The Musicology Review
1–30
© The Author 2021
https://ucd.ie/music

The Psalm Tune Repertory of Eighteenth-century Dublin: Sources, Concordances, and Cultural Significance

Eleanor Jones-McAuley

Trinity College Dublin

Abstract
Although it is a practice that has almost disappeared today, for centuries the congregational singing of metrical psalms was the cornerstone of Protestant worship music. This primarily oral tradition, which in most cases consisted of unaccompanied monophony by untrained voices, stood in stark contrast to the grand cathedral tradition of robed choirs and complex harmonies with which it co-existed within the Established Church. In eighteenth-century Dublin, metrical psalmody could be heard not only in the city's parish churches but also in its non-conformist meeting houses and even among its immigrant communities.

This article will take a closer look at the tunes to which these metrical psalms were sung, beginning with an overview of the sources in which these tunes have survived; though this was an oral tradition first and foremost, psalm tunes were on occasion committed to paper. This allows the provenance of tunes to be traced, and raises tantalising questions about the purposes for which these psalm tunes might have been printed. Comparing sources drawn from multiple different Protestant denominations in the city, it can be seen that certain tunes crossed denominational lines, contributing to a shared musical culture among Dublin's Protestant communities. This article concludes by discussing the significance of this shared culture in the context of the eighteenth century, a turbulent era in which the religious allegiances that had divided Europe since the Reformation remained dominant not only on the field of war, but also in the cultural landscape of everyday life.

Eleanor Jones-McAuley is a final-year PhD student at Trinity College, Dublin, where she is researching eighteenth-century church music and identity under the supervision of Dr Andrew Johnstone. She received a first-class BA in Music and Modern Irish from Trinity in 2013, and also holds an MPhil in Early Modern History, for which she submitted a thesis on the role of music in state propaganda during the French Revolution.

Jones-McAuley, Eleanor. "The Psalm Tune Repertory of Eighteenth-century Dublin: Sources, Concordances, and Cultural Significance." *The Musicology Review* 10 (November 2021): 1–30.

The Psalm Tune Repertory of Eighteenth-century Dublin: Sources, Concordances, and Cultural Significance

Eleanor Jones-McAuley

It is a truism of history that what is recorded is often what is exceptional rather than everyday. To the observer, the everyday may seem obvious, too widely understood for there to be any utility in recording it. Generations later, this gives rise to the frustrating state of affairs that traditions, customs, and knowledge that were once absolutely central to people's lives become completely forgotten, while the experiences of very few—usually the rich, literate, and powerful—come to dominate the historical record. Music history is particularly vulnerable to this process of distortion. Our image of the musical culture of eighteenth-century Dublin, for example, is of a dazzling world of Castle concerts, ballad operas, oratorio premieres, and orchestral soirées at the Ranelagh Gardens.[1] If this secular picture is extended to include the sacred, it might take in robed choirs accompanied by grand organs, singing against the majestic backdrop of one of the city cathedrals. It is important to remember, however, that even among Protestants, this was the culture of a small elite. Beyond the cathedrals, in the city's parish churches and Nonconformist meeting houses, Protestant Dubliners of humbler means participated in a completely distinct sacred music tradition that ran in parallel to that of the cathedrals and which, owing to its largely oral nature and everyday character, has passed into comparative obscurity. This tradition centered upon the singing of metrical psalms.[2]

Metrical Psalmody

The practice of singing psalms in metre, rather than in prose, dates back to the religious reformations of the sixteenth century. As every aspect of the church came under the intense scrutiny of the reformers, questions arose that had troubled Christian thinkers as far back as St Augustine: what form, if any, should music take in worship, and what value could this music have for the worshippers?[3] For Calvin, the most appropriate form of church music was the unaccompanied, monophonic congregational singing of suitable texts; and what text could be more suitable than one drawn directly from scripture itself?[4] Metrical settings of the Psalms by the French poet Clément Marot were already popular at the French court, and as early as 1539, Calvin began to publish Marot's texts with musical accompaniment for the use of his congregation. By 1562, the complete psalter had been produced in this way, with all 150 psalms having been versified into regular poetic metre

[1] See, for example: Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 11–24.
[2] The authoritative work on English parish church music remains Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). For a similar study of the Dublin parish church, see: Denise Neary, "Music in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dublin churches," in *Irish Musical Studies* iv: *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part One*, ed. Patrick F. Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 103–110.
[3] For St Augustine's thoughts on church music see: Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* volume 1 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 156.
[4] Paul Westermayer, "Theology and Music for Luther and Calvin," in *Calvin and Luther: The Continuing Relationship*, ed. R. Ward Holder (Cambridge: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 52.

and set to music.[5] At this time, many English Protestants had fled to the Continent to escape persecution at the hands of the Catholic Queen Mary. There they came under the influence of the new Calvinist psalm tradition, and combined newly written metrical texts with those that were already circulating in English court circles to create their own wildly popular metrical psalter, the *Whole Book of Psalmes* (1562).[6]

From this period on, metrical psalmody became an integral part of parish worship in Britain and Ireland, and remained so in the eighteenth century. Every Sunday, psalms were sung before and after the sermon at both Morning and Evening Prayer. In churches that maintained them, organs and singing groups served chiefly to support congregational singing; without them, the congregation would sing unaccompanied. As the average churchgoer at this time was not musically literate—indeed, was potentially not literate in any sense—this relied on their either knowing the tunes by heart or following the lead of the parish clerk, who was responsible for leading the singing.[7] Fortunately, the need to memorize a large number of unique tunes was reduced by the fact that the vast majority of psalm and hymn texts were written using a very limited selection of poetic metres. The most common was the aptly named 'common metre', consisting of four-syllable stanzas of alternating eight- and six-syllable lines (this can be written in the form 8.6.8.6). Other frequently employed metres were 'long metre' (8.8.8.8), 'short metre' (6.6.8.6), and 'double common metre' (eight-line stanzas rather than four). As psalm and hymn texts were not closely tied to particular tunes but could be sung to any tune which fit their metre, a wide variety of psalms and hymns could be performed using just a small number of tunes.[8]

Sources

The reconstruction of any predominantly oral tradition is necessarily difficult, particularly when contemporary commentators wrote about it very little, other than to criticize. In this context, any surviving primary source is something of a godsend, especially one which contains actual printed tunes. Fortunately, no fewer than ten Dublin sources have survived which include printed tunes either incorporated into the body of the text or as an additional supplement. These sources testify to the church music culture of several of the major Protestant communities active in the city at the time, and span the full length of the eighteenth century (plus a little extra). Each source has its own peculiarities, and can reveal much about the social and cultural context in which it was created.

Before examining these sources in greater detail, a number of significant caveats must be put in place. Firstly, it is important to acknowledge that these sources do not necessarily constitute all the printed psalm tune sources that existed in eighteenth century Dublin—only those that have survived to the present day. Secondly, and relatedly, this investigation deals only with sources *printed* in Dublin; it was of course entirely possible to

[5] Nicholas Temperley et al., "Psalms, metrical" in *Grove Music Online* (2001).
[6] Ibid.
[7] 'By 1750 almost all upper-class [European] men and women could read, but still only a small minority of male or female peasants could … the majority of male artisans could both read and write, but their wives and sisters could not.' Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe 1450–1789*, second edition, *Cambridge History of Europe* series volume 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 131.
[8] Temperley, *Parish Church*, 60. Temperley et al., "Psalms, metrical."

import psalm books from abroad. A third, and weighty, caveat concerns the relationship between printed psalm tune collections and the tunes that were actually sung by congregations. As early as 1594, Thomas East wrote that the majority of congregations in England did not use any of the tunes from the printed psalters but instead sang every psalm using just four totally different tunes.[9] Although the compilers of psalm tune collections make frequent claims of authenticity in their selections, in practice their choice of tunes was as likely to be prescriptive as descriptive; tunes could be chosen for their perceived musical value, for the credentials of their composer (or whoever was believed to be their composer), or even just to fit the metre of a particular text. Editors who were composers themselves might include an overabundance of personal compositions, whether or not those were ever sung. Editors might also source their tunes from whatever other volumes they had to hand, rather than choosing them based on their popularity; a chain of influence such as that observed below between Smith, Boyse, and the compiler of the *Psalms of David* could conceivably result in tunes still appearing in print long after they had ceased to be sung by congregations. The following examination of sources is, therefore, undertaken with all of these caveats firmly in mind.

