THE ORIGINS OF THE FUGING TUNE

By

NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY

The Fuging Psalm or Hymn Tune is a form whose existence one would hardly suspect from any history of English music. Yet it was a product of the Church of England, and there are more than six hundred and fifty specimens in English eighteenth-century printed sources alone. Its neglect is readily explained by the fact that it lies on the borderland of art music: the musicians who developed it were obscure country singers without professional training; but at the same time it does not fall within the definition of 'folk music' that we have inherited from the Cecil Sharp era, for it is written music designed for rehearsed performance. We may or may not wish to hear or sing these tunes today. But our understanding of eighteenth-century English musical life must be incomplete if it does not take into account a form that was so distinctive and so widely appreciated at the time.

It was American scholars who first paid serious attention to the fuging tune (see Lindstrom 1939; Macdougall 1940, 95–8; Lowens 1953; Barbour 1960, 67–79). Naturally, country church music of the eighteenth century occupies a much more important place in American musical history than in European; America boasts little in the way of opera, art song, or instrumental music, and almost no professional church music, from that period. Many who have studied this music during the last fifty years have been attracted by the freshness of fuging tunes, and by their boldness. Some, grown accustomed to their strange idiom, have come to like them. Early investigators thought they had found a native American product. But Irving Lowens, who was the first to make a methodical study of early New England psalmody and to offer a definition of the fuging tune, established that the form was of English origin (1953, 44). A comprehensive study of American church music in this period is now being undertaken by Richard Crawford, who has already discussed the subject in some detail (1974; 1980; McKay and Crawford 1980). While American scholars have already identified as British most of the tunes that were reprinted in American collections, an independent study of English fuging tunes has yet to appear.

A fuging tune can be defined as a tune designed for strophic repetition with a sacred metrical text, in at least one phrase of which voices enter successively giving rise to overlap of text. A definition as broad as this, however, covers tunes which would not be regarded as typical: for example, ones in which a single voice comes in late in one phrase. The typical fuging tune has fully-fledged imitation, including all voice parts, in at least one phrase, most often the third or the last.

1 I have used the spelling of the word 'fuging' adopted by Lowens (1953) on the basis of early sources.
2 A census of fuging tunes in all British and American printed sources up to 1800 is included in Temperley & Mann 1983.
There is no historical thread connecting the eighteenth-century fusing tune with the arrangements of homophonic tunes 'in parts' that had been popular in both England and Scotland in the sixteenth century. A full century separates the last examples of these in the Scottish psalter of 1655 from the rapid rise of fusing tunes in English country parishes in the 1740s. Nor is there any likelihood of continental influence. Indeed, the rise of the fusing tune is a phenomenon with few parallels in musical history. The country music, which developed as it seems to have taught themselves counterpoint by trial and error, and pooled experience, rather than by working directly from models, in the works of professional composers.

Fusing tunes were written for the use of country parish choirs of a kind that had begun to appear in the 1680s. First, societies were formed, with the primary object of disciplining the young men of a parish by means of religious meetings conducted by the clergyman. Among other activities, the members were taught to sing from notes, to rehearse the traditional psalm tunes, and to lead an improvement in congregational singing (Templey 1799a, vol. 1, 103–5, 141–67). Once the choir had been formed, however, it frequently began to attempt more ambitious music, encouraged by itinerant singing masters who printed and sold their own collections of church music. Anthems for country choirs were first provided by Henry Playford in 1701 (ibid., 163–40) and soon afterwards by country singing masters. In some northern churches, choirs even began to chant the psalms and liturgy (ibid., 161–70). The psalm tunes themselves gradually became more elaborate and less congregational. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, charged his clergy thus:

I do by no means recommend to you ... the setting or composing these ill-structures, which of late years have gone abroad. The several countries to teach them uncomprehending and out of the way (which very often are as ridiculous to them as new and the consequence of which is, that the present part of the congregation being unacquainted with them, are counted, and desist from in this exercise at all.)

(Gibson 1724). The 'out of the way' elements that were successively brought into psalm tunes at this time: inequality of note lengths, melismas, repeated lines of text, solos and duets, cumulative entries of voices, and - finally - iterative entries with text overlap. The singers learned the music in temporary singing schools organized by the teachers, and sang them from their special pew or gallery in the parish church, unaccompanied.

The first tune with text overlap was by Robert King, organist of St Martin's in the Fields, and it was contributed to Playford's Divine Companion (1701) as a part with continuous accompaniment. It was no doubt intended for home use, for its text was a new, anonymous paraphrase of Psalm 101 ('Mercy's will and judgment sing') rather than one of the versions of metrical psalms authorized for use in church. The only reason for mentioning it here is that it was later taken into the fusing-tune repertory, with a third part added, even reaching an American publication of 1764. Another archetypal tune, by an anonymous but evidently well-trained composer, appeared in the second edition of John Gillham's Book of Psalmody (1722). Though it has only one minimal text overlap in its

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5 This tune is transcribed in Templey 1799a, vol.2, no. 39.
original form, it was later 'simplified', and was the model for several later specimens. Until about 1745, the slow growth of the fuguing tune was dominated by these two archetypes and their derivatives (see Table 1). Of the twelve different tunes printed by that date, five were by named composers. Besides King, two more organists, John Broderip and Dr John Alock, each provided one example.

### Table 1: Printed fuguing tunes up to c1745

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>New Tunes</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>1701</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>Robert King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>1722</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>1724</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B0.6</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td>c1725</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B0.8</td>
<td>1725</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>1731</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>1731</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>1731</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>Arthur Bedford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108.3</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>Arthur Bedford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>Derived from 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>Influenced by 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>Derived from 857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111a</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>1740</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>Derived from 857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118.2</td>
<td>1741</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>1741</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>826</td>
<td>John Broderip</td>
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<td>124</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>John Broderip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>John Alock</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbered sources in col.1 refer to the list in Temperley 1979a, 364-90, or to that in Temperley & Munt 1983. In col.2, c1725 means 1725 or before; 1731 means 1731 or after.

*In a 'simplified' version, with 3 part lines containing imitative entries.

Most of these early specimens have only two-part imitation, either in lines in which only two voices sing, or where one voice has a 'late entry' and then catches up with the others (ex. 1). Only two tunes known to have been printed before 1745 attempt four-part imitation and clearly prefigure the typical fuguing tune. Interestingly enough, these are both the work of Arthur Bedford (1688–1745), the high-church clergyman who had played a prominent part in the formation of religious societies in Queen Anne's time (Temperley 1979a, vol.1, 143). He is known to historians for his love of music and hatred of playhouses (and especially of The Beggar's Opera), but it is not so well known that he...
was a positive promoter of parish choirs (Bedford 1711, 229–34) until he found that they were beginning to usurp the congregation's right to sing. In 1733 he published *The Excellence of Divine Music*, which he dedicated to 'the Religious Societies in the Cities and Suburbs of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark; as an Acknowledgement of the Zeal, which some of their Members have expressed for the promoting the Glory of God by Divine Musick'. In the course of this sermon he objects to the separation of the choir from the rest of the congregation, so that they alone sing the psalmus, proposing instead that they should spread themselves around the church to teach the congregation how to sing. Also, he says, 'such a Society of Singers' might sing 'a short Anthem on every Sunday morning and afternoon before the beginning of Divine Service', and after the service sing 'whatever Psalms, Hymns, or Anthems they pleased... because every one might take his own Choice either to lay or withdraw' (1733, vvi).

