

Sing to the Lord a New Song:
A Study of Changing Musical Practices
in the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, 1861-1901

Submitted by
Laurence James Moore BA BMus(Hons)

A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Master of Music

School of Arts and Sciences
Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Australian Catholic University
Research Services
Locked Bag 4115,
Fitzroy, Victoria 3065
Australia

January 2004

STATEMENT OF SOURCES

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Dianne Gome who guided this study from its inception with patience, interest and assistance. Special mention should also be made of the staff of the archives of The Presbyterian Church of Victoria, and the parishes of St Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat, St Andrew's Uniting Church, Bendigo, and St Kilda Presbyterian Church for provision of access to archival material.

ABSTRACT

The latter half of the 19th century was a time of immense change in Presbyterianism worldwide in respect of the role of music in worship. Within this period the long tradition of unaccompanied congregational psalmody gave way to the introduction of hymnody, instrumental music (initially provided by harmoniums and later by pipe organs) and choral music in the form of anthems.

The Presbyterian Church of Victoria, formed in 1859 as a union of the Church of Scotland and the majority of the Free Presbyterian and the United Presbyterian churches and numerically the strongest branch of Presbyterianism in Australia, was to the forefront in embracing this tide of change. Beginning in 1861 with the proposal for the compilation of a colonial hymnbook, issues associated with musical repertoire and practice occupied a prominent place in discussions and decision making over the next 30 years. Between 1861 and 1901 hymnody was successfully introduced into church worship with the adoption of three hymnals in 1867, 1883 and 1898. Programs of music education were devised for the teaching of the new repertoire and for improving the standard of congregational singing. A hallmark tradition of Presbyterianism was overturned with the introduction of instruments into worship, initially as a support for congregational singing but in time as providers of purely instrumental music also. The profile of the choir changed dramatically.

Making extensive use of primary sources, this study aims to document the process of change in Victoria between 1861 and 1901, exploring the rationales underlying decisions taken and historical factors facilitating change. Musical developments in Victoria are viewed in the context of those elsewhere, especially Scotland and of general changes in aesthetic taste. The study concludes that the process of musical change shows the Presbyterian Church of Victoria to have been a forward-looking and well-endowed institution with the confidence to take initiatives independent of Scottish control. It is also concluded that changes in musical practice within the worship of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria reflect developments taking place in other denominations and the changing aesthetic tastes of the Victorian era.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATEMENT OF SOURCES	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ILLUSTRATIONS	viii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
 CHAPTER	
1. OVERVIEW OF HYMNODY IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF VICTORIA	10
Plans for a hymn book	11
Rationale	12
Selection process	13
Contents	13
<i>Church Praise</i> (1883)	18
<i>Church Hymnary</i> (1898)	19
2. AN INSTRUMENT FREE ZONE— Reformed Principles Of Unaccompanied Worship	25
Use of instrumental music in other traditions	27
The organ in the Reformed tradition	30
Presbyterian policy on instruments in worship	32
The uniqueness of Scotland	44
3. WITH HEART AND VOICE—	

	vi
The Tradition of Singing Classes	57
Music reform in 18 th century Scotland	62
Music education in 18 th and 19 th century Scotland	64
Music education in 19 th century Victoria	68
4. THE DEVIL’S KIST O’ WHISTLES— The Introduction of Instrumental Music	85
Assembly deliberations in Scotland	86
Assembly deliberations in Victoria	88
Response to the Victorian Assembly deliberations	93
Harmonium to pipe organs	99
Finance/bequests	102
Size and Tonal Characteristics of organs	105
Openings	108
Positioning	110
Solo performance	111
Recitals	113
Orchestral accompaniment	130
5. FROM BACK ROOM TO CENTRE STAGE— The Development of a Choral Tradition.	122
The function of the choir	126
Liturgical	126
Reactions to the liturgical use of choral anthems	131
Social	135
Repertoire	142
<i>Book of Anthems</i> (1875)	143
<i>Church Praise</i> (1883)	144
Presbyterian composers in Victoria	149
CONCLUSIONS	158

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Table of early organ installations	170
Appendix B: Choir rules of St. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat 1882	172
Appendix C: Record of choir attendance, St. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat 1893	175
Appendix D: Contents of <i>Book of Anthems for Use in Public Worship</i> (1875)	176
Appendix E: Contents of <i>Church Praise Anthem Book</i>	179

BIBLIOGRAPHY

181

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<i>Figure 1: Presbyterianism in Victoria to 1901</i>	8
<i>Figure 2: The tune Serenity in its staff notation and Tonic Sol-fa notation</i>	67
<i>Figure 3: An advertisement from The Australian for a singing class</i>	72
<i>Figure 4: An advertisement for a concert of the Richmond Juvenile Philharmonic Society</i>	73
<i>Figure 5: An example of a musical tutorial in Smith's Sacred Harmony</i>	78
<i>Figure 6: An example of lessons in Sol-fa showing the fixed Doh system</i>	79
<i>Figure 7: An example from Smith's Sacred Harmony marked using the Waite System</i>	80
<i>Figure 8: An advertisement showing a catalogue of sacred music</i>	81
<i>Figure 9: Presbyterian architectural styles</i>	101
<i>Figure 10: The organ at Noorat Presbyterian Church</i>	104
<i>Figure 11: Advertisement for R. Mackenzie, organ builder (Christian Review, April 1877)</i>	105
<i>Figure 12: Interior The High Church, Geelong (St Giles' Presbyterian Church, Geelong)</i>	110
<i>Figure 13: Orchestra of St John's Ballarat East (The Weekly Times)</i>	117
<i>Figure 14: Leaflet advertising a concert of 'Scottish Humour and Scottish Song'</i>	139
<i>Figure 15: Peter Cazaly's harmonisation of Within a mile of Edinboro' Town</i>	140
<i>Figure 16: Frontispiece of Anthems for use with Church Praise</i>	144
<i>Figure 17: Opening Bass solo from Incline thine ear to me (Himmel/Novello)</i>	145
<i>Figure 18: Quartet from Incline thine ear to me (Himmel/Novello)</i>	146
<i>Figure 19: The Lord is my Shepherd (G. A. Macfarren)</i>	147
<i>Figure 20: Opening soprano solo of As pants the hart, Spohr/Simpson</i>	148
<i>Figure 21: soprano obbligato and 5-part chorus from As pants the hart, (Spohr/Simpson)</i>	149
<i>Figure 22: Tenor solo from Come unto Me (Crook)</i>	150
<i>Figure 23: Come unto Me (Crook) four part harmony</i>	151
<i>Figure 24: Soprano solo from O Love divine (Crook)</i>	152
<i>Figure 25: Tenor solo from O Love divine (Crook)</i>	152
<i>Figure 26: Bass solo from O Love divine (Crook)</i>	153
<i>Figure 27: St Andrew's Bendigo Choir (Margaret Temple 1984, The Story of St. Andrew's Church Bendigo)</i>	154

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

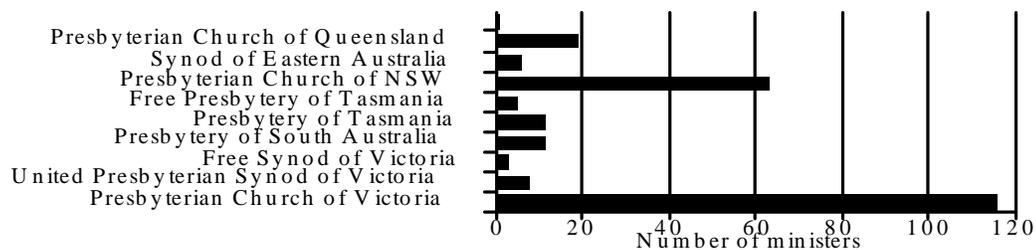
E.C.	Established Church (Church of Scotland
F.C.	Free Church
U.P.	United Presbyterian Church

INTRODUCTION

The latter half of the 19th century heralded a time of immense change in Presbyterianism worldwide in respect of the role of music in worship. Within this time span the 300-year exclusive tradition of unaccompanied congregational psalmody gave way to a new musical praxis that embraced not only hymnody but also instrumental music, provided in the main by harmoniums and related instruments and later by pipe organs, and choral music in the form of anthems. It is arguable that no other period in the history of Presbyterianism has experienced such a degree of change in the area of musical praise. As in the other Australian colonies, mainstream Presbyterianism in Victoria dealt with this tide of change and the many challenges entailed in it. Beginning in 1861 with the proposal for the compilation of a colonial hymnbook, issues associated with musical repertoire and practice occupied a prominent place in discussions, press articles and correspondence and decision making over the next 30 years, with marked changes in the actual performance of music in worship occurring concurrently.

The music of Victorian Presbyterianism during this period offers a rich and interesting source for study. Numerically speaking, Victoria had a stronger Presbyterian presence than did any of the other colonies, as is indicated by Table 1.

Table 1 Presbyterianism in Australia (1869)



Source: *Presbyterian Calendar of Australasia*, ed. Rev. D. MacDonald, Mason Firth & Co., (1869)

The comparative wealth of Victoria occasioned by the gold rushes gave enterprising Scottish Presbyterians a degree of upward financial and social mobility.¹ They included wealthy squatters and leading businessmen, and their legacy is displayed in institutions such as the Theological Hall and Ormond College as well as the Chair of Music at the University of Melbourne². The experience gained from participation in Presbyterian polity was a factor that enabled many of them to assume positions of leadership in public office, a considerable number becoming parliamentarians. In more general terms, the favourable social conditions made for a progressive outlook that infiltrated the Presbyterian church itself.

Unlike the music of Presbyterianism in Great Britain and North America³, that of the Australian Presbyterian Church has received virtually no attention from scholars. The sole study of Presbyterian music in Australia is the BMus(Hons) thesis ‘Change, Acceptance and Resistance in the Hymnody of Presbyterianism in Victoria 1838-1901’ (1999) by the author. Australian Presbyterian music merits a brief mention in the article ‘Church Music’ in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music* (1997)⁴, but commands no discrete entry. The latest edition of the *New Grove*⁵ includes the entry ‘Reformed and Presbyterian church music’ but with no mention of Australia. Passing references to Presbyterian music are made in ‘Music

¹ For a scholarly study of the Scottish presence in Australia see M. D. Prentis, 1983, *The Scots in Australia: a Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*, Sydney University Press, Sydney.

² The Ormond Chair of Music was founded with a bequest of £20,000 from Francis Ormond and was established with the express aim to improve Church Music. (*Toorak Presbyterian Church: a jubilee record, 1875-1925* [1925] (Presbyterian Church of Australia), p.12).

³ R. Martin 1963, ‘The Transition from Psalmody to Hymnody in Southern Presbyterianism, 1753-1901’, PhD, Union Theological Seminary, New York; G. L. Doughty 1966, ‘The History and Development of Music in the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America’, PhD University of Iowa; R. Stevenson 1966, *Protestant Church Music in America*, W. W. Norton, New York; J. Melton 1967, *Presbyterian Worship in America: Changing Patterns since 1787*, John Knox Press, Richmond Virginia.

⁴ *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music* 1977, ed. W. Babbington, Oxford University Press, Melbourne

⁵ Andreas Marti, Bert Polman, ‘Reformed and Presbyterian church music’, *Grove Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 6 January 2004), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>

for *Uniting in Worship*' by Judith McKnight (1988)⁶, and 'Robert Dalley-Scarlett: His Contributions to Musical Life in Brisbane, 1919-1959' by Peter Roennfeldt (1978)⁷. Peter Blackwood's 'Bring David Here: Reclaiming the Song of the Psalms for the Uniting Church in Australia' (2002)⁸ examines the tradition of psalm singing in the church with special reference to Scottish psalmody and its use in Australia, but this is by way of background rather than the principle focus of the study. 'Changes in Presbyterian Worship in Colonial Australia, 1860-1900' (1981) by Malcolm D. Prentis⁹ presents a background to the liturgical changes in Presbyterian worship in Australia.

Studies of the musical traditions of other denominations in Australia include 'Twentieth-Century Catholic Hymnody in Australia: A Study of Selected Published Hymnals, 1942-1985' (1991) by Paul Taylor¹⁰, 'A History of the First Hundred Years of Lutheran Church Music in South Australia' by Peter Roennfeldt (1981)¹¹, 'Music at St Francis' Church Melbourne and the Papal Restoration of Church Music in the *Motu Proprio Tra le sollecitudini* (November 21, 1903): Resistance and Reformation from 1903 to 1937' by John Byrne (1995)¹², 'The implication of the *Motu Proprio Tra le sollecitudini* of Pope Pius X in the Sydney Catholic

⁶ Judith McKnight 1988, 'Music for *Uniting in Worship*: A Background Investigation of Music for the Services of the Uniting Church in Australia', BMus(Hons), Australian Catholic University.

⁷ Peter Roennfeldt 1978, 'Robert Dalley-Scarlett: His Contributions to Musical Life in Brisbane, 1919-1959', BMus(Hons), University of Queensland.

⁸ Peter Blackwood 2002, 'Bring David Here: Reclaiming the Song of the Psalms for the Uniting Church in Australia' DMS, Melbourne College of Divinity.

⁹ Malcolm D. Prentis, 1981, 'Changes in Presbyterian Worship in Colonial Australia, 1860-1900', *Church Heritage* 2/1 (March), pp. 46-57

¹⁰ Paul Taylor 1991, 'Twentieth-Century Catholic Hymnody in Australia: A Study of Selected Published Hymnals, 1942-1985', BMus(Hons), Australian Catholic University.

¹¹ Peter Roennfeldt 1981, 'A History of the First Hundred Years of Lutheran Church Music in South Australia', MMus, University of Adelaide.

¹² John Byrne 1995, 'Music at St Francis' Church Melbourne and the Papal Restoration of Church Music in the *Motu Proprio Tra le sollecitudini* (November 21, 1903): Resistance and Reformation from 1903 to 1937', BMus(Hons), Australian Catholic University

Church, 1903-1963' by John De Luca (1994)¹³, 'Music-making in the Wesleyan Churches of New South Wales, 1855-1902' by Kelvin Hastie (1981)¹⁴, 'The First Sixty Years of Music at St. Paul's Cathedral c. 1887-1947' by Paul Harvie (1983)¹⁵, 'Music in Worship in the Methodist Churches of Brisbane' by Ralph Morton (1970)¹⁶. Although not denominational, Dianne Gome's research on Australian hymnody (1995¹⁷, 1997¹⁸, 1998¹⁹) provides valuable contextual information. Other studies of a general historical and social significance are *The Scots in Australia: a Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*²⁰ by Malcolm Prentis (1983).

The standard study of Scottish Presbyterian psalmody is *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* by Millar Patrick²¹ (1949). The dissertation 'Scottish Church Music 1560-1640' by Raymond White²² (1972) along with *The Organ in Scotland before 1700*²³ (1991) by Jim Inglis encompass the formative years of Presbyterianism. Works such as *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*²⁴ (1892) by C. G. McCrie, *Music in Church Worship*²⁵ (1926) by G.

¹³ John De Luca 1994, 'The implication of the *Motu Proprio Tra le sollecitudini* of Pope Pius X in the Sydney Catholic Church, 1903-1963', MMus, University of New South Wales.

¹⁴ Kelvin Hastie 1981, 'Music-Making in the Wesleyan Churches of New South Wales, 1855-1902', MPhil, University of Sydney.

¹⁵ Paul Harvie 1983, 'The First Sixty Years of Music at St. Paul's Cathedral c. 1887-1947',

¹⁶ Ralph Morton 1970, 'Music in Worship of the Methodist Churches of Brisbane', BMus(Hons), University of Queensland.

¹⁷ Dianne Gome, 1995, 'Australian Hymnody, 1821-1901: An Annotated Checklist of Sources Located in Australian Libraries,' *Continuo*, 24, pp 1-28.

¹⁸ Dianne Gome, 1996, 'Hymnody in the Australian Colonies, 1788-1901: a preliminary investigation of sources and functions of hymns', *Australasian Music Research*, vol. 1, pp. 141-166.

¹⁹ Dianne Gome, 1997, 'Australian Colonial Hymnody 1788-1901: How Australian?', *Australasian Music Research*, vol. 2, 1-22.

²⁰ Malcolm. D. Prentis, 1983, *The Scots in Australia: a Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*, Sydney University Press, Sydney.

²¹ Millar Patrick 1949, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, Oxford University Press, London.

²² Raymond White 1972, 'Scottish Church Music 1560-1640' PhD, St Andrews University.

²³ Jim Inglis, 1991, *The Organ in Scotland before 1700*, Uitgeverij 'de Mixtuur', Schagen, Holland.

²⁴ Charles G. McCrie 1892, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh.

²⁵ G. Wauchope Stewart 1926, *Music in Church Worship: Being the Baird Lecture for 1926*, Hodder and Stoughton, London.

Wauchope Stewart and *History of Worship in the Church of Scotland*²⁶ by William D. Maxwell (1955) provide valuable historical, liturgical and theological perspectives of the Scottish church from its inception to the 19th century and beyond. *Scottish Church Music, its Composers and Sources*²⁷ by James Love (1891) provides an exhaustive and authoritative compilation of Scottish church music and its composers. *A History of Music in Scotland*²⁸ (1947) by Henry G. Farmer provides a general but extremely well sourced history of both secular and sacred music of Scotland, and has proved invaluable to the present study. Interestingly, Farmer's authority is still respected in Scottish historiography.

The purpose of this thesis is to document and interpret the profound changes in direction that took place in Victorian Presbyterianism during the 19th century, the impact of which is still evident today in Presbyterian Church of Australia and the Uniting Church in Australia. The central research questions are:

- What was the place of music in Presbyterian worship prior to the mid 19th century?
- What changes in Presbyterian musical practice occurred in Victoria between 1867 and 1901?
- What circumstances prompted these changes?
- How were the changes received?
- What were the outcomes of the changes?

²⁶ William D. Maxwell 1955, *A History of the Worship in the Church of Scotland*, Oxford University Press, London.

²⁷ James Love 1891, *Scottish Church Music, its Composers and Sources*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh

²⁸ Henry G. Farmer 1947, *A History of Music in Scotland*, Hinrichsen Edition Ltd, London.

The methodology involved in addressing these questions has entailed the assembling of databases of relevant material: debates and resolutions from all levels of church government, written opinions, accounts of musical performances, contents of hymnals and other musical resources and installations of instruments. This information has been obtained as follows:

1. Relevant Presbytery, Assembly, Session and Board of Management minutes as well as parish publications and pamphlets, various church journals (*The Presbyterian Monthly*, *The Christian Review*, *The Presbyterian Review*, *The Weekly Review and Messenger*) of the period, and manuscripts have been consulted. Primary source materials play a significant role in this study, given the lack of secondary sources in the area of 19th century Presbyterian music.
2. Contents of the proposed colonial hymnbook were sourced in *The Weekly Review and Messenger*²⁹, hymn database from *Psalms & Hymns for Divine Worship*(1867), *Church Praise*(1883), *Church Hymnary*(1893). This database is to be found as Appendix E in the author's Honours thesis.

Documents relative to the study are included in the collections *Liturgies of the Western Church* by Bard Thompson (1970)³⁰, David W. Music, *Instruments in Church, a Collection of Source Documents* (1998)³¹ and Hayburn, R. F. *Papal Legislation in Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.*, (1979)³².

The above material has been carefully analysed, in order to achieve accurate documentation of events, but more importantly to gain insight into issues such as the motivation for the changes, the degree of success, problems encountered, reactions and outcomes.

²⁹ *Weekly Review and Messenger* Nov. 24, 18664, p. 4.

³⁰ Bard Thompson 1970, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, World Publishing Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

³¹ David W. Music 1998, *Instruments in Church, a Collection of Source Documents* The Scarecrow Press, Inc., Lanham, Maryland, and London

³² R. F. Hayburn, 1979, *Papal Legislation in Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.*, The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota.

Contextuality is an important aspect of this methodology. As far as possible, the musical developments within the Presbyterian Church of Victoria are considered alongside Presbyterian churches in other colonies. However this is limited by the fact that such developments remain largely undocumented. Victorian musical change is also viewed in context of events in other countries especially Scotland, from whence Australian Presbyterianism for the most part originated. As well, the Victorian developments are viewed alongside the musical practices of other denominations present in the colony. Contents of hymnals and other musical resources used by the Presbyterian Church of Victoria are considered with reference to other mainstream publications such as *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and the *Church of Scotland Anthem Book* to ascertain currency of the repertoire. The study also includes an examination of traditional Presbyterian theology and philosophy in regard to the place of music and the role of instruments in worship, by way of background to the monumental changes which form the body of the discussion.

Figure 1 shows that in 1846 the Presbyterian Church in Australia reflected the division that occurred in Scottish Presbyterianism as a result of the major split in the Church of Scotland when the Free Church of Scotland was formed in 1843 as a result of state interference. In Victoria the Presbytery of Melbourne (part of the Synod of Australia in connection with the Established Church of Scotland continued but James Forbes was instrumental in forming the Free Presbyterian Church of Australia Felix. After the creation of the colony of Victoria the name changed accordingly to the Free Presbyterian Church of Victoria. The remaining congregations of this church were united with the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia in 1953, and it still maintains the practice of singing unaccompanied metrical psalms in worship.

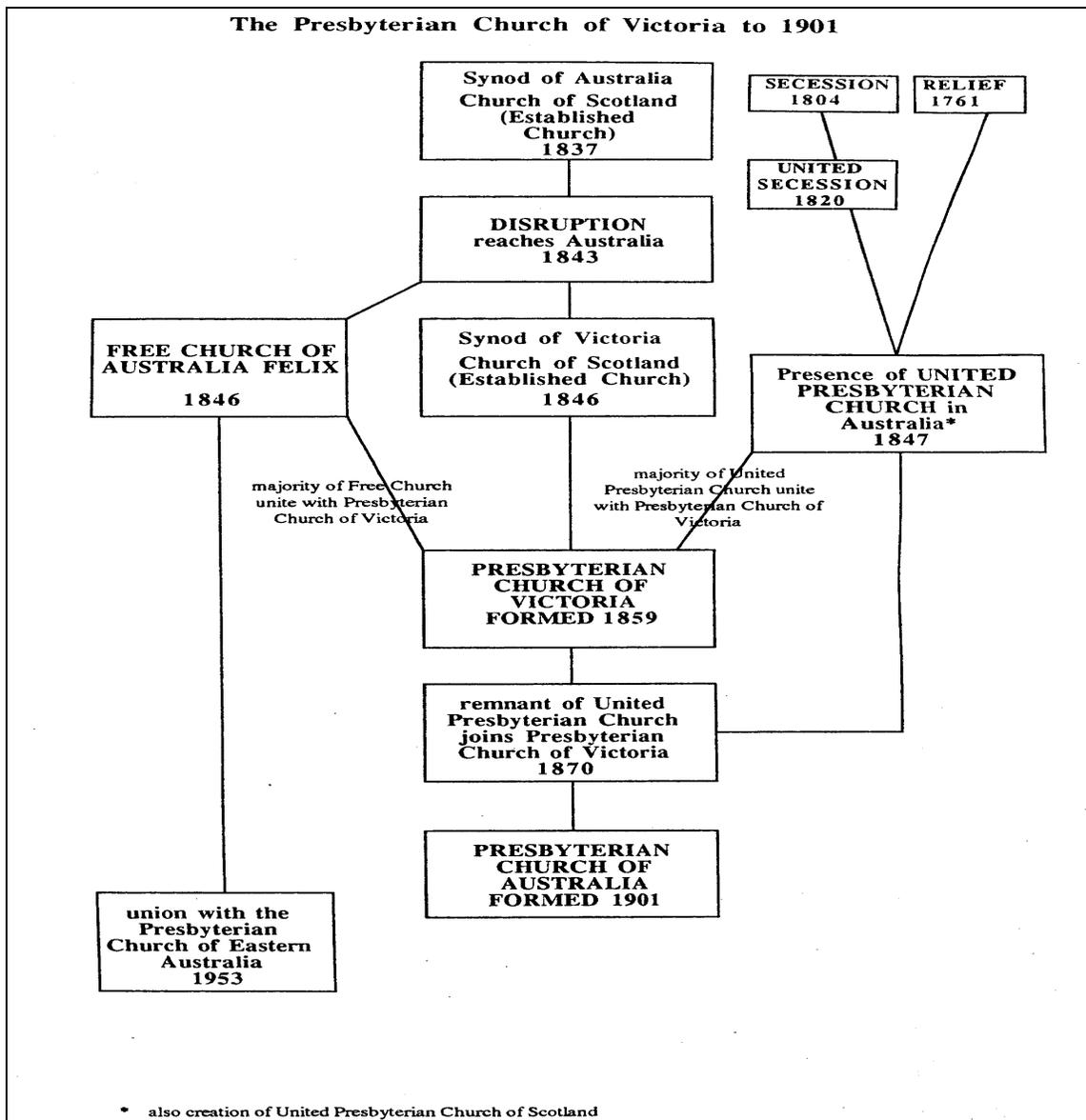


Figure 1 Presbyterianism in Victoria to 1901

The appearance in 1847 of the United Presbyterian Church³³ created a third denomination. Regardless of the divided state of the Church in Scotland, a change of monumental importance occurred in Victoria in 1859 with the union between the majority of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church as well as the entire Church of Scotland forming the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. This was followed in the other States (Queensland 1863, New South

³³ This resulted from the union of the Secession (1804) and Relief (1761) churches in 1847.

Wales 1865, South Australia 1865, Tasmania 1896). It is worth noting that the Victorian Presbyterian union was the first Presbyterian union anywhere in the world following the 1843 Disruption. Interestingly there was no union in Scotland of the three bodies until 1929.³⁴

Thus in 1861 Presbyterianism in Victoria took three forms. The vast majority of Presbyterians belonged to the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, which was formed in 1859 just outlined and a small number of congregations remaining with the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church.

The time frame of this study will embrace the years from initial consideration of a colonial hymn book in 1861 to 1901, which saw the federation of the church forming the Presbyterian Church of Australia. By this date, the changes involving the use of instrumental music and the role of the choir were firmly in place throughout Victoria and associated arguments were virtually at an end. The worship of the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia (the denomination that continued the practice of unaccompanied psalmody) will not be considered. However the denomination will be referred to contextually when required.

Since the topic of Hymnody was addressed in detail in the author's Honours thesis, it is presented here in summary by way of background prior to the main body of the thesis, which focuses on the introduction of instrumental music and the changing role of the choir in worship.

³⁴ The United Presbyterian Church and the majority of the Free Church of Scotland were united in 1900. This was followed by the majority of the United Free Church (resulting from that union) uniting with the Church of Scotland in 1929. (Robert Hamilton 1888, *A Jubilee History of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Hutchinson, Melbourne; Hodder and Stoughton, London; Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, Edinburgh. p. 255.)

Chapter 1

OVERVIEW OF HYMNODY IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF VICTORIA

Presbyterians are seen as conservative both in their demeanour and in their worship. However in 1859 the Presbyterians of Victoria showed boldness and independence from the church in Scotland by proposing the introduction of a hymn book, an innovation that broke with the 300 year-old worship tradition of metrical psalmody. This chapter discusses the process of the introduction of the locally compiled hymn book in terms of rationale, methods of selection, contents, the response to the project, and the final outcome.

The Church of Scotland adhered to unaccompanied metrical psalmody as the central mode of musical praise, the psalms being revered as inspired text. The Psalter of 1650 has remained in authorised use until the present time with the Paraphrases being allowed from 1781.

Thus in the first decades of settlement most Presbyterians in Victoria would have followed the worship traditions established in Scotland. In all branches the focus of their worship was the preaching of the Word. United Presbyterians sang hymns while those of the Established and Free strands sang only Psalms and Paraphrases mostly in common metre (8.6.8.6.). All were sung unaccompanied with the singing led by a precentor whose only aid to obtaining a starting note of a particular tune was a tuning fork. Prayers were extempore and sermons lasting up to fifty minutes were delivered, ideally without notes.

However in the 19th century, the Church of Scotland was taking a cautious interest in the possibility of hymnody as a supplement to the psalms, authorising its first hymn book in 1870. In contrast, the Scottish Free Church remained staunch in its exclusive acceptance of metrical psalmody without instrumental accompaniment until 1882 when a hymn book was authorised.

The United Presbyterian Church (the result of the merger of secessions that had come out of the Church of Scotland) had a tradition of hymnody as early as 1794 when one of its predecessors, the Relief Church, produced its first hymn book.

It would seem that at the time of their landmark union in 1859 Presbyterians in Victoria were also taking an interest in hymnody as a valuable supplement to their long established psalmody. Indeed by 1861 plans for an official hymn book for the Presbyterian Church of Victoria had been drawn up and presented to the General Assembly by the Presbytery of Melbourne without any known reference to Scotland. This was not the first proposal for hymnody in the Presbyterian Church as a similar proposal was considered in Tasmania in 1844. 'However following lengthy consultation involving correspondence with the church in Scotland the project appears to be abandoned.'³⁵

PLANS FOR A HYMN BOOK

The Victorian Presbyterian Church's desire to produce its own hymn book was no doubt spurred on by the other denominations that had published hymn books locally, such as those published for the Church of England. Furthermore the ecumenical nature of the colony since its inception, the sharing in union prayer meetings, inter-denominational concerts and especially the sharing of buildings by different denominations, would have also exposed Presbyterians to the popular hymns of other denominations.³⁶ The presence of the United Presbyterian Church in the colony, with an already existing history of hymnody would have

³⁵ Cited in Heyer, J. 1935, *The Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, Presbytery of Launceston, Launceston. pp. 41-2.

³⁶ *The Argus*, Dec. 23 1854. *The Argus*, July 26 1854. *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864. Robert Hamilton 1888, *A Jubilee History of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Hutchinson, Melbourne; Hodder and Stoughton, London; Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, Edinburgh, pp. 181-6. Ian Breward 1993, *A History of the Australian Churches*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, p.36.

provided further stimulus for the introduction of hymnody into the Presbyterian Church of Victoria.

To date no extant copy of the proposed colonial book has been found so information as to the nature of the collection can only be gleaned from minutes of meetings and relevant articles and letters presented in journals.

Rationale

In a report by Rev T. McKenzie Fraser³⁷ (FC), Convenor of the committee established to prepare a compilation of hymns for public worship to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, he gives a theological and social rationale for the inclusion of hymns, (often referred to as ‘uninspired praise’) in the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. Fraser contends that the exclusive singing of Psalms essentially expresses Old Testament devotion and does not convey the truth of the gospel nor Christian sentiment.³⁸ It was also argued that prayers are not confined to Old Testament language; why then should praise be limited to Old Testament Poetry? However it was not the intention of the committee to replace, but to supplement the psalms. In addition to this theological rationale, Fraser also shows an awareness of current developments in congregational music and maintains that the Presbyterian denomination must keep abreast of other Protestant denomination’s praise. He states that ‘even the most conservative of all Protestant bodies, the Church England...has wisely fostered the revived Evangelism of the age by an extensive hymnology; and if the Presbyterians of this colony is to keep abreast of other denomination, it must consent to sacrifice an old prejudice, and must meet the growing wants of the times, by a richer and more copious provision of evangelical song’.³⁹

³⁷ Born in 1822 in Inverness-shire Scotland Fraser, received his formative education at the Blue Coat School, in London. In 1838 he entered Kings College, Aberdeen, and gained the first Greek prize in his year. Fraser attended theological classes of the Free Church under Drs Chalmers and Welsh. At this time Scotland was in the throes of the Disruption and being of Highland descent Fraser ‘was able to reveal in English what the Celts felt and said in Gaelic. *The Monthly Messenger*, September, 1885, 268

³⁸ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12, 1864, pp. 5-6.

³⁹ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12, 1864, p. 6.

Selection Process

The need of a hymn book was taken to the General Assembly in November 1862 and it was proposed to canvass all churches in the Presbyteries for a list of appropriate hymns. In November 1863 returns of a collection of hymns was received from Presbyteries and a committee was appointed, and presided over by Rev. T. McKenzie Fraser, with the task to prepare a draft of 150 hymns, to have them printed and sent to Presbyteries and Sessions for comment and return for next Assembly.⁴⁰ The request for a collection of 150 hymns would seem small when compared to that of other denominations whose collections exceeded 400 hymns but it seems that the importance of the Psalter may have extended to hymnody (150 psalms = 150 hymns).⁴¹ However the Committee felt that the number of 150 hymns, to be sent for comment, would be restrictive and would leave no margin for the objections of the various Presbyteries and kirk sessions; a larger number would leave a tolerably fair margin in order to afford scope for the fullest and freest criticism.⁴²

Contents

On receiving returns it was suggested that the contents of the proposed hymnal be grouped under seven headings.⁴³

1. The general subject of praise – (7)
2. God the Father, His perfections, love and sovereignty – (10)
3. Jesus Christ - His advent, character and titles, life and example, miracles, humiliation, teaching, death, resurrection and ascension, sovereignty, intercession, and second coming – (47)
4. The Holy Spirit - His person, work, prayer for the spirit – (11)
5. The Christian life, conviction, prayer for mercy, pleading the promises, faith, repentance, love, gratitude, peace, trust, joy, hope, the backslider, sanctification,

⁴⁰ *Proceeding of the General Assembly*, Nov. 1863

⁴¹ Gome D 1995, 'Australian Hymnody, 1821-1901: an annotated checklist of sources located in Australian libraries,' *Continuo*, 24, pp.5-9.

⁴² *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864, p. 4

⁴³ The Presbytery of Castlemaine recommended 'that the headings be dispensed with' (*Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12, 1864, p. 5)

consolations, struggles, affliction, resignation, self-denial, communion with God, triumph, death, resurrection, and the heavenly joys – (64)

6. The Church - including the Lord's day, public worship, the Bible, prayer, exhortation, invitations, baptism, the Lord's supper – (23)
7. Special occasions, as the opening of a church, ordination and death of ministers, missionary hymns, evening, commencement and close of the year, and dismissal – (23)

Selection of words

The committee proposed to select hymn texts that were not only well known and in general use among the churches and expressed popular piety, but also theologically sound. They must express the sentiments of the Christian people.⁴⁴

The Committee was not necessarily looking for hymns of high poetic merit but those whose words would go straight to the hearts of the people. A hymn book must be essentially a popular compilation not just a selection of poetic attractiveness. It should be accessible to all levels of understanding and this point was illustrated by referring, with some disdain to the hymns of Joseph Conder, of which it was stated ‘that they have been polished till every salient point and striking thought has been rubbed off...in short that are a marvellous union of fastidiousness of taste and feebleness of sentiment’.⁴⁵ On the other hand the committee had nothing but praise for the hymns of Toplady, Wesley, and John Newton who ‘will retain their hold on popular affection, in spite of all their blemishes, and their sweetness, simplicity and unction, will enshrine them in the hearts of millions...’.⁴⁶

Although there seems to be no indication of music being sent to Presbyteries for approval, tune names are mentioned with the appropriate hymn number, which implies that the tunes

⁴⁴ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12, 1864, p. 4.

⁴⁵ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864, p. 5.

⁴⁶ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864, p. 5

were already familiar to congregations⁴⁷. The Report upholds the insertion of peculiar or irregular metres. Fraser maintained that the discarding of new metres would ruin the compilation and suggests that these new metres could be taught in Sabbath-school and even goes so far as to suggest that some of the familiar common metre tunes (8.6.8.6.) should be reconverted to their original and often syncopated form. He notes that ‘other denomination whose Psalmody was one as meagre as our own, have found no difficulty on the score of the peculiar metres of their hymns nor, when we join in their union prayer-meetings, do we find this any obstacle to our praise. It needs but a beginning, and when the first set has been taken the bugbear will vanish’.⁴⁸

There was an excellent level of response to the project. Apart from returns from Presbyteries, returns were also received from 14 individual parishes. Six out of eight Presbyteries (Beechworth, Melbourne, Wimmera, Ballarat, Geelong, Castlemaine) all submitted in favour of the compilation.⁴⁹ However returns were not received from the Presbyteries of Hamilton and Mortlake. It appears that some Sessions did not receive copies of the hymns in time for comment by the November General Assembly.⁵⁰ Although the majority of returns were made up of inclusions and exclusions of hymns there were some of particular interest. Erskine Church, Carlton (U.P.) submitted a further 80 hymns with a recommendation that they be added to the 150 hymns intended in the compilation. The Presbytery of Castlemaine, on the motion of Rev Jarret (U.P.), recommended ‘that the collection be extended to at least 300, and that the larger proportion of the additional hymns should consist of experimental⁵¹ subjects’.⁵²

⁴⁷ Presumably it was planned to adopt the widely used strategy of using tune books such as that of the Scottish United Presbyterian Church. (*Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864, p. 5).

⁴⁸ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864, p. 5

⁴⁹ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12, 1864, p.4.

⁵⁰ *Minutes of Mortlake Presbytery*, 5 Oct. 1864, p. 83.

⁵¹ ‘Experimental’ is to be understood as ‘experiential’, i.e. dealing with Christian experience. What the Presbytery wanted was a greater number of hymns dealing with coming to faith, grounds of assurance, our certain hope, etc. (Prof. Allan Harman, Presbyterian Theological College, Box Hill, Victoria)

⁵² *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Oct. 1864, p. 9.

The Presbytery of Wimmera recommended ‘considerable additions for private devotion and for the use of children’.⁵³ Of the 14 Kirk Sessions that tendered responses, four objected to the introduction of hymnody *per se*.⁵⁴ While there were objectors the Assembly of 1864 however stated that ‘...the point now to be considered is not whether it is lawful and right to use hymns in the public worship of God, but whether the present compilation be approved of, amended, or rejected’.⁵⁵

After the reading of the returns the Committee was further authorised to publish and re-commit the compilation to Presbyteries after improvements and additions as the present Assembly might suggest.⁵⁶ After omission of hymns, objected to by the majority of Presbyteries and session, and the inclusion of a further 80 hymns submitted by Erskine Church, the hymn book was recommitted for examination. The Assembly of November, 1865⁵⁷ saw further revision of the hymn book and in the Assembly of November, 1866 those hymns submitted in the previous year were now reduced to 153.⁵⁸

The publication had received wide acceptance from all sections of the Church⁵⁹, and much time and effort (not to mention the cost of £ 28) was spent on the preparation of the colonial hymn book. However the story now takes a surprising direction. Following the finalising of the draft of 153 hymns now ready for printing and distribution the committee was recommended to look at an alternate source. This was the hymn book *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* published by the Presbyterian Church in England.⁶⁰ On perusal, this volume

⁵³ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864, p. 5.

⁵⁴ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864, p. 5.

⁵⁵ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864, p. 5.

⁵⁶ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1864, p. 5.

⁵⁷ *Proceedings of the General Assembly of Victoria*, Nov. 1865.

⁵⁸ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, Nov. 12 1866, p. 5.

⁵⁹ Throughout all proceedings, support for the introduction of hymnody was received from clergy and elders from all the sections of the church that existed before union. The majority of those that moved or seconded in favour of the motions put forward were from either a Free Church or Established Church background.

⁶⁰ *Christian Review*, Dec. 1867, p. 8.

was found to suit the needs of the colonial church admirably. Important to the committee was that hymn texts were theologically sound and expressed Presbyterian doctrine:

In one important respect it differs from all other hymn books, that it incorporates the Psalms, and gives them the prominence and priority which the genius of Presbyterianism has always assigned them. The hymns have also been selected by Presbyterians, and...a large proportion of the hymns have Presbyterian authorship, which, if it does not guarantee their poetic merit, afford at least a sufficient security for their doctrinal soundness.

...Now the great recommendation of the “Book of Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship” is that it has been constructed on a thoroughly Presbyterian model;...its adoption by the English Presbyterian Church is a sufficient guarantee of its entire harmony with Calvinistic doctrine and Presbyterian taste.⁶¹

It was available in music and text editions of varying sizes at a reasonable price and it contained a broad spectrum of traditional and contemporary hymns including a number of Gregorian melodies. The psalms were presented in such a way as they could be sung to the metrical tunes or to chant, a genre that had become popular during the 19th century. For the first time there were fixed tunes for both the psalm and hymn text and followed the lead of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861). In every respect the hymn book was seen to be abreast of the times, the best available at that time.⁶² Furthermore, the adoption obviated the problems of copyright that would have plagued a local production. Indeed the Church of England in Victoria was forced to abandon a similar project in 1874.⁶³

Despite the failure of the colonial Presbyterian hymnal to reach fruition the Church in Victoria nevertheless was at the forefront of the acceptance of hymns in Australian Presbyterianism, indeed in the Southern Hemisphere. It was on the example of the Victorian experience that the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales (1867) and Tasmania (1868) adopted *Psalms &*

⁶¹ *Christian Review*, Dec. 1867, p. 8.