Thomas Smith, The Psalms of David in Metre (1698/99)

The earliest Dublin source of printed psalm tunes for which a reasonably definite publication date can be ascertained is a psalter compiled by Thomas Smith and published in 1698 or 1699.[10] In fact, this was one of the earliest music books ever printed in Ireland.[11] It contains the complete psalter as translated by William Barton, comprising 169 texts, as some psalms are rendered multiple times in different metres. The first verse of each psalm is underlaid to a printed tune—just the melody is given, with no accompaniment parts—with the remaining verses printed beneath. In total there are nineteen distinct tunes to be found here; the majority are in common metre, while unsurprisingly those tunes of more unusual metres are deployed less often.[12] The 'Psalm 124' tune [123a], for example, which has the metre 10.10.10.10, appears only once.[13] The tune which appears most frequently of all is 'St Mary's' [542a], an early-seventeenth-century tune that appears here twenty-six times (Example 1); for comparison, the next most frequent, 'London' [497b], appears only fifteen times.

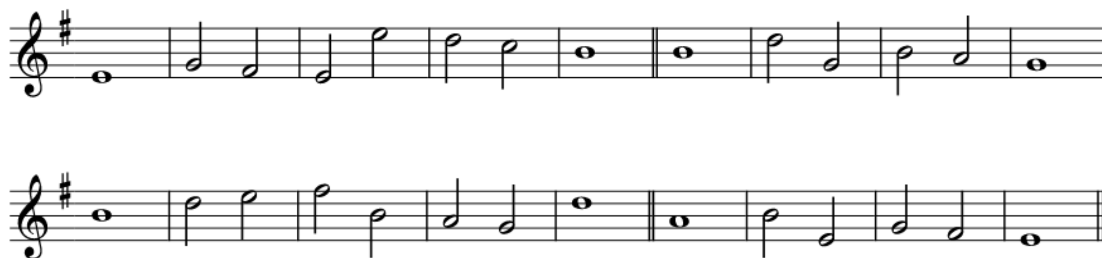
[9] Temperley, *Parish Church*, 68.

[10] Thomas Smith, *The Psalms of David in Metre. Newly Translated with Amendments: by William Barton, M.A. And sett to the best Psalm-Tunes in Two Parts* (Dublin: J. Brent & S. Powell, for Peter Lawrence, [1698/99]). *Early English Books Online.*

[11] "Brent, John," in the Dublin Music Trade database (http://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/33).

[12] Tune information for all English-language sources discussed in this paper is derived both from the sources themselves and from Nicholas Temperley's Hymn Tune Index (accessible at: https://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu). The HTI Source Code for Smith's *Psalms of David* is SmitTPD a.

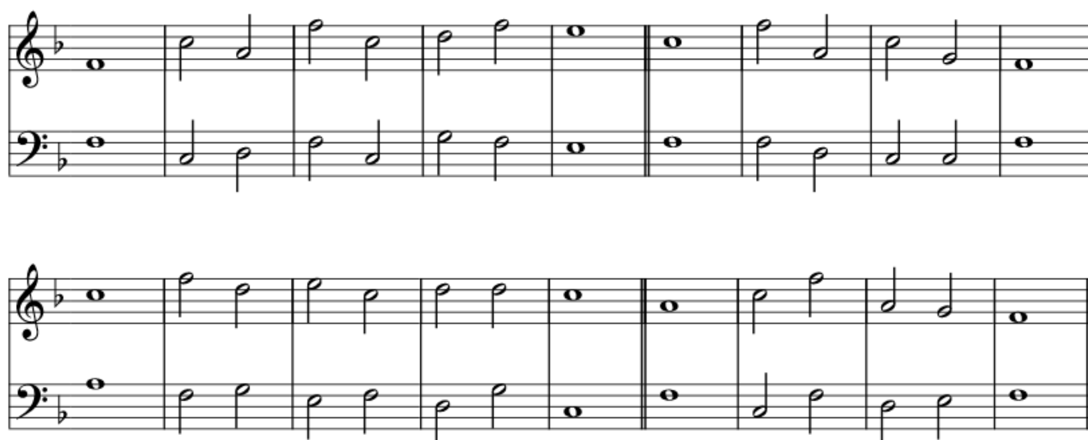
[13] Numbers given in square brackets refer to HTI Tune Codes.



Example 1: 'St Mary's' [542a], transcribed from Smith (1698/99).[14]

Three tunes deserve special attention, as this appears to be their first recorded appearance in print (though see also the entry for source *UC 4 below). Two are variants of pre-existing tunes: 'Southwell' [269j] is a variant of an old sixteenth-century tune, and appears only in this and later Irish sources, while 'Dublin' [271c] is a probable variant of the 'Windsor' tune [271a] which also appears in this collection (though only nine times, while 'Dublin' appears thirteen times). 'Oxford' [585] appears only in Irish sources. These rare tunes and variants are discussed in more detail below.

At the front of the book is a detailed passage on how to sing using eighteenth-century solfa, a complex system which was regularly employed by teachers of metrical psalmody.[15] At the back of the book is a set of bass parts, one for each of the nineteen tunes. These carry no compositional attribution, but it is possible that both they and the book's instructional introduction are the work of the editor, Thomas Smith. The purpose for which the basses were included is unclear, and technically they are simplistic and even ungrammatical, replete with consecutive octaves and inelegant voice leading. Nevertheless, they represent a rare glimpse into the part-singing and instrumental accompaniment conventions that surrounded the performance of metrical psalms (see Example 2).



Example 2: 'London' [497b], with its bass, from Smith (1698/99).

[14] In all tune transcriptions, rhythms have been modified to reflect contemporary performance practice, especially the use of a long 'gathering note' at the beginning of each phrase. See: Walterus Truron, "The Rhythm of Metrical Psalm-Tunes," *Music & Letters* 9, no. 1 (1928): 29–33.

Thomas Smith, [An Edition of the Psalms, in the Version of Sternhold and Hopkins, with Melodies] ([1700]). British Library A.1233.x.

This source poses particular challenges to the researcher, as only one copy is known to exist and it is lacking its title page.[16] The title, editor, publisher, place of publication, and, most critically, date, are therefore unknown. The British Library suggests a London origin for the volume; the Hymn Tune Index, however, classes it as a Dublin publication under the Source Code *UC 4. A Dublin origin is supported by the volume's introduction, which is signed 'Thomas Smith', and the evidence of the tune contents, which strongly suggest that this is the same Thomas Smith who was involved with the production of the 1699 collection of Barton's psalms.[17] Eighteen of the nineteen tunes from that volume, including the rare variants, also appear in *UC 4, the sole exception being 'Stanford' [591]. Two of the older tunes of Genevan origin also appear here in the same unusual variants as in Smith [111c and 120c].[18] The total of twenty-three tunes in *UC 4 thus comprise only five tunes not found in Smith. This extensive correspondence between the two volumes suggests either that one was copied closely from the other, or that the volumes shared the same editor. The book contains selections from both the 'Old Version' of the psalms by Sternhold & Hopkins, which was in widespread use in the seventeenth century, and the *New Version* by Nahum Tate and Nathaniel Brady which was authorized for use in 1696; as a result, Temperley concludes that its publication must post-date that of the *New Version.*[19] Because of the uncertainty surrounding the publication date of this volume, it is possible that it actually predates Smith; this is discussed in more detail below.

Joseph Boyse, Family Hymns for Morning and Evening Worship (1701)

Joseph Boyse was a Presbyterian minister from Leeds who served as the minister of the Wood Street congregation in Dublin from 1687 until his death in 1728.[20] *Family Hymns* was his second foray into the world of music publishing.[21] Unlike his first book, *Sacramental Hymns,* however, which had supplied only the most generic tune indications ('to the common tunes' and '100th psalm tune'), *Family Hymns* includes thirteen tunes set to fifty-three texts written by Boyse himself. All thirteen of these tunes appear also in Smith and in *UC 4. The relationship between these three prints is discussed further below, but

[15] See: Bernarr Rainbow, "Fasola," in *Grove Music Online* (2001).

[16] Thomas Smith, *[An Edition of the Psalms, in the Version of Sternhold and Hopkins, with Melodies. The "Instructions concerning the Gammut" Signed: Thomas Smith.]* (London?, [1700]). British Library A.1233.x. HTI *UC 4.

[17] It should be noted, however, that even if these two Smiths are indeed the same person, the appearance of a publication by Smith in Dublin does not necessarily mean he was himself based there. I have failed to uncover any other reference to a musician named Thomas Smith practicing in Dublin during this period.

[18] The Hymn Tune Index is uncharacteristically in error here, recording the Smith variants of these tunes as variants 111a and 120a.

[19] For details of these and various other psalm versions in use during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see: Temperley et al., "Psalms, metrical."

[20] A.W. Godfrey Brown, "Boyse, Joseph, 1660–1728," in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (2004), hereafter ODNB. doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3151.

[21] Joseph Boyse, *Family Hymns for morning and evening worship* (Dublin: J. Brent & S. Powell, 1701). Trinity College Dublin library OLS Xerox 6 no. 12. HTI BoysJFH. Boyse's first hymn book was *Sacramental Hymns, Collected chiefly out of such Passages of the New Testament As contain the most sutable matter of Divine Praises in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper* (Dublin: Matthew Gunne, 1693).

if any doubt remained as to where Boyse sourced his tunes for *Family Hymns,* this is dispelled by the set of basses included at the back of the volume, identical in every way to those in Smith, including the faulty voice-leading and parallelisms.

