

# QUAKER HYMNODY - SUNG WITHIN THE REFORMED TRADITION

## 1. *Introduction*

Denominational hymnbooks have almost invariably been ecumenical in content. However specific may be our attendance at Sunday worship, Christian singing rarely distinguishes against authors and poets on the simple grounds of inherited or chosen allegiance. A cursory glance at the Author Index of, for example, the United Reformed Church's 1991 main hymnbook *Rejoice and Sing* will confirm its reliance on not only old and newer Dissent but also on the ancient church, the churches of the Reformation, and even groups less prescriptive about central Christian doctrines. This present paper came to birth as its author was engaged in the study of Geoffrey Hoyland (1889-1965), a hymnwriter represented in both *Rejoice and Sing* and its predecessor *Congregational Praise* but who belonged to the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers).<sup>1</sup>

Although Quakers in Britain do not normally sing in Meetings for Worship, the poetry of the American John Greenleaf Whittier and of a very few others Friends is used as hymns in most mainstream denominations. Any sense of irony that Dissenters might feel through singing words written by a Quaker would overlook a variety of occasions when Quakers themselves have sung. The recent authoritative volume about 'Dissenting Praise' edited by Isabel Rivers and David Wykes has no chapter devoted to Quakers: contributors nonetheless mention not only two specific Quaker writers but also the permitted early practice of 'serious sighing, sensible [*sic*] groaning and reverent singing'.<sup>2</sup> This paper therefore seeks to address first in no more than outline the less frequently recognized practice of devotional music among Friends, and then what Quaker writers have offered to hymnbooks of the traditions which are now within the United Reformed Church. The examples cited here as Quaker Hymnody are simply illustrative, the account makes no claim to being comprehensive, and the author is aware of writing from outside the Society of Friends.

## 2. *Quakers and hymnsinging*

Alongside the traditional silence and also vocal ministry of the Meeting for Worship, some other Quaker practices of a more or less regular nature showed a marked similarity with the singing

denominations. This generalisation may be illustrated from both individual and communal instances.

Not only might a Baptist family turned Quaker by conviction retain its earlier Sunday evening tradition of hymn singing at home:<sup>3</sup> so equally in a birthright Quaker setting, the young Hoyland brothers would choose favourite hymns to be sung after the family's First Day evening Bible lesson:<sup>4</sup> former Baptist and lifelong Friend could be alike in their home devotions. Elizabeth Taylor, the future Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, was on occasion an alternative organist to Ira D. Sankey during a London evangelistic campaign:<sup>5</sup> the Hoyland and Cadbury families, who would be linked by marriage in two successive generations, had expressed their Evangelical Quakerism through attendance at and home prayers for the 1875 Moody and Sankey campaign in Birmingham.<sup>6</sup> Later, after the founding of the Bournville village, its earliest local Meetings for Worship often included the singing of a hymn, Elizabeth Cadbury's way of helping new residents from other denominational backgrounds to feel at home in their now rather different atmosphere. Woodbrooke, the Quaker settlement at Selly Oak, was regularly the scene of hymn-singing during the Wardenship of John Somervell ('Jack') Hoyland: his missionary years in India inaugurated a lasting friendship with Mohandas 'Mahatma' Gandhi, who stayed briefly at Selly Oak during his 1931 (political) visit to Britain. When the Mahatma was later imprisoned in British India, Woodbrooke's Friday evening 'Silent Fellowship' not only remembered him in prayer but also chose to sing Cardinal Newman's 'Lead, Kindly Light' at an hour when Gandhi and his prisoner associates were singing the Roman Catholic's words.<sup>7</sup> In a 1939 American journal, Frederick Gillman wrote of 'the increasing use of music in Quaker worship'<sup>8</sup>: and there was singing at the 2011 Britain Yearly Meeting Gathering in Canterbury.