By way of an appendix to this publication Bedell provided 'A Specimen of Hymns for Divine Musick', presumably intended for choirs to sing in this way, after service. The ten pieces are for three or four voices, and include carols such as 'A virgin unstopped' and 'O remember Adam's fall', hymns such as Campion's 'Never weather beaten sail', and 'An Hymn for Easter-Day, The Words out of Playford's Divine Companion, the Music by A. Bedford'. This last is the one that is unequivocally a fusing tune. It has eight verses in common metre, the first underlaid, the others printed after. The fusing section occurs in the third phrase, and seems designed to illustrate the words occurring at that point in the first verse, 'We then may imitate their meth.'
Bedford's other fuging tune appears in *The Second Book of the Divine Companion*, William Pearson's undated successor to Henry Playford's book of 1701. This time the text is from Psalm 27 in Sternhold's version, beginning at verse 4 ("One thing of God I do re-
quire"), which might suggest that it was meant to be sung in church. The tune has one
verse underlined, with two fuging sections (ex. 2), and a final fuging Alleluia.

It is evident that Bedford, though he was careful to avoid consecutives and to observe the rules of dissonance treatment as he understood them (with a lapse at bar 16), had very
modest powers as a composer. The music moves stiffly; the harmonic changes are too fre-
quent and lack direction; the characteristics that might make a tune popular are lacking.
He keeps text overlap to a minimum, and does not attempt to fit the music to other verses
of the psalm.

Reluctance to associate the fully fuging tune with psalm texts was due to clerical op-
position (including that of Bedford himself), which in turn was founded on Calvinist theol-
y. The psalms, being divinely inspired, were the only texts that Calvin had thought
proper in worship, and the Church of England on the whole maintained this principle to
the end of the eighteenth century. The words, following biblical injunctions, were to be
sung by all, and they were to be understood. A fuging psalm tune was open to the double
objection that it was too difficult for the common people to sing, and that its text overlap
obscured the words of the psalm so that the people could not even understand them. Bed-
ford and other high churchmen, who believed in the spiritual value of elaborate music,
overcame the difficulty by advocating fuging tunes for use in meetings of religious societies,
or before and after service, while proscribing their use in the service itself.

But in the late 1740s there was a decisive breach of this principle, and, within a short
space of time, many printed collections from different parts of the country included a
number of fuging tunes with metrical psalm texts from the Old or New Version, intended

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1 *The Second Book of the Divine Companion* (or, *David's Harp New Twold*). Printed by, and for William Pearson: London, [n.d.]. The date of 1772 given in *The British Union-Catalogue of Early Music* is too early; publishers' advertisements suggest a date no earlier than 1731, and the likely date, judging by the contents, is about 1736–8. The book was re-
issued by I. Bohn in about 1744 as *The Divine Companion* (or, *David's Harp New Twold*).

2 There were exceptions, however: nine original hymns were printed, for instance, in Sternhold and Hopkins' *The Whole book of Psalms* (London 1662). In many churches there was a tradition of singing a hymn during the celebration of communion (Tempester 1977b). It was widely held that only the Old Version (Sternhold and Hopkins') or Tate and Brady's *New Version* of 1668 could legally be sung in church.

3 For instance, the Reverend George Lawington, in a sermon preached at Worcester Cathedral on the occasion of the
Three Choirs Festival at Gloucester, 8 September 1725, said: "The present Church music has its share and disproportion of in-
fluences and use. Especially this. When it is plain and intelligible... whereas it is complicated music, consisting of several
parts, where different words are sung at one and the same time, a common auditor is distracted, and the parts over-
whelmed and obfuscated; whereas no particular part is noticed; nor come together in one single idea... I humbly men-
tioned this, especially in the Church, with the same design that the psalm, i.e. so as to be understood... Unless, according
to St. Paul, it be with the understanding, i.e. so as to be understood... there can be no such thing as edification. If any
certain question is raised, 'Is that which hath grown fit for its mother; and a sort of *Psalmus* is brought even into music' (Lawington 1725, 95–112). Lawington's text was Elphinstone's (18–20); others frequently quoted in this con-
nection were C. I. Damer 14.19, Colsonians 5.16, and -- as showing that all are to sing psalms -- *Psalmus* 148.112–13, 
*Psalms* 150.8, and J. A. 5.13.
to replace the traditional psalm tunes and to be used in worship. There is little doubt
by 1750 fusing tunes were being used in this way in many country parish churches.

The growth of this development can be traced primarily in a group of books pub-
lished between 1746 and 1753, two of which consist entirely or almost entirely of fusing
tunes, the others containing a substantial number (four or more) intermingled with psal-
tunes in a way that suggests their use in public worship. These books will be discussed
some detail. In the same period, there were also a number of books which merely con-
tinued the tradition established before by including one, two or three fusing tunes, then
reprinted from earlier collections: these are listed in, Table 2.

Table 2 Books containing 1, 2 or 3 fusing tunes published between 1746 and 1753

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88.a</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Arnold, A Second Book of Nine Anthems and Psalm Tunes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>1748</td>
<td>East, The Voice of Melody, [vol.3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Temperley, The Spiritual Man's Companion, 4th edn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117.2</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Temperley, The Compleat Psalmodist, 2nd edn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>1751</td>
<td>Temperley, A Collection of Church Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192.11</td>
<td>1751</td>
<td>Temperley, A Book of Psalmody, 15th edn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115.a</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>Temperley, A Book of Psalmody, 8th edn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>1750-60</td>
<td>Temperley, [untitled collection]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For conventions see Table 1; for further details, Temperley & Manns 1983.

Ex. 2 Fusing sections of tune 597

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{that he will not deny, that he will} & \\
\text{that he, that he, that he, that he, that he} & \\
\text{that he, that he, that he} & \\
\text{that he} &
\end{align*}
\]
The books with which we are primarily concerned are described below. Not all of them carry an imprint date, and it is not a simple task to determine the priority. They are listed here in the order that I have concluded a probably chronological; the reasons are discussed subsequently. Another problem is that most of the tunes were published anonymously, and although many tunes are common to several books, the compilers rarely acknowledge their source. It cannot be assumed, in the absence of any source attribution, that a tune was composed by the compiler of the volume. For these reasons I have felt it necessary to give full bibliographical details for all these books.
At the head of each description is a number referring to my list of printed collections of parish church music (Temperley 1979a, vol. 1, 366–90; see also Temperley & Mann 1983), followed by the compiler’s surname. In the transcript of the title, original spelling and capitalization have been retained, except that words printed wholly in capitals in the source are here printed with capital italics for principal words only. Under ‘format’ the descriptions such as ‘8’s refers to gatherings, not size; dimensions are in centimetres, with the vertical dimension given first. Under ‘FT’ all fuging tunes are listed in order of their appearance, with page or folio number first; text designations are standardized (OV = Overture, NV = New Version, IW = Isaac Watts); if no verse of a psalm is specified, the section begins with verse 1. The italicized tune number refers to Temperley & Mann 1983.

