

# **The revival of the choral service in the Church of England, 1839-1868, with an examination of its manifestation in the college chapels of Cambridge University**

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## **The scene at Cambridge University today**

The scene at King's College, Cambridge University, on a Saturday or Sunday afternoon is one that might surprise the first-time visitor. Mentioned in tourist guidebooks as one of the architectural splendors of Europe, the chapel is on a visitor's list of 'must see' spots in Cambridge. Long lines can be expected at the north door during the day, notwithstanding the fact that one must pay a fee to enter. King's College Chapel is not a museum, but an active worship space; among the daily services is Evensong, which is sung by a choir every day of the week during term. One might be excused for hoping to escape the lines into the chapel by attending such a service. This is certainly one way of gaining entrance without paying. For better or worse, however, the choir of King's College Chapel is on the musical tourist's list of must-hear choirs, and the first-time visitor will undoubtedly be surprised to find himself waiting in an equally long line at the south door an hour before the service begins.

King's College Chapel is an extreme example, but the phenomenon of excellent choirs singing several times a week in their own chapels throughout the University is well-known to the connoisseur of sacred choral music. A savvy musical tourist or worshiper might well give up on King's College that day and decide to try another nearby chapel service. A brief stroll up Trinity Street would give one the choice of hearing choirs at Gonville & Caius, Clare, Trinity, or St. John's colleges. Each has its distinctive sound and tradition, but all are at least the equal of the more famous choir at King's College. If one were prepared to walk further afield, a rich banquet of choral music would be found waiting at many of the thirty-one colleges that have chapels and active choirs. What is it that people will line up and wait to hear a choir sing? Aside from an anthem, which is a freely chosen sacred choral work, the remainder of the

music will consist of the singing of the words of Evensong from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* of the Church of England. In other words, people will line up to hear and participate in one of the artistic glories of the Anglican Church - the choral service.

One might wonder why choral music thrives at the University today. When did it begin, and for what purpose? By attempting to answer the question of when college chapel music approached its present level, we will see that as recently as the 1830's, the choral service and choral music in general was nearly extinct at the University, and that it only gradually improved as a part of a nation-wide revival of choral singing. Two separate aspects of this revival will be considered: the resurgence of choral services between 1839 and 1868 in Britain, and the role of the University of Cambridge during the same period. Finally, the history of the revival at one specific college - St. Catharine's College - will be examined as representative of the general trend in the mid-nineteenth century.

Before considering the topic at hand, it should be emphasized that church music in Britain has historically encompassed three separate spheres of activity. Places where it could be found were cathedrals, institutional chapels (be they university, royal, or other), and parish churches. In general, music of the services held in cathedrals and parish churches should be thought of as two separate genres, while that of the institutional chapels was similar to that of cathedrals. What was the state of choral music at the beginning of the revival movement? A revival, of course, implies that which went before it was in need of improvement. This was certainly the case at each of the three areas of activity noted above. These three centers of musical activity will be examined at this point.

### **A decadent state of affairs - cathedral, church and chapel**

1. Cathedrals. Though these were the institutions with the longest and richest musical history in Britain, their condition at the beginning of the period was perilous. Even though their choral establishments were often endowed, it was common for the deans and chapters of the cathedrals to siphon off their funding, leaving them woefully under supported.<sup>1</sup> Temperley writes that though most cathedrals had ten or twelve boy trebles in the choir, the lay clerks (men who sang alto, tenor and bass) were often absent – an ensemble frequently seen would comprise twelve boy trebles supported by only three adults: one alto, one tenor and one bass.<sup>2</sup> Henry Gauntlett reported that on

1 John Potter, *Vocal Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 80.

2 Nicholas Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age 1800-1914*, vol. 5 of *The*

a certain Sunday the choir at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, comprised just the trebles, plus two altos and one tenor. No basses were present so out of necessity "The organ with its thunderstop carried all before it."<sup>3</sup>

2. Parish Churches. As the great majority of Anglican parish churches did not have pipe organs at the opening of the nineteenth century, the singing (such as it was) was 'led' by a choir and/or instrumental ensemble situated in the west end gallery. These groups did not have professional leadership or aspire to any particular level of competence. Nor did they aim to lead congregational song so much as to perform it for the assembled people. In other cases, local charity children were pressed into service as an untrained choir. They have been described as singing with "...undisciplined vigour while the congregation remained silent."<sup>4</sup> Charles Burney stated that the only way around the situation was to buy an organ loud enough to drown out all singing.<sup>5</sup>

3. College Chapels. The situation at Cambridge University in the late 1830's, just as the church music reform movement was beginning, was dismal. This is striking when one considers that the University in the early-nineteenth century was far more religious than it is now. Dale Adelman describes the times.

