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Ellen Rachel Scott

SIR FREDERICK OUSELEY,
THE FOUNDATION OF ST MICHAEL'S
COLLEGE, TENBURY WELLS, AND THE
IDEALS OF ANGLICAN CHORAL TRADITION
IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

Thesis for the degree of Master of Arts

1997



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University of Durham

Department of Music

12 MAY 1998

Abstract

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The Church and College of St Michael and All Angels, Tenbury Wells was founded in 1856 by The Rev'd Sir Frederick A. G. Ouseley. It was intended to serve as a model to the cathedral churches of England and choral services were performed twice daily by a choir of men and boys. The choristers were to benefit from Ouseley's second aim at St Michael's - the provision of a good grammar school education.

Ouseley's decision to devote his life to the improvement of the choral aspects of church life in this way, was clearly a result of his personal experiences. However, as a composer, scholar, antiquarian, gentleman, Ouseley was representative of the ideal Victorian churchman. Consequently, his philosophy is inherently linked with that of the Victorian Church in general. His work must be considered in the context of the test of strength facing the Church in the form of poor finances, low morale and various intellectual developments that questioned its basic doctrines. The importance of St Michael's was acknowledged by the brief account edited by M. F. Alderson & H. C. Colles in 1943 (updated in 1988 by Watkins Shaw). However, these books do not consider this important relationship between the college and events in the Church in general.

In looking at the life of St Michael's, one can draw parallels with the trends in the Church as a whole - the improvements for which the Oxford Movement was striving, the revival of Gothic architecture and the Victorian conception of a "sacred" musical style. It is also possible to see the implementation of Ouseley's personal beliefs, and to consider the extent to which these influenced the lives of those boys and young men who came into contact with Ouseley and St Michael's in their formative years.

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PREFACE

My intention, when beginning this project, was to study solely the ideas of Sir Frederick Ouseley, and the way in which they guided his work at St Michael's. However, it soon became apparent that, in order to truly comprehend his reasons for founding this institution, it would also be necessary to consider the placement of St Michael's in relation to the whole ethos of the Anglican church in the nineteenth century. This was a time when there was a huge amount of enthusiasm for the revival of the finer aspects of church tradition, as a result of the endless problems faced by the Church, and, the majority of these were exhibited, in some way, by St Michael's.

Given the large number of passages quoted from nineteenth-century writings, I felt it best to preserve the original spellings and capitalisations. Consequently, for the sake of consistency, all extracts from other works have been reproduced with their original spellings. Footnote references have been abbreviated after their first occurrence in each chapter. There are a small number of cases where an author has produced two works in one year, the form of abbreviation for these works is noted in the bibliography.

My thanks go to Dr Jeremy Dibble for the guidance he has given me with this project; to all of the staff who have assisted me at the libraries in Durham, London and Oxford, most especially to Mrs Marian Roberts, Honorary Acting Archivist at the Hereford Cathedral Library, who provided me with swift and thorough responses to all my queries about the Tenbury Archive; to Jo Bradshaw for her patient proof-reading; and finally, to my parents, without whose support this would never have been possible.

Ellen R. Scott

St Chad's College, Durham
Monday 29 September, 1997.

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INTRODUCTION

For over a hundred years, the College of St Michael and All Angels, Tenbury Wells provided education for young men and boys who, in turn, assisted in the cultivation of church music in the parish church built as part of the same foundation. Many of the boys who passed through the college, from the time it opened in 1856 to the day it closed in 1985, became devoted clergymen and church musicians, having been brought into contact with the ideals of the founder. Before progressing further in any discussion of this foundation some comment must be made on its structure.

St Michael's was founded by The Rev'd Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, Bart., M.A. (Oxon), the college's first warden and the Church's first incumbent, that it might serve to promote, and preserve, the musical services of the Church of England. In 1943 a "history" of the college, edited by M. F. Alderson and H. C. Colles was published.¹ After the closure of the college, Watkins Shaw produced a further work.² This was initially intended to be an updated version of the earlier history but the final product bore scant resemblance to its main source material. Alderson and Colles refer to Ouseley's creation as St Michael's College. This is a convenient but inaccurate

¹ Alderson, M. F. & Colles, H.C. (editors); *History of St Michael's College, Tenbury* (London: S.P.C.K., 1943).

² Shaw, Watkins; *Sir Frederick Ouseley and St Michael's, Tenbury: A Chapter in the History of English Church Music and Ecclesiology* (University of Birmingham, 1988).

description as Watkins Shaw takes care to explain. The foundation of St Michael's did indeed incorporate a college and a school where men and boys could be found to create a 'model choir' to perform the services in the church. However, the term "college", when used to refer to the entire institution would suggest the presence of a collegiate chapel where the choir performed its rôle; this was not the case. Instead, the church dedicated to St Michael and All Angels was built to serve as a parish church to all those in the district. The only direct links between the college and the church were that the choir of the church was made up of members of the college and that the statutes of the college decreed that the Warden should be a priest and should hold the incumbency of the parish.³ Watkins Shaw, in his book, chooses to refer to the institution simply as St Michael's, having considered these facts about its design. In the course of this work, the term "college" is used but the reader is asked to bear in mind that this is not a wholly satisfactory, or accurate, description of St Michael's.

Alderson and Colles' book of 1943 more or less entirely consisted of the reminiscences of various individuals who were associated with St Michael's. Both of the editors had some connection with the institution; consequently the account of the college's history given by their book is a view of St Michael's from the inside. There is no consideration of St Michael's within the Church or the musical world; the only attempt to place it within a context is a short survey of Ouseley's family history and early life at the opening of the book. As Shaw's book was written after St Michael's College had closed, it was

³ *Trust Deeds and Statutes of St Michael's College* - 6 January 1864. MS. D/863/A/10, Hereford Cathedral Library.

able to give a broader view of the institution although many of the reminiscences were preserved. However, whilst the chapter on Ouseley's genealogy and early life is expanded by Shaw, there is still no consideration of the background within which the college existed.

My aim in this thesis is to assess St Michael's as Ouseley's contribution to the revitalisation of music in the Anglican Church which occurred during the nineteenth century. In order to do this, it is first necessary to consider the influences which led Ouseley to conceive the institution. The opening chapter looks at the general state of the Church of England in the nineteenth century. It discusses the philosophical, political and scientific developments that affected the way in which the Church, and, in some cases, the Christian faith, was viewed. Consideration is next given to the ways in which these factors had a bearing upon the standard of music, choirs and the education of choristers. The focus then moves to the various attempts at improvement that were made. The Oxford Movement is a prime example, with its work to restore true devotion and loyalty to the Church of England. A few years after the inception of this movement a similar group in Cambridge - the Cambridge Camden Society - began to take an interest in church architecture with the aim of encouraging the use of the Gothic style which they saw as ideal. Later, the Society branched out to advocate ideals in the other outwardly apparent elements of worship, including music. The final part of this chapter looks at those men, and institutions, who attempted to fight for the continued use of music in all churches, and for the improvement in the music where it was used.

Ouseley would have been aware of these situations and developments within society and the Church. Certainly, among his books, most of which are now to be found in the Bodleian Library, were copies of the various tracts on the church and music discussed in the first chapter. It was the combination of this knowledge of the general state of music in the Church with the experiences he gained from various events in his private life that formed Ouseley's resolve to found an institution which would serve to improve church music, provide a sound education and increase devotion to the established Church. These influential occurrences are surveyed in the second chapter. Biographical material about Ouseley is scarce. In 1896, Frederick Wayland Joyce - the son of Ouseley's life-long friend, James Wayland Joyce - wrote a biographical account in response to popular demand.⁴ Joyce points out the lack of primary sources as Ouseley never kept a diary and tended not to preserve letters. As a result of this lack of material, and the close association between the author and the subject, the biography takes on the form of a fond reminiscence rather than an in-depth study of Ouseley's life. Much valuable material, in the form of newspaper articles, sermons, and memories about Ouseley is preserved in Francis T. Havergal's *Memorials of Sir Frederick A. G. Ouseley*,⁵ without which Joyce claims that his task would have been a great deal more difficult. This chapter also discusses Ouseley's opinions on music, the Church, education, and other matters, as laid down in his sermons, Church Congress papers and Musical Association papers.

⁴ Joyce, Frederick Wayland; *The Life of Sir F. A. G. Ouseley* (London: Methuen, 1896).

⁵ London, Ellis & Elvey, 1889.

The next stage in the assessment of Ouseley's contribution through St Michael's is to consider the life of the college itself under the supervision of its founder. This is the purpose of the third chapter which covers the period from the first conception of St Michael's in a letter sent from the continent to James Wayland Joyce in 1851 to the time just after the death of Ouseley on 6 April, 1889. Here it is possible to see the visible results of the influences to which Ouseley was exposed. St Michael's was intended to provide a 'model choir' to perform cathedral style services daily. It was also an opportunity to put his five-point educational scheme for choristers into practice; he believed that the boys should be given a good grammar school education in addition to musical, religious, moral and physical training.⁶ In addition to the two books mentioned previously, I was fortunate enough to be able to consult the college archive which is now kept in the library of Hereford Cathedral. The college records demonstrate its founder's ideals of music to be used in Church - taking the best examples of English music mainly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but also using works from the nineteenth century, including those of his contemporaries. Finally, the buildings, designed by Henry Woodyer, are a fine example of the trends of the Gothic Revival.

Finally it is necessary to assess what influence, if any, St Michael's had upon the musical lives of the Church and the nation. Numerous men who made contributions to the church and music were associated with the college including the following: John Jebb whose opinions on the use of music in Church are expounded in the first chapter of this thesis (Honorary Fellow,

⁶ Ouseley, Sir F. A. G. 'The Education of Choristers in Cathedrals' in *Essays on Cathedrals*, ed. The Very Rev. J. S. Howson (London: John Murray, 1872), 209-234.

1856); Edwin George Monk who wrote a Psalter with Ouseley (Honorary Fellow, 1856); Sir John Stainer, scholar, reforming organist of St Paul's Cathedral and Professor of Music at Oxford (Organist 1857-9, Honorary Fellow 1894); Langdon Colborne, organist of Beverley Minster and Hereford Cathedral amongst other posts (Organist 1860-74); Sir Walter Parratt, Professor of Music at Oxford, 1908-18 (Honorary Fellow, 1902); George Robertson Sinclair, organist, namesake of the G.R.S. variation written by Elgar in his *Enigma Variations*, and sometime conductor of Three Choirs Festival (Chorister 1873-8, Honorary Fellow, 1902); Edmund Horace Fellowes, musical scholar and minor canon of St George's, Windsor (Honorary Fellow, 1920, and Honorary Librarian 1918-48); Sir Ernest Bullock, composer and organist of Exeter Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, (Organist, 1919); and Sir Sydney Nicholson, founder of the School of English Church Music - later the Royal School of Church Music (Honorary Fellow 1921, Temporary Musical Director during World War II). These men can be divided into three groups - those who were invited to be Fellows as a result of their work for music in the church, those who worked for the college, and those who attended as boys. To the first group was entrusted the responsibility of appointing Ouseley's successor, however, there is little evidence to suggest that they had any other formal duties at the college.⁷ As regards the remaining two groups, Ouseley would, presumably, have hoped that their time at St Michael's would be of some benefit to them in their chosen professions. The final chapter is an evaluation of the legacy of St Michael's considering whether St Michael's itself made a lasting impression upon the world or whether it was simply a vehicle

⁷ Shaw 1988, 36.

by which Ouseley could attempt to propagate his personal ideals by instilling them into generations of choristers and young organists. In this evaluation consideration is also given to the questions of how aware the nation was of the existence of St Michael's, how Ouseley's work there was regarded, how well his efforts were preserved after his death and whether or not this preservation had a detrimental effect upon the college in the long-term.

CHAPTER 1

The State of the Church and its Music in the Nineteenth Century.

Three forces were driving Christianity to restate doctrine: natural science, historical criticism, moral feeling. Natural science shattered assumptions about Genesis and about miracles. Criticism questioned whether all history in the Bible was true. Moral feeling found the love of God hard to reconcile with hellfire or scapegoat-atonement.¹

These factors were the result of the complexity of intellectual life in the nineteenth century in comparison with that of earlier ages. Many of these created a feeling of great unease within the Church as they seemed to draw the basic tenets of Christianity, such as the infallibility of the Bible, into question. New discoveries were being made in many of the sciences - mainly geology and biology; there was an increase in the production of machinery which was changing man's perception of the extent of his own power in relation to his environment; and there were philosophical and political revolutions - of both Romantic and Rationalist natures - against traditional systems, beliefs and institutions which had previously been regarded as secure.² Social changes at the end of the eighteenth, and early in the

¹ Chadwick, Owen; *The Victorian Church: Part I, 1829-1859*. Third edition (London: S.C.M. Press Ltd, 1971), 551.

² Russell, Bertrand; *History of Western Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1961), 691.

nineteenth, century broadened the gap between the Church and secular society - two components which had always been very close, being inherently linked by the coronation oath taken by every British monarch. Members of the Established Church no longer had a monopoly on the political arena; Dissenters were given more political freedom and Roman Catholics were permitted to hold Parliamentary seats.³ Factors within the Church included the introduction into England of German rationalist works. Rather than accepting the orthodox view which took a literal reading of the Scriptures regardless of the supernatural nature of many passages, the rationalists regarded the Gospels as historical records but also sought to isolate the core facts whilst seeking to explain how the "miraculous embellishments" surrounding them had arisen from misunderstandings or magnifications of actual events.⁴ Evangelism - the legacy of the eighteenth century - was a driving force in the religion of the country, and the evangelical movement, which encompassed the Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Quakers, had a large following.⁵ This popularity did not indicate that these Christian communities had more vitality than the Church of England but, in the words of A. R. Vidler, "there was more ferment among them, if only because they were minorities with disabilities and grievances that were ripe for redress."⁶ The enlargement of the Dissenting parties, together with "the emotional repulsion which Englishmen had for some centuries felt towards Roman Catholicism",⁷ served

³ Norman, E. R.; *Church and Society in England, 1770-1970* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 77-9.

⁴ Vidler, Alec R.; *The Church in an Age of Revolution: 1789 to the Present Day* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1962), 102.

⁵ Chadwick 1971, 4.

⁶ Vidler 1962, 40.

⁷ Norman 1976, 79.

to increase the conflict between the High and Low church parties. Unequal distribution of the Church's finance led to the injustice of pluralism - clergymen holding more than one post in the Church - as the stipend from one post would often not be sufficient to live on, and, as a consequence of the multiple placements frequently being in different areas of the country, this led to widespread absenteeism. All of these factors served to diminish morale among churchmen and to create feelings of dissatisfaction within the Established Church in an era when it was "discovered with surprise that England, although it was a Christian country, contained multitudes of citizens who were not Christian."⁸

The most notable, although not the first, of the scientific discoveries was in the field of biology, and more specifically in the theory of evolution. In 1859, Charles Darwin's book, *The Origin of Species*, was first published. Darwin was by no means the first Evolutionist, in fact, in his book entitled *Pioneers of Evolution*, Edward Clodd begins his historical survey with Thales in 600 BC.⁹ He regards the time from the early Christian era to the renaissance of science in the seventeenth century as a break in the development of the theory. Lamarck was the first man in the nineteenth century whose opinions on the subject were noted; his conclusions were first published in 1801 and then expanded upon in *Philosophie Zoologique* of 1809. Darwin differed from the other writers in his field in that he was the first to offer an explanation for evolution. *The Origin of Species* gives his two-part theory: that all living beings gradually evolved from one common ancestor; and that the reason for this

⁸ Chadwick 1971, 4-5.

⁹ Clodd, Edward; *Pioneers of Evolution. From Thales to Huxley* (London: Cassell & Co. Ltd, 1907).

evolution is the struggle to survive - the theory of natural selection. Such a work was naturally rejected by the clergymen of the day, Protestant and Catholic alike, as "'an attempt to dethrone God';...as 'tending to produce disbelief of the Bible,' and 'to do away with all idea of God'."¹⁰ Darwin had once considered the Bible to be infallible but, as a result of his research and theories, gradually grew towards atheism before his discovery of the concept of a personal God.¹¹ In contrast to this, Alfred Wallace, who struck on the same ideas of evolution and natural selection as Darwin, "*would not allow that natural selection explains the origin of man's spiritual and intellectual nature.* Wallace argues that these 'must have had another origin, and for this origin we can find an adequate cause only in the unseen universe of Spirit.'"¹² Darwin's second book, *The Descent of Man*, which appeared twelve years later, contained an outspoken chapter discussing the origin of conscience and the belief in spiritual beings and called into question such traditional dogmas as the fall and redemption of man. However, by this time, many other Evolutionist works had been published including Herbert Spencer's *First Principles* and Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature* and the Church had become more accustomed to the theories put forward by these men.

Although it was these discoveries in the realms of biology that are most often remembered, the first scientific factor to affect the Church was pre-Darwin. Baden Powell, the Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, who was unafraid of philosophizing on theological subjects, plainly stated that the history of the earth from the geologists' point of view was wholly incompatible

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 147.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 118.

¹² *ibid.*, 133.

with the explanations of creation offered by the book of Genesis.¹³ From the 1820s, for approximately 20 years, geology was the most prominent science of the day - "the names iguanodon, pterodactyl, dinosaur, gigantosaurus, megatherium, plesiosaurus became part of the English language,"¹⁴ For research in this field to advance, geologists needed to assume that the earth was of an undefined age. It was here that the conflict with the church began. In the seventeenth-century Archbishop Usher had calculated, by tracing the chronology of the King James Bible back to the beginning, that God created the world in 4004 BC. Although this was extended, back to 6000 BC, from studies of Chinese and Egyptian records, what the geologists needed were millions of years.¹⁵

Once it had been accepted by most educated churchmen, that Genesis was more mythological than historical, scholars realised that they should begin to carry out similar tests on the remainder of the books in the Bible to ascertain their reliability, the dates of any events described, and the identity of the author, or possibly authors. The stories told in the Bible were submitted to the same critical techniques as secular history. Works were published by theologians, originally in Germany, which questioned the infallibility of the Bible and criticised those who used a literal, or Fundamentalist, reading of it. Many of the new ideas were brought to England by Herbert Marsh's translations of German works;¹⁶ the subject was also discussed in E. B. Pusey's

¹³ Chadwick 1971, 554.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 558.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 559.

¹⁶ Long, Kenneth; *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1972), 319.

Inquiry into German Rationalism (1828).¹⁷ Soon it was not only the books of the Old Testament which were examined. In 1835, David Friedrich Strauss wrote a critical examination of *The Life of Jesus*; this book was translated into English by Marian Evans - alias George Eliot - in 1846.¹⁸ In Strauss's opinion the argument between the orthodox belief that the gospels must be accepted as they stand and the rationalist view that these records were historical documents which had acquired supernatural associations through miscomprehension of fact led to an impasse: in order to move on from this predicament Strauss believed that it was necessary to adopt a new method of interpretation which would balance the two existing extremes. This new point of view which he suggests should be considered in reading the gospels is the mythical. He goes on to qualify this statement by adding that "it is not by any means meant that the whole history of Jesus is to be represented as mythical, but only that every part of it is to be subjected to a critical examination, to ascertain whether it have not some admixture of the mythical."¹⁹

Prominent in the field of philosophy were the Utilitarians. Their belief was based upon the assumption that man is an animal governed by pleasure and pain - he aims to seek pleasure while avoiding pain. An action which resulted in pleasure was regarded as good while one which caused pain was bad. From this premise the right solution to any dilemma could be deduced by simply considering every possible outcome in order to find the one that

¹⁷ Pusey, E. B.; *An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character Lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany* (London: Rivingtons, 1828).

¹⁸ Strauss, David Friedrich; *The Life of Jesus: A Critical Examination*. Translated from the fourth German edition [by George Eliot] in three volumes (London: Chapman Brothers, 1846).

¹⁹ Vidler, Alec R; *The Church in an Age of Revolution: 1789 to the Present Day* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1962), 102

would produce 'the greatest good for the greatest number'.²⁰ This philosophy caused problems for the faith of the Church in two ways. First, it refuted the idea that any action could be intrinsically right or wrong; its morality was based on reason rather than a set of rules. Secondly, it showed man to be an entirely selfish creature who desires nothing except his own pleasure. Towards the end of the eighteenth century William Paley issued his version of the philosophy which, in suggesting a scenario where God was the only true Utilitarian, attempted to reconcile the established Church with the philosophically-minded Englishman. In Paley's theory, man was still assumed to be inherently selfish but, the fact that there was an omnipotent being who desired the greatest good for the greatest number, man will seek to guarantee his own pleasure - in the afterlife - by performing God's will.²¹ However, Jeremy Bentham, the most famous proponent of the philosophy, was an advocate of the theory that the greatest good for the greatest number was desirable in itself, which left man with no need for a god.²² Bentham was an advocate of legislation. Having established in his mind that all men act in their own selfish interest, he believed it was then the role of the legislator to provide a balance between the interests of the individual and that of society. For instance, theft does not benefit society as it does the thief; therefore, laws must be introduced which ensure that it is in the interest of the individual not to steal.²³ Later in life Bentham came to believe in democracy and legislation for the improvement of government as happiness for all cannot be found under

²⁰ Bowle, John; *Politics and Opinion in the Nineteenth Century: An Historical Introduction* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 62-3.

²¹ Plamenatz, John; *The English Utilitarians* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), 51-2.

²² *ibid.*, 56.

²³ Russell 1961, 741-2.

tyrannical rule.²⁴ Any form of government other than a democracy simply produces the happiness of those who share the power.²⁵

Utilitarianism, as a philosophy which sought to promote democracy, was naturally the thought behind many of the changes made to the system of government in the nineteenth century. In this rôle it created a further problem for the Church, as these political reforms resulted in a move away from a government which was monopolised by members of the Established Church. In 1828, the Test and Corporation Act was repealed. This act imposed penalties on anybody sitting in Parliament, or holding municipal or other public offices, who was not a communicating member of the Church of England, and meant that every year an Indemnity had to be passed to exempt Dissenters from these penalties.²⁶ Once Dissenters had more political freedom, the Roman Catholics were the next group to fight for, and to be granted, permission to take up Parliamentary seats. In Ireland, there was conflict between the Church of the Protestant Ascendancy (the Church of Ireland) and the Irish Nationalists, under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell. England and Ireland had been joined in political union at the turn of the century and O'Connell's aim was to secure a return to home rule. The government of the time believed that there was a chance that the conflict would escalate into a civil war and, in 1829, to avert this possibility, rather than because popular opinion demanded it, a bill of Catholic Emancipation was passed freeing

²⁴ Bowle 1954, 51.

²⁵ Parekh, Bhikhu (editor); *Bentham's Political Thought* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), 296

²⁶ Norman 1976, 77-8.

Roman Catholics from their civil disabilities.²⁷ Political developments were at their highest concentration in the 1830s: the emancipation act had weakened the Tory government and, in November 1830, it was replaced by a Whig cabinet committed to reforming both State and Church. A Reform Bill was proposed in 1831 but was opposed by many of the bishops in the House of Lords. It was feared that the suggested popular representation could lead to the disestablishment of the Church of England as largely Catholic, Presbyterian and Dissenting communities would elect the Irish, Scottish and English candidates respectively. The bishops' objections gave rise to public attacks on all clergymen and, when the Bill was finally passed in 1832, the reaction to it was the same throughout the country - members of the Church of England and of the Dissenting parties all agreed that the Established Church should be reformed.²⁸ Soon, however, there were unions between Roman Catholics and Dissenters calling not for reformation but for the disestablishment of the Church. It should be noted at this point that the Methodists did not regard themselves as Dissenters, nor did they unite with others against the Church. "They remembered that John Wesley had not desired separation. They conceived themselves more as a society or 'connexion' than as a church, attended the services of the Church of England without qualm or protest, aimed at a peaceable spirit and distrusted political pastors as others distrusted political parsons."²⁹ In 1833, a committee was formed and the grievances of the Dissenters were condensed into the five

²⁷ Kitson Clark, G.; *Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885: A study in the development of Social Ideas and Practice from the Old Regime to the Modern State* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1973), 53-4.

²⁸ Chadwick 1971, 24-9.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 79-80.

following points: that only Baptisms in parish churches were registered by the State; that, since 1753, all marriages, except those of Quakers and Jews, had, by law, to be performed in a parish church; that, although many dissenters were buried in parish churchyards, the use of denominational burial services was not authorised; that everyone, regardless of denomination, was forced to support the maintenance of the parish church through the compulsory payment of church rates; and, that degrees from Oxford and Cambridge, and the new college in Durham, were only awarded to those who subscribed to the Thirty Nine Articles.³⁰ The support for the removal of these disabilities far outweighed that for the Established Church.

On 29 September 1850, just over thirty years after the political influence of the Roman Catholics had been increased by the Catholic Emancipation Bill, Pope Pius IX appointed ten bishops to districts in England. Fuelled by this reinstatement of the Roman Catholic hierarchy into England for the first time since the Reformation, the High and Low Church parties became more extreme and their influence increased considerably. Both parties formed unions in order to protect their interests and to aid their campaigns against what were, in their view, the apostasies of the opposing party. Generally the case was of the Low Churchman objecting to the ritualism of the High Churchman, while the latter spent his time defending the ceremonials. Such ritualism was regarded as papist and there was an intense hatred of Rome due to a fear that England would once more fall under the jurisdiction of the Pope. Ultimately, this fear led to the 'No Popery' riots of the 1850s.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 81.

The poor state of the finances of the Church of England reduced morale within the Church and provided her opponents with ample opportunity for public attack. In comparison with those holding positions in the cathedrals, parish priests were paid a pittance. E. R. Norman shows how unequal the distribution of money was when approximately 5,000 of the clergy in parish settings were paid less than £150 per annum. In contrast to this the Bishops of London and Durham received stipends of £12,000 and £19,000 respectively each year.³¹ Also, these higher ranking cathedral clergymen seem to have preferred to spend money supporting their comfortable life styles rather than on improving the state of their churches and the worship within them. Absenteeism amongst clergy was widespread. However, this should come as no surprise in an era when it was possible for the Dean of one Cathedral to hold a bishopric at the opposite end of the country. Norman estimates that in the 1830s almost fifty per cent of clergy were non-resident.³² These figures paint a sorry enough picture of the state of the Church, but at the time opponent propagandists thought the situation was not bad enough. This statistic for non-residency was amongst those misrepresented by John Wade, a Utilitarian journalist, in *The Extraordinary Black Book* published in the summer of 1831.³³ In his book Wade omitted to explain that the figures for non-residence included those incumbents who lived close to, but not within the legal boundaries of, their parishes. Salaries were also grossly exaggerated by Wade who claimed that the annual stipend of the Archbishop of Armagh was

³¹ Norman 1976, 92,

³² *ibid.*, 91.