⁶² *Christian Review*, Dec. 1867, p. 8.

⁶³ D.Gome, 'Australian Hymnody, 1821-1901: an annotated checklist of sources located in Australian libraries,' *Continuo*, 24 (1995): 159.

Hymns for Divine Worship(1867). The acceptance of an English publication for the Victorian church was not ignoring Scottish publications, as none was available in authorised edition. Scotland was not to receive an authorised hymnal until the appearance of *The Scottish Hymnal*(1870).

CHURCH PRAISE(1883)

Nevertheless even after the authorisation of a Scottish hymn book, the Victorian church continued to retain the hymn publications of the Presbyterian Church in England as their authorised hymn book, the next of which was *Church Praise* published in 1883. Although based upon *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship*(1867) the preface of *Church Praise*(1883) states that ‘the changes have been so great, and the reconstruction of the book has been so complete, that it was deemed necessary to give it a new title’.⁶⁴ This volume contains a wider range of hymnody than that of *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship*(1867) and has a greater presence of pre-Reformation and Roman Catholic authors.⁶⁵

Church Praise(1883) preserves the diversity in musical styles previously established by *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship*(1867). Included for the first time are canticles and settings of the Sanctus. The inclusion of music and text for liturgical use, as distinct from praise, coupled with an increase in hymn texts of Church of England origin shows an increased influence of the Oxford Movement,⁶⁶ and no doubt The Church of Scotland Church Service Society. Indeed the most profound change was the introduction of 69 anthems, which were contained in the body of the publication. These were not only to be seen as a profound change on the contents of the hymn book but also a profound change in aesthetics of the

⁶⁴ *Church Praise: With Tunes* 1883, James Nisbet & Co., London, M. L. Hutchinson, Melbourne, p. iii.

⁶⁵ Notably John Henry Newman (1), Frederick Faber (8), and Matthew Bridges (1).

⁶⁶ As part of their aims of religious revival and through the instigation of Frederick Gore Ouseley, Professor of Music at Oxford from 1855 to 1899, the Oxford Movement saw the beautifying of worship and the cultivation of music as integral elements in worship. (see Nicolas Temperley 1983 *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Cambridge Studies in Music, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, vol. 1, pp. 249-267).

worship in the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. Like *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship*(1867), *Church Praise*(1883) was received with widespread acceptance by Presbyterians in Victoria and enjoyed continued use in Victoria over several decades.

CHURCH HYMNARY 1898

In 1896 *The Presbyterian Monthly* reported the preparation in Scotland of a new hymn book for the common use of Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. Although union of Scottish churches did not take place until 1929, the preparation of a joint hymn book recognized their common theology and a growing spirit of co-operation. In Scotland this was seen as:

Almost the first step towards the much talked of re-union of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland is the adoption of a joint hymnal by the Established Church, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterians (as well as by the Presbyterian Church of Ireland), all differences having at last happily ended.⁶⁷

It was suggested by the Committee appointed by the Scottish churches that the ‘Presbyterian churches in Australia, might be inclined to join with the mother Church in this great, common enterprise’.⁶⁸ Although the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria was asked in 1897 ‘to consider the desirability or otherwise of adopting for our Church the Joint-Hymnal prepared by the Churches of Scotland for the common use in Presbyterian Churches’, but because some considerable time elapsed before the hymnary arrived in the colony,⁶⁹ the Assembly did not give its report until 1899.⁷⁰ A hymnary committee headed by Rev. Murdoch Macdonald was convened to consider the adoption of *Church Hymnary*(1898). After perusal of 43 hymnals the committee recommended that it be adopted, stating that the publication was the best ‘in use in the Presbyterian Churches of the Westminster family if not in the English language...The hymns selected are those which are best fitted to give expression to the

⁶⁷ *The Presbyterian Monthly* Sept. 1896, p. 307.

⁶⁸ *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Sept. 1896, p. 306.

⁶⁹ *Proceedings of the General Assembly of Victoria*, Nov. 1898, p. x.

⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the Commission of the General Assembly of Victoria*, May 1899, p. x.

emotions and aspirations of the heart exercised unto godliness...they are sound in theology as they are devout in spirit'.⁷¹

It was also suggested by the committee that the adoption of *Church Hymnary*(1898) would provide, as the Psalter had done in past generations, universality of praise to the Presbyterian Church throughout the world.⁷² The cost of the book was less than *Church Praise*(1883) and furthermore any purchase would benefit the work of the local Church in the form of royalties.⁷³ While there was recognition of the cost to congregations (many had purchased *Church Praise* (1883) in recent years, they were urged to consider the traditions and unity of the Presbyterian Church in general and 'thus forge another link in the chain which binds the colonies and the Mother Country'.⁷⁴ Following examination of the words and the terms of supply, the Assembly advised the commission⁷⁵ in May 1899 to authorise and recommend to congregations the adoption of *Church Hymnary*(1898).⁷⁶

Contents

The publication consisted of two sections, the first containing the traditional authorised Psalter, the second containing 518 hymns, 224 of which were not included in *Church Praise* (1883). While omissions of established favourites could be a matter of concern the Rev. T. M. McGregor attempted to reassure congregations in an address to the Elder's Association that

⁷¹ *Proceedings of the Commission of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, May 1899, pp. x-xi.

⁷² *Proceedings of the Commission of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, May 1899, p. xi.

⁷³ *Proceedings of the Commission of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, May 1899, p. xii.

⁷⁴ *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Sept. 1896, p. 307.

⁷⁵ A commission is a meeting appointed to consider urgent matters or those referred to it by the General Assembly. The membership being exactly the same as that of the previous General Assembly.

⁷⁶ *Proceedings of the General Assembly of Victoria*, Nov. 1899, p.16.

‘of the newly introduced hymns, many are already familiar in other collections’.⁷⁷ The collection included as many as 97 children’s hymns, a marked increase over the 56 in *Church Praise* (1883). The hymn book, albeit Scottish in origin, relied heavily on sources of contemporary Church of England authorship (45% of the publication) although there was an increase in those of Scottish origin (10% of the publication). Of special interest was the inclusion of a hymn by United Presbyterian A. F. Ferguson, formerly minister at Caulfield and Donald, Victoria.⁷⁸ There is also an increase in contribution from other denominations including Roman Catholic and Unitarian, and from authors claiming no denominational affiliation.

The publication provided diversity of music but with a more contemporary content than was the case in previous hymn books. Thus many tunes had not appeared in the earlier hymnals. For example of Joseph Barnby’s 38 hymn tunes only 2 were included in *Church Praise*(1883). As a result letters of complaint appeared in *The Messenger*.⁷⁹ Another change of note was the decrease in 16th-century and pre-Reformation tunes.

While the publication was appropriate for use in worship there was one feature that was present in *Church Praise*(1883) that was now absent in *Church Hymnary*, that of anthems.

The publication received the high praise from the hymnary committee which expressed the hope that a considerable number of congregations would introduce it at the beginning of

⁷⁷ *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Nov. 1, 1899, p. 419.

⁷⁸ ‘Dear Lord, I now respond to Thy sweet call’ (177)

⁷⁹ *The Messenger*, Mar., 1901.

1900.⁸⁰ However the following information contained in a circular sent on 10th September 1899 from the Committee on Church Hymnary suggests that the process of change was taking its time:

- 24 introduced the Hymnary;
- 37 under consideration;
- 22 with the prospect of introduction in 1901;
- 26 under consideration but not in 1901;
- 1 hopes the book will never be introduced;
- 2 have just ordered new supplies of *Church Praise* while a few are waiting until their supply is worn out;
- 80 did not reply⁸¹.

The royalties received by September 1899 amounted to £263/6/5, and it was recommended that this sum be set aside 'for the travelling expenses of members of the Commonwealth Assembly'. The Committee further recommended the employment of a music teacher at an annual fee of £30 or £40 to instruct divinity students and familiarise them with *Church Hymnary*.⁸² By 1902 the committee reported that approximately 118 congregations of a total of about 243 had introduced *Church Hymnary*.⁸³

⁸⁰ *Proceedings of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Nov. 1900, p. xcvi.

⁸¹ *Proceedings of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Nov. 1900, p. xcvi.

⁸² *Proceedings of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Nov. 1900, p. ci.

⁸³ *Proceedings of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Nov. 1902, p. xciv.

CONCLUSIONS

The fact that Presbyterians in Victoria so willingly and rapidly embraced hymnody into a tradition that for centuries had been confined to metrical psalms and a relatively small repertoire of tunes shows the immense appeal that hymn singing had for the 19th-century church-goers. This appeal was not restricted to Victoria nor to the Presbyterian Church, as the 19th century was one of the golden eras of hymnody. It was seen however that the move by the Victorian church to embrace hymnody and even to compile its own hymnbook came soon after the historic union of three branches, which gave the church complete independence from Scotland. This independence was further symbolised by the decision in 1867 to adopt the English publication *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* and the succeeding *Church Praise* (1883). It is quite likely that a common repertoire of song would have been seen as symbolic of a fresh start and a means of bonding worshippers of backgrounds that differed in matters of church music. It was also apparent that Victorian Presbyterians were motivated by their contact with members of other denominations and the exposure to hymnody entailed by this. Younger members of the church were especially attracted to a style of worship enlivened by a greater musical presence.

The ready availability of huge numbers of contemporary and very old hymns provided a rich resource of congregational, and the fact that both *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* and *Church Praise* (1883) were Presbyterian publications gave them theological and denominational integrity. The reception of these hymnals was found to be very positive. Given the independence from the Scottish churches marked by the Victorian authorisation of these hymnals, the move back to a Scottish publication in the final years of the century is rather surprising. But it was seen that there were compelling reasons for this choice: the move towards union in Scotland, the notion of universal Presbyterian praise, a good price and the possibility of royalties for the local church. Interestingly, the adoption of *Church*

Hymnary (1898) set the scene for Presbyterian hymnody in Australia for most of the 20th century.

The introduction of hymnody into the Presbyterian Church of Victoria was thus viewed in general as a change for the better. However it was not the only change in musical praise to occur in the period under consideration. Other innovations involving education, instruments and the role of the choir will be explored in the following chapters.

Chapter 2

AN INSTRUMENT FREE ZONE

Reformed Principles of Unaccompanied Worship

At the General Assembly of November 1863⁸⁴, the Presbyterian Church of Victoria commenced debating the highly contentious issue of instrumental music in worship. This arose from an overture presented by the Presbytery of Mortlake and came only two years after the matter of hymnody was first tabled. Like hymnody, the notion of instrumental music heralded a potentially significant modification to the worship focus of this newly united church. The controversial nature of the proposal stemmed from the fact that the Presbyterian Church of Victoria maintained the long-standing convention held by the Presbyterian churches of Scotland (in keeping with their Calvinist origins) of non-accompanied singing in formal services. This tradition still survives today in a number of Presbyterian and other reformed churches throughout the world.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the theological rationale and historical background underlying the traditional principle of the absence of instrumental music in Presbyterian worship. This will provide valuable context for the ensuing discussion of the change in practice brought about by the introduction of organs throughout the Presbyterian Church of Victoria from 1863.

⁸⁴ *The Argus*, Nov. 10, 1863

The central research questions are:

- Why did Presbyterian Churches adopt and maintain the practice of unaccompanied singing in formal worship?
- To what extent was the absence of instrumental music a Scottish tradition among Calvinist and reformed traditions?
- How did the Presbyterian stance on instrumental music compare with that of other religious traditions?

In order that these questions can be elucidated, use will be made of the writings of John Calvin, in particular the *Institutes of Christian Religion*, his biblical commentaries, and the prefaces to the early Genevan psalm collections. Because of the importance of biblical directives in the Presbyterian tradition, scriptural sources will be examined, along with the writings of the early church fathers (in particular Augustine etc.). Among relevant secondary sources, David Music's *The Use of Instruments in Church* is especially valuable in tracing a topic such as this.⁸⁵ Scholars such as Rowland Ward, M. Ramsay and John Girardeau (all writing from a conservative perspective) offer valuable perspectives on the place of instruments in Presbyterian worship. The desirability of the use of instrumental music or otherwise in Presbyterian worship was also debated vigorously in the 19th-century Presbyterian Church press in Melbourne⁸⁶ and occasionally in the Victorian secular press thus providing valuable contemporary perceptions of the issue.

⁸⁵ *Source Readings in Music History* 1950, ed. O. Strunk, W. W. Norton, New York; H.G. Farmer 1947, *A History of Music in Scotland*, London: Hinrichsen, London; Bard Thompson 1970, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York.

⁸⁶ *The Weekly Review and Messenger; The Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria; The Presbyterian Monthly and Fellowship of the Churches; The Presbyter.*

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN OTHER TRADITIONS

Most, if not all major Christian traditions have at some stage given serious deliberation to the desirability or otherwise of instrumental music in worship, and with a variety of outcomes. Eastern Orthodox and some Reformed traditions, have from their inception to the present day, prohibited instrumental music from formal services. Both the Roman Catholic and Anglican traditions have embraced instrumental music into their liturgies but at the same time maintaining long traditions of unaccompanied singing in monasteries. Although few traditions have maintained an all-inclusive prohibition on the use of instrumental music in worship to the present day, most of the major traditions have deliberated the question thus acknowledging the possibility that unaccompanied singing in worship may have particular value. For example, after an initial period of unaccompanied singing, the Lutheran Church embraced the adoption and use of instrumental music in worship. Only in the Presbyterian Church did the question become divisive.

In the Roman Catholic Church vigorous discussion on the use and abuse of instrumental music in worship continued over many centuries in the Councils of the Church. While never officially prescribed for use in the Roman Catholic Church⁸⁷, the organ became an accepted liturgical instrument by the 10th-century, its pagan associations having been long forgotten.⁸⁸ However, it was the abuse or inappropriate use of the organ (rather than its presence in the liturgy) that elicited criticism over the centuries. For example, during the 12th century St. Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire, wrote disparagingly of the ‘sound of the bellows, the crash of the cymbals and the tuning of flutes as a distraction from prayer and a

⁸⁷ L. I. Phelps, ‘Organ’, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, McGraw-Hill Company, NY, 1967, p. 746.

⁸⁸ David W. Music, 1998, p. 43

poor substitute for the ‘sweetness of the human voice’⁸⁹. Problems relating to organ and other instrumental music were also debated at various councils of the Catholic Church, notably during the 1540s⁹⁰, 1560s⁹¹ and in 1903⁹², when the resulting legislation underlined very clearly the subordinate status of instrumental music to that of the voice. The 1903 *moto proprio* of Pius X even acknowledged that ‘the proper music of the church is only vocal, nevertheless the accompaniment of an organ is allowed’. However, caution is commanded: ‘Since singing must always be the chief thing, the organ and the instruments may only sustain and never crush’. The fact that the Papal chapel has never acquired an organ and that it still upholds an a-capella musical tradition lends force to the notion of vocal music being the ideal medium of liturgical expression in the Catholic Church.

According to G. Wauchope Stewart the perceived association of the organ with papal liturgy even led Martin Luther to oppose the use of the organ in public worship. He explains that Luther shared with other Reformers the view that ‘the use in divine service of any foreign language without interpretation was conceived to rule out the organ, which spoke to the ears but not to the understanding’.⁹³ Furthermore he highlights Luther’s view of the organ as a sensual attraction destroying the spirit by its ‘titillations’ and quotes him as saying ‘There can

⁸⁹ St. Aelred, *Speculum charitatis* quoted in R. F. Hayburn, 1979, *Papal Legislation in Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.*, Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, p. 19.

⁹⁰ *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum*, ed. J. Massarelli, 9 vols. Freiburg: 1901-1924, I:368, II. 40-49, in R. F. Hayburn 1979, p. 26. A 1543 report from Frid. Nausea Blancicampianus, Bishop of Vienne, France to Pope Paul III drew attention to ‘organ music which arouse[s] wantonness rather than piety’.

⁹¹ R. F. Hayburn, 1979, p. 25 The Council of Trent devoted three sessions (September 17, 1562, July 15, 1563, and November 11, 1563) to the role of music in the liturgy considering the use of ‘worldly and lengthy organ compositions’ in the liturgy.

⁹² Pius X 1903, *Tra le sollecitudini* (sec.6, par. 15,16) in Hayburn, R. F. 1979, pp. 228-9.

⁹³ G. Wauchope Stewart, 1926, *Music in Church Worship: being the Baird Lecture for 1926*, Hodder and Stoughton Limited, London, p. 230.

be more faith in a miller lad than in all the Papists, and it can avail more than all the Popes and monks with their organs and tricks, even had they more organs than there are pipes therein'.⁹⁴

In keeping with Luther's views, the congregational chorales of the Lutheran Church were initially sung in unison and without instrumental accompaniment. There is reason to believe that unaccompanied singing of early polyphonic arrangements of chorales (for home, school and church use) was also the case. The 'descant' and open score layout (with the melody in the tenor and other parts above and below) may have presented difficulties for organ accompaniment.⁹⁵ It could also be argued that if the organ was used for accompaniment the upper parts might overpower the melody line (which was in the tenor) thus creating confusion to the congregation. Unaccompanied unison singing of chorales and other liturgical texts probably continued until about the early 1600s, but with the organ used between verses or to 'preludize'. At this time the chorale melody began to appear in the top part, making organ accompaniment more appropriate.⁹⁶

Issues concerning the place of instruments in worship were not confined to the Christian churches. The Jewish tradition, for example, confronted the question of instrumental usage early in the 19th century when organs were installed in synagogues for the first time in Hamburg (1818) and Berlin (1845)⁹⁷. This provoked outrage from fellow worshippers of conservative or orthodox leanings. They upheld the traditional mode of unaccompanied

⁹⁴ cited in G. Wauchope Stewart 1926, p. 230.

⁹⁵ Robin A. Leaver and Ann Bond 1995, 'Martin Luther' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Macmillan, London.

⁹⁶ Donald J. Grout, and Claude V. Palisca 1998, *A History of Western Music*, 4th ed., W. W. Norton, New York, p. 314.

⁹⁷ Although there is evidence of organs being used in synagogues in Venice in the 17th century and Prague in the 17th and 18th centuries it is not clear as to their liturgical use. Jakob J. Petuchowski 'Organ' in *Encyclopaedica Judaica*, 1971, Keter Publishing House Ltd, Jerusalem, p. 1454.

singing during services to be firstly, a requirement of Jewish law, secondly, a sign of mourning for the destruction of the Temple, and thirdly, a custom that distinguished the Jewish tradition from those of the Christian churches. Nevertheless the reformers responsible for the introduction of organs into synagogues did so on the basis of a rationale drawn from the clauses in the Shulhan Arukh⁹⁸, describing the innovation as a compromise (presumably in the interest of improved musical standards). As in the Presbyterian Church the appearance of organs in synagogues created bitter argument and division. Many people left their congregations organising services without organ accompaniment. However, by 1933 there were 74 German-Jewish communities using the organ in their services.⁹⁹

In Australia, the introduction of instrumental music into the worship of the synagogue began in Melbourne in 1934 with the establishment of the Temple Beth Israel. The first instrument used was an harmonium played by A. W. Martin. The harmonium was replaced in 1936 by a Hammond organ (believed to be the first in Australia).¹⁰⁰

THE ORGAN IN THE REFORMED TRADITION

Though it is true that instrumental music in worship was not allowed in the earliest days of the Calvinist churches, nevertheless the organ and other instruments began to be associated with the worship services of the Reformed church on the Continent from the late 17th century.

⁹⁸ By the 17th century 'the Shukhan Arukh had become the final authority to which one turned for the definitive *halakhan*'. (Louis I Rabinowitz, 'Shulhan Arukh' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 1972, vol.14, Keter Publishing House Ltd, Jerusalem. pp. 1475-8). The word '*halakhah*' embraces personal, social, national, and international relationships, and all the other practices and observances of Judaism. Orthodoxy considers the *halakhah*, in its traditional form, to be absolutely binding, whereas, Reform, while prepared to be guided by legal decisions of the past in some areas, rejects the absolute binding force of the traditional *halakhah*. p. 1166. (Louis Jacobs, 'Halakhah' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 1972, Keter Publishing House Ltd, Jerusalem. pp. 1156-66).

⁹⁹ Hanoach Avenary, 'Music' in *Encyclopaedica Judaica*. 1971, vol. 12, Keter Publishing House Ltd, Jerusalem, p. 650.

¹⁰⁰ Information supplied by Mr. J. Stupel, (music director and accompanist at the Temple Beth Israel, Melbourne).

Following the Calvinist Reformation in the Netherlands, church buildings came under the control of city magistrates. Organs remained in churches and the responsibility for the maintenance of the instruments and the duties of the organist came under municipal authority. Organists were required to play before and after the service (but not during) ‘for the spiritual edification and pleasure of the faithful’.¹⁰¹

However, when the Synod of Dordecht officially directed in 1574 that organ playing in Dutch Reformed Churches cease, a battle between church and municipal authorities commenced and the organ was introduced into the service in about 1630 to accompany the psalms (still sung in unison).¹⁰² It appears that the question of instrumental music in worship was still under discussion a decade later when a resolution was offered by Constantyn Huygens. In a treatise¹⁰³ he recommended that the playing of secular music on the organ be banned from church services, but on the other hand, that the organ be promoted as an accompaniment to congregational singing. Huygen’s views prompted sustained attacks from Johan Janszoon Calkman in his *Antidote against the Use or Non-use of the Organ*.¹⁰⁴ Despite vigorous attacks from Calkman, the organ retained its role in the Dutch Reformed worship, this being achieved with a decree from the Synod of Delft of 1638 that allowed the decision of the use or non-use of the organ in worship to individual congregations.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Andreas Marti 2001, ‘Reformed and Presbyterian church music’ in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 21, Macmillan, London, p. 80

¹⁰² Andreas Marti 2001, p. 80.

¹⁰³ Constantyn Huygens 1641, *Gebruyck of Ongebruyck van ’t Orgel in de Kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (Use and non-use of the Organ in the Churches of the United Netherlands), tr. & ed. Erika E. Smit-vanRotte, 1964, Institute of Mediaeval Music, NewYork.

¹⁰⁴ *Antidotum, Tegengift vant gebruyck of on-gebruyck van ’t Orgel* (The Hague 1641) in Huygens, Constantyn, 1641, *Gebruyck of Ongebruyck van ’t in deOrgel Kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden*, p.2.

¹⁰⁵ Huygens 1641, p. 7.

In French-speaking Switzerland, congregational accompaniment was first introduced in the Waadt region where wind instruments were used in the 17th century and the organ in the 18th century.¹⁰⁶ The early influence of Zwingli in German-speaking Switzerland (Zürich, Berne, Basel) in 1525 meant that initially services were sermon-focussed with no music (either vocal or instrumental) whatsoever. However congregational singing in the service was introduced by the middle to the late 16th century with leadership from a Cantor and choir. By the early 17th century a wind ensemble often accompanied singing. Thus, the transition from an entirely non-musical service to one that featured both voices and instruments was achieved in a surprisingly short time span. The organ was introduced in Basle as early as the 16th century, Berne in the 18th century and Zürich in the 19th century.¹⁰⁷

PRESBYTERIAN POLICY ON INSTRUMENTS IN WORSHIP

As the importance of biblical directives is foremost in the Presbyterian tradition any examination of the use of instrumental music in worship should not be undertaken without reference to the Scriptures and to Calvinist interpretation.

At first glance, the Old Testament offers a rich portrayal of instrumental music. Examples of this can be found in references to such specific acts as the collapse of the wall of Jericho (Josh. 6:4-20), inauguration of kings (1 Kings 1:39-40; 2 Kings 11:14; 2 Chron. 13:14; 20:28), for the court (2 Sam. 19:35; Eccl. 2:8), for feasting (Isa. 5:12; 24:8-9), to stimulate prophetic gifts (2 Kings 3:15; 1 Chron. 25:1-8), as therapy (1 Sam. 16:14-23; 18:6-11). The destruction of the Egyptians was celebrated with song and dance (1 Sam. 18:6-7) and the return of Jephtha from battle was celebrated with dancing and timbrels (Jud. 11:34). Nevertheless, this music is

¹⁰⁶ Andreas Marti 2001, p. 80

¹⁰⁷ Andreas Marti 2001, p. 81.

connected to the secular activities of Jewish life and is not part of any worship celebration. Of much greater relevance to the worship traditions of the Christian church of later eras were the accounts of music making in the context of Old Testament worship, first in the Temple and then in the Synagogue.

A splendid account of musical praise involving instruments in the Temple is depicted in 2 Chron. 5:12-14:

All the Levites who were musicians ... stood on the east side of the altar, dressed in fine linen and playing cymbals, harps and lyres. They were accompanied by 120 priests sounding trumpets. The trumpeters and singers joined in unison, as with one voice, to give praise and thanks to the Lord.

Attractive as the description is, it refers to practices that have been regarded as anathema by the Presbyterian Church and other Reformed churches. First, the liturgical action described here implies a distinction between the priesthood and 'the community of the faithful' and also intimates an association between priests and musical instruments. Secondly, the musical praise was rendered 'by a professional priestly choir and orchestra' with very little congregational participation.¹⁰⁸ Thirdly, instrumental music in the worship of the Temple was only present during animal sacrifice.

As the offering began, singing to the Lord began also, accompanied by trumpets and the instruments of David king of Israel. The whole assembly bowed in worship, while the singers and the trumpeters played. All this continued until the sacrifice of the burnt offering was completed.¹⁰⁹

However when the offering ceases so does the instrumental music:

When the offerings were finished, the king, and everyone present with him knelt down and worshiped. King Hezekiah and his officials ordered the Levites to praise the Lord with the words of David and of Asaph the seer.

¹⁰⁸ Eric Werner 1959, *The Sacred Bridge*, Dennis Dobson, London; p.25.

¹⁰⁹ 2 Chron. 29:25-28.

So they sang praises with gladness and bowed their heads and worshiped.¹¹⁰

Fourthly, musicians and singers (like priests) held their privileged position by dynastical birthright.¹¹¹

And David spake to the chief of the Levites to appoint their brethren to be singers with instruments of music, psalteries and harps and cymbals, sounding, by lifting up the voice with joy. ...the priests did blow with the trumpets before the ark of God.¹¹²

In particular, the association of instrumental music with animal sacrifice, and the elevated status of the musicians involved, were concepts abhorred by Presbyterians. In his *Commentary on the Book of Psalms* Calvin recognises the validity of instrumental music in Old Testament worship and offers his understanding of the inappropriateness of instrumental music in the Christian church.

The Levites, under the law, were justified in making use of instrumental music in the worship of God; it having been his will to train his people, while they were yet tender and like children, by such rudiments, until the coming of Christ. But now when the clear light of the gospel has dissipated the shadows of the law, and taught us that God is to be served in simpler form, it would be a foolish and mistaken part to imitate that which the prophet enjoined only upon those of his own time. From this, it is apparent that the Papists have shown themselves to be very apes in transferring this to themselves.¹¹³

It was such images of worship to which the Presbyterian Church objected to so vehemently. A 20th-century perception of this view was held by Rev. J. D. Ramsay of the Free Presbyterian Church (a Presbyterian tradition that continued to uphold the sole use of unaccompanied singing). However this account also represents the views taken by early leaders of

¹¹⁰ 2 Chron. 29:29-30.

¹¹¹ 1 Chron. 6:31-46; 1 Chron. 25:1-31

¹¹² 1 Chron. 15:11-28. see also 1 Chron. 15:14-17, 19, 21-22, 24.

¹¹³ Calvin, J. (1557), *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, vol 2, tr. Rev. James Anderson, Baker House, Grand Rapids, 1981. p. 312

Presbyterianism and their Calvinist predecessors. It was noted in a report of one of his lectures ('Public Worship') that:

He [Ramsay] did not deny that instrumental music was used in the Old Testament days, but it was used nearly always in connection with the offering of sacrifices, and by priests and Levites specially set apart for the purpose. If we had abandoned the other symbolic elements of sacrifice why should we retain music? Or, if we retained that, why not retain the whole? Christ and His Apostles never used musical instruments and why should we do what He has abstained from doing? We were taking upon ourselves to add to His commandments, and he charges the other churches with doing that.¹¹⁴

Some 20 years earlier another typical and traditional perspective on instrumental music in worship in relation to Old Testament sources was expressed by Dr John Girardeau, Professor in Columbia Theological Seminary, South Carolina, Richmond.

Those who have urgently insisted upon it [musical instruments in public worship] have acted with logical consistency in importing priests into the New Testament church; and a priest suppose sacrifice...Instrumental music may not seem to stand upon the same foot with that monstrous corruption, but the principle which underlies both is the same; and that whether we are content with a single instrument, the cornet, the bass-viol, the organ, or go on by a natural development to the orchestral art, the cathedral poms, and all the spectacular magnificence of Rome. We are Christians, and we are untrue to Christ and to the Spirit of grace when we resort to the abrogated and forbidden ritual of the Jewish temple.¹¹⁵

Although tinged with anti-Roman sentiment the work of both writers, nevertheless, were purely echoing the sentiment of John Calvin who wrote in his *Commentary on the book of Psalms*:

I have no doubt that playing upon cymbals, touching the harp and the viol, and all that kind of music, which is frequently mentioned in the Psalms, was a part of the education; that is to say the puerile instruction of the law: I speak of the stated service of the temple...But when they

¹¹⁴ A report of a lecture in *The Spectator*, March 16, 1911.

¹¹⁵ John L. Girardeau 1888, *Instrumental Music in the Public Worship of the Church*, Whittet & Shepperson, Richmond, p. 79.

frequent their sacred assemblies, musical instruments in celebrating the praises of God would be no more suitable than the burning of incense, the lighting of the lamps, and the restoration of the other shadows of the law. The Papists, therefore, have foolishly borrowed this, as well as many other things from the Jews. Men who are fond of outward pomp may delight in that noise; but simplicity which God recommends to us by the apostle is far more pleasing to him¹¹⁶

Interestingly, the above quotation reflects the sentiment of the 13th century Roman Catholic philosopher and doctor of theology Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica*.

But the Church does not make use of musical instruments such as harps and psalteries, in the divine praises, for fear of seeming to Judaize....As the Philosopher [Aristotle] says (Polit. Viii, 6), "Teaching should not be accompanied with the flute or any artificial instrument such as the harp or anything else of this kind: but only with such things as make good hearers." For such like musical instruments move the soul to pleasure rather than create a good disposition within it. In the Old Testament instruments of this description were employed, but because the people were more coarse and carnal – so that they needed to be aroused by such instruments as also by earthly promises – and because these material instruments were figures of something else.¹¹⁷

Furthermore, the above extracts illustrate that both Aquinas and later Calvin feared that the inclusion of instrumental music would 'Judaize' Christianity by its use.

The instrumental element of temple worship, although ordained by God and therefore right and proper for worship in the temple, was part of the 'old order', not that of the 'new order' of Christianity. In his *Commentary on Exodus*, 15:20, Calvin writes that, 'instrumental music is reckoned among the number of legal ceremonies which Christ hath abolished, where as now we must retain a gospel simplicity'. 'The Papists, therefore, have borrowed this [instrumental music], as well as many other things from the Jews. Men who are fond of outward pomp may

¹¹⁶ Calvin, J. (1557), *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, vol 1, tr. Rev. James Anderson, Baker House, Grand Rapids, 1981.p.539.

¹¹⁷ St. Thomas Aquinas (1920) *Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas*, Q91 Art 2 Pt 11-11, Vol. 3 tr. Fathers of The English Dominican Province, Christian Classics: Westminster, Maryland, p. 1585.

delight in that noise [i.e. music in worship]'.¹¹⁸ It was this outward pomp and the association of music with sacrifice (in the ceremony of the Roman Catholic Church) against which Calvin (and later the Presbyterian Church) remonstrated.

The stance taken by Calvinists and Presbyterians regarding instrumental music may have also been informed by biblical accounts of the Jewish exile in Babylon. Beginning in 598 BCE the exile inaugurated a period of silence in the worship of the Temple. For the Jewish world, the Temple in Jerusalem had become the central focus of sacrifice with the city of Jerusalem being identified exclusively with sacrificial worship.¹¹⁹ In exile, the Israelites were separated from their focus of worship and their land. Their desolation on separation is poignantly portrayed in Psalm 137. 'By the rivers of Babylon we sat and wept when we remembered Zion. There on the poplars we hung our harps...How can we sing the songs of the Lord in a foreign land?' In spite of such feelings they continued to meet on the Sabbath and on feasts recalling the deeds of Yahweh, reading the scriptures, singing psalms and listening to the exposition of the law. In so doing, they set the foundation for the synagogue service. Regarding the religious experience of the Jews (on the loss of Temple and the beginnings of the synagogue) the Roman Catholic commentator Paul Heinisch, states that 'the Jews learnt that the external act of sacrifice is not decisive in man's religious formation—'essential is a spiritual attitude and a morally upright life'.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Calvin, J. (1557), *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, vol 1, tr. Rev. James Anderson, Baker House, Grand Rapids, 1981.p. 539

¹¹⁹ James F. White 1980, *Introduction to Christian Worship*, Abingdon, Nashville, p. 112.

¹²⁰ Paul Heinisch 1955, *Theology of the Old Testament* tr. William G. Heidt, The Liturgical Press, Minnesota, p. 227.

With the Israelites return from exile the synagogue was to play an important part in Jewish religious life. Regardless of the re-establishment of the Temple (515BCE), attendance at the synagogue was considered mandatory on the Sabbath and special holy days whilst attendance at the Temple was only required three times a year, and this largely became the worship pattern for the earliest Christians.¹²¹ The first Christians were Jews by faith and nationality, shared Hebrew and Aramaic as their language and attended both the synagogue and the Temple, at the same time reinterpreting and expanding Jewish tradition ‘under the influence of their message of salvation’¹²². The destruction of the Temple in 70CE saw the cessation of blood sacrifices and the religious focus became the teaching and corporate worship of the synagogue. More importantly Christian theology developed the notion of the crucifixion representing the end of blood sacrifices ‘Malachi’s prophecy was fulfilled: bloody sacrifices ceased, their place being taken by one new sacrifice, a clean and lasting oblation’—in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.¹²³

Unlike the worship of the Temple, that of the synagogue was corporate. The laity could lead the worship and the scriptures could be read and interpreted by any adult male Jew, as did Jesus and Paul¹²⁴. The Sabbath service consisted of prayers, scripture readings, and interpretation of the scripture, and the singing of psalms. It is especially important to note that, unlike the Temple, the music of the synagogue was unaccompanied. The Presbyterian practice of unaccompanied singing was in part, intended to be in line with this tradition, which

¹²¹ M. C. Ramsay 1968, *Purity of Worship*, Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia, p. 11.

¹²² Eric Werner 1959, p.17.

¹²³ ‘The Aaronic priesthood will have no further significance, still less the sacrifices prescribed by Mosaic Law, “for from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is great among the nations; in every place there shall be sacrifice, to my name men shall offer and that a clean oblation, for great is my name among the nations.” ... Neither will this sacrifice be restricted to one place, the temple at Jerusalem. Malachi’s prophecy is fulfilled by the sacrifice of the new covenant in which the Savior Himself is the victim. (Heinisch, Paul 1955, *Theology of the Old Testament* tr. William G. Heidt, The Liturgical Press, Minnesota, p. 227, 325).

¹²⁴ Lk. 4:16; Acts 13:13-16

also featured in the life of the early Christian church.¹²⁵ The 20th century scholar M C Ramsay¹²⁶ notes.

Those who maintain that Jewish worship had associated with it instruments of music fail to appreciate the facts, and some of the facts are as follows: The ordinary worship of the Jew was that of the synagogue, and it was always unembellished. The men of Israel were commanded to attend the temple only thrice annually. Throughout the remainder of the year, Sabbath by Sabbath, they met in their synagogues. Their wives and children attended regularly the synagogue where the services were marked by simplicity...In the synagogue where there was congregational singing, there was no musical instrument.¹²⁷

Just as teaching was the main function of the synagogue, likewise preaching became the focus of the worship of the Reformed church.

At the Reformation, Calvinists rejected those parts of Christian worship that were perceived as outside the scope of synagogue worship. They rejected the hierarchical system of the Temple,¹²⁸ preferring the more democratic process of the synagogue. Vestments, rites and oblations were prohibited and the celebration of feasts of the liturgical year and saints (known as ‘the superstition of tymes’) were also discarded. Furthermore the Scottish church declared that four times a year was sufficient for the Eucharist. Moreover, to avoid ‘the superstition of tymes’ the Scottish church arbitrarily appointed the first Sundays in March, June, September,

¹²⁵ ‘We desire that the Psalms be sung in the church,’ according to ancient usage and the testimony of St. Paul. Psalm singing has power ‘to arouse us to lift up our hearts to God’. (John T. McNeill 1962, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 139).

¹²⁶ A minister of the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia, a denomination that still maintains the tradition of unaccompanied psalmody.

¹²⁷ M. C. Ramsay 1968, *Purity of Worship*, Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia, p. 11.

¹²⁸ The hierarchical organization of the Temple was used by some of the Church Fathers as the model for the hierarchy of the Church. ‘Thus Jerome stated: “What Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the Temple, the same, Bishops Priests and Deacons are in the Church” ’ (in Eric Werner 1959, p.18).

and December for the celebration of Holy Communion.¹²⁹ However, in doing so it also rejected Calvin's desire for at least a weekly Eucharist.¹³⁰

Unlike the Old Testament, with its abundant references to the use of musical instruments in a liturgical setting, the New Testament presents us with no such image. In the New Testament Christians are encouraged to sing with spirit and understanding (1 Cor. 14:15), to sing and *make melody* in their hearts to the Lord (Eph. 5:19) and to 'teach and admonish one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in their hearts to the Lord' (Col. 3:16). There is no suggestion of an accompanying instrument. However, as the letters of Paul attest, the 1st century church was vexed with many problems such as pagan worship, and worship disorders; in such times, the issue of instrumental music was possibly the least of its concerns. Eric Werner contends that the music of the churches and its manner of performance can hardly be influenced by the Temple, since from 33-70CE was too short a time for the foundation or imitation of a musical practice based upon the Temple ceremonial.¹³¹

Patristic Writings

As the synagogue of the 1st century (which laid the foundations of the form and organization of the early church and its worship patterns) figured prominently in Calvin's vision for the Reformed Church, his thinking was further informed by the writings of the Church Fathers.

¹²⁹ Bard Thompson 1970, p. 291.

¹³⁰ 'Now as far as the Lord's Supper is concerned, it could have been administered most becomingly if it were offered to the church quite often, and at least once a week'. (*Institutes* of 1536 (Ch. IV) in Bard Thompson 1970, p.185). However, Calvin's ideal of frequent communion (in opposition to the once-a-year distribution of communion to the laity in the Roman Church) was promptly overruled. 'At the start of 1537, the Reformers submitted *Articles Concerning the Organization of the Church and of Worship at Geneva* [to the Genevan magistrates]...They declared that the Supper ought to be "every Sunday" because of its exceeding profit...but such was the "frailty of the people" in prospect of this "mystery", that the Reformers compromised on a schedule of monthly Communion. (Bard Thompson 1970, p. 188).

¹³¹ Eric Werner 1959, p. 19.

‘His [Calvin] model was the “ancient church”, by which he meant *L’eglise ancienne des Apostres, des Martirs et des saintz Peres*, in short, the church “prior to the papacy”’.¹³²

Further evidence of Calvin’s interest in and resolve to return to the practices of the early church is foremost in the title of his form of worship for the churches in Geneva (1542) and Strassburg (1545) *The Form of Church Prayers and Hymns with the Manner of Administering the Sacraments and Consecrating Marriage According to the Custom of the Ancient Church*.

Calvin’s breadth of reading and interest in the early church is apparent not only in his biblical commentaries but in the *Institutes* in which numerous references to the Apostolic Fathers, the pre- and post-Nicene Fathers, and the doctors of the Church occur. However, as biblical authority was foremost, ‘Calvin does not hesitate to part company with them whenever they seem to deviate from the straight path of Scripture’.¹³³ These early writers contributed significantly to the philosophy of Calvin and henceforth were strong influences on the doctrine of the Presbyterian and other Reformed churches.

By the 2nd century, scholars such as Clement of Alexandria (Titus Flavius Clemens, 150-ca. between 211 and 215) were directly addressing the matter of instrumental music. Whether instrumental music was beginning to be introduced into worship at this time is not known; nevertheless, the necessity to argue its irrelevance in worship is in itself indicative of its possible initiation. It was common for the Church Fathers, in their commentaries on Old Testament scripture, to Christianize biblical text. Any reference to instruments in the Old Testament was interpreted allegorically in Christian writing in various ways. Condemnation

¹³² Bard Thompson 1970, p. 194.