The religious character of the University was central to its being. Students had to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England in order to take their degrees, most fellowships required that their holders be unmarried and in holy orders, Morning and Evening Prayer were said daily in all of the college chapels, and regular chapel attendance was compulsory for all junior members of the University...During the years 1844-53, an estimated 74.4 per cent of Cambridge graduates were subsequently ordained.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the orientation of the University, however, chapel music was poorly performed when it did exist; and most often there was no music whatsoever during the daily chapel services of Morning and Evening Prayer.<sup>7</sup>

Of the seventeen colleges that comprised the University in the early-nineteenth century, only three had choral establishments, a state that persisted until the mid-

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*Blackwell History of Music in Britain* (London: The Athlone Press Ltd, 1988), p. 172.

3 Ibid.

4 Bernarr Rainbow, *Choral Revival in the Anglican Church, 1839-1872* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), p. 12.

5 Ibid.

6 Dale Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the revival of Anglican choral worship 1839-62* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1988), pp. 46-47.

7 Ibid., p. 47.

1840's.<sup>8</sup> These were King's, Trinity and St. John's, and were interdependent. All three colleges shared the same six clerks, and the chapel services on the weekend were staggered so that the same men, some of whom were elderly, could scurry from one service to the next. An anonymous article in *The Ecclesiologist* attacked this practice in 1843: "A few miserable and effete singers running about from choir to choir, and performing, to a crashing and bellowing of organs, the most meagre and washy musick; how could Church men learn anything, under such a system, of the depth and majesty and sternness and devotion of true church musick?"<sup>9</sup> Though King's maintained its own boy choristers, Trinity and St. John's shared theirs, as well as an organist. And what of the singing of the famed King's College choir? It was said to be "radically bad."<sup>10</sup>

### Roots of the choral service revival

Given the state of affairs in the first third of nineteenth century, the magnitude of the reforms to come in the next few decades is astounding. Thanks to these reforms, we, in our own day, would be no more likely to find a parish church with 'charity children "screaming in the balcony" than a Dickens-esque debtor prison, though both were common institutions at the time. We will now examine the causes behind this massive shift in musical values and performing skills.

Though Bernarr Rainbow dates the beginning of the revival to 1839 and calls the efforts of Frederick Oakeley in London at Margaret Chapel, Marylebone seminal, it could not have started without certain social antecedents. Perhaps the most important of these were the Oxford Movement, and the national reform of the education system. The Oxford Movement (1833-1845) was an attempt at renewal of the Church of England from within; its members were Oxford dons whose efforts centered on recovering that which had been lost at the time of the Commonwealth. Their aims were "the defence of the Church of England as a Divine institution, of the doctrine of the apostolic succession, and of the *Book of Common Prayer* as a rule of faith."<sup>11</sup> Of importance to this study were their efforts to recover church ceremonial as laid out in the *Book of Common Prayer*, as well as appropriate music to accompany the ceremonial. Because they published their views in a series of tracts, they were often known as Tractarians,

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8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p. 34.

10 Rainbow, p. 207.

11 *Oxford Reference Online: The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. "Oxford Movement," <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t95.e4261> (accessed November 11, 2009).

as well as the High Church party. Although the movement did not deal particularly with practical musical issues, its reexamination of the liturgies of the Church of England were one of two important stimuli for the revival of choral music.

The second important stimulus was the national reform of schools that took place in the 1830's. This reform had the effect of bringing education to children of both the newly created middle class, as well as to some of the children of the lowest laboring classes.<sup>12</sup> Instruction in the method of singing was considered an essential part of these reforms. Music was thought to be important as a moral force. According to John Potter, "Music as morality and singing as discipline" were at the very root of Victorian church music and, by extension, *at the heart of the nascent national education system.*<sup>13</sup> Given its importance to the Victorians, it is easy to see why they would include the instruction of singing in their new national education system. John Hullah was selected to prepare an English manual of singing based on Guillaume Wilhem's *Manuel musicali*. Armed with this manual and considerable energy and enthusiasm, he was to influence thousands of Britains over the next several generations. With the support of the government, Hullah established a singing school for schoolmasters at London's Exeter Hall in 1841. Classes for schoolmistresses began a month later, and enrollments of 400 were the norm. This program was later extended to the general public, and proved tremendously popular.<sup>14</sup> According to one contemporary estimate, by the end of 1841 at least 50,000 children of working class parentage in London had begun to receive musical instruction at their schools.<sup>15</sup>

