

*Why Should the Devil Have All the Best Tunes? -
20th Century Popular- and Folk-Style Church Music
in England*

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Why Should the Devil Have All the Best Tunes?

- 20th Century Popular- and Folk-Style Church Music in England

by S.H. Parry

This thesis charts the major developments of a neglected, and often trivialised, form of church music practised in England that owes its existence either partly or wholly to 20th century popular or folk music. The term 'popular- and folk-style church music' has been adopted to embrace this music. It subsumes a range of music practices which can be separated and categorised as discrete genres. The Introduction offers definitions of 'popular' and 'folk' and the usage of these terms in specific contexts is a reoccurring theme. Drawing from the field of popular music studies, the Introduction also considers how an inter-disciplinary perspective might be useful in studying contemporary church music.

In addition to identifying the primary developments in this corpus of music and the main protagonists who have helped shape its course, attention is given to locating the various sources and contexts from which this music has evolved. As part of an over-arching historical framework, the thesis highlights and discusses many of the most relevant criticisms that have been levelled at popular and folk styles of church music.

The thesis is divided into five main parts. The first concentrates on the birth of the popular church music movement in the mid 1950s (i.e. principally the exploits of Geoffrey Beaumont and the 20th Century Church Light Music Group), and related issues, as well as drawing attention to earlier forms of popular-style church music. In the second, further developments are identified in relation to this movement, such as the interest shown by professional musicians (most notably Malcolm Williamson), and there is also a broader consideration of the subject as a whole (e.g. Folk-Hymnody, Vatican II, Hymn Explosion, Youth Praise).

The third part addresses the influence of the 'Charismatic Movement' and its music, whilst also considering other factors that have been responsible for effecting change in contemporary church music. In the fourth, and penultimate section, the folk music and background of four Christian 'communities' (Celebration, Iona, Taizé and St Thomas More) are explored and likewise, in the fifth and final part, the music of 'Alternative Worship' is both investigated and contextualised.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Rationale

In a book published in 1995, *Charismatics and the Next Millennium*, its author, Nigel Scotland, concludes:

the charismatic movement is the fastest growing force and section of the church in the United Kingdom. It also represents the largest group of evangelicals in England. For these reasons it will also make an increasing contribution to wider Christian church and the universal mission of Jesus in the next millennium (:270).

The 'Charismatic Movement' has been responsible for some of the most radical changes in Christian worship over the last thirty years and even if some are still unfamiliar with the phrase there are surely few who remain oblivious to the movement's impact and influence. Nowhere have these been more manifest than in the realm of worship music. The result has been the rapid growth of a form of contemporary Christian song, the musical style of which, in contrast to 'traditional hymnody', clearly belongs to the 20th century. This musical style is most often described as 'soft-rock' and the songs are now commonly referred to as 'choruses' or 'worship songs'.

Alongside the proliferation of songs have been a plethora of song collections to contain them, most notably *Songs of*

Fellowship, Mission Praise, Spring Harvest and *Let's Praise!*. But search as you may for a published academic appraisal of these developments of any substance, much of the commentary has been confined to magazine articles or books dealing more broadly with the Charismatic Movement, such as the one cited above.

Turning to the subject of 20th century 'popular- and folk-style church music'¹ more generally, the position is a similar one. Reference is made to this subject area in most of the major works on church music that have been published in the last forty years. Erik Routley, in particular, gives it generous space in *Twentieth Century Church Music* (1964), Kenneth Long writes of 'the folk-song influence', 'the jazz influence' and 'pop music in church' in *The Music of the English Church* (1972), and Nicholas Temperley also refers to it in the context of *The Music of the English Parish Church* (1983). More recently, Andrew Wilson-Dickson has dedicated a chapter to 'the popular stream' in his book, *The Story of Christian Music* (1992), later expanded in the revised and re-named edition, *A Brief History of Christian Music* (1997). However, in all of these accounts, popular and folk-style church music is viewed in the overall context of church or Christian music. There is also the feeling (especially in the work of Kenneth Long) that within this context popular and folk-style church music is thought of as something of an anomaly rather than as a legitimate strand of church music worthy of serious consideration.

Whereas, for example, the subject of traditional hymnody

¹ For the sake of clarity, the hyphen attached to popular will now be omitted.

has been explored in a good number of authoritative books, nowhere it seems is popular and folk-style church music addressed in any detail as a subject in its own right; a fact all the more surprising given the enormous growth of this form of church music during the last thirty years and its impact in churches throughout the UK. In searching for reasons for this one could offer academic snobbery as a likely possibility. Another could be that scholars perhaps feel that they are today too close to contemporary history to achieve sufficient detachment. 'But', as Tosh points out in *The Pursuit of History*,

although the job cannot be done as well as historians would like, it is important that they do it to the best of their ability. For it is the recent past on which people draw most for historical analogies and predictions, and their knowledge of it needs to be soundly based if they are to avoid serious error. The recent past has also often provided a fertile breeding ground for crude myths - all the more powerful when their credibility is not contested by scholarly work. Academic neglect of contemporary history therefore has dangerous consequences (1991:27).

Furthermore,

the selection of themes for research should be influenced by a sensitivity to those areas of current concern which stand most in need of a historical perspective (ibid:28).

The contents of this thesis, therefore, represent at the very least a sincere attempt to redress the balance, offered as they are not in a spirit of divisiveness (pro-modern/anti-traditional) but as a means of further understanding both this form of music and church music generally. It was, however, personally speaking, an initial interest in the types of songs mentioned above, coupled with a preliminary investigation that first led

to this thesis being written.

As a member of a fairly traditional Baptist church my earliest recollections of congregational singing as a non-musician were uninspiring. A selection of hymns extracted from *The Baptist Hymn Book* would be accompanied by the organ in a similar fashion from week to week. Participation in singing was respectable though rarely stirring. However, things were to change. Having taken up the guitar at sixteen my awareness and perception of music sharpened significantly.

My first realisation of the existence of a different kind of 'hymn' was at mid-week house groups; a time when members of the youth group would meet for fellowship. The guitar would invariably be used to accompany these modern hymns and it was on these occasions that I had my first direct musical input assisting in this function. Around this time a church music group formed (piano, keyboards, guitars, occasionally drums and percussion) of which I was also a part. The group would be invited from time to time to lead the congregation in the singing of the new hymns. The source of these pieces was a book called *Mission Praise* which the church had recently purchased, not to oust the existing hymn book - as in some churches - but to act as a supplement to it. Although, musically speaking, the church still existed on a staple diet of 'traditional hymnody', ^δ a new ^{out} (at least to me) strain of melody, harmony and rhythm was taking hold, particularly amongst the younger generations; a strain which seemed somehow more relevant, more familiar, and a phenomenon that was apparently reverberating around the country.

It was around this time that I became aware of a related issue. Up until this point I had not really considered that there was a right or wrong form of music. As a musician I was able to both perform and appreciate a variety of styles of music, but without necessarily 'valuing' one over another above that of merely taste. It soon became apparent that there were those who did think this way as the performance of popular and folk-style church music did not meet with universal approval.

I was by now sufficiently motivated to begin exploring contemporary church music in more detail, but in my search for information I was met with continual disappointment. There appeared to be no one published source of any substance that was dedicated solely to popular or folk-style church music, or at least none that answered the kind of questions that I was interested in: where did these songs originate? how long had they been around? what forces had been responsible for their instigation and dissemination? and so on. To gain even a cursory understanding of this music I found myself consulting a good number of written sources and individuals (church musicians, ministers...), an exercise which although interesting and informative, was also time-consuming and expensive (many publications needed to be purchased). There was, therefore, a clear need for all this information to be collated and assessed.

However, by this time my interest had extended beyond the music of the Charismatic Movement. 'Alternative Worship', for example, was a term increasingly being used from around 1991 to describe what was rapidly becoming a movement and, as is often

the case, it was being accompanied by its own form of worship music which, interestingly for me, was not only popular in style but current sounding, unlike the easy listening, somewhat bland popular-style of the Charismatic Movement. This itself presented an entirely new set of problems and questions: was there, for instance, any relationship between these two types of music? What other forms of popular-style church music were there? etc. There was, as will now be anticipated, even less information available on Alternative Worship than the music of the Charismatic Movement.

Form and Method

Given the lack of research into this whole area, it seemed more appropriate to present an over-arching study than a monograph on a specific topic. A historical overview would prove extremely useful, not only for providing a chronological impression for the benefit of future research (i.e. a framework of reference) but it would also afford insights 'across the board' that may otherwise remain concealed. It is, however, necessary to point out that this framework is not strictly chronological, but has been conceived more as a sequencing of topics and developments, the order of which has been governed as much, if not more, by their impact than by their initiation. There are, as a result, sections and even chapters that overlap to some degree.

In addressing the main contents of the thesis more precisely, the principal aim of the study has been to locate, chart and consider the main developments of a form of church music that in

the main owes its existence either partly or wholly to 20th century popular or folk music. There is, it needs adding, evidence in a number of contexts of the influence of more traditional forms of folk music. It must also be understood that the phrase that has been coined to embrace this body of music, i.e. 'popular and folk-style church music', subsumes a range of music practices which can be separated and categorised as discrete genres.

In terms of method, a number of approaches have been adopted, the implementation of each governed to a greater or lesser extent by the subject matter in hand. There are, for example, a number of topics (e.g. 'Songs of Christian Communities', Ch.5) that have been heavily contextualised in order to gain a deeper understanding of the music, such as what factors have inspired its formation and helped shape its development. On other occasions (e.g. Beaumont's *20th Century Folk Mass*), the analysis of music scores has proved useful in illustrating more specifically the influence of popular or folk music. There is also, in the case of Sydney Carter's 'folk-hymnody', a consideration of both music and words. Due to the contentious nature of church music, it has also been an aim to highlight the most pertinent and frequently voiced criticisms that have surfaced throughout the years.

The locution that has been borrowed for the title of this thesis, 'Why should the Devil have all the best tunes?', is one which is purported to have been uttered by a number of leading

churchmen over the centuries (e.g. Luther, Wesley, Booth).² But, on a point of clarification, their instinct was more for the appropriation of existing popular and folk tunes for the benefit of making church music more familiar and accessible. While the sentiment remains, the emphasis in this thesis is on the appropriation of popular and folk styles.

The time frame for the main subject area falls somewhat conveniently, and approximately, between the dates 1955 - 1995. There are examples of popular and folk-style church music that were used earlier in the 20th century such as gospel hymnody and children's choruses, and attention is in fact drawn to these at the beginning of chapter two. But it is not until the mid 20th century that there is a clearly recognisable movement (i.e. 'popular church music movement') to appropriate secular popular music styles for use in formal corporate worship in England. It is, therefore, this and subsequent developments that have been focused upon most.

In considering popular and folk-style church music, the subject of popular music studies is of course implicated. Understanding this, it is worth then exploring what tools this discipline has to offer. One particularly prominent feature of 'popular music studies' which can be effectively applied elsewhere is its inter-disciplinary approach. As an introduction to how an inter-disciplinary perspective might be helpful in considering popular and folk-style church music, a number of pertinent examples are now highlighted. There will in addition be more

² See Ch.2, p.69.

discussion on the topics introduced below at various points throughout the thesis.

Sociology

Composers are often caricatured, especially in classical music, as being solitary, even tortured souls. Granted, this is a stereotypical view but it does seem that when it comes to the business of writing music there is almost a celebration of the composer, not as a social being, but as a lone figure grappling with the complexities of expressing himself through music. When it comes to listening to music via CDs and tapes, although it may be argued that this can never be a completely solitary practice (in that it involves responding to other, albeit disembodied, human beings) modern technology (stereos, Walkmans, etc) does enable music to be experienced in the privacy of one's own personal space. Despite these comparatively rare moments of intimacy music practice remains for the majority very much a social affair in terms of production, broadcasting, performance and most of all participation (e.g. concerts, worship, discos, football matches). It is partly because of the recognition of this fact that 'the academic study of pop and rock music is rooted in sociology, not musicology' (Frith and Goodwin 1990:1). Another reason is that

not only does traditional musicology refuse to acknowledge popular culture, but it also disdains the very questions that scholars of rock want to pursue: How are particular effects achieved in music? How does music produce social meaning? How do music and society interrelate (McClary and Walser 1990:280).

In search for answers to these question popular music studies

has blossomed, from its inception in sociology departments in the 1950s to its development alongside that of subcultural theory, cultural studies, semiotics, linguistics, psychology, political economy and musicology.³

The fact that traditional musicology has often neglected to scrutinise the inter-relationships between music and society does not mean, of course, that they do not exist. A good example in traditional church music of how social grounding can exert an influence is in the control editors have over the contents of hymnbooks. Equally influential can be the 'voice' of the congregation. For instance, one of the first developments of note in the 20th century concerning hymnody came with the revision of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1904. The changes to this hymnal were welcomed in some quarters but, in *A Hundred Years of Hymns Ancient & Modern*, W.K.L. Clarke considers that 'the most important reason for the comparative failure of the book was its attempt to introduce high literary and musical standards' (1960:75). It was largely rejected by the people who are often in these matters the ultimate arbitrators. Or, as Erik Routley puts it:

there's a distinction between what people, because of their social background, choose to sing, and what editors, whose background may be very different, offer them (Routley in Adey 1988:71).⁴

Despite this rather conspicuous example, the relationship between music and society, or more specifically music and

³ See *On Record* (Frith and Goodwin 1990) for an introduction to the academic study of popular music. See also Middleton 1990, Shuker 1994 and Negus 1996.

⁴ Adey quotes this from a correspondence between himself and Routley.

(sub)culture, is often a more complex one which has necessitated the formation of new concepts (e.g. 'homology',⁵ 'musical competence',⁶ 'intersubjectivity', 'interobjectivity',⁷ 'principle of articulation').⁸ While such theories are not considered in detail in this thesis the contextual approach that has been applied has proved significant in revealing the interrelationships between sociological factors and the course of popular and folk-style church music.

Economics

The music industry is a multi-billion dollar global enterprise comprising many parts (artists, businesses, the media, etc). Part of the reason for the enormous wealth generated by this industry has been its gradual diversification over past decades. Record companies, which lie at the very heart of the industry, no longer consider themselves as merely that, but as full blown entertainment industries with interests in film, video, television, books, magazines, games, T-shirts, posters, sponsorship and product endorsement. Their major 'commodity' is still, however, popular music, which to emphasise the corporate nature of the industry, is produced, manufactured and distributed by only a small number of major companies (Negus 1992:1 and Shuker 1998:182).⁹

While the music industry provides an extremely important

⁵ See Hebdige 1979 and Willis 1978.

⁶ See Stefani 1987.

⁷ See Tagg 1999.

⁸ See Middleton 1990:passim.

⁹ For an account of the American popular music business see Sanjek 1988.

service in generating employment and economic growth (let alone in supplying the consumer with a vast array of music from around the world), cultural commentators have been scathing of its commercial thrust when evaluating its chief 'product' (e.g. Adorno 1941, Bloom 1987). It is this concept of popular music as a commodity or product that has also conspired against it in comparisons with classical music; the latter often referred to as 'art music' and so therefore part of high-culture, the former due to its inextricable link with 'mass-culture' part of low-culture. Add to this the connotations of sexual promiscuity and drug taking, and the phrase 'popular music' takes on an even more unsavoury tone for some. While none of this information is untrue it is all a question of perspective, which is why popular music scholars have been so keen to apply new approaches and draw on other disciplines so as to offer a far broader (and more accurate) understanding of this music.

It is due to different perspectives that Christians have become involved with the music industry, despite a barrage of criticism. In America the 'Contemporary Christian Music' (CCM) or Gospel Music scene now accounts for 6.3.% of US record sales and continues to grow. It is also the fifth most popular genre in the US market and has its own Billboard-Chart (Wider 1999:7). In Europe, CCM has had nothing like the same impact, although recent research suggests that it is a growth industry (ibid:65). The terms Contemporary Christian Music and Gospel Music, it needs clarifying, are not clearly defined terms and can be used in an all encompassing manner (i.e. to refer to any Christian-

oriented text married to a popular music style).¹⁰ However, the focus with these terms today (especially with the abbreviation CCM) tends to be on Christian music produced for the wider commercial market than that intended for corporate worship. For the sake of clarity at least one modern writer (Frame 1997) has adopted the term 'Contemporary Worship Music' (CWM) to describe the latter.

An added problem in trying to differentiate between church music and Christian music of a more commercial nature is that for some time now church music has been getting increasingly more commercial itself. Modern song collections¹¹ now abound (regularly up-dated by way of sequels or supplements) and worship leaders and songs writers have progressively become more involved in recording, performing, broadcasting, touring, leading seminars and conferences and writing books. Around the popularity of modern worship music something of an industry has developed. The growth of Christian Copyright Licensing International (CCLI) may, for example, be viewed as a reflection of this. From its humble beginnings in Portland, Oregon it now serves over 150,000 churches. Known in the UK as Christian Copyright Licensing (Europe) Ltd (CCLE), it offers fellowships the option to photocopy words and music from authorised catalogues. CCLE supports and resources over 28,000 churches, schools

¹⁰ Steve Miller, in his book *The Contemporary Christian Music Debate*, deals with both modern worship music and commercial Christian rock/pop music (1993). In July 1998 the Gospel Music Association (GMA) issued a fairly inclusive definition of gospel music as criteria for Dove awards eligibility: (online at <http://www.gospelmusic.org/>).

¹¹ These have in turn spawned many other related music books such as instrumental arrangements and those offering advice on *Playing the Keyboard in Worship* (Townend 1993).

and organisations within the UK representing over 41,000 active licenses.¹²

It is not until browsing through one of the many Christian magazines that the full extent of the worship music business is realised. Besides reviewing the latest music books and CDs, *Worship Together*, for instance, (which heralds itself as 'The Resource Magazine for Worship Leaders, Pastors and Musicians') advertises a whole range of musical hardware along with conference and tour dates. Advice is also freely given on a range of topics from songwriting, performing and arranging to vocal technique, improvisation, PAs and mixing; which would seem to indicate that the heightened commercial activity has engendered an air of professionalism. It is, furthermore, apparent that churches are becoming more and more hi-tech. The number of magazine articles in recent years concerning midi and notation software is an indication of the growth of computer-aided worship. The internet is also becoming an increasingly important resource for reviewing, listening, researching and downloading a diverse selection of worship music material.¹³

One of the questions that this raises for the work in hand relates to the relationship between economic forces and the production and dissemination of church music. The popularity of contemporary worship songs and choruses, for instance, has contributed to a massive growth in the commercial distribution of

¹² *Copyright Licensing and the Church* (CCLE, 2000).

¹³ For example, see: www.worshiptogether.com - features include free songs to download, interactive sheet music, conference and live event information, Email discussion groups and digital downloads.

this material which has in turn opened up new markets such as recording and Christian Copyright Licensing, or expanded existing ones like publishing. While there is no disputing the commercial success of such ventures there is in the mind of some a genuine concern that quality has suffered as a result. This subject is addressed again later in Chapter 4, but it is an issue constantly worth bearing in mind as it affects, albeit to varying degrees, the entire gamut of contemporary church music.

Acoustics

The academic study of acoustics is a complex and technical one but for the most part, especially as it concerns the musician, it relates to (i) the ^{env on} varying suitability of rooms/buildings for music and speech, and (ii) the ^{tr n m sound} production, properties and transmission of sound. It might also be added here that acoustics are not only of relevance to the physicist and musician but to the audience too. An excessive amount of reverberation can cause both speech and music to become blurred and unintelligible. On the other hand too little reverberation leads to a room being deemed acoustically 'dead', and unsatisfactory both for performing and listening to music. Moreover, the audience alone, in its capacity to absorb sound, can significantly affect the acoustic of a building.

There is no dispute about how important the acoustics of a building are, not only in influencing the sound that a listener hears but in affecting the quality of a musical performance too, so much so that there are 'many orchestras, bands and solo

artists who will not play in certain auditoria which do not have acoustics to their liking' (Campbell and Greated 1987:525). From a musical perspective the most important aspect of a room/building is its 'time of reverberation' (TOR), i.e. the rate of decay following the cessation of the sound source. There are a range of factors that determine the TOR of a building, such as its size, shape, furnishings and building materials; all of which have a direct affect, for better or worse, on the performance of music. However, where the acoustics of a particular building may be detrimental to some forms of musical performance they may enhance other forms. For example,

a shorter time of reverberation seems most suited to chamber music and to speech; a longer time of reverberation to orchestral music, and a still longer time of reverberation to choral music. This is, of course, what we should expect. Chamber music depends for its appeal largely on accuracy and precision - choral music depends rather on the massiveness of its effects (Wood 1944:233).

It would seem to follow then that the acoustics of a building will have some bearing on the decision making process concerning what style and form of music is performed in, and composed for, that enclosure. 'Composers in a particular period', writes John Rigden, 'have had certain structures available to them and in many instances they wrote with a specific acoustical environment in mind' (1977:207). The fact that the Wagner Opera Theatre, for instance, is more conducive to Wagner's music than Mozart's or Verdi's 'emphasizes', in the opinion of Alexander Wood, 'the relationship of music to the building in which it is produced' (1944:246).

Having gained some understanding of the relationship bet-

ween music and environment it now seems appropriate to ask what are the implications for 20th century church music written in a popular or folk style? The first and perhaps most crucial point to bear in mind here is context. As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, popular and folk-style church music has been cultivated in and composed for a variety of settings - all with their own acoustical properties. And just as the acoustics of different settings varies so will its influence on the music designed for that space, but not necessarily in any direct proportion. In other words the role of acoustics will vary depending on a range of factors (musical and otherwise), each exerting a greater or lesser influence based on that particular context. At times, for example, practical considerations outweigh those of acoustics. Nevertheless, whether the influence is great or small, or conscious or unconscious, the acoustic character of a worship environment will play a role and may help to explain the nature of particular forms of popular and folk-style church music.¹⁴

The other main branch of acoustics, cited above, is that dealing with the production, properties and transmission of sound. It is also worthy of consideration because of the relationship between the acoustical features of an instrument and the way in which it used in practical music making (Campbell and Greated 1987:3), and in composing. The way in which sounds are produced; the level of attack, sustain and decay; the timbre;

¹⁴ See Ch.4. p.142, and Ch.6. p.298.

the dynamic range and the various effects (e.g. harmonics, flutter tonguing) that can be produced on an instrument, all these determine its musical role and the type of compositions written for it.

Semiotics

Semiotics is a 'philosophical term for the theory or logic of signs' (Gray 1992:259). It has now come to be used as a synonym for semiology, a word devised by Ferdinand de Saussure, for the study of all patterned communication systems, e.g. fashion, architecture, music, literature. The keyword in the above sentence is 'sign' which is used in semiotics to describe an object, gesture, action, noise, etc., that is intended to convey information (denote/connote).¹⁵ Any given sign generally consists of two elements, a signifier (the actual word, noise, or 'statement' itself) and signified (what it is meant to represent or convey).

Music semiotics, therefore, is the study of music as a 'sign system', i.e. the attempt to interpret, explain, decode...the meaning of music. The first thing to understand about music semiotics is that it is an evolving theoretical science which, as Richard Middleton noted in 1990, is 'young and under-developed,' and which, moreover, 'has paid virtually no attention to popular music' (:172).¹⁶ However, since then there has been valuable work carried out, and particularly by popular music

¹⁵ denote - a sign's 'primary' meaning (e.g. mouse = small long-tailed rodent).

connote - a sign's 'secondary' meanings/ associations (e.g. mouse = timid).

¹⁶ Due to this Middleton does in this text (1990) 'suggest ways of applying music-semiological principles to popular music' (:172).

scholars,¹⁷ because of the very nature of popular music studies. One of the most obvious difficulties to overcome for those wishing to study popular music is how to describe/transcribe musical parameters that have not traditionally been notated or do not lend themselves to traditional musical notation (e.g. electric guitar effects). 'What popular music has instead of a score is, of course, recorded performance - the thing itself, completely fleshed out with all its gestures and nuances intact' (Frith and Goodwin 1990:282). 'But', as Frith and Goodwin go on to point out,

what would seem to be an indisputable advantage over notation converts to a disadvantage only because analytic methods are still tied to those aspects of music that can be fixed or accounted for in notation (ibid).

The inadequacy of notation as a sole means of studying popular music does, of course, have direct implications for popular and folk-style church music. There is, therefore, some further discussion on this subject later in the thesis.¹⁸

Although a systematic approach to music semiotics is beyond the scope of this thesis, many of the techniques that are being developed in this field could be useful in helping to further understand church music. To give an example of this, the concept of 'semiosis' is now briefly outlined.

Semiosis deals with how signs acquire and change their meaning. Instruments are a good example of how the relationship between music and meaning can be both arbitrary and transient.

¹⁷ See, for example, Tagg 1999.

¹⁸ See Ch.2. p.56 and Ch.4 p/76.

The violin, which is today considered perhaps to be the quint-essential classical instrument, was once considered to be somewhat vulgar and regarded more as a dance instrument, rather like saxophones were in the 1920s and 1930s (Hutchings 1964:34). In the context of Christian worship this relationship between signifier and signified has been particularly potent. Although orchestral instruments are now commonplace in churches at one time the flute and the oboe were regarded as

erotic instruments, the trumpet bellicose, and the organ, theatrical. Thus, it was to reject the profane and to defend the sanctity of Christian worship that the church Fathers excluded all the instruments in use in their day (Gelineau 1964:151).

Similarly, and more recently in 1903, Pius X prohibited the use of the piano in church because of its association with the variety hall, dance, and so on. Today it is electric guitars and drums that provide the contention.

However, while it is clear that musical signs are dependent on their historical and cultural context, it is also possible that they may be interpreted differently within the same context. Take the broad field of contemporary church music, for instance, which is noted for its eclectic nature. It increasingly draws not only on worship music from other countries (e.g. Taizé), but on musical structures from many secular styles too (e.g. Latin/rock rhythms), along with their attendant denotations/connotations. Whereas on the one hand this may be interpreted positively - e.g., connoting the universality of Christianity and rejoicing in making church music more contemporaneous/accessible - it may on another be regarded negatively -

e.g., loss of identity and succumbing to worldly influence (rock rhythms = rock music = sexual promiscuity, drugs, etc.). The impact of a musical sign therefore when transferred from one context to another is variable, even within the same culture and at any given time.

Furthermore, not only will a 'transplanted' musical sign modify its new musical context but it may itself become modified. It may become so integrated in its new setting as to act as a 'style indicator'¹⁹ in that context. For example, within Christian worship, rock rhythms and harmonies are now far less inclined to denote rock music than to identify a particular strand of modern church music, generically entitled 'worship songs'. The emphasis in studying the semiosis of musical signs should then be on both synchronic and diachronic analysis. It also needs adding that that however useful semiotics, more generally, might be in understanding how music is meaningful, if any musical sign is to be at all effective in conveying information then listeners will have had to be privy to the conditioning process that enables musical signs to embody meaning.

Politics

Alongside sociological, economic and semiotic readings, popular music studies has become increasingly open to political

¹⁹ Style indicators are musical structures that are recognised in a culture as representing a particular style (e.g. the repeated broken octave/'walking' bass figures that signify 'boogie-woogie'). For more on this and other sign types see Tagg 1999.

inquiry.²⁰ Take rock music for example. 'Rock's relationship to orthodox politics', writes David Rowe,

is complex and uneven, ranging historically from direct political intervention to repudiations of its political significance. The less tangible but more extensive concept of cultural politics has been more consistently associated with rock music and culture, although here the political dimension is tied more closely to personal rather than programmatic politics. As a consequence, ideologies of symbolic resistance and identity are open to much broader, often conflicting interpretations (1995:50).

While providing a brief insight into the political world of rock music, Rowe's comments also reveal how intricate and wide ranging a subject it is, encompassing anything from the political engagement of 'protest music' to rock music's censorship.²¹

The use of protest music, as such, is not a subject under review in this thesis, although attention is drawn to Christian communities like 'Iona' and 'Celebration,' whose mission includes engaging in political and social issues. A related theme that does run through this thesis is the use of music in religious movements and evangelism. It is interesting to note here how music is used in a similar way (and with similar problems encountered) by other proselytising causes, such as the temperance, scout and socialist movements. More recently in the mid 1980s (i.e. 'Red Wedge'), rock music was used to try and 'mobilize the British youth vote in favour of the Labour Party and against the strident right-wing politics of Margaret Thatcher' (ibid). While the role and philosophy of music may be very different, there a number of parallels that can be drawn between

²⁰ See, for example, Frith 1983, Street 1986 and Denselow 1989.

²¹ See Cloonan 1993.

movements within and beyond the Church. One particularly pertinent example is the perception of contradictions between message and method. In the context of Red Wedge, David Rowe explains:

while acts like Style Council and Billy Bragg had substantial followings, political divisions between participants and discomfort at 'proselytization' through entertainment were evident (1995:51).²²

Within other movements, attempts at creating a musical identity (by sounding non-commercial in the case of socialist movements) while trying to be 'popular' in an inclusive sense have been problematical also. Similar contradictions have plagued the use of popular-style music in contemporary worship. Dr Peter Masters, a pastor, writes:

Even if it were possible to produce a purified, modified version of today's carnal, pop-idiom music, it would be wrong for Christians to use it in worship and witness because of its unhallowed, worldly associations (1983:7).

However, despite the difficulties that Masters draws attention to with using secular music in church, pop-idiom music is used extensively within worship throughout England, and now even has the support of George Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury:

Music - whether traditional or contemporary - can be the means of bringing people into contact with the things of God...we are well aware of the drawing power of rock musicians and pop-artists who appeal to the young. The Church cannot afford to be distant from these forms or contemptuous of those who have gifts to influence youth culture (Carey 1994:91).

Such opposing views demonstrate just how divisive popular and folk-style church music can be, which raises another topic that is highlighted in this thesis - censorship. This includes both

²² See also Denselow 1989:220.

attempts within the Church establishment to control the use of music in worship and more general pronouncements by religious commentators on the dangers of rock music and its encroachment on church life. This section on politics ends the introduction to an interdisciplinary perspective. Issues resulting from the above accounts will be re-addressed at appropriate points in the thesis.

Terminology

It may come as a relief to discover that the nature of this thesis is not one that leads to widespread use of technical jargon, although there are obviously various standard musical words and phrases used in the analysis of scores, etc. There is, however, one frequently used phrase that needs some explanation: 'popular and folk-style church music'. To begin with, what is meant by church music? Without restricting myself unnecessarily, or perhaps unrealistically, I intend my use of 'church music' to mean music used in formal corporate worship within the main historic Christian denominations in England, including Roman Catholic. Some of this music may not have originated in these places, or even in the UK, but the main criterion for the inclusion of any type of music in this thesis is related to the level of impact that it has had in England. There have been some self-imposed restrictions to prevent the subject base becoming too broad and unmanageable. Although it quite possible that the phrase popular and folk-style church music could be used to embrace all types of church music that have been influenced by

popular or folk music, the focus in this thesis is centred on congregational music - the people's part in divine service. This is the area which has been by far the most affected by these styles and, moreover, the one which symbolises in a sense the movement to use specifically popular²³ and folk²⁴ styles in Christian worship. The phrase may extend to forms (e.g. folk mass, responses) that include the services of a cantor or perhaps choir but again here the emphasis is very much on the participation of 'the people'. To this end the main subject matter relates essentially to choruses, (worship) songs and hymns.

It is as well to be aware that the term 'chorus' has, in church music, a number of applications such as the repeated section of a hymn (otherwise known as the refrain), a group of singers, or a piece written for a choir. In modern worship music parlance it is chiefly used to describe a solitary verse (although one or part of one line may change) which may be reiterated from as few as twice to as many as ten times. This is distinct from a 'worship song' which has multiple verses (and which may have a refrain too) and is musically more extended. 'The most common structure for a song is ABA', writes David Fellingham in discussing modern Christian songs and songwriting, and so many worship songs consequently reflect this. Binary form (AB) is also common. ABACA and ABCBA are less so, although they are nonetheless 'effective structures for songs', advises Fell-

²³ 'popular was originally a legal term, from *popularis*, - belonging to the people' (Williams 1988:236).

²⁴ 'folk is one of the variant spellings of a word common to the old Teutonic languages...it had a general meaning of 'people' (Williams 1988:136).

ingham (1987:136).

The use of the term 'hymn' is more complex, because of its variable applications. The 20th Century Church Light Music Group, for example, used it in the 1960s to describe their popular-style settings of traditional texts by Wesley, Watts, and others. The term is also used, as in folk-hymnody, to describe modern compositions (of various forms) that have been written by a single author. There is in addition both 'traditional' and 'contemporary' hymnody, where most often words and music are written by different authors and where texts almost without exception follow a set metre (e.g. CM, SM, LM). However, as this thesis is concerned chiefly with music, one important general distinction to be made is that between popular and folk-style arrangements (be they entitled hymns, choruses or worship songs) and traditional hymn settings: the former characterised by a melody/accompaniment style, frequent use of added 7th chords (added 6th, Dom 9th, 13th, Aug, Dim, sus4, etc. chords also) a slow harmonic progression and varied rhythm; the latter characterised by quick harmonic movement, four-part harmony, staid rhythm and less elaborate chord types.

Although it is clear from the definitions just given that modern Christian songs bear many traits typical of secular popular songs, there are a number of underlying general questions of intrinsic musical difference between popular songs (i.e. solo function) and choruses, worship songs and hymns (i.e. corporate function). The essence of congregational music is its potential to unite the masses. In order to do this the tessi-

tura, rhythm and melodic line need to be of a kind that the average person can manage. Given that this is somewhat at odds with many popular songs which may include, for example, elaborate melisma, sustained phrases supported by vibrato, syncopation, falsetto, portamento, etc., the alliance between popular music and congregational singing does not appear to be an ideal one.

The first thing to point out is that the most conspicuous influence of popular music on congregational music lies not so much in the tune but in the harmonies and arrangement, features which cause few problems in performance. Effects such as melisma and falsetto are clearly more problematical and so as a rule have not been drawn on. Rhythmic features like syncopation and dotted note values have been utilised but their use particularly with early popular and folk-style church music has in the main been quite subtle. Syncopation has, however, become increasingly more complex, but it has not caused as many problems as might be anticipated. Congregations whose members have been reared on popular music and have been subject to modern church music over a sustained period cope remarkably well. Others do not, it needs adding, which has contributed to the controversy that still surrounds popular and folk-style church music.

There have more recently²⁵ been attempts to adapt dance music (i.e. house, techno, etc) for congregational use, a development beset with its own sort of problems. The tempo of much of

²⁵ See Ch.6, Alternative Worship.

this form of dance music, for example, has been found in many instances to be inappropriate for corporate singing. It is, also, a form with traditionally little lyric content. Furthermore, it does not lend itself to small group worship. In the case of the latter, this was resolved by one Alternative Worship group by adopting a related style, Ambient music, for house worship. Despite such difficulties, the popular style, in its various guises, has not only been successfully adapted for congregational use but it has also been widely embraced, as this thesis will demonstrate.

'Popular and folk-style church music', then, is church music, as defined above, that has been in some form or another influenced by popular or folk music. But what is popular music? And what is folk music? In dealing first with popular music there appears in everyday discourse to be few problems - 'everyone seems to know intuitively what is meant by the term' (Jones and Rahn quoted in Shepherd 1985:85:) - but try as you may to form a definition and the term becomes frustratingly elusive. One of the primary reasons for this is due to the assumption that 'because a label exists, the phenomenon signified by the label also has a full, discrete and objective existence' (Shepherd 1985:86). 'It is often forgotten', Shepherd goes on to remind us, 'that labels and categories of understanding arise in real, living social situations' (ibid). What is meant by popular music (and for that matter folk), therefore, has and will continue to be affected by differing current and past usage, all of which conspire against the imposition of a single finite

definition.

Given that the issues which make popular music difficult to define continue to occupy the minds of popular music scholars, as well as the space and thought this subject has already received,²⁶ the intention here is not to offer a new overarching proposal for the term but to form instead a working definition for the purpose of this thesis. As a starting point for this it would seem appropriate to begin with the word 'popular'. In his book *Keywords* Raymond Williams informs us that 'popular was originally a legal term, from *popularis*, - belonging to the people' (1988:236). However, from the 16th century there crept in a sense of 'low' or 'base'. There followed a transition to the pre-dominant modern meaning of 'widely favoured' (C18) or 'well liked' (c. C19) although interestingly carrying along with it a strong 'calculated' sense of courting favour. In the mid-20th century (middle third) the abbreviation 'pop' became a common way of referring to popular song or art. Along with both the unfavourable and favourable applications that persisted this shortening gave the word a lively informality but also opened it to a sense of the trivial (ibid:238).

Although this abridged etymology of the word popular provides a useful insight into its range of meanings, all of which are active to some extent in the phrase 'popular music', it tells us little about the music itself. But the expectation that a semantic framework for popular music can be created by reference to musical parameters alone is surely an unrealistic one.

²⁶ e.g. Cutler 1985, Birrer 1985, Shepherd 1985, Fiori 1985, Middleton 1990, Shuker 1994, Tagg 1998.

Popular music is not simply a style or genre, or even a collection of styles or genres. It is not so much a rhythm, a 'beat', vocal technique, or a particular instrument that symbolises popular music *in toto* but more an adherence to a combination of extramusical determinants, e.g. mode of production, distribution, consumption, storage and social function. It is clear from these examples that the first thing to emphasise about popular music is its economic grounding. This then may act as the first main distinction in an attempt now to differentiate popular music from 'classical' (or 'art') and 'folk' music.

Generally speaking, popular music is

produced and distributed on a mass basis in the type of market in which the buyer(s) of a given musical product (i.e. a 'consuming' public) do not tend to be the same individuals as those producing, performing or selling the same product (Tagg 1998:30).

Although not complete in itself the above statement does begin to offer a delimitation (rather than definition) for popular music. For instance, folk music does not traditionally have such a defined division of labour between transmitter and receiver and tends not to be governed by economic forces. On the other hand while there is a clear distinction within classical music between artist and public there is usually no suggestion that the music, or indeed the composer/performers talent, is in any way a 'product'. However, although a professional/semi-professional status swings heavily in favour of those involved with popular music (major industry) as opposed to folk music (essentially amateur) and classical music (minor industry), notions of popular music and consumerism have served to weaken its

artistic merit.

If there is such an intimate connection between popular music and the mass market as is suggested, then it follows that there must be an implicit understanding that it will be distributed as widely as possible and accessible to as many as possible. The medium by which popular music is stored then is of great significance and presents another useful distinction. Unlike folk music which is traditionally retained mentally and transmitted orally, or art music which, due to its historical reliance on notation, is only accessible on a personal level to the initiated, popular music in its most common format (i.e. recorded sound) has no such limitations. Thanks to modern technology²⁷ it can be disseminated far and wide and accessible to anyone with a playback facility. Of course, folk and art music are today also available on tape and CD but it needs emphasising that the music industry has been built on the back of popular music and it is popular music that has driven change and innovation within the industry. There is historically no such symbiosis with folk and art music whose relationship with the music industry is perhaps more like that between popular music and notation - essentially different traditions but on occasions mutually beneficial.

Returning to the word 'popular' and its pre-dominant modern meaning affords some understanding of popular music's social function. In order for music to become 'widely favoured' or

²⁷ The intimate connection between popular forms of music and technology (electric instruments, recording equipment, etc) may function for the benefit of this thesis as another general distinction.

'well liked' it needs to be both mass produced and distributed. But this is not enough in itself. While this may be essential in 'displaying' the goods to a mass market it does not necessarily precipitate a 'sale' (monetary or otherwise); which shifts the attention to content. From this perspective popular music cannot afford to be esoteric, elitist or parochial. Its form, message, style, etc., need to be comprehensible and appealing to as wide a cross-section of the populace as possible. Whereas both 'transmitter and receiver in the folk and art music communication processes belong to relatively homogenous sociocultural groups' (Tagg 1998:38) it is helpful, in providing another general characteristic, to observe the

comparative social ubiquity and communicative generality of a number of popular music functions. We can, as examples of such functions, mention signature tunes, sound track music, international 'middle-of-the-road' (MoR) pop of the Eurovision song contest type, national anthems, military marches, Muzak, etc (ibid).

There are, of course, exceptions to all the distinctions highlighted above. For example:

classical music clearly has sufficient following to be considered popular, while, conversely, some forms of popular music are quite exclusive, e.g. thrash metal (Shuker 1998:227).

However, collectively the examples given are sufficient to indicate for the work in hand the forms of popular music that have impinged upon church music in the mid to late 20th century. There are, moreover, further points of discussion and analysis throughout the thesis to demonstrate more precisely which elements/types of popular music have been influential. 'Pop', it might be added, as a term used by the author meaning youth-

orientated music is used sparingly due to the general lack of involvement by youths in determining the course and style of church music.

The above discussion on popular music has also revealed insights into the nature of folk music which may be summarised as follows: an unclear division of labour between transmitter and receiver; little if any economic incentive (i.e. an essentially amateur activity) which offers the perception of music as simply an 'artefact' as opposed to a 'product' in the commercial sense; parochial in outlook with limitations in storage (i.e. memory bound) and circulation (i.e. transmitted orally) and most active within relatively homogenous sociocultural groups. To this we could add that folksong authors tend to be anonymous, but as with popular music there are complications in trying to secure a neat and tidy definition for 'folk' due to its own complicated etymology. The above characteristics may adequately describe some forms of folk music but not all as reference, again, to Raymond Williams' book *Keywords* discloses. Following attempts to define folklore in the late 19th century based

on the sense of 'survivals'...of elements surviving 'by force of habit into a new state of society'...folksong came to be influentially specialised to the pre-industrial, pre-urban, preliterate world, though popular songs, including new industrial work songs, were still being actively produced (1988:137).

The situation was to change, however, when in the mid-20th century

there was a widespread and complex folksong movement, over a range from recording and adapting orally transmitted country and industrial songs to new compositions and performance in the same spirit and mode

(ibid).

The folksong movement to which Williams refers was influential in church music in the 1960s and 1970s and accounts in part for the development and interest in 'folk-hymnody' during this time. It also led to something of a dilution of the term 'folk' as Bill Tamblyn reveals in an RSCM article published in 1966:

When most well-intentioned churchmen use the term 'folk' they refer to young men with guitars (three chord technique type), ballad lyrics and a musical idiom no more difficult on the ear than Bob Lind's *Elusive Butterfly* (1966:18).²⁸

Again, as with popular music, reference to musical style alone is not sufficient in itself to reveal what is meant by the term folk. The most effective way of achieving this, which is undertaken on a number of occasions throughout the thesis, is through analyses of the specific contexts in which the term is being used.²⁹ It is, however, possible here to highlight its two main applications: folk music as

art done by 'folk' or the non-professional, and art related to one's folk culture or background (Beall and Barker 1980:25).³⁰

Before moving away from the subject of terminology it is necessary to draw a distinction between 'genre' and 'style' due to their free and interchangeable usage in daily discourse. The *Collins Shorter English Thesaurus* (1994), for example, lists 'genre' amongst many other words as a synonym for 'style'. Of the two words genre is the most problematical, and while it may simply refer to a 'kind, category, or sort' of something, in

²⁸ For the full quotation see Ch.3, p.93.

²⁹ See Ch.3, p.92 and Ch.5, passim.

³⁰ For the full quotation see Ch.5, p.218.

music, literary, film or television studies it takes on a much broader set of implications around which has developed 'genre theory'. In Jane Feuer's hands, in a discussion concerning television, genre theory deals with 'the ways in which a work may be considered to belong to a class of related works' (1987:113). The theory of musical genres has been explored in some detail by Franco Fabbri and it is his definition to which I turn:

A musical genre is "a set of musical events (real or possible) whose course is governed by a definite set of socially accepted rules" (1982:52).

By 'musical event' Fabbri means 'any type of activity performed around any type of event involving sound' (ibid). A musical style (or styles), therefore, can only ever represent one facet of a genre. Other defining factors, Fabbri suggests, are to be found in the relationship between performer and audience ('how you are seated'), postures (of performer/audience), dress and behaviour (psychology of performer/audience), etc. Thus, style relates specifically to musical elements and their structure while genre refers to both these and their wider cultural implications.

Sources

Attention has already been drawn to the lack of published academic research in the area of popular and folk-style church music, although this is not meant to imply that in terms of source material the field is completely barren. This thesis has drawn widely on a range of sources, which may be categorised as

follows:

(i) published literature on church music written by professional musicians and/or academics whose central focus (at least in the works cited) is church music (the books mentioned earlier, by Routley et al, belong to this category). Also included are the three reports of the archbishops' commissions on church music and the many articles on church music that appear in the journals of the Royal School of Church Music and the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland;

(ii) work falling under the heading 'popular Christian press'. In the last thirty years there has been dramatic growth in this area, due partly to the Charismatic Movement. Most books do not deal exclusively with music, and often reflect personal thoughts and experience, but they nevertheless remain an important resource in helping to piece together a historical picture and for gauging public opinion (as opposed to academic or 'official' opinion which the first category reflects);

(iii) books addressing the general subject of popular music. During the last fifty years particularly, there have been many academic books written on this subject, besides those of a more commercial nature, which due to the interdisciplinary perspective of popular music studies cover a wide range of topics.

(iv) general books on music such as *A History of Western Music*, and dictionaries such as *The Oxford Companion to Music*. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* has also proved once again to be invaluable source document.

(v) music scores and recordings: songbooks, hymn books, tapes and CDs.

(vi) electronic sources. 'Surfing the net' is a common phrase nowadays, especially amongst the young, and there is no doubt that the 'world-wide web' presents an unrivalled resource in terms of the degree and assortment of information on offer, a good deal of which is not to be found elsewhere. At the same time, careful discrimination is required because much of the information has not had to undergo any form of 'quality testing', such as in publishing or academia. However, the web does offer unique opportunities which have been taken judiciously and presented in this thesis.

(vii) individual people. Last, but by no means least, many people who are actively involved in church music as composers, performers, worship leaders, clergy, etc., have made a significant contribution to this thesis. They are either identified in the 'acknowledgment' section at the beginning of the thesis or within the main body of text.

Finally, whatever the merits of popular and folk-style church music and whatever opinions have been formed towards it, to judge by its growth during the last 30 years it not only appears to have a future but it may prove to have profoundly and permanently influenced the general direction of church music in England. A strong indication of this is to be found in the enormous popularity of modern song collections and in the inclu-

sion of songs and choruses in standard hymnals or hymn book supplements. The 'Royal School of Church Music' now even actively supports this style of music. If further evidence and endorsement is needed then one only needs to turn to *In Tune With Heaven*, the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music published in 1992, which throughout openly acknowledges the degree to which contemporary styles of church music have impacted Christian worship and their rightful place within the repertoire of English church music. The Report concludes:

In those places where music is taken seriously the standards of performance are much improved, and a musically literate public demands, and often receives, the very best. There is also an impressive development of instrumental groups and a growth of new writing in less traditional musical idioms. Even where this is not of the highest quality, it indicates considerable activity, and points to possibilities for the recovery of the proper place of music in the Church's services (1992:249).

With all this in mind, the need for this research, and more like it, appears more acute than ever.

CHAPTER TWO

The Popular Church Music Movement

The movement to which the title of this chapter refers was initiated in the mid 1950s. Two dates that are significant in its early development are: 1955, when one of Geoffrey Beaumont's popular-style hymn tunes featured in a radio broadcast ('Sunday Half Hour'); and 1957, when Beaumont's *20th Century Folk Mass* was televised by the BBC. These events helped set in motion what was later to be termed a 'movement', the main protagonists of which were a group of Anglican ministers and school masters. Their principle task was to compose hymn tunes in a popular style with the aim of making church music more familiar.

In their first publication they described their style as the 'musical idiom of light music'.¹ While this description is not at all specific it is apparent that they were not trying to mimic the current 'pop' music. There were, however, contemporary commentators who used the term 'pop' in reference to this

¹ *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (Weinberger, 1960).

movement.² The difficulty with 'pop' is that the inauguration of this movement coincided with the arrival of rock'n'roll in the mid 1950s, which brought with it the opening of a new youth market (see Middleton 1990:14-15). From this time on the word 'pop', in addressing music, became increasingly used in a more specialised sense - rather than solely as an abbreviation for popular - to refer to the music that was being produced for this youth market. The more pronounced this became, the more inapposite 'pop' appeared as a way of describing the music associated with the movement, leading one church music commentator to announce:

People talk of 'pop' music and mean so often music that the average teenager would refuse to have in the Top Ten. The confusion lies in the use by adults of 'popular', meaning - 'admired by the people in general', and that use by young people of 'pop', meaning - 'the music we hear every day on Luxemburg' (Tamblyn 1966:17).

By this definition it is fair to say that the term 'pop' as it pertains to the popular church music movement is something of a misnomer, as the influence for this movement came not from Radio Luxemburg or the like (more like Radio 2; see p.58) but from a different era - chiefly the dance band and 'popular song' style from musicals such as *Oklahoma!* Therefore, from now on the word 'pop' is used sparingly as a way of referring specifically to music (post-1955) aimed primarily at the youth market.

Before we look at the popular church music movement in detail, and before we examine the issues just raised, we need to place the movement in context.

² See, for example, Davies 1963, Northcott 1964, Rhys and Palmer 1967, Le Huray 1967 and Doggett 1969.

Children's Choruses and Gospel Hymnody

Although Beaumont *et al* were the first group in the 20th century to attempt systematically to appropriate the popular idiom for formal worship within a historic denomination in England, other forms of popular and folk-style church music were already in existence. One particularly noteworthy example is the choruses of the 'Children's Special Service Mission' because of their later influence on mainstream church worship from the 1960s onwards.

The Children's Special Service Mission (CSSM) was founded in 1867 by Josiah Spiers. Inspired by the American preacher, Payson Hammond (one of the first evangelists to hold special meetings for children), Spiers began experimenting along similar lines with his local Sunday schools in Islington. Others, too, were beginning to develop their own children's services in and around London at this time, and before long they formed themselves into an organisation and adopted the name CSSM.³

The first CSSM hymn book, *Song of the Better Land*, was issued in 1870 and contained one hundred hymns. This was then enlarged to become *Songs of Love and Mercy*. By 1888 Josiah Spiers was in the process of compiling a full-length children's hymn book which was later published in 1890. *Golden Bells*, or *Hymns for our Children*, contained 628 hymns and was the largest collection prepared for children's use. Within thirty-five years of its publication it had sold four million copies.

Many of the hymns in *Golden Bells* had refrains which would

³ Later to be changed to Scripture Union.

occasionally be used in isolation. 'But', as J.C. Pollock states in his account of the CSSM, 'a refrain lost point without its hymn' (1959:83). Consequently, George Goodman, a CSSM associate,

began to write "choruses", similar to refrains but each complete in itself - "a potted hymn", as another CSSM worker remarked...Others began to write choruses. Before long every seaside mission seemed to produce one, while others were written or composed to meet specific needs or on particular occasions, and passed into current use. Leaflets were compiled, but it was more than twenty years before the first CSSM Chorus Book was published, in 1921, with over three hundred; after this chorus singing became, throughout the world, a recognized part of Christian work among the young, and primitive races, and a happy pass time for grown-ups (ibid).

Following the publication of the first book of *CSSM Choruses* in 1921, two others followed in 1938 and 1959. Although one would assume that children's hymnody was an area of little controversy, the following quote taken from Charles Cleall's book *Music and Holiness* provides an early indication of the contentious nature of the subject under review in this thesis:

what we must on no account do...is to take a tune which embodied the fleshly, and set to it holy (or ostensibly holy) words: thus, in the C.S.S.M. Chorus Book, the words 'Let the beauty of Jesus be seen in me' are set to the waltz from *The Pink Lady*. This is to pay lip-service to our Redeemer at the very instant that we are musically in the arms of the Scarlet Woman (1964:82).

From the 1960s onwards the chorus became entrenched in Charismatic worship and through the influence of the Charismatic Movement on the historic denominations, the use of choruses spread there also.

While children's hymnody is not in itself a subject under review, the connection between the music that is used in youth-work and the popular-style church music used by adults is an

important one and, as such, is referred to on a number of occasions in the thesis. For a more comprehensive study I refer the reader to a relatively recent publication, *Growing up Evangelical*, by Pete Ward - the Archbishop of Canterbury's Advisor for Youth Ministry. In the final chapter of his book Ward concludes: $\chi \rho \nu \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \mu \alpha$

I think the key message of this book is that what happens today in youthwork happens in five years' time in the mainstream life of the Church. The evangelical story shows how today's youth leaders are tomorrow's clergy and the day after tomorrow they become bishops and even archbishops. Similarly the songs we use in youthwork today in a very short time are incorporated into regular Sunday worship. Developments in youthwork are in this sense the creative force which moves the Church on (1996:216).

Another form of popular-style church music that is worthy of mention is 'gospel hymnody' due to its widespread popularity not only at mission services but in mainstream worship. While it is associated more with late 19th century revivalism⁴ the gospel hymn successfully crossed over into the 20th century and beyond.

The 'gospel hymn' or 'gospel song' is a product of the late 19th century American revival which, by way of the well known gospel hymn compilation *Sacred Songs and Solos*, 'found favour in all parts of the world where the English language is spoken'.⁵ The gospel hymn continues the tradition of popular religious song in America dating back to the 1730s and the 'Great Awakening'. The songs (e.g. 'religious ballad' and 'folk

⁴ 'revivalism' - 'a movement, esp. an evangelical Christian one, that seeks to reawaken faith' (*Collins English Dictionary*, 1991).

⁵ *Sacred Songs and Solos* - Revised and Enlarged (Morgan and Scott Ltd, 1903).

hymn')⁶ used at this time were in many cases simply secular folk tunes set to a religious verse. Some Southern folk tunes such as 'Amazing Grace' can still be found in current hymnals.

In 1800 a new wave of spiritual activity began in the pioneer settlements of America, the 'Great Revival', characterised by large open-air services. These 'camp meetings', as they became known, attracted thousands of settlers, both black and white, and would often last for several days. The 'camp-meeting spiritual' bore a close relation to that of the 'folk hymn' used during the Great Awakening and continued to rely on existing folk tunes. Due to the increasing numbers that assembled at these camp meetings there was, accompanying this growth, an emphasis on a style that could be easily internalised. The result was a more systematic use of refrains and tag lines, simplified text and frequent repetition.

It was on the back of this tradition that the ministry of two of the most prominent American evangelists, Moody and Sankey, began. The end of the American Civil War (1865) provided the impetus for social reform, and accompanying it, Dwight Moody (1837-99) believed, should be a moral and spiritual revaluation too. Following his convictions Moody, along with Ira Sankey (1840-1908) his musical associate, embarked on an evangelical mission both in America and abroad, spreading with their message gospel hymnody.

The use of the terms gospel hymn and gospel song, in the context of the late 19th century revival, can be traced to

⁶ The 'religious ballad' and the 'folk hymn' are known generically, along with the 'camp-meeting spiritual', as 'white spirituals' as opposed to black or 'negro spirituals'.

Philip Bliss's (1838-76) compilation *Gospel Songs; A Choice Collection of Hymns and Tunes, New and Old, for Gospel Meetings, Sunday School* (1874) and Bliss and Sankey's *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* (1875). But the appearance of white gospel⁷ hymnody around this time is better perceived as the 'culmination of earlier developments than the appearance of a new idiom' (Eskew 1980:550). However, the gospel hymns of this era were, rather than being related to existing folk tunes, 'popular in style' and the music, in many instances, was taken 'directly from contemporary music-hall and parlour songs' (Downey 1980:3) or composed in an imitative manner. Although gospel hymnody was to develop some stylistic diversity it continued to bear 'many traits typical of American popular song' (Eskew 1980:549) such as the dotted quaver and semiquaver rhythm.

Gospel Hymnody in England

19th century American revivalism was to a large extent paralleled in Great Britain and the impact of this movement, and especially the gospel hymn, had a telling effect on the spiritual life of its people. Norman Goldhawk writes:

The dramatic imagery, catchy tunes, easy harmonies, and rousing choruses, made a great appeal to Victorian Britain. Sankey benefitted by 'the new American popular music industry, which had been developing steadily since the 1830s. He 'set a new fashion in popular religious music as far as Britain was concerned. Moody might often be hard to hear, but Sankey's music never failed to cross the gap' (1979:44).⁸

⁷ The term 'white gospel' is commonly used to differentiate this genre from 'black gospel'. It might also be added that the term 'gospel song' was not entirely new, but it came to be used extensively, particularly following Bliss' 'Gospel Songs' publication, as a term to describe the songs used in the revival meetings of Moody and Sankey *et al.*

⁸ Goldhawk quotes from *Holding The Fort* by John Kent (Epworth Press 1978). This book also includes a critical analysis of the Sankey style gospel hymn.

Evangelistic singers such as Philip Phillips (1834-95), who toured extensively, were very much responsible for raising the profile of gospel hymns in America and England. Following Phillips, Moody and Sankey embarked on the first of a number of very successful visits to Britain in 1872. On discovering how popular the gospel hymn was at their meetings an English publisher, Morgan and Scott, issued a twenty-four page pamphlet of Sankey's songs called *Sacred Songs and Solos* in 1873. One of the most prolific writers of gospel song texts was Fanny Crosby who is estimated to have written about 8,000 (Reynolds and Price 1987:102). One of her better known, and most widely used today, is 'To God be the glory'.