There is a substantial introduction at the front of *Family Hymns* in which Boyse details his intentions for the book; notably, he specifies that it was written primarily for the use of the 'common People', for which reason he avoided making his paraphrases too 'fanciful'. Boyse states clearly that the printed tunes have been provided for 'the Direction and Help of those that are less Skillful', though how this would help the average musically-illiterate congregation member or parish clerk is not clear. Boyse praises psalm singing as a virtuous activity, describing it as having 'a genuine tendency (even above other Duties) to engage [the people's] attention, to quicken their devout affections, to raise and vent their Spiritual Joys, and to give 'em some relish of the inward pleasures of serious Religion'. He also states that 'most of the tunes in this Essay are commonly used in Publick Congregations'. At the end of the introduction is a list of names of senior Presbyterian figures who endorsed Boyse's book; many of these men were ministers of Dublin congregations, and it seems no little stretch to imagine they might have recommended its use to their own flocks.[22]

Boyse's apparent copying of material from another publication, while flagrant by modern standards, was not unusual by the standards of the time. The king's printer's monopoly had lapsed in 1681, and even when a copyright act was introduced in Britain in 1710, no similar act was introduced by the Irish legislature. As a result, authors and composers had no particular rights to exclusive publication of their own material during the period under discussion.[23] It is also unsurprising that Boyse relied on existing tune selections for this volume rather than choosing his own: the sparse tune indications given in his previous book, *Sacramental Hymns,* suggest that Boyse had little practical knowledge of church music-making and was not himself familiar with very many tunes. His copying of Smith's tunes and his statement that the tunes were in common use are not necessarily incompatible—Smith may indeed have chosen popular tunes for his volume, or may even have popularized the tunes by publishing them. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Boyse's tunes reflect his own experiences of contemporary practice.

The Psalms of David in Metre (1740)

This unusual psalter, which consists of texts from various different versions of the psalms collated by an unnamed editor, contains twenty-six tunes.[24] These are printed at the back of the book and so not associated with any specific texts, but are grouped by metre: common, short, long, double common and 'particular'. This last category includes two old Genevan psalm tunes [126a and 146a] and the 'Oxford' tune [585] found only in Dublin

[22] Thomas Seccombe, "Weld, Isaac, 1774–1856," rev. Elizabeth Baigent, ODNB. doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28984. A. W. Godfrey Brown, "Iredell, Francis, d. 1739," ODNB. doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/63662.

[23] James Kelly, "Regulating print: The state and the control of print in eighteenth-century Ireland," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 23 (2008), 142–3. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27806928.

[24] *The Psalms of David in Metre. Collected out of the principal Versions now in Use. To which are Added, Hymns, particularly designed for the Lord's-Supper* (Dublin: S. Powell for Abraham Bradley, 1740). Google Books https://books.google.ie/books?id=XRtavwEACAAJ. British Library 3436.g.24. HTI #PDMPV.

sources and so prominently represented in Boyse's *Family Hymns*. Five of the tunes have basslines appended, and while three of these are identical to those found in Smith and Boyse, the bass given for 'London' [497b] is different from that found in the earlier books, and the bass for 'Shuston' [750b], does not appear in the earlier sources at all.

In the introduction, the unknown editor states that the psalm texts were drawn principally from those of the *New Version*, Dr Patrick, Sir John Denham, Sir Richard Blackmore and Isaac Watts, with 'a few of Mr. Barton's preserved'.[25] The editor's intention was to create a superior psalter by drawing together the best texts from the 'principal versions now in use'. With a typical combination of respect and disregard for these authors, the editor has prefixed the initials of the relevant author to each psalm 'that the Reader may know to whom the Translation … is principally owing', but at the same time states that 'a Liberty is all along taken to alter Words, Lines, and sometimes whole Stanza's … either to bring the Sense nearer to the Original [Hebrew], or to render it clearer … or to render it more concise'. Twenty-four hymns are included after the psalms, of which four are attributed to Boyse.

Les Pseaumes de David (1731) and Cantiques Sacrez (1748)

These next two sources are a little unusual: two books in the French language, printed for the use of the French Calvinist diaspora community known as the Huguenots.[26] Although religious hostilities between the Catholics and Protestants in France had formally ended in 1598, when the Protestant minority were granted the legal right to freely practice their religion, tensions remained high between the two groups. Many Huguenots chose to leave France, and Ireland was among the territories where they settled; they were championed by many of the country's elite, in particular James Butler, First Duke of Ormonde, as a kind of early modern 'model minority' who would provide a boost to the Irish economy by their industrious nature.[27] In 1662, a statute 'For Encouraging Protestant Strangers and others to Inhabit and Plant in Ireland' was enacted in the Parliament. This allowed Huguenot immigrants to become Freemen of Dublin, full members of guilds and fully naturalized citizens, as well as granting them seven years free of tax—benefits far more generous than those on offer in England.[28] Ormonde also brokered an agreement with the Archbishop of Dublin allowing the Huguenot community to worship in the Lady Chapel of St Patrick's Cathedral. The Archbishop agreed to this on condition that the Huguenot congregation use the Book of Common Prayer for their services.[29] In 1685, Louis XIV's revocation of the edict that had granted the Huguenots their religious freedom a century earlier resulted in a mass exile of around 200,000 Huguenots from

[25] The implications of this list for tracing the origins of the tunes in this source are discussed below.
[26] *Les Pseaumes de David Mis en vers François, avec la liturgie, le catechisme, & la confession de foi des églises reformées* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1731). Trinity College Library, Dublin 42.ss.141. *Cantiques Sacrez pour les principals solemnitez Chrétiennes* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1748). British Library 3438.g.54.
[27] Raymond Hylton, "Dublin's Huguenot Refuge: 1662–1817," *Dublin Historical Record* 40, no. 1 (1986) 15–16. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30100772.
[28] Ibid., 16.
[29] J. J. Digges La Touche, ed., *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin* (Dublin: A. Thom & Co, 1893), i. Hylton, 'Dublin's Huguenot Refuge', 16–17.

France.[30] Between 1679 and 1720, the Huguenot population in Dublin grew from approximately fifty to at least 4,000—four or five per cent of the city's total population. Many of these new arrivals were not content to accept subordination to a state church, and as early as 1692 an 'Independent' French church was established near Bride Street.[31]

The original French Genevan Psalter had provided almost every text with its own tune, with few repetitions.[32] By the late seventeenth century, it was felt that the old texts needed an update, and a new version of the texts by Valentin Conrart was approved for use at the Paris Synod of 1679.[33] It is these Conrart texts that can be found in the Dublin *Pseaumes de David,* along with a catechism, confession of faith, orders of service for baptisms, communions and weddings, and various prayers. Strikingly, however, Conrart retained for his 'new version' the same tunes as in the original, paired with the same psalms—meaning that his new settings were obliged to follow metrical patterns of the original in order that the tunes would fit. This subordination of text to tune contrasts with the Anglophone custom of choosing tunes to fit texts. The close relationship which existed between particular psalms and their tunes in the French tradition perhaps owes something to the great diversity of metre present in the original Genevan Psalter, which made it difficult to sing one psalm to the tune of another in the Anglophone fashion.

The second of the two Dublin Huguenot books, *Cantiques Sacrez,* is a slim volume of thirty 'sacred songs', whose metrical texts are paraphrased from other books of the Bible and matched with tunes from the Genevan psalter. Each song is assigned to a particular event or occasion in the church year, such as Communion, Easter, or Pentecost. The tunes are identified by the numbers of the psalms in the Genevan psalter which they accompany, further testifying to the degree to which these tunes were identified closely with particular psalm texts.