### **Choral services: the parish model**

Keeping these two movements in mind, we shall now focus more closely on the beginning of the choral revival itself. For the Church of England, the revival was not just one of choral music, it was of the choral service, which had been destroyed at the time of the Commonwealth. The choral service as it was restored in the nineteenth-century consisted primarily of the services of daily Morning and Evening Prayer, and weekly Holy Communion. Though the restoration of the *Book of Common Prayer* after

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12 Chris Cook: *The Longman Companion to Britain in the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1999), p. 115.

13 Potter, p. 81. Emphasis mine.

14 *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Hullah, John,"

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13535> (accessed November 11, 2009).

15 Rainbow, p. 47.

the Commonwealth meant that the words of the services had been restored, the practice of chanting these words had disappeared by the nineteenth century. Looking back to pre-Commonwealth (or even pre-Reformation) practices, the reformers wished to restore the singing of the following parts of the service.

1. Versicles and Responses. For example, the words "The Lord be with you" (chanted by the priest) would be answered with "and with thy spirit" (either by the choir alone, or the choir and congregation).

2. Psalms. The reformers particularly wished to resurrect the practice of chanting the psalter. Where it was still being sung in cathedrals, it was unrehearsed and sung slovenly by the choir. The reform party viewed the prose psalter as the song of the entire gathered congregation, and wished to enable the people to chant it with confidence.

3. Canticles. These could be sung either by all, or in a specifically composed setting by the choir alone.

4. Hymns. There was no practice of singing hymns in the Church of England at the beginning of the nineteenth century - congregational song consisted exclusively of metrical arrangements of the psalter. Early attempts to restore the practice of congregational hymn singing met with opposition on the part of some of the church hierarchy, and was even challenged in court.

All reformers agreed that versicles, psalms and canticles should be restored as sung portions of the services, particularly in parish churches and in university chapels.<sup>16</sup> The methods they used to gain the desired result varied, but basically fall into two models. These will be termed 'parish model' and 'cathedral model'. (Cathedrals, as such, will not be examined in this article.) Music for institutions that chose the parish model was congregational in nature. While a choir was often present, its main role was to support the singing of the congregation; music appropriate to this model differs in function and style from that of the cathedral model. The role of the choir in the cathedral model is to sing to and for the congregation, the role of which is that of observer. Writings of the period show that there was considerable difference of opinion among the clergy, musicians, and general public about which model was the most appropriate or desirable.

Two seminal choral establishments for the parish model were Margaret Street Chapel, London, and St. Mark's College, Chelsea. The Rev. Frederick Oakeley moved

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<sup>16</sup> Cathedrals did, by and large, maintain these practices; an improvement in the level of performance and dedication to the task was wanting.

from Oxford University to Margaret Street Chapel in 1839. He had joined the Tractarians while at Oxford, and the changes he made in the services at Margaret Street Chapel can be said to herald the actual start of the choral revival. The church soon became a center for Tractarian worship in London, and served as a model for many younger clergymen who wished to establish such services in their own parishes.<sup>17</sup>

Musically, Oakeley started the practice of congregational singing of the daily service. He assumed that daily singing, coupled with repetition of the same musical settings, would enable a congregation to sing with confidence. Also, the presence of a choir trained in the same music would be a valuable support for the congregation - to this end Oakeley organized a choir of boys from local schools. With a few weeks of training they were able to sing the psalms to Anglican chant tones.<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that Oakeley chose to vest his choir in surplices, making it one of the earliest such choirs in a parish church. Since the congregation was expected to join the choir in the singing of all parts of the service, Oakeley took care to keep the music simple. Here are the parts of the service which were sung:

1. versicles and responses
2. the litany, sung to a setting by Tallis
3. the designated prose psalms for the day, sung to Anglican chant (these were later changed to Gregorian psalm tones<sup>19</sup>)
3. metrical psalms and hymns
4. settings of the Sanctus for use at communion services

While the practice of singing the above parts of the service were to become commonplace later in the century, they were considered to be not only revolutionary during Oakeley's tenure, but dangerously close to Roman Catholic practice (an anathema at the time in Britain). Oakeley was hounded for his liturgical reforms, and stayed at Margaret Street for only six years. In 1845 he and other High Churchmen went over to the Roman Catholic Church, ending his reforming work in the Church of England. Despite this short tenure, his championing of the right and duty of a congregation to take part in the revived choral service<sup>20</sup> started a process that would turn out to be unstoppable.