129a

'TEMP

Title: A Collection of 20 / New Psalm Tunes / Composed with delight of Pages after a / different manner to any yet extant / [A later addition to the title], Sold by 8th Dee of Oxford, Jon Wraye at Bewley / Collected Engraved 
and Printed by Hugh Bewley [s.p.,a./] Format: 8x, 5.0 x 7.3, 5(0) pp., engraved Date: c.1746 (see discussion below)

Locality: Qian, Beijing

Copy: British Library, A.233.b.2 (2) catalogue date (c.1750)

Contents: 20 pages (tunes ordered with additional verses below)

PT. (only non-art paper added in MS as section left vacant of British Library copy)

p. 136 Psalm 1 [NV] 2nd new P. 151 Psalm 95 [NV] 116d new

136 Psalm 5 [NV] 104d new 160 Psalm 107, x, 223 NV 1112 new

147 Psalm 95 NV 164 new 164 Psalm 108 [NV] 581 new

142 Psalm 11 NV 733 new 166 Psalm 126 [OV] 473 new

148 Psalm 23 [NV] 611 new 168 Psalm 133 [OV] 948 new

146 Psalm 27, x [OV] 477 Don(804a,1713) 170 Psalm 156 NV 866 from 105(732)


152 Psalm 57 [OV] 174 Psalm 146 [OV] 1175 new

154 Psalm 57 NV 176 Psalm 146 NV 212 new

156 Psalm 92 [OV] 117 new 180 Psalm 120 NV 147 new

132 EVISON

Title: A Compleat Book of G. / Psalmody: Containing Variety of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, / and Antems, / To be Sung / In Two, Three, and Four Parts, / within Compass, so as will most naturally suit the Voices / in Carillons and Country Churches. / / / / / / See Through and Corrected by James Evans / London: / Printed by the True / Art of Print / For the Author / and sold by Mr. John Bird / / / / / / and Mr. Thompson / / / / / / MDCCLXVI

Source: A, 24, Aa, 8F, 18.5, 10.5, 232 pp., [print]

Date: 1747

Copy: Royal College of Music, B.1.18a (with owner’s inscription ‘Dr Percy Feb 16 1755’)

Contents: op. 1–3, Preface; [5–51], List of subscribers; 7–28, Introduction; 29–42, 42 psalm tunes with additional verses below: 39–101, Magnificat (chant-like setting); 102–5, 3 hymns; 110–250, 16 anthems

FT.

p. 40 BRIDGWATER TUNE Psalm 47 NV 402 based on 76 in 129a

S E A L TUNE Psalm 145 OV 126 from 129a

86 CRAWLEY TUNE Psalm 27 NV 246 from 129a

88 DARTINGHAM TUNE Psalm 9 170 245 new
THE ORIGINS OF THE FUGING TUNE

115 WATTS
Title: A Choice / Collection of Church Music; / / With a Select Number of Psalm Tunes, / / Sing with Vene of Pumps; / / The Whole Collected and Enlarged / / by Joseph Watts, of Pennington, in the / / County Northumberland; / / [in part] Sold by Joseph Watts, of Pennington; and by Mr. Catesby, in Newcastle. / / Catesby, 1749.
Format: Separate sheets; [3.5 x 17.5]; [94] ff., printed on one side only; ll. [1-2] typewrit, the rest engraved.
Date: 1749
Locality: Walla, N. Oson
Copy: British Library, A.1773
Contents: [1-2], index and poem; [3-31], Psalms; [32-58], "A Chanting Tune"; [59-36], 32 psalm tunes with additional verses below; [37-94], 18 anthems, and [73] "A Chant to Magnificate"

FT
F [12] Psalm 145 [OV] 326 from 129a or 130
F [12] Psalm 146 [OV] 717 from 172a
E [12] Psalm 150 [OV] 16 from 129a

1332 East
Title: The Second Edition of / The First Book of the / Voice of Maudity; / With Great Additions, / The Anthems / Entirely new, and great part of the Psalm-Tunes never before in Print, with some Choice Hymns for several Occasions, / / Collected, Prayed, and Sold by William East of Watham, Lincetshire, Likewise, by Mr. Whetman Statend in Cyntham. / / (A large addition to the plate) for the Use of my Schools. / / All of whom may be sold the Second Book of the Voice of Maudity. / / (Engraved by William Cottell)
Format: Separate sheets; 14.5 x 11.9; [1], 44 ff., printed on one side one; engraved.
Date: 1750
Locality: Leics, S. Lincs, S. Notts
Copy: British Library, A.994/0
Contents: Ft 1-2, Rudiments; 3-20, 24 psalm tunes (some named as by "Wm. East" or W.E., with additional verses below; 21, 22, 2 hymns; 23, 2 hymns (new); 24, 4 anthems

F [1] Psalm 15 [OV] 219 from 135
F [16] Psalm 113 [OV] 670 from 51 (1700), etc.
F [19] Psalm 148 [OV] 809 from 105 (1732), etc.
23 An Hymn to Christmas 418 new, "by W.F. Knapp"
Day (black, what, what, what)

137 East
Title: The Second Book of the / Voice of Maudity; / being a Collection of the / Musick-makers' Psalm-Tunes / Enlarged, in Four Parts; with Variety of Hymns and Anthems, Likewise, MF Hide To Deem; / and Of Such, Magister; all in Score; Engraved by the poet; / Engraved Makers for Four, and Five Voices, / at the Sign of Cathedrals, nearly / Engraved and Printed on good paper; / Collected, Printed, and Sold by / William East, of Watham, Lincetshire; Likewise, / "by W.F. Whetman Statend in Cyntham. / / (Probably the large addition to the plate) for the Use of my Schools, / (of which may be sold the Second / Edition of 3 Parts / [of the Voice of Maudity] / / / 1750, [Engraved by William Cottell]
Format: Separate sheets; 14.5 x 18.7; [1], 99 ff., printed on one side only; engraved.
Date: 1750
Locality: Leics, S. Lincs, S. Notts
Copy: British Library, A.541/2, with MS additions
Contents: [1-3], List of subscriptions; 2-25, 20 psalm tunes; 26, hymn; 27, "A Song in the Onset of Sart"; 28-38, ft. Deem; 39-44, Magnificat; 45-59, 9 anthems.
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FT:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2 Psalm 8 NV</th>
<th>3 Psalm 22, v.25 NV</th>
<th>5 Psalm 23 NV</th>
<th>7 Psalm 33 OV</th>
<th>8 Psalm 34 NV</th>
<th>9 Psalm 47 OV</th>
<th>10 Psalm 57 NV</th>
<th>11 Psalm 66 OV</th>
<th>12 Psalm 77 OV</th>
<th>13 Psalm 88 NV</th>
<th>15 Psalm 89 NV</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>192 from 135</td>
<td>648 new</td>
<td>1072 new</td>
<td>142 new, based on 864 of 130</td>
<td>125 from 135</td>
<td>470 new</td>
<td>178 new, based on 400 in 130 (of 597 in 135)</td>
<td>56 new</td>
<td>1090 from 135</td>
<td>359 new</td>
<td>993 from 125 (1745)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

130,2 EVISION

Title: A, / Compend Book / of / Psalmody, / Containing Variety of / Psalm-Tunes, / Hymns, / &c. / Anthems / De Sing / In Two, Three and Four Parts, / within Compass, as will most naturally suit the Voices / in Central and Country Churches, / . . . / The Second Edition, with Additions, / &c. forth, and Corrected / by James Erms, / London: / Printed by Robert Brown, / . . . / And Sold by John Bird, . . . / and Mrs. Thompson, . . . / MDCCLI . . .

