revised and enlarged *Praise the Lord* (1972), edited by John Ainslie, Stephen Dean and Paul Inwood, was a parish hymn book modelled after English Protestant hymn books. It included a good representation of mainstream English hymnody, in addition to plainsong and antiphonal psalms and canticles. As the three editors were musicians, they made an effort to choose settings and arrangements suitable to the human voice and to encourage the development of congregational singing at Mass.¹⁰⁴ *Praise the Lord* contained hymns from the *Yattendon Hymnal* and the *English Hymnal* as well as ones from the Grail edition of *The Psalms* and James Quinn’s *New Hymns for All Seasons* (1969). It included guitar chords where

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid., xvii.

¹⁰⁴ The editors took the somewhat unusual step of restoring some hymn tunes up to the keys in which they had been composed, ‘to ensure that as many hymns as possible have a reasonable overall tessitura - discounting the odd isolated high note - thus maintaining the brightest key-colour available, with consequent beneficial results on the standard of singing.’ *Praise the Lord*, revised and enlarged, edited by John Ainslie, Stephen Dean and Paul Inwood (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1972), viii. The first edition (1966) had been compiled and edited by Wilfrid Trotman.

appropriate for some of the newer hymns. The hymn book contained songs by Sydney Carter, some of Fred Kaan's hymns from *Pilgrim Praise*, texts by Albert Bayly, and by J. R. Peacey, the Anglican priest who, after his retirement, began writing hymns to meet contemporary needs. It also had items such as 'Am I my brother's keeper?' by John Ferguson from the Dunblane collection *New Songs for the Church: Book I*. Furthermore, it offered two indexes not available in its predecessor, perhaps reflecting the change in worship patterns which had occurred in the six years between the two editions: one was a cross-reference to the Lectionary for Sundays and major feast days which the editors expected to be put to good use. The other may have been compiled in response to the ecumenical spirit which prevailed after Vatican II; it was an 'Index of Hymns Especially Suitable for Interdenominational Use'. Erik Routley commented that the second edition of *Praise the Lord* 'was aimed more at the parish and less at the schools than NCH.'¹⁰⁵

Scotland: Church Hymnary, Third Edition

The liturgy and commissioned music in *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* (1973) were remarkably contemporary. However, in contrast to *The Hymn Book* (1971) and the two Roman Catholic hymn books, its shortage of new hymn texts written while the committee was preparing this edition made it seem less contemporary than it actually was. The committee organized its contents to follow the new Order of Public Worship. The Psalter no longer prefaced the hymnary; instead, metrical and prose psalms were placed at the beginning of each section. Children's hymns were distributed across the hymn book at the end of each section. Although it contained only one item from the

¹⁰⁵ Routley, *The Music of Christian Hymns*, 169.

Dunblane Praises series, this edition of the *Church Hymnary* was moulded significantly by the deliberations of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation.

It was a musician's hymn book. The Scottish committee maintained the high standards of textual and musical excellence which had prevailed since the publication of the *Revised Church Hymnary* (1927). The committee also fulfilled the mandate of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation to revise the music of worship. The Church Hymnary Revision Committee first met in Edinburgh on 24 October 1963, two weeks after the second plenary consultation at Dunblane had examined the function of church music and analysed the means of providing resources for contemporary worship, including the potential use of an ecumenical hymn book.¹⁰⁶ At least seven of its members participated in the consultations, including Thomas H. Keir (convener), John Currie, A. Stewart Todd, Ian Pitt-Watson, William Niven, R. J. Stewart, and R. A. Fishwick.¹⁰⁷ At the beginning of its work, the committee invited other churches to participate in creating an ecumenical hymn book, but the proposal was rejected. The time was not yet right for such a venture.¹⁰⁸ It commissioned new musical settings for the canticles, twenty-six tunes and eight hymn texts, including three psalm paraphrases by Ian Pitt-Watson based upon the New English Bible.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ See Ch. 3, 95-103.

¹⁰⁷ For a list of members, dated September 1972, see 'Appendix C: Church Hymnary Revision Committee', in J. M. Barkley, ed., *Handbook to the Church Hymnary, Third Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 380. The seven members were mentioned by name in reports on file at Scottish Churches' House, Dunblane. Others associated with the hymnary committee may have participated in sessions for which no attendance lists are available. Herrick Bunney (organist and master of music at St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh), David Murray (organist and choirmaster at St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen), and Guthrie Foote (music editor at Oxford University Press) served as music consultants to the committee.

¹⁰⁸ John M. Barkley, 'The Revision, 1963-73', *Handbook to the Church Hymnary*, 55-67 (p. 57).

¹⁰⁹ *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). The three psalm paraphrases were: #64) 'O God be gracious to me in thy love' (from Psalm 51), #68) 'Thou art before me, Lord, thou art behind' (from Psalm 139), and #126) 'God's law is perfect, and converts' (from Psalm 19). Ian Pitt-Watson would revise the texts for *Rejoice and Sing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) at #695, #731 and #674.

With its emphasis on new music, the Scottish hymn book adhered to the pattern established by John Wilson and Leonard Blake in *Hymns for Church and School* (1964). The committee turned down the new 'beat' songs and other trial material, preferring to follow the Dunblane practice of publishing experimental hymns in supplements to be tested by congregations before being included in a congregational hymn book.¹¹⁰ The committee's first supplement, *Songs for the Seventies* (1972), preceded the hymnal itself by a year, thereby introducing the new directions in congregational worship being explored by the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation before the revised version of the hymn book became available. For church musicians, *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* contained new tunes by Lennox Berkeley, John Joubert, and William Mathias who had been recruited by Elizabeth Poston to write new music for the *Cambridge Hymnal* (1967). The committee extended this initiative by commissioning a collection of contemporary Scottish hymn tunes, much as the *English Hymnal* under the guidance of Ralph Vaughan Williams had created new forms of English hymn tunes.¹¹¹ Many of these settings were written by composers teaching in Scottish universities, including Reginald Barrett-Ayres (Aberdeen), John Currie (Glasgow), Martin Dalby (Glasgow), Kenneth Leighton (Edinburgh), Robin Orr (Glasgow), Frank Spedding (Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama, Glasgow), Frederick Rimmer (Glasgow) and Thomas Wilson (Glasgow). This expression of Scottish cultural nationalism reflected a growing political awareness of Scottish identity.

The new edition of the *Church Hymnary* was a product of its time - in its liturgical structure and ecumenical content, in the committee's revision of psalms and canticles, and in its provision of hymns for children. Five essays written for the

¹¹⁰ See John Barkley's section on 'Hymns in Contemporary Idiom' in his account of the revision of the *Revised Church Hymnary*, 65.

¹¹¹ Erik Routley, *The Music of Christian Hymns* (1981), 166-67. He thought the commissioned music in *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* represented a 'renaissance' in Scottish church music, creating a style which was different from English or Welsh hymn settings.

Handbook indicate the extent of the influence of the Scottish Churches' Music

Consultation upon the hymn book which has seemed so removed from the contents of *Dunblane Praises*.¹¹² Thomas Keir's historical essay on the development of Christian hymnody concentrated on its musical aspects, the subject of the consultations. The committee made substantial changes in the Church of Scotland's use of the Psalter, responding to the interdenominational movement of liturgical reform which was reshaping the structure of worship. Stuart Loudén explained the thinking which lay behind these changes, referring to the ancient church's adaptation of the songs of the Old Testament into congregational hymnody: 'The psalm as both a literary and liturgical form was the pattern for such Christian hymns as began to emerge in Apostolic times: devotional in character; addressed to God; and expressive of both personal and corporate faith.'¹¹³ In lieu of the entire psalter, the committee chose metrical and prose settings of the psalms which fit into the liturgical arrangement of the hymn book, including metrical psalms from *The Scottish Psalter* (1929), three settings by Joseph Gelineau, ten plain-song chants (Authorized Version) for the church year pointed by Bernard Rose of Oxford, two short chants (also in the Authorized Version) set by John Currie, and Ian Pitt-Watson's three psalm texts. The committee hoped the variety of settings would revive the practice of psalm singing in the Church of Scotland.

