
Processes of transmission in the country psalmody tradition

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In this paper Dave Townsend seeks to assess the nature and relative importance of the ways in which this music was handed on. He begins by defining and distinguishing between oral transmission, musical tradition, folk music, and then considers the concepts of ur-text, composer's intention, and usage. Printed material is discussed in terms of 18th-century publishing practice, attribution, the nature of different 'editions', and the needs of psalm-singing teachers. The value of the different kinds of village musicians' manuscripts as a guide to performance practice and as a primary source of musical material is demonstrated. The place of oral transmission in the country psalmody tradition is explained, in the methods of the singing-teachers, and the use of well-known orally learned tunes. In conclusion, the value of the different kinds of information is discussed.

The aim of this paper is to survey the ways in which the music of the 'country psalmody' or 'west gallery' tradition was transmitted,¹ and to assess the relative importance of the records left by the various processes involved. The record of this musical tradition as it has come down to us may be broadly divided into the printed record, the manuscript record, and the oral record. Before examining each of these in turn, it will be useful to discuss some of the terms involved.

Defining the tradition

In the later 19th century and early 20th century, scholars became interested in finding and documenting what they conceived of as 'folk music', a pure orally transmitted music which belonged to an unbroken oral tradition, had evolved within a non-literate, probably rural and isolated community, and was free from any outside influence. The best and most coherent summary of this approach is to be found in Cecil Sharp's (1907) *English Folk Song: some conclusions*. Unlike some of his continental counterparts, Sharp allows for the inevitable influence of the musical culture outside the community, and for the fact that many sources

of what he considers as pure folk-song are in fact able to read and write. He is however determined to maintain a distinction between 'true' folk music and 'popular' music, even though many of his informants made no such distinction, and sang versions of recently composed commercial songs alongside those that had been known in their community for more than one generation. In particular, Sharp and most of his colleagues would tend to dismiss any material known to have been learnt from a written source, or which the informant had composed or claimed to have composed.²

These views persist to a considerable degree today. There is a tendency to believe that oral tradition and folk music mean the same thing, that music transmitted by written means cannot be traditional and that anything orally transmitted belongs to the domain of folk music. Patient scholarship and a broader view of the cultures of the world show that neither is true. Oral transmission is a feature of nearly all musical cultures, with or without the support of a written notation, and it would be a mistake to define the sophisticated art-music traditions of northern Indian classical music or of mainstream be-bop jazz as 'folk music' simply because their essentials are orally transmitted. Equally, popular community-based music traditions are frequently supported by written notation, and in particular, English village music of the 18th and 19th centuries was rarely out of touch with the presence of written music, the evidence for which is the large number of village musicians' manuscripts which have survived from this period.³ The musical life of these communities, including the music performed in churches, is a true musical tradition, involving oral transmission and changes led by the needs of the community, but one which also used the support of the skill of musical literacy.

² The most spectacular instance of this is Sharp's failure to collect an entire morris dancing tradition, from Yardley Gobion, because the informant said that he had invented the dances.

³ Examples can be found in many musical archives, museums and other collections. A few of the characteristic examples in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (henceforth VWML) bear shelfmarks QM5234, QM2275, QM4493, QM7406, QM8820 and QMP4687.

¹ Accepting for the present the distinction between town and country traditions of parish church music outlined by Temperley (1979), pp. 97 ff.

Original versions

Nineteenth-century studies of folklore and early literature shared a concern with finding, and if necessary reconstructing, an ultimate original form of a work of literature or music, described as the 'ur-text'. Even in works of manifestly multiple composition, that have passed through many transformations and have been widely disseminated, the notion persisted with Sharp and his contemporaries that one version could be more true, purer, more authentic, the oldest, or closer to the original. Modern musical scholarship, in seeking out the earliest editions and manuscripts, may appear to be following the same path. However, the wider scope of historical material now available, and the greater awareness of the importance of the social context of music, means that we are ready to accept that the different recensions of any work may be of equal validity as representing a particular stage in the evolution of that work. By looking at the ways in which west gallery music was transmitted, I hope to demonstrate that this is the more fruitful way of investigating and of approaching performance of the music from this tradition. In music published specifically for the very variable conditions of country parish quires, such ideas as the composer's ideal performance, the original scoring, and artistic valuations based on 19th-century concepts of the artist as sole and unique creator, are of secondary significance.