Format: A-74, A-184, I-II, 17.6 x 10.5, 252 pp.; typeface

Date: 1751

Locality: E. Surrey, W. Kent

Copies: British Library, C.15.s; Royal College of Music, XIII.B.31; elsewhere

Contents: ps. 3-4, Preface 5, poem 'On Vocal Music': 7-28, Introduction (rudiments); 29-101; 47 psalms (with additional verses below); 102-10; Magnificat: 111-11, 8 5 hymns; 119-249, 17 anthems; 250, Index; text: 251-252, Table of Contents

FT:

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>BRIDG Water TUNE</th>
<th>SEAL TUNE</th>
<th>CRANLEY TUNE</th>
<th>DArkailing TUNE</th>
<th>OXFORD TUNE</th>
<th>Yar (or) DOUTH TUNE</th>
<th>CANTERBURY TUNE</th>
<th>STRoud TUNE</th>
<th>SUFFOLK TUNE</th>
<th>Mephamp TUNE</th>
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<td></td>
<td>402 as in 130</td>
<td>426 as in 130</td>
<td>948 as in 130</td>
<td>345 as in 130</td>
<td>125 from 135</td>
<td>590 from 135</td>
<td>192 from 135</td>
<td>1080 from 135</td>
<td>141 from 1296</td>
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144* (formerly 116.A) REELY

Title: A Book of Psalmody: / Contains Instructions for Young Beginners: . . . / To which is added a Collection of Psalm-Tunes with select Directions / adapted to each Tune, together with Anthems, Hymns and Canons; / the Whole Composed for three and four Voices, / . . . / [h., n.d.]. Collected, Engraved and Printed, by Michael Beere, and Sold by Edward Dee, Bookseller in Oxford, by Thomas Price, Bookseller in Gloucester, and by John Edwarp at Winchester.

Format: B, 8.0 x 17.2, [166] pp.; typeface title-page, introduction, and text; engraved music

Date: c1752 (see discussion below)


Copies: Mitchell Library, Glasgow (with owner's inscription "J. Brettens 1777"; catalogue date [1741]).

It contains 66 psalms, 29 anthems, and other material, but no faging tunes. I have numbered it 145.
THE ORIGINS OF THE FUGUE TUNE
The undated items in the list are 129a, 145a and 148. To begin with the last; the catalogue datings of 1751 are probably based on the item ‘Carol for Christmas Day 1751’ in the book, but the matter is settled beyond reasonable doubt by a publisher’s advertisement stating that the work ‘will be published’ on 24th September 1753. The second edition of the same book has an imprint date of 1754.

The greatest difficulty is in the dating of the freely works. There is little bibliographical evidence to help, nor have I found any publishers’ advertisements in the Reading Mercury or other local newspaper. I have been obliged to rely on claims made in the books themselves, and on their contents in comparison with that of other, dated, books. If I was published in about 1746, as I suggest, the strong claim made on its title page would be substantially justified. In 1746 there would have been almost no organ tunes in print of the kind now published by Beverley, with fully fuging sections in four-part counterpoint. Only the two by Bedford, from the early 1730s, could be considered exceptions. Beverley now printed twenty fuguing tunes, of which nineteen could be called ‘fugingly fuging’ in the sense (the other one is of the ‘late entry’ type), and had already been printed several times, first in 1732: see Table 1 above. Among these nineteen is one of Bedford’s tunes, the one partly represented in ex. 1. The remaining eighteen are entirely new (on this supposition), and they do indeed exemplify ‘a different manner to any yet extant’. Thus a date of 1746 would make the claim essentially, if not literally, true (only eighteen of the twenty being actually ‘new’).

If on the other hand, the British Union-Catalogue date of c.1760 is right for this book, the claim on the title page is entirely mendacious, moreover it would not have fooled Beverley’s fellow-pulpitomasts for a moment. Not only was the manner extremely familiar by 1760, having been used in at least two hundred tunes in print, but the majority of the actual tunes in the book had already been printed several times. Only two of Beverley’s tunes, in fact, are unique in this collection. Two are shared with Eyson’s first edition (1751), one with his second (1750), one with Arnold, three with Watts, one with East, seven with Knapp, and many with later collections. None of the tunes also appear printed from the same plates, in Bevis’s A Book of Psalmsody (1454), whose date, if it noted, carries no claim of novelty or originality.

As a matter of fact one piece of external evidence pushes the date back at least as far as 1751. One tune in Beverley’s Collection is also found in Abraham Milner’s Psalter Singer’s Companion (dated 1751) with the name BEVELEY, which strongly suggests that Milner was acknowledging his source for the tune, though of course one cannot rule out the possibility that Milner took it from a manuscript. If Beverley is no later than 1751, he must probably be given credit at least for the tunes shared with Knapp. So the next stage is to examine Knapp’s claims of authorship. His title page is (perhaps deliberately) ambiguous; though

9 Salisbury Journal, vol. 810, 9 September 1753. I am grateful to Barry Matthews for this information.
10 There is little doubt, though, that printed books were the chief means of dissemination for creating psalmody at Templesey (1796, vol. 1, 182-4. Milner’s book is discussed below.)
some of the music is claimed to be 'composed after a Method entirely new, and never prin-
ted before', this phrase may refer only to the 'other Anthems, Psalms, Hymns &c.' of the
main title. In his preface Knapp is again equivocal:

Some of the Anthems and Psalm-Tunes are not entirely my own Composition, as the
15th and 19th [no the 18th] Anthems, but I was desired by some Friends to compose
Contents to them, and publish them with my own Works.

He never tells us which or even how many of the psalm tunes were "not entirely of [his]
version or not newly printed. If Beesly's book had appeared after Knapp's, all
Knapp's psalm tunes would have been newly printed and there would have been no need
for the qualifications and ambiguities. It looks very much as though Knapp took them
from Beesly without acknowledgement, a procedure that was not at all unusual among
country psalmists. 11

When we compare tunes that are shared by Beesly, Watts, Evison and East, a new
kind of evidence appears in the form of variants. For instance tune 88, allotted by Beesly
to Psalm 57, New Version, appears also, with variation, in Evison, Watts and East. One
passage, the third phrase of the tune, suggests that Beesly was not in full control of his
technique (ex. 3a): an ugly dissonance suddenly appear in the second bar, while much of
the rest of the harmony is quite base, with many open fifths. In addition to internal
parallel fifths, which were widely tolerated in this style, there are parallel movements of
whole chords such as the one in the first bar. The other three versions seem to be attempts
by other compilers to repair the worst blunders in the passage. Watts (ex. 3c) changes
only the second bar; eliminating the clash, Evison (ex. b) alters this in another way (intro-
ducing some bizarre consecutive fifths) and also mitigates the parallelism of bars 1 and 3;
East (ex. d) rewrites the passage more thoroughly, and he alone places the barlines correctly
for an iambic text. It is difficult to imagine that any of these revisions could have been
made by Beesly from the other versions; what is more, if Beesly were later than all of them,
he would have had to take his text from East but his music from Watts, which seems im-
plausible.