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17 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

19 Oakeley's psalter was entitled *Laudes diurnae*. It was the first Anglican psalter set to Gregorian psalm tones.

20 In one sense, as used here, the term "revived choral service" is a misnomer. Oakeley was actually a revolutionary, in that he was creating something had not existed in *parish worship* in England even before the Reformation.

While Oakeley's work at Margaret Street Chapel planted the seed for the choral revival, its dissemination throughout Britain really began with the establishment of the Church of England's first national teacher training college, St. Mark's College, Chelsea (1841). With the appointment of Thomas Helmore as vice-principal and precentor the next year, St. Mark's soon became famous for the excellence of its unaccompanied choral services.<sup>21</sup> As St. Mark's College was responsible for the training of teachers in Church of England schools, the knowledge of how to conduct a choral service was eventually disseminated throughout the country with the movement of its graduates. This effect was also felt in parish churches, as school teachers were frequently required to help the local parish priest with musical matters in his church. All students at St. Mark's were expected to sing certain parts of the service. The responses and psalms were chanted by the entire student body, while the choir sang the canticles and provided an anthem for every service.<sup>22</sup>

Helmore was important to the choral revival movement not only in his work at St. Mark's College, but in his publications of congregational music for the choral service. He believed that the Gregorian psalm tones were the most appropriate for congregational chanting of the psalter.<sup>23</sup> In order to facilitate this, he published *The Psalter Noted* in 1849. Unlike Oakeley's psalter *Laudes diurnae*, where the English textual accents frequently clashed with the Gregorian psalm tones, Helmore carefully matched words and music. The following year he republished this work with additional material as *A Manual of Plainsong*. It was this book that one would almost certainly find in Anglo-Catholic parishes during this time.<sup>24</sup> One further publication that is of interest to this study is Helmore's *Hymnal Noted* (1851-4), which was a compilation of Gregorian hymns.

Lest the reader assume that the triumph of the parish model choral service at Margaret Street Chapel and St. Mark's College was universally welcomed, two examples of negative reaction will be given. Though Oakeley's own parishioners "were deeply impressed by the order and reverence which prevailed" at services, he was continually hounded from the outside by those opposed to this type of choral service.<sup>25</sup>

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21 There was no organ at St. Mark's College until 1861, twenty years after its founding.

22 *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Helmore, Thomas,"

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12752> (accessed November 14, 2009).

23 *Ibid.*

24 William J. Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 8.

25 Rainbow, p. 25.

Among those who harassed him was the Bishop of London, who levied various episcopal embargoes on aspects of the service at Margaret Street. Such petty directives eventually drove Oakeley to the Roman Catholic Church. And how about St. Mark's College? It was certainly a magnet for those interested in learning more about the subject. Guests were often in attendance at the daily services. Unwanted 'guests' were not infrequently to be found outside the college, as well. "S. Mark's College chapel inevitably became the focus of noisy gatherings of militant protestants, who assembled outside the building at service times to shout their disapproval of the musical arrangements, the robed choristers, and the intoned prayers. Palestrina and Popery were readily made to go together in the popular mind."<sup>26</sup>

### **Choral services: the cathedral model**

Historically, parish churches in Britain did not attempt to conduct their services in cathedral style. Post-Reformation services included more or less congregational music, eventually settling into the pattern of singing metrical psalms and little else. This was the state of affairs at the opening of the nineteenth century. Just as Tractarian priests attempted to revive (or, more accurately, invent) a chanted service in which an entire congregation could participate, some non-Tractarian parish priests advocated a cathedral-style choral service.