Printed material

In the search for music to study, edit or perform, the natural starting-point is with printed material. Usually it will be easier to date, place and attribute. It represents a form in which a work is known to have been disseminated. Caution must be exercised in studying early printed books of country psalmody. It is obvious from a glance at many of these books that the compilers and publishers had a different sense of intellectual property to that of the present day. They often state that the whole book is composed by a person named on the title-page, when this is rarely true.¹ William Knapp² is among the most scrupulous, stating in his 'advertisement' (a preface) to *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems* of 1738 which items he has not composed, and giving attribu-

tions. He does the same in his *New Church Melody* of 1751, but fails to identify at least one item which on stylistic grounds is almost certainly not his composition. The different versions of Matthew and Elizabeth Wilkins's *A Book of Psalmody*³ are more characteristic in giving no attributions, though the book draws heavily on Knapp, Chetham and Tans'ur.

The publications of Knapp and the Wilkins make an interesting comparison. It is possible to trace the editorial history of Knapp's works. The first edition of *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems* (1738) contains a list of subscribers and is mostly engraved with a cursive hand. The second edition of 1741 is a very different book, re-set, with much new material, and some of the original material differently harmonised. Subsequent editions are printed from the same plates, where even the same scratches can be identified, but with new title-pages, giving the current name of the publishers and a date. In thirty-two years the book runs to eight editions,⁴ but without the publishers' records we have no way of knowing how many copies constituted an edition, and they give no measure of the popularity of the book. *New Church Melody* remained similarly stable from the first edition (1751) onwards. The stability of these books reflects the stability of Knapp's life; we may assume that, as parish clerk, he lived in or near Poole and did not lead the life of an itinerant singing-teacher; the names he gives his tunes, all those of parishes close to Poole, would bear this out. The fact that his music is so frequently found in other printed books and in manuscripts from all parts of the country tells us far more about the popularity of his music than the number of editions.

The publications of Matthew and Elizabeth Wilkins of Great Milton, Oxfordshire, tell a different story. None bear dates, though their use of material from the first edition of Knapp's *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems* indicate a date later than 1738, and a copy of *A Book of Psalmody* in the Oxfordshire County Records Office⁵ bears the manuscript date 1750. The most extraordinary feature is that whole sections of the books bound under different title-pages are the same, and that different copies with an identical title-page vary widely. Thus *An Introduction to Psalmody*⁶ shares the introductory instructional section with *A Book*

¹ That is, rarely true in the currently accepted sense. See Temperley (1979), pp. 176–7, and Temperley's paper in this volume, p. 6.

² William Knapp (1698–1768), a psalmist, parish clerk and singing-master, lived most of his life in Poole, Dorset.

³ See later for details on editions and dates.

⁴ The 8th edition appeared in 1770.

⁵ Oxfordshire County Records Office (henceforth OCRO), MS. DD. Par. Gt. Milton e.7.

⁶ British Library (henceforth BL), shelfmark A.487.n.

of *Psalmody*¹ though the musical part is totally different.² Comparing the musical content of different copies of *A Book of Psalmody* exhibits the widest divergence, with the same pages in different order, different pages in odd places, and a general air of disorder about the whole book. One copy³ consists mostly of material from *An Introduction to Psalmody* and from Elizabeth Wilkins's *A Collection of Church Musick*,⁴ with only a few pages in common with other copies, while the only copy I have seen of *A Second Book of Psalmody*⁵ is virtually a reprint, re-set, of this same copy of *A Book of Psalmody*.⁶ It is not realistic to talk of different editions of different books here. Matthew Wilkins or his printer obviously had a collection of plates or printed pages, ready to be turned into books as the occasion arose. Normal bibliographic considerations cannot be applied, and any book under these title pages may be different and possibly unique. This disparity may reflect the working conditions of an itinerant singing teacher, unable to carry large quantities of books about, and needing to adapt his teaching material closely to the needs of those he was teaching. They may therefore be taken as representing an actual repertoire, the material likely to be sung by a choir under Wilkins's direction.⁷

Manuscript transmission

It is difficult to assess the extent of musical literacy among the ordinary people of rural England in this period. Certainly the singing-teachers saw it as their task to teach the skill of singing from written music, though the early use of instru-

ments purely as support for the vocal line suggests that singers commonly needed this extra help in keeping to their line. The use of the syllables fa, sol, la and mi for different degrees of the scale is described and recommended in most of the prefaces to printed books of country psalmody, though this was a prop to be dispensed with. (Knapp, in his introduction to the second and subsequent editions of *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems*, gives the syllables for his 'lessons' up to page 25, where he stops 'because I hope by this Time you can go on without that assistance'.) Oral learning and written music work side by side in this tradition, and this is clearly demonstrated by the manuscript record.