³³ This was a compilation of previous periodical numbers published between 1820 and 1823 under the title *The Black Book*.

£140,000.³⁴ The measly stipends paid to the majority of parish priests lead to a further problem - pluralism - as men took on extra posts in order to support themselves and their families; Norman presents the following statistics on this subject. In 1832, of around 12,000 preferments in the Church of England, it was found that 3,853 clergymen held a single position, 3,304 held two positions, 370 men held three, 73 held four, and 59 held five or more.³⁵ It eventually became necessary for the State to intervene, and, in 1835, Robert Peel established the Ecclesiastical Commission to deal with such problems.

In such circumstances music came as a low priority and, consequently, expenditure on musicians was almost non-existent. The clergy were not keen to use any great proportion of the Church's finances to provide an organist to play, and a choir to sing, at her services. As a result, the level of commitment given by singers in cathedral choirs was perhaps at an all time low. As the church would provide little or no financial support, choir members had no choice but to make their living by other means and that living naturally came as their first priority. A report by the Church Commissioners of 1854, outlined by Philip Barrett, showed that most cathedral choirs of the time were not of a high standard and had, at best, an erratic attendance, as in the case of Chester Cathedral where only four of the eight men in the choir attended on a regular basis. A few years previously, research carried out by *The Parish Choir* revealed that while Lincoln Cathedral technically had strong forces of fifteen boys and eight men, it had only a daily attendance of two or three of the

³⁴ Chadwick 1971, 33-35.

³⁵ Norman 1976, 92.

latter.³⁶ The low level of attendance is well illustrated by the occasion on which Samuel Sebastian Wesley's anthem, *Blessed be the God and Father*, (commissioned by the Dean of Hereford for use at the Easter Day service either in 1833 or 1834)³⁷ was first performed. At that service there was only one adult member of the choir present - a bass - there no doubt out of obligation as he was the Dean's butler.³⁸ Despite the lack of concern given to the standard of the music often produced by choirs, attempts at improvement were not uncommon, and various rulings were made within Cathedrals to try to limit the minimum to which attendances could fall.

As it was possible for clergy to hold positions at more than one church, choirmen often spread their talents. Arthur Hutchings describes how one group of men, assisted at times by their deputies, should they have had them, managed to form the choirs of both St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey by "running from one service to another as soon as the anthem was over".³⁹ The church choirs of the time have been described as "[a] few miserable and effete singers running about from choir to choir, and performing, to a crashing and bellowing of organs, the most meagre and washy musick".⁴⁰ The inadequate nature of this situation was acknowledged by all. Criticisms of attendance, musical standards and the situation regarding the education of choristers were abundant among cathedral clergy and others associated with the life of the Church.

³⁶ Barrett, Philip, *Barchester: English Cathedral Life in the Nineteenth Century* (London: S.P.C.K., 1993), 166.

³⁷ Chappell, Paul; *Dr S. S. Wesley, 1810-1876: Portrait of a Victorian Musician* (Great Wakering, Essex: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1977), 25.

³⁸ Hutchings, Arthur; *Church Music in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1967), 99.

³⁹ *ibid.*, 100.

⁴⁰ *The Ecclesiologist*, III (1843), 2.

Life was not easy for those employed to sing in the cathedral choirs. The lay clerks were bound by numerous rulings, which, as the reformation of music progressed, became more strict. Limitations were put on the types of work that they could undertake and it was often recommended that if a man's career interfered with his duty to the choir he should be given an increased stipend to allow him to neglect his other work. Other methods used by men to supplement the stipend they received for their work in the choir, such as teaching and singing in other places, were also tightly governed. Teaching hours were restricted and no choir member was permitted to sing in a public house for fear that they should bring scandal upon themselves and consequently the cathedral.

The provisions for the care of the boys of the cathedral choirs left much to be desired. Statistics showed that, in 1827, the number of boys in the main cathedral choirs was below that required by the statutes. As a result of the choristers being so few in number, the boys sang more frequently than perhaps they should and their education came a very poor second to the duties required by the choir. One example of the lack of regard given to the schooling of the boys was seen in Bristol. Here the boys were split into three groups. Each group attended school for only one week out of every three, spending the other two singing at all the services in the cathedral. By adopting this routine with each group in turn, the cathedral was guaranteed always to have two thirds of the boys present in the choir at any time, however, the boys were missing out on a majority of their education.⁴¹ These facts emerged from the results of a survey carried out by the one of the greatest allies of choristers

⁴¹ Barrett 1993, 197.

in the nineteenth century - Miss Maria Hackett.⁴² Maria Hackett took on the cause of the choirboys arguing for improvements both in the quality of their education and the general standard of living provided for them. Choristers would be paid a token amount for their services to the choir; however, there were few places where cathedral funds were made available to pay for the majority of the boys' schooling. It was often the case that their board, and even their classes, had to be paid for by their parents. The campaigns of Maria Hackett were responsible for the betterment of conditions for choristers. Combined with the efforts of other reformers, such as S. S. Wesley, the result was a general improvement in attendance and better treatment of all those involved with choirs, creating the overall effect of a substantial rise in the standard of the choral service in the cathedrals of England by the end of the century.

Despite the apparent deterioration in the church thus far described, the nineteenth century is still regarded, in some ways, as a period of Anglican revival. Indeed, members of the Church of England, seeing the poor state of their church and the risk of the loss of its congregations to the Church of Rome or to dissenting factions, were eager to encourage new loyalty to the Anglican faith. In July 1833, a number of men, most of whom were from Oriel College, Oxford, met in Hadleigh. In light of the insecurity felt in the church at the time they were all of one mind - something needed to be done to strengthen the Church of England. This meeting was the first step on a path that led to the establishment of the Oxford Movement, although John Henry Newman, one of

⁴² Hackett, Maria; *A Brief Account of Cathedral and Collegiate Schools with an abstract of their statutes and endowments* (London: J. B. Nichols, 1827).

the prominent leaders of the Movement, regarded the famous sermon on 'National Apostasy', preached by John Keble at the University Church of St Mary the Virgin in Oxford in the same year, as the real beginning.⁴³ There were, from other sources, calls for a second reformation and changes to the liturgy were often suggested. These proposals included the abolition of the Creed, especially that by Athanasius (at least in public worship) and the removal of all mention of the Blessed Trinity, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration and the practice of absolution.⁴⁴ The main aim of the Oxford Movement was to fight against such proposed alterations to the central dogmas of Christianity, and to promote a renewal of loyalty to the Church of England and her liturgy. The following extract from F. A. Bennett's book *The Story of W. J. E. Bennett* describes the general physical state of churches at the time of the birth of the Oxford Movement and the way they were used:

Town churches were no doubt kept in pretty good material condition, but their arrangement was not that of a building intended for the worship of God, but for the worship of a sermon In the midst of the church, and often exactly in front of the altar, stood a huge "three-decker." In the lowest platform [of this style of pulpit] sat the clerk, to whom was committed the task of making all responses, and who also gave out the metrical psalm from "Tate and Brady," often chosen by himself, and often unsuitable. In the middle stage the prayers were preached more or less impressively to the people, and thus turned into "an oblique sermon." From the top of this erection a moral essay, excellently worded, was perhaps monotonously droned, ... perhaps grandiloquently declaimed, according to the mental twist of the minister.⁴⁵

⁴³ Temperley, Nicholas; *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 249.

⁴⁴ Church, R. W.; *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833-1845* (London: MacMillan & Co Ltd, 1900), 101.

⁴⁵ Bennett, F. A.; *The Story of W. J. E. Bennett* (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1909), 17-8.

The desire of the founders of the Oxford Movement was to effect a return to services in which the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, were central, and worship was the most important aspect.

At the meeting in Hadleigh the possible steps that could be taken were discussed. After eliminating the idea of setting up an association, as too many disagreements over the exact constitution of such a foundation would delay their work, it was decided that the men should each write something according to their own beliefs. The result of this was the production of a series of short pamphlets on various aspects regarding the Church written by individuals, and thus the *Tracts for the Times* were born. Some of the early *Tracts* were contributed by the older members of the group who were more conservative in their ideal than the younger generation, but the majority were written by Newman himself. Certainly, it was Newman who provided the impetus to bring the Oxford Movement to fruition using the ideas of John Keble and his pupil, Richard Hurrell Froude. New tracts were produced in abundance throughout the autumn and winter of 1833 and each was published with a preface permitting, and almost commanding, the clergymen to whom they were addressed freely to distribute the *Tracts* amongst all the clergy of the country. In addition to the tracts written by the men who attended that first meeting at Hadleigh, papers, entitled 'Records of the Church', written by leading lights in the Church, such as Bishop Cosin, and translations of the works of the Church Fathers were also produced.⁴⁶

The Oxford Movement quickly developed a substantial following. According to one account, by the mid 1830s, two thirds of those at the

⁴⁶ Church 1900, 119.

University were in sympathy with the movement, which lent a great deal of support to their cause.⁴⁷ Its growth was assisted by the entrance of Dr Pusey who joined the ranks of Newman and Keble in 1835. With Pusey's intellectual mind at the forefront and Newman, as a fellow of Oriel, being constantly able, and very willing, to communicate ideas to any interested undergraduates, a way in which many new supporters were gained, the movement flourished. However, a decline in the popularity of the movement can be seen to begin not long after this period of prosperity. It was in 1838 that the decision was made, by the University authorities, to erect a monument to Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer - the martyrs of the Reformation. Despite objection from the Puseyites, the University continued with the planned memorial which was to many the first public sign of its disapproval of Newman and his followers. Further sanctions were taken by the University which culminated in the authorities forbidding the possession of copies of the *Tracts*, by students, and their attendance at the sermons that Newman gave every week to provide a living context in which the *Tracts* could be placed. Vindication for those who were against the Tractarians, as they were nicknamed, believing them to be papist, came in 1845 when many of the major exponents of the movement, including Newman himself, converted to Roman Catholicism. After twelve influential years the Oxford Movement drew to a close.

The desire to promote loyalty within the Church of England was also a key characteristic of the Evangelical Movement and this was not the only similarity between the two movements whose aim was to strengthen the

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 181.

Church through evangelism.⁴⁸ Further links are made by the wish of both movements to be given minority status within the Church, their loyalty to the Book of Common Prayer, their desire to enhance liturgical conduct and their shared enmity towards those 'low churchmen who made mere decorum the highest object in worship, or, worse, treated the clerical calling as a mere profession and source of income.'⁴⁹ The main difference was that there were some practices associated with the Oxford Movement which were generally regarded as being too near to those of the Roman church. In addition, any attempt at improvement in the church was generally deemed to be 'Popery', hence, the antagonism towards the movement from all other areas. The distinctive character of the Oxford Movement is summed up in five points by Horton Davies as follows. First, a great value was attached to the tradition of the church and especially the history of its first five centuries, resulting in a revival of the works of the Church Fathers. Secondly, the belief in 'One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church' - a church which both originated with, and is sustained by, God. Thirdly, an objective, rather than subjective, view of faith. The followers of the Oxford Movement were directly concerned with Acts of God and on the dogmas of belief. They saw praise and worship in the church as an end in itself rather than just a means to eternal salvation. Fourthly, a high regard for sacramental life and liturgical worship. Finally, the importance of ceremonial.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ There is a common misconception that to be Evangelical was akin to being 'low church'. This stems from the choice made by the Evangelicals when antagonism between the 'high' and 'low' church parties was at its peak and all Churchmen felt obliged to express allegiance to one side or the other.

⁴⁹ Temperley 1979, 250.

⁵⁰ Davies, Horton; *Worship and Theology in the Church of England, 1690-1850* (Princeton, New Jersey & London, 1961), 254.

A concern with liturgy is assumed to lead to an interest in the outward appearances of worship; indeed, elements of ritualism are seen to represent and protect central doctrinal tenets, most clearly that of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.⁵¹ Therefore, the mistake of associating the Oxford Movement with ritualism is often made. It is interesting to note that Pusey had very little interest in the elaborate decorations and practices so often observed in the Anglo-Catholic worship of today. An illustration of this is given by Davies in the following description of St Saviour's Church, Leeds, a church which Pusey intended to function as a model to the Church of England:

It was deliberately simple. There was only one altar frontal, a violet one, which was unchanged until 1848, when the other liturgical colors appropriate to the Christian Calendar were introduced, at which time the choir members were vested in cassocks and surplices. Eleven years later the eucharistic vestments were first used, and an altar-cross and altar lights also.⁵²

This gives a clear illustration that, to the first generation of Tractarians, ceremonial was of secondary importance when compared with doctrine. The real developments in the ritualistic side of worship began with the second generation.

Concern for the outward appearances of Christian worship first manifested itself in relation to church architecture. In 1838, the Oxford Architectural Society was founded. However, it was in Cambridge, at the hands of another movement in sympathy with the Tractarians, that the direct interest in ornamentation and external signs of the Church's services of worship was truly to flourish. The Cambridge Camden Society can be

⁵¹ Vidler 1962, 160.

⁵² *ibid.*, 273-4.

regarded as the younger sister of the Oxford Architectural Society.⁵³ It was founded in 1839 by two undergraduates at Trinity College, Cambridge, John Mason Neale (1819-66) and Benjamin Webb (1819-85). These two men were described by *The Guardian* in 1855 as being prominent among those "who discovered that they had a mission to help the Church revival on the side where Oxford left it weakest, that of religious art, notably architecture, and of worship treated in reciprocal dependence".⁵⁴

Neale was a scholar of patristics and a medieval historian with an enthusiasm for the architecture of the church. For two vacations in 1837-8, he passed his time by travelling around, first near St Leonard's, and then in Durham, Yorkshire, Hereford, and Lincolnshire, among other places, with a friend of his, the Rev'd E. J. Boyce. The purpose of these journeys was to visit the cathedrals of the areas in addition to hundreds of other churches. At each church Neale would make notes on the architectural features of the church down to the smallest detail, while Boyce made sketches and took copies of monumental brasses, the last being a particular passion of Neale's. Those who joined the Society were charged to carry out similar surveys of the churches they visited. The following account is given by Eleanor Towle:

The aim of its members was to restore and reconstruct the outward signs and symbols of the Church; to manifest her unity and strength, her grace and purity in an art entirely consecrated to her service; once more to discover the angel in the stone, and so to fashion the tabernacle of God upon earth as to present a true, though faint and

⁵³ The Cambridge Camden Society (hereafter referred to as C.C.S.) was so called until 1846 when it became the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society at the same time as its base of operation moved to London. The 'Cambridge Camden' part of the title was later dropped.

⁵⁴ Towle, Eleanor; *John Mason Neale D.D.: A Memoir* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1906), 40.

imperfect image of the temple of God in a city that lieth four square, of which the Lamb Himself is the Light.⁵⁵

The C.C.S. initially concerned itself with church architecture alone but it also increased the interest in outward practices in general, as mentioned above. This is simply illustrated in the passage below describing Sackville College, East Grinstead, where Neale was Warden in the 1840s, especially when compared with the previous description of Pusey's ideal at St Saviour's. At Neale's instigation, the chapel at Sackville College contained "a stone altar, an altar-cross, two candles, flowers, a large cross above the screen, and coloured frontals, as early as 1846. Four years later, he was wearing a chasuble for the celebration of the Eucharist."⁵⁶

The basic tenet of the C.C.S. - a return to past glories - can be summed up in three points: that God deserves to receive the very best that man can offer; that a return to the aesthetic standards of the past will revitalise spirituality; and, that ecclesiastical art, in all its forms can be lifted from its present "state of degradation" and begin to develop again as a result of study and revival of the best possible models.⁵⁷ They advocated a return to the Gothic style of church architecture - a style associated with the age of faith in the middle ages in place of the neo-classical buildings which had previously been popular in the less spiritual age of the eighteenth century. The Gothic design was particularly pleasing because of the significance which many of its features held. The cruciform plan of the churches is the most obvious aspect of its symbolism. In addition, the church would naturally be divided into three

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 41-2.

⁵⁶ Davies 1961, 274.

sections - nave, chancel and sanctuary - a reflection of the Blessed Trinity. The division of the chancel and sanctuary from the nave emphasised the difference between the clergy and choir (seated in the former) and the people (in the latter). Further to this, steps at various points provided a gradual rise through the body of the church, from the nave, through the chancel, to the sanctuary, which increased the prominence of the altar in the church. The use of flowers, altar lights, an altar-cross and frontals, also served to promote the centrality of this part of the church. A further characteristic of the Gothic style was the wide chancel containing facing stalls. Such a design was ideal for the seating of a choir; hence, many of the churches built under the influence of the C.C.S. used the chancel area for such a purpose (even though Neale himself believed that the choir should be situated in the 'flying pews' of the West gallery).

As members of the Society, many of whom were University men, left Cambridge it became necessary to find a method of keeping them informed of, and involved with, its continuing activities. It was to fulfil this end that the Society launched its own journal. *The Ecclesiologist* was first published in November 1841. It contained some articles on issues of architecture, design and ornamentation in general, some giving examples of new churches that were being built (putting into practice the ideas of the C.C.S.), letters from members and other interested readers, and reports of the proceedings of the meetings of the Society as well as those of the Oxford Architectural Society and similar groups based elsewhere in the country. The readership of the journal was by no means restricted to members of the Society. Although the

⁵⁷ Adelman, Dale: *The Contribution of Cambridge University and the Ecclesiological (Late Cambridge Camden) Society to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship* (Cambridge University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1991), 10.

precise extent of the influence of the Society is not known, some impression can be gained when one considers that, in 1843 alone, the committee received 98 applications for designs or simply for advice on church building. The journal expresses a mixed opinion on the position of the choir in a church and to confuse matters further there appears to have been no occasion on which it agreed with Neale's view on the matter. In the issue dated February 1842, a letter from 'W. B.' to *The Ecclesiologist* states "on the position of Stalls for the Choir. I cannot conceive that the east end of the Nave is at all an allowable position... The Chancel is certainly the only proper place".⁵⁸ The response to this point reads as follows:

Were it intended that the Choir should consist of Priests and Deacons, we should cordially agree with our correspondent: as it is, we cannot but think that the old rule -

*"Infra cancellos laicos compelle morari"*⁵⁹

makes the position adopted as good as any other...⁶⁰

Later, in an article discussing the position the organ should assume in a church, objections are raised to the placing of the organ in a loft above the choir arch or in the transepts suggesting instead that "it be placed at the west end, either of the Nave or either Aisle, *and on the ground*" and goes on to qualify this by stating that "[t]hen, the singers being rightly placed in the Chancel, it will not drown the voices nor make them dependent on itself."⁶¹

The C.C.S. may have laid out some ideas about the role of music but these were by no means based on any Tractarian ideal. Most of the opinions

⁵⁸ *The Ecclesiologist*, I (1842), 55.

⁵⁹ Literally 'Go forth out of my service'.

⁶⁰ *The Ecclesiologist*, I (1842), 55.

⁶¹ *The Ecclesiologist*, III (1843), 5.

which were in circulation regarding the role that music should play in the worship of the church were the preferences of individual men, all of whom had one common aim in mind - the restoration of the choral service in the Church of England. However, among these men, two different schools of thought can be identified, each believing in an alternative means to their common end.

The first school was made up of those men who believed that the role of the choir was to lead the (on the whole) musically uninitiated congregation in the singing of the choral services of the church. On the side of congregational singing the following remarks were later made by W. de M. Sergison:

Congregational singing may be a distasteful subject to some musicians, but it is an integral part of the church's system, and can be guided. With skill and care.... When choirmaster, choir, and congregation understand one another, the whole mass can be made to go fast or slow, sing *fortissimo*, and suddenly hush, according to the sense and spirit of the words and the will and good sense of the organist, like one great choir. When this is attained, the congregation will be led up to appreciate the singing of the trained choir in the more elaborate portions of the service, and so realise the beauties of musical worship.⁶²

On the other hand, the second school thought that only music of the highest possible standard, in both content and performance, should be offered in worship and, therefore, that the choir should represent the congregation in the musical elements of worship while those whose voices were less pleasing to the ear remained silent. For is it not the case that "[e]ven eloquence in the pulpit, fine stained glass in the windows, and the perfection of architectural details in the building itself, cannot atone for the direct attacks made upon the

⁶² Sergison, W. De M.; 'The Higher Training of Church Musicians and Choirs', *Proceedings of the Musical Association XIII* (1886-7), 28.

tympanum which result in the creation of a mental condition very unlikely to conduce to devotion or reverence."⁶³

Although both of these opinions raised questions about how much of the Prayer Book liturgy should be sung, it was the second attitude that raised the greatest amount of objection at the time. The biggest problem with this was the fact that the majority of the congregation were left to take a passive, rather than participatory, rôle in the musical sections of the service. The peculiarity of using this as an argument against the second school of thought is demonstrated by Peter Lutkin when he points out that "[t]he principle of silent worship is obviously as logical as the principle of silent prayer. We can praise God as effectually through the singing of the choir as we can pray to Him through the voice of the priest."⁶⁴

Owing to these differences of opinion, and especially to the amount of concern that was felt over them, the issue of music in worship became the subject of a great number of lectures, articles and sermons throughout the period, many of which were published. Foremost in promoting such material were the publishers John & Francis Rivington of London. Their publications discussed various aspects of the issue of church music. Some focused on the reasons for having music in the services, others on the way the music should be performed and the types of music that were suitable for use. Some were produced in order that people might share their opinions and in the hope of winning support; others, in particular the sermons, were clearly written with a didactic aim in mind. This educational aspect was usually intended to inform

⁶³ Mackeson, Charles; 'On the Present Cultivation of Sacred Music in England' *Proceeding of the Musical Association* IV (1877-8), 131.

⁶⁴ Lutkin, Peter; *The Music of the Church* (Milwaukee, 1910), 76-7.

the congregation of the reasons for changes that had been, or were to be, made, to reduce the possibility of any objections which may be produced by ignorance. At this point it is worth considering some of the names that most commonly occurred in association with such writings.

John Jebb was one of the most prominent clergymen of the time to concern himself with the issue of music in the church. His ideal was an all male choir, robed in surplices and seated in the chancel of the church; he implemented this in his church in Coleraine, Ireland, between 1832 and 1834. The purpose of this choir was to lead the hearts and minds, but not the voices, of the congregation in a musical act of worship of the highest possible standard. As a priest, he was in the position of being able to express his views on music from the pulpit, and he was responsible for giving a number of didactic sermons, three of which were given at Leeds Parish Church (discussed below) to explain to the congregation there the reasons for the new style of worship which had been introduced by Walter Hook. In these addresses, published in 1845, Jebb's first argument in favour of the intonation of the entire church service, is that much of the liturgy is in the style and language of poetry. When a man reads poetry well his voice unconsciously, and therefore naturally, falls into a form of chant by rising and falling with the inflections of the text. In light of this fact, Jebb claims that chant could actually be the way that men were intended to communicate and that the manner in which we now speak is a result of social conditioning and teaching.⁶⁵ Consider the case of an infant who, when reading aloud, generally relaxes into a sing-

⁶⁵ Jebb, John; *Three Lectures on the Cathedral Service of the Church of England*. Second edition (Leeds & London, 1845), 18-23.

song tone of voice which he has gradually to be trained not to adopt. Surely the mere fact that we have to teach our youngsters to speak as we do, rather than intone, when reading to others, shows that the latter is the natural disposition of the human voice. Jebb was also a staunch supporter of the extensive use of Gregorian chant in the services of the Church.

In his earlier book, *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland*,⁶⁶ Jebb discusses the various establishments which serve to promote and further music within worship. He then continues by taking the liturgy of the Prayer Book and using the rubrics of the book to support his arguments in favour of the completely choral service. Jebb's arguments begin with an outline of the choral service as follows:

1. The chanting, by the minister, of the introductory sentences, exhortation, prayers and Collects using a monotone punctuated by occasional modulations
2. The chanting of the Versicles and Responses alternating between the minister and choir.
3. The antiphonal chanting of the psalms by the choir alone.
4. The singing of the Canticles either in the same style as the psalms or to more elaborate Service settings.
5. The singing of an Anthem.
6. The chanting of the Litany in the same style as the Versicles and Responses.
7. The singing of the Responses to the Commandments.

⁶⁶ Jebb, John, *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland: Being an Enquiry into the Liturgical System of the Cathedral and Collegiate Foundations of the Anglican Communion* (London, 1843).

8. The singing of the Nicene Creed, *Sanctus* and *Gloria*, in the musical style of an anthem.
9. The chanting of all other parts of the occasional liturgies, such as that for the burial of the dead, permitted to be sung by the rubrics of the Prayer Book.⁶⁷

Jebb concludes his list with a statement that "[t]he omission of any one of the above parts in regular Choirs, however largely sanctioned by practice, is an essential violation of the system, impairing its effect, and destroying its proportions."⁶⁸

Another important figure was John Hullah - the man responsible for attempting to teach the country to sing. Hullah set up a series of workshops at which he taught the art of singing at sight. The method he adopted was first used by Wilhem in 1815 - its aim being to provide a system by which singing could be taught in classes. Sol-fa syllables are used but the secret of Wilhem's method lay in the systematic ordering of the musical facts that were to be taught and in the arrangement of his classes where each pupil helped those who were less competent than himself. So it was that Hullah's classes were designed to teach people not only how to sight-sing but also to teach them the method by which they could pass on their skill.⁶⁹ W. G. McNaught regarded Hullah's work as one of the main forces in the choral revival in England:

Two educational movements contributed to the stream of endeavour: first, the publication of cheap choral music by Vincent Novello, who

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 156-7.

⁶⁸ Jebb 1843, 157.