For obvious reasons there has been no specifically Quaker hymnbook: but from its beginnings in the early nineteenth-century, the largely Quaker Adult School movement felt a need for suitable hymn collections. In charting this particular development to 1914, F.J. Gillman showed how known hymnwriters and homegrown Quakers, the Moravian James Montgomery and Jane Crewdson respectively, were in fact used quite early by Friends and their teacher colleagues.<sup>9</sup> His list of eighteen Hymn Books or 'Hymn Sheets' to 1909 included both local collections for Gainsborough (1822) or Bristol (1845), and personal compilations such as M.C. Albright's *Golden Hymn Book* (1903). By 1905, Friends and their teacher colleagues sought a bespoke collection of hymns for their

Christian gatherings of mostly young, frequently working-class scholars meeting to supplement their earlier and often meagre schooling. In consequence, a joint committee representing the National Adult School Union and the Brotherhood Movement issued *The Fellowship Hymn Book* in 1909: it was extended with a *Supplement* in 1920 and published in a *Revised Edition* in 1933. These various versions were used widely by Adult Schools, at Pleasant Sunday Afternoon lectures and services, in Sunday evening Quaker meetings, at their Schools, and in other- or non-denominational settings: relevant memories remain from Friends School Lisburn and from English village chapel life.<sup>10</sup>

The Adult School and Brotherhood Movements shared the aim of 'seeking after a basis of Christian fellowship which transcends denominational barriers':<sup>11</sup> their *FHB* 1933 selection drew from the breadth of the Christian church with an opening hymn by William Blake and immediately subsequent items from Anglican, Unitarian and Roman Catholic writers. No single author dominated, as may happen in denominational books: indeed, only seven have more than five hymns each, among them three Friends. One was the well-established John Greenleaf Whittier: the others were Frederick Gillman and Ernest Dodgshun, both members of the book's committee.

### 3. *Quaker Hymns and Hymnbooks of the Reformed Churches*

The United Reformed Church, specifically in England and Wales, has its background in the Congregational Church (formerly Union) of England and Wales, the Presbyterian Church of England, and the Churches of Christ. The work of nine known writing Friends has appeared from the 1850s onwards in hymnbooks of these three traditions and their successor: brief biographical details here precede a modest discussion of some of their hymns and characteristic thoughts.

Bernard Barton (1784-1849) lived mostly in Essex and Suffolk, employed in local family businesses and as a bank clerk: known as 'the Quaker poet', he enjoyed friendships with literary contemporaries Lord Byron, Charles Lamb and Edward Fitzgerald; and dedicated to James Montgomery his verse denunciation of capital punishment, *A Convict's Appeal*. Cornish-born Jane Crewdson (1809-1863), nee Fox but married at Exeter Meeting to a Manchester manufacturer, published various volumes of poetry including *Aunt Jane's Verses for Children*; she contributed several hymns to Lovell Squire's *Selection of Scriptural Poetry* (1848); her 'devotional verses in *Sudbury Leaflets*' were often used in late-1860s evening worship at Friends School,

Lisburn.<sup>13</sup> John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) from Massachusetts was widely published as editor and campaigner as well as poet; he was committed to temperance, political and Anti-Slavery causes; he disclaimed being a hymn-writer, 'for the very good reason that I know nothing of music',<sup>14</sup> but selected verses from his often long poems were recast by hymnbook editors of varying denominations. Author and poet Jessie Adams (1863-1954) was born to Friends in Trimley, Suffolk, living largely in East Anglia as a schoolteacher and (reputedly) long-time local Adult School leader; she died at The Retreat in York, where she was buried.<sup>15</sup> Frederick Gillman (1866-1949) published widely on hymnology: his 1909 hymn 'God send us men', not vaunting nationalism but seeking truth and the laws of God in the ways of the state, was among fifty chosen by the Primitive Methodists for their wartime 1918 Conference. Ernest Dodgshun (1876-1944) had a Congregational background and became a Board member of the London Missionary Society: he joined Friends in 1908, and after an early retirement was deeply involved in Adult School work.

Geoffrey Hoyland (1889-1965) was for most of his working life the proprietor and headmaster of The Downs, a boys' preparatory school at Colwall near Malvern: his publications included devotional, educational and narrative content; one of his five hymns in the *Fellowship Hymn Book* was taken up by Congregationalists and their successors. Of more modern time and idiom was Sydney Carter (1915-2004), an English poet, songwriter, folk musician and lyricist for Donald Swann's 1950s/60s reviews and musicals: although never joining Friends, he may claim tenuous inclusion here through not only his committed pacifism which led him to serve with the Friends' Ambulance Unit during the Second World War, but through some Quaker attendance and his pronounced and obvious Quaker sympathies.<sup>16</sup> Contemporary with Carter was John Ferguson (1921-1989): his Nigerian academic experience made him passionate for African education, he helped to establish the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford, and whilst President of the Selly Oak Colleges, he held simultaneous Quaker and United Reformed membership.<sup>17</sup>