Stewart Todd introduced the canticles and described their function in contemporary worship. He also commented on the purpose of hymns in the revised

¹¹² 'Christian Hymnody' by Thomas H. Keir, 'Psalmody in the Church' by R. Stuart Loudén, 'The Canticles and the People's Part in the Divine Service' by A. Stewart Todd, 'The Revision, 1963-1973' by John M. Barkley, and 'The Music' by Ian Pitt-Watson, *Handbook to the Church Hymnary, Third Edition*, 5-75.

¹¹³ R. Stuart Loudén, 35. Writing to singers steeped in the tradition of Scottish psalm-singing, Loudén commented: 'A further point to note is that *portions* of psalmody have been the characteristic eucharistic use of the *Psalter* in the Church.' He explained that, historically, the use of the complete psalter was associated with monastic worship and with the services of Matins and Evensong. He continued: 'The psalm portion or selection is traditionally correct and liturgically appropriate for normal Christian public worship, which is itself properly eucharistic.' The debate at Dunblane over the purpose of hymns and psalms in contemporary worship is evident in remarks such as these.

liturgy: 'Hymns are not, therefore, religio-musical interludes to relieve the tedium of much speaking, but rather in the broadest sense the people's part in the liturgy.'¹¹⁴ This was the fundamental principle of the Dunblane reform of hymnody. Todd had participated in the February 1964 hymn-writing session, and it was he who led the discussion about writing new hymn texts at the October consultation that year. The topics he put forth for that discussion reappeared as titles in the 1973 hymnary - Part I) The approach to God; Part II) The Word of God; and Part III) Response to the Word of God.¹¹⁵

A note in the introduction to the *Handbook* indicated that the concentrated work by the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation on the nature and function of children's hymnody was absorbed by the revision committee:

In selecting hymns for use by children, it should not be forgotten that in this, as in other fields, it is better that a child's reach should exceed his grasp than that he should be encouraged to sing what is banal or below his best capacity. Many of the great hymns of the Church are admirably suited for children's enjoyment and use, so that their omission from children's worship is a serious lack.¹¹⁶

The committee chose traditional children's hymns such as 'Come, children, join to sing' to MADRID, and hymns from children's publications, including *Sunday School Praise* (1958); but it also made an effort to set a number of children's hymns to music which would stretch their imaginations, making use, for example, of the English folk tune SHIPSTON, arranged by Vaughan Williams.¹¹⁷ Experimental hymn-writing for children was published separately in the supplement *Dunblane Praises for Schools 1: Juniors*.

In his account of the revision process John Barkley commented on the 'fundamental theological questions' which the committee had addressed: 'What is a

¹¹⁴ A. Stewart Todd, 48.

¹¹⁵ See Ch. 3, 105.

¹¹⁶ 'Introduction', 4.

¹¹⁷ *Church Hymnary, Third Edition*, #383) 'Come, children, join to sing' / MADRID; #426) 'A glorious company we sing' by Albert Bayly to ST. MAGNUS, in *Sunday School Praise*; and #502) 'God of heaven, hear our singing' / SHIPSTON.

Hymn-book?'; 'Who are the Church?'; 'Of what does the Church's Praise Consist?'; 'What is a Hymn?; and 'What liturgical material (canticles, creeds, and the people's part in the Holy Communion) should be included?'.¹¹⁸ His language was similar to that used by Ian Fraser in his discussion about the theological perceptions which guided the work at Dunblane.¹¹⁹ In this essay Barkley gave the gist of the conclusions reached by participants in the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation. He went on to describe how the hymns were set out according to the order of worship, rather than by topic as in the previous hymnaries. He also described the committee's review procedure. Interim reports were sent to assemblies and presbyteries which assessed the proposed content and format and then responded to the committee. At each stage of its work the revision committee followed practices established at Dunblane, including direct consultation with congregations and the separate publication of orthodox hymn materials from that of experimental hymnody, much of which was expected to be ephemeral and out of date within a few years of its creation.

Church Hymnary, Third Edition contained a large number of contemporary texts and tunes which had already proven themselves through congregational use and publication: hymns texts by John Arlott, Albert Bayly, Timothy Dudley-Smith, James Quinn, and Francis B. Tucker; and tunes written by experienced composers of congregational hymnody including Kenneth Finlay, Guthrie Foote, Joseph Gelineau, Cyril Taylor, George Thalben-Ball and Eric Thiman. It was contemporary in outlook and in content, but it contained no 'disposable' hymnody written in lighter styles. In his essay on the music of the hymn book, Ian Pitt-Watson explained why the committee took this decision:

¹¹⁸ Barkley, 54-60.

¹¹⁹ Ian M. Fraser, 'Dunblane Praises and After', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 217 (October 1998), 181-85.

It may seem surprising and a little depressing to some that a hymn-book, produced at a time when 'popular' religious music is on the crest of a wave and when 'religious musicals' are packing the theatres, should show no hint of these influences anywhere in its pages. There are two main reasons for this. First the style of contemporary popular music changes so rapidly and dates so quickly that its inclusion in a book designed to be used for several decades could hardly be justified. No doubt contemporary popular music includes some material of permanent worth, but only the perspective of time will make it possible to sift the dross from the gold. But, secondly, much of the best contemporary popular religious music cannot in the generally accepted sense of the word be regarded as hymnology. For example, Sydney Carter's 'Lord of the Dance' and 'Friday Morning' (both of which were considered by the revision committee) are religious songs of real distinction and one may reasonably suppose of permanent worth (see *Songs for the Seventies*, nos. 13 and 30). But it must still be asked whether or not they are hymns. 'Lord of the Dance' might reasonably be included in a hymn-book on the grounds that it is a carol using the same kind of imagery as the traditional carol 'My Dancing Day' (which is assumed to be respectable simply because it is old). But 'Friday Morning', though in the present writer's judgement an even better religious song than 'Lord of the Dance', can hardly be regarded as a hymn, containing as it does such lines as 'To Hell with Jehovah to the Carpenter I said' - powerful as these words undoubtedly are in their context. It is for these reasons that the present book offers no contemporary 'popular' hymns of this type in its pages.¹²⁰

Ironically, the absence of such hymnody dated the hymn book more quickly than those hymnals which published some experimental materials alongside the orthodox hymnody. Nonetheless, for the Church of Scotland, the contents of *Church Hymnary, Third Edition* represented a significant departure from the church's customary worship patterns.

Australia: the enrichment of worship

The churches in Australia converted the initiative taken in *Songs of Faith* (1966) into a fully ecumenical hymn book.¹²¹ In 1968 representatives of the hymn book committees for the Anglican, Congregationalist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches formed the Australian Hymn Book Committee, consolidating their efforts into the

¹²⁰ Ian Pitt-Watson, 'The Music', 72-73.

¹²¹ See Ch. 4, 'An ecumenical experiment', 121-31.

production of one hymnal.¹²² Six years later the Liturgy Commission of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Sydney requested permission to add a Roman Catholic supplement to the new hymn book. In 1977 *The Australian Hymn Book* was published in two editions, becoming a mutual worship resource book used by congregations across Australia.¹²³ Within two years its publisher, Collins Liturgical Publications, had issued the hymn book in the United Kingdom under a new title - *With One Voice: A Hymn Book for All the Churches*, to serve joint Methodist and Anglican congregations and other amalgamated British congregations. It was the only hymn book of its kind available for ecumenical churches.¹²⁴ The editors of the book used the phrase 'the enrichment of worship' to describe the benefit to be gained from private reading of the hymns for devotional purposes. Furthermore, they suggested that this enrichment could be extended by conducting periodic hymn practices designed to acquaint congregations with unfamiliar tunes. In the committee's view, such benefits were enhanced by the ecumenical content of *The Australian Hymn Book*.¹²⁵

The Australian committee implemented a number of changes, producing a model of contemporary hymnody which would be studied by other revision committees. The committee adopted the Apostles' Creed (professed by all the participating churches) as

¹²² A new Baptist hymnal had just been published, eliminating the need for Baptist participation in the project. The British edition, *With One Voice*, was reviewed by Bernard Massey, in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 146 (September 1979), 103-08 (p. 103).