⁶⁹ McNaught, W. G.; 'The History and Uses of the Sol-Fa Syllables' *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, XIX (1892-3), 45-7.

founded the house of Novello & Co. in 1811; and later the popular propaganda of John Hullah. The impetus of these two forces was immense. John Hullah persuaded the nation that practically everyone could sing if they only tried, and Vincent Novello provided the music.⁷⁰

The impetus behind teaching sight-singing was that as long as a congregation could read music, and were given psalters, they could then join in the majority of any service, needing a choir only to lead them. Despite his approval of congregational participation in the music of the service, Hullah, like most other people, still differentiated between the Cathedral and Parochial settings as is illustrated when he refers to "... music which a congregation joins *with* [in spirit] in the cathedral service, or joins *in* in the parochial service."⁷¹

The Cathedral service was seen as the pinnacle of choral worship where the choir represents the people assuming, of course, that a choir competent enough to perform this task adequately could be found. Hullah's congregational theory is, therefore, intended to be applied to the everyday music of worship; in other words, that used in the setting of a parish church. He advocated the use of an unpaid choir and, as the choir is intended to lead the people, it must be a true reflection of the make up of the congregation by including female sopranos and altos and by allowing anyone, from any social class, to sing. In regard to the physical positioning of the choir, Hullah recommends that they be placed in the West gallery, should the church have one, rather than in the East with the ministers. In a lecture given in Newcastle

⁷⁰ McNaught, W. G., 'Choral Technique', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* XLI (1914-5), 38.

⁷¹ Hullah, John; *Music in the Parish Church; A Lecture delivered at Newcastle-on-Tyne at a meeting of the Durham and Northumberland Association for the Promotion of Church Music*, November 27th, 1855 (London, 1856), 5.

in 1855, consideration is also given to the general suitability of music for sacred use. John Hullah claimed that "[music] has been felt to be an instrument through whose agency man can give utterance to thoughts and emotions at once too deep and too vague to find vent in mere words."⁷² Music is the only one of the arts to have always been used in places of religious significance. Sculpture was not permitted by the Greeks, no representations of natural objects will be found in any synagogue, and, according to Hullah, there were even sects who rejected architecture and chose to worship in the forests instead. Hullah also shows that, when the objections to choral music are considered, many contradictions are revealed. For instance, consider the approved use of metrical psalms as interludes to worship while the use of chanted psalms at the appointed place in the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer is protested against.

A further contributor to the literature on this subject was Robert Druitt. His most prominent contribution to the Choral Revival was the establishment of the Society for Promoting Church Music. The main aim of the society was to promote congregational singing. As the Cambridge Camden Society produced *The Ecclesiologist* to keep members informed of its activities, so the S.P.C.M. published its journal, *The Parish Choir*. The purpose of the journal was to distribute articles regarding church music to all parishes. 'How to Begin' was the title of an article in the first issue of *The Parish Choir* instructing churchmen that the entire congregation should be taught to be a

⁷² *ibid.*, 11.

'singing body'.⁷³ Contained in the next issue were details of Hullah's method for teaching the art of singing. Included with each issue of *The Parish Choir* was a musical supplement intended for practical use and it is worth noting that it was Anglican, not Gregorian, chants that the publication and its editors recommended for use. The issue of which chants to use was another area where opinion was divided. One series of articles written for *The Parish Choir* by Druitt himself, and later published as a collection in 1853, took the form of a series of conversations on the theme of the suitability of music for use in the church. These thirteen conversations took place between the presumably fictional characters of Mr Felix, possibly a clergyman, and Mr Bray who is against the choral style of worship. As the series progresses, Mr Felix gradually educates Mr Bray and his wife in the ways of, and reasons for, choral worship in the church. This general outline shows Druitt's attitude to be that anyone who thoroughly considered all the theological and liturgical arguments must come down in favour of the choral service, an opinion clearly exhibited in the preface to the 1853 publication:

Some persons allege that the Choral Service is illegal and ought to be discontinued, because the law should be obeyed. Driven from this position, they declare that the law is in error, and ought not to be obeyed. Some say that it disturbs their devotion; others that it is a help, but that we ought to want no helps to devotion. Some call it too artificial; others too natural. But the most solid of all objections seems to be this; viz, that many people do not like it.⁷⁴

Also, in the context of assisting Mr Felix with his educational task, Druitt finds

⁷³ Temperley 1979, 259.

⁷⁴ Druitt, Robert; *Conversations on The Choral Service: Being an Examination of Popular Prejudices against Church Music* (London, 1853), iv.

the opportunity to quote passages by various clergymen and scholars on related subjects.

The last man I wish to consider is Samuel Sebastian Wesley - the most highly regarded English organist of the nineteenth century. His career began with posts in various London churches before he was appointed to positions at Hereford Cathedral (1832), Exeter Cathedral (1835), Leeds Parish Church (1842), Winchester Cathedral (1849) - held in conjunction with a job at Winchester College from 1850 - and Gloucester Cathedral (1865).⁷⁵ In addition to his skills of extemporisation, he was a renowned composer of music for the cathedrals and churches he worked at and could be counted among the men who made their opinions regarding music in the church widely known. It was at Exeter that he became disillusioned by the frustrations involved in his job and the absence of any recognised status for the cathedral organist in general. To outline the problems that he could see in the Cathedral Service as it was, and his ideas on how it could be reformed, Wesley published three manifestos. The first took the form of the preface to his Service in E, written while he was in Leeds. Later, in 1849 and 1854 respectively he wrote *A Few Words on Cathedral Music and the Musical System of the Church, with a Plan of Reform* and *Reply to the Inquiries of the Cathedral Commissioners*.⁷⁶ The *Few Words* were written in response to a proposed Bill of Parliament in which it was proposed that, for economic purposes, the Cathedral choirs should be reduced to the "least possible state of efficiency".⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Shaw, Watkins; *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 126.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 127.

⁷⁷ Wesley, S. S.; *A Few Words on Cathedral Music and the Musical System of the Church, with a plan of reform* (London, 1949), 5.

In Wesley's view, shown in this treatise, a cathedral required access to three basic elements: a choir of competent performers (or Ministers), an able conductor (or Precentor) to provide guidance, and the highest possible order of composers to furnish the choir with music to sing.

If one compares the lists of "ritualistic" features which were the subject for complaint - such as the placing of two lighted candles on the altar - with the liturgical practice in the average cathedral church today, one sees how, slowly but surely, the High Church practices of the Tractarians infiltrated the main stream of the Church of England. In relation to choirs one of the most obvious innovations was the use of a robed all-male choir seated in the chancel of the church between the clergy and the people, as advocated by Jebb, which is an everyday sight to most people who regularly attend church today, but was a radical suggestion at the time. The consideration of this matter does much to emphasize that most of these developments were not related directly to the Oxford Movement but to individuals within the old school of High Churchmanship.

Practical developments, inspired by the Tractarians, were mainly apparent in a number of churches in London. One important character was William Dodsworth, the first incumbent of the newly built Christ Church, Albany Street, St Pancras. Dodsworth put Tractarian practices into use as and when they emerged from Oxford. However, perhaps the most commonly remembered church in the forefront of those where the work of the Ritualists could be seen was the Margaret Chapel. In 1839, after moving from Balliol College, Oxford, Frederick Oakeley became the incumbent of this Chapel. Oakeley removed the three-decker pulpit still in situ from the previous

generation when it was considered that the reading and preaching of the word should be the central element of any church service. He instigated daily services of worship with close observances of all feasts and fasts, and decorated the altar with candles and a cross.⁷⁸ Music was introduced into the daily services. Oakeley trained the choirboys himself and, to encourage congregational singing, he published a psalter of Gregorian chants, in conjunction with his organist, Richard Redhead. However, after his many efforts in the Anglican church, Oakeley was among those who, with John Henry Newman, converted to Roman Catholicism in 1845. Eventually the Margaret Chapel was replaced with a new church building, which opened in 1859 as All Saints', Margaret Street. The opening of this new church, with its deep chancel, elevated altar, ornate reredos and choir stalls, was supported by the Cambridge Ecclesiological Society, who intended it to be a model church and centre of worship in the Anglo-Catholic tradition.⁷⁹

The first recorded instance of a professional choir in a parish church, for it was in parochial settings that most of the early choral developments took place, was at Leeds Parish Church. In 1815, when the incumbent of the church was Richard Fawcett, a professional body of singers was formed and, by 1818, this had become a robed choir, the earliest one on record in England. Payments to the choir were later regulated by a vestry meeting in 1826 and, by 1833, official monetary support for the musical activities was completely withdrawn. Not to be defeated

⁷⁸ Temperley 1979, 255.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 256.

the choir was maintained for a short period by voluntary contributions from members of the church. Three years later, after the choir had sadly ceased to be viable, the new vicar, The Rev'd Walter Farquhar Hook, was petitioned by his congregation to restore the performance of the daily choral service in the parish church. He eventually agreed, on the condition that the music offered in worship, in the newly built church in the Gothic cathedral style, should be of the very best quality. To ensure this would be the case he appointed as his advisor in this venture The Rev'd John Jebb whose opinions and writings have previously been mentioned, to assist the organist, one Henry Smith, in his work. The crowning glory of Hook's efforts occurred in 1842, six months after the opening of the new church building, with the appointment of S. S. Wesley to the position of organist. For the church at Leeds Wesley produced a pointed psalter, with chants, and his Service in E, mentioned above and, by 1850, the choir consisted of twelve boys and eight men every weekday and increased to sixteen boys and twelve to fourteen men every Sunday - numbers that put the Cathedral choirs of the time to shame.⁸⁰

One of the main stumbling blocks, as far as the standard of musical worship in the church was concerned, was the lack of education in musical skills and in liturgy. Naturally, it was expected that the minor canons of a cathedral would be able to sing well and form a constant, guaranteed choir as in the example of Hereford Cathedral mentioned above. However, to ensure that the music in parish churches was also of a high standard it was deemed necessary for all clergymen to be well-versed in the subject. Conversely, the

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 225-30

organist, who may also be choirmaster and composer, should have some knowledge of theology "that his interpretation of the psalms, canticles, and creeds may be appropriate and that his music may fulfil its highest function - ... [a] fresh revelation of the great truths of religion, which makes it come with unspeakable power upon his hearers".⁸¹ In an ideal world the cathedrals themselves should be the centres which provide the education necessary for its clergy and musicians. In the words of the Dean of Ely at Norwich in 1865, '[t]he cathedral ought to be the music-school of the churches in the diocese.'⁸² At a meeting of the Musical Association during the 1876-7 session W. A. Barrett stated his desire that cathedrals would become as proficient at teaching music as theology to cultivate the talents of ex-choristers. In this way, those whose adult voices become as good as they were before they broke may once again offer their skills to the service of God and alleviate the shortage of men in the cathedral choirs of England.⁸³

In 1841, a training college was founded, in Chelsea, to provide for such educational needs and to prepare men for future careers as teachers in the National Schools, that is the parish schools of the Church of England. This institution which was to become known as St Mark's College was instrumental not only in the improvement of the choral service but also in the spreading of Tractarian ideas.⁸⁴ The provision of basic musical training was entrusted to

⁸¹ Sergison 1886-7, 22.

⁸² Monk, W. H.; 'The Cultivation of Church Music', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* VIII (1881-2), 41.

⁸³ Barrett, W. A.; 'Music in Cathedrals' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* III (1876-7), 86.

⁸⁴ Rainbow, Bernarr; *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839-1872)* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), 67. The patronage of St Mark was only adopted when the Chapel was opened for Services on 7 May, 1843.

John Hullah, in keeping with whose ideal there were no musical criteria included in the entry requirements. However, the responsibility of teaching the men of the college the specific details they required knowledge of to ensure that they would be able to sing the choral services of the Church more than competently was given to The Rev'd Thomas Helmore. At the time of opening, under the Principal, The Rev'd Derwent Coleridge, there were only ten students. By the time Helmore was appointed as Vice-principal and Precentor in 1842, there were 60 students and also a 'model' school with 132 pupils on whom the students could practice their teaching.⁸⁵ After experimenting throughout his time at the college, Helmore produced his own psalter which was first published in 1849 as *The Psalter Noted* and then reissued, with supplementary material, the following year as *A Manual of Plainsong*. This psalter, according to Gatens, was used "[w]herever the ecclesiological ideal of the choral service prevailed."⁸⁶ Daily, unaccompanied, services were performed by a cathedral style choir, employing students of the college itself and boys from the model school attached to the institution, leading the congregation which was made up of all other members of the college and school.⁸⁷ The musical activities of St Mark's were highly commended by *The Ecclesiologist* for having "already done wonders in showing what are the nature, rules, and requirements of *old church musick*".⁸⁸ These musical ideals quickly spread across the country as students moved on to teach what they had learnt; the demand for musically trained teachers was

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 66.

⁸⁶ Gatens, William J.; *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 8.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁸ *The Ecclesiologist*, III (1843), 3.

soon greater than the number coming out of St Mark's. Also responsible for carrying the musical practices of St Mark's into parishes throughout the country was Thomas Helmore's brother, Frederick. He became known as "the musical missionary"⁸⁹ and his self-imposed mission involved travelling around, forming parish choirs wherever he went, instructing them intensively for a few months before moving on to the next place. He invariably left in his wake "a rush to introduce surpliced choirs"⁹⁰ and to follow the example set by the eminent men at St Mark's. With the examples set by Leeds Parish Church, St Mark's and Frederick Helmore, the desire to see surpliced choirs had spread far and wide at such a speed that by 1845, less than a decade after that first choir had been re-established in Leeds, there were cases of this type of choral service being introduced in churches as far away as Australia.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Rainbow 1970, 115.

⁹⁰ Long 1972, 329.

⁹¹ Nicholson, Sir Sydney H.; 'The Choirboy and His Place in English Music' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* LXX (1943-4), 71.

CHAPTER 2

Sir Frederick Ouseley: Influences and Opinions

On 12 August 1825 a son was born to Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia and his wife, Harriet Georgina. This boy was baptised Frederick Arthur Gore in May of the following year with his two godfathers, His Royal Highness, Frederick, Duke of York and Albany and the Duke of Wellington looking on. Thirty years later, he was to found the first collegiate-style church since the Reformation. This Church would become both Ouseley's life work and passion and an important contribution to the improvement of the choral service in the church in the nineteenth century.

It is not my intention to give a comprehensive biography of Sir Frederick Ouseley, but rather to discuss those events which influenced him in his youth, and the development of his ideas to the point when St Michael's Church and College were first conceived. I also wish to consider his opinions on various subjects concerning music, the church and education. Although many of the sermons and papers from which these beliefs can be gleaned postdate the foundation of St Michael's, the opinions seem to have been consolidated early in Ouseley's life and to have remained constant until his death.

Sir Gore Ouseley (1770-1844) is usually remembered for his work as an Orientalist. In 1787 he travelled to India and remained there until 1805. Soon after his return to England he married Harriot Georgina Whitelock, the daughter of John and Mary Whitelock.¹ The couple had five children of whom three survived into their adult lives, Frederick and two girls - Mary Jane and Alexandra Percival.² However, Sir Gore's interests were not only in the Orient; he was also involved in musical activities. He played, among other instruments, the violin and, in 1822, was one of the chief founders of the Royal Academy of Music.³ Music is known to have been an important factor in the Ouseley household. Sir Gore, and both of his daughters, were taught theory of music by John Baptist Logier, who originated a System of Musical Instruction which was successful in England, Ireland and Prussia and was a Professor of Music.⁴ There appear to be endless accounts, from various sources, relating the astounding speed at which the young Frederick's musical ear developed; and the accuracy of which it was capable provided anecdotal material to most of the musicians who encountered him throughout his life. One such story is recounted by his eldest sister, Mary Jane, in the following words:

he could at once tell what the tone was of any noise he heard; sometimes it thundered in G, and the wind whistled in D, and invariably when anyone ran to the instrument for proof of his assertions, they found him quite correct. In the tone of most bells there is a second tone perceptible to an acute ear, which did not escape little Frederick's observation, for one day when walking out with his nurse, Mrs. Barlow, he happened to be near the coachhouse when the clock over it struck, on which he said, "Do you know, Ba (as he usually called her) the clock has struck in B flat minor?" The poor woman could not conceive what he meant, but reported it to his mother, who took pains

¹ Joyce, F. W.; *The Life of Sir F. A. G. Ouseley* (London: Methuen, 1896), 3.

² *ibid.*, 5.

³ *ibid.*, 3.

⁴ *ibid.*, 21.

to ascertain the fact, and found to her great surprise when the clock next struck that its double tone was in the key of B flat minor."⁵

As a composer, Ouseley also began early; his first composition is recorded as being written in 1828 when he was a mere three years old. These early compositions were composed by Ouseley but transcribed by Mary Jane; many of them were intended as presents. A notable example is a programmatic piece composed, in 1832, after his recovery from a serious illness. The programme of the piece tells how the disease had run its course from its first stages to return of perfect health and the composition was written as a gift for Dr Granville, the physician who had nursed him.⁶ Ouseley is described by Temperley as possessing precocity that "was almost as great as that of Mozart or Crotch"⁷ and indeed, he is not the only person to make such a comparison. After a visit to hear Ouseley play, the Duchess of Hamilton, one of the foremost musical amateurs in England, wrote to Sir Gore ending her letter in the following words: "May he live to be a second Mozart is my sincerest wish; may he live to prove that an Englishman can excel in the most divine of Sciences as he can in all the rest."⁸ The body of the Duchess's letter describes her encounter with Ouseley's amazing musical intuition.

...I have seen many [children] who had extraordinary execution upon an instrument, but God has given this child an intuitive knowledge of the most hidden mysteries of sound....

I sat down to the piano, and...endeavoured to puzzle him by the most intricate modulations, but he not only instantly named the key I was playing in, but followed every change (even when an enharmonic

⁵ Havergal, Francis T.; *Memorials of Sir Frederick A. G. Ouseley* (London: Ellis & Elvey, 1889), 5-6.

⁶ Joyce, 1896, 6. The date 1832 for the piece is that assigned to it by Temperley. See footnote 7.

⁷ Temperley, Nicholas; 'Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley' *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XIV. Edited by Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), 30.

⁸ Havergal 1889, 10.

transition rendered it almost inappreciable to the ear) with the rapidity of thought, - he knew it, but he knew not why.

In the course of playing I struck the chord of the sharp 6th - the German 6th as called by some writers, and upon resolving it in the usual way he started up and cried out, "that is the sharp 6th in the key of C minor, and I can *dissolve* it another way." He ran to the piano, and without a moment's hesitation struck the chord, and proceeded to resolve it in a most *abstruse* but perfectly correct manner, and then went on modulating till he brought it back to the original key.⁹

There are numerous other accounts which illustrate Ouseley's musical development but they are not needed here. These few reminiscences serve to demonstrate that Ouseley was brought up in a family where his musical skills were allowed to flourish despite the fact that he never received formal instruction in music as a child.

In comparison, little evidence is found regarding the religious influences upon the boy. Lady Ouseley, despite her many years spent abroad, seems to have been strict in her keeping of Sunday. One source which serves to illustrate this is a letter, to Ouseley from his mother later in life, which concludes with the wish that "...we may receive a letter from you tomorrow, as surely there can never be anything wrong in writing to a mother or sister on Sunday".¹⁰ Joyce suggests that "her old-fashioned piety may have laid the foundations of that devotion to duty, and, above all, that intense love and reverence for the service of God, which marked the future life of her son."¹¹

In 1840, Sir Gore sent his son to be educated by James Joyce, Vicar of Dorking. It was in the three years spent with the family there that the seeds were sown for Ouseley's life-long friendship with his tutor's son, James

⁹ *ibid.*, 10. Letter dated April 13th 1832, from Duchess of Hamilton to Sir Gore Ouseley.

¹⁰ Joyce 1896, 33.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 16.

Wayland Joyce, who at that time was his father's assistant curate. It was during his time in private tuition that Ouseley appears to have developed the inclination to devote his life to the Church, however, it was observed by members of the household at Dorking that "All the time we knew him at Dorking he was absorbed in music, - so much so that my father [The Rev'd James Joyce] used to say he ought not to take "Orders," because music would always be the first interest to him."¹² As at home, Ouseley was not formally instructed in music but the development of his talent was in no way hindered; indeed, in 1842 a second-hand, one-manual organ, chosen by Ouseley, was installed in a stable loft.¹³

Ouseley's connections with Oxford University were life-long. He entered Christ Church as a gentleman commoner in 1843 to read for his Bachelor's degree. A good memory and acute ear were invaluable assets enabling him to learn languages easily.¹⁴ Later in life this ability was used to its full capacity as Ouseley was a well-read and thorough scholar. T. L. Southgate, in the *Musical Standard* on 28 April, 1889 said the following of him:

He seemed to have read everything. The curious treatises of the Old Greek philosopher-musicians were as familiar to him as the obscure writings of the mediæval monks, the learned works of French, Italian and Spanish writers of a bygone age, and the last new theory of harmony by some aspirant who fondly fancied he had solved all root difficulties, and placed harmony on a basis that the merest tyro could understand and appreciate.¹⁵

While Ouseley's aptitude for linguistic challenges no doubt assisted him with the small amount of Classics which was compulsory in the Oxford degree,

¹² *ibid.*, 26.

¹³ *ibid.*, 26-8.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 30.

¹⁵ Havergal 1889, 26.

his main application while at Christ Church was in Mathematics under the instruction of Edward Hill and he was expected to take a First in this subject. However, after his three years at Christ Church he presented himself for only a pass degree although, he was awarded an Honorary Fourth by the examiners.¹⁶ It was feared, by his parents and sisters, from the start that he would be unable to apply himself to constant detailed study. This is illustrated in another of the letters sent to him by his mother encouraging him to establish a routine of work: "It requires moral courage to resolve upon devoting certain fixed hours to it; but if you can but *begin steadily*, I am sure you will find no difficulty afterwards, and that four or perhaps five hours in the course of each day at stated times will be as much as you would require."¹⁷ This was one factor among many though. Ouseley must certainly have been affected by the death of his father, in 1844, leaving his son to inherit the title bestowed upon him in 1808 (from this point in life Ouseley was most often known amongst friends as The Bart), and also by "an illness of his own at a critical time".¹⁸ Musical activities must also have proved distracting to the young Sir Frederick. At that time the decanate of Christ Church cathedral was filled by the unmusical Dean Gaisford and the musical services under him had a reputation for being the worst in the country.¹⁹ On the resignation of the organist, Dr Marshall, Ouseley offered his services as a replacement, as part of his aim to raise the profile of music, especially that of the Church, not only within the confines of the University, but in the city as a whole. From that point, to the

¹⁶ Joyce 1896, 45.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 32.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 45.

¹⁹ Gatens, William; *Victorian Church Music in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 184.

appointment of Dr Corfe to the post some months later, Ouseley is said never to have missed a single service.²⁰

The years immediately after Ouseley left Oxford were spent living with his mother and sisters in London. From there he frequently travelled to Burford, Salop, where his dear friend J. Wayland Joyce was now Rector of the parish.²¹ In London, Ouseley became associated with St Paul's Church, Knightsbridge, first as a parishioner and then as a member of the church choir. At this time Ouseley was studying theology to prepare himself as a candidate for ordination. According to F. W. Joyce, it is uncertain whether he was reading under his own initiative or whether he had a tutor;²² however, he is said to have studied theology "to some purpose" and himself claimed to have worked for fourteen hours a day.²³ He was ordained deacon on Trinity Sunday in 1849 and was assigned to a curacy under The Rev'd William J. E. Bennett, at St Paul's, Knightsbridge.

Bennett had also been a Christ Church man - he had gained his B.A. in 1827 and M.A. in 1829 - and was, therefore, a contemporary of many of the future leaders of the Oxford Movement and, in 1849, was described by an opponent as "the most distinguished Tractarian in London".²⁴ As seems to have been the case with many of the Tractarians, Bennett came to his Catholic faith through his own development rather than as a direct result of the influential Oxford Movement.²⁵ However, despite his objection to the

²⁰ *ibid.*, 43-4.

²¹ *ibid.*, 46-7.

²² *ibid.*, 47.

²³ *ibid.*, 48.

²⁴ Bennett, F. A.; *The Story of W. J. E. Bennett* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1909), v.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 34.

controversial Tract XC,²⁶ his beliefs appear to have been in line with the Movement and in a sermon, given sometime after 1842, he declared how he became "an open and professed advocate of what was then generally denominated the Oxford School of Divinity."²⁷ Bennett saw St Paul's, where he was Perpetual Curate from its consecration in 1843, as a venue where he could attempt to give the people "*a better understanding of the foundations and proportions of the Church's polity*".²⁸ The foundation stone for the schoolhouse which was to be linked with a daughter church intended to serve the slum areas of the parish was laid in 1846. This scheme was to become St Barnabas's, Pimlico, and was soon extended. "The idea arose of some kind of college for choristers and for four priests, with some kind of foundation for the permanent supply of all the usual offices required in a collegiate institution."²⁹ The parish school connected to St Barnabas's provided education for some 600 pupils, included in which was a provision for the accommodation, clothing, training and education of twelve choristers to serve at the twice daily choral services of the church.³⁰

Ouseley, who had no doubt encountered the Oxford Movement while he was at Christ Church during its crisis years, was now given charge of this daughter church which "placed before the world clearly and definitely the ideas of the Movement as to what the ritual and worship of the Church of England ought to be."³¹ In addition to performing those tasks which were

²⁶ *ibid.*, 32.

²⁷ *ibid.*, 39. Extract from Bennett, W. J. E.; *Sermons on Miscellaneous subjects* I, No. 5.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 39.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 56.

³⁰ Shaw, Watkins; *Sir Frederick Ouseley and St Michael's, Tenbury* (University of Birmingham, 1988), 14.

³¹ Bennett 1909, 81.

generally a part of the life in a parish, Ouseley was especially busy with the musical activities of the church which he supported by the use of both his talents and his finances;³² the organ installed in the church, on its opening, was donated by Ouseley, who had himself designed it and in his time there he also met all the costs that the choir incurred.³³ At first, services were held in the school hall until the building of the new church was completed. St Barnabas's was finally consecrated on 11 June (St Barnabas's Day) 1850 but its history was to be far from smooth. Less than six months later the church became the focus of the "No Popery" riots. The opinion, in some quarters, was that the practice there was too ritualistic. "Ritual" is a very broad term, but in this case, was defined by the following usages: coloured altar cloths; eastward position at Holy Communion; two lighted candles upon the altar; choir receiving before the people; invocation (and sign of the Cross) before the sermon and the preacher robing in a surplice; processional entrance, and exit, of choir and clergy; bells ringing before the service; and, even, the daily performance of Morning and Evening prayer by the choir which was regarded as excessively ritualistic.³⁴ For a number of weeks, beginning on Sunday 10 November 1850, a mob would gather outside the church to protest against such popish practices. In a letter to John Rich, a friend from his undergraduate days, on 20 November, Ouseley gave his account of the events.

... as the accounts in some of the papers are incorrect, it is possible that you and others may have been misled, as to the facts of the case. I write this to tell you how it all happened, ... because I am anxious the truth should be widely known.