The art critic, author, poet and playwright Laurence Housman (1865-1959) falls into a different category. He was confirmed in the Church of England, attracted towards Roman Catholicism, a convert to Socialism and pacifism, and through the latter to the Quakers. He and his sister Clemence moved to Street in 1924 becoming close friends with the shoe-manufacturers Susan and Roger Clark, but only in 1952 did he actually join Friends.<sup>18</sup>

Yet others knew Quaker influences. Anna Laetitia Waring (1820-1910) grew up in the Society of Friends, but her father also preached for Wesleyans: she was baptised in early adulthood in the Church of England, and her 'In heavenly love abiding' was amongst the twentieth century's most widely used hymns. John Cennick (1718-55) seems promiscuous in his denominational allegiances: from upbringing and choice, he was successively Quaker, Anglican, Methodist with first Wesley and then Whitefield, before finally joining the Moravians; his 'Lo! He cometh, countless trumpets' would be reworked by Charles Wesley to become the infinitely better known 'Lo! He comes with clouds descending'.<sup>19</sup> At least two URC writers, both ministers with some Congregational background, felt a very close sympathy with Quakerism: Ian Page Alexander (1916-1998) moved towards a 'Quaker universalist point of view', yet stayed within his home denomination; the social and even pacifist expressions in many of the hymns of Fred Kaan (1929-2009) paralleled a long-standing unity with Quaker ideals.

As for Congregational hymnbooks, we may note six books published by the Congregational Union and one set from among the innumerable independently produced collections.<sup>20</sup> *The Congregational Hymn Book* (1836) however, the first to be 'compiled by direction of the Congregational Union of England and Wales', seems to have contained no works by Friends: of those mentioned above, only Barton may have been available at that date. Quaker content made its debut in these books certainly no later than 1858 on the publication of *The New Congregational Hymnbook*, the second issued under the Union's supervision: Barton was present in the main book, Crewdson in the 1874 *Supplement to the Congregational Hymn Book*, both would remain in successive Congregational books into the mid-twentieth century. Perhaps unknowingly, Congregationalists and Unitarians joined in concurrent introduction of Whittier to Britain as 'hymn writer' in 1874:<sup>21</sup> the *Congregational Supplement* had six verses from the 38-stanza poem 'Our Master';<sup>22</sup> J. Martineau's *Hymns of Praise and Prayer* contained five Whittier hymns, one being a five-verse 'Dear Lord and Father of mankind'.<sup>23</sup> Next comes W. Garrett Horder's personally issued trilogy of *Congregational Hymns* (1884), *Hymns Supplemental to Existing Collections* (1894), and *Worship Song with Accompanying Tunes* (1905). *Congregational Church Hymnal* (1887), *Congregational Hymnary* (1916) and *Congregational Praise* (1951) were all authorized by the Congregational Union of England and Wales, with *Rejoice and Sing* (1991) the similar work of the United Reformed Church.

It is from hymnbooks used by the Presbyterian Church of England

and the Churches of Christ that we then add the work of Adams, Dodgshun and Gillman, usually alongside other Quaker authors: the only Quaker pieces in the Presbyterian *Church Praise* (1883) however were just two by Jane Crewdson, her 'Oh, for the peace that floweth' being in no other book mentioned here (*ChP* 1883, No.392); *The Church Hymnary* (Revised Edition 1927) had fourteen hymns by six Friends, seven of these retained into *CH3* (1973);<sup>24</sup> the Churches of Christ *Christian Hymnary* (1938) contained thirteen from five authors.

Horder was influential, even though not universally used: his publications reflected and evoked change in Congregationalism's hymnsinging. Influences then abroad ranged from extreme liberalism in T.T. Lynch's *The Rivulet* (1852) to the rediscovery of ancient treasures from the unreformed churches; both Horder and Martineau valued in American writers their meditative hymns and those with an ethical challenge; A.G. Matthews noted 'the divorce of the union which wedded the hymnbook to the Bible'.<sup>25</sup> *The Congregational Church Hymnal* (1887) represented for Bernard L. Manning what was best in the denomination: it was at once catholic (Quaker content numbered nine hymns from three authors), evangelical, scholarly and orthodox, '[laying] under contribution every age, every nation, every communion'. Although never unchallenged by other collections, this main hymnbook was prominent among Congregationalists until after the 1916 publication of its authorised successor and still in use even in the 1950s.<sup>26</sup>