The popularity of the Sankey-style gospel hymn continued in England into the 20th century. In 1903 a revised and enlarged version of Sankey's *Sacred Songs and Solos*, containing 1200 items, was published in London and sold extraordinarily well.⁹ An indication of the standing of the gospel hymn at this time is given by Eric Thiman who, in the early 1930s, writes:

It is perhaps little more than two decades ago that the revivalist type of tune, generally associated with the names Moody and Sankey, was extensively used in churches of practically all denominations (1933:211).

This helps to explain the inclusion of gospel hymns in early 20th century hymn books such as *The English Hymnal* (1906), a collection which incidentally also contains 'a very large number of traditional English folk songs' (Routley 1957a:139).¹⁰ Be-

⁹ *Sacred Songs and Solos* (1903) sold '80 million copies within 50 years of publication' and, furthermore, 'remained in print' (Eskew 1980:551).

¹⁰ Over thirty folk tunes were included in *The English Hymnal*, e.g. 'Monk's Gate', 'Forest Green', 'Herongate'. For a study of Vaughan Williams's folk song borrowings for hymn tunes see *The works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (1964) by Michael Kennedy.

sides *The English Hymnal*, the *Congregational Hymnary* (1917) and the *Church Hymnary* (1927) also included a special section of gospel hymns. Even *Hymns Ancient and Modern* included one such piece, 'Rescue the Perishing', in its 1916 supplement. *The Methodist Hymn Book* (1933) later followed suit but according to Thiman's 1933 text the popularity of the gospel hymn was by then beginning to wane:

This kind of hymn-tune is rapidly becoming extinct (except among a very few sects),

a development which, he concludes,

can be due to no other reason than a change of taste based on an improved musical outlook (ibid:212).

This 'improved musical outlook' was reflected in a growing disregard for gospel hymnody by some hymn book editors. It is interesting to note that when *The English Hymnal* was republished in 1933, gospel hymns were placed under the legend 'Not for ordinary use!' (above hymn 567). Even more severely, the token gesture, 'Rescue the Perishing', was omitted from *Hymns Ancient & Modern* in 1950 and a little later in 1951, *Congregational Praise* steered well clear altogether.¹¹

This highlights the low regard in which gospel hymns have been held in some quarters. Musically, they have been described as harmonically 'poverty-stricken' (Rhys and Palmer 1967:26) and rhythmically monotonous (Thiman 1933:211). The texts have also been criticised for being trite and unsophisticated, 'the poorest are mere doggerel written in a sentimental style which often borders on the maudlin', writes Charles Etherington in

¹¹ There were, however, a good number of 'non-standard' hymnals that more readily embraced gospel hymnody, e.g. *Mirfield Mission Hymn Book*, *Keswick Hymn Book*, *Redemption Hymnal*, *Fellowship Hymn Book*, etc.

Protestant Worship Music (1962:190).

On a more official level the gospel or 'mission hymn' also received damning criticism in two authoritative and influential reports on church music in the opening half of the 20th century. The first Report of the Archbishops' Committee was appointed in 1922 with the following remit:

To consider and report upon the place of music in the worship of the church and in particular the training of church musicians, and the education of the clergy in the knowledge of music as a branch of liturgical study (*Music in Worship* 1947, f.p. 1922).

The final Report was a detailed study spanning over fifty pages and referred to such matters as 'the distinction between what is fitting and what is unsuitable in church music', 'the singing of hymns', 'the choice and regulation of music' in villages, towns, and cathedrals and also 'the use and abuse of the organ'. Early on in the Report the committee draws attention to the emotional power of certain music. 'There may', it continues, 'be a place for such music in the dramatic sphere...but not in church worship' (:10). Continuing this theme, the Report states that in a religious context,

this danger of emotionalism is greatest at 'mission services,' and the danger more often lurks in the hymns than in the sermons: for their unworthy, and really deleterious, music has unfortunately an almost unchallenged sway. The effect is that the real work of conversion is often sacrificed to an attempt at being popular...The Committee feels obliged to utter a serious warning and protest on this subject (ibid).

A second committee was appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1948 with the task of simply revising the 1922 Report in the light of present-day conditions. It soon became apparent that much more was required and so the finished Report was in effect a new document. The tenor and content of

the Report are much in keeping with the previous one and so it no surprise to read, for example, that church music should be free from 'sensationalism or mawkishness, and from all suggestions of secularity' (*Music in Church* 1957:7). Mission hymns again come under fire although there can be detected a slight softening in attitude on this occasion:

There is a place for evangelistic hymns at non-liturgical services. Their use at a liturgical service is to be strongly deprecated: the quality of music and of their literary style makes them unsuitable for use beside the measured prose of the Book of Common Prayer. At mission services, in which the subjective finds a place, they have proved not only their popularity but their usefulness (:43).

Despite the barrage of criticism that gospel hymnody received, more of which will be levelled at later forms of popular-style church music, congregations on the other hand were not to be easily discouraged. While its popularity did wane, as indicated by Eric Thiman, the gospel hymn was to remain a part of English hymnody throughout the 20th century, assisted greatly in this respect by the Billy Graham crusades.

During the 1950s a wave of evangelical fervour swept through both Britain and the United States. Crowds of up to a hundred thousand strong gathered to hear the American preacher Billy Graham deliver the gospel with such zeal that mass conversion became a hallmark of such occasions. The first Billy Graham crusade in Britain occurred in 1954 at Haringey, London. He later returned in 1955 to Glasgow with much success and has since made a number of subsequent visits. Music continued to play an important function in mass evangelism but its role was less than had been the case in earlier forms. Furthermore,

the revival meetings of Billy Graham have largely used the past heritage of gospel hymnody and have produced little new music (Eskew 1980:552).¹²

Nevertheless, as Robin Leaver notes in his hymn book survey:

the impact of the singing at these crusades was enormous and there was tremendous pressure in many evangelistic churches for such hymns to be incorporated into regular worship (1980:15).

Besides the two songbooks that were published as a direct result of the Billy Graham crusades,¹³ the popularity of gospel hymnody¹⁴ at the beginning of the century together with the renewed interest shown in the 1950s was to ensure its continual survival and place in many successive hymnals and songbooks, for example, *The Baptist Hymn Book* (1962), *The Church Hymnary* (1973) and later *Mission Praise* (1983).

The Popular Church Music Movement

Returning now to the movement outlined at the beginning of this chapter, it is the year 1957 that is of epochal significance. It is usually extremely difficult to date the origins of any historical development but in the case of the popular church music movement it appears that we can be quite specific, for as Rhys and Palmer propose,

this movement began in October 1957, when a setting of portions of the Anglican Eucharist, under the title *A Twentieth Century Folk Mass*, was performed at St.

¹² Billy Graham was to become more in tune with contemporary popular music. In the 1990s, for example, he collaborated in his youth services with a leading Christian rap band called *DC Talk*.

¹³ *Billy Graham Crusade Song Book* (1954, 1955) and later the *Billy Graham London Crusade Song Book* (1966), both edited by Cliff Barrows. Many other gospel song and hymn collections also existed. *Singspiration* (Inc) was the registered name of an American publisher which compiled many books of gospel songs. The *Singspiration* series of 'Favorites' (books 1-6) introduced in 1943 is fairly typical of the kind of collections that were being exported to Britain and beyond, some of the songs from which would later find their way into Charismatic circles via such books as *Sound of Living Waters*, *Fresh Sounds* and *Cry Hosanna*.

¹⁴ e.g. 'Man of sorrows', 'Tell me the old, old story', 'There were ninety and nine', 'Revive thy work', 'What a friend we have in Jesus' and 'I will sing the wondrous story'.

Augustine's, Highgate, and also televised by the B.B.C. The music was composed in a 'popular' style by Father Geoffrey Beaumont (1967:63).

The performance caused much excitement at the time and ignited a great deal of passion within the world of church music; needless to say a vigorous debate ensued. It may have also been significant that it was portions of the Eucharist set in a popular style, and not just a hymn, that was responsible for such widespread interest. It is, however, safe to assume that if the piece had not been shown on national television then the impact of this new movement would have been greatly diminished. This is borne out by the fact that Beaumont's Mass was originally published in 1956, at least 12 months earlier than the T.V. broadcast, but with comparatively little fuss. In the year before that, as was noted earlier, one of Beaumont's popular style hymn tunes, set to 'Lord, thy Word abideth',¹⁵ was first broadcast from Martock Parish Church on the radio programme 'Sunday Half Hour'. While it did arouse some interest it gave no hint of the furore that would follow the 1957 T.V. broadcast.

Soon after the BBC screening of the *Folk Mass* in October 1957, an editorial appeared in the Royal School of Church Music's (RSCM) periodical, *English Church Music*, which sought to clarify the organisation's stance on this new movement. The brief yet mildly pernicious article, tersely entitled 'Beaumont', is adequately summarised by the conclusion:

A *Twentieth-Century Folk Mass* may appear to some people to answer the demand, or at any rate to be a step in the right direction. To many more, including,

¹⁵ Beaumont's tune CHESTERTON (BHB No 250) set to 'Lord, Thy Word Abideth' and GRACIAS (BHB No 18) set to 'Now Thank We All Are God' were first incorporated into a standard hymnal (i.e. *The Baptist Hymn Book*) in 1962 and are both early examples of prominent syncopation in a congregational hymn tune.

we feel sure, the vast majority of members of the RSCM, it offers a suspiciously facile solution, fraught with danger (*English Church Music*: Feb. 1958).

As a semi-official voice for English church music, the RSCM¹⁶ was simply responding in a way that one would expect of a traditional foundation. The spirit of the article is reactionary, but it must be remembered the movement was still very much in its infancy and it had only been a matter of months since the broadcast of the *Folk Mass*. However, in a subsequent editorial published in October 1960 the RSCM, with the benefit of much considered opinion, clarified its deep misgivings over this brand of church music:

Our attitude to this situation is as we stated last time: that if music is to be used in worship it must be the best that we know how to offer God...Educated musical opinion today seems to be agreed that 20th century light music lacks qualities of greatness and permanence (*English Church Music* 1960:65).

Who was this man who had so irritated the guardians of church music's taste and practice?

X Geoffrey Beaumont and The 20th Century Folk Mass

Born in 1903, Revd Geoffrey Beaumont held a variety of charges in the Church of England during his life - at a Cambridge college, at the British chaplaincy in Madrid, and at St George's, Camberwell. Later on in life he joined the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield and became known as Father Gerard. He died suddenly in 1970 while working as a missionary in South Africa.¹⁷

¹⁶ 'The Royal School of Church Music', formerly 'The School of English Church Music', was founded in 1927 by Sydney Nicholson. Although not an official branch of the Church of England, 'Nicholson's foundation had, from the beginning, the full support of the highest Church authorities as well as of the Church Music Society and the leading church musicians of the day' (Temperley 1983:328).

¹⁷ See Routley 1971:124 for Beaumont's obituary.

The inspiration for writing the *Folk Mass* came from an East London vicar who, as Beaumont himself recalled,

said he was 'deeply concerned that nothing had been written since the Elizabethans, which can properly be called a 'Folk Mass' and that church music is utterly foreign to the majority of people' (Beaumont 1956).

While many commentators may have sympathised with this sentiment, the piece itself attracted a certain amount of criticism. Initially, this criticism resulted from confusion concerning Beaumont's intentions. In the preface of the composition, Beaumont quite clearly states that the word 'Folk' in the title is used 'literally to mean the normal every day popular type of music' (ibid). But on examination of the score, instead of finding strains of the style that was gripping the world of popular music in the mid 1950s, namely rock 'n' roll, we find a language more indicative of a style fashionable two or three decades earlier, and a potpourri at that: dance band, Tin Pan Alley, and Hollywood musical. The 'folk' element was also disputed; far from being or using authentic folk music, Beaumont had drawn, in one critic's opinion,

on the musical materials of the slick commercial entertainment world, the rhythms and melodic-harmonic elements of musical spectacles native to the motion picture theater and the television show. These are not folk elements by any semantic rationale. While they may be elements that assault every ear that comes within range of a loudspeaker, they are not the idiom of the people, and that is what a folk utterance must be (Wienandt 1965:434).

Much of this criticism, however, was the result of a basic misunderstanding. The Revd Patrick Appleford, a friend and colleague of Geoffrey Beaumont at the time, still maintains quite emphatically that Beaumont did not intend to imitate current

'pop' music; he was more influenced, recalls, Appleford, by the music of the theatre and film than by pop music - a new breed of American musicals like *South Pacific* and the songs from the shows were much more 'popular' music than 'pop' music, and more relevant to the drama of the liturgy.¹⁸

The criticisms aside, Beaumont did receive praise for his ingenuity. In summing up the significance of the *Folk Mass* in his book *20th Century Church Music*, Erik Routley, in spite of his reservations, submitted the following:

It started something, and awakened the minds of church musicians to a quite new situation and a series of quite new questions. It is quite enough praise for any innovator in church music if we can say that he did as much as this. For whatever we do now, we have to begin by saying, 'Well, what is *wrong* with the *Folk Mass*?' (1964:167).

A *20th Century Folk Mass* is a setting of the sung sections of the Anglican Eucharist for performance by one or more Cantors and congregation (the priest's part is sung to Merbecke's music). An analysis of the Mass soon reveals the influences that Appleford talks of in the above quote. The *Folk Mass* opens with a short Antiphon following which is a setting of Psalm 150 (Ex.1, p.54, pl.1) which in terms of its structure and style exemplifies the work as a whole. The Cantor enters first with a 2 bar melody which is to be repeated immediately by the 'People'. The continuation of the tune is then taken up by the Cantor after which the congregation again follow. This form of dictation, with varying bar lengths, continues throughout the whole *Folk Mass* and is rather reminiscent of the old process of

¹⁸ Quoted from correspondence between the author and Patrick Appleford, 1998.

PSALM

Psalm 150

Voice end of Antiphon 1st time

KEY C || CANTOR || 8 : - 1 8 : -)

King. O Praise

PEOPLE CANTOR
 || s : s . s | d . d : s | s : - | s : - | s : s . s | d . d : s | s : s . s . s | d . d : s |

God in his ho-li-ness O Praise God in his ho li ness Praise Him in the firmament

PEOPLE CANTOR
 || f . r : - | d : - | s : s : s . s | d . d : s | f . m : - | d : - | s : s | - : s . s |

of his pow'r Praise Him in the fir ma ment of his pow'r Praise Him in his

PEOPLE CANTOR
 || s : s | d : - | s : s | - : s . s | s : s | d : - | s : s : - . s | d . d : s . s |

no-ble acts Praise Him in his no ble acts Praise Him ac-cord-ing to His

KYRIE

Beguine Tempo

mp

CANTOR
Ky-rie.. e-le-i-son

CANTOR & PEOPLE
Ky-rie.. e-le-i-son Ky-rie.. e-le-

CANTOR
-i-son

CANTOR & PEOPLE
Christe e-le-i-son Christe e-

CANTOR
-le-i-son Christe e-le-i-son Ky-rie e-

CANTOR & PEOPLE
-le-i-son Ky-rie e-le-i-son Ky-rie e-le-i-son.

mp

mf

f

pp

pprit.

'lining out'.¹⁹

Stylistically, the four bar introduction to the Psalm immediately sets the tone (Ex.1, p.54, pl.1). The chord sequence, chord voicings, chromatic notes and syncopation are together reminiscent of the popular song style of Jermome Kern, Cole Porter, Richard Rodgers and others. The 'stride' style left hand accompaniment, derived from ragtime and popularised by pianists such as Fats Waller, also indicates other likely influences. Throughout the Mass Beaumont uses other chord sequences and rhythmic effects as well as cadences and modulations that are also characteristic of the popular song idiom. To illustrate this, examples from the *Folk Mass* are provided below alongside similar techniques utilised in the popular songs of those composers just mentioned (Examples 2-9, p.56, pls.3-6).

In *Twentieth Century Church Music* Erik Routley describes the style of the *Folk Mass* as 'Big Musical', for he says, 'it is the "musical" that so shamelessly and cheerfully mixes its styles' (1964:166). Although Beaumont is, by Routley's own admission, 'economical' in his use of musical themes it is not difficult to see why he describes the Mass as such. During the setting of Psalm 150, for instance, there are a number of instrumental 'breaks' where the musicians are instructed to 'Improvise ad lib' - a feature more associated with jazz than with popular song. A more prominent example of the mixing of styles occurs in the setting of the Kyrie, marked 'Beguine Tempo' (Ex.10, p.55, pl.2). Originating in the West Indies around the

¹⁹ A 17th century custom, at which time the pastor would first dictate each line of a psalm so enabling the often illiterate fellowship to participate. The practice has continued into the 20th century in some parts of Scotland and the USA.

turn of the 20th century, the 'Beguine' became a national dance in Martinique. It later had some impact on the European ballroom scene in the early 1930s but it became more widely recognised in song or instrumental form particularly through Cole Porter's 'Begin the Beguine' written for the production *Jubilee* in 1935.

The reference to improvisation above raises a particularly pertinent point with regards to the notation of music in a popular style. As a general distinction, so-called classical music has relied traditionally on notation for its dissemination, a system which has progressively become more sophisticated in its ability to codify a composers wishes in terms of pitch, dynamic, tempo, rhythm, etc; parameters faithfully adhered to by practitioners of the classical style. Despite its sophistication, however, there remain many restrictions.

'Popular' styles, broadly speaking, have traditionally been transmitted orally. A method which, on the other hand, has allowed for much greater flexibility. In the 19th and particularly 20th centuries popular music became increasingly diversified with some forms actually taking advantage of the notational system (e.g. ragtime, popular song). The majority of 20th century popular music genres, however, have not and instead have developed alongside the recording industry where again there are fewer restrictions in what effects can be preserved. Consequently, difficulties inevitably arise when trying to transcribe this type of music according to standard notational methodology.

The relevance of this with respect to Beaumont's popular-style church music is one of both convention and ethos as his style, being close to that of popular song, is one which has

EXAMPLE 2 - The 'Credo', n.b. harmony (chord sequences I-I°-II-V⁷ and I-VI-II⁷-V⁷).

PEOPLE CANTOR PEOPLE

and in one Lord Je-sus Christ The on-ly be-got-ten son of God The on-ly be-got-ten

CANTOR PEOPLE

son of God Be - got-ten of his Fa-ther be - fore all... worlds, Be - got-ten of his Fa-ther be -

EXAMPLE 3 - 'Sure Thing' by Jerome Kern.

p E_b Edim Fm7 B_b7

The fav - o - rite does - n't al - ways win, No

p

E_b Cm Fm7 B_b7 E_b Cm Fm7

Burthen (moderately) *p-mf*

Some - how I'm sure I've found a sure thing in you

p-mf

EXAMPLE 4 - the 'Collect, n.b. cadence (G⁷+5 - C⁶).

Piano **PRIEST (unaccompanied) CANTOR & PEOPLE** **PRIEST**

The Lord be with you And with thy spirit Let us pray.

The Collect(s) C : 8 : f6 : M : 8 | 8 : 6 : 8 : 8 | : 8 | : 8 | : | : ||

..... ev-er one God world with-out end. A - men.....

EXAMPLE 5 - 'Mister and Missus Fitch' by Cole Porter.

Gm Dm C° Em G⁷ Am F Fm⁶ F C Fm

Mis-ter Fitch_ said he al-ways was a son of the rich, - So love and kiss-es,

MIS-TER AND MIS-SUS FITCH.

A^b7 G⁷+5 G7 Tempo I F C⁶ open

EXAMPLE 6 - the 'Credo', n.b. modulation (up a semitone).

The musical score for Example 6 consists of three systems. The first system is a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass clef. It begins with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The tempo is marked *a tempo*. The first measure has a dynamic marking of *rit. e dim.*, and the second measure has *ff (improvise ad lib.)*. The key signature changes from one flat to two flats. The second system features two vocal lines: a Cantor line (marked *D^b CANTOR*) and a People line (marked *PEOPLE*). The lyrics are: "And the third day he rose a-gain ac-cord-ing to the scrip-tures And the third day he". The piano accompaniment continues below the vocal lines, marked *ff*. The third system continues the piano accompaniment.

EXAMPLE 7 - 'Happy Talk' by Rodgers and Hammerstein.

The musical score for Example 7 consists of two systems. The first system is a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass clef. It is marked with a circled 6. The dynamic is *mf*. The tempo markings are *poco rit* and *rall....*. The key signature changes from one sharp to two flats. The second system features a vocal line for Mary (marked *7 Poco meno MARY*). The lyrics are: "Talk a - bout a boy Say - in' to de girl 'Gol - ly, ba - by,". The piano accompaniment continues below the vocal line, marked *pp*.

EXAMPLE 8 - the 'Gloria', n.b. rhythm (syncopation/ triplet crotchets).

PEOPLE CANTOR

Fa-ther Son of the Fa-ther That takest a-way the sins of the world have

mer-cy up-on us Have mer-cy up-on us Thou that ta-kest a-way the

EXAMPLE 9 - 'Lovely to Look At' by Jerome Kern.

love - ly to look at, It's thrill - ing to hold you

ter - ri - bly tight. For

"Dam Buster's" march (Ex.12, p.58 , pl.7), first appears in the Gloria but is later repeated several times. Its strange familiarity, reiteration and the fact that on this occasion it is a continuous tune and not repeated fragments, all help to ensure that, rather like the 'Big Musical', there is at least one tune that remains firmly fixed in the mind.

The 20th Century Church Light Music Group

The popular church music movement gained further momentum when, towards the end of the 1950s, Geoffrey Beaumont and a number of like-minded individuals²¹ formed themselves into a body to compose and promote church music in the popular style. They called themselves the '20th Century Church Light Music Group'. Again, however, the music was not intended to reflect the current 'pop' scene (hence the term 'light'), as Patrick Appleford testifies:

Our music was always more akin to Radio 2 - "Housewives' Choice", "2-Way Family Favourites" - than the pop on Radio 1 or the serious music of Radio 3; seeking a musical lingua franca or 'folk' music in the sense of ordinary folk's music rather than that of the pop music industry, much of whose output never became genuinely popular music.²²

As their name suggests, the Group's primary interest was in music, and so the majority of their tunes were married to existing well-known texts. Their main concern was that there was too broad a distinction between the type of music that was normally heard in church and that experienced by 'ordinary folk' outside of church. The objective was not to oust traditional

²¹ For example: Revd Patrick Appleford, Revd Gordon Hartless, Revd Michael Brierley, Revd Canon Cheslyn Jones, Lancelot Hankey (Headmaster), John Glandfield (Schoolmaster, organist, and choirmaster), Revd Canon E.C. Blake and Revd G. Brown.

²² Quoted from correspondence with Patrick Appleford, 1998.

F **CANTOR** **PEOPLE**

|| ḍ :- | ṣ :- | ṣ : f . m | f̣ : ṣ | ṃ :- | ṃ :- | ṃ : r . ḍ | ṛ : ṃ |

Al - le - lu - - ia Al - le - lu - - ia

CANTOR & PEOPLE

|| ḍ :- | ḍ :- | ḍ : ṭ . ḷ | ḷ ṭ : ḍ | : ṣ | ḷ . ṃ :- | ṛ | ṃ : | : ||

Al - le - lu - - ia Al - le - lu - ia

Marcato

Lord Jesus Christ (Living Lord)

(At the Communion)

LIVING LORD 45538883

Patrick Appleford

Slow beat ballad

Key of D || d i- id ir | d i- i : | s i- i- is | s if if i- |

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The piano accompaniment includes chord symbols and a bass line. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The key signature is D major (one sharp) and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

1 Lord Je - sus Christ, You have come to us,
2 Lord Je - sus Christ, Now and ev - ery day

You are one with us, Ma - ry's Son. Cleansing our souls from
Teach us how to pray, Son of God. You have com - mand - ed

all their sin Pour - ing your love and good - ness in Je - sus our love for
us to do This in re - mem - brance, Lord, of you: In - to our lives your

you we sing, Liv - ing Lord. Lord.
power breaks through, Lord.

Chord symbols: D, A, D, A, D, D7, G, Em7, F#m, A7, D, Bm, E9, Em7, A7, Em, A7, D, Bm, Em, A7, Bm, B7, Em, Gm6, D, B7, Em7, A7, D, G6, A7, D.

Rehearsal marks: ||s, ||d', 1 & 3, 2 & 4.

At Mission Services

3 Lord Jesus Christ,
You have come to us,
Born as one of us,
Mary's Son.
Led out to die on Calvary.
Risen from death to set us free,
Living Lord Jesus, help us see
You are Lord.

4 Lord Jesus Christ,
I would come to you,
Live my life for you,
Son of God.
All your commands I know are true.
Your many gifts will make me new.
Into my life your power breaks through,
Living Lord.

Patrick Appleford

Recorded on ORIOLE—record CB 1529

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church music but to somehow bridge the gap. Although the bulk of the Group's output were hymns there are a few examples of more extended settings such as John Alldis's *Festival Te Deum* (1961, for cantor and congregation) and Patrick Appleford's *Mass of Five Melodies* (1961),²³ a congregational setting with optional two-part harmony.

One of the Group's first publications was *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1960).²⁴ The aim of the collection was clearly laid out in the introduction:

These hymn tunes have been written for congregational worship by 20th century congregations. The styles vary, but they all seek to express in the musical idiom of light music - music which is common to almost everyone - the common worship of the People of God. They are offered in the belief that not only the great and lasting music of the past but also the ordinary and transient music of today - which is the background to the lives of so many - has a rightful place in our worship.

All the hymns are supplied with guitar chords and a recommendation that the piano accompaniment be treated 'freely and with vitality' (ibid) with perhaps the assistance of drums to help keep the rhythm.

It is worth pausing here for a moment to consider the influence of social base on the development of worship music. Earlier in Chapter One there was a distinction noted between what people choose to sing, because of their social background, and what editors, whose background may be very different, offer

²³ *Mass of Five Melodies* was recorded on Tower Records and included in the LP *20th Century Eucharist* produced by Pye records in 1966. The setting was widely used until new services were introduced in modern English. A new arrangement in 1985 revised the setting for Rite A texts in the Alternative Service Book and for all rites using ICET texts. Patrick Appleford, who acted as Secretary of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group until 1966, also wrote a *New English Mass* (1973) and a *Mass for all Seasons*.

²⁴ Weinberger later produced a SATB version of this collection harmonised by Malcolm Williamson.

them (p.10). In a similar way, the musical styles that influenced Geoffrey Beaumont and the 20th Century Church Light Music Group (e.g. musicals, Radio 2, dance band), which in turn influenced the hymn tunes they offered congregations, reflected to some extent their social background (white, educated, young-to-middle age, middle class). These hymn tunes would then presumably be most appealing to those with a similar taste and background. Because of this, and in spite of the attempts by the Group to present their light music style as that which is 'common to almost everyone', it may have in fact appealed to a narrower social group than anticipated.

There are dangers in speculating too much in this area because of the difficulties in trying to ascertain, after the event as it were, what music was valued by which people. It is, however, safe to assume that social circumstances will affect in some way the type of music that is presented to congregations and the kind of music that is accepted by congregations, particularly in evangelical contexts. The following quote by C.S. Phillips effectively captures all three of these points:

The average sort of congregation is mainly composed of the average sort of people, who have a very human objection to having things that they dislike thrust down their throats because somebody else thinks that they ought to like them...On the other hand, congregations have a trying habit of manifesting a special liking for hymns that a refined literary or musical taste condemns. Take, for example, hymns of what is called the 'mission' type...if for any reason a hymn of this kind is introduced into the service of a church with a working-class congregation, the people will almost certainly 'take to' it...It cannot be denied that to simple and uneducated minds such hymns make a great appeal: and the great revivalists of the past have had no hesitation in using them and have largely promoted the success of their work by doing so (1937:251).

I hunger and I thirst

(At the Communion)

LIVING WATERS 6666

Michael Brierley

Moderately fast
Key of F

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It consists of three systems of music. The first system contains the first line of the hymn: 'I I hun - ger and I thirst Je - su my man - na'. The second system contains the second line: 'be; Ye liv - ing wa - ters bur - st'. The third system contains the third line: 'Out of the rock for me. -more.'. The score includes a treble clef, a bass clef, and a key signature of one flat (F major). Chords are indicated by letters below the bass line: F, Bb, F, D, C7 in the first system; C, Bb6, C7, C9, F7, Bb, B° in the second system; F, C7, F, F in the third system. The tempo is marked 'Moderately fast'. The key signature is 'Key of F'. The score is divided into three systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The lyrics are written below the treble staff. Chords are indicated by letters below the bass staff. The score includes a treble clef, a bass clef, and a key signature of one flat (F major). The tempo is marked 'Moderately fast'. The key signature is 'Key of F'. The score is divided into three systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The lyrics are written below the treble staff. Chords are indicated by letters below the bass staff.

- 2 Thou bruised and broken Bread,
My life-long wants supply;
As living souls are fed,
O feed me or I die.
- 3 Thou true life-giving Vine,
Let me thy sweetness prove;
Renew my life with thine,
Refresh my soul with love.
- 4 Rough paths my feet have trod
Since first their course began:
Feed me, thou Bread of God;
Help me, thou Son of Man.
- 5 For still the desert lies
My thirsting soul before:
O! living waters, rise
Within me evermore.

J. S. B. Monell

O Jesus, thou art standing

PADDINGTON 7676D

John Glandfield

With steady rhythm

Key of G

1 O Je-sus thou art stand-ing

Out-side the fast closed door, In low-ly patience waiting To pass the thres-hold

o'er: Shame on us, Christ-ian bro-thers His name and sign who bear; O

shame, thrice shame up - on us To keep him stand-ing there.



1-2 Lost verse
d - i - s : : d - i - s

2 O Jesus, thou art knocking
And lo! thy hand is scarred,
And thorns thy brow encircle
And tears thy face have marred.
O love that passeth knowledge
So patiently to wait!
O sin that hath no equal
So fast to bar the gate!

3 O Jesu, thou art pleading
In accents meek and low:
"I died for you, my children
And will you treat me so?"
O Lord, with shame and sorrow
We open now the door.
Dear Saviour, enter, enter,
And leave us nevermore.

Bp. W. Walsham How

Returning to *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes*, the majority are new settings of old texts such as Heber's 'Holy, Holy, Holy', Wesley's 'Love Divine' and Baker's 'The King of Love'. Patrick Appleford does, however, provide four completely new hymns, one of which is 'Lord Jesus Christ' (Ex.13, p.59, pl.8) which can still be found in many modern hymnals and songbooks.²⁵

'Lord Jesus Christ', with what has been described as 'that mildly Ivor Novello-ish tune' (Hall 1975), is like Beaumont's style far removed from a 'traditional' hymn setting. The two chord (in other songs one chord) per bar melody/accompaniment technique, triplet rhythms, sequential passages and chord types (added 6th, 7ths and 9ths) are again more indicative of the early 20th century popular song style. There are other traits typical of this idiom displayed throughout *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes*, resulting in a good deal of variety overall. For instance, Michael Brierley's setting of 'I Hunger and I Thirst' (J.S.B. Monsell; Ex.14, p.60, pl.9) contains a syncopated melody and stride-style left hand accompaniment, while John Glandfield's PADDINGTON (Ex.15, p.61, pl.10) set to 'O Jesus, Thou Art Standing' (W. Walsham How) includes both a two bar introduction and linking passage between verses,²⁶ swung quavers (notated  but performed ) and a direction to arpeggiate the last chord.

Like a *20th Century Folk Mass*, the contents of *Thirty 20th*

²⁵ For example, *Hymns Ancient and Modern New Standard* (1984), *The New English Hymnal* (1986), *Mission Praise 2* (1987), *Songs of Fellowship* (1991) and *Baptist Praise and Worship* (1991).

²⁶ Instrumental introductions and linking passages are used by other writers in this compilation e.g. Nos: 2, 8, 10, 30. While this clearly is a feature of popular song it is worth noting that the practice of playing preludes and interludes, by the organist, between psalm verses was common from the mid 17th to mid 19th centuries, some of which were published.

Century Hymn Tunes do display some obvious mixing of styles. Two prominent examples are Lancelot Hankey's setting of 'Through All The Changing Scenes' (Tate & Brady) - marked 'Beguine Tempo' (Ex.16. p.62 , pl. 11) and John Glandfield's waltz setting (Ex.17, p.63 , pl. 12) of 'God of Mercy, God of Grace' (H.F.Lyte).

The contents of *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes*, and other publications to follow, were for their time highly innovative as hymn settings as a comparison with any contemporary standard hymnal will reveal, and while they may not have sounded like the current 'pop' music of the day, in a church context they were unmistakably 'modern' settings. Judging by Paul Chappell's comments in *Music and Worship in the Anglican Church* published in 1968, they were also refreshing with it:

The Group has brought a renewed vitality into the singing of hymns at family worship and at youth meetings (:117).

The Popular Church Music Movement - A Critique

Although the 20th Century Church Light Music Group drew praise for their efforts, they attracted a good deal of disdainful comment also. Among the main points of contention was an anxiety over the ephemerality of the popular style. Beaumont was acutely aware of this criticism, but felt that this was not necessarily a bad thing. Ronald Gordon, in a RSCM article supporting popular-style church music, published in 1963, writes:

No one could be more modest about his music than Father Beaumont. Of course it is not good music if by that is meant that it will last, he says. But this is a positive advantage! (1963:17).

Beaumont's rationale here was quite simple: music is function-

COLLARD D.C.M.

Lancelot Hankey

Beguine Tempo

Key of Bb

|| .n, sf, .s, il, st, | t, id .l, i- :- | .d st, .l, is, :l, | s, :- i- :- |

I Through all the chang-ing scenes of life In trou-ble and in joy

Bb Cm7 F7 Dm Bb6 E° Cm7 F7 F9 BbGm7Cm7 F7

|| .n, sf, .s, il, st, | t, id .l, i- :- | .se, il, :se, it, :de | re :- i- :- re |

The prais-es of my God shall still My heart and tongue em - ploy. O

Bb Cm7 F7 Dm Bb6 Gm6(h) A7 Dmaj7

|| r i- r r m | de ste, del- :- | .d id .d id tr | t, :- i- :- |

mag - ni - fy the Lord with me With me ex - alt his name

Am7 D9(h) G Gm7 C7 F7 A F7

|| .n, sf, .s, il, st, | t, id .del- :- | r id r id st, | d :- i- :- |

When in dis-tress to him I called He to the res - cue came.

Bb Cm7 F7 Dm G7 Cm Cm7 F7 Bb Gm7Cm7 F7

Last verse

id :- ide :- | f m r id st, id :- i- :- | :- : | :- : ||

- more. And shall be ev - er more.

Bb G Cm Cm7 F7 Bb

God of mercy, God of grace

CRESCENT ROAD 777777

John Glandfield

Waltz tempo

Key of C

1 God of mer - cy, God of
 grace. Shew the bright - ness of thy face; Shine up - on us,
 Sav - iour, shine, Fill thy Church with light di - vine. And thy
 sav - ing health ex - tend Un - to earth's re - mot - est
 end. 2 & 3 Let the love.

2 Let the people praise thee, Lord;
 Be by all that live adored;
 Let the nations shout and sing
 Glory to their Saviour King;
 At thy feet their tribute pay,
 And thy holy will obey.

3 Let the people praise thee, Lord,
 Earth shall then her fruits afford;
 God to man his blessing give
 Man to God devoted live;
 All below and all above,
 One in joy, and light, and love.

H. F. Lyte

al. Furthermore, he was obviously under no illusion when it came to the musical merit of many of his tunes; Beaumont's remit was not an artistic one but an evangelical one. Beaumont saw himself as having a task, if not a mission. By using a 'contemporaneous' musical idiom he thought, as Eric Sharpe was later to put it:

the church might be able to persuade the ordinary non-churchgoer that Christian worship is not so remote from everyday life (1982:11).

This is perhaps one of the most incisive arguments made in defence of popular-style church music and is all the more poignant due to the fact that it is deeply embedded in an old Reformation principle:

Music no less than the literature of worship should normally be in the vernacular. Yet it is hard to escape the conclusion that to most would-be worshippers today, traditional church music is almost an unknown tongue. It is a dead, hieratic language. It neither expresses what our congregations feel nor does it arouse feeling in them. At present the nearest we have to the vernacular is, I submit, the work of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group (Gordon 1963:17).

Beaumont realised that music could be used simply to serve a purpose, even for the church, and when this had been achieved it could be discarded. This is, of course, at odds with the philosophy of church music expressed some years earlier in *Music in Church* - the Report of the Committee appointed in 1958 by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York:

Unlike some secular music, in which restlessness and cacophony betoken an unsettled and uncertain age, church music should be the expression of strong faith and assurance (1957:5, f.p. 1951).²⁷

✓ The belief here is that the church should attempt to instil deep-rooted and lasting principles which reflect the permanence

²⁷ For a similar opinion see the quote on p. 52 above, taken from an editorial that appeared in the RSCM's journal *English Church Music*.

of the Christian message. This should then be reflected to some extent in the music used for worship.

Beaumont's functional approach to church music, it might be added, was hardly a radical concept. Bach, for instance, 'never dreamed that his music would be worshipped a few hundred years after his death' (1966:17), writes Bill Tamblyn in an article investigating popular music and the liturgy. Congregations, too, would expect to hear new music on a weekly basis. 'He was doing his job', Tamblyn continues, 'his music was not designed to last forever' (ibid).

While some commentators continued to express concern over the ephemerality of the popular style, others were drawing attention to what they perceived as a far more serious problem - the conservative proclivity of the church. 'To say that such music is ephemeral and disposable', writes Kenneth Long, is 'dishonest,':

anything which is printed, is bought with precious choir funds and goes into the choir library, is likely to hang around for the next fifty years, at least. Furthermore we have several times mentioned how strong is the force of association: once the congregation have formed associations with this music, no choir-master would dare get rid of it, 'disposable' or not (1991:433; f.p. 1972).

Throughout much of the history of church music, secular association has been a contentious issue. It is quite understandable, therefore, that some of the connotations attached to 20th century popular music were deemed inappropriate for worship. Those sympathetic towards popular-style church music, such as Alan Doggett, endeavoured to appease the critics by arguing that

to judge by association alone is to judge by such a rapidly shifting standard, that, even if such

judgements appear valid now, they will quickly become out-of-date as fashions and their attendant associations change (1969:38).

An historically sound argument, it is also one tinged with an element of caution:

That is not to deny that some criticism by association is valid. Obviously some facets of pop are quite unsuitable for church worship...So many hymns in so-called modern style are so syncopated and musically shapeless that they could only be performed by a captive congregation (ibid).

The first part of Doggett's statement is undoubtedly true. All hymnals contain many fine tunes which have long outlived their secular association. The continued use of a tune in a religious context usually overshadows any dubious past connections, and often so much so that the tune begins to take on a sacred aura all of its own. For instance, responding to criticism over the origin of a tune included in *Songs of Praise* (1926), Vaughan Williams was keen to point out that many of the most noble hymn tunes have an unsavoury past. To take but one example, how many today, he says, are aware that 'the "Old Hundredth" is an adaptation of a love song?' (quoted in Blezzard 1990:93).²⁸

As for Doggett's cautious note, which 'facets' are acceptable is not only partly a question of taste but also of conditioning. What is unacceptable to one generation often becomes the norm for the next. Also, ongoing exposure to complications or obstacles is part of the evolutionary process. It's all a question of adaptability. Many 'worship songs' today are far more syncopated than those Doggett refers to. Compare, for instance, Michael Brierley's setting of 'I Hunger and I

²⁸ Blezzard's source: Copy of a letter (undated but 1929 or later) from Ralph Vaughan Williams to Percy Dearmer, file marked 'Vaughan Williams', Archive of the Anglican Cathedral, Liverpool.

Thirst' (Ex.14, p.60 , pl. 9), a fairly typical example of the time, and a modern song, 'I am a new creation' by Dave Bilbrough (Ex. 1 , p.174 , pl.24).

Before leaving his article, Doggett raises another issue which will resurface later in the 20th century. It concerns the suitability of musical instruments in worship. The use of such instruments as electric guitars and drums have, Doggett writes, been 'condemned as unsuitable for church use on account of their secular associations'. 'Yet', he pronounces,

even the King of Instruments was brought to church from the Roman games, and lascivious flutes and dancing violins have roused the ire of more than one puritan commentator. But musical instruments are merely a means of producing sound; they may be played either well or badly, the result may be sheer cacophony or a musical performance (ibid).

Historically, Doggett is again correct with what is both a legitimate and convincing argument, but it is one which also must have been academic to those at the time who had difficulty with the issue. The view that current undesirable associations may not matter to future generations will almost certainly be of little reassurance to the conservatively-minded during their own lifetime. A stronger argument could have perhaps been constructed by referring to the Psalms, which tell of the use of a variety of instruments in worship, the 'guitar' (i.e. lyre) and 'drums' (i.e. tambourine/ cymbals) included.²⁹

Due to the free exchange between sacred and secular music over the centuries, certain critics who were aware of this fact, realised that it was not a sufficiently persuasive argument to

²⁹ Psalm 150, for example. See also, Chapter 4 p.200.

call for the exclusion of popular music in church purely on the basis of its secular origin. A more powerful argument, they realised, resided in a polemic that simply pitched good music versus bad music. And indeed this is where some of the most staunch critics felt that their strongest case lay, for they believed passionately that popular-style church music was simply poor music, not just as church music but as popular music too. Kenneth Long, in his monumental account of *The Music of the English Church*, first published in 1972, concludes:

perhaps the most serious criticism of so much of this twentieth-century 'light' music is that *it is bad of its kind* (1991:434).

Lionel Dakers, a former Director of the Royal School of Church Music, was also scathing in his remarks in this respect, and consistently so, describing much of the music of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group as 'shallow, sugary, and full of type-cast endings and clichés' (1970:133). And again later:

A glance, for example, at the work of the Twentieth Century Church Light Music Group...reveals a degree of mediocrity and poverty of musical invention which would be hard to equal anywhere (1991:63).

Responding to similar criticism in the early 1960s, Ronald Gordon, in his article cited above, submitted the following counterattack:

'This music is not good enough.' Only the best is good enough for God, the critics argue. This music is not the best. Therefore this music should not be used in divine worship. But how much *traditional* church music - hymns, chants, anthems, voluntaries is of the best? Most of it is, I suspect, more and not less offensive to serious musicians (except those who have been conditioned by a specialised training in an ecclesiastical environment) than is the work of the Light Music Group. And is even Vaughan Williams, or J.S. Bach good enough for God? Of course not (op.cit).

'What anyway is good music', continues Gordon, and can this be

decided without reference to the tastes and attitudes of listeners or performers?' (ibid). However ephemeral the work of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, it 'is at least', concludes Gordon,

a vehicle which can be used to carry the prayers and praises of the holy, common people of God today (ibid).

One final criticism of note to emerge in the context of the popular church music movement related to the failure of such music to draw young people into the church. The implication was that the real intention of Beaumont *et al* was to make the church more attractive to adolescents by using the strains of 'pop' music - 'their music'. However, what Beaumont was ultimately searching for was not, he claims, a 'modern' idiom but rather, as Northcott quotes,³⁰ a 'familiar idiom which connects up what we are doing during the week with our worship' (1964:72). Continuing, Northcott paraphrases:

Neither is the idiom based on 'youth' but is for everyone who is living in the 20th century and is aware of the musical style of the dance rhythm and the 'beat' tune that sets the feet tapping in time wherever you are (ibid).

Historical Precedents

In the history of church music Geoffrey Beaumont and the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were by no means the first to attempt to make church music more familiar. It is well known that Martin Luther (1483-1546) drew on the folk tunes of his day in order to provide a recognisable strain of music for the 'common' people to connect with in worship. 'John Wesley', W.T.

³⁰ Northcott quotes from a mimeograph put out by Beaumont entitled 'Some notes on questions often asked in connection with the 20th Century Folk Mass' (Northcott 1964:72).

Whitley informs us,

was like Luther in his instinct for what was really popular, and being a great traveller, he picked up folk-songs everywhere, and turned them to the account of Christ's cause (1933:142).

William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, was another to realise the potential of contemporary popular tunes. Booth appreciated that the most effective way of reaching the people, many of whom were unfamiliar with the interior of a church let alone hymn tunes, was to link a simple message with a familiar strain of music. For example, the tune from the music hall song 'Champaigne Charlie' was set to 'Bless His Name, He sets me Free', and similarly the tune from Stephen Foster's minstrel ballad 'Poor old Joe' became 'Gone are the days of Wretchedness and Sin'. Some, such as 'I've Found a Friend in Jesus' sung to the tune of the parlour song 'The Old Log Cabin in the Lane' are still used today. The imitation and borrowing of secular tunes was not condoned universally, but it did not deter Booth who is often quoted as saying 'why should the Devil have all the best tunes?' (Collier 1965:70). Although Martin Luther is credited with its original utterance in the 16th century (Scholes 1989:584) this well known phrase has been used and modified on many occasions since. For instance, Joseph Gelineau writes:

St. Grignon de Montfort [1673-1716] wrote his 'cantiques' for the purpose of prolonging the effect of his parochial missions, and he used popular airs for them because, he said, "the devil does not need to have all the good tunes just for himself alone" (Gelineau 1964:185).

Later, in the 20th century, Larry Norman based a song on this

phrase called 'Why should the Devil have all the good music?'.³¹

Besides the exploits of Luther, Wesley and Booth in appropriating secular tunes for sacred use, we may also mention the practise of metrical psalm singing in the 16th century. After congregational metrical psalm singing was introduced into parish worship in England towards the end of the 1550s it soon became firmly established. But, as Kenneth Long is keen to stress, it needs to be 'emphasized' that

metrical psalms were at first intended solely for private devotional singing in the home. To this end they were cast in ballad metre so instead of needing specially composed new melodies they could be sung to the popular old ballad tunes. So 'godly solace' replaced 'amorous obscene songs' (1991:59).

Furthermore, in *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Nicholas Temperley reveals that when psalms were eventually introduced for unaccompanied congregational singing they were 'at first probably sung to well-known popular tunes in which all could join' (1983:76). The intentions of Geoffrey Beaumont and the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were somewhat different to this as they were not so concerned with appropriating 'well-known popular tunes' as composing new music in a popular style. The ethos is, however, a similar one.

In terms of 20th century English hymnody the innovations of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were largely without precedent. Besides the Sankey-style gospel hymn, examples of

³¹ Further to these examples are the following references: 'Why should the devil's house have all the good tunes' [meaning theatre] is attributed to Revd George Whitefield (1714-70) in (Wilkinson 1795). The Revd Rowland Hill is quoted as saying 'I do not see any reason why the devil should have all the good tunes' (p.97) in *The Life of Reverend Rowland Hill (1744-1833)*, by E.W. Broome. Finally, the following quote comes from *Popular Music of Olden Times Vol II*, p.748, pub London c.1858: 'Acting upon the principle "Why should the devil have all the pretty tunes...", the Primitive Methodists or Ranters collect the airs which are sung at pot or public houses and write their own texts (hymns) to them'.

LANCING. (6 6 6. 6 6 6. D. with Refrain.) ALEXANDER BRENT SMITH, 1889-1950.

The musical score for "Lancing" is presented in six systems, each consisting of two staves. The first system shows a single melodic line. The second system is labeled "Unison" and "Harmony". The third system is labeled "Unison". The fourth system is labeled "Harmony". The fifth system is labeled "Unison" and "Harmony". The sixth system is labeled "Unison" and ends with a double bar line and repeat sign.

songs and hymns that were in some way similar were only to be found in collections that were originally produced for children, e.g. *C.S.S.M. Choruses*. Further to this, 'there is only one composer', writes Erik Routley in 1957, 'who comes near to Beaumont's technique' (1957b:89) and that is Alexander Brent Smith (1889-1950) who did so in only two of his hymn tunes³² But he 'did not do what he did', Routley continues,

with anything like Mr. Beaumont's intentions. Those intentions, indeed, he would have loathed like poison, for he was a very conventional churchman (ibid).

What is most striking about the first of the two hymn tunes in question, LANCING (Ex.18, p.71 , pl.13) set to 'When Morning Gilds the Skies', is its contrast with that of the second tune listed in *Congregation Praise*. This, the more conventional setting by Joseph Barnby, is a traditional four-part homophonic texture containing mainly minims and semibreves. While Brent Smith's tune lacks the syncopation and popular music harmonies that many of Beaumont's settings possess, the dotted note values and movement throughout the texture do create a strong rhythmic drive. The second hymn tune of Brent Smith's, COTSWOLD, has a similar character but is more stately. 'There are no more of his like this', Routley informs us.

The Liturgical Movement

Like many significant developments, the emergence of the popular church music movement in the 1950s was symptomatic of a broader campaign. Addressing the movement in a lecture delivered at the Congress of the Incorporated Association of Organists in

³² The two hymns in question can be found in *Congregational Praise* (1951) LANCING no. 193 and COTSWOLD no. 496 ii.

1966, Peter Le Huray began by stating:

Perhaps it might be as well if, at the outset, I attempted briefly to summarise the main stages of the history of the 'pop movement'. The movement is, of course, a by-product of the liturgical movement (1967: 15).

The substance of Le Huray's lecture was published the following year in the RSCM's journal, *English Church Music*, under the title, 'Popular Elements in Church Music', and makes interesting reading.

The Liturgical Movement can, generally speaking, be summed-up as being an attempt to encourage greater and more meaningful congregational participation in the liturgy. But before moving on to look at the relevance of the Liturgical Movement with respect to that of the popular church music movement, it will be helpful to look firstly at its background.

The Liturgical Movement originated in the Roman Communion, but it spread to other Christian Churches and attracted a great deal of interest and support throughout Europe and America in the 20th century. For Alfred Shands, in his book *The Liturgical Movement and the Local Church* published in 1959, it is crucial that the Liturgical Movement is viewed within the framework of the Church's growing 'desire' for catholicity, 'otherwise', he says, 'we will miss its real concern and mission' (1959:14). Other evidence of this desire, which Shands informs us was 'spread broadly throughout the whole Church', was to be seen

in the rise of the Ecumenical Movement and the increasing importance of Biblical Theology. Both of these developments are catholic in nature because they spring from a desire for the wholeness and unity of the one Church of Christ. The first expresses a penitence over the splintering of the Church since the Reformation, and the second reflects the need of the Church today

to find the common roots of our origin over and above the historic formulations of the Reformation and Counter Reformation (ibid).

The Liturgical Movement was itself expounding the virtues of 'wholeness' and 'unity', and by so doing was drawing together people of many nations and tongues. One of the main issues addressed by the Liturgical Movement concerned the need to uphold the unity of all life against the increasing atomisation symptomatic of modern society, i.e. the way in which education, religion, leisure, career, etc exist as disparate activities. In terms of actual worship the emphasis was very much on the active engagement of Christians, viewed as a part of the liturgy and not merely passive assistants. And, moreover, this participation should not be 'individual, but rather with and in relation to all the other members of the body' (ibid:17). Alfred Shands is at pains to emphasise that 'participation is judged to be so important because Christian worship is a life of organic union in the Body of Christ' (ibid); hence the movement's emphasis on the Eucharist.

As for its history, the Liturgical Movement can be dated back to 19th century France and most notably to the work of Dom Prosper Guéanger (1805-1875). In addition to calling for a return to ancient liturgical practice, one of his major achievements was to re-establish the Abbey at Solesmes, together with initiating a movement for the restoration of Gregorian chant, its notation and its performance. However, 'Dom Prosper', writes Edward Matthews,

had in view the full participation of the entire congregation - an aim not easily attainable by parishes lacking the skills and resources of monastic communities (1963:147).

A new wave of activity originating in the Benedictine Abbey of Mont César, Louvain, gave the Liturgical Movement fresh impetus, and the work and writings of Dom Lambert Beauduin were to play a particularly central role. Influenced by such developments, Giuseppe Sarto, then Curé of Salzano, endeavoured to raise standards of public worship in his own church by focusing upon the church festivals and Sacraments. On becoming Pope in 1903, Sarto (i.e. Pius X) set into motion a number of radical reforms which were broadly in keeping with the philosophy of the Liturgical Movement. At the heart of these reforms lay the conviction that 'men must not sing or pray during the Mass, but that they must sing and pray the Mass' (Chappell 1968:108).

Interest in the Liturgical Movement had also been shown elsewhere in Europe, for example, at the Abbey of Maria Laach in the Rhineland, and at Klosterneuberg in Austria. An early indication of the movement reaching the USA occurred circa 1929 with the publication of the liturgical magazine *Orate Fratres*. A short while later the publication of Gabriel Hebert's book *Liturgy and Society* (1935) was a testament to its growing influence in England. In addition to the Catholic and Anglican Church, the Liturgical Movement was also to make a significant impact in Protestant churches more generally and religious communities such as Iona and Taizé.

The influence of the Liturgical Movement in the Church of England in the opening half of the 20th century was reflected in the growing emphasis on congregational singing and participation in the liturgy, and the attempt to place the communion service

at the heart of worship. Both of these tendencies are acknowledged in the two Reports on church music mentioned earlier (i.e. the Archbishops' Committees appointed in 1922 and 1948). The first Report, *Music in Worship*, states the following in its opening pages:

It seems clear to the Committee that the ideal in all parish churches is congregational singing, and that every congregation is well within its rights if it claims to join in all the sung portions of the Prayer Book Services, except the priest's part and those portions of the occasional services assigned by the rubrics to the priests and clerks (1947:5; f.p. 1922).

The second Report, *Music in Church*, further reinforces this opinion but also notes

the ever-increasing tendency to make the Holy Communion the central service of Sunday, together with the introduction in many places of the 'Parish Communion' (1957:9; f.p. 1951).

This, the Report continues,

has given rise to a need for suitable settings, which has not hitherto been fully met. Here is an opportunity for composers to provide music for this service which in within the capacity of the average congregation, and at the same time stimulating and interesting for the choir (ibid).

It may well be, as Nicholas Temperley suggests in his account of *The Music of the English Parish Church*, that 'the pop hymn movement in the Church of England was fairly launched' (1983:341) with the radio broadcast of Geoffrey Beaumont's hymn tune CHESTERTON in October 1955. There is no doubt that hymnody has been the area where the most significant inroads have been made, but it needs emphasising that it was not until over 12 months later and within 'liturgical' music, more strictly, (i.e. Beaumont's *Folk Mass*) that the most compelling impact of the

popular church music movement as a whole was first felt. And that

the relative novelty of congregational singing of the communion may have eased the acceptance, in this department, of music in the pop idiom (ibid:334).

To sum-up, the underlying principles of the Liturgical Movement were concerned with the importance and centrality of the Eucharist, not merely as a ritual but as a living, active and meaningful participation on the part of the congregation. There was also more generally a great stress placed upon the communal aspect of public worship. Perhaps the most far-reaching consequence of the movement, however, has been the promotion of a greater use of the vernacular in the liturgical services.

The relationship between the Liturgical Movement and the popular church music movement is conspicuously manifest in Geoffrey's Beaumont's *20th Century Folk Mass*, both in its participatory function in engaging worshippers in the liturgy and in its use of the 'vernacular', which in musical terms translates to being, in Beaumont's words, 'the normal every day popular type of music' (1956). The ethos that underpins this most influential of pieces is perfectly crystallised in an article that appeared in the midst of the liturgical and musical changes taking place in the early 1960s:³³

It is right for the church to search out and make use of the glories of the past to enrich her worship, for the Church is ageless: our buildings, music, hymns, liturgy, are most of them inherited. Yet the Church's primary preoccupation in any age must be for the people of that age. That is why it exists, and by that it will be judged by God...musically and liturgically most of our churches and cathedrals are living in an agricultural age and are leaving millions of our present age

³³ See also 'Liturgy and Music' (Waddams 1965).

without a setting for worship in which they feel they can offer themselves (Dix 1962: 68-9).

Embedded in the above statement lies the essential rationale of the Liturgical Movement and how it related to the use of the popular music idiom in worship. It also helps to explain, if not validate, Beaumont's contentious exposition which appears in the preface of his *20th Century Folk Mass*:

The theory behind this setting is that the music used at the Holy Eucharist in apostolic days was the normal music of the day and...in the title, the word 'Folk' is used literally to mean the normal every day popular type of music.

Both points - the theory about the type of music used in 'apostolic days' and whether Beaumont's style was indeed the 'normal every day popular type of music' - are disputable. But it is this inattention to detail that reveals where Beaumont's sympathies really lay: not so much in the 'popular or 'folk' music of the day but in the folk themselves.