The first example of a parish church in Britain instituting a cathedral-style service was Leeds Parish Church. This church had a surpliced choir from 1818 (a rare example for the time), but it performed only metrical psalms and anthems.<sup>27</sup> With the appointment of non-Tractarian W. F. Hook as vicar in 1837, things begin to change. A magnificent new church was completed in 1841, and a newly-recruited surpliced choir of men and boys sang for its consecration. Hook did not find it easy to implement the cathedral mode choral service. He faced stiff opposition from his parishioners and the townspeople of Leeds. In the end he prevailed and funding became available for the new choral foundation. Hook did not want his church to veer either to the extreme Protestant camp, or to the Tractarian High Church group. Rather, he sought a *via media* he described as something between "Methododistical and Popish absurdities."<sup>28</sup> As an admittedly non-musical man, Hook sought outside advice as to the form his newly instituted choral service should take. Given that his adviser was the Rev. John

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26 Ibid., p. 56.

27 Ibid., p. 27.

28 Ibid., p. 29.

Jebb, Prebendary of Limerick Cathedral, it is clear that rather than following Oakeley's path, he would steer his church in a new direction - that of the parish-conducted cathedral mode choral service.

Jebb was against Margaret Street Chapel type worship. He opposed congregational participation in singing the service, and was critical of the revival of ancient unison types of singing that originated in the Roman Catholic Church. He stated that Anglican chant was the appropriate music with which to sing the psalms, as they expressed "true Church of England devotion."<sup>29</sup> As for the Gregorian chants and other Catholic music, he wanted to know why such a fuss was being made about its revival, since, as he saw it, England was "now freed from Popish thralldom."<sup>30</sup>

At this point, two operable models for the revival of choral services existed. A parish priest could chose the parish mode and concentrate on training the choir and congregation to enable participation by all. Advantages included the small financial outlay needed to begin. Music would necessarily be limited to that which amateurs could easily sing; this tended toward music from pre-Reformation Roman Catholic sources. The same parish priest might just as well choose the cathedral mode. To be done well this mode required substantial financial outlay. Leeds Parish Church found itself spending six or seven hundred pounds a year to support its new choir at the end of 1841.<sup>31</sup> Even if the choir were not paid, this style of music making required the presence of a trained musician and a pipe organ, neither of which could be had inexpensively. Interestingly, this dichotomy of ideals regarding 'ideal parish choral music' persists into our own time.

### **Publicizing the movement**

As we reach the 1840's, simultaneous efforts being made to revive the choral service in various parts of Britain can be observed. How was the movement to spread past these few enlightened institutions? Word of mouth and the clergy network would help to a degree, but a mouthpiece was wanted to carry the argument to every corner of the country. Dr. Robert Druitt, a layman and articulate proponent of church music was one of the co-founders of The Society for Promoting Church Music in 1846. This society, led by Druitt and like-minded High Churchmen published a very important journal entitled *The Parish Choir*, of which Druitt was the editor. Though it was in publication

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, p. 33.

for a mere five years (1846-1851), its influence on the choral revival movement was great. In the opening article of the first issue (Feb. 1846) a statement was made describing the purpose of the society.

The Society, which this little publication now brings under the notice of the members of the Church of England, has arisen from the feeling that something may be done, and ought to be done, to improve the style of music and singing in our churches. Few persons will deny that it wants improvement...but yet, although some good has been done, as we must thankfully confess, yet far from enough has been done, and what has been done, has not always been done well...a few members of the Church have determined to try what they can do by uniting themselves into a society..And their desire is, not only that the singing in churches should be improved, musically speaking, but, further, that all improvement be guided by sound religious principles, and they feel that the latter point needs particular attention, now that instruction in singing is become so popular, and so easy to be had.<sup>32</sup>

This journal provided guidance to the reader in several different ways. Articles from the editor stated principles for creation of the right type of choral service. Notice that in the editor's statement above, he says that instruction in singing is easily had, but that its use in divine service needed guidance so that it be done under sound religious principles. One might categorize this type of article 'guidance and education' in the principles of the choral service. More practical columns introduced such topics as church music history, introductions to composers and their works, directions for ways to chant the psalms, and methods for learning to read music. Interesting reading is to be found in the letters to the editor column. Here we find specific instances of abuse to be stated by writers, and answered specifically by the editor, often naming the offending institution (parish church, cathedral, or chapel). One final contribution made to the church music scene by *The Parish Choir* was its publication of music. The journal printed what it considered to be a complete set of music necessary to perform the choral services of Morning and Evening Prayer, as well as Holy Communion. This included chants for the versicles, settings of the appropriate canticles and other texts, and simple anthems for a choir to perform. Much of the congregational music was in unison and very simple. Choir anthems were in four parts with optional accompaniment, mostly in a simple homophonic style, and most consisted of three pages of music. The editor's goal was to get the people singing, and to have them do it with music that was appropriate for the revived choral service. One reason for the cessation of publication

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32 "The Society for Promoting Church Music," *The Parish Choir*, no. 1 (1846): 1.

in 1851 was the feeling that the journal had provided that which was necessary, and that its mission was accomplished.