*Congregational Hymns* (1884) contained twelve hymns written by Friends: the Quaker element in Horder's definitive 1905 collection comprised twenty-five from Whittier (far more than Watts's fourteen) and three by Barton. Of Whittier's, nine are repeated in *Congregational Hymnary*, but only three remain into *Rejoice and Sing*; two of Barton's three were used in the 1916 book, 'Lamp of our feet' alone surviving into *Congregational Praise*; Crewdson's sole piece was in both books. Simply to count number of entries of Whittier pieces is misleading: Horder's twenty-five include one single-verse hymn more usually found within 'Dear Lord and Father of mankind'; the penchant for hymnbook editors to make their own selections from multi-stanza poems inevitably leads to some overlaps or versions of hymns which are peculiar to just one hymnbook. But near the turn of the twenty-first century, *Rejoice and Sing* would retain the subjective writing of a Whittier, whilst noting the changing agenda of an external world.

Verse by Quakers appears consistently in each of thirteen books published from 1858 to 1991, most numerous in the number of

hymns in *Worship Song* (at least twenty-eight), in number of authors in the 1927 Revised Edition of *The Church Hymnary* (six).

#### 4. *Quaker thought in the Hymn Books*

It may be tempting for non-Quakers to expect Quaker hymnody to display clearly some attitudes or beliefs known to resonate for Friends: it would be superficial to claim successful discoveries simply because well-known words are used; but it is equally unhelpful to ignore or deny obvious glimpses of known Quaker thought and expression, of whatever date or period. The following modest observations recognize these dangers and limitations.

##### *The Inward Light*

Barton's two most Congregationally favoured hymns - 'Walk in the light' (NCHB 1855, No.682) and 'Lamp of our feet' (CP 1951, No.229) - each refer to light, but perhaps only tenuously to the Inner Light. However, his less published 'Say not the Word / is hidden from thee, or afar removed' (WS 1905, No.152) seems explicit in asserting the normal presence of the divine in the believer: it continues, 'That Word is heard / Whene'er *within* its voice is sought and loved' (Horder's italics). In Whittier's time, the phrase 'inward light' would have been the norm, 'inner light' being popularised little more than a century ago: his 'But, dim or clear, we own in Thee / the Light, the Truth, the Way' from *Our Master* underwent early modification with 'Life' replacing 'Light' in many English books. The prominence of light in Hoyland's 'O fount of light unfailing' (FHBr 1933, No.364) may simply contrast God's active light with human darkness rather than reflect George Fox's view that there was that of God in every man. But both writers know the essential experience of God which is crucial for Quakers, as does Jessie Adams's hymn, 'I feel the winds of God today': this continues to be sung or admired into the twenty-first century, whether seen as hymn or folk-music (ChH 1938, No.502; CH3 1973, No.444).<sup>27</sup>

Nineteenth-century Quaker writers, in common with others, seemed particularly concerned with personal and inward religion, whereas their twentieth-century successors might concentrate more on ethical or social issues and challenges. If Whittier's *Our Master*, the poem from which both 'Immortal Love' and 'O Lord and Master of us all' were taken, has an all-pervasive message of love and trust, then the inward assurance of the writer continues in *The Eternal Goodness* whose hymn-verses 'Who fathoms the eternal thought' include the lines 'I only know I cannot drift / Beyond his love and care' (RCH 1927, No.558). Similarly personal, although

more idiosyncratically, Sydney Carter's 'Lord of the Dance' (R&S 1991, No.195) exhibits his own view of Jesus, informed also by a statue of Shiva as Nataraja: he wrote that Jesus was the Lord of the Dance whom he knew first and best, and so sang of 'the dancing pattern in the life and words of Jesus'.<sup>28</sup> In 'O brother man, fold to thy heart thy brother' (ChH 1938, No.557; RCH 1927, No.485), a hymn now the casualty of inclusive language policies, Whittier's hand elevates humanitarian attitudes and actions into worship:<sup>29</sup> whether individual or communal, these are Christian responses to God in the everyday world, an inner life expressed in outward love.