A document detailing the rules and regulations of the Lady Chapel congregation around the year 1650 instructs the minister to take to the pulpit 'after the end of the psalm', indicating that as in the Established church, psalms were sung there before the sermon at morning and evening prayer.[34] As the use of organ accompaniments in Huguenot services was recorded in contemporary French churches in London, there is a tantalizing possibility that an organ which was purchased for the Lady Chapel in 1751, while it was still in use by the Huguenot congregation, could have been used to accompany the psalms.[35]

[30] Owen Stanwood, "Between Eden and Empire: Huguenot Refugees and the Promise of New Worlds," *The American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (2013): 1319–1344.
[31] Hylton, "Dublin's Huguenot Refuge," 21.
[32] For a discussion of the composers of the Genevan Psalter tunes, see: Temperley et al., "Psalms, metrical."
[33] *Les Pseaumes de David,* introduction.
[34] "Discipline pour l'Eglise," c. 1650. Photocopy of manuscript. Irish Huguenot Archive (IHA MS 90). Representative Church Body Library, Dublin.
[35] John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720), book 1, 212. https://www.dhi.ac.uk/strype. 'The Cathedral Organ', St Patrick's Cathedral website. https://www.stpatricks
cathedral.ie/the-cathedral-organ/

Wesley & Wesley, A Collection of Hymns and Sacred Poems (1749)

The Evangelical Revival came to Dublin in the mid-eighteenth century with the arrival of the Moravians (discussed below) and the Methodists. Methodism, which espoused serious engagement with religion in contrast to what its founder John Wesley saw as the increasing rational detachment of the Established church, took the country by storm, and by the end of the century there were 14,000 Methodists in Ireland and three large meeting houses in Dublin, of which the largest was in Whitefriar Street.[36] John Wesley made twenty-one trips to Dublin, beginning in 1747; his brother Charles visited only twice, in 1747 and 1748.[37] During one of these joint visits, the brothers became acquainted with the printer Samuel Powell, who subsequently became a committed Methodist.[38] This meeting perhaps explains the energy that Powell would then devote to the publication of the Wesley brothers' writing in the following years: the English Short Title Catalogue lists no fewer than fifty-five such publications, including fifteen hymn collections.[39] The majority of these have no tunes or tune indications, but one copy does exist to which is appended a supplement containing twenty-two tunes.[40] It is an unusual selection, comprising an impressive variety of different metres, presumably selected to match the Wesleyan texts. The tunes are also of varying vintages, with representatives from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Two tunes [1934 and 1936a] originate here; another, charmingly named 'Musicians' [1937], appears in only one other publication, an American source dated 1768 in which it is attributed to Thomas Arne; and one [1935] is completely unique (Example 3). The metrical pattern of this last tune would have been ideal for singing the trochaic texts characteristic of Charles Wesley's writing.[41]

Example 3: Trochaic tune [1935], reconstructed from its HTI tune data.

Methodism had not yet formally split from the Established Church during this period, and so meetings were intended to complement rather than replace the services of the parish church. Meetings took place in the afternoons and late evenings, so as not to clash with morning or evening prayer, and Wesley encouraged his followers to attend both his

[36] Dudley Levistone Cooney, *The Methodists in Ireland: A Short History* (Dublin: Columba Press, 2001), 39–44.
[37] Kenneth Ferguson, "Rocque's Map and the History of Nonconformity in Dublin: A Search for Meeting Houses," *Dublin Historical Record* 58, no. 2 (2005), 146. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30101574.
[38] Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550–1800* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000), 467.
[39] English Short Title Catalogue, accessed online at http://estc.bl.uk/.
[40] John and Charles Wesley, *A collection of hymns and sacred poems* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1749). Shelfmark Warr.1749, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pennsylvania. HTI #CHSP.
[41] Temperley, *Parish Church,* 212.

meetings and the regular parish services, and to make their communion in their parish church whenever it was available. A typical meeting was about an hour long, incorporating a thirty- or forty-minute sermon, various prayers, and the singing of one or two hymns.[42] John Wesley was a strong advocate of hymns and his brother Charles was a prolific author of them, producing over 6,500 hymn texts in the course of his career. His creativity in this area, however, lay squarely with language and did not extend to musical composition, and so Charles Wesley's hymn texts were generally sung to whatever tune fit their metre; as Methodist congregations were largely drawn from those of the parish church, it is likely that Dublin's Methodists often recycled tunes already known to them from that context.

Select Psalms, for the Use of the Parish of New St Michan's, in Dublin (1752) and A Collection of Select Psalms (1777)

These two books are in effect two editions of the same book, as their contents are almost identical.[43] *Select Psalms* contains sixty-one psalm texts set to thirty-three different tunes. The metrical variety on offer is very limited; the vast majority of tunes are in common or double common metre, with a few in long or short metre. Just one, 'Psalm 148' [126a], features a more unusual metre (6.6.6.6.8.8). The choice of tunes themselves appears to owe little to the earlier Irish volumes (see below). The second 'edition', *A Collection of Select Psalms*, has identical tune contents except for the inclusion of one additional tune, 'Psalm 149' [657d].

Like many of the parish churches in the city at this time, St Michan's operated a charity school where poor boys could receive an education in either 'Writing' (reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion) or 'Working' (training in weaving cloth).[44] St Michan's had also, since 1725, been possessed of a very fine organ and employed the expensive services of an organist to play at their services.[45] In the organist's contract, the instruction of the schoolboys in how to sing psalms is listed as one of his responsibilities, and the school records for 1753 note that a set of twenty psalm books were bound for the boys' use.[46] This practice of forming a makeshift choir from charity school children, who could assist the congregation in singing the psalms at services, was common in towns and cities at this time.[47] If these psalm books were in regular use by young boys, it might also explain why the volume was reissued after twenty-five years—the original copies having likely degraded considerably.

[42] Cooney, *The Methodists in Ireland,* 165–170.

[43] *Select Psalms, for the use of the parish-church of New St Michan's, in Dublin* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1752). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, hereafter *ECCO*; *A collection of select Psalms for the use of parish-churches in general, but particularly intended for that of New St. Michan's in Dublin* (Dublin: G. Bonham, for Thomas Stewart, 1777). *ECCO.*

[44] St Michan's charity school minute book 1751–77, St Michan's Parish Records (P.0276.13), Representative Church Body Library, Dublin. A 1717 report enumerates fifteen charity schools in Dublin; by 1796 this had risen to twenty-seven. Mary Hayden, "Charity Children in 18th-Century Dublin," *Dublin Historical Record* 5, no. 3 (1943): 92–107. ww.jstor.org/stable/30080114.

[45] Barra Boydell, "St Michan's Church Dublin: The Installation of the Organ in 1725 and the Duties of the Organist," *Dublin Historical Record* 46, no. 2 (1993): 101–120. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30101037.

[46] Boydell, "St Michan's Church," 110–111 and 115. St Michan's school minute book 1751–77, 34.

[47] Temperley, *Parish Church*, 129.

David Weyman, Melodia Sacra (1816)

Although it dates from just outside the period under discussion here, it would be remiss not to include this monumental church music collection, which marks a waypoint between the older metrical psalm tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the newer enthusiasm for hymnody that would characterize the nineteenth century.[48] *Melodia Sacra* was published in four separate volumes between 1812 and 1815, then collected together into a single volume in 1816.[49] It contains all 150 psalms, as well as various 'hymns, anthems and chorusses'. The majority of the psalms are set in three parts—air, tenor, and counter-tenor—with a keyboard accompaniment and figured bass provided. The editor of the volume, David Weyman, was a stipendiary singer at Christ Church and a half-vicar choral at St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, and was responsible for the composition of many of the tunes in the collection, as well as the arrangements and accompaniments for the psalms.[50] Despite his cathedral background, Weyman's introduction makes clear that he did not intend *Melodia Sacra* solely for cathedral use: 'This Work (it is hoped)', he writes, 'will be found particularly useful to Organists and Clerks of Parish Churches; Dissenting Congregations and private Individuals will likewise find it a most useful and valuable Repository of Sacred Melody'.

Weyman's dedication to furnishing each psalm and hymn with a tune used nowhere else in the collection is impressive: the collection includes no fewer than 156 tunes, twenty-three of which were composed by Weyman himself. The selection is so large that it is perhaps more useful to note which tunes from the earlier Dublin sources were *not* included. Few of the old Genevan tunes appear, for example, and, in general, the selection tends rather toward the new than the old. One notable aspect of *Melodia Sacra* is Weyman's transcriptions of the tunes themselves, which are frequently embellished with turns, passing notes and trills, especially on the penultimate notes of phrases. Temperley has suggested that the necessity for unaccompanied congregations to follow the lead of the parish clerk led to psalm tunes gradually slowing and losing their rhythmic interest, and as a result congregations would often embellish the tunes with trills and melismas, a performance practice which Temperley has termed the 'old way of singing'. Temperley draws attention particularly to a 1718 book of psalmody by John Chesham, which includes a version of 'Windsor' [271] embellished in this manner.[51] It is possible that Weyman's melodic embellishments represent a rare record of a similar performance practice which existed in the late eighteenth-century Irish church. It is equally possible, however, that these embellishments are merely Weyman's own innovations, intended to add musical interest to well-worn tunes.

Melodia Sacra seems to have appealed to a wide variety of Protestant groups, including Nonconformists. At the end of Weyman's introduction, there is an extensive list of subscribers which includes the organists of Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedrals, the

[48] See: Donald Davison, "Hymns and Hymnology," in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland,* ed. Harry White and Barra Boydell, 2 vols (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 510.

[49] David Weyman, *Melodia Sacra or The Psalms of David, the Music Composed by the most celebrated Authors Ancient and Modern* (Dublin: George Allen, 1816). HTI WeymDMS.

[50] Stuart Kinsella, "Weyman, David," in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland,* 1051.

[51] Nicholas Temperley, "The Old Way of Singing," *The Musical Times* 120, no. 1641 (1979), 945.