¹³³ François Wendel 1965, *Calvin, the Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*, tr. Philip Mairet, Collins, London, p. 125.

of instruments in worship was generally on the grounds of pagan or immoral practices and in his guide to Christian character and living a Christian life (*Paedagogus*), Clement uses allegory to contrast the songs of Christian worship with that of the use of instruments in the Jewish and pagan temples. Having condemned the pagan use of instruments in their ‘lascivious feasts’, he presents in Chapter 4 (‘How to conduct ourselves at feasts’), an exposition that refutes the use of instruments in the liturgy, in order to purifying the liturgy from revelry. Furthermore, in his exposition of Psalm 150 Clement maintains that the whole body should comprise the instrument in praise of Christ, the instruments of the Temple being represented by various parts of the body. For the New Testament church the instruments of worship used in the Old Testament become subsumed in that of the voice:

The Spirit, distinguishing from such revelry the divine service, sings: ‘Praise Him with sound of trumpet,’ for with the sound of the trumpet He shall raise the dead. ‘Praise Him on the psaltery,’ for the tongue is the psaltery of the Lord. And praise Him on the lyre.’ By the lyre is meant the mouth struck by the Spirit, as it were a plectrum. ‘Praise Him with timbrel and the dance,’ refers to the Church meditating on the resurrection of the dead on the resounding skin. ‘Praise Him on the chords and organ.’ Our body he calls an organ, and its nerves are the strings, by which it has received harmonious tension, and when struck by the Spirit it gives forth human voices. ‘Praise Him on clashing cymbals.’ He calls the tongue the cymbal of the mouth, which resounds with the pulsation of the lips.¹³⁴

For Clement, the teachings of Christianity revealed Christ as the absolute and perfect truth, surpassing those of pagan Greek philosophy. In his *Exhortation to the Greeks* he dismisses the ‘crudities of pagan mythological stories’.¹³⁵ Having illustrated the use of music to tame beasts, to transplant trees and to lure fish, Clement upholds the sanctity of the devout human instrument and its special value in the matter of divine praise:

¹³⁴ ‘Paedagogus’ in *Ante Nicene Fathers* 1995 vol. 2 ed. A. Roberts & J. Donaldson. rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, Hendrickson Publishers Inc., Mass., pp 248-49.

¹³⁵ in *Source Readings in Music History* 1950, ed. O. Strunk, W. W. Norton, New York, p. 59.

In my opinion, therefore, our Thracian, Orpheus, and the Theban and the Methymnian too, are not worthy of the name of man, since they were deceivers. Under cover of music they have outraged human life, being influenced by daemons, through some artful sorcery, to compass man's ruin...The Lord fashioned man a beautiful, breathing instrument, after His image; and assuredly He Himself is an all-harmonious instrument of God, melodious and holy, the wisdom that is above this world, the heavenly Word.¹³⁶

The 1st-century scholar Ignatius was another proponent of the voice as the most suitable medium of musical praise. With the use of allegory, he relates the relationship between bishop and presbyter as being like the 'well-tuned strings of a *cithara*'¹³⁷. In so doing he also focuses on the practice of unison singing as the most acceptable to God.

Wherefore it is fitting that ye should run together in accordance with the will of your bishop, which thing also ye do. For your justly renowned presbytery, worthy of God, is fitting as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp. Therefore in your concord and harmonious love, Jesus Christ is sung. And do ye, man by man, become a choir, that being harmonious in love, and taking up the song of God in unison, ye may with one voice sing to the Father through Jesus Christ, so that he may both hear you, and perceive by your works that ye are indeed the members of His Son. It is profitable, therefore, that you should live in an unblameable unity, that thus ye may always enjoy communion with God.

Centuries later Calvin took up a similar theme in the foreword to the *Geneva Psalter*.

Saint Paul speaks not only of praying by word of mouth, but also of singing (1 Cor. 14:15) it has great force and vigour to move and inflame the hearts of men to invoke and praise God with a more vehement and ardent zeal...For even in our homes and in the fields it should be an incentive, as it were an organ for praising God and lifting up our hearts to Him, to console us by meditating upon His virtue, goodness, wisdom, and justice, a thing more necessary than one can say.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ in *Source Readings in Music History* 1950, pp. 62-3.

¹³⁷ *cithara*=harp

¹³⁸ in *Source Readings in Music History* 1950, p. 347-8.

A further image of instruments being subsumed in the body was offered by the 4th-century John Chrysostom (Bishop of Constantinople and moral theologian) in his exposition of Psalm 41:

And as for those who bring comedians, dancers, and harlots into their feasts call in demons and Satan himself and fill their homes with innumerable contentions (among them jealousy, adultery, debauchery, and countless evils); so those who invoke David with his lyre call inwardly to Christ...Those make their home a theatre; make yours a church...Here there is no need for the cithara, or for stretched strings, or for the plectrum, or for art, or for any instrument; but, if you like, you may yourself become a cithara, mortifying the members of the flesh and making a full harmony of mind and body. For when the flesh no longer lusts against the Spirit, but has submitted to its orders and has been led at length into the best and most admirable path, then will you create a spiritual melody.¹³⁹

When discussing music, the Latin Fathers used common images that had been established in the works of the Greek writers such as Clement. For example, Augustine of Hippo (354-430) uses metaphor when speaking of musical instruments in his *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*.

“Upon the psaltery of ten strings, with a song, and upon the harp” (ver. 3) Ye have not heard of the psaltery of ten strings for the first time; it signifies the ten commandments of the Law. But we sing upon the psaltery, and not carry it only. For even the Jews have the Law: but they carry it: they sing not... “And upon the harp”. This means, in word and deed; “with a song”, in word; “upon the harp”, in work. If thou speakest words alone, thou hast as it were, the song only, and not the harp: if though workest, and speakest not, though hast the harp only. On this account both speak well and so well, if though wouldst have the song together with the harp.¹⁴⁰

THE UNIQUENESS OF SCOTLAND

Regardless of the introduction of instrumental music into the Reformed churches of the Continent, as noted above (see pp. 30-32) the Scottish Presbyterian Church remained unique

¹³⁹ in *Source Readings in Music History* 1950, p. 70.

¹⁴⁰ “Exposition of the Book of Psalms” in *Nicean and Post-Nicean Fathers* 1995 vol. 8 ed. A. Roberts & J. Donaldson. rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, Hendrickson Publishers Inc., Mass., p. 453.

among Reformation churches in its adherence to the principle and practice of unaccompanied singing. While the Reformation was responsible for the destruction or removal of organs from religious buildings in Scotland, there is evidence that the presence of the organ before the Reformation was not widespread throughout the country. 15th-century records document the existence of 10 organs that were installed in a monastic cathedral, in monastic houses, burgh churches collegiate churches and the royal court or chapel'.¹⁴¹ By the first four decades of the 16th century the number of organs in use had increased, with the majority of organs in place in the possession of the monasteries and the wealthier secular churches; its use being dependant on the liturgical convention of the church¹⁴². The church owned one-third of the land in the country, and generated half the wealth, which was enjoyed by the bishops the monasteries and used to meet Papal exactions to the detriment of the parish priest.¹⁴³ The reformers believed that ecclesiastical wealth should be returned to the parishes 'for the establishment of a proper ministry'.¹⁴⁴ As a result these institutions became the target of the reformers as the 'laxity and corruption of the higher clergy...were commensurate with the great privileges it [the church] enjoyed'. According to Inglis, 'the organ was one of the trappings of ecclesiastical wealth and the elaborate worship so detested by the reformers'.¹⁴⁵ With Calvinist principles in place, the organ lost its place as a worship instrument and the Church of Scotland continued for three centuries devoid of the organ or any other instruments in formal worship.

¹⁴¹ Jim. Inglis 1991, p. 10.

¹⁴² Jim. Inglis 1991, p. 21

¹⁴³ J. N. Wolfe & M. Pickford 1980, *The Church of Scotland: an economic survey*,: Geoffrey Chapman, London, pp.6-7.

¹⁴⁴ Jim Inglis 1991, 'Worship should be comprehensible to the people, with the administration of the sacraments and preaching of the word in language the people could understand. The music should be such that the people could sing—easily-memorised metrical psalms 'in a plain' tune.' p. 33.

¹⁴⁵ Jim Inglis 1991, p 33.

The Directory of Worship

In the early history of Presbyterianism all matters concerning the standards of worship were articulated in the *Directory of Worship*, a document that was issued by the Westminster Assembly in 1644 for use by all Protestant churches throughout England, Scotland and Ireland. Replacing the *Book of Common Order* introduced by John Knox in 1562 (for the administration of the sacraments) and in 1564 (for all liturgical purposes), the *Directory* assumed central authority amongst the Presbyterian churches in Scotland from 1645 until the late 19th century. In England, on the other hand, the *Directory* replaced the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* of the Church of England (a book that Knox had been instrumental in modifying in 1552).¹⁴⁶ With restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660, the *Directory* was superseded by the *Savoy Liturgy* (1661).¹⁴⁷ The other documents of the 1643-45 Assembly included the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and two catechisms. All of these documents reflect a strong Calvinist focus that had been brought to Scotland by John Knox in 1560 after a period of religious exile in Geneva (1554-1559).

Unlike the previously used service books—the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Book of Common Order*—the *Directory of Worship* was not a liturgy, but rather a guide as to how worship should be conducted. In providing direction for both Sunday services and other liturgical occasions, it represented a compendium of the section headings of the *Book of Common Order* and the *Book of Common Prayer*:

1. Of the Assembling of the Congregation, and their Behaviour in the Public Worship of God.
2. Of Publick Reading of the Holy Scriptures.

¹⁴⁶ Bard Thompson 1970, p.289.

¹⁴⁷ Bard Thompson 1970, p. 375

3. O Publick Prayer before the Sermon.
4. Of the Preaching of the Word.
5. Of Prayer after Sermon.
6. Of the Administration of the Sacraments: and First, of Baptism.
7. Of the Celebration of the Communion, or the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
8. Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.
9. The Solemnization of Marriage.
10. Concerning Visiting the Sick.
11. Concerning Burial of the Dead.
12. Concerning Publick Solemn Fasting.
13. Concerning the Observation of Days of Publick Thanksgiving.
14. Of Singing of Psalms

Interestingly, on the matter of instrumental music and its place in worship, the *Directory* contains no prohibition; indeed instrumental music is not even mentioned, the focus being on the act of singing by the congregation. As the following extract from the *Directory* illustrates, there is a strong emphasis on full congregational participation and the need for understanding, sincerity and gravity in the manner of singing:

Of Singing of Psalms.

It is the duty of Christians to praise God publickly, by singing of psalms together in the congregation, and also privately in the family. In singing of psalms, the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered; but the chief care must be to sing with understanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

Calvin makes it clear in his *Institutes* 'that neither words nor singing (if used in prayer) are of the least consequence, or avail one iota with God, unless they proceed from deep feeling in the heart'. This philosophy is affirmed in his preface to the *Geneva Psalter*(1543): 'Then we must remember what St. Paul says—that spiritual song cannot be well sung save with the heart (Ephesians 5:19)'.¹⁴⁸ However there is no direct prohibition on the use of instrumental music. In keeping with fundamental Reformation principle the Westminster Directory also called for informed singing:

¹⁴⁸ in *Source Readings in Music History* 1950, p. 348

That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a psalm book; and all others, not disabled by age or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister, or some other fit person appointed by him and the other ruling officers, do read the psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof.

Calvin's desire for congregational participation in the song of the church is also evident in *The Form of Church Prayers Geneva* (1542) (with a second edition issued in Strassburg in 1545).¹⁴⁹

<u>Geneva, 1542</u>	<u>Strassburg, 1545</u>
<i>Call to worship</i>	<i>Call to worship</i>
<i>Confession</i>	<i>Confession</i>
<i>Psalm is sung</i>	<i>Consoling words from Scripture</i>
<i>Extempore prayer</i>	<i>Absolution</i>
<i>Collect for illumination</i>	<i>Commandments Congregation sings first table.</i>
<i>Lesson</i>	<i>Commandments Second table sung while the Minister goes to the pulpit</i>
<i>Sermon</i>	<i>Collect for illumination</i>
<i>Prayer – Intercessions followed by a paraphrased version of the Lord's Prayer</i>	<i>Lesson</i>
<i>Dismissal – Aaronic Blessing</i>	<i>Sermon</i>
	<i>Prayer – Intercessions followed by a paraphrased version of the Lord's Prayer</i>
	<i>Psalm is sung</i>
	<i>Dismissal - Aaronic Blessing</i>

¹⁴⁹ Bard Thompson 1970, pp. 197-208.

The above service acts as an Ante-Communion.¹⁵⁰ When Communion is celebrated, the Dismissal is omitted and the service continues thus:

<i>Prayer of Humble Access</i>	<i>Apostle's Creed</i>
<i>Apostle's Creed</i> sung	<i>Prayer of Humble Access</i>
<i>Words of Institution</i>	<i>Words of Institution</i>
<i>Reciting of St. Paul's warning against unworthy participation</i>	<i>Reciting of St. Paul's warning against unworthy participation</i>
<i>Sursum corda</i>	<i>Sursum corda</i>
<i>Administration of elements</i> – participants come forward meanwhile some Psalms are sung or portion of scripture read.	<i>Administration of elements</i> – meanwhile the Congregation sings the Psalm: <i>Louang' et Grâce</i> (138)
<i>Thanksgiving Prayer</i>	<i>Thanksgiving Prayer</i> Canticle of Simeon (<i>Maintenant Seigneur Dieu</i>) is sung .
<i>Dismissal</i> – Aaronic Blessing	<i>Dismissal</i> – Aaronic Blessing

The central charge of the *Westminster Assembly* (1643-1646) was 'to reform the standards of the church in a manner "most agreeable to God's holy word" '¹⁵¹ Maintaining a close adherence to Calvinist teaching, the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1646) called for worship as instituted and revealed by God and upholding the scriptures as the supreme authority and regulator of all worship. It was Calvin's liturgical policy that 'true worship, as true religion, begins with docility, the quality of being teachable by God's Word. Men who improvise upon the Word, "though they toil much in outward rites," are yet impious and

¹⁵⁰ The Sunday service preserved the ancient union of Word and Sacrament, being constructed so that on those days when the Supper was not celebrated, the Eucharistic portions could be omitted, leaving the liturgy an Ante-communion. In Strassburg Communion was celebrated every Sunday in the cathedral and once a month in the parishes in line with Calvin's desire for frequent Communion. However, due to rebuff from the magistrates in Geneva Calvin's proposed monthly Communion was rejected and a quarterly Communion ordained. (Thompson 1970, pp. 187-8).

¹⁵¹ Bard Thompson 1970, p.349.

contumacious, “because they will not suffer themselves to be ruled by God’s authority”¹⁵² and ‘those, therefore, who set up a fictitious worship, merely worship and adore their own delirious fancies; indeed, they would never dare so to trifle with God, had they not previously fashioned him after their own childish conceits.’¹⁵³

This premise of biblical authorisation in the matter of worship is further reinforced in the *Westminster Larger Catechism*.

Question 108: What are the duties required in the second commandment?

...the receiving, observing, and keeping pure and entire, all such religious worship and ordinances as God has instituted in his Word

Question 109: What are the sins forbidden in the second commandment?

...all devising, counselling, commanding, using, and anywise approving, any religious worship not instituted by God himself...corrupting the worship of God, adding to it, or taking from it, whether invented and taken up ourselves, or received by tradition from others, though under the title of antiquity, custom devotion, good intent, or any other pretence.

The problem of man-made worship was also addressed in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1646)¹⁵⁴.

...But the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited by his own revealed will, that he may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men¹⁵⁵, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representation or any other way not prescribed in the holy Scripture.

¹⁵² J. Calvin, *Commentary on Zephaniah 3:2* in Bard Thompson, 1970, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York, p.194.

¹⁵³ J. Calvin, (1536) *Institutes of the Christian Religion 1:4:3*, tr. Henry Beveridge, 1957, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

¹⁵⁴ Chapter XXI. Of Religious Worship and the Sabbath-day.

¹⁵⁵ Being not prescribed in the scriptures any musical instrument used in worship would be defined as one of the devices of men.

Rev. Rowland Ward of the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia states that the principles, as set out in the Westminster Standards, ‘if fairly interpreted, would place instrumental music in worship under a ban unless it can be shown that such music is sanctioned by Scripture’¹⁵⁶. That is to say, (as noted above) musical instruments would be understood as the ‘devices of men’ and even ‘suggestions of Satan’, their usage limited to ways prescribed in the Scriptures. Although the Westminster Assembly documents remained unspecific about the place of instrumental music in worship, a separate order was promulgated by the English Parliament in May 1644, instructing that organs be removed from all churches.¹⁵⁷ Such was the approval of the Scottish church of this measure that the General Assembly sent a letter to the Assembly of Westminster in 1644 saying: ‘We were greatly refreshed to hear by letters from our Commissioners...of...the great organs at St. Pauls and St. Peters taken down.’¹⁵⁸

Although the *Directory of Publick Worship* (along with the *Form of Presbyterian Church Government*) was completed in 1644, it required further ratification by the Scottish church. In 1645, Acts of the Scottish General Assembly imposed the condition that there should ‘be no prejudice to the order and practice of this Kirk’¹⁵⁹, that is to say, the conservation of Scottish practice in worship and the Scottish view of the Church’s autonomy, *vis a vis* the secular power was to be upheld.¹⁶⁰ An important feature of Scottish church history is the distinctive relationship between church and state that was forged in the early years of the Reformation. In contrast to the post-reformation English situation where the monarch was the head of the church and where secular power could affect church policy and practice, the Presbyterian

¹⁵⁶ Rowland S. Ward 1992, *The Psalms in Christian Worship: A Doctrinal Historical and Expository Guide*, Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia, Melbourne, p. 75.

¹⁵⁷ Rowland S. Ward 1992, p.75.

¹⁵⁸ Henry G. Farmer 1947, *A History of Music in Scotland*, Hinrichsen Edition Limited, London, p.207.

¹⁵⁹ Bard Thompson 1970, pp.352-53.

¹⁶⁰ John T. McNeill 1962, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, Oxford University Press, New York, p.326.

church, as Malcolm Prentis states ‘claimed complete spiritual independence from the state’.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, Presbyterian polity maintained a distinction between the authority of the Church and State, only recognising the civil government (although necessary) when it was conducted in accordance with the Word of God. That is to say, the balance between church and state powers favoured that of the church. Indeed, its teaching became part of the psyche of the people and had the capacity to influence the judgement of those in secular authority.¹⁶² Farmer notes that the intrusion of the church in the everyday life of the populace was evidenced in a 1579 Act of Parliament that decreed that every gentleman and landowner be compelled to possess a psalm book ‘under pains contained in the same Act’. In Edinburgh, the public were obliged to present their psalm book to the Presbytery clerk for authentication of possession. As evidenced by the Privy Council Records ‘searchers’ were employed to enter houses at will. The singing of lewd songs, the listening to instrumental music and piping were not permitted on Sundays, and were also prohibited by law. Acts of Parliament banned minstrelsy in 1560.¹⁶³ As late as 1807, the Glasgow Presbytery pronounced that ‘the use of organs in the public worship of God *is contrary to the law of the land*, and to the law and constitution of our Established Church’. This above finding was the result of the Lord Provost seeking an injunction against the Rev. R. William Ritchie of St Andrews Church, Glasgow ‘who dared to introduce an organ into his church service’.¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, it was a case of interference of the state in Presbyterian Church affairs that led to the great disruption of 1843.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Malcolm. D. Prentis 1983, *The Scots in Australia: a study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, p.221.

¹⁶² J. N. Wolfe & M Pickford 1980, *The Church of Scotland: an economic survey*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, pp.9-10

¹⁶³ Henry. G. Farmer 1947, pp. 117-121, 131-36.

¹⁶⁴ Henry. G. Farmer 1947, p.365.

¹⁶⁵ One of the causes of the disruption was initiated by the church’s consent to the appointment of ministers to parishes by patrons rather than being called by the congregation.

It has been shown that the musical and liturgical practices of Calvinist-inspired reformed churches in other countries were occasionally compromised as a result of measures taken by secular authorities. Even Calvin was required to submit his liturgies to the city magistrates in Geneva for approval and was forced by the city magistrates to alter his direction for weekly communion to monthly celebrations. However, this kind of interference was unlikely to happen in Scotland. Moreover, traditions such as unaccompanied singing (no matter how great the difficulties) were unlikely to be changed because of outside pressures. And despite the gradual conversion to accompanied singing in Calvinist churches elsewhere, the unaccompanied tradition remained unchallenged in Scotland until the mid 19th century and, as has been shown, represented a distinctive long-term feature not so much of Calvinist music per se, but of Scottish Presbyterianism. The migration of Scottish settlers from the late 18th century to Canada, South Africa and Australia meant that the Presbyterian practice of unaccompanied singing in worship was transplanted in far-away places. However once removed from homeland influence the laity in the colonies felt able to question the Presbyterian policy on instrumental music in worship. In a letter to the editor of the Argus on December 3, 1863 a Presbyterian layman writes:

I, as a Presbyterian, hold that the use of instrumental music would increase that feeling [greater solemnity] in our service, and impart to it an interest it does not now possess...but once more a layman of the church would inform them, individually and collectively, from the highly educated and polished minister down to the rawest recruit from the Highlands, that, however this language [ie that no innovation shall take place] may be endured in Scotland, where yet the Presbyterian ministers have the same and even greater power than the Gaelic priests in Ireland, we will not endure it here, and that it is simply shameful from men who, by their profession, aspire to the lofty position of teaching and enlightening men.

Furthermore, the following reports suggest a less conservative and more ecumenical Scottish community in Victoria than that of Scotland. More importantly, there appears to be a growing liberal thinking on the part of the clergy. This thinking is expressed by the Rev. Cameron in an 1870 report of a tea meeting at Chalmers Church East Melbourne. Convened to welcome him from Scotland as the assistant to the ailing Rev. Dr. Adam Cairns the Rev. Cameron first outlined the difficulties he had to endure to take up this position. Continuing in a complementary and positive vein it was reported that:

There were, however, advantages here and of a very good kind. A man who wanted to help his fellow man had a better field here than he could have in the old country. In the old country, things went on regularly, in a settled course. The religion of their fathers had been established in the hearts of the people and there were not the difficulties to contend with that there were here where we had people from all parts, and where people were engaged in laying the foundation of what he thought would be at no distant date a great nation...He was glad to see so large a sprinkling of gentlemen from other denominations that night, as it showed that here they were rising above anything like sectarianism, and were desirous to welcome good men to the colony no matter what denomination they belonged to.¹⁶⁶

In 1876 the Rev. Abernethy expressed similar sentiments on the anniversary of the Richmond Presbyterian Church. It was reported that he ‘was glad to see that music was making progress in the church, it was in their favour in Victoria that they had got over some of the prejudices of the old country, for some time ago such an instrument [organ] as this could not have been introduced’.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ *The Argus*, December 13 1870.

¹⁶⁷ *The Australian*, March 25, 1876.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing discussion has revealed the major rationale for the traditional non-use of instrumental music in Presbyterian worship. It was seen that Presbyterians initially adopted this stance on the basis of their Calvinistic affiliation, taking into account Calvin's emphasis on scriptural authority and his biblical interpretations, especially the understanding that the New Testament did not specifically command the use of instruments in worship. Also heeded were Calvin's interpretation of the writings of the Church Fathers who rejected instruments and instrumental music on the grounds that they were associated with immoral and pagan practices, that Old Testament references to them should be understood allegorically and that they symbolised the infancy of the church. Presbyterianism was also informed by the Church Fathers' view of the voice as being the most suitable medium of musical praise and their belief that the instruments used in the worship of the Old Testament ideally came subsumed by the voice. From New Testament times the model of early church worship, based on that of the synagogue (without instruments) was a further source. Calvinist and Presbyterian tradition concerning instrumental music was also coloured by a desire to divest the excesses of the Roman church and to give a central place to congregational singing.

Historically the non-use of instrumental music was strengthened by the Presbyterian Church's obedience to *The Westminster Directory* (1643-44). This document demanded adherence to worship conducted in a way instituted by God.

In Scotland, Presbyterianism was so strong that Calvinist principles remained to the forefront of secular as well as ecclesiastical decisions. As a result, the absence of instrumental music remained a characteristic of the worship of the Presbyterian Church not only in Scotland but

also in other parts of the globe settled by Scottish emigrants. By contrast, Calvinist churches on the Continent began to introduce instrumental music into worship as early as the late 17th century. Among the Reformed churches, the non-use of instrumental music became a distinctly Scottish tradition. Its uniqueness was no doubt further strengthened by its position as the state church of Scotland and its resolve to maintain Presbyterian polity and principles against determined efforts from external sources to modify its worship tradition.

Chapter 3

WITH HEART AND VOICE The Tradition of Singing Classes

The introduction of hymnody in the worship of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria was seen in the Chapter 1 to have marked a momentous break with Presbyterian tradition, prompting debate at congregational, session, presbytery and assembly levels. The change also represented a widespread feeling in the church that movement with the times was desirable. If other denominations of the colony benefited so manifestly from the treasures of readily available congregational hymnody, surely Presbyterianism could do likewise. However the actual introduction of a large corpus of hymns to congregations with no previous history of hymn singing (former United Presbyterians excepted) posed a considerable challenge for the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. It is the task of the remaining chapters to explore the strategies employed to acquaint parishioners with the singing of hymns and to make the experience of hymn singing enjoyable, uplifting and worthy of the service of praise.

From the time of union there was also a general dissatisfaction with the quality and scope of musical praise in the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. There was also criticism of the inferior status accorded to music in worship. For example Thomas McKenzie Fraser challenged the common Presbyterian perception that '[musical] praise is but a subordinate part of our worship', constituting a relief to the minister 'from his continuous labour of prayer and preaching' and to the people 'from the severe mental exercise of listening'.¹⁶⁸ He also reminded Presbyterians that:

The sermon, though a Divine ordinance, and though unspeakable precious in its own place, is the most secular part of worship, and its edifying power depends on human piety and talent. Then, as to our

¹⁶⁸ *Presbyterian Review*, Aug. 1878, p.52.

public prayers, we have no Liturgy, and our petitions depend entirely on the character and qualifications of the man who leads them. But our praises are the only part of our service not dependent on the minister...The Presbyterian order of importance is - Preaching first, Prayer next, praise last...the divine order is Praise first, prayer next, preaching last. We say, advisedly, the Praise is the highest, the most unselfish, the most heavenly part of human worship.¹⁶⁹

A similar view was expressed in a letter written in 1870 by 'a young Presbyterian' who yearned for a more aesthetically pleasing liturgy as practised by other denominations:

For myself, I hope to see the day when not only the Hymn Book, but the harmonium or organ too, will be generally used in our congregational worship, and when our churches will no longer be deserted on Sabbath evenings by many who now seek a relief from the dullness and monotony which, in many instances, characterise our service in the more attractive and imposing services of a sister church.¹⁷⁰

Another area of concern was the generally poor standard of congregational singing. Writing in 1877 concerning the period prior to the introduction of instrumental music into the Church in Victoria the Rev. Robert Sutherland claimed that 'in no department was the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, taken as a whole, so defective as she was in her psalmody'¹⁷¹ (that is the musical part of the worship service as a whole). The matter was also taken up by McKenzie Fraser in a series of articles. Beginning with the assertion that 'our congregational singing has long acquired the unenviable notoriety of being about the worst, the rudest, and the most barbarous in Christendom', he named the underlying cause to be

the slovenly practice of singing by ear, and not from the book. So long as this is the case, it will be impossible to secure correctness in tune, precision in time, or accuracy in harmony. Everyone sings the old traditional tune which he retains in his memory, and thinks that, so long as he is praising God from his heart, he need not care what he does with his voice. . . .One brave fellow, who has a powerful voice and is not afraid to let it be heard, sings at his own sweet will a bass which he has, perhaps, picked up in the old country, from the

¹⁶⁹ *Presbyterian Review*, Aug. 1878, p.52.

¹⁷⁰ *Christian Review*, Jan. 1870, p. 10)

¹⁷¹ Robert Sutherland, 1877, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, James Nisbet & Co. London, p. 351.

'Scottish Psalmody'; another, with equally powerful lungs roars out the bass which he remembers from R. A. Smith's collection: while a third, not less powerful than his neighbours, but far more sure of his accuracy, because he has brought his tune-book with him, gives vigorous vent to his harmonic propensities from our own authorized collection. . .For the present, we content ourselves with throwing out this idea, that singing by ear is at the root of all our musical shortcomings, and that it is the duty of all who sing God's praise to sing it 'skilfully' as well as heartily.¹⁷²

By way of response to these concerns, two measures developed from the 1860s: the use of the harmonium or organ (initially for accompaniment) and the changed role of the choir: these also represented breaks with long-standing traditions and were thus the source of considerable argument. A further measure, involving the use of congregational singing classes and capitalisation of other educational opportunities forms the subject of this chapter. The concept of singing classes (often referred to as 'schools') was not at all controversial, as it was firmly situated in the traditional Presbyterian ethic of education for all and already had some precedence in both the Scottish and Australian church.

The central research questions to be addressed are:

- What was the background to the use of singing classes?
- What pedagogical methods and resources were employed?
- How did other areas of music education assist the introduction of hymnody and improvements in standards of singing?
- What were the outcomes of the exercise?

In achieving these aims, extensive use will be made of primary source material, mainly in the form of minutes of Assembly, Presbytery and Parish meetings, as well as letters and press articles. As with other chapters, Parish histories yield helpful if fragmented information. In addition classic studies of music education in 19th-century Britain by Bernarr Rainbow *The*

¹⁷² *The Presbyterian Review*, July 1875, pp.6-8.

*Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800-1860 and its Continental Antecedents*¹⁷³ and *A History of Music in Scotland*¹⁷⁴ by Henry G. Farmer will provide valuable contextual material.

McKenzie Fraser's campaign for improved standards of musical praise was long lasting and he is known to have lectured extensively on church music of various forms and its value in worship. Representing the Presbytery of Mortlake in 1866, shortly before the arrival of the first hymn book, he presented the following overture to the General Assembly:

Whereas praise forms an important element in the worship of God; and whereas due attention has not hitherto been given to this part of divine service; it is humbly overtured to the General Assembly to take this matter into consideration and devise means for educating the congregations of our church to celebrate Jehovah's praise so as to render unto God the [fruit] of their lips.¹⁷⁵

It is worth noting the general thrust of this overture and the fact that education in the singing of neither psalms nor hymns is singled out. There is every possibility that Fraser was concerned with a broader notion of education, taking into account the value of instrumental and other forms of music and an increased musical profile in formal worship. On another occasion, he recommended good musical tuition for the young, a revival of the practice of singing at family worship and singing tuition for theology students.¹⁷⁶ However, in 1867 the immediate need was for congregations to learn the hymns in the new hymnal. Of the 190 tunes contained in this publication, there were many with metres other than the familiar common and long metres. Familiarisation with these tunes may not have presented a problem to those denominations already having a history of instrumental music in worship, as an

¹⁷³ Bernarr Rainbow 1967, *The Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800-1860 and its Continental Antecedents*, Novello and Company Limited, London.

¹⁷⁴ Henry G. Farmer 1947, *A History of Music in Scotland*, Hinrichsen Edition Ltd, London.

¹⁷⁵ Minutes of the Mortlake Presbytery, Oct. 1866, p. 123.

¹⁷⁶ *Presbyterian Review*, Aug. 1878, pp. 53-4.

accompanying instrument would provide support to the congregation with an accurate reading of the tune. Also a choir singing the first verse would assist the learning of the tune. However the Presbyterian convention was for the precentor to lead all singing with the aid of a tuning fork and possibly the support of a choir. Given that precentors were not necessarily musically literate, the quality of leadership in the important act of musical praise was possibly minimal or even useless. And as with the congregation, their familiarity with the tunes did not extend beyond those traditionally set to the psalms. Moreover it has been seen that those parishioners who came from a United Presbyterian background (with an already established hymn tradition) were also likely to be unfamiliar with many of the tunes in the new hymnal (see chapter. 1).

Particular logistical problems associated with the introduction of the new repertoire were voiced somewhat pessimistically by a correspondent signed ‘Precentor’ to the *Christian Review* in 1867. He took issue with the use of fixed tunes to the psalms (although not objecting to them in the case of hymns), pointing out that ‘there are several weighty reasons for disapproving of it’. First the precentor is compelled ‘to sing, to the words given out by the minister, only the tune above them—a strange tune, it may happen, to himself, his choir¹⁷⁷, and the whole congregation’. Accordingly, ‘the congregation is precluded, from one service, at least, of joining in the worship with their voice’. There is also the problem, claimed ‘Precentor’, that ‘a considerable number of the tunes set to the psalms are not those to which Presbyterian congregations are accustomed’ and although ‘the airs are well- known, the harmonies are, with few exceptions, strange’. Furthermore the very status of the precentor

¹⁷⁷ Whilst the use of the word choir is used throughout literature of this early period the choir performs no function during the worship service other than to assist the precentor in maintaining the melody of the psalm tune and as such performs no solo function in the service.

was threatened, for the freedom of ‘selecting whatever tune to the psalms the leader of a choir, or those who have a voice in the matter has [now] been taken from them’.¹⁷⁸

While these remarks display ‘Precentor’s’ conservatism in relation to change, it also highlights something of the amount of change actually needed to introduce the new hymn book successfully. Interestingly, it discloses something of the insecurities that some precentors evidently experienced concerning their musicianship and ability to teach and maintain a credible ‘service of song’ in the congregation. The need for the precentor to be a trained musician as opposed to someone with a merely a strong voice is also suggested. Special expertise was now required to teach the choir contemporary harmonies to familiar tunes. Thus there is a realisation of a possible threat to the position and authority of the precentor.

By way of background, it is worth noting that some 200 years earlier the English church was confronted with a similar scenario and challenge as that of the 19th-century Victorian church. Following the 1660 Restoration of the Monarchy there was a plethora of psalters and hymn books containing tunes unfamiliar to the congregations. Before the Restoration, Sternhold and Hopkins’ *Whole Book of Psalms* provided the praise of the church in the form of metrical psalmody. With a limited repertoire of about 36 tunes, the most popular could be easily memorised through frequent use. Furthermore, as early as 1562 another aid to learning appeared in the form of musical editions of psalters and prefaces containing instruction on musical rudiments appeared. ‘With that repertoire of simple melody as a basis, with the notes of those known tunes before them on the page, and with the musical preface to assist them,

¹⁷⁸ *Christian Review*, Apr. 1867, p.16.

many people learned to read other simple tunes from the notes.’¹⁷⁹ However, with the Restoration, a number of new psalmody collections containing a larger selection of tunes appeared. Some, such as Playford’s psalter *The Whole Book of Psalmes* [sic](1677) provided a harmonized setting for every tune. In addition—although forbidden for use by the Puritans - hymn books began to emerge providing an even further variety of tunes. The expanded repertoire, however, made the rote learning of tunes difficult thus leaving the less literate at a disadvantage. This led to the establishment of psalmody classes provided by travelling instructors, some of whom possessed rather dubious qualifications.¹⁸⁰

It was also in the 1660s the Scottish Presbyterian Church voiced concern about the dismal state of singing in its denomination. A combination of performance practice and adherence to Calvinist principles was responsible for this state of affairs. First, the custom of ‘lining out’, which was introduced from England in 1643 as a recommendation of the Westminster Assembly, became universal in the Scottish church.¹⁸¹ Although the practice, which was commonplace in non-conformist churches as well as the Church of England gradually died out in England¹⁸², it survived in Scotland until the middle of the 18th century. Whilst lining out was especially useful for illiterate worshippers or those unable to afford a psalm book, it did make the singing long and tedious as it involved a precentor singing or speaking each line of the psalm or hymn, which was in turn repeated by the congregation. The practice still survives in Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian congregations to this day. Secondly, the leadership of praise in the church was much reliant on the skill of the precentor in maintaining the tempo,

¹⁷⁹ Bernarr Rainbow 1967, *The Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800-1860 and its Continental Antecedents*, Novello and Company Limited, London. p.18.

¹⁸⁰ Bernarr Rainbow 1967, p.18.

¹⁸¹ Charles G. McCrie 1892, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, pp. 204-5.

¹⁸² Nicolas Temperley 1983 *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, *Cambridge Studies in Music*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 89

pitch and a consistent rendering of the melody line of the psalm. However, as William Maxwell has noted ‘most precentors were more remarkable for their idiosyncrasies than for their knowledge and skill’.¹⁸³ Thirdly, it became a tradition, especially in highland congregations, to embellish the simple syllabic tunes of the psalms with grace notes and melismas. This practice was carried out not only by the precentor but also by the members of the congregation, in most cases rendering the tunes unrecognisable. The cacophony of sound that ensued from the combination of ‘lining out’ and the improvisations of the singers prompted a late arrival at a Berwickshire church, to ask the question ‘What tune are they at?’ He received the reply, ‘I no ken, I’m at the Auld Hundert’, the implication being that apart from the ‘lining out’ and improvisation, individual members of the congregation sang whatever tune was familiar to them.¹⁸⁴

This was the position that existed in Scotland until 1753 when a musical reform led by Thomas Channon under the patronage of Sir Archibald Grant of Montmusk initiated a gradual change in practice.¹⁸⁵ Important outcomes were the formation of choirs (to be discussed in the following chapter) and the publication of numerous tune books (albeit of varying musical quality) leading to an expansion of tune repertoire beyond the 12 tunes that hitherto formed the canon of music in the Scottish church.¹⁸⁶ Such interest encouraged research into the music of the past, the results of which reached fruition in the early hymnals of the Presbyterian Church. Such was the interest in music education in Scotland that many late 18th and 19th century tune books were prefaced with basic music theory as well as a series of progressive

¹⁸³ William D. Maxwell 1955, *The Baird Lectures 1953, A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland*, OUP, London, Glasgow, New York. p. 165

¹⁸⁴ Millar Patrick 1949, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, OUP, London, Glasgow, New York, pp. 136-47.

¹⁸⁵ William D. Maxwell 1955, p. 166

¹⁸⁶ Millar Patrick 1949, pp. 111-125.

lessons. However, the state of music education in the Scottish school system in the early 1800s was minimal or non-existent and music was not included in the curricula of the University and the High School in Glasgow. It was not until the establishment of School Board system in 1872 that music began to take its place in the Scottish school system.¹⁸⁷

While provision for music instruction, albeit meagre, was available for children in the schools, singing masters such as Joseph Mainzer (1801-1851)¹⁸⁸ and John Hullah (1812-1884)¹⁸⁹ provided the greatest opportunity for learning. Mainzer began his career as a singing master in Germany in 1831 and his method, outlined in his book *Singschule*, was adopted for use in primary schools throughout Prussia.¹⁹⁰ Leaving Europe, and arriving in England in May 1841, where his reputation grew and by the end of May he had four classes each attracting between three and four hundred people. Handing these over to his most competent pupils, he left for Edinburgh where he was unsuccessful in obtaining the vacant Chair of Music at Edinburgh University.¹⁹¹ He immediately established singing classes with popularity being so immediate that a 'Provisional Association for Diffusing a Knowledge of the Art of Singing among the Working Classes' was founded with great acclamation. Thousands passed through his school attracted by the catch cry and the title of his book *Singing for the Million*¹⁹². Of greater relevance to this study was his work with churches, an outcome of which was the establishment of the 'Association for the Revival of Sacred Music in Scotland'(1844).

¹⁸⁷ Henry G. Farmer 1947, pp. 380-81.

¹⁸⁸ It was Mainzer's belief that 'in order to impart a general knowledge of the principles of music, it is indispensable that the method employed should be totally different from that employed in giving a purely musical education. (Mainzer, *Singing for the Million* p. i) in Rainbow, B. 1967, p. 129.

¹⁸⁹ Based on the system devised by G. L. Bocquillon Wilhem. This system employed a fixed doh where doh is always C. An easy system whilst the key is C major however keys other than C major caused difficulties for the student. For a detailed description of this system see Rainbow, B 1967, pp. 95-104.

¹⁹⁰ Bernarr Rainbow 1967, pp. 104-107.

¹⁹¹ Bernarr. Rainbow 1967, p.130.