### *Inclusive religion*

Traditionally, Friends avoid fixed and thereby restricting statements of belief. The positive side of this trait is Whittier's liberal writing in *Our Master* such as, 'Our Friend, our Brother, and our Lord, / what may thy service be? - / Nor name, nor form, nor ritual word, / but simply following thee' (CP 1951, No.186[ii]). Negatively, there is the strange position that Reformed Christians, whose history encompasses the Westminster Confession, the Savoy Declaration and many local church covenants, are apparently invited by their hymnbooks to deny the need for specific beliefs long shared with co-religionists. Whittier also broadens the religious community in ways that may seem anathema to those seeing doctrinal conformity as central to Christian faith: the hymn 'O Love Divine! whose constant beam', from his poem *The Shadow and the Light*, asserts 'Nor bounds nor clime nor creed Thou know'st / wide as our needs thy favours fall. / The white wings of the Holy Ghost! / stoop unseen o'er the heads of all' (WS 1905, No.153; CoH 1916, No.197).

### *The Peace Testimony*

The Quaker commitment to the peace testimony is not unexpectedly explicit in some hymns. In 'What service shall we render thee', Dodgshun's call to the 'Lord of the nations' entreats God to 'Enlist us in thy ranks to fight / Fair freedom's holy war, / Whose battle-cry is "Brotherhood": an internationalism, communalism and Commonwealth are also patently proclaimed by the sought-after 'arts of peace, / [and] true ministries of life' (RCH 1927, No.644). The inevitable Whittier anticipates the time of brotherly peace that follows a universal adoption of the way and manner of Jesus: 'Then shall all shackles fall: the stormy clangour / Of wild war-music o'er the earth shall cease' (CP 1951, No.541).

A superficial tension is, however, at the very least apparent when militaristic imagery appears alongside peace ideals. Ferguson's

'Am I my brother's keeper?' (R&S 1991, No.609) or Carter's 'When I needed a neighbour, were you there?' (CH4 2005, No.544) raise no problems: but, building perhaps on St Paul's strong images as in Ephesians 6, there surface examples of military or fighting vocabulary. Hoyland's 'Captain, deliverer ... true comrades all' (FHB<sup>r</sup> 1933, No.118) and 'Conqueror ... courage ... trumpets ... Tread them to dust beneath thy conquering feet' (CP 1951, No. 466; R&S 1991, No.533) seem to express a similar martial manner. But a full 'reading of [Hoyland's] words will show that the writer was as fully aware of the weaknesses as of the strengths of human nature and aspirations'.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, 'Glory to God who bids us fight for heaven / here in the dust and joy of human life!' displays the author's realism, drawn from working amongst the young boys who might appreciate military imagery but whose own living inevitably experienced the dull and ordinary.

Laurence Housman's 'Father Eternal, Ruler of Creation' (RCH 1927, No.645; ChH 1938, No.536) was apparently prompted by the author's Life & Liberty Movement Anglican co-activist H.R.L. Sheppard, and considerably pre-dates his arrival in Friends: but the hymn may anticipate his later spiritual home with 'Lust of possession worketh desolations' and 'by wars and tumults Love is mocked, derided'; a prayer that on earth 'Thy kingdom come, O Lord, thy will be done' concludes all five verses.

The Quaker high view of humanity, that men and women pursue and practise goodness to bring about a fuller Kingdom of God on earth, is necessarily accompanied by the realism of human frailty. Ferguson's belief in the one but dysfunctional human family finds him pleading for total commitment: 'I am "my brother's keeper"; / I dare not wash my hands'. Whittier's popular 'Dear Lord and Father of mankind' (CCH 1887, No.336; CP 1951, No.408) had its origin in his poem *The Brewing of Soma*, inveighing against any claimed spiritual enlightenment stimulated by drugs, physical abandon or even repeated ritual: hymnbook editors however sometimes look past its stated penitence to use it primarily to announce a renewed trust and hope for the Christian's future.

### *Surprises*

Finally, Quaker hymnody also includes some perhaps unexpected imagery. Hoyland's 'Praise be to him / who calls us comrades' appeared in the *Fellowship Hymn Book* (1920 Supplement, No.418) a year after he moved from Uppingham Lower School to an initial joint headship at The Downs: 'O Christ, who here / Hast taught us of Thy passion to partake, / And giv'st Thy body in the bread

we break' suggests a formal Communion Service, and reflects both Hoyland's strongly held ecumenism and a background in Uppingham's Anglican environment.