¹²³ *The Australian Hymn Book* (Sydney: Collins Liturgical Publications, 1977) and *The Australian Hymn Book with Catholic Supplement*. It became the hymn book of the Uniting Church of Australia, formed by the union in 1976 of the Congregationalist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Not all Australian churches changed their hymn books. *The Book of Common Praise* (1938) was reprinted with the *Australian Hymn Supplement* (1947) by the Anglican Church of Canada to supply orders for traditional Anglican hymn books from Australian congregations not wanting to purchase *The Australian Hymn Book*. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 16.

¹²⁴ *With One Voice: A Hymn Book for All the Churches* (London: Collins Liturgical Publications, 1979). Alan Dunstan recommended *With One Voice*, which he described as being 'certainly the most genuinely ecumenical collection now available in this country'. Alan Dunstan, *The Hymn Explosion*, R.S.C.M. Handbook No. 6 (Croydon: Royal School School of Church Music, 1981), 9. See also Massey's review, 108.

¹²⁵ 'Editors' Preface', *The Australian Hymn Book*, xiii-xv.

the organizational structure for their hymn book.¹²⁶ The first section, for example, contained hymns on 'God: in Creation, Providence and Redemption', beginning with the fourth-century *Te Deum* attributed to St. Ambrose. The contents of the hymnal adhered to the progression of the creed. Following the example of *Congregational Praise* (1951), the hymns were arranged in chronological order within each section, creating an historical perspective on the development of congregational hymnody to be absorbed by congregations as they used the book.¹²⁷

The committee strove to achieve adequate representation of the hymns used regularly by its member churches, and to include contemporary hymn writing by Australians and by those who were fueling the 'hymn explosion'. Wesley Milgate, author of the companion book to the hymnal, *Songs of the People of God*, described the committee's criteria:

The Committee had ... been searching through many recent hymnals and song-books for texts of merit, particularly those which expressed modern theological insights and the results of recent biblical research and translation, and those which paid attention to contemporary problems in Christian living and to matters of concern to members of a rapidly-changing society. In addition were found a number of hymns from the 'new' African and East Asian churches, which are of a refreshing directness and liveliness.¹²⁸

The pattern of development was similar to that of *The Hymn Book* (1971), supplemented by Roman Catholic materials by Gelineau, Murray, and Quinn, and by the Australians McAuley and Connolly. The African and Asian hymns included three hymns from Ghana

¹²⁶ In contrast to the Scottish committee, the Australians thought the liturgical situation in the mid-1970s was too fluid to justify an attempt by an ecumenical group to chose a liturgical order which would suit each of its member churches over the expected twenty-five year life span of the hymn book. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 4.

¹²⁷ Milgate (1985), 4-5. The hymn book opened with Philip Gell's 1815 translation; the first section (#1-120) also contained Anthony Petti's translation of the *Te Deum* made for the *New Catholic Hymnal* (1971) and James Quinn's translation from *New Hymns for All Seasons* (1969), at #86 and #113 respectively. The sequence of twentieth-century hymns at the end of that first section began with #92 'God has spoken by his prophets' by G. W. Briggs and included hymns by Timothy Rees, John Arlott, Joseph Gelineau, Lucien Deiss, Albert Bayly, Patrick Appleford, D. T. Niles, Ian Fraser, Fred Kaan, Timothy Dudley-Smith, Wesley Milgate, and others, closing with a new paraphrase of Psalm 9, 'To you, my Lord, will I sing praise' (#120), written by Granton Douglas Hay, a member of the committee.

¹²⁸ Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 3.

arranged by Tom Colvin and items from the *East Asia Christian Conference Hymnal* edited by D. T. Niles.¹²⁹ The Australian committee also followed the example set by its Canadian and Scottish counterparts in encouraging resident authors and composers to contribute new hymns and liturgical materials.¹³⁰ Honor Mary Thwaites wrote several new translations of German hymns, providing accurate texts written in contemporary language to ensure that these hymns could continue to be sung. One hymn by Karl Johann Philipp Spitta might otherwise have been lost because its nineteenth-century translation by Sarah Findlater was becoming too dated to use. The text of 1858, beginning ‘Oh happy house! where Thou art loved the best’, became:

Happy the home that welcomes you, Lord Jesus,
truest of friends, most honoured guest of all,
where hearts and eyes are bright with joy to greet you,
your lightest wishes eager to fulfill.¹³¹

The committee chose hymns by orthodox and experimental British writers, including Patrick Appleford, Albert Bayly, Geoffrey Beaumont, Sydney Carter, Peter Cutts, Michael Dawney, Ian Fraser (and others from the Scottish Churches’ Music Consultation), Brian Foley, Fred Kaan, Fred Pratt Green, Erik Routley, Cyril Taylor, and Brian Wren. It also chose seven texts by George Wallace Briggs, whose writing immediately preceded the ‘hymn explosion’. The contents of *The Australian Hymn Book* demonstrated the committee’s awareness of the new directions in hymnody; they also

¹²⁹ From *Free to Serve: Hymns from Africa* (Glasgow: Iona Community Publishing Department [1968]), the Ghanaian hymns were #324) ‘God sends us his Spirit’, #325) ‘When our master Jesus went away’, and #561) ‘Kneels at the feet of his friends’. They were arranged antiphonally for a cantor or small group to sing the verses, with the congregation joining in to sing the refrain. Wesley Milgate provided a detailed account of the origins of these songs and of Tom Colvin’s effort to foster the development of indigenous hymnody using African tunes and interpretations of the Gospel. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), #324 and #325 (pp. 137-38), and #561 (p. 198). For Daniel T. Niles and his *East Asia Christian Conference Hymnal*, see Ch 2, 47.

¹³⁰ According to Wesley Milgate, *The Australian Hymn Book* contained twenty-eight new Australian hymn texts, fourteen translations and paraphrases, thirty-eight new tunes and twenty-five arrangements, as well as seventy-two arrangements made by the committee. Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), 15.

¹³¹ *The Australian Hymn Book*, #495, v. 1, and Milgate, *Songs of the People of God* (1985), #495 (p. 182). The translation by Honor Mary Thwaites was selected for *Hymns & Psalms* (1983), #366.

suggested that new hymnody was moving from the experimental field into weekly congregational worship. In his survey of hymn books published between 1962 and 1980, Robin Leaver commented: 'It may not be trendy, in that it does not include charismatic choruses or the popular type of hymn found in many booklets and supplements, but it is certainly not stuffy.'¹³²

By the mid-seventies debate over the language of hymnody was intensifying. Whereas the joint committee for *The Hymn Book* (1971) had debated the use of archaic verbal forms, only five years later the Australians were initiating change in the language of gender. The committee modified John Ellerton's evening hymn, removing its nineteenth-century vocabulary and replacing a reference to 'brethren'. The familiar opening line became 'The day you gave us, Lord, is ended'; the verse about the sun waking 'our brethren 'neath the western sky' was altered to 'our friends beneath the western sky'.¹³³ The first steps had been taken in a direction which would become controversial in the 1980s.

One further change, signalling the influence of new translations of the Bible and the concurrent renewal of biblical theology and liturgy, was the appearance of an index of 'Hymns Based on Scripture Passages'. Over two-thirds of the index listed hymns and paraphrases based upon the Psalms, including Gelineau's antiphonal settings. The remainder identified hymns from the *Scottish Paraphrases* (1781), and modern paraphrases such as Timothy Dudley-Smith's 'Tell out, my soul, the greatness of the Lord', and Albert Bayly's 'What does the Lord require', from Micah 6. 6-8, set to Erik Routley's SHARPTHORNE. It was becoming evident that the work of the liturgical movement (with its emphases on the Eucharist and other sacraments, the lectionary and

¹³² Robin A. Leaver, *A Hymn Book Survey 1962-80* (Bramcote, Nottinghamshire: Grove Worship Series, no. 71, 1980), 11.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, #388, vv. 1 and 4.

the church year) was becoming intertwined that of the 'hymn explosion' in the creation of new worship books for the churches. The production of *The Australian Hymn Book* also proved that an interdenominational hymn book was feasible.

