Public demand for the hymn book led to many reprints of *Olney Hymns*, but the hymns it contained had an even wider circulation, becoming increasingly found in hymn collections as the practice of hymn singing became more general. Between March 1781 and May 1782 John Wesley reprinted fifteen hymns 'From the Olney Collection' in *The Arminian Magazine*, all from the first book and some with verses omitted: 1/4, 32, 33, 45, 42, 46, 47, 48, 54, 57, 75, 76, 79, 83, 115. Thereafter, various Olney hymns appeared in later editions of *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists*, though their adoption was somewhat slow; for instance, *How sweet the name of Jesus sounds [I/57]*, given by Wesley in the December 1781 issue of *The Arminian Magazine*, was not admitted into the Methodist *Collection* until the edition of 1875. *A Select Collection of Hymns to be universally sung in all the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels. Collected by her Ladyship*, Hughes & Walsh, London 1785, contained 27 of the *Olney Hymns*; *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren*, London 1789, had 17; and James Montgomery included 25 in *The Christian Psalmist; or, Hymns. Selected and Original*, Collins: Glasgow 1825. As might be expected, it was the friends of Newton and Cowper who were among the first to incorporate their hymns in parochial hymn books. William Cadogan, Rector of St Giles, Reading, and St Luke, Chelsea, issued a hymn book, *Psalms and Hymns*, London 1785, for use in these parishes. Out of 150 hymns, 12 were from the Olney collection. Ten years later Simeon, at Holy Trinity, Cambridge, issued *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns from Various Authors, Chiefly designed for the use of Public Worship*, Cambridge 1795, and 20 of the 341 hymns are by Newton and Cowper. After Cadogan's death in 1797, his successor in Reading was fiercely anti-evangelical and many of his congregation were obliged to build their own place of worship in Castle Street. Within this 'large and influential congregation', loyal to the Church of England, though at this stage outside it, was a close friend of Newton: Thomas Ring, physician to the Duke of Wellington. The chapel used Cadogan's collection but with the increasing number of Sunday and weekday services it soon became inadequate. The minister at the time was Henry Gauntlett, who, on leaving Reading in
1811, became the Vicar of Newton's old parish in Olney. Gauntlett edited a hymn book which was designed to be used in the Reading Chapel in addition to Cadogan's collection: *A Selection of Psalms & Hymns, Suited to Public, Social and Family Worship*, Snare & Man: Reading 1807. Out of 289 hymns, 29 were by Newton and Cowper, making a total of 41 Olney hymns sung by this particular congregation.

Not all the hymns were faithfully transcribed; indeed, some were drastically re-modelled. Rowland Hill, the minister of the Surrey Chapel, London, took *Quiet, Lord, my froward heart* [III/65] and re-constituted it into several four-line stanzas, beginning *Jesus make my froward heart*, for a special service for 5,000 children on Easter Monday, 1802. It was published in *The Evangelical Magazine*, June 1802, with authorship credited to Rowland Hill. Marianne Nunn adapted *One there is, above all others* [I/53] to suit the Welsh melody AR HYD Y NOS, first published in *Psalms and Hymns from the most approved Authors*, 1817, edited by her brother, the Rev. John Nunn. But the one hymn that has been subjected to a succession of modifications is Cowper's *There is a fountain filled with blood* [I/89]. The objection to the original is that its crude imagery offends against refined sensibilities. James Montgomery made at least two attempts to revise the text—one for the eighth edition of Thomas Cotterill's *Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Public and Private Use, adapted to the Festivals of the Church of England*, 1819, and the other for Edward Bickersteth's *Christian Psalmody*, 1833—but in his own *The Christian Psalmist*, 1825, no place could be found for the hymn, revised or otherwise. The problem, if it be a problem, is not with Cowper's verses but with their subject matter. As Johanson observes, 'The reality is crude. Sin is not polite or polished, and the measures which God took for man's redemption were not, in earthly terms, fit for fastidious minds to contemplate. If the hymn is in bad taste, then Christianity is in bad taste.'