³² Joyce 1896, 49-50.

³³ Temperley 1980a, 30.

³⁴ Shaw 1988, 17.

On Sunday (Nov. 10) just as the non-communicants were about to retire, a great hissing was heard in the church with loud cries of "Popery," etc. This was, of course, stopped, and the service proceeded; but a multitude of men had collected outside prepared to make a rush had any sympathy been evinced within.... When I returned [from preaching at St Paul's] at 8.30, I found the crowd gathered in knots of men, threatening what they would do next Sunday. I had been insulted and threatened the night before in the street, and Mr. Bennett too had received several threatening letters. We had every reason to be certain of a more violent attack on Sunday, the 17th, so we took every precaution to be prepared for it, nor were they superfluous. The eight and nine o'clock services went off quietly, but at 10.30 the mob began to collect, but luckily our own congregation were seated in time. Nothing in the church happened before the sermon, but during it a prodigious yell was heard without, which frightened some of our people much. The church was crammed to suffocation, and a body of staunch friends were stationed up the body of the nave to prevent any attack on the chancel. When the sermon was concluded, and the non-communicants prepared to retire, a violent rush was made by the populace outside, and doubtless had they succeeded in their attempt, our beautiful edifice would have been dismantled, and our lives endangered. We know that was their object, but it pleased God to defeat their sacrilegious intention. The well-affected within were too strong for them; 100 policemen succeeded in quelling the mob without, sufficiently to let the congregation retire. The organist, by my direction, played "Full Organ" the whole time to drown the row, which had no small effect in preventing the disaffected from communicating with one another.³⁵

William Bennett resigned his living at St Paul's in December 1850 and at the same time Ouseley resigned as his curate. It is possible that some of the newspapers, on reporting the resignation of the latter, claimed that it was because of his imminent secession to Rome, and the following extract from a letter written to J. Wayland Joyce would seem to refer to this: "I have written a letter to the editor of the *Daily News*, and another to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*; and neither have been inserted. What shall I do next? It is a monstrous thing to tell a vile lie against a man, and then ignore his confutation of it. I really do not know what to do. Shall I write an *advertisement*? They *must*

³⁵ Havergal 1889, 61-2.

insert that."³⁶ Ouseley considered leaving St Barnabas's before the "No Popery" riots were thought of but felt he needed a strong reason to leave - some specific project to move on to. On 28 September he had written to J. Wayland Joyce - "I am in great perplexity. I *must*, according to the invariable and tyrannical rule of my Bishop, take Priest's Orders at Christmas. But I cannot and will not consent to do so at St. Barnabas as it is only my being in Deacon's Orders which saves me, as you know, from doing many things sorely *against my conscience*. It is therefore essential to get away".³⁷ As this letter infers, during his time with Bennett, Ouseley had not always been in agreement with the older gentleman's preferences. However, despite Ouseley's disagreement with William Bennett over many of the ritual practices to which he adhered, his association with the older clergyman, and with the riots at St. Barnabas's, was to follow him for a number of years after he resigned the curacy.

Upon Bennett's resignation of his living, the choir of St Barnabas's was dismissed leaving the futures of the twelve choristers in a state of uncertainty. Ouseley, in some way, felt responsible for what he saw as his "undischarged obligation" to the boys and made efforts to secure alternative accommodation for them.³⁸ Nine of the boys (it is uncertain what happened to the other three) were moved to Lovehill House in Langley, Buckinghamshire where they were under the supervision of The Rev'd Henry Fyffe, one of Ouseley's fellow

³⁶ Joyce 1896, 67. This letter is undated but Joyce estimates it to have been written in January 1851.

³⁷ *ibid.*, 64.

³⁸ Shaw 1988, 19.

curates, and John Hampton,³⁹ whose association with St Barnabas's, and Ouseley, stemmed from the days when he was a chorister at St Paul's, Knightsbridge. A converted loft, in a stable near Lovehill House, served as a temporary chapel in which a cathedral style service could be sung twice every day.⁴⁰

Early in 1851, in the knowledge that the boys were in capable hands, Ouseley set off on a tour around Europe - a trip which he had been planning for some time. In addition to allowing him the respite which he so sorely wanted, one of the purposes of the trip was for Ouseley to hear, and possibly to play, various organs around Europe. His travelling companion was the Rev. G. F. de Gex, another fellow curate from St Barnabas's, and their journey (from Portugal through Spain, Gibraltar and Switzerland to Italy, and returning through Switzerland once more, to Germany and Holland) is recorded in the series of letters which Ouseley sent home to J. Wayland Joyce. These letters are filled with references to the churches and cathedrals they had visited and to the choirs they had heard; but, on a deeper level, the epistles show how Ouseley used his time abroad to consolidate his ideas about the church and his future. In F. W. Joyce's words: "Like many other conscientious men, he thought out his views once and for all, and then set himself to do the work of life on those lines."⁴¹ These letters, can therefore be used to provide an outline of those things which Ouseley regarded as important, and, when considered in conjunction with the papers, sermons and addresses which Ouseley gave

³⁹ Year lists, Lovehill House, 1851-6. The list for 1851 names 6 choristers and 3 probationers. MS. D/863/A/2. Hereford Cathedral Library.

⁴⁰ Joyce 1896, 79.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, 68-9.

later in life, they provide the following summary of his philosophies on issues such as the Church, education and church music.

With respect to the Church, Ouseley's experience of Roman Catholic Europe, and of Rome herself, confirms his loyalty to the Church of England. In his first letter home to J. Wayland Joyce he writes:

I cannot tell how disgusted I am with Romanism in its headquarters. What I have seen here has quite made up my mind that even if my own Church were to apostatise - which God forbid! - it were better to trust to uncovenanted mercies than join a Church so corrupt, so false, so self-seeking and self deceiving, as the Church of Rome.⁴²

His next letter, from Venice, contains a reiteration of this point when Ouseley states that he "never can or will become a member of the Roman Communion."⁴³ However, he is fully aware of the troubles of the Church of England, and, although we know from his time with Bennett that he was not entirely in agreement with all Tractarian practices, in the same letter, he bewails the possibility that the Puritan party in the Church may succeed in implementing their planned changes to worship:

I fancy, after all, that the Puritan party in the Church are very strong. The accounts I read in *Galignani* of their meetings to alter the Book of Common Prayer seem to prove it; and they are the Government favourites too, which is a strong point. Now, I contend that they would very likely prevail in a Convocation just now; and who knows what might be the result? Who knows what alterations they might make in our Sacramental Services and Ordinal? Who can tell how many pious and hard-working High Churchmen might be driven thereby to seek shelter in another Church? These are no trifling dangers. Have you duly considered them?...⁴⁴

⁴² *ibid.*, 70. Letter from Rome, 9 May, 1851.

⁴³ *ibid.*, 72. Letter from Venice, 4 July, 1851.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 73. Letter from Venice, 4 July, 1851

In Italy, Ouseley seems to have been as little impressed by the music in the churches as he was by the other aspects of Roman Catholicism. He recounts how disappointed he was during Holy Week when he listened to "beautiful Misereres and Lamentations by Palestrina, Bai, Allegri, and Bainsi;...- all first-rate composers. But these Romans can't sing their own musick! They have fine voices (Basses and Tenors, that is), but the ... Trebles are execrable."⁴⁵ The case was very different in Germany where he was so impressed by the trebles he heard in the Churches - whether they were Roman Catholic or Lutheran - that he tells his friend of his desire that everyone in England should be able to hear how "Their intonation is so true, and the style is so tasteful and refined, and the quality so rich and full and round, that it leaves nothing to be desired."⁴⁶ He even goes as far as to wish he could "catch a Saxon lad and *import* him!"⁴⁷ In his next letter, from Berlin, he continues to enthuse about the standard of trebles in Germany when compared with those at home. He ascribes this difference to the probability that they come from a class of society which is higher than that from which the Church of England takes her choir boys who are frequently "mere rabble".⁴⁸

On the subject of church music, Ouseley freely gave his opinions. He spoke at various meetings, and in sermons, on the choice of music for use in church, the use of instruments in services, the structure of the choral service and the physical placement of the organ. The choice of music was one of the

⁴⁵ Joyce 1896, 71. Letter from Rome, 9 May, 1851.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 76. Letter from Dresden, 21 October, 1851.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 76. Letter from Dresden, 21 October, 1851.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 77. Letter from Berlin, 28 October, 1851.

aforementioned disagreements between Ouseley and Bennett. Ouseley particularly objected to the use of Gregorian chants in services to the exclusion of all other styles of music. In a paper read before the Musical Association some years later,⁴⁹ and also in the paper which he addressed to the Church Congress held in Manchester in 1863,⁵⁰ Ouseley refutes the suggestion of Padre Martini that the chants were descended from the melodies used by the psalmists on the grounds that the musical scale of which those men would have had knowledge would have been of an Oriental, or Egyptian, origin and would therefore be incompatible with the semitonal scale that developed in the West. He claims that if Ambrosian and Gregorian melodies were derived from an ancient source, that source must have been Greek rather than Hebrew, going so far as to suggest that they came from Pagan origins, not Divine inspiration. "The probability indeed is that SS. Ambrose and Gregory did exactly what has often been done since; they adapted popular and secular tunes to sacred words...and thus adopting the most obvious and the readiest means of securing congregational singing."⁵¹ Ouseley's argument is that, in this way, Pope Gregory ensured that the best possible music was used as the musical offering to God and he expresses the desire that "those who now so strongly press upon us the almost exclusive adoption of what is now called Gregorian music in our churches, would rather follow St Gregory's example by selecting the best developments of the art of music for that sacred purpose, instead of pursuing the very retrograde course

⁴⁹ Ouseley, Sir F. A. G.; 'Considerations on the History of Ecclesiastical Music of Western Europe' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* II (1875-6), 30-47.

⁵⁰ Ouseley, Sir F. A. G.; 'Church Music' *Report of the Church Congress held in Manchester*, 1863, 161-72.

⁵¹ Ouseley 1875-6, 32.

which they so strongly prefer."⁵² To Ouseley, the beauty of the English service was the variety afforded by the six possible gradations of delivery. In the paper given before the Church Congress in Manchester in 1863,⁵³ he describes these different stages of "music" found in the service. Beginning with the least developed forms, these classifications are speech (mainly for the lessons); intonation for the prayers; chant in the Gregorian style used for the Preces, Versicles and Responses, Sursum Corda, Amens, etc.; chant in the Anglican style used for the psalms; more ornate Service settings; and, finally, the Anthem. Ouseley believed that "by the judicious combination of these fine varieties, as in our usual choral service, the mind is relieved from monotony, saved from fatigue, urged to devotion, and enabled to engage with profit in a much longer religious exercise than would be otherwise possible."⁵⁴ In reference to parish churches Ouseley advocates the replacement of the anthem with a hymn in which everybody can join.⁵⁵

Most of Ouseley's opinions are substantiated by either his scholarly studies, as with the issue of Gregorian chant, or, by biblical texts. An example of the latter is the use of instrumental music in church services. On the opening of the new organ at the Church of All Saints, Worcester, he preached a sermon⁵⁶ which outlined the usage of instrumental music for spiritual purposes not only in addition to, but instead of, vocal music. This sermon is based on the text 2 Kings iii. 15., in which Elisha calls for a minstrel to quiet his spirit and allow him to speak his prophecy. Such a demonstration, whereby the sound of

⁵² *ibid.*, 32.

⁵³ Ouseley 1863a.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 170.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 171.

⁵⁶ Joyce 1896, 123-31. Sermon preached by Ouseley on 12 April, 1871.

instrumental music with "no psalm, no invoking words" could inspire Elisha to utter prophecy was, to Ouseley, proof that "instrumental music, by itself, may be of the greatest efficacy for spiritual purposes."⁵⁷ Further, as instrumental music was a regular part of the Jewish services, so it would have been used, as a matter of course, by Christ and his apostles - in other words, from the earliest days of the Christian Church. Ouseley was of the opinion that, once all the factors were considered, the only conclusion one could arrive at was that

it is not only lawful, not only expedient, not only scriptural, not only primitive, not only edifying, but that it is also, and especially, our bounden duty not only to sing God's praises, but to do so "with the best member that we have," to do so with all the best appliances of the art of music which we can secure, to do so without grudging either the time or the expenditure of money which it may incidentally involve.⁵⁸

In his final remarks, before moving onto a consideration of the organ as an analogy for the Church, he tells us that "[o]f all the arts, music is the most adapted for sacred use, for it is the only one which we know will survive the grave. In heaven we are nowhere told that there will be painters, or sculptors, or architects, but we are told much of musicians - ay, and of instrumental musicians too."⁵⁹

In another paper given before the Musical Association on 1 February, 1886,⁶⁰ Ouseley surveyed the different positions which the organ could occupy within a church building, along with the advantages and disadvantages of both, using his historical knowledge and his experiences travelling around Britain and Europe. The historical perspective is flawed in that organs were

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 127.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 127.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 129.

⁶⁰ Ouseley, Sir F. A. G.; 'On the Position of Organs in Churches' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* XII (1885-6), 75-90.

often small enough to be portable and could therefore be placed wherever was convenient. The conclusion of this paper is that there is no single perfect placement for the organ in a church; the position of the instrument is very much dependant upon its usage. The west-end gallery position is best suited to a large church with congregational singing and no choir. For a church with a choir, the ideal position, and one used in many places, is in a rood loft above the central screen. This allows the desired effect of antiphonal singing, which makes up so much of the music of the service, to prevail even when accompanied. However, there is one obvious disadvantage, in that the organ, in this position, hinders the view from the west end to the east. As a compromise Ouseley accepts the adoption of a plan whereby

the organ is divided into two portions, situated respectively on the north and south side of the choir or chancel, opposite each other. The mechanism connecting the two portions is carried under the pavement.... By this means, one player, sitting on one side of the choir ... can control both portions of the instrument at once, and can alternate the north and south, as the voices "fling backwards and forwards their alternating songs," so as to enhance the antiphonal effect by a judicious method of accompaniment. Although an organ will not sound quite so mellow in such a lateral situation as it would over a central screen, with free space on every side of it, yet the choral and architectural advantages far more than compensate for this drawback. I consider it, therefore, an admirable arrangement.⁶¹

Despite this conclusion, it seems that the historic tradition was for the organ, in cathedrals and collegiate churches, to sit to one side of the choir stalls, or over one of the transepts.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, 82. This plan is adopted in Durham, St Paul's, Salisbury and several parish churches.

The improvement of musical education was an issue with which Ouseley frequently concerned himself. From 1868 onwards, he wrote treatises on what he regarded to be all the aspects of composition - harmony, counterpoint, musical form - the only exception being the discussion of instrumentation, an omission that he made because, in his judgement, the works of Berlioz and Kastner had already sufficiently and adequately dealt with the subject.⁶² In 1850, Ouseley had resumed his contact with Oxford University by submitting a cantata, *The Lord is the True God*, and thereby presenting himself to be examined for the degree of Bachelor of Music, an action which was met with some disapproval from the authorities. Not only was it thought unfitting for him to take a lower degree after being awarded his M.A. the previous year, but it was unheard of that a gentleman of his rank should seek to gain a musical degree. Despite all reservations, he was awarded the degree and, in 1854, went on to present for the degree of Doctor of Music after the submission of an oratorio entitled *The Martyrdom of St Polycarp*.⁶³ It is reputed that "the present fashion of the Oxford Doctors of Music wearing velvet caps is entirely due to the fact that Sir F. Ouseley, as a gentleman-commoner, continued to wear his velvet cap when he took his Mus.Doc. degree".⁶⁴ The following year, 1855, Sir Henry Bishop, the Professor of Music, died and the authorities had no hesitation in offering the vacant post, which at the time was nothing more than a sinecure and of little financial value, to Ouseley.⁶⁵ This appointment, of course, immediately removed all previous

⁶² Ouseley, Sir F. A. G.; *Treatise on Musical Form and General Composition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875). Preface.

⁶³ Joyce 1896, 84-5.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 86.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 86.

objections to his association with the subject considering his social position. It has already been shown that musical degrees were not highly regarded and, as Professor, Ouseley attempted to remedy this situation. Between 1857 and 1862, the Faculty of Music was reorganised. Alterations were made to the method of appointment of the Professor. The post became a lifelong contract, rather than one that was annually renewable, and the candidate now had to be elected by a representative university body. At this time Ouseley was also able to implement changes which began to raise the profile of music, and the musical degree. Written examinations were introduced into the music degrees in which candidates had to exhibit "a critical and historical knowledge of their art".⁶⁶ By 1876, candidates wishing to present themselves for the degrees of Bachelor, or Doctor, of Music now had to satisfy certain entrance requirements.⁶⁷ Following the example of Sir Robert Stewart, Professor of Music at Dublin, the Faculty introduced a preliminary "arts" paper in elementary mathematics and classics.⁶⁸ In expecting prospective candidates to prove that they had a general education of a reasonable standard, Ouseley took the first step in bringing the degree in music into line with those awarded in other faculties.⁶⁹ A further reform made to the rôle of the Professor was the requirement that he gave at least one lecture each term in addition to the established task of conducting examinations.⁷⁰

More important to the consideration of Ouseley's future contributions through St Michael's than his work as Professor of Music at Oxford, and the

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, 139.

⁶⁷ Havergal 1889, 29. Extract from Southgate, T. L.; 'Music in Oxford' *Musical Standard*.

⁶⁸ Joyce 1896, 139-40.

⁶⁹ Havergal 1889, 33. Undated article from *Musical Times*.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 30. Southgate, T. L.; 'Music in Oxford' *Musical Standard*.

didactic writings of a man who never claimed to be a teacher,⁷¹ are the ideas that he set forth on the subject of the education of choristers to fit them for service in the Church. In an essay entitled "The Education of Choristers in Cathedrals"⁷² he emphasised the importance of training choristers well for the sake of their futures and that of the Church.⁷³ Naturally the musical education of the boys should be superlative, but they must also be well trained physically, intellectually, morally and in religious issues.⁷⁴ The boys should be given a good classical and mathematical education "as every good grammar school is supposed to afford."⁷⁵ Ouseley states how the moral and religious aspects of their education are influenced not only by what they are taught formally but also by the behaviour they observe in those around them. "The proverbial carelessness of young Lay Clerks, and other professional officials, as to their conversation in the presence of mere lads, is unfortunately a grave source of evil and cannot be too strongly denounced."⁷⁶ It was important that the practical side of the boys' religious training should include lessons in how to lead a religious life and to behave in a reverent fashion in Service, this is again an aspect where the conduct of the lay clerks was influential. In this realm of example-setting Ouseley's approval of certain "rituals" is seen. He praises most highly the procedure which he once witnessed for the admission of a chorister at Norwich:

The form consisted of a few simple and touching prayers, a short lesson read by the senior chorister, an admirable address by the Dean, from his stall, and the solemn investiture of the new boy in his surplice.

⁷¹ Joyce 1896, 75. (Letter from Munich, 26 September, 1851).

⁷² *Essays on Cathedrals* edited by J. S. Howson (London: John Murray, 1872), 209-34.

⁷³ *ibid.*, 212.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 211.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 219.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 220.

Nothing could be more impressive, more calculated to produce a marked result on the character and conduct of all members of the choir.... What could be devised more likely to divest choral work of its too mercenary character, and substitute higher and nobler motives?⁷⁷

Related to this is Ouseley's approval of the use of the surplice for choirs. As he did on the subject of instrumental music in church, Ouseley looked to the Old Testament for the basis, and strength, of his argument. In a sermon preached at St. Lawrence's Church in Ludlow on 23 August 1874,⁷⁸ Ouseley argued that the surplice was directly descended from the linen ephod worn in the Jewish synagogue by all those in the service of God and frequently mentioned in the Scriptures not only in reference to priests but, as Ouseley points out, also with regard to singers and other officials.⁷⁹ He states that "it is perfectly clear that white robes are the universal garb of the glorious denizens of heaven - that they symbolise and represent holiness and purity, and are bright and shining just because they are holy and pure; they are white and shining "for glory and for beauty.""⁸⁰ The practical purpose, to his mind, of this garment is shown in his closing words, directed specifically to the choir:

Do not put on your surplices, dear friends, without a thought of what they signify, without a prayer that your lives and conversation may be consistent with that meaning. If ever you are tempted to think of worldly and secular things during service, let the sight of your white robes remind you of Him Whose ministers you are.⁸¹

Ouseley also believed a priest, when preaching, should wear a surplice, and

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 227.

⁷⁸ Joyce, 1896, 131-7.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 132.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 135.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 137.

the following remembrance of a story told by Ouseley, in addition to demonstrating his mischievous sense of humour, tells how he won a battle with a friend who thought that only a simple black gown should be worn in the pulpit.

I used to go and see him every year, and generally I preached for him; but he would not give way [on the issue of the surplice], so I did as I was told - with a protest. One day at Oxford, just after I was made Mus. Doc., I had a letter asking me to preach a special Sermon for him, and he ended by saying, "But you know, my dear Ouseley, I expect you to bring your academic gown." Well, I reached his house on a Saturday evening, and after dinner I said: "Ah! perhaps, as you asked me to bring my academic gown, you had better see it!" "Oh there is no occasion," he said; "you know, I prefer that to anything else." However, I went upstairs, unpacked the brand-new red gown and hood, and, putting them on, I reappeared and pranced round his study. Need I describe the expression of his face, of speechless horror, as if the "Scarlet Lady" herself were present? At last he found words: "No, no, not *that* of course - I meant your academic gown!" "But this *is* it; I brought it, as you desired; you know my new degree; I cannot wear the old gown now; as an Oxford man I must wear the *right* thing, or none. But if you ask me as a Clergyman to wear my surplice, there is always that alternative." Which, of course, poor man, he had ruefully to accept. And so I went up to his pulpit for the first time (but not for the last) in the much dreaded surplice.⁸²

Further to the need for well educated boys if the services of the Church are to form a perfect offering to God, the training of a chorister according to Ouseley's scheme prepares him for his adult life. Should any boys decide to continue their service in the choir of a church, such an education would ensure that they were the type of choirmen

who shall know how to be reverent and devout in Church; singing not for their own sake, but for God's glory; not to earn a scanty pittance, or gain a musical reputation, but to promote the solemnity and impressiveness of the Choral Service of our National Church. ... But yet further, as some chorister boys will become professional musicians, so others may wish to be *ordained*. Now there is a great lack of good *chaunting clergy* in the Church of England. No man can be

⁸² *ibid.*, 154-5.

so fit to perform the Priest's part well, in a Choral Service, as he who has been brought up as a Chorister boy. But alas! too many of those who have been so brought up have proved themselves afterwards but too unfit for their Holy Profession. The common education which our Choristers have hitherto received being anything but a good school for piety and devotion.⁸³

Relatively early in his travels, Ouseley received a provisional offer of the precentorship at Winchester as it was expected to fall vacant in the near future. He writes to J. Wayland Joyce:

With regard to a living ... my final plans must be *in nubibus*. ... You see, I have scruples about hiding my musical talent under a bushel. I think I clearly ought, if it be possible, to devote it to God's service in His Holy Church. Now, in a regular country living this is impossible: for a large town living I have neither health nor strength. A precentorship is more the thing: but it has its drawback, and they are of no small weight.⁸⁴

From this we see that Ouseley was firmly of the opinion that his musical abilities should be devoted to the Church where they could be employed for the glory of God. He soon reiterated this conviction, with his customary modesty, writing: "I have no talent for teaching, no powers of preaching, and no health for hard parochial work. But God has given me one talent; and that I am determined to devote to His Service, and offer it up to adorn His Church."⁸⁵

Within the space of a few months, Ouseley's uncertainty about the future was dispelled. He settled upon a plan of creating his own setting for the use of his skills in music and for the provision of the educational system which he advocated for choir boys. His occasional references to the boys at Lovehill House show that they were constantly in his mind and the thought of their

⁸³ *ibid.*, 77-8. Letter from Berlin, 28 October, 1851.

⁸⁴ Joyce 1896, 71. Letter from Rome, 9 May, 1851.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 75. Letter from Munich, 26 September, 1851.

future no doubt had some bearing on his decision. He described his vision in the following words:

What I have in my thoughts is a Church in the 14th Century style, with Collegiate buildings adjoining, with residences for myself, two Curates and Choir, and Cloisters, too, enclosing a private portion of the Cemetery. ... Then as to the Service. I must have *daily choral Service: my choir must be a model choir*. and I will *not* give up anything if I once commence. ...⁸⁶

The first plan regarding the location of this institution was that Ouseley could be assigned a district, which would form the parish of his church, at Ludlow, Shropshire.⁸⁷ Ludlow lies close to the point where the borders of Shropshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire meet, an area which Ouseley seems to have become familiar with through his frequent visits to the Rectory at Burford. He had also expressed his desire to take a living near his dear friend there if at all possible.⁸⁸ Assuming the contents of Ouseley's letters to Joyce can be used as a true representation of his thought, this proposal appears to have been on his mind more and more from this point in his travels. Indeed, this scheme was to become his greatest passion until his death on 6 April, 1889.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 74. Letter from Lucerne, 1 September, 1851.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 74.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 71. Letter from Rome, 9 May, 1851.

CHAPTER 3

The Church and College of St Michael and All Angels,
Tenbury Wells.

On the Feast of St Michael and All Angels (29 September) 1856, on a site near Tenbury Wells, a parish church with the same dedication was consecrated. This was the first of the buildings in Ouseley's foundation to be completed and opened for use. The college followed soon afterwards - its aim being to provide education for a number of choristers and probationers among other boys - and was functional for almost 130 years, finally closing in 1985. St Michael's has been described as "[u]ndoubtedly the most remarkable establishment of the period".¹ In this chapter, the early years of the history of St Michael's from Ouseley's return from his continental tour until his death in 1889 will be considered. The extent to which this institution reflected the ideals of its founder and the revivalist trends of the time will be assessed with regard to various aspects including music, education and architecture.