Lutheran benchmark

In the United States, the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978) embraced and revised the hymnological traditions of several Lutheran synods to produce a liturgically-centred worship book.¹³⁴ The committee added to its already 'variegated heritage' a sampling of early American hymn tunes, a large number of hymn texts and settings commissioned from recognized poets and composers, and some international materials taken from British sources and from the world church, to create a hymn book which defined a turning point in the development of contemporary American hymnody. In many respects the Lutheran committee shared the criteria set out in 1965 by the joint committee for *The Hymn Book* (1971) - to be comprehensive of religious, cultural, geographic and demographic variants in worship, to meet the needs of large and small congregations (urban and rural), and 'to reflect the ecumenical dialogue and aspirations of our times'.¹³⁵ By 1978, however, the contents of the Lutheran book demonstrated a significant shift away from the exploration of new worship materials printed alongside the older hymnody, going forward towards the consolidation of a contemporary style of congregational worship.

The foundation for the new style of worship was constructed by the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship, established in 1966 at the request of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (German tradition). Three American churches - the American Lutheran Church (German, Norwegian and Danish Lutherans), the Lutheran Church in

¹³⁴ *Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House; and Philadelphia: Board of Publication, Lutheran Church in America, 1978), See the 'Introduction', 6-8, which describes the 'variegated heritage' of Lutheran worship in North America from German and North European religious cultures.

¹³⁵ See p. 308 above.

America (Swedish, Danish, Finnish and German Lutherans), and the Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (Slovak) - accepted the conservative Missouri Synod's invitation, joined later by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada.¹³⁶ The Missouri Synod wished to replace its *Lutheran Hymnal* (1941) and the *Service Book and Hymnal* (1958) used by German and Scandinavian congregations with a single Lutheran hymnal and service book which would possess: 'a) a common liturgical section in rite, rubric, and music; b) a common core of hymn texts and musical settings; c) a variant selection of hymns, if necessary.'¹³⁷

Two hymnal supplements were published in 1969, the Missouri Synod's *Worship Supplement* to *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941) and the first volume of the Inter-Lutheran Commission's *Contemporary Worship* series. It was that year which also saw the publication of *Hymns & Songs, 100 Hymns for Today* and *New Hymns for All Seasons* in Great Britain. The Missouri Synod published Jaroslav Vajda's 'Now the Silence' set to the tune composed by Carl Schalk for the supplement:

Now the silence
 Now the Peace
 Now the empty hands uplifted

Now the kneeling
 Now the plea
 Now the Father's arms in welcome

Now the hearing
 Now the power
 Now the vessel brimmed for pouring

Now the Body
 Now the Blood
 Now the joyful celebration¹³⁸

¹³⁶ R. Harold Terry, 'Lutheran Hymnody in North America', in Marilyn K. Stulken, *Hymnal Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship*, 82-114 (pp.106-114).

¹³⁷ Ibid., 111.

¹³⁸ Jaroslav J. Vajda, *Now the Joyful Celebration: Hymns, Carols and Songs* (St. Louis, MO: Morning Star Music Publishers, 1987, second edition 1994) #27, p. 39, vv. 1-4. *Lutheran Book of Worship*, #205; punctuation was added to convert the poem into a hymn.

In addition to other texts and tunes by Vajda and Schalk, the collection included 'O God, O Lord of heaven and earth' written in 1967 by Martin Franzmann to celebrate the 450th anniversary of the Reformation:

O God, O Lord of heav'n and earth,
Your living finger never wrote
That life should be an aimless mote,
A deathward drift from futile birth.
Your Word meant life triumphant hurled
In splendor through your broken world;
Since light awoke and life began,
You made for us a holy plan.¹³⁹

Franzmann also wrote 'In Adam we have all been one', which was later published in *More Hymns for Today* and in *Hymns & Psalms*, and 'O Thou, who hast of Thy pure grace', a hymn based on the Lord's Prayer and set to Luther's VATER UNSER.¹⁴⁰ Jan Bender, of Dutch birth and a student of Hugo Distler, set Franzmann's Reformation text to WITTENBERG NEW, a hymn tune written in the idiom of contemporary composition yet congregational in form. Bender was one of a group of professional composers who, like the Scottish and Canadian musicians, created a distinctive repertoire of new hymn tunes and service music.¹⁴¹

Contemporary Worship-I was the source of some contemporary hymns published in *The Hymn Book* (1971) and in the *Lutheran Book of Worship*, including Richard Wilbur's 'A stable lamp is lighted', from his *Advice to a Prophet and Other Poems* (1961), set to Paulette Tollefson's folk tune, and Catherine Cameron's 'God who stretched the spangled heavens', associated in the 1978 hymnal with the American hymn

¹³⁹ *Lutheran Book of Worship*, #396, v. 1.

¹⁴⁰ *Lutheran Book of Worship*, #396, #372 and #442. 'In Adam we have all been one' is at #141 in *More Hymns for Today* (1980), and at #420 in *Hymns & Psalms* (1983). A Lutheran theologian, Martin Franzmann taught at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis and in Springfield, Illinois, before becoming a tutor at Westfield House, Cambridge, in 1969. Stulken, *Hymnal Companion* (1981), #233 (pp. 310-11).

¹⁴¹ Routley, *The Music of Christian Hymns* (1981), 173-74. For biographical sketches of these composers, concert organists and university instructors in composition and liturgy see *Hymnal Companion* (1981): Charles R. Anders, #386 (p. 428); Jan O. Bender, #396 (p. 436); Paul Bunjes, #38 (p. 140); Donald A. Busarow, #30 (pp. 130-31); Richard W. Hillert, #63 (p. 166); Frederick F. Jackisch, #236 (pp. 313-14); David N. Johnson #558 (p. 564); Paul O. Manz #50 (pp. 152-53); Daniel Moe #427 (p. 461); Leland B. Sateren, #100 (p. 200); and Carl F. Schalk, #118 (pp. 217-18).

tune HOLY MANNA.¹⁴² A later publication in the Inter-Lutheran Commission's series, *Contemporary Worship -4: Hymns for Baptism and Holy Communion* (1972), tested new hymns written to serve the liturgy, among them John Geyer's hymn from Romans 6, 'We know that Christ is raised', to Stanford's ENGELBERG.¹⁴³ It included 'Spirit of God, unleashed on Earth' by John W. Arthur, one of the new hymns for Pentecost celebrating the work of the Holy Spirit, set to DONATA by Carl Schalk.¹⁴⁴ The commission prepared almost a dozen trial collections of new hymns and liturgical settings to be tested by Lutheran congregations. In his essay on the development of Lutheran hymnody in North America, in the *Hymnal Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship*, R. Harold Terry described the rigorous assessment of new hymns and worship materials conducted by the joint commission:

Additional evaluation was secured through conferences with theological faculties, programs for testing proposed materials, surveys of hymn usage in congregations, questionnaires to pastors and church leaders, and reviews by official committees in the participating churches. Never before in the preparation of hymnals have such extensive measures been taken to insure a worship book that is both responsive and responsible in meeting the needs of the church.¹⁴⁵

Above all, the commission hoped that the new book would be perceived as a 'people's book'.

The Lutheran committee monitored the growing debate over language. While the book was in preparation, arguments over the use of contemporary language in hymnals began to address the issue of gender in language about God and about the

¹⁴² *The Hymn Book* (1971), # 424 and #158, and the *Lutheran Book of Worship*, #74 and #463, respectively. The committee borrowed Derek Holman's tune CARN BREA (composed for Catherine Cameron's hymn in the Canadian hymn book) for 'God has spoken by his prophets' (#238), a text by the British hymn writer George W. Briggs celebrating the publication of the Revised Standard Version, first published by the Hymn Society of America in its booklet of *Ten New Hymns on the Bible* (1952). *Hymnal Companion* (1981), #238 (pp. 315-16).

¹⁴³ *Lutheran Book of Worship*, #189. See Ch. 6, 225-26.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, #387.

¹⁴⁵ R. Harold Terry, 'Lutheran Hymnody in North America', *Hymnal Companion* (1981), 113. The word 'insure' is the American equivalent to the British 'ensure', meaning 'to make certain'.