Even though some of the hymns were regarded as unsuitable for congregational worship, as the nineteenth century progressed, more and more of them appeared in a growing number of hymn books. There was an obvious reaction against them by the followers of the Tractarian movement, but even among its leaders the influence of *Olney Hymns* was felt. F. W. Faber, who had abandoned the Church of England for the Church of Rome, wrote in the preface to the first edition of his *Hymns*, 1849: 'Every one, who has had experience among the English poor, knows the influence of Wesley's hymns and the Olney collection . . . Catholics even are said to be sometimes found poring with a devout and unsuspecting delight over the verses of the *Olney Hymns*, which the Author himself can remember acting like a spell on him for years . . . and even now . . . come back from time to time unbidden into the mind.' The Tractarian *Hymns*
Ancient & Modern included but four examples from the Olney collection in its first edition of 1861, but by the edition of 1904 the total had risen to 13, which is about the average number found in most modern hymn books. The popularity of Come my soul, thy suit prepare in the latter part of the nineteenth century was due in part to Spurgeon's custom 'to have one or more stanzas of it softly chanted before the principal prayer' on Sunday mornings at the Metropolitan Tabernacle.91

Many of the hymns have been translated into a variety of languages, for example, Latin, Welsh, Norwegian, and Dutch. In some American hymn books there are more of the hymns of Newton and Cowper than in their English counterparts. This stems from their use in the early nineteenth century at the open-air, revivalist camp meetings. The hymns were set to catchy, enthusiastic tunes, and, in order to encourage the crowds to sing together, refrains made up of repeated lines from the verses were added.96

We know how the Olney Hymns are sung today, and we also know how they were sung at American camp meetings, but how were they sung in the parish of Olney in Newton's day? Unfortunately there are no records of any tune book that the parish used during Newton's ministry, and there are no hints in Olney Hymns about which tunes should be used for which hymns. The metres call for nothing extraordinary, being confined mainly to SM, CM, LM, 7.7.7.7., 8.8.8., 8.7.8.7. (and their doubles), 9.8.8.8.8.8.9.8., 7.7.7.7.8.8., 7.6.7.7.7.7.6., etc., with an occasional 10.10.10.10. None of these metres would have presented any problems and there were many tunes available. But what type of tune was likely to have been used in Olney? To find an answer one needs to review the different attitudes to music adopted by evangelicals at the time.

On one wing were Martin Madan and Thomas Haweis, who at one point were chaplain and assistant chaplain respectively to the Lock Hospital. Both men were gifted musicians and often joined with Anthony Shepherd, professor of astronomy at Cambridge, and the noted Italian violinists, Felice Giardini and Nicolas Ximenes, to play string quartets and Corelli sonatas on Sunday evenings, an activity which later gave Haweis some qualms of conscience and earned the criticism of Cowper. On 9 September 1781, Cowper wrote to Newton:

I am sorry to find that the censure I have passed on Occiduus [= Madan] is better founded than I supposed. Lady Austen has been at his sabbatical concerts . . . He seems, together with others of our acquaintance, to have suffered considerably in his spiritual character by his attachment to music. The lawfulness of it, when used in moderation, and in its proper place, is unquestionable; but I believe that wine itself, though a man be guilty of habitual intoxication, does not debauch and befoul the natural understanding, than music, always music, music in season and out of season, weakens and destroys the spiritual discernment.99

Madan issued his own tune book to be used with the hymn book he
Olney Hymns 1779

had compiled for the Lock Hospital: *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes Never Published before*, London [1769]. Its tunes and settings, by Giardini, William Boyce, Charles Burney, Haweis and others, as well as Madan himself, continue the Methodist tradition, established by Wesley’s *Foundery Collection*, 1742, of Handelian congregational music. The tunes are in the main light, jaunty, entertaining, with a propensity to accentuate the wrong words, and with much repetition of lines and phrases. Some are more like arias and have a strong operatic flavour.