A few similar attempts were made, other than those by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, to set parts of the liturgy to music in a popular style,³⁴ but in the main most efforts were confined to songs and hymns. However, as Patrick Appleford points out, these did still have a liturgical function and it was, in particular, their use which helped precipitate a change in the language of the liturgy:

Most of us in the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were in the parish communion tradition, part of the liturgical movement concerned to involve people in the singing of the Eucharist and the hymns sang with it. When we began, the language was 1662, choir and servers had a role but congregational participation was minimal. Merbecke and Martin Shaw were the choice of settings; church music was conservative - another

³⁴ For example, Donald Swann composed a setting of the *Te Deum* and *Venite* in a popular style. See Ch.3, p.107.

world. While the traditional had a numinous quality, there needed to be the common, vernacular, earthy music of the people as well. Our use of vernacular secular music helped to speed up the introduction of genuinely vernacular language with 20th Century diction.³⁵

The early to mid-1960s played host to the most intense period of writing by members of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group,³⁶ but later publications did appear.³⁷ Patrick Appleford, especially, one of the most prolific members, continued over the succeeding years to both write and edit church music in a popular style, e.g. *New English Mass* (1973), and *Living Lord: 80 Hymns for the 80s* (1979). Nevertheless, many of the hymn tunes of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group have since withered, although the inclusion of a small number in hymnals and songbooks³⁸ over the years still results in their occasionally use today, e.g. Beaumont's melody to 'Now thank we all our God', Appleford's 'Lord Jesus Christ', and Michael Brierley's tune CAMBERWELL set to 'At The Name of Jesus'.

³⁵ Quoted from correspondence with Patrick Appleford, 1998.

³⁶ For example, *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1960), *Rhythm in Religion* (1960), *Seven Songs for Christmas* (1960), *Mass of Five Melodies* (1961), *More 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1962), *Is This Your Life?* (1964), *Twenty-Seven 20th Century Hymns* (1965), *20th Century Hymn Book Supplement* (1965) and *Twenty-One Hymn Tunes* (1966). All published by Josef Weinberger.

³⁷ *Twenty-One Hymn Tunes* (1966) was the last of the Group's publications of new music to old words. The Group continued to collect material, however, with Angus Ogilvie as Secretary (Appleford resigned in 1966) and published the following works: *Eight Songs to Sing about Christmas* (1968), *Father Forgive Them - Seven songs of faith* by Hayward Osborne (1969), *Six Hymns for all Seasons* (1970), *The Christmas Tree - 20th Century carols and Songs for the Young* (1971) and *Teach Me How to Look - Twenty new hymns* (1973).

³⁸ *Baptist Hymn Book* (1962), *Hymns of Faith* (1964), *Hymns and Songs* (1969), *100 Hymns For Today* (1969), *Sound of Living Waters* (1975), *New Church Praise* (1975), *Celebration Hymnal* (1976), *With One Voice* (1979), *The Song Book of the Salvation Army* (1986), *Hymns Old and New* (Anglican 1986), *Songs and Hymns of Fellowship* (1987), *Anglican Praise* (1987), *Hymns Ancient and Modern New Standard* (1984), *Mission Praise 2* (1987), *Songs of Fellowship* (1991), etc.

Summary and Evaluation

The main point of focus in this chapter has been the birth and early development of the popular church music movement, which while coinciding with the advent of rock'n'roll was not influenced by the current 'pop' sound but a number of styles that had by the 1950s reached full maturity. This was because the 20th Century Church Light Music Group was not trying to appeal specifically to the youth. Their aim was a broader one, which, in Patrick Appleford's words, was to introduce into worship, alongside more traditional forms, 'the common, vernacular, earthy music of the people' (see p.78 above). For this purpose the Group drew primarily on an idiom that, in terms of its public appeal, had proved itself in countless musicals over many decades. And as 'hymns are the popular element in religion, the people's part in divine service' (Colquhoun 1980:9) it was here that they concentrated most of their efforts.

Although it has been shown that there were other forms of popular-style church music in existence at the time, such as gospel hymnody, the real significance of the popular church music movement was that it emanated from within the Church of England. Furthermore, it was both organised and sustained. Judging by the number of articles and books published in the 1960s and 1970s which refer to the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, as well as their own many publications, it is fair to say that the movement made a significant impact. This is also verified by the inclusion of the Group's hymns in contemporary and subsequent hymnals and songbooks, especially those of other denominations (e.g. the Catholic *20th Century Folk Hymnal*).

Although it is difficult to ascertain accurately how powerful its influence was, the movement undoubtedly helped pave the way for later forms of popular and folk-style church music.

While it is evident that the exploits of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group were welcomed or at least sympathised with, it is equally clear that there was deep concern also. Much of the debate centred on what critics perceived as the poor quality of the music and its ephemeral nature. But as Beaumont himself was quick to remonstrate:

We are not told that the Stable was the best stable, or Jordan the best water, or the Cross the best wood - until Christ made them so by his use of them.³⁹

The argument put forward by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group in the preface to *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* is also compelling.

They are offered in the belief that not only the great and lasting music of the past but also the ordinary and transient music of today - which is the background to the lives of so many - has a rightful place in our worship.⁴⁰

In other words, while the light music idiom may not be a permanent one it is an important outlet in the present lives of a great many ordinary people. It should, therefore, have a legitimate role in worship besides music which more adequately reflects the endurance of the Christian message. Arguments from both camps are valid, but regrettably often irreconcilable; like the criticism levelled earlier at the CSSM choruses, they highlight again the sensitive nature of church music and, moreover, the encroachment of the popular style upon it.

³⁹ Quoted by Cecil Northcott (1964:72) from a mimeograph written by Geoffrey Beaumont entitled 'Some notes on questions often asked in connection with the *20th Century Folk Mass*'.

⁴⁰ *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (Weinberger, 1960).

Finally, for the roots of the popular church music movement we must turn to the Liturgical Movement. It was the impact of this movement in the Church of England in the first half of the 20th century that provided the impetus for re-evaluation and subsequent reform, changes which accommodated greater congregational participation in singing the liturgy of the communion service. Seizing the initiative, Geoffrey Beaumont used this opportunity to compose a Eucharist setting that he believed could more 'properly be called a *Folk Mass*'. Although one of his hymn tunes had already appeared on the radio programme 'Sunday Half Hour' in 1955 it was the *20th Century Folk Mass*, and more particularly its televising in 1957, that 'started something and awakened the minds of church musicians to a quite new situation' (Routley 1964:1667), a situation which would ensure that church music would never be quite the same again.

*Popular and Folk-Style Church Music
- Its Influence and Development
in the 1960s*

The central theme of the previous chapter was the birth of the 'popular church music movement'. The impact of this movement was significant and it would continue to influence church music in England throughout the 1960s, particularly in the first half of the decade, a period which has already been identified as being the most productive time for the 20th Century Church Light Music Group. The aim of this chapter is, firstly, to highlight further developments, such as the influence of the movement on professional musicians and, secondly, to broaden the subject base by identifying other forms of popular-style church music in the 1960s as well as noting the emergence of 'folk-hymnody'.

A 'Beat' Service in Salisbury Cathedral!

Far from being a passing fad, the popular church music movement continued in the early 1960s to grow in recognition. On Saturday, April 28th, 1962 a 'beat' service took place in Salisbury Cathedral in which the cathedral organist Christopher Dearnley participated and which he helped to prepare. The occasion was one of the annual diocesan services and the intention of the 'experiment', Dearnley later revealed, was to present the music in the 'style and idiom of twentieth century popular

music' (Dearnley 1962:56).¹ Following the debate that enveloped the service, which included comment in the national papers,² Christopher Dearnley penned a judiciously worded letter to the Royal School of Church Music's periodical *English Church Music* explaining his view on the subject. In his correspondence Dearnley lists a series of theological, musical and aesthetic considerations which he submits as being criteria for determining what is suitable church music. The tone of the letter is defensive but reflects those views of a moderate. Dearnley does not argue for the abandonment of traditional church music any more than he supports the appropriation of popular culture for the sake of being modern. His comments simply display an openness to the 'contrasting idiom of twentieth century light music'; a means by which the Church could, for example, display the idea that it is 'wholly involved with the world' without being subservient to it. In conclusion, Dearnley maintains that being open to the influence of the popular style need not entail mimicking the 'standardized cultural frankfurters of the popular music industry' (ibid).

What is most important about this service is that it was almost certainly the first time that a significant amount of popular-style church music had been used in a cathedral. In the opinion of Dr Cecil Northcott, writing in his book *Hymns in Christian Worship*, the service also marked,

¹ Much of the music used was that of Geoffrey Beaumont and the 20th Century Church Light Music Group.

² To gain some understanding of the intensity of feeling surrounding this event the *Times* (April, 1962) reported the protestations of one elderly gentleman at the service who shouted through the great nave: 'If you can't get the youth back to Christ in their hearts you won't do it with this modern paraphernalia and jungle music. I must complain about the desecration of this holy house!'

the recognition by the Church of England (the Bishop of Sherborne gave the Blessing) of the place of the light music idiom in Christian worship (1964:69).

Both factors, then, help to explain the amount of controversy that surrounded the service. There had hitherto been a certain degree of tolerance shown by the more traditionally-minded towards the moderate use of popular-style church music at evangelical services and in parish churches, but now that it had finally infiltrated the last bastion of English church music - the cathedral - and with such a high profile, there was understandably a good deal of concern. However, since then the impact of popular-style church music on cathedral practice and repertoire has remained negligible as compared with its influence elsewhere.³

Nowhere was the disapproval of the service at Salisbury Cathedral, and popular music generally, voiced with more venom than in a book called *Music and Holiness* by church musician and musical puritan Charles Cleall:

Have 'pops' a place in church? They draw: they reach the masses: but they do so because they are intrinsically barbarous; by which token they shut man out of a knowledge of the beautiful. They try to raise themselves to the highest position of his life; that of the ideal: the pop-star is his God (1964:39).

Many of Cleall's views, although extreme, do have a familiar ring but he does allude to a number of issues about which relatively little had been written in a church music context, at

³ This is not to suggest that cathedrals have remain untouched by modern developments in church music. For example, Andrew Wilson-Dickson notes in the early 1990s how 'Bradford Cathedral has its own music group (including electric guitars) and the Organist and Master of the Choiristers plays keyboards for it' (1992:243). There have also been some interesting 'modern' compositions that have found their way into the cathedral repertoire such as Bryan Kelly's *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* (1965, 'Latin American') and *O Be Joyful* (1970, Caribbean Jubilate). However, The Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music, *In Tune With Heaven*, published in 1992 still maintains that 'the range of music employed in cathedrals is often fairly narrow (:88).

least in such explicit terms. Cleall has a number of concerns, one of which relates to the alliance between popular music and dancing. His argument runs roughly as follows: there is a strong link (which he states is supported biblically) between sexual immorality and dance music; ergo, to bring dance music into the church is 'making provision to fulfil the lusts of the flesh' (:57). A related issue is the connection between 'rhythm and beat,' and sexual excitement, a relationship Cleall considers 'unmistakable' (:61). His other main anxiety is over pop-idolatry and the music industry about which, in summing-up, he writes:

its commercial machine enslaves each generation to the ritual of grovelling collectively before gods who are themselves blind and empty (:70).⁴

Another indication of the high profile of the popular church music movement in the early 1960s was evident in 1963 when the Royal School of Church Music, replacing its quarterly journal with an annual edition, chose as its first topic 'modern church music'. In at least four of the articles, church music in a popular style is addressed, either in the context of modern church music⁵ or as a subject in its own right.⁶

A further significant development that needs drawing attention to is the interest shown by professional musicians in popular-style church music. The popular church music movement had emanated from within the Church of England, and had been led initially by a self-styled group of mainly clergymen and a few

⁴ For similar comments see Routley 1969:116.

⁵ 'Church Music Today' by John Joubert and 'Church Music' by Peter Moore.

⁶ 'Contemporary Music and the Church' by Meredith Davies and 'In a down-town Parish' by Ronald Gordon.

schoolmasters whose make-up and ethos, in musical terms, was amateur. There is, however, evidence in books and articles which address this phenomenon to suggest that the movement's influence broadened throughout the 1960s. One eminent composer who is frequently mentioned alongside that of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group is Malcolm Williamson.⁷

Malcolm Williamson

Born in Australia in 1931, Malcolm Williamson first studied piano, violin and French horn at the Sydney Conservatoire, and then later composition with Sir Eugene Goossens. He arrived in London in 1950 and continued his studies with Elisabeth⁸ Lutyens and Erwin Stein, settling permanently in England in 1952. Throughout his career Williamson has conducted, lectured and performed with many of the top orchestras as both a piano and organ soloist. He also worked for a time as a night club pianist where, no doubt, his interest in writing in a popular style was cultivated. As a composer he has written in all of the major musical forms: symphony, concerto, opera, ballet, chamber, choral, etc. He has also written for television and film. His skill as a composer for the organ was demonstrated in the piece *Vision of Christ Phoenix* which was commissioned for the consecration of Coventry Cathedral in 1962. In 1975 Williamson was appointed Master of the Queen's Music.

With regard to his experiments with popular-style church music in the early 1960s, Williamson's compositions display varying degrees of hybridity between the more 'conventional' and

⁷ See, for example, Routley 1964:176, Chappell 1968:117, Le Huray 1967 and Rhys and Palmer 1967:63.

⁸ She insisted that her name be spelt like this.

the 'popular'. While he has made a number of direct incursions into the realm of popular-style hymnody,⁹ it is his extended settings (cantatas, anthems, etc)¹⁰ which are more inclined to display this mixture of styles, but even Williamson's more large-scale works reflect his interest with popular music and jazz, e.g. *Organ Symphony* (1960) and *Symphony for Voices* (1962).

Williamson's popular-style church music has received both criticism and acclaim. His *Mass of St Andrew* (1964) has been labelled as 'disappointing and dull' (Chappell 1968:117) compared with Patrick Appleford's *Mass of Five Melodies* and Lionel Dakers (a former director of the RSCM) has described 'the quality of his collection *12 New Hymn Tunes*' (1962) as being 'unequal' (1970:132). Despite this, Williamson's compositions in the popular style were broadly welcomed amongst church musicians and he remained, in their opinion, one of the few musicians who could seriously develop this form of church music. Dr Peter le Huray, for example, in a lecture delivered at the Congress of the Incorporated Association of Organists in 1966 concluded:

To my way of thinking, the composer who has recently done the most to forge a popular, yet universal idiom, is Malcolm Williamson. His music, too, is often blunt, and even vulgar - but he can rarely be accused of preciousness. He has the gift of taking some quite ordinary progression, or rhythm, or melody, and giving it the unexpected twist. Isn't it here that the future of modern congregational 'pop' lies? (1967:24).

⁹ Examples of hymn-settings include: *12 New Hymn Tunes* (Weinberger 1962); *Easter Carol* (1962) and *Six Christmas Songs for the Young* (1963).

¹⁰ e.g. *Adoremus* (1961); *Harvest Thanksgiving* (1962); *Procession of Palms* (1962) and *Let them give thanks* (1962). For notes on the latter see Lumsden 1965:215.

Rhys and Palmer, in their book *The ABC of Church Music* (1967), were also keen to lionise Williamson's efforts:

In this [Williamson's] music we find good, broad tunes and decisive rhythms which, while not attempting to follow current "pop" trends, have sufficient individuality to appeal not only to those of limited musical taste, but also to more experienced and cultivated musicians (1967:65).

12 New Hymn Tunes

A perusal of Williamson's *12 New Hymn Tunes* does reveal a number of 'unexpected twists' of the kind Le Huray identifies. However, in spite of the faith placed in Williamson at the time by Le Huray and others, none of the hymns tunes from this collection were to become as popular as Patrick Appleford's 'Lord Jesus Christ' or Michael Brierley's 'At the Name of Jesus' - that is, judging by their inclusion over the years in hymnals and songbooks.¹¹

The style of Williamson's *12 New Hymn Tunes* (all set to well established texts) is in the main similar to that of *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (1960) by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group as the following examples will illustrate. Added 6th and 7th chords are, for example, common and all but one are of the melody/accompaniment style. There is rhythmic variety too, including some syncopation, and the majority are directed to be played with vitality. 'Awake, My Soul, and With

¹¹ From the following sample of fourteen major hymnals and songbooks Patrick Appleford's (A) 'Lord Jesus Christ' appears in nine. The same applies to Michael Brierley's (B) CAMBERWELL set to 'At the Name of Jesus'. Malcolm Williamson's (W1) tune to 'Christ, Whose Glory Fills the Skies' appears in only two as does his (W2) setting of 'Hail to the Lord Who Comes': *New Catholic Hymnal* (1971) - W2; *The Church Hymnary* (1973) - W1; *Christian Worship* (1976) - B & W1; *Christian Hymns* (1977) - B; *Hymns for Today's Church* (1982) - B & A; *Hymns and Psalms* (1983) - A & B & W2; *Hymns Ancient and Modern New Standard* (1984) - A; *The New English Hymnal* (1986) - A; *Rejoice and Sing* (1991) - A; *Baptist Praise and Worship* (1991) - A & B; *Hymns Old and New* (1996) - A & B; *BBC Songs of Praise* (1997) - A & B; *Source* (1998) - B; *Complete Anglican Hymns Old and New* (2000) - A & B.

the Sun', for instance, is marked 'With a beat'. Others carry the performance direction 'Flowing', 'Fast', 'Vigorous', etc. The mixing of styles¹² is also once again evident as Williamson provides a couple of waltz settings (Ex.1, p.90 , pl.14) and one in 'Slow March Time' (Ex.2, p.91 , pl.15).

The 'unexpected twists' that Le Huray mentions occur largely in this collection in the harmonic progressions. A good example of this is 'We Love the Place, O God' (Ex.3, p.92 , pl.16) which begins with a couple of 'ordinary' chord sequences, but then moves rapidly away from the home key of F major in preparation for a modulation to the flattened mediant - a device evidently favoured by Williamson more widely in his compositions and one influenced perhaps by his interest with the popular style:

The jejune diatonicism of Williamson's later melodies is aggravated by limitations in harmonic language. His dependence on implied tonic and dominant pedals, and on modulations to the flattened mediant or flattened 7th, almost invariably prepared by the dominant 7th of the new key, suggests an unfortunate comparison with the methods of those night-club pianists among whom Williamson for a time figured (Walsh 1980:438).

Modulations like that to the flattened mediant can, of course, be found in art music, as can syncopation, Dom 9th, augmented and diminished chords etc, but it is the application of such elements, and in particular their combination, in certain forms of popular music that is relevant here. And again, as was the case with the work of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, it is the early 20th century 'popular song' style that bears the closest resemblance to Williamson's *new hymn tunes*. For evidence

¹² See Ch.2, p.55 & p.62.

Jerusalem on high

Waltz Time

I Je - ru - sa - lem on high

My song and ci - - ty is,

My home when e'er I die, The cen tre of

my bliss: O hap - py place!

When shall I be, My God, with thee, To see thy face.

Faith of our fathers, living still

Slow March Time

The musical score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are: "I Faith of our fa - thers, li - - ving still In spite of dun - geon, fire, and sword, O how our hearts beat high with joy When-e'er we hear that glor - ious word. Faith of our fa - thers! Ho - ly faith! We will be true to thee till death! thee till death!" The piano accompaniment includes various chords such as Fmaj7, F8, G9+, C9, Bb8, G9, F9, Bbmaj7, Bb8, Bbm, Bbm8, Bbm7, Bbm+, Bb9, E9, A6, Am7, Dm7, G9, C9, F8, C9, F, Fmaj7, F7, Bb, Bbm8, Bbmaj7, C9, F8, Bbmaj7, C7, and F. There are also first and second endings marked with '1-2' and '3'.

2 Our fathers, chain'd in prisons dark,
 Were still in heart and conscience free;
 And blest would be their children's fate,
 Though they, like them, should die for thee.
 Faith of our fathers! Holy faith!
 We will be true to thee till death.

3 Faith of our fathers! We will love
 Both friend and foe in all our strife,
 And preach thee, too, as love knows how,
 By kindly words and virtuous life.
 Faith of our fathers! Holy faith!
 We will be true to thee till death.

of a modulation to the flattened mediant in a popular song of this type we can turn to, amongst others, Cole Porter's 'You'd Be So Nice To Come Home To' (Ex.4, p.93 , pl.17).

Besides Malcolm Williamson, a number of other eminent composers showed an interest in writing church music in a popular style in the 1960s. For example, John Gardner wrote *Five Hymns in Popular Style* (OUP) for the 1963 Farnham Festival. The five hymns, dedicated to Malcolm Williamson, are scored for SATB chorus and orchestra (or piano) and may be performed separately or together as one work. A little over thirty years later, in 1997, the hymns would be republished and warmly welcomed when reviewed in the RSCM's quarterly magazine *CMQ* (Oct 1997). Peter Tranchell, also, composed a number of Psalm settings in a popular style in the mid to late 1960s - an antiphonal rendering of 'Psalm 126', for instance, (Stainer & Bell, 1969). As neither this nor Gardner's five hymns were intended for congregational use they need not concern us further. While their efforts can be linked to the popular church music movement,¹³ in terms of influence and sheer output it was the 20th Century Church Light Music Group that continued to spearhead the movement throughout the 1960s.

Having highlighted some further developments with regard to the popular church music movement, we can now turn our attention to a new and, as far as one can ascertain, largely unconnected development: 'folk-hymnody'. The emergence of folk-hymnody in the 1960s presents a new strain of Christian song which can be

¹³ See Chappell 1968:133 and Le Huray 1967.

associated with the British folk revival. This connection, along with other issues, is now explored in the context of the work of Sydney Carter, a somewhat enigmatic character who has been identified as being one of the most successful exponents of folk-hymnody (Idle 1991; see below).

Sydney Carter and Folk-Hymnody

Sydney Carter was born in Camden Town in 1915 and attended Montem Street LCC School in Islington. It was while at school at the age of thirteen that he underwent something of a Christian conversion. This was to be consummated two years later in a formal confirmation. He later studied at Balliol College, Oxford after which he held a number of posts including journalist and school teacher. He also served with the Friends' Ambulance Unit in the Middle East and Greece during the Second World War. As a writer and 'artiste' Carter has been described as a folk-singer, satirist, hymn-writer and performing poet.

In terms of Carter's contribution to Christian song, Christopher Idle, in *Parish Music*, writes:

Sydney Carter has been the most successful writer in a style of Folk-hymn which achieved rapid popularity in the 1960s...the strength of such pieces lies in often haunting, often dancing, melodies wedded to words both simple and original (1991:81).

And the Revd Dr Brian Castle, in his book *Sing a New Song to the Lord*, says of him:

Poet and song-writer Sydney Carter captured the spirit of the times with a directness and freshness. The questioning which John Robinson articulated in *Honest to God* and the need to express a new understanding of the faith in a new idiom was part of Carter's appeal (Castle 1994:93).

Both of the above appraisals contain a number of intriguing

We love the place, O God

Flowing

The musical score consists of four systems of music. Each system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The piano part includes chord symbols below the notes. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

System 1:
 1 We love the place, O Lord, Wherein thy hon-our dwells; The joy of
 Chords: F, Dm7, Gm7, C8, F, C, B7, C, C7, Dm8

System 2:
 thine a - bode All earth - ly joy ex - cels. 2 We love the house of prayer,
 Chords: E8, A, Am8, Ab7, G8, C, C7, Ab, Ab8, Bbm7, Eb8

System 3:
 where-in thy ser - vants meet; and thou, O Lord, art there thy chos - en
 Chords: Ab, Eb, Bb7, Eb, Gm8, F, Eb, Bb, D9, Dm, F7

System 4:
 flock to greet. Saints a - - - dore.
 Chords: Bb, Fmaj7, F8, Bb8, C7, F

- 3 We love the sacred font,
For there the holy Dove
To pour is ever wont
His blessing from above.
- 4 We love thine altar, Lord;
O, what on earth so dear!
For there, in faith adored,
We find thy presence near.
- 5 We love the word of life,
The word that tells of peace,
Of comfort in the strife,
And joys that never cease.

- 6 We love to sing below
For mercies freely given;
But O, we long to know
The triumph-song of heaven!
- 7 We love the place, O God,
Wherein thine honour dwells;
The joy of thine abode
All earthly joys excels.
- 8 Lord Jesus, give us grace
On earth to love thee more,
In heaven to see thy face,
And with thy Saints adore.

W. Bullock, 1798-1874, and Sir H.W. Baker

Allegretto comodo

Piano introduction for Example 4, featuring a treble and bass staff with a 4/4 time signature. The music consists of a series of chords and melodic lines in the right hand, and a bass line in the left hand.

C G7 C G C7 F Fm

It's not that you're fair-er, Than a lot of girls just as pleas-in', That I

Musical notation for the first vocal line, including a treble staff with lyrics and a piano accompaniment with treble and bass staves. The piano part includes a dynamic marking of *p*.

C G7 C D7 G D7 G D7 C F#

doff my hat as a wor-ship-per at your shrine,— It's

Musical notation for the second vocal line, including a treble staff with lyrics and a piano accompaniment with treble and bass staves. The piano part includes a dynamic marking of *mf*.

Bb7 Eb Bb Eb7 Ab

not that you're rar-er Than as-par-a-gus out of sea-son, No, my

Musical notation for the third vocal line, including a treble staff with lyrics and a piano accompaniment with treble and bass staves.

clues which deserve further exploration to gain an understanding of Sydney Carter's contribution to folk-hymnody.¹⁴ We shall return to Idle's and Castle's assessments a little later when we will use them to look at Carter in more detail. Before doing this it is important to note that the term 'folk' was very much in vogue in the 1960s, due largely to the second British folk revival.¹⁵ As a consequence its usage at this time, and from the 1960s onwards, is not always clear, and certainly not constant, as an article by Bill Tamblyn published in the RSCM's journal in 1966 reveals:

And just what is 'folk'? We stopped singing folk songs after the industrial revolution. Isolated troubadours in the mining and industrial areas are still singing what might be called 'real' folk songs, but their undisciplined music would shock the average 'folk' fan who measures his 'folk' by Peter, Paul and Mary. The idiom of this real folk music is completely strange to most ears, and like authentic mediaeval carols, would only cause alarm if used in church. When most well-intentioned churchmen use the term 'folk' they refer to young men with guitars (three chord technique type), ballad lyrics and a musical idiom no more difficult on the ear than Bob Lind's *Elusive Butterfly* (1966:18).

It is apparent from Tamblyn's comments that the use of the word 'folk' was variable. Therefore, all church music displaying the title 'folk-hymn' or 'folk-song' will not necessarily bear the same kind of scrutiny, especially as that which can be applied to Sydney Carter's folk-hymns, i.e. in terms of what it means to be 'folk'. As Tamblyn points out, in its most diluted form

¹⁴ Another important contributor to folk-hymnody was Peter Smith who compiled the following song books: *Faith, Folk and Clarity* (1967); *Faith, Folk and Nativity* (1968) and *Faith, Folk and Festivity* (1969). The books contain melody line and chord symbols. Malcolm Stewart is another folk-composer of note, e.g. *Gospel Songs for To-day* (Geoffrey Chapman, 1971). For some comments regarding folk and pop musical influences in American hymnody see Renyolds and Price 1987.

¹⁵ The Second British folk revival has, in a recent study, been identified as occurring approximately between 1944-1978 (Brocken 1997:5).

'folk' simply describes music of a light 'popular' style.

The use of the term 'folk' to refer to Christian songs in 1960s became increasingly common and extended into the 1970s, such as with the three volumes of a *20th Century Folk Hymnal* (1974, 1975, 1976). But what was really meant by the term 'folk-hymn'? Understanding, now, that its use and meaning will have varied, the following study of Sydney Carter, as one of the earliest and most prominent exponents of so-called 'folk-hymnody', is offered as one means by which this question can be addressed. It also provides an example of where the consideration of both music and words can prove to be particularly useful.

Returning to the two quotes cited above, it seems clear, from Brian Castle's appraisal, that perhaps the ideal place in which to begin an exposition of Carter's folk-hymns should be an investigation into the context from which they emerged. The following pages are intended to begin to establish that context (admittedly, only scratching the surface as they do).

In contrast to the relative stability of the 1950s, epitomised in Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's slogan 'You've never had it so good', the 1960s was a decade of profound change and re-evaluation. The growing tendency to voice opinion, be more questioning and generally seek greater independence can to some extent be traced back to the effects of the Second World War. In addition to accentuating the transitory nature of human existence one of the darkest and most ominous remnants of the War loomed menacingly still in the shape of the nuclear bomb. The Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 was a more recent reminder of how

real the threat was. Advancements in technology and medicine, such as the introduction of contraceptive pill in 1961, enabled a great degree of personal autonomy while more collectively political opinion was being passionately voiced through demonstrations, rallies and organisations like CND. In short, it was now becoming more apparent to people at large that it was no longer desirable or indeed prudent to entrust leaders solely with the ultimate responsibility in matters political, social, religious, or otherwise.

Hand in hand with the socio-political factors there is what Professor Hubert Cunliffe-Jones has termed 'the theological ferment of the 1960s' (1970:157) to consider. This 'ferment' was to manifest itself powerfully in the early 1960s in both the Catholic Church (e.g. Vatican II 1962-5 - its effect on church music is explored below) and the Church of England (e.g. the publication of the Rt Revd Dr John Robinson's book *Honest to God* in 1963). *Honest to God* was Robinson's attempt to explain, or interpret, the Christian faith to, what he viewed as, 'modern man'; part of this endeavour included a 'radical questioning of the established religious frame' (Robinson 1963:9) through which Christianity was being presented. Robinson believed that the direction of thought and expression should be:

to strip away the associations of churchiness and religiosity and everything that sets apart the sanctuary from society, and to let the decor, the music and the architecture speak the language of the world it is meant to be transforming (Robinson 1963:89).

The book was radical, and in Robinson's own words 'doubtless to many, heretical' (ibid:10), but despite it being essentially a personal confession, the book, of which more than a million

copies have been sold,

clearly corresponded to a widespread mood...It shows an astonishing confidence in 'ultimate reality' (p.29), at a time when uncertainty as to whether there is anything ultimate is dominant, together with real uncertainty about what God is (Cunliffe-Jones 1970: 158).

The fact that Robinson was at the time the Bishop of Woolwich, and therefore an 'insider', contributed greatly to the book's controversy and further helps to explain the widespread response.¹⁶

'These disturbing and exciting times were reflected in contemporary popular songs' too, writes Castle (op.cit:87), such as with Bob Dylan's 'The Times They Are A-Changin' (1963). It now becomes more clear in what sense Castle means when he refers to Carter capturing 'the spirit of the times', as it was in the midst of these 'disturbing and exciting times' that one of Sydney Carter's most well known religious songs was written, 'Lord of the Dance' (1963):

I danced on a Friday
When the sky turned black-
It's hard to dance
With the devil on your back.
They buried my body
And they thought I'd gone-
But I am the dance
And I still go on.

*Dance then wherever you may be
I am the Lord of the Dance, said he,
And I'll lead you all, wherever you may be,
And I'll lead you all in the dance, said he.*

Like John Robinson's book, Sydney Carter's writing is often probing and questioning, and through it he seeks to articulate his understanding of Christianity, a subject that he has been

¹⁶ See, for example, *The Honest to God Debate* (Robinson & Edwards 1963).

consistently candid about:

If to be a Christian is to believe that all the New Testament (let alone the Old) is literally true, I am not a Christian.¹⁷

Furthermore, Carter's Christian songs, also like Robinson's book, are not primarily theological or doctrinal but a confession of personal convictions borne out of the need to be *honest to God*. Through this 'honest' approach Carter also corresponded with a widespread mood. He was, in Castle's words,

able to express the paradoxes and difficulties within the Christian faith which so many felt but feared that voicing them would be disloyal (op.cit:94).

Turning now to the other quotation by Christopher Idle, the primary consideration is the use of the term 'folk-hymn'. It is evident from C.H. Phillips' book, *The Singing Church*, published in 1945, that hymns were already considered to be 'modern folk-songs' (:214), which begs the question, 'In what other way can Carter's 'hymns' be described as 'folk'? The first part of the answer lies in Carter's literary and musical style and the second relates to Carter's connection with the second British folk revival. But as well as addressing the 'folk' issue we need also to consider the use of the word 'hymn' because Carter himself refutes both these terms as definitive labels, preferring 'carol' instead (Carter 1974, q.v.).

In dealing first with the term 'hymn', the difficulty is that Carter does not write specifically for the church, although he did acknowledge in the preface to one of his song books that 'two or three have found their way to church' (Carter 1969b).

¹⁷ Quoted from sleeve notes that accompany *Lord of the Dance - Carols and Ballads*, Sydney Carter. Elektra Records (UK) Ltd 1966 EPK-801.

However, he was then quick to add a disclaimer:

This does not make them hymns, though one of them, *Lord of the Dance*, has been printed in a hymn book. It still continues to be sung by those who do not go to church. This reassures me, for the kind of song which is only sung in church is not the kind of song I want to write (ibid).

In clarifying his position further Carter then added the following statement in relation to a, then recent, recording (complete with whistle and bodhran) of 'Lord of the Dance' by 'The Corries':

My pre-Christian part is happy as I listen to this pagan rumble; the Christian part is happy, too. When this occurs, you're on the wave length of a carol, not a hymn; and that is where I'd rather be (ibid).

Carter's preference for the term 'carol' (which does, in itself, carry certain religious/folk connotations) in no way relates to its present, almost exclusive, association with Christmas. Rather, his usage belongs to more archaic times in which he says, 'historically speaking, you could say that a carol was a dance before it was a song, and a song before it got into a hymn book' (Carter 1974:7), a sentiment he closely identifies with in relation to his own songs. A crucial element in Carter's above statement is the word 'dance', because he believes that his songs are the 'product of a kind of inner dance' (ibid). Not playing a instrument, Carter is perhaps more acutely aware of the 'physical' process of composition - rhythm and movement lie very much at the heart of his creativity. When he is composing Carter explains that he is:

forced to get up and move about, to tap out a rhythm on the table and the floor. Muscles are involved in this. Already the song has turned into a dance, and it is not written yet (ibid:7).

Carter's fascination with the concept of dance is a complex one as it goes beyond simply music and movement, a point Lionel Adey, in his book *Class & Idol in the English Hymn*, attempts to explain in relation to 'Lord of the Dance':

Carter weaves his great lyric around the figure of the cosmic dance, which goes back to Dante and before him to the prophet Samuel.¹⁸ The dancer is at once the Creator Spirit who danced 'in the morning/when the world was begun' and Christ who 'danced on the earth'...His [Carter's] Lord of the Dance, in short, is 'the dancer and the dance'¹⁹ in the sense of being at once Creator, Redeemer, and cosmos (1988:252).

Despite what may appear to be Carter's unconventional Christian views and his reluctance in accepting the term 'hymn', we are now aware that Carter's religious songs did, in some measure, succeed in capturing the spirit of the times by helping to express a new understanding of the Christian faith. It is reasonable to suggest, then, that in doing this they qualify as hymns. This can be further substantiated by referring to Erik Routley's definition of the term 'hymn': 'a strophic song on a Christian subject capable of being sung by a congregation' (1983:3). As for Carter's melodies, hymn tunes and settings have varied enormously throughout history from the possible use of folk-song in Christian antiquity (Robertson 1961:20) to the appropriation of 'popular' melodies by Luther, Wesley and William Booth. Furthermore, as music is neither intrinsically sacred nor secular, Carter's melodies, when coupled with a religious verse, are equally entitled as any other to be recognised as hymn tunes.

¹⁸ Cf. Dante, *Paridiso*, Canto XX, and 2 Sam.6.14.

¹⁹ Concluding line of 'Among School Children': 'How can we know the dancer from the dance'. *Collected poems of Y.B. Yeats* (London: Macmillan 1963), 242-5.

Moving to the word 'folk', this is perhaps the most common term used to describe Sydney Carter's songs. In spite of this Carter persistently maintains that his songs are 'not "folk";' but, he adds, 'a singer in the folk or blues tradition might know what to do with them more easily than a singer trained ecclesiastically' (Carter 1969c). Clearly context is all important to Carter, for while he dislikes his songs being classified in any definitive manner (he also has difficulty escaping the notion that folk songs are 'traditional', 'ancient' and 'anonymous') he is happy to acknowledge that they can 'become folk or hymns'²⁰ depending on where and how they are interpreted.

It is by now only too apparent that the word 'folk', like 'popular', is a semantic conundrum which relies for its definition on a range of determining factors which are both culturally and historically specific.²¹ Furthermore, in any such context what *I* may think folk *you* may not. In attempting, then, to gain some understanding of folk hymnody in the 1960s, as it relates to Sydney Carter, a contextualisation of his words and music is necessary while remembering that the perception of 'folk' in the 1960s will have been conditioned by both the folk revival and by prior notions of what was meant by the term 'folk'.

Firstly, then, how can Carter's lyrics be considered 'folk'? It has been said on good authority that 'folksong is distinguished for its bold, brazen treatment of things that a sophisticated society holds sacred' (Routley 1964:186); a state-

²⁰ Quoted from an interview between the author and Sydney Carter, 16/12/98.

²¹ See Ch.1, p.28.

ment which in itself succinctly epitomises Carter's folk-hymns, but which is also rather stereotypical. However applicable such a definition is, it does not automatically invest in a lyric the status of 'folk'. There need to be contributing factors.

It was mentioned earlier that Carter's lyrics can be challenging and searching. He can also be polemic. A recording of 'Friday Morning', for example, was the first commercial record to be held back for blasphemy, and when it was published in the magazine *Risk* by the World Council of Churches it provoked 2000 letters of protest to the New York office alone.

'Friday Morning' (vv. 1 & 2):

It was on a Friday morning
that they took me from the cell,
And I saw they had a carpenter
To crucify as well.
You can blame it on to Pilate
You can blame it on the Jews,
You can blame it on the Devil,
It's God I accuse.
It's God they ought to crucify
Instead of you and me,
I said to the carpenter
A-hanging on the tree.

You can blame it on to Adam
You can blame it on to Eve,
You can blame it on the Apple,
But that I can't believe.
It was God that made the Devil
And the Woman and the Man,
And there wouldn't be an Apple
If it wasn't in the plan.
It's God they ought to crucify
Instead of you and me,
I said to the carpenter
A-hanging on the tree.

Just as Carter's questioning of Christianity may be viewed as indicative of the theological ferment of the 1960s, Carter's literary style can be linked with the folk revival in Britain (of which he was a prominent figure) which had a strong polemical dimension. There are other facets of Carter's verse that are also indicative of the folk movement such as his 'protest songs', but a context in which Carter's lyrics can be considered as folk is already established. By virtue of Carter's folk affiliation and with him sharing certain folk traits, both contemporary and traditional, Carter's lyrics 'become folk' by association.

In describing Carter's tunes as 'folk' there is, as in discussing his lyrics, a strong element of association. In other words, whether or not his tunes display traditional or modern folk characteristics, there are other factors that can contribute or lead to the term 'folk' being used to describe his music. For example, his songs were regularly performed in folk clubs by both himself and other artistes. And by Carter's own admission a 'folk-singer' can be taken to mean 'anyone who has performed fairly often in a folk club' (Carter 1974:90). Furthermore, the sleeve notes of a record released in 1967, featuring Sydney Carter and Jeremy Taylor, state: 'both write songs and sing them. Anyone who does this now is likely to be labelled "folk",'²² especially if they sing them in folk clubs. The association for Carter's tunes, therefore, is inevitable.

There are, however, a number of elements in Carter's tunes that further help to qualify the use of 'folk'. In order to help establish this we may turn to a couple of dictionary definitions which present what may be described as a synthesis of commonly held views concerning folk music. While they are not definitive they are useful in determining whether or not there is in fact any basis, musically speaking, for describing Carter's tunes as folk. According to *The Oxford Companion to Music*:

Folk-song tunes are always verse-repeating; they are often in the old modes...The rhythms are often free, so that when they are notated measures of unequal value have to some extent to be employed: in both these respects there is an obvious resemblance to plainsong...Further, as in plainsong, so in folk music, the tunes are purely melodic: there is little evidence of the existence of any folk harmony (Scholes

²² Sydney Carter & Jeremy Taylor *At Eton* - Fontana TL5418 (1967).

1989:366).

The Oxford Dictionary of Music adds:

Folk-songs are songs of unknown authorship passed orally from generation to generation, sung without accompaniment, and often found in variants, of words and tune (Kennedy 1985:257).

The only comment that does not relate to Sydney Carter is, of course, that of 'unknown authorship', although there is the amusing anecdote of how 'Lord of the Dance' ('Je suis le Seigneur de la danse') was credited in a French publication, *Peuples du Monde*, as being the work of 'Sydney Carter, poète anglais du 13^e siècle'.²³ Evidently unbeknown to the editors, Sydney Carter was very much alive and well.

A perusal of the five books, *Songs of Sydney Carter* (83 songs inclusive), published by Stainer and Bell will be sufficient to determine to what extent the other points apply:²⁴

(i) all of the songs are either verse or verse/chorus repeating;

(ii) many have a modal character;

(iii) there are numerous examples of songs with uneven bar lengths (e.g. Book 4 Nos: 2, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14) and there are some marked explicitly to be sung 'freely' or with a 'free rhythm' (e.g. Book 1 No.3, Book 2 No.13, Book 5 No.8). There are also a good many that contain the rhythmic feature known as the 'scotch snap' which is considered by some to be 'characteristic of Scottish folk tune' (Scholes 1989:935). *Fermata* not uncommon also;

²³ This anecdote was gleaned from *The Bell* (Summer 1998) - a periodical published by Stainer & Bell.

²⁴ The songs contained in these five books are by no means all 'folk-hymns', but Carter does not discriminate in the setting of tunes to sacred and secular subjects.

EXAMPLE 5

C#m
It was on a Fri-day morn-ing that they

F#m7 G#7 C#m
took me from the cell, And I saw they had a car - pen-ter To

F#m7 C#m F#m7 C#m
cru - ci - fy as well. You can blame it on to Pi - late, You can

F#m7 G#7 C#m
blame it on the Jews, You can blame it on the Dev-il, It's

F#m6 C#m
God I ac - cuse. It's God they ought to cru - ci - fy In -

G#7 C#m
stead of you and me, I said to the car-pen-ter A - hang-ing on the tree.

The image shows a musical score for a song. It consists of six systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is C major with one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "It was on a Friday morning that they took me from the cell, And I saw they had a carpenter To crucify as well. You can blame it on to Pilate, You can blame it on the Jews, You can blame it on the Devil, It's God I accuse. It's God they ought to crucify Instead of you and me, I said to the carpenter Hanging on the tree." The chords are indicated above the vocal line: C#m, F#m7, G#7, C#m, F#m7, C#m, F#m7, C#m, F#m7, G#7, C#m, F#m6, C#m, G#7, C#m.

and love of folk song - English, Greek, Irish and American. Despite his insistence that his songs 'are not folk' he does admit that they are

folk-rooted in the way that I am. As Gayelord Hauser, the dietician wrote: "what you eat today will walk tomorrow." If you feed on folk music, what you write and sing will show it. I do eat and drink folk music (1971).

A good example of one of Carter's folk-hymn tunes which bears an unmistakable folk character is 'Friday Morning' (Ex.5, p.105, pl. 18).

In terms of criticism, Carter has survived relatively unscathed, especially compared with the 20th Century Church Light Music Group. The important distinction between the two, however, is that Carter is perceived first and foremost as a lyricist and although his style can at times prove offensive, he is generally respected across denominations.²⁷ Carter's melodies, on the other hand, have presented few if any problems. They are, in the main, tuneful and uncomplicated which, when arranged for publication, are supplied with simple and plain harmonies. Furthermore, their traditional folk character instills in them a certain 'ancestral' quality which has further contributed to Carter's standing.

As alluded to above, when Carter is considered alongside the 20th Century Church Light (i.e. 'popular') Music Group he is

²⁷ All the following contain songs by Sydney Carter: *Hymns and Songs. A Supplement to the Methodist Hymn Book* (1969); *Praise for Today. A Supplement to The Baptist Hymn Book* (1974); *New Catholic Hymnal* (1971); *Celebration Hymnal* (1976); *100 Hymns For Today. A Supplement to Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1969); *English Praise. A Supplement to the English Hymnal* (1975); *Hymns and Psalms* (1983); *Hymns Ancient and Modern, New Standard* (1984). Carter's songs are still incorporated into modern songbooks (*Junior Praise*, 1986, for example) and according to a survey carried out by Christian Copyright Licensing in 1996, his songs filled three of the top six places of the most popular songs in school assemblies.

often taken more seriously.²⁸ Without wanting to question the merit of Carter's folk-hymnody *per se*, one is bound to at least question the legitimacy of such a judgement. In searching for reasons to help explain it, there are the connotations that have been attached to folk song such as 'integrity' and 'authenticity' against that of accusations of 'commerciality' and 'superficiality' levelled at popular music; myths sustained and vigorously articulated by the contemporary folk protagonists of the second British folk revival. See, for example, Bert Lloyd's influential book *Folk Song in England*, 1967. But are such comments really valid? Mike Brocken, in a recent and penetrating study of the British Folk Revival (1998), thinks not:

Folk Song in England was obviously symbolically crucial, but was it historically accurate? Lloyd lacked the skills to explain how one type of music ['folk'] could be an authentic historical representation, while another ['popular'] little more than commercial waste-product. To Lloyd, mass production had rendered popular music stale and culturally unprofitable, but hard evidence for this conclusion remains, to this day, insubstantial (:8).

In conclusion, this examination of Carter's words and music has provided the opportunity for a more thorough investigation into the way in which his religious songs can be thought of as 'folk-hymns'. But, in the final analysis it is the combination of both factors (i.e. words and music together) that reinforces the folk identity. Therefore, in whatever sense that hymns can be thought of as folk-songs, there is an added dimension which validates the use of the phrase 'folk-hymn' as it applies to the religious songs of Sydney Carter.

²⁸ For example, Dakers 1970:131-3, Routley 1969:122-4 and Long 1991:435.

Donald Swann

Before moving on, it is an opportune moment to mention Donald Swann's incursions into popular-style church music, something of which, he acknowledges, is owed to Sydney Carter:

I don't imagine that I would have persevered in the exploration of "Sacred" music, or even "sacred" ideas, had it not been for the songs and friendship of Sydney Carter (Swann 1968:45).

Like Carter, Swann served with the Friends' Ambulance Unit in Greece during the Second World War and developed an interest in Greek folk song. He later went on to become most well known for his collaboration with Michael Flanders in the revue 'At the Drop of a Hat' (which, incidentally, included some of Carter's songs). In the 1960s he collaborated with Sydney Carter to popularise a series of *Songs of Faith and Doubt*. Swann's introduction to 'new church music' (as he calls it; op.cit:39) was a setting of the *Te Deum*. He has also composed a modern dance setting of the *Venite*, carols for children and hymn tunes.²⁹

Roman Catholic Church Music

The popular church music movement, it will be remembered, emanated from within the Church of England although its influence undoubtedly extended beyond the Anglican Church. The folk hymns of Sydney Carter have a more obscure background because, by his own admission, they were not written specifically for the church. They have, however, since found their way into the hymnals of many denominations. It is now time to turn to some notable developments that have helped shaped the course and diffusion of Roman Catholic church music, most notably the

²⁹ For an example of a hymn tune by Donald Swann see *The Church Hymnary: Third Edition* (OUP, 1973), no. 105.

second Vatican Council of 1962-5.

The Reformation divided Europe, broadly speaking, into Catholics and Protestants. It had its initial impact following a written protest in 1517 by Martin Luther (1483-1546) which he posted on the door of the church at Wittenberg in the form of 'ninety-five theses'. Besides Luther, the other leading European dissenters were Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), who led the Reformation in Switzerland, and the French theologian, Jean Calvin (1509-64), the founder of Presbyterianism.

In an attempt to rid itself of abuse and corruption, the Catholic Church initiated its own 'Counter-Reformation'. The principles and strategies for this offensive were masterminded by the Council of Trent between 1545 and 1563. Several Council sessions were concerned with music which resulted in a number of general recommendations. For example,

The Bishops and Ordinaries must prevent the use in Church of any music which has a sensuous or impure character (quoted in Wienandt 1974:12).³⁰

Particular concern was also voiced about the intelligibility of vocalised text, as a result of contrapuntal settings, and the inclusion of 'profane' melodies in the Mass. However, these pronouncements were of little significance in England as the break with Rome had already been assured some years earlier by Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon. In 1534 Henry had renounced papal supremacy and had proclaimed himself Head of the Church of England. For almost 300 years following this, Catholic worship was not openly permitted, except in the chapels of

³⁰ Wienandt's source: Ferretti 1939.

foreign embassies, and so there is little to be said about Catholic church music during this time. Even after the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 it was some time before the use of music was actively supported by the Church.

In the twentieth century there were two key moments in terms of Catholic church music. The first was 1903 when Pope Pius X issued a *Motu Proprio* which laid down general principles on the choice and use of music. Great emphasis was placed upon Gregorian chant, including its use 'by the people', and classic polyphony, particularly in the style of Palestrina. Music of a theatrical nature was highly discouraged and musical instruments strongly associated with profane music were deemed unfit for sacred use:

The employment of the piano is forbidden in church, as is also that of noisy or frivolous instruments such as drums, cymbals, bells and the like (ibid:167).

It was also strictly forbidden to have 'bands' play in church although the organ was permissible. Any association with secular activity was generally discouraged and as a consequence it was advised that much thought must be given to allowing any music in a 'modern' style into the church:

since modern music has risen mainly to serve profane uses, greater care must be taken with regard to it, in order that the musical compositions of modern style which are admitted in the Church may contain nothing profane, be free from reminiscences of motifs adopted in the theatres, and be not fashioned even in their external forms after the manner of profane pieces (ibid:164).

The second and most profound development concerning Roman Catholic music in the 20th century was the second Vatican Council of 1962-5. Originally convened by Pope John XXIII, Vatican II was continued, following his death in 1963, by Pope

Paul VI. The first Vatican Council took place in 1869-70 during which time two Dogmatic constitutions were promulgated: 'The Dogmatic Constitution on the Catholic Faith' and 'The First Dogmatic Constitution on the Church'. The second Vatican Council occurred in what Cunliffe-Jones has called 'the theological ferment of the 1960s', which was mentioned earlier in relation to John Robinson and Sydney Carter. The first document to be addressed and ratified by the Council was the 'Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy' which was promulgated on the 4th December 1963 (the same year incidentally that *Honest to God* and 'Lord of the Dance' were published):

It set the direction of the Council in expressing the central Christian convictions more biblically, stressing corporate participation, emphasizing revision to bring out more clearly the essential meaning and allowing some adaptation to contemporary conditions and individual cultures (Cunliffe-Jones 1970:125).

In assessing the effect of the the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Cunliffe-Jones argues that it is the 'permissive decisions' (which are related in the wider context to the Liturgical Movement detailed in the previous chapter) that are of great importance, particularly the active participation of the congregation and the use of vernacular languages in place of Latin.

The reforms that took place in the Roman Catholic Church as a result of Vatican II were nothing short of radical and not least of all concerning music. The great heritage of Gregorian chant was still emphasised but there was now an openness to other forms and styles, and encouragement given to countries to use their own native music:

118. The people's own religious songs are to be encouraged with care so that in sacred devotions as well as during services of the liturgy itself, in keeping with the rubrical norms and requirements, the faithful may raise their voice in song (quoted in Joncas 1997:21).³¹

This relaxation in attitude also extended to the use of instruments in worship. The permission to use the 'mother-tongue', however, led to something of a musical crisis. Such was the enthusiasm for substituting the vernacular for Latin that much of the music (e.g. chant and polyphony) associated with it became redundant also. This was naturally a great blow to the traditionalists but it did lead to a renewed interest in hymnody and a proliferation of newly composed music.

Before Vatican II 'Sung Mass' consisted of a choral Latin mass-setting with perhaps a motet or two but little if any congregational singing. Hymns had no function and were only generally used for separate Marian and Eucharistic 'devotions'. In England the main source of these hymns was the *Westminster Hymnal* (1912, rev 1940), the first authorised Catholic hymnal in this country. Following the encouragement by the second Vatican Council to involve the people, the use of hymns and folk masses³² became more widespread:

Choirs must be diligently promoted...but bishops and other pastors of souls must be at pains to ensure that whenever a liturgical service is to be celebrated with song, the whole assembly of the faithful is enabled...to contribute the active participation that rightly belongs to it (quoted in Joncas 1997:81).

A number of new hymnals were quick to appear, *The Parish Hymn Book* (1965) and *Praise the Lord* (1966), but it was 'around

³¹ The Latin text appears in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 56 (1964) 97-138. Joncas's source: ICEL 1982.

³² Although rare, Dom Gregory Murray had already written a Latin mass (i.e. *People's Mass*, 1950) for congregational use, as had Laurence Bévenot. Following Vatican II the emphasis was on settings in English.

1970', writes Stephen Dean, that

a more relaxed attitude to liturgy in general was permitting the introduction of something which would have seemed totally outlandish only a few years before - 'folk' music (1989:39).

This is perhaps not as surprising as it first appears. Writing about Roman Catholic hymns in *The Music of Christian Hymnody*, Erik Routley declares:

First, we find at all periods after the Reformation a tendency for Roman Catholic song to slip into the prevailing idiom of the day; it is only very rarely that we find Roman Catholic hymnody making a stand against debased standards such as we frequently find in Protestant hymnody. And, secondly, as a corollary of that former consequence, we rarely find Roman Catholic hymns attempting notably high standards in words or music (1957:151).

The 'tendency' about which Routley talks, he later clarifies, is 'to lean towards the popular folk-song style' (ibid:152). This tendency was to extend into the 20th century, firstly with the 1912 edition of the *Westminster Hymnal*, musically edited by Sir Richard Terry, which showed a 'strong leaning to the popular idiom of 1900', and subsequently the revised version, edited by Dom Gregory Murray, which while showing 'a striking advance in taste', still contained new compositions which exploited 'English folk-song idioms to some extent' (ibid:158).

In this context the Catholic folk hymnals published, most notably by Mayhew-McCrimmon, following Vatican II simply continue that tradition. As it happens on this occasion, the interest with the 'folk style' (meaning both music created by 'folk' or the non-professional, and music related to one's folk culture, and others) was far more widespread throughout the Christian Church as a whole, inspired by both the folk revival and the Charismatic movement. Consequently, many new songs were

to cross the broad denominational divide, in both directions.

The popularity of the folk-hymn steadily increased from the beginning of the 1970s. In the introduction to the first³³ *20th Century Folk Hymnal* Kevin Mayhew writes:

When we published the melody/ words edition of *20th Century Folk Hymnal* in the Spring of 1974 it was not our intention to produce a full music edition. However, such was the demand, that we now present it.

In the 1975 edition he was able to add:

folk music has come of age as an authentic means of praising God and celebrating his presence among us (Mayhew 1975).

A *20th Century Folk Hymnal* (1974) contains many 'contemporary' Christian folk songs as well as good number of 'traditional' origin. There are also many songs imported from the USA. The *20th Century Church Light Music Group* has a place too,³⁴ which provides some evidence of its impact beyond the Anglican Church. In all these respects the hymnal has much in common with the Charismatic inspired *Sound of Living Waters* (1974) - a situation which further facilitated the crossover of material between Catholic and Protestant Churches.

The following two examples give a good indication of the folk music style to which Kevin Mayhew refers. The first song, 'Moses I know you're the man', is composed by Estelle White (Ex.6, p.114, pl.19), formerly a Carmelite nun,³⁵ and the second, 'Make me a channel of your peace' (Ex.7, p.115, pl.20), by

³³ Two other editions followed in 1975 and 1976 and 'became standard' (Dean 1989:39).

³⁴ 'Lord Jesus Christ' by Patrick Appleford.

³⁵ Estelle White has written many folk-hymns, some of which have passed over into Protestant hymnals, e.g. Baptist hymn book supplement *Praise for Today* (1974) and the Methodist *Partners in Praise* (1979). She has also composed a folk mass - *Mass of the Spirit* (Mayhew-McCrimmon). For examples of other Mass settings in a folk style see Green and Ogilvie 1974.

Sebastian Temple. The latter song by Temple has since become very popular and has been included in many denominational hymnals and songbooks (e.g. *Mission Praise, Baptist Praise and Worship, Rejoice and Sing, Songs of Fellowship*, etc).

Besides encouraging congregational participation, the other major pronouncement by the Vatican Council to affect church music was, as mentioned earlier, the permission to use vernacular languages. While this did threaten the entire repertoire of Latin masses and motets it also presented a stimulating, if somewhat daunting, challenge, but as Stephen Dean points out,

not even those who welcomed the change...realised at first the immensity of the task in hand. It was nothing more or less than the making of a new music for a whole church's liturgy, something not attempted since the Reformation (1989:37).

Moreover, after the restrictions of language, as well as style, were removed by the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Roman Catholics were, reveals Jan Michael Joncas,

exposed to worship music from an incredible variety of sources...[and have] imported worship music generated for other traditions into their worship: Orthodox chants, Anglican anthems, Lutheran, Methodist, and Baptist hymns...(1997:113).

While Joncas is writing from an American perspective, the general thrust of his comments apply elsewhere, although in England 'such absorption was not, in fact, as large as might have been expected' (Dean 1989:37). As Stephen Dean has just made clear, the permission for the use of the vernacular demanded a good deal of new music, much of it needed for texts from the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL).