### 5. *Wider Observations*

For over one hundred and fifty years, congregations within the broad British tradition of Reformed Christianity have sung Quaker Hymnody, using the idioms of their various times. Barton, Crewdson and Whittier wrote verse simply as poetry to be read and savoured by people privately: the personal element in it often illustrates that origin. Some of the more recent examples, however, have been deliberate instances of Quakers or associates writing for singing, Carter and Ferguson among them; Hoyland's hymns were sometimes specifically for the boys of The Downs School,<sup>31</sup> only later appearing in print. His best-known hymn 'Lord of Good Life', illustrates the possibility of a three-phase life: first published in 1932 in *Inner Light*, a Quaker-inspired collection of devotional readings,<sup>32</sup> it had earlier been given music by his former Uppingham colleague, J. Barham Johnson; with a different tune, it was then included successively in *Congregational Praise* and *Rejoice and Sing*, to enjoy continuing popularity among congregations within the Reformed tradition (*CP* 1951, No.466; *R&S* 1991, No.533).

Times change, thought and expression attract criticism, hymns are discarded or modified because of altered emphases or through strictures about language. Nonetheless and despite its nineteenth-century origin, Whittier's 'Dear Lord and Father of mankind' seems set to hold its place well into the future, this in large part because of the happy marriage of its words with Parry's romantically attractive tune 'Repton'. The inclusivism of Carter's words have also proved popular, particularly in schools.

This Quaker Hymnody may seem light in stating specific Christian doctrines: but the implications of the Incarnation, a basic Christology, a sense of Salvation and the demands of Christian ethics are all clearly evident; and the Quaker characteristics and ideals cited above are not unique to Quakers alone. The history of Friends has long been one of individuals and groups holding a variety of views.

If congregations were to wonder about the source of words they sing week by week, they may be surprised at this continuing Quaker presence in our hymn books: but Christians will usually sing whatever words they find helpful for their own lives; and we will doubtless remain eclectic in our choices, save for among the narrowest and most dogmatic communities. We should meanwhile

not overlook the possibility of that eclecticism being able to draw on material from seemingly unlikely sources to evoke a deeper faith, to articulate previously unexpressed thoughts or to help uncover new and unexpected dimensions to Christian faith and action.<sup>33</sup>

Nigel Lemon

## ENDNOTES

1. Nigel Lemon, 'The Dust and Joy of Human Life' Geoffrey Hoyland and Congegationalism' in *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* (2012), Vol.8 No.10, pp. 610-623: the present article continues and expands some of this earlier material. The author acknowledges the particular helpfulness of the staff of the Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London, and of Dr. Williams's Library, London; he is grateful to Howard Gregg for his helpful comments on the initial draft of this article.
2. So Clyde Binfield and Nicholas Temperley in Isabel Rivers & David Wykes, *Dissenting Praise* (London: Oxford University Press, 2011), particularly, pp. 165-167, & 201.
3. 'The gift doth me inflame', a portrait of Wilfred Brown (BBC Radio 3 broadcast, date unknown but probably pre-1991).
4. H.G. Wood, *John William Hoyland of Kingsmead* (London: SPCK 1931), p. 76ff.
5. Richenda Scott, *Elizabeth Cadbury 1858-1951* (London: George Harrap, 1955), p. 32.
6. H.G. Wood, op. cit., 49ff.
7. Reginald Reynolds, *John Somerville Hoyland* (London: Friends Home Service Committee, 1958), pp. 48-53 (passim).
8. *The Friend* (Philadelphia, 1939), Ninth Month, 92-96.
9. F.J. Gillman, 'A brief history of Adult School hymnody' in *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (1914), Vol XLVIII, 221-233.
10. eg, *Notes on the [1932] origin of Luddington Methodist Chapel*, website version.
11. F.J. Gillman, *The torch of praise: an historical companion to the Fellowship Hymn Book* (London: National Adult School Union, 1934), p. 78.
12. J. Crewdson, her married surname well-known through the Beaconite controversy, also had one hymn in each of Sankey's original *Sacred Songs and Solos*, and the *Fellowship Hymn Book* (1933).
13. N.H. Newhouse, *A History of Friends School Lisburn*, ch. 3, website version.
14. Quoted in F.J. Gillman, op. cit. (1934), 71.
15. *Dictionary of Quaker Biography* (unpaginated typescript at Friends Library, London), from *The Friend* (1945) p. 835, lacks specific biographical detail. J. Moffat *Handbook to the Church Hymnary* (London: OUP 1927), p. 245, describes her as local Adult School