Chapel Royal, Trinity College and many of the city's parish churches, as well as a Mr John Kerr of the Methodist Book-Room, William Smith, 'Methodist Preacher', and the Presbyterian minister Philip Taylor. A 'sequel' to *Melodia Sacra* produced after Weyman's death claims that, by that time, Weyman's hymns were in general use in a large number of churches in the city, including the extra-parochial Bethesda Chapel and the Methodist 'Free Church' on Great Charles Street.[52]

Sources without Tunes: John Cennick, A Collection of Sacred Hymns (1752)

Although the many surviving Dublin psalters and hymnals that are without tune indications are naturally less valuable to the researcher than the sources described above, there is still much that can be learned from 'tuneless' books. An examination of the different metres used is particularly instructive, as it gives an indication of the tunes to which the texts could have been sung. An excellent example of this is a collection of hymns by the Moravian preacher John Cennick published in 1752, six years after he established a Moravian community in the city.[53] Although Cennick gave no tune indications in the *Collection*, the metres which he used are unusual and suggest that a wider variety of tunes would have been required to sing all of his hymn texts than can be found in the Dublin sources. Cennick's repeated use of metres such as 8.8.6.8.8.6, 10.10.11.11.4, and 5.5.6.5, all of which appear more than five times, suggests that he had particular tunes in mind when writing the texts; this practice was not out of character for Moravian hymn writers, who often fitted new texts to old, well-loved tunes, especially those of German origin which were well known in the Moravians' European homeland.[54] Cennick's texts, too, suggest a German connection: the metre of his hymn 'What Mercy hath the Saviour shew'd', for example, fits exactly with the tune of 'Wie schon leuchtet der Morgenstern', and his 'O head so full of bruises' is not only clearly derived from the Lutheran hymn 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden', but actually appears in a later Moravian hymnal reunited with its familiar German tune.[55] Despite having no printed tunes, therefore, Cennick's hymnal reveals a surprising amount about the specific tune repertory of this small Evangelical congregation.

Comparisons and Concordances

Considered individually, any one of the above sources can provide a wealth of information about the musical, cultural, and social contexts in which it was created. Their value as a historical resource, however, increases significantly when they are compared and contrasted with one another. Even surface-level observations can provide fascinating entry points into eighteenth-century society: for example, of the eleven sources detailed above, eight of them bear the same publisher's name, 'S. Powell'. This, in fact, refers to two men:

[52] *One Hundred and Fifty Hymns, by Approved Authors, as set to music in the Pocket Edition of the Sequel to Weyman's Melodia Sacra* (Dublin: Marcus Moses, c. 1830).

[53] John Cennick, *A collection of sacred hymns,* fifth edition (Dublin: S. Powell, 1752). *ECCO*..

[54] See: *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages* (London: printed; and to be had at all the Brethren's chapels, 1754), preface. *ECCO*.

[55] Christian Ignatius Latrobe and Samuel Webbe, *Hymn-tunes sung in the Church of the United Brethren* (London: J. Bland, 1775), 30. Internet Archive (accessed 24 June 2021). http://archive.org/details/ssunginc00latr.

Stephen Powell, who operated the press until 1722, and his son Samuel, who took over in 1731 (in the intervening years the press was operated by Stephen's widow, Deborah, under his name).[56] Behind these sources thus lies the story of two generations of this family concern: Stephen's beginnings in partnership with John Brent, his establishment of his own business in 1703, the passing on of the company to Samuel Powell, Samuel's conversion to Methodism, and his death in 1775. On Samuel's death, his daughter Sarah sold the concern to George Bonham, but Bonham does not appear to have taken possession of the Powell's distinctive set of music type—the second of the St Michan's books, printed by Bonham, uses a very different musical typeface. The Powells were not the only music printers operating in the city at the time, but seem to have carved out a niche for themselves in the area of psalter and hymnal publication; the only Dublin sources not printed by them are the two which were produced after 1775 and the orphaned *UC 4.[57]

The most fruitful comparison that can be made between these sources is that of their tune contents, as this helps not only with the discerning of overall trends in the distribution of particular tunes, but also to clarify the relationships between sources, particularly those of a derivative nature.[58] The first three sources—Smith, *UC 4, and Boyse—serve as a case study in this regard (see Table 1). The evidence of the identical basses, discussed above, already presents a strong case for Boyse's having copied his tunes directly from Smith; a direct tune-content comparison makes this even clearer. What is interesting, however, is that Boyse's tunes constitute a subset of Smith's—in other words, some of Smith's tunes have been omitted. This selection of which tunes to leave out was clearly not done on the basis of frequency, as the 'St David's' tune [379], which appears in Smith ten times, appears only once in Boyse, and the 'Bristol' tune [583], which Smith uses fourteen times, does not appear at all. Perhaps here is the supporting evidence for Boyse's claim that his tunes represent those 'commonly used in Publick Congregations'; if Smith's book was popular with Dublin congregations, as claimed by Grattan Flood, it is possible that Boyse knew which of Smith's tunes had proved most popular with the churchgoing public, and that this knowledge informed his selection process.[59] A similar side-by-side comparison can also help to shed a little more light on the mysterious origins of *UC 4, which incorporates all of the tunes from Smith plus five additional tunes. If *UC 4 predates Smith, and if it is indeed, as it seems to be, the work of the same editor, then this may represent a similar 'weeding-out' process whereby the less successful tunes were removed.

[56] Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade,* 465.

[57] 'Powell, Stephen' and 'Powell, Samuel' entries in the Dublin Music Trade database (www.dublinmusictrade.ie). As the editor of *UC 4 is unknown, it is possible it was also printed by the Powells, but this cannot be stated definitively.

[58] A complete table of tunes contained in the Dublin sources is provided in the Appendix.

[59] W. H. Grattan Flood, "Barton's Psalms (1698): The Earliest-Known Dublin-Printed Music Book," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 2, no. 3 (1912): 246–9.

Tune Name	HTI Code	Metre	*UC 4 (?)	Smith (1698/99)	Boyse (1701)
Ps 51	111a/c	LM	✓	✓	
Ps 119	120c	DCM	✓	✓	✓
Ps 124	123a	10.10.10.10.10	✓	✓	
Ps 148	126a	6.6.6.6.8.8	✓	✓	✓
Ps 100	143a	LM	✓	✓	✓
Ps 113	146a	LM x3	✓	✓	✓
Lincoln	159a	DCM	✓	✓	
Shrewsbury	166a	DCM	✓		
Cambridge	249a	CM	✓		
Southwell	269j	SM	✓	✓	✓
Windsor	271a	CM	✓	✓	✓
Dublin	271c	CM	✓	✓	✓
Martyr's	330a	CM	✓	✓	✓
York	331a	CM	✓		
(St) David's	379c/f	CM	✓	✓	✓
Litchfield	381b	CM	✓		
Exeter	397b	CM	✓		
London (New)	497b	CM	✓	✓	✓
Lowath	536a	CM	✓	✓	✓
St Mary's	542a	CM	✓	✓	✓
Bristol	583	CM	✓	✓	
Ely	584	LM	✓	✓	
Oxford	585	8.8.8.8.8.8	✓	✓	✓
Stanford	591	SM x2		✓	

Table 1: Tune Contents Comparison

Abraham Bradley's *Psalms of David* (1740) evidently also belongs to this network of influence; even if the anonymous compiler had not specifically named Boyse, the debt owed to him would still be clear from the tune contents. Of the thirteen tunes in Boyse's *Family Hymns*, eleven made it into Bradley's *Psalms of David;* two of these—'Psalm 119' [120c] and 'St David's' [379f]—appear in the same variant forms found in Boyse, rather than their more standard iterations. The two tunes from *Family Hymns* that do not appear in *Psalms of David* are 'Dublin' [271c] and 'St Mary's' [542a]. The compiler may have considered the former too similar to the 'Windsor' tune [241a] of which it is likely a variant, and which was included; 'St Mary's' seems a strange omission, however, given just how frequently it appears in the earlier sources. Fourteen tunes make their Irish debut here; many of these can also be found in an earlier English tune supplement designed to be used with the psalm texts of Isaac Watts or John Patrick, and as texts by both of these

writers appear in the 1740 volume, this can be reasonably assumed to be one of the compiler's sources.[60]

International connections can also be discerned behind the supplement to the Wesleyan hymnbook and the St Michan's psalters, all of which share some tunes with the earlier Irish sources but also introduce many new tunes to the surviving printed repertory. In the case of the St Michan's books, the origin of the tunes is clear: every single tune here also appears in the official supplement to the *New Version* by Tate and Brady, first published in 1708 and reissued regularly until 1735.[61] The Wesleyan tunes are a little harder to trace, as many of the newer tunes appear in only a handful of English sources. Unless they were copied wholesale from a source which is now lost, the compiler would have needed to consult multiple sources of English origin in order to put this supplement together. The alternative—that this source actually reflects the compiler's experience of contemporary Methodist practice—is compelling, but as ever, difficult to prove.