Initially, many of the ICEL texts were only provisional which necessitated regular revision. The definitive version of

"Mo - ses I know you're the man," the Lord said. "You're going to work out my

D A7

plan," the Lord said, "Lead all the Is - rael - ites out of sla - ve - ry.

D D7 G

And I shall make them a wan - der - ing race called the peo - ple of

E7 D A7

God." So ev' - ry day We're on our way, for we're a

D D7 G D B7

tra - vel - ling, wan - der - ing race called the peo - ple of God.

E7 A7 D

EXAMPLE 7

1. Make me a chan-nel of your peace. Where
 2. Make me a chan-nel of your peace. Where

Musical notation for the first system, including a piano accompaniment with a 'D' chord marking.

there is ha - tred let me bring your love. Where
 there's des - pair in life, let me bring hope. Where

Musical notation for the second system, including a piano accompaniment with an 'A7' chord marking.

there is in - ju - ry, your par - don, Lord. And
 there is dark - ness on - ly light. And

Musical notation for the third system, including a piano accompaniment.

where there's doubt, true faith in you.
 where there's sad - ness ev - er joy.

Musical notation for the fourth system, including a piano accompaniment with a 'D' chord marking.

the Revised Order of Mass was not published until 1970, and by the time that new music was being composed in accordance, publishing houses had already committed themselves to the flourishing area of folk-hymnody. Consequently, composers resorted to publishing their own material. The St Thomas More Centre in London,³⁶ established in 1969, was to play a significant role in distributing the music of these one-person publishers as well as establishing its own label, Magnificat Music. The Centre itself has since closed but the spirit lives on in 'Decani Music', which was set up in 1991 by Susan and Stephen Dean. It publishes, amongst other things, music by the St Thomas More Group, a body of writers who broke away from the Centre in the early 1990s.

The Catholic Church is still coming to terms to some extent with the profound changes that Vatican II presented but there is every indication that, musically, standards are continuing to improve. Instrumental groups now thrive in some churches and a number of dioceses have appointed a Parish Music Advisor. There is, furthermore, greater ecumenical co-operation and collaboration between church music organisations.

Changes in 'Traditional' Hymnody

The changes and experiments in popular and folk-style church music that have already been noted have been essentially concerned with hymnody, broadly speaking, as this is where the influence of popular and folk music has been most penetrating. With this set to continue it is important to at least be aware

³⁶ The St Thomas More Centre is studied in more detail in Ch.5.

of concurrent developments in hymnody of a more traditional kind, especially as (i) the 1960s was the threshold of a renaissance in hymn-writing, and (ii) there was to be some fusion between the two streams (i.e. popular/traditional).³⁷ But, whereas in the popular field it has been the music which has attracted most attention, the emphasis for hymns in a traditional vein would relate more to words, language and literary expression. The renaissance in hymn-writing just referred to was later to be called 'the hymn explosion'. An outline of this explosion is provided below. What follows is a brief introduction which attempts to contextualise this development to some degree.

The relationship between church music in a popular style and the 'Liturgical Movement' has already been discussed. The effect of the latter on the Second Vatican Council and in turn its effect on Catholic church music has been noted too. It was also mentioned at that time how the growing tendency for liturgical reform had, by way of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, led to the use of vernacular languages in Catholic worship. It needs adding that the proclivity for the modernisation of ecclesiastical language was not confined to any one denomination. For example, in 1961 a modern version of the New Testament was published which had wide ranging support.³⁸ In its planning stages the resolve, reveals Donald Ebor, Chairman of

³⁷ See, for example, p.127 below.

³⁸ The Old Testament followed in 1970 to form *The New English Bible*.

the Joint Committee,³⁹ was for a 'completely new translation...rather than a revision' and there was, furthermore, a recommendation that:

the translators should be free to employ a contemporary idiom rather than reproduce the traditional 'biblical' English (Ebor 1970).

A little later in 1965 the 'Prayer Book Measure', which permitted the use of experimental services in the Church of England, was passed. Soon after this a Liturgical Commission was appointed which swiftly devised a series of alternative services (beginning with 'Series 1' in 1966) which progressively moved further away from the old liturgy. 'Series 3' presented what was virtually a new text which included new translations of the canticles.⁴⁰

With regard to hymns, the revision of texts had always been a fairly standard task for an editor compiling a hymnal, even if it largely pertained to grammar, syntax, or clarification on points of theology, etc. The modernisation of language *per se*, however, was a relatively new phenomenon and although some inroads had been made by the 1960s, for many still the change was neither quick nor radical enough. In a rapidly changing society the distance between contemporary thought, experience and language and that expressed in traditional hymnody was becoming ever more pronounced. One distinguished church musician who was particularly forthright with his view was Kenneth Long:

³⁹ *The New English Bible* was planned and directed by representatives of The Baptist Union of GB and Ireland; The Church of England; The Church of Scotland; The Congregational Church in England and Wales; The Council of Churches in Wales; The Irish Council of Churches; The London yearly meeting of the Society of Friends; The Methodist Church of Great Britain; The Presbyterian Church of England; The British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland.

⁴⁰ Series 3 services, introduced between 1973 and 1979, were later published in one volume: *The Alternative Service Book 1980*.

Instead of responding to the needs of the day, major hymnbooks still include much too high a percentage of verse which is incomprehensible, unrealistic or frankly ridiculous (1991:402; f.p. 1972).

To highlight his point Kenneth Long, 'thumbing through the pages of the *English Hymnal*', produces the following examples:

1. Obsolete words and deliberate archaisms:

abode (431); awful Father (348); guerdon (191)
Thy turrets and thy pinnacles/ With carbuncles do shine (638)

2. Poetic diction and preciousness:

Odours of Edom (41); traffickers at marts (516)
lambent beauty (40); sultry glebe (491).

3. Theological terms; technical and fanciful synonyms:

Arabia's desert ranger (45); Branch of Jesse (8);
Abaddon (24); Protomartyr (31); Kedah's tents (411)

4. Obscure references:

Wail of Euroclydon (388)
Travelling through Idumè's summer (108)

Editors brave enough to attempt updating text were aware that they needed to be sensitive to the different shades of opinion, therefore, initially the exercise became one of damage limitation. Consequently, it was to be archaic words such as 'thee', 'thou', 'thine' and 'ye' which were to become some of the first legitimate targets for modernisation. This was later, however, to lead to the re-writing of entire lines and verses,⁴¹ a practice which attracted vehement criticism and the accusation of 'vandalism' (Webster 1992:6). Hymn-writers themselves have in the past also expressed similar opinions. In the preface to the 1779 edition of *Wesley's Hymns* it states that

⁴¹ For example, in *Hymns for Today's Church* (1982) the second line of 'The day Thou gavest' has been updated from 'The darkness fall at Thy behest' to 'The sun is sinking in the West'. For an apologetic of the revision of hymn texts see *Hymns In Today's Language?* by Christopher Idle (Grove Books 1982).

there is no objection to hymns being reprinted as long as there is no 'attempt to mend them'. Frances Alexander, also, is reputed as:

strongly resenting any attempts to tamper with hymns - her own or anyone else's - and regarded it as 'literary sacrilege' (Colquhoun 1980:48).

Despite such protestations by the 1960s there was a growing need not only for intelligible hymns but for new hymns written in contemporary language, expressing contemporary ideas and reflecting modern society.

The Hymn Explosion

The following brief account of 'the hymn explosion' refers exclusively to modern hymns that are of a traditional kind (often termed 'contemporary hymnody'). This is not meant to imply that the phrase hymn explosion is only ever used to describe such hymns,⁴² but, that in the midst of a thesis dedicated to popular and folk-style church music, this important development is acknowledged for the reasons given above.

In 1962 a small working party, the Dunblane Ecumenical Music Group, was set up by the Scottish Churches' Consultation on Music to research into the problems of contemporary hymnody with the express hope that its work would inspire further creative writing and composing. *Dunblane Praises* was published early in 1965. Following this edition it was becoming clear that 'the demand for new words with new tunes was far greater than

⁴² See, for example, Castle 1994:84 and Idle 1996:9. However, it does appear that more often than not when the phrase 'hymn explosion' is used it refers to, or prioritises, the kind of hymns contained in this section (i.e. 'contemporary hymnody'), and then chiefly to refer to texts rather than music. For example, Dunstan 1981; Sharpe 1982; Webster 1992 and Luff 1995. * In a later publication by Alan Dunstan (1990) he extends the use of the phrase 'hymn explosion' to incorporate 'Songs of charismatic influence' (:21).

that for new tunes to familiar words' (Sharpe 1982:11). The Group released a second publication several years later where all but one was entirely new. The consultations in Dunblane have been described by Caryl Micklem as 'epoch-making'. Moreover, it is also held that it was on account of these developments that 'the whole world hymn explosion took off' (Fraser 1998:181).⁴³

Further creative writing and composing did indeed follow. The 1960s launched⁴⁴ a new and intense period of hymn-writing which was later to become known as 'the hymn explosion'; a 'phrase coined by Routley himself', according to Lionel Dakers (1977:119). It was the openness to fresh ideas and the desire to express Christian doctrine and sentiment in a contemporary fashion that inspired writers and helped propel the movement forward, but there have been similar explosions before. The Reformation proved to be the catalyst for the birth of the German chorale and the singing of Genevan metrical-psalms; the 18th century evangelical revival and the growth of Methodism (which after all was said to be 'born in song')⁴⁵ led to the composition of an immense number of new hymns; spiritual renewal in Victorian times had a similar effect and the 19th century also witnessed the growth of the gospel hymn.

With this in mind, it is still the hymnody under review that remains perhaps the most complex to fathom, given the fact that this explosion took place in a society which was becoming

⁴³ For further details concerning 'Dunblane' see Fraser 1985.

⁴⁴ It is impossible to give precise dates as to the the origin of 'the hymn explosion', although Lionel Dakers (1985:15) is one of the few to give dates, c. 1955-1980. However, it was during the 1960s and particularly from the 1970s onwards that most activity took place.

⁴⁵ 'Methodism was born in song', so began the preface to *The Methodist Hymn Book* (1933).

ever more secularised.⁴⁶ In trying to understand this, Alan Dunstan, in his booklet *The Hymn Explosion* (1981), proposes that there are at least seven reasons (summarised below) that account for this renewed interest in hymn writing.

1. Science and Technology - our enlightened view of the world has rendered some hymns inapposite, if not absurd, leaving a space and need for more relevant hymns.
2. The Social Gospel - a greater consciousness towards society from a Christian perspective has been responsible for inspiring much thought and verse.
3. Occasions for new hymnody - the result of a greater social responsibility has highlighted new and neglected subjects for hymn writers e.g. Harvest Thanksgiving, conservation, etc.
4. The Liturgical Revival - this has been responsible for the development of Parish Communion as the main service in most Anglican churches, and its greater emphasis in Catholic and Free Churches. This has consequently led to the writing of new Eucharistic hymns.
5. The Language of Worship - the move to introduce modern English (e.g. *Alternative Service Book*, *Methodist Service Book*) has from the 1960s been gaining momentum.
6. Honesty in Worship - it has already been mentioned how in the 1960s there was, what Dunstan terms, a 'reaction against artificiality' (e.g. *Honest to God* debate) which has resulted in a more questioning Christian (and hymn-writer, e.g. Sydney Carter).
7. Creativity - there is a need for every new generation to express 'the truths of the Christian faith' (:7) in new ways and in its own way:

⁴⁶ In a book dedicated to evangelism in the 1990s, Archbishop Carey talks of 'a massive evacuation from the pews over the past hundred years' (1993:17).

God of concrete, God of steel,
God of piston and of wheel,
God of pylon, God of steam,
God of girder and of beam,
God of atom, God of mine,
All the world of power is Thine!

- Richard Jones (*Hymns and Songs*)

Among the hymns reflecting modern life have been those echoing current theological thinking. The publication of the controversial book *Honest To God* in 1963 by John Robinson, who drew inspiration from such theological luminaries as Bonhoeffer, Bultmann and Tillich certainly went a long way in raising the profile of contemporary theology and later its expression in hymnody, e.g:

he who calls the earth to order
is the ground of what we are

- Revd Fred Kaan (*More Hymns for Today* N°135)

Not throned above, remotely high,
untouched, unmoved by human pains,
but daily, in the midst of life,
our Saviour with the Father reigns.

- Revd Brian Wren (*New Church Praise* N°9)

Other issues such as social, environmental and technological have also been explored in explicit terms:

O God of towns and city squares
Where rush-hour kills our morning prayers

- John Ticehurst (*The Rodborough Hymnal*)

Those broadcast waves that bring,
With tireless speed,
A vision or a voice,
Were first Thy deed.

'Thy first great gift was light' - Revd Albert Bayly

He calls us to revolt and fight
with him for what is just and right,
to sing and live Magnificat
in crowded street and council flat

'All who love and serve your city'
Erik Routley

BIRABUS 87.87.

Peter Curtis (b. 1937)

All who love and serve your ci - ty, all who bear its dai - ly stress,

Unison

This system of music features a vocal line on a single staff and a piano accompaniment on two staves. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The vocal line begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5, and a final half note G5. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note bass line and a treble line with chords and moving lines.

all who cry for peace and jus - tice, all who curse and all who bless,

This system continues the musical piece with the same vocal and piano parts. The vocal line starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5, and a final half note G5. The piano accompaniment maintains the same rhythmic and harmonic structure as the first system.

Towards the end of the 1960s and beyond the plethora of new hymns necessitated the formation of hymn book supplements. This was considered to be the most feasible option as reissuing a revised standard edition was both economically unviable and frankly unnecessary. Most existing hymn books contained many varied hymns of lasting quality and while the new hymns were welcome it was still too early to ascertain how enduring they would be. Following the Anglican⁴⁷ and Methodist⁴⁸ supplements published in 1969 it was not long before most denominations were planning the formation of their own.⁴⁹

Among the many writers, not already mentioned, who have contributed to the deluge of new hymns in both Protestant and Catholic traditions are: Revd Fred Pratt Green, Rt Revd Timothy Dudley-Smith, James Quinn, Kevin Mayhew, Revd Caryl Micklem and Revd Erik Routley. New tunes were also being written to accompany the modern texts which while not, usually, popular in style were in many cases clearly 20th century (Ex.8, p.123, pl.21).⁵⁰ Among, what Donald Webster calls, 'the genuinely modern hymn tune composers' (1992:11) are: Peter Cutts,⁵¹ John Barnard, John Wilson, Gerald Barnes, Geoffrey Laycock, Herbert Howells, Kenneth Leighton, David Wilcocks, Cyril Taylor, Bernard Massey, Caryl Micklem and Michael Fleming.

⁴⁷ *100 Hymns for Today* (1969).

⁴⁸ *Hymns and Songs* (1969).

⁴⁹ e.g. *Praise for Today* (1974, Baptist); *New Church Praise* (1975, URC); *English Praise* (1975, English Hymnal); *More Hymns for Today* (1980, Hymns Ancient & Modern).

⁵⁰ Lionel Dakers, however, notes in his assessment of 'The Contemporary Scene' that despite the abundance of texts being written 'there are, by contrast, few outstanding tunes' (1997:125).

⁵¹ Among Peter Cutts' many hymn tunes are those that have been more clearly influenced by 'popular music'. See, for example, *New Church Praise* (1975) no.52, LITHEROP set to 'Life is great! So sing about it' by Brian Wren. C.F. Ex 8, p.123, pl.21.

Youth Praise and Michael Baughen⁵²

Amidst this rekindled interest in hymn writing emerged a book which would inspire writers thereafter and arouse many more to the diverse possibilities regarding worship music. The publication of *Youth Praise* in 1966 would not only prove to be extremely successful in itself but it would also act as a springboard for other similar collections (including a sequel in 1969). Randle Manwaring, in a comparatively recent study of *Hymn-Writing and Hymn-Singing in the Christian Church*, writes that the two books of *Youth Praise* were significant in 'breaking new ground' in that they

ushered in the days of songs, rather than hymns, in Christian worship, the main difference being the informality and modern music of the former (1991:148).

'modern music' in comparison with traditional hymnody perhaps, but like previous endeavours the general style of *Youth Praise* was not reflective of the most up-to-date pop music of the day:

Earlier in the twentieth century it was the song books produced for Sunday School use that were in closest touch with popular music...Even so, there has been a consistent time-lag between a musical fashion in the secular world and its adoption by Christian music. Thus the style of the three books of *Scripture Union Choruses* published between 1921 and 1939 is reminiscent of the heyday of music-hall twenty years earlier...*Youth Praise* was the first of many song-books which attempted to reflect a balance of tastes, intending to appeal especially to the younger generation. Although the contents again betrayed the musical interests of its adult compilers and bore little relation to the secular youth music of the time (the Beatles, the Rolling Stones), it became widely used. (Wilson Dickson 1997:411-2).

It is probable, though, that this 'time-lag' actually assisted

⁵² A good deal of the information contained within this section emanates from an interview with Michael Baughen in 1996.

Youth Praise in ushering in the days of songs in Christian worship, as anything too modern would surely not have gained such widespread acceptance.

As well as the time-lag, it is also possible to highlight again the significance of music and youthwork in influencing formal adult worship. 'Work amongst young people has been the context for the development of evangelical choruses and songs', writes Pete Ward, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Adviser for Youth Ministry. 'Songs', he continues that 'have become regular features of church life (1996:107).

Although the publication of *Youth Praise* in 1966 did follow the initial 'Dunblane experiments', it should not itself be viewed as being symptomatic of the 'hymn explosion', even though it may be possible to find connections between the two. *Youth Praise* does, for example, contain some new hymn texts (e.g. Timothy Dudley-Smith), but as the following account shows the compiling of *Youth Praise* dates back to the 1950s and its history has been dictated more by personal circumstances than developments in hymnody. Those personal circumstances relate largely to Michael Baughen, the driving force behind *Youth Praise* and many other such ventures.

Michael Baughen was born in Borehamwood, Herts in 1930 and attended Bromley County Grammar. He later went on to study at Oak Hill College and London University. After being ordained in 1956 he served a number of parishes before being appointed Bishop of Chester in 1982. Throughout much of his career Michael Baughen has worked tirelessly to gather, promote and compose church music, a good deal of which has been in a popular style.

He has been a great pioneer in helping to produce the very successful and influential Christian song collections *Youth Praise 1 & 2* and *Psalm Praise*, which contain many of his own compositions, and in addition, he has acted as chairman and consultant editor to the ground breaking hymnal, *Hymns for Today's Church*, published in 1982. Other such endeavours have been his instigation of the systematic use of orchestral instruments in worship and the establishment of 'Prom Praise'.

Following his ordination, Michael Baughen commenced his first curacy in 1956 at St. Paul's in Hyson Green, Nottingham - a deprived and tough area. The youth song books available at the time were those such as the *CSSM* chorus books, the *Hildenborough Hall Song Book*, *Cliff College Choruses* and a number of American imports such as *Singspiration*, all of which Baughen considered inadequate for the purpose in hand.

Clearly sensing the need to find some more appropriate material Baughen set out to compile a selection of Christian songs for use in his own church. The result was a collection of about 100 songs which he called *Zing Sing*, which would later form part of *Youth Praise*. On moving to Reigate for his second curacy Michael Baughen first began to write and compose (e.g. 'There's no greater name'; Ex.9, p.126, pl.22). Despite a modest musical background the quality of a good number of Baughen's tunes is borne out by their continued use today (e.g. 'Christ Triumphant', 'Lord of the Cross').

Due to the success of *Zing Sing* Baughen, in collaboration with the Revd Richard Bewes and several other ministers, decided to augment the edition. This was again intended for the sole

With a good swing – fairly fast

There's no great - er Name than Je - sus,

Chords: A♭, Fm, B♭m, E♭7

Name of Him who came to save us, In that

Chords: A♭, Fm, B♭m, E♭, B♭7, E♭7, A♭, C7

sav - ing Name of Je - sus Ev - 'ry knee should

Chords: Fm, A♭7, D♭, D♭6, E♭7, A♭, E♭7

bow. Let ev - 'ry - (thing that is 'neath the

Chords: A♭, E♭, A♭, D♭, F7

ground, Let ev - 'ry - thing in the world a - round,

Chords: B♭m, F, B♭m, E♭, E♭

Words and Music: M. Wood
arr. G.R. Timms

Je - sus is the Saviour whom I love to know,

G
Bass an octave lower and well marked. Dm7

Heaven is the haven that I'm going to— Je - sus is the captain who now

G G+ C

leads my life; Un - wor - thy as I am I know He came to save A

G

sin - ner such as me, a sin - ner such as me He came to save from the

D C G

Fine CHORUS

grave: For God so loved the world that He gave His

r

use of the church but such was its popularity that it began to be used by other youth groups in the district and beyond. Following Reigate, Michael Baughen moved on to serve with the Church Pastoral Aid Society in 1961 where he met Timothy Dudley-Smith with whom he was to form a successful writing team (e.g. 'Tell out my soul', 'Christ be my Leader', 'Lord who left the highest heaven', etc). This collaboration is a good example of the fusion, mentioned earlier, between developments of the kind detailed under 'the hymn explosion' and church music in a popular or folk-style.

By this time the number of originally composed songs and those collected had reached 150 and a committee was established to organise, edit and arrange the songs for publication. Unfortunately, there was little interest expressed by the major publishing houses on account of there being, in their opinion, an insufficient market - a costly misjudgement. However, such was the conviction of the editorial team that the Church Pastoral Aid Society was persuaded to publish the collection in collaboration with Falcon Books. In March 1966 *Youth Praise* was launched in London at the Central Hall, Westminster accompanied by what will have been for the time a rather unusual ensemble for presenting Christian songs: 2 guitars, 1 banjo, and a set of side drums. The songs were met with great rapture and *Youth Praise* soon became a sell out.

In spite of the success of *Youth Praise* the editors were 'determined not to produce a second volume' unless it was

clear that the Lord's hand was upon the preliminary exploration work for such a volume (Baughen, Wilson and Bewes 1969).

When this did become clear, along with Michael Baughen, Richard Bewes and Michael Seward, the newly appointed music editor, David Wilson, (a trained musician who had supplied arrangements and songs for *Youth Praise 1*) set about the task of compiling *Youth Praise 2*. In addition to writing compositions themselves, the editors were sated with new material to the extent that they were later able to boast in the preface:

the vast majority of the contents of *Youth Praise 2* has never before been published' (ibid).

Due to a request to make greater use of the psalms in worship Michael Baughen was especially keen that the development in *Youth Praise 2* should include some new settings. Also, it was felt that the editors should continue with their efforts to 'reclaim the spirituals'⁵³ by including another special section. As a measure of the increasing popularity of *Youth Praise*, the second volume was launched at the Royal Albert Hall in 1969, again amidst much excitement and anticipation. In quantitative terms this success is best related in the combined sales of books 1 & 2 - in excess of one million copies, the profits from which were ploughed back into Christian publishing.

Youth Praise (like mission hymns and such like) has itself been the victim of some rather virulent criticism. And again it appears to be the combination of unsophistication and popular appeal that has proved to be particularly irksome. In an address given to the Church Music Society on *The Hymn explosion and its aftermath*, Dr Donald Webster comments:

An examination of such collections as *Youth Praise*...

⁵³ Quoted from an interview with Michael Baughen, 1996.

seldom reveals greater creativity than that required under examination conditions to secure a bare pass in GCSE...we may ask if such spontaneity should be frozen in print (1992:9).

The Revd Canon Alan Luff, writing in a study guide published by The Guild of Church Musicians, also somewhat disdainfully brands *Youth Praise* as being:

a collection of the material of the kind now all too familiar to us, some of it the modern successors of Sankey, others a home grown version of the same (1995:3).

Luff does go on to acknowledge that the *Youth Praise* editions do contain some good songs but, he adds regretfully, 'they needless to say, were not the things that became popular' (ibid:4).

Stylistically, there was, as Pete Ward points out, some attempt in *Youth Praise* 'to incorporate aspects of contemporary youth culture into worship' (1996:113). The 'Crossbeats',⁵⁴ for example, who were one of the first Christian pop groups in the 1960s, have a number of entries and

significant contributions were made by gospel groups such as the Venturers, who arranged 'Can it be true?' (YP 36) and wrote the twelve-bar blues number 'Jesus is the Saviour' (YP 61) [Ex.10, p.127, pl.23] and The Followers who wrote the music to 'The King of love' (YP 63) (ibid:).

Later in *Youth Praise 2* there even appeared a couple of tunes by Cliff Richard (Y.P. 2 No: 279; 286). But, Michael Baughen, like Beaumont before him, is quite happy to admit that the influence for his own compositions dates back to his formative years - 'that of Victor Sylvester and the dance bands of the day',⁵⁵ and the same can be said for many of the other con-

⁵⁴ The 'Joystings', incidentally, were another well known Christian 'pop' band in the 1960s. In 1964 they released a record, 'It's an open secret', which had minor success in the secular charts.

⁵⁵ From the same interview cited above.

tributors to the *Youth Praise* editions. However, although the general style does appear again to be dated, compared with the standard hymns of the time the arrangements in *Youth Praise* will have undoubtedly been perceived as modern settings due to their more energetic rhythm (good deal of quaver movement and dotted rhythms, syncopation, triplets); their harmony (7th chords standard but also added 6ths, Aug, Dom 9th, etc); harmonic rhythm (one to two chords per bar) and melody/accompaniment song style.

The music in *Youth Praise 1 & 2* comes from a variety of backgrounds, although a good many are written or arranged by the editors and a team of associates of which the names M. Baughen, N. L. Warren, D. G. Wilson and G. R. Timms figure heavily. Other sources include: songs and choruses that had appeared in previous publications (e.g. CSSM chorus books and Salvation Army songbooks, etc); a number of German translations; American gospel hymns; arrangements of traditional/folk melodies; a good selection of new tunes from independent writers and an assortment of spirituals. A few other sources that are worthy of mention are Patrick Appleford of the '20th Century Church Light Music Group' and Gordon Brattle, a dentist by trade but also a well known Christian musician who played on many occasions for Billy Graham.

The early use of *Youth Praise 1 & 2* was confined mainly to youth groups, rallies and evangelical meetings, which was after all the original intention. Their use in formal Sunday worship was limited initially due to a combination of the unsuitability of many of the arrangements for organ and a high degree of

intransigence on the part of organists and other church musicians. As pianos, guitars and music groups became more common in church so did the use of these and other similar song books. Perhaps more significant still has been the role of large evangelical/ecumenical gatherings, not only for disseminating popular and folk-style Christian songs but for them also providing the necessary impetus for churches to begin experimenting with new music in the first instance. The emergence of Christian festivals from the 1970s onwards (e.g. Greenbelt, Crossfire, Spring Harvest, Soul Survivor) will have further helped raise the profile of popular and folk-style church music.

The use of orchestral instruments in worship is another innovation in which Michael Baughen has had a hand. On moving to All Souls, Langham Place in 1970, Baughen was heartened at the number of youngsters and students learning musical instruments but perplexed at their lack of involvement in worship. Soon after appointing Noel Tredinnick in 1972 to oversee and develop music at All Souls, the use of an orchestra in services became a frequent part of Church life.⁵⁶ In this same year, after viewing the 'Last Night of the Proms', Michael Baughen was inspired to instigate a similar commemoration for the promotion and celebration of Christian music. In 1972 the first 'Prom Praise' took place at All Souls, Langham Place and has continued ever since, recently celebrating its Silver Jubilee, along with that of the orchestra, at the Royal Albert Hall in June 1997. The use of

⁵⁶ This is not meant to imply that orchestral instruments were not used before this time. Whitley, for example, notes in 1933 that 'the addition of orchestral instruments to the organ accompaniment is an idea that is sometimes in the air nowadays' (:222). However, their use has become more systematic and prevalent since the 1970s with the help of Baughen, Tredinnick and others.

orchestral instruments is now of course a regular feature in many churches throughout the country and in such programmes as BBC 1's *Songs of Praise*.

Following *Youth Praise 2* there appeared *Psalm Praise* in 1973.⁵⁷ The background to this book can be traced to a suggestion made by the

Rev. Paul Berg whose insistence that there should be a new approach to the psalms caused the start of a 'pilot project on the psalms' in *Youth Praise 2* which, in turn, led on to this book, *Psalm Praise* (Baughen 1973)

The musical style is very familiar sounding as the vast majority of tunes are written by the main contributors to *Youth Praise 1 & 2*. Similarly, as with *Youth Praise*, the editors are keen to stress that harmonies, arrangements and accompaniments are all open to interpretation. Geoffrey Beaumont's popular-style setting of Psalm 150, taken from his *20th Century Folk Mass*, is included and there is even a suggestion that a version of Psalm 46 be sung to Eric Coates' 'Dam Buster's' march. While the new texts in *Psalm Praise* were generally considered to be of a high quality, the music was not. Robin Leaver writes in his hymn book survey of how, 'with some exceptions', the music 'is all very much in the same rather superficial style' (1980:17). A view that was also supported by Erik Routley (1965:49) among others.⁵⁸ Still, in spite of this *Psalm Praise* not only marks another milestone⁵⁹ in the setting of the psalms to popular-

⁵⁷ *Family Worship* (1971, revised edition 1975), also published by CPAS, contains many songs from *Youth Praise* and others in a similar style.

⁵⁸ So much so that eventually a list of alternative tunes was published: *Psalm Praise Worship Index* - Michael Perry (Falcon, 1977).

⁵⁹ See Ex. 1, p. 54, pl. 1 for Beaumont's setting of Psalm 150, and p. 47 above. Other psalm collections in a popular style have since followed, e.g. *Psalms for Today* and *Songs from the Psalms* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1990).

style music but more generally represents another important stage in the developing use of popular and folk-idiom music in church, in that *Psalm Praise*, unlike *Youth Praise*, was intended to be used in formal worship.

Finally, some mention should be made of the controversial hymn book *Hymns for Today's Church* (1982) of which Michael Baughen served as consultant editor. The project began in 1973 with the following aim: 'the production of the first major new hymn book of the new era' (Baughen 1982). The editors broke new ground in their objective to modernise, systematically, the text of every hymn admitted. Criticism was understandably forthcoming despite an attempt to explain their rationale in a booklet which was published shortly before the hymn book (Idle 1982, q.v). Despite the radical nature of *Hymns for Today's Church* and the inclusion of such already familiar names as Patrick Appleford, Geoffrey Beaumont, Michael Brierley and of course Michael Baughen (e.g. *Name of all Majesty*) it is, from a musical perspective, comparatively traditional.

What is significant though is that during the period that *Hymns for Today's Church* was being prepared there surfaced a need amongst the editors for a central agency dedicated solely to the promotion of Christian hymns and songs. This led to the formation of the 'Jubilate Group', a body which is still very much active today. Since the publication of *Youth Praise*, of which some members can be traced, this group has been responsible for a wealth of material, a good proportion of which is in

a popular style.⁶⁰ Group members include: Michael Perry, Christopher Idle, David Mowbray, James Seddon, Michael Seward, Michael Baughen, Timothy Dudley-Smith, Norman Warren, John Barnard, David Wilson, David Iliff, Noel Tredinnick, Christian Stover and David Peacock.

Summary and Evaluation

Following the initial experiments that characterised the mid to late 1950s, it was in the 1960s that popular and folk-style church music began to establish itself. The 'beat' service in Salisbury Cathedral at the beginning of the decade was certainly symbolic in that it represented, in the words of Cecil Northcott, a 'recognition by the Church of England of the place of the light music idiom in Christian worship' (1964:69); and towards the end of the decade there were the two *Youth Praise* editions (1966;1969) which 'ushered in the days of songs, rather than hymns, in Christian worship' (Manwaring 1991:148) and by doing so strongly indicated where the future of popular and folk-style church music would lie.

As might be expected, there was a flurry of activity in the first half of the 1960s. It will be remembered from the previous chapter that this was the most productive time for the 20th Century Church Light Music Group. There was interest shown by professional musicians too, most notably Malcolm Williamson. Also, at this time there was something of a new development - the emergence of the 'folk-hymn'; an occurrence that certainly

⁶⁰ e.g. *Let's Praise! 1 & 2, Carol Praise, Carols for Today, Church Family Worship, Hymn's for Today's Church, Hymn's for Today's Church: New Editions, Jesus Praise, Carol Praise for Children, Hymns 2000, Jubilate Hymns, Jubilate Versions, Praise Today, Orchestral Carols, Prayers for the People, Psalms for Today, songs from the Psalms, etc.*

owes some of its inspiration to the folk revival. Sydney Carter has been singled out as one of the most well-known writers of folk hymnody although due to his unorthodox literary style relatively few from his repertoire have been incorporated into hymnals.

As equally compelling as the developments taking place in church music in the 1960s were those fundamental changes occurring in both the Catholic Church (i.e. Vatican II) and the Church of England (i.e. Prayer Book Measure) which, by making provision for more informal worship and music, profoundly affected worship practice from there on. There grew from these changes a demand for suitable material which was met in the Catholic Church by, amongst other music, collections such as a *20th Century Folk-Hymnal*, and in the Anglican Church by such songs as those found in *Youth Praise*. But perhaps of even greater significance than all of these developments was to be the impact of the 'Charismatic Movement' which would give rise to the 'worship song' and 'chorus' as a staple ingredient in the weekly worship of many churches and fellowships throughout the country. The following chapter is dedicated almost exclusively to this phenomenon.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Charismatic Movement

A brief account of the 'hymn explosion' was given in the previous chapter. This related largely to the renaissance in hymn-writing (i.e. that in a traditional vein) which was triggered initially in the 1960s, and quickly gathered momentum from that point on. In relation to contemporary Christian song, the Charismatic Movement has been responsible for igniting a passion which has equalled and even surpassed the hymn explosion in terms of sheer output. It has arguably been the most significant development in the promotion of congregational music this century. Andrew Maries, who worked closely with David Watson at St Michael-le-Belfrey in York, frames it like this:

Through contemporary renewal, music is rediscovering its role in worship. New music is being created, not just by professional musicians, but by the people, for the people (1986:42).

Some kind of perspective on the scale of the Charismatic Movement is provided by Peter Wagner, a church growth expert. In 1981 he estimated that there were already 90 million Charismatic Christians world-wide. Today he calculates that there are around

400 million (Scotland 1995:1).¹ In relation to its impact in Britain Nigel Scotland offers the following conclusion in his book *Charismatics and the Next Millennium*:

The Charismatic Movement is the fastest growing force and section of the church in the United Kingdom. It also represents the largest group of evangelicals in England (ibid:270).

Music holds a very special place in Charismatic worship, which, like the general ethos of the movement, is more in touch with popular culture than traditional worship. But, while the music associated with the Charismatic Movement is most definitely popular in style its development has again not reflected the concurrent commercial 'pop' music. However, compared with previous forms of popular-style church music the 'time-lag' is less substantial.

Why Charismatic?

All movements are difficult to define accurately, due in part to their 'movement', and an additional problem here is with the word charismatic itself in its modern interpretation. While on the one hand politicians, film stars, pop icons and the like are often referred to as being 'charismatic' (i.e. captivating/inspirational), it would at the same time be quite possible to describe a passionate Baptist preacher as such without him actually being a Charismatic Christian. In order to bring some clarity to the situation it is necessary to trace the word's

¹ Patrick Dixon also quotes a similar figure in *Signs of Revival*: 'According to the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 372 million Christians were charismatics in the early 1990s' (Dixon 1995:106). Michael Harper feels, however, that these figures are 'greatly exaggerated'. 'Divide at least by 2' he advises (personal correspondence, 1998).

origin. It derives from the Greek word *charismata* meaning 'free gifts'. In this sense then it usually refers to the 'Gifts of the Holy Spirit' which are a central part of Charismatic practice.² It would be misleading though to identify the Charismatic Movement solely with these phenomena and vice versa. While they remain important, indeed integral, they form part of a broader context which is characterized by a deeper spiritual life, active and visible amongst Charismatic followers as well as

by a strong sense of the power of God at work on earth (often in miraculous ways) amongst them, by an up-ward looking faith, by a claim of both continuity with the early days of the apostolic church and also an openness to the future, and a preoccupation with God himself, even at the risk of seeming to lose touch with the 'reality' of the more earthbound believers and unbelievers....the central feature of the movement is an overwhelming sense of the presence and power of God not previously known in such a combination of otherness and immediacy (Craston et al 1981:1).

A Historical Outline

Since Gospel times there have been experiences of *charismata* but they have remained on the periphery of mainstream worship.³ The first real indication of any widespread manifestation of *charismata* can be traced to the beginning of the twentieth century and 'Pentecostalism', with which the Charismatic Movement is closely identified and with which it shares a number of key elements, e.g. 'baptism in the Spirit' and 'speaking in tongues'. As a global phenomenon, it is possible to link Pentecostalism to an event at the turn of the century at

² See, for example, I Corinthians 12, 13 and 14.

³ See Dixon 1995:113.

the Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas. It was here that a number of staff and students amidst much prayer, and as a result of much contemplation on baptism in the Spirit, laid hands on each other and spoke in tongues (ibid:5). A short while later in Britain came the Welsh Revival of 1904. 'It would be historically incorrect', writes Patrick Dixon in *Signs of Revival*, 'to dissociate the pentecostal movement from that remarkable visitation of God's Spirit' (1995:163). However, the Pentecostal Movement is generally considered to have been 'born' (Harper 1994:24) in Azusa Street, Los Angeles in 1906.⁴

The ministry of David du Plessis in the 1950s and early 1960s was very important in providing the link between Pentecostalism and the historic churches. This became increasingly, and more publicly, manifest in the 1960s in both America (e.g. St Marks, Van Huys, California, 1960)⁵ and soon after Britain (e.g. St. Marks, Gillingham, 1962-4).⁶ 'It was the coming of the Pentecostal experience into the historic denominational churches', writes Scotland (the so-called 'second wave'),⁷ 'which resulted in the use of the term 'charismatic renewal' (1995:6). A key figure in Britain was Michael Harper, an Anglican curate at the time, who resigned from his position at All Souls, Langham Place to form the 'Fountain Trust' in 1964 to help support and

⁴ See also Walker 1985:239 and Scotland 1995:5.

⁵ See Bennett 1971.

⁶ See Hocken 1997.

⁷ The 'first wave' being the initial outbreak of Pentecostal activity at the turn of the century.

encourage this new movement.⁸ 1964 is of particular significance because it was by the middle of this year that Peter Hocken calculates that 'there was a common awareness in Britain of this new Charismatic movement' (1997:132).

When addressing the Charismatic Movement it is probably more logical, and certainly more accurate, to conceptualise it as a series of related movements. Or even better still as in the title of Peter Hocken's book - *Streams of Renewal*. One of Hocken's conclusions about its British origins and early development is that while 'there was one overall movement of the Holy Spirit, commonly known as the Charismatic movement', within this 'there were a range of theological positions, including a number of conflicting theologies of the Church' (1997:208):

Not only was there no single dominant leader and planning pioneer, but almost by definition a movement touching such a wide base could not have had such an origin (ibid:157).

It is not only the Charismatic Movement's origins that were extremely diverse but its subsequent development; its varying impact on the historic denominations, for instance. Josephine Bax notes, in her report published in 1986 of spiritual renewal in the Church of England:

some parishes are charismatic in tone, some have significant charismatic activity within them, and some are firmly within the Charismatic movement (1986:217).

From a musical perspective, the 'House Church Movement' is certainly as an important stream of the Charismatic Movement as

⁸ The Fountain Trust was, until its closure in 1980, non-denominational and influential in both the Anglican and Catholic Churches. The Fountain Trust published, among other things, a song book in the early 1970s called *Songs of Renewal* (1971). It contains mostly unpublished work by a variety of composers and authors.

any other, both in terms of the creative use of music and song in worship and its contribution to the worship song repertoire.⁹ But here again there is great diversity, leading Andrew Walker, in his celebrated book *Restoring The Kingdom*, to declare that the term House Church Movement is 'an inappropriate label - a misnomer - that I think we should drop' (1985:17). His chief objection to this term is that it 'masks the fact that there are quite different fellowships and organisations that come under this rubric' (ibid). The two main similarities that Walker can offer are (i) that many groups did start in homes (though most have since expanded into 'full-blown' churches meeting in leisure centres, community halls, schools, converted commercial premises and even pubs and wine bars) and (ii) they all 'exist outside the mainline denominations of Great Britain' (ibid:18). Walker calls them 'extra-denominational' to differentiate them from the many 'denominational house churches'; another reason why he considers House Church Movement unhelpful.

There are a range of factors why the worship song became so entrenched in the House Church Movement, such as the desire to express new ideas in new songs and also to help create some form of identity. There are a number of reasons to account for the extensive use of the guitar also, like its compatibility with the song form (slow harmonic rhythm). But, knowing that 'many of these groups started in homes', it seems likely that acoustics also played role in the musical development of these fellowships.

⁹ There are many songs in the *Songs of Fellowship* books, *Mission Praise* and *Spring Harvest* that have their origin in the house church movement; see Steven 1989 and Begbie 1991.

The lack of reverberation in a living room does not, for example, lend itself to slow sustained music or singing. More melodic movement, even some syncopation, is beneficial therefore in this environment in maintaining interest and impetus. This may account in part for why worship songs generally have a freer melodic line and more varied rhythm than traditional hymns. The pipe organ, so ideally suited to leading a large congregation in the grandeur of a church building, has of course no place in a domestic setting. By the same token a lone guitar without amplification is close to useless in a church setting. But in a private dwelling the tone and dynamic of an acoustic guitar, even more so than a piano, lends itself ideally to the intimacy of a living room. This is not to say that acoustics have been the only, or even main, determining factor, but that they have played at least some part in affecting the music practice of Charismatic worship.

Returning to Andrew Walker's book, *Restoring the Kingdom*, within the extra-denominational house church corpus Walker concentrates on the 'kingdom people', which he redefines as 'Restorationists' (which he further sub-divides into R1 and R2 to classify the two inter-related movements incorporating the kingdom people).¹⁰ Although this body has been very productive, musically, they by no means stand alone in the House Church Movement. For example, Graham Kendrick, one of the most prolific of worship song writers, is associated with the Ichthus Fellow-

¹⁰ Walker's main justification for concentrating on the 'kingdom people' is because he views them as 'the largest and most significant religious formation to emerge in Great Britain for over half a century' (Walker 1985:20).

ship which, while being a so-called house church, lies outside Andrew Walker's definition of Restorationism. One further point worth stressing here is that the term 'Restoration' is frequently used in contradistinction to 'Renewal'. The former is used to denote those who consider that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit requires new 'wineskins', i.e. the formation of new churches, the latter to denote those who feel that the impulse of the Holy Spirit should act as a grace for the 'renewal and revitalization of their own Churches' (Hocken 1997:207), i.e. new wine into old wineskins.¹¹

While it is important to be aware of the distinction between Restoration and Renewal, it does not, in the main, concern this chapter, being as it is a preliminary investigation into the music practice associated with or inspired by the Charismatic Movement as a whole. This is made possible by the general nature of the music and certain *modus operandi*:

Many house churches 'plugged into' the Renewal, borrowing its songs and liturgical mannerisms; conversely, the Renewal picked up the new songs of Restoration. By the end of the 1970s, for example, the R2 'Bind us together, Lord' could be found in every type of British charismatic movement. Furthermore, many house church members joined in Renewalist jamborees, and Renewalists attended Downs Week, and The Dale Bible Week. R1 and R2 were separate strands of Pentecostalism, but they did (for a while) become interwoven with the Charismatic Renewal per se (Walker 1985:43).

Furthermore, James Steven in his guide to *Worship in the Restoration Movement* notes stylistic similarities:

One of the characteristics of the style of music in

¹¹ Fellowships once termed house churches are now generically called 'new Churches'.

Restoration circles is its accessibility to the majority of contemporary worshippers. In common with much of the renewal music, the style is middle-of-the-road (a Radio 2 feel!), and easy to engage with (1989:19).

Despite the widespread influence of the Charismatic Movement, its development has not been trouble free.¹² As Charismatic forms of worship began to encroach more and more on mainstream worship it was often met with feelings of bemusement, bewilderment and even hostility. From about 1970 a genuine attempt to stem the rift was made on the part of both Charismatics and non-Charismatics by seeking closer fellowship. However, ill feeling was set to continue in some quarters giving rise to claims that 'charismatic practices are a great and serious departure from the Bible' (Masters 1992:10).¹³ Nevertheless, the Charismatic Movement has continued to grow, touching all denominations (including the Roman Catholic Church) in Britain and throughout the world.

It was in fact partly in a response to a meeting of 10,000 Catholic Charismatics in Rome in 1975 that a conference was planned for Anglican Charismatic leaders. In July 1978, delegates from 25 countries, including 32 bishops, converged on Canterbury for the 'Anglican International Conference on Spiritual Renewal'. Speaking at the conference the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that he 'prayed constantly for the death of

¹² e.g. The validity of Baptism in the Spirit as a 'second blessing' has been questioned. So has the claim that 'tongues' are the evidence of this 'baptism', see for example Pawson 1993:56.

¹³ Masters is perhaps an extreme case but there have been throughout the 1980s and 1990s an increasing amount publications raising concerns about the Charismatic Movement, (see also Glover 1988) and not only by those who are diametrically opposed it. Chris Bowater, a well known Christian song writer and worship leader, states in *The Believer's Guide to Worship*, that his book 'is written on the basis of two major observations: the dangers in charismatic worship and the essentials for 'flowing' in worship' (1993:11).

the charismatic movement, because the whole Church should be charismatic' (Harper 1978:4). It was also at the conclusion to this conference in Canterbury Cathedral that the famous 'dance to the Lord' by 25 bishops (along with the congregation) took place.

Later that same year the Charismatic Movement was to receive official recognition from the Church of England's governing body. In November 1978 the General Synod passed the following motion:

That this Synod, noting the rise in recent years of the Charismatic Movement within the Church of England and being concerned to conserve the new life it has brought into many parishes, asks the Standing Committee to bring before the Synod a report which will explore the reasons for this upsurge, pinpoint the particular distinctive features of spirituality and ethos which the movement presents, and indicate both the points of tension which exist with traditional Anglicanism and also how the riches of the movement may be conserved for the good of the Church (Craston et al 1981).

The Working Group assembled for the task consisted of Church of England representatives and General Synod staff. In 1981 the Group published its report which was in the main detailed and positive. In the document are listed six possible reasons for the rise of Charismatic activity in the Church of England, one of which is 'a relief from' (or perhaps more a reaction to) 'formalism' (:42). The informal atmosphere associated with Charismatic worship remains perhaps one of its most attractive features which, of course, is reflected in the musical style. David Peterson, writing in *The Church Musicians' Handbook*, summarises this musical idiom as follows:

Rhythms and harmonies in contemporary Christian music are much more influenced by folk, rock, and jazz

idioms. Traditional metrical forms are not often followed. Sometimes the lyrics are confused and meandering, lacking theological depth and substance. Repetition is often used to create a mood (Peterson 1994:36).

This is not to say that many fine contemporary worship songs do not exist, both musically and textually, but to convey the very different nature of contemporary Christian song as opposed to contemporary/traditional hymnody.¹⁴

Before focusing on the music, it will first be helpful to outline the salient points of Charismatic practice as detailed in the Synod Report, of which the following, though not exhaustive, are fundamental and most applicable:

(i) the centrality of the Holy Spirit; in particular the gifts of 'tongues', 'prophecy', and 'healing', delivered through 'baptism in the Holy Spirit';

(ii) a more relaxed, expressive, spontaneous and participatory form of worship (9:36:42:passim);

(iii) the influential place of music and indeed Expressive Arts generally ('a thoroughgoing *use of the body*' :36); dance, drama, mime, art, etc;

(iv) the forming and spread of 'House Churches'; and

(v) the inter-denominational character of the movement.

In the Report's conclusion it is stated that despite some reservations about the way the movement has exhibited itself (whether exegetical, experimental, or behavioural) the writing of the report has 'led to us in the main to welcome the charis-

¹⁴ See Leach 1995 for an introduction to the difference between 'hymns' and 'worship songs'/ 'choruses'.

matic movement' (:47).¹⁵

Music in the Charismatic Movement

It is now almost customary that each new revival is accompanied with its own brand of religious song and, far from being an exception, the Charismatic Movement has rekindled an interest in worship music on an almost unprecedented scale. In the tradition of revivalism and song of the 18th and 19th centuries (e.g. Methodist hymnody, Victorian hymnody, Gospel hymnody, Salvation Army songs) there has been a burst of creative activity inspired by the Charismatic Movement in the 20th century which from its inception in Britain in the 1960s has continued to proliferate to the present day.

The significance of music's role in the Charismatic Movement is beyond question, a detail the authors of the General Synod Report were quick to comprehend:

The movement gained force from the popularizing of its distinctive music. The years from 1970 to 1975 saw the songs of the Christian roadshow *Come Together* overtaken by the overtly charismatic *Sound of Living Waters* (1974) and later *Fresh Sounds* (1976) (Craston et al 1981:10).

The 'Christian roadshow' *Come Together* is probably best described as a 'musical' act of worship which toured the USA, and later the UK, in the early 1970s. It was based largely on Scripture and took the form of 'a series of sacred songs and

¹⁵ Following the General Synod Report and debates on the Charismatic Movement the Board for Mission and Unity was asked to keep under review the more general question of spiritual renewal in the Church. As a contribution to this Josephine Bax was asked to carry out research on spiritual renewal in the Church of England, and subsequently to write a book, (Bax 1986, q.v).

chorales held together by a spoken ministry'.¹⁶ The musical style was 'contemporary' (op.cit)¹⁷ and the score catered for flexible instrumentation such as guitars, drums, piano, choir, backing singers, etc.

Come Together began as the brainchild of Jimmy Owens, a musician from Tennessee, as a response to an idea from the pastor of his local church. Along with his wife Carol and children, the project quickly became a family affair. *Come Together* was soon published and from 1972 performances were being delivered by varying groups and churches throughout the United States. In 1973 the Owens family arrived in Britain and presented the 'musical' at a number of venues including the Albert Hall and Coventry Cathedral.¹⁸ In keeping with Charismatic practice the atmosphere was one of informality and conducive to active participation. A *Come Together* songbook was soon published by WORD UK Ltd and quickly formed part of the early Charismatic repertoire. Songs from *Come Together* were to later appear in other collections in the 1970s, such as *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds*, and also in a number of subsequent compilations, e.g. *Songs of Fellowship* and *Mission Praise*.¹⁹ As an indication of the impact of the 'roadshow', Tony Jasper, in *Jesus and the Christian in a Pop Culture*, notes how

many British Christians claim their awareness of the Church as a worshipping, sharing, loving community came from their participation in *Come Together*

¹⁶ Quoted from the sleeve notes that accompany the album, *Come Together - a Musical Experience in Love* (Light - a division of Word (UK) Ltd, 1974) LSX 7006.

¹⁷ For an example of this style see footnote 19.

¹⁸ For more information about the Owens' UK tour see Darnall 1973.

¹⁹ e.g. 'God forgave my sin' and 'Holy, Holy' - *Mission Praise* (1983).

(1984:120).

There have since been many other 'religious' musicals, influenced either by the Owens' model or the more commercially orientated Lloyd-Webber musicals.²⁰

What is significant about the music used by early Charismatics is its eclectic nature, which must be understood in the context of a developing, and somewhat fragmented, movement and its cross-denominational character. If there was an emphasis then it would be on songs and choruses rather than hymns but this was initially much more the case with house churches than denominational churches. In much the same way as the extent to which Charismatic practice impinged on the historic churches varied, so too did its influence on music (i.e. as reflected in the ratio of hymns to choruses/worship songs). As there was initially no standard song book, Charismatics drew from a variety of sources including 'home-grown' material, although as time went on collections such as *Songs of Fellowship* were adopted by many groups. However, the most influential, and certainly most widely used, songbook to begin with was *Sound of Living Waters* (1974) and later its sequel *Fresh Sounds* (1976). These two 'overtly charismatic' compilations, mentioned in the Synod Report, were the products of a Christian fellowship called the 'Community of Celebration' (the music and ministry of this

²⁰ *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolour Dreamcoat* (1968) and *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1970) by Andrew Lloyd-Webber and Tim Rice; *Godspell* (1971) by Stephen Schwartz and John-Michael Tebelak; *Lonesome Stone* (1973) by the Jesus Family. Roger Jones has written many musicals throughout the 1970s, '80s and '90s and works with 'Christian Music Ministries' to help churches with their music in worship. See also Routley 1964:187; Hooper and Marvin 1964; Marvin 1967; Routley 1969:214 and Jasper 1984:129 for the 'pop' Christian musical drama *A Man Dies* (1961).

group is dealt with in more detail in the following chapter).

A brief look here at *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds* (combined in 1978) will present a general picture of the type and most popular songs used in early Charismatic worship. The foreword to the combined edition states that it is a book reflecting:

the joyous praise, awesome wonder, simplicity and hope which accompany the Holy Spirit's renewal in the Church today. On the whole, the songs included here were chosen because of their *proven usefulness* in worship (Pulkingham and Harper 1978).²¹

The foreword also strongly emphasises the sheer diversity of the collection:

From the coasts of England, the Islands of New Zealand, the expansive shores of America these songs roll in like a powerful tide of praise to the Saviour. The Ocean is deep and wide; so also is the musical scope of this book. This volume is not limited by period or style, confined to 'youth songs' or content with 'old favourites'. Simply to turn a page may transport you from the measured dignity of Handel to the swinging rock beat of *Godspell*.

Furthermore:

this is not *just* a collection of music by experts, Vaughan Williams and Bortniansky do have their say. So do a secretary named Sylvia, a young college student, and the four-year-old son of one of the editors (ibid).

In addition, traditional melodies, folk tunes and spirituals are also included. Many of the songs do emanate from North America but others from Europe and further afield are not uncommon e.g. German, Swiss, Israeli, Gaelic, Fiji and African; (songs from the 'World Church' would be increasingly drawn upon in later song collections). A number of already familiar names again reappear.

²¹ My italics.

Geoffrey Beaumont, Patrick Appleford, Michael Brierley from the 20th Century Church Light Music Group are represented as are Ira Sankey and Jimmy and Carol Owens. Michael Baughen's 'There's no greater name' is amongst a selection taken from *Youth Praise* and the compilers Betty Pulkingham and Jeanne Harper supply many and arrange a good deal more. Traditional hymns have not altogether been neglected. 'O For a Thousand Tongues', 'The Lord's my Shepherd' and 'Lord of all Hopefulness' are amongst those that remain married to their most familiar tunes, others like 'When I survey the wondrous cross' are supplied with a modern tune - in this case with the performance direction 'Smooth, with a 'blues' feeling'!²²

Despite one of the books being called *Fresh Sounds*, as with all popular-style church music to date the idiom was not so fresh as familiar. Andrew Wilson-Dickson, writing in the context of the 1970s in his book *The Story of Christian Music*, notes:

superficially the music of this charismatic movement resembles the populist Christian music of the previous decade

'But there is a difference', he continues:

Rather than a music imposed or recommended to a congregation by reformers from above or without, some (not all) of this music was created from within, as an expression of the intensity of the spiritual life of a Christian community. The idiom of songs created in this way has strong links with contemporary secular music (1992:241).

Wilson-Dickson's penetrating comment concerning the connection between music created 'from within' and 'contemporary secular

²² Providing modern popular-style tunes for traditional hymns is, of course, not unheard of (see Chapter 2). The practice has continued along with jazzing-up traditional hymn tunes. See, for example, 'Crown Him With Many Crowns' (*Spring Harvest*, 1997 no. 24). See also *Hymns for the People* (Marshall Pickering).

music' is most revealing as it explains to a large extent why the 'time-lag' between this form of worship music and the prevailing pop music decreased following the impact of the Charismatic Movement. Josephine Bax, in her study of spiritual renewal in the Church of England cited above, states that

one of the most striking characteristics of renewal is what the Report *The Charismatic Movement in the Church of England* called 'the coming-to-life of the laity' (Bax 1986:5).

And with it 'came', the Synod Report also emphasised,

new styles of music. A creative talent has been unleashed, and all and sundry now write their praises and their prayers to be sung as new songs (Craston et al 1981:36).

It is clear from both Bax's research and the General Synod Report that there was a considerable amount of grass-roots activity present within the developing Charismatic Movement. Music was most definitely being created 'from within', and significantly by those in touch with popular culture²³ many of whom, as products of their time, were self-taught, guitar-playing musicians.²⁴

As a consequence song collections became far more 'user (guitar)-friendly' than the *Youth Praise* idiom 'where the songs were composed for piano, and guitar chords were added later' (Buchanan 1977:18). The so-called 'folk style'²⁵, associated

²³ This would increasingly be the case as Christian musician Laurie Mellor notes in his book *A Desert Song*: 'news was reaching me from more and more musicians who had been involved in bands in the early 80's but which had subsequently disbanded...time and time again when I asked what they were doing now the reply was leading church worship' (1987:61).

²⁴ It needs to be noted that there were, and are also, Christian song writers that have had formal training, Chris Bowater and Dave Fellingham to name but two.