Ouseley returned from the Continent late in 1851 to join his fellow ex-curate, Henry Fyffe, and the boys from the choir of St Barnabas's at Lovehill House. To his mind it was now clear that he should devote his life, and musical talents, to the service of God, and that the best way of doing this was to build a

¹ Gatens, William J.; *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 10.

church, to which would be attached a college that would provide the necessary education for the choir. Ouseley had returned with his idea for an institution, and more specifically the 'Ludlow scheme', in mind and, as he stated in a letter to J. Wayland Joyce, the colony at Lovehill House provided the obvious nucleus to a choir for the proposed foundation.² Sadly, the Ludlow scheme, for reasons which remain unknown, did not come to fruition and further possibilities were investigated such as the restoration of the buildings of Buildwas Abbey, near Ironbridge, Salop.³ A definite proposal was made regarding the use of a site somewhere near Oxford. However, in light of Ouseley's connection with the Pimlico riots, this proposal was declined by Bishop Wilberforce who was, at the time, exercising caution after the secession of his two brothers to Rome.⁴ Nevertheless, early in 1852 one further suggestion presented itself.

Tenbury Wells is a small town in Worcestershire very close to the junction of the rivers Teme and Ledwyche where the counties of Shropshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire meet.⁵ This market town falls into the diocese of Hereford. The area was familiar to Ouseley from his regular visits to J. Wayland Joyce at Burford Rectory and discussions soon commenced to decide upon a district for the new parish, which was later to be named for St Michael and All Angels. Joyce assisted in looking for possible sites within the rural areas of the district and, in June 1852, Ouseley bought a piece of land adjoining the "Old Wood".

² Joyce, F. W.; *The Life of Sir Frederick A. G. Ouseley* (London: Methuen, 1896), 79. Letter to J. Wayland Joyce, from Lovehill House, 27 December 1851.

³ *ibid.*, 81.

⁴ *ibid.*, 83.

⁵ *ibid.*, 81.

The proposal that Ouseley should have a church built in the area met with a mixed reaction from members of the parish. Many parishioners were uneasy in the knowledge that Ouseley had been curate to William Bennett for fear that their new church would be involved in Popish practices. One parishioner went so far as to write to the secretary of the Bishop of Hereford to protest against Ouseley being "a noted Puseyite."⁶ Ouseley's consciousness of these objections led him to consider adapting his original intentions and to establish, in the first instance, his college. This institution would naturally require a chapel in which the services of the Church could be offered but this could be erected later, as and when his financial situation would permit him to make such an addition. Once the collegiate chapel was built, it could be assigned a district at a later date. Ouseley's thoughts to this effect are laid down in a letter to the Vicar of Tenbury, John Churton, in which he explained that the chapel could begin to function as a parochial church, when the "rancour and the theological odium had subsided."⁷ With the support of J. Wayland Joyce, and two other gentlemen - John Miller and his brother Thomas, who were clergymen in the nearby parish of Bockleton - most of the objections which surfaced were appeased. It is interesting to note that John Miller, who had been the Bampton lecturer at Oxford in 1817, was a life-long friend of John Keble if not entirely in sympathy with Romish practices.⁸ In a letter to Ouseley dated 7 September 1852, John Miller wrote "It is not necessary - & therefore not advisable - to say more of your projected scheme,

⁶ Letter from J Wayland Joyce to John Miller, 14 May 1853. MS. D/863/A/1/viii. Hereford Cathedral Library.

⁷ Dated 3 September 1852. MS. D863/A/1/ii. Hereford Cathedral Library.

⁸ Bumpus, J. S.; 'St Michael's Tenbury' *The Architect and Contract Reporter*, 10 July 1903, 26.

than that we are full believers in the excellence of your intentions".⁹ Despite being a small parish, the population was scattered to such an extent that nobody could fail to concur in the opinion that there was an opening for a new church to be built in order to serve the more remote agricultural areas of the district that had so often been neglected.¹⁰ The Miller brothers saw this obvious need for a new church, but also observed that the mere fact that the area badly needed another church to serve its large population could be used to Ouseley's advantage. It could ensure that his scheme would be viewed as "a public benefit, ... as distinguishable from an individual fancy".¹¹

A final change to the building plan came when Miss Harriet Rushout, left, in her will, the sum of £600 with her express wish that the money should assist in the building of a new church in the Old Wood area. Captain George Rushout was the head of the leading family in the parish of Burford, of which J. Wayland Joyce was the incumbent, where he lived with his two maiden sisters, Harriet and Georgina. In addition, Rushout was the Lord of the Manor of Tenbury; as such he was aware of the need for a church in the remoter area of this parish.¹² Ouseley saw the opportunity of attaching the intention of this bequest to his own scheme. Consequently, he offered his own financial assistance - a sum of £1,000 - to Miss Rushout's £600 and consented to lay aside the plans for his college until the church was completely erected.¹³ This

⁹ Letter to Ouseley dated 7 September 1852. MS. D/863/A/1/iv. Hereford Cathedral Library.

¹⁰ Alderson, M. F. & Colles, H. C. (editors); *History of St Michael's College, Tenbury* (London: SPCK, 1943), 15.

¹¹ Letter from John Miller to Ouseley, 11 September, 1852, MS. D/863/A/1/vi. Hereford Cathedral Library.

¹² Shaw, Watkins; *Sir Frederick Ouseley and St Michael's, Tenbury* (University of Birmingham, 1988), 23.

¹³ Letter from Ouseley to John Miller, 16 September, 1852. MS. D/863/A/1/vi. Hereford Cathedral Library.

understanding was based upon a single proviso - that Ouseley would become the incumbent of the said church.¹⁴ Therefore, with Ouseley's introduction into the area as parish priest finally accepted (although objections were not by any means completely eradicated) the plans for the erection of the institution were adapted to match the wishes of Miss Rushout. The foundation stone of the Church of St Michael's and All Angels was finally laid on 3 May 1854 on an area of land adjacent to that which Ouseley had purchased two years earlier.¹⁵

Ouseley's main aims for St Michael's were to provide improved education and a model cathedral-style choir. These intentions were later laid down in the statutes of the college which read as follow:

The object of the College is to prepare a course of training, and to form a model for the Choral Service of the Church in these realms; and, for the furtherance of this object, to receive, educate, and train boys in such religious, musical, and secular knowledge as shall be most conducive thereto.¹⁶

However, these were not the only areas where the institution was to be a praise-worthy example of the improvements that men were striving for at the time. It also formed a model in the realms of architecture in which aspect it received a degree of approval from the Cambridge Ecclesiologists. The relation of the music to the ideals of this movement will be discussed later.

At the forefront of architectural revival in the nineteenth century was Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852). Pugin designed, not only buildings, but also church interiors, furniture, ornaments and vestments and,

¹⁴ Letter from Ouseley to John Churton, 3 September, 1852. MS. D863/A/1/ii. Hereford Cathedral Library.

¹⁵ Alderson & Colles 1943, 16.

¹⁶ *Copy of the Trust Deed and Statutes of St Michael's College, Tenbury* (6 January, 1864), 8. "The Object of the College". MS. D/863/A/10. Hereford Cathedral Library.

despite becoming a Roman Catholic in 1835,¹⁷ he was often employed by members of the Anglican Church and was a friend to several exponents of the Oxford Movement.¹⁸ Much of Pugin's work was done later in his life, therefore coinciding with the revivals advocated by the Ecclesiological Society. However, while Pugin worked in the various styles of the Gothic era, the Cambridge Ecclesiologists specifically recommended the use of the fourteenth century - Decorated or Middle Pointed - Gothic style.

St Michael's is an example of the Early Middle Pointed Style.¹⁹ The architect responsible for the buildings was Henry Woodyer, a pupil of William Butterfield, the designer of All Saint's, Margaret Street. Butterfield is described by Basil F. L. Clarke as : "not a conventional Gothic revivalist, he was a builder who had absorbed Pugin's True Principles."²⁰ Towards the end of the previous decade (1848-1851) Woodyer had been responsible for the architecture of the Church of the Holy Innocents, Highnam, a commission from Thomas Gambier Parry, which the *Ecclesiologist* likened to Pugin's best-known work - St Giles's, Cheadle - and further described it as "a very conspicuous landmark in the Ecclesiological revival."²¹ In the opinion of Charles A. Nicholson, Woodyer was the perfect architect for the job near Tenbury, his ideas in architecture being the "exact counterpart of the Founder's ideas concerning

¹⁷ Atterbury, Paul & Wainwright, Clive (editors); *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 7.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 7.

¹⁹ Bumpus, 1903 (10 July), 26.

²⁰ Clark, Basil F. L.; *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Gothic Revival in England* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles Reprints, 1969), 124.

²¹ *The Ecclesiologist*, XIII (1852), 265. Article on the Church of the Holy Innocents, Highnam, Gloucestershire.

church music and ceremonial."²² It is interesting to note that Woodyer was not the only connection between St Michael's and Holy Innocents, Highnam. Highnam was built and endowed entirely at Gambier Parry's expense (on an estate which he had purchased after leaving Trinity College, Cambridge). Gambier Parry was involved with the Ecclesiological Society, hence the Gothic style of architecture, and, being a painter, used his own skills to decorate the interior of the church with frescos. In doing this he elevated Highnam "from a small hamlet to an important parish".²³

The church building at Tenbury is, naturally, cruciform with the nave, choir and transepts all being of the same remarkable height - 69 feet from ground to ridge. In *The Ecclesiologist* there is a note concerning the naming of the choir. The problem arises from its dual purpose as a parochial and collegiate church. However, as the two areas are of the same height they deem that the term choir should be used. When finished, the institution formed a quadrangle in which the church building occupied the north side. The college buildings were connected to the east end of the church by a wooden cloister and extend along the southern and eastern sides of the quadrangle. This courtyard was to be completed by a wall linking the church and college at their western extremities.²⁴ The arrangement of the buildings in this way left the land to the north and east of the church to be used as a graveyard. Amongst these tidy plots, directly under the East window of St Michael's

²² Alderson & Colles 1943, 125. Account of *The Collegiate Buildings: An architect's description* by Charles A. Nicholson 124-9. This account is reproduced, with some amendments, in Shaw 1988, 104-9.

²³ Cust, Lionel; 'Parry, Thomas Gambier' *Dictionary of National Biography* XLIII. Edited by Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1893), 386.

²⁴ *The Ecclesiologist*. XVIII (1857), 219.

Church, the grave of its Founder can now be seen. This tomb, which was donated by 50 of Ouseley's friends and designed by Mr Aston Webb, is composed of "a block of polished red granite, on which lies a cross of white marble, supported at the ends by four small pillars cut out of the granite."²⁵ Later, a parish day school was added to the institution. This building, known as Cadmore Close, was erected across the road from the college in 1870.²⁶ Also in this year, assisted by a grant from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, a vicarage, just outside the college grounds, was added.²⁷

Running along the length of the college buildings, from east to west, is a glazed cloister. From the southern side of this, doors lead into the hall, library and schoolroom. Also found in this corridor are the cupboards in which the caps, gowns and surplices for the boys were stored. The Warden's lodgings, consisting of study (containing Ouseley's music library), dining room and drawing room, with three bedrooms above, are built into one end of the college. Rooms were also provided for the headmaster, organist and a matron. Sleeping quarters for the boys took the form of a dormitory divided, with curtains, into individual cubicles.²⁸

The hall, in which the boys received their meals, is a good example of the architectural influences which abounded. On its outside walls (south and west) windows in the Early Decorated style can be seen. These are composed of two lights each, with quatrefoil heads.²⁹ The floor of the hall is covered with encaustic tiles made by Minton & Co. - the dominant business in the realms of

²⁵ Bumpus 1903 (3 July), 11.

²⁶ Shaw 1988, 30.

²⁷ *ibid.*, 31.

²⁸ Bumpus 1903 (10 July), 25.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 25.

pottery and ceramics in the 1850s. Herbert Minton, the son of the founder, forged a close working relationship with Pugin, fuelled by his "passion for technical improvement" and "overriding concern for quality".³⁰ The use of these tiles at St Michael's would therefore be highly regarded by those at the forefront of the Gothic Revival. Minton's tiles are also found in the church in various patterns, increasing in richness towards the east end.³¹

Moving to St Michael's Church, the intentions of the founder can be seen alongside further links with the work of Pugin. Inside the church there are two elements which are of note with regard to Ouseley's desires. First, the entire building is internally groined with wood. This is partly for acoustic reasons and shows the importance of music to the intended ministry of the church.³² The second point reflects, to some extent, Ouseley's churchmanship. In the east wing the raised altar, vested with the appropriate ecclesiastical colours, is also covered by a canopy which arises from the oak mensa and reredos.³³ The entire north transept serves as a baptistery and contains an elaborate font which is "circular in plan, carved with foliage, and inlaid with green Egyptian marble"³⁴ over which is suspended a "lofty spiral canopy of oak 22 feet high, richly carved".³⁵ This use of intricately decorated canopies reflects the importance placed upon the two Sacraments of baptism and eucharist within St Michael's.

³⁰ Atterbury & Wainwright 1994, 143-4.

³¹ Joyce 1896, 91.

³² *The Ecclesiologist*, XVIII (1857), 219.

³³ Bumpus 1903 (10 July), 26.

³⁴ Joyce 1896, 91.

³⁵ Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 41.

The east window, a gift from Miss Georgina Rushout, depicts Christ in Majesty with St Michael at his feet. The design is by John Hardman and incorporates "all the usual symbols in allusion to the dedication."³⁶ The Gothic Revival naturally led to a renewed demand for stained glass, and it was through this that Pugin formed an association with Hardman.³⁷ Indeed, the account of the collegiate buildings by Charles Nicholson describes the windows by Hardman as recalling "that in the apse of St Chad's Cathedral at Birmingham, presumably designed by Pugin."³⁸ Hardman also designed the great west window which was added in 1857 as a result of subscriptions collected by The Rev'd John Miller. This window, over the Pointed doorway, consists of six trefoil lights, in which a colour of rich ruby red is predominant, arranged into two groups, with traceried circlets. Although most of the windows were filled with stained glass at the time of construction, some, such as the three windows in the north aisle which were donated by former pupils to the memory of Sir Frederick, were inserted at a later date. Mr T. Francis Bumpus, in his treatise on "Stained Glass in England since the Gothic Revival" describes St Michael's Church as showing "sufficient departures both in plan and detail from home traditions to raise it far above the commonplace, while it shows none of that extravagance and bizarrerie which too often resulted from attempted originality"³⁹

The chancel is divided from its side aisles by iron grilles. In the same way, the nave and chancel of the church are separated by an iron, gated, rood

³⁶ Bumpus 1903 (10 July), 26.

³⁷ Atterbury & Wainwright 1994, 195.

³⁸ Alderson & Colles 1943, 126. Nicholson, Charles A. on the Architecture of St Michael's College.

³⁹ Bumpus 1903 (10 July), 26.

screen, on top of which are seven candlesticks, but no cross. This screen was painted ultramarine relieved by gold - a Puginesque scheme which is used in areas of many of his churches including St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham,⁴⁰ and those of other architects. The ceiling over the eastern end of the church is also treated with colour.⁴¹ The transepts of the church are behind the rood screen and the oak choir stalls are placed in the crossing created by them.⁴² Bumpus goes on to describe how the stalls are arranged "in two divisions, with rather lofty finials; they are not returned, but have subsellæ and open desks of iron in front for the boys."⁴³ The church is supported internally by pillars spread along the length of the nave. The pillars lead up to arches underneath the roof, and at the point where each pillar joins its arch a capital, "elaborately carved with the acanthus and other leaves", can be found.⁴⁴ The seating in the nave is comprised partly of moveable pews, partly of chairs.⁴⁵ The pulpit, a gift of Captain E. J. Ottley,⁴⁶ is octagonal in shape and carved of stone with the figures of the Evangelists in the corners;⁴⁷ the lectern is in the form of a brass 'brazen' eagle - a design typical of the gothic style. One Herefordshire lady who visited Ouseley's church for a Sunday evening

⁴⁰ Atterbury & Wainwright 1994, 73. Canopy of High Altar, St Chad's Birmingham. Illustration 134

⁴¹ Joyce 1896, 91.

⁴² Bumpus 1903 (10 July), 27.

⁴³ *ibid.*, 27.

⁴⁴ *The Guardian* II (1856), 801. (15 October).

⁴⁵ Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 41.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 41. Tells us that Ottley was "an able amateur musician, 'cellist and composer, and another of Ouseley's most intimate friends."

⁴⁷ From *Illustrated London News* October 11th 1856. Found in the Centenary issue of St Michael's College Magazine. Volume IV (1948-57). MS. D/863/A/12. Hereford Cathedral Library.

service once commented upon the fact that she had been given a wonderful seat "right up annunst the turkey!"⁴⁸

The organ is to be found in the south transept of the church, as Ouseley once stated: "Where there are transepts available, it is desirable to place the organ across them (as at Winchester), in preference to choosing smaller arches for the purpose, where the sound is more confined."⁴⁹ To meet Ouseley's ideal the pipes should have been split between the two transepts however, as the north transept was entirely used as a baptistery this was not possible.⁵⁰ The instrument was designed by Ouseley himself and originally built by Flight & Co. of London.⁵¹ Rebuilding work was carried out by Harrison in 1868, which increased the number of stops from the original 48 to 65. The four-manual organ also had seven couplers. Further enlargement followed, finishing in 1874, this time by "Father" Willis.⁵² The organ is raised: its pedal board is on a level with the backs of the choir stalls. The pipes are all polychromed, and the more prominent ones are painted with representations related to the church's dedication.⁵³

So to what extent did the buildings of St Michael's relate to the ideals being encouraged by the Ecclesiological Society? There are various features which are clearly representative of the Decorated style - the use of pointed, rather than rounded arches; the use of a spiral canopy over the font; the intricately carved foliage on this canopy and on the capitals of the pillars; the

⁴⁸ Joyce 1896, 91n.

⁴⁹ Ouseley, Sir F. A. G.; 'On the position of Organs' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* XII (1885-6), 82-3.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 82.

⁵¹ A listing of the original specification of the organ can be found in *The Ecclesiologist*, XVIII (1857), 220-1.

⁵² Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 41.

⁵³ *The Ecclesiologist*, XVIII (1857), 220.

large expanses of windows divided into lights with elaborate tracery all incorporated under a single arch, instead of numerous lancet style openings; the use of colour on the choir screen, in the floor decoration and on the ceiling of the chancel; and the groining of the ceiling.⁵⁴ The construction of the pillars as a single shaft places the church in the Early Decorated style; the later preference was to use clusters of smaller shafts to form a compound pillar.⁵⁵ However, despite this display of Gothic architectural details, the assessment of the *Ecclesiologist* was not one of unmitigated approval. The following are the closing remarks of its description of the foundation:

In conclusion, it may be observed, that in consequence of the shortness of the nave, proportionately to its breadth, it lacks that tranquil character which our ancient cathedrals and minsters possess; and the defect is rather increased by the colours of the tiles in the nave, which are somewhat too glaring. But the proportions of the building are perhaps about the best that could have been chosen, considering the double purpose for which it is designed; and allowance must be made for the absence, as yet, of stained glass in the nave and aisles. The general aspect of the choir is very satisfactory; and, upon the whole, we rejoice that the munificence of the founder has been so well directed by the skill of the architect.¹¹⁵⁶

In 1856, just over a year after Ouseley had finally taken his Priests' Orders, the boys from Lovehill House were moved to temporary accommodation in a house called Spring Grove on the Old Wood Common, as the college buildings were still incomplete. The relocation of the core of his choir was one of the first steps taken in preparation for the opening of the new church.⁵⁷ The ceremony at which St Michael's was consecrated by the Lord

⁵⁴ Bumpus, T. F; *A Guide to Gothic Architecture* (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 1914), 250-3, 269-70, 276, 320.

⁵⁵ Bumpus, T. F 1914, 255.

⁵⁶ *The Ecclesiologist* XVIII (1857), 221-2. Article on St Michael and All Angels, Near Tenbury, Worcestershire.

⁵⁷ Shaw 1988, 27.

Bishop of Hereford - Renn Dickson Hampden - was attended by a crowd of six to seven hundred people. The choir had been supplemented from various sources and sang Choral Matins directly after the consecration service, and Evensong later in the day. A non-choral communion service followed on from Matins. Among the four trebles who joined Ouseley's ten boys for this occasion was Arthur Sullivan, at that time a treble in the Chapel Royal, who sang the solo in Goss's *Praise the Lord, O my Soul*, one of the anthems at the Evening service. Ouseley was one of the altos in the choir. Also singing were J. Wayland Joyce, John Jebb, Thomas Helmore - at that time the Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, Dr E.G. Monk - Organist at York Minster, and Dr C. W. Corfe - Organist of Christ Church, Oxford. The organ was played by George Elvey who was then serving at St George's, Windsor.⁵⁸ The music chosen for the occasion is representative of that used at St Michael's throughout Ouseley's life. The Morning and Evening Canticles were sung to the setting by Rogers in D, and the anthems were Boyce's *I have surely built thee an house* (Morning), the aforementioned work by Goss, and Elvey's *O Praise the Lord of Heaven*. Ouseley's role as a composer came across only in the use of the hymn tune *Woolmer's* to the words "They come God's messengers of love", the words with which the tune was combined in the first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* soon afterwards.⁵⁹ This hymn tune was named after the first country house his father had possessed⁶⁰ and, like Elvey's

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁹ Alderson & Colles 1943, 20.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 20.

anthem, had been written specially for the occasion.⁶¹ The presence of John Jebb and Thomas Helmore at the opening of this institution serves as a further link between St Michael's and the general trend of choral revival in the Church; and, while the main address of the day was given by the Bishop in the morning, Jebb was invited to preach at Evensong, choosing for his subject the "The Principle of Ritualism Defended". In his sermon, music is mentioned as one outward symbol of worship among many used in the accounts of the Revelation of St John. Such rituals are also referred to in Old Testament accounts from the times of David and Saul. Jebb, in his defences, asks whether it could possibly have been intended that "the Church militant, which forms a connecting link between the Jewish Church and that which is triumphant, should have a worship essentially different in principle from either, excluding all symbolical or solemn rites and ceremonies, or tolerating them by a very cold and unwilling indulgence or indifference, as if these things had no proper connexion with the offices of religion".⁶²

These words were to serve as an explanation for the style of worship which Ouseley would use in his services. Although not a follower of ritualism to the extent he saw it utilised in his days as a curate, he nevertheless believed that everything should be done in the best possible way to preserve the beauty and holiness of the services of the church. However, Ouseley was aware of the objections that could arise to services such as those he intended to hold, and was willing to make provision for this. Less than six months after

⁶¹ Shaw 1988, 32.

⁶² Jebb, John; *The Principle of Ritualism Defended: A sermon preached in the Church of St Michael and All Angels* (London: Rivingtons, 1856), 24-5.

the consecration of St Michael's, in a letter written to the Bishop of Hereford in defence of his use of music in services he explains one of these provisos:

I suppose then that the quantity of music in my weekday and Sunday Evening services is the point to which You take exception. I therefore make no apology for telling you the reasons which have induced me to start a full choral service - only I must first premise that for fear that such a service should be offensive to any of my flock, I have two common parochial services every Sunday, whereof the 2nd at 3. P.M. is totally devoid of all music whatsoever, and the 1st at 11. a.m. is only diversified by two Psalm tunes congregationally sung.⁶³

Having explained his intentions for the foundation he states, on the matter of churchmanship:

As to doctrine, I beg to state, for my own satisfaction as well as yours, that I hate puritanism having seen too much of it in my youth - & on the other hand I have seen far too much both of Romanism, and of Romanizing Anglicanism, not to hate this extreme quite as cordially - I therefore hope & pray that in St Michael's College nothing but the pure and solid theology of the Church of England may be taught, & that it may be strengthened to resist successfully the various baneful influences with which we are now so truly vexed on all sides.⁶⁴

This illustrates the problem faced in categorising Ouseley's churchmanship. Very little was ever recorded about the precise style of the services at the church. Those books and articles which exist on the subject concern themselves either with the architecture, or with the music. Much of the architecture would suggest that Ouseley was of a High Church persuasion; The aforementioned prominence given to the sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist serve to strengthen this point of view as does the fact that the church inherited, presumably as a result of Ouseley's curacy at St Barnabas's, the use

⁶³ Letter from Ouseley to the Bishop of Hereford, 4 March, 1857. D/863/A/1/xii-xiii, 1. Hereford Cathedral Library.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 4

of the maniple⁶⁵ at the celebration of Holy Communion.⁶⁶ Also, less than six months after the consecration of St Michael's, a letter from John Miller which disapprovingly refers to the "hyper-ritualism of St Michael's" and warns Ouseley to "be careful not to damage a good cause by any such form of excess as might possibly lead to unthinking resistance."⁶⁷ Finally, although the use of a traditional choral service today is common in the Church of England, at that time it would have been encouraged mainly by those who were High Church. The choir, naturally, wore surplices in church when singing the services of the church, as did the commoners on, and on the eve of, Sundays and Saints' Days.⁶⁸ It is interesting to note that cassocks (black for the men, scarlet for the boys) were not acquired at St Michael's until after the First World War. The use of scarlet, which was the St Michael's colour, usually denoted an institution with royal patronage; however, those at the college could "find no reason for this colour being exclusively adopted for royal foundations" hence the colour was used.⁶⁹ Evensong was performed every day at St Michael's, and Matins sung everyday except Sunday.⁷⁰ As we know, Ouseley endeavoured to keep his communion services non-choral, although on some Sundays - presumably those celebrating Feasts of the Church - there

⁶⁵ A maniple is a loop of material worn, by priests, around the right wrist as part of the eucharistic vestments. It serves no function today and its use survives only in churches of a High, or Anglo-Catholic, persuasion.

⁶⁶ Bumpus 1903 (10 July), 26.

⁶⁷ Letter from John Miller to Ouseley, 14 March, 1857. MS. D/863/A/1/xiv. Hereford Cathedral Library.

⁶⁸ Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 42.

⁶⁹ St Michael's College Magazine, Volume I 1918-28, 6. (December 1918). MS. D/863/A/12. Hereford Cathedral Library.

⁷⁰ Music Register 1857-62. MS. D/863/A/5. Hereford Cathedral Library.

would be a sung service, and a morning service would also be held on major Saints' days.⁷¹

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century various collections of cathedral services were published. The collected works of various eighteenth century composers, such as Croft, Boyce and Green, were already available. To these were added a group of services edited by William Marshall in 1844, Dr Rimbault's *Cathedral Music* in 1847 and W. H. Cope's *Anthemns by Eminent Composers for the English Church* from 1849-51.⁷² Ouseley himself published two volumes in 1853: one - the *Collection of Cathedral Services by English Masters* - contained settings by Child, Church, Creighton, John Farrant (although this is attributed to Richard), Kelway, Kempton, Rogers, and Tomkins; the second contained five of his own services in addition to a selection of anthems.