The 'Dublin Repertory'

Bearing in mind the caveats discussed above, it is possible to make some tentative inferences as to which tunes were actually being sung in eighteenth-century Dublin's churches and meeting houses. To begin with, it must be noted that the tunes in the St Michan's books effectively constitute a sub-repertory of their own, as those tunes, or at least some of them, were almost certainly sung by the boys at St Michan's church and, therefore, also by the congregation there. As for the rest of the repertory, given that the sources under consideration originate from a wide range of different Protestant communities and cover a long time period, the tunes most likely to have been widely known and performed are simply those that appear most frequently in the sources. Taking into account minor variants, there are nine tunes which appear in five or more of the eight English-language Dublin sources, including the St Michan's books (see Table 2). As this short selection contains tunes in common, long and short metres, it would have been more than adequate for performing the vast majority of hymns and psalms in contemporary circulation.

Strikingly, the old Genevan tunes seem to have had considerable sticking power throughout the period. They are among the oldest tunes in the repertory, and many are lengthy or have awkward metres, yet they remained consistently in use while many newer tunes fell out of favour. It is one of these tunes which enjoys the distinction of being the only one to appear in every single source: the French Genevan tune known as 'Psalm 100', nowadays known as the 'Old Hundredth' (see Example 4). Its Calvinistic origins mean that it also appears in the Huguenot psalter of 1731 and in the *Cantiques Sacrez* of 1748. It was also notably the only tune to be mentioned by name in Boyse's first book. Its dominance in the Dublin sources should come as no surprise, as it had been one of the most popular tunes in the English psalm repertory since the sixteenth century and has remained so to

[60] *A collection of tunes, suited to the various Metres in Mr Watt's Imitation of the Psalms of David, or Dr. Patrick's version; fit to be bound up with either,* 2nd edition (London: W. Pearson for J. Clark, 1722). British Library A.1231.jj. HTI LawrWCT 2.

[61] *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate* (London: John Nutt, for James Holland, 1708). British Library 1220.g.4(2). HTI *TS TatB 6a.

the present day. The hymn tune website hymnary.org has indexed over 1,000 hymnals in which the 'Old Hundredth' appears, and at the time of writing, it is the most frequently searched for tune in their repertory.[62]

Tune	HTI	Metre	UC4	Smith	Boyse	Bradley	Wesley	Michan's	Weyman
Ps 119	120c	DCM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Ps 148	126a	6.6.6.6.8.8	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Ps 100	143a	LM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ps 113	146a	LM x3	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Southwell	269h/j	SM	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Windsor	271a	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
London	497b	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
St Mary's	542a	CM	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
St Ann's	664a	CM				✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 2: Tunes which appear most frequently across the eight English-language sources.[63]

Example 4: 'Psalm 100' [143a], from Bradley's *Psalms* (1740).

Dublin Originals and Exclusives

It is also possible to construct a second 'Dublin repertory' of tunes and variants which make their first appearance in, and in some cases remain exclusive to, the Dublin sources. Several of the tunes from Smith, despite their English place-name nomenclature, appear nowhere else in the international hymn tune repertory, apart from in the other Dublin sources derived from Smith's volume as discussed above, and may have been Smith's own compositions. These are 'Bristol' [583], 'Oxford' [585] and 'Stanford' [585], with this last appearing only in the Smith collection of 1698 and its later re-issues. The 'Ely' tune [584] appears in one later source only, an English collection from 1719, in which it is called 'Handley'. The 'Oxford' tune is of particular interest, both because it is the most frequently occurring of these Dublin exclusives, appearing in four different sources, and also because of its unusual metre (8.8.8.8.8.8). It is suggested in the Hymn Tune Index that this tune may be derived from Martin Luther's 'Vater Unser'—a highly credible theory, given the similarities between the two tunes (see Example 5). The Methodist hymnal of

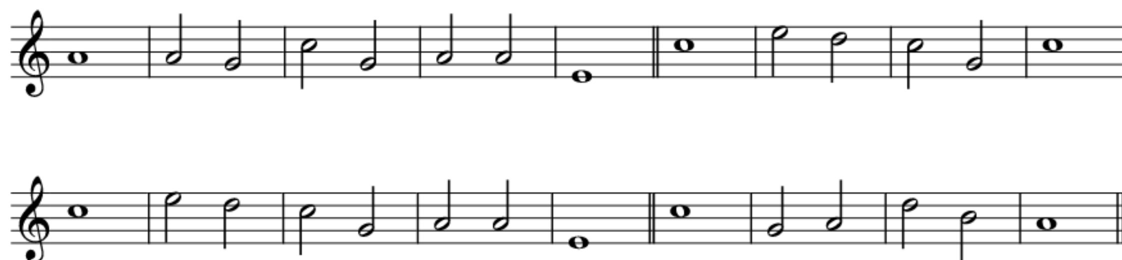
[62] See: https://hymnary.org/tune/old_hundredth_bourgeois, https://hymnary.org/browse/popular/tunes
[63] The St Michan's books are combined into one column for the purposes of this table as their tune contents are almost identical, as discussed above.

1749 is also the earliest known source of a number of tunes (described above), and includes one totally unique tune, 'Hymn 191' [1936a].

Example 5: 'Oxford' [585], from Bradley's *Psalms* (1740), and 'Vater Unser', transcribed from the Hymn Tune Index [130a].

In addition to these 'Dublin tunes', there are also a number of 'Dublin variants' identifiable in these sources. The version of 'Southwell' [269j] which appears in Smith and its derivatives is found nowhere else, and the same sources contain the first instance of a frequently occurring variant of the 'St David's' tune [379f].[64] The most interesting 'Dublin variant' is the tune which is actually given the name 'Dublin' by Smith [271c]; this variant of 'Windsor' [271a] appears side by side with it in three sources, and independently from it in one—the Methodist supplement (see Example 6). In later sources it more often appears under the name 'Coleshill'. Some other tune names are also unique to the Dublin sources: 'Lowath' [536a] is known as 'Litchfield' or 'London Old' elsewhere, and the name 'Uxbridge' for tune 548 is unique to Bradley's *Psalms of David.*

[64] This variant first appears in Smith, not in Boyse, as is incorrectly stated in the Hymn Tune Index.



Example 6: 'Dublin' [271c], from Bradley's *Psalms* (1740).

Significance: The Repertory in Context

The eighteenth century is usually characterized as a period of peace and prosperity in Ireland, and in comparison to the preceding centuries, which were distinguished largely by war, violence, and rebellion, so it was. It was also a period of exponential growth for Dublin in particular, with the city's population increasing from 90,000 in 1715 to 180,000 by 1798.[65] Yet beneath its progressive veneer, Dublin society was still deeply divided along the religious and cultural lines that had run beneath Europe since the Reformation era. Though Ireland was now peaceful following the conclusion of the Williamite Wars in 1689, war continued to rage on the European continent between the Bourbon and Habsburg great houses. The first half of the eighteenth century was correspondingly the period during which the Penal Laws were most strictly and frequently enforced, as Protestants lived in fear of an organized Catholic uprising with assistance from Continental allies.[66] The prevailing climate of fear among Dublin's Protestants was exacerbated by their minority status, at first within the country as a whole and later even within Dublin itself: Patrick Fagan has estimated that forty to fifty per cent of the city's population were Catholic at the beginning of the century, and that by the end of the century this had increased to around sixty per cent.[67]

By the middle of the century, the Jacobite threat had significantly faded, as France no longer supported the exiled Jacobite monarchs, and anti-Catholic legislation began to ease considerably. Nevertheless, a deep cultural and social divide remained between Catholics and Protestants in the city. As well as worshipping in Latin, a large number of Dublin's Catholics spoke Irish, and the city was even home to a number of well-known Gaelic poets.[68] Linguistic diversity was automatic cause for suspicion at a time when even operatic songs sung in Italian had been accused in the English press of potentially incorporating secret 'Popish' messages in an attempt to expose audiences to Catholicism without their knowledge.[69] Meanwhile, despite the relaxation of the ban on the

[65] Patrick Fagan, "The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century with Particular Reference to the Proportions of Protestants and Catholics," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 6 (1991), 149. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30070912.

[66] David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London: Profile Books, 2015), 107 and 145. Maureen Wall, *The Penal Laws 1691–1760: church and state from the Treaty of Limerick to the accession of George III* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1961).

[67] Fagan, "Population of Dublin," 156.

[68] Vincent Morley, *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017), 6.

[69] Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding and Claire Dubois, ed, *The Foreignness of Foreigners: Cultural Representations of the Other in the British Isles* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 21.

importation of Catholic literature, Catholic books and materials continued to be seized on flimsy pretexts of being 'treasonable', and 'cautionary warnings of the dangers popery posed' continued to appear in print.[70] Even in a more outwardly tolerant era, the perception of Catholicism as an inherently seditious and threatening force persisted in the minds of the Protestant population.