Anglican evangelicals as a whole were rather more conservative than the Madan circle. At the opposite extreme were men such as William Romaine and Richard Cecil whose ‘hymn’ books (1775 and 1785 respectively) contained only metrical psalms, which undoubtedly would have been sung to the old, somewhat austere and stately psalm tunes such as OLD 100th, OLD 112th, OLD 124th, etc. But most evangelicals were more than willing to use hymns and sing them to tunes which were warmer than the traditional psalm tune but not as extravagant as those used by the Methodists and the Madan circle, while at the same time being careful not to overstate the importance of music. John Fletcher, Rector of Madeley, wrote to Charles Wesley in 1775 and pointed out that his enemies complained of ‘your love for music, company, fine people, great folks, and of the want of your former zeal and frugality.’ Richard Cecil, who was also a biographer of Newton, thought it important to record the following incident in his account of the life of William Cadogan:

A musical amateur of eminence, who had often observed Mr Cadogan’s inattention to his performances, once said to him, ‘Come, I am determined to make you feel the force of music—pay particular attention to this piece.’ It was played. ‘Well, what do you say now?’ ‘Why, just what I said before.’ ‘What! can you hear this and not be charmed? Well, I am quite surprised at your insensibility. Where are your ears?’

‘Bear with me, my Lord!’ replied Mr Cadogan, ‘since I too have had my surprise: I have often from the pulpit set before you the most striking and affecting truths. I have sounded notes that have raised the dead: I have said “Surely he will feel now”, but you never seemed charmed by my music, though infinitely more interesting than yours. I too have been ready to say, with astonishment, Where are your ears?’

Both Cowper and Newton expressed their criticisms of what they regarded as an unhealthy regard for music. They were particularly concerned about the first Handel Commemoration in Westminster Abbey in 1784, and of the use of Handel’s oratorios, or choruses from them, as exercises of entertainment rather than of devotion.

On 20 August 1798, the original Eclectic Society met to discuss ‘what tends to enliven or depress devotion in a congregation’. Among those present were Richard Cecil, John Venn, Thomas Scott, Josiah Pratt, and Basil Woodd, but unfortunately Newton, a founder member of the Society, was either not present, or remained silent during the debate. Cecil was the proposer of the question and the
principal speaker. He soon referred to music: 'The music should not be in opera style, nor disgusting to a correct taste... Whenever there is an attempt at music, and the attempt is apparent—here is the first step towards carnality. "Now we are going to do it." TO DO IT!! We should rather seek to fall into the proper exercise of devotion in a natural manner... Doing it with a knack leads to carnality. "Now we do it better than everywhere else". Although he was speaking for himself, it is likely that Cecil was in some measure reflecting the views of Newton. Confirmation of this is to be seen in a comment in a letter of Charles Wesley, 27 December 1786:

You are a little disturbed at some good people's aversion to music. All the Quakers, with most of the Dissenters, are of Mr Newton's mind. The following lines seem to me a sufficient answer—

Apology for the Enemies of Music
Men of true Piety, they know not why,
Music with all its sacred Powers decry,
Music itself (not its abuse) condemn,
For good or bad is just the same to them,
Defect of Nature for excess of grace,
And while they reprobate its harmonious art,
The fault is in their ear, not in their up-right heart.

Cowper had a similar limited view of the role of music in worship, as being merely a vehicle for words and an aid to devotion. In the letter criticizing Madan's 'sabbatical concerts' he comments: 'It seems [they are] composed of song-tunes and psalm-tunes indiscriminately; music without words—and I suppose one may say, without devotion.'

In the preface to Olney Hymns Newton offered a few words on the composition of hymns: 'They should be Hymns, not Odes, if designed for public worship, and for the use of plain people. Perspicuity, simplicity and ease, should be chiefly attended to; and the imagery and colouring of poetry, if admitted at all, should be indulged very sparingly and with great judgement.' If Newton applied the same criteria to the melodies for the Olney Hymns then they would have been of a type mid-way between the traditional psalm tune (which, no doubt, also continued to be sung in Olney) and those of the Madan circle: that is, simple, direct, with moderate use of repetitions and avoidance of dance forms and over-decorated melodic lines. This was certainly the type of tune used by Newton's friends. At the Castle Street Chapel, Reading, Cadogan's Psalms and Hymns was used. An entry in the Account Book of the Chapel, dated 31 December 1799, reveals that '4 Addington Tunes' were purchased for £1 - 8s - 0d. The reference is to Stephen Addington, A Collection of Psalm Tunes for Publick Worship, Adapted to Dr Watts's Psalms and Hymns, sixth edition, Buckland: London 1786, which contained tunes of a generally restrained character. Charles Simeon launched Holy Trinity, Cam-
bridge, into a new era of hymn singing in 1794/5 by issuing his own hymn book and installing, against the advice of Haweis, a barrel organ.¹¹³ Sixty tunes, arranged by the professor of music, Dr John Randall, were put on to the barrels. They are a mixture of traditional psalm tunes and moderate melodies, with an occasional tune of a more spirited character. Among the tunes assigned to hymns from the Olney collection are as follows:

- **God moves in a mysterious way** ([III/15])
- **There is a fountain filled with blood** ([I/79])
- **How sweet the name of Jesus sounds** ([I/57])
- **Rejoice, believer, in the Lord** ([III/84])
- **O for a closer walk with God** ([I/3])

However, the practice of Newton’s friends in Reading and Cambridge some fifteen to twenty years after the publication of *Olney Hymns* may not accurately reflect the music used in the parish of Olney.

Although uncertainty surrounds the general question of which melody was used in Olney for which particular Olney hymn, one association can be identified with reasonable certainty. In March 1779, that is almost coincident with the manuscript of *Olney Hymns* being sent to the printer, *The Gospel Magazine* contained a supplement or appendix of two engraved pages to that month’s issue. On them was Cowper’s *There is a fountain filled with blood* ([I/79]), set to an anonymous melody which, like many contemporary tune books, was given in three parts with figured bass:

**Slow & Solemn**

\[
\text{There is a fountain fill’d with blood, Drawn from Im-manuel’s veins;}
\]

\[
\text{And Sinners plunge’d, and Sinners plunge’d, and Sinners plunge’d beneath that flood, Lose all their guilty stains; lose, lose all their guilty stains.}
\]

Although there is no direct evidence connecting the melody with Olney, the fact that it appeared in print at about the time *Olney Hymns* went to press is strong circumstantial evidence that it was in use in the parish.¹¹⁵

It may well be that *Olney Hymns* did not really break new ground but, as it were, simply brought the Church of England into line with nonconformist hymnody,¹¹⁶ that its hymns offended against some
people's standards of good taste and are of unequal quality,\textsuperscript{117} that much of Newton's verse is unrefined,\textsuperscript{118} and that it is too Calvinistic in tone;\textsuperscript{119} but neither Cowper or Newton set out to make a name for themselves by producing a work of refined and polished taste: their purpose was at the same time more mundane and yet more sublime. Newton wrote:

As the workings of the heart of man, and of the Spirit of God, are in general the same, in all who are subjects of grace, I hope that most of these hymns, being the fruit and expression of my own experience, will coincide with the views of real Christians of all denominations. But I cannot expect that every sentiment I have advanced will be universally approved. However, I am not conscious of having written a single line with an intention, either to flatter, or to offend any party or person on earth. I have simply declared my own views and feelings, as I might have done if I had composed hymns in some of the newly-discovered islands in the South Sea, where no person had any knowledge of the name of Jesus, but myself.\textsuperscript{120}

The authors of \textit{Olney Hymns} wished to speak in simple and direct terms of the amazing grace of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to prepare in time for the singing of the redeemed in eternity. That we are still singing many of their hymns—and perhaps we should be singing more of them—is a measure of their success. The last full hymn in the collection [III/88], which appears before a kind of appendix of short hymns and doxologies, ends thus:

5 And what, in yonder realms above,
Is ransomed man ordained to be?
With honour, holiness, and love,
No seraph more adorned than he.

6 Nearest to the throne, and first in song,
Man shall his hallelujahs raise;
While wondering angels round him throng,
And swell the chorus of his praise.\textsuperscript{121}

\textbf{ROBIN A. LEAVER} is Associate Librarian, Latimer House, Oxford, and Minister in Charge of St Mary's, Cogges, Witney, Oxon.

\textbf{NOTES}

83 The information is derived from the 14th edition of 1826, which is the earliest copy I have seen. Simeon included the following \textit{Olney Hymns}: I/3, 6, 14, 30, 33, 43, 57, 79, 108, 115; II/30, 43, 44, 51, 60; III/15, 23, 36, 37, 84.