Ex. 4 compares two versions of a fuging section of a tune found in Beesly and Evison:
so earlier version is known. The Beesly version has some casual dissonance between the
tenor and bass parts, which seem to get in each other's way in bars 4 and 6. The Evison
version is free of these clashes, and also of the gisting consecutive octaves between the
soprano and alto in bar 3. It is still far from elegant, but, again, it is surely an improvement.

11 What little information we have about Knapp's character is less than flattering. H. Roe, a fellow-citizen of Poole's
Denier (where Knapp was parish clerk, and George Savage was solicitor) played that he might be described 'From
factor's bills and lawyer's fees, / From aye, ago, gait and tag / And what is ten times worse than these, / George Savage
and Will Knapp' (Fenwick 1962, 67%). There remains the bare possibility that although Knapp was the composer of the
eight fuging tunes concerned, Beesly printed them before Knapp did; but then one might have expected some mention
of the fact in one or both books. In any case this would not affect the dating of Beesly's book, which is the object of all
this argumentation.
Ex. 3  The third phrase of related fuging tunes 88, 402, 178

(a) 88

(b) 402

(c) 58

(d) 178

(a) Tune to Psalm 57, New Version, from Breezy's Collection (undated)
(b) Original Tune, to Psalm 47, New Version, from Evison (1747)
(c) Tune to Psalm 100, from Watts (1749)
(d) Tune to Psalm 57, New Version, from East's Voice of Melody, Book II (1750)

The differing tune numbers correspond to differing tune incipits.
EX. 4  The first fuging section of tune 326

(a)  Tune to Psalm 145 in Bawdes Collection (undated)
(b)  Seal Tune, to Psalm 145 in Evison (1747)
If these inferences are correct, Beesly's book must be earlier than 1747. Recalling the statement on the title page, we note that neither Watts, East, Evison, nor any of the other makes any such claim of innovation, while Knapp's claim turns out to be disingenuous or at least ambiguous. On these grounds, therefore, I feel justified in dating Beesly's *Collection of 20 New Psalm Tunes* at about 1746, choosing a 'conservative' date (i.e., in this instance, one as late as the evidence allows). Had the book appeared much earlier, the chances are that some of its contents would have been reprinted in other books of the early 1740s, whereas actually Evison in 1747 appears to have been the first to make use of them.

This means that Beesly was the prime mover in the development of the fusing tune. Two of the tunes he printed in *A Collection* were quite popular in England and America during the next fifty years, and most of the others were reprinted several times. More significantly, his method was copied by many compilers, and fusing tunes in the Beesly manner were soon to be sung in country churches all over England and the American colonies. But Beesly makes no claim to have done anything more than 'collect' the tunes. Their composer or composers are likely to remain unidentified.

Beesly's *Book of Psalmody* is, by contrast, a derivative publication. This time, there is no claim of innovation; the tunes shared with Evison are printed without emendation, suggesting that Beesly took them from Evison, and they include three from Evison's second edition of 1751; there are also a number of anthems, including several from Knapp's *A Set of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems of 1738 and 1741*, but none from the same compiler's *New Church Melody of 1753*. I have therefore assigned a date of [c1752] to this book.\(^{12}\)

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\(^{12}\) His tune for Psalm 133 (1945) became well known as CRANLEY, and the one for Psalm 107, v.23 (1112) was named POOLE NEW by Knapp, to whom it was attributed in many later collections.

\(^{13}\) Another collection published by Beesly is entitled *An Introduction to Psalmody*. It is 'Engraved Printed & Sold' but not according to the imprint 'Collected' by Beesly, and hence is listed in the British Oxen-Court only by its title (p.546). However, its physical resemblance to the other two books suggests that Beesly had much to do with its compilation. Many of the same plates were used. This book contains two anthems from Knapp's *New Church Melody*, where they are clearly claimed as Knapp's own compositions; this and other considerations have led both me to date the book [c1755] and to remember it 156a.

D.W. Krummel was kind enough to examine photocopies of three of the four books in the Beesly series, and pointed out an additional reason to support the proposed chronological sequence (*Collection-Book-Introduction*) in preference to the BUC dating which places the Book and Introduction at about 1750 and the Collection after them at about 1760. John Doe's name, Krummel observes, was a late addition to the title page of the Collection, and is present on the other two title pages. Thus we have the sequence:

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<td>[c1746]</td>
<td>[c1752]</td>
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which makes more sense that:

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<th>Collection, 1st state</th>
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Unless more can be discovered about Michael Beesly, we must assume that he was a typical country singing-teacher of the time, making his rounds perhaps in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, with limited education, modest skill in music (and, incidentally, in engraving), and relatively little success. What distinguishes him from the rest is ambition. He was probably the first to gather in print a number of tunes of the new kind, perhaps composed by one or two creative musicians in his area. His Collection is not a general psalmody collection, but a special, pioneering effort. In the next few years other psalmists caught on, taking some fuging tunes from Beesly's book and adding some more on the same lines. These geographical routes can be discerned from the lists above (see Map 1): first eastward to Eveson, who took two of Beesly's tunes in 1747; then north to Watts in the Banbury area, who took three in 1749, added some, and passed them on in turn to East in the north-east Midlands; and thirdly, southwest to Knapp at Poole. Eveson is 1751 took a fresh supply from Watts, and one more from Beesly. After that, fuging tunes soon became common property, and it is more difficult to establish clear lines of dissemination. But in the early stages it is not unlikely that the fuging tune idea travelled quite slowly through adjoining regions. Country psalmody was locally organized; but psalmists did move from parish to parish – it was an economic necessity for them – and several moved from region to region. Neighbouring psalmists, though they might be rivals, could also be collaborators (Temperley 1979a, vol.1, 176–84).

I have already pointed out that Beesly was not able to write four voice parts in a meaningful way. To say this is not to judge him unfairly by the standards of art music. Regardless of conventions of style, it seems inconceivable that he wanted his music to sound as it does in exx. 3a and 4a. Their oscillation between extreme but meaningless dissonance and equally meaningless blandness indicate that Beesly (or his anonymous protege) was not in control of his harmony, and did not know how his music would sound.

James Eveson's books reveal more than Beesly's about their compiler. They are much more professionally produced, set up in type by a London printer (Robert Browne). Eveson allotted names to all his tunes (in all known instances, the names are his own even if the tunes are not), and the majority of them can be identified with an area of east Surrey, west Kent and north Sussex which we can assume to have been his 'breadbasket' as a psalmody teacher. (Map 2 plots the local tune names from the second edition of Eveson's book, 130; the names off the map are mostly of larger, more distant places.) There is some independent confirmation that he did work in this region. His book is adorned by a dedicatory poem written by Starling Goodwin, schoolmaster and organist of Maidstone, who later published

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14 None of his publications is known to have reached a second edition, and the sum total of surviving copies known to me is eight. By contrast, Knapp's two psalmody collections enjoyed eight and five editions respectively, and survive in at least forty copies.

15 Canon Macdonnott found copies of Eveson's book at Bisham and Wraxham, both in Sussex; the Bodleian book had an inscription by a previous owner in Harlow, also in Sussex. See Macdonnott 1922, 80. Macdonnott prints (pp. 86–7) a facsimile of two pages of the book, but he notes that it first came from the third edition of 1754. The material appears in Macdonnott 1948, 61–2, 46–7, respectively.
The Complete Organist's Pocket Companion (London [c1775]). This suggests some slight link with the world of trained composers.