Protestant Unity

The existence of a 'common enemy' in Catholicism served to draw the various Protestant communities in the city closer together, despite their doctrinal differences.[71] Although Presbyterians, Baptists, and other nonconforming Protestants were, like Catholics, technically 'dissenters' from the established church, in practice they suffered very little discrimination in the city. For example, despite the Corporation Act officially preventing dissenters from holding public office, at least three Nonconformists, including the highly influential merchant and property developer Humphrey Jervis, held the office of Lord Mayor of Dublin prior to the passing of the Irish Toleration Act in 1719.[72] Even when conflict did occur between the Established church and the city's Nonconformists, a conciliatory attitude still generally prevailed; so Joseph Boyse, despite being embroiled in controversy in 1711 when some of his sermons were publicly burnt, nevertheless advocated for fellowship and unity between Protestants in his writings, including advocating for the cause of the Huguenot refugees. In contrast, Boyse reserved nothing but criticism for the Catholic church.[73] This is in line with David Dickson's observation that nonconforming Protestants were often harsher in their treatment of Catholics during this period than their conformist counterparts were.[74]

The case of the Huguenots is illustrative of the fraternal attitude which prevailed among the city's Protestants. Despite their refugee status and the refusal of many to conform to the established church, the Huguenots were warmly welcomed by Protestant society.[75] The Huguenot community enjoyed amicable relations with the established church, and even the nonconforming Huguenots were keen to position themselves on the Protestant side of the divide. Huguenot preachers in Ireland openly employed anti-Catholic rhetoric, and celebrated anti-Catholic church festivals such as Gunpowder Treason Day.[76] In this context of Protestant collegiality, the fact that metrical psalmody was effectively a shared tradition that united Protestants of all stripes takes on a greater significance. In effect, the tunes of the Dublin repertory can be said to constitute a wider, 'Protestant' musical culture rather than being restricted to any one sub-community; even

[70] Kelly, "Regulating print," 150.
[71] A notable exception were the Quakers, who were discriminated against and harassed by the city's other Protestants during this period. Dickson, *Dublin,* 90.
[72] Dickson, *Dublin*, 89–90.
[73] Kelly, "Regulating Print," 145. A. W. Godfrey Brown, *The Great Mr Boyse: A Study of The Reverend Joseph Boyse Minister of Wood Street Church, Dublin 1683–1728* (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1988), 17. Godfrey Brown, "Boyse, Joseph," ODNB.
[74] Dickson, *Dublin*, 90.
[75] Ibid., 113.
[76] Ruth Whelan, "Repressive Toleration: the Huguenots in early eighteenth-century Dublin," in *Toleration and religious identity: The Edict of Nantes and its implications in France, Britain and Ireland*, ed. Ruth Whelan and Carol Baxter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 179–195.

the Huguenots, legally classified as 'Strangers', were connected to this musical culture by the presence in the repertory of several French Genevan tunes.

As well as connecting Dublin's Protestants to one another, the psalm tune repertory also connected them with their co-religionists overseas. Again, the Huguenots serve as a useful case study: as members of a diaspora culture, participation in a musical tradition that was shared by other diaspora members all over the world helped to connect them with their fellow exiles in other countries. In addition, the centrality of psalm-singing to the Huguenots' own foundational myths—Huguenot battalions were said to have used psalms as battle hymns during the Wars of Religion—meant that continuing the same tradition of psalmody provided a link between eighteenth-century Huguenots and the historical events and narratives upon which their religious and community identity was built.[77]

For Dublin's anglophone Protestants, the psalm repertory in effect performed the same functions of geographic and temporal connection with a wider community. By far the most striking characteristic of the repertory is its lack of individuality: save for the very small number of original tunes and variants identified above, the tunes being sung in Dublin's parishes and meeting houses during the eighteenth century appear to have been virtually indistinguishable from those being sung in any parish church in Britain. To Dublin's Protestant community, who often felt isolated in a country where they were surrounded by what they perceived to be a hostile majority, the psalm repertory provided a direct link with their fellow churchgoers across the Irish sea. It also allowed them to participate in a venerable tradition of Protestant music-making that connected them directly with the Reformation-era origins of their church. In musical terms at least, Dublin's Protestants merited the description of them offered by John Wesley, who termed them 'English transplanted to another soil'.[78]

This internationally-shared culture was not restricted to the British Isles. The early modern period, and the eighteenth century in particular, was also an era in which England was emerging as an international power on a global scale. As the second largest city in the British Isles, a political capital, and a cultural and economic hub, Dublin was at the centre of a newly emerging global community, defined by its politics, its language, its mercantilism, and above all its Protestant religion.[79] By singing the same metrical psalms every Sunday to the same tunes that were being sung in far-flung British colonies, Dublin's Protestants could publicly affirm, in a small way, their membership of this exclusive international in-crowd.

[77] David J. B. Trim, "The Huguenots and the European Wars of Religion, c. 1560–1697: Soldiering in National and Transnational Context," in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context: Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*, ed. David J. B. Trim (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 153–192 (190).
[78] Cooney, *The Methodists in Ireland,* 39.
[79] Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 11. For more on the central role of Protestantism in British national identity, see: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

This page is intentionally left blank.

Appendix: Table of Tunes in Irish Sources

Tunes have been listed under their Hymn Tune Index Source Codes, as the names of tunes often differ between sources. Where a tune appears in the same source multiple times, this has been numerically indicated in the table; for sources in which each tune appears only once, the symbol "✓" has been used. The St Michan's books have been treated as one book for the purposes of this table, as their contents are almost identical (see footnote to tune 657d). Weyman's *Melodia Sacra* and the supplement to the *New Version* have been included for comparative purposes only; tunes which *only* appear in these sources are not listed here. Where these sources do not include a given tune, but do include a variant of it otherwise not listed in the table, a 'V' marking has been used.

'CM' stands for 'common metre' (8.6.8.6), 'DCM' for 'double common metre' (8.6.8.6.8.6.8.6), 'LM' for 'long metre' (8.8.8.8) and 'SM' for 'short metre' (6.6.8.6). 'LM x2' indicates that the long metre pattern is repeated twice (8.8.8.8.8.8.8.8).

HTI	*Metre*	**UC 4*	*Smith*	*Boyse*	*Bradley*	*Wesley*	*Michan's*	*Weyman*	*New Version*
93b	LM x2						1		V
109c	DCM						1		V
111a	LM		2						✓
111c	LM	2				✓			
113b	DCM						1	✓	✓
120c	DCM	5	10	4	✓	✓	1		V
123a	10.10.10.10.10	1	1						✓
126a	6.6.6.6.8.8	2	6	7	✓		1		✓
143a	LM	4	13	8	✓	✓	1	✓	✓
146a	LM x3	1	2	1	✓		4	V	✓
158b	DCM						1		✓
159a	DCM	1	10		✓				✓
160a	DCM						2		✓
166a	DCM	7							✓
201e	CM						1		✓
249a	CM	3					1		✓
250h	CM				✓				✓
269h	SM						3		✓
269j	SM	4	5	4	✓				
271a	CM	6	9	2	✓			✓	✓
271c	CM	3	13	4		✓			
276a	CM						1		✓
276d	SM					✓			
279c	CM						1		✓
288a	LM				✓				V
327b	CM						1		✓
330a	CM	1	7	4	✓				✓
331a	CM	1					1	✓	✓

HTI	*Metre*	**UC 4*	*Smith*	*Boyse*	*Bradley*	*Wesley*	*Michan's*	*Weyman*	*New Version*
368a	CM						1		✓
379c	CM	5					1	✓	✓
379f	CM		10	1	✓				
381b	CM	4					2		✓
387b	LM				✓				V
387e	LM					✓		✓	V
397b	CM	2							✓
400	CM				✓				
497b	CM	10	15	4	✓		3	✓	✓
509c	LM						3		✓
536a	CM	5	12	1	✓				✓
538	DCM						1		✓
542a	CM	11	26	5			1	✓	✓
548	LM				✓				
577	SM				✓				
582a	CM					✓	3	✓	✓
583	CM	2	14						
584	LM	1	1						
585	8.8.8.8.8.8	4	10	8	✓				
591	SM x2		3						
598a	LM					✓			
637	CM				✓				
655	DCM						1		✓
657d[80]	5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5						1*	V	V
663a	CM						1		✓
663b	CM				✓				
664a	CM				✓	✓	1	✓	✓
665	SM						1		✓
667a	LM x2						6		✓
668a	LM x2						6		✓
669a	DCM						5	✓	✓
670	DCM						1		✓
672a	DCM						2		✓
685d	11.11.11.11					✓		V	
694b	8.8.8.8.8.8					✓			
750b	CM				✓	✓			
794	CM				✓				
824	LM					✓			
846a	CM					✓		✓	
848b	SM					✓		✓	
995c	CM					✓			
1062a	CM				✓				
1064	CM				✓				
1424	6.6.6.6.8.8					✓			
1545	CM				✓				

[80] Tune 657d is the only tune that appears in just one of the two St Michan's books: the later volume, published in 1777.