²⁵ For more on the 'folk-style' see Chapter 3 - 'Sydney Carter and Folk Hymnody', and Chapter 5 - 'Community of Celebration'.

with such song books as *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds*, was initially most prevalent as

the early liturgical products of the Renewal reflected the vogue folk culture of the day. Songs in folk idiom grew up alongside a revival of liturgical dance (paralleling folk dance) and the making of bright liturgical banners (folk craft, rather than high art or iconography) (Roberts 1998).

This was, however, to be only a transitory phase:

The 'folk-arts' aspect waned with the counter-culture. Music has become the single dominant cultural medium for the worship of the movement, changing from the more folk-inspired guitar-and-Kaftan style of the 60s and 70s to the soft-rock style of the 1980s and 1990s (ibid).

While the style of Charismatic music has changed the style of composition has not. From the origins of the movement 'single-authorship' (both tune and words written by the musician) has predominated and it remains to this day the norm for Christian song writers. One of the reasons for this, Tony Payne suggests in *The Church Musicians' Handbook*, is 'because we are subconsciously following the paradigm of contemporary song-writing - the Billy Joel model (1994:111).²⁶ However, he adds

given the function and potential importance of singing, most of our songwriting is currently being done by people with little or no theological training, and who may or may not be good with words...the *music* needs to be written by people with that expertise...the *words* need to be written by people with that expertise - that is, people with a thorough biblical knowledge and insight, who can express these truths in words that work as lyrics (ibid).

Payne's comments are not altogether prescriptive - he does, for example, acknowledge that there are those that can write both

²⁶ Incidentally, 'early Byzantine hymnodists also normally wrote both words and music' too (Baker and Welsby 1933:28).

music and words competently - but he laments, 'most modern church songs (music AND words) are written by people whose first and highest gift is music' (ibid). Payne is not alone in his views. David Pawson, writing about the Charismatic liturgy, also laments that 'didactic hymns of any length and substance are ignored. This omission is tragic because most ordinary folk learn their doctrine through what they sing' (1993:113).

Despite such criticisms one of the benefits of the increased amount of grass-roots activity associated with the Charismatic Movement has been the scope it has provided for more 'personalised' worship, and not least of all in terms of song-writing. Many Charismatic songs have been written for specific occasions or reflect the ethos of a particular fellowship. In the early years of the Charismatic Movement loose-leaf collections were compiled and passed around the local vicinity. Since then some fellowships with more entrepreneurial skills have developed their own commercial enterprises, recording and producing songbooks and tapes, etc.²⁷

In addition to *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds* a great many other editions containing popular and folk-style Christian songs were to appear from the 1970s onwards.²⁸ Roman

²⁷ This has occurred in both Renewal and Restoration movements. For example, 'Mustard Seed Records' - St Michael-le-Belfrey in York (Maries 1986:143/165); and 'Harvestime' - the 'house', or 'new Churches', led by Bryn Jones (Walker 1995:13/21/97).

²⁸ Two such charismatic inspired books were *Songs of Praise* (Anchor Recordings, Ashford, 1976/78); and *High Praise* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1978).

Galliard has published many collections for young people containing new songs and hymns e.g. *New Life* (1971); *New Orbit* (1972); *New Horizons* (1974); and *Partners in Praise* (1979).

Psalm collections in a modern style were to appear also: *Psalms for Today*, *Songs from the Psalms* (Hodder & Stoughton (1990)).

Catholics too were becoming more and more influenced by the Charismatic Movement and would freely use songs and choruses that were generally popular amongst Charismatics. Furthermore, since the conclusion of Vatican II in 1965²⁹ there had been a growing demand throughout the Catholic Church for more songs and hymns which the publishers Mayhew-McCrimmon, among others,³⁰ sought initially to meet, e.g. *Sing a New Song to the Lord* (1970), three volumes of a *20th Century Folk Hymnal* (1974, 1975, 1976) and the *Celebration Hymnal* (1976). Songs made popular by these collections also became used more widely, beyond both the Catholic Church and Charismatic circles.

The Worship Song and Chorus

Apart from the exploits of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group whose main intention was to set traditional hymn texts to a familiar music idiom, the emphasis within popular and folk-style church music since then has been on the composition of original songs, i.e. the setting of new lyrics (which do not necessarily follow a standard metre) to music in a contemporary style. The terms that were most often used to describe these pieces were 'folk-hymn', 'chorus' or simply 'song'. From around the early 1980s it is apparent that another term, 'worship song', was increasingly being used to refer to the many new Christian songs that were being written,³¹ particularly as a

²⁹ See Ch.3, p 110.

³⁰ See Ch.5, p.247.

³¹ *Mission Praise* (1983), for example, talks of 'praise and worship songs' in its introduction. The phrase 'worship song' has since then been most frequently used. It is interesting to note, however, that in an article in 1997, David Pawson draws attention to a distinction between 'loud and lively choruses (now labelled "Praise")' and 'quiet and slower ones (now labelled "Worship")' (Pawson 1997).

result of the Charismatic Movement. Apart from the clear influence of popular music, worship songs do vary in both style and form.³² A useful distinction that can be made however is between it and the 'chorus', i.e. a one verse setting which is often repeated. It is well to be aware that, in a generic sense, choruses can also be referred to as worship songs.

The singing of choruses is today common and while their use is by no means confined to Charismatic worship they are as closely identified with the Charismatic Movement as 'tongue-speaking' is. The inclusion of choruses in *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds* has undoubtedly been a significant factor in their proliferation and dissemination. However, the popularity of chorus singing may also be viewed as a development of the more widespread use of choruses in Britain generally, as the preface to the C.S.S.M.³³ Chorus Book No 3 published in 1959 explains:

The place of choruses in Christian experience is now firmly and rightly established...Choruses have long outgrown their original conception, in which they were considered to be primarily for children.

Furthermore, as Erik Routley pointed out earlier in 1950s, there is also the American connection to consider:

an interesting development of the 'Sankey' technique is in the modern American "choruses", used in revivals³⁴ whose most distinguished English exponent is Mr. Tom Rees of Hildenborough Hall, Tonbridge' (1952:242).

³² See p.173 below and Ch.1, p.25. For more on the style and form of worship songs see Fellingham 1987, Steven 1989, Begbie 1991, Leach 1995 and Townend 1998.

³³ For an account of the C.S.S.M see Ch.2, p.41.

³⁴ Earlier in the century Charles Alexander (1867-1920), for example, 'made use of choruses without stanzas, several of which are found in *Alexander's Hymns No.3*' (Eskew: 1980:551).

Although choruses were by the 1950s being written with adults in mind Pete Ward, in a recent book, is still keen to stress the youth and evangelical background of many choruses and songs:

Evangelical faith has always been expressed in song as much as in words. It is well known that hymn-singing is one of the distinctive features of the movement, but perhaps it is less well known that work amongst young people has been the context for the development of evangelical choruses and songs...Songs which were sung by young people at camps, beach missions, festivals and houseparties have become regular features of church life (1996:107).

It is of no surprise that Ward notes the significance of the CSSM chorus books and of the *Youth Praise* editions, but to further support his claim he also draws attention to how the early Charismatic Movement was itself linked to young people. 'From the very start', Ward says, 'young people were at the forefront of the renewal in the church' (ibid:121). This is also supported by Michael Harper, in his seminal account of the origins of Charismatic renewal, first published in 1965:

One significant feature is that young people are being much affected, and there is widespread interest in the theological and missionary training colleges (1994:88).

The important place of young adults in effecting musical change within Christian worship has since continued into the 1980s and beyond with the burgeoning 'Alternative Worship' movement. This development is explored in the final chapter.

A Distinctive Style of Worship³⁵

On closer inspection of Charismatic worship practice it

³⁵ For a more thorough account of the worship style of Restoration churches see Walker 1985, particularly chapter 9.

becomes clear why the popular music style is felt to be a more 'natural' and expressive means of accompanying worship. To begin with it appears that there is a fundamental distinction between the rationale of those involved in traditional worship and the way in which Charismatics comprehend the place and role of music, and the arts generally, in relation to their faith. The following two statements emanate from the Archbishops' Committees on Church Music, appointed in 1922 and 1948 respectively:

We would begin by recalling the fact that there is no absolute necessity for the use of any music in the services of the Church (*Music in Worship* rev.1947).

And:

We shall all readily recognize that music is by no means essential to worship (*Music in Church* 1957).

Charismatics, however, do not use such unequivocal language, for in keeping with their emphasis on the 'gifts' of the Spirit there has been undoubtedly throughout all strands of the movement a 'great *instinct* to recognise and employ the 'gifts' of music or art,'³⁶ more readily (Craston et al 1981:35), and to such a degree that the Charismatic Movement has been criticised for being 'heavily dependent on music' (Pawson 1993:113).

Nowhere has this 'instinct' been more manifest than in the House Church Movement. According to Andrew Walker, house churches (Restorationists, particularly) are better understood as being 'a separate strand of Pentecostalism' rather than as an 'out-growth of Charismatic Renewal within the mainstream churches' (1985:35) - which he considers as a parallel stream of Pent-

³⁶ my italics.

ecostalism. In *Restoring The Kingdom* Walker surmises that many people have been 'attracted to Restoration churches by the music' (:190). He then records as an endnote a very telling conversation with the well known Pentecostal authority Walther Hollenweger:

Professor Walther Hollenweger and I once discussed the central importance of songs and choruses in the Pentecostal movement. We both agreed that if you were to take away the music, Pentecostalism might not survive (ibid:199)!

This different emphasis on music is also to be found beyond the House Church Movement. In the report of the 'Anglican International Conference on Spiritual Renewal', mentioned earlier, it affirms that 'Praise to God is the key to worship, so music will play a vital part' (Harper 1978:11). Moreover, allied with this emphasis on music and arts has been a re-evaluation of the use of the body also,³⁷ as opposed to the more cerebral approach associated with traditional music and worship. This is most notably manifest in the level of congregational participation that is encouraged: dancing, clapping, foot-tapping, hugging, raising hands, and swaying to the beat of the music. The O.H.P. has also become an invaluable resource in this respect for enabling greater freedom of movement. Singing too has become more ecstatic and intimate and has even found new

³⁷ As well as re-evaluating the use of the 'physical' body in worship Charismatics 'are keen to involve the whole body, with each member contributing his or her gift' (Buchanan 1977:11). But as Colin Buchanan points out 'Charismatics have no monopoly on the concept of the body' (1977:11). 'The Liturgical Movement', in particular, involved a rediscovery of the meaning of the body. There is a connection between the Charismatic Movement and the Liturgical Movement, Buchanan states, even if it is 'often unacknowledged' (ibid:7). See Chapter 2 for the Liturgical Movement.

heights of expression as with 'singing in the Spirit'.³⁸ These overt gesticulations have, however, resulted in much derision with such comments as the 'happy-clappy brigade'.

What has helped encourage this worship style, and in turn helped to create a distinctive musical practice, has been a much more relaxed and freer form of service. One particular feature of this is the degree of spontaneity that is present which is one of the reasons why the singing of simple choruses became so popular in early Charismatic meetings. John Gunstone, a Church of England priest, in a personal and relatively early account of the Charismatic Movement writes:

The singing of choruses is a characteristic of these meetings...they proclaim Gospel truths in a simple way, mingled with an appeal for and assurances of divine aid...when sensitively chosen and led, choruses do much to create an atmosphere of corporate devotion and they provide a wealth of material through which worshippers may express their response to God. Since many choruses are easily memorised, they can be used spontaneously during prayer and praise: one person begins singing a chorus at an inspired moment, the rest taking it up in a wave of corporate devotion. (1974:79).

The amount of chorus repetition will of course vary but the freedom to do so is still to many one of the most positive aspects of Charismatic worship. But as Colin Buchanan has warned in his booklet *Encountering Charismatic Worship*, there are dangers with too much freedom and spontaneity if it supports a false theological dichotomy that 'to plan is to quench the Spirit; not to plan is to give him freedom' (1977: 11).

³⁸ A spontaneous, improvised vocal rendition utilising the gift of 'tongues'. For references to singing in the Spirit see Parkes 1983:24; Gunstone 1974:44-48; Maries 1986:28:84; Marshall 1982:83; Pawson 1993:105; Harper 1994:32 and Winslow 1996. See also Sherrill 1965.

Despite their proven usefulness the singing and particularly reiteration of choruses has not been universally welcomed. While some consider them trite, simplistic and perfunctory others are concerned that 'some serve only mantra-like purposes - achieved by "hypnotic" repetition' (Craston et al 1981:50). Even George Carey has suggested that in church life music's power to anaesthetize 'may be devised to stimulate emotions and stop people thinking' (Carey 1994:92). Many who have attended Charismatic worship would agree that there are times when complaints of mindless repetition may be justified, but it remains a moot point as to whether worshippers can be enticed into a trance like state. It is commonly accepted that music can influence human behaviour and emotion and can even have a 'direct effect on the brain' as in the case of 'musicogenic epilepsy' (Storr 1992:35).³⁹ Plato and Aristotle were both agreed that music could be a powerful pedagogical tool which could affect an individual's character to such an extent that it could be used for either good or evil purposes. Nevertheless, it is far from conclusive evidence that music alone can be used to manipulate an emotional, let alone a psychological, response against someone's will. For example, in spite of Plato and Aristotle's convictions 'they did not always agree as to which type of music was beneficial and which harmful' (ibid:41).

In response to similar criticisms concerning the 'Toronto Blessing' Patrick Dixon, a doctor, explains that

hypnosis is a specific mental state induced under

³⁹ For the therapeutic power of music see Sacks 1981 and 1985.

certain conditions in suggestible people by a figure of authority. Those hypnotised choose to hand over control to another...it is ludicrous to suggest that modern church music can brainwash people, any more than Gregorian chant.⁴⁰

As Anthony Storr points out in his book *Music and the Mind*, further research is needed in order to obtain more conclusive data on the effects of music:

We are only beginning to understand some of the physiological mechanisms by which music affects us.....the human brain is immensely complex and our knowledge of how music impinges upon it is incomplete and elementary (Storr 1992:48).

This is not to say that worshippers cannot to some extent be swayed by music. It is in fact freely admitted that one of the positive effects of the reiteration of choruses is that it brings individuals into closer fellowship with God. 'Repetition eventually focuses the attention and enables the worshipper to worship in spirit as well as in truth', writes Nigel Scotland in *Charismatics and the Next Millennium* (1995:58). This 'softening-up' process, however, is itself contentious because of its emotional impact and is the subject of more valid criticism. While not producing 'mindless zombies' there is certainly the potential for abuse by, for example, whipping-up congregations into a near state of frenzy with a succession of quick tempo worship songs - then mollifying them with a bout of slow sentimental ballad-style renderings. This is clearly not the same as using music sensitively in order to create the right

⁴⁰ Quoted from the 'Church Times', 2 June 1995. In Patrick Dixon's book, *Signs of Renewal*, he dedicates a chapter to 'Medical Perspectives on Manifestations'. In this he deals with some of the criticisms levelled at contemporary worship music. See also *The Contemporary Christian Music Debate* (Miller 1993:9) for psychological studies concerning music.

atmosphere for worship. Nevertheless, the reiteration of choruses and the prolonged musical preamble (between 15-45 minutes in Restoration churches) remains a standard part of Charismatic worship practice and, it must be added, is a means by which many find conducive to deeper and more meaningful worship.⁴¹

Instruments in Contemporary Worship

The use of instruments in Christian worship dates back to biblical times. Edward Foley, in the *Foundations of Christian Music*, affirms that there are 'at least nineteen identifiable terms for musical instruments in the First Testament' (1992:34), although not all were used in Temple worship. But 'while the Temple was a place of instrumental music, the synagogue was not' (ibid:48) and although it is true that many followers of Jesus were present in the Temple until its destruction it was the synagogue that more substantially influenced 'emerging Christian life, worship and music' (ibid:50). Even by the third century instruments played no significant role in Christian worship. The reason for this absence is more difficult to ascertain, but Foley suggests that the

emphasis on the primacy of vocal music and a concern of Christians to distinguish their worship practices from those of pagans certainly helped shape worship without instruments - a tradition that would flourish for more than a millenium (1993:83).

The use of instruments in modern worship is now, of course, standard practice but their introduction over the centuries has

⁴¹ For work carried out on the positive aspects of the use of the mantra in Christian prayer see *Word into Silence* by John Main (DLT); *Open Heart, Open Mind* by Thomas Keating (Wellspring); and *Prayer and Contemplation* by Robert Llewelyn (Fairacres).

been fraught with difficulty which has resulted in both formal (e.g. *Motu Proprio*) and informal regulatory measures. The reasons for objection have been grounded, as they still are in some quarters, in theological interpretation, matters of taste and suitability and the connection with impure or dubious activities.⁴²

Today the organ still stands as a symbol of traditional worship music, although its development in the church has itself been chequered. In Charismatic worship the folk or acoustic guitar is omnipresent^e and is equally symbolic^{wher}. Significant factors for its popularity are its portability^d, versatilityth and 'intimacy'^f, especially in house churches (as previously mentioned). Furthermore, there is usually no shortage of guitarists, as opposed to organists, and technical proficiency is rarely an issue. Transposition is easily accommodated, by the use of a *capo*, as is improvisation, and the guitar can be as equally effective with a slow chorus as with a pulsating worship song. The slow harmonic rhythm of the worship song/chorus style is also ideally suited to guitar accompaniment.

Despite the many benefits there are some obvious weaknesses with the guitar, particularly when it is only strummed (which is most often the case). There is a lack of bass and 'body' (even when amplified), and a limited tonal colour or *timbre* too. There is also the absence of an underlying melody to support congregational singing. This has in part resulted in the formation of 'music groups' which are now in evidence in many

⁴² See Ch.1 p.20, and Ch.2, p.66.

fellowships, whether or not there is a strong Charismatic leaning, although there is not necessarily any uniformity concerning either their make-up or function. Guitars are certainly ubiquitous but other instrumentation will vary from church to church, e.g. keyboards, tambourines, flutes, clarinets, saxophones, strings, etc; basically whatever is available. Their role varies too, from coexisting with the organ to being the sole means of leading worship. 'Heavier' instrumentation is also not uncommon, which may equate to that of a pop/rock band: electric guitars, bass guitar, keyboard and full drum kit.

Similar ensembles have existed before. Towards the middle of the 18th century many choirs formed to help support the singing of metrical psalms. To add further assistance small 'church bands' or 'orchestras' developed alongside them and these would together often occupy the West Gallery. The make-up of these groupings varied considerably and could include any of the following: flutes, clarinets, bassoons, serpents, violins, cellos, bugles, concertinas, tin-whistles. While the standard of musicianship and even behaviour of these players was in some cases suspect no one could doubt their enthusiasm and commitment. Certain individuals would even resort to making their own instruments if necessary; e.g. banjos, guitars, drums.⁴³

There are a number of parallels that can be drawn between

⁴³ Thomas Hardy, in his novel *Under The Greenwood Tree*, provides a somewhat sentimental account of these musicians.

the 18th/19th⁴⁴ century 'church band' and the 20th century 'worship group' or 'music group'. Firstly, both utilize an eclectic range of instruments and are made-up of pre-dominantly amateur musicians. They are also, very much, 'popular' in their ethos (i.e. the antithesis of the cathedral tradition/ surpliced choir/ professional organist) and their efforts have often been ridiculed. The musical style and manner of performance is in many respects idiomatic and the function of both groupings has been to support the singing of 'psalms, hymns and spiritual songs' (i.e. the music of 'the people'). The relationship between the church band and the choir was perhaps a more intimate one in the 18th/19th century, but modern worship groups are often joined by a 'singing group' or soloist/backing singers. Both groups also have been subject to much criticism with regard to 'secular association'. Today it may relate to the style of music or instrumentation (e.g. rock guitars, drums), but for the west gallery musicians it was their affiliation with the social and festive life of their village that lay behind, as Nicholas Temperley puts it:

the desire to reform the church band out of existence, particularly among the clergy. It came to be felt that the music of worship must be distinct in all respects, including the identity of the performers, from the song and dance of secular life (1983:201).

The influence of the Oxford Movement and the growing popularity of the barrel organ and harmonium further contributed to the demise of the west gallery players, but it may be said that there is a token of poetic justice to be found today in the

⁴⁴ The period when bands were commonest, Temperley suggests, was roughly 1780 - 1830 (1983:197).

growing popularity of music groups:

In a reverse of the marvellous account in Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree*, where he describes the small chamber group being ousted by the choir and the organ in Victorian times, the choir and organ are now being overtaken by music groups with their guitars (1986: 180).

Beyond the Charismatic Movement

There is little dispute about how influential the Charismatic Movement has been on worship practice in England in the last 30 years. Josephine Bax has remarked that

many churches that are not in the Charismatic Movement are taking on Charismatic styles of worship, particularly music, drama, art. 'They may still hate us', one Charismatic said to me, 'but they are singing our songs' (1986:180).

However, it would be a mistake to think that the Charismatic Movement has been the only factor in effecting musical change in the last 30-40 years. The Liturgical Movement (and Vatican II) has already been mentioned along with the Hymn Explosion. There has also been the Ecumenical Movement which, as Nicholas Temperley points out, 'shamed Anglicans of all parties out of their insularity and chauvinism' (1983:315). Its impact on church music was equally compelling, as Erik Routley recalls: 'it meant that the ordinary people of different Christian communions began to hear each other's music' (1997:101).⁴⁵

In addition, the Prayer Book Measure, which gave rise to the experimental use of services from the mid 1960s onwards, has been influential also. One such departure from traditional prac-

⁴⁵ Programmes such as BBC's *Songs of Praise* and *Sunday Half Hour* have been influential too, although it difficult to ascertain to what extent. See Chapter 2 p.51.

tice was the introduction of the 'Family Service', which has since become very popular in many Anglican and Free Churches. Robin Leaver, in his *Hymn Book Survey 1962-80*, talks of the

widespread growth of family services, less structured and less formal than traditional patterns of worship, for which happy hymns with jiggy tunes were demanded (1980:15).

'At first', he continues,

the three books of *CSSM Choruses* [issued in 1921, 1938 and 1959], which were sort-of-supplements to *Golden Bells*, were used. For years these choruses had been confined to the Sunday School but they were now admitted into the regular worship of churches (ibid).

Since the 1960s there have been a number of specially designed service books for Family Services containing modern songs and choruses. *Family Worship* (1971, rev.1975), for example, drew extensively from the *Youth Praise* editions.⁴⁶ *Christian Family Worship* (1986) and *Church Family Worship* (1988) have since followed. Commenting on the latter, Donald Webster, in his follow-up *Hymn-Book Survey 1980-93*, records how 'much use is made of secular tunes' (1994:15) (e.g. Elgar's 'Land of Hope and Glory', 'Marching Through Georgia' and 'The Skye Boat Song', etc);⁴⁷ another indication of the ongoing appropriation of secular music *per se*.⁴⁸

The use of choruses and worship songs is today widespread, precipitated not only by the Charismatic Movement but also other factors such as those just referred to. Of the many songbooks the *CSSM Chorus Books*, *Youth Praise*, *Sound of Living Waters* and

⁴⁶ The selection of hymns for Family Services is discussed in Stevenson 1981.

⁴⁷ *Songs of Worship* (1980) is another collection which has made much use of secular tunes.

⁴⁸ See Ch.2, p.68.

Fresh Sounds have been the most influential. Since these editions a great many song compilations have been published which have become popular in both Charismatic and non-Charismatic circles. Three such collections that have in their own way been significant and that remain prominent are *Songs of Fellowship*, *Mission Praise* and *Let's Praise*. Before looking at these books in more detail there have been a number of other forces that have contributed to the growth and dissemination of worship songs and choruses that also need highlighting.

Perhaps the most influential have been the Christian festivals, conventions and conferences that have grown in number and size since the 1970s. Two of the most well known are Greenbelt and Spring Harvest (which began in 1974 and 1978 respectively), the latter of which produces its own annual songbook. Andrew Walker, in 1985, writes that aside from these, the Dales Bible Week (which also produces its own songbook) has been the next largest residential Christian event in Britain. 'The Dales', Walker says,

became the shop window for Restoration teaching and worship. Its music has had far-reaching effects outside its own circle. All the Pentecostal denominations, and many Baptist and charismatic mainstream churches can be found singing 'songs of the kingdom' that originated at Dales (1985:99).

There have been many other such festivals and events that have exerted a great influence on mainstream worship music. The following list is not exhaustive but, along with those already mentioned, is fairly representative: The Festival of Light; Spree 73; Downs Week; Crossfire; Cross Rhythms; Kingston; Grape-

vine; Stoneleigh; Kingdom Faith; Soul Survivor; Summer Madness and New Wine.

The role of the Christian magazine in promoting worship music has also been steadily growing throughout the last 30 years. In the 1970s and '80s *Buzz* was one of the more successful Christian news publications (along with *New Christian Music*) which regularly advertised Christian music and events, also reviewing books, albums and films. There are now a vast array of magazines and periodicals that cover practically every area of Christian life and culture, e.g. *Alpha*, *Cross Rhythms*, *Worship Together*, *Renewal*, *Christianity*, *Jesus Life*, *Baptist Music Magazine*, *Premier*, etc. The impact of the Jesus revolution has also been extremely significant in raising the profile of modern worship culture, particularly within youthwork. Pete Ward identifies the Jesus Movement as advancing 'the tendency within evangelicalism towards festivals and large events as a means of encouraging young people in the faith' (1996:94). One of his conclusions is that the

emergence of specifically targeted Christian records, festivals and magazines has meant that Christian young people have been given the chance to buy into this hip new culture. As these young people have grown up events and products have moved with them. The net result has been that changes brought about by and for the young have now passed into the mainstream life of the majority of evangelical churches in this country (ibid:103).⁴⁹

⁴⁹ For more information on Christian festivals, magazines, bands, etc, see Henderson 1984; Jasper 1984; Ward 1996; Greenbelt website - <http://www.Greenbelt.org.UK>; Spring Harvest website - <http://www.springh.org/>.

Songs of Fellowship

Songs of Fellowship Book 1 was published in 1981.⁵⁰ Two other songbooks and a hymn book soon followed which were later integrated in 1987 to become *Songs & Hymns of Fellowship* (SHF). *Songs of Fellowship Book 4* (1989) appeared next containing a further 200 songs and in 1991 a volume entitled simply *Songs of Fellowship* was published which incorporated a selection from previous editions. This was later followed by a sequel, *Songs of Fellowship 2*, in 1998. The *Songs of Fellowship* books have been very successful, not only within house churches but the historic denominations also. To gain some idea of this, Jeremy Begbie has noted that *Songs and Hymns of Fellowship* alone has sold 'remarkably well on both sides of the Atlantic - over a million copies' (1991:229). Following on from the *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds* collections of the 1970s, the combined *Songs of Fellowship* books represent the most comprehensive selection of songs and choruses published throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

The worship songs and choruses contained in the integrated edition (SHF) are broadly representative of the style of music that was increasingly favoured in Charismatic worship throughout the 1980s, and to a large extent the 1990s. Jeremy Begbie, in discussing SHF in his article *The Spirituality of Renewal Music* (cited above) writes, 'the style of renewal music is largely of the Radio 2 "easy listening" variety, with occas-

⁵⁰ However, there is an earlier edition called *Songs of Fellowship - for praise and worship* which was jointly published in 1979 by Kingsway and the Crusade for World Revival.

ional forays into Radio 1' (1991:233). Similarly, Pete Ward, in *Growing up Evangelical*, describes the music in *Songs of Fellowship Book 1* as 'middle-of-the-road adult-orientated soft rock' (1996:135). And, he adds,

musically the book is a retreat from an attempt to associate Christian worship with teenage style. *Songs of Fellowship* rarely, if ever, ventures into forms of music associated with youth culture...the general direction of the musical style is away from genres easily recognizable outside the Christian community. In this sense *Songs of Fellowship* does a U-turn away from the direction taken by *Youth Praise* (ibid).

James Steven, in a booklet published in 1989, summarises the role of the worship song in the Restoration Movement and identifies three main categories:

First, the lively fast tempo songs which often express the joy of being a Christian [SHF 179/69]...Secondly, the slower tempo songs which express intimacy and closeness between God and the worshipper [SHF 203/601]...Thirdly, the mid-tempo songs which emphasize the majesty of God [SHF 136/28] (1989:7).⁵¹

The examples from SHF that are given by Steven for the above categories are worth closer inspection for their musical content as they are indicative of worship songs generally.

The first of Steven's examples, 'I am a new creation' (Ex.1, p.174, pl.24) is, like many popular songs, in ABA form and

⁵¹ Jeremy Begbie has compiled a more comprehensive list for the 'main distinctive types of songs encountered in renewal music': (a) *Songs of Exuberant Praise to God* - typically up-tempo e.g. SHF 92;409 (b) *Songs of Jubilant Testimony and Exhortation* - usually fast with some progressively increasing speed e.g. SHF 179;604 (c) *Songs of Intimacy* - typically low-volume and low-tempo, in the major mode, short, and sung at least twice. Instruments sometimes play these songs quietly as musical interludes between renditions by the congregation e.g. SHF 203;616 (d) *Songs of Majesty* - the music is usually regal and sturdy with a strong, regular bass line e.g. SHF277;358 (e) *Songs of Hushed Reverence* - music is generally tender and very slow. Many are short and some are sung repeatedly, somewhat like Taizé chants. They are often used as communion music and to preface periods of open prayer. e.g. SHF 159;621 (f) *Songs of Battle* - Here the theme of God's Kingship is allied to the theme of the church militant: the army of God advances forth into battle. The music is made to measure with striding bass lines and catchy melodies e.g. SHF 13;198 (Begbie 1991). For a more general discussion about music's place in human life see *Music in God's Purposes* (Begbie 1989). For music and theology see Begbie 1998 and Moger 1994.

in the Tin Pan Ally format of 32 bars with 'middle 8' cultivated by such songsters as Gershwin, Kern and Berlin. It does however contain a number of features that are often the source of much criticism for worship songs in general: static harmony (in this case, predominantly chords I - IV - V); uninteresting and simplistic bass line and heavily syncopated rhythm. These factors are not though as detrimental as they first appear as the awkwardness of the piano arrangement suggests that this song, like many others, was conceived on the guitar, with perhaps music group support in mind. A bass guitar could quite easily improvise a more interesting bass line, for example. Even if this was not the case it is where its success in performance lies. An organ or solo piano rendering of this song which faithfully adhered to the rhythms and arrangement would surely kill it stone dead.

The second fast-tempo example, 'Come on and celebrate' (Ex.2, p.175 , pl.25), shares certain features like syncopation and staid bass line but contains a number of other devices common to worship song arrangements, such as the broken octave left hand accompaniment and predominantly root position chords. In other worship song arrangements the 'fifth' is frequently inserted in between the broken octave. The harmonic progression, though slow (one chord per bar), is more adventurous and the layout of the song this time is essentially binary form. This song, again, would be far more effectively led by a music group although the piano arrangement is more suitable than the first.

I am a new creation

Dave Bilbrough

Rom 5: 1-2; 8: 1; 2 Cor 5: 17; 1 Pet 1: 8

Capo 3 (C)

With drive
Eb(C)

I am — a new — cre - a - tion, no more in con -

dem - na - tion, here in — the grace — of God — I stand..

My heart — is ov -

er flow - ing, my love — just keeps — on grow - ing,

here in — the grace — of God — I stand. —

Come on and celebrate (Celebrate)

Patricia Morran
1981 89

Very lively

Chord: G

Come on and cel - e - brate His gift of love, we will

This system shows the first two measures of the song. The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'Very lively'. A G chord is indicated above the first measure.

Chords: Bm, Fm, C

cel - e brate... the Son of God who loved us

This system shows the next two measures. Chords Bm, Fm, and C are indicated above the staff.

Chords: Am, Dsus4, D

and gave us life. We'll shout Your

This system shows the next two measures. Chords Am, Dsus4, and D are indicated above the staff.

Chords: G, Bm

praise, O King... You give us joy no thing else can bring.

This system shows the final two measures. Chords G and Bm are indicated above the staff.

The two slow tempo examples display a number of further common characteristics. 'I love you, Lord' (Ex.3, p.176, pl.26) is of the chorus type, being shorter and consisting of only one verse, and has a more flowing bass accompaniment which like many others is based on arpeggios. There is no syncopation (used more gently in this category as a rule), the harmony is diatonic and the melody largely conjunctive. The second song, 'When I look into your holiness', is in a ballad style which again flows well. The triplet crotchet rhythm, never too far away, is employed effectively with only a subtle use of syncopation and like the first the accompaniment is well suited for piano.

Finally, the third category - mid-tempo songs - contains a few novel traits. 'God of glory' (Ex.4, p.177, pl.27) begins with a series of chords (not quite consecutively) rooted on each degree of the major scale. The song then progresses to the second half (16 bars also; binary form) where new material is set to a tuneful descant (descants become more common in later collections) which the bass closely mimics. The second mid-tempo song, 'At Your feet we fall', includes a transitory modulation to the supertonic.

It needs to be borne in mind that *Songs and Hymns of Fellowship* contains 645 pieces so while the salient features that have been highlighted above are common to many worship songs there still remains a good deal of variety in this

edition.⁵² It is further worth remembering that while the above preliminary analysis may be useful, as quite often solo piano performances remain close to the notation, a number of factors - (i) the variety of instruments that are often used to accompany these songs, (ii) the fact that many are written for the guitar (iii) the improvisation that is taken for granted, and (iv) the embellishing of piano arrangements - virtually precludes, or at least renders inappropriate, any clinical musical analysis of the piano score alone. Moreover, as Colin Buchanan explains in relation to the words:

to examine them *on paper* may be to miss the wood for the trees...put them with their music, add in the instruments, find a congregation longing to be released and to *express* itself in song - and the result is very different from what appears on paper (Buchanan 1977:18).

While appreciating that the performance of worship songs and choruses will vary depending on musical resources, the skills of instrumentalists and even the role of the congregation, it may be helpful to consider their performance in respect of a 'music group' in order to gain some understanding of how this material is treated in practice. At the heart of a typical music group lies the rhythm section (i.e. drums, traps, bass and rhythm guitars). More often than not, guitarists follow chord symbols (i.e. Am, C7, Dsus4), with the bass providing the root and the drums maintaining a steady backbeat. Over this it is

⁵² e.g. *Light 'Latin' feel* (422) *'Hebrew' style* (364) *Light Jazz waltz style* (298) *Calypso* (133) *March* (385) *Ad Lib solo* (100) *Easy Waltz* (355) *As Scottish folk dance* (180). Songs in 3/4 are not uncommon; compound time is occasionally used (e.g. 193,377); some have written introductions (e.g. 307,616); responsory settings e.g. 195,596; written key change (e.g. 196,426); minor key (e.g. 321); time-signature change (e.g. 320); two-part round (e.g. 248); in canon (e.g. 250). For a good introduction to contemporary worship song styles and more particularly their performance on the keyboard see Townend 1998.

I love You, Lord

Capo 3 (C)

Laurie Klein

With feeling

E♭(C) Fm(Dm) E♭(C)

I love You, Lord, and I lift my voice To

A♭(F) E♭(C) Fm(Dm) E♭(C) B♭7(G7) A♭(F) B♭7(G7)

wor - ship You, O my soul re - joice Take

E♭(C) Fm(Dm) E♭(C)

joy, my King, in what You hear, { May it be a I et me

A♭(F) E♭(C) B♭(G) A♭(F) E♭(C)

sweet, sweet sound in Your ear.

God of glory

Capo 2 (C)

Dave Lellingham
1 7m 1 7

Brightly with strength and feeling

D(C) Em(Dm) F#m(Fm) Bm(Am)

God of glo - ry, we ex-alt Your name.

Gmaj7(Fmaj7) C#7(B7) F#m(Fm) A7/D (G7/D)

You who reign in maj-est - y. We

D(C) G(C) Gm(Fm)

lift our hearts to You and we will wor - ship, praise and

D(C) Fm(Dm) A7(G7) D(C) G(C) D(C)

mag-ni-fy Your ho - ly name. In power res-

common for a piano to spell out the tune, perhaps varying the octave from time to time. The rhythm section does also provide the pianist with the opportunity to deviate from the score - adding fills, ornaments, linking sections, etc. The piano may itself become part of the rhythm section allowing other instruments (e.g. clarinet, flute, trumpet, violin, lead guitar) to take the tune or solo.

Initially, musicians would have used the songbook as a basis for performance, making any necessary transposition relevant to their instrument. While this continues, there are today many professional arrangements available. A good number of songs now also contain both vocal and transposed instrumental decants. Further to this, music groups are now often accompanied by one or more singers, which obviously helps in the leading and particularly teaching of new songs. 'Backing vocals' and decants may also be added spontaneously. Finally, the role of the congregation can also be significant in providing harmonic and even percussive support (e.g. tambourines).

Returning to the compilation *Songs and Hymns of Fellowship*, well-known worship songs contributors include Graham Kendrick, Chris Bowater, Dave Bilbrough, David Fellingham, Carl Tuttle, John Wimber, Ian Traynar, Noel Richards, Phil Rogers and Betty Lou Mills. It is interesting to note that various members of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group⁵³ are also represented, as are Jimmy and Carol Owens from *Come Together* fame.⁵⁴

⁵³ Geoffrey Beaumont (no 15); Michael Brierley (no 26); Patrick Appleford (no 342); and Gordon Hartless (no 168)

⁵⁴ Jimmy Owens (no 436); Carol Owens (no 126).

The most well known worship song writer from the above list, and perhaps most prolific, is Graham Kendrick. There are now special Kendrick collections but there have been few song books (many hymnal too) printed since the early 1980s⁵⁵ that do not include at least a few of his songs. Among his vast output are such classics as 'Led like a Lamb' (SHF 307) and 'From Heaven You Came' (SHF 120). But Kendrick's significance goes far beyond his contribution to the worship song repertoire, it is his promotion of these songs, through his many activities, that is most impressive. Kendrick's involvement with Spring Harvest (which now caters for around 80,000 people annually) is well known and in addition to his own songbooks he is a best selling recording artist, his album *Shine, Jesus, Shine* has sold around 80,000 copies since its release in 1987. In the same year Kendrick formed a company, 'Make Way Music', to help support his own music ministry. However, more significant than this is Kendrick's association with 'March for Jesus'.

In the autumn of 1985 Kendrick took part in a 'praise march' in London's West End, Soho, along with other members of the Ichthus Christian Fellowship and Youth with a Mission. One of the difficulties experienced on this occasion related to the use of suitable song material. Soon after the march Kendrick began to devise an alternative strategy:

I realised how much better we could do if songs were chosen for their relevance outside the church walls or, better yet, if songs were written especially for

⁵⁵ Kendrick was active as a song writer before this. In 1972, for example, some of his songs were included in *Songs for Jesus*, published by 'Music Gospel Outreach'.

marches (Kendrick 1993:40).

Having realised this he

set out to make and record a whole sequence of music, Scripture verses and shouts that would be easy to use and simple to learn...I wanted to create something that could, without endless practices and rehearsals, unite a whole crowd in praise, prayer and proclamation (ibid).

The first album, *Make Way for the King of Kings - A Carnival of Praise*, was released in 1986 and was accompanied by a booklet giving suggestions on how churches might organise their own march. Kendrick recalls how 'Make Way marches proliferated across the country that first year' (ibid:45). The following year the first big march took place in London which attracted a crowd of around 15,000. Songs from the Make Way album were used for this march and soon after a new praise march music album was released, *Make Way for Jesus - Shine, Jesus, Shine*. Since then the March for Jesus event has grown into a global phenomenon. The first of its kind occurred on the 25th June 1994 - 'A Day to Change the World' which involved 177 nations and estimates ranging from between 10-12 million participants. There have of course been many other people involved with March For Jesus but Kendrick's name and indeed his music remain central.⁵⁶

Mission Praise

During the early 1980s preparations were taking place in churches throughout the country for a major evangelical enter-

⁵⁶ The latest praise march album, *No More Walls* (1997), was the official music for March for Jesus 1997-98. *Make Way for the Cross*, *Make Way Crown Him* and *Make Way King of the Nations* were also the official albums for March for Jesus 1989, 1991 and 1992 respectively. There has also been *Make Way for Christmas - The Gift*. For Kendrick's views on worship see Kendrick 1984.

prise known as 'Mission England' which would include visits by the American evangelists Luis Palau and Billy Graham. In the introduction to *Mission Praise* it is recalled how in the early stages of Mission England, Christians from a variety of denominations would meet to pray, praise God and plan for the work in hand. But, at these meetings

the hymnbooks available were frequently unfamiliar territory to those present and whilst some of the traditional hymns were usually included it always seemed as though key ones were missing! And only rarely could any more of the recent praise and worship songs be made available for use without breaking the copyright laws!⁵⁷

Mission England Praise, as the songbook was first called, was therefore born out of a need, or as Peter Horrobin says 'compiled for a purpose: to unite Christians of all denominations in praise and worship as they work together in evangelism' (ibid). Preparations for the songbook began in February 1983 and by November *Mission England Praise* was ready to be publicly launched. By this time the book had already begun to attract a good deal of interest beyond the Mission England network for its 'wider potential for both mission use and as a practical supplement to the traditional hymn book' (ibid). The result was the publication of a second version identical in every respect with the exception of the name - now simply *Mission Praise*.

The widespread appeal and enormous success⁵⁸ of *Mission Praise* was due mainly to its cross-denominational appeal (being compiled 'from nearly thirty hymnals' [Webster 1994:12]) and its

⁵⁷ *Mission Praise* - Music edition (Marshall Morgan & Scott, first published 1983).

⁵⁸ 'Over two million copies of the words edition sold' by 1987 (Horrobin and Leavers 1987). It has been said 'the cheapness of the words edition facilitated its introduction' (Dunstan 1990:21).

musical diversity. In a climate where tension within churches was increasing between the advocates of traditional hymnody, contemporary hymnody and those pressing for more modern choruses and worship songs, it appeared that this single volume had something to offer everyone. Beside such classics texts as Wesley's 'Love divine' and Isaac Watts' 'When I survey', are those of Timothy Dudley-Smith ('Tell out my soul'), Michael Saward ('Christ triumphant') and Christopher Idle ('Come and see the shining hope'). Worship songs and choruses such as Graham Kendrick's 'Jesus stand among us' and Dave Bilbrough's 'Abba Father' are only a page turn away from more traditional melodies like Monk's 'Abide with me' and Parry's 'Jesus, lover of my soul'. And bearing in mind the reference to evangelism, alongside the older mission hymn tunes of Ira Sankey ('It passeth knowledge') and Philipp Bliss ('Man of Sorrows!') are placed the modern equivalent, e.g. 'May God's blessing' by Cliff Barrows.⁵⁹

Included in *Mission Praise* are also many other songs that have been used in compilations already mentioned. There are numerous from the 'overtly charismatic' *Sound of Living Waters* (e.g. 'Alleluia, alleluia, give thanks') and *Fresh Sounds* (e.g. 'Jesus, Lamb of God') as well as those from *Youth Praise* (e.g. 'Lord of the Cross'). A number of songs by Jimmy and Carol Owens are included (e.g. 'Holy, Holy') and Michael Brierley's⁶⁰ tune

⁵⁹ Cliff Barrows edited both the *Billy Graham Crusade Song Book* (1955) and the *Billy Graham London Crusade Song Book* (1966).

⁶⁰ *Thirty 20th Century Hymn Tunes* (No 8) - by the 20th Century Church Light Music Group (Weinberger 1960).

to 'At the name of Jesus' once again reappears. Gordon Brattle, known for his association with Billy Graham and for his many CSSM choruses, is represented by 'We will sing of our Redeemer' and among the contributions from *Songs of Fellowship Book 1* are 'Bind us together' and 'Jesus take me as I am'.

In spite of the limitations of *Mission Praise* as a comprehensive hymnal (i.e. only 282 items) it did become 'the principle source of music for worship' in a good many churches (Horrobin and Leavers 1987). Understanding this weakness, the editors issued a second volume, *Mission Praise 2* (1987), some years later (a year after the children's counterpart *Junior Praise*) which was itself followed by a *Mission Praise Supplement* containing a further 111 pieces. A combined volume appeared in 1990⁶¹ which included a further 41 pieces, swelling the overall total to 798 - now a complete hymn and songbook in its own right. *New Mission Praise* (1996), including 174 items, has since been published.

Regardless of its popularity *Mission Praise* has suffered some criticism for being 'over-stocked with ephemeral items'. 'And', Christopher Idle continues,

until the subject-index appeared in the 1990 music edition its alphabetical arrangement made it a hymn-chooser's nightmare in circles where the theme still matters (1991:79).

In a review of *New Mission Praise* for The Hymn Society, Bernard Massey welcomes the 'small broadening of vision' that is evident in this latest offering but still questions the 'balance' of

⁶¹ i.e. *Mission Praise - Combined Edition*.

Mission Praise as a whole - a tally now of 972. The ratio of hymns to worship songs may not be as high as Massey would like, but it is higher than its main rival *Songs of Fellowship*, which is in fact one of the reasons why it has found its way into 'many churches which are openly hostile to charismatic renewal' (Begbie 1991:229). But, rather ironically, by doing so it has also taken the 'many renewal songs' (ibid:227) and 'kingdom songs' (Walker 1985:190) with it to the very places that would have otherwise remained unaffected by the Charismatic Movement and its music. In his conclusion, Massey does at least, although somewhat reluctantly, draw attention to *Mission Praise's* standing:

MP is no fringe phenomenon. Already the Combined Edition has become for many congregations their sole vehicle of praise. We must therefore hope that the compilers' horizons continue to widen (1996:257).

Despite his reservations Christopher Idle also acknowledges, in a later publication, that *Mission Praise* is 'the best-selling hymn-book of our day' (Idle 1994:80).

LET'S PRAISE!

The first edition of *Let's Praise* (LP) appeared in 1988 (edited, and including songs, by the very productive 'Jubilate group')⁶² and was presented as something of a latter-day version

⁶² The Jubilate Group (see Chapter 3, p.133) was later to edit the innovative hymn book *Hymns for the People* (1993). The preface explains that 'the book is an attempt to make hymns accessible to churches that have largely dispensed with them'. Every hymn tune has been re-arranged (e.g. HYFRYDOL in rock style) for music group, with introductions and links between verses. Guitar chords and drum beats are also suggested. Some of the texts also have completely new musical settings.

of *Youth Praise*.⁶³ Subtitled 'The Worship Songbook for a New Generation' the compilation was pitched at young people 'for use in youth groups, colleges and universities, youth houseparties and conferences'. The foreword also suggested that it was 'the ideal songbook for youth services in churches - even as your church's basic songbook' (Peacock 1988). In the preface to the sequel *Let's Praise! 2* (1994) David Peacock was able to back-up this earlier statement by announcing that

Let's Praise! has become established in many churches since first published in 1988 (Peacock 1994).

The real significance of *Let's Praise!* is that it captured more than most in a single volume the general mood, and direction, of modern Christian worship music - most evident being again the eclectic character that has become so much a feature of contemporary church music.

Let's Praise! does include many of the standard worship songs of the time but unlike the general 'middle-of-the-road adult orientated soft rock' style (Ward 1996:135) of *Songs of Fellowship*, *Let's Praise!* was also able to boast:

Songs range from soft to hard rock, from reggae to black gospel; from performance items to recently composed and previously unpublished material; from jazz to response-style psalms and hymns (Peacock 1988).

However, the contents do span centuries and contain traditional

⁶³ *Jesus Praise* (Scripture Union) published earlier in 1982 was also intended, according to its editors, to be a replacement for *Youth Praise*. It did not, however, share anything like the same success as LP. Another songbook originally aimed at young people was *Junior Praise* (1986), (*Junior Praise 2* followed in 1992 and *Junior Praise, Combined Music Edition* in 1997). This has had considerably more success, and so much so that according to the RSCM's guide to *Choosing A Hymn Book* it has become 'one of the more successful compilations of hymns, songs, choruses and spirituals available' (Burrows 1995). See also *In Tune With Heaven* p.275.

hymnody both old and new. For example, Watts and Wesley are represented along with Dudley-Smith and Christopher Idle. The popularity of Graham Kendrick is reflected too in a perhaps excessive forty four entries (all of *Make Way 1* and many from *Make Way 2 - Shine, Jesus, Shine*). Other leading worship song writers are included such as Dave Bilbrough, Chris Bowater and David Fellingham and more commercial artists like Amy Grant and Garth Hewitt have a place too. The Twentieth Century Church Light Music Group once again reappear in the form of Beaumont, Appleford and Brierley.

More telling, though, is the inclusion of over a dozen items from the world church - songs from Latin-America, Africa and Europe. Also Hebrew and Hebrew style songs; an indication of the growing interest with world music.⁶⁴ A novel index to musical styles lists such categorises as Jazz and Black Gospel but also the music of Taizé which was becoming increasingly popular. There are also a number of songs by writers associated with the 'St Thomas More Centre'. *Let's Praise! 2* builds on the same editorial and musical policy as its predecessor but also includes items from another important and influential source that needs mentioning at this juncture - the Iona Community.

It is now possible to identify the main streams, relevant to this thesis, that were flowing into the vast ocean of contemporary worship music: (i) songs emanating from, or inspired by, the renewal and Restoration movements is by far the largest

⁶⁴ e.g. *World Praise* (1993) and *World Praise Combined Edition* (1995). The Wild Goose Resource Group (Iona Community) has also done much to promote World Church songs. See Chapter 5.

category and too immense to list separate sources here. The songbooks highlighted above represent the most significant developments; (ii) the Taizé Community; (iii) the Iona Community; (iv) the St Thomas More Centre; (v) music from the World Church; and (vi) songs of the Vineyard. Categories (ii), (iii) and (iv) are covered in the following chapter while (v), not so relevant to this study, will continue to be mentioned when appropriate. The final category, songs of the Vineyard, is dealt with here due to the intimate relationship between the Vineyard Movement and the Charismatic Movement. Originating in America in the early 1980s, the Vineyard Movement has since spread to England and has influenced both worship music practice and repertoire.

The Vineyard Movement

The Vineyard Movement and the name John Wimber are synonymous and both have had a deep impact on clergy and laity around the world. They together form part what is now commonly termed the 'third wave';⁶⁵ the 'first wave' and 'second wave' applying, generally speaking, to the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements respectively. Peter Wagner, who coined the phrase 'third wave', considered it to be a movement of the Spirit among evangelicals emanating in the 1980s, similar but distinct from the first and second waves. There are, however, some anomalies in its make-up. While there does seem to be some consensus, namely that the third wave is intended to 'renew, revive and equip existing congregations and denominations not create new

⁶⁵ See, for example, *Riding the Third Wave* (Springer 1987). There is now also reference to a *Fourth Wave* (Pawson 1993).

ones' (Percy 1996:83), Martyn Percy also notes in *Words, Wonders and Power* how Wimber has 'effectively begun his own network of churches, to carry forward the programme of the Third Wave' (ibid).

'Vineyard Ministries International' (VMI) was originally set-up in 1982 to help promote John Wimber's teaching, healing and music ministry but such was the growth that it developed into two organisations, 'Vineyard Music Group' (originally called Mercy Music) branching off in the late 1980s. The network of churches to which Percy refers above were, in the mid 1980s, a small number of affiliated fellowships. They are now contained within what is the world wide 'Association of Vineyard Churches' (AVC), around 750 in fifty-two countries (Pritchard 1998:177). In Britain, the story is a similar one. In 1994 Dave Roberts, in *The Toronto Blessing*, talks of the British Vineyard movement as 'small, only seven churches' (:21), although he adds 'but there are literally thousands of sympathetic British churches which are influenced by the Vineyard' (ibid). In 1995 Philip Richter reports how Wimber's 'nineteen Vineyard Fellowships are now an important feature of the charismatic landscape' (1995:10). By 1998 the number of Vineyard churches had grown to nearly fifty.

Wimber's ministry and Vineyard music have also impacted both main stream denominations and house/New churches. In assessing the influence of Wimber on the Church of England, John Gunstone notes that along with the liturgical changes and general loosening in Anglican worship practice,

Wimber's kind of worship as has invaded our churches

alongside these developments. As a result, some have abandoned Evensong and adopted the Vineyard pattern completely, so that their evening services are just songs, sermon and ministry. Others have introduced a continuous series of choruses at the beginning or at some part of their services...Many have used two or three songs together in place of a hymn (1998:231).

Leading figures from the various New churches have also welcomed Wimber's friendship and approach, Gerald Coates of 'Pioneer', Terry Virgo of 'New Frontiers' and Roger Forster of 'Ichthus', for example. As a consequence, their fellowships have embraced 'Vineyard music, ministry and insights' and have even participated in Wimber's conferences (Scotland 1998:319).

John Wimber was born in the American mid-west in 1934. His musical talents began to surface as a youngster as he began to learn the saxophone, guitar, piano and a number of other musical instruments. His interest with popular music was to strengthen when he entered into music professionally arranging and playing in various groups and jazz bands. He went on to become closely involved with the 'Righteous Brothers' as music director/ manager which resulted in a number of top ten hits. In the early 1960s Wimber was experiencing some marital problems which led to a separation. A reconciliation was established following which both Wimber, and his wife Carol, became increasingly drawn to church life. This eventually led John Wimber to abandon his music career and enrol in a biblical studies course. In 1982, following an association with Chuck Smith's group of 'Calvary Chapels', he took over the leadership of a small group of Vineyard churches from the founder Kenn Gulliksen. From here Wimber developed is now famous 'power evangelism' and 'signs

and wonders' ministry which would prove so effective in the propagation of Vineyard churches. In 1997, after a long battle with cancer, John Wimber passed away.

Music clearly plays a central role in the 'Vineyard model'⁶⁶ for worship. Matt Redman, one of the new breed of worship song writers, remarks in a tribute to John Wimber that

one of the greatest and most notable distinctives of the Vineyard movement has been its worship music. Walk into any Vineyard setting - whether that be a conference or a local church, and you'll find, right at the heart of everything else that goes on, time set aside to worship God and meet with him through song. As a group of cultural anthropologists from the University of Southern California once observed, 'Nearly every meeting of the Vineyard, from home fellowships to training meetings for counsellors, begins with half an hour or more of singing songs (1998:62).

As well as writing many worship songs himself Wimber has also inspired other worship leaders within Vineyard. Three composers whose songs have since found their way beyond the various *Songs of the Vineyard* editions⁶⁷ are Carl Tuttle, Eddie Espinosa and Danny Daniels. All, including Wimber, have entries in *Mission Praise 2* (e.g. 412;508;642;643) and *Songs and Hymns of Fellowship* (e.g 97;165;340;403;), and Vineyard songs also appear in both editions of *Let's Praise!* (e.g LP1 20; LP2 265).

A standard hallmark of the early Vineyard repertoire was the emphasis on 'intimacy'. There is a closeness and more devotional tone to these songs, both lyrically and musically, which Wimber openly encouraged. On the cover of the 1987 edition

⁶⁶ The 'Vineyard model' for worship comprises, generally speaking, of five parts: (i) a call to worship (ii) engagement (iii) exaltation (iv) adoration (v) intimacy (Redman 1998:65, q.v.).

⁶⁷ Along with its songbooks the Vineyard Music Group also produces tapes and CDs which have also been influential. Ian Pritchard writes 'in the early to mid 1980s, the Vineyard worship tapes set a new standard that has since been emulated and even superseded by others' (1998:169).

of *Songs of the Vineyard* he writes 'these are not songs about Jesus, they are songs to Jesus: intimate and personal'. Many of the titles in this songbook are indeed very personal in that they are addressed directly to God such as 'Lord I Love You' and 'You Are The Vine'. The music further reinforces this tone with a generally soft and flowing accompaniment. The vast majority of songs are between 60 to 80 crotchet beats to the minute. Notable features of this songbook that underlie this 'ballad song-style' are the scoring and arrangements. As usual, all are arranged for guitar and piano and many have an introduction. Some even finish with a short instrumental coda. Dynamic markings and indications to use the piano pedal and to arpeggiate chords are also included. What is unusual, however, is the separate staff for the melody of every song. The result of this is that the accompaniments are more independent (almost completely in some cases) and flowing.

John Wimber is most often attributed with developing this intimate song style which as Graham Cray, Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge points out, owes much to his musical upbringing:

John's background as a rock musician equipped him to develop what Peter Wagner called 'plugged-in worship'; worship music in a soft rock style that was culturally accessible and appropriate to intimate worship. The style of music made by mid-seventies bands like the Eagles was put to the service and adoration of God (1998:148).

The music has not been to everyone's taste though. Nigel Scotland writes how some have been critical of Vineyard music for

having 'little variation in mood, tempo or key' (1998:308).⁶⁸
'Yet', Scotland points out,

for many, the simplicity of what has been termed Wimber's 'Adult Orientated Rock Songs' (AOR) which resonate with Radio Two's 25-40 culture has been a major drawing point (ibid).

As the Vineyard Movement gathered momentum from the mid 1980s, John Wimber's ministry style and 'Vineyardism' was to fall under increasingly closer scrutiny. Many positive aspects have since been affirmed like the emphasis on the 'supernatural', on 'revival and renewal', and 'spontaneity' (Wright 1996:60). But criticisms have also been forthcoming, such as 'exoticism', 'elitism', 'imbalance' (with too much emphasis on prophecy and healing) and Scriptural inconsistency (ibid:58-72). The musical development of some Vineyard churches has also been chastised. Eric Wright, in his assessment of the Vineyard Movement and the Toronto Blessing, states:

the hour or so of singing seems much too repetitive and manipulative to me. The accompaniment on drums and guitars submerges sensitive eardrums in crashing waves of sound (1996:62).