¹⁹² Joseph Mainzer 1841, *Singing for the Million*

Mainzer's contribution to Presbyterian singing in particular was recognised by McKenzie

Fraser in the following reminiscence:

We have known wonders achieved in congregations which have put themselves under a regular course of musical instruction. When we joined the congregation of Free St. Andrew's, Edinburgh, its psalmody was as bad as that of the average Presbyterian congregation; before we left, its singing was the best in the Scottish metropolis. Every man and woman had a tune-book not only in the house but in the pew; all sang from notes; no man's voice was heard in the treble; the females and boys sang the melody and alto, the men the tenor and bass; the entire congregation formed one large choir, whose singing was the admiration of the whole city. Six months' instruction by the celebrated Joseph Mainzer did it all.¹⁹³

Whilst Mainzer's system enjoyed eminence in Edinburgh, William Lithgow, a pupil of John Hullah, advocated the rival 'Wilhem Method' in Glasgow and the South-West. Also starting in 1842 it quickly spread attracting many thousands of pupils, even reaching Edinburgh where Peter Cruickshank taught it. However, the methods of Mainzer and Hullah were overtaken in Scotland with the arrival of the English Congregationalist minister, John Curwen (1816-1880). Arriving in Scotland in 1855, he established classes under the auspices of the newly founded Scottish Vocal Association (1856) and by 1858 the association had established an 'Academy of Music'.¹⁹⁴ Motivated by the desire to bring music to the poor and to the service of the church it became clear that Tonic Sol-fa notation could be produced more cheaply than staff notation. Although his original intention was to use Tonic Sol-fa notation as an introduction before progressing to staff notation he became less disposed to do so. Accordingly, there were large numbers of pupils dependent on publications using sol-fa notation, the result being a

¹⁹³ *Presbyterian Review*, Oct. 78, p. 147)

¹⁹⁴ H. G. Farmer, 1949, p. 383-4

Furthermore, the method had spread to numerous other countries including Australia. By 1891 it was estimated that two-and-a-half million elementary school children were taught vocal music by Tonic sol-fa.¹⁹⁷

Given this background, it was thus not surprising that the Presbyterian Church of Victoria looked to the singing school as an educative agency in the implementation of the new hymn book. This was not without precedent, as in 1843 the *Scots Church Monthly Leaflet* (Melbourne), makes note of the establishment of a singing class. Led by Mr. J. Tydeman, a teacher in the day school and Precentor in the church, the class met on Friday evenings. While this singing class might have provided the nucleus of a choir, Tydeman 'led the singing in Church unassisted'.¹⁹⁸ Undoubtedly, though, such classes improved the standard of singing in the church service. Singing classes were not restricted to city churches. *The Portland Guardian* of July 1859 reported that Scots Church Portland established a class 'for the celebration and practice of sacred music' in an 'effort to improve their Congregational Psalmody'. This led to psalmody classes being conducted by Mr W. Ridley and in the 1860s by Mr Kelso.¹⁹⁹ In 1863, the minister and the precentor of St. George's Geelong considered 'that the congregational singing was not worthy of a place in the worship of God' and formed an Association for the Improvement of the Psalmody, embarking on an ambitious programme of classes for those wishing to lead the singing, and compulsory mid-week congregational practice.²⁰⁰ The singing class organised in 1870 at Scots Church Portland was specifically

¹⁹⁷ Robin S Stevens. 'Samuel McBurney: The Stanley of Sol-fa' in *The Journal of the Australian College of Education* vol. 18, no. 3 (September 1992), p. 69.

¹⁹⁸ *Scots Church Monthly Leaflets*

¹⁹⁹ *Portland Guardian*, July 1 1859, p. 201.

²⁰⁰ J. E. McNair 1960, *St George's Presbyterian Church One Hundred Years 1860-1960*, Geelong, p. 24.

intended to familiarise the congregation with the contents of the new hymn book. However, due to difficulties of supply the hymn book was not introduced until August 1871.

On occasions, the introduction of a singing class could evoke passionate debate. For example in September 1865 the Session of St. John's Ballarat East met to discuss 'the necessity for an improvement in the state of the psalmody part of the services of the church by a more general diffusion of a knowledge of the principles of Sacred Music especially among the young men and women of the congregation'²⁰¹. Accordingly, a committee was delegated to obtain someone 'competent' to provide 'attractive instruction'. It was charged to 'appoint if they shall see fit another precentor and singing class instructor instead of the present precentor'. However, when this matter was brought to a congregational meeting a month later for ratification, objection was not on the grounds the appointment but the un-Presbyterian method of implementation. Nevertheless, the appointment of the precentor and class conductor went ahead.²⁰²

Further difficulties arose in 1867 when two further applicants were considered for the position. Although there appears nothing extraordinary to have two candidates, nor difficult to choose between them on grounds of merit the Psalmody Committee reported to the General committee that:

One of the applicants being a lady [Mrs H. Cazaly], the Psalmody Committee deemed it advisable to refer this application to the General Committee as they could not deal with it. There being only one other candidate, Mr Duncan, the Committee considered it advisable to extend the time for six (6) days longer in order that other candidates might come forward, as they considered the time formerly advertised too short.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Session Minutes of St John's Presbyterian Church, Ballarat, Sep. 6th 1865.

²⁰² Minutes of the General Committee of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Ballarat, Jan. 29 1867.

²⁰³ Minutes of the Psalmody Committee of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Ballarat, May 26 1868.

This extension of time attracted five additional applicants²⁰⁴ and Mr Brown was appointed precentor with a salary of £ 30 per annum,²⁰⁵ his duties including conducting singing classes on a Friday evening²⁰⁶. A further case of a woman applying for a position affiliated with the duties of the precentor was that of Mrs Anderson who applied for permission to conduct a sol-fa class at Portland in 1874. However, church records provide no confirmation of this class ever commencing, but in February 1875 ‘the Session congratulated itself on the opening of a singing class under the management of Mr Lisle Music Master and trust that the effect of it will improve the service of praise’.²⁰⁷

Although the previous examples may suggest that the position of precentor and associated duties precluded a female from the position, a precedent did exist. In the early 1840s, having accepted the resignation of Mr. Henry, the Rev. Irving Hetherington of Scots Church Melbourne persuaded Mrs Standring, who had a ‘splendid voice’ but ‘who was in rather poor circumstances’, to act as Precentor. However, Mrs Standring had the assistance of Mr. J. S. Johnston (bass), Mr. Sprent (tenor), and J. Tydeman (alto) and as a quartet they led the Service of Praise²⁰⁸ representing a distinct breakaway from the solo voice of the Precentor. On her marriage to Mr Sprent, Mrs Standring retired from the position. Mr. Ure (a tenor) succeeded her, but it is not recorded whether the quartet continued.

The valuable contribution made by children to the introduction and teaching of hymnody cannot be overlooked. In his report on the hymn book to the General Assembly in 1864, the

²⁰⁴ Messrs Kennedy, Fry, Balmain, Bland and Brown.

²⁰⁵ The ministerial salary in 1869 was approximately £ 300 per annum. (*The Christian Review* Oct. 1869)

²⁰⁶ Minutes of the General Committee of St. John’s Presbyterian Church, Ballarat, June 30 1868.

²⁰⁷ W. H. Steele 1942, ‘Scots Church, Portland 1842-1942 being a history of the Presbyterian Church, Portland, Victoria’, ms7963 box 959/3, LaTrobe Library, Melbourne.

²⁰⁸ *Scots Church Monthly Leaflet*

Rev. Thomas McKenzie Fraser indicated the congregations' unwillingness to accept new tunes, further adding that the children of the denomination already possess such familiarity; 'What we encourage in our children should we prohibit amongst ourselves? When infancy and childhood find it easy and delightful to sing these hymns, ought not any congregation to feel ashamed to confess that they are afraid to grapple with their musical difficulties?'²⁰⁹ Indeed Calvin recognised the ability of children to introduce the unknown to the congregation. He noted the deprivation congregations had suffered by the 'pope and those that belong to him' by reducing 'the psalms, which ought to be true spiritual songs, to a murmuring among themselves without the understanding'. However for congregations to learn these psalms Calvin suggested 'that children, who beforehand have practised some modest church song, sing in loud distinct voice, the people listening with all attention then following heartily what is sung with the mouth till all become accustomed to sing communally.'²¹⁰

Although the singing of hymns was not permitted in the Church service before 1867, it was evidently allowed in the schools connected to the Presbyterian Church and in the Sabbath schools. In 1854, for example, a concert of school music was held in the Exhibition Buildings. Participating were some 600 students of the denominational schools of Melbourne (Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Independent). Led by Mr. G. L. Allan²¹¹, the choir sang 27 pieces comprising rounds, school songs and three hymns, the

²⁰⁹ *Weekly Review and Messenger*, 12 Nov. 1864, p. 5

²¹⁰ 'Articles concerning the Organization of the Church and of Worship at Geneva proposed by the Ministers at the Council, January 1537' in Calvin, *Theological Treatises*, tr. J. K. S. Reid, the Library of Christian Classics, vol. XXII, SCM Press Ltd, London

²¹¹ G. L. Allan migrated to Australia in 1852. A proponent of Hullah's 'fixed-doh' method of teaching he was appointed singing master by the Denominational Schools Board, Victoria and later principal singing master for the Victorian Board of Education. (*The Oxford Companion to Australian Music* 1997, ed. Warren Babbington, OUP, Melbourne, p. 20).

opening piece being the hymn 'From Greenland's Icy Mountains'.²¹² A similar concert was also held in the Mechanic's Institute earlier in the same year.²¹³ In 1856, vocal music under the direction of Miss Helen Macrea was introduced as part of the curriculum at North Melbourne Grammar School (a school connected to Union Memorial Presbyterian Church, North Melbourne). There is every possibility that pupils of this school sang hymns, as there were many specifically written for children.²¹⁴

Outside the school system children were also well provided by the many singing classes and choral groups available in the suburbs (for adults also). The following advertisement is taken from *The Australian*, March 22, 1862 which was circulated throughout Hawthorn, Kew and Boroondara Districts.

<p>Education</p> <p>TOWN HALL, HAWTHORN.</p> <p>A Class for the Study and practice of</p> <p>VOCAL MUSIC</p> <p>Will be Opened in the above Rooms, ON FRIDAY, 28th MARCH, 1862, BY</p> <p>Mr. WALTER BONWICK, Organist of Christchurch, Hawthorn, and Teacher of Vocal and Instrumental Music in Town and Suburban National Schools.</p> <p>The pupils will be exercised through a systematic course of Exercises, to train them to SING MUSIC AT SIGHT, and so qualify them to become Members of a</p> <p>HAWTHORN CHORAL SOCIETY.</p> <p>The class will meet every FRIDAY Evening, from Eight to half past Nine.</p> <p>TERMS : The Course of Twenty Lessons --- --- 10s. For Children admitted to the class --- --- 5s.</p> <p>Tickets may be obtained from Mr. Toon, at the Town Hall; Mr. Dickson, at the Post-Office; and from Mr. Bryant, at the National School.</p>	<p>VC</p> <hr/> <p>RICI</p> <p>(NE</p> <p>JO</p> <p>At Ret</p> <p>Busine</p> <p>H</p> <p>Butch</p> <hr/> <p>PR</p>
--	--

Figure 3 An advertisement from *The Australian* for a singing class

²¹² *The Argus*, 23 Dec. 1854

²¹³ *The Argus*, 26 July, 1854.

²¹⁴ James T. Robertson, 1904, *Union Memorial North Melbourne, Jubilee History 1854-1904*, Sands & McDougall Limited, Melbourne. p. 14

In some areas, children's choirs were established in connection with various denominations. The following advertisement from *The Australian* of December 12, 1863 indicated the capabilities and varied repertoire of these children's choirs.

	RICHMOND	
ber	Juvenile Philharmonic Society,	
the	In connection with the Wesleyan Grammar Schools,	G1
ted	Church street.	
me	A	
ice	GRAND CHRISTMAS CONCERT	W
for	Of Sacred and Secular Music,	
	Will be given by the Members of the above Society,	AT
	On THURSDAY Evening, 17th DECEMBER,	
rk.	In the SCHOOLROOM,	JC
	When they will be assisted by	
	DISTINGUISHED AMATEURS.	W
	The selection comprises	
	SONGS, GLEES, CHORUSES, &c.,	W
is	CHRISTMAS CAROLS of Olden and Modern Times,	
st.	And	Mc
ng	Ma. G. F. South's CANTATA,	
	"CHRIST STILLING THE TEMPEST."	CO
it,	(Parts of this Cantata have been sent home for publication, and have been produced at the Concerts of different Musical Societies; receiving a most cordial welcome).	
of	The Wesleyan Grammar Schools are conducted by Mr G. F.	
st	South, master: Miss F. South, mistress: Miss S. South, assistant mistress:—and pupil teachers. As a proof of efficiency in teach- ing, the Principal refers with pleasure to the continual increase of the numbers in attendance,—to the letters of recommendation from parents, and to the very favorable report (last quarter) of H. M. Inspector.	WJ I BA I

Figure 4 An advertisement for a concert of the Richmond Juvenile Philharmonic Society

A review of the 'Richmond Juvenile Philharmonic Society' concert states:

The Juvenile Philharmonic Society is, as its name implies, a society composed of the school children, trained in a very careful manner by Mr South, to engage in part singing. To say that his efforts have been successful, is to say but very little; every year shows a great improvement in the juveniles; and the effect produced by their combined voices in the choruses is such as to leave a very lasting impression of the amount of care bestowed on them.²¹⁵

However, at the parish level the teaching of hymns to children could be contentious, as for example in 1861 when a member of Scots Church, Portland not only resigned her position as

²¹⁵ *The Australian*, Dec. 26, 1863.

teacher in the Sabbath School but also requested her certificate of membership with the view of leaving the congregation. This step was taken following the refusal of the Superintendent and teachers 'to make the children sing only Psalms and Paraphrases'. This decision to include hymns in the syllabus of the Sunday School not only demonstrates the growing interest in hymnody by the laity but also the continued conservatism that existed in the church concerning the use of hymns at all. Although the school approved the use of hymns in 1864, it was not until July 1870 their use in church worship was permitted.²¹⁶ It is also recorded that at the laying of the foundation stone of the Beechworth Presbyterian Church in 1885 'a choir of children under Mr J. S. Thomson of Snake Gully sang the anthems.'²¹⁷

The involvement of the church in missionary outreach to the Chinese also presented the church with a challenge concerning singing. Having recently arrived from Singapore, Rev. W. Young took up residence in Ballarat. During his time in Singapore he became conversant with a Chinese dialect but lacked familiarity with Cantonese, which was the commonly spoken language in the colony. However his interest in both the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Chinese enabled him to become so familiar with their dialect that he was able to act as interpreter when required. His work amongst the Chinese came to the attention of the Committee on the Chinese and Aborigines Missions. Hence, in 1871 he was employed as Superintendent of the Mission and he quickly became involved in the school that had been opened under Cheok Hong Cheong, son of Peng Nam, the missionary. As the school was attended by both full and half-caste children, Young compiled for their use a small primer,

²¹⁶ Minutes of Session of Scots Church, Portland, Oct. 21, 1861.

²¹⁷ Stanley J Martin n.d., *One Hundred Years of Beechworth Presbyterian Church: A saga of St. Andrew's Beechworth 1857-1957*, p. 11.

which included some of Bateman's hymns²¹⁸ translated into colloquial Cantonese and printed in roman characters. This resource enabled a great improvement in the children's reading and singing.²¹⁹ It may be noted that although these children could most probably speak English, they were instead encouraged to learn hymns in the translated Cantonese. This may have served a two-fold purpose: first to encourage some preservation of the children's heritage; secondly (and more importantly) to encourage them to teach these hymns to their parents whose grasp of English was not as good as theirs. Singing classes also formed part of the Bible Class for Chinese held in Ballarat. In May 1873 it was reported that 'the progress of the class is slow, which is not to be wondered at, considering how very different our style is from their own, it is very encouraging'.

The offering of singing classes provided a nucleus of singers familiar with the tunes of the Psalter and hymn book and thus provided a support to both the Precentor and congregation. Whilst the level of expertise of these groups of singers was wholly dependent on the skill of those instructing, nevertheless the presence of these singing classes unquestionably assisted in the transition from the limited musical tradition of the Psalter to a much more expansive musical literature that was provided in *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship*.

One of the more skilled teachers and the pioneer of Curwen's Tonic Sol-fa system in Victoria was Dr Samuel McBurney (1847-1909). Born in Glasgow, McBurney began teaching the Tonic Sol-fa method while still a boy. After attending the University of Glasgow, (although not completing his studies) he opened a school at Bathgate near Edinburgh but because of

²¹⁸ *Sacred Melodies for Children* 1843, Edinburgh.

²¹⁹ Robert Hamilton 1888, *A Jubilee History of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Hutchinson, Melbourne, p. 311

health reasons he emigrated to Victoria in 1870 where he held several teaching positions. In 1875 he was appointed district singing master at Portland by the Education Department. Returning to England the following year, McBurney attended the Summer Session of the Tonic Sol-fa College in London passing all the examinations available at the time. On his return to Australia, he took over the directorship of the Geelong [Presbyterian] Ladies College (later Morongo). In 1878 he founded the Victorian Tonic Sol-fa Association which led to the formation of several tonic sol-fa choral societies as well as the method being adopted by many church choirs. In 1883 he organized the first Inter-colonial Tonic Sol-fa Conference, which was held at the Geelong Ladies College. In addition to his choral singing classes, he undertook lecture tours, offered postal courses, and examined candidates for the Tonic Sol-fa College.²²⁰

Regardless of McBurney's contribution to the dissemination of the Tonic Sol-fa system it was the system espoused by John Waite that was the preferred method of teaching singing in Victorian schools in the late 1860s.²²¹ Developed by the Congregational minister Rev John James Waite,²²² the system was derived from the earlier numerical systems by Galin, Rousseau and more directly by Natrop and Zellerwas. This method of presenting music in its intervallic form provided the student with a visual relationship between note values, intervals and a sense of key signature which allowed easy progression to staff reading.²²³

²²⁰ Robin S. Stevens, 'Samuel McBurney: The Stanley of Sol-fa' in *The Journal of the Australian College of Education* vol. 18, no. 3 (September 1992), p.69.

²²¹ Robin S. Stevens, 1997 'Music Education' in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music*, Warren Babbington (ed.) Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p.397

²²² for a description of his system see B. Rainbow 1967, pp. 57-66, 89-94.

²²³ Bernarr. Rainbow 1967, pp. 181-82.

All these methods aside, the greatest didactic tool for music education available to children and adults in the Presbyterian Church was that provided by the basic elements of music and singing lessons prefaced to many tune and psalm books. This was the stance subscribed to by music historian George Farmer who stated that: ‘Indeed, it would not be too much to say that the people of Scotland were far better instructed in music than the English, a circumstance due mainly to the Presbyterian psalm books’.²²⁴ What these lessons provided was adequate instruction in the rudiments of music. In the hands of a good teacher or precentor, and combined with proper instruction in singing and sight reading, the result would be a group of singers capable of quickly learning new tunes and leading the congregation in worship.

A good example of such lessons is to be seen in the publication *The Sacred Harmony of the Church of Scotland...edited and chiefly arranged by R. Smith*.²²⁵ Published in 1825 for St. George’s Edinburgh it contained a collection of tunes some of which were composed by Robert Archibald Smith the Precentor of St George’s.

²²⁴ Henry. G. Farmer, 1947, p.381

²²⁵ *The Sacred Harmony of the Church of Scotland In Four Parts, Adapted to the Version of the Psalms, Paraphrases, Hymns etc Used in the Presbyterian Churches, to which is prefixed A concise Explanation of the Musical Characters Used in the Work And a series of Progressive Lessons*. Edited and Chiefly arranged by R. A. Smith, Alex. Robertson, Edinburgh, n.d.

EXPLANATION OF THE MUSICAL CHARACTERS USED IN THIS WORK.

The staff by which Music is supported, consists of five parallel lines, the Notes are placed on the lines, or in the spaces between them; when the Tune ascends above the staff or descends below it, the notes are expressed on additional or ledger lines, which are added when necessary thus



The Notes are distinguished by letters viz. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, the precise situation of which on the staff, is determined by characters called Cleffs, the Treble or G Cleff  is used for all the parts in this volume, except the Bass; the Bass or F Cleff  for the Bass only. Besides the letters which are used for distinguishing the situation of the Notes on the staff; they have different forms and names to point out their comparative length or duration of sound as follows; the Semibreve  Minim  Crotchet  Quaver  Semiquaver  Demisemiquaver . The Semibreve is the longest Note used in Modern music; the Minim is half the length of the Semibreve; the Crotchet of the Minim; the Quaver of the Crotchet &c. A Dot affixed to either of these Notes, adds to it half its own time, thus a dotted Semibreve  is equal to three Minims  a dotted Minim  to three Crotchets  &c. Each of these Notes have corresponding characters called Rests as follows.



Time is expressed by certain characters called moods as follows.
Common Time Moods. Triple Time Moods.



A Single bar  is used to divide the time of the Tune into certain equal portions. A Double bar  indicates the close of a line or strain. A Sharp # makes any Note on which it operates, half a tone higher than it would otherwise be, and a Flat b half a tone lower. The Natural ♯ acts against either Sharp or Flat, and restores the Note to its original or natural sound. The following are marks of repeat  and intimate that the strain is to be repeated. The Hold or Pause  shews that the Note is to be held longer than what would otherwise be its proper time. The following characters direct to the gradual increase and diminution of sound  The close of the Tune or Piece is indicated as follows. 

Figure 5 An example of a musical tutorial in Smith's *Sacred Harmony*

Also included were the major and minor scales notated on the staff with letter names and sol fa. The latter lesson on intervals not only accustoms the voice to singing intervals but also by discarding the use of sol-fa provides recognition by interval and the relationship of the interval on the staff.

SCALE.
Re Mi Fa Sol La Si Do Re Mi Fa Sol

TABLE OF TRANSPOSITION.

Major Keys by Sharps.
Key Note. C. G. D. A. E. B. F.

Minor Keys by Sharps.
Key Note. A. E. B. F. C. G. D.

Major Keys by Flats.
Key Note. C. F. B. F. A. D. G.

Minor Keys by Flats.
Key Note. A. D. G. C. F. B. E.

LESSONS.
The Asterisks shew the Semitones.

Major Key.
C. D. E. F. G. A. B. C. C. B. A. G. F. E. D. A

Do Re Mi Fa Sol La Si Do Do Si La Sol Fa Mi Re Do

Minor Key.
A. B. C. D. E. F. G. A. A. G. F. E. D. C. B. A.

La Si Do Re Mi Fa Sol La La Sol Fa Mi Re Do Si La

INTERVALS.

Ascending:

Descending:

Figure 6 An example of lessons in Sol-fa showing the fixed Doh system

Although the lessons notate the degrees of the scale in sol-fa names it is interesting to note that sol-fa is not used in the body of the collection itself, therefore confirming the fact that the goal of the lessons were to facilitate sight singing from staff notation. The following example has been marked up using a numerical system that denotes the intervals from the tonic and illustrates that the Waite system was in use.

contribution of Smith in its preparation. Included in both editions is the still well loved tune St. George's Edinburgh.

The following advertisement from *The Christian Review* of January 1869 illustrates that many of these books were available in the colony.

the Power of Religion, 2 vols., 15s.	Morle Dicke
SACRED MUSIC.	
Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship, adopted by the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, large edition, with music, 5s.	New
Brown's Robertson's Sacred Music, with enlarged supplement, 2s. 6d.	
Mitchison's Selection of Sacred Music, enlarged and improved, 2s. 6d.	Wool
Hamilton's Select Psalmody, with accompaniments, [3s.]	
The Universal Church Psalmist, 3s. 6d.	
The Scottish Psalmody, enlarged edition. 1s.	
The Book of Psalms and Sacred Harmonies (music and words).	
The Service of Praise: a book of hymns and tunes, 3s.	Black
R. A. Smith's Anthems, with accompaniments, new edition, 1s.	[per dozen Dent Porta
New supplies of Bateman's Hymns, 1s. 6d. and 2s.	
Reward Cards, Attendance Tickets, in great variety	
Catechisms, Roll Books, Class Registers, &c.	
Band of Hope, Children's Paper, Children's Friend, The Cottager and Artisan, regularly received.	
<i>Sabbath Schools supplied.</i>	
Notes on the Lessons for 1869 expected next month.	CC
Schemes of Lessons for 1869 ready in October.	
GLASGOW BOOK WAREHOUSE,	43
66 ELIZABETH STREET.	
ROBERT MACKAY, 5/9	
IMPORTER OF BOOKS AND STATIONERY.	

Figure 8 An advertisement showing a catalogue of sacred music available from the Presbyterian book seller

Of particular interest is the availability of *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* in a music edition. Whilst there were sol-fa editions published, there are no records presently available as to the distribution of the various types of volumes procured by the Colony. Nevertheless, the absence of a sol-fa edition does lead to the conclusion that it may not have been popular or even required in the Colony. Furthermore, the methods taught in schools and singing schools in Scotland and Australia before the introduction of the hymn book encouraged singing from staff notation.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing discussion has shown that the implementation of a tradition of hymnody in the worship of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria was greatly assisted by the provision of musical instruction by way of the congregational singing school. It was seen that this institution had an already established history in Presbyterianism and sat comfortably within the policies and priorities of the church. Important as the teaching of new tunes was considered to be, this was not the sole motivation for the flowering of singing schools in Victoria and elsewhere: the need for improved standards of singing was recognized, along with a desire for the musical component of praise to be accorded greater prominence and recognition. This increased emphasis on aesthetic issues is a theme that emerges also in other aspects of music in the worship of the 19th-century Presbyterian Church of Victoria.

The pedagogical approach taken in Victorian Presbyterian singing schools involved the precentor conducting regular classes for interested persons or for the whole congregation. There is evidence that a variety of resources was used, among them instructional materials included in hymnals. Although there is no firm evidence that hymnals published in Sol-fa editions were used in Victoria, it is evident that Sol-fa was widely practised and was certainly taught to Presbyterians by the celebrated teacher Samuel McBurney. The Waite number system is also known to have proved beneficial.

As well as the singing classes, the instruction given to children in Sunday School and denominational day schools undoubtedly provided the church with a valuable source of musical expertise in the area of hymnody. Furthermore the opportunities available to both children and adults in the form of community choirs allowed many to improve their musical

literacy and singing ability. The 19th century was in fact a golden age of community choral singing at all levels of society, and this could have only a positive effect on congregational singing in church.

The achievements of the singing schools are difficult, if not impossible to quantify, because of their somewhat informal constitution and the general paucity of documentation of their affairs. Although references to outcomes involved improved standards of singing are readily found, there is also evidence that improved outcomes were not necessarily the case. It is also the case that our knowledge of these classes is very fragmented. Whether or not they persisted over long periods of time, or whether they served as a short-term strategy to introduce new hymns, is not at all clear.

It was seen that the emphasis on singing instruction made necessary by the introduction of the hymnal in 1867 tended to change the status of the precentor. He changed from one who merely led the congregational singing to one who was also responsible for the teaching of new repertoire and for bringing about improved standards of singing. There was thus a greater need for musically literate and competent precentors. Musical competency was not uncommon among the women of Presbyterian congregations. Yet it was seen that their offers to act in the role of precentor could cause problems since the position was traditionally a male domain. Nevertheless at least one appointment of a female precentor is known to have occurred.

In short, the proliferation of singing schools between 1867 and 1901 in the Presbyterian Church of Victoria may be regarded as one aspect of musical change. It is an aspect reflective

of both the Presbyterian heritage of inclusiveness and the contemporary zeal for music education and mass singing.

Chapter 4

THE DEVIL'S KIST O' WHISTLES **The Introduction of Instrumental Music**

The strength of the congregational singing tradition in Presbyterian worship was seen in Chapter 3 to constitute a firm foundation on which the new practice of hymnody could be established with minimal difficulty. However instrumental music had no foundation or sanction in the history of the Scottish Presbyterian church and as Chapter 2 revealed there were compelling theological and historical reasons which underlined this stance. Thus, the introduction of instrumental music in public worship had the potential to be much more controversial than the introduction of hymnody.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the introduction of instruments into the worship of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria.

The central research questions are:

- Why were instruments accepted into worship at this time?
- What circumstances facilitated the introduction of instrumental music?
- What functions did instrumental music play in the worship?
- What were the outcomes of this venture?

The chapter will also canvass details of instruments, their installation and repertoire, and the people who played them. The discussion takes into account the introduction of the harmonium or organ used as an accompanying instrument and also in a solo capacity. Although focussed on the role of instruments in the liturgy, the investigation will also note the use of instrumental music in a social capacity.

Parish histories provide a valuable if limited body of information on 19th-century Presbyterianism in Victoria and instrumental music. Nevertheless, such phrases as ‘until the introduction of the pipe organ the congregation sang unaccompanied, then a harmonium was introduced’ are commonplace and therefore provide imprecise (and usually fragmented) information on the early use of instrumental music in Presbyterian worship. Of particular relevance to this chapter is a body of secondary source material focussing on organ building and history in Victoria. However, while studies such as Enid Matthew’s *Colonial Organs and Organbuilders*²²⁷ and publications of the Organ Historical Trust of Australia present valuable information concerning pipe organ building and installation in Victoria and appointments of organists during the period of this study, they tend to overlook the importance of the harmonium in churches of all denominations. Furthermore, the controversial issues surrounding the introduction of instrumental music in the Presbyterian Church of Victoria are not addressed. Although providing valuable information on organ size and pipe lengths the *Gazetteer* of the Organ Historical Trust of Australia provides no information concerning the tonal structure of the instruments. Thus, a detailed account of developments of the use instrumental music in the Presbyterian Church in Victoria during the 19th century is especially challenging.

The first attempt to introduce instrumental music into the worship of the Church of Scotland was that of the Rev. Dr. William Ritchie of St Andrew’s Church, Glasgow in 1807.²²⁸ Shortly afterwards the Roxburgh Place Relief Church, Edinburgh seriously deliberated the use of an instrument between 1818 and 1828, when a pipe organ was duly installed. For his actions, the Rev. John Johnstone was brought before the Relief Synod. In his defence he argued that the Church of Scotland in Calcutta and Bombay had already permitted organs in their churches.

²²⁷ Enid. N. Matthews 1969, *Colonial Organs and Organbuilders*

²²⁸ see above page

His continued use of the organ resulted in a war of pamphlets²²⁹ and the secession of his congregation from the Relief Church Synod.²³⁰

The Church of Scotland was again to wrestle with the question of instrumental music when in 1863 the liturgical reformer Rev. Robert Lee introduced a harmonium into the worship at Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh. As outlined in a paper presented to Presbytery, his primary motive was that the instrument was intended to be:

a help, a support given to the precentor's voice, for enabling him more steadily and with more dignity to guide the voice of the congregation; and thus to preserve, not only uniformity, but that the unity of voice which is so becoming in public service, which so pleasingly heightens devout feeling, and prevents that discord which so easily distracts the attention of the worshippers.²³¹

Not surprisingly, the harmonium's appearance elicited cries of derision. Unperturbed, Lee addressed the General Assembly of 1864. Such was the credibility of his defence of instrumental music in worship that the Assembly acquiesced and approved that 'such innovations should only be put down when they interfered with the peace of the Church and harmony of congregations'. A pipe organ was installed at Greyfriars' Church at a cost of £ 450 and first heard in April 1865. This watershed decision of the General Assembly appears to have had little effect, for William Carnie²³² recorded that 'organs and harmoniums were few and far between' until 1873.²³³ Apart from campaigning for the introduction of instrumental

²²⁹ William Anderson 1829, *An Apology for the the Organ as an Assistance of Congregational Psalmody*, Glasgow; *Nugae Organicae*, Glasgow, Edinburgh, 1829; *Organs and Presbyterians*, Edinburgh, 1829; *A New Stop to the Organ*, 1829; *Instrumental Music in Public Worship*, 1829.

²³⁰ Henry. G. Farmer, 1947, *A History of Music in Scotland*, Hinrichsen Edition, London, p.367.

²³¹ Charles. G. McCrie, 1892, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh, p. 316.

²³² William Carnie (born 1824) Aberdeen, precentor, sub-editor of the *Aberdeen Herald*, minor poet and dramatic and musical critic. In 1854, his lecture on *Psalmody Service of Sacred Song* attracted an audience of 2000 people which led to the desire of psalmody improvement in the south-east of Scotland. His *Northern Psalter and Hymn Tune Book* (Aberdeen, 1872), and up till 1891 sold 60000 copies. (Love, J. 1891, *Scottish Church Music*, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh p. 318)

²³³ cited in Henry G Farmer 1947, p.369.

music, Lee advocated other liturgical changes such as kneeling at prayer and standing when singing, and he introduced the reading of prayers from a series of services that he had authored.²³⁴ His unfinished work entitled *The Reform of the Church of Scotland in Worship, Government, and Doctrine* (1864) contains such subjects as ‘liturgical and extemporary prayer, postures in worship, use of instrumental music, and the reintroduction of certain festivals and fasts, as Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter’, advocating that the reforms

only tend, for the most part, to restore those customs and practices which the fathers of Presbytery thought expedient, and which they established and themselves practised...nothing more is suggested than a return to some practices which the universal Church has sanctioned, which our earliest and wisest reformers approved, and which the more enlightened portion of the Scottish people at least are prepared to welcome.

Like the mother church, Presbyterian denominations in Australia in the early 19th century maintained the exclusion of instrumental music in worship. The first request by the Victorian Presbyterian Church for an official stance on the subject took the form of an overture to the General Assembly of November 9, 1863 from the Presbytery of Mortlake (as one of its congregations had introduced the use of a harmonium into the public worship of the church) requesting that a ‘general rule be laid down on the subject by the assembly, and that the implementation be either sanctioned or checked at the commencement’.²³⁵ The Presbytery stated that a sanction of this innovation would ‘preserve such uniformity in the mode of worship throughout our Presbyterian church...and cannot be done by any single Presbytery either sanctioning or interdicting new practices.’²³⁶ This subject was discussed alongside a

²³⁴ *Prayers for Public Worship* 1857, a third edition was entitled *Presbyterian Prayer-Book* 1863, a fourth edition *The Order of Public Worship and Administration of the Sacraments as used in the Church of the Greyfriars, Edinburgh*, a fifth edition was issued in 1873 as the demand for the book was still continuing (McCrie, C. G. 1892, p. 326)

²³⁵ *The Argus*, Nov. 10 1863, p. 6.

²³⁶ Minutes of the Presbytery of Mortlake, 6 Oct. 1863, p. 70.

‘reference’ from the Presbytery of Geelong on behalf of the High Church, Geelong asking allowance ‘to change their position when singing from sitting to standing’,²³⁷.

The subject of instrumental music invoked vigorous debate producing a line of demarcation between parties. Rev. F. R. Wilson (Camperdown, F.C.) moved a resolution, seconded by Mr. J. S. Miller (Theological student), that ‘in his opinion whether a harmonium was introduced in public worship or not, no question of principle was involved; and the best plan was to allow each congregation to settle the matter in accordance with its own views, so long as it did not disturb its own unity and harmony.’²³⁸ Wilson’s views were supported by Rev. T. McKenzie Fraser, (High Church (St. Giles), Geelong, F.C.) who was reported in *The Argus* as claiming that ‘there was nothing in the law of the church, or in the Word of God, to forbid the use of a harmonium’.²³⁹ He also noted that the ‘Presbyterian Church had already tolerated far greater diversities’ than the report at hand and that these had not destroyed the uniformity of the Church. Even liberty concerning doctrine had been tolerated ‘for some Presbyterians believed in a personal pre-millennial advent of Christ, and others did not’. Furthermore the Church was already in defiance of its standards for it had not maintained strict adherence to the Directory of Worship.

The directory prescribed that there should be only one extra service at Communion sittings; that the ministers would always begin public service in the sanctuary with a prayer, and that two lines of a hymn would be read by the minister or the precentor at a time...Such matters, in fact, must be left to the taste of each congregation, just as much as it must be left to each congregation to approve or otherwise of the minister wearing a Geneva gown and bands.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ *The Argus*, Nov. 10 1863, p. 6

²³⁸ *The Argus*, Nov. 10, 1863, p. 6.

²³⁹ *The Argus*, Nov. 10, 1863, p.6.

²⁴⁰ *The Argus*, Nov. 10, 1863, p.6.

McKenzie Fraser 'did not think that the word "innovation" could be properly applied to the matters now being discussed. No principle was involved, and no danger was to be apprehended from granting what was asked; and in such cases he thought a tenacious adherence to antiquated forms would cause discord in the church'.²⁴¹ Taking a biblical perspective he 'argued with much force that there is nothing in the Word of God against harmoniums...it is desirable to give a little latitude to the congregations in these matters of taste, rather than insist upon a too rigid adherence to antiquated forms'.²⁴²

A more constitutional stance was taken by Rev. W. Fraser (Bulla and formerly of St. Andrew's, Carlton, responsible for training students in Theology and Church History, F.C.) who recommended that the Assembly should not be imposing a prohibition 'which did not affect a question of principle' on any congregation. He stated that there was nothing legislated by the founders of the Presbyterian Church on the subject of instrumental music, thereby leaving 'such matters to the tolerance and forbearance of the church', while recognising the need 'to see a certain measure of uniformity in the mode of worship in the various Presbyterian congregations'. In the interests of uniformity and to avoid a possible split in the church, he recommended that any decision on instrumental music should be made at Presbytery (regional) and Session (congregational) level rather than in the Assembly. This recommendation was further refined by Rev J. Nish (Sandhurst, F.C.) who moved that 'the assembly dismiss the reference, and decline to offer any judgement...but instruct presbyteries and sessions to see that no such innovations be introduced as may create dissension or recrimination'. A moment of levity was provided by Rev A. M. McDonald (Hamilton, F.C.) who observed 'that if the harmonium were permitted in public worship, other instruments

²⁴¹ *The Argus*, Nov. 10, 1863, p. 6.

²⁴² *The Argus*, Nov. 11, 1863, p. 4.

would be introduced; and he, for one, went in strong for bagpipes'. Nevertheless, he supported the views of Nish.

Opposing views were voiced by Rev I. Hetherington (Scots Church, Melbourne, E.C.) and Rev A. Cooper (U.P.), who argued for uniformity of worship and adherence to church polity. They held steadfastly to the position that the General Assembly should be the body to make the ultimate decision. While acknowledging that the written law of the church did not condemn the use of instrumental music, Hetherington believed its presence in worship was 'opposed to the consuetudinary²⁴³ law – to the practice of those from whom the church received its Presbyterianism, and the church ought to defer to and honour such practice'. Furthermore, he despaired that 'it was melancholy to think that they were drifting into these monstrosities'.²⁴⁴ His motion, seconded by Cooper (U.P.), was that the subject should be considered and a report presented to the next Assembly.

Surprisingly, Rev Dr Adam Cairns, of Chalmers Church (FC), a staunch Sabbatarian, defender of Presbyterian principles and renown for his unrelenting pursuit of Presbyterian correctness, initially (and surprisingly) extended a gesture of compromise by supporting the opinions expressed by McKenzie Fraser and Wilson. He too considered that any decision made by the Assembly on the subject would cause discord in the church. But believing that the use of the harmonium in church was not sinful, Cairns nevertheless argued that the human voice was preferable. However, as a matter of practicality 'he could only defend the use of the

²⁴³ =customary. When used as a noun=manual of customs, especially of monastic house, cathedral etc. (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*).

²⁴⁴ *The Argus*, Nov. 10 1863, p.6

harmonium where no precentor could be obtained'.²⁴⁵ However, Cairns along with the Rev A. Robertson (Castlemaine) later supported a motion by the Rev James Ballantyne (Lonsdale St. Melbourne, responsible for training students in Moral Philosophy and editor of the *Christian Review and Messenger*, U.P.) 'that the Assembly dismiss the reference, but do not consider it expedient to give judgement in reference to the...use of instrumental music'.²⁴⁶

Of the 67 ministers eligible to vote the following results were obtained by a show of hands.