HTI	*Metre*	**UC 4*	*Smith*	*Boyse*	*Bradley*	*Wesley*	*Michan's*	*Weyman*	*New Version*
1830a	LM					✓		V	
1934	CM					✓			
1935	7.7.7.7					✓			
1936a	CM					✓		✓	
1937	8.8.6.8.8.6					✓			

Bibliography

Primary Sources

St Michan's charity school minute book 1751–77. Manuscript. St Michan's Parish Records (P.0276.13). Representative Church Body Library, Dublin.

"Discipline pour l'Eglise," *c.* 1650. Photocopy of manuscript. Irish Huguenot Archive (IHA MS 90). Representative Church Body Library, Dublin.

A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages. London: printed; and to be had at all the Brethren's chapels, 1754. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

A collection of select Psalms for the use of parish-churches in general, but particularly intended for that of New St. Michan's in Dublin (Dublin: G. Bonham, for Thomas Stewart, 1777). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

A collection of tunes, suited to the various Metres in Mr Watt's Imitation of the Psalms of David, or Dr. Patrick's version; fit to be bound up with either. 2nd edition. London: W. Pearson for J. Clark, 1722. British Library A.1231.jj.

A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate. London: John Nutt, for James Holland, 1708. British Library 1220.g.4(2).

Boyse, Joseph. *Sacramental Hymns, Collected chiefly out of such Passages of the New Testament As contain the most sutable matter of Divine Praises in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper*. Dublin: Matthew Gunne, 1693.

———— *Family Hymns for morning and evening worship*. Dublin: J. Brent & S. Powell, 1701. Trinity College Library, Dublin OLS Xerox 6 no. 12.

Cantiques Sacrez pour les principals solemnitez Chrétiennes. Dublin: Samuel Powell, 1748. British Library 3438.g.54.

Cennick, John. *A collection of sacred hymns.* Fifth edition. Dublin: S. Powell, 1752. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

Latrobe, Christian Ignatius, and Samuel Webbe. *Hymn-tunes sung in the Church of the United Brethren.* London: J. Bland, 1775. Internet Archive. http://archive.org/details/ssunginc00latr.

Les Pseaumes de David Mis en vers François, avec la liturgie, le catechisme, & la confession de foi des églises reformées. Dublin: S. Powell, 1731. Trinity College Library, Dublin 42.ss.141.

One Hundred and Fifty Hymns, by Approved Authors, as set to music in the Pocket Edition of the Sequel to Weyman's Melodia Sacra. Dublin: Marcus Moses, c. 1830.

Select Psalms, for the use of the parish-church of New St Michan's, in Dublin. Dublin: S. Powell, 1752. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

Smith, Thomas. *The Psalms of David in Metre. Newly Translated with Amendments: by William Barton, M.A. And sett to the best Psalm-Tunes in Two Parts.* Dublin: J. Brent & S. Powell, for Peter Lawrence, [1698/99]. Early English Books Online.

———— *[An Edition of the Psalms, in the Version of Sternhold and Hopkins, with Melodies. The "Instructions concerning the Gammut" Signed: Thomas Smith.].* London?, [1700]. British Library A.1233.x.

Strype, John. *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster.* 1720. Accessed 24 June 2021. https://www.dhi.ac.uk/strype.

The Psalms of David in Metre. Collected out of the principal Versions now in Use. To which are Added, Hymns, particularly designed for the Lord's-Supper. Dublin: S. Powell for Abraham Bradley, 1740. Google Books.
https://books.google.ie/books?id=XRtavwEACAAJ. British Library 3436.g.24.

Wesley, John, and Charles Wesley. *A collection of hymns and sacred poems.* Dublin: S. Powell, 1749. Shelfmark Warr.1749, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pennsylvania.

Weyman, David. *Melodia Sacra or The Psalms of David, the Music Composed by the most celebrated Authors Ancient and Modern.* Dublin: George Allen, 1816.

Secondary Sources

Alayrac-Fielding, Vanessa and Claire Dubois. *The Foreignness of Foreigners: Cultural Representations of the Other in the British Isles.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015.

Boydell, Brian. *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760.* Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988.

Boydell, Barra. "St Michan's Church Dublin: The Installation of the Organ in 1725 and the Duties of the Organist." *Dublin Historical Record* 46, no. 2 (1993): 101–120. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30101037.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019.

Cooney, Dudley Levistone. *The Methodists in Ireland: A Short History.* Dublin: Columba Press, 2001.

Davison, Donald. "Hymns and Hymnology." In *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland,* edited by Harry White and Barra Boydell, 509–512. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013.

Dickson, David. *Dublin: The Making of a Capital* City. London: Profile Books, 2015.

Digges La Touche, J. J. *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin.* Dublin: A. Thom & Co., 1893.

Fagan, Patrick. "The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century with Particular Reference to the Proportions of Protestants and Catholics." *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 6 (1991): 121–156.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/30070912.

Ferguson, Kenneth. "Rocque's Map and the History of Nonconformity in Dublin: A Search for Meeting Houses." *Dublin Historical Record* 58, no. 2 (2005): 129–165.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/30101574.

Godfrey Brown, A. W. *The Great Mr Boyse: A Study of The Reverend Joseph Boyse Minister of Wood Street Church, Dublin 1683–1728*. Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1988.

———— "Boyse, Joseph, 1660–1728." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. 2004. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3151.

———— "Iredell, Francis, d. 1739." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. 2004.http://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/63662.

Grattan Flood, W. H. "Barton's Psalms (1698): The Earliest-Known Dublin-Printed Music Book." *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 2, no. 23 (1912): 246–9.

Hayden, Mary. "Charity Children in 18th-Century Dublin." *Dublin Historical Record* 5, no. 3 (1943): 92–107.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/30080114.

Hylton, Raymond. "Dublin's Huguenot Refuge: 1662–1817." *Dublin Historical Record* 40, no. 1 (1986): 15–25.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/30100772.

Kelly, James. "Regulating print: The state and the control of print in eighteenth-century Ireland." *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 23 (2008): 142–174.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/27806928.

Kinsella, Stuart. "Weyman, David." In *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland,* edited by Harry White and Barra Boydell, 1051–1052. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013.

Morley, Vincent. *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland.* Cork: Cork University Press, 2017.

Neary, Denise. "Music in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dublin churches." In *Irish Musical Studies IV*: *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part One,* edited by Patrick F. Devine and Harry White, 103–110. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996.

Pollard, Mary. *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550-1800.* London: Bibliographical Society, 2000.

Rainbow, Bernarr. "Fasola." *Grove Music Online.* 2001.
Schaff, Philip. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, volume 1. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994.

Seccombe, Thomas. “Weld, Isaac, 1774–1856.” Revised by Elizabeth Baigent. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition. 2004. doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28984.

Stanwood, Owen. “Between Eden and Empire: Huguenot Refugees and the Promise of New Worlds.” *The American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (2013): 1319–1344.

Temperley, Nicholas. *The Music of the English Parish Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

———— “The Old Way of Singing.” *The Musical Times* 120, no. 1641 (1979): 943, 945, 947.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/960801.

Temperley, Nicholas, Howard Slenk, Jan R. Luth, Margaret Munck, John M. Barkley, and R. Tosh. “Psalms, metrical.” *Grove Music Online.* 2001.

Trim, David J. B. “The Huguenots and the European Wars of Religion, c. 1560–1697: Soldiering in National and Transnational Context.” In *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context: Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*, edited by David J. B. Trim, 153–192. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Truron, Walterus. “The Rhythm of Metrical Psalm-Tunes.” *Music & Letters* 9, no. 1 (1928): 29–33.

Wall, Maureen. *The Penal Laws 1691–1760: church and state from the Treaty of Limerick to the accession of George III.* Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1961.

Westermayer, Paul. “Theology and Music for Luther and Calvin.” In *Calvin and Luther: The Continuing Relationship,* edited by R. Ward Holder, 51–62. Cambridge: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

Whelan, Ruth. “Repressive Toleration: the Huguenots in early eighteenth-century Dublin.” In *Toleration and religious identity: The Edict of Nantes and its implications in France, Britain and Ireland*, edited by Ruth Whelan and Carol Baxter, 179–195. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.

Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. *Early Modern Europe 1450–1789*. Second edition. *Cambridge History of Europe* series volume 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Other Databases and Websites

The Hymn Tune Index (https://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu).

Dublin Music Trade (www.dublinmusictrade.ie).

English Short Title Catalogue (http://estc.bl.uk/).

St Patrick’s Cathedral website (https://www.stpatrickscathedral.ie/).

Hymnary (https://hymnary.org/)