Unlike Beeley's Collection, Evison's book belongs in the tradition of what might have been called the Country Psalmist's Vademecum: it was complete with middiments, hymn anthems and a Magnificat setting, and its psalm tunes were various in style, from simple homophony to florid counterpoint. That the fuging tune was an increasingly popular ingredient is shown by the number he included in successive editions: four in the first, nine in the second and twelve in the third (1754). Few of his tunes were new, and indeed nowhere makes any claim of novelty. In taking over some of Beeley's he was able to smooth the roughest places, and his versions were often the ones most frequently copied in later books (an example will be given below). But one could not claim for him any notable advance in contrapuntal skill.

Joseph Watts also makes no general claim of novelty for the contents of his comprehensive psalmody book. He seems to have copied the phrase 'Variety of Pages' from Beeley's title, tiding up the spelling in the process, and he did the same with the three fuging tunes he took from Beeley's Collection. Seven others appear to be new, but only one bears his initials 'J.W.; the other six cannot be certainly credited to him, since they also occur in Beeley's undated Book of Psalmody. The main argument for Watts's priority is that whereas Watts 'tried up' the three tunes taken from Beeley's Collection, he did not do so with the six shared with Beeley's Book, so it is more likely that these were copied by Beeley from Watts. Moreover these six tunes begin to show a common ground of the new medium that had eluded Beeley's compoises. They might also be called the hard core of the future development of the fuging tune, both in England and America. All six of them were popular, and two of them, later named Morning (1665) and Evening or Hymn (1721), would be more frequently reprinted in eighteenth-century English books than any other fuging tunes (Temperley & Main 1983). The credit for this success may be assigned with confidence to Watts — to Watts the compiler, not Watts the composer (the one fuging tune he composed was never reprinted). As with Beeley, he may have been simply lucky in having among his colleagues a gifted composer whose name has not come down to us.

William East's little pages explicitly indicate that he was a singing teacher as well as a printer, bookseller and compiler, based at Watham in Leicestershire. Map 3 is based on more direct evidence than that of tune names: it plots the localities of the subscribers to one of his books. We can see that his influence extended over a region with Watham at its centre, and with a radius of some thirty miles or more. Typically, copies were bought in a number of villages surrounding a larger town (such as Market Harborough), but not in the town itself, where a very different kind of musical practice would have existed in the parish church, with organ and charity children. Where a number of books were subscribed from the same village they probably belonged to the members of the choir. In other parishes a single copy may have been used as the source for hand-copied partbooks.
East's first book, The Voice of Melody, 16 appeared in an undated edition whose title page carries many interesting details not repeated in later editions:

The Voice of Melody. Or, A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes in Four Parts Extracted From the best Authors, both ancient and modern; with Several New Tunes, never yet before in Score; The words Engra'd at length; and the most Select words taken out of Each Psalm, in the Old Version; express being previously had to the Plan of the Right Reverend Father in God Edward Lord Bishop of London, to which is added, the Te Deum and Magnificat, with Variety of Anthems, on Several Occasions; The whole being free from Harsh air, and musical dissonances, ... Printed by and for William East, in Waltham, near Melton, Leicester-Shire, for the Use of his Schools; and sold by Mr. Cooke at Uppingham, Oakham and Stamford; Mr Rogers of Stamford; Mr. Whitman of Grantham; and by the Men that carry the Cambridge and Stamford Papers, &c. Engra'd by William Scott, of Ashley, near Market Harborough Leicester-Shire, who will attend any Gentleman at their Houses (if desired), and Engrave upon Reasonable terms.

It had only one fuging tune in it. But in the second edition, dated 1750 and engraved by William Costall of Caythorpe, East not only expanded the number to seven, but added a 'Second Book' containing no less than twenty-seven fuging tunes. One has the impression that he wished to surpass all previous compilers by gathering in one volume the best fuging tunes from all sources.

In taking over earlier tunes East subjected them to revision, usually in the direction of art music—reducing parallelisms, softening harsh dissonances, and so on. He also printed many new tunes on similar lines to the old, tending towards a standard voice order (bass—tenor—alto—soprano) in the fugal entries. (One advantage of this order which should not be overlooked is that it did not leave intervals of silence when the upper voices were lacking.) East attributed one tune to his engraver Costall, one to John Broderip, and a third to William Knapp. The Voice of Melody did not exhaust East's initiative: in 1754 he brought out Sacred Melody, which, like Beesly's Collection, is a specialized anthology devoted to fuging tunes alone. Its title page contains the earliest known use of the word fuging in reference to psalm or hymn tunes: 'The Sacred Melody ... Containing A Curious and Select Number of Psalm-Tunes, in the Fuging, Syncopating and Binding Taste ...'. In his Collection of Church Music (c1755) further fuging tunes appear, bringing East's total to more than fifty.

East clearly possessed greater knowledge and skill than the other psalmists in this group: e.g. 3 serves to demonstrate this. It seems that he alone had sufficient control of his resources to make effective choices between alternatives, based on understanding of how

16 The only known copy (Frost Collection, Royal College of Music, B.1.10) bears owners' inscriptions dated '1748 Billingsborough' and '1750 Wigtoft'. Bishop Gibson died in 1748, and the tunes traced by Maurice Frost include two from the 2nd edition of John Barrow's The Psalm-Singer's Choice Composition, which Frost dated c1745. On these grounds Frost dated the East book c1748, and the date seems plausible. For the 'Plan' of Bishop Gibson, see Willis 1754.

17 The attribution to Broderip and Knapp must be viewed with caution. Neither musician printed the tune concerned in his own collections of church music. Note, however, that a William Costall later acquired a copy of Knapp's New Church Melody (see above, p13).
the music would sound. But his books remained chiefly of local importance. They influenced others printed in the same area, such as those of John Harrott. But neither the fusing tunes East introduced, nor the changes he made in others, were generally adopted.

Lastly, William Knapp, already the compiler of A Sett of New Psalm Tunes and Anthems (1738), which would reach eight editions, followed the fashion by bringing out a new comprehensive psalmody book in which seventeen of the twenty-three psalm tunes were fusing. As parish clerk of Poole, Knapp had official charge over the psalm singing in one of the larger parish churches in Dorset, which had not yet acquired an organ. He may well have taught in surrounding parishes, and nine 'singing masters' were among the subscribers to his first book of 1738. The list of subscribers does not give place names, however. Map 4 is based on the tune names of both books, and it seems to show a more close-knit 'bailwick' than those of Evison and East, in an area about 10 miles by 15 miles. The widening circle of his influence can be charted from the locations of booksellers mentioned on the title pages of successive editions of his books (see Templeman 1979a, vol.1, 160–81).

As I have already suggested, Knapp made heavy use of Beesy's work, without acknowledgment. Its embellishments improved, and his business methods disseminated, seven of Beesy's tunes. Indeed the most successful of the fusing tunes he printed was one of Beesy's which Knapp named POOLE FUEL after his home town (tune 1112). It was reprinted eight times in England and twenty-six times in America, up to 1800. The only one of his original tunes that spread much beyond his own town was known (1725).