‘people of God’. The commission took the middle road, favouring modernization while respecting the poetic structure of the text. Terry commented:

The committee sought to use responsible judgment in updating the language of the hymns wherever possible, eliminating archaic pronouns and phraseology, and removing sexist and discriminatory allusions. In some cases the original archaic version of a hymn was retained due to historical considerations or to rhyming requirements within the poetic structure.¹⁴⁶

Despite the committee’s efforts to revise with discretion, the loss of familiar phrases made the new hymn book seem unnecessarily revisionist to many Lutheran congregations.

The *Lutheran Book of Worship* was divided into two sections - liturgy and hymns. The first three hundred pages contained prayers, creeds, liturgies for Sunday worship and liturgies for Holy Communion, Holy Baptism, Morning Prayer (Matins), Evening Prayer (Vespers), and Compline, daily prayers and readings for a three-year lectionary, liturgies for corporate and individual confession and forgiveness, services for marriage and for burial of the dead, and a psalter. *The second part was designed to serve as a companion to the Lutheran liturgy, consisting of twenty-one canticles and nearly five hundred and fifty hymns.* In their introduction, the editors of the hymn book explained how the work of the Inter-Lutheran Commission in revising and writing liturgies, prayers, psalmody and hymnody had been drawn together to create a service and worship book which it was hoped would serve all Lutheran congregations.¹⁴⁷ They did not, however, succeed for long in achieving unity in Lutheran worship. The conservative Missouri Synod chose to publish its own hymnal, entitled *Lutheran Worship*, only three years later.¹⁴⁸ The anticipated section consisting of ‘a variant selection of hymns, if necessary’ had broken off to become a separate book.¹⁴⁹ The

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 114.

¹⁴⁷ *Lutheran Book of Worship*, 6-8.

¹⁴⁸ *Lutheran Worship* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia, 1982).

¹⁴⁹ See p. 351 above.

Inter-Lutheran Commission was successful, however, in broadening ecumenical relations among American Lutherans and the world church by participating in the Consultation on Common Texts, the Consultation on Ecumenical Hymnody, and the International Consultation on English Texts, in addition to its membership in the Lutheran World Federation.¹⁵⁰ In the *Hymnal Companion*, Marilyn Stulken added a useful index of 'Hymns for the Church Year' which provided suggested hymn selections for Sundays and principal festivals during each of the three annual lectionary cycles, thus reinforcing the links between liturgy, lectionary and hymnody.

A number of other factors contributed to the contemporary character of the *Lutheran Book of Worship*. A few Roman Catholic texts were accepted by the ecumenically-minded commission, including a canticle on 2 Timothy 2, 'Keep in mind that Jesus Christ has died for us', by Lucien Deiss, C.S.Sp., a French liturgist who had been a member of the Consilium of Liturgy at Vatican II before going to the United States to teach.¹⁵¹ Omer Westendorf's 'Where charity and love prevail', a translation of 'Ubi caritas et amor' made for the *People's Mass Book* published in Cincinnati in 1961, and his 'Sent forth by God's blessing' to THE ASH GROVE became part of American ecumenical hymnody through the *Lutheran Book of Worship*.¹⁵² Hymns by Albert Bayly, John Geyer, Fred Pratt Green, Rosamond Herklots, John Raphael Peacey, Erik Routley, and Brian Wren, and tunes by Peter Cutts and Cyril Taylor represented the British 'hymn explosion'.¹⁵³ One Tamil hymn, 'Praise God, praise him'/TANDANEI,

¹⁵⁰ *Lutheran Book of Worship*, 8.

¹⁵¹ *Lutheran Book of Worship*, #13, and *Hymnal Companion* (1981), #13 (p. 119). Deiss edited several Roman Catholic music books, including *Biblical Hymns and Psalms I* (1965) and *II* (1970).

¹⁵² *Lutheran Book of Worship*, #126 and #221. Omer Westendorf, founder of the World Library of Sacred Music and World Library Publications in Cincinnati, was a well-known publisher and distributor of Roman Catholic church music in the United States. *Hymnal Companion* (1981), #221.

¹⁵³ Included were Albert Bayly's 'Praise and thanksgiving, Father we offer'/BUNESSAN (#409), 'Lord of all good'/MORESTEAD (#411), 'Lord, save your world'/KEDRON (#420), and 'Lord, whose love in humble service'/BEACH SPRING (#423); John Geyer's 'We know that Christ is raised'/ENGELBERG (#189); Fred Pratt Green's 'The first day of the week'/KENTUCKY 93RD (#246), 'O Christ, the Healer, we have come'/DISTRESS (#360), 'The Church of Christ in every age'/WAREHAM (#433), 'When in our music God is glorified'/FREDERICKTOWN (#555), and 'For the fruit of all creation'/SANTA

paraphrased by Daniel T. Niles for the *East Asian Christian Conference Hymnal*, gave a taste of the mission-field hymns which were coming back to the West.¹⁵⁴ Jaroslav Vajda contributed many translations of Slovak medieval and Reformation hymns into contemporary English. Gracia Grindal created strong new English versions of Latin, German and Scandinavian hymns.¹⁵⁵ Joel W. Lundeen, a Lutheran pastor, librarian and archivist, also contributed several translations.¹⁵⁶ The presence in the *Lutheran Book of Worship* of completely revised liturgies and prayers, of post-Vatican II hymn texts and tunes from American sources, recent British texts and tunes, a sampling of hymns from former church missions, and a large number of new translations by respected writers, made this hymn book different from its predecessors. The Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship had created a new model which would influence the development of congregational hymn books in the United States and abroad during the 1980s.¹⁵⁷

Ecumenism, liturgy and hymnody converge

Twenty years after Erik Routley had asked 'Whither hymnody?' at the Cambridge conference in 1960, the revised structure of congregational hymnody was taking shape in new hymn books. The initial period of testing through the supplements

BARBARA (#563); Rosamond Herklots's 'Forgive our sins as we forgive'/DETROIT (#307); J. R. Peacey's 'Filled with the Spirit's power' to Cyril Taylor's SHELDONIAN (#160); Erik Routley's 'All who love and serve your city' to Peter Cutts's BIRABUS (#436); Brian Wren's 'Christ is alive! let Christians sing'/TRURO (#363); and Cyril Taylor's ABBOT'S LEIGH set to 'Lord of light, your name outshining', a revised version of a text by the British hymn writer Howell Elvet Lewis whose work immediately preceded the 'hymn explosion'.

¹⁵⁴ *Lutheran Book of Worship*, #529.

¹⁵⁵ Jaroslav Vajda provided texts from his *Slovak Christmas* (Cleveland, 1960), and from his ongoing translation of Slovak hymns and poetry. Gracia Grindal has taught courses in poetry, writing, pastoral theology and communications, and she has conducted hymn-writing workshops. For biographies, see Marilyn K. Stulken, *Hymnal Companion* (1981): Jaroslav Vajda at #159 (pp. 250-51), and Gracia Grindal at #32 (p. 132); and Carlton R. Young, *Companion to the United Methodist Hymnal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993): Jaroslav Vajda (p. 846), and Gracia Grindal (p. 759).

¹⁵⁶ *Hymnal Companion* (1981), at #146 (p. 241). An organist, Lundeen taught courses in hymnology and worship at the Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago.

¹⁵⁷ Paul Westermeyer, 'Twentieth Century English Hymnody in the United States', in his *With Tongues of Fire: Profiles in 20th-Century Hymn Writing* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 15-25 (p. 22).

was coming to an end by 1980 as many existing hymn books were beginning to wear out, literally or figuratively. Three fields of religious experience - ecumenism, liturgy and hymnody - converged in the making of new hymnals and worship books. The prototype hymnals of the 1970s served a useful purpose in defining the contents of new books by providing large-scale trials of revised liturgies and new forms of congregational hymns and songs, which eventually led to a degree of consensus about the structure of contemporary congregational hymnody. Much of the language in older hymnody was being revised into current vocabulary and speech patterns; the concept of 'inclusive language' was developing in response to a growing awareness of social justice. The renewal of psalmody, launched by Joseph Gelineau, diversified into regional adaptations of his system (with his blessing) and into a great variety of translations or paraphrases of the Psalms based upon the new translations of the Bible. Musicians contributed other forms of chant and new metrical settings to encourage psalm singing as the laity's role in the revised liturgies for worship.