The choir repertory of St Michael's was broad - a situation which was presumably facilitated by this increased availability of music - ranging from the sixteenth century works of Tallis and Tye to those of contemporary composers such as Elvey, Goss and Wesley. However, the majority of its material was taken from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The following is the music list from the week commencing 26 April 1857 and can be taken as representative of the music under Ouseley.⁷³

Sunday	(p.m.)	Kelway in B minor Goss - <i>Praise the Lord O my soul.</i>
Monday	(a.m.)	Rogers in D Tallis - <i>Hear the voice and prayer</i>

⁷¹ Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 42.

⁷² Shaw 1988, 50.

⁷³ Register book 1857-62. Volume 1. MS. D/863/A/5. Hereford Cathedral Library.

	(p.m.)	Rogers in D Ouseley - <i>How goodly are thy tents</i>
Tuesday	(a.m.)	Aldrich in G Mozart - <i>The Lord helpeth</i>
	(p.m.)	Aldrich in G Stroud - <i>Hear my prayer</i>
Wednesday	(a.m.)	Gibbons in F Tallis - <i>If ye love me</i>
	(p.m.)	Gibbons in F Croft - <i>Put me not to rebuke</i>
Thursday	(a.m.)	Croft in A Tallis - <i>All people that on earth</i>
	(p.m.)	Elvey in A Wesley, <i>The Lord hath been mindful</i>
Friday (SS. Philip & James)	(a.m.)	Ouseley in C & Rogers in D ⁷⁴ Boyce - <i>Turn thee unto me</i>
	(p.m.)	Ouseley in C Croft - <i>God is gone up</i>
Saturday	(a.m.)	Boyce in A Richardson - <i>O how amiable</i>
	(p.m.)	Goss in E Boyce - <i>O where shall wisdom</i>

Many of these settings were demure in style, presumably in keeping with Ouseley's idea of 'sacred' music; indeed, many of the works in the repertory at St Michael's were written in a style similar to Ouseley's own sacred compositions. This repertory also bears a striking resemblance to the music used at St Barnabas's in the week following the consecration of the church. Among the service settings used were Gibbons in F, Ouseley in A, Rogers in D; anthems by Byrd, Farrant, Gibbons, Batten, Tallis and Aldrich were used. Psalms and a hymn were daily sung to Gregorian tones and Marbeck's service setting also made an appearance on the music list.⁷⁵ The music for that occasion had been selected, and the choir trained, by Thomas Helmore. Temperley credits Helmore with representing, above all others, "the musical ideal which the extreme Anglo-Catholic party strove to attain."⁷⁶ In the

⁷⁴ It is not clear which of these settings was used for the communion service and which for Matins.

⁷⁵ Temperley, Nicholas; *The Music of the Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 271-2.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 272.

1850s, Helmore was elected to the Committee of the Cambridge Camden Society from which position he assisted in the formation of a sub-committee concerned only with musical issues.⁷⁷ It can therefore be said that in his choice of music Ouseley complied with the musical tastes of the Ecclesiologists, with the notable exception that they would have preferred to have seen that "the noble organ were used to accompany the simple but sublime chants for the Psalms which western Christendom has known and honoured for more than a thousand years". Nevertheless, their comments on the choral service at St Michael's were not disapproving, stating their belief that, "with respect to chasteness and decorum", the services would be favourably compared with those of England's cathedrals.⁷⁸

The use of works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was recommended by William Crotch, Oxford Professor of Music from 1797 to 1847, in his lectures. His advice to students was "to make a model of no one after Green or Boyce; and if he would excel in the sublime, let him principally study Bird and Gibbons."⁷⁹ Although Ouseley could not have heard Crotch's lectures first-hand as he had ceased to give professorial lectures in 1807,⁸⁰ a volume containing the *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* by Crotch had been published in 1831. In addition to Ouseley's choice of music at St Michael's corresponding quite closely to the above recommendation, his ideal sacred style appears to have been very close to the Sublime style

⁷⁷ Adelman, Dale; *The Contribution of Cambridge and the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship, 1839-62* (Cambridge University, Ph.D. Thesis, 1991), 50.

⁷⁸ *The Ecclesiologist*, XVIII, 222. Article on 'St Michael's and All Angels, near Tenbury'.

⁷⁹ Crotch, William; *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures in Music read in the University of Oxford and in the Metropolis* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1831), 100.

⁸⁰ Gatens 1986, 151.

advocated by Crotch. The Sublime style, and the reasons for its use in the church, were described by Crotch in the following words:

The sublime is founded on principles of vastness and incomprehensibility. The word sublime originally signifies high, lofty, elevated; and this style, accordingly, never descends to any thing small, delicate, light, pretty, playful, or comic. The grandest style in music is therefore the sacred style - that of the church and oratorio - for it is least inclined to levity, where levity is properly inadmissible, and where the words convey the most awful and striking images. Infinity, and, what is next to it, immensity, are among the most efficient causes of this quality; and when we hear innumerable voices and instruments sounding the praises of God in solemn and becoming strains, the most sublime image that can fill the mind, seldom fails to present itself - that of the heavenly host described in the Holy Scriptures.⁸¹

In the opinion of John Stainer, Ouseley had absorbed this spirit to such an extent that Crotch's ideas were to "mar the splendid future which Ouseley's early life distinctly promised."⁸² G. R. Sinclair, like Stainer acknowledged Ouseley's limitations of originality which he presumed to be a result of the mathematical ability which made him successful as a theorist.⁸³ However, he viewed the supposition that Ouseley's ideas on style were entirely a product of Crotch's lectures as inadequate; in his opinion Ouseley's convictions were too deeply rooted to be "the mere outcome of the passing influence of a few Oxford Lectures."⁸⁴ Whilst the constant use of past models in his music can be blamed for the poor quality of his instrumental work, Sinclair could not say that looking to the past was a mistake with regards to his Church music.⁸⁵ It is

⁸¹ Crotch 1831, 31-2.

⁸² Stainer, John; 'The Character and Influence of the Late Sir Frederick Ouseley' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* XVI (1889-90), 37.

⁸³ Joyce 1896, 238. Chapter contributed by G. R. Sinclair.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 248. Chapter contributed by G. R. Sinclair.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 247. Chapter contributed by G. R. Sinclair.

interesting to note the different opinions of Ouseley's music presented by J. S. Bumpus and Edmund H. Fellowes in their surveys of English cathedral music. Bumpus, writing at the turn of the century and perhaps significantly ending the period of his study in 1889, extolled Ouseley as one of the greatest composers of his day, describing him, and his compositions, in the following words:

Altogether a most remarkable personality, his refined knowledge, profound scholarship, and grasp of every phase of the history, science, and literature of music were astonishing; while the numerous services and anthems, all characterised by thought, the highest musical intelligence and depth of feeling will ever remain as classics.⁸⁶

In contrast, Fellowes's study of 1941 devotes very little space to Ouseley, dismissing most of his compositions as "academic" - choosing to single out only *O Saviour of the world* as a work of "great beauty", and *From the rising of the sun, Is it nothing to you?* and *How goodly are thy tents* as "excellent little pieces in the true cathedral style."⁸⁷ To some extent the contrast of Bumpus's and Fellowes's opinions can be related to the hindsight available to the latter, for much of the music used regularly at St Michael's did not continue to be used by cathedrals in the twentieth century. To take a more positive interpretation of this difference, Bumpus's high opinion of these compositions, which did not prove themselves to be enduring classics, implies that the value of the works was confined to the context of the Victorian ideal of church music. This raises a second factor which may have been responsible for the hindrance of Ouseley's creativity - that the limitations on Ouseley, who as a

⁸⁶ Bumpus, J. S.; *History of English Cathedral Music, 1549-1889* (London: Gregg International Ltd., 1908), 528-9.

⁸⁷ Fellowes, Edmund H.; *English Cathedral Music*. Revised edition (London: Methuen & Co., 1969), 239.

gentleman, scholar and antiquarian was the perfect Victorian church musician, were "the limitations of the ideals of Victorian church music itself."⁸⁸

Throughout his life Ouseley produced some thirteen settings of services; these range from settings of the *Te Deum* alone (one in F, the other a chant setting in D) to the complete Service in C for double choir (1863) which included settings of the *Venite*, the canticles for Matins and Evensong - including all alternatives, and all parts of the ordinary of the communion service except the *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei* which do not appear in the Book of Common Prayer. He also wrote over 60 anthems - many of which were commissioned for various festal occasions across the country - and various hymn tunes and chants.⁸⁹ The style of his church compositions was conservative. Whilst this characteristic rendered Ouseley's works old-fashioned by the end of the century, at the time they were written it was sought after. The Service in E, written in 1847, was submitted to Novello for publishing and was recommended by him for its "dignified simplicity, appropriate solidity of harmony, and impressively grand solemnity" which did justice to the "good *old* English School". The work was one of those included in Ouseley's volume six years later, however, this inclusion was the cause for, rather than a product of, Novello not publishing the work.⁹⁰ It seems to have been common for Ouseley to begin his settings homophonically before introducing points of imitation, however, many of the settings remained four-

⁸⁸ Gatens 1986, 147.

⁸⁹ Bumpus, J. S.; *The Compositions of the Rev. Sir F. A. G. Ouseley, Bt.,...* (London: Bowden, Hudson & Co., 1892).

⁹⁰ Bumpus 1908, 534.

square and plodding in their arrangement despite the presence of short contrapuntal sections. Of the services published by Ouseley in 1853, the Service in E is one of the least mundane. The *Te Deum* of this service is more varied in texture than many of the other settings. The opening six verses alternate short imitative phrases with shorter homophonic ones. The next section of the text ('The glorious company of the Apostles... Also the Holy Ghost the Comforter') is homophonic but interest is provided in the harmonic movement from C sharp minor back to E. Imitation after this section ('Thou art the King of Glory') provides a more triumphant, even dramatic, style in accordance with the declamatory nature of the text. The central words of the canticle ('When thou tookest upon thee...in the Glory of the Father') are set as a trio for two trebles and a bass before a return to the opening idea of alternating homophony with imitation.⁹¹

Anthem, in giving the composer a choice of text, are generally of more intrinsic musical value and in this Ouseley was no exception. However, as with his services, only a few gems are to be found hidden among his vast output. Today, *From the Rising of the Sun* is probably the most frequently used anthem by Ouseley. This miniature was among the anthems published, in 1861, in Ouseley's *Collection of Anthems for Certain Seasons and Festivals*. The text (Malachi I, v. 11) is repeated once with a corresponding musical recapitulation, the form is ternary (ABA') with the outer sections being more contrapuntal than the central section and the texture of the anthem is simple - partly homophonic

⁹¹ Ouseley, F. A. G.; *Cathedral Music: Services and Anthems* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co, 1853), Service in E. *Te Deum*, 100-9.

and partly contrapuntal including some points of imitation. Ouseley adds drama to the declamation 'Thus saith the Lord' before the recapitulation by allowing the tenor voice in this chordal section to enter slightly ahead of the other three voices. It is such features which make this piece one of Ouseley's most inspiring miniatures. *O Saviour of the World*, written in 1865, was included in Ouseley's second *Collection* in 1866. It is a short unaccompanied anthem for double choir and, as with many of Ouseley's later anthems, shows a greater amount of emotion than the earlier anthems. The setting is still in a formal style and, being intended for use on Good Friday, is of a sombre nature. Each choir is given largely chordal phrases in a style similar to that of Ouseley's four-part anthems; however, the presence of two choirs creates a richer texture and the opportunity for greater variety through staggered entries and antiphonal exchanges. A double choir seems to have provided a force large enough to allow Ouseley to produce more advanced anthems whilst still abiding by his conservative ideals.

Many of the works which frequently appeared on the music lists for St Michael's bear a stylistic resemblance to Ouseley's own church compositions. It is therefore reasonable to assume, as Watkins Shaw suggests, that this was the type of composition which Ouseley regarded as most suitable for liturgical use.⁹² If it can also be argued that, as Ouseley's own musical style coincided with a more general Victorian ideal of church composition, it should follow that the repertory used at St Michael's College can be granted a similar status. However, in order to ascertain the extent to which this status is deserved it is

⁹² Shaw 1988, 53.

necessary to compare the repertory of St Michael's with those of other cathedrals and collegiate churches.

The following information is based on a comparison of the music lists of St Michael's, with those of a selection of cathedrals and collegiate churches in the middle of 1857.⁹³ During this period, the composers whose works most frequently occurred at St Michael's were Aldrich, Boyce, Croft, Farrant, Gibbons, Rogers, Tallis and Ouseley himself.⁹⁴ These accounted for 62.4% of the repertory of St Michael's: Ouseley's works alone constituted 11.5% of the music used. A large majority of the repertory of St Michael's (83%), in concordance with Crotch's decree, did not date from later than the eighteenth century; 40.6% being solely from the seventeenth century. Only 56.9% of the works used by other institutions correlated to composers used at St Michael's College. The most frequently used composers in these churches were Cooke, King, Rogers, Aldrich, Croft, Boyce, Greene, Nares, Travers, Attwood, Clarke-Whitfeld, Ebdon, Hopkins, Handel, Mendelssohn, constituting 57.3% of the repertory.⁹⁵ In comparison with St Michael's only 61.1% of the works used in churches elsewhere were written in, or before, the eighteenth century; merely 26.5% being from the seventeenth century. These records also show that 14.9% of the repertory of the various cathedrals considered in this survey

⁹³ These findings are based on information taken from the St Michael's Registers of Music. Volume I (26 April to 6 June 1857) MS. D/863/A/5. Hereford Cathedral Library. Also from Appendix 8 of Rainbow, Bernarr; *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church 1839-1872* (Barrie & Jenkins, London, 1970), 329-43, considering Sundays only from 26 April to 31 May 1857 at 21 selected cathedrals and collegiate churches.

⁹⁴ The most frequently used composers, in this case, are deemed to be those whose works appear more than 5 times in the set period.

⁹⁵ Given the increased number of works considered in this case, the most frequently used composers are deemed to be those whose works occur 10 or more times in the set period.

were by foreign composers - Bach, Beethoven, Corelli, Handel, Haydn, Himmel, Mendelssohn, Mozart and Spohr - compared to a mere 1.2% of the St Michael's repertory (only one work each by Handel and Mozart); 32.2% of the works of other cathedrals were taken from composers who were writing in the nineteenth century whilst this group contributed only 17% (of which 67.9% were by Ouseley) to the St Michael's repertory.

Alderson and Colles, following their survey of these materials, venture the opinion that the repertory of St Michael's was more advanced than that found in the cathedrals.⁹⁶ It may be that this statement was intended to refer to the standard to which the services were carried out however, the statistics above suggest that the choice of music at St Michael's, in upholding the recommendations of Crotch, represents the ideal of the early to mid-Victorian era, rather than the Victorian ideal in general. St Michael's is, therefore, slightly antiquated in its repertory. The other cathedrals are more progressive, in using a greater amount of material by contemporary composers, including works written by organists, choir members and possibly clergy, for use in their own churches and cathedrals.

The above findings concerning the use of 'continental' music, are a clear illustration of Ouseley's preference for the use of English music in the English church. He did not understand why anyone should desire to take

florid, noisy, and highly ornamental specimens of Mozart's worst style.... I allude to adaptations from his masses, such as that too favourite anthem, "Plead though my cause," with the obstreperous chorus which concludes it, and allow such unecclesiastical and

⁹⁶ Alderson & Colles 1943, 73.

indevotional music to take the place of our own glorious and sublime church music?⁹⁷

He further states the opinion that

we should ... choose the best music we can find, and press it into the service of the sanctuary ... accommodating the music of the church to the requirements of our own times, and the musical knowledge and taste of the people of this century, only keeping one end in view, *i.e.*, the devotion of the best we can find to God's glory and the good of His Church.⁹⁸

These extracts from Ouseley's paper addressed to the Church Congress correlate to Bumpus's description of the selection of music at St Michael's as comprising "the finest specimens of the English School of cathedral music from the period of Tallis to the present day."⁹⁹ Although this description was given in 1903, during the time of Warden Hampton, it should be remembered that this gentleman had agreed that he would "carry on exactly as Sir Frederick himself did and wished."¹⁰⁰

In reference to the standard of music at St Michael's, Alderson & Colles specifically mention Ouseley's Service in F, written in eight parts with orchestral accompaniment is mentioned.¹⁰¹ This work must have been very ambitious for a small choir, for, although Ouseley (an alto), some of his friends and the college staff would voluntarily supplement the parts, there were only four lay clerks appointed at the time.¹⁰² However, the standard of music at St

⁹⁷ Ouseley, Sir F. A. G.; 'Church Music' *Report of the Proceedings of the Church Congress held in Manchester, 1863*, 170.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 171.

⁹⁹ Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 42.

¹⁰⁰ Shaw 1988, 48.

¹⁰¹ Alderson & Colles 1943, 73.

¹⁰² Memorandum in Ouseley's hand on 'St Michael's College - its prospects and what it wants' (1858). MS. D/863/D/1. Hereford Cathedral Library.

Michael's was frequently praised by those who heard it. During a visit to the college, in 1873, Francis Havergal wrote to Maria Hackett:

I am spending a day or two at this delightful place of Sir Frederick Ouseley's. Doubtless you know all about his sixteen choristers. It is a goodly sight to see them when at meals in the hall - but to hear them sing, I know nothing like it; so refined are their voices that I never hear the like elsewhere. They are carefully trained and taught, and their behaviour is remarkably good also.¹⁰³

Such a scenario cannot but remind one of the time when Ouseley, who was never a brilliant 'cellist, after playing in a chamber group at a private performance replied to one who was objecting to the "excruciating sounds" which had been produced that the standard of performance was irrelevant because he knew "how it *ought* to sound."¹⁰⁴ However, this one reminiscence seems out of character for a man who once said, in the presence of Dr E. G. Monk, "I look upon a wrong note in public performance as a positive *crime*"¹⁰⁵, and the idea that such a lax attitude would have been applied to his life's work and passion is little short of preposterous. As Precentor of Hereford he was acutely aware of every small detail in the music that he heard and saw. He is described by Joyce as "listening with his hand to his ear, and giving a start when any wrong note was caught."¹⁰⁶

St Michael's has often been dismissed as a mere music school; however, it must be remembered that the provision of a good general

¹⁰³ Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 42. Extract from Letter from Rev. Francis Tebbs Havergal to Miss Maria Hackett, May 20, 1873.

¹⁰⁴ Joyce 1896, 195.

¹⁰⁵ Havergal, F. T; *Memorials of Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley* (London: Ellis & Elvey, 1889), 59.

¹⁰⁶ Joyce 1896, 157.

grammar school education was one of Ouseley's aims in establishing the institution. It is impossible to deny that the life of the Church dictated the life of the school to some extent. The school had two annual terms, with vacations after Christmas and in the middle of summer,¹⁰⁷ rather than the more usual three term arrangement as this would have taken the pupils away from the school during the two main religious festivals - Christmas and Easter. Financial support was also weighted towards the choral aims of the college. There were provisions for sixteen choristers (later reduced to eight) who were admitted, as vacancies occurred, and after serving as probationers. The voice and ear trials for positions as probationers were competitive but priority was given to the sons of the clergy. The choral foundation started by Ouseley paid for the education and board of the choristers, and the probationers paid only a nominal fee.¹⁰⁸ In the early 1870s the eight probationers were charged £30 per annum.¹⁰⁹ By 1875, this sum had increased to £40, whilst the full fees were £120. Financial preference was also given to the sons of the clergy who were charged only half fees.¹¹⁰ However, music did not dominate the timetable: there was school work in the morning from 7 to 8 and from 10 to 12 noon, and then in the afternoon and evening from 4.30 to 5.30 and 7.45 to 8.45, with a half holiday on all Saints' days. Neither was there a situation where the choristers and probationers missed out on any part of their education. In addition to attending church for an hour and a half to sing the daily offices, these boys were obliged to spend an hour in vocal training each day, and to attend the

¹⁰⁷ Alderson & Colles 1943, 35. Recollection of M. F. Alderson. *St Michael's Boy* (1878-83).

¹⁰⁸ Bumpus 1903 (17 July) 42.

¹⁰⁹ Alderson & Colles 1943, 44. Reminiscence of C.W. James. *Commoner* (1870-2) who visited Ouseley almost every year until his death (1889).

¹¹⁰ Shaw 1988, 40.

weekly rehearsal for the full choir. After morning class there was an opportunity for those boys taking lessons upon the organ or pianoforte to visit the organist.¹¹¹ The long afternoon would, presumably, have been profitably used for the pursuit of sports to provide the physical element of Ouseley's five-point educational scheme which he deemed necessary if a schoolboy's life was to prepare him adequately for life. The College Magazine was constantly recounting the sporting activities and triumphs of the boys,¹¹² although it should be noted that the Magazine did not start until 1918 so it is not possible to be certain that the situation resembled that of Ouseley's day.

A further method of refuting the idea that St Michael's concerned itself with nothing other than music is to consider what happened to the choristers, and to the boys generally, after they left the school. The boys were well educated, and were taught Greek and Latin, in order that they should be prepared to attend the public schools on leaving St Michael's.¹¹³ Many gained scholarships to such institutions from whence they proceeded to read for degrees at University. Although some of these men went on to fill positions in the Church, as choirmen, organists or clergy, others were found among the ranks of the armed forces among many other departments of life.¹¹⁴

Despite his education, musicianship and priest's orders, Ouseley did not participate in the day to day running of the college.¹¹⁵ The teaching was left

¹¹¹ Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 42.

¹¹² Five volumes of *St Michael's College Magazine*. MS. D/863/A/12. Hereford Cathedral Library.

¹¹³ Alderson & Colles 1943, 44.

¹¹⁴ Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 42. A vague record of boys' future careers has been pencilled into the College's pupils registers. MS. D/863/A/4. Hereford Cathedral Library.

¹¹⁵ Shaw 1988, 44.

to the few masters whom he appointed, and the choir training was left in the hands of John Hampton. However, when not fulfilling obligations elsewhere as Precentor of Hereford Cathedral and Professor of Music at Oxford, he was a prominent figure in the boys' lives. Ouseley, affectionately known as "the Bart",¹¹⁶ by all accounts, held a deep concern for the welfare of his boys. M. F. Alderson recalls the interest which Ouseley showed in them. Even after they had moved on in life he loved to correspond with them;¹¹⁷ those letters which Ouseley wrote to Alderson survive, along with some to his father, in a bound volume.¹¹⁸ It was in one of these letters, that Ouseley wrote of the illness which eventually removed him from this world. "I am suffering, so the doctor tells me, from a tired heart, I hope it is not a bad heart."¹¹⁹ Such a comment, as one would make to a friend, rather than a student, reflects the relationship which Ouseley had with many of the old boys of the college. He was always careful not to patronise those to whom he talked; he had the ability to "know what conversation would best interest" those old boys who returned to visit him and the college.¹²⁰ The boys also benefited from the constant visits paid to Ouseley by eminent musicians, churchmen and composers - "All who had any interest in music or education were welcome under his roof. There, within the peaceful walls of the College, men of all shades of honest opinion were wont to be brought together, and through the kindly influence of their host learned to love each other and to be tolerant of views adverse to their own."¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Joyce 1896, 109.

¹¹⁷ Shaw 1988, 82. Reminiscence of M. F. Alderson.

¹¹⁸ Letter from Ouseley to M. F. Alderson and his father. MS. D/863/A/8. Hereford Cathedral Library.

¹¹⁹ Shaw 1988, 82. Recollection of M. F. Alderson.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, 83. Recollection of M. F. Alderson.

¹²¹ Havergal 1889, 33.

At the outset of St Michael's College, Ouseley's biggest concern was finance. He had already given a great deal during his time at St Barnabas's in support of the choir and also in the form of his gift of an organ for the church, which would have been no small amount. In reference to the organ specifications which were given for St Michael's, Bumpus states that building an organ "on the scale of Ouseley's tastes must have been very expensive work"¹²². It was Ouseley's wealth that supported the boys whilst they were at Lovehill House from 1851 to 1854,¹²³ and when plans were being made for his foundation his biggest concern was that he would lack sufficient funds to carry out his scheme adequately.¹²⁴ Although some funds came in from outside, such as the starting amount of £600 from Harriet Rushout and the west window subscription fund which raised the sum of £272 by subscription,¹²⁵ and despite the fact that, once the church was consecrated, its upkeep became the responsibility of the ecclesiastical authorities, most of the building debts and running costs of the college fell to Ouseley who took out a mortgage on his institution to the sum of £1500.¹²⁶ Once the bills for the building of St Michael's - a total of just over £22000 - were finally dispensed with in 1858,¹²⁷ Ouseley had the forethought to draw up an account of the money which the college needed. In a memorandum headed 'St Michael's College/Its prospects/What it wants' he listed the following:

¹²² Bumpus 1903 (17 July), 42.

¹²³ Shaw 1988, 19.

¹²⁴ Joyce 1896, 75. Letter from Munich, Sep 26, 1851.

¹²⁵ Details of Subscriptions for the Decoration of the West Window. MS. D/863/A/1/xv. Hereford Cathedral Library.

¹²⁶ Shaw 1988, 28.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, 27. The figures are as follows - Church £7047, College £13,713, Misc other costs, £1251. A total of £22,011.

To pay off the mortgage on the College	£1500
To pay the remainder of the Bills incurred in fitting it up	£500
To build a Tower and west cloister	£3000
To endow the Wardenship	£5000
Headmastership	£2500
Six Choristers	£4000
Organist	£1500
Three clerks	£4000
Fabric funds	£1000
Total	£23000

This list represents the debts, and potential expenditures, in the order which Ouseley wished them to be dispensed. In the memorandum he also states that once the mortgage has been cleared the college will be in a state to be handed over to the care of Trustees and endowed. Ouseley names three Trustees - Captain Rushout, J. Wayland Joyce and John Miller - with the instructions that they may add to their number as they see fit.¹²⁸ This memorandum may show some awareness, on Ouseley's behalf, of the need to clarify the financial situation of the college, but he was no businessman and, as Watkins Shaw points out, the list of expenditure omits to make any provision for a choirmaster's stipend or to supplement the reduced fees paid by probationers.¹²⁹ In 1864, the college was given a tiny endowment, by Ouseley, and Trust Deeds and Statutes were drawn up.¹³⁰ However, it still relied on its Founder to provide the funds that were needed. This situation may have been adequate while Ouseley lived, but when he died the college not only lost his annual contributions but suddenly had to find the means to pay a stipend to the new Warden - a salary which Ouseley had never claimed. The Fellows were forced to advertise the vacancy as non-stipendal, and were fortunate in being

¹²⁸ Memorandum in Ouseley's hand - 'St Michael's College - its prospects and what it wants' (1858). MS. D/863/D/1. Hereford Cathedral Library.