Wright's reference to Vineyard's repetitive use of music is a common criticism and has already been mentioned in the context of Charismatic worship more generally. However, his allusion, and others throughout the book, to the 'loud and fast beat' (:68) of Vineyard music does relate a very different character to the intimate song style developed by Wimber himself. Finally, in examining Wimber's worship songs, and others too, there is another form of intimacy that needs to be emphasised, that is

⁶⁸ See also Dixon 1994:84; Cray 1998:148 and Virgo 1998:240.

the bond between text and music. In *Words, Wonders and Power* Martyn Percy is at pains to point out how integral music is to this relationship:

To ignore the theological impact of music is surely a mistake. The melodic, harmonic and rhythmic dimensions of music are all value-laden. Music imprints its own ideological meaning, no matter how hard this is to articulate. Moreover, in song, the words and music bear upon each other: they interact in subtle and profound ways. In the case of Wimber, the combination of 'soft contemporary rock' and 'romantic/ intimate' tunes clearly help 'carry' the textual ideology of the songs (1996:79).⁶⁹

The Toronto Blessing

Before leaving the Vineyard Movement a brief mention needs to be made of the 'Toronto Airport Vineyard Christian Fellowship'⁷⁰ and 'Toronto Blessing'. This is not for any further musical development as such but for the sheer impact of the so-called Toronto Blessing around the world, which has undoubtedly helped in further raising the profile of popular-style church music.

In January 1994 the Toronto Airport Vineyard Christian Fellowship experienced a powerful anointing of the Holy Spirit which initialised a dramatic renewal within the church. 'By the summer of 1994 it had become the focus of world attention as thousands flocked to the renewal meetings' (Mitton 1995:3). Most widely reported have been the phenomena that occur at these meetings as a result of experiencing the 'Toronto Blessing'.

⁶⁹ See also Edgar 1986 and Begbie 1991.

⁷⁰ Differences of opinion and interpretation led John Wimber and the Association of Vineyard Churches to officially withdraw their endorsement of the Toronto Airport Vineyard Christian Fellowship in January 1996. It subsequently changed its name to the 'Toronto Airport Christian Fellowship'.

Laughing, crying, shaking, roaring, groaning and barking are some of the gestures that are encountered by visitors to Toronto and so dramatic is the experience that it is thought to have affected some 7,500 churches in Great Britain alone (Wright 1996:7). As in all Vineyard churches the music plays an integral part in the worship of the Toronto fellowship and its influence on churches in England, although difficult to assess, is sure to have been significant also.

The Worship Music Business

In chapter one attention was drawn to the growing commercial nature of contemporary worship music. There now takes place some further discussion with regard to the plethora of Christian songbooks available today.

It will already be apparent that songbook sequels have for some time now been a standard feature of the contemporary worship music scene. This, it needs pointing out, is by no means a new phenomenon. The CSSM Chorus Book 1, published in 1921, was followed by a Book 2 in 1938 and then a Book 3 in 1959. The essential difference however between this and modern song collections is the rate of 'turnover', i.e. the rate at which a book is published and then updated by way of a sequel. Between the first and second editions of CSSM Choruses there was 17 years. Between the second and third 21 years. As an indication of how this timeframe has significantly decreased, *Songs of Fellowship Book 1* was published in 1981. By 1987 four other books had been published - *Songs of Fellowship Books 2 & 3*, *Hymns of Fellowship*

and, an integrated edition, *Songs and Hymns of Fellowship*.

One of the first of the new breed of Christian songbooks to be closely followed by a sequel was *Youth Praise*, published in 1966; followed three years later by *Youth Praise Book 2*. By all accounts the first edition, launched at the Central Hall, Westminster, became very popular⁷¹ and very quickly, which obviously accounts to some degree for the comparatively quick publication of a second volume. An indication of this popularity can be gauged by the launching of the second edition at the Royal Albert Hall and it being accompanied by a long-playing record.⁷² While it is easy to speculate that it has been the popularity of such material that has driven the market, as it were, on closer analysis the situation is a more complex one.

Firstly, although the commercial success of songs and choruses has undoubtedly played its part in generating the production of further material, it does appear that there has always been a surplus to requirements. In considering whether to release another *Youth Praise* volume, the editors report 'looking at the hundreds of songs available', the vast majority previously unpublished (Baughen, Wilson and Bewes 1969). Jeanne Harper, co-editor of *Sound of Living Waters* (SLW), has revealed that it was 'decided at the initial planning stage that there was too much material for one book',⁷³ consequently *Fresh Sounds* followed SLW two years later. In the preface to *Mission Praise 2*

⁷¹ See Leaver 1980:15 and Ward 1996:110.

⁷² The recording was entitled *Tribute to Youth Praise* (Key Records) and contained a selection of songs from *Youth Praise 2*.

⁷³ Quoted from personal correspondence between the author and Jeanne Harper, 1998.

it declares taking 'advantage of the opportunity' of including 'many new items which have now passed into widespread popular use' (Horrobin and Leavers 1987). In considering the relatively short timeframe between successive volumes, it seems unlikely that financial gain has been the only factor in accounting for this wealth of available material.

From the account already given of the Charismatic Movement it is clear that this new movement of the Spirit has in itself been responsible for inspiring a great many new songs. Vatican II and the Prayer Book Measure, as previously noted, generated the need for much new music too. Growth can also be attributed to diversification in the market. Gone are the days when denominations relied almost exclusively on their own hymnal. Since the Ecumenical Movement, and again the Charismatic Movement, publishers have been able to aim modern song collections at a much wider area. In spite of the variety of reasons that account for the massive growth of modern songs and choruses, there remains for some a deep concern that this form of church music has become too much of a commercial enterprise. In addressing the choruses and worship songs in *Mission Praise*, Dr Donald Webster, in an lecture to the Church Music Society and Royal College of Organists asks:

Who is responsible for them being taken on board? Not the average member of a congregation. Rather it is those who have discovered that by discarding ditties and choruses in their fragile format, and replacing them every few years with new ones, money is to be made (1992:14).

The Revd Canon Alan Luff has also expressed his misgivings in a study guide for the Guild of Church Musicians:

One of the virtues of the songs of the charismatic movement could be that the spirit inspires a continual renewal of songs. It has however, seemed odd to many that the Holy Spirit is such a poor craftsman...There is also, let it be said, a great commercial thrust behind the production of this material which would again appear to have little to do with the Holy Spirit (1995:6).

The degree of criticism levelled at modern songs and choruses could be considered in some way as supporting such claims as those made by Webster and Luff;⁷⁴ although it seems to have had little impact in reducing the number of publications. However, when evaluating comments of this nature it needs remembering that in many instances all monies resulting from song-book sales and other merchandise does find their way back either into the system or is used to support good causes. In the case of *Youth Praise*, for instance, all profit was ploughed back into Christian publishing. Another example is Kingsway Communications Ltd, a subsidiary of Cook Communications, USA. As well as being one of the largest Christian music publishers in England, Kingsway also has interests in Christian books, magazines, videos, recordings, art products and stationery, but it is a non-profit making organisation. As a registered charity all earnings are reinvested or donated to charity. This is not to say that Kingsway, along with other publishers, is not assertive and enterprising in its marketing, but it does offer a counter-balance to claims that the Christian worship music business is unduly commercial in its orientation.

Finally, it might be added that these kind of problems are

⁷⁴ In addition to references already given and those following, see Dakers 1985.

not peculiar to the Church. The process of re-producing imitative material is part and parcel of popular culture; a process which, if we are to listen to some cultural commentators, has done much to demean the artistic merit of such production. This is by no means conclusive, of course, anymore than it can be argued that following-up a commercial success, say, in the film business (i.e. *Jaws 2*, *Star Trek 2*, etc) is based purely on financial grounds. But, the matter does appear to be a more poignant for the Church - an institution which had traditionally distanced itself from the world and its practices.

Contemporary Church Music - some further critical comments

Paralleling developments in popular and folk-style church music since the 1960s has been the growth of commercial Christian rock music, otherwise known as 'Contemporary Christian Music' and often abbreviated to 'CCM'.⁷⁵ Tony Jasper, in *Jesus and the Christian in a Pop Culture*, provides a good account of this area and related issues. Steve Turner also, in *Hungry for Heaven*, deals with rock music and religion.⁷⁶ Alongside this music has surfaced an abundance of books and articles, very polemic in nature, warning of the dangers of rock music which by association, has implications for popular-style church music. Many of the publications have tended to focus on the seedy side of the rock music world; sex, drugs and the occult (harmful and hypnotic effects of loud rock music and the 'beat' also), but

⁷⁵ The term 'Gospel Music' is also used. See Ch.1, p.12.

⁷⁶ Both Jasper and Turner also deal with developments in America. For more information concerning CCM in the USA see Romanowski 1993, and in the UK and Europe Wider 1999.

there have also been less reactionary critiques.

At the extreme end of the market are the books of Bob Larson, an American: *Rock and the Church* (1971); *The Day Music Died* (1972); and *Rock* (1983). British publications similar in style include *Satan's Snare* by Peter Anderson and *Pop Goes The Gospel* (1989, f.p. 1983) by John Blanchard, Peter Anderson and Derek Cleave. More recent examples include (again American) *The Facts on Rock Music - Is It Really Satanic?* (1992) by Ankerberg & Weldon and *What's Wrong with Christian Rock* (1990). The introduction, however, to this last book enables it to be more firmly placed in the 'lunatic fringe' category:

If you've read my first two books. 'The Devil's Disciples' and 'Dancing with Demons', you know that all secular Rock music is totally under Satan's control. But what about Christian Rock and Contemporary Christian Music?...Not only can Satan touch them, he OWNS 99% of what passes for Christian music today (Godwin 1990:5).

Good examples of a more balanced perspective are *Rock on Trial* by Steve Lawhead and *The Contemporary Christian Music Debate* by Steve Miller. Other publications like *A Desert Song: Christians in Rock - A Spiritual Battlefield?* by Laurie Mellor and *Music in Ministry - A Biblical Perspective* by Leen La Riviere offer something of a counter argument to the extreme views of Larson and Blanchard *et al.*⁷⁷

One publication that does deserve closer inspection is *Pop-Idiom Music in Worship and Evangelism*, chiefly because its author is not so much addressing 'the hard rock extreme', which, he

⁷⁷ For further discussion see, for example, Graham Cray's chapter 'Justice, Rock and the Renewal of Worship' in Sheldon 1989.

informs us, 'receives excellent treatment in John Blanchard's book' but,

the 'softer', modified form of pop-idiom music so widely employed in churches today (Masters 1983:2).⁷⁸

The author of the 'booklet' is Dr Peter Masters, pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, and his polemic runs to ten pages which, although succinct, represents a comparatively detailed vilification of popular-style church music *per se*.

In the first part of his critique Masters raises the familiar arguments which are most often used to lambast popular-style church music. These again deal predominantly with popular music's 'worldly associations', but there are a few issues which Masters highlights that have not yet been emphasised, namely 'pride and exhibitionism':

Pop-idiom methods are undoubtedly saturated with exhibitionism. It is heartbreaking to see youngsters being encouraged by pastors and Christian leaders to imitate secular performers in the way they draw attention to themselves, bow for applause, and preen themselves for adulation (*ibid*).

This may be overstating the case somewhat but it is at times difficult to discern any great distinction between secular pop performances and the presentation of music in the context of worship in some fellowships. This is further accentuated when members of the congregation are themselves singing, clapping,

⁷⁸ A more recent American publication, *Contemporary Worship Music - A Biblical Defence* (1997) by J.M. Frame, is also worthy of attention. As the title implies the book is more of a theological discussion than a musical critique. A number of issues that have already been mentioned are raised by Frame but beyond this the book is not so applicable to this study. It is, however, a detailed, academic and balanced apologetic for contemporary worship music. The author responds principally to American critics and draws on American publications like the *Maranatha! Music Praise Chorus Book*. Incidentally, a number of songs published by *Maranatha! Music*, now part of Word Publishing, have been included in British publications such as *Songs of Fellowship* (e.g. SHF 252:98) and *Mission Praise*, 1983 (e.g. 181:210).

raising their arms and dancing.

In his second section Masters deals largely with, what he considers, the excessive use of instruments in church. The music group is today a regular feature in many Charismatic and evangelical churches and is most often justified,⁷⁹ if necessary, by reference to the psalms. For example, Psalm 150:

Praise the Lord...Praise him with the sounding of the trumpet, praise him with the harp and lyre, praise him with tambourine and dancing, praise him with the strings and flute, praise him with the clash of cymbals, praise him with resounding cymbals (NIV 1986).⁸⁰

However, any attempt to support the use of an eclectic range of instruments in church based on such Psalms comes, in Masters' opinion, from 'a highly superficial and uninformed use of Scripture' (:10). Masters' biblical exegesis is founded on four points of reference: (i) the strict regulation of instruments in Temple worship; (ii) the limited use of instruments to accompany psalm-singing; (iii) a distinction between the advocacy for instruments in worship and for everyday life: festivals, cultural enjoyment, etc; and (iv) the figurative mention of instruments. Masters' conclusion reads as follows:

The Old Testament in no way endorses or encourages the use of modern-idiom music in worship and witness as any careful study of the musical passages rapidly reveals. Restraints and regulations were even then the order of the day, for the 'helps' were not allowed to spoil the essential spiritual worship of God's people. The use of instruments only broadened out where the national celebrations or cultural life of the nation were involved, but for direct spiritual activity, wise limitations were applied so that the spiritual things were pre-eminent (ibid:11).

⁷⁹ See Steven 1989:9/15; Fellingham 1987:94 and 1989:59; Bowater 1993:102/106 and La Riviere 1987:75/85/passim.

⁸⁰ See also Psalms 67; 81; 92; 98; 144 and 149.

Masters does make a number of legitimate points but the overall article is marred by a reactionary and dogmatic tone. His views cannot be taken lightly, though, as he is not alone in his concern over the excessive use of modern worship music and instrumentation. Attention has already been drawn to David Pawson's critical comments about the Charismatic Movement's heavy dependence on music (1993:113). Eric Wright, also, has written of how the accompaniment of worship songs on drums and guitars can submerge 'sensitive eardrums in crashing waves of sound' (1996:62). Still, for Chris Bowater and many like him,⁸¹ not only is modern church music a legitimate vehicle for worship but the restoration of many varied sounding instruments is right in line with what God really enjoys. He loves to see all our creative resources released as an expression of praise and honour (1993:102).

In Tune With Heaven - The Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music⁸²

The Archbishops' Commission on Church Music was appointed in 1988 with the following terms of reference:

To consider the place of music in the Church's worship and life; to survey the present situation with regard to music and musicians in the Churches both in Britain and world-wide; and to make recommendations (1992:261).

The completed Report, *In Tune With Heaven*, was published in May 1992. There had been prior to this two other such Commissions this century, the first appointed in 1922 and the second in

⁸¹ For example, the use of instruments is strongly supported in The Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music - *In Tune With Heaven* (1992) and by members of the Joint Liturgical Group, see Robertson 1990:45-50.

⁸² Two books published around the same time as *In Tune With Heaven* which may be said compliment The Report of the Archbishops' Commission are *Singing the Faith* (Robertson 1990) and *Weary and Ill at Ease* (Rees 1993).

1948.⁸³ Of the three *In Tune With Heaven* is by far the most wide ranging and lengthy, running to some 320 pages as opposed to 57 and 101 respectively. The Report did, however, attract some criticism for its generality. Dr Graham Elliot, Master of the Music at Chelmsford Cathedral, remarks in the Guild of Church Musicians' magazine that

there have been many comments to the effect that the Report is overburdened with review and insufficiently positive in recommendation (Elliot 1992:7).⁸⁴

The Report differs from the previous two in other respects also. It is certainly less officious, and unlike the 1922 Report ('the idioms of the opera and concert room' are unacceptable:18) and 1948 Report (church music should be free 'from sensationalism or mawkishness, and from all suggestions of secularity':19) it steers clear from being over prescriptive, especially with regards to 'worldly' music. It does in fact go as far as stating:

If a secular musical idiom is compatible with a Christian view of life, there seems no reason why it should not be used and consecrated in worship as part of a whole human offering (:37).

This is a significant turnaround and is a reflection of the 'social, liturgical and musical revolution' (:9) that has occurred in the forty years since the publication of the last Report. Jane Sinclair, a member of the Commission, in her own response to the Report also acknowledges the less dogmatic approach:

⁸³ See Chapter 2, p. 48.

⁸⁴ Bill Tamblin also notes, 'The problem has been that the Report tries to do too much. It attempts to present a potted history, and then there is the assembling of facts, and the attempt to draw conclusions and to make recommendations' (Tamblin 1993:6).

The Commission does not attempt to advocate any hard-and-fast rules about choice and standards of music in worship (1992:9).

A policy borne more out of necessity than design (there is a strong sense that the Church has been overtaken by events), as Sinclair appreciates:

- the callings, needs and resources of different churches are too diverse for that (ibid).

It will, furthermore, be remembered that earlier on in this chapter it was pointed out that the kind of view towards worship music that was expressed in the two earlier Archbishops' Reports is not one shared by Charismatics. *In Tune With Heaven* does appear to display a change of attitude here also. Compare the following statements, the first from the Committee appointed in 1922:

We would begin by recalling the fact that there is no absolute necessity for the use of any music in the services of the Church (*Music in Worship* rev.1947).

The second from *In Tune With Heaven*:

The Commission affirms, therefore, that music in worship is not an extravagance but a necessity if people are to receive the special blessings which God gives through it (:172).

Another reason for the change of emphasis derives from the make-up of the Commission itself which was, to some degree, intended to reflect its ecumenical remit. In writing about his experiences as a member of the 1988 Commission, Philip Duffy (the nominee of the RC Church) says:

The wide ranging nature of the subject was reflected in the backgrounds of the sixteen members of the commission. There were a theologian and a liturgist, a seminary lecturer, two parish directors of music, one from a charismatic parish, another from a parish which promotes contemporary music; a serving and retired

cathedral organist, the headmaster of a choir school, someone with knowledge and experience of drama and communications, and another with wide ranging experience of broadcasting, and the former and current directors of the Royal School of Church Music (1992).

There was in addition a Professor of English - the nominee of the Free Church Federal Council.

A perusal of *In Tune With Heaven* soon discloses an acknowledgement and endorsement of a diverse range of worship music, including popular styles! (e.g:68-9:162-3:183:211-2). Philip Duffy, later in his article, states that

the general thrust of the report, whilst recognising the main difficulties experienced today, was an implicit recognition of the wide variety of styles of music in use in worship, and a real support and support of all these styles (op.cit).

Whilst the Report does suggest that 'the outlook for music in the Church of England is an uncertain and, in many ways, disturbing one (:171), it is positive in its comments concerning modern worship music. No longer can it be assumed 'that the only proper music in churches is that which is commonly called 'traditional' (:176). Moreover, the Report wholeheartedly recommends that for the 'average parish church' on an 'average Sunday' a 'blend of different styles of worship and music is desirable' (ibid). There is also encouragement given for the use of a range of instrumentation (including acoustic/electric guitars, synthesisers and drum kits:149-153) as well as a strong recommendation for the formation of 'music groups' (:200).

Lastly, one of the Commission's recommendations was for the Royal School of Church Music to be recognised as the Church of England's official body for church music, but adding 'on the

understanding' that

it continues to broaden its approach to church music and that it be related in some way to the General Synod (:257).

In a response to the publication of *In Tune With Heaven* the Chairman of the RSCM, Sir John Margetson, congratulated the Commission for adopting

a position on new types of church music (e.g. Taizé music,⁸⁵ use of instrumental groups, music loosely described as renewal music) (Margetson 1993).

He was also able to offer a gentle reminder of the RSCM Council's own formal decision in March 1989 'to broaden its interests to include such music' (ibid). Quite a turnaround in itself considering its past comments concerning popular-style church music.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the RSCM was committed to continuing with its new approach and in 1992 published *Sing with all my Soul* - containing what it termed '52 of the finest worship songs'. Such was its success that a sequel, *Worship in Song*, followed in 1997.⁸⁷

On December 1st, 1995 the *Church Times* was able to report that the RSCM had evidently upheld its side of the agreement by announcing that the General Synod has 'favoured a new official status for the RSCM'. 'Its appointment was affirmed', it continues, following 'a debate on a report by the *In Tune With Heaven* follow-up group'.

⁸⁵ Taizé music, which is now used throughout the world, emanates from a Christian community in France. See Ch.5 p.238 for more details.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 2, p.51 & 52

⁸⁷ Perhaps a more compelling indication of the status of the worship song came also in 1992 when *Worship Songs Ancient and Modern* was published as a supplement to that 'national institution' (Webster 1994) *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Summary and Evaluation

It can now be justifiably said that popular and folk-style church music has 'come of age'. Since the collection, *Sound of Living Waters* there has been a cornucopia of material published which has resulted in the regular use of worship songs and choruses in a great many churches throughout England.⁸⁸ Such has been the influence of this music that it has found its way beyond the now standard song compilations, most notably the *Songs of Fellowship* series, and into many hymnals, e.g. *Hymns Old and New* (Revised Catholic Edition, 1984); *Hymns Old and New* (Anglican Edition, 1986); *Irish Church Praise* (1990) and *Baptist Praise and Worship* (1991). Even such traditional institutions as the Royal School of Church Music and Hymns Ancient and Modern have been moved to conform.

Like most major events there have been a number of contributing factors that led to the production and rapid dissemination of this form of church music, but the Charismatic Movement remains one of the most influential. Not only has it impacted the historic denominations (Protestant and Catholic) but it has been responsible for creating new Christian communities (e.g. Community of Celebration) and many extra-denominational churches

⁸⁸ In the survey, 'Music in Parish Worship', carried out for the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music, 57.44% of the whole sample acknowledged using 'choruses or songs' as part of the church's musical repertoire. Also, *Mission Praise* or *Junior Praise* were declared to be 'the most popular of all the hymn books listed in the questionnaire' for the survey (Cooper 1990). It needs adding that the questionnaire included only 'recent publications': *Ancient and Modern New Standard*; *New English Hymnal*; *Hymns for Today's Church*; *With One Voice*; *Mission Praise/Junior Praise*; *Sound of Living Waters/Fresh Sounds*; *Celebration Hymnal*; *Songs of Fellowship*; *Hymns of Faith*; *Other*. In another survey, (Rees 1993:151), it was also found that *Mission Praise* or *Junior Praise* was used at more churches than *Ancient and Modern New Standard*. See also Bailey 1991, and for an earlier survey Temperley 1983:356.

too - so-called house or new Churches. Within these fellowships, and as a direct result of this 'second wave' of Spiritual movement, much new music has been produced. Added to this is what has been described as a 'third wave' of Spiritual activity, emanating in the 1980s, of which the Vineyard Movement and its music ministry is most closely associated.

A key feature of the songbooks that have been borne out of the Charismatic Movement such as *Sound of Living Waters*, and indeed modern compilations in general (e.g. *Mission Praise*), is their diversity. Although one may think of the chorus and worship song as being the most predominant form of contemporary worship music, most collections contain both traditional and modern hymns as well as folk songs from around the world. The balance may not be to everyone's liking but the breadth of scope, particularly in the case of *Mission Praise*, has surely contributed to their success.

Attention has also been drawn in this chapter to the high degree of grass-roots activity associated with the Charismatic Movement. This extends beyond songwriting and may include poetry, dancing and various other art forms. The benefits of this have been considerable in providing the lay person with a greater freedom of expression and a personal input into worship. Such activity, however, has also brought with it criticism concerning its appropriateness (e.g. dancing in church?) and quality. Song lyrics have, for example, been described as 'lacking theological depth and substance' (Peterson 1994:36) and the 'mindless repetition' (Scotland 1995:57) of choruses has caused concern also.

However, in spite of this, choruses and worship songs have been broadly welcomed. This is not only evident in the widespread use of modern songbooks but also in the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music, *In Tune With Heaven*.

Finally, the enormous popularity of modern Christian songs ensures their survival. But there is not as yet, it needs stressing, any overwhelming desire for them to completely replace traditional hymns, or for that matter any other form of church music. On the contrary, there is a strong body of opinion that thinks they should not act 'as an alternative to other traditions but as complementary to them' (Begbie 1991:239). This was certainly the view expressed in the latest Archbishops' Commission on Church Music and is a view held by many leading worship song writers. Graham Kendrick, for example, has stated that 'people try to cast me as an opponent of traditional hymns, but it is not true'.⁸⁹ Chris Bowater also strongly supports the continued use of hymns alongside choruses and worship songs and urges churches to seek 'breadth and flexibility of expression' rather than 'exclusivity' (1993:60).⁹⁰ There does appear then to be a consensus - that is for variety - but careful and sincere discernment is also important so that, depending on the needs of each church, the right balance can be found between the best of the traditional and that of the modern.

⁸⁹ *The Times*, 8th January 1993.

⁹⁰ See also Maries 1986:71; Fellingham 1989:55; Peacock 1989:181; Robertson 1990:42-4; Rees 1993:182 and Leach 1995:15.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Songs of Christian Communities: a "People's Music"

Since the 1960s Christians have generally been more willing to experiment with their worship music. Contemporary song and hymn collections have been reflecting this for some time and many now contain a varied selection of old and new, although understandably there remains a bias one way or another. Besides the familiar hymns, worship songs and choruses there has been an increasing amount of 'space' given to the music of other cultures and traditions and also to music emanating from extant communities. The existence of communities is long established in the history of Christianity (e.g. Qumran Community), and they have also played a significant role in the history of Christian music (e.g. Monastic tradition). The four communities detailed in this chapter (Communities of Celebration, Iona, Taizé and the St Thomas More Centre) continue that tradition and together form an important part of that 'space', whilst being active publishers of their own music too.

Stylistically, the music varies both within each community and from one to the next but the four are connected by their

commitment to, and espousal of, the 'folk ideal'; in essence an expression of 'the people' for 'the people'. Consequently, each community's music does display, albeit to varying degrees, characteristics of the 'folk' style, given the level of flexibility that the word offers.

The music of the aforementioned communities will be well known to many Christians (their songbooks are also widely available) but comparatively little will be known about the music's background: how it came to be; the forces and people that have shaped its growth; the factors that have determined its form and place within the community life; the route the music has taken to become part of the 'mainstream', etc. The key objective of this chapter, therefore, is to redress the balance by 'contextualising' the music. This, it is hoped, will give a greater insight into the spirit of the folk music of active Christian communities and a deeper understanding of the music's place in the history of Church music. To help draw all this together and to assist in offering some overall conclusions there is, rather than a separate evaluation after each section, an extended evaluation at the end of the chapter.

The Community of Celebration

The Charismatic fellowship known as the 'Community of Celebration' has its roots in the Church of the Redeemer Episcopal in Houston, Texas. The church, located in the city's east end, had been in a state of spiritual decline for some time before Graham Pulkingham was appointed rector in 1963. This was, however, soon to change. In 1964, during an encounter with David Wilkerson¹ in New York, Graham Pulkingham was 'baptised with the Spirit'. This event was to dramatically alter his ministry at the Redeemer Church over the ensuing years - 'miracles, dramatic healings, conversions, deliverances and unique ministries,' remembers Pulkingham (1973:14). But more than this was the foundation of a Community which by living, working and ministering together received the 'power to effect renewal throughout an entire parish' (ibid).

To begin with there was nothing particularly extraordinary about the music used by the Community until around 1966 when, Pulkingham recalls,

the Lord began to express Himself in many new songs of fellowship. Most of them just 'happened' in the midst of our prayer and praise (1974:124).

What was significant about this worship music was its personal, common touch:

It was a 'people's' music, a *gebrauchmusik* of high order; and there was an exciting new charism associated with it, one that clearly testified with prophetic comfort: 'This music is a gift for my praises upon this people' (ibid:125).

¹ i.e. the author of *The Cross and the Switchblade*.

The Fisherfolk - Folk Arts in Renewal

During the summer of 1969 members of the Church of the Redeemer opened a coffee bar, 'The Way In', and quickly began to develop an attendant ministry. In their account of these early events, Community members Beall and Barker tell of the search for a new way to communicate the 'reality' of the Christian faith. They soon realised

that in order to penetrate the 'word-weariness' of many young people, a new language was needed - a language of sounds and rhythm, of imagination and visual perception, of movement and drama (1980:14).

And so began the exploration into the Folk Arts as a more expressive, informal and all holistic way of interpreting and presenting the Christian message of which music was integral:

Folk music is often the ideal introduction or bridge to musical participation or growth. It is not dependent upon a great deal of knowledge and expertise....and is easily learned which encourages those who despair of their abilities, and gives those who may not have time or means to study music in-depth the chance to learn instruments and experiment (ibid:443).

Experimentation was indeed to take place and not only with music. New forms of worship were tried, characterised by simplicity, spontaneity and active participation, and new material written and compiled accordingly: poetry, drama, mime, dance, graphic expressions, as well as songs.

News of the events at the Church of Redeemer spread quickly and before long Graham Pulkingham was receiving many invitations to speak throughout the United States and abroad. After about a year Pulkingham realised that the most effective way to relate his own church's experience of Charismatic renewal was to form travelling teams that could more adequately express the diverse

worship style as practised at the Redeemer Church. These itinerant ministry groups were christened 'The Fisherfolk'.²

In 1972, Graham Pulkingham and other members of the Church of the Redeemer received a joint invitation³ by the Bishop of Coventry, and a vicar in his diocese, to 'start a "community experiment" in a parish in the Midlands' (Lees and Hinton 1978:174). They first settled in Potter's Green, Coventry for a period of about twelve months where they were joined by others from their church in Houston. In 1973 the group, now numbering about thirty, then moved to a disused convent called Yeldall Manor near Wargrave, Berkshire where it adopted the name, 'Community of Celebration'.

From here the Community began to develop its ministry within the burgeoning Charismatic Movement in the UK. Maggie Durran, in her story of the Celebration Community, recounts how before long:

large numbers were joining the Community for its weekly Eucharist and for its evening of prayer and praise, and many of them joined the Community family. It was a place of excitement, a focus for renewal and worship (1986:13).

The group also engaged itself in healing and pastoral care and offered a place for church leaders to train within the Community life. With the growing interest in renewal that was spreading throughout Britain

² Graham Pulkingham had previously set up a communal ministry centre in Houston called 'The Fishermen, Inc.'. Among the ministries included were 'a bookshop and a publications department' (Gunstone 1974:94). Many songs in *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds* are acknowledged as being the copyright of The Fishermen, Inc.

³ The Fountain Trust was also involved with this venture.

many churches experiencing a powerful move of the Spirit were looking for help and came into contact with the Fisherfolk and Celebration ministry through the Fountain Trust (ibid:12).

The Fountain Trust had been set-up in 1964 by Michael Harper to help support and encourage the developing Charismatic Movement. It was until its closure in 1980 an important contact and resource centre, influencing both Protestant and Catholic Churches.

The Fisherfolk were undoubtedly the most high profile wing of the Community and as the invitations increased, more Fisherfolk teams were formed and their travelling became more extensive throughout Britain, the United States and later Europe, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The development of worship material also became broader to accommodate the varied strands of their ministry which now included school assemblies, coffee-bars, conferences, art and cathedral festivals, youth groups, seminars and workshops, etc.

Music played a central role in the life and work of the Celebration Community and through its many contacts it became increasingly apparent that other worshipping groups wanted to share its music also. This realisation gave rise to the Community's first song collection, *Sound of Living Waters* (1974), compiled by Betty Carr Pulkingham, Graham's wife, and Jeanne Harper.⁴ Subtitled 'Songs of Renewal', *Sound of Living Waters* (together with its sequel *Fresh Sounds*, 1976), is the most comprehensive example of the early Charismatic song repertoire.

⁴ Jeanne Harper was not a member of the Community of Celebration. She is, however, married to Michael Harper who founded the Fountain Trust.

Both collections are characterised by their diversity which, as the preface to the combined edition (1978) makes clear, was indicative of the movement as a whole. It is, the editors say

a book reflecting the joyous praise, awesome wonder, simplicity and hope which accompany the Holy Spirit's renewal in the Church today. On the whole, the songs included here were chosen because of their proven usefulness in worship...The editors...are grateful to many friends throughout Canada, U.S.A., England and New Zealand, who served as "song resource" personnel in our search for a truly representative selection of songs.

The editors were also keen to acknowledge the enormous debt to the Fisherfolk:

Last of all we want to thank the Fisherfolk who have sung, taught, experimented with, improved upon and shared many of these songs throughout the Christian world. For indeed it is through their ministry that many in the Church have come to hear *fresh sounds* (Pulkingham and Harper 1978).

After two years at Yeldall Manor the Community numbered over one hundred and together with its growing commitments it soon became clear that other accommodation would soon be necessary. The preference was for a more isolated location where the members could live, work and grow together as a community, and also develop worship materials and record their music. It had been known to the Community for some time that the Bishop of Argyll was seeking to re-establish a ministry at the Cathedral on the small island of Cumbrae off the west coast of Scotland. After much deliberation, what transpired was the formation of a number of sub-communities each with their own function and identity but all remaining within the same 'Society'. Some

members went to join 'The Post Green Community',⁵ near Poole in Dorset while others returned to the USA to help establish a new Community of Celebration in Colorado. Two other families bought property and continued to live in Wargrave. In the summer of 1975 the remainder of the Community made the move to Scotland. In the same year 'Celebration Services (International) Ltd'⁶ was established on the island in order to make available the Community's worship resources to a wider market.⁷

Once established on the island Betty Pulkingham and Mimi Farra began working on *Fresh Sounds* (FS)⁸, the sequel to *Sound of Living Waters* (SLW), which was later published in 1976 and like its predecessor became widely used beyond Charismatic circles. To use Norman Goldhawk's terminology, in *On Hymns and Hymn-Books*, 'many of the items' in these two songbooks 'are of the folk-song type, or modern versions of the nineteenth-century chorus-type gospel song'. But, he continues 'the books are', as was noted above, 'still wider in their range' (1979:71), which is one of the reasons why they had such a widespread appeal. Nigel Scotland, in *Charismatics and the Next Millennium*, comments on how:

these two song collections made a particular impact on Anglican churches because they not only acknowledged the liturgy but they actually produced music specifically for the communion service (1995:56).

⁵ For a background to the Post Green Community see Lees and Hinton 1978.

⁶ 'Celebration Services (Yeldall) Ltd' was already established. When the Community separated this branch moved to Post Green, Dorset.

⁷ In 1980 many of these resources were published in a book, see Beall and Barker 1980.

⁸ Most of the songs had already been collected by this stage. Betty Pulkingham and Jeanne Harper had decided when compiling *Sound of Living Waters* that there was too much material for one book so SLW was released first leaving *Fresh Sounds* to follow. Incidentally, as well as being conceived together, the two titles were also chosen more or less at the same time.

The Lord's Prayer

Jodi Page

Slow and sustained

D D Maj7 Am7

Our Fa-ther in hea-ven, hal-lowed be your

G A

name. Your king-dom come, your will be done on

G D

earth as in hea-ven.

D Maj7 Am7

Give us to-day our dai-ly bread. For-give us our

G A G

sins as we for-give those who sin a-

Pete Ward sees the attempt to embrace a broad range of styles within *Sound of Living Waters* and Charismatic worship more broadly as extremely significant:

The use of great hymns like 'Praise to the Lord' (SLW 11) or 'Amazing grace' (SLW 5) or even 'Morning has broken' (SLW 9) gave a reassuring stability to a new and essentially innovative movement within the church...The second effect of the eclectic nature of *Sound of Living Waters* was that it reinforced the community aspects of the new movement...*Sound of Living Waters*, while widely used by young people and youth groups, sees itself in the context of the whole community of the Church (1996:124).

In spite of the diversity, the musical idiom that is most closely associated with the Community of Celebration is the 'folk-style', although in this case the term 'folk' refers not to that earthy variety exemplified most notably by Sydney Carter.⁹ It is more of a light and somewhat bland 'pop' style, easy on the ear and easily accessible (Ex.1, p.2/7, pl.28). There is, however, some degree of variety as many of the song's performance directions convey - 'Soft-rock'; 'Folk rock'; 'Bold, Blues feeling'; 'Medium rock tempo'; 'Easy rock beat'; 'With a lilt'; 'Gently rocking'; 'With an easy swing' 'Smooth, with a "blues" feeling; 'Calypso style'; etc. - styles that simply reflected the different interests of Community members, 'most' of whom, reveals Maggie Durran, 'had grown up on rock and popular music' (1986:73).

'The style of *Living Waters*,' writes Colin Buchanan in his booklet, *Encountering Charismatic Worship*:

is to use root position chords and rarely inversions, and

⁹ c.f. 'Sydney Carter and Folk Hymnody', Chapter 3.

the cumulative effect is that the music has a simplicity, a 'gentleness', and a lack of the jingleness associated with the old CSSM choruses, or the slightly martial air of many of the *Youth Praise* and *Psalm Praise* compositions (1977:18).

Beall and Barker further help to elucidate the ethos of their music while also acknowledging its place in the wider folk movement:

By 'folk arts' we do not necessarily mean basket-weaving and quilt-making, though these may be included. We refer to arts performed 'by the people for the people'...Evidences of this participation by the 'folk' are all around us: the gathering of *ad hoc* groups to do national dancing or folk singing, the proliferation of drama and mime groups, the steady stream of books on folklore and folk craft. Through our involvement in a variety of countries and cultures, we have seen a common thread running through this interest in the folk arts - a desire either to maintain or to regain a knowledge of one's folk culture, to learn the folk music, dance, stories, customs and wisdom of one's forbears. The term 'folk art' therefore embraces both these aspects: art done by 'folk' or the non-professional, and art related to one's folk culture or background (op.cit:25).

It is clear from Beall and Barker's comments, and the song performance directions given above, that the term 'folk art' has a fairly wide frame of reference which is capable of embracing both a range of popular music styles as well as 'traditional' folk music.

Meanwhile, the Fisherfolk were continuing to tour but in 1977 it was decided that there should be a scaling down of their activities to allow the Community, now numbering seventy-five, time to settle down to a more normal existence. In order to become more self-sufficient, property on the island of Cumbrae was purchased, livestock was bought and vegetables were grown. In addition, the Community took over the running of the local

bakery (all very 'folk-orientated' in itself). This change in priority also freed more time for what was the most economically viable strand of its work - music production. Fisherfolk records were already best-sellers in the field of Christian music and they had also written and successfully performed a religious 'musical' at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival. SLW and FS were continuing to sell well and requests by publishers wishing to include the Community's songs in other collections were also increasing. To help co-ordinate and centralise the music administration, the responsibility for the copyrights and royalties of SLW and FS was transferred from the south of England to Cumbrae.

As the Community continued to grow together it began to look for more opportunities to broaden its ministerial outlook by developing the connection between the gospel, pastoral life, and peace and justice; concerns also close to the heart of the Iona Community. A systematic study programme was therefore undertaken which focused on, besides others things, socio-political issues. Maggie Durran writes of how this

study resulted in action. Some members of the Community joined a march at a nuclear power station near Edinburgh (op.cit:96).

There was also a

CND rally, walking to Faslane with a crowd of thousands. People from the Iona Community were there too....Participation in this and other peace demonstrations helped the Community understand the depth of feeling surrounding these issues (ibid).

Ecumenical issues were becoming more prominent too and one way in which links could be forged with other denominations on the

island, such as with the R.C. Church and Church of Scotland, was through music.

The next major turning point occurred in 1980. Now that the Community was firmly established Graham Pulkingham felt the time was right for him to return to the USA to re-establish his ministry and renew old contacts. A further blow was the inevitable loss of Betty Pulkingham whose musical guidance had been as equally dynamic as her husband's leadership. The move led to a re-evaluation of the Community's working life, which included a re-structuring of the music department. It was decided that the music research and development project would be transferred to America leaving Celebration Services in control of the music administration. Also, during this year a third music book was published, *Cry Hosanna*, edited by Betty Pulkingham and Mimi Farra. The collection of 142 songs and hymns represents, in the editors' words, 'God's praising people around the world' (Pulkingham & Farra 1980), and so contains a good selection of songs from varied traditions and cultures. Although much in the same vein as the previous two songbooks:

several new features distinguish it from its predecessors. Gesture drawings of simple hand and dance movements are included. A Worship Leaders' Guide provides a comprehensive study of ways in which the music may be used....There is a wealth of material here for part-singing, and the enterprising choir director will find suggestions in footnotes for the use of the material, as well as a guide to enhancing the songs through the use of instruments. A special page of instructions for the guitarist/ accompanist is included. There is also an expanded topical index (ibid).

There is in addition a discography that lists the many Fisher-folk albums on which the songs in *Cry Hosanna* can be found.

The three songbooks now mentioned remain the most well known examples of the Community of Celebration's music production, but other forms of music were published besides songs, such as Communion settings and anthems. The most successful of these was Betty Pulkingham's Holy Communion setting, *The King of Glory* (1975), revised to suit Rite A from the Alternative Service Book. According to the publisher's note:

The genius of this setting is its synthesis of folk and formal elements and its adaptability to a wide variety of situations. It may be effectively used in a small parish church with piano and/or guitar accompaniment and a choir of modest abilities. It has been successfully used as a special "one-time-only" setting for conferences, where a folk group provides both visual focus and musical leadership. It is also suited for use within the cathedral tradition and has been fully orchestrated.¹⁰

The folk elements do, in this work, extend to a flirtation with modality but the overall style is similar to that found in the above songbooks (the *Agnus Dei* is in fact included in *Fresh Sounds: 'Jesus, Lamb of God'*).

Since 1977, when the Fisherfolk team based on Cumbrae had set aside its travelling ministry, Celebration Services had continued to market the Community's records and songbooks in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, as well as in America and the United Kingdom. Although sales were good, particularly in South Africa, the time had come to resume their calling to travel and minister. In the early 1980s a new International Fisherfolk Team was established comprising of Community members from Scotland and the USA. Following its first worldwide tour

¹⁰ *The King of Glory* (Celebration Publishing 1975; reprinted 1987).

the Fisherfolk Team, and the Pulkingham family, returned to England to live for a while, settling in a seventeenth-century farmhouse in East Holton, Dorset, which they used as a base to record and rehearse for future tours. The Community on Cumbrae, meanwhile, was reassessing its own future and amidst much contemplation and discussion with the other 'Communities' it was decided that it, together with the East Holton household, should move back to America to establish a Community of Celebration in Pittsburgh. This later transpired in 1985.

The Community of Celebration still thrives to this day as a visit to its web site discloses. In it the Community describes how the commitment to worship, 'as the centre of life', is the source of its 'identity, ministry and music'. There are now only two communities, one in Aliquippa (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, and the other in Bletchingly, England, but members continue to travel widely and regularly respond to invitations for their ministry. Music remains integral,

leading hymn festivals and providing teaching and hands-on experience for those who are working to integrate traditional hymnody with newer forms of musical worship.¹¹

'This important work', they stress, 'continues to be a corner-stone of our public ministry' (ibid).

¹¹ Web site - www.nauticom.net/www/ritters/celebration.htm

The Iona Community

'The Iona Community' is an ecumenical Christian body consisting of men and women, Protestants and Catholics, and ordained and lay members who are committed to seeking new ways of living the Gospel in the modern world. Founded by the late George MacLeod (1895-1991) in 1938, the Community now maintains three centres: the Abbey and 'MacLeod Centre' on Iona, and the 'Camas Adventure Camp' on the nearby Ross of Mull, which offers outdoor activities for young people. 'Community House', the administrative headquarters, is situated in Govan, Glasgow where the Community is also actively engaged in youth work.

All those who travel to the small island of Iona (three and a half miles long and a mile and a half wide) agree that it contains something extraordinary, almost magical. George MacLeod is often quoted as describing Iona as a 'thin place - only a tissue paper separating the material from the spiritual'. To gain some understanding of this numinous quality a brief historical summary follows which will also provide some insight into the inspiration that lies behind the music of the Iona Community.

'From time immemorial', writes Olive Wyon,

Iona has been a holy place; it was a centre of pilgrimage, an 'isle of saints' and the burial-place of kings (1963:51).

In 563 AD St. Columba, an Irish monk and a member of the royal house of Ireland, travelled to Iona to establish a monastic settlement from which to carry out missionary work:

The Columban settlement became one of the leading centres of Christian mission in Europe, and monks from

Iona went out to evangelise the Scots of Dalriada (Argyll), the Picts of northern Scotland, the Britons of north-east England, and on into Europe, penetrating as far as north Germany and Russia.¹²

Even in this early period in Iona's history it is clear by Columba's own legacy that hymnody was valued, e.g.

v.1 Christ is the world's Redeemer,
The lover of the pure
The fount of heav'nly wisdom,
Our trust and hope secure;
The armour of his soldiers,
The Lord of earth and sky;
Our health while we are living,
Our life when we shall die.

St. Columba (521-97)
(The Church Hymnary no.301).

The Columban settlement on Iona was brought to a violent end in the ninth century by a wave of Viking raids which resulted in the death of many monks. The survivors returned to Ireland taking with them Columba's remains.

In 1203 a Benedictine order arrived on Iona and established a new community at the request of Reginald, Lord of the Isles. Unlike the Columban monks the Benedictine order were not missionaries and so instead engaged themselves in work, worship, scholarship and hospitality. They also began work on the Abbey and adjoining buildings at the beginning of the 13th century on the site of the old Columban settlement. These were later to be substantially repaired in the 15th century and form the foundation of the present-day Abbey. During the Reformation some of the buildings were desecrated and the Abbey fell into neglect until the 19th century when some renovation work was carried

¹² Quoted from *What is The Iona Community?* (Wild Goose Publications, Glasgow 1996).

out. In 1899 the Duke of Argyll passed ownership of the Abbey to a trust with the express wish that it should become a place of worship for Christians of all denominations. Major restoration of the Abbey was then embarked upon, which by 1910 was all but complete, with the exception of the outer buildings which still lay in ruins.

In 1938 George MacLeod, and a small number of parsons and craftsmen, travelled to Iona as a committed group to rebuild the living quarters. There was, however, an ulterior motive:

On Iona a task was waiting to be finished. It was a task that was significant, symbolic and practical. The object of going there was to learn, in a true community life, how the Church should live and work in the world today (Wyon 1963:52).

The inspiration that lay behind this community experiment emanated from MacLeod's work in Glasgow, where, as minister of the Govan Old Parish Church during the early years of the Depression, he was confronted with the harsh realities of a secular, disparate society. MacLeod's answer was to seek new ways of fostering a community spirit, especially between industrial workers and ministers.

The project initially began as a training ground for ministers entering the Church of Scotland; a place where they could stay and help renovate the Abbey buildings while developing the necessary skills in communal living, before returning to urban Scotland. The ministry of the Iona Community has since broadened but its core beliefs remain the same - a union of work, worship, prayer, politics, healing, peace and social justice. In addition to community learning programmes,

conferences and retreats for study are now offered as well as discipleship training. However, the lion's share of the work takes place not on Iona but on the mainland, developing housing schemes and youth work in inner city areas, for instance.

'Community House', the base in Glasgow, has been a particularly important centre in the Community's outreach ministry in the west of Scotland. It also, for a time, became an influential meeting place where, Ronald Ferguson reveals in his book *Chasing the Wild Goose*, the

Scottish folk music movement found a home: Robin Hall, Jimmie MacGregor and friends were often to be found there (1988:82).

In 1967 a visit to Iona by the Queen Mother commemorated the completion of the rebuilding work. In the same year George MacLeod resigned from his position as leader of the Iona Community but still remained an active participant. He died in 1991 aged 96. Since 1967 there have been a number of leaders who have continued the work and ministry instigated by MacLeod and the community has grown with them. It now stands at approximately 3200: 200 Members, 1400 Associate Members and 1600 Friends. Today Iona Abbey plays host to thousands of visitors and the Community's influence and members extend across the world: Africa, Sri Lanka, New Zealand, Australia, Israel and America.

Later in his book, Ronald Ferguson relates how this international network has enhanced the music repertoire of both the Iona Community and the Christian Church universally. One Community member, he writes:

Tom Colvin, collected words and music from Malawi. They have since made their way into the songbooks of .

the World Church by the route of Iona Abbey (1988:102). Although a range of music is used on the island of Iona and by the Community at large, the songs that are most readily identified with the Iona Community are those that have been written and collected by members of the Wild Goose Worship and Resource Groups. An introductory booklet published by the Community summarises their role and status as follows:

The work of the Wild Goose Resource Group and the Wild Goose Worship Group is significant within the life of the Community and has made a remarkable contribution to the renewal of worship, through the discovery of new and relevant approaches, and through the production of songs and other resources for liturgy, throughout Britain and beyond.¹³

'Wild Goose Publications'¹⁴ is the publishing division of the Iona Community and has produced a wide range of songbooks, containing styles and items suitable for many occasions: chants, liturgical pieces, folk hymns, rounds, songs gathered from the World Church, psalm settings, anthems, contemporary carols, responses, choruses, etc. Cassettes and CDs are also available together with other resource material for worship. The driving force behind the dissemination of Wild Goose music is John Bell, who composes and arranges the majority of songs for publication.

John L. Bell¹⁵

John Lamberton Bell was born in 1949 in Kilmarnock, Scotland. Neither of his parents were 'musicians' but he does remember, with affection, how songs were often sung around the

¹³ *What is The Iona Community?* (Wild Goose Publications, 1996:17).

¹⁴ The 'Wild Goose' is a Celtic symbol of the Holy Spirit. It serves as the logo of 'Wild Goose Publications'.

¹⁵ A good deal of the information contained in the remaining section derives from an interview conducted with John Bell at Greenbelt, 1997. Any unacknowledged quotes are to be attributed to this source.

house as he was growing-up. To be told then by music teachers at two critical stages during his formative years, aged 11 and 17, that he could not sing was a crushing blow. Both recollections have since helped shape Bell's views on the use and significance of singing in worship.

After leaving school Bell enrolled at Glasgow University for a Liberal Arts degree where he received his formal music education: counterpoint, harmony, analysis, etc. Prior to this he had taken a short course of piano lessons and had also experimented for a time with the oboe and bass. Unfortunately, the dryness of his college studies, rather than stimulating his interest in music, left him somewhat disillusioned. It would be some years before he would return to music with any enthusiasm. In the meantime Bell was being guided into other areas, namely youth work and the ministry. Following theological studies he was ordained in the Church of Scotland in 1978 and later became a youth officer in Glasgow. Iona's ecumenical creed was a particular drawing point for Bell and through his work with youngsters his contact with the Community developed.

John Bell's affiliation with the Iona Community steadily progressed and in 1980 he became a member. Later, in 1985 he helped form the 'Wild Goose Worship Group' with the aim of exploring and cultivating a new liturgy and music agenda, rooted firmly in an ecumenical spirit. During its weekly meeting the Group, which now numbers sixteen, write new material, gather resources, rehearse and share thoughts and ideas.

Following the formation of the Worship Group it became

increasingly clear to Bell, and others, that to realise and fully exploit their ministerial potential a full-time commitment would be required, but owing to lack of funds the Iona Community was unable to support such a venture. Following several years unemployment John Bell helped establish the 'Wild Goose Resource Group' in 1987 as a semi-autonomous project of the Iona Community. Comprising four full-time members, the Group's ministry work (which is supported by the Wild Goose Worship Group) now includes leading workshops and seminars on 'worship, music and spirituality' at conferences, seminaries, festivals and local churches throughout the UK and abroad. Along with some assistance from the Church of Scotland, its own publications, monies from copyright and performance rights, the Group supports itself through its outreach activities.

Wild Goose - 'A Musical Migration!'

In much the same way that Michael Baughen felt impelled to begin working on *Youth Praise* in the late 1950s because of the dearth of suitable material, John Bell's youth work in the 1980s assisted him in recognising the necessity for a particular strand of Christian music that could meet the specific needs of the expanding ministry of the Wild Goose Resource Group. But it was imperative that it reflected the ethos and philosophy of its members, i.e. their strong Scottish identity, their empathy with world cultures and their down-to-earth ministry style. Consequently, folk tunes and ethnic spiritual songs were drawn upon to supplement Bell's own songs, many of which resulted from

his collaboration with fellow member Graham Maule.

As it stands, the musical development of the Wild Goose Worship/Resource Group has progressed through four recognisable 'phases', but there has remained a direct continuity with regards to the music's most defining quality - it is essentially vocal music:

For the past century religious music has relied so much on organ or piano or guitar that the beauty and potential of the human voice has been forgotten and the joy of singing in harmony has become, in many places, a long lost experience. We want people to redeem that loss (Bell and Maule 1989).

John Bell is driven above all by the conviction that everyone has the ability to sing and by the desire to unite everyone in worship through song - even four-part harmony! In a paper given in 1996 at the 'Sing our God Together' conference in Birmingham, he said

music must be one aspect of the cement which welds people together...the most important music in church is that which the congregation is expected to sing, not what the choir can do, not what the gifted vocalist who's in her second year at Trinity can do, not even what the recently revamped four-guitar, flute and drum worship band can do, but what the people, the community can do together (1996:36).

Early Wild Goose publications¹⁶ were, therefore, characterised by unison arrangements with, or without, piano accompaniment and a conspicuous absence of guitar chords! 'Why', Bell asserts, 'should we move from the tyranny of the organ to the tyranny of the guitar?' The folk idiom predominated but there was some flirtation with 'blues'. Or perhaps more correctly, the

¹⁶ See *Heaven Shall Not Wait* - Wild Goose Songs Vol.1 (Wild Goose Publications) f.p. 1987, rev. 1989, reprinted 1994.

How long, O Lord?

slow and bluesy ♩ = 54

NEW THIRTEENTH (JLB)
Text: Psalm 13 (para. JLB)

Capo 3: (E) (Bm) (E) (Bm) (D) (E)
 G Dm G Dm F G

1. How long, O Lord, will you quite for - get
2. How long, O Lord, must this grief pos - sess my
3. Look now, look now and an - swer me, my

(F#) (E) (Bm) (Em) (Bm)
A G Dm Gm Dm

me? How long, O Lord, will you
heart? How long, O Lord, must I
God; give light, give light lest I

spirit of the blues: songs of lamentation and protestation. Bell admits to there being no conscious influence of blues musically. A good example is 'How long, O Lord?' (Ex.2. p.231 , pl.29), which while not in 'classic blues' style has a strong 'spiritual' feel.

'Phase' two reflected the growing influence of African and other ethnic music, and performance practice too.¹⁷ There was some experimentation with such devices as drone and ostinato, for example, and there also was an increasing interest in a *capella* part-settings. 'I do think it's helpful to sing the songs of other cultures', Bell says:

By singing their songs, we can stand to some extent in deeper intercession with these people. And through that experience our understanding of mission and evangelism and the kingdom of God and the Trinity is enlarged.¹⁸

Whenever possible, Bell prefers that the ethnic songs that the Community publishes are relayed to him orally. In addition to receiving a more valid rendering his belief is that there is a deeper sense of conviction contained in the songs that are 'carried within oneself'. To add a further element of authenticity, songs are often printed with verses in the original native text, followed by a translation. This degree of integrity is also reflected in Wild Goose publications in the attention given to combining the right text with an appropriate melody. In *Sing a New Song to the Lord*, the Revd Brian Castle writes:

One of the geniuses of the Iona hymns is how the type of tune used often matches the sentiment of the

¹⁷ See *Many & Great - World Church songs Vol.1* (1989) and *Sent By The Lord - World Church songs Vol.2* (1991).

¹⁸ Quoted on the Internet at <http://www.giamusic.com>

hymn. So, 'No One Will Ever be the Same', where encouragement is given to those who feel dispossessed, is set to a tune in the style of a Negro Spiritual. When one remembers that these Spirituals were freedom songs one is aware of the power that the tune invests in the words (1994:102).

Conversely, Geoff Weaver, the RSCM's Director of Studies, considers how the apparent mismatch of words and music can have a striking effect also:

The lilting folksong melody *Kelvingrove* is an unlikely vehicle for the challenging text 'Will you come and follow me', while the beautiful Irish melody *The Sally Gardens* seems an unlikely companion to the provocative words of 'Inspired by love and anger'. This matching of apparent opposites is entirely consistent with the spirituality of Iona - beauty and ugliness, joy and sorrow do exist in real life, and our worship, in order to be authentic, has to find a way of integrating and accepting both in our lives (1998:19).

Bell's dedication to upholding the integrity of a song lies behind his frustration with certain aspects of hymnody - the rhythmic sanitisation of traditional melodies and folk tunes, for example, or the 'ironing-out' of the medieval dance rhythms of Genevan psalm tunes. In this view he joins himself to a body of earlier opinion, such as that expressed by Eric Thiman:

One of the finest groups of tunes in our books is that formed from old French and Swiss melodies, but it is much to be regretted that in many books the engagingly varied rhythm of their original form has been perverted into a dull and lifeless succession of monotonous minims (1933:215).