- Formation of a committee for report to next assembly (Hetherington) – **17**
- No judgement: presbyteries and sessions to be vigilant of any potential divisive innovation (Nish) – **15**
- Allow individual congregations the right to decide on the matter whilst maintaining congregational accord (Wilson) – **3**
- Inexpedient for the Assembly to give judgment (Ballantyne) - **32**

Hetherington's conservative stance based on respect for uniformity and polity is understandable but that of Ballantyne is interesting, given his previous attachment to the United Presbyterian Church (a denomination that had allowed the innovation of hymnody in worship before union). It should also be noted that the proposals of Nish, Wilson, and Miller pre-empted a similar decision made by the Scottish Assembly the following year (1866) although the Scottish Assembly required authority at Presbytery level.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ *The Argus*, Nov. 10 1863, p.6

²⁴⁶ *The Argus*, Nov. 10 1863, p. 6

²⁴⁷ 'An Act was passed which, deprecating "needless interference with the government of particular kirks," declares it to be the duty of Presbyteries, on cause shown, whether to enjoin the discontinuance of or prohibit the introduction of such innovation or novel practice, or to find that no cause has been stated to them calling for their interference, or to pronounce such other deliverance in the said matter as in their judgement seems warranted by the circumstances of the case and the laws and usages of the Church; it being competent to submit such deliverances to the review of the supreme Church court in common form. (C. G McCrie 1892, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh, p. 340).

Thus, the church failed to commit to law either the use or the non-use of instrumental music in worship. Nor did it legislate to allow individual congregations to implement instrumental music into worship as they saw fit. Instead, the Assembly chose to maintain the *status quo* despite the fact that the proposal involved no contravention of principles. In contrast to the unanimous acceptance of the innovation of hymnody into the worship of the Church in 1862 (where principles were compromised) and the authority given by the assembly for the authorisation of *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship*(1867) for use in all congregations, this outcome had no positive recommendation one way or the other.

What the Assembly decision did achieve was to expose the continued conservatism of the majority of its members. In spite of their recognition that instrumental music was not prohibited in church law, most clergy continued to cling to the letter of tradition. A correspondent in *The Argus* observed that:

The Geelong and Mortlake presbyteries, in indulging (with that recklessness peculiar to the inhabitants of the Western districts) in hopes that the General Assembly would relax its rule of discipline in these matter, have clearly forgotten that this is that rare Protestant Church which never departs from rules—which only dissented once in its lifetime, and which is now fixed and perfect, beyond all reach of reform and all prospects of renovation.²⁴⁸

However, this conservatism was not necessarily representative of the laity. Following the decision of the General Assembly letters from laypersons supporting the introduction of instrumental music appeared in the press.

To the editor of *The Argus*

Sir – I wonder how Dr Cairns and the presbytery read these verses of the 98th Psalm – “Sing unto the Lord with the harp; with the harp, and

²⁴⁸ *The Argus*, Nov. 11 1863, p. 4

the voice of a psalm; with trumpets and sound of cornet make a joyful noise before the Lord the King.” What a terrible sinner King David must be in their estimation. Not a simple harmonium, but a full band. How shocking!
 Your obedient servant
 ANTI-PHARISEE
 Melbourne Nov. 11²⁴⁹

Of greater interest is a letter to *The Argus* from ‘a Presbyterian layman’ commending the pleasure derived from listening to instrumental sacred music as ‘pure, solemn, and holy’. He contended that instrumental music presents a more powerful impression ‘than the dreary deluge of words by which the people are overwhelmed’. Furthermore, ‘to make the worship of our Maker a pleasure, and not a fatigue would be altogether beyond the ideas of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church, especially those who come from Scotland’. If the clergy ‘had their will they would allow us no pleasure, no luxury, no happiness...By their denunciations, collectively and independently, they make us miserable, or at least attempt to do it’.²⁵⁰ He also questioned the views held by the clergy on the possible effects of instrumental music:

what possible harm can there be in a Presbyterian church having an organ? Will it injure the truths of the Bible, or make us dishonest? They reply, “No, it will not; but it is a ministering to the fleshy lusts, and to the carnal appetites, which must be trod under.” This is their conventional argument, but it requires little ability to perceive it to be nonsense; for the greater solemnity we can have in church worship the better. And I, as a Presbyterian, hold that the use of instrumental music would increase that feeling in our service, and impart to it an interest it does not now possess.²⁵¹

The writer likened the clergies’ opinion as the ‘same spirit of religious tyranny which proscribes dancing, denounces the theatre, and which compels us to sit the whole of the Sabbath-day reading sermons, and making ourselves as miserable as we could’. Clergy were

²⁴⁹ *The Argus*, Nov. 18, 1863, p.5

²⁵⁰ *The Argus*, Dec. 3, 1863, p. 7

²⁵¹ *The Argus*, Dec. 3, 1863, p. 7

also ignorant of the ‘desires, feelings, and appetites’ of the congregations and ‘so long as they are not wrong, or sinful, ought to be indulged and not repressed’. He perceived ministers as bigoted, thick-skinned, and contemptuous to the advice of the laity. ‘They are above us, they are beyond our reach; and when their peculiar pleasure is to denounce our week day amusements, it can scarcely be expected they would sanction any improvement which would make their sermons less tedious and more endurable.’²⁵²

Despite the fact that this very forthright letter did not inspire responses expressing a contrary view suggests that the writer’s views were supported, if silently, by the laity at large. In any case, following the conservative outcome of Assembly deliberations in 1867, congregations proceeded immediately to introduce instrumental music into worship. What is more, this happened without any reprimand from authority.

One of the earliest, if not the first to install an instrument for worship was St Andrew’s Colac where a harmonium was purchased in 1863²⁵³ (this may have even prompted the initial overture to the Assembly in 1863). In a number of centres, there was overwhelming congregational support for the implementation of instrumental music. For example at St. Andrew’s, Bendigo some 200 were present at a meeting convened in the church during 1864 to consider the introduction of a harmonium into worship. Under the chairmanship of Rev. J. Nish, the meeting was opened by all present singing the ‘Hundredth Psalm, conducted or rather assisted by a harmonium, whose aspiring strains caused them to unite in singing with spirit and fervour’.²⁵⁴ There was an overwhelming vote in favour of the harmonium with any

²⁵² *The Argus*, Dec. 3, 1863, p. 7

²⁵³ Howard Muntz, (n.d), *The Presbyterian Church in Colac, 1847-1977*, p. 3.

²⁵⁴ *Weekly Review & Messenger*, Oct. 22 1864, p. 9

objections being shown by Nish to be ‘shallow’.²⁵⁵ At St Matthew’s Stawell in 1867, the congregation supported the introduction of a musical instrument for musical praise with a vote of 55 to 8. Although the minority considered it ‘too worldly to have such an instrument in the church’ the session however deemed the vote ‘sufficiently unanimous’, and believing ‘the same will conduce to the better concord of the psalmody of the church’.²⁵⁶

However, in other centres conservatism and reticence continued. St Andrew’s Hamilton (F.C., Gaelic speaking) had been considering the ‘necessity’ for the introduction of instrumental music in worship from as early as 1859. In 1860 an offer of a seraphine had been considered but ‘no decision was arrived at’. While accepting other innovations in their worship such as a change in posture in singing and prayers and the introduction of the hymn book in 1869, the congregation continued to sing unaccompanied. It was not until April 1874 that the first strains of an instrument were heard in the worship service following a unanimous agreement at a congregational meeting that month.²⁵⁷ At St. John’s, Essendon (E.C.) the hymn book was introduced on August 3, 1873, but instrumental accompaniment did not occur until 1882, and then not without opposition.²⁵⁸ Even so, the introduction of a harmonium evidently brought new life into the congregational singing for the organist was urged to introduce new tunes such as Eventide, Belmont, Old 124, St. Mary, Communion, Melcombe and St. Bride.²⁵⁹

At St. Andrews Kirk, Ballarat (E.C.) the first suggestion for an instrument came in 1866, but acceptance was rejected by a vote of 45 to 95. In 1871, it was decided that a harmonium

²⁵⁵ *Weekly Review & Messenger*, Oct. 22 1864, p. 9

²⁵⁶ Morey, Clive W. n.d. ‘Presbytery of Wimmera History to 1968’, ms 11393. box 1270/6, LaTrobe Library, Melbourne

²⁵⁷ *St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Historical sketch 1854-1909*, n.a, Hamilton, Baxter & Stubbs, Ballarat, p. 23.

²⁵⁸ *St. John’s Presbyterian Church - 70th anniversary*, n.a. 1922, p. 16

²⁵⁹ *St. John’s Presbyterian Church - 70th anniversary*, n.a. 1922, p. 14

could be used at the evening service but not at the morning, the decision being informed by a resolution of the Committee of Management stating that:

The Committee desire to express their best thanks to the Choir for the efficient manner in which they have, in the face of many difficulties, conducted the music, and regret that their number had been reduced to such small dimensions; and seeing the difficulty of keeping an efficient choir together, your Committee would recommend to the Congregation the advisability of using the harmonium now in the Church as an auxiliary to the Psalmody.²⁶⁰

In 1873 a two-manual pipe organ was installed, one of the earliest in the colony. The last Presbyterian congregation in Victoria to adopt instrumental music 'as an aid to congregational singing' was St. Andrew's Carlton (F.C.)²⁶¹ Whilst the late acceptance reflected St Andrew's Highland heritage, discussions had taken place over many years. Even continued requests for the use of an organ for festival gatherings were defeated until 1875, when by a majority of 8 to 4 the Board sanctioned its use with the proviso that 'only sacred music was allowed at these social meetings'.²⁶² In 1884 at the opening of the St Andrew's Sabbath School building 'a change was effected', for a cabinet organ was used for the 'musical portion of the proceedings' the children previously being led by the church precentor.²⁶³ With the introduction of the second hymn book *Church Praise*(1883) a number of the congregation requested the installation of a pipe organ but without success as 'a fair number of the members still preferred the old style of worship'.²⁶⁴ An American organ was used in public worship for the first time in 1892.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ *Report of the Committee of Management of St Andrew's Kirk*, February 27, 1871.

²⁶¹ Sanderson, W. A. 1905, *St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Carlton A Jubilee History*, Arbuckle, Waddell & Fawcner, Melbourne, p 120.

²⁶² W. A. Sanderson, 1905, pp 76-77.

²⁶³ W. A Sanderson 1905, p. 120.

²⁶⁴ W. A. Sanderson 1905, p. 88.

²⁶⁵ W. A. Sanderson 1905, p 120

While most congregations proceeded with a tempered attitude towards the installation and use of instruments in the Church, instances of individual belligerence were not unknown. The *Argus* reported that before a tea meeting at the Scotch Church, Cranbourne (E.C.) ‘some filth had been emptied over the keys of the harmonium’ with a reward of £ 120 being offered for the apprehension of the culprit. The same report notes that a much more serious offence had occurred three months earlier, when a letter sent to Mr. Thompson and Mr. Daff threatened their lives ‘if the instrument was played in the church’.²⁶⁶ While this appears to have been an isolated incident, it highlights the depth of feeling experienced and the pains some were prepared to take to prevent the use of an instrument in church worship.

Having already noted the progressiveness of a Western District presbytery (see p. 95), it is important to highlight the fact that greatest acceptance of instrumental music occurred in country areas. This situation was possibly a result of the paucity of competent precentors. In 1867 at Portland (E.C.) the Rev. S Kelso ‘confessed that he felt the strain of leading the praise as well as conducting all the rest of the Service’ and as a result efforts were made to procure the services of a precentor. Regardless of a salary of £ 25 being offered, recruiting efforts proved fruitless. The presence of a harmonium in worship would have eased this burden. However while the harmonium was allowed for use at tea meetings it was not until 1870 that a large majority of the congregation voted for its use in church services.²⁶⁷ The lack of a suitable precentor may well have influenced this decision. The presence of an accompanying instrument added greatly to the improvement of the service of praise in other areas of Victoria. In 1871, the Annual Report of St Andrew’s Kyneton recorded that ‘since the introduction of

²⁶⁶ *The Argus* Dec. 6 1866, p. 5.

²⁶⁷ W. H. Steele 1942, ‘Scots Church, Portland 1842-1942 being a history of the Presbyterian Church, Portland, Victoria’, ms7963 box 959/3, LaTrobe Library, Melbourne p. 269.

the harmonium and hymn book, not only has the psalmody been improved, but the dislike that existed to them has wholly disappeared'.²⁶⁸ It was also reported in the same year that 'the introduction of the harmonium has greatly improved the psalmody at Heathcote'.²⁶⁹

Harmonium to pipe organs

The instruments mentioned thus far have been predominately harmoniums and cabinet organs, which were adequate for the accompaniment of singing by congregations of modest size. But it soon became apparent that reed organs were no longer adequate for accompaniment purposes. As Presbyterianism grew in Victoria during the latter half of the 19th century, there was a need for larger church buildings. This development, together with changing aesthetic tastes, had an important impact on decisions concerning instruments in church. For example, the Alma Road St. Kilda (F.C.) church built in 1885 provided seating for 750 with 50 seats in the gallery for the choir. Even in country centres buildings were erected to accommodate large congregations from the 1870s. In 1877 St Andrew's, Hamilton (F.C.) had 16 feet added to the building increasing its seating capacity from 200 to 300 people.²⁷⁰ St Andrew's Kirk Ballarat (F.C.) reported 400 people attended the opening of the organ in 1874.²⁷¹ In 1869 the new St John's East Ballarat, seated '800-900 on ground level and 500 in the gallery'.²⁷² The laying of the foundation stone of St. John's, Warrnambool (U.P.) in 1874 attracted 1000 people with the ladies providing high tea for 700. At this time, St. John's was 'numerically sixth among Presbyterian churches of the State'.²⁷³

²⁶⁸ *Christian Review*, March 1871, p. 8.

²⁶⁹ *Christian Review*, March 1871, p. 7

²⁷⁰ *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church Hamilton, Historical Sketch, 1854-1909*, p. 11.

²⁷¹ Keith, J. 1952, *History of St. Andrew's Kirk*.

²⁷² Session Minutes of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Ballarat East, Dec. 1, 1869.

²⁷³ *St. John's Presbyterian Church Warrnambool, a brief history of 100 years of worship and work in Warrnambool*, n.d. Warrnambool, Victoria.

Concurrent with the rise in larger buildings was a general shift in aesthetic taste from austere church architecture to more decorative styles. (see figure 9) Stained glass windows were incorporated in the buildings, sometimes encased in intricate stone tracery, and coloured dados featured in the internal decoration. Apses enclosed by gothic arches were incorporated into building plans and such gothic symbols as quatrefoils and trefoils became familiar both on the external and internal decoration of the buildings. Transepts also became commonplace, transforming the buildings from a rectangle to a cruciform shape. Architectural styles other than Gothic such as the solid Norman architecture used in 1864 for St. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat (F.C.) were also selected. Incorporated in the detailing of the arch that surrounds St. Andrew's entrance are the traditional symbols for the four evangelists along with the symbol of Christ the King. A growing congregation necessitated the addition of transepts to this building in 1890.²⁷⁴ Those congregations that could not afford such elaborate rebuilding extended their existing buildings and endowed them with gothic-style façades and towers. (Wickliffe, Skipton) On both practical and aesthetic accounts the harmonium was far from ideal in buildings such as these. Much more suitable was the pipe organ, the magnificent sound and appearance of which blended perfectly with the building.

²⁷⁴ J. Keith, 1952, *History of St. Andrew's Kirk*.



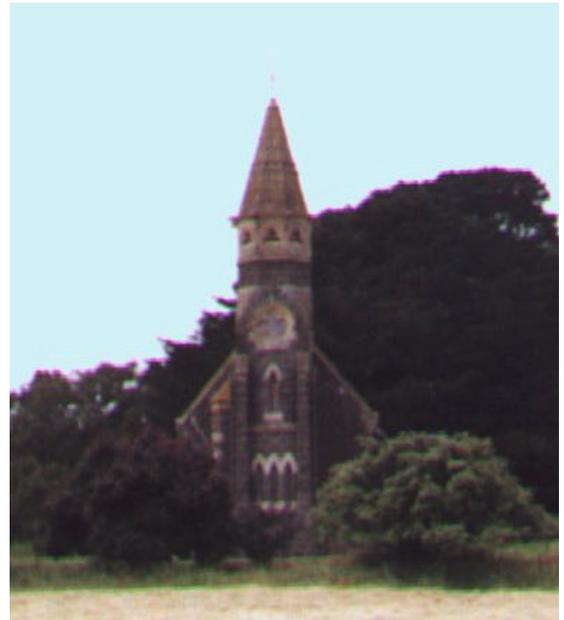
Hamilton Presbyterian Church



St John's Warrnambool Presbyterian Church



Thompson Memorial, Terang



Wickliffe Presbyterian Church



Skipton Presbyterian Church

Figure 9 Presbyterian architectural styles

As Appendix A illustrates, the 1870s saw the installation of pipe organs in at least six churches. The 1880s however saw a great proliferation of pipe organ installations in both Presbyterian churches (urban and rural) and those of other denominations. Local organ builders, notably George Fincham, Alfred Fuller, Mackenzie & Lee and William Anderson, produced many of these instruments.

Finance and Bequests

While all generally welcomed the earliest instruments initially purchased for churches, it was primarily the women of the congregation who raised the funds for their purchase. The Board of Management at Wedderburn recorded approval of ‘the effort the ladies of the Church are making to procure an organ’²⁷⁵ and the suggestion of a harmonium at St Andrew’s, Colac (E.C.) became a reality when the ladies of the church provided the necessary funds.²⁷⁶ However soon after the construction of a new church in Colac in 1877 a superior cabinet organ was purchased for £ 75/12/3, due largely to the efforts of Mrs Turner the organist.²⁷⁷ At Sandridge (Port Melbourne), a special congregational meeting was called on 3 November, 1875 to announce the introduction of a musical instrument into the church and that ‘the thanks of the congregation be given to the lady or ladies who have collected the money for that purpose’.²⁷⁸

Many of the early instruments were either loaned or rented to congregations. While motives for such action may have been financial, many congregations availing themselves of this

²⁷⁵ Minutes of the Board of Management, St. Andrew’s, Wedderburn, August 5, 1875.

²⁷⁶ Howard Muntz, (ed) 1977, *The Presbyterian Church in Colac 1847-1977*. p. 3.

²⁷⁷ Howard Muntz, (ed) 1977, p.4.

²⁷⁸ Minutes of Congregational Meeting, Sandridge, November 3, 1875.

In 1877, Mrs Harper was responsible for collecting funds to purchase the second instrument (cabinet organ) at Toorak Presbyterian Church after the harmonium, purchased the previous year, proved unsatisfactory.

option were also those that were either resistant to or tentative about the use of instrumental music. For example, in 1871 at St John's Essendon, (E.C.) where the purchase of a harmonium met with resistance, it was moved that it be procured (presumably purchased) 'at the expense of those desiring it'.²⁷⁹ However in 1888, a pipe organ was hired from George Fincham (value £ 175) and a larger organ (value £ 415) was again hired in 1894. Finally, in 1898 a decision was made to purchase an instrument from Alfred Fuller at a cost of £ 375.²⁸⁰ Having voted against the purchase of an instrument in 1869,²⁸¹ the congregation of St Andrew's, Williamstown (F.C.) in 1871 'agreed to hire the use of an organ for twelve months as an experiment' and an instrument was rented at £ 24 per annum. Regardless of financial constraints, the annual meeting the following year voted 160 to 16 in favour of acquiring an organ. Consequently, a one manual John Courcelle²⁸² organ was procured for £ 265, (£ 300 installed) and opened on February 12, 1873 by David Lee.²⁸³ A similar course of action was taken at St Andrew's Geelong.²⁸⁴

It was not uncommon for generous congregational members to support instrumental music by donating either an instrument or a monetary payment assisting considerably toward the purchase. At Lismore, Mr John Wilson loaned a harmonium to the church in 1874 and

²⁷⁹ *St. John's Presbyterian Church, Essendon, 70th Anniversary 1852-1922.*

²⁸⁰ Enid. N. Matthews 1969, *Colonial Organs and Organbuilders*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p. 132.

²⁸¹ *A Brief History of the past 70 years, 1853-1923*, Chronicle Office, 1923, Williamstown, p. 5.

²⁸² Built 1865 for William Philpot of Toorak. 1 manual; Open Diapason 8', Stopped Diapason 8', Claribel 8', Dulciana 8', Principal 4', 15th, 2', Pedal: Bourdon 16'. (D. J. Ferguson 1983, *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Williamstown, Victoria, Organ Centenary Book, 1882-1982*, Kiema Press.

²⁸³ *Jubilee History of the Presbyterian Church, Williamstown*, 1904, Arbuckle Waddell & Fawkner, Melbourne, p. 21-22.

²⁸⁴ On June 14, 1871, the meeting of the Kirk Session agreed unanimously to 'approve the permanent use of the harmonium in the Service of the congregation, and further that as the period of trial on which the harmonium was introduced is now expired, an opportunity be given to the members and adherents of the Church to express their views by voting in regard to its use'. (*Minutes of the Kirk Session, St. Andrew's, Geelong*, June 14, 1871.) The July 4, 1871 Congregational Meeting voted 'almost unanimously in favour of the permanent use of the harmonium' (*Minutes of the Congregational Meeting of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Geelong*, July 4, 1871.)

subsequently gave it to them.²⁸⁵ This generosity was repeated in other locations.²⁸⁶ The Noorat Presbyterian Church (E.C.) acquired a harmonium for £ 32 in 1888, although not without resistance. However, sensing the general acceptance of this change, Mr Niel Black, a prominent pastoralist, presented the congregation with a two-manual instrument with eight stops and three couplers at the cost of £ 245 in 1892²⁸⁷. To this instrument, he added an Oboe on the Swell and a Dulciana on the Great. Black also provided funds for extensive alteration and expansion to the organ and additionally provided an endowment of £ 1500 for the general maintenance of the instrument in 1904 and 1905. As well as being a generous benefactor, he was also the first organist.²⁸⁸



Figure 10 The organ at Noorat Presbyterian Church

²⁸⁵ J. R. Oman 1964 *Lismore Presbyterian Church 1864-1964*

²⁸⁶ The Hon. William Skene gifted St Andrew's, Hamilton, with its first instrument, a harmonium. In 1881, an American organ was procured, with the larger proportion of the cost being given by Mr John McKellar, the cost of which was further augmented through the efforts of the then organist Miss Edith Laidlaw. In 1896, when a pipe organ was contemplated, Mrs John Thomson lent a 'small but beautifully toned' instrument. With the building of a new church in 1907 (seating capacity 500), Mr James Young sen. presented the congregation with a 20 stop, 2-manual pipe organ at a cost of £ 620. (*St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Historical Sketch, 1854-1909*, p. 23; *A Brief History of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, 1854-1934*, p. 23.)

In 1884 when a pipe organ was proposed for West Melbourne Presbyterian Church, Mr James Paterson was forthcoming with £ 250 of the total cost of £ 908. (Martin, J. Stanley 1967, *A Tale of Two Churches*, St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Box Hill, p. 13.)

²⁸⁷ Originally built in 1875 by Geo. Fincham for Geo. Peake, a leading Melbourne organist and teacher.

²⁸⁸ *The Rolling Years, the Story of the Noorat Presbyterian Church, 1847-1973. from Kilnoorat and through the rolling years to Noorat, 1837-1973*, 1973, Centenary Committee, Presbyterian Church, Noorat.

Size and Tonal Characteristics

The wealth, commitment to Kirk and the social standing of Scots in the Colony ensured the possibility of availing themselves of the best materials for the construction of their church buildings and interior decoration as noted above. The same was true with the purchase of an organ. In 1874, the St. Andrew's Kirk organ²⁸⁹ was described as being the 'largest in Ballarat' and that St. Patrick's organ was 'not more powerful, of greater volume, or possessing a larger number of stops than St. Andrew's'.²⁹⁰ As indicated below, the organ built for Scots Church, Melbourne (E.C.) not only contained the latest in mechanical devices but was also considered in 1877 to be the largest liturgical organ in Australia.²⁹¹

R. MACKENZIE,
ORGAN BUILDER,
FACTORY—40 GEORGE STREET, FITZROY.

P. Selected by the eminent firm Messrs. Hill and Son, London, to erect Grand Organ in Town Hall, Melbourne.

in The Builder of the Organ at the Scots' Church, Collins-street, the largest church organ and the only one with pneumatic lever action yet built in Australia; at present engaged in building Grand Organ for St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne—will receive orders to Build or Re-build Organs for Church, Chamber, or Concert-room.

th R. Mackenzie has had extensive experience at the celebrated firms of Hill and Son, Gray and Davison, and Willis (principal organ builders in London), and begs to intimate that he is the only organ builder in these colonies who can construct pneumatic levers and combinations.

E N.B.—Omnibuses and cabs pass close to the factory every few minutes.

PIANOFORTES

Figure 11 Advertisement for R. Mackenzie, organ builder

(*Christian Review*, April 1877)

²⁸⁹ 2-manual 3 couplers, 3 composition pedals

Great	Swell	Pedal
Open Diapason 8'	Open Diapason 8'	Open Diapason 16'
Stopped Diapason 8'	Stopped Diapason 8'	Bourdon 16'
Clarabella 8'	Keraulophon 4'	
Dulciana 8'	Principal 8'	
Principal 4'	Piccolo 2'	
Flute 4'	Mixture	
12 th	Cornoepen 8'	
15 th	Oboe 8'	
Mixture		
Trumpet 8'		

²⁹⁰ *Ballarat Courier*, November 28, 1874.

²⁹¹ *Christian Review*, April 1877, p. 22.

Not all organs were initially built in their entirety. For example the West Melbourne Church installed in 1883 a 3 manual, 32 stop, four coupler Fincham organ at a cost of £ 908 built with provision for 15 additional stops as finances permitted.²⁹² Other churches including St Andrew's Williamstown took up this financial arrangement, which allowed for the purchase of a large instrument.

In *Musical Memoirs* (1849), Sir John G. Dalyell recorded the view of Irishman Samuel Letts, on the tonal quality preferred by the Scots (and also the Irish) in an organ. Employed by the Edinburgh firm of Muir & Wood in 1804, Letts was of the opinion that the Scots and Irish preferred 'softer and deeper toned organs', unlike the English who preferred 'louder and shriller instruments'.²⁹³ This preference may have been informed by the Irish and Scots' penchant for the raucous shrill sound of bagpipe and fiddle music in their secular music. Dalyell alleged that 'organs constructed in Scotland are the more melodious',²⁹⁴ an ideal illustrated in the reviews of the opening concerts of the two earliest pipe organs installed in High Church, Geelong (F.C.) and St. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat. Reporting on the November 27 1874 opening of the organ at St. Andrew's Kirk Ballarat built by Mackenzie and Co, the *Ballarat Courier* stated that there was 'satisfaction expressed on all sides last evening at the beauty of the instrument and its melodious tones'. Of the stops, the flute was greatly 'admired for its sweet and liquid tone, and the clarabella for its round full mellowness'.²⁹⁵ Such a description suggests the traits of sweetness and mellowness that were considered desirable in instruments in Scotland. The *Geelong Advertiser* also referred to this ideal in a report of a

²⁹² Opened on August 2 1883, by P. C. Plaisted it replaced an earlier 1881 rental organ of eight stops. (Enid. N. Matthews 1969, p. 156) Built with preparation for 15 additional stops, allowing installation later when funds became available. Fincham placed seven stops in the organ for the opening, the congregation to pay for them over an extended period. A further two were added in 1897 (Enid. N. Matthews 1969, p. 62).

²⁹³ cited in Henry. G. Farmer 1947, p. 400.

²⁹⁴ cited in Henry. G. Farmer 1947, p. 400.

²⁹⁵ *Ballarat Courier*, November 28, 1874.

recital held on the Fincham organ at the High Church²⁹⁶ on February 19 1873. It was reported that ‘to our ears the wood stops are of very superior order, especially the flute and stopped diapason.’ On the other hand it is stated that the ‘farge metal pipes seem to want a mellowness of tone which will probably come with time’.²⁹⁷

Despite the fact that the first pipe organs ranged from small to very large, the prime reason for their installation was the accompaniment of congregational singing rather than the playing of voluntaries. Nevertheless, large instruments such as at St Andrew’s Kirk and Scots Church were equipped with a full tonal structure. Apart from the diapason chorus, they were provided with a range of mutations, reeds, and string tone stops, thus possessing the capacity to adequately interpret an extensive range of solo and concert repertoire. It is of interest to note that some of the leading Presbyterian Churches in Victoria (St. John’s, Essendon, Toorak Presbyterian Church, Cairns’ Memorial, East Melbourne, St Andrew’s, Bendigo) chose Alfred Fuller’s instruments over those of George Fincham. Fuller competed successfully with Fincham over a period of 20 years and obtained orders on the merit of his novel tonal design and finishing. He introduced the romantic-symphonic tonal design to Australian organ building setting a trend that was followed by George Fincham, Josiah Dodd, Fred Taylor and others.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ 2-manual 3 couplers, 3 composition pedals, case of polished cedar.

Great	Swell	Pedal
Open Diapason	Open Diapason	Bourdon
Stopped Diapason	Stopped Diapason	
Dulciana	Gemshorn	
Principal	Mixture	
Flute	Cornocean	
12 th		
15 th		

²⁹⁷ *Geelong Advertiser*, February 19, 1873.

²⁹⁸ Graeme Rushworth 1982, ‘Alfred Fuller, Melbourne 19th century organ builder – his life and work’, *a paper delivered to the Organ Historical Trust of Australia 5th Annual Conference, Melbourne*, <http://avoca.vicnet.net.au/~ohta/document/articles/afuller.html>, 21/10/01.

Openings

The openings of organs in Victorian Presbyterian churches provided opportunities for musical celebration and marked the considerable pride held by congregations regarding their new purchase. The opening of the organ at the High Church (St Giles) Geelong in February 1874 attracted a large crowd 'to hear Signor Giorza on his favourite instrument'. *The Christian Review* suggests the large presence was possibly due to 'the genuine curiosity to hear an organ in a Presbyterian Church'. Miss Ulbrick, the associate artist and organist of the church, opened the programme with the Old Hundredth, the first chord of which 'shewed the power of the pedal organ coupled with the full organ'. Giorza's first organ solo was an offertoire (his own composition) described as 'a solemnly martial piece played in his own style'. Of *Cujus Animam* from Rossini's *Stabat Mater* it was reported that:

The combinations were such as to shew the powers of the organ and the wonderful skill of the player. The flute stop had the lion's share at the close of the melody, and after a succession of beautiful runs, and a perfect shake, by one of those transitions which Signor Giorza so thoroughly excels in the full power of the organ was brought out in its grandeur.

Giorza's playing of the introductory chorus, prayer, and quartet from Rossini's *Mosé in Egitto* not only demonstrated the versatility and mechanical attributes of the organ but also the prowess of the player.

The staccato passages were perfect, crisp, clear, and delicate withal; the legato smooth and flowing; the maestoso truly grand; the dulciana was very effective in the prayer, and the burst of full harmony at the close not only showed the powers of the organ, but the true artist in the player.

In more secular vein Gioza's final rendition demonstrated the versatility and tonal range of the instrument for 'in passages of every style, operatic, terpsichorean, &c, the stops were finely

“illustrated”. Even the bagpipes were introduced as the Italian composer appealed to nationality ‘and they warmed the hearts of our Caledonian friends. The most rigid objector to the introduction of a “kist ” of whistles into the kirk must have been subdued.’

While the recital was enthusiastically received, Giorza’s encore, ‘brilliant variations’ of Bishop’s secular song ‘The Last Rose of Summer’, temporarily shocked the Presbyterian sensibilities of those gathered. However, reassurance was accorded when it was later revealed that the tune formed part of the Psalm tune collection of the Presbyterian Church in America. As Giorza came from Columbia the ‘mistake’ was excusable.²⁹⁹ While there may have been some reservation about the choice of encore, of greater interest was the acceptance of the Italian and Roman Catholic choice of his repertoire. As organist of St Francis’ Church, Melbourne his presence in a Presbyterian Church must have pricked the sensibilities of some of the congregation of the High Church. However, the enthusiastic reception given to Giorza highlights the ecumenical nature of early Victoria and the liberal thinking of those present. On the other hand, this may not be surprising for the minister of the High Church was the Rev T. McKenzie Fraser, who was in the forefront of the introduction of hymnody and instrumental music into the Victorian Presbyterian Church. Interspersed with congregational hymns, the programme also offered solo selections from *Elijah* (Mendelssohn), *Messiah* (Handel), an anthem by Tours and the singing of Handel’s Hallelujah Chorus. There were ‘many in the audience who longed to have a share in this chorus and would have liked to sing to Signor Giorza’s playing’.³⁰⁰ With the installation complete, the Rev. T. McKenzie Fraser turned his efforts to collecting funds ‘for the purpose of having the organ pipes properly

²⁹⁹ *Geelong Advertiser*, February 20, 1873.

³⁰⁰ *Geelong Advertiser*, February 20, 1873.

illuminated³⁰¹ and by March 1875 the debt on the organ was cleared.³⁰² A similar concert (although more Protestant in content) presented by David Lee opened the organ at St. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat on November 27, 1874.³⁰³



Figure 12 Interior The High Church, Geelong

(St Giles' Presbyterian Church, Geelong – Souvenir Eighteenth Anniversary 1847-1927)

Positioning

The positioning of the organ in church buildings varied. At the High Church, Geelong it was reported in 1873 that the organ 'occupies whole of the recess at rear of the pulpit...The officiating clergyman will have the organ at his back and the audience will face it. This is contrary to the usual rule but the congregation having decidedly the best of the innovation will refrain from making any complaint'.³⁰⁴ Although commonplace by the mid-1880s, this placement at the centre front of the church behind the pulpit in itself appears to have been an

³⁰¹ *Minutes of the Board of Management, St Giles' Presbyterian Church Geelong 1849-1929*, June, 1873, p. 43

³⁰² *Minutes of the Board of Management, St Giles' Presbyterian Church Geelong 1849-1929*, March 1875, p.87.

³⁰³ David Lee's items were *Offertoire, op. 35, in G* (Lefebure Wely), *Andante in D* (Mozart), *Prayer* from 'Moses in Egypt' (Rossini). Choral and solo selections from *The Messiah* (Handel), *Judas Maccabeus* (Handel), *Deborah* (Handel), *Elijah* (Mendelssohn) were accompanied by Mrs Little and Lee. (*Ballarat Courier*, November 28, 1874).

³⁰⁴ *Geelong Advertiser*, February 11, 1873.

innovation in 1873. A more conventional position was in the gallery at the rear of the church, as at St Andrew's Ballarat. However, the new organ installed in 1890 was placed in the centre of the front wall, as was the organ in the Toorak Presbyterian Church (1881).³⁰⁵ At the Alma Road St Kilda Presbyterian Church, the position of the organ was changed in 1892 from the rear gallery to the front of the church. It was not however placed behind the pulpit but in an organ chamber to the right of the pulpit. As will be seen in the following chapter the growing preference for organs placed in the front of the church was associated with growing status of choirs.

Solo Performance

Although the accompanying role of the harmonium or organ was well established by the mid 1870s, there is little evidence of its use as a solo instrument in a worship setting. As late as the 1890s bookshop advertisements in the Presbyterian Church press did not include editions of organ voluntaries, although advertisements of anthem collections are commonplace. Church histories or official documents provide little information on the subject. However it is known that at St. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat a request was made in 1879 for the organist 'to play for a short time after the evening service as the members left'.³⁰⁶ A similar request was made at St George's Geelong in 1871 but rejected by the Session. Nevertheless, it appears that voluntaries were later allowed, for the choir lodged the complaint 'that the organist plays the voluntaries in too high a strain' and that the minister should inform the organist and 'tell him he must stop this high-falutin'. After the minister had 'spoken with the organist in reference to the excessive noise made by him' the organist resigned at the next Session meeting.³⁰⁷ The

³⁰⁵ The organ at St Andrew's, Bendigo was moved to the front of the church in 1892. (*St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Bendigo*)

³⁰⁶ G. Mackay n.d., *St Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat*. p. 5.

³⁰⁷ *St George's Presbyterian Church One Hundred Years 1860-1960*, 1960, Geelong, p.24.

installation of a pipe organ at St Andrew's Williamstown (1874) saw a move for an offertory to be played during the collection, the success of which engendered a further request for a voluntary to be played at the beginning and close of worship. Although no objection was voiced, it was another two years before voluntaries were introduced into the worship.³⁰⁸ As late as 1885 the installation of a new pipe organ at St John's Warrnambool prompted the choir to request organ voluntaries be played before and after service.³⁰⁹

Appointments

The quality of the instruments installed in Presbyterian churches was such that they attracted well-known organists and recitalists such as W.F.G. Steele, Julius Herz, J. R. Edeson, Philip Plaisted, Joseph S. Summers, J. A. Mallinson, David Lee and F. Coutt. While these organists held positions in churches of various denominations, Edeson occupied the position of organist at Scots Church for 27 years. Arriving in Melbourne in 1876 from London and Belfast, where he had previously been one of the principal organists at Ulster Hall, he was appointed organist at Scots Church, a position he held until 1903. From 1891-1912, he was also organist for the Philharmonic Society³¹⁰ and was a regular recitalist at the Melbourne Town Hall.³¹¹ Like other organists, Edeson was also in demand as a performer at concerts and organ openings for example at the John Knox Presbyterian Church, Gardenvale (1878),³¹² the Congregational Church, Kew (1884)³¹³, and the St. Kilda Presbyterian Church (1892)³¹⁴. Longevity of tenure was also seen in country areas. Arriving in Ballarat from the United Kingdom in 1886, William Boustead was appointed organist at St Andrew Kirk in 1887 at the age of 20, a post

³⁰⁸ *St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, a brief history of the past 70 years 1853-1923* 1923, Bower & Young, Printers, Chronicle Office, p. 22.

³⁰⁹ *A Brief History of 100 years of worship in St John's Presbyterian Church*. 1949?

³¹⁰ Enid N. Matthews 1969, *Colonial Organs and Organbuilders*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p. 111.

³¹¹ Enid N. Matthews 1969, p. 89

³¹² Enid N. Matthews 1969, p. 135.

³¹³ Enid N. Matthews 1969, p. 138.

³¹⁴ Enid N. Matthews 1969, p. 150.

he was to fill until illness forced his retirement 50 years later in 1939.

In addition to being practising musicians, these men were also in demand to act as consultants to the many churches contemplating the installation of a pipe organ from the 1880s. While there were many women who were capable of playing the organ, it is interesting to note that they were not called on to act in a consultative capacity. Edeson the organist at Scots Church was requested by Fincham to inspect the organ at St Patrick's Cathedral.³¹⁵ In 1888 Dr Torrance of St Peter's Eastern Hill reported on the type and size of organ required by St Andrew's Kirk. His recommendation, a 3 manual instrument, was built by Fincham & Hobday at a cost of £ 1026 and was opened by him in 1891.³¹⁶

Recitals

There were many opportunities for the use of the organ in other than a worship setting. In fact, an organ (harmonium?) accompanied the singing at the opening soiree of the Presbyterian union celebrations in 1859 in the old Exhibition Buildings where the 100th Psalm was sung by an immense congregation, 'the large choir leading with the organ accompaniment'.³¹⁷ The harmonium featured in the many anniversaries, soirees, tea meetings, lectures and concerts that were part of the social scene of Presbyterian Church life. David Lee was particularly popular as a recitalist and accompanist at these occasions, being as comfortable playing the harmonium as he was the pipe organ. An account of the Annual Soiree of the West Melbourne Church held on 26th April 1871 reports that a 'selection of sacred music was rendered by the choir, led by Mr G. A. Donaldson; Mr David Lee presided

³¹⁵ Enid N. Matthews 1969, p. 114.

³¹⁶ J. Keith 1952, *History of St. Andrew's Kirk*.

³¹⁷ Robert Hamilton 1888, *A Jubilee History of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Hutchinson, Melbourne, p. 184.

at the organ [harmonium]. This gentleman played some beautiful pieces of music at intervals...'.³¹⁸ Lee was again present when in 1876 the Richmond Presbyterian Church used their Mason & Hamlin cabinet organ for the first time.³¹⁹ In May 1879, Edeson, and Rev T. Mc Kenzie Fraser joined forces to present a lecture on Mozart at Scots' Church, Melbourne. Convened to raise funds for the Presbyterian Church Psalmody Committee the lecture attracted between 300 and 400 people. An account of Mozart's life and works was presented with music including *Kyrie* and *Gloria* (Twelfth Mass), *Andante Cantabile* (Sonata X), *Andante Cantabile* (Symphony Op. 34), *Benedictus* (Requiem), Grand Introduction and Litany.³²⁰

Demise of precentor

An important outcome of the introduction of the organ was that the position of precentor gradually gave way to that of choir director and/or organist. Traditionally the position of precentor was male dominated, but early instrumental duties were assumed primarily by women who, given their important role in domestic music making, were at home playing the harmonium or cabinet organ in church. This heralded the emergence of women into a prominent participatory role in church worship. Many parish histories record women as their first organists. The first organist of Broughton (Ballarook) Kirk (1887) was Miss Saltan, head teacher of Peechember School.³²¹ At Mortlake in 1882 'a simple keyboard organ without stops was purchased and was played by Miss Turnbull, the governess of the Armstrong family

³¹⁸ *Christian Review*, May 1871, p. 9.