¹²⁹ Shaw 1988, 29.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, 29.

able to turn to the then choirmaster - John Hampton - to take on the job.¹³¹ Ouseley's will had left a legacy of £8000 to John Hampton, who had been promised the sum of £7000 in lieu of a choirmaster's salary should the college be unable to pay him during Ouseley's lifetime. The new Warden immediately made a gift to the college of £1000, in addition to this the remainder of Ouseley's estate, once other personal bequests had been dealt with, was designated by the Founder to form a second trust fund for the college.¹³² Hampton finally felt that the college was in a position to pay him the Warden's stipend in 1892 when Miss Georgina Rushout died leaving, after taxes, a total of £18,000 to St Michael's.¹³³

St Michael's College finally closed in 1985, and it has since been speculated whether, if circumstances had been different, the college could have survived to the present day. Obviously the lack of financial provision at the outset of the institution did much to make the perpetuation of its life difficult. Three further points may have affected the longevity of St Michael's. According to Joyce, it was often suggested that had the college been built on a site from which its members would have had easy access to a large commercial and cultural centre, such as London, the benefits, such as increased public awareness, would have changed the history of the foundation.¹³⁴ Secondly, the system for admitting choristers was such that they must first enter the school as commoners, working through the rank of probationer to chorister, assuming they passed the required musical tests. Alderson and Colles seem sure that many boys who would have graced the

¹³¹ *ibid.*, 46.

¹³² *ibid.*, 46-7.

¹³³ *ibid.*, 48.

college with their voices, were sent to other choir schools where the reduction was immediate because their parents would have been unable to meet the commoners' fees in the hope that their child would soon become a probationer.¹³⁵ Finally, it is possible that the college might have acquired a higher reputation by appointing more notable masters. Naturally, Ouseley wished to have the staff of the college involved in its musical aims but it was feared that here he erred by appointing men "not primarily because they were good scholars or could teach well, but because they had good voices for the choir".¹³⁶

The public image of St Michael's was, overall, a good one. The local people were hospitable and interested in the life of the boys there. Alderson writes:

I am sure we must have been at times a sore trial to them. Birds nesting, trampling over hay grass, breaking down hedges, and the temptation which surrounding orchards at harvest time could be to a little boy who was not well fed and was often hungry, proved irresistible. But, as the kindly Herefordshire folk used to say, they got in return for their losses beautiful singing of little angels of which they were truly proud.¹³⁷

By those in the local church, the work of the college, if not all of the practices used in the church, seemed to meet with approval. In the closing words of a sermon preached at the Commemoration Service (3 October) 1895, Bishop Percival of Hereford described St Michael's school as "favoured", telling the boys that "[a]midst such surrounding, and under such influences as prevail

¹³⁴ Joyce 1896, 83.

¹³⁵ Alderson & Colles 1943, 74-5.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, 44. Reminiscence of C.W. James.

¹³⁷ Shaw 1988, 79-80. Recollections of M. F. Alderson.

here, it is easier for you than for most others to grow up, through a happy boyhood, to a strong, and pure, and reverent Christian manhood."¹³⁸

Upon Ouseley's death, his work at St Michael's was greatly praised. An article in the *Musical Times* claimed that the work of St Michael's "cannot be too highly estimated."¹³⁹ Later, the writer states that it would be impossible to enumerate the men who "are now actively engaged in music, in and out of the service of the Church, minor canons, vicars-choral, organists, lay clerks, and others are indebted to him for much kindly aid and encouragement".¹⁴⁰ Ouseley's work for the Church was mentioned in sermons, shortly after his death, by the Bishop of Hereford in his cathedral and by Canon Body, D.D. at St Paul's, Knightsbridge.¹⁴¹ At Christ Church Cathedral, the Regius Professor of Divinity - Canon Ince - observed the humility and dedication which had made Ouseley "anxious only to do real good there [St Michael's], and careless of the fame and reputation which might easily have been his, had he chosen to seek for them."¹⁴² The Rev'd T. Ayscough Smith who preached at St Mary's, Tenbury, a week after Ouseley's death, devoted his sermon to a discussion of his "good service to Church and State",¹⁴³ going on to praise his nobility in dedicating over 35 years to St Michael's and acknowledging the influence of the college in stating that: "To such a life the nation owes a great deal, if only for the example it has given of a noble act nobly done; but who shall say for

¹³⁸ Joyce 1896, 110. Sermon given by Bishop Percival of Hereford on 3 October, 1895, at St Michael's, Tenbury.

¹³⁹ Havergal 1889, 32. Article from *Musical Times*, undated.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 33.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, 48.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, 49.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, 50.



how much the Church is indebted, and may yet owe, to the particular form which his self-devotion took."¹⁴⁴

In conclusion, therefore, it is possible to see many of the beliefs of the founder reflected in the early life of St Michael's, Tenbury, in addition to some of the revivalist trends of the time. Architecturally, the influence of the Gothic revival is apparent in the use of Puginesque elements, such as the windows by John Hardman and the use of Minton's tiles in the church and the college hall, and in the employment of Henry Woodyer to design the institution. Despite the lack of information about the education of the boys, it is reasonable to assume that, in the times set aside for their general education, they were taught according to Ouseley's five-point plan. The number of boys who went on to public schools and universities shows that they cannot have been taught poorly. As far as musical repertory is concerned, it can be seen that the compositions used, because of their similarities to Ouseley's own service settings, must have been in the style which he felt was most suitable for liturgical use.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 51.

CHAPTER 4

The Legacy of St Michael's.

Once the plan for St Michael's had been conceived, in accordance with the statement he made in a letter to James Wayland Joyce, Ouseley never forgot his commitment until the day he died. There seems little doubt that the choral and scholastic traditions of the Church and College of St Michael and All Angels, Tenbury Wells, fulfilled Ouseley's initial intentions and reflected both his ideals and, to a more limited extent, those of society and the church in the Victorian age. The question which remains to be asked is one of the extent to which Ouseley's work had an influence outside of the walls of the college, and after his death.

Ouseley's purpose in founding the college was to form "a model, both in musical standards and in the standards of boarding and education of choristers."¹ However, while the college was intended to be a ground wherein Ouseley could propagate his ideals, the initial reason behind its creation was that he felt it to be the best way in which he could offer his talents to God (q.v.). This evaluation will consider whether Ouseley intended his life-work to be preserved after his death and how possible this was. It is first necessary to

¹ *The Musical Times*, CXXVI (1985), 452. Letter from Christopher Chivers to the Editor.

consider how St Michael's was regarded by the world at large, and how well Ouseley's intentions were fulfilled.

Ouseley was highly regarded in the musical world and in the church. He was always welcoming to visitors at St Michael's and many of his influential friends stayed with him there. During his life there was, therefore, a stream of eminent musicians and churchmen in attendance at the college, where the boys may, or may not, have had the chance of meeting and learning from them. Others in these fields would have been aware of the existence of Ouseley's college, but how much was actually known about the institution, and how was it regarded by society in general?

In an article on 'Music in Public Worship' printed in 1893 by *The Musical Times*, Ouseley's practice of having no music other than hymns at his Sunday morning services - the remainder of the service being performed on a monotone - whilst fully choral services were held in the afternoon and evening, is cited as an example of one of the possible compromises between the cathedral and parochial styles of service.² However, the words of the author of Ouseley's obituary for *The Musical Times* about St Michael's itself seem to suggest that many people knew of little more than the existence of the college and, in light of its association with Ouseley, assumed it to be a school for music:

The work carried on at St Michael's cannot be too highly estimated. The College is not, as is often erroneously stated, one devoted solely to the purposes of music. The boys are trained for the Universities and other public careers, and there is a foundation for the maintenance of a daily choral service of the highest Cathedral pattern, so that, in the

² *The Musical Times*, XXXIV (1893), 73.

course of training, music is a prominent but not an indispensable feature.³

Part of the miscomprehension may have been due to the lack of publicity which the college received. Lengthy articles about the college can be found in only two journals - *The Architect and Contract Reporter* printed a four-part account by J. S. Bumpus,⁴ and *The Musical Times* included an article entitled 'A Visit to Tenbury' in one issue.⁵ However, neither of these accounts appeared until the early twentieth century and both are relatively superficial. *The Musical Times* mentioned both the half-centenary and centenary events at St Michael's in passing.⁶ Whilst the former referred to St Michael's as "a living monument to his [Ouseley's] memory and munificence", the remainder of the information concerned little more than the musical programmes for the celebrations.

In 1985, a letter was printed with reference to the closure of the college but no other mention is made. The letter has nothing but high praise for Ouseley, who is described as "a Victorian aristocrat and entrepreneur of distinction", and his institution which "has had a lasting influence on other institutions of its kind", going so far as to suggest that "without Tenbury and people like Stainer, who took their place within Ouseley's vision, there would be little choral tradition to be grateful for."⁷ It must however be remembered that this letter was sent from Tenbury; consequently its positive character must

³ *The Musical Times*, XXX (1889), 283. Obituary of Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley.

⁴ Bumpus, J. S.; 'St Michael's College, Tenbury' *The Architect and Contract Reporter* 3, 10, 17 & 24 July, 1903.

⁵ *The Musical Times*, XLI (1900), 713-8. Article entitled 'A Visit to Tenbury.'

⁶ *ibid.*, XLVII (1906), 818 & XCVII (1956), 534.

⁷ *ibid.*, CXXVI (1985), 452. Letter from Christopher Chivers to the Editor.

be considered as tinted with the local affection felt for St Michael's. Further attention was paid to St Michael's with the publication of Shaw's *Sir Frederick Ouseley and St Michael's, Tenbury* in 1988. One review made the claim that "[t]here has always been a certain respect for and envy of those who were fortunate enough to come within its influence, to share in the work started by its extraordinary and zealous founder and to glean from the harvest of his generous sowing."⁸ On the other hand, the review by William Gatens, while not undermining the quality of the contribution made by Ouseley, criticises Shaw's attempt to make excuses for Ouseley's choice of choral repertory. Gatens explains how there is "a curious barrier for the twentieth-century mind in understanding Ouseley's intentions and attitudes regarding the ideal of the choral service". He goes on to make the following observation:

Dr. Shaw, perhaps unintentionally, makes the revealing comment: 'One recognises of course that there was simply not enough interesting music to provide services for more than 500 occasions a year' (p. 57). Surely, to a musician of Ouseley's devout temperament, it would have seemed sacrilegious even to hint that church music ought to be interesting in a sense fully commensurate with secular music, almost as sacrilegious as the idea that the purpose of the choral service is to entertain the choir and congregation.⁹

That the founder's ideal of an all-male surpliced choir performing choral services twice daily was realised at St Michael's, and that the music chosen conformed to the style which Ouseley felt was most fitting to liturgical use, is not in doubt. However, Gatens's observation that Ouseley would not

⁸ *The Musical Times*, CXXX (1989), 374. Book review by Gordon Reynolds.

⁹ Gatens, William J.; Book Review in *Music and Letters* LXX (3) (1989), 427.

have regarded aesthetic value as essential to sacred music is only true of Ouseley as a churchman. As a musician, Ouseley made his statement to the Church Congress that "we should...choose the best music we can find, and press it into the service of the sanctuary...accommodating the music of the church to the requirements of our own times, and the musical knowledge and taste of the people of this century".¹⁰ It is here that a discrepancy is found between Ouseley's theory behind St Michael's and what was actually practised, and it is this failing which Shaw attempts to explain.

The second purpose of St Michael's was the provision of a good education to prepare boys for the public schools and universities and so that they might make worthy contributions in later life, and there is no evidence to suggest any failing in this part of Ouseley's scheme. Many of the boys and men who had been connected with St Michael's, either as choristers or as organists, went on to do valuable work for sacred, secular and academic music. One example of this was George Robertson Sinclair. Sinclair was educated at St Michael's as a chorister from 1873-8 and was later made a Fellow in 1902 by Warden John Hampton.¹¹ Upon leaving the college, where he had not only sung but had also deputised at the organ on occasions and had gained valuable experience from Ouseley himself,¹² he went on to hold organist's posts at Gloucester, Truro, and Hereford Cathedrals and, in this last post, was

¹⁰ Ouseley, F. A. G.; 'Church Music' *Report of the Church Congress held in Manchester*, 1863, 171.

¹¹ Shaw, Watkins; *Sir Frederick Ouseley and St Michael's, Tenbury* (University of Birmingham, 1988), 119.

¹² *The Musical Times*, XLVII (1906), 168. Article on Hereford Cathedral.

heavily involved with the Three Choirs Festival at the turn of the century.¹³ The post at the new cathedral at Truro was offered to Sinclair as a result of a recommendation from Ouseley to Bishop Benson.¹⁴ Once at Truro, he did not remain in Ouseley's shadow for long. A. B. Donaldson describe how Sinclair "attracted Dr. Benson by his ardent love for his art and his untiring energy."¹⁵ In this post, Sinclair was responsible for establishing a choral tradition worthy of a cathedral, using as his basic material a parochial choir, inherited from the church of St Mary. Sinclair persevered in leading and developing them until "he succeeded in making them fit to render the best cathedral music", earning himself a reputation as a man who "knew how to make the best of existing material; and with undaunted courage and consuming enthusiasm, to attempt and to succeed in noble ambitions."¹⁶ It is more than likely that his experience of the choral services at St Michael's prepared him for his work in founding the choral tradition at Truro and taking it to the height which it soon achieved. In addition, E. W. Atkins account of how the unmarried Sinclair regarded the generations of cathedral choristers he trained as his family, how when in their company he "always remained a boy in spirit", and how he had guests to stay with him bears more than a passing resemblance to the life of Ouseley.¹⁷

Sinclair's high opinion of Ouseley and his work comes through in the two chapters which he contributed to Joyce's biography. These concentrate

¹³ Shaw, Watkins; *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 143.

¹⁴ *The Musical Times*, XLVII (1906), 169. Article on Hereford Cathedral.

¹⁵ Donaldson, A. B.; *The Bishopric of Truro: The First Twenty-Five years, 1877-1902* (London: Rivington, 1902), 284.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 284.

¹⁷ Atkins, E. Wulstan; 'George Robertson Sinclair: A Festival Centenary and his influence on the Three Choirs (1891-1912) *Three Choirs Festival Programme* (1991), 28-29.

mainly on Ouseley as a composer, but his generally positive comments are not allowed to pass without an acknowledgement that the imaginative side of Ouseley's writing left much to be desired.¹⁸ However, Sinclair is careful to point out the value of Ouseley's offerings to English music, and was keen that these be considered with an awareness of the situation at the outset of St Michael's in the 1850's, stating that "[t]he very success of his labours tends to obscure them; for the more earnest and the more devotional the Church music of to-day is, the more difficult it becomes to understand the barrenness and poverty which marked it only half a century ago."¹⁹ It would seem, therefore, that Sinclair, at least, thought that Ouseley's work had a great bearing upon the situation in the Church despite the remoteness of St Michael's. In 1889, Sinclair succeeded Langdon Colborne, another former organist of St Michael's,²⁰ as organist of Hereford Cathedral - an appointment which he kept for the rest of his life.²¹ During his time in Hereford Sinclair raised the sum of £2300 in order to have the cathedral organ rebuilt; he was also among a number of men who wished to have a window inserted to the memory of Ouseley.²² The memorial window is found in the south side of the nave, directly in one's line of vision upon entering the cathedral by the north door. It was moved to this location after being remodelled and completed; unfortunately there is no exact record

¹⁸Joyce, *The Life of Sir Frederick A. G. Ouseley* (London: Methuen, 1896), 238. Chapter contributed by G. R. Sinclair.

¹⁹*ibid.*, 235.

²⁰Shaw 1991, 142-3. Langdon Colborne was organist at St Michael's from 1860-74. He took up his post at Hereford in 1877.

²¹Shaw 1991, 143.

²²Barrett, Philip; *Barchester: English Cathedral Life in the Nineteenth Century* (London: S.P.C.K., 1993), 183.

of when this happened or, indeed, of the original date and site of insertion.²³ This window has four lights which, above an inscription reading "Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, Born 12th August, 1825; died 6th April, 1889.", depicts King David with his harp, Asaph with his trumpet, Miriam with her timbrel, and Deborah singing from a scroll which reads "I will sing praises to the Lord God of Israel."²⁴

Throughout his life Sinclair's income came from the Church, yet he never confined his musical activities to the sacred. Whilst at Truro, he spent much time travelling around Cornwall giving encouragement to choral societies and choirs.²⁵ In addition, he was involved with the Diocesan Choral Society, conducted the Philharmonic Society, and taught music at the training college within the diocese.²⁶ The same was true of his time at Hereford. He rapidly became the centre of the musical and social worlds of Hereford as well as holding the post of conductor of the Birmingham Festival Chorus from 1899 to his death.²⁷ However, his best remembered efforts were those he made with regard to the Three Choirs Festival. His first involvement with this was at the Worcester Festival in 1890, and he became the Senior Conductor for the first time when the Festival came to Hereford the following year.²⁸ Along with

²³ The existence, but not the location, of the window is mentioned in an article on Hereford Cathedral in *The Musical Times*, LXVII (1906), 158.

²⁴ Unidentified cutting, inserted on page 232 of a grangerised copy of Joyce, F. W.; *The Life of Sir Frederick A. G. Ouseley* (London: Methuen, 1896). D/863/C/6. Hereford Cathedral Library.

²⁵ Atkins 1991, 27.

²⁶ Donaldson 1902, 279 & 284-5.

²⁷ Fuller Maitland, J. A.; 'George Robertson Sinclair' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* XVII Edited by Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), 334.

²⁸ Atkins 1991, 28.

Ivor Atkins and A. Herbert Brewer, his contemporaries at Worcester and Gloucester respectively, Sinclair was determined to improve the Festival and earn for it a national reputation.²⁹ At Sinclair's first Festival, following the usual pattern, the choirs of Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester were supplemented by singers from Leeds and Oxford. Sinclair and his contemporaries worked to build up the three local choirs and eventually, by 1900, they were of such strength that no additional singers were required.³⁰ Of the works which Sinclair introduced for use in Truro, *The Hymn of Praise* and *The Last Judgement* were already stock works for the Festival and, in his first year, Stainer's *St Mary Magdalene* appeared on the programme along with works by Beethoven, Lloyd, Mackenzie, Mozart, Parry, Sullivan and Wagner.³¹ Wagner's music soon became a familiar sound to Festival audiences;³² he was but one of the composers whose works were added to the Festival repertory as a result of the "fresh vitality" brought to bear by Sinclair.³³ Extracts from his opera, *Parsifal*, became a trademark of the Three Choirs in Hereford under Sinclair, its use being omitted on only one occasion (1906) from 1891.³⁴ Elgar was a close friend of Sinclair and, in the eleventh of his *Enigma Variations*, immortalised the image of Sinclair's bulldog, Dan, "rushing down the steep bank into the Wye after Sinclair had thrown a stick into the river, his rescuing it

²⁹Shaw, Watkins; *The Three Choirs Festival: The Official History of the Meetings of the Three Choirs of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester, c.1713-1953* (London & Worcester, Ebenezer Baylis & Sons, 1954), 85.

³⁰ Atkins 1991, 28-9.

³¹Shaw 1954, 61.

³²*ibid.*, 90.

³³Shaw, Watkins; *The Organists and Organs of Hereford Cathedral* (Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1976), 24.

³⁴Shaw 1954, 90.

and his return to land."³⁵ Many of Elgar's works were introduced into the Festival repertory by Sinclair, taking the lion's share of the programmes for 1906 and 1909.³⁶ Sinclair's last Festival was in 1912, as he had died by the time the event was restarted in 1920 after the First World War.³⁷

Sinclair is a clear example of a chorister of St Michael's who went on to play a prominent rôle in the musical world; however, those who went on to be professional musicians were in a minority. An article in *The Musical Times* gives the following illustration of how

in most instances they ultimately proceed to the Universities and distinguish themselves in other professions. Of former pupils, two hold Fellowships at the present time at Oxford, another obtained a scholarship at Clifton, and afterwards at Trinity College, Oxford, took a first class in 'Mods' and now holds a valuable college living. Two served as Cathedral organists abroad (at Hong Kong and Dunedin), and one (Dr. G. R. Sinclair) is the present organist of Hereford Cathedral. About twenty are or have been minor canons in English Cathedrals; and the revered Bishop Corfe, of Korea, was one of those who came to Tenbury from Langley at the commencement.³⁸

In response to this article Arthur Havergal, Commander R. N., wrote to remind *The Musical Times* of the number of old boys who went on to serve their country in the armed forces: "if my memory serves me well, four of my schoolfellows entered the Navy and Marines and one the Army - doubtless many more have done so since my time. I myself passed straight into the service from the College without any intermediate cramming."³⁹

³⁵ Atkins 1991, 29.

³⁶ William, C. Lee & Chance, H. Godwin; *Annals of the Three Choirs of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester: Continuation of History of Progress from 1906-1922* [actually 1895-1922] (Chance & Bland Ltd, Gloucester, 1922), 39-41 & 45-7.

³⁷ Atkins 1991, 31.

³⁸ *The Musical Times*, XLI (1900), 716. Article entitled 'A Visit to Tenbury'

³⁹ *ibid.*, XLI (1900), 829.

The remoteness of the location finally chosen for St Michael's ensured that the influence which the college could exert upon society was limited from the outset. However, as one would expect of a man of Ouseley's devout temperament, the favourable attentions of men were of only a secondary importance to him. This is apparent from the fact that he was not concerned about the absence of a substantial congregation at his choral services despite the fact that:

In these utilitarian days it would seem to many a great waste of resources that splendid musical services should regularly take place on week-days in a church, with no congregation to participate in them or enjoy them. But Ouseley never viewed it in this light. The services, he said, were for the glory of God, and the offering would be none the less acceptable to Him because it came from an out-of-the-way spot in a remote country district.⁴⁰

When considered in conjunction with Ouseley's statement that his desire was to provide an exemplary education for choristers in order to increase the number of choirmen "who shall know how to be reverent and devout in Church; singing...to promote the solemnity and impressiveness of the Choral Service",⁴¹ this strongly suggests that Ouseley's intended outlet of influence was to be through the boys who were educated in the college and the contributions they made to their chosen professions. Publicity was not important and neither was the acquisition of a large number of pupils. Although provision was made for the accommodation of commoners, Ouseley did not intend St Michael's to be popular.⁴²

⁴⁰Stainer, John; 'The Character and Influence of the later Sir Frederick Ouseley' *Proceedings of the Musical Association* XVI (1889-90), 34.

⁴¹Joyce 1896, 77. Letter from Ouseley (Berlin, Oct 28, 1851).

⁴²*The Musical Times*, XXXVII (1896), 443.

Financial provisions for parish churches were made by the authorities of the Church, and had St Michael's been built as a collegiate church the entire foundation would have been supported.⁴³ However, the only formal link ever established between the church and college was the stipulation that the Warden of the college, assuming he was suitably qualified, should also be offered the living of St Michael's Church. When Ouseley's plan for a college first commenced, early in 1851, he was only 25 years old and at the consecration of the church five years later he was still a young man. No doubt he foresaw his contributions to the college lasting for many years to come, as indeed they did, and it was not until 1858, when Ouseley produced his memorandum concerning the financial wants of his institution, that any sign of concern for the financial state of the college was shown. Even so, the nature of this memorandum appears to have been purely personal.⁴⁴ In 1864, a small endowment trust was founded, and Statutes were formed to enshrine the structure of the college as Ouseley conceived it.⁴⁵ It would seem that these were the first steps taken by Ouseley to provide for St Michael's after his death and that Ouseley's final intention was that the work he began at St Michael's should be continued. Having established this, it is now necessary to contemplate whether or not the perpetuation of his ideals was a realistic possibility.

Two-thirds of Ouseley's threefold duties from the mid-1850s - the rôles of Oxford Professor of Music and Precentor of Hereford Cathedral - took up

⁴³ Shaw 1988, 31.

⁴⁴ 'St Michael's College - its prospects and what it wants' MS. D/863/D/1 Hereford Cathedral Library. The contents of the memorandum are reproduced in Chapter 3, 103.

⁴⁵ Shaw 1988, 31.

little of his time; the majority of his energies were left free to be channelled into St Michael's. The college was his life-work and, as such, could almost be regarded as a manifestation of his ideology; was it therefore too much to expect that any other man could share his enthusiasm sufficiently to preserve the institution? Ouseley was assisted, from the start, by the men with whom he had been associated at St Barnabas's, most notably his fellow curates - Henry Fyffe and G. F. de Gex - and John Hampton. Also at the outset, Ouseley appointed eight non-resident (Honorary) Fellows - James Wayland Joyce, Hubert McLaughlin, Henry Fyffe, John Rich, John Jebb, Edward John Ottley, Alfred Trevor Crispin and Edwin George Monk - the majority of whom were among his personal friends. The two exceptions are Hubert MacLaughlin, who, like Joyce, was the Rector of part of the Burford Estate, and John Jebb, whose involvement with the choral revival (discussed earlier) made him an invaluable ally to Ouseley's scheme.⁴⁶ Along with the Resident Fellows (the Headmaster and Choirmaster), these men were entrusted with the duty of appointing the Warden of the college. It is likely that they were expected to participate in the commemoration events each Michaelmas; however, it is unclear whether there were any other formal duties which these non-resident Fellows, whose number was not permitted to exceed 24, were required to perform. Shaw states that Ouseley "certainly did not use them in any advisory capacity, and there is no sign that such influence as they possessed was harnessed in the interests of the College."⁴⁷ He clearly had such a distinctive idea of his aim at St Michael's, that he would perhaps not have needed the

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 115.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 35-6.

advice of such men. The appointments may have begun as a way of complimenting those friends who had supported him through the five years at Lovehill House.⁴⁸ It may also have been his intention that those Fellows who outlived him would be able to assist his successor in the continuation of his work.