'Musicians rejoice', he adds, 'to see that many modern hymn-books are now printing them in all their delightful charm' (ibid). Reynolds and Price have also commented on how the 'rhythmic vitality of the chorale' declined by 'the practice of reducing the chorale melodies to notes of equal length' (1987:26). One of the reasons for this was to purge the music 'of its more secular

qualities' (Davison 1960:42). When selecting popular song melodies, Reformation musicians realised that the:

association with the original secular text was going to be hard to combat but they realised, at the same time, that the most effective way of negating that worldly influence would be to "de-rhythm" the music (ibid).

It is interesting to note that Vaughan Williams, like Bell another champion of folk song, has also shown a 'remarkable degree of editorial integrity and faithfulness' (Blezzard 1990:143). Many of the folk tunes he collected were also relayed to him orally such as, 'Our captain calls all hands on board tomorrow'. The tune to this song was later modified (and renamed 'Monks Gate') and set to the hymn 'He who would valiant be'. 'In this case, a considerable degree of adaptation was undertaken', says Blezzard, but

the rhythm was for the most part left intact: there was none of the ruthless elimination of rhythmic subtleties that had so often been a feature of earlier borrowings for sacred use (ibid).

Returning to the developing Wild Goose music ministry, what was significant about the third 'phase' was the more systematic, though sensitive, application of instruments in worship. 'Folk-type' instruments such as a bodhran, fiddle or accordion would be used, for example, to subtly enhance a melody but always very much with the character of the song in mind. Also, the singing and teaching of three and four part songs was becoming very much a standard feature of the Worship/Resource Group's music and ministry practice.

From the early 1990s the songs of the Iona Community were becoming increasingly well known and infiltrating churches in

both England and further afield. This brought with it increased exposure and opportunity to travel, particularly to the USA, which affected John Bell's own personal musical development. It was through a proposal by the Gregorian Institute of America (GIA) that Bell set about the task of arranging a number of Wild Goose songs for choir. Pleased with the result the GIA subsequently requested a further two collections which also provided Bell with the opportunity to work and record with Richard Proulx's distinguished ensemble, the Cathedral Singers of Chicago.¹⁹ This progression into the realm of choral music represents the fourth and final 'phase'. It needs stressing, however, that these four musical phases have never been mutually exclusive. They merely reflect the change of emphasis in the musical practice and direction of Bell and the Wild Goose Worship/Resource Group.

When writing his own material Bell's openness to the input of other Group members is indicative of the Iona Community's ethos. The weekly Monday evening meeting when the Worship Group gather is greatly valued by Bell as a testing ground for new songs and ideas and a time when all the members can freely contribute; in fact so close is the union that he sometimes writes with specific member's voices in mind. Bell has no compositional method he is aware of and no conscious influences apart from a gratitude to the legacy of folk song. He may begin with a text where a melody might suggest itself. Alternatively

¹⁹ *God Never Sleeps* (1995); *The Last Journey* (1996) and *Psalms of David and Songs of Mary* (1998). Recordings of other Wild Goose songs are also available.

'I Shall Praise You, O God'

Tune: LOBERTS (JLB)

warmly

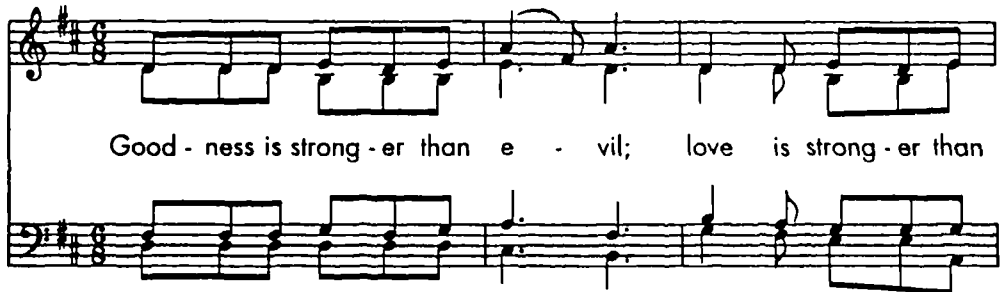
The musical score consists of four staves of music in treble clef, with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and a 3/4 time signature. The first staff begins with a dynamic marking of **warmly**. The melody is written on the upper line of the staff, while the accompaniment is written on the lower line. The second staff continues the melody and accompaniment. The third staff continues the melody and accompaniment. The fourth staff concludes the piece with a double bar line. The music features a mix of eighth and quarter notes, with some rests and a final whole note chord.

EXAMPLE 4

'Goodness is Stronger than Evil'

Tune: GOODNESS IS STRONGER (JLB)

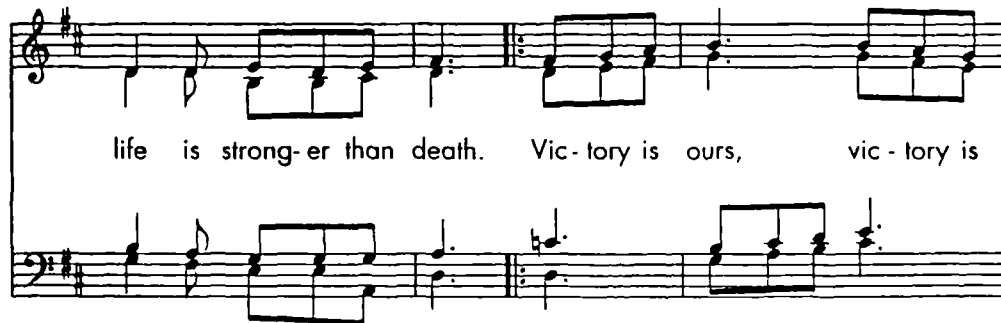
joyfully



Good - ness is strong - er than e - vil; love is strong - er than

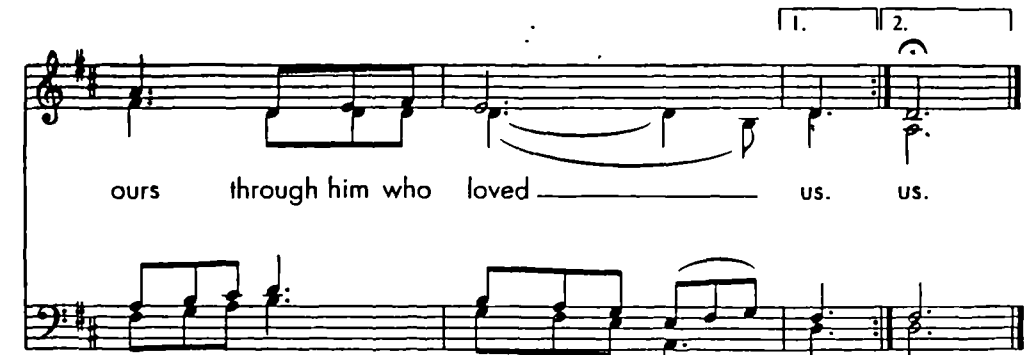


hate; light is strong - er than dark - ness;



life is strong - er than death. Vic - tory is ours, vic - tory is

Oh, Vic - tory is ours,



ours through him who loved us. us. us.

vic - tory is ours through him who loved us. us.

he may explore different sonorities and progressions on the piano, but when composing mentally he instinctively relies on tonic sol-fa. However, despite the lack of an 'applied' method a perusal of a recent Wild Goose publication does reveal that many of Bell's songs do indeed conform to a standard composition-al schema, particularly of the type found in traditional British folk song.

The songbook, *Love & Anger*, was published in 1997 and contains a varied set of pieces. None of the songs were written specifically for this volume but nearly all had been in the Group's repertoire for five years or more, though few had appeared in print. First, and most noticeable, is the 'form' (phrase configuration) and length of Bell's tunes; either 'AB' or 'ABA' and in comparison with many worship songs short in duration. The melodic structure is as follows. The main melodic fragment is stated in the first 2-4 bars which is then repeated, with perhaps slight modification. This is then 'answered' by a complementary phrase (or phrases) which may be followed by a restatement of the opening melodic phrase (i.e. ternary - Ex.3, p.234, pl.30) or which may simply bring the song to a closing cadence (i.e. binary - Ex.4, p.235, pl.31).

The keys in which Bell's songs are written are inclined to be either 'major' or 'modal', and the harmonies are largely diatonic. There is a tendency in Bell's part writing for close harmony but wider spacing is not uncommon. There is also frequent use of 'sequential' passages. The strength of this musical formula is its accessibility which ensures a ready re-

sponse, a quality particularly useful in itinerant ministry.

As part of its travelling ministry, the Wild Goose Resource Group often lead worship at Christian conferences and festivals such as Greenbelt. In common with the influence of the Liturgical Movement on the 20th Century Church Light Music Group, John Bell is also keen to stress the importance of 'people participation'. Another salient principle is to 'meet people where they are', and one very effective way of achieving this is through the Group's own varied brand of music which in practice penetrates musical prejudice and transcends petty preoccupation with style. It has a directness and familiarity with which people can readily identify. This is greatly enhanced by the role singing plays in the Group's holistic approach to music and worship. The music is never presented as an aside to worship but an integral constituent which cements the unfolding liturgy. Songs may be interspersed throughout worship providing something of a *leit-motif*, or used to complement prayer, interact with Scripture, or simply act as hymns of praise, etc. For the sake of continuity songs are always rehearsed prior to the commencement of worship, and to assist with this the Group follow a set of ten tried and tested 'golden rules' which are summarised below:

1. Believe in the voice which God has given you.
2. Believe in the voices God has given other people.
3. Teach only songs or harmony lines which you personally have sung.
4. Teach songs only at the appropriate time...which is seldom if ever during a church service or even after the organ voluntary.

5. Always sing a new song with enthusiasm; never with an apology.
6. Use only your voice and hands to teach new tunes.
7. When teaching, sing a bit worse than your best and always use your normal voice - remember you are asking people to copy another person, not to be amused or threatened by the vocal dexterity of a real or would-be operatic superstar.
8. Let the people know about the structure of the tune before you teach it, then teach it in recognisable sections.
9. When demonstrating: (seven guidelines), e.g. sing a verse or a verse & chorus first, etc.
10. When using the song, already learned, in worship, try not to have all the people singing all the time.

(Bell & Maule 1994).

What is most evident about the worship services that the Group lead is how the 'universal' Christian message is underpinned by a variety of music, both in form and origin; elements which continually remind one of the diversity of humanity and of human creativity. The emphasis on vocal music (common to all cultures) also further helps reinforce this message. This, combined with the organic way in which the music and liturgy develop, has proved to be an extremely powerful worship service format, the effectiveness of which has greatly contributed to the increasing amount of invitations that the Wild Goose Resource Group receives to lead worship throughout the UK and abroad.

The Taizé Community

'In the 1980s came the Taizé chants', writes Stephen Dean in the context of Roman Catholic church music in England:

brought back from that remarkable community by a constant stream of visitors and subsequently published in English collections. Here was music that appealed to young people and folk groups but which at the same time required musical discipline, included choral and instrumental harmonies, and used the harmonic idiom of 'proper' music (1989:42).

Although Taizé chants pre-date the 1980s it was, in particular, from this time onwards that both the Community's music and worshipping patterns impacted Catholic and Protestant Churches throughout the world. Like the music of the St Thomas More Centre, that of the Taizé Community blurs the distinction between 'folk' and 'traditional', and while it may frustrate those who wish to pigeon-hole music it is a type of hybrid that many Christians are finding increasingly attractive and refreshing; for unlike some of the latest worship songs that can be mistaken for popular ballads, Taizé music is unmistakably 'church' music. A further attraction of Taizé music is its versatility. It can be equally effective sung with a light accompaniment in an intimate gathering, *a capella*, or even by a congregation of literally thousands with the backing of an instrumental ensemble.

The ecumenical Christian Community situated in and around the small French village of Taizé attracts thousands of visitors from around the world every year and has a special attraction for the young. The first large international youth meeting took place in 1966 and the Council of Youth, attended by over

40,000, opened in August 1974. One reason for the youth appeal is that present day issues are continually addressed and perhaps more important is the Community's commitment to ensure that the Gospel is a living reality, current and relevant to each and every generation.

The music of the Taizé Community is, above all, distinctive and is the element of worship that often leaves the most lasting impression on those who visit, leading many to want to share it with their own fellowship. Although the style could never be described as 'popular' in the commercial sense George Carey,²⁰ on a visit to Taizé in 1992, describes how the music 'manages to be both popular and contemplative. Its simplicity means that it is accessible. Yet it is never loud or intrusive' (1994:86). Carey further recalls:

As I worshipped at the community I noticed several features of the singing that mark the style of Taizé. First, the *simplicity* of the words and music which make it easy for us to all join in. The songs combine the traditions of East and West - plainchant may feature at one time, whilst at another the richer harmonies may evoke the breadth and richness of Orthodox worship. Indeed the great value of the Taizé songs is not simply that the music fits the words so well, but that it takes into account the national flavour of the language originally used (ibid:82).

'Popular', then, in its informality and accessibility but at the the same time managing to retain an air of mystery and dignity; 'popular' also in its widespread appeal. The music of Taizé not only cuts across denominational boundaries but cultural one's too. In *The Story of Taizé*, J.L. González-Bolado

²⁰ Before George Carey made his pilgrimage, Taizé had drawn many other distinguished visitors such as the Archbishops, Michael Ramsey and Robert Runcie. Also, Mother Teresa, Pope John Paul II and Bishop Desmond Tutu.

reveals that the Community's songs

are well known in North America, and have been translated into Polish, Czech, Croatian, Hungarian... You can hear them sung in Bengali in the slums of Calcutta, in Kiswahili in Nairobi, in Korean in Seoul, in Chinese in Hong Kong, in Spanish in Latin America... (1994:56).

It is truly a world music which has become one of the most universal genres of Christian music, appealing to young and old, 'black' and 'white', and Catholic and Protestant. It has also assisted the Taizé Community in its quest to coalesce Christians of all persuasions.

Roger Louis Schutz-Marsauche, better known as Brother Roger, the Swiss founder of the Taizé Community and son of a Protestant pastor, was born in 1915 in the small village of Provence. Following secondary school he went to study theology at Lausanne. Towards the end of his studies Brother Roger began to form a spiritual vision for the future which involved, in short, a base from which to work, pray and live out with others the essential dimensions of the Gospel: joy, simplicity and mercy. In search for a dwelling place Brother Roger stumbled across a disused house in the French hamlet of Taizé in 1940. After purchasing it he began assisting refugees, mainly Jewish, to cross the border safely into Switzerland. While away on a visit in 1942 Brother Roger was warned not to return as the Gestapo had been informed of his activities and had taken over occupancy of the house. Following the war he, and a small group of brothers, moved back to Taizé to begin realising the community way of life that had been envisioned some years earlier.

Over the years the small group of initially Protestant brothers steadily grew and today number over hundred, representing both Protestant and Catholic traditions. The brotherhood has also widened culturally to include members from some twenty countries worldwide. The Community's work also extends beyond Taizé in France; small 'fraternities' have been set-up in such places as Brazil, India, Japan as well as Africa, America and Europe.

The music at Taizé has been influenced over the years by the number and diversity of visitors. To accommodate the vast number of worshippers a purpose built 'Church of Reconciliation' was constructed and inaugurated in 1962. When such a large multi-cultural gathering meets to worship and sing, the usual difficulties that are faced in choosing suitable music are multiplied tenfold. Also, as the majority of visits are only short-term there needed to be from the outset a much greater emphasis on a musical style that could be easily assimilated:

The solution found was brand-new and yet, although the brothers only realised this fully later on, had roots in an age-old tradition: Refrains composed of a few words from Scripture were set to music and sung as a canon or ostinato. Throughout the centuries, a few words repeated over and over again have been an aid to contemplative prayer, building up little by little an inner unity of the person before God..these chants allow basic Gospel truths to penetrate us; the melodies remain alive with us long after we have left the church, as a kind of 'prayer without ceasing'..In this way the songs of Taizé were born (González-Balado 1994:55).

A further difficulty to overcome was the language barrier. The growing number of foreign visitors initially led to a drift away from French as the dominant language. Latin was increasingly drawn upon and soon became a sort of *lingua franca* at Taizé. Today many languages are used for the chants and together draw

worshippers in deeper solidarity; like

reading the Gospel in ten different languages is a kind of parable of unity in diversity, it gives one a sense of the universality of the Church (ibid).

As George Carey noted on his visit to Taizé, simplicity and accessibility are at the heart of Taizé music. However, in practice the brothers, and those wishing to attend the daily practice session, sing fairly complex descants to embellish the chants and there is varied instrumental support also. Repetition does figure heavily, and has attracted similar criticism to that directed at the use of choruses in Charismatic worship, but as Brother Roger explains:

Nothing is more conducive to communion with the living God than a meditative common prayer with, at its high point, singing that never ends and that continues in the silence of one's heart when one is alone again. When the mystery of God becomes tangible through the simple beauty of symbols, when it is not smothered by too many words, then a common prayer, far from exuding monotony and boredom, awakens us to heaven's joy on earth.²¹

As well as the publications of the Community's music that are now available, Taizé chants have also been incorporated in contemporary song and hymn collections, e.g. *Celebration Hymns* (1984); *Sing Alleluia* (1987); *Songs of God's People* (1988); *Let's Praise!* (1988); *Baptist Praise and Worship* (1991); *Songs of Fellowship* (1991) and *Spring Harvest* (1994). In addition to the chants that have originated from within the Community itself, many emanate from the pen of Jacques Berthier, a professional musician and composer. One of his songs that has become

²¹ *Songs and Prayers from Taizé* (Mowbray/Cassell, 1991).

Words and music: Taizé - Jacques Berthier
Psalm 130.2

Mixed voices

O Lord, hear my prayer; O Lord, hear my prayer:

when I call, an - swer me - O Lord, hear my prayer; O

Lord, hear my prayer; come and lis - ten to me. O

Fine

EXAMPLE 6

Words and music: Taizé - Jacques Berthier

All
♩ = 56 A

pp Ho - ly Spi - rit, come to us;
Ve - ni, San - cte Spi - ri - tus;

Womens' voices

pp Ho - ly Spi - rit, come to us;
Ve - ni, San - cte Spi - ri - tus;

Mixed voices and accompaniment

pp Ho - ly Spi - rit, come to us;
Ve - ni, San - cte Spi - ri - tus;

Bm7/A

Bm7/A

Bm7/A

particularly well known is 'O Lord, hear my Prayer' (Ex.5, p.243 , pl.32). This is a four-part 'Continuous Chorale', in Em, of eight bars duration which makes use of textual, rhythmic and melodic repetition. A simple accompaniment is supplied and there are also numerous instrumental accompaniments and solos.

A typical example of a 'short' chant by Berthier is 'Holy Spirit, come to us' (Ex.6, p.243 , pl.32). Only two bars long and using the chords A major and Bm7/A, this 'Continuous Response' in 6/8 begins with the four 'Mixed voices' entering in the order: Bass, Alto, Soprano, Tenor. Added to this is a monotonic chant for 'All' and a harmonic part based on the above chords for "Womens' voices". As the response continues vocal and instrumental verses (flute, oboe, clarinet, trumpet, trombone and cello) are sung or played as required. Although many of the Taizé chants do have a familiar ring there is variation in the repertoire and, besides chants, other musical forms are used such as Mass settings, songs, canons (rounds) and hymns.

There have been some questions raised, both from within and outside the Community, over whether Taizé-style worship can really work beyond the specific environment from which it was born. George Carey relates the advice that one of the brothers at Taizé gave to a group:

Don't forget that music at Taizé has its context in *our* worshipping life and the atmosphere of thousands of young people gathered together with gifted instrumentalists and singers. Be careful how you apply Taizé music - or you may be disappointed (1994:88).

'Precisely because it was created as a solution to a local problem, can it then be meaningfully used elsewhere?', asks Tim

Haggis in his booklet *The Spirituality of Taizé*. 'The experience of many is that it can', he continues, 'but not indiscriminately':

It will be appropriate and be well received on those occasions where it can be seen to be meeting a perceived need. In other words, it is a question of integrity. With Taizé as with all worship, there must be a link between the worship itself, and our own lifestyle, concerns and priorities. This is a link whose importance has not always been clearly understood in Western Christianity, and in our worship today the church in this country owes a debt of gratitude to the Community at Iona for reminding us of it (Haggis 1994:22).

Tim Haggis goes on to give various examples of where the music of Taizé might be appropriate, such as where there is a focus on reconciliation or on solidarity with the poor, where music is required to aid silent prayer or meditation, or at such times when a group who do not share any common liturgy or tradition meet. 'Where these links exist', he concludes:

the worship will have integrity, and the unfamiliar - be it liturgy, music, posture, icons or candles - may well prove both acceptable and beneficial. Where the links, and therefore integrity, are missing, it won't (ibid:23).

The St Thomas More Centre²²

The Roman Catholic St Thomas More Centre was founded in 1969 and closed in 1994. From its humble beginnings it grew to become one of the leading liturgical resource centres in this country with customers and connections throughout Britain and America. In addition to maintaining a bookshop the Centre was responsible for publishing a good deal of original music which, although initially intended for the Catholic church, has since freely crossed denominational boundaries. One particularly high profile occasion at which the Centre's music played a part was the ordination of George Carey as Archbishop of Canterbury.

Trying to define the music of the St Thomas More Centre is problematical in that there were a number of contributing composers from a variety of backgrounds; professional musicians, priests and liturgists. Also, due to the centrality of the liturgy, the remit for St Thomas More extended from its inception beyond hymnody, e.g. responsorial psalms, acclamations, litanies, etc., as well as songs, chants and hymns. Added to this is the fact that there was never any consensus or formulated opinion on what style of music should be used, although due to Vatican II it was perhaps implicit that there should not be too heavy a reliance on the past (i.e. plainchant and polyphony). While the music may be impossible to categorise there was always an openness to contemporary styles. Stephen Dean, who was a close associate of the St Thomas More Centre,

²² A good deal of the information contained in this section derives from an interview with Stephen Dean (Mildenhall, 1997), one of the St Thomas More Centre's first employees.

writes:

Music used in worship has to be accessible to the people. It will normally use styles and techniques from the surrounding culture. At the same time the gospel should constantly challenge culture and contrast its values with those of the Good News of Christ. Crass commercialism on the one hand, and the raising of art to the status of a religion on the other, are two attitudes which have no place in Christian music. Discussions about style - rock versus plainchant - are usually sterile. If the underlying spiritual values of the community are sound, they will be able to find music that accords with them. No music which can be shown to serve as a prayer can be dismissed (1989:47).

A good example of the kind of popular and folk-idiom songs associated with the St Thomas More Centre that have crossed the denominational divide are contained in *Let's Praise!*. 'Come to set us free' (LP 23), for instance, with its modal character and gentle syncopation, is the closest to the folk style. In contrast is the 'Lively jazz feel' of 'Sing of the Lord's goodness' (Ex.7, p.246, pl.33). In 5/4 time and reminiscent of 'Take Five', this song also displays St Thomas More's collaborative nature (i.e. Words and music: Ernest Sands. Descant: Christopher Walker. Arranged by Paul Inwood). 'Sing to the World' (LP 186), complete with instrumental descant and instrumental parts, is a lively call and response song and more contrasting still is 'No more weeping' (LP 142), a six part Paschal Processional chant of 4 bars duration. However, the key to understanding the spirit of the music of the St Thomas More Centre is to know something of its background.

Firstly, it is necessary to point out that the St Thomas More Centre was never a 'community' in the sense that Iona or Taizé are. Associates of the Centre did not engage in communal

183 Sing of the Lord's goodness

Words and music: Ernest Sands
 descant: Christopher Walker
 arranged Paul Inwood

Lively jazz 'feel'

Intro (1st time only)

Em Bm7 Em Bm7 Em Bm7

1 Sing of the Lord's good-ness, Fa - ther of all wis - dom,
 2 Pow - er he has wield - ed, hon - our is his gar - ment,
 3 Cour - age in our dark - ness, com - fort in our sor - row -
 4 Praise him with your sing - ing, praise him with the trum - pet,

Em D G Bm7 Em Bm7

come to him and bless his name. Mer - cy he has shown us,
 ri - sen from the snares of death. His word he has spo - ken,
 Spi - rit of our God most high! Sol - ace for the wea - ry,
 praise God with the lute and harp. Praise him with the cym - bals,

Descant
 Em Bm7 Am7 Bm7 Em

You peo - ple
 his love is for ev - er, faith - ful to the end of days.
 one bread he has bro - ken, new life he now gives to all.
 par - don for the sin - ner, splen - dour of the liv - ing God!
 praise him with your danc - ing, praise God till the end of days.

Words and music: © Ernest Sands / Magnificat Music
 Descant: © Christopher Walker / Magnificat Music
 Arrangement: © Paul Inwood / Magnificat Music,
 St Thomas More Centre, The Burroughs, Hendon, London NW4 4TY

living or commit themselves to 'a common rule'. There was, however, a strong communal ethos which united members in a common cause.²³ This continues to this day by way of the 'St Thomas More Group' who are a body of writers that broke away from the Centre in the early 1990s.

The liturgical changes brought about by Vatican II, notably the promulgation of the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* in 1963, had a profound effect on the practice of Roman Catholic church music.²⁴ The most controversial of the reforms was the encouragement given for the use of the vernacular. This along with the increasing conviction that 'the people' ('the folk') should play a more active role in worship provided church musicians with the task of creating new music, set to their own language and in some cases accommodating new liturgy, such as responsorial psalms as part of the Mass. The use of Gelineau psalms and hymns from the comparatively small repertoire of Catholic hymnody helped ease this transition but it was clear that a considerable amount of original music was needed. The liturgical changes brought with them also a loosening in attitude towards certain forms of music and the folk style initially became very popular. With the support of publishers like Mayhew-McCrimmon the 'folk hymn' and 'folk mass' were to find a significant place within Catholic worship music.

One of the leading supporters of liturgical change was Harold Winstone - a Catholic clergyman, teacher and chairman of

²³ This was confirmed in an interview with Tony Barr, an associate of the Centre.

²⁴ The Liturgical Movement has previously been mentioned in connection with the popular church music movement (Ch.2) and Vatican II (Ch.3).

the 'Advisory Board of the International Commission on English in the Liturgy'. Winstone had been active for some time in both promoting liturgical reform and preparing for the changes that would inevitably result from the second Vatican Council of 1962-5. In the late 1960s he settled into the new Manor House Parish, a deprived area with no parish church at the time. It was from here that Winstone continued with his work and in 1969 in 7a Henry Rd, the small terraced house where he lived, he established the St Thomas More Centre²⁵ under the direct authority of the Arch Diocese of Westminster.

One of the first employees of the Centre was Stephen Dean who, as a student training for the priesthood in Rome, had witnessed the Vatican Council at first hand. He later went on to become editor of the Catholic magazine *Music and Liturgy*. Along with Winstone, Dean was responsible for re-training clergy in the light of the liturgical changes and he also began the task of producing original music for the new Services in English. These early attempts, initially setting responsorial psalms and other texts for Holy Week, were very experimental due to the lack of a historical precedent and as such were subject to continual re-evaluation. The Centre would however go on to publish music of all types. There was also to be no compartmentalisation between hymns, songs, choruses, psalms, etc. 'If it could be used in the liturgy', Dean recalls, 'that was the main thing'. It is worth noting that the 'St Thomas More Centre for

²⁵ St Thomas More was the patron saint of the parish. When built, the parish church was dedicated to him.

Pastoral Liturgy', to give it its full title, was not concerned exclusively with music. It also published other worship material, instruction documents and books, e.g. *The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults* (1988), as well as organising study days.

Following Stephen Dean's departure in the early 1970s Paul Inwood joined the Centre and it was from this time onwards that music production increased as St Thomas More began promoting the output of a number of one-person publishers, e.g. *Clifton Music* (Christopher Walker); *Chiswick Music* (Bill Tamblin); and *Portsmouth Music Publications* (Geoffrey Boulton Smith). Paul Inwood ran St Thomas More's 'house' label, *Magnificat Music*. These individuals were part of a small group of musicians and liturgists,²⁶ many of them associated with the Society of St. Gregory, who were exploring new paths:

As the 1970s progressed there emerged from this group a kind of music that could not be classified simply as *folk* or *traditional* and was entirely in the spirit of the new liturgy. Its circulation was at first limited, as the commercial publishers had become cautious and 'folk' was apparently the only area of growth. So the composers became their own publishers, each piece being produced cheaply and financing the next. The St Thomas More Centre for Pastoral Liturgy became the principal distributor of this music (Dean 1989:40).

Due to increased workload the St Thomas More Centre moved premises in 1975 to an adjacent purpose built building in Henry Rd. The music associated with the Centre was now becoming more widely known and to further raise its profile composers became actively involved in giving workshops around the country. During

²⁶ Kevin Donovan, Philip Duffy, Michael Dawney, also.

the Papal Visit of 1982 their music was given a further boost when a selection²⁷ was used for the Mass at Coventry, at which 250,000 people attended. Stephen Dean, meanwhile, remained a close contact and the Centre continued to publish his music until his return in 1986.

In 1985, Paul Inwood, Christopher Walker and Mike Shaw, the new director of the Centre since 1983, visited the USA for the "National Association of Pastoral Musicians' Convention". While they were there they also managed to secure the services of an American publisher, 'Oregon Catholic Press' (OCP), who subsequently published a number of collections in America over the succeeding years, e.g. *Sing of the Lord's Goodness* (1986), *We Are Your People* (1987) and *Holy is God* (1988). But although these collections were marketed under the auspices of the St Thomas More Centre, the name was becoming something of a misnomer as many of the individual composers were releasing material through their own publishing outlets rather than through the Centre.

Following the connection with OCP, the Centre secured a distribution agreement with another American publisher, the 'Gregorian Institute of America' (GIA). Along with developments in Britain, this increase in production precipitated another change of location. In 1987 the St Thomas More Centre moved to the converted ground floor of St Joseph's Convent in The Burroughs, Hendon, North London. Complete with a bookshop and a

²⁷ Chiefly the music of Peter Jones, Christopher Walker and Paul Inwood.

staff of 4-5, the St Thomas More Centre had established itself as both a national and international resource base attracting visitors from around the country.

In 1990 a new director was appointed, Mark Anwyll, but as the Centre was losing money, there was a question over its future, which led in part to the formation of a splinter group. By 1991 a number of associates had assembled together to function independently of the Centre. Their first publication, bearing the name 'St Thomas More Group', was *With Heart and Voice* (OCP, 1991), and included music by the following composers: Stephen Dean, Bill Tamblyn, Paul Inwood, Bernadette Farrell, Peter Jones, Ernest Sands and James Walsh. The Centre's forecast demise finally transpired in 1994. The St Thomas More Group, on the other hand, continues to publish to this day, although several members, Paul Inwood and Bernadette Farrell, for example, continue to also publish under their own name. Anne Quigley and Peter McGrail have since joined the Group and appear in one of the latest publications, *Songs of Hope* (1995).

Finally, 'Decani Music' was set-up in 1991 by Susan and Stephen Dean and has in some ways inherited the 'clearing house' function of the St Thomas More Centre. It publishes new music packs at regular intervals, with music by members of the St Thomas More Group and others, and it distributes the publications of OCP and GIA. It, furthermore, administrates the St Thomas More Group's copyrights through its 'Calamus' scheme; a kind of R.C. counterpart of Christian Copyright Licensing (Europe) Ltd (CCLE).

Summary and Evaluation

What is most evident about the story of each community is how integral music is, both within the life of the community and to its ministry. The Taizé chants, for example, are today as equally synonymous with the Taizé Community as is its founder, Brother Roger. The Community of Celebration, also, has been as closely identified with the songbooks *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds* as with the itinerant ministry of the 'Fisherfolk'. But what is it that has driven each community to produce its own distinctive brand of 'folk' music? Two principle factors have been: 'mission' and 'necessity'. 'The church exists by mission as fire exists by burning' was a phrase quoted by John Bell at the 'Sing our God Together' conference, held in Birmingham in 1996. 'In other words', Bell added, 'you cannot be the Church if you are not engaged in mission' (Bell 1996:29). There has certainly been a strong element of mission that has underpinned the spirit of each community, and because music is such a central feature of their identity it has understandably played a significant role in this aspect of each community's life and work.

It was, however, a 'necessity' that provided the initial impulse for each community to begin creating its own music. The St Thomas More Centre was born out of a need: one of its functions was to supply new music for the people to sing in their mother tongue. Similarly, the Iona Community,

began singing and writing new songs not primarily because we were fed up with the old ones, but because others were and because we recognise that, in every

era, Jesus looks for new bottles to hold his new wine..
..The church always needs new songs, not because the Gospel changes, but because the world changes and God's purposes in the world have to be reinvented to become real for the times (Bell and Maule 1994).

Taizé chants sprang from the need to accommodate vast numbers of foreign visitors, and the folk songs of the Fisherfolk from a need to find a new language to penetrate, what they termed, the 'word-weariness of many young people' (Beall and Barker 1980:14).

It can, consequently, be said of each community that aesthetics have taken a second place to a concern for the needs of the people, and it has been this sense of responsibility and of mission, rather than the pursuit of a hieratic musical language, that unifies the 'folk' music of the four communities. What it means to be folk, then, in this context relates not so much to a specific 'folk style' but to the music's function, although songs may reflect certain attributes that are indicative of some forms of folk song or popular music. It is, for example, inevitable that John Bell's tunes will display, in some instances, characteristics of 'traditional' folk song (Scottish, English, Irish), due to his deep respect and love of this corpus of music. Likewise, as most of the members of the Community of Celebration 'had grown up on rock and popular music' (Durrant 1986:73), it is no surprise to see this influence in their songs. However, what has been crucial in determining the styles of each community's music, and which draws them together, has been their commitment to cultivating an idiom for the people and not the trained musician or choir. It is, therefore, equally

inevitable that they should then all to some degree draw on the musical idiom of the people, whether that be defined as folk or popular. The net result has been the formation of a style which is at once accessible and familiar.

Moving on from the topic of folk music, the other main factor to address is the relationship between the music of each community and mainstream worship in England. To begin with the Community of Celebration, cross reference needs to be made here to chapter four and the Charismatic Movement. In that chapter it was clearly shown how Charismatic worship styles and music have had an enormous impact on churches in England. Attention was also drawn to the fact that in its early development the movement gained force from its distinctive music, particularly by way of the songbooks *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds*. The account of the Community of Celebration in this chapter further shows just how influential it was, not only through the publication of its own song collections but through its local and international ministry. The Community's 'parish mission teams (particularly the Fisherfolk)', writes Josephine Bax, 'had a profound influence on the growth and style of Charismatic Renewal in Church of England parishes' (1986:158).

For all the talk of ephemerality, songs that appear in the Community of Celebration's aforementioned books are still sung today and appear in various modern song collections such as *Mission Praise*²⁸ and *Songs of Fellowship*.²⁹ Furthermore, accord-

²⁸ e.g. 'Jesus, Lamb of God', 'We really want to thank you'.

²⁹ e.g. 'Father, we adore You', 'He is Lord'.

ing to a survey carried out in the late 1980s for the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music, *In Tune With Heaven*, both *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds* were still being used in a good proportion of churches. The selection method for the survey, *Music in Parish Worship*, 'combined stratified and random sampling to provide a balanced sample of all the parishes in England'.³⁰ A questionnaire was distributed to 680 parishes in all, producing 545 returns of which 524 could be included in the analysis. 11.45% of the whole sample acknowledged using either or both *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds!* (Cooper 1990).

The songs of the Iona Community grew in prominence throughout the 1990s and now form an important part of the contemporary Christian worship music scene. Their route into English churches has been via three main 'channels'. The most high profile of these is perhaps the itinerant ministry of John Bell and the Wild Goose Resource Group (WGRG). For some time now they have regularly attended Christian festivals, conferences and worship events as well as many churches throughout England, disseminating their music as they go. They have also, amongst other things, set-up an annual 'WGRG School of Music & Worship' event in the north of England. Aimed primarily (although not exclusively) at people in English and Welsh parishes, the week long residential course seeks to explore 'strategic and practical ways of renewing congregational worship'. The second 'channel' is the expanding repertoire of Wild Goose songbooks and

³⁰ *In Tune With Heaven*, p.273.

tapes/CDs. The Iona Community's Spring/Summer 1999 catalogue lists over a dozen songbooks as well as Octavo collections (most of which are accompanied by a CD or tape) and other worship material. Songs from the Community's publications, many of which have been embraced by Christians of all denominations around the world, now also appear in other contemporary song and hymn collections, which collectively constitutes the third 'channel'. There are far too many publications to list separately but they include *Songs of God's People* (1988); *Baptist Praise and Worship* (1991); *Rejoice and Sing* (1991); *Worship Songs Ancient and Modern* (1992); *Let's Praise! 2* (1994); *New Mission Praise* (1996); *BBC Songs of Praise* (1997); *Songs of Fellowship 2* (1998); *Common Ground* (1998); *Spring Harvest* (1999) and *Songs for the New Millennium* (1999).

Taizé chants have, particularly from the 1980s onwards, steadily infiltrated both Protestant and Catholic denominations not only in England but across the globe. In addition to dedicated collections of Taizé music such as *Songs and Prayers from Taizé* and *Music from Taizé*, chants now appear in a good many modern song collections (as detailed above, p.242). One of the main reasons for the growth of Taizé music has been the allure of the Community in France, especially for young people. Writing in *Christian Music* in 1989, John Newman notes:

The ever increasing range of Taizé Music is becoming more and more well known as songs are brought back by those who go there, and as the Brothers themselves visit the poor and deprived in all parts of the world.³¹

³¹ *Christian Music* - Autumn 1989, pp. 10-11.

A more accurate idea of the popularity of Taizé music can be gauged from the survey that was carried out around the same time as Newman's article for the report *In Tune With Heaven*, mentioned above. In answer to the question, 'Does your church's musical repertoire include Taizé music?', 14.89% of the whole sample responded positively. If anything the popularity of Taizé music has increased since then as its inclusion in the very latest songbooks reveals, e.g. *The Source* (1998) and *Songs for the New Millennium* (1999).

Lastly, the songs of the St Thomas More Centre. The music published through the Centre and subsequently by the St Thomas More Group is, of all the music surveyed in this chapter, the least well known in Protestant circles. However, as might be expected, the influence of this body of writers on Catholic Church music has been much more significant and their music forms part of most of the major Catholic Hymnals, e.g. *Hymns Old and New* (1984); *Celebration Hymns* (1984); *New Songs of Celebration* (1989) and *Laudate* (1999). The influence of this music on non-Catholic churches, although less, is far from negligible. George Carey's decision to include music emanating from the St Thomas More Centre for his ordination as Archbishop of Canterbury was not only an ecumenical gesture but also an indication of the standing of the associated group of writers. The St Thomas More Group is currently planning a new publication and already has a string of recordings to its name, e.g. *Easter Mysteries* (1993) and *Songs of Hope* (1995). Also, both the Centre and Group's music appears in a range of contemporary song

collections that are used extensively throughout England, e.g. *Let's Praise!* (1988); *Let's Praise! 2* (1994); *Carol Praise* (1987); *Psalms for Today* (1990) and *Common Ground* (1998).

In completing this chapter the six 'streams' of contemporary church music identified in the previous chapter have now been explored. There are, of course, many other contributors to contemporary church music, such as John Tavener and Arvo Pärt, but they fall beyond the remit of this thesis. The following and final chapter moves on to look at the music of the Alternative Worship movement, which although still very much in the experimental stages, represents the most radical development in church music since the birth of the Charismatic Movement.

CHAPTER SIX

*Alternative Worship -
The Cutting Edge of Contemporary
Church Music*

Of all the differing forms of church music explored so far there has at least been one ^{the} commonality - the anachronistic proclivity to be out of step, stylistically, with the prevailing trends in 'pop' music. This tendency has been exploited in the past as a means of belittling the attempts of those who have sought to modernise worship music. 'Nothing is more pathetic', writes Kenneth Long in *The Music of the English Church*,

than to hear misguided parsons trying to reproduce the 'pop' styles of their own undergraduate days, dimly remembered. Thus Beaumont's *Folk Mass* (1956) is redolent of the 'thirties and breathes, perhaps somewhat feebly, the spirit of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers: it is naively out of touch with recent styles (1991: 434).

It should be clear by now that this kind of criticism has resulted from a basic misunderstanding over intent. Previous endeavours ^{to} modernise ^{the} worship music, whether by Beaumont or those engaged in the Charismatic Movement, have been primarily concerned with making worship more ^{contemporary} contemporaneous, or relevant, not to entice ⁱⁿ young people covertly into the church by appropriating 'their' music. This idea of a hidden agenda is largely

the stuff of conspiracy theory. However, the Alternative Worship movement, and the attempt therein to forge a new and (post)modern worship style, has involved drawing on current pop genres which by way of the movement's apparent duplexity ('youth and evangelistic'/'creative worship' groups), has managed to attract both the youth element and those seeking a more profound and 'culturally-specific' expression of Christianity. But the intention of the early pioneers of Alternative Worship was not primarily to evangelise to the young but a sincere attempt to engage in and develop a more authentic mode of worship for themselves.

The Alternative Worship Movement¹

The phrase 'Alternative Worship' is used today to describe what appears to be a conglomeration of worshipping bodies with diverse backgrounds and styles of presentation. A visit to the 'Greenbelt' web site reveals that

there appear to be two different understandings of the term alternative worship. One definition is anything which isn't mainstream, but what is mainstream, and for who? The other goes much further but is less easy to define, but defines more than worship services, more, a whole lifestyle.²

In an effort to be inclusive the web site lists Alternative Worship groups under two broad categories, 'youth and evangelistic' and 'creative worship', respectively, to differentiate

¹ For the purposes of this chapter the phrase 'Alternative Worship movement' refers to the events surrounding what is generally considered (see, for example, Roberts 1999:10) to be the first Alternative Worship service (Nine O'Clock Service, formed 1986) and the developments that have taken place since then as a result. As for the origin of the term 'Alternative worship' it has been suggested that its use can be traced to Greenbelt 1991, see *Youth A Part* (Church House Publishing 1996:68).

² Greenbelt website: <http://www.greenbelt.org.uk/altgrps/altgrps.html> (1998).

between the two definitions given above. The Greenbelt Christian music and arts festival, it needs understanding, has been very influential in the development of the Alternative Worship movement. Writing in a recent publication entitled *Alternative Worship in the Church of England*, Paul Roberts notes how Greenbelt has 'formed a point of contact for individuals and groups starting up alternative worship projects'. It was also 'here in 1993', Roberts continues, that alternative worship began to take on an international dimension' (1999:10). Not only has Greenbelt acted as a springboard for the Alternative Worship movement but a forum for ongoing debate also.

It is estimated that there are in excess of 200 Alternative Worship groups operating in Britain at the present time, and, given that the movement is still struggling to gain an identity it is far too early and too broad a subject base to account for fully here. This chapter, therefore, deals exclusively with the early developments of 'creative worship' and in particular three groups: the 'Nine O'Clock Service, the 'Late Late Service', and 'Visions'. The reason for this is two-fold. The type of music used throughout Alternative Worship is extremely varied, ranging from worship songs and choruses to Taizé chants and songs of the Iona Community, all of which have already been mentioned. The two glaring omissions from the above list are 'dance' and 'ambient' music, which together form the most radical development in contemporary worship music in the recent past. In order to understand how this transpired it is necessary to trace the use of this music back to the origin of the Alternative Worship

movement, at which point the three aforementioned groups play a particularly crucial role.

Creative worship is also the area which is thought to offer the most legitimate and lasting alternative, because of the fundamental distinction between the two categories. Maggi Dawn, in her contribution to *The Post Evangelical Debate* goes some way to clarifying what separates 'youth and evangelistic' services from 'creative worship':

In dealing with cultural interpretations of Christianity, it is important to distinguish between being fashionable and being relevant...what makes a 'youth service' different is simply a matter of style. Culture is not so much engaged with as made use of - it's the spoonful of sugar that makes the medicine go down. But genuine cultural engagement affects your whole way of life and thought, so that the message can't be separated from the medium...Fashion is often used in an attempt to make church more attractive to young people...it has little or nothing to do with being relevant. To be relevant, on the other hand, we need both a thorough understanding of our tradition, and a genuine 'placedness' in our cultural tradition. We may then simply engage with the issues of spirituality as they face us, and thus contextualise truth in the culture in which we live (1997:44).

There are, however, those involved with youth-orientated Alternative Worship that understand such pitfalls. Pete Ward, for example, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Adviser for Youth Ministry says:

Christian adults cannot provide alternative worship for young people. We can't lay on a service and expect that young people from outside the Church will come along to it. This approach is not really "alternative" - it's just a variation on what we already do in Church. If we think we should provide alternative worship for young people then we have missed the point. We can't create this kind of worship *for* young people. We have to create it *with* them (1993:15).

But it is also true that this strand of Alternative Worship is particularly prone to superficiality which is why some of the

new services started in recent years have been so short-lived: 'the energy went into the externals rather than into the more important foundations,' writes Patrick Angier in *Changing Youth Worship* (1997:75).³

Before looking at the three Alternative Worship groups in more detail, the first part of this chapter provides a general background to creative worship (in relation to the Alternative Worship movement)⁴ and the style of music that was embraced by these, and since other, Alternative Worship groups. Part two follows on very much from the previous chapter where the emphasis is on contextualising the music. Each of the three groups is treated separately in order to explore and more fully understand why this music was appropriated, what its role is in worship and some the problems encountered along the way.

Part I: "Talkin' 'Bout My Generation"

The need for each new generation to interpret its belief system through its own culture appears to be more acute today than ever before. Changes in fashion, music, art, etc., are now so rapid and diverse that the cultural expressions of one generation soon seem outdated and irrelevant to the next. There is also now a greater realisation of how important it is for Christians to move with the cultural times. 'We must once again avoid the mistake of fusing the meaning of the Gospel with

³ For 'Youth and Evangelistic' worship see also Mayo 1996 and *Youth A Part* (Church House Publishing, London, 1996).

⁴ There may be creative worship groups that may not wish to be associated with the 'Alternative Worship movement' as defined above.

particular recent cultural forms of it', writes Graham Cray in a tribute to John Wimber:

West coast soft rock is already antiquated music to young Britons raised on ten years of electronic dance music...We honour John best by following his principles of a culturally accessible church life rooted in a biblical world view, rather than by aping his culturally specific forms (Cray 1998).

John Bell and Graham Maule of the Iona Community are also keen to stress that

the church always needs new songs, not because the Gospel changes, but because the world changes and God's purposes in the world have to be re-interpreted to become real for the times (Bell and Maule 1994).

The great many changes brought about by the Charismatic Movement, although radical at the time, are now perceived as an embarrassing legacy to a generation which has witnessed the replacement of guitars and drums by digital samplers and synths, drum machines and music sequences. As Pete Ward underlines:

The point is that guitars, choruses and informality, whilst in their time being an attempt at relevance, in the 1990s appear to be yesterday's style (1997:32).

Each new re-interpretation of Christianity does, of course, extend way beyond a style of music and so needs due consideration if a cursory understanding of music and worship is to be avoided. In any discussion of Alternative Worship, for example, it will never be too long before the phrases 'post-modern' and 'post-evangelical' surface. The term post-evangelical is a relatively new one (see Tomlinson 1995) which post-dates the beginning of the Alternative Worship movement. It does, nevertheless, reflect the 'position' (e.g. ideas and beliefs) of many of those who have helped shape it. Dave Tomlinson, in his inno-

vative and controversial book *The Post Evangelical*, explains that in the 20th Century, evangelicalism has had to express its faith and contend for the integrity of that faith in the cultural environment of 'modernity'. Post-evangelicals, on the other hand, relate more naturally to the world of 'post-modernity', and as such are influenced and stimulated by that cultural environment. It is, therefore, in this 'context in which the integrity and credibility of their faith must be tested' (Tomlinson 1995:8), along with their music also. Tomlinson later moves on to discuss the cultural and religious implications of post-modernity, at the heart of which he says is

the fact that the Western world is in a state of flux and that the modern world, stretching back to Enlightenment, is now crumbling. It has far from disappeared and is unlikely to do so for a very long time, but serious cracks are growing in all directions, and out of the cracks of this crumbling culture a new postmodern world is emerging. It is a world which understands itself through biological rather than mechanistic models; a world where people see themselves as belonging to the environment, rather than over it or apart from it; a world distrustful of institutions, hierarchies, centralized bureaucracies and male dominated organizations. It is a world in which networks and local grass-roots activities take precedence over large-scale structures and grand designs; a world in which the book age is giving way to the screen age; a world hungry for spirituality, yet dismissive of systematized religion. It is a world in which image and reality are so deeply intertwined that it is difficult to draw the line between the two...It has abolished the old distinction between 'high' and 'low' art, and created new art forms out of things like music videos, urban graffiti and computer graphics. Few things could, in fact, sum up the postmodern situation better than the term 'virtual reality', for it is a world in which the old certainties are dissolving (ibid:75).

Similar to the changes effected by those involved with the Charismatic Movement, the ethos that pervades creative worship is progressive and radical. It is not a gimmick and it has not

grown out of the same counterfeit culture that has produced cheap imitations of designer labels, *Stars in Their Eyes* or so-called tribute bands cashing in on the residue of sentimentality from yesteryear. What lies at the heart of creative worship is a profound need to effect a shift in the perception of Christianity. For example, by challenging and undermining spiritual dualism, a concept which has created such dichotomies as physical/spiritual and sacred/secular. A reinterpretation of Christianity, not a reinvention as some may think, but rooted in an incarnational theological perspective, the basis of which is 'missioning'.⁵ Missioning, Patrick Angier writes, is

more than evangelism, more than socialization, more than identification - it is about incarnation, a concept that is now often overused but still very important. We must find new ways to get alongside people where they are and make God real for them (1997:9).

The emphasis, then, is not to distance oneself from the world, or to ape it for that matter, but to engage deeply in it, challenging it when appropriate. 'We have to inhabit our culture, (that's what being human is), to interpret the eternal truths', writes Dawn (1997:45). Questions of 'ownership' (i.e. the Devil's music/sacred music) should then theoretically become less problematical.

Combined with this is the all important issue of integrity which first led to the concept of Alternative Worship as a means by which a more authentic expression of faith could be made. Despite their evangelical background those first involved

⁵ Missioning - 'Reaching out to people to engage them with the Christian message in holistic and culturally appropriate ways' (Angier 1997:vii).

in developing Alternative Worship could no longer identify with and engage in what was to them culturally alienating, so in search for a relevant substitute, worship became couched in the cultural representations of the world they inhabited. Club culture, therefore, with its attendant fashions, music and ambience was initially drawn on to create a worship style that would, for perhaps the first time this century, genuinely reflect the cutting edge of popular culture. There are, however, some inherent dangers with this kind of approach. Graham Cray⁶, Principal of Ridley Hall theological college, feels that the reaction of post-evangelicals against certain aspects of evangelicalism can lead to a departure from any recognizable form of Christianity:

the danger is that it will result in an exaggerated reaction against such primary evangelical convictions as the centrality of Scripture, while being insufficiently discriminating about other sources of spirituality. Some developments in the Alternative Worship network give me cause for this sort of concern (1997:9).

It would be easy to get the idea that these were the actions of anti-, or at best, non-traditionalists, but far from abandoning all things historic, the rich and diverse Christian heritage is viewed as one of many legitimate and fertile areas for appropriation. For those already initiated into post-modern thought, this may not seem altogether radical but what makes the Alternative Worship groups detailed later in this chapter distinct is their creativity in conspicuously, if not audaciously, combining seemingly incongruous elements in a Christian

⁶ Graham Cray, incidentally, has been unofficially ordained 'the Bishop of alternative worship?' (Davies and Gay 1993).

context; sacred and secular as well as old and new.

Groups that are involved in creative worship usually have a good deal of autonomy in forming and shaping their ideas. This is because the initial impetus for change has originated from within the group itself - initially a small number of committed, if disaffected, Christians ranging in age from 20 upwards. Evangelism is generally not the primary point of focus but instead a search for a holistic outlet for their faith which accords with their own personal situation. For this reason:

alternative worship isn't defined by style of music, use of coloured or dimmed lighting, smoke or projecting visuals or lyrics using a slide projector, though the local culture will affect these things, in fact the service will very much reflect the interests of the group, for example if they are all technoheads then the music is techno, no two groups are the same.⁷

However, the multi-media worship service presentation is a common feature of many groups and as such is closely identified with the movement, for better or worse, as is the dance/ambient music that emanated from the secular club scene in the mid 1980s.

From the Rave to the Nave

Club culture has generally played a significant role in the development of Alternative Worship. When the 'feel-good' designer drug ecstasy (MDMA) was 'first combined with House music during the 1980s', writes Matthew Collin in *Altered State*, 'it triggered off the most vibrant and diverse youth movement Britain had ever seen' (1997:4). This movement had its first major impact during the 'Summer of Love' in 1988 when there was a

⁷ Greenbelt website (see above).

sudden 'proliferation in the number of illegal warehouse parties [or 'raves']⁸ throughout the country' (James 1997:6). The feelings of love, peace and harmony were not ecstasy's only side effects. The empirical evidence suggests that when dancing there appears to be an enhanced empathy with the beat and texture of the music (Collin 1997:28; James 1997:6). But what is perhaps more significant is that religious terminology was increasingly being used to try to encapsulate the experience of this phenomenon. For example, Steve Turner, in *Hungry for Heaven*, relates how

Dr Russell Newcombe, delivering a paper at a symposium on Ecstasy in Leeds, England, in November 1992, argued that a rave could be seen as a religious ceremony with the mixing desks as an altar and the DJs as priests. Raving can be seen, he said, as 'worshipping the god of altered consciousness' (1995:222).

As the club scene was part of the sub-culture in which the earliest pioneers of Alternative Worship moved, they cannot fail to have been captivated by this quasi-religious aura, leading them to want to recreate it in some way - minus the ecstasy - with a meaningful act of worship, but retaining, of course, the vibrant dance music.

The generic term 'dance music' covers a multiplicity of inter-related styles - Acid House, Jungle, Drum 'n' Bass, Garage, Hip House, Hardcore, Ragga, etc - all of which have been drawn on for Alternative Worship. Their history is a comparatively recent one and provides some useful background information. There is some debate about exactly when (c. mid 1980s) and how

⁸ 'Rave' can be used to describe a large scale dance event or a way of referring to the music that is associated with it such as Chicago House, Hardcore and Hip House.

this music first emerged, but there is little disagreement about the significance of the two seminal styles: Chicago 'House music' and its close relative Detroit 'Techno';⁹ which can themselves be traced back to the underground dance scene in New York, funk¹⁰ and Euro high-tech bands such as Kraftwerk. In many ways both of these forms were ideally suited to the burgeoning Alternative Worship movement. In the *History of House* it states:

While house music was a post-modernist artform, ruthlessly eclectic to the point where some early house hits were simply thinly-veiled rewrites of other songs, Techno's driving force was innovation (Kempster 1996 :17).

The post-modern concept was, and still is, hugely influential in moulding the ideas and beliefs of Alternative Worship groups, in both musical and theological terms. Part of this concept has been an attempt to syncretise the characteristic teachings and practices of differing systems of religion and spirituality. It is not unusual, for example, for services to juxtapose modern dance music and traditional plainsong. But Alternative Worship's driving force has also been innovation, which applies equally to the manipulation of modern technology and its use alongside ancient liturgy and ritual, as it does to the adaptation of a prevalent pop music to produce 'contemporary worship songs' that are wholly worthy of the name.

⁹ 'Techno' developed around the same time as Chicago 'House music' in nearby Detroit and it has itself been very influential. However, due to the similarities with House it has not been necessary to differentiate between the two for the purposes of this chapter.

¹⁰ 'Funk' was originally a black US form of dance music utilizing heavy percussion, polyrhythms and syncopation.

In connecting musical 'hardware' with certain styles of worship and music the organ is, of course, inextricably linked with traditional worship and hymnody, and the guitar with Charismatic worship songs and choruses. It is now with the same degree of intimacy that synthesisers, samplers and drum machines can be associated with Alternative Worship. And once again the route into the Christian church has been immediately via a pagan one. In chapter two it was noted how 'even the King of Instruments was brought to church from the Roman games' (Doggett 1969). In the same way pop and rock music provided the stepping stone for the use of the guitar in Charismatic worship. Similar again has been the route of high-tech electronic equipment into Alternative Worship, but this time via the dance music and club culture scene.

The role of this equipment in the development of dance music has been crucial. In the foreword to the *History of House* Tim Barr writes:

the story of house music is, in many ways, inseparable of (sic) that of the technology which gave birth to it. In much the same way as rock'n'roll would be unthinkable without the electric guitar, house music has its origins deep inside the circuits of the sound synthesizer (Barr in Kempster 1996:7).