³¹⁹ *The Argus*, February 19, 1876.

³²⁰ *Presbyterian Review*, May, 1879, p. 519.

³²¹ St John's Presbyterian Church, Kaniva and Serviceton, 1889-1964.

at 'Salt Creek'.³²² It was not until the appearance of pipe organs that men begin to assert their position at the keyboard. A woman in the position of organist was not peculiar to the Presbyterian Church. Many churches record women among their first and subsequent organists not only in country centres but also in prominent Melbourne churches of all denominations. (St. Patrick's Cathedral, St James' Old Cathedral, St Francis, St Paul's, St Peter's). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that up until 1900 women organists are conspicuous by their absence in city and suburban Presbyterian Churches.

Payment

From the earliest times, the position of precentor was considered an office of the church and as such was a paid position. In the 1860s, the average salary of a precentor was approximately £ 30, a minister's being approximately £ 300 (with variability from parish to parish).³²³ Rather exceptional was the precentor's salary of £ 60 at the fashionable church of West Melbourne in 1869 (the minister's salary being £ 600).³²⁴ The first organist (harmonium), appointed in 1876 at this church was paid the amount of £ 80.³²⁵

With the demise of the precentor and the emergence of the organist and choir director, it appears the choir director usually attracted the higher salary. For example at St Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat in 1882, Miss McDowell the organist received a salary of £ 20 p.a. while Mr Lambie, the choirmaster received £ 30 p.a.³²⁶

³²² Mary G. Green, nd, *History of Woorndro Presbyterian Church*. p. 6.

³²³ In 1867 St Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat paid Duncan, its precentor, £ 37/10/- while in 1868 Brown the precentor at St John's, Ballarat was earning £ 30. In 1866, at the High Church Geelong, Roxburgh, the precentor, was drawing a salary of £ 30.

³²⁴ J. Stanley Martin, 1967, p. 9.

³²⁵ J. Stanley Martin 1967, p. 26.

³²⁶ J. Keith, 1952, *History of St. Andrew's Kirk*. ms.

Orchestral accompaniment

With the introduction of the organ at St Andrew's Carlton in 1892 instrumental music was commonplace in Presbyterian worship throughout Victoria. However, the issue still had the capacity to arouse passionate argument, as for example when St John's East Ballarat (U..P.) deigned to introduce an orchestra into its evening worship service. This caused much consternation to the local presbytery and commanded the interest of both the local and Melbourne press. For example, *The Argus* in its editorial of August 13 stated:

The action of the Rev. W. L. McQueen is likely, it seems, to make a stir in the presbyteries. Finding that sections of the Ballarat people would not go to him while he conducted service in the orthodox manner at the church of St. John, the reverend gentleman has gone to them. It is said that he is meeting men and women in crowds at the Alfred-hall, where every Sunday evening he is assisted by a full orchestra. And those of his clerical brethren who love to walk in the old paths themselves and who delight not when others take to new roads are about to arraign the rev. gentleman in the lower ecclesiastical court because of that orchestra....³²⁷

The Ballarat Courier gives a detailed account of the music performed.

The instrumental music had commenced at half-past six, and went on in steady and pleasing flow of melody for half an hour, during which time people poured into the building in one continuous stream...Prior to the commencement of the religious service at seven o'clock, it played the following numbers most admirably:-"I will arise", "The heavens are telling", the "Gloria" from Haydn's 1st Mass, and "Kyrie" from Mozart's "Twelfth Mass". During the offertory it performed "Adeste Fidelis" and "I know that my Redeemer liveth"; and while the building was being emptied of its very large attendance the "Cujus animam" and "Gather at the river", in addition to which it played the accompanying music to the hymns sung by St John's choir and the audience from Sankey's standard book. The opinion is expressed that the whole of the instrumental music was performed with as much religious and sympathetic fervour as could have been produced by a powerful organ under the hands of an accomplished church organists.³²⁸

³²⁷ *The Argus*, Aug. 13, 1896, p. 4.

³²⁸ *The Ballarat Courier*, Aug. 10, 1896.

The resolve of McQueen to continue these services regardless of any decision by the presbytery is reported in the *The Argus*. 'Mr. McQueen, who has been interviewed, states that the services will go on just the same...the services have given objectivity to Presbyterianism in Ballarat which it lacked before...and as he has not broken any law of the church, he would not feel justified in giving up the orchestra, even if requested to do so by the Presbytery'.³²⁹ The service followed the model of evangelists such as Moody and Sankey, whose evangelism had made profound impact throughout the world, and that of Scottish evangelist the Rev. John McNeil. However it was pointed out by one of the objectors that 'the case of the Rev. John McNeil was very different to that of the Rev. Mr. McQueen. Mr. McNeil was not directly connected with the church here by being one of its ministers, as Mr. McQueen is'.³³⁰



Figure 13 Orchestra of St John's Ballarat East (source: *The Weekly Times*)

³²⁹ *The Argus*, Aug. 7, 1896.

³³⁰ *The Age* Aug. 6, 1869, p. 5.

The Age reported that ‘certain members of the Ballarat Presbytery are severely afraid that the Alfred Hall audiences don’t go to hear the parson pray and preach, but the band play’. However it appears that the publicity given to the motion of the Ballarat Presbytery expressing ‘strong disapprobation’ and ordering ‘discontinuance of the musical performance’ only led to ‘a demand for seats, and 2,300 people assembled in the hall in defiance of the contingent wrath of the next Presbyterian General Assembly, while several hundreds were turned away’.³³¹ The development of this new kind of evening service involving not only orchestral music but also choral anthems and evangelical hymns emanated from a congregational meeting on April 26, 1895 and carried the approval of the St. John’s East Ballarat congregation and session. They supported McQueen when he claimed that :

the time had arrived when St John’s should make a new departure in carrying on God’s work by endeavouring to gather in the masses of people who walked the streets instead of attending some Church, and with this in his mind he had requested session to consider the matter, the result being that they had entered very heartily into the matter, and the meeting was called tonight to ascertain the views of the Congregation.³³²

The experiment was introduced on a trial basis in 1895 and is known to have operated successfully for at least a year.

CONCLUSIONS

The principal conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing discussion is that despite the major break with tradition involved, the introduction of instrumental music into the formal worship of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria was effected with speed and minimal difficulty. That this should be the case was all the more remarkable since a considerable degree of

³³¹ *The Weekly Times*, Aug. 29, 1896, p. 12.

³³² *Minutes of Congregational Meeting*, St John’s, East Ballarat, April, 26, 1895.

conservatism of attitude and hesitation was found to exist within the clergy. Many upheld the traditional theological stance on the need to exclude instruments from divine service and more importantly, the desirability of maintaining Presbyterian tradition in this matter. There was also reluctance on the part of clergy to legislate in Assembly on an issue that had the potential to cause a rift in the newly-united organisation or a loss of parishioners to other denominations. An interesting finding was the pre-union affiliation of clergy had no bearing on their attitudes to instrumental music in worship. Despite the prevailing conservatism of clergy, the zeal and foresight of individuals such as McKenzie Fraser exerted an enormous degree of influence and proved to be a major factor in the general acceptance of the introduction of instruments in the church.

Among the influences that brought about the use of instruments in worship was the positive attitude of the laity, which was strongly represented in the decisions made by congregations. Letters to the church press indicated a strong awareness by lay persons of the place of music in other denominational services and a desire for Presbyterian worship to be made more uplifting by an improved and expanded musical presence. It was found that harmoniums began to appear in churches shortly after the less than decisive Assembly pronouncement in 1862. This is testament to the capacity of Presbyterian Church polity (which allowed the laity considerable voice at the local level) to effect change, even in the face of negative attitudes primarily within the clergy.

Regardless of any antipathy towards the purchase of harmoniums or organs for churches, once installed they were very readily accepted. There is certainly no evidence of an instrument being decommissioned on account of objections involving traditional Presbyterian principles.

Nor is there evidence of a significant exodus of Presbyterian Church of Victoria members to the Free Presbyterian Church on these grounds.³³³ Contemporary reports testify to improvements in the standard of congregational singing and to a great deal of pride in the excellence of the instruments themselves, especially the larger pipe organs. There appears to have been no difficulty in financing the purchase of instruments. Ladies' groups were eager to embark on fundraising and in many congregations generous donors were forthcoming with partial or even complete funding for instruments ranging from small harmoniums to very large pipe organs. Funds were also donated for ongoing maintenance and/or expansion of instruments. Where congregations raised their own funds for the purchase of an instrument their typical Presbyterian financial management ensured that projects were brought to timely fruition.

An important outcome of the introduction of instruments into Presbyterian worship was a shift in the music-personnel structure. The change was seen to spell the demise of the precentor as the sole leader of sung praise. A sharing of responsibilities began when harmoniums appeared in churches. Such sharing was often with women harmonium players and this too represented a major change in Presbyterian worship, a change which heralded the rise of women into musical prominence. By the end of the century, the position of organist and/or choir director replaced the precentor's position throughout Victoria.

It is important to recognise that the introduction of instruments into Presbyterian worship went hand in hand with the introduction of hymnody and the growing role of choirs in liturgical music. Furthermore these developments were part of more general changes in aesthetic taste

³³³ In some congregations such as Camperdown and Hamilton there was a group who left the Presbyterian Church and formed a Free Presbyterian congregation.

which were seen to be evident in changing styles of church architecture and decoration and which were experienced in other denominations as well.

The decision to incorporate instrumental music into divine worship was made by the Presbyterian Church of Victoria without recourse to the church in Scotland and it predated the Scottish decision to allow instrumental music by 12 months. The Victorian church press contains little Scottish comment on the matter. Although there are parallels in the history of instrumental music in 19th-century Victoria and Scotland, the acceptance of introduction was made easier in Victoria by the fact that the united structure allowed members to form opinions independent of their pre-union denomination. Accordingly clergy could support instrumental music without formal reprisal. Furthermore the wealth enjoyed by colonial Presbyterians made it much easier for them to finance the purchase of instruments than their Scottish counterparts. Their exposure to the practices of other denominations also created an awareness of the value of instrumental music as both a support to congregational singing and as a contribution in its own right.

Chapter 5

FROM BACK ROOM TO CENTRE STAGE

The Development of a Choral Tradition.

The remaining change of significance to occur in the musical praise of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria involved the liturgical role of the choir. Unlike the introduction of hymnody and instrumental music, neither of which was previously present in formal worship, the choir was not a new entity in musical praise. However, its function changed quite dramatically from that of a support to the precentor and congregation in the unaccompanied singing of psalms to that of a provider of choral music not involving the congregation. The intention was to add dignity to the service, while maintaining the foremost and traditional role of supporting congregational singing. The following discussion seeks to trace the development of choirs in Victorian Presbyterian churches during the study period. The central research questions are:

- What was the background to the changes in choral involvement in the musical praise of Presbyterianism?
- Why did the Presbyterian Church of Victoria allow the introduction of choral music into formal worship?
- What circumstances aided the changed role of the choir in Presbyterian worship?
- What were the outcomes of this development?

The investigation encompasses the occurrence and make-up of choirs, their conductors and soloists, and repertoire. As in the previous chapter the focus is on the liturgical role of the choir, but its long-standing social function, which forms an important precedent, is also taken into account.

The Reformation not only hailed the demise of instrumental music in Calvinist traditions, but with the focus transferred to congregational participation in worship, it saw the disappearance of the choir as a solo entity. However the pre-Reformation Scottish church was steeped in a choral tradition. In the 14th century, the Sang Schools (created for the musical training of priests and choristers) established a tradition that was the predecessor to the English cathedral school. These were situated in areas such as Aberdeen, St Andrews, Glasgow, Brechin, Edinburgh, Elgin and Restalrig. While providing music education for the clergy and choristers, the Sang Schools also provided a general education of ‘reading, writing, and arithmetic, and probably reading in the vernacular’ to ‘outsiders’. As a result, the schools produced high quality musicians, and the interest in music kindled in the middle and upper classes ensured appreciative patrons.³³⁴ The Scottish Reformation brought about the downfall of numerous Roman Catholic institutions including the Sang Schools. As choristers were no longer required for the reformed service there was no need to preserve the Sang Schools ‘for the training of “hired singers” so detested by the Reformers’.³³⁵ With the demise of the choir tradition, many of these choristers became precentors in the new order. Thus the anthem had no place in the service of the Church of Scotland.

As discussed in Chapter 3 (see p. 64) the musical reforms of the mid 18th century saw a growing interest in the relief of the drudgery of Presbyterian psalmody. This interest led to a broadening of the tune repertoire, the introduction of four-part singing and the forming of choirs, the result of which resulted in ‘choir lofts’ being built at the West end of the churches

³³⁴ Henry G. Farmer 1947, *A History of Music in Scotland*, Hinrichsen Edition Limited, London, p.86-7.

³³⁵ Henry G. Farmer 1947, p.138

to accommodate as many as 120 people.³³⁶ A correspondent of the *Scots Magazine* of April 1754 complained that ‘a new-fangled profanation of the Sabbath was introduced by singing the psalms at Church with a herd-boy’s whistle,...which gives great offence to many serious Christians, which led to the innovation of singing music in parts by trained choristers, set apart by themselves in a loft or corner of the church, begun by a profane heretic about a thousand years ago’.³³⁷ However, the prime function of the choir was merely to assist the precentor and to lead the congregation in the singing. It did not sing in a solo capacity.

One of the benefits of the Reformation was that all worshippers in the Presbyterian Church were duty-bound to sing.³³⁸ It is thus not surprising that at the beginning of the 19th century, ‘with the people easing themselves from the yoke of eternal psalmody, Scotland was able to show more vocal societies to her credit than the remainder of the British Isles put together’.³³⁹ In 1815 the Institution of Sacred Music was established in Edinburgh, and in Glasgow, a Sacred Music Institution had been in place since 1796, although it was disbanded in 1805. Although both Episcopalian, ‘the very titles of “Sacred” and “Church” given to these societies seem to have been adopted so as to give them a respectable countenance which would tolerate the stricter Presbyterian parents allowing the younger generation taking part in such activities’.³⁴⁰ Both the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches held regular recitals and performances of sacred music and their contribution to the musical scene would have been

³³⁶ William D. Maxwell 1955, p. 166

³³⁷ cited in Henry G. Farmer 1947, p. 266

³³⁸ The 18th-century United Presbyterian minister cites the divine Jonathan Edwards (1703-58), who observes that, ‘As it is the command of God that all should sing, so all should make conscience of learning to sing, as it is a thing that cannot decently be performed at all without learning. Those, therefore, where there is no natural inability, who neglect to learn to sing, live in sin, as they neglect what is necessary in order to their attending one of the ordinances of God’s worship’. (cited in Andrew Duncan 1882, *The Scottish Sanctuary as it was and as it is*, Andrew Elliot, Edinburgh, p. 17).

³³⁹ Henry G. Farmer 1947, p. 443.

³⁴⁰ Henry G. Farmer 1947, p. 457.

quite obvious to Presbyterians. Farmer suggests this awareness may have led the Presbyterian precentors of Glasgow to form a Union of Precentors in 1811 which ‘seems to be the driving force in the concerts of sacred and secular pieces which these individuals and their pupils gave at this time’.³⁴¹ In Glasgow alone there were at least five amateur vocal societies³⁴² formed between 1802 and 1810. As well as musical experience, they also provided a strong social focus. During the first half of the century, Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches in Edinburgh, presented sacred concerts embracing such composers as Handel, Pergolesi, Haydn, Beethoven, Mozart, Spohr, Naumann and J. C. Bach. Between the years of 1831 and 1858 Farmer notes the formation of no less than 25 choral associations, among the largest being that of the Institute of Sacred Music with a choir of 400 voices.³⁴³ Another important influence on the establishment of choirs was the enthusiasm that accompanied the arrival of rivals Mainzer and Hullah in Glasgow and Edinburgh in the 1840s (see p. 66).

This was the strong social choral tradition which the Scots brought to Australia. With their interest in and affection for both sacred and secular choral music it is not surprising to see choral music as part of the entertainment at church social gatherings. In Victoria, the choral movement flourished during the latter half of the 19th century, especially in Melbourne. The (Royal) Melbourne Philharmonic Society, the longest-running choral organisation in Australia, was founded in 1853 and gave its first performance of Handel’s *Messiah* in that same year.³⁴⁴ In addition, choral societies were established in the growing outreaches of the city, some of them the result of singing classes (see pp. 72-73).

³⁴¹ Henry G. Farmer 1947, p. 458.

³⁴² Gorbels Vocal Music Club (1802), Glee and Madrigal Club (1805), Union Vocal Music Club (1807), Concord Club (1810) (Henry G. Farmer 1947, p. 458).

³⁴³ Henry G. Farmer 1947, p. 459-61.

³⁴⁴ Peter Tregear 1977, ‘Melbourne’ in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

THE FUNCTION OF THE CHOIR

Liturgical

In keeping with the Calvinist heritage and having no official status in Scottish Presbyterianism, the 'choir' (or 'band' as it was often called) was restricted to the singing of psalms (and later hymns) as a support to the precentor and congregation from its earliest occurrence in the 18th century. By the 1880s congregational hymns as well as psalms provided inclusiveness in the worship of most Victorian Presbyterian churches and instrumental music was generally accepted as an accompaniment. But the idea of a choir singing in a solo capacity was highly questionable. Indeed the singing of choral anthems could be considered a far greater breach of principle than that of the inclusion of hymns and instrumental music in worship. The Presbyterian Church traditionally considered choral music as a relic of the Roman church, a stance that was explained by the Scottish Free Church clergyman. Dr Neil Livingston (1803-1891):

With whatever defects the church singing of Scotland has been chargeable in later times, it had all along continued to be, with few exceptions, congregational. The rival method of praise is that which a select number sing...It would be too much to deny that it is possible to obtain devotional edification by this method, and it may be admitted that such power as music adds to language is thereby fully developed. But if music pass much beyond the ability of the hearer to join with it vocally...it is very apt to be listened to simply as a performance.³⁴⁵

This was the status of the choir in Presbyterian churches in Victoria in the early years of their development. In many parishes, a choir had been formed at the inception of the church. For example, with the founding of St Andrew's, Bendigo in 1854, Mr L. Fraser as precentor led the congregation 'voluntarily with great skill and pleasure' but when a choir was proposed, he

³⁴⁵ cited in Henry G. Farmer 1947, *A History of Music in Scotland*, London: Hinrichsen Edition Limited, London, p.208.

felt his skills did not extend to the training and conducting it.³⁴⁶ However, the congregation moved quickly, and in 1856 appointed a precentor (Mr Alexander Valentine) ‘who should train and conduct a choir’.³⁴⁷ At St Giles, Geelong seven years after its establishment in 1847 ‘a choir met every Sunday at 10 in the schoolroom for the practice of Church Psalmody’.³⁴⁸ And in 1856, three years after the foundation of the church, a choir was introduced at the North Melbourne Presbyterian Church (later Union Memorial Church).³⁴⁹ Soon after the Hawthorn Presbyterian Church was established in 1864 a choir was formed. Using Brown’s-Robertson’s music book³⁵⁰ ‘practice was held on Saturday evenings at ‘Springhill’ Upper Hawthorn, the home of the Mr. T. J. Everist (Precentor from 1865-1870).³⁵¹

With the introduction of *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* (1867), and hence an unfamiliar musical repertoire, the choir became a far more important part of the Sunday service. Its main function was still to assist the precentor and to aid to congregation in the familiarisation of the new tunes of the hymnal. Weekly psalmody classes during 1868 at Sandridge (Port Melbourne) brought about a ‘marked improvement in the “Service of song” in the sanctuary’ and were in fact directly responsible for the introduction of *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship*, the purchase of which was unanimously recommended by the congregation.³⁵² Not far away in Dorcas St. South Melbourne, a report of the Annual Meeting in 1868 of the Emerald Hill congregation (Dorcas St. South Melbourne) implies that the

³⁴⁶ Margaret Temple 1984, *The Story of St Andrew’s Church, Bendigo 1854-1965*. Neptune Press, Newtown, Victoria, p. 37.

³⁴⁷ *St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church Bendigo, centenary brochure 1854-1954*.

³⁴⁸ *St Giles’s Presbyterian Church, Geelong souvenir eightieth anniversary 1847-1927*.

³⁴⁹ James T. Robertson 1904, *Union Memorial Presbyterian Church, North Melbourne, Jubilee History 1854-1904*. Sands & McDougall, Melbourne, p. 17

³⁵⁰ *Selection of Sacred Music c.1830*, Glasgow.

³⁵¹ J. A. Robertson, 1914, *Hawthorn Presbyterian Church Jubilee History 1864-1914*.

³⁵² *Christian Review*, Feb. 1868, p.12.

presence of a choir as being responsible for the successful introduction of *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* into the worship of the church.

The Managers are glad to acknowledge the great improvement in the psalmody of the congregation since the introduction of the new hymns into the service of praise, and they felt it to be their duty to recognise the obligation of the congregation to Mr. Hemmingway and the choir.³⁵³

Regardless of the fact that singing classes were organized in many places and congregational members were invited to participate, there were undoubtedly those in the congregation who would not have attended. Hence, the leadership role of the choir was of considerable importance.

Despite the traditional negative Presbyterian stance on the role of the choir in worship, its participation in a solo capacity was not unknown in Victoria prior to 1870. It must be emphasised that at no stage was the issue of choral anthems raised in the Assembly. As with the organ voluntary, the introduction of choral anthems into worship was determined by congregational acceptance or otherwise. Accordingly there are enormous difficulties in documenting introduction into the worship of the Church and presence during the study period.

The Ballarat Star in May 1866 stated that ‘The office of precentor to St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Ballarat, has been dispensed with, and a leader of the choir (Herr Carl Schmitt) appointed instead.’³⁵⁴ In May 1867, an advertisement appeared seeking applications for the position of ‘Conductor for the Choir’.³⁵⁵ It seems that anthems had been sung at St Andrew’s since March, 1867 for ‘a motion in favour of anthems being sung in church’ was

³⁵³ *Christian Review*, Feb. 1869, p.12.

³⁵⁴ *The Ballarat Star*, May 25, 1866, p. 5.

³⁵⁵ *The Ballarat Star*, May 18, 1867, p.3.

forwarded at a congregational meeting and received no opposition. ‘Since that time up till now [1869] an anthem has been sung by the choir at the Sunday evening service.’³⁵⁶ However due to some congregational dissatisfaction the practice was discontinued in 1869. As a result of the decision, the minister Rev. W. Henderson threatened to resign ‘as he had been unjustly blamed as the cause of the alleged innovation’. Nevertheless, by 1874 (the year after the opening of the pipe organ) the anthem was re-instated and sung during the collection.³⁵⁷ Indeed between the years of 1874 and 1879 there was a total of £ 7/8/3 outlaid for the purchase of anthems.³⁵⁸ Anthems were also introduced at St Andrew’s, Williamstown in 1879 by a majority vote of 84 to 23.³⁵⁹ At the Coburg Presbyterian Church, the introduction of the harmonium in 1875 led to the congregation’s gradual acceptance of hymns and anthems sung by the choir.³⁶⁰

Some congregations needed to deal with the further issues of paid choral singers and the use of soloists. Soloists often performed in a social or celebratory context but their place in a worship setting must have been a contentious issue particularly if a fee were involved. In 1885 Mr Guenett, the organist of the Toorak Church, requested a grant from Session to obtain paid singers for the choir. It was discussed and was agreed to.³⁶¹ However such an arrangement was evidently not the case at Scots Church. In the same year one of the most famous daughters of Melbourne Presbyterianism, Dame Nellie Melba, declined to sing in Scots but instead accepted the invitation to be treble soloist at St Francis’s Roman Catholic

³⁵⁶ *The Ballarat Star*, June 4, 1869, p. 2.

³⁵⁷ J. Keith, 1952, *History of St. Andrew’s Kirk*. ms.

³⁵⁸ *Report of the Committee of Management*, St Andrew’s, Ballarat. 1874, £ 1/12/6; 1878, £ 2/13/-; 1879, £ 3/9/-

³⁵⁹ *A Brief History of the past 70 years 1853-1923*. 1923, Bower & Young, Printers, “Chronicle” Office, p. 6.

³⁶⁰ Ken P. McLeod n.d., *A Shining Light, Coburg Presbyterian Church 1850-1975*.

³⁶¹ *Toorak Presbyterian Church: a jubilee record, 1875-1925*, p. 22.

Church purely because it carried a fee.³⁶² She was not to sing at Scots Church until Sunday May 2, 1915 when on that occasion she sang 'Magdelene at Michael's Gate', which was especially composed for her.³⁶³

Some congregations did not welcome the innovation of choral music in worship. The choir at St Andrew's Bendigo had dated from 1856, but as late as 1898 the Session still 'did not approve of the choir-master conducting hymns and anthems in a public service'.³⁶⁴ This was also the case at St Andrew's Geelong (also known as Scots Church) where a choir came into existence very soon after the church was built in 1847.³⁶⁵ In 1891, Mr Ruffin wrote a letter on behalf of the choir requesting permission 'to sing anthems and choruses during the lifting of the collection and dismissal of the congregation'. Only then did the Session give permission for the choir to sing alone (on condition that anthems be approved by the minister).³⁶⁶

The hymnal *Church Praise*, when authorised and adopted by the Assembly in 1883, gave tacit authority for use of choral anthems in public worship, since it included (for the first time) a substantial collection of choral anthems intended for use in worship. However it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which these and other anthems were actually performed, due to a reluctance during the 19th century to record details of liturgical choral performances in the church press or other sources. Based on the wide distribution of *Church Praise* and advertisements for collections of anthems in the church press, it can be assumed that these resources were purchased and used by choirs throughout the colony. But this does not

³⁶² John Hetherington 1967, *Melba*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, p. 44.

³⁶³ *Scots Leaflet*, June 1961.

³⁶⁴ Margaret Temple, 1984, *The Story of St Andrew's Church, Bendigo 1854-1965*. Neptune Press, Newtown, Victoria. p. 65.

³⁶⁵ *The Banner of St Andrew's Geelong*, vol. 5 no. 1 series 20, March 31, 1954

³⁶⁶ Minutes of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church Geelong, 3 December, 1891.

necessarily indicate the liturgical use of this material, and one cannot assume that the anthems contained in *Church Praise* were ever sung at all by particular choirs.

As with the extent of choral singing in worship throughout the colony, the fragmentary state of evidence means that even less is known about the standard of the singing. However improved standards were evidently attained. Referring to St Andrew's Kirk (Ballarat) John Clerk wrote in 1869 that '...I have heard anthems in various parts of the world, and I am prepared to say that the anthem in St. Andrew's was, without exception, the worst sung I ever I have ever heard in my life. Yours &c., John Clerk.'³⁶⁷ By contrast the following extract from a set of 10 rules (see Appendix B) compiled in 1882 suggests that choral excellence was by then a high priority:

That any lady or gentleman wishing to join the choir must first be approved by the committee, pass an examination by the Conductor, (the basis of the examination for admission to be the Elementary Certificate of the Tonic Solfa College or its equivalent in the staff notation) and then be proposed, seconded and balloted for by three-fourths of the choir, and such intending members shall not attend any meeting of the choir until they be informed through the Secretary of their having been admitted to membership. All members to sign the Rules of the choir.³⁶⁸

A further contributing factor to this excellence was the strict requirement for members to attend choir practice and services (see Appendix C).

Reactions to the liturgical use of choral anthems

The most revealing evidence is of an attitudinal nature expressed in articles and letters to the press concerning the role of the choir in worship. And the fact that such ideas (the majority of

³⁶⁷ Letter to the editor of *The Ballarat Star*, June 28 1869, p. 4.

³⁶⁸ Rules of the choir of St Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat adopted on September 1, 1882.

them negative in tone) were voiced, implies that choral anthems were indeed widely in place.

With the appearance of anthems in an authorised hymn book there were those who embraced the opportunity and were prepared to speak in favour of the subject, while in others it stirred and exposed the existence of a latent conservatism in the Church. In a paper presented to the Ladies' Literary Guild St Andrew's, Carlton as late as 1893 entitled 'Church Music', Rev C. H. Irwin claimed that 'a vast improvement has no doubt taken place in the music of Presbyterian Churches. But still there is much to be done, and there are many defects to be remedied, before we can truly say that we make His praise glorious'. Continuing, and speaking on the contents of *Church Praise* (1883), and in particular the collection of anthems, he commented as follows and posed certain questions regarding listening to sacred music.

In some of our congregations this department has been entirely ignored. The theory of a great many Presbyterians is that there should be no music in the churches except such as can be joined in by the congregation. I ask, where is the authority for this view? Grant that the psalms and hymns, which are intended for congregational praise, should be simple, and sung to simple tunes. But is there no place for listening to sacred music in our churches? Why not passages of God's Word, set to appropriate music, and sung by sweet voices, be as effective for doing good as the same words when read—perhaps by a very unmusical voice and very inappropriate accents?...Surely the sweet strains of the organ are as soothing and devotional as the jingling of coins while the collecting-plate is going around, and if so, may not an anthem speak words of comfort and cheer to many hearts.³⁶⁹

Referring to the mission of Sankey and Moody, and the place of listening to sacred music in church worship Irwin posed the question: 'Can anyone measure which of the two great American evangelists did most good, Mr. Moody by his preaching, or Mr. Sankey by his

³⁶⁹ *Presbyterian Monthly and Fellowship Messenger of the Churches*, Oct 1, 1893, p. 319.

singing of the Gospel story?’³⁷⁰ And concluding his lecture he asked: ‘Why should we leave the best music to be performed outside the churches? Why should Protestants leave their Roman Catholic brethren the exclusive privilege of using the works of the great masters of sacred music in the praise of God? ‘He hoped that the day would come when “all kinds of music” would be used in Divine service, and recommended a small orchestra of a couple of violins, a viola, and a violincello to be combined with the organ.’³⁷¹

However Irwin’s enthusiasm for choral music was not widely shared among the clergy. Rev J. Meiklejohn voiced a counter view based on a perceived incompatibility between beauty and divine worship:

The aesthetic element in Church Praise is lower than the devotional and should be made subservient to it. The beautiful, no doubt, is closely allied to the good, and includes the good as the genus, the species; but it is not the same as the good. The beautiful in art has no moral quality and is therefore lower than that which has. And in church Praise we are...in danger of sacrificing the spirit of worship for the sake of the form...by all means let us give God the best of everything we do give Him; and if we serve Him by music and poetry, let them be the most perfect embodiment of the devotional spirit we can obtain; but do not let us make so much of either music or poetry as to overshadow the more important elements of “sincerity and truth”.³⁷²

He also challenged the integrity of church choirs. That they had no regard for what they were singing ‘or even insight into the meaning of what is sung’ and furthermore they believed that such insight ‘is not thought essential to good singing’. For Meiklejohn a greater priority than quality singing was need for ‘spiritually-minded men and women that conduct that singing—those who have not merely the gift of song but the grace of God...’³⁷³

³⁷⁰ *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Oct. 1, 1893, p. 320.

³⁷¹ *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Nov. 1, 1893, p. 320.

³⁷² *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Nov. 1, 1893, p. 376.

³⁷³ *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Nov. 1, 1893, p. 376.

Another reason for Meiklejohn reservations concerning choral music was the concern that:

whatever interferes with the singing of the congregation as a whole is to be deprecated. I would not say that all the singing should be done by the people, but only that, in the part in which they are expected to join, nothing should be done to discourage them to do so. Two things may do so: the music sung and the manner in which it is conducted. The music may be too elaborate, or it may be conducted in a way that would lead the people to listen rather than sing...[A choir] may be too good—so good as to monopolise the singing...anything that silences the congregation in the service of praise, or exalts the beautiful at the expense of the devotional, or turns an act of worship into a source of mere sensuous or even intellectual enjoyment, is something from which we may well pray to be delivered.³⁷⁴

It may well be that Meiklejohn feared that the worship of the Presbyterian Church may become too much like a Church of England cathedral service where there is no congregational participation.

Other proponents of congregational singing were more adamant. A writer to the *Presbyterian Monthly* claimed that:

all the music in the House of the Lord ought to be congregational. We have quite enough of listening to sermons and prayers without having any of the singing filched from us. Again and again does not the Scriptures exhort *everyone* to sing praise to the Lord...the idea that every mouth in the great congregation should be shut whilst the choir performs an anthem—where, I ask, is there any authority for that view.

Another writer took a biblical line in response to Irwin's lecture and concluding: 'Indeed, Mr Irwin's aims seem to me to be reckless attempt to accommodate the worship of the sanctuary to the taste and whims of the natural music, irrespective of the pattern of our Lord and Master. Christ is being more and more wedded to the world, and worldly "attractions used to fill the

³⁷⁴ *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Nov. 1, 1893, p. 376.

churches” ,³⁷⁵

Yet another line of argument challenged the appropriateness of anthems as worship, especially when ‘words often do not fit the music’, with truncation or repetition of words destroying the integrity of text. Comparing Sankey gospel songs with anthems of the day he declared that ‘an anthem *well sung* may be pleasant and enjoyable, but it is not worship—and I don’t see much likeness between the Gospel in verse, as sung by Mr Sankey and an anthem’. Furthermore, ‘In Mr Sankey’s singing the Gospel is everything, but in many anthems there is merely an exhibition of musical gymnastics.’ His great fear was of the church becoming a concert hall with the claim that an ‘increase of the professional element in our choirs is much to be deprecated’.³⁷⁶

Social performance

Regardless of a limited presence in worship services, choral music formed the greater part of the social activities of the Church where it was accepted with great enthusiasm. During most of the period under consideration the Sunday worship provided little or no occasion for the choir to sing in a solo capacity. But the many secular social events such as tea meetings, soirees, and lectures there was ample opportunity for choral music to be performed and appreciated. Of particular importance were events such as church openings and anniversaries, which could be celebrated over a number of days. These events, much enjoyed by the members of the congregations, provided opportunity for the choir to indulge in a wide choral repertoire of both sacred and secular music.

³⁷⁵ *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Jan. 1, 1894, p. 14.

³⁷⁶ *The Presbyterian Monthly*, Nov. 1, 1893. p. 371.

Even before the inclusion of instrumental music in worship, the harmonium, piano and orchestral instruments were commonplace at such occasions, which represented excellent platforms for amateur music making. At the soiree held to commemorate the laying of the foundation stone of St Andrew's Church (Kirk) Ballarat in 1862 the choir sang 'We praise Thee O God', 'Sing unto God' and 'He is the King of Glory'. Unfortunately no composers are mentioned.³⁷⁷ At a meeting held at St George's Hall, Melbourne in November 1863 to support the Chinese and Aboriginal mission a gathering of 1000 people heard speeches 'interspersed with anthems and other selections of sacred music, ably performed by a numerous choir, selected from the different congregations. Mr Henry King presided at the harmonium and Mr. W. H. Williams, under whose directions the choir practised together, was the conductor. The solo parts were sustained by Mrs. Fox and Miss Watson'.³⁷⁸

Initially sacred music only was permitted at these events. However the second half of the century hailed the inclusion of music of a secular genre alongside sacred music at tea meetings, soirees, and lectures. While worship was a solemn occasion, social gatherings provided time to enjoy each other's company and this was especially true in isolated areas where church activities were the social focus of the district. Secular music in the form of glees, madrigals and, in particular, Scottish songs became popular on these occasions. Of a *conversatione* hosted by Scots Church at the Town Hall in Melbourne in 1877 it was reported that after 'a march and a selection of Scotch airs having been played on the organ by Mr Edeson, a hymn was sung with great taste and effect by a choir numbering forty voices...the

³⁷⁷ *The Ballarat Star*, Dec. 2, 1862.

³⁷⁸ *The Argus*, Nov. 11, 1863, p. 5.

choir of the congregation assisted by amateurs of well-known talent rendered a variety of musical selection with much effect'.³⁷⁹

Nevertheless, the more 'religious' meetings continued to retain a focus on sacred music. The 12th anniversary of the West Melbourne Church in 1877 was celebrated with tea, after which 'the numerous assemblage, amounting to about five hundred, adjourned to the Church...a number of pieces of sacred music selected from favourite oratorios were rendered with much ability and effect by the choir, assisted by numerous musical friends.'³⁸⁰ However, in the same year at the induction of Rev Bell at the Clarendon St Church Emerald Hill (South Melbourne), it was reported in the *Christian Review* that the 'proceedings were enlivened by several glees and other pieces of music from the combined choirs of Dorcas St and Clarendon St churches and also by two solos from Messrs James and Middleton Macdonald (sons of Dr Macdonald), who most kindly volunteered their services'.³⁸¹

In July of that year, a 'Subscriber' to the *Christian Review* questioned the change toward the secular in the musical performed at anniversary celebrations of his church:

I wish to know through your valuable paper your opinion on secular concerts for church anniversaries. They are become very common with us Presbyterians up here lately, and I must say that they are not at all in keeping. When I attend an anniversary I expect to hear some good news about how we have prospered during the past year, and so forth; and some good speeches by our various ministers and office-bearers. I have been to one of three that have taken place here, and there was nothing but singing and playing the whole evening; all very well in their place, but certainly not at a church meeting. The last one took place in March last; I send a report of it for your inspection (not for publication, as I should not like to see it in *The Review*). I like sacred music to be sung at these gatherings, not such as are enclosed:

³⁷⁹ *Christian Review*, Nov. 1877, p. 17.

³⁸⁰ *Christian Review*, July, 1877, p. 18.

³⁸¹ *Christian Review*, Feb. 1877, p. 17.

all very well in their place no doubt, but not at a church anniversary. Now sir, I would like to hear some other opinion on this matter through your valuable paper. I now close, hoping I have not trespassed on your time. I remain, yours respectfully

SUBSCRIBER.³⁸²

Although not expressing the opinion of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria the editor declared that 'so far as our individual opinion is concerned, we have no objection to secular concerts merely in themselves...when got up in an exceptional manner, they combine innocent entertainment with wholesome and elevating mental pabulum'. However he too expressed reserve in respect of the celebration of church anniversaries, stating that 'by transforming it into a mere secular concert is, in our way of thinking, highly inexpedient...there is a time for everything...but these times are separate times, and we think they should be observed as such.' Church anniversaries 'should be occasions of gladness, and promotive of all good fellowship; but the Christian element should ever be the prominent one'.³⁸³

Choirs were in demand at the many fund raising activities associated with the Church. These occasions often involved ecumenical participation. At Geelong in 1874, a concert in aid of All Saints Church of England and St Giles' Presbyterian Church. featured the combined choirs of both churches.³⁸⁴ The Annual Report of Scots Church Ballarat reported in 1896 that 19 members of Scots Church, Ballarat joined with St John's Church of England Temperance Choir to present the cantata *Under the Palm* to aid Scots Church Building Fund. Preparations were also being made for the presentation of the cantata *Pilgrim Fathers* later that year.³⁸⁵ As the following advertisement indicates, the choirs of the Presbyterian Churches of St Andrew's

³⁸² *Christian Review*, July, 1877, p. 13.

³⁸³ *Christian Review*, July, 1877. p. 13.

³⁸⁴ *The Australian*, June 27, 1874.

³⁸⁵ *Scots Church, Ballarat Annual Report 1896*.

Church (Kirk) and St John's Ballarat combined in 1877 to present an evening of Scottish entertainment to raise funds for the organ and choir fund.³⁸⁶

ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 1877.

A Noble and Pleasant Entertainment

ENTITLED

SCOTTISH HUMOUR AND SCOTTISH SONG

will be given in aid of the

ORGAN AND CHOIR FUND

or

St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church.

The following Ladies and Gentlemen will most kindly assist, viz:—

Mrs. D. THOMAS, Mrs. J. CAMPBELL, Miss DAVIES, Miss ELLIS,
Miss MCKENZIE, and Miss ASKWITH.

Messrs. HARLEY, CUMMINS, HARDIE, Master McIVOR, and the
United Choirs of St. John's and St. Andrew's Churches, forming a

GRAND CHORUS OF FIFTY VOICES.

Chair to be taken at 8 o'clock by the Rev. J. W. INGLIS, who will give a brief introductory Sketch of Scottish Song, with suitable and illustrative remarks to some of the pieces.

For this occasion Mr. Cazaly has kindly harmonised for the Chorus the following gems, viz:—
"Hundred Pipers and a'." "O whistle, and I'll come to you my lad." "John Grumlie." "Weel may the keel row," "Within a mile of Edinboro' Town." &c.