Although the hymn books of the 1970s did include the more conventional hymns and service music from the 'hymn explosion', surprisingly little experimental hymnody was published in these books, with the exception of Sydney Carter's religious songs. Most committees were content to leave that material to the supplements, for use by youth groups and at informal worship services. The introduction of lectionary cycles created a demand for new hymn writing which would be addressed in the 1980s. Following Vatican II, Roman Catholic musicologists and musicians initiated the development of vernacular hymnody based upon the models of office hymns, Gregorian chant, Gelineau's psalm tones and antiphons, and Protestant hymnody. Popular styles of religious songs and folk music challenged that development almost immediately, seeming more contemporary in text and music than the hymnody. The lighter modes of

congregational song would dominate Roman Catholic worship over the next two decades while other Christian denominations were preparing new hymn books.

Hymnological scholarship moved swiftly ahead in conjunction with research for the development of the hymn books. Articles about new hymn writing, reports on conferences, and book reviews, printed in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* and in *The Hymn*, documented the progress of the 'hymn explosion' and, more importantly, made the new worship materials readily available to church musicians and clergy who were searching for ways to make worship 'relevant' in an increasingly secularized society. Companion books were published for most of the major hymn books.¹⁵⁸ Such studies assisted congregations in their transition to new forms of worship by making the hymns, songs and service music known to those who planned the services. As the authors of the companion books relied heavily upon the work of their predecessors, these books also contributed toward the consolidation of the new structures of congregational hymnody during this period.

Decades of international effort in building the ecumenical movement had made the participating churches aware of how other denominations practised their worship. Similarly, work towards liturgical renewal became shared through the World Council of Churches, and through other local as well as global church exchanges. Erik Routley was a particularly good representative of this process, becoming an international catalyst for new hymn writing through his work with the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation and with the *Hymns Ancient & Modern* committee, as editor of the fourth edition of *Cantate*

¹⁵⁸ *Companion to the Hymnal: A Handbook to the United Methodist Book of Hymns*, ed. by Fred D. Gealy, Austin C. Lovelace and Carlton R. Young, with Emory Stevens Buck, general editor (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970); William J. Reynolds, *Companion to Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1976); Stanley L. Osborne, *If Such Holy Song: The Story of the Hymns in The Hymn Book 1971*, (Whitby, ON: The Institute of Church Music, 1976); *Handbook to the Church Hymnary, Third Edition*, ed. by John M. Barkley (London: Oxford University Press, 1979); Marilyn Kay Stulken, *Hymnal Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981); and Wesley Milgate, *Songs of the People of God: A Companion to The Australian Hymn Book / With One Voice* (Sydney/London: Collins Liturgical Publications, 1982, rev. ed. 1985).

Domino, and editor of the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society* between 1948 and 1974. He encouraged the development of modern hymnody in numerous books and articles. In addition to his work in Great Britain and Europe, from 1962 onwards he lectured frequently in the United States before he accepted the post of professor of church music at Westminster Choir College in Princeton beginning in January 1975. Through his work and that of countless others, the groundwork had been well-prepared for the publication of a new generation of denominational hymn books.

A Brief Conclusion: New Worship Books

This dissertation has described the development of hymns and hymn books in the worship of the church between 1960 and 1980. It has identified points in that development where new directions were taken, new standards for writing and composition were created, and where individuals or hymnal committees introduced new ideas and also found ways to retell the truths of the Bible and of Christian beliefs in contemporary hymns. By way of conclusion, I will discuss the influence of the ‘hymn explosion’ upon a number of hymn books representative of the volumes published between 1980 and 1995.

The influence of the ‘hymn explosion’

God is here! As we his people
Meet to offer praise and prayer,
May we find in fuller measure
What it is in Christ we share.

Lord of all, of Church and Kingdom,
In an age of change and doubt,
Keep us faithful to the gospel,
Help us work your purpose out.¹

A congregation singing these words of Fred Pratt Green would be made sharply aware of the purpose of the hymn books produced out of the ‘hymn explosion’. The compilers of those hymn books were conscious of the need to provide material, old and new, which would be suitable ‘in an age of change and doubt’. Pratt Green’s hymn, in its straightforward and un-churchy language, is characteristic of an approach to worship which had been developing steadily during the previous decades. In contrast to Arthur Campbell Ainger’s ‘God is working his purpose out, and the time is drawing near’, Pratt

¹ *Hymns & Psalms: A Methodist and Ecumenical Hymn Book* (London: Methodist Publishing House, 1983), #653, v. 1:1-4 and v. 4:1-4.

Green is now saying (more tentatively) - 'help us work your purpose out'.² The two texts make an interesting comparison between the assurance of the early part of this century and the realism of the end of it.

By 1960, doubt about God's purpose for the world had replaced that earlier assurance. It opened the way for questions about the nature of congregational worship and its relevance in a rapidly changing society. These concerns were investigated by members of the Scottish Churches' Music Consultation between 1962 and 1968. They also dominated the deliberations of the Hymn Society in Great Britain and Ireland over the next two decades, during which time church musicians, clergy, and laity tested new forms of hymnody and liturgy made available in various hymnal supplements and songbooks. It was a global phenomenon. It was also ecumenical: Roman Catholic and Protestant patterns of worship were in a state of flux. The hymn books would restore a degree of order to congregational worship.

Beginning with *Hymns & Psalms* (1983), the next generation of hymn books consolidated the developments in congregational hymnody. The Methodist book became a benchmark hymnal. In 1979 representatives of several major British Protestant hymnal supplements were invited by the Methodist Conference to participate in the preparation of a comprehensive ecumenical hymn book for use by all the churches.³ That initiative failed in 1980. Nevertheless, much of the experience gained in the preparation of the British supplements was applied to this hymn book, making it so influential.⁴ Donald Webster has noted that (out of 823 hymns) 164 hymns are the work of writers born since

² Ibid., #769, 'God is working his purpose out'.

³ Richard Watson and Kenneth Trickett, *Hymns & Psalms: the Making of a Hymn Book*, introductory essay to the *Companion to Hymns & Psalms* (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1988), 1.

⁴ Members of the committees included Bernard Massey from *New Songs* (1962); Ivor H. Jones (convener) and John Wilson from *Hymns & Songs* (1969); Gerald Barnes from *Praise for Today* (1974); Peter Cutts, Caryl Micklem, Brian Wren, David Gardner and Ann Phillips from *New Church Praise* (1975); Alan Luff from *Dunblane Praises No. 2* (1967) and *New Songs for the Church 2: Canticles* (1969); and Cyril Taylor from *100 Hymns for Today* (1969) and *More Hymns for Today* (1980).

1900, including Fred Pratt Green (27), Albert Bayly (12), Brian Wren (10) and Timothy Dudley-Smith (9).⁵ 'God's World', the second section of the hymn book, contained the greatest concentration of new hymns - on living in God's world, justice, peace, and the human condition.

Other hymn book committees responded to perceived needs within their own church communities. The Jubilate Hymns group of clergy and church musicians prepared *Hymns for Today's Church* (1982), the most controversial of the new hymn books because of its alteration of the language of traditional hymns into contemporary English.⁶ In a pamphlet issued in conjunction with the hymn book, Christopher Idle set out the guidelines governing the revision process developed by the group.⁷ The editorial committee had begun its work in 1973, coinciding with the Series 3 Order of Holy Communion.⁸ Idle explained that the intensive work by the Church of England in revising the language of the liturgy influenced the thinking and the practice of the hymn book committee: 'Church members have shown remarkable resilience in adapting to change. If congregations are still intact after moving from The Prayer Book to Series 2, then Series 3, and now the Alternative Service Book - all in the space of fifteen years - new hymns will not break them.'⁹ Michael Saward, words editor for the hymn book,

⁵ Donald Webster, *A Hymn-book Survey, 1980-1993*, Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Paper, Second Series, No. 4 (October 1994), 10.

⁶ *Hymns for Today's Church* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Limited, 1982, rev. ed. 1987). The group was formed in the 1960s as an *ad hoc* committee to produce *Youth Praise 1* for the Church Pastoral-Aid Society. John Barnard has commented on the number of modern hymn tunes in *Hymns for Today's Church*, in the *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 202 (January 1995), 131.