A second, and perhaps more important group involved in the struggle to resurrect the choral service was the Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society). This organization was founded by undergraduates at the University of Cambridge in 1839 as an attempt to influence the style of church architecture. They gradually extended their range of interests to include everything related to the field of ecclesiology. Their magazine, *The Ecclesiologist*, was published from 1841-1868, and covered not only church architecture, but "Church Musick and all the Decorative Arts which can be made subservient to Religion."<sup>33</sup> The Society's great success in influencing the direction and style of Victorian church architecture is well known. Its efforts on behalf of the choral service revival are perhaps less familiar, but just as vital. The society's first statement on the topic of church music did not come until 1843, when it came down very hard on the poor state of church music at Cambridge University. The following list outlines its stance on topics related to church music.

1. Music the society found appropriate to use in service: that which was used in the chapel at St. Mark's College, Chelsea; that sung by the Motett Society. In general, older, a cappella music.

2. On organs in churches. They were not considered necessary. The Society thought organs tended to ruin antiphonal singing, drown out a choir, block west windows, etc. If there were an organ, it ought to be sited on the floor level at the west end, or in a side aisle. (This pronouncement has had profound effect on the sometimes musically disastrous cramming of organs into inappropriately small and remote spaces in British churches - a legacy that can be seen today).

3. On the musical education of the clergy. It was not being undertaken in any form at the University, and the Society advocated the immediate training of future clergy in sacred music so as to prepare them for their duties.

4. On musical genre appropriate to the service: for choirs, Palestrina's a cappella choral music (and similar music by other composers of the Renaissance period) was thought to be the peak of the art; Gregorian psalm tones were said to be the most feasible for use with congregational chanting of the psalms.

Thanks to the perseverance of these two groups, it was possible for those involved in the struggle to feel that by the mid to late 1860's the battle for the revival of the

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33 Adelman, p. 22.

choral service in the Church of England had been won. The last issue of the *The Ecclesiologist* stated with confidence, "We have the satisfaction of retiring from the field victors."<sup>34</sup>

### **The revival movement and Cambridge University**

It has been suggested by at least one writer that the music of the Cambridge University chapels was so poor in the first half of the nineteenth century that it actually had a positive effect on the choral revival movement outside the University. Graduates tended to enter their clerical posts determined to do better for their parishes than their respective college chapels had done for them.<sup>35</sup> We have examined the situation at the old choral foundations of King's, St. John's and Trinity Colleges in the 1840's. What of the other college chapels? The establishment of a choir at Jesus College in 1846 is said to mark the beginning of a modest revival at the University.<sup>36</sup> As was often the case, the renovation of the chapel provided the impetus to create a choir. The enthusiasm of a member of the Cambridge Camden Society was critical to success. Fellow Commoner at Jesus College Sir John Sutton established and ran the choir, educated the choristers and gave an organ to the college for use in the chapel. Another chapel renovation case that spawned a new choir was at Queen's College, 1848. In this case, it seems that the undergraduates themselves established and ran the choir, although no records exist of what repertoire was sung during services. Also in 1848 *The Parish Choir* reported that the chaplains at Trinity College Chapel were soon to begin intoning their parts of the service - a major step towards reviving true choral worship at that chapel. This slow improvement of affairs continued, so that by 1854 nine of the University chapels could boast of having a choir.<sup>37</sup> This still left approximately eight colleges with no choral establishments, however.

To conclude this article, I will give the results of an examination I made of the college archives at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge University in November, 2009. At present, the chapel is served by two groups: the mixed student choir, and the girls' choir. These groups provide music for three or more weekly services, and are led by a full-time director of music, Dr. Edward Wickham. As St. Catharine's College was one of the colleges in the 1840's that likely had no music during its daily services, and is not

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34 Ibid, p. 198.