Chairman, Rev. J. W. INGLIS. Pianist, Mr. G. HERBERT. Conductors, Messrs. P. CAZALY & D. THOMAS.

In consequence of the number of gems of Scottish Song introduced no encores will be allowed.

PROGRAMME.—PART I.

CHORUS—"Hail to the Chief.".....COMPANY
SONG—"Jessie the flower of Dunblane.".....MR. HARLEY
SONG—"Flowers of the Forest.".....MRS ELLIS
SONG AND CHORUS—"Wi' a hundred pipers and a' and a'.".....MR. HARDIE AND COMPANY
DUETT—"Huntingtower.".....MISS MCKENZIE AND MR. CAZALY
SONG AND CHORUS—"Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled.".....MR. CUMMINS AND CHORUS
SCOTCH READING.....REV. J. W. INGLIS
SONG & CHORUS—"O whistle and I'll come to you my lad." Mrs. CAMPBELL, COMPANY AND THE LAD
BALLAD—"Auld Robin Gray.".....MRS DAVIES
SONG AND CHORUS—"Weel may the Keel row.".....MRS. D. THOMAS AND COMPANY

INTERVAL OF TEN MINUTES.

PART II.

CHORUS—"Within a mile of Edinboro' Town.".....COMPANY
BALLAD—"John Anderson my Jo.".....MRS D. THOMAS
SONG—"The Laird o' Cockpen.".....MR. P. CAZALY
SONG AND CHORUS—"Callie Herrin.".....MISS DAVIES AND COMPANY
SCOTCH READING.....REV. J. W. INGLIS
BALLAD—"Bonny Hills of Scotland.".....MR. HARLEY
QUARTETTE—"Ye Banks and Braes".....MISS DAVIES, MASTER McIVOR, MESSRS. CUMMINS & HARLEY
SONG AND CHORUS—"John Grumlie.".....MR. CAZALY AND COMPANY
SONG—"Robin Adair.".....MRS ASKWITH
TRIO—"O, Willie brewed a peck o' maut.".....MESSRS. HARLEY, CUMMINS AND CAZALY
SONG AND CHORUS—"Comin' thro' the Rye.".....MRS. J. CAMPBELL AND COMPANY

Prices: DRESS CIRCLE, 3s. ; STALLS, 2s. ; PIT, 1s.

Doors open at Half-past Seven. Concert at Eight.

Tickets may be had of the principal Stationers and places of business, of the Members of the Committee and Choir of St. Andrew's Church, &c.

Pinkerton's Steam Print, Ballarat.

Figure 14 Leaflet advertising a concert of 'Scottish Humour and Scottish Song'

Faced with the lack of available choral parts the choir director of St Andrew's Ballarat, Mr Peter Cazaly, arranged many of these songs for four-part chorus. The following example is a section of the song 'Within a mile of Edinboro' Town'.

Within a Mile of Edinboro' Town,
 Arranged by, p Cazaly
 27/8/71

mod

Sweet with -- in a mile of E. din -- burgh town, In the
 Morning -- when he was a boy that we -- very -- wanted -- wed, -- through his

Sweet with -- in a mile of E. din -- burgh town, In the

Sweet with -- in a mile of E. din -- burgh town, In the

Solo Sweet with -- in a mile of E. din -- burgh town, In the

ro -- any time of the year, Sweet flow -- ers bloom'd, and the
 long -- and -- had -- follow'd the
 The -- great -- her hand and a

ro -- any time of the year, Sweet flow -- ers bloom'd, and the

ro -- any time of the year, Sweet flow -- ers bloom'd, and the

Figure 15 Peter Cazaly's harmonisation of Within a mile of Edinboro' Town

The choir of the West Melbourne Church was evidently of a high standard for it was frequently heard in concert during the 1860s and 1870s under the direction of Mr Donaldson. Their repertoire included Handel oratorios and Mozart operas.³⁸⁷ In 1866 the choir of 40 presented the first performance of Mr Joseph Summer's new national song and chorus, 'Crowd sail, Australia' in a concert with 'items ranging from excerpts from Haydn's oratorios

³⁸⁷ J. Stanley Martin 1967, p. 11

to a touching rendition of 'Dear Mother, I've come home to die'. Also performing at this concert was the 'The Orpheus Quartet' of the church.³⁸⁸ This name was to be revived in 1928 as the 'Orpheus Symphony Orchestra' established under the direction of Mr W. N. Gilmour. The orchestra played in an evening service each month at West Melbourne and in various churches until 1930 when it was disbanded.³⁸⁹ The anniversary of the Richmond Presbyterian Church (March 1876) featured duets (Ruth and Naomi) and trios and the choir sang the anthem 'O Taste and see how gracious the Lord is' and 'Jerusalem'.³⁹⁰ At an organ recital by Phillip Plaisted in December the same year Mendelssohn's 'Hymn of Praise' was sung with Miss E. Henty taking the soprano solo.³⁹¹

Of special interest is the concert that was given by the choir of the Ebenezer Aboriginal Mission in 1872. The singing of the 34 indigenous adults and children of 'Hosanna' by Gregory was reported in *The Christian Review* to have 'evidently surprised and delighted the audience'.³⁹² Revealing the mission's Moravian connection the choir sang C. J. H. Latrobe's 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings'. This was followed by a song 'The Spring' and a five part anthem version of the chorale 'Jesus, lover of my soul', by G. W. Martin. This was achieved after only eight months of weekly tuition.³⁹³

Presbyterian choirs were thus well established by the late 19th century and accommodated a breadth of experience and repertoire (to be discussed further) which allowed them to provide anthems in the worship setting when required.

³⁸⁸ J. Stanley Martin 1967, p. 15

³⁸⁹ J. Stanley Martin 1967, p. 36

³⁹⁰ *The Australian*, Mar. 25, 1876.

³⁹¹ *The Australian*, Dec. 9, 1876.

³⁹² *Christian Review*, Mar. 1872, p. 13.

³⁹³ *Christian Review*, Mar. 1872, p. 13.

REPERTOIRE

There is evidence that the anthem collections of R. A. Smith³⁹⁴ and Brown-Robertson³⁹⁵, *The Union Harmonist*³⁹⁶ along with the various tune books in use by the Presbyterian Church were available from approved Presbyterian book sellers and were used in singing classes. These publications formed the source of repertoire for early choirs. While there is an awareness of the circulation of these publications, there is unfortunately little indication of the repertoire actually performed from them.

The use of choral anthems was also an issue in Scotland, for an overture to the General Assembly from the Presbytery of Paisley in 1862 prompted the Church of Scotland to examine its music with the view to improvement. One of the recommendations forwarded referred to the English anthem as a benchmark of excellence in choral music because of its consistent 'sound and dignified character'.³⁹⁷ Accordingly, the Church of Scotland published its own *Book of Anthems; For Use in Public Worship. Published by Authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland* (1875)³⁹⁸ and the choice of W. H. Monk, Professor of Vocal Music in King's College, London as editor is further evidence of the influence of the Church of England on this and subsequent Church of Scotland publications.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ *The Sacred Harmony of the Church of Scotland In Four Parts, Adapted to the Version of the Psalms, Paraphrases, Hymns etc Used in the Presbyterian Churches, to which is prefixed A concise Explanation of the Musical Characters Used in the Work And a series of Progressive Lessons.* Edited and Chiefly arranged by R. A. Smith, Alex. Robertson, Edinburgh, n.d.

³⁹⁵ *Brown's Robertson's selection of sacred music, ancient and modern, in four vocal parts, for the use of Presbyterian churches, chapels, and public institutions throughout the kingdom : to which is prefixed, a new musical catechism, with improved scales and examples/* [by] Brown, J.; Robertson, John . 1835

³⁹⁶ *The Union Harmonist, a selection of sacred music consisting of original and standard pieces, anthems, &c. suitable for use in Sunday Schools, congregations and musical societies* 183-?, Thomas Clark (ed.), Sunday School Union, London.

³⁹⁷ Henry G. Farmer 1947, p. 378.

³⁹⁸ *Book of Anthems; For Use in Public Worship. Published by Authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Revised by William Henry Monk.* Thomas Nelson & Sons, Edinburgh, 1875.

³⁹⁹ *The Book of Psalms and the Scottish Hymnal, with Accompanying Tunes, Published for use in Churches, by authority of the General Assembly. The Harmonies of the Tunes revised by W. H. Monk, Professor of Vocal Music in King's College, London.* Thomas Nelson & Sons, Edinburgh, 1872.

Demonstrations and concerts given by the Glasgow Choral Union were found to be useful in introducing new repertoire and in stimulating improved standards of singing.

Book of Anthems (1875)

An examination of the Scottish *Book of Anthems* shows a high proportion of 19th-century compositions of English, American and Continental provenance. However polyphonic music of the 16th and 17th centuries, represented by Farrant, Palestrina, Tye, Allegri and Gibbons, and the music of Restoration and early 18th-century composers such as Weldon, Purcell, Clark and Greene is also included, along with excerpts from the works of Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Spohr (see Appendix D). Of the 133 anthems, 40 have instrumental accompaniment and 93 are unaccompanied. The contents divided into the following categories: Textual (93), Metrical (20), Benedictions and Doxologies (4), Dismissions, (3), Gloria Patri (9), Sanctus (9), and Te Deum (4).⁴⁰⁰ While this publication gave authority for the use of anthems in the worship of the Church of Scotland, it does not appear to have been in use in Victoria. No copies are held in major Australian libraries apart from the State Library of Queensland. Nor was it listed in the inventory of advertised collections available from Presbyterian Bookshops or in church anthem collections. This suggests that alternative anthem resources were used between 1875 and the appearance of *Church Praise* in 1883.

The Psalter; Being the Authorised Version of the Psalms, Together with Selected Passages of Scripture, Pointed for Chanting, with accompanying Chants. The harmonies of the Chants revised by W. H. Monk. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Edinburgh, 1874. While remarking on Anglican William Smith's *The Peoples Tune Book* (1844 Aberdeen) Farmer observed the influence of Anglican music on the psalmody of the Presbyterian Church. He says 'we see how deeply ears were being attuned to Anglican ideas, although the collection was intended as "a manual of Psalmody for Scotland". (Henry G. Farmer 1947, p. 373). Of this collection Mr William Carnie says, '...there is unchallengeable proof that "The People's Tune Book" contained the best lesson our modern psalmodists and precentors ever got as to what is noble, pure, and beautiful in Scottish congregational music. (James Love 1891, p. 335).

⁴⁰⁰ Inclusion of anthems in several categories has caused discrepancy in addition.

Church Praise (1883)

Unlike the *Book of Anthems* (1875), which was published separately from the Church of Scotland *Scottish Hymnal* (1870), *Church Praise*, which was authorised by the Presbyterian Church of Victoria in 1883, includes 69 anthems in the body of the hymn book (see Appendix E). For the sake of space, 26 appear in vocal score while the full music accompaniment for these as well as music for the remaining 43 was published separately in a bound collection of Novello's octavo anthem sheets with the title *Church Praise Anthem Book No. 1*,⁴⁰¹ the title suggesting subsequent publications. The fly leaf has the title *Anthems for use with Church Praise*. This method of production represents an inexpensive and quick method of initiating a compilation.

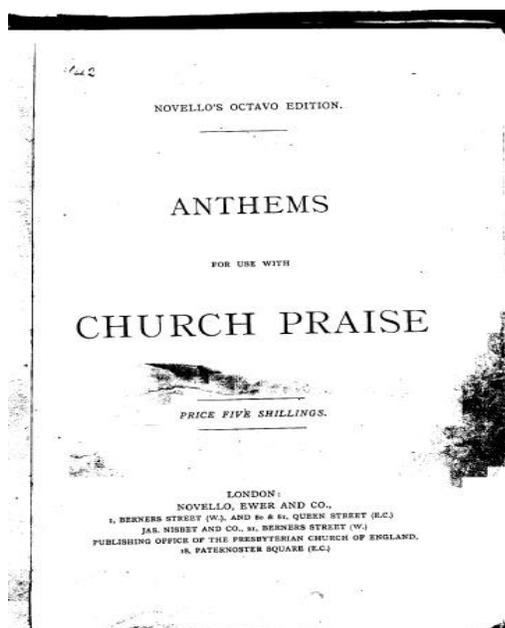


Figure 16 Frontispiece of *Anthems for use with Church Praise*

The anthem collection, although smaller in number than the *Book of Anthems*, excludes Benedictions, Doxologies, and settings of the Gloria, Sanctus, and Te Deum, all of which

⁴⁰¹ *Church Praise Anthem Book No 1: Anthems for use with Church Praise*, Novello, Ewer, London.

however were included as hymns. English composers of 18th and 19th centuries are represented in approximately half of the collection while the remaining, with the exception of Gounod (2) S. C. Malan (1) and Abbe Volger (1), are choruses from the popular oratorios of Handel (*Messiah*), Mendelssohn (*St Paul, Elijah*) and Spohr (*Last Judgement*). The texts are mainly either scriptural or paraphrased versions of scripture but also include anthem settings of hymn texts. Apart from the *Messiah* there are anthems especially written for Christmas ('Let us now go even unto Bethlehem', 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come', 'Behold I bring you good tidings'), Easter ('The Lord is my strength', 'Christ is risen from the dead'), Pentecost ('Come, Holy Ghost') and Harvest Festival ('O Lord, how manifold are Thy works').

The majority of the anthems involve full four-part choir with non-independent accompaniment. To those of Calvinist persuasion, the adage 'truly and plain' is just as relevant to the anthem as to the psalm or hymn tune. Here, the all-important understanding of the text is ensured through a choice for the most part, of styles featuring block chordal progression without florid excesses. Included are anthems for quartet and chorus like 'Incline thine ear to me' based on Psalm 31. Opening with a bass solo composed by Himmel (Fig. 17), it is followed by a quartet with the same melody harmonised by Vincent Novello (Fig.18).

214

Incline thine Ear to me.

The Solo composed by HIMMEL. The Quartett Harmonized by V. NOVELLO. The whole Adapted to English Words by W. PATTER.
The Words selected from the Psalms.

London: NOVELLO, EWING & Co., 1, Berners Street (W.), and 80 & 81, Queen Street (E.C.) New York: DITSON & Co.
Swell, 2 Diapasons.

ACCOMP. *Andante.*

Dulciana. *mf* *svos.*

SOLO.—BASS VOICE.

In - cline thine ear, .n-cline thine ear to me, in - cline thine ear, in -

The image shows a page of a musical score. At the top, it is numbered '214' and titled 'Incline thine Ear to me.' Below the title, there is a line of text: 'The Solo composed by HIMMEL. The Quartett Harmonized by V. NOVELLO. The whole Adapted to English Words by W. PATTER. The Words selected from the Psalms.' Further down, it says 'London: NOVELLO, EWING & Co., 1, Berners Street (W.), and 80 & 81, Queen Street (E.C.) New York: DITSON & Co.' and 'Swell, 2 Diapasons.' The score itself is divided into two main sections. The first section is labeled 'ACCOMP.' and 'Andante.' It features a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The accompaniment is written for Dulciana and Svcs. The second section is labeled 'SOLO.—BASS VOICE.' and contains the lyrics: 'In - cline thine ear, .n-cline thine ear to me, in - cline thine ear, in -'. The bass solo is written in a single staff with a bass clef.

Figure 17 Opening Bass solo from *Incline thine ear to me*

QUARTETT.
TREBLE.

In - cline thine ear, in - cline thine ear to me, in - cline thine ear, . . . in -

ALTO.

In - cline thine ear, in - cline thine ear to me, in - cline thine ear, in - cline thine

TENOR (8ve lower).

In - cline thine ear, in - cline thine ear to me, in - cline thine ear, . . . in - cline

BASS.

In - cline thine ear, in - cline thine ear to me, in - cline thine ear

Figure 18 Quartet from *Incline thine ear to me* (Himmel/Novello)

Included in the collection are anthems for four-part choir only. The prose version of Psalm 23 (verses 1-4, 6) 'The Lord is my Shepherd' by G. A. Macfarren (Fig. 19), maintains a hymn-like texture, and despite a repetition of the text in one or more vocal parts, the words are never distorted to the extent that they become ineffective. The simple accompaniment outlines the vocal parts. This anthem also appears in the earlier Church of Scotland *Book of Anthems* (1875).

The Lord is my Shepherd.

FULL ANTHEM.

G. A. MACFARREN.

London: NOVELLO, EWER & Co., 1, Berners Street (W.), and 80 & 81, Queen Street (E.C.) New York: DITSON & Co.
Psa'm xxxiii verses 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6

The musical score is arranged for four voices and piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are Treble, Alto, Tenor (8ve lower), and Bass. The piano part is labeled 'ACCOMP.' and includes dynamic markings such as 'p' and 'cres.'. The lyrics are: 'The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down . . . in green . . .'. The score is in 3/4 time and G major.

Figure 19 *The Lord is my Shepherd* (G. A. Macfarren)

While most of the contents are for full choir with non-independent accompaniment the outstanding exceptions are anthems set for solo voice or a combination of solo ensemble. Of the two six-part anthems 'As pants the hart' (not included in the Church of Scotland collection), set for Soprano solo plus S/A1/A2//B, is an adaptation by James Simpson of an air and chorus from Spohr's oratorio *Des Heilands letzte Stunden*. The chorus is also found as a hymn tune in *Psalms and Paraphrases, with Tunes*(1882) no. 153, *Free Church Hymnal with Tunes*(1882) no. 90, *United Presbyterian Hymnal with accompanying tunes*(1877) no. 42, and in the *Scottish Hymnal with Tunes*(1885) no. 136 to the hymn 'Approach, my soul the mercy-

seat'. In its anthem form, a soprano solo introduces the tune (Fig. 20), deviating from the corporate nature of Presbyterian praise. A further feature is the five-part chorus with solo soprano obbligato (Fig. 21).

22

Anthem for Six Voices. **As pants the hart.** Arranged from Spohr's "Crucifixion,"
By James Simpson.

London: NOVELLO, EWER & Co., 1, Berners Street (W.), and 80 & 81, Queen Street (E.C.) New York: DITSON & Co.

Andante.
Solo. 42nd Psalm, Metrical version, v. 1, 2.

TREBLE VOICE.

As pants the hart for cool - ing streams, When heat - ed in the chase, So

longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And Thy re - fresh - ing grace, And

ACCOMP.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece. The top staff is for the Treble Voice, marked 'Solo' and 'Andante'. The lyrics are 'As pants the hart for cool - ing streams, When heat - ed in the chase, So'. The bottom two staves are for the piano accompaniment, marked 'ACCOMP.'. The second system continues the solo with the lyrics 'longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And Thy re - fresh - ing grace, And'. The piano accompaniment includes dynamic markings such as 'cres.' and 'p'.

Figure 20 Opening soprano solo of *As pants the hart*, Spohr/Simpson

When the solo soprano line uses different text from that of the chorus, the clarity of the text is never forsaken for the sake of the music. The chorus always projects the text clearly, thus maintaining textual integrity. There are a number of examples of word painting. For example, the accompaniment, while outlining the melody, also uses broken chords to emulate a flowing stream. At the solo words 'when heated in the chase', the broken-chord accompaniment evokes a hunting call (Fig. 21).

AS PANTS THE HART. 25

streams, When heated in the chase, . . . So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And Thy refreshing
 chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And Thy re-fresh - ing
 chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And Thy re-freshing
 chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And Thy re-fresh - ing
 chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee, And Thy re-fresh - ing
 chase, So longs my soul, O God, for Thee,

Figure 21 soprano obbligato and 5-part chorus from *As pants the hart*, (Spohr/Simpson)

The contents of Presbyterian church libraries suggests that the music sung by choirs before 1901 was not restricted to the contents of common anthem books. As the anthem gained in popularity, additional purchases (often in sheet music form) were made and a desire for wider repertoire led to an interest in composition by local conductors and organists. *The Argus* of April 8 1868 reported that at a concert of sacred music at the Union Church, North Melbourne ‘The Dismission’ composed by a choir member Mr R. Wallace received appreciative applause.⁴⁰² Among the foremost Presbyterian composers working in Victoria during the period of this study were Arthur T. Crook of St Andrew’s, Bendigo and William Boustead⁴⁰³ of St Andrew’s Kirk, Ballarat. Crook, the more prolific, was published both in Australia and overseas in the first decade of the 20th century. His compositions appeared in catalogues together with the more famous European composers and included ‘Come unto me’ for tenor

⁴⁰² *The Argus*, Apr. 8, 1868, p.5.

⁴⁰³ *The souls of the righteous* S.A.T.B, 1938, Allen & Co., Melbourne

solo and chorus⁴⁰⁴, 'O Love Divine' for Soprano solo, Bass or Contralto solo, Tenor solo and chorus⁴⁰⁵, 'Sun of my soul' for Contralto or Bass solo, male chorus or Tenor solo, and chorus⁴⁰⁶, 'Turn Thy face from my sins' for Soprano solo and chorus⁴⁰⁷, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul', chorus⁴⁰⁸. These anthems were written while Crook was at St Andrew's, Bendigo. The prominence of solo anthems indicates that he had at his disposal a core of soloists in his choir. The solo voice is used as an obbligato above the main chorus, as well as featuring in verses.

"COME UNTO ME!"

Anthem.

TENOR SOLO & CHORUS.

MATTHEW XI, vv. 28, 29, and 30. ARTHUR T. CROOK.

Andantino.

ORGAN.

Tenor Solo.

Come un - - to Me all ye that la - bour and aro

hea - - vy la - den, and I will give you rest, and I will

give you rest,..... and I will give you rest.

Copyright, 1901, by Weekes & Co
Weekes & Co's Series of Anthems, No 108. W. 5722.

Figure 22 Tenor solo from *Come unto Me* (Crook)

⁴⁰⁴ *Come unto Me* 1901, Weekes & Co., London.

⁴⁰⁵ *O Love divine*, Allan & Co. Prop. Ltd., Melbourne.

⁴⁰⁶ *Sun of my soul*, Allan & Co., Prop. Ltd., Melbourne

⁴⁰⁷ *Turn Thy face from my sins* 1904, Weekes & Co., London.

⁴⁰⁸ *Bless the Lord O my soul*, Allan & Co., Leipzig.

The anthem 'Come unto Me' is in AABA form. The first section, a tenor solo (Fig. 22), is repeated in four parts by the chorus before a new section and a change in text with the words 'Take my yoke upon Me' (Fig. 23).

la - den, and I will give you rest, and I will give you rest.

la - den, and I will give you rest, and I will give you rest.

la - den, and I will give you rest, and I will give you rest.

la - den, and I will give you rest, and I will give you rest.

Take my yoke up - on you and learn of Me, Take my yoke up -

Take my yoke up - on you and learn of Me, Take my yoke up -

Take my yoke up - on you and learn of Me, Take my yoke up -

Take my yoke up - on you and learn of Me, Take my yoke up -

Take my yoke up - on you and learn of Me, Take my yoke up -

Take my yoke up - on you and learn of Me, Take my yoke up -

W. 3122.

Figure 23 *Come unto Me* (Crook) four part harmony.

'O Love divine' by Arthur Crook is a through composed anthem with sections where the soprano and tenor solos provide an obbligato to the chorus (Fig. 24, 25).

Andante.

Piano. *p* Swell.

Soprano Solo. *mf*

O Love di - vine how sweet thou

Chorus. *pp* O Love di - vine how sweet thou art When shall I find my

Figure 24 Soprano solo from *O Love divine* (Crook)

6 Tenor Solo & Chorus. Moderato.

O that I could for ev - er sit With

mf O that I could for ev - er sit With

Moderato. *mf*

Ma - ry at the Mas - ter's feet Be this my hap - py

Ma - ry at the Mas - ter's feet Be this my hap - py

Figure 25 Tenor solo from *O Love divine* (Crook)

In some of his works Crook provides alternative voices for his solo sections thus allowing flexibility for smaller choirs not having the availability of soloists. In *O love divine*, Crook requires either a bass or contralto voice for the following section, which is sung without any chorus support (Fig. 26).

Figure 26 Bass solo from *O Love divine* (Crook)

In 1892, St Andrew's Bendigo choir under the leadership of Crook, competed in choral competitions in Ballarat and Bendigo, succeeding to gain 10 first prizes, 6 second prizes and 1 third out of 18 events.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁹ Margaret Temple 1984, *The Story of St Andrew's Church, Bendigo 1854-1965*. Neptune Press, Newtown, Victoria, p. 65.

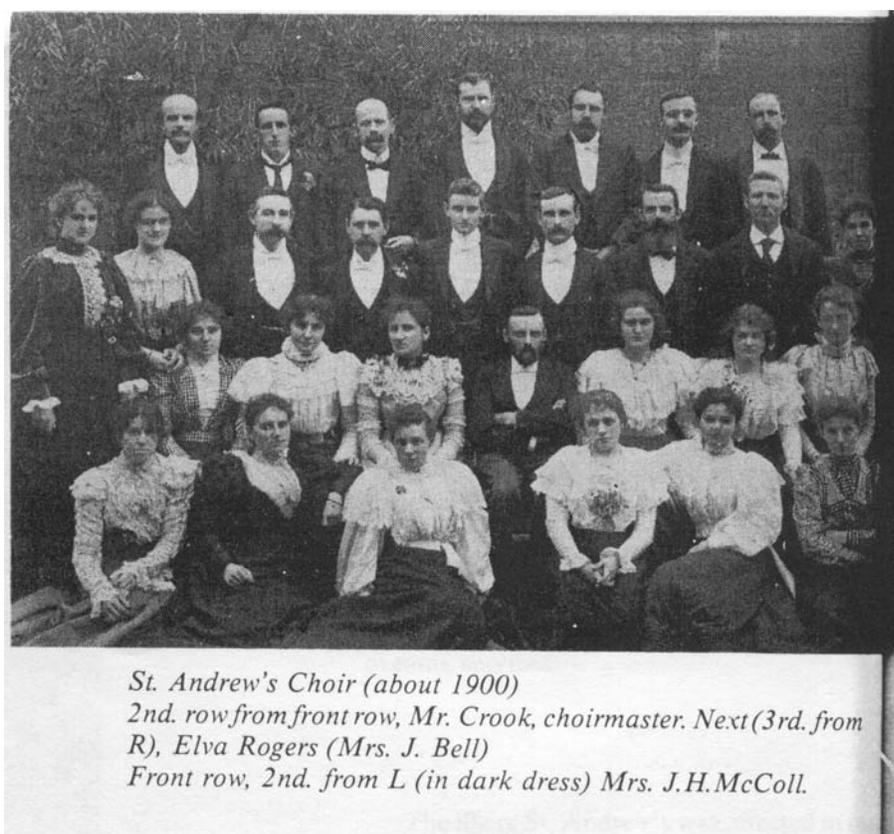


Figure 27 St Andrew's Bendigo Choir

(Margaret Temple 1984, The Story of St. Andrew's Church Bendigo)

Boustead also conducted the winning choir in the Ballarat Eisteddfod in the years 1888 and 1890 and conducted the Ballarat and District Church Choir Union, formed for the improvement of church music.

As the status of choirs and the rendering of anthems became more prominent in the worship service and with the changes taking place concurrently in church architecture and interior design, the choir was often re-positioned in the sanctuary of the building. In his *A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland*, William Maxwell states that Scottish country parsons visiting the large churches in England in the latter years of the 19th century observed that singers had been moved to the chancel. On returning home, they imitated 'as nearly as

possible what seemed to be the approved thing'.⁴¹⁰ 'Scottish ministers going south and admiring' also followed this trend in the late Victorian and Edwardian period. The result was that 'many of our sanctuaries are now crowded with stalls, chairs, organs, and singers many of whom mistake the office of chorister for that of concert singer, and with an invincible determination worthy of a better cause suppose that they must face the people when they sing, and will go to any lengths to do so'.⁴¹¹ This is also true of Presbyterian churches in Victoria. Choirs gradually moved from either the west end of the church or from the front pews to a much more prominent position beneath the pulpit.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, it may be said that the development of choral singing in the worship of the Presbyterian Church, as practised in Victoria (and elsewhere), was brought about against a complex background of events and attitudes. Of utmost importance was the traditional and central role of congregational singing in Presbyterianism and the various rationales underlying it. Although these were theologically based, they were seen to be informed by a desire to remain different from Catholicism and like traditions, and also to hold fast to one's own tradition. However the very-long standing choral tradition of Scotland, especially its dramatic revival from the late 18th century, forms part of the background of the developments under consideration.

⁴¹⁰ William D. Maxwell 1955, *A History of the worship in the Church of Scotland*, Oxford University Press, London, p. 168.

⁴¹¹ William D. Maxwell 1955, p. 168.

In reflecting on the reasons why the Presbyterian Church of Victoria allowed choirs to develop to the extent that they did and to provide anthems in a worship setting, it must be emphasised that the question was never directly addressed by the church beyond the level of individual congregations. At most, the Assembly's authorisation in 1883 of the hymnal *Church Praise*, which contained a generous collection of anthems, provided *de facto* approval and the issue was left for congregations to debate (as was also the case with instrumental music). This finding is somewhat surprising, given the importance of the Assembly as a general forum for discussion and legislative body. However, it possibly suggests something of the importance also of the congregational Session in Presbyterian polity and the empowerment given to congregations to make decisions.

The circumstances assisting the changed role of the choir in Presbyterian worship have been shown to be many and varied. The importance of the recent introduction of hymnody cannot be underestimated: this situation immediately gave the choir the responsibility of introducing new musical material and providing leadership with the unfamiliar. With the arrival of an authorised hymnal actually containing anthems, the opportunity to sing these works during services with organ accompaniment (that was now available) must have seemed too good to pass by. The material presented in this and earlier chapters also revealed that some influential ministers were very supportive of developments in church music, including choral singing and that they quite vocal in sharing their views. Perhaps the most powerful agency of change was the love of choral singing shared by many Presbyterians and the growing realisation, possibly influenced through contact with singers of other denominations, that choral music could serve a valuable role in worship. The love of choral singing stemmed from a centuries-old choral tradition in the homeland and was greatly stimulated by the proliferation of community choirs

in 19th-century Melbourne and elsewhere. The singing schools and their Sol-fa and related teaching methods, whether attached to the Presbyterian Church or in the community provided another form of stimulus as did the availability of suitable repertoire through the church bookstore. The already existing Presbyterian social choir with a repertoire of sacred music was vital to the emergence of the true church choir. Underlying all of the above circumstances was a changing aesthetic attitude in Presbyterianism. The notion of expressing praise and faith through media other than the sermon and the metrical psalm in a plain building was giving way to an appreciation of the arts as having a special value in worship.

Although it is probable the choral music was firmly established in Presbyterian churches in Victoria by the end of the 19th century, this change occurred later and over a longer period of time than those involving hymnody and instrumental music. It also elicited a greater amount of resistance, at least from individuals who argued their case on various theological, historical and aesthetic grounds. But these were not the voices of the majority, and they certainly did not impede the growth of liturgical choirs in the last decades of the century.

As in other aspects of musical development, it must be remembered that the rise of the choir was not peculiar to the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. Parallel changes were certainly happening in England and Scotland, and no doubt further research will establish similar patterns in other Australian colonies.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing study has shown that, with the exception of anthems, Presbyterians in 19th-century Victoria were eager to embrace the innovations presented to them, even if some more so than others. Although these innovations in worship paralleled similar moves in Scotland, the Victorian church showed independence as it acted without reference to the Church in Scotland. Indeed, acceptance of change was far greater and effected within a shorter period in Victoria than in Scotland. Of great interest is the fact that the votes of clergy for or against change did not always mirror the policies of their pre-union branches of Presbyterianism, thus reflecting a further level of independent thinking.

The place of music in Presbyterian worship prior to the mid-19th century could only be described as limited in scope. With the exception of the United Presbyterian Church, whose main diet of worship included hymns as well as unaccompanied psalms, it was seen that Presbyterian worship in Victoria before the mid 19th century followed that of unaccompanied singing of psalms and paraphrases based on Calvinist principles and Scottish tradition. While there was evidence of organs being installed in Tasmania in 1859, and 1863 (at Hobart and Launceston respectively) and in New South Wales in 1862 and 1863 (at Bathurst and Campbelltown) there is no evidence of the organ or any other instrument being used in the worship of Victorian churches. Musical order was maintained by way of the Scottish tradition of the precentor as leader of worship and what can be described loosely as a choir, the chief purpose of which was to assist the precentor in maintaining pitch and steadiness of tempo in congregational singing. There was no place in the worship for solo choral anthems. Singing schools occasionally provided an ongoing educative role in the improvement of

congregational singing and provided a core of singers with the some proficiency to lead worship.

During the period of this study, Presbyterianism in 19th-century Victoria (as in other Australian colonies) experienced profound changes in its musical practice. One of the most enterprising changes was the unanimous decision to introduce hymns into the worship of the Church, to supplement the centuries-old tradition of metrical psalms. What was more surprising was the decision to compile a colonial hymn book regardless of the existence of an already Presbyterian collection in the form of the hymnal of the United Presbyterian Church. Having no recourse to a publication from the Church of Scotland or the Free Church of Scotland, the only option was to act independently by publishing and authorising its own hymn book—a decision that was made in the early 1860s. It was seen that logistical problems prevented the completion of the project. However the adoption of the Presbyterian Church in England's authorised publication *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* in 1867 exhibits the resolve of the church for the introduction of hymns, as this collection pre-dated the Church of Scotland's authorised hymn book *The Scottish Hymnal* by some three years. Victorian's satisfaction with the English hymnal is evidenced by their acceptance of the subsequent English hymn book *Church Praise*(1883) regardless of the availability by this time of a Scottish publication. Both English publications reveal a rich and varied repertoire of hymns. Furthermore they were seen as being suitably tested for Calvinist and Presbyterian thought by virtue of their authorisation by the Presbyterian Church in England. While having strong Presbyterian and Church of England representation the texts are derived from a number of nationalities and religious traditions. Musically the publications contain a large number of tunes not traditionally associated with Presbyterianism. As well as contemporary tunes, the

collections included tunes from the 16th century and earlier (including plainsong tunes). Inclusion of the Psalter lent even further authority to these publications. For the first time however, the Psalter was presented with fixed tunes, heralding a departure from the small stock of common tunes previously available for the psalms. The metrical psalms were also set to chants of primarily Church of England origin. It seems that the metrical psalms could not be forsaken for prose texts, which were customarily sung to chant. There appears to be no use of Scottish publications in Victoria during the period of these two hymn books. The first real evidence of the use of a Scottish publication was with the introduction of *The Church Hymnary* in 1898.

It was seen that when introduced in 1867 *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* was viewed as a book containing unfamiliar metres and harmonies. Recourse to the singing schools alleviated much of this problem. Its primary function in the Victorian church was to teach new hymns and to improve the quality of singing, although not always with successful outcomes. For even as late as the end of the 19th century there was still criticism of the standard of congregational singing. The standard achieved was dependent on the musical expertise of the teacher, usually the precentor as his contract came to include the teaching of singing classes. One of the greatest didactic tools available (especially for the education of adults) was the tune book preface. This contained basic musical education tutorials and vocal exercises in staff notation with Sol-fa names above the relative notes. The aim of these exercises was for the student to eventually become competent in reading staff notation. However it was seen that the Waite numerical system of notation was also popular in Presbyterian circles. These methods were not peculiar to Victoria nor to the church. Indeed, Victorian Presbyterianism benefited from the upsurge of community choral groups, children's choirs, mass singing classes, and the

development of music in the school curriculum, all of which employed Sol-fa or similar methods.

The first instruments used in Victorian Presbyterian churches were seraphines and harmoniums. However, as congregations grew and buildings became larger these instruments were found inadequate to support the singing congregation and the much larger toned American or cabinet organs were purchased. During the 1870s the pipe organ began to come into prominence as the preferred instrument. Although the introduction of instrumental music was concurrent with that in Scotland, many installations of harmoniums and pipe organs pre-date those in most Scottish churches. The main function of instrumental music was to accompany the congregation but newly installed pipe organs displayed a wide tonal range and were capable of providing an impressive range of repertoire other than hymn accompaniment. This led to solo voluntaries being played either after the service or during the collection from the 1870s

The introduction of hymns with unfamiliar tunes immediately raised the importance of the choir. Although this changing role was happening concurrently in Scotland, the new hymnal *Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship* introduced Presbyterians of the colony to a broad repertoire of tunes from many denominational sources. Initially this placed a greater burden on the precentor. Many precentors found that they lacked the knowledge or training to teach the new repertoire or to conduct and train a choir. While some continued in this capacity the position of precentor gave way to the rise of the choir director/organist. Traditionally precentors were men. But since women of the period were often musically competent, they

began to assume a greater degree of prominence in musical praise, either as harmonium players, singing teachers and occasionally even as precentors.

While the singing of choral anthems was traditionally a feature of Presbyterian social events, they were definitely not part of worship. However the appearance of anthems in the authorised hymn book *Church Praise* (1883) gave validity to the singing of anthems in worship, although this was given no confirmation by the Assembly. While there is evidence of other English anthem collections being used in Victoria, there is no evidence of the authorised Church of Scotland anthem book being used despite an interval of about 10 years between the Church of Scotland *Book of Anthems*, and *Church Praise*.

One of the principal factors to influence the Presbyterian Church of Victoria to adopt these changes was the union in 1859, which in itself asserted the colony's independence from the Scottish churches. The (former) United Presbyterian Church with an already long tradition of hymnody was well represented and would no doubt have been reluctant to relinquish hymnody for exclusive psalm singing. Another principal factor was that the social and religious climate prevailing in Victoria was different from that in Scotland. Importantly, the Presbyterian faith in Victoria and other colonies was not the major religion. There is ample evidence of the freedom that was experienced from the influence of the Churches in Scotland by coming to a new land. In the sharing of buildings and social activities enjoyed among denominations, Presbyterians had the opportunity to experience the benefits and pleasures of hymn singing, organ recitals, and other denominational worship without bigotry. With progressive attitudes the youth of the colony were also eager to relinquish the 'dullness and monotony, which in many instances characterised' Presbyterian services 'for the more attractive and imposing

services of a sister church'.⁴¹² The wealth of the colony and of many Presbyterians, coupled with their generous support for the projects of the church and society meant that the raising of money for the purchase of instruments presented no problem. Apart from the generous donors, the women of the church were in the forefront of major fundraising. Furthermore, the growth of the local organ building industry lessened the necessity of fully imported instruments and the provision of cheaper quality instruments.

Further factors assisting change were activities that already existed in the general life of the Church. Hymnody had for many years been a part of the Sunday School curriculum and part of the social context. The teaching of the psalms to children had a long tradition in the Reformed Church as it formed part of Calvin's strategy for the teaching of the psalms to adults. The existing emphasis on music education for adults allowed for a previous tradition of choirs. In worship their role did not exceed simple leadership, but the very strong social choral tradition with an already established repertoire of anthems enabled easy implementation of choral anthems in a worship setting (to which the authorisation of *Church Praise* gave tacit approval). Then there was the continued desire for aesthetic improvements in worship emanating from members of both clergy and laity. Presbyterian polity was especially important in allowing for discussions about change, expression of thought and, in particular, decision making involving laity as well as clergy, whether at congregational meetings or through representatives at Session, Presbytery or General Assembly. However in times of change there are always individuals who are active in successfully formalising innovation. Of these, the Rev. T. McKenzie Fraser stands out as a tireless promoter not only of hymnody but also the introduction of instrumental music into the worship of the Church.

⁴¹² *Christian Review*, Jan 1870, p. 10.

This study has revealed that 19th-century Victorian Presbyterians were by and large keen to embrace innovations in worship music, although the process of change was nevertheless marked by considerable debate and controversy. Certainly, by 1901 when the various colonial churches united to form the Presbyterian Church of Australia, the changes were universally in place. The introduction of hymnody represented a major change in a branch of the Christian church that for centuries had contented itself with unaccompanied psalmody. The proposal to include hymns in worship was readily authorised by the Assembly, and, with the exception of minor quibbles, acceptance of the new hymnal was positive at the congregational level. Subsequent hymnal publications were introduced without any complaint. The singing schools were accepted and supported. On the other hand instrumental music was regarded with ambivalence, and, lacking uniformity of thought on the matter, the Assembly ruled to leave the introduction of instrumental music to the individual congregations. Congregational controversy regarded instrumental music was rare: most parishes moved quickly to procure an instrument. While the majority of congregations had accepted instrumental music by the mid-1870s, it was not until 1892 that the last church permitted instrumental music in worship.