⁷ Christopher M. Idle, *Hymns in Today's Language* (Bramcote, Nottinghamshire: Grove Worship Series, No. 81, Grove Books, July 1982). The committee formed the Jubilate Hymns group in 1981.

⁸ John R. K. Fenwick and Bryan D. Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd; and New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995), Chapter 8: 'The Anglican Church and the Liturgical Movement II', 71-79 (p. 75). This chapter contains a chronological account of the revision of the Anglican liturgy between 1965 and 1980.

⁹ Idle, 15.

identified the publication of *Youth Praise 1* and 2 and *Hymns for Today's Church* as the evangelicals' contribution to liturgical renewal within the Church of England.¹⁰

A decade later *Hymns for the People* (1993) appeared. In this book the Jubilate Hymns group reharmonized older hymn tunes to match the tonalities and musical structures of worship songs. David Peacock, the editor, explained the rationale for adapting traditional hymn tunes to a lighter style of church music: 'We believe it is now possible to use established hymns creatively within flows of praise and worship: for songs and hymns to be used alongside each other with stylistic credibility.'¹¹ This hymn book has attracted the attention of charismatic congregations. In his survey of the newer hymn books, Donald Webster quoted Andrew Maries (an independent church music consultant who was among the first leaders of charismatic worship in Great Britain) regarding the return to hymn singing among charismatic congregations. Maries reported that:

Traditional hymns are now widely used in house and community churches. Previously, worship has been led to a large extent by recently converted Christians, and by others who are ignorant of the Church's hymnic heritage. Collections like *Hymns for the People* are now in favour. In Charismatic circles *Mission Praise* is considered to contain the left-overs of the Billy Graham campaigns, and to be now out-of-date.¹²

¹⁰ Michael Saward, *The Anglican Church Today: Evangelicals on the Move* (London: Mowbray, 1987). In this study of the rise of the evangelical movement, written for the Lambeth Conference in 1988, Saward described the development of evangelical theology and liturgical renewal (through the 'Parish and People' movement and the introduction of an informal monthly 'Family Service' in Anglican parishes). He also mentioned the influence of the charismatic movement upon Anglican worship, especially among ordinands. He discussed new music resources compiled by evangelical Anglicans for use in conjunction with the revised liturgies at pp. 52-53.

¹¹ *Hymns for The People* (London: Marshall-Pickering, an imprint of Harper Collins Publishers, 1993), 'Preface'. Many of the modern hymn tunes in *Hymns for Today's Church*, referred to by John Barnard in his letter to the editor of the *Bulletin*, were not included in this book. See also Bernard S. Massey, 'Poles Apart? An Editorial Epilogue', *Bulletin of the Hymn Society*, 188 (July 1991), 61-64.

¹² Donald Webster, *A Hymn-book Survey 1980-93*, 'Charismatic Worship', 29. See also Ch. 7, p. 280, footnote 113. Although *Mission Praise* hymn books are used in many British churches, the series is not discussed in this dissertation. The books contain an eclectic mixture of hymns and songs, most of which are gathered from other published hymn books. They introduce no new perspectives on contemporary hymnody of relevance to this study. Webster, 'Mission Praise', 12.

The Jubilate Hymns group have created a niche for their work among evangelical and other churches who use contemporary forms of church light music.

Amid the clamour of the new ways, traditional hymnody persisted in the 1980s. Eric Sharpe commented that: ‘after the “hymn explosion” of the 70s, the keynote of this decade has been caution rather than innovation.’¹³ *Hymns Ancient & Modern New Standard* (1983) was one of the cautious books. A pruned version of *Hymns Ancient & Modern Revised* (1950) was bound together with *100 Hymns for Today* (1969) and *More Hymns for Today* (1980) to create an interim hymnal for parish use during the authorized period of the Alternative Service Book (1980). It was supplemented by *Worship Songs Ancient & Modern* (1992), a collection of one hundred items representing more recent developments in congregational song.¹⁴ The *New English Hymnal* defended the liturgical tradition of cathedral and parish-church worship. Its editors managed to adapt the hymn book for use with the Alternative Service Book, by including some new hymns, a revised liturgical section and indexes linking the hymns to new lectionaries. The success of the *New English Hymnal* suggests that it fulfills a need for traditional hymnody.¹⁵

In *Rejoice and Sing* (1991), the hymn book prepared by the United Reformed Church, it is possible to trace the development of Hubert Cunliffe-Jones’s call in 1965 for new hymns to sing about the ‘impact of Christ upon the world around us’.¹⁶ The

¹³ Eric Sharpe, ‘Developments in English Hymnody in the Eighties’, *The Hymn* 42:2 (April 1991), 7-11 (p. 7).

¹⁴ *Worship Songs Ancient & Modern*, (Norwich: The Canterbury Press Norwich; Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, for Hymns Ancient & Modern Ltd, 1992). Interestingly, four-part arrangements were made for the full music edition, an indication that worship songs were beginning to be accepted among churches which practised a traditional form of worship.

¹⁵ *New English Hymnal*, Full Music Edition including new Appendix, (Norwich: The Canterbury Press Norwich, 1986). The hymn book reached its tenth printing within a decade, indicating an ongoing demand for it.

¹⁶ See Ch. 2, 56-58. Basil E. Bridge has assessed this work by contemporary hymn writers in an unpublished essay on ‘Hymns for Today’s World’, written for the Pratt Green Trust in 1994 (under the pseudonym of ‘Jacob Witts’). Mr. Bridge kindly allowed me to read this essay, and the one identified at footnote #19 below.

response to his call is documented in 'The Gospel in the World', particularly in the sub-section 'Christ for the World', and in hymns included in 'Love in Action', 'Justice and Peace' and 'Healing and Reconciliation'.¹⁷ The hymn book opens with a set of contemporary prayers and responses, including items from the Taizé Community and from the Iona Community, whose hymns and service music were among the new worship materials available to the committee.¹⁸ The influence of ecumenism, liturgical renewal and the 'hymn explosion' is apparent throughout *Rejoice and Sing*.¹⁹

Developments among North American hymn books

The Hymn Society of America turned its attention to new hymnody at the Princeton conference in 1980, where Fred Kaan spoke about 'The Emerging Language of Faith in Late 20th Century Hymnody'.²⁰ By April 1984, Harry Eskew could devote an entire issue of *The Hymn* to several articles on writing hymn texts and tunes, and one identifying the criteria for submissions to hymnal committees.²¹ The Episcopal Standing Commission on Church Music was one of the committees which had been looking for

¹⁷ *Rejoice and Sing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991): for example, #600) 'Christ is the world's Light' (Fred Pratt Green); and #602) 'Forth in the peace of Christ we go' (James Quinn, S.J.); and continuing in hymns such as #611) 'Lord Christ, we praise your sacrifice' (Alan Gaunt), #619) 'We meet you, O Christ, in many a guise' (Fred Kaan), and #636) 'The Church of Christ in every age' (Fred Pratt Green).

¹⁸ Kenneth Hull drew attention to the work of John Bell and Graham Maule in two articles published in *The Hymn* in 1992. Kenneth Hull, 'An Interview with John Bell', *The Hymn* 43:1 (January 1992), 5-11; and 'New Sounds from Iona: A Review of the Wild Goose Songbooks', *The Hymn* 43:2 (April 1992), 22-30. Notes on 'The Iona Community' and 'The Taizé Community worship' are given in [David S. Goodall and Bernard S. Massey], *Companion to Rejoice and Sing* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press Norwich, 1999), #810s, 930-31 and #817s, 937-38. I am grateful to Mr. Goodall and Dr. Massey who kindly allowed me to consult the electronic version of the companion book (*Enchiridion*) during its developmental stage; and to Mr. Goodall for a copy of *A Choice of Hymns: A Thematic Index* (London: The United Reformed Church, 1997).

¹⁹ Basil Bridge gives a useful account of the hymn selection process in his 'Choosing Hymns for the New U. R. C. Book', (Elias Prize, Westminster College, Cambridge, August, 1988).