The arrival of the digital synth in the mid 1980s heralded the demise, in commercial terms, of the older analogue models. However, this also had the effect of driving the second hand price of the analogue equipment down, and by doing so placed it within the range of those early innovators of House music. It

follows, therefore, that this equipment¹¹ was responsible not only for creating the unique sound of House music but also in many respects the style also. The affordability of this equipment, and later the falling price of digital models, also meant that home based production and recording of a reasonably high quality could be explored; an opportunity that was to be shared by the pioneers of Alternative Worship.

Stylistically, there appear to be few hard and fast rules in House music except perhaps for that which lies at its heart: the incessant 4/4 thud of the bass drum and 120-140 bpm (beats per minute) tempo. But what does make a track distinctive is its 'groove', i.e. its particular rhythm/bass/melodic riff(s). Although the apparent lack of any clear parameter has been partly responsible for giving rise to so many derivatives, each by-product does at least share one or two characteristics, such as with the timestretched breakbeats¹² and reggae bass lines of 'Jungle'.

Many of the pioneers of House music were DJs also who in learning their craft absorbed many of the techniques cultivated in such genres as Hip Hop, like 'scratching' and 'mixing'.¹³ These innovations, and others like superimposing one record over another (often mixing different styles), were responsible for

¹¹ e.g. Roland tr-808/ tr-809 drum machines; Roland tb-303 'bass line'; Roland sh-101 monophonic synthesiser; Roland Juno 106 polyphonic synthesizer; Korg sqd1 sequencer; and Mirage Ensoniq sampler.

¹² (i) 'timestretching' - the ability to change the speed of a sample without altering the pitch.
(ii) 'breakbeat' - the creation of an extended rhythmical passage by elongating short musical phrases on a track.

¹³ (i) 'scratching' - manually rotating a vinyl record to create a percussive effect.
(ii) 'mixing' - moving back and forth between copies of the same record to prolong, for example, an instrumental break.

moving the DJ away from that of a passive record selector to a creative artist in his own right. The advent of the drum machine and keyboard further enabled him to experiment in creating live mixes. The extension of these techniques (e.g. breakbeats, fusing House with with R & B, Jazz, Latin, etc) along with the DJs intuition for an effective dance track have played an important role in the evolution of House music.

In addition to the drum machine and synthesizer the two other most influential pieces of equipment in the development of House music have been the sequencer and sampler. There are now some very sophisticated computer-based sequencers but it was the hardware variety that initially set House music apart from other forms of commercial music. Up until its arrival popular music had been recorded direct to tape, but with a sequencer it was possible for a single person to electronically programme and layer sequences of music for automatic playback before mastering them onto tape. This allowed for more personal creativity and independence from professional recording studios. The arrival of the first affordable sampler in the mid 1980s paved the way for its use in House music also. Musical montages could now be created by sampling a vocal, instrumental or even 'natural' sound from a variety of sources.

The development of House music from Chicago warehouses in the mid 1980s to its diffusion throughout Europe and Britain by the end of the decade had only embraced diversity in so much as it remained essentially dance music. However, from the early 1990s an antithetical brand of electronic music began to grip

clubland, the substance of which could not be more different to the rhythmic and pulsating strains of that experienced on the dance floor. It soon became known as 'ambient house' and seemed to capture perfectly the 'comedown' or post-rave experience of sublime satisfaction coupled with sheer exhaustion. Before long the 'chill-out space' had become a regular feature of many night clubs, a refuge for the tired and weary or a place for contemplation and conversation. The absence of the driving pulse of the kick drum opened up new possibilities for combining unrelated sounds and effects to create surreal electro 'soundscapes'. Steve Turner also notes how ambient music

created a market for ethereal sounds that evoke feelings associated with the spiritual. Romanian musician and composer Michael Cretu surprised the industry in 1991 with the first Enigma album, MCMXC a.D., which mixed dance rhythms, world music and Gregorian chants to guide listeners into the world of 'spirit and meditation', and went on to sell over 12 million copies in 25 countries, 2 million of them in America. Cretu gave his mainly instrumental tracks religious sounding titles ('The Rivers of Belief', 'Way to Eternity', 'Hallelujah')...It was possibly the massive sales figures generated by MCMXC a.D. which stimulated interest in Gregorian chants as a form of Ambient music (1995:229).

It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why the soft and dreamy textures of ambient music were deemed to be the ideal backdrop for prayer and meditation in early Alternative Worship services.

The way in which dance and ambient music is now used by Alternative Worship groups does vary somewhat, but it will usually take at least one of the following forms: (i) the direct appropriation of secular tracks (ii) the appropriation of secular tracks as the basis for sacred compositions (iii) the

appropriation of a dance/ambient style to form original songs (e.g. techno hymns/chants), or (iv) the modernisation of established 'worship songs' and 'hymns' (e.g. by placing them over a dance groove). With regard to the first category, the transference of secular tracks from club to worship service has been eased by the fact that much of this music contains only a nominal lyrical content or is instrumental. Furthermore, as Pete Ward points out, often the

ideas expressed in dance records are spiritual without being very specific about what they mean. Lyrics such as 'Love is the message' or 'Your love is lifting me' could mean a variety of things.

While this direct appropriation of secular music may not be to everyone's taste, Ward's view is that

it is perfectly legitimate to use songs like this in Christian worship because the meaning of the lyric is in the heads of the people dancing, not in the intentions of the person who made the record, whatever they may be (1993:138).

The function of music in Alternative Worship also varies from group to group. Apart from the obvious uses (i.e. to dance or sing to/for ambience setting) it is also used to link sections of a service together or to form a continuous backdrop to worship. Live, as well as recorded, music is used and, as with the worship/music group, instrumentation is variable: drum machines, keyboards, guitars, saxophones, flutes, etc., all very much dependent on the resources and skills of each group. Some groups also use the services of a DJ or MC (microphone controller).

Part II: The Dawn of a New Era

The first part of this chapter has in some measure sought to capture the essence of 'creative worship' and the musical styles that are most closely associated with Alternative Worship. The remaining part focuses on three of the earliest and most influential Alternative Worship groups. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, in spite of the media exposure that surrounded the break-up of the Nine O'Clock Service (NOS) in 1995, comparatively little is known about Alternative Worship services, let alone the role of music within them. In fact it is probably fair to say that the perception of Alternative Worship is based largely on, and coloured by, 'tabloid journalism', the task of which is often to report the 'juicy story' rather than to present a balanced picture of the facts. An article that appeared in the *Church Times* on September 1st 1995, captures perfectly the air of frenzied journalism that accompanied the break of the NOS story:

So many front pages there were, most of them using the short words "Rev", "Rave", "Sex" and "God". The Sunday tabloids had to be seen to be carrying an exclusive article: 'exclusive' simply meaning that they talked to someone whom none of the other papers talked to...If the Nine O'Clock service had been purely a house church, the story wouldn't have had the same appeal. Condoms on the altar of an Establishment church made a wicked cocktail which journalists couldn't resist.

Certainly even less well known than the services are the main pioneers of Alternative Worship music, i.e. those who have been responsible for writing and recording some of the first songs and instrumental tracks for use in this form of worship. The purpose of the second part of this chapter, therefore, is to

provide a more holistic account of Alternative Worship so that the music can be considered as part of an integrated system and not as an isolated facet of worship. Each of the three narratives presented below offer a different layer of contextualisation in order to facilitate a deeper understanding of the background and place of music in Alternative Worship.

Nine O'Clock Service

Amidst the musical changes that were taking place in the 1980s, the foundations were being laid in Sheffield for the first Alternative Worship service. If there is a moment in the history of popular and folk-style church music that is worthy of the same epochal significance as the advent of the popular church music movement in the 1950s, and the growth from the 1960s of the Charismatic Movement and its music, then it is the year 1986 which gave birth to the Nine O'Clock Service and the Alternative Worship movement.

NEW AGE and blasphemous. Radical and exciting. The Nine O'Clock Service (NOS) in Sheffield has been called all of these and more. It has been fêted as the pioneer of a new kind of worship, combining modern multi-media technology with the culture of the dance floor, while remaining true to its Anglican roots. A church in which pounding house music and dazzling visual images are combined with liturgy and Latin...some have seen the team behind NOS as the natural leaders in a fledgling alternative-worship movement.

The above quote is taken from an article which appeared in the *Church Times* on the 23rd July 1993, at which time the Nine O'Clock Service had reached its pinnacle. The previous year NOS had staged the largest Alternative Worship service in this country at Greenbelt in front of a crowd of 15,000. More

recently it had moved to the basement of a large sports centre in the heart of Sheffield and was attracting a congregation of hundreds. Two years later, however, the NOS story would end in betrayal and disillusionment, sending shockwaves throughout the the Alternative Worship movement and beyond. The deception, which was mainly in relation to the abusive behaviour of the leader Chris Brain, was felt most poignantly by those closely involved with NOS, but the implications for other Alternative Worship groups were also to be significant. This was because NOS was considered to be the 'father' of the Alternative Worship movement. It had been a pioneering community, a 'nascent church' even (Brain 1993:165), which had moulded a new, exciting and creative contemporary worship style. Not only did NOS inspire and effect the formation of similar groups but it had continued to spearhead the movement, providing a lead and guide for others to follow.

The community that lay behind NOS was driven by a 'vision' which was very much connected with post-modern thinking and culture. Developments in science, technology and communication since the First World War had engendered a new reality; a new understanding of the world around us. The 'visual' was increasingly replacing the 'textual' and added to this was the enormous amount of information available via the touch of a button. One of the keywords to surface amidst this change was 'access'. One particular result of this was the erosion or blurring of boundaries, affecting music, fashion, religion, philosophy, art and literature. A state of plurality was emerging in society to an

extent unknown before, typified by magpie borrowings and eclecticism. Humanitarian and ecological issues were also being brought sharply into focus by the powerful and often emotive images beamed to television screens around the world from every corner of the world. In all of this the Christian message had appeared to have lost its penetration; either it was not being heard, or people had simply stopped listening. The NOS 'vision' was a desire to reconnect people with God by positively embracing contemporary culture. Post-modernism, therefore, became part of this Utopian dream and influenced the shape and progression of the Nine O'Clock Service and its music.

The driving force and spiritual leader of NOS was Chris Brain. Born in 1957, Brain grew up around Harrogate and attended the Baptist Church there. He married in 1977 and subsequently moved to Sheffield in 1978 so that his wife could attend university there. Before the move Chris Brain had been involved with a Christian rock band called 'Candescence' and members of this group and some associates followed the Brains to Sheffield as well. The band was to go through several transformations including a number of name changes, firstly to 'Present Tense', then simply 'Tense' and later 'ICI'. Its music and equipment would also change by becoming ever more sophisticated as the band's interest with House music and multi-media forms of presentation deepened from the early 1980s onwards.

Even at this stage the small tightly-knit group was looking for a new direction and a modern worship style to match; a dynamic and authentic way to live out the Christian faith while

remaining within the remit of the established Church. The group settled into St Thomas's, Crookes, an evangelical Anglican Church with a strong Charismatic leaning. Before long, however, dissatisfaction began to surface. The group was antagonistic towards the safe and cosy middle-class Christianity espoused by the mainstream Church. A more radical discipleship was envisioned which shunned nominal commitment in favour of a faith that engaged and penetrated all aspects of life.

The rock band was a central part of the unfolding NOS vision, part of which was an attempt to infiltrate and reclaim the music business for God. The band did obtain some credibility in the secular music scene but what was to be more significant was the changing musical milieu. In his book *Altered State*, Matthew Collin writes of how in 1980, Ian Curtis, the twenty-three-year old leader singer of Joy Division committed suicide. 'It was the end of an era for independent rock', he continues, 'and the beginning of another'. Renamed 'New Order' the band subsequently augmented its sound with electronic sequencers and drum computers:

Of all the independent rock groups of the eighties. New Order were the furthest ahead of their time, an early indication of the textural, technologically enhanced rock'n'roll of the future (Collin 1997:138).

The result was not a sell out to pure techno, but instead a fusion, a kind of dance-rock hybrid, which had a profound effect on Brain's band. The influence of other groups like the 'Happy Mondays' and 'Cabaret Voltaire', along with the increasing exposure to the dance music that was emerging from the clubs in

Sheffield, were critical factors in determining the eventual musical style that would be adopted for the Nine O'Clock Service.

Known at this point as the 'Nairn Street Community', the group had begun to experiment with a communal lifestyle, advocating a simple existence with shared finances and responsibilities. Although the group was rebellious in nature, the senior vicar at St Thomas's, Robert Warren, realised its capability as a means of connecting with a new generation of potential Christians. When John Wimber, the American evangelist and leader of the Vineyard Church, visited Sheffield in November 1985 Warren was keen that the community members should attend his conference. They did, despite their dislike of Vineyard music, and it proved to be something of a turning point for Warren, the Nairn St Community and St Thomas's. During a subsequent meeting at St Thomas's that same November, Robert Warren recalls:

I found myself in the midst of a group of black-clad young people. When the Spirit came all heaven, and yes all hell, were let loose....In one of those rare moments that I know God has spoken to me the thought 'God wants to add one or two hundred young people like these into the church in the near future' was in my head without my having put it there (1990:223).

To help realise this discernment Warren, with the backing of the Church Council, sanctioned a special experimental Sunday service which was to be organised and administered by members of the community, with Brain as leader. And so in April 1986 NOS was born, so named 'partly because nine o'clock was the only time available for the congregation to meet in the church building, and partly because it seemed the natural time for people from

the club culture to get together to celebrate' (Brain 1993:166).

As soon as the details had been agreed the whole Nairn Street Community immersed itself in this experimental service. In his book, *The Rise and Fall of the Nine O'Clock Service*, Ronald Howard writes of how the members went into 'overdrive':

writing music; designing the environment using lighting and wall-size projections...Despite the fact that the church was designed to resemble a night-club they used Wimber's service format of worship and teaching, then calling down the Holy Spirit as a model...Stylistically, the avant-garde *ICI* musicians had to step back several years to create more positive music to appease the conservative outlook of St Thomas's. Without selling out they created a multi-media music based performance which managed to avoid the turgid, insipid or twee whilst clearly being heart stopping worship of a sort that had never been seen before (1996:25)

Although music clearly played a important role, the musicians were not the focal point but were placed towards the side so avoiding any danger of idolatry. Singing would take place with the help of computerised T.V. screens or OHPs which the congregation could view while dancing, and by doing so, as Graham Cray points out, reinforcing 'the definite idea of the whole of you bodily involved in worship.'¹⁴

As the Nine O'Clock Service began to take shape there was an attempt to reconnect with more ancient Christian practice by bypassing 18th and 19th century ritual, and in typical post-modern fashion juxtapose this alongside contemporary art and religious forms. There followed on from this the introduction of a lively 'Teaching Service', complete with pulsating dance music, and a more meditative 'Communion Service'. From an in-

¹⁴ Quoted for an interview with Graham Cray (Cambridge, 16/3/98).

initial congregation of about 60 the following years saw a rapid growth, leading to a core group of 350 but with a regular attendance in excess of 500. A notable indication of the attention that NOS was receiving came in 1989 when the Bishop of Sheffield, the Rt Rev. David Lunn, confirmed a hundred people at a Nine O'Clock Service. It was one of the largest confirmation services in the history of the diocese.

The development of NOS's "pick'n' mix" theology, which could involve drawing on New-Age spirituality, Christian mysticism, contemporary paganism and Eastern Orthodoxy, became increasingly controversial and finally came to a head in 1992 at the Greenbelt Christian arts festival. Chris Brain's connection with Greenbelt dates back firstly to 1981 when his band, Tense, played the mainstage alongside an up-and-coming band called U2! Later in 1988, the Nine O'Clock Service organised and presented worship in the 'Big Top'. This proved very successful in inspiring other groups to form their own Alternative Worship service. In August 1992, NOS returned to open the Greenbelt festival on the main stage with the theme 'Passion in Global Chaos'. Chris Brain later described the event as follows:

An explosion of stroboscopic lighting and high-powered computer simulation bombarded the 15,000-strong congregation; performance art and energetic rave dancers led people in worship; loud house music and rap pulsated across the field; and the leaders of the service exhorted everyone to participate in global and planetary salvation, to 'make God happen now' and 'use their lifeforce' (1993:165).

The response was mixed, some claiming it to be 'phenomenal' and 'astounding' while others walked away in disgust, protesting that it was 'New Age and blasphemous, pagan, overtly sexual and

grotesque. This kind of conflict', added Brain, has become normal for the Nine O'Clock Service' (ibid).

The service at Greenbelt was attacked on several different fronts, including its use of music and provocative dancing. One line of defence taken by Brain was to point out, what he considered, the hypocrisy of such criticism by drawing parallels between rave style worship and earlier developments in the Charismatic Movement:

Guitars and flowing frilly dresses are ingredients of an art form that related to the seventies. Today our equivalent ingredients are house music and dance wear...it was ironically the very people who brought folk guitars and sacred dance into the church 30 years ago and were accused of being heretical and sexually provocative, who seemed to be the ones who found the genre we were using most offensive.¹⁵

While the Greenbelt performance did undoubtedly damage NOS's reputation the momentum was now so great and the support by the Church so strong that NOS continued to grow in stature.

The encouragement within the Church of England for the Nine O'Clock Service was palpable. Not only was the vicar of St Thomas's strongly supportive, so were both the Archdeacon and Bishop of Sheffield. The Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, had also made it known to Chris Brain that he would personally like to see a Nine O'Clock Service in every town and city throughout the UK. He also invited Brain to contribute to a book addressing evangelism in the 1990s called *Treasure in the Field* (Gillett and Scott-Joynt 1993). The ultimate endorsement of the Nine O'Clock Service came later in 1992 when Chris Brain,

¹⁵ Quoted from an interview given by Chris Brain for *Anglican For Renewal Magazine*, October 1992.

through an accelerated ordination, was consecrated as an Anglican priest.

The next main development for NOS was the introduction of its 'Planetary Mass', first staged in March 1993 following a change of venue from St. Thomas's to the basement of Ponds Forge sports complex in Sheffield city centre. The symbol and focus of the Mass was an altar shaped like that of an eclipse; 'the new creation emerging out of the old'. Chris Brain described the new service as a

sea of paradox - hi tech, but with the ambience of an ancient crypt. It is designed to be a place where beat, meditation, dance and light can reconnect people with God, transforming their vision of the world (1993:173).

Within this 'sea of paradox' contrasting elements included sustained periods of contemplation with incense followed by dancing, and a combination of Gregorian or Greek Orthodox chants and synth music. A new musical direction had also accompanied the Planetary Mass. House music had been replaced to a large extent by a more spiritual and ambient beat which would be used far more for effect throughout the service culminating in a climax towards the end. Ronald Howard describes that participating in the Planetary Mass was like entering into 'a different world':

the world of primeval techno: darkness and druidic white-robed figures around an alter resembling a crescent moon coming out of partial eclipse with the sun, surrounded by a circle of white pillars. When one's eyes have adjusted to the ultra violet light, hundreds of black clad figures peer out of the darkness swaying to the swirling, strangely ethereal breaths of ambient techno. The world outside has dissolved into synthesizer and computer-generated mysticism (1996:93).

On the 1st August 1995, by way of an Act of Parliament,

the Nine O'Clock service became the Church of England's first sociological parish, and so named an 'Extra-Parochial Place of Worship'. However, Chris Brain's personal conduct was now being brought into question. It later transpired that he had engaged in improper and abusive sexual conduct with many of the female members of NOS. There were also allegations of manipulative behaviour by other members of the leadership team. In August 1995 the story broke and the nation's press descended on Sheffield to report the sordid details. Brain subsequently resigned as an Anglican minister.

In the immediate aftermath of the breakdown of the Nine O'Clock Service the focus of attention shifted to another Alternative Worship group, the 'Late Late Service', which now found itself in the unenviable position of having to restore some faith and credibility in Alternative Worship.

The Late Late Service (LLS)

The Late Late Service is a Christian community based in Glasgow. Inspired by the activities of NOS in Sheffield, a small group of friends began to organise an Alternative Worship service in 1990 with the aim of exploring a wide range of cultural and artistic forms. By the mid 1990s LLS had around 50 full time members of varying ages:

Together they work to develop creative ritual, physical spirituality and radical community and to be a touching place for people who find mainstream church alienating or inaccessible...They try to be open to the widest dimensions of the Christian Church and to celebrate and explore faith through the media of contemporary culture. They are committed to open dialogue with people of other faith traditions and to work for

peace and justice.¹⁶

The LLS Community, however, does not operate in the same way as the Nairn Street Community of NOS did - shared dwellings and finances - but it is nevertheless a tight-knit group with strong support structures in place and its members are attached to the local branch of the 'Action Churches Together' and work in partnership with other local churches and the community at large.

In the formation and early development of the Late Late Service it was the musical creativity of two of its founder members, Andy Thornton and Doug Gay, that played one of the most decisive roles. It would, however, be wrong to give the impression that music was their primary focus. Both Thornton and Gay were not only devout Christians but strongly committed to the Church, Thornton in his capacity as a youth advisor for the presbytery of Glasgow and Doug Gay as a Candidate of the Church of Scotland.

The initial trigger for the formation of the Late Late Service was a 'Church of Scotland General Assembly Youth Night' in 1990, at which Andy Thornton had been asked to lead worship and organise the music. As the service was to be an isolated event it provided an ideal opportunity to be experimental. The impulse to try something different was precipitated largely by the profound impression left on Thornton having experienced the Nine O'Clock Service at Greenbelt in 1988, along with a general

¹⁶ Quoted from a publication leaflet - *Music from the Late Late Service* - Sticky Music, PO Box 176, Glasgow, G4 9ER.

dissatisfaction with the banality of the music group format and soft-rock style of Charismatic worship. Using the recording facilities at Thornton's house, he and Doug Gay began writing songs for the youth assembly and, in collaboration with a small number of friends interested in media art forms, began to mould something of an Alternative Worship service.

The general assembly youth night generated a positive reaction, but it was clear that some alterations and refinement would be needed if the service was to become a regular occurrence. The group continued to experiment over the next six months as it began to meet on a regular basis, during which time members organised a number of monthly 'worship events' in a local night club. The group had by this point expanded to about twenty and there was now a growing need to form an identity and to meet in more appropriate surroundings. Coincidentally, a local Episcopal church with a lively Charismatic following was in the process of removing its pews to create a less formal setting. After some persuading the minister agreed to let the group hold an Alternative Worship service in the church premises on Sunday evening. The church was St Silas's, located in the West End of Glasgow, and the first 'Late Late Service' took place there towards the end of 1990.

To begin with, the form and style of music composed was if anything, closer, in Doug Gay's words, 'to traditional pop song writing', although 'at the intelligent end of acoustic music'. However, there was, Gay asserts, 'a drive to overcome the dualistic approach which was very much reflected in the lyrical

content and the context in which a lot of contemporary Charismatic songs were being used',¹⁷ a concern shared by the Revd Graham Cray:

It is my belief that there is a dualism, a fatal flaw, an unBiblical split, within the basic spirituality of Western white Christianity...Much contemporary worship music is rooted in and expresses this dualism, which is based not only in Greek philosophy, but also in the Enlightenment. Sacred is set against secular, spiritual against physical, the cerebral or intellectual against the emotional or physical, high art is set against popular art...If spirituality is undermined by dualism each act of worship can have serious negative consequences on the spiritual life of a congregation. Worship becomes spiritualised and ethereal, rather than being rooted in daily experience and circumstances (1989:10).

As well as the theological difficulties with these songs there was also an awareness of the 'time-lag' that existed in this music, which was perceived as being distinctly passé. While the members of LLS may not have been quite so absorbed with rave culture as their counterparts in NOS, there was, as Doug Gay remembers, a strong awareness of the 'new cultural mode of mass celebration' that was emanating from the voguish club scene, which to a large extent was reified through the accompanying dance music. What came to characterise the music of the Late Late Service was, in typical post-modern fashion, its fusion of styles. Existing genres like folk-rock or reggae, for example, would be taken and married with the latest rhythms of House music. The outcome was the production of songs that were original, current-sounding and above all relevant. In doing this LLS was also, Gay reveals, 'writing its own hymnbook and soundtrack

¹⁷ Quoted from an interview with Doug Gay (London, 10/5/98). All unacknowledged quotes are to be attributed to this source.

to worship as it went along'.

In terms of musical development the arrival of two members of the group 'Lies Damned Lies' was to prove significant. 'Lies Damned Lies' were a well known professional band in Christian circles which had been involved with both Street Level and Greenbelt festivals. After its record contract with a subsidiary of Virgin had fallen through the band moved back to Scotland in 1991 to set-up a recording studio called Heaven and subsequently became involved with the Late Late Service. Along with Andy Thornton's semi-professional home based recording facilities, LLS now had two production centres from which to work and another major song writer, Charlie Irvine, to boot. Dot Reid,¹⁸ another band member, was to also play an important role in producing and arranging Late Late Service music.

In spite of the influence of the Nine O'Clock Service, LLS was keen to develop its own distinctive approach - to be 'creators rather than consumers'. There was also a body of opinion within LLS that felt that other groups should do the same. This became a moot point for a while when there was conflicting feeling over whether or not to release its own music for general sale. There was, on the one hand, the feeling that Alternative Worship should be a contextual activity, and so cultivated locally. On the other, there was an awareness of how the Church has traditionally shared its music resources, and also of the group's privileged position in having two recording

¹⁸ Dot Reid later became a Greenbelt board member.

studios and a number of songwriters. Following the decision to release its music, the first cassette, *Music from The Late Late Service 1*, was issued in August 1991. LLS has subsequently released four others, the latter three available on CD.¹⁹

In January 1993 the Late Late Service moved from a monthly event to a cycle of four weekly meetings: (i) a Quiet Service; (ii) a Pastoral/Community Night (members only); (iii) a Celebration Service (communion);²⁰ and (iv) a Learning/Education Night. To a large extent the format of each meeting dictated the style of music used and also the development of the music more generally. The Celebration Service, for instance, included dance music, while the Pastoral and Learning nights contained little if any music at all. On the other hand, the Quiet Service, with its absence of dancing, presented, as Gay points out 'a different context for writing music', and so therefore ambient music and acoustic compositions were explored more so here, along with the use of Taizé and Iona songs. In terms of music's role in worship, this generally took on a 'liturgical' slant. In addition to settings of the Creed, Lord's prayer, Communion liturgy, etc, most other songs had a specific function within the normal pattern of worship, for example, 'gathering' tracks, postlude to meditation/confession and Scripture based songs. Another function was the use of music and song to accompany videos and other visuals.

An indication of the standing of Alternative Worship, and

¹⁹ LLS music can be obtained from: Sticky Music, PO Box 176, Glasgow, G4 9ER.

²⁰ The introduction of a public communion service prompted a move to a nearby Methodist fellowship (for this service only) as St Silas Anglican church would not accept lay presidency.

in particular of the Late Late Service as one of its leading exponents, came later in 1993 when LLS was commissioned to write an hour long Christmas special for Radio 1. It was pre-recorded and broadcast on Christmas Day and took the form of a 'worship presentation' entitled *God in the Flesh*,²¹ which comprised a continual effusion of music and song, interspersed with readings, prayers and spoken narrative.

The Late Late Service's philosophy came to be framed in three mottos (i) creative worship (ii) radical community and (iii) physical spirituality. It also began to describe itself as a 'ecumenical missionary congregation'; a democratic group who viewed themselves as partners together in creating worship in a broad ecumenical context with interests in the wider community. The rationale that guided LLS was questioning and eclectic but was rooted in a fairly sound orthodox theology which enabled them to experiment with spiritual and theological ideas while remaining faithful to fundamental doctrine. All this combined to give the Late Late Service a low church ecclesiology but an openness to high church aesthetics. The use of liturgy also reflected this contrast. Communion services, for example, would quite often combine traditional text with ambient music.

Musically, the group struggled for a while with some intrinsic difficulties with the style it was using. The problem lay with the fact that there is a fundamental difference in the music that can be danced to and that which can be used for

²¹ There is a CD/cassette which goes by the same name which contains some of the songs from the BBC programme.

corporate singing. As there was not always a clear distinction between congregational music and dance tracks their effectiveness for each purpose was therefore being diluted. A related musical problem concerned tempo. Some early songs were simply too fast, even to make good dance tracks, let alone to encourage corporate singing. There was also a question over sound levels. When there was congregational singing, the sense of unity created by each member hearing themselves vocalising as part of a corporate body was greatly diminished at times by the level of amplification. In the search for solutions to these difficulties, one response was to write material that had a much stronger and clearer melodic structure in the hope that it would be more conducive to congregational singing. A good example is 'Author of Creation', appearing on the CD *God in the Flesh*, which has been described as a 'haunting invocatory classic pop hymn'.²² It is, however, worth noting that

unlike the charismatic renewal, alternative worship has not produced a burst of new choruses or hymns. Generally it is much more restrained in its use of singing. One reason for this is that some people associate singing lots of choruses with their charismatic background or childhood, so react negatively to this element within worship. This reaction to choruses also explains the preference for meditative chants rather than 'exuberant' or 'slushy' choruses (Roberts 1999:7).

The Late Late service has undergone a number of changes in recent years, the most notable of which has been the departure of both Andy Thornton and Doug Gay.²³ However, the other members

²² Quoted from a publication leaflet - *Music from the Late Late Service* - Sticky Music, PO Box 176, Glasgow, G4 9ER.

²³ In November 1995 Doug Gay moved to London to take-up a ministerial post at the Round Chapel, Hackney, and later became a Greenbelt board member in 1997. Andy Thornton is currently the general manager of Greenbelt.

still continue to meet for worship services on Sunday twice a month at 9:00pm and for the education and community nights on the other two Sundays at 8:00pm. They also remain committed to their local branch of the World Council of Churches.

Before moving on from the Late Late Service attention needs to be drawn once again to the Greenbelt festival, especially in the context of it providing a platform for the developing Alternative Worship movement. Since 1991 LLS has led worship on several occasions at Greenbelt including a 'mainstage' event for which it recruited 50 singers, 50 dancers and 50 percussionists to stage a large outdoor celebratory service. The Late Late Service's affiliation with Greenbelt has not only proved effective in raising its music sales and profile (which has always been greater in England than in Scotland), but it has inspired the formation of other Alternative Worship groups too.

Visions²⁴

The 'Visions' (formerly 'Warehouse') Alternative Worship group shares many of the same characteristics as NOS and LLS, which need not be repeated here, but it does have its own identity, musical and otherwise, which does bear closer scrutiny. Unlike the 'Late Late Service' Visions is firmly attached to a parent Church, St Michael-le-Belfrey in York, and unlike the clandestine activities of the 'Nine O'Clock Service' it is open and positively encouraging of other Alternative Worship

²⁴ Much of the information in this section was gleaned from an interview with two members of Visions - Sue and Malcolm Wallace (York, 1998).

groups. However, what is most striking is its commitment to music. From its inaugural service in 1991 Visions has supported a full-time musician which has provided the group with the opportunity to cultivate its own varied and unique blend of sacred techno music. It has also as a consequence been able to release five tapes of its own music through the band's own record label. According to its website the group's taste in musical styles ranges from

ambient and dub upwards in BPM through to house to hard underground techno and acid trance. We are also not averse to the odd bit of hip-hop, trip-hop, garage, ethno-dance, digifunk, acid jazz, or industrial.²⁵

The first Alternative Worship service organised by Warehouse, as it was first known,²⁶ took place in August 1991 but the preparations had begun some two years earlier. Moreover, the inspiration for the service dates back a further year to 1988 when a group of friends from St Michael-le-Belfrey in York were present at the Greenbelt festival to witness the Nine O'Clock Service. The following year, 1989, at the time of the Billy Graham live link mission, some members of St Michael's and other local churches decided to organise their own alternative evangelistic event, aimed at young adults with no church background. For this, they hired a disused warehouse (hence the name) in the centre of York for a month and presented a range of Christian bands. Pleased with the result the decision was made to follow this up with something on a regular basis. However, before this

²⁵ Quoted from Visions web site: <http://www.abbess.demon.co.uk/paradox/quick-guide.html#mu>

²⁶ Several companies were using the term 'Warehouse' as a trade name. As a consequence it was decided to change the name to 'Visions'.

could take place it was felt that the group should first develop a stronger bond within itself. The next two years, therefore, were engaged in developing relationships and building a support and communal infrastructure. Part of this initially included 'sacrificial giving' which was used for music resources and equipment, and later the upkeep of one group member, Sue Wallace, as full-time music co-ordinator.

In preparing for the worship service there was some concern over what form it should take. In seeking to establish a genuine Alternative Worship service, aimed as it was at

all those people who for one reason or another would feel uncomfortable with a standard church service (e.g. clubbers, hippies, "greens", and the people who have had a bad experience of church in the past),²⁷

the group realised that in order to be authentic the ethos of service would need to be culturally specific. Consequently, the core membership, which now numbered about twelve, set themselves purposefully about the task of 'researching' and effectively merging with the local 'counter-culture'. This also precipitated a change in musical direction, away from rock music to the dance and ambient music that was emerging from York's clubland.

During 1991 the group, which consisted of trained musicians, artists, and computer and technology buffs, became increasingly focused on the formation of the worship service. It was in fact the dynamic of this creative collective, as it so often is with potential Alternative Worship groups, that prov-

²⁷ <http://www.abbess.demon.co.uk/paradox/docs/faq>.

ided the final impetus to turn the project from an idea into a reality. In August 1991 the first trial service, for members only, took place in St Cuthbert's Church in York. This was soon followed by a number of other experimental services for which friends, the PCC and the Bishop were invited. After some fine tuning the first public 'Teaching Service' opened in the Easter of 1992.

For the first two years the Teaching Service remained a monthly event at which original compositions were generally used - written, mixed and recorded in the group's home based studio. This service would begin with 20-30 minutes of 'dance worship' followed by a homily, prayers and readings. Every 2-3 months this would be replaced by a 'club service' which could last anywhere up to 3 hours and contained exclusively secular dance music. The two different service types eventually mutated into one 'Celebration Service' where a mix of original and commercial music was used. During these formative years the style of the group's own music underwent a number of transformations. Something akin to Indie dance (à la 'Happy Mondays') was used in the early services in which live musicians (i.e. guitars and bass) and vocalists performed in conjunction with pre-recorded dance backing tracks; revealing, perhaps, an unwillingness to completely let go of its rock music roots while remaining close to the club scene to which the it was trying to reach. However, this soon gave way to purely dance music and, stylistically, there was for a time a keen interest in keeping in step with all the current changes.

In addition to the monthly Celebration Service, members would meet more informally for small group worship, and it was the difficulties they experienced in finding an appropriate style for these occasions that inspired the next musical development. They wanted, they recall, to avoid

the nightmare scenario of a handful of people dancing round a ghetto blaster...yet guitar "singalongs" didn't really happen in the dance culture.²⁸

Furthermore, referring back to the section on acoustics in chapter one, it is clear that the Visions group was also aware of the fundamental 'relationship of music to the building in [or for] which it is produced' (p.16):

The answer for us came with the growing popularity of 'listening techno' and ambient music which are designed more for living rooms than dance floors. So we married this style of music with simple melodies that people could sing, improvise around, or listen to (ibid).

The decision to release its own ambient music came initially from within the community, but it was also due to the growing number of requests it was receiving from other Alternative Worship groups. Visions' first tape, *Prayers of the Digital Orthodox*, was issued in 1994²⁹ and draws inspiration from sources as diverse as Celtic folk song, Orthodox chant, the 10th century visionary Hildegarde of Bingen and the latest electronic listening music from 'Warp'. The tape even contains a sample from the Apollo 11 moon mission. However, the group has refrained from marketing its own dance music because of the

²⁸ Quoted from the album sleeve of *Songs, Hymns and Technochants*; available from Paradox. c/o St. Cuthbert's, Peasholme Green, York YO1 3ER.

²⁹ There have been four other cassettes released since: *Songs, Hymns and Technochants* (1995); *Millenia* (1995); *Paradox One* (1995); and *Lorica - and other chants* (1996).

more transitory nature of this genre.

As its ambient music collection grew, the group began to introduce it at the beginning and ending of services. With the advent of the 'Communion Service' in 1994 it seemed a natural progression to use this music more extensively to form a continual 'soundscape' which could be interspersed with chants, readings and prayers. Besides the group's home-grown compositions and its use of secular dance tracks, the other two strands of music used in Visions' services today are (i) a hybrid of the two (commercial instrumental tracks providing the backing to original melody and lyrics), and (ii) plainchant. The latter was introduced in 1996 when the group inaugurated a third-monthly contemplative 'Labyrinth Service'. This service takes place over a four hour period at which the congregation can come and go as they please. The labyrinth, a feature of many mediaeval cathedrals, is marked out on the floor and unlike a maze has only one path which is followed to the centre whilst praying. To ensure the atmosphere is conducive to meditation traditional Gregorian Plainsong is played over a small sound system.

The three Visions services still take place today at St. Cuthbert's Church on a monthly cycle and the commitment to dance music and the club scene remains. But what continues to enhance its legitimacy as an Alternative Worship group is that far from being an extension of the church youth group or merely influenced by contemporary issues and styles, it has fully immersed itself in the sub-culture of those it wishes to

identify with. This has led to various outreach ventures such as 'Paradox Visuals'³⁰ under which name the group provides projected images, video, and cine loops for various secular dance nights in York and further afield (including Greenbelt). While the group members admit to not being evangelists, primarily, they do believe that their

community ethics and club involvement will generate a good reputation for Christianity in the local scene.³¹

Summary and Evaluation

Of the different factors that have helped shape the evolution of the Alternative Worship movement, music is one of the most significant. The narratives presented in this chapter of three of the most prominent 'creative worship' groups have clearly demonstrated how integral music and musicians have been to their development. And it is largely their efforts which have in turn inspired the formation of many other such groups. The narratives have also been useful, not only for contextualising the music, but for highlighting other important areas such as the place of community within creative worship and the influence of post-modernism.

Evangelism has also played its part, especially in the case of Visions. There has been throughout its history a deliberate effort to target and infiltrate a particular sub-culture which has in turn affected the development and presentation of its services and music. But it also needs emphasising that the

³⁰ 'Paradox' is also the group's business name which it uses in the publication of its music cassettes.

³¹ Quoted from the Greenbelt web site: <http://www.greenbelt.org.uk/altgrps/altg.html>

tendency within the creative worship category is for groups to instigate an Alternative Worship service of their own volition and, primarily, for themselves - each one born out of and reflecting the needs and musical interests of that particular group. Once established, such a worship service will inevitably attract like-minded individuals; evangelism, then, more as a by-product than a root cause.

In the promulgation of Alternative Worship music two particularly notable forces that have surfaced in this chapter have been the Greenbelt festival and the individual creativity present within each group. Greenbelt has perhaps been the single most important factor in raising the profile of Alternative Worship and along with it the dance/ambient music style. Not only has the festival acted as a showcase for Alternative Worship but also a forum for discussion and criticism in both a formal (e.g. seminars) and informal capacity. Added to this has been the creation and distribution of music resources: LLS and Visions have between them released about a dozen recordings and other group's have since followed suit (e.g. 'Grace). Television programmes such as 'God in the House'³² and radio broadcasts³³ have further assisted in drawing attention to the Alternative Worship movement and its music.

If there is any uncertainty about the future of Alternative Worship then it lies not in its continuance but in its form, at

³² Channel 4, Christmas 1996.

³³ Prior to LLS's 'God in the Flesh' Radio One broadcast on Christmas Day 1993, the Nine O'Clock Service's Planetary Mass was broadcast on the BBC World Service in November of the same year.

least in the immediate future. There is a strong feeling within the body of worshipping groups that fall under the heading 'creative worship', that Alternative Worship has arrived at a crossroads. Following the initial impulse which was very much reactionary, hence the attraction to current thinking and pop music (post-modernism was much in vogue in the mid to late 1980s, as was dance music), Alternative Worship has now passed into a second phase, described best perhaps as one of contemplation. And the difference between the two could not be more stark. While the history books will probably record that the early 1990s was the most intense, radical and exciting period for the Alternative Worship movement, the feelings over its future are distinctly uneasy. There is at present no clear sign post to point the way forward.

There is little doubt that as long as Alternative Worship exists music will have a central place within it. The difficulty is over whether to continue to keep in step with the current trends in pop music, or whether to craft a more enduring and recognisable form from the idiom they now use. If the latter, then it will inevitably mean that future generations will react against it^{TC} in the same way that the pioneers of Alternative Worship reacted against Charismatic and Evangelical music and worship styles. Whatever form it does eventually take, the outlook for modern styles of worship music is positive. George Carey, for example, has on many occasions reaffirmed his commitment to embracing a variety of styles. In his book *Spiritual Journey*, published before the Nine O'Clock Service scandal

broke, he wrote:

We must learn to communicate to our rising generation the wonder of worshipping God. The 'Nine O'Clock' service at St Thomas', Crookes, in Sheffield is a good example of Christian vision combined with imaginative appropriation of youth culture and music. We may think also of Christian festivals like Greenbelt and pilgrimage centres like Iona where the range of contemporary music is shown to be much wider than many people think (1994:91).

Immediately following the NOS scandal George Carey honoured his commitment to a summit meeting at Lambeth Palace between Anglican leaders and those involved in Alternative Worship. He has since called for greater experimentation within worship, 'like jazz evensongs and pub services'.³⁴ The Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music, *In Tune With Heaven*, has also recommended that 'congregations be helped to explore and experiment with new music' and 'to blend different styles' (:253).

There is, finally, one certainty for the future of Alternative Worship, and indeed popular and folk-style church music in general: 'controversy'. Despite the increasing openness among church leaders, and even institutions like the Royal School of Church music, to different styles of contemporary church music there will always remain a body of opinion that firmly believes that popular music is harmful, dangerous and irredeemable, by way of its content and associations:

'Photic driving' - a combination of loud percussive sound and light - can render the subject entirely helpless and vacuous, a prey to whatever power or force or message his/her manipulator may wish to inflict. Hence, according to sound scientific research,

³⁴ *Church Times* - 17 October 1997.

the conditions produced in the average Rave are capable of opening the subject (victim) to control in a way not dreamt of by the totalitarian dictators of past decades. That Techno Paganism and Rave might prove the birth canal of New Age diabolic control, even if only for a segment of the younger generation, has to be a subject of serious concern (Marshall 1997:106).

The above quote comes from *Occult Explosion* which is one the latest in a line publications that warns of the evils of rock music - no doubt such commentators would like to blame rave music for the collapse of the Nine O'Clock Service in 1995.

The future of Alternative Worship, and contemporary church music more generally, will continue to be subject to these kinds of criticisms, and although some may appear to be extreme they do at least beg some fundamental questions concerning the effectiveness of modern worship music, and the motives of those using it. The final word here I leave to John Bell of the Iona Community:

If we must choose words and music for worship, the criterion for their selection has to be more than 'what I like' or 'what the choir likes' or 'what Father likes'. It has to be about whether these words and this music can be the vehicle through which people discover what God has to say to them, and find expressed what they need to say to God (1996:41).

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This study has aimed to provide a much-needed historical overview of 20th century popular and folk-styles of church music as practised in the main Christian denominations in England. Before attempting to draw together the contents of this thesis and to determine what have been the most significant developments it is perhaps worth bearing in mind that 'the closer we are to events the more difficult it is for us to see any consistent historical pattern in them' (Grout and Palisca 1988:808). While events of the distant past can be viewed with more detachment, and usually with the benefit of accrued knowledge and research, 'the present', Michael Hurd writes, 'is too personal a concern; and so, for the most part, is the immediate past. Try as we may, we cannot see them in perspective' (1968:95). Hurd's comments apply to his historical outline of 20th century classical music about which he concludes:

Any attempt to explain the music of the twentieth century can therefore only hope to trace the most obvious outlines' (ibid).

When applied to the work in hand, the problem identified in Hurd's comments becomes yet more pronounced when we consider that the majority of the information contained within these

pages pertains to events post-1955.

The views expressed above do not negate the validity of the attempt to study recent developments but instead should act as a cautionary note in drawing hasty or rash conclusions. The task itself, especially today, is perfectly valid, as Erik Routley points out in *A Short History of English Church Music*:

In gentler days it was always regarded as decent to end an historical book about twenty-five years before the time of writing. History now moves so quickly that there is no need to do any such thing (1997:104; f.p. 1977).

The nature of the historical changes that have taken place in church music over the last 45 years has been nothing short of dramatic, making the attempt to study these events not only just but necessary,¹ as Routley goes on to state:

The only restriction it seems proper to observe is to refrain from offering critical judgements about one's contemporaries and juniors - but it becomes, at this point, necessary to evaluate what is being done by people who are achieving distinction in the field we are working in. And as everybody knows, after 1955 church music in England suddenly began to receive a number of violent shocks from people who began asking fundamental questions of a sort that before this had never been raised in the circle of musicians (ibid).

One of the 'people' to which Routley alludes is Geoffrey Beaumont and the mid 1950s was, of course, the time when the popular church music movement made its initial impact. There had been prior to this other forms of popular and folk-style church music, such as CSSM choruses and gospel hymnody, and attention was drawn to their influence early on in chapter two. But it was not until the mid 20th century that church music in England

¹ See Ch.1, p.3, for Tosh's comments concerning the study of contemporary history.

began to receive the 'violent shocks' that Routley refers to above. From that point on new strains of popular and folk-style church music rapidly evolved and it has been those developments that have provided much of the material for this thesis.

A number of dates, or periods, have been singled out throughout the thesis as being of particular significance. The first was 1957 when Geoffrey Beaumont's *20th Century Folk Mass* was broadcast on national television. This instigated a flurry of activity including the formation of the 20th Century Church Light Music Group. It is still difficult, however, to ascertain fully the influence of Beaumont *et al* on later developments in church music. As Erik Routley quite rightly observed in 1964, the *Folk Mass* certainly 'started something, and awakened the minds of church musicians to quite a new situation' (:167), but it may well be that the movement itself was not only relatively short-lived but self-contained too, despite the inclusion of a small number of the Group's hymns in subsequent compilations (i.e. chiefly Appleford's 'Lord Jesus Christ' and Brierley's tune CAMBERWELL). Nevertheless, the Group's efforts certainly eased the way for later forms of popular and folk-style church music.

The 'Charismatic Movement' was cited as being the next (and undoubtedly the) most significant development. 'By the middle of 1964', Peter Hocken claims, 'there was a common awareness in Britain of the arrival of this new Charismatic movement' (1997:132). Changes in church music following this time were to be profound, but it was to be a decade before the movement's

distinctive music, captured most notably in *Sound of Living Waters* (1974), was to make any major impact. In these intervening years both *Youth Praise* editions were published and these may prove to have been more influential than is currently thought. Although *Youth Praise* itself was not an offshoot of the Charismatic Movement, some of the most established songwriters today who were influenced by the movement, such as Graham Kendrick and Dave Bilbrough, were self-taught musicians and guitar playing products of the *Youth Praise* era. Bilbrough, for instance, in an interview with *Deo* magazine, recalls:

I remember asking my dad for the old guitar we had underneath the stairs. We had to nail the back onto it and then put some strings on. In those days there weren't many worship songs around. There was *Youth Praise* and 'smash hits' like *Kumbayah* and *Can it be true?* (Summer 1996).

However important *Youth Praise* proves to be, it will probably never rise above the status of a 'tributary'. This is because the Charismatic Movement needs to be understood in international terms. While it is true that British songwriters grew in prominence from the 1970s onwards, the preface to the combined edition of *Sound of Living Waters* and *Fresh Sounds* leaves little doubt about how diverse the roots of Charismatic music were:

We are grateful to the many friends throughout Canada, U.S.A., England and New Zealand, who served as "song resource" personnel in our search for a truly representative selection of songs (Harper and Pulkingham 1978).

A further point in relation to the Charismatic Movement that is worth re-stating is the relationship between revivalism and popular/folk music. It was a new movement of the Holy Spirit

at the turn of the century that triggered the Pentecostalist Movement, the so-called 'first wave'. The 'second wave' gave rise to the Charismatic Movement, which in turn was given fresh impetus by the 'third wave' of which the Vineyard Movement is closely associated. It has been the latter two 'waves' that have most affected church music in England and it is no coincidence that the music associated with each is characterised by an easily accessible and contemporary style. One of the reasons for this is that, in common with other revivals, 'emotionalism' has played a key role in their ethos and music. John Spencer Curwen, for example, in 1885 described the American gospel hymn, associated with the Moody-Sankey revivals, as being

nothing if it is not emotional. It takes a simple phrase and repeats it over and over again. There is no reasoning, nor are the lines made heavy with introspection. "Tell me the story simply, as to a little child." The feelings are touched; the stiffest of us become children again (Reynolds and Price 1987:102).

In summing-up the pros and cons of Vineyard churches in 1996, one of Eric Wright's conclusions was that

their manner of worship generates a powerful atmosphere of emotion through repetitive choruses with weak content sung to a loud and fast beat (:68).

As one of the chief attributes of popular song is its propensity to stir the emotions, it is understandable that its form and style should have been appropriated to carry the Christian message in successive revivals. There are, of course, many other reasons, such as the high degree of 'informality' and 'spontaneity' attached to revivals. There is also the enormous amount of grass-roots activity associated with them - all of which are key

elements of popular/folk traditions. But, in spite of the above quotes, let it also be said that there are many sophisticated worship songs and choruses too, and they by no means all suffer from weak lyrical or musical content.

In considering for a moment the place of popular and folk-style church music in the more general context and development of church music, Steve Miller, in an American publication *The Contemporary Christian Music Debate*, provides a useful historical overview which is worth quoting in full. He begins by explaining that each period of musical transition follows a cyclical pattern which comprises four phases:

The first stage, which we will call *Separation*, finds old forms of music firmly entrenched in the church. These styles communicate almost exclusively to those who have grown up in the church, alienating the uninitiated. The musical style of the church is separated from the popular styles understood by the common folk, the former being labeled sacred, the latter secular. What was once effective salt has lost its savor, and the stage is set for Phase 2: *Integration*.

Bold innovators, convinced that outdated forms are stifling heartfelt worship, adopt the musical language (often the actual tunes) of the common person, much to the chagrin of diehard traditionalists. The guardians of the past counter, ushering in Phase 3: *Conflict*.

At this point, the innovators are bitterly denounced as compromise with the world, sub-biblical, use of the Devil's music, replacement of good worship with cheap entertainment, and a host of other concerns. Enter Phase 4: *Renewal*.

Although renewal isn't brought about entirely by the musical shift, it certainly is enhanced greatly by the communicative power of the new medium. Worship is again in the language of the people, and church music becomes an integral part of the believers' everyday lives as they carry their heartfelt songs outside the church walls into the factory and the marketplace.

Finally, what was new and fresh becomes standard. What was once condemned as secular finds its way into the

hymnbook and is considered sacred. At the same time, the popular style of the common person has continued to change so that there is once again a dichotomy between the traditional and the popular. What once bred excitement now elicits yawns. Even so, no one would dream of adopting 'worldly' forms. And so we find ourselves back at Phase 1, and history repeats itself (Miller 1993:142).

As well as helping to exemplify some of the transformational processes that (re-)occur in the evolution of church music, Miller's historical delineation does, in itself, provide a satisfactory over-arching evaluation of the events (which in turn support Miller's schema) covered in this thesis.

Steve Miller's final paragraph above ties in neatly with the final main chapter of this thesis. It was here that the year 1986 and the birth of the Alternative Worship movement was cited as being the third and last major development of the 20th century. While the dance and ambient music of Alternative Worship undoubtedly represents another significant and radical shift in worship music it may also, according to Miller's model, prove to represent the beginning of another cycle. The clues are as follows:

- (i) worship songs and choruses are now becoming very much a standard part of formal Christian worship.
- (ii) besides the standard worship song collections, their inclusion in hymnals and hymn book supplements is becoming ever more prevalent. The Royal School of Church Music has even published several collections.
- (iii) One would now expect some considerable degree of time before the next 'phase' - a settling down period - but, as Routley reminds us above, history now moves so quickly that

cycles will inevitably become more rapid and perhaps more diverse and fragmented with it. After reading again Steve Miller's outline of phase one, i.e. *Separation*, it is interesting to compare it with Pete Ward's comments concerning the seminal worship song resource *Songs of Fellowship*:

the general direction of the musical style is away from genres easily recognizable outside the Christian community. In this sense *Songs of Fellowship* does a U-turn away from the direction taken by *Youth Praise*. It is a musical cul-de-sac where Christians are inventing a style of their own which is less and less accessible to those outside the Christian Church (1996:136).

This is in itself debatable, but it needs to be remembered that the instigators of the Alternative Worship movement were evangelicals who had become disenchanted with that worship culture to the point of feeling alienated. Neither the music nor the message appeared relevant. Alternative Worship was, therefore, born out of a desire to re-discover the Gospel by re-interpreting the Christian faith through the media of contemporary culture, i.e. their culture. Whether this means, to use Miller's terminology, that worship songs and choruses have already lost their 'savor', and that Alternative Worship pioneers are the latest in the line of 'bold innovators', remains to be seen. It is still too early to assess whether Alternative Worship, and its music, will ever be more than a fringe activity.

In seeking to draw some overall conclusions something needs to be said about the place of 'community' in the history of popular and folk styles of church music. I refer here not only to those communities covered in chapter five but also to the

Charismatic and Alternative Worship movements, which have both fostered a strong communal spirit. The notion of community is not, of course, exclusive to Christianity - it is part of innate human practice and development - but it is usually only when communities become extended and well established that a hierarchical power base surfaces with any real rigidity. It is at such times that communal activities grow from being a common concern to specialist activities in their own right. It is, moreover, also at these times when expressions, supposedly on behalf of the community, become more 'personalised' and detached from it. The communities covered in chapter five have not yet developed this far and so still retain a strong demotic character which their music inevitably reflects.

Something also needs to be said of the central place of the Anglican Church. It was never the intention to concentrate only on those developments that were initiated within England, but firstly, to highlight the main forms of popular and folk-style church music that have most affected worship in England, and secondly, to locate their source. As it happens, the Church of England has single-handedly played one of the most important roles: the popular church music movement emanated from within the Anglican Communion; Anglican priests (e.g. Michael Harper) and churches (e.g. All Souls, Langham Place and St. Mark's, Gillingham) played a decisive role in the development of the

Charismatic Movement; and the first² Alternative Worship service (NOS) grew out of the Anglican parish of St. Thomas, Crookes in Sheffield. The only comparable development beyond the Church of England is the Second Vatican Council, which gave rise to a wealth of new music and the rapid growth of 'folk hymnody' in the Roman Catholic Church.

The subject of popular and folk-style church music has shown itself to be a contentious one. Not only has the music proved problematic, so has instrumentation. One of the major difficulties has been association, i.e. the negative connotations that certain secular styles (e.g. rock) and instruments (electric guitars, drums) carry. Other problems have included the ephemeral nature of the popular style, poor quality music and the reiteration of choruses. A further complication has been that many of the difficulties appear to have gone unresolved, resulting in the same criticisms being voiced time and again. There has however been one dramatic turn of events, and that has been the change in attitude of the Church establishment. A perusal of the Archbishops' Commission on Church Music, *In Tune With Heaven*, soon discloses a less officious and more inclusive approach to church music. The decision by the RSCM in 1989 to broaden its interest in church music is another indication of this tide of change. Today, variety is in many churches the norm and is a state of affairs which is not only now supported by church authorities but leading worship song writers, such as

² And others, e.g. 'Visions' (formerly 'Warehouse') operates under the authority of its parent church, St Michael-le-Belfrey, and the 'Epicentre' network supports two services in two Church of England churches in south west London.

Graham Kendrick and Chris Bowater, too.

Finally, it is hoped that this study of popular and folk-style church music will provide a platform from which further research can take place, particularly that which can exploit the interdisciplinary perspective outlined in chapter one. Besides those topics covered, other possible areas for investigation might include such individuals as John Rutter, such groups as the 'World Wide Message Tribe', and such developments as the UK Jesus Movement (i.e. songs of the Jesus Fellowship/Jesus Army). There has also been in recent years a growing interest in Celtic spirituality and music that is also worthy of attention. In terms of songbooks, there has been the recent publication of *The Source* (1998), a hymn and worship song collection compiled by Graham Kendrick, and there has been an increasing influx of material from an Australian group known as 'Hillsongs'. The very latest songbook is *Songs for the New Millennium* (Oct, 1999), which again reflects a variety of styles, 'ranging from calypso and world music through to modern hymns'.³

With thoughts now firmly fixed on the new millennium the future and place of popular and folk-style church music within mainstream worship, while remaining controversial, is at least assured. Not, it is anticipated, as a replacement for traditional church music, but as a supplement to it. The final word here I leave to *In Tune with Heaven*:

It came as little surprise to the Commission in its work to be reminded both of the rich diversity which

³ *Songs for the New Millennium* (1999) - (Methodist Publishing House).

exists in the field of church music and of the very different attitudes and preferences to be found within our congregations. Some place their emphasis upon the transcendent otherness of God and the traditional 'good' music which expresses it. Others seek to worship through readily understandable services and music which speaks of a personal relationship to God in Christ, and the dynamic work of the Holy Spirit. Whilst generalising for the sake of simplicity, the commission does not believe that there is any essential conflict between these categories. Each has much to offer to the other and there is no question of one tradition being right and the other wrong (:212).

THE END

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