Although organ voluntaries were an accepted part of the worship service of other denominations, the Presbyterian Church was slow to implement them in a service of worship. While there are documented examples of implementation in the 1870s nevertheless the organ voluntary was played at the end, rather than during the service. By the end of the period under consideration every Presbyterian church in Victoria used an pipe or reed organ in services as a matter of course.

The role of the choir in a leadership capacity had been accepted in the Church of Scotland since the 18th century. Although anthems had been a popular part of social activities, the singing of an anthem in the worship service was seen as setting aside an exclusive group of people, thus negating the corporate nature of Presbyterian praise. For this reason the introduction of anthems could be considered a far greater breach of principle than that of the inclusion of hymns and instrumental music in worship. Some saw the singing of anthems as a musical performance while others viewed it as a relic of the Roman church. Regardless of previous policy, the Assembly in Victoria never officially considered the question of anthems; instead, like instrumental music, the question of anthems in worship was addressed at congregation level. Recourse to contemporary documents revealed however that anthems were sung in a worship setting as early as 1867. Regardless of such an early date for introduction, the question of anthems in worship remained a very controversial subject. This was especially true later in the century when repertoire required the services of paid solo singers. But the anthem, like the organ voluntary, was a well-established part of worship by 1901.

Changes in aesthetic attitudes were not confined to music. Growing congregations demanded larger buildings and with this change also came a change in architecture. The wealth and pride in Kirk that Presbyterians possessed gave them the capability to provide buildings of architectural significance and beauty. Although there were disputes over the decoration of buildings the church in Victoria followed similar trends to that in Scotland and built many fine churches in neo-gothic style. These ranged in style from simple rectangular buildings with gothic facades to large cruciform style buildings with fine leadlight tracery and steeples or

towers. Thus the sweeping changes made to musical praise during the 19th century need to be understood as part of a wider change of attitude towards the arts and their place in worship.

The study has shown that the outcomes of these changes impacted on the worship of the Presbyterian Church in many ways. It is documented that the efforts of teachers in singing schools did lead to improvements in the congregational singing. In spite of this however there is evidence of continued poor standards of singing by both choir and congregation in some parishes. Nevertheless the church produced choirs of great excellence, capable of performing complete works of composers such as Handel, Mozart and Mendelssohn on the concert platform and eliciting positive comments in the press. The presence of prestigious instruments like those in Scots Church and West Melbourne Presbyterian Church attracted prominent recital organists and the change of location of the organ from the west end of the church to the worship platform further enhanced the prominence of the organ. The change of profile of the choir from one of support to the congregation to the singing in a solo capacity was also evidenced by a change in position in the building from the rear of the church to a prominent position near the pulpit or in the transept. However, this was an emulation of similar trends in Scotland in the second half of the 19th century. The changing role of the choir and the use of soloists elicited the composition of choral anthems from local Presbyterian musicians, the quality of which attracted Australian and overseas publication. The innovations also brought about a change in personnel including the function of the traditional role of the precentor. With the rise and prominence of the choir and the introduction of instrumental music, the role of the musically skilled precentor was changed to that of choir director and/or organist. Those with lesser skills returned to the congregation or sought employment elsewhere where there was a continuing precentor role. Of great interest is the change of role experienced by women

in the church. Leaving their primary function of fund raising and attending table at the many social functions, many women became the first organists or harmonium players in the early days of the introduction of instrumental music or achieved prominence through their participation in the choir.

While not all Victorian Presbyterians saw these changes as good or Godly, the innovations of the latter part of the 19th century certainly laid the foundations for a continuing rich musical life in the 20th century. In this era choirs such as Scots Church, Melbourne and Cairns' Memorial East Melbourne have been featured regularly in broadcasts on both the national broadcaster and commercial radio stations.

Although the changes were profound, they represent enrichment rather than a dramatic reversal of Presbyterian principles. This is especially evident in the continued emphasis on congregational singing and educational opportunity. At no stage was the centrality of congregational psalmody and hymnody ever challenged. These changes in worship have continued to enrich the worship of those who adhere to Presbyterianism. Writing about church in country Euroa at the time of its opening in 1889, Jean Machonachie describes the 19th-century changes in worship and the new focus of the choir. 'The pulpit was in the centre front, with the choir seats in the left of the pulpit...When the congregation was seated the choir would file down the aisle from the front porch to their seats.'. And what a choir Euroa and Balmattum could muster in those days! Through good and bad the Presbyterian choir remained a great strength to the ministers of the Church.⁴¹³

⁴¹³ *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Euroa 1865-1965*, p. 10

From this study, a number of areas worthy of further investigation emerge. The wide gaps in the documentation of Australian church music could be filled in part by studies of similar developments in other colonies so that an Australia-wide perspective can be achieved. The psalmody, hymnody and other music of 20th century Presbyterianism in Victoria and other states would also be an area of further scholarly study.

Of the many themes which have featured in this study, two stand out. The first concerns the Presbyterian Church of Victoria being a forward-looking institution, blessed by numerical strength, wealth and a desire to escape the prejudices and conservatism of the homeland church. This view is reflected in a remark made in 1876 by Rev. Abernathy at the anniversary of the Richmond Presbyterian Church. It was reported that he ‘was glad to see that music was making progress in the church, it was in their favour in Victoria that they had got over some of the prejudices of the old country, for some time ago such an instrument [organ] as this could not have been introduced’.⁴¹⁴ The second is the importance of ecumenical contact in assisting the changes. Something of the strength of this spirit was conveyed in 1870 by Rev Cameron while speaking at a tea meeting at Chalmers Church, East Melbourne. His speech was described thus:

A man who wanted to help his fellow man had a better field here than he could have in the old country. In the old country, things went on regularly, in a settled course. The religion of their fathers had been established in the hearts of the people and there were not the difficulties to contend with that there were here where we had people from all parts, and where people were engaged in laying the foundation of what he thought would be at no distant date a great nation...He was glad to see so large a sprinkling of gentlemen from other denominations that night, as it showed that here they were rising above anything like sectarianism, and were desirous to

⁴¹⁴ *The Australian*, March 25, 1876.

welcome good men to the colony no matter what denomination they belonged to.⁴¹⁵

Given the path of development in the music of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria from 1863, it is not surprising that the church further weakened its link with the Church of Scotland in 1901 with the union that formed the Presbyterian Church of Australia.

⁴¹⁵ *The Argus*, December 13 1870.

APPENDIX A

Table of early organ installations

CHURCH	ESTABLISHED	LOCATION	HARMONIUM	PIPE ORGAN
Brunswick FC	1865	City	1874 American organ	1876
Carins' Memorial East Melb E.C.	1882	City		1884
Carlton, St Andrew's FC		City	1875 used for tea meetings; 1884 cabinet organ used for Sunday School; 1892 American Organ for services	
Carngham E.C.	1861	Country	1877	1894
Castlemaine E.C.	1853 rebuilt 1894	Country	1870	1910
Chalmers', East Melbourne FC	1855	City		1885
Coburg, F.C.	1850	City	1875	
Coleraine, St. Andrew's	1862	Country	1871?	
Eaglehawk, Bendigo	1860	Country		
Echuca	1868, new church 1901	Country	small harmonium used 1868?	1892
Fitzroy UP		City		
Geelong, St Andrew's F.C.	1842	Country	1871	1912
Geelong, St. George's E.C.	1862	Country	1871	
Golden Square, Bendigo	1873	Country		
Hamilton, St Andrew's FC	1858	Country	1874, 1881 american organ	1896
Hawthorn F.C.	1865 rebuilt 1892	City	1871, 1882 american organ	1892
Horsham	1860s	Country		1891
John Knox, Gardenvale		City		1878
Kew	1874 rebuilt 1887	City		1906
Kyneton, F.C.	1858	Country	1870	
Lismore	1864	Country	1874?	
Maffra	1863	Country	1878 Smith American organ	
Noorat E.C.	1847	Country	1888	1893
North Melbourne (Union Memorial) E.C.	1854, church 1859 1879	City	1868	1896
Portland FC	1842	Country	1870	1916
Prahran	1882	City	1883 cabinet organ	
Richmond E.C.	1868 enlarged 1883	City		1883
Sale FC	1854	Country	1863	

Scots Church, Melbourne E.C.	1841	City		1874
Scrub Hill	1869	Country	1876	
			services	1890
South Yarra FC	1854	City	1873	1887
St Andrew's, Bendigo E.C.	1854	Country	1864	1882
St Andrew's, Euroa	1865	Country		
St David's, Geelong UP	1853, resited, 1857	Country		1903
St George's East St Kilda E.C.	1877	City		1880
St Gile's (High Church) F.C.	1840s resited 1859	Country		1873
St John's Warrnambool UP	rebuilt 1875	Country	1870 used for practice on weekdays. Used for opening of new church	1886
St John's, Bendigo	1873	Country		
St John's, Essendon E.C.	1865 rebuilt 1892	City		1888
St Kilda, Alma Rd FC	1855	City	used in week-night services and Sunday School; later in church	1883
St Matthew's, Stawell	1860 rebuilt 1869	Country	1867, 2 manual 1869	
St. Andrew's, Colac E.C.	1847, 1854, 1877	Country	1863 cabinet organ	1877
St.. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat FC	1864	Country	1871 used for evening	1873
Sth Melbourne, Clarendon St. U.P.	1869	City	1878 evidence of organ before	
Sth Melbourne, Dorcas St. FC	1860, enlarged 1867	City		1891
Terang E.C.	1868	Country		1894
Toorak E.C.	1876	City	1876, 1877	1881
West Melbourne	1867	City		1881
Wickliffe FC	1861	Country		
Williamstown FC	1860	City		1873

APPENDIX B

Choir rules of St. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat 1882.

Rules

As amended at a special meeting of the Choir
held on the 17th of December 1849.
And adopted on the 1st of September 1882

- 1 That the Choir meet for Practice every Friday evening at eight o'clock, and that the Roll be marked half an hour after the hour of meeting; members then absent to be considered absent for the evening.
- 2 That any lady or gentleman, wishing to join the choir, must first be approved by the committee, pass an examination by the Conductor, and then be proposed, seconded and balloted for by three-fourths of the choir, and such intending members shall not attend any meeting of the choir until they be informed through the Secretary of their having been admitted to membership. All members to sign the Rules of the choir.
- 3 That the Annual meeting of the choir be held on the first Friday of the month of February, at which a committee will be elected to conduct the business of the choir - such committee to consist of 4 members ^{of the choir} and the Conductor (ex officio) & two (2) members of the church.

three (3) to form a quorum - the Secretary to be chosen from their own number.

4 That the Rules be read by the Secretary on the first Friday in each Quarter.

5 That the monthly attendance of the members be read to the choir on the first Friday of every month & that any member having occasion to be absent for more than one week shall notify the same to the Secretary & that members, who absent themselves from more than six (6) meetings of the choir during the month, without sufficient explanation to the Secretary shall cease to be members upon vote of the majority of the Committee.

Article (3)

6 That no person connected with the Choir shall be allowed to take any music therefrom without the permission of the Secretary and no music shall be lent others than members without the sanction of the Committee.

7 That the Committee will arrange for the purchase of music for the use of the choir, and at any concert &c shall select what pieces shall be sung.

8 That no one will be invited to assist in any service of the choir without the sanction of the Committee.

Rules continued

- 9 That the choir binds itself not to give its services at any entertainment outside the church-building under five weeks notice thereof - unless upon vote of the majority of the members.
- 10 That no alteration shall be made in any of these rules except notice thereof be given to the Secretary at any weekly meeting of the choir, and such alteration must be confirmed ^{by the committee} at the second practice following.

(Signed) Peter Cayahy

Chairman

- ⊙ The basis of the examination for admission to be Elementary Certificate of the Ionic Solfa College or its equivalent in the Staff notation.

Appendix C

Record of choir attendance, St. Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat 1893.

St. Andrew's Kirk Choir

Record of Attendances for Six Months
Ending 31st Oct 1893

Points Possible = Services 52. Practices 22.

<i>Soprano</i>			<i>Tenors</i>				
<i>Services</i>	<i>Practices</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Services</i>	<i>Practices</i>	<i>Total</i>		
<i>Wp Crawford</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>Mr Guthrie</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>" Fraser</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>" A Gray</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>" Gray</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>" B Gray</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>" A Baird</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>" Gale</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>" Boston</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>" McDonald</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>" Ramsay</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>" Swan</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>" Walker</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>" Baird</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>" Baird</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>" Lamine</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>" Kersey</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>" Reamy</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>" Joseph</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>39</i>				
<i>" Young</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>35</i>				
<i>" Atkinson</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>33</i>				
<i>" Craig</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>17</i>				
<i>Alti</i>			<i>Bassi</i>				
<i>Services</i>	<i>Practices</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Services</i>	<i>Practices</i>	<i>Total</i>		
<i>Mr Kirkpion</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>Mr Bonstead</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>Mr Marshall</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>" Gray</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>" Alexander</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>" MacLeod</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>" Shaw</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>" Morrison</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>" Fraser</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>" McEwen</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>" Morrison</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>" Murray</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>" McDonald</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>" Olsen</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>Colley & Co.</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>" Bell</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>14</i>

APPENDIX D

Contents of Book of Anthems for Use in Public Worship (1875)

First Line	Composer	Country	Century
A castle is our God, a tower	Luther, Martin	Germany	15
A day in thy courts	Macfarren, George Alexander	England	19
Abraham foresaw the gospel day	Spark, William		
Arise, shine; for thy light is come	Elvey, George J.	England	19
Be not far from me, O Lord	Palestrina	Italy	16
Behold, how good and joyful,	Clarke-Whitfeld, J.	England	18
Behold, I bring you good tidings	Gill, W. H.		
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord	Reichardt, J.F. by W Hately	Prussia	18
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord	Zingarelli, Nicolo, from	Italy	18
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord	Tenney, J.H.	USA	19
Blessed art thou, O Lord	Weldon, John	England	17
Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel	Kent, James	England	18
Blessed is he that cometh	Anon		
Blessed is he that considereth the poor	Nares, James	England	18
Blessing and honour, glory and power	Mozart, W.A. from Mass No 7	Austria	18
Call to remembrance, O Lord	Darnton, Charles		
Cast thy burden on the Lord	Bradbury, William B.	USA	19
Cast thy burden upon the Lord	Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, F.	Germany	19
Christ being raised from the dead	Gill, W.H.		
Come unto me, all ye that labour	Tuckerman, S.P.		
Come unto me, all ye that labour	Darnton, Charles		
Come, and let us return unto the Lord	Jackson, William (organist Morningside)	England	19
Comfort, O Lord, the soul of thy servant	Crotch, William	England	18
Create in me a clean heart, O God	Prout, Ebenezer	England	19
Dismiss us with thy blessing, Lord	Nageli, H.G. from, by W.Hatley	Switzerland	18
Enter not into judgement with thy servant	Attwood, Thomas	England	18
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son	Ebdon, Thomas	England	18
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son	Geike, J.S.	Scotland	19
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son	Clarke-Whitfeld, J.	England	18
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son	Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, F.	Germany	19
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son	King, Charles	England	
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son	Bridgewater, Thomas		
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son	King, Charles	England	18
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son	Peace, A..L.	England	19
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son	Wesley, S.S.	England	19
Glory to God in the highest	Silcher, Friedrich	Germany	19
God be merciful unto us, and bless us	Bridgewater, Thomas		
Hallelujah	Handel, G.F.	Germany	18
Hark, hark, my soul	Hewlett, Thomas	England	19
Hear my prayer, O Lord	Winter, Peter von, adap William Shore	German	19
Hear the voice and prayer of thy servants	Hopkins, J.L.	England	19
Holy Father, we adore thee	Bortniansky, Demetrio	Ukraine	18
Holy is the Lord our God	Vogler, Abbe	Germany	18
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts	Attwood, Thomas	England	18
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts	Elvey, George J.	England	19
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts	Gibbons, Orlando	England	17
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts	Camidge, John	England	19

First Line	Composer	Country	Century
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts	Allegrì	Italy	16
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabaoth	Geike, J.S.	Scotland	19
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabaoth	German by T.L. Hately		
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabaoth	Mozart, W.A. from	Austria	18
Holy, holy: thou, O Lord, alone art holy	Kocher's 'Zionsharfe' from	Germany	19
Honour and glory, dominion, power	Rink, Chr. H.	Germany	18
Honour and majesty are before him	Greene, Maurice	England	18
How beautiful upon the mountains	Smith, R.A.	England	18
How beautiful upon the mountains	Webb, J.G. (G..J.)	England/USA	19
How dear are thy counsels unto me, O God	Crotch, William	England	18
Hymns of praise, then let us sing	Worgan, John	England	18
I call and cry to thee, O Lord	Tye, Christopher	England	16
I love them that love me	Mason, Lowell	USA	19
I shall see him, but not now	Spark, William		
I thou but suffer God to guide thee	Neumark, G.C.	Germany	17
I will arise, and go to my father	Cecil, Richard by Jackson	England	18
I will extol thee, my God, O King	Bradbury, William B.	USA	19
I will lay me down in peace	Gill, W.H.		
I will lay me down in peace	Macfarlane, Thomas	Scotland	19
I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills	Clarke-Whitfeld J.	England	18
I will magnify thee, O God, my King	Hayes, Philip	England	18
I will sing of the Lord	Clark, Jeremiah	England	17
I will wash my hands in innocency	Jackman, G.F.		
Incline thy ear to me	Himmel, F.H. by V. Novello	Germany	18
Jesus, Lord, though Son eternal	Mozart, W.A.	Austria	18
Jesus, Word of God Incarnate	Gounod, Ch.	France	19
Lamb of God, who takest away the sin	Naumann, G.A. by Lvingston	Germany	19
Let us now fear the Lord our God	Sewell, John	England	19
Lift up your head, O ye gates	Cooper, Joseph Thomas		
Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks	Novello, V. by R.R. Ross	England	18
Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing	Old Church Melody		
Lord, for thy tender mercies' sake	Farrant, Richard	England	16
Lord, now lettest thou thy servant	King, Charles	England	
Lord, now lettest thou thy servant	Ebdon, Thomas	England	18
May the grace of Christ, the Saviour	Laudi Spirituali, 1545 (Alla Trinita Beata)	Italy	16
My God, look upon me	Reynolds, John	England	18
My song shall be of mercy and judgement	Clark, Jeremiah	England	17
My soul doth magnify the Lord	King, Charles	England	
My soul doth magnify the Lord	Peace, A.L.	England	19
My voice shalt thou hear in the morning	Goss, John	England	19
Now unto him that is able	Mason, Lowell	USA	19
O be joyful in the Lord all ye lands	Clarke-Whitfeld J.	England	18
O be joyful in the Lord all ye lands	Wesley, S.S.	England	19
O come, all ye faithful	Reading, John	England	17
O come, let us sing to the Lord	Tye, Christopher	England	16
O how amiable are thy dwellings	Richardson, Vaughan		
O Lord, how manifold are thy works	Barnby, Joseph	England	19
O Lord, in thee is all my trust	Causton, Thomas	England	16
O Lord, my God, hear thou the prayer	Malan, H.A.C. attributed to S.C. Malan	Geneva	18
O Lord, my strength, to thee I pray	Auber from	France	19
O Lord, we trust alone in thee	Handel, G.F.	Germany	18
O love the Lord, all ye saints	Sullivan, Arthur S.	England	19
O praise God in his holiness	Clark-Whitfeld	England	18

First Line	Composer	Country	Century
O praise the Lord	Weldon, John	England	17
O praise the Lord, all ye nations	Oakley, H.S.	England	19
O taste and see how gracious the Lord is	Goss, John	England	19
Praise God from whom all blessings flow	Gieke, J.S.	Scotland	19
Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem	Scott, John		
Praise ye the Lord	Stadler, M. Abbe	Austria	18
Pray for the peace of Jerusalem	Mason, Lowell	USA	19
Pray for the peace of Jerusalem	Novello, V.	England	18
Preserve me, O God	Palestrina from	Italy	16
Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous	Elvey, George J.	England	19
Rend your heart, and not your garments	Calkin, J. Baptiste	England	19
Search me, O God, and know my heart	Mason, Lowell	USA	19
Sing, O heavens; and be joyful, O earth	Kent, James	England	18
Sleepers, wake! A voice is calling	Mendelssohn from 'St Paul'	German	19
Teach me thy way, O Lord	Spohr, by Darnton	Germany	18
The Lord bless thee, and keep thee	Old Hebrew		
The Lord is gracious and full of compassion	Mackenzie, Alexander .C.	Scotland	19
The Lord is King, let the earth now be glad	Pittman, Josiah	England	19
The Lord is my shepherd	Macfarren, George Alexander	England	19
The Lord is my strength and my song	Monk, W.H.	England	19
The Lord will be a refuge for the oppressed	Webb, J.G.	England/USA	19
The night is far spent, the day is at hand	Hewlett, Thomas	England	19
They in thee Lord that firmly trust	Tye, Christopher	England	16
Thine, O Lord, is the greatness	Kent, Thomas		
Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets	Purcell, Henry	England	17
Thou sovereign Lord of earth and skies	Haydn, F.J. from	Austria	18
Turn thy face from my sins	Attwood, Thomas from	England	18
We, praise thee, O God	Jackson, William (Exeter)	England	18
We, praise thee, O God	Boyce, William	England	18
We, praise thee, O God	Nares, James	England	18
We, praise thee, O God	Peace, A.L.	England	19
Worthy is the Lamb that was slain	Handel, G.F. from	Germany	18
Ye men of Galilee	Hewlett, Thomas	England	19

APPENDIX E

Contents of Church Praise Anthem Book

First Line	Composer	Country	Century
Abide with me			
All glory to the Lamb that died	Spohr, L fr Last Judgement	Germany	18
All ye who weep	Gounod, Ch.	France	19
Amen	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
And the glory of the Lord	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
Arise, shine, for thy light is come	Elvey, George J.	England	19
As pants the hart	Spohr, Louis	Germany	18
As the hart pants	Mendelssohn	Germany	19
Behold the Lamb of God	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
Behold the Lamb that was slain	Spohr, L fr Last Judgement	Germany	18
Behold, I bring you good tidings	Goss, John	England	19
Blessed are the men	Mendelssohn fr Elijah	Germany	19
Blessing and glory, and wisdom and thanksgiving	Boyce	England	18
Blessing, glory, wisdom, and thanks	Tours, Berhold	Dutch/English	19
Blest are the departed	Spohr, L. fr The Last Judgement	Germany	18
By man came also the resurrection	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
Cast thy burden (Quartet)	Mendelssohn fr Elijah	Germany	19
Christ is risen from the dead	Elvey, George	England	19
Come unto Me	Smith, John Stafford	England	19
Come up hither	Spohr, L fr Last Judgement	Germany	18
Come, Holy Ghost	Attwood, Thomas	England	18
Comfort the soul of Thy servant	Crotch, William	England	18
Enter not into judgement	Clarke-Whitfield, J.	England	18
Enter not into judgement	Attwood, Thomas	England	18
For in Adam all die	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
For unto us a child is born	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
Glory to God	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
God is a spirit	Sterndale-Bennett	England	19
God is a spirit	Smart, Henry	England	19
Hallelujah	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
Happy and blest are they	Mendelssohn fr St Paul	Germany	19
He that shall endure to the end	Mendelssohn fr Elijah	Germany	19
Hear the voice and prayer	Hopkins, J.L.	England	19
Holy, holy, holy	Mendelssohn fr Elijah	Germany	19
Holy, holy, holy	Spohr, L fr Last Judgement	Germany	18
Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord	Vogler, Abbe	Germany	18
How dear are Thy counsels	Crotch, Dr.	England	18
How lovely are the messengers	Mendelssohn fr St Paul	Germany	19
How lovely are Thy dwellings fair	Spohr, L.	Germany	18
I waited for the Lord	Mendelssohn fr Lobgesang	Germany	19
I was glad when they said unto me	Elvey, George	England	19
I will arise	Cecil, R.	England	18
I will lift up mine eyes	Clarke-Whitfield, J.	England	18
If we believe that Jesus died	Goss, John	England	19
Incline thy ear to me	Himmel, F.H. adap. Novello	Germany	18
Jesus, Word of God incarnate	Gounod, Ch.	France	19
Lead, kindly light	Sullivan, Arthur S.	England	19
Let us now go even unto Bethlehem	Hopkins, E.J.	England	19

First Line	Composer	Country	Century
Lift Up Your Heads	Hopkins, John L.	England	19
Lift up your heads O ye gates	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
Lord for thy tender mercies sake	Farrant, Richard	England	16
My voice shalt Thou hear	Goss, John	England	19
O come, let us worship	Mendelssohn	Germany	19
O death where is thy sting?	Brown, Arthur H.		
O great is the depth	Mendelssohn fr St Paul	Germany	19
O how amiable are thy dwellings	Barnby, Joseph	England	19
O Lord my God	Malan, S.C.	Geneva	18
O Lord, how manifold are Thy works	Barnby, Joseph	England	19
O love the Lord	Sullivan, Arthur S.	England	19
O praise the Lord	Hopkins, E.J.	England	19
O taste and see	Goss, John	England	19
O, Thou, the true and only light	Mendelssohn fr St Paul	Germany	19
See what love	Mendelssohn fr St Paul	Germany	19
Since by man came death	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18
Sleepers, wake, a voice is calling	Mendelssohn fr St Paul	Germany	19
The Homeland	Sullivan, Arthur S.	England	19
The Lord is my Shepherd	Macfarren, G. A.	England	19
The Lord is my strength	Monk, W.H.	England	19
The righteous shall be glad	Grell, A.E. adapted from	Germany	19
Therefore with angels...Holy, holy, holy	Novello, V.	England	19
To God on high	Mendelssohn fr St Paul	Germany	19
To Thee, O Lord	Mendelssohn fr St Paul	Germany	19
Turn Thy face from my sins	Attwood, Thomas	England	18
Watching over Israel	Mendelssohn fr Elijah	Germany	19
What are these?	Stainer, John	England	19
Worthy is the Lamb	Handel, G.F. fr Messiah	Germany/England	18

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, William 1829, *An Apology for the Organ as an Assistance of Congregational Psalmody*, Glasgow.
- Ante Nicean Fathers* 1995, vol. 2, eds. A. Roberts & J. Donaldson, rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, Hendrickson Publishers Inc., Mass.
- Aquinas, St. Thomas 1920, *Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas*, tr. Fathers of The English Dominican Province, Christian Classics: Westminster, Maryland.
- Breward, Ian 1993, *A History of the Australian Churches*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Breward, Ian 2001, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Calvin, J. (1536) *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, tr. Henry Beveridge, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1957.
- Calvin, J. (1557), *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, vol 1, tr. Rev. James Anderson, Baker House, Grand Rapids, 1981.
- Calvin, J. (1557), *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, vol 2, tr. Rev. James Anderson, Baker House, Grand Rapids, 1981.
- Duncan, Andrew 1882, *The Scottish Sanctuary as it was and as it is*, Andrew Elliot, Edinburgh.
- Farmer, Henry.G. 1947, *A History of Music in Scotland*, Hinrichsen Edition Ltd, London.
- Girardeau, John L. 1888, *Instrumental Music in the Public Worship of the Church*, Whittet & Shepperson. Richmond, Virginia.
- Gome, Dianne. 1995, 'Australian Hymnody, 1821-1901: an annotated checklist of sources located in Australian libraries', *Continuo*, 24, pp. 1-28
- Gome, Dianne. 1996, 'Hymnody in the Australian colonies, 1788-1901: a preliminary investigation of sources and functions of hymns', *Australasian Music Research*, vol. 1.,pp. 141-166
- Gome, Dianne. 1997, 'Australian colonial hymnody 1788-1901: How Australian?', *Australasian Music Research*, vol. 2. pp. 1-22.
- Grout, Donald. J. and Palisca, Claude V. 1998, *A History of Western Music*, 4th edn, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, London.
- Hamilton Robert 1888, *A Jubilee History of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Hutchinson, Melbourne.
- Hanoch, Avenary 1971, 'Music' in *Encyclopaedica Judaica*. 1st edn. Keter Publishing House Ltd, Jerusalem.
- Hayburn, R. F. 1979, *Papal Legislation in Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.*, The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota.
- Heinisch, Paul 1955, *Theology of the Old Testament* tr. William G. Heidt, The Liturgical Press, Minnesota.
- Hetherington, John 1967, *Melba*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne.
- Heyer Johannes 1935, *The Presbyterian Pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, Presbytery of Launceston, Launceston.

- Huygens, Constantyn 1641, *Gebruyck of Ongebruyck van 't in de Kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (Use and non-use of the Organ in the Churches of the United Netherlands), tr. & ed. Erika E. Smit-vanRotte, 1964, Institute of Mediaeval Music, New York.
- Inglis, Jim 1991, *The Organ in Scotland before 1700*, Uitgeverij 'de Mixtuur', Schagen, Holland.
- Jacobs, Louis 1972, 'Halakhah' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Keter Publishing House Ltd, Jerusalem.
- Leaver, Robin A. and Bond, Ann 1995, 'Martin Luther' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Macmillan, London.
- Love James 1891, *Scottish Church Music, its Composers and Sources*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh.
- Marti, Andreas 2001, 'Reformed and Presbyterian church music' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie, Macmillan, London.
- Matthews, Enid. N. 1969, *Colonial Organs and Organbuilders*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Maxwell, William D. 1955, *A History of the Worship in the Church of Scotland*, Oxford University Press, London.
- McCrie, Charles. G. 1892, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh.
- McNeill, John T. 1962, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Music, David W. 1998, *Instruments in Church, a Collection of Source Documents*, The Scarecrow Press, Lanham.
- Nicean and Post-Nicean Fathers* 1995, vol. 8 ed. A. Roberts & J. Donaldson. rev. A. Cleveland Coxe, Hendrickson, Mass.
- Patrick, Millar 1949, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalms*, Oxford University Press, London.
- Petuchowski, Jakob J. 1971, 'Organ' in *Encyclopaedica Judaica*, Keter Publishing House Ltd, Jerusalem
- Phelps, L. I. 1967, 'Organ', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, McGraw-Hill, NY.
- Prentis, Malcolm. D. 1981, 'Changes in Presbyterian Worship in Colonial Australia, 1860-1900', *Church Heritage* 2/1 (March), pp. 46-57
- Prentis, Malcolm. D. 1983, *The Scots in Australia: A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*, Sydney University Press, Sydney.
- Rabinowitz, Louis I 1972, 'Shulhan Arukh' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Keter Publishing House, Jerusalem.
- Rainbow, Bernarr 1967, *The Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800-1860 and its Continental Antecedents*, Novello, London.
- Rainbow, Bernarr. 1995, 'Tonic Sol-fa' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, Macmillan, London.
- Ramsay, M. C. 1968, *Purity of Worship*, Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia.
- Reid, J. K. S. (tr.), 'Articles concerning the Organization of the Church and of Worship at Geneva proposed by the Ministers at the Council, January 1537' in Calvin, *Theological Treatises, The Library of Christian Classics*, vol. XXII, SCM Press, London.

- Rushworth Graeme 1982, 'Alfred Fuller, Melbourne 19th century organ builder – his life and work', a paper delivered to the Organ Historical Trust of Australia 5th Annual Conference, Melbourne, <http://avoca.vicnet.net.au/~ohta/document/articles/afuller.html> 21/10/01.
- Stevens, Robin S. 1992, 'Samuel McBurney: The Stanley of Solfa' in *The Journal of the Australian College of Education* vol. 18, no. 3 September, pp. 68-72.
- Stewart, G. Wauchope 1926, *Music in Church Worship: Being the Baird Lecture for 1926*, Hodder and Stoughton, London.
- Strunk, Oliver. (ed.) 1950, *Source Readings in Music History* W. W. Norton, New York.
- Sutherland, Robert. 1877, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, James Nisbet, London
- Temperley, Nicolas 1983 *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, *Cambridge Studies in Music*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Thompson, Bard 1970, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York.
- Tregear, Peter 'Melbourne' in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music* 1977, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- Ward, Rowland S. 1992, *The Psalms in Christian Worship: A Doctrinal Historical and Expository Guide*, Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia, Melbourne.
- Wendel, François 1965, *Calvin, the Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*, tr. Philip Mairet, Collins, London.
- Werner, Eric 1959, *The Sacred Bridge*, Dennis Dobson, London.
- White, James F. 1980, *Introduction to Christian Worship*, Nashville: Abingdon.
- Wolfe, J. N. & Pickford, M. 1980, *The Church of Scotland: An Economic Survey* Geoffrey Chapman, London.

PARISH HISTORIES

- A Brief History of 100 years of worship in St John's Presbyterian Church: Issued in connection with the centenary celebrations* [1949], [St John's Presbyterian Church, Warrnambool, Victoria].
- A Brief History of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, 1854-1934*, [1934], [St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton Victoria].
- A Brief History of the past 70 years 1853-1923*. 1923, Bower & Young, Printers, "Chronicle" Office, Williamstown.
- Ferguson 1983, *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Williamstown, Victoria, Organ Centenary Book, 1882-1982*, [1982], Kiema Press.
- Green, Mary G. 1972, *History of Woorndoo Presbyterian Church*, [Woorndoo Presbyterian Church, Woorndoo, Victoria].
- Mackay G. n.d., *St Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat*. [St Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat].
- Jubilee History of the Presbyterian Church, Williamstown*, 1904, Arbuckle Waddell & Fawcner, Melbourne.
- Martin, John. Stanley 1967, *A Tale of Two Churches*, St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Box Hill.

- Martin, Stanley J. 1957. *One Hundred Years of Beechworth Presbyterian Church: A saga of St. Andrew's Beechworth 1857-1957*.
- McLeod, Ken P. 1975, *A Shining Light, Coburg Presbyterian Church 1850-1975*, [Coburg Presbyterian Church, Coburg, Victoria].
- McNair, J. E. 1960, *St George's Presbyterian Church One Hundred Years 1860-1960*, [St Georges Presbyterian Church, Geelong].
- Muntz, Howard (ed.) 1977, *The Presbyterian Church in Colac, 1847-1977*, [St Andrew's Colac, Victoria].
- Oman, James. R. 1964 *Lismore Presbyterian Church 1864-1964*, Board of Management of Lismore Presbyterian Church, Lismore, Victoria.
- Robertson, J. A. 1914, *Hawthorn Presbyterian Church Jubilee History 1864-1914*, [Hawthorn Presbyterian Church, Hawthorn, Victoria].
- Robertson, James T. 1904, *Union Memorial Presbyterian Church, North Melbourne, Jubilee History 1854-1904*. Sands & McDougall, Melbourne.
- Sanderson, W. A. 1905, *St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Carlton A Jubilee History*, Arbuckle, Waddell & Fawkner; Melbourne.
- St Andrew's Presbyterian Church Bendigo, Centenary Brochure 1854-1954.*
- St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Euroa 1865-1965*
- St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Historical Sketch, 1854-1909.*
- St George's Presbyterian Church One Hundred Years 1860-1960*, [1960] [Geelong].
- St Giles' Presbyterian Church, Geelong Souvenir Eightieth Anniversary 1847-1927.*
- St John's Presbyterian Church, Kaniva and Serviceton, 1889-1964.*
- St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, a Brief History of the Past 70 years 1853-1923* 1923, Bower & Young, Printers, Chronicle Office.
- St John's Presbyterian Church Warrnambool, a Brief History of 100 Years of Worship and Work in Warrnambool*, n.d. [Warrnambool, Victoria].
- Toorak Presbyterian Church: a jubilee record, 1875-1925* [1925] [Presbyterian Church of Australia].
- St John's Presbyterian Church, Essendon, 70th Anniversary 1852-1922*, [St John's Presbyterian Church, Essendon, Victoria].
- Temple, Margaret 1984, *The Story of St Andrew's Church, Bendigo 1854-1965*. Neptune Press, Newtown, Victoria.
- The Rolling Years, the Story of the Noorat Presbyterian Church, 1847-1973. from Kilnoorat and through the rolling years to Noorat, 1837-1973*, 1973, Centenary Committee, Presbyterian Church, Noorat.

MINUTES

Board of Management

Minutes of the Board of Management St Gile's Presbyterian Church Geelong 1849-1929; 1873; 1875.

Minutes of the Board of Management, St Andrew's, Wedderburn, August 5, 1875.

Minutes of the General Committee of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Ballarat, 1867; 1868.

Report of the Committee of Management of St Andrew's Kirk 1871.

Report of the Committee of Management, St Andrew's, Ballarat. 1874; 1878; 1879.

Congregational

Scots Church Ballarat, Annual Report 1896

Minutes of Congregation of St John's Presbyterian Church, Ballarat, 1865

Minutes of Congregational Meeting St John's, East Ballarat, 1895.

Minutes of the Congregational Meeting of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Geelong, 1871.

Minutes of Congregational Meeting, Sandridge, 1875.

General Assembly

Proceedings of the General Assembly of Victoria, 1863; 1865; 1898; 1899; 1900; 1902.

Proceedings of the Commission of the General Assembly, 1899,

Presbytery

Minutes of Mortlake Presbytery, 1863; 1864; 1866.

Session

Minutes of the Kirk Session, St. Andrew's Church Geelong, 1891.

Minutes of the Kirk Session, St. Andrew's, Geelong 1871.

Session Minutes of St John's Presbyterian Church, Ballarat East, 1865.

Session Minutes of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Ballarat East, 1869.

Miscellaneous

Choir attendance roll, St Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat

Minutes of the Psalmody Committee of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Ballarat, 1868. Scots Church, Ballarat Annual Report, 1896.

MANUSCRIPTS

Keith, J. 1952, *History of St. Andrew's Kirk*. ms. Held at Assembly archives, Presbyterian Church of Victoria

Morey, Clive W. n.d. 'Presbytery of Wimmera History to 1968', ms 11393. box 1270/6, LaTrobe Library, Melbourne

Rules of the choir of St Andrew's Kirk, Ballarat adopted on September 1, 1882.

Steele, W. H. 1942, 'Scots Church, Portland 1842-1942 being a history of the Presbyterian Church, Portland, Victoria', ms7963 box 959/3, LaTrobe Library, Melbourne.

NEWSPAPERS

Portland Guardian July 1 1859.

The Argus, 1854-1876

The Australian, 1863-1876.

The Ballarat Courier, 1874.

The Ballarat Star, 1862-1869.

The Geelong Advertiser, 1873.

The Spectator. 1911

JOURNALS

Banner of St Andrew's Geelong, 1954

Christian Review, 1867-1869.

Messenger, 1901.

Presbyterian Monthly, 1893-1899.

Presbyterian Review, 1879.

Scots Leaflet, 1961.

Weekly Review and Messenger, 1864-1866

HYMNALS

Book of Anthems; For Use in Public Worship. Published by Authority of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Revised by William Henry Monk. Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1875.

Brown's Robertson's selection of sacred music, ancient and modern, in four vocal parts, for the use of Presbyterian churches, chapels, and public institutions throughout the kingdom : to which is prefixed, a new musical catechism, with improved scales and examples / [by] Brown, J.; Robertson, John . 1835.

Church Praise Anthem Book No 1: Anthems for use with Church Praise, Novello, Ewer, London.

Church Praise: With Tunes 1883, James Nisbet, London.

Psalms and Hymns for Divine Worship 1867, James Nisbet, London.

Sacred Harmony. Part I. For the use of St George's Church, Edinburgh. Being a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, with an Accompaniment for the Organ and Piano Forte, R. A. Smith, Edinburgh, 1820.

Sacred Melodies for Children, Edinburgh, 1843.

Selection of Sacred Music [c.1830] R. A. Smith (ed.), Glasgow.

The Book of Psalms and the Scottish Hymnal, with Accompanying Tunes, Published for use in Churches by authority of the General Assembly. The Harmonies of the Tunes revised by W. H. Monk, Professor of Vocal Music in King's College, London. Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1872.

The Union Harmonist, a selection of sacred music consisting of original and standard pieces, anthems, &c. suitable for use in Sunday Schools, congregations and musical societies 183-?, Thomas Clark (ed.), Sunday School Union, London.

The Psalter; Being the Authorised Version of the Psalms, Together with Selected Passages of Scripture, Pointed for Chanting, with accompanying Chants. The harmonies of the Chants revised by W. H. Monk. Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1874.

The Sacred Harmony of the Church of Scotland In Four Parts, Adapted to the Version of the Psalms, Paraphrases, Hymns etc Used in the Presbyterian Churches, to which is prefixed A concise Explanation of the Musical Characters Used in the Work And a series of Progressive Lessons. Edited and Chiefly arranged by R. A. Smith, Alex. Robertson, Edinburgh, n.d.