35 Ibid, p. 59.

36 Ibid, p. 56.

37 Rainbow, p. 218.

mentioned in the major writings about the period (Adelmann, Rainbow, Gatens), I decided to try and determine when it established a choir, as well as when it began (or restored) choral services. Nineteenth century records of annual expenditures on the chapel exist from 1837-1887.<sup>38</sup> Funds to run the chapel during this period came from property owned by the college known as the Bruisyard Estate. From 1837 expenditures made from this account include both chapel-related items and the costs of upkeep on the Estate. Expenditures on music, as such, do not enter the records until 1864, when one "Barrett, organ blower" is paid £1 11s. 6d. for one and one-half terms as the organ blower. This tells us that an organ either did not exist before 1864 (which is most likely), or that it was small enough for the organist himself to handle the pumping and playing at the same time. Interestingly, an 1863 entry in the estimate book of the Hill Organ Company lists the price of installing a two manual organ in the chapel.<sup>39</sup> Outside sources confirm this: Thistlethwaite states that "Hill & Son built an organ for the chapel in 1863. This had two manuals and 12 stops, including a short-compass Swell."<sup>40</sup> As an organ was installed in or by 1864, we can deduce that some form of singing must have taken place during chapel services from that time on. Was it at this point that the choral service was instituted? From 1865 until the end of the records, the organ blower was paid for three terms each year.

The next entries of interest to this investigation date from the 1873 page, where the purchase of "Music Books" at £7 3s. 7d. is to be found. This would suggest that either a choir existed, or was in the process of formation. The following year we find not only organ blower fees, but "Choir Expenses, boys, etc" for £26 14s., "Music" for £3 5s. 10d., and "Organ Tuning" at £7 10s. In 1875 expenses for the choir, organ blowing and tuning, as well as 12s. "for Psalters" appears in the record. As of 1874, then, we can be sure that a choir of boys, at least, had been established. Since a psalter was included in the music purchases, it is reasonable to assume that this group was regularly performing the choral service by the 1870's. A laundry list dated 1895 was found inserted in the same account book. Entitled "Choir Surplices 1895", it reveals that sixteen surplices were laundered every two months or so. Additionally, a photo of the choir in 1900 shows 16 boy choristers and fourteen men (including two clergymen

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38 Cambridge University St. Catharine's College Archives Reference No. EST 3/3/1. Financial records of the Bruisyard Estate.

39 *The National Pipe Organ Register*, s.v. "St. Catharine's College," [http://npor.rcm.ac.uk/cgi-bin/Rsearch.cgi?Fn=Rsearch&rec\\_index=N05223](http://npor.rcm.ac.uk/cgi-bin/Rsearch.cgi?Fn=Rsearch&rec_index=N05223) (accessed November 25, 2009).

40 Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *Organs of Cambridge* (Oxford: Positif Press, 1983), p. 78.

and one senior tutor and organist who probably did not sing in the choir).<sup>41</sup> Whether or not this was the size of the choir from its founding cannot be determined, but within twenty years of the first appearance of a choir expense in the account book, a group of approximately twenty-seven singers existed. The final one-time organ-related expenses in the register are a payment to Messrs. Hill in 1882 for cleaning the organ (£17), and an 1886 entry that reads “harmonium.” Following “harmonium” are two words which appear to read “hire of,” suggesting that the instrument was rented. For what period or purpose is unknown. Further developments during the century include the 1895 replacement of the Hill organ by a three manual instrument from the firm Norman and Beard<sup>42</sup>. By combining all of the available data, one can surmise that St. Catharine's College, though somewhat late to join the choral service revival movement, saw fit to spend considerable amounts of money on its chapel music by the late nineteenth century.

For parish choirs, the revolutionary period of the choral revival were the roughly twenty-five years between 1839 and the mid-1860's. Thereafter the movement continued to spread and mutate into a different form that is beyond the scope of this article. The college chapels of Cambridge University were considerably behind the parishes, only really getting started in the 1850's and later. Some colleges, such as St. Catharine's, appear not to have had a choir at all until the 1860's. Once the pioneering work had been completed, a second wave of musical reforms, such as those made by Charles Villiers Stanford at Trinity College from 1872, were to take the level of choral music at the University to a new and higher plateau. It is likely that the excellence one encounters in the University chapels today stands upon these two contiguous movements.

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41 St. Catharine's College Society Magazine, 1982, p. 27.

42 Thistlethwaite, p. 78.

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