Of course, the survival of St Michael's was not entirely at the mercy of Ouseley's intentions. After his death, a group of eminent musicians formed a Committee "with the view of placing St Michael's College ... on a permanent basis."⁴⁹ The endowment fund which Ouseley had established was insufficient to support all the needs of the college; for the purpose of supplementing this income the Committee, whose membership included Barnby, Mackenzie, Grove, Parry, Stainer and Sullivan, created a Memorial Fund.⁵⁰ On the Feast of St Michael, many clergy had an offertory in aid of the Ouseley Memorial Fund, and at Truro G. R. Sinclair gave an organ recital to the same end. The response was such that by October - only two months later - the sum of £2000 had already been raised.⁵¹

To return to the question of whether it was possible that a successor could be found who would continue to run St Michael's with the same devotion shown by its founder, the Fellows found the previous Choirmaster, John Hampton, to be such a man. To find evidence of his great commitment to the college, one need look no further than the following words printed in *The Musical Times* - "It is no secret that Mr Hampton received from time to time

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁹ *The Musical Times*, XXX (1889), 426.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, XXX (1889), 488.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, XXX (1889), 615.

many tempting offers of promotion in the church, all of which he refused out of sheer loyalty and attachment to his friend Ouseley, the first Warden."⁵² However, this determination to continue exactly as his predecessor would have wished may have had a detrimental effect upon the college in deterring any thoughts of adapting the practices of the institution to keep up with the times. The financial concerns with which Hampton had to contend (q.v.) may also have proved to be a hindrance which limited the amount of attention he could devote to maintaining the general aim of the college.

To a certain extent it was inevitable that Ouseley's conservative ideals would become extinct, regardless of Hampton's resolve to stay true to what his predecessor had begun. Even if he had chosen to modernise the practices of St Michael's in order to survive, the essence of Ouseley's institution would have been lost. In preserving an institution which was old-fashioned at the outset, events outside the college overtook those within and St Michael's ended up following, rather than leading, the field - if indeed it could ever have been said to play a leading rôle. St Michael's was an innovation, in the sense that it was the first establishment of its kind since the Reformation - a fact of which Ouseley was apparently unaware until informed by Canon John Rich, who erroneously referred to St Michael's as a collegiate church.⁵³ Whilst there is no doubt that the links formed between the church and college created an institution which could be described as "a sort of cross between a monastery and a music school" and was something new,⁵⁴ the image of an innovative

⁵² *ibid.*, XLI (1900), 716.

⁵³ Joyce 1896, 84.

⁵⁴ *The Musical Times*, XXXVII (1896), 443. Article written on Ouseley in response to the publication of the biography by J. W. Joyce.

establishment tends to suggest a progressive nature. It has already been illustrated, with regard to the musical repertory, that such a progressive nature was lacking at St Michael's; Ouseley's foundation, being representative of an earlier Victorian ideal, could quite legitimately be regarded as 'behind the times' as early in its life as 1857.

Whilst it seems that attendance at St Michael's had a beneficial effect upon many of its old boys (even if the influence of Ouseley's foundation was not widespread elsewhere), the question of whether this influence came from the college or from Ouseley himself still remains to be answered. The best way of discussing this issue is by considering the effect which Ouseley and St Michael's had upon the future life of John Stainer, organist of the college from 1857-9, and his connection with St Michael's was reinforced when he was later appointed as Fellow by Warden Hampton in 1894.⁵⁵

Like Sinclair, Stainer was at St Michael's early in his life and while its founder was still alive. Both men went on to work as cathedral organists and to improve the choral foundations for which they were responsible, and the idea that Ouseley and St Michael's played no part at all in forming the lives of these two great men would seem to be an unlikely possibility. The bearing which Sinclair's time at St Michael's had upon his contribution at Truro and Hereford cathedrals has been discussed previously. Given that Stainer went on to make a large contribution to music in the church, and then to academic music, it is interesting to consider his life in relation to the possible influences exerted by Ouseley and St Michael's.

⁵⁵ Shaw 1988, 118.

Sir John Stainer's (1840-1901) first encounter with Ouseley was when he was a chorister at St Paul's Cathedral, an office which he had held since 1848. He recalled how the newly appointed Oxford Professor, who had arrived to examine the boys, offered "a few words of good advice and much kindly encouragement" after hearing him play a Prelude and Fugue from the "Forty-Eight".⁵⁶ The next occasion upon which the two met was a turning point in Stainer's life, and is so described by the man himself. Stainer, then aged 16, was playing at Evensong in the absence of both John Goss and George Cooper; Ouseley watched Stainer in the loft for most of this service and that evening sent a letter offering him the post of organist at St Michael's, a post which he took up in 1857.⁵⁷ From this point onwards Ouseley's and Stainer's lives were to cross on numerous occasions. Whilst at St Paul's, Stainer began his formal music education; this instruction was provided by the generous purse of Miss Maria Hackett and took the form of organ lessons with George Cooper, the then sub-organist.⁵⁸ At St Michael's, Stainer's musical education was continued, although not in a formal sense, by Ouseley himself. By playing through the numerous music manuscripts in the splendid library belonging to the founder of St Michael's, he gained his chance of studying vocal writers from, he estimates, 1550-1700 and, no doubt, also acquired valuable score-reading skills as many of these manuscripts employed not only the alto and tenor but also the mezzo-soprano and baritone clefs.⁵⁹ Towards the end of

⁵⁶Stainer 1889-90, 33.

⁵⁷ibid., 34.

⁵⁸Sinclair, William MacDonald; *Memorials of St Paul's Cathedral* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1909), 411.

⁵⁹Stainer 1889-90, 34.

Stainer's time at Tenbury it was Ouseley who encouraged him to put himself forward for the post of organist at Magdalen College, Oxford, a job which he took up early in 1860.⁶⁰ In 1861, having received his B.Mus. the previous year, Stainer matriculated for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and, after three years residence at St Edmund Hall, he received his B.A. in 1864.⁶¹ Stainer was like his mentor in acquiring an arts degree in addition to his musical qualifications.⁶²

Stainer's first steps in choir reform were taken in Oxford. Although little information survives describing the choir, repertory or standard of music at Magdalen College whilst Stainer was there, it is known that he was responsible for instituting a practice for the full choir.⁶³ However, Stainer is most noted for the improvements he made at St Paul's Cathedral. His appointment as organist to this cathedral was made in 1872, and a correspondent to *The Musical Standard* in that same year, who described Stainer as "a member of the university and a protégé of the Reverend Baronet", suggested that Ouseley may have had some influence upon the decision of the Chapter.⁶⁴ The extent to which this was true is uncertain, but as Stainer had been previously known by both George Cooper and John Goss it is unlikely that he would have needed further recommendation. In addition, there was a general air of reform in the Cathedral at that time. The first moves for improvement had been made

⁶⁰Gatens, William J; *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 71.

⁶¹Charlton, Peter; *John Stainer and the Musical Life of Victorian Britain* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1984), 25.

⁶²Gatens 1986, 172.

⁶³Charlton 1984, 23.

⁶⁴*ibid.*, 51 - *The Musical Standard* 20 January, 1872.

by Canon Robert Gregory. Canon Gregory had joined the clergy of St Paul's in 1868 and "resolutely undertook a personal campaign against neglect in the cathedral."⁶⁵ H. P. Liddon and J. B. Lightfoot joined the Chapter in 1869 and 1870 respectively; finally, Dean Church, who "threw all his ardour into the revival of the full devotional use of the cathedral", was appointed in 1871.⁶⁶ Dean Church was in the rare position of leading a Chapter which was of one mind regarding the future of the Cathedral and could act unanimously.⁶⁷ Before the arrival of these men the work of the cathedral was poor and much was "mean and slovenly to the last degree."⁶⁸ Together they worked to use the whole cathedral, as opposed to the quire alone, for the worship of God and to restore a feeling of "living warmth" fitting for a "house of prayer and praise".⁶⁹ Liddon and Stainer had become friends during their time at St Edmund Hall in Oxford and he would certainly have added weight to Stainer's application.⁷⁰ Perhaps the Chapter was looking for an organist to reform the choir which, during Goss's last years, had reached "a pitch of slovenliness hardly to be found elsewhere in England",⁷¹ and Liddon believed Stainer to be capable of such a task.

In his *Memorials of St Paul's Cathedral*, William MacDonald Sinclair states his opinion that "it is impossible to exaggerate the debt of St Paul's" to John

⁶⁵Rainbow, Bernarr; *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church, 1839-1872* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), 288.

⁶⁶Scott-Holland, H.; 'Liddon, Henry Parry' *Dictionary of National Biography XXXIII* Edited by Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1893), 225.

⁶⁷ Church, Mary C. (editor); *The Life and Letters of Dean Church* (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd., 1897), 262.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 253.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 254.

⁷⁰Charlton 1984, 51.

⁷¹Bumpus, J. S.; *Organists and Composers of St Paul's Cathedral* (London: Bowden, Hudson & Co., 1891), 173.

Stainer.⁷² During the sixteen years (1872-1888) for which Stainer served as organist of that Cathedral he transformed its choral traditions. His reforms included the drawing up of a set of rules, the raising of salaries, a heightened requirement for attendance - eight, rather than seven, services each week - fines being imposed for tardiness and absence.⁷³ Stainer was also responsible for re-introducing choral Communion services at the cathedral;⁷⁴ attendance was compulsory at these celebrations, as it was for the newly established full choir rehearsal each week. A regular rehearsal of the full choir seems to have been of utmost importance in Stainer's mind; it has already been noted that such a rehearsal was instigated at Magdalen, and this was the first change that he made at St Paul's.⁷⁵ It seems that until this point the men had been used to simply arriving for the service and sight-singing if necessary, presuming themselves too professional to be in need of any rehearsal.⁷⁶ The number of men in the choir was increased to 18 and the number of boys to 20; each man was given two days off every week, a system which ensured the presence of 12 men at every service.⁷⁷ This enlarged force gave the cathedral a choir which reflected the Victorian ideal of ten men and twice as many boys robed in surplices.⁷⁸ The need for a greater number of men did not in any way result in the lowering of standards in order to fill a quota. However, it was not only

⁷²Sinclair 1909, 411.

⁷³Frost, William Alfred; *Early Recollections of St Paul's Cathedral: A Piece of Autobiography* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent Co. Ltd., 1926), 36-7.

⁷⁴Long, Kenneth; *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974), 325.

⁷⁵Rainbow 1970, 289.

⁷⁶Charlton 1984, 56.

⁷⁷Frost 1926, 36 & 38.

⁷⁸Temperley, Nicholas; *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 337.

the production of excellent performance standards which concerned Stainer. Before any man could be appointed to the choir he was required to produce references testifying not only to his musical ability but also to his good character and to his being a regular communicant.⁷⁹ Such qualities in choirmen were the intended products of Ouseley's five-point education plan for choristers (q.v.), and, like Ouseley, Stainer saw the importance of the provision of good education for the increased number of choristers. A new residential choir-school was opened on 26 January 1875 and, in Charlton's words, Stainer "was instrumental in making this choir school a model for all other cathedral choir schools in the country."⁸⁰ It provided free education and board for the cathedral's forty choristers. Sadly, Miss Maria Hackett died before she could see the completion of the school for which she had spent most of her life, since 1811, campaigning.⁸¹ Each day, in addition to lessons, the boys were required to attend a musical practice for an hour and a half. This was an opportunity for them not only to learn the music which was to be sung at the cathedral services but also to receive instruction in general musicianship, harmony and counterpoint.⁸²

In 1874, both Ouseley and Stainer were involved in the foundation of the Musical Association.⁸³ Although Ouseley was elected to be the first President, it was Stainer who had set the ball rolling. Seven years earlier, when Stainer had just been appointed a University Examiner in Music at

⁷⁹Frost 1926, 36-7.

⁸⁰Charlton 1984, 63.

⁸¹Charlton 1984, 62-3.

⁸²*The Guardian*, XXXIV (1). (2 April 1884), 508.

⁸³Temperley, Nicholas; 'Sir John Stainer' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* XVIII. Edited by Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), 58.

Oxford, one of the candidates presenting for the degree of D.Mus. was William Pole and Stainer used this opportunity to discuss the instigation of "a learned society for musicians."⁸⁴ In April 1874, as a result of the discussions between Stainer and Pole and of Stainer's canvassing efforts, a letter was sent by William Spottiswoode to leading musicians,⁸⁵ in which the recipients were invited to meet and discuss the foundation of society that

might comprise among its members the foremost Musicians, theoretical as well as practical, of the day; the principal Patrons of Art; and also those Scientific men whose researches have been directed to the science of Acoustics and to kindred inquiries. Its periodical meetings might be devoted partly to the reading of Papers upon the history, the principles, and the criticism of Music; partly to the illustration of such Papers by actual performance; and partly to the exhibition and discussion of experiments relating to theory and construction of musical instruments, or to the principles and combination of musical sounds.⁸⁶

That Stainer felt a great affection for Ouseley is clear from the paper that the former delivered to the Musical Association shortly after Ouseley's death on 'The Character and Influence of the Late Sir Frederick Ouseley'. Stainer's high esteem for Ouseley is apparent from the words chosen to describe the dedication and constancy with which he pursued his goal at St Michael's:

the simplicity of his mind, the purity of his motives, the calm persistence with which he aimed at his object, and his immense self-sacrifice in securing it, seem to point more to the chivalrous knight of a bygone age than to the modern worldly artist, who rapidly faces about this way or that way, but who, somehow or other, is always found treading the path which leads to the best market for his wares.

⁸⁴ *The Musical Times*, XLII (May 1901), 303-4. Obituary of Sir John Stainer.

⁸⁵ King, Alec Hyatt; 'Royal Musical Association' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* XVI. Edited by Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), 282.

⁸⁶ Letter from William Spottiswoode, April 1874. Reproduced at opening of *Proceedings of the Musical Association* I (1874-5).

Ouseley was not of this type, he never thought of self except as something to be suppressed in order to realise the cause he had at heart.⁸⁷

Stainer's respect for Ouseley was not blind; there were times when Stainer did not agree with steps taken by Ouseley, and the conclusion of his paper shows that he was aware of his mentor's shortcomings - "As a man, his life was irreproachable, his example noble; in the sphere of historical knowledge of his art probably no contemporary surpassed him; but as a composer it is impossible not to feel that he ought to have secured a higher position than he did."⁸⁸ Stainer felt that Ouseley's decision to publish a collection of his own Services in 1853 was "premature and ill-advised", giving the impression that he was nothing but a "young amateur" and causing discomfort among musicians when he was appointed as Professor of Music only two years later.⁸⁹

As one would expect of any two men of strong character, their opinions often diverged; Stainer's choice of music for use in St Paul's is but one example of this. Stainer believed that the most frequent fault of church musicians was "a tendency to run into one groove, to become adherents and admirers of only one style or school of music" in a world where the individuals within the church had differing tastes in music.⁹⁰ It was his opinion that works should be chosen from all periods - the old side by side with the new.⁹¹ He

⁸⁷ Stainer 1889-90, 25.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 36-7.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 33.

⁹⁰ Stainer, John, 'Church Music' *The Report of the Church Congress at Leeds* (1872), 334-5.

⁹¹ Stainer, John, 'On the Progressive Character of Church Music' *The Report of the Church Congress at Brighton* (1874), 531.

criticised Crotch's theory that the development of church music had reached a peak of perfection at some point in the past and its decline was lamentable, claiming that this attitude would "paralyse the efforts of an artist", for "[w]hat can be more depressing than to see no future for your much-loved art".⁹² Stainer saw the constant introduction of new music as the best way to encourage composers to write for the church.⁹³ Consequently, much new music was introduced at St Paul's while Stainer was there. For instance, when the Chapter decided that the Benedictus was to be used more frequently at Matins, Stainer composed a new setting in A which could be used with the Te Deum by Mendelssohn or that by Croft, and new services were also contributed by Garrett, Smart, Barnby, Calkin, Tours, Turle and Goss.⁹⁴ Stainer's willingness to perform works by new composers is illustrated by the recollections of Frost, a member of the choir, concerning the use of his Services in F (morning) and in B flat (evening) in the cathedral.⁹⁵ The result of this willingness to use new music, and Stainer's opinions about the importance of variety when using music from the past, was a broadening of the musical repertory of the cathedral during his time there.

Despite the respect that Stainer had for Ouseley, he did not hold back from openly disagreeing with him. When Stainer expressed the above opinions on church music at the annual meeting of the Church Congress in 1872, they almost directly contradicted remarks which his friend had made only moments before when he had recommended (in the language of Dr

⁹²*ibid.*, 536.

⁹³Stainer 1872, 335.

⁹⁴Frost 1926, 52-3.

⁹⁵*ibid.*, 78-9.

Crotch) "that the *ornamental* style be almost eschewed, that the *beautiful* be appropriately used in its place, but that the *sublime* style be ever predominant."⁹⁶ These two papers illustrated the contrast between Ouseley's relatively narrow view of the musical style which was suitable for use in the service of the Church and the more liberal views held by Stainer. Both men would have agreed with the opinion that the music chosen for use in the Church should be of a high standard - although we have already seen that Ouseley did not always succeed with this in practice - but Stainer extended this statement by suggesting that the standard of music in the Church should be "as high or higher than that of secular music, and so extend the influence of the Church, as against that of the world"; in other words, that sacred music should compete with the secular.⁹⁷

In 1889, the post of Oxford Professor of Music fell vacant when Ouseley died. Stainer applied for the post and, having been offered the post, he eventually accepted. Despite the slight hesitation on his part, presumably owing to the concern over his failing eyesight which had led to his retirement from St Paul's, his appointment was officially announced in June of that year.⁹⁸ As with the vacancy at St Paul's, there is evidence to suggest that Ouseley wished Stainer to be selected. This desire was apparent as early as 1865 when Ouseley wrote to Stainer saying: "I have set my heart on resigning my Professorship in your favour, as soon as you are MA and MusDoc".⁹⁹ However,

⁹⁶Ouseley, Sir F. A. G.; 'Church Music' *The Report of the Church Congress at Leeds*, (1872), 334.

⁹⁷Stainer 1872, 334.

⁹⁸ Charlton 1984, 88-9.

⁹⁹*Musical Times*, XLII (May 1901), 302. Obituary of Sir John Stainer.

Ouseley did not resign and this letter may simply have been intended as an encouragement to his protégé; Stainer received his Doctorate in November 1865 and was presumably working for it at the time Ouseley wrote the letter.¹⁰⁰ As with St Paul's, the existence of any later recommendation is uncertain and there was no guarantee that Ouseley's words would be heeded. Within weeks of the post becoming vacant the editor of the *Musical Standard* - T. L. Southgate - expressed his views on the qualities required in the new Professor in the hope that the appointment would be "beneficial to the art, and worthy of the great teaching institution itself". Naturally, he thought that the ideal candidate would have sympathies towards all styles of music, and have expertise in the practical, theoretical and historical aspects of the discipline. However, above all, Southgate placed the necessity for the new Professor to have no other commitments which would take him away from the University during term time.¹⁰¹ Stainer was able to fulfil all these criteria but it was in the latter that he had an obvious advantage as, on retiring from St Paul's, he had returned to his family home in Oxford.¹⁰² Also, whilst Ouseley had simultaneously held the posts of Warden of St Michael's College (and incumbent of the Parish), Precentor of Hereford Cathedral and Professor of Music at Oxford (q.v.), Stainer's only other commitment was as Her Majesty's Inspector of Music in Training Colleges.¹⁰³

Stainer was to continue much of the work begun by his predecessor. Indeed, Bumpus almost seems to regard the two successive Professors as a

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 303.

¹⁰¹ Charlton 1984, 86. T.L. Southgate in *Musical Standard* 28 April 1889.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, 87.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, 107.

partnership, claiming that "if Sir Frederick Ouseley made music respectable in the University, Sir John Stainer made it beloved."¹⁰⁴ The establishment of the School of Music as a teaching centre was of prime importance to both Ouseley and Stainer, and it was Ouseley's constant absence from Oxford that had destined him to fail in this. Stainer was more successful; classes in composition, harmony, counterpoint, acoustics, musical dictation, and the technique of piano and organ playing were eventually offered to all members of the University.¹⁰⁵ Stainer increased the number of lectures given each term to four - one by himself, the other three by Parry, his Choragus or deputy.¹⁰⁶ In addition to his lectures and the establishment of the classes on more practical aspects, Stainer wrote a pamphlet offering *A Few Words to the Candidates for the Degree of Mus. Bac. Oxon.*¹⁰⁷ By this time the candidates were required to sit two examinations in addition to submitting an exercise in composition; Stainer's publication gave friendly advice about the various elements of these examinations and the four-movement exercise which was now required to include a five-part chorus, a song, an unaccompanied quartet and a five-part fugue.¹⁰⁸ He also assisted students by making available a list of works to be studied for the following year's examinations, and a list of recommended books to be read.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Bumpus 1908, 537.

¹⁰⁵ Charlton 1984, 93-4.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, 92.

¹⁰⁷ Stainer, John; *A Few Words to Candidates for the Degree of Mus. Bac. Oxon.* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co, 1897).

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 18.

¹⁰⁹ Charlton 1984, 96.

It is interesting to note that, less than ten years after Ouseley had recruited Stainer from the ranks of St Paul's Cathedral choir, he had the chance of acquiring another young organist. When Hubert Parry (1848-1918), the youngest man to be awarded the degree of Bachelor of Music, presented himself for examination, Ouseley used the occasion to invite him to Tenbury, an offer which Parry turned down.¹¹⁰ This would certainly suggest that Ouseley was eager to draw those with the greatest potential to his institution. Ouseley seemingly had a good notion of which young men could become great, and was in a prominent position both in the world of church music and that of academic music. It is, therefore, entirely possible that he made similar offers to others whom he encountered, and, as the only evidence of his invitation to Parry is a fleeting reference in the young man's diary, it is not unlikely that these would have gone unrecorded.

Stainer's example, and that of Sinclair to a lesser extent, certainly suggests that the influence coming from Ouseley himself was much greater than that coming from his institution. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that St Michael's played no part in assisting with the dissemination of its founder's ideals, for it was in the setting of the college that Ouseley found the opportunity of bringing his ideals into contact with so many musicians of the future generations. The purpose of such an establishment at the Church and College of St Michael and All Angels, Tenbury Wells, must surely be to have a profound influence upon the minds of those who pass through it. Assuming this to be the case, it would seem that the most important contribution made by this

¹¹⁰ Dibble, J.; *C. Hubert H. Parry His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 43.

foundation was in providing Ouseley with the arena in which he was able to propagate his sense of devotion, and his notions of perfection, in relation to the choral services of the church, through the choristers and young organists who spent time there.

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II. Unprinted sources

a) Tenbury Archives, Hereford Cathedral Library

- D863/A/1. Correspondence: Various letters exchanged between James Wayland Joyce, Ouseley, John & Thomas Miller, John Churton, William Norris and the Bishop of Hereford. These all date from the period 1852-7 and concern the planning and building of St Michael's, Tenbury, including some record of complaints and apprehensions about the style of service which Ouseley established.
- D863/A/2. Yearly lists of Fellows, other masters, choristers and probationers covering the period whilst Ouseley's foundation was being run at Lovehill House and the early years after the move to Tenbury Wells (1851-8).
- D863/A/3. College Register. In Ouseley's hand from 1856-89. Entries cease in 1893. After this full records are found for 1956-7 and lists of Fellows and masters for 1965 and 1977.
- D863/A/4. Register of Pupils admitted to St Michael's. Two volumes (1856-1951 & 1951-85). These contain sketchy records of each boys school career and subsequent achievements.
- D863/A/5. Records of attendances and of music sung at services, 1857-1985. Eleven volumes.
- D863/A/6. Record of preachers and music sung at the annual Michaelmas Commemoration Services 1856-1957. Compiled by J. S. Bumpus and Watkins Shaw.
- D863/A/7. Biographical Notes of Fellows of St Michael's compilation initiated by The Rev'd G. E. E. Ryley and kept until 1943.
- D863/A/8. Letters from Ouseley to Montague Frederick Alderson (with a small number to his father, Frederick Alderson) written between 1880 and 1888. Bound together in a volume.
- D863/A/9. Two recollections of The Rev'd John Hampton. The first concerning his time as a chorister at St Barnabas's and the move to St Michael's. The second concerning his own musical career. Transcribed by Watkins Shaw. The last page of the transcript is a letter from John Hampton to A. S. Miles concerning the College's finances. Also included are two letters from Mary Broadhurst to Watkins Shaw concerning the transcript.
- D863/A/10. Volume containing a printed copy of the Trust Deed and Statutes 6 Jan, 1864, two subsequent revisions (1 April 1921 & 15 July 1927) and a manuscript subscription list containing signatures of fellows and officers, 1927-57.

- D863/A/11. Volume containing a printed copy of statutes as revised on 12 November 1957, signed by the Bishop of Hereford, a subscription list of fellows and officers from 1957 and a letter from the Bishop of Hereford concerning later amendments to the statutes (1973-5).
- D863/A/12. Box file containing St Michael's College Magazine. Seven volumes (1918-74). Various loose copies (1975-86).
- D863/A/13. Miscellanea: orders of service including those for the installation of each Warden after 1936, the opening of the new Music Library in 1955; the form of prayer used at the consecration of St Michael's Church; reports; bibliographic notes; addresses; and obituaries.
- D863/A/14. Miscellanea including newspaper articles, a radio transcript, orders of service (commemorations and memorials), concert programmes, a College Prospectus and a number of photographs.
- D863/A/15. Miscellanea including letters, reminiscences and photographs.
- D863/A/17. Various photographs, mainly of those involved with the College. Included is a cartoon featuring Ouseley and Stainer among others.
- D863/A/18. Miscellanea - articles, librarians report and photographs.
- D863/B/10. Letter written by Sir Henry Bishop, Professor of Music at Oxford with respect to Ouseley's candidature for the degrees of B. and D.Mus.Oxon. Dating 1849 and 1854.
- D863/B/11. Letter exchanged from George Smart to Sir Gore Ouseley, 1833, regarding Frederick A. G. Ouseley's "extraordinary talent".
- D863/C/6. Grangerized copy of Joyce, F. W.; *Life of Sir F. A. G. Ouseley, Bart* (London: Methuen, 1896). Material inserted includes: letters, photographs, newspaper cuttings, subscription lists and a poem penned in response to Ouseley's death. The book also contains annotations by its owner, J. S. Bumpus.
- D863/D/1. Additional material. Joyce family tree, letters, memorandum, will of Georgina Rushout, College prospectus, photograph of Ouseley as a young D.Mus. File relating to the gold plate presented to Sir Gore Ouseley in 1813 by the Shah of Persia (eventually identified as among King Farouk's treasures from the Palace of Egypt sold in 1953).

b) Bodleian Library, Oxford

Saint Michael's College, Tenbury; Library card catalogue, compiled by E. H. Fellowes (Honorary Librarian, 1918-48).