Let us now look at one of the most successful tunes of this germinal period, discuss its character and trace its later history. The tune probably first printed by Joseph Watts for Psalm 8 (1792), and later known by various names including STROGO and ORTIVORE, is shown in its original form in ex.5. It is one that is largely free of pseudo-harmonic blunders, which may partly account for its great popularity. It is, indeed, one of the best of the early fusing tunes, more skilful than any of Beesy's. It is also quite typical of the fusing tune as it was later developed, and may well have been a pattern for compilers such as

18 The following tune names occur in Knapp's Sett of New Psalm Tunes (1738): Sandwich, Dorsetsten, Dorchesten, Bot, Litche, Poole, Garden, Stansard, Windham, Winterberne and Sprainely. These in the 1713 collection are listed above (p.14). Garden and Chipper have not been identified; Dorchesten is outside the area of Map 4 (but see Map 1). All the remainder can be identified, at least superficially, with place marked on Map 4. For sound names, two spellings are possible (they are shown with question marks on the map). Winterberne is a river, with a whole mine of villages named after it (Winterborne Whitechurch etc.). I am most grateful to Margaret Holman, of the Dorset County Record Office, and to Muriel Archer, for their assistance in locating these places. Max Holmes pointed out, among other things, that Swanne was often called Sandwich in this period, and thus saved me from having to explain why one of Knapp's tunes was named after a town in Kent.

19 In the second edition of A Sett of New Psalm Tunes, published in 1741, Knapp added six tunes named after somewhat larger and more distant places: Linsford, Weymouth, Poole, Yeovil, Twycombe, Sherborne (see Map 1). The word 'NEW' distinguished it from an earlier tune which Knapp had named POOLE, but it was soon dropped when the tune was taken over by other compilers.
Aaron Williams and Joseph Stephenson who, in turn, influenced later English and American psalmists.

The tune is in two clearly demarcated sections. The first half is like one of the early Georgian triple-time tunes, many of which are still to be found in our hymn books. Its half-close on the dominant sets off the beginning of the fuging section in a new and faster tempo; the four voices enter at one-bar intervals, coming together for another half-close; and the last phrase rounds off the tune with a strong perfect cadence. There is no doubt, in the first half, that the tenor is the leading voice, carrying the melody, and throughout the tune it is sufficiently prominent and memorable to provide a clear lead to the other

20 Watt’s introduction indicates that a minim in 3/2 was equivalent to a crotchet in C, both occupied the time of a psalmist strike of a grandfather clock— that is, 60 per minute; while G is “faster” than C. Other succeeding introductions, including Byrd’s in A Book of Psalmody, state that F is twice as fast as C, which would mean that the crotchets would be constant at 120 per minute throughout this tune—a disfigured pace.
The harmony of the first half is smooth enough, and would not have disgraced a professional; only the movement of the bass in bar 6 seems a trifle clumsy. Departures from conventional grammar occur in the fuging section, with the movement of the outer parts essentially in parallel fifths throughout bars 11-13, the total parallelism between bar 12 and 13, and the unorthodox resolution of the dominant seventh chord at the end of bar 11. In the last phrase only the untreated seventh chord at the end of bar 15 might have caused powdered eyebrows to rise. There are also elements that break no rule of harmony, yet stand out as foreign to contemporary art music: the beautifully archaic '6-5' movement of the alto in bar 13; the open-fifth chords in bars 15 and 17. To end on an open fifth is, indeed, a trademark of country psalmody of the time.

Ex. 5 Tune for Psalm 8 (192) from Watt's Choice Collection (1749)
In this particular tune, either by skill or lack of a combination of the two, the section
of imitated counterpoint does not produce any great departure from the general harmonic
idiom. The least one can say against it is that it has a less clear sense of harmonic direction
than the other phrases of the tune; the movement from I to VI in bars 9-10 is repeated
bears 11-12, giving a somewhat static effect. This, also, was to prove typical of fugato
ions in general. Some repeat the same chords in every bar until all the voices have entered
and only then continue the harmonic movement. The entry of each voice on the last
followed by three repeated crotchets, was also to be a fugato trademark. If proba
ended to steady the voices, and made it easy for the choir to accomplish the imitation without mishap. In this tune so great violence is done to verbal rhythms — another point in its favour, in a practical as well as an aesthetic sense. The fuging section, with its repeat of the verbal phrase by tenor and bass, works equally well with the third lines of the second and third verses printed below the tune ("For in those baken thy might is seen"); The sun, the moon, and all the stars), but not with that of the last verse ("Or what the son of man, whom thou"). It is difficult to say whether compilers paid much attention to such matters. It looks as if Watts did not.

The next to print the tune was East, in The Second Book of the Voice of Melody, and he made two alterations which seem clearly deliberate, designed to mitigate the aspect of the tune which was most clearly against the rules: the extended consecutive fifths between soprano and bass in bars 11—13. He changed the soprano in bar 11 to D—D—E—D and the bass in bar 12 to E—B. With these changes, all illicit consecutives in the passage are eliminated except the inconspicuous parallel fifths between soprano and alto. East made a further change, however, which actually introduced new parallel fifths: he substituted a minim E for the two crotchets in the bass part of bar 6. He retained the association of the tune with Psalm 8, but substituted the New Version for the Old.

Everson printed the tune in 1751, and it seems that he had both Watts's and East's versions at his disposal. He restored Watts's soprano line in bar 11, but kept East's bass emendation in bar 12. In bar 6 he compromised, substituting two crotchets, G—E, which produced probably the most 'professional' of the three readings. He followed East's text, and for the first time he gave the tune a name, CANTERBURY.

All subsequent printings of this tune can be clearly traced to either East's or Everson's version, and the great majority of them derive from Everson's. East's emendation of the bass, being followed by Everson, is found in all later versions, and thus gives no clue to their descent. The only later printing that follows East in the soprano in bars 6 and 11 is John Harrott's The Rural Harmony or Sacred Concerts (Stanford 1769). Harrott worked in a region near to East's (see Map 3), and his books are closely related to East's in a number of ways.

Everson's version was taken up by a group of psalmists in the south (see Map 1). Beesly followed it precisely in his book of 1751, and so did Abraham Adams, of Shortham in Kent, in The Psalmist's New Companion. Adams made a change of notation, by writing the first half of the tune in 3/4 instead of 3/2 and eliminating the double bar.

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21 The earliest surviving edition of this work is the sixth, dating from about 1766. The second edition was advertised in December 1752 and the fifth in 1756, according to MS notes by Maurice Frere in the Royal College of Music. A work called A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems, by Adams, is advertised in The Organist's Pocket Companion (1751), and this may have been the first edition of the same work. Adams had a habit of transposing tunes taken from other books into a different key, which helps in establishing a stream. Several psalm tunes in William Crotch's Divine Harmony (1753) are headed 'From A. Adams'. It is impossible to say, of course, whether the earlier editions contained this tune, but those from the sixth (c.1766) to the twelfth (c.1792) certainly did. Many of the tunes in these editions are taken from Everson's book, which came from the same region.
in bar 5. He also renamed the tune OFORD. Two later printings probably based on his were in Matthew Wilkins's Book of Psalmody, hard to date but most probably around 1760, and John Compton's Psalm Singers Assistant, of 1778. They copied the 3/4 bar, retained the double bar, Compton called the tune ATILLA, and set it to a Christmas hymn by the Independent minister Philip Doddridge, though his book was for Anglicans. Wilkins was active in the ChilTERNs, and Compton at Southwold in Suffolk.