84 For the background, see R. A. Leaver, \textit{A Short History of St Mary's Chapel}, Castle Street, Reading, Reading 1973.

85 It was repeated in Hill's \textit{Collection of Hymns for Children}, London 1819.

86 John Antes LaTrobe, wrote that 'great liberty has been taken with a beautiful hymn of Newton's to render it suitable' for 'the drunken Welsh measure'; \textit{The Music of the Church Considered in its Various Branches, Congregational and Choral}, Seeley & Burnside: London 1831, p 212, note 1.

C. S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 1160.

Its doctrine is impeccable, its mood passionately sincere, its statement simple and direct, and it presents an experience, which, though necessarily in varying measure, ought to be shared with Cowper by all his Christian readers', Polland, op. cit., p. 117; see also E. Routley, I'll Praise My Maker, Independent Press: London 1951, p 146.


ibid., p. 147.

Cowper, Works, Vol. 15, p 87; cp. the following lines from The Progress of Error:

Ociciudus is a pastor of renown;
When he has prayed and preached the sabbath down,
With wire and catgut he concludes the day,
Quavering and semiquavering care away . . .
Still I insist, though music heretofore
Has charmed me much, not even Ociciudus more,
Love, joy, and peace make harmony more sweet
For sabbath evenings, and perhaps as sweet . . .
If apostolic gravity be free
To play on Sundays, why not we?
If he the tinkling harpsichord regards
As inoffensive, what offense in cards?
Strike up the fiddles! let us all be gay!
Laymen have leave to dance, if parsons play.


CHURCHMAN

101 e.g. DENMARK. Collection of . . Tunes, 1769, p 94: Routley, op. cit., p 245-7.
102 Cecil eventually admitted hymns into his collection but not until it had reached its seventh edition; see Balleine, op. cit., p 139.
104 Quoted in The Evangelical Magazine, Supplement, 1813, p 489f.
106 Haweis and Madan had organized annual performances of oratorio in the Lock Hospital Chapel. Increasingly the choruses from Handel’s oratorios were used as anthems in many churches and chapels, and the words were printed as appendices to a number of hymn books; e.g. A Collection of Hymns to be universally sung in all the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels, London 1785, pp 425-30; Psalms, Hymns, and Anthems, Selected for the use of the Parish Church of Saint Aldate, in the City of Oxford. Ham: Oxford 1820, p 105ff.
107 Woodd was later to edit three hymn books which were mainly devoted to metrical psalms; see Julian, op. cit., p 1292.
109 J. T. Lightwood, the author of Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century, London 1927, indicated to Scholes (see Note 110 below) that he thought that Wesley was referring to another Mr Newton. But seeing that Newton’s sermons on the Messiah had recently been published, and taking into account the context of the letter, it seems fairly certain that John Newton of St Mary Woolnoth is meant.
111 Cowper, Works, Vol. 15, p 87f; see also Grew, op. cit., p 34f.
112 OH p viii.
115 Oral tradition in Olney makes a claim for another word/melody association: ‘It is said that the poet [Cowper] as he paced his walk [to his summerhouse] could hear one of the cottagers, “an old breeches maker”, singing, as he worked, to the plaintive tune of LUDLOW, the hymn beginning, “O for a closer walk with God”’, Wright, op. cit., p 388; on the identity of the melody LUDLOW, see The Hymn Society Bulletin, Vol. 8, No. 5 (1974), p 87.
118 ‘Much of Newton’s verse is definitely bad. Much, however, while crude, has in its breezy colloquialism a certain vividness and vitality’; G. Thomas, William Cowper and the Eighteenth Century, Nicholson & Watson: London 1935, p 218.
119 OH p x.
120 OH p viii f.
121 In preparing these articles I have received invaluable help from numerous people. In particular, I wish to thank sincerely Hugh Evan Hopkins, Alan Luff, Dr A. C. Honders, J. W. Schulte Nordholt, Canon R. W. Collins of Olney, and the late Robin Nixon for encouraging me to write them in the first place.