²⁰ 'The Princeton Convocation', *The Hymn* 31:3 (July 1980) 159-65 and 205 (p.160).

²¹ *The Hymn* 35:2 (April 1984). The issue, entitled 'A Primer for Hymn Writers', contained an interview by Harry Eskew with Brian Wren and Peter Cutts about *Faith Looking Forward* (1983); 'Basic Tools of Hymn Writing' by Austin Lovelace; 'Approaches to Writing' by Margaret Clarkson, Carl Daw and Fred Pratt Green; 'Pitfalls in Hymn Writing' by Gracia Grindal; 'Approaches to Writing Hymn Tunes' by Calvin Hampton, Jane Marshall, William Reynolds, and Carl Schalk; and 'What Hymnal Committees Look for: Suggestions for Hymn Writers' by Robert Batastini, Raymond Glover, Roger Revell, and Jaroslav Vajda.

new hymns for *The Hymnal 1982* (not published until 1985), to complement the revised liturgy and lectionary in the *Book of Common Prayer* (1979).²² In Chicago, G.I.A. Publications Inc., revised its traditional hymn book for Roman Catholic churches into a comprehensive modern hymnal and service book, *Worship - Third Edition* (1986). A second volume of lighter church music, entitled *Gather* (1988), was prepared jointly with North American Liturgical Resources, a publisher of folk hymns and scriptural songs.²³ Both hymn books were organized according to the order of worship set out in the *Lectionary for Mass*.²⁴

In 1984 Carlton R. Young began his second stint as editor of a Methodist hymn book. Building upon initiatives taken in the 1966 hymnal, he gathered together a body of multicultural hymnody for *The United Methodist Hymnal* (1989), in four ethnic American hymn groups - African, Native, Asian and Hispanic.²⁵ Over seventy ethnic hymns, songs and prayers are included in the hymnal, some in original texts and melodies, and others in English translations and phonetic transliterations.²⁶ Many hymns were taken from African, Asian and Hispanic American hymnal supplements published by the Methodist Church during the interval between the two hymn books. A product of the ecumenical movement, this new development is an extension of the civil rights songs

²² *The Hymnal 1982* (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1985). Raymond F. Glover wrote *A Commentary on New Hymns* (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1987) in which he discussed the newest hymns included in the Episcopal hymn book. It was an interim study leading to the publication of *The Hymnal 1982 Companion*, (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1990 and 1994), in three volumes.

²³ *Worship: A Hymnal and Service Book for Roman Catholics, Third Edition* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1986; and *Gather* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc.; and Phoenix, AZ: North American Liturgy Resources, 1988). See George Black, 'Gather and Worship: One Concept in Two Books and Many Editions', *The Hymn* 42:2 (April 1991), 12-15.

²⁴ For information about American Roman Catholic hymnal publications, see Felicia A. Piscatelli, 'Thirty-five Years of Catholic Hymnals in the United States (1962-97): a Chronological Listing', in *The Hymn* 49:4 (October 1998), 21-34.

²⁵ *The United Methodist Hymnal: Book of United Methodist Worship* (Nashville: The United Methodist Publishing House, 1989); and Carlton R. Young, *Companion to the United Methodist Hymnal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 17-43.

²⁶ The 'Index of Composers, Arrangers, Authors, Translators, and Sources' lists these hymns under two headings - Afro-American spirituals (p. 916) and Traditional hymns, melodies, and prayers (p. 922).

and social justice hymns which entered American congregational worship during the 1960s.²⁷

Voices United (1996), prepared by the United Church of Canada between 1990 and 1995, contains adaptations of the American ethnic hymnody model to serve the church's multicultural congregations.²⁸ The hymnal committee also drew substantially from the work of a growing number of women hymn writers, including Sylvia Dunstan and two other Canadian writers whose work is known outside Canada - Judith Fetter and Margaret Clarkson.²⁹ Hymns by women writers from Great Britain, the United States and New Zealand, most of whom have published separate collections of their work, are included.³⁰ Some of the women are also writing new eschatological hymns, a subject which has not attracted much attention until the 1990s, although Hubert Cunliffe-Jones had included it among his topics for new hymns.³¹ The contents of *Voices United* reflect

²⁷ Carlton R. Young, 'Ethnic Minority Hymns in United States Mainline Protestant Hymnals 1940-1995: Some Qualitative Considerations', *The Hymn* 49:3 (July 1998), 17-27.

²⁸ *Voices United: The Hymn and Worship Book of The United Church of Canada* (Etobicoke, ON: The United Church Publishing House, 1996). Several translations and transliterations were prepared by members of the Ethnic Ministries Council of the United Church of Canada.

²⁹ Sylvia G. Dunstan, *In Search of Hope and Grace: 40 Hymns and Gospel Songs* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1991) and *Where the Promise Shines: 17 New Hymns* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1995). Paul Westermeyer wrote a profile of Sylvia Dunstan (1955-93) for his *With Tongues of Fire: Profiles in 20th-Century Hymn Writing* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 53-61. Judith Fetter's hymn 'To Abraham and Sarah' was printed in *Rejoice and Sing* (#553). Hymns from Margaret Clarkson's collection, *A Singing Heart* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1987), are better known in the United States than in Canada.

³⁰ Sources for hymns published in *Voices United* include: June Boyce-Tillman and Janet Wootton, *Reflecting Praise* (London: Stainer & Bell and Women in Theology, 1993); Ruth Duck, *Dancing in the Universe* (Chicago: G.I.A. Publications, Inc., 1992); Jane Huber Parker, *A Singing Faith* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1987); Gracia Grindal, *We Are One in Christ: Hymns, Paraphrases and Translations* (Kingston, N. Y.: Selah Publishing Co., 1996); Joy F. Patterson, *Come, You People of the Promise* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1994); Rae Whitney, *With Joy Our Spirits Sing* (Kingston, N. Y.: Selah Publishing Company, 1995); Miriam Therese Winter, *Songlines: Hymns, Songs, Rounds and Refrains for Prayer and Praise* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1996); and the New Zealand hymn writer, Shirley Erena Murray, *In Every Corner Sing and Every Day in Your Spirit: New Hymns Written Between 1992 and 1996* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1992 and 1996). Not all the single-author collections published by women hymn writers and composers named in *Voices United* are included here.

³¹ *Voices United*, from the closing section of hymns about life after death - 'A New Heaven and a New Earth': #703) 'In the bulb there is a flower' (Natalie Sleeth); #706) 'Give thanks for life' (Shirley Erena Murray); #707) 'For the faithful who have answered' (Sylvia Dunstan); #713) 'I see a new heaven' (Carolyn McDade); and #718) 'O God, you gave your servant John' (Joy F. Patterson). Among the hymns in the 'Funeral' section is a secular text written by Sylvia Dunstan for vigils and memorial services for the victims of AIDS, #494) 'Those hearts that we have treasured' to the American folk tune RESIGNATION. In his lecture on 'Theological Perspectives' in recent hymnody, given at Calvin

the state of hymnody in Canada, Great Britain and the United States, with a strong representation of hymns from the world church, at the culmination of thirty-five years of new hymn writing and liturgical revision.

Conclusion

Hymnody absorbs the concerns of the worshipping community; as the people of the community change and grow, new hymn writing develops in step with the needs of the generation of worshippers it serves. In July 1960, when Erik Routley asked 'Whither hymnody?', he was looking to renew congregational hymnody for his time. The 'hymn explosion' marked the church's response to God, and its response to the secularization of Western society. Contrary to popular theorizing about the 'death of God' in the 1960s, church musicians and hymn writers demonstrated that belief in God thrived. While some folk turned away from the church 'in an age of faith and doubt', those who remained witnessed a quiet revolution in Christian worship. By 1995 mainstream and evangelical congregations were singing old and new hymns, psalms, and worship songs. The three international movements of worship reform in the twentieth century - ecumenism, liturgical renewal and hymn writing - were drawn together in the hymn books to create a new order of contemporary worship and hymnody.

College, Grand Rapids, MI, (15 July 1998), Cornelius Plantinga, Jr, noted that Timothy Dudley-Smith has maintained a consistent eschatological perspective in his hymn writing.

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