A more important derivative of Evison's was the version of Abraham Miller, in Psalm Singer's Companion of 1751. The great majority of texts in this book are from printed versions of Dr Isaac Watts, which shows that it was intended for the use of Independents (Congregationalists) and possibly some Baptists and Presbyterians (Benson 122–47). These texts could not be used in worship in the Church of England at this time (see n.5 above), and are hardly likely to have appeared to Anglicans for use at home or in singing schools. Most dissenters' textbooks until after about 1770 were quite concerned, providing only plain tunes in two or three parts and avoiding the elaboration of Anglica country psalmody. Miller's is the first that included fuging tunes — there were five, more than now, and three of these are set to texts by Isaac Watts. He sold his book from 50 Hatton Street, near White-Chapel-Ham, London, according to the title page. (In the absence of organs and charity children, there was no distinction between town and country in the psalmody of dissenters.) Miller must have taken tunes 192 from Evison, for his version is musically identical. He set it once again to Psalm 8, but now in the version of Dr Watts, and he renamed it NETTLETON.

The tune's later popularity was largely due to dissenters. Stephen Addington, an independent minister, included the tune in his Collection of Psalm Tunes for Public Worship. It may have been the first edition of 1779, it was certainly the earliest surviving edition, the third, of 1780, where it was one of only three fuging tunes; and it was retained in a steadily growing corpus of fuging tunes through subsequent editions down to the fifth, tenth of 1807. Addington, though he was based right in East's territory at Market Harborough, used Adams as his main source for this and other tunes, as can be seen from the variants and from his use of the name cyrano. But he omitted the soprano part and attributed the tune for some unknown reason to 'Dr Hayes.'[22] Isaac Smith, clerk to a Congregational meeting house in London, took the tune and sang directly from Addington into the 'new edition with supplement' [c.1782] of his Collection of Psalm Tunes.

Another dissenting clergyman, Ralph Harrison, minister of Cross Street Unitarian Chapel, Manchester, also used the tune in his influential Sacred Harmony, volume i (1784).

22 This was advertised in the Leicester and Nottingham Gazette 1779. I am indebted to Karl Kregen for this.
23 Apart from the obvious improbability that such a tune was composed by Dr William Hayes (1706–79),yone residing in Oxford since 1741, it would be hard to explain either his cooperation with Joseph Wirt or the fact that he again to extenuate a copyist for the tune. The following claim of circumstances is barely possible: a copy of the book from not later in 1782, the tune came to Hayes's notice, perhaps from the second edition (now lost) of Addington's book; and Hayes required Addington to give him, credit for it, not only to stable-speculation. I'm the other Dr Hayes, William's son Philip, was over eleven years old when he set the tune.)
set to Watts’s Psalm 24. Harrison was a well-trained musician, and a reformer who wanted to make the music of his services more artistic. This tune, like many in his book, was revised in the direction of more conventional harmony. He left the melody and the fuging section unchanged, but he altered the soprano and alto parts to fill out the choruses, including the bare fifth at the end, and to eliminate the non-functional dissonance at bar 15 (ex.6). He also added figures to the bass. Curiously enough he restored Earl’s bass at bar 6, although this reintroduced consecutive fifths, but as this is the only resemblance to Earl’s version I would hesitate to say that it is more than a coincidence. Harrison’s main source was evidently Addisoning, for he included the attribution to Dr Hayes, but he invented yet another name, WORCESTER.

With its inclusion in John Rippon’s Selection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (c1792) the tune entered the Baptist repertory, for this quickly became the authoritative Baptist tune-book. Its musical compiler, probably Thomas Walker, also took the tune from Addisoning, including its name and attribution, but he made another, independent, revision, apparently adding a fresh soprano part to Addisoning’s ATB without even seeing one of the earlier four-part versions (ex.7). As in many late eighteenth-century editions, the intended octave registers of the ‘air’ and of the uppermost part are by no means clear (see Temperley 1979a, vol.1, 184–90; Temperley & Manns 1981, n.29). Rippon assigned a new text, Watt’s Psalm 98, part 2. The tune in this form recurs in both English and American editions of Rippon well into the nineteenth century.

Another type of psalmody book that became more and more common in the later eighteenth century was of a kind that I have called ‘ecumenical’ (Temperley & Manns 1983), though its raison d’être was simply the commercial one of appealing to as broad a market as possible. John Beaton’s Complete Collection of All the Tunes Sung by the Different Congregations in Hull (c1780) is of this type. Beaton seems to have used Evison as his direct source, taking the name CANTERBURY, but he printed only the tenor and bass. William DIXON, of Guildford, prepared his Psalmodie Christiana (1789) primarily for Anglican use, but adapted many of the tunes to the words of Dr Watts as well. He printed this tune without outlay and with an even more unlikely attribution to ‘Dr Croft’. His heading ‘Psalm 8’ did not distinguish the version intended. His name NETTLETON and his variants, show that he took the tune from Milner. But, like Harrison, he sought to make it more elegant by revisiting the soprano and alto parts, and by adding figures, grace notes and trills (ex.8). He allowed the non-functional seventh chord and the bare-fifth conclusion to stand, but he eliminated the alto 6–5 in bar 13, the doubled third in bar 7, and the bare fifth in bar 15.

Ultimately the tune found its way to Scotland and to America. Laurence Ding’s The Beauties of Psalmody (Edinburgh 1792) and Henry Boyd’s Select Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes (Edinburgh and Glasgow 1793) provided tunes for Scottish Episcopal use, and ventured to include a few fuging tunes, 192 among them: Ding may have taken this text from Addisoning, renaming the tune EASIE and going back to the Old Version Psalm 8; Boyd perhaps returned to Adams, using the name OFFORD but omitting the alto part. The one American compiler who used the tune was Simon VOLLIN, in the Supplement to the Choicer’s Companion (New Haven 1792). He copied Harrison’s revised version note for note, omitting only the bass figures, and came up with his own name, DOMINION.
Ex. 6  End of tune 192 as altered by Harrison (1784)

Ex. 7  Beginning of tune 192 as altered by Rippon (c1793)
The story of this particular tune is, in many ways, the story of the fuguing-tune genre as a whole. Parochial musicians continued to develop the fuguing tune in the 1750s and early 1760s, but after that the initiative passed to dissenters and to America (for the later history see Tempeley & Manns 1983). In English parish churches, musical reform set in, gathering strength particularly in the 1790s, and more 'correct' forms were provided by professional composers like Samuel Arnold and John Calcott, whose Psalms of David (1791) contained a large number, many of them adapted from the works of Handel. These 'respectable' fuguing tunes, even the thre by Joseph Haydn which were commissioned by William Tattersall for his Improved Psalmody (1754), ultimately followed their more uncouth ancestors into oblivion.

But in the more remote country churches fuguing tunes would remain in use until the bands of instrumentalists which had grown up around the singers were replaced by a barrel organ or harmonium. Fuguing tunes could be heard in some places well after the middle of the nineteenth century (Dickson 1857). In America, they passed from New England to the Southern states in the early nineteenth century and entered the shape-note repertory, where they still flourish today. But that is another story.
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