- leader 'at Frimley', perhaps mistaken in place but then copied on websites: a Guildford correspondent of *The Friend*, op.cit., notes Adult School involvement. The author is indebted to current Friends in Guildford, Suffolk and York for helpful correspondence regarding Jessie Adams.
16. Paul Oestreicher wrote in an obituary, 'If any church could come close to holding [Carter's] allegiance, it was the Society of Friends ... [with] its reliance on personal experience and affirmation of God's presence in every human being' (*The Guardian*, 17 March 2004).
  17. I am indebted to Professor Clyde Binfield for this last information.
  18. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and K.L. Parry [ed.], *Companion to Congregational Praise* (London: Independent Press, 1953), p. 428.
  19. United Reformed Church, *Companion to Rejoice and Sing* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1999), p. 788.
  20. The CUEW also published some abridged versions, a Mission Hymnal and collections specifically for Sunday Schools.
  21. This is earlier than the 1887 date offered by Erik Routley in the *Bulletin* of The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol.8 No.13 (1977), pp. 221-7.
  22. NCHBs, No.1057, 'We may not climb the heavenly steeps'. At least six lines are already altered, providing a more evangelical reading.
  23. Cf *Companion to Rejoice and Sing*, naming Garrett Horder's *CongH* 1884 as introducing this hymn: the all-pervasive Wikipedia gives the same. In general, some Martineau alterations seem to exclude an over-sensual element.
  24. The Presbyterian Church of England cooperated with other British Presbyterian churches to produce *RCH* and *CH3*. The Church of Scotland alone prepared *CH4* (2005).
  25. A.G. Matthews in K.L. Parry, op.cit., xxv/vi.
  26. These two preceding paragraphs draw on A.J. Grieve, 'Congregational Praise: Some Back Numbers' in K.L. Parry, op.cit.; B.L. Manning, 'Some Hymns and Hymn Books' in *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, hereafter *TCHS*, ix. 122-142 & 170-9; and T.G. Crippen, 'Congregational Hymnody' in *TCHS*, vii. 224-234 & 288-299.
  27. A web search for Adams's words yields numerous hits: admirers reflect liturgical, devotional and perhaps non-Christian spiritual usage, with Vaughan Williams's arrangement of the tune 'Kingsfold' enhancing the hymn's popularity.
  28. Quotation from *Green Print for Song* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1974), noted here from various websites.
  29. *Church Hymnary* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition 1973), No.460 may be the final hymn book appearance of 'O Brother Man'.
  30. *Companion to Rejoice and Sing*, p. 647.

31. Personal conversation with Dr H.J. Hoyland, son of Geoffrey and himself a pupil at The Downs.
32. M. Catherine Albright *et al.* (Compilers), *Inner Light*, a *devotional anthology* (London: No pub., 1932 [2<sup>nd</sup> edn]).
33. The hymns-books cited in this paper are given here in chronological order, each with its abbreviated form shown in brackets. *Congregational Hymn Book*, 1836 (CHB); *New Congregational Hymnbook*, 1859 (NCHB); *New Congregational Hymnbook with Supplement*, 1874 (NCHBs); *Church Praise*, 1883 (ChP); *Congregational Hymns*, 1884 (CongH); *Congregational Church Hymnal*, 1887 (CCH); *Hymns Supplemental to Existing Collections*, 1894 (HS); *Worship Song with Accompanying Tunes*, 1905 (WS); *Fellowship Hymn Book*, 1909 (FHB); *Congregational Hymnary*, 1916 (CoH); *Fellowship Hymn Book with Supplement*, 1920 (FHBs); *Church Hymnary*, Revised Edition 1927 (RCH); *Fellowship Hymn Book*, 1933 (FHBr); *Christian Hymnary*, 1938 (ChH); *Congregational Praise*, 1951 (CP); *Church Hymnary*, 3rd Edition 1973 (CH3); *Hymns & Psalms*, 1983 (HPs); *Rejoice & Sing*, 1991 (R&S); *Church Hymnary*, 4th Edition 2005 (CH4).