We are not here concerned with composers' original manuscripts, as hardly anything of this kind has been found for west gallery music. We should also distinguish between the usual west gallery manuscript and the musical commonplace-books of trained professional musicians, such as the Malchair manuscript⁸ in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. West gallery manuscripts tend to fall into three categories. First, there are the *rough general notebooks*, which might contain any sort of music as well as other material, including accounts, wise sayings, and factual information. (In different manuscripts, I have found a recipe for cider-making and the distance of the earth from the sun.) The two Giles manuscripts⁹ from Bampton, Oxfordshire, appear to be a rough notebook of this kind and a fair copy made from it. *Master-copy books* form the second broad division. These are generally clearly laid out and well written, containing all the parts and frequently words as well. These might often be the work of someone with a prominent role in the quire, intended for use as a leader's score and for others to make copies from. One of the best examples of this kind of manuscript is James Bridcut's book,¹⁰ from the Marsh Baldon parish records now in the Oxfordshire County Records Office. Finally, we have the *part-books*, containing one part only and used by the singer or instrumentalist when performing.

The manuscripts represent the actual use of the music in its proper context, and as such are of prime importance. There are four possible sources of the material, which are not mutually exclusive. First, they may be original compositions. This is difficult to tell, as attributions are so rare and, as we have seen, may be incorrect. Direct composition by west gallery musicians themselves may

¹ This applies to most of the copies of *A Book of Psalmody* the author has seen, including two from the Great Milton parish records, one in the BL (A.992.a), and another in private hands.

² The use of identical instructional material in different publications was not restricted to metrical psalters. See Hogwood (1978, introduction) for information regarding the use of the *plain and easy Instructions* attributed to Purcell during the 17th and early 18th centuries. [CT]

³ BL, A922.

⁴ BL, A.904.

⁵ BL, A.992.b.

⁶ BL, A.992.

⁷ William East, a singing-master of Waltham, Leicestershire, active in the 1750s, may have adopted a similar pattern. For example, on the title-page verso of a copy of *Sacred Melody* (1754; BL, A.1230.o) East advertises the prices of the various options he offered. [SG] It is interesting that in the 20th century several publishers have adopted a similar *pick n' mix* in producing hymn-books for local usage. [CT]

⁸ VWML, QM3619.

⁹ VWML, QM2222 and QM2286.

¹⁰ OCRO, MS. DD. Par. Marsh Baldon c.2.

not be uncommon, as there are instances of prolific and well-documented composers from this background whose work was never printed, notably the Nuttalls of Rossendale, Lancashire (see Elbourne, 1980, pp. 40–3, 115–33). Secondly, the music may have been copied directly from a printed source. This seems to be the case with many of the items in James Bridcut's book (see above), whose faithful copies of Thomas Clark's compositions, including a hand that imitates the typeface, make him seem like a human photocopier.¹ Thirdly, we have music copied from other similar manuscript books, and fourthly, music taken down by ear.

With music taken from other sources, there is always the possibility that the copy may not be the same as the source. On the one hand, there may be accidental changes, or mistakes. On the other, the changes may be deliberate. This could be simply the omission of a part or section that the compiler did not want or need, or the omission of markings (tempo, pauses, repeats, dynamics, figured bass) which the compiler did not understand or wish to follow. There are also plenty of instances where it seems certain that the compiler is consciously adapting while copying. Thomas Hardy's father's carol book² has several items (such as 'Rejoice Ye Tenants of the Earth' and 'Rejoice This Glorious Day is Come') where the line given is an amalgamation of the more interesting sections of the tenor and treble parts found in other fuller versions. This may have been to make it possible to sing the carols in only two or three parts, or it may be an instrumental line intended to give leads for the entries of the two separate vocal parts. Also in the Hardy family manuscripts³ is the carol 'Arise and Hail the Sacred Day', where the air of a setting by Joseph Stephenson⁴ has been taken and given a new second part which is only vaguely based on Stephenson's other two parts. Music is also variously transposed, its time-values changed, and different words assigned. Panel 1 shows several versions of 'Oxford', a widespread fuguing tune. Example 1 is a transcription of one of the earliest printed versions, from

Michael Beesly's *A Collection of 20 New Psalm Tunes* (c. 1746).⁵ Example 2 is from a Dorset manuscript marked 'Joseph Doray West Lulw ...'.⁶ It has the original air, with a totally new second part, to fulfil the needs of a two-part performance. Example 3, taken from *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns with favourite and approved Tunes, for the use of Bedford Chapel*, a printed book compiled by W. Parry in 1791, shows that this kind of adaptation was needed at the opposite end of the social spectrum. In his preface he is most anxious that all the congregation of this fashionable London church should join in the singing, and the tunes have been adapted accordingly, with the fuguing part of 'Oxford' reduced to this vestigial form. The picture that emerges is of musicians actively taking existing items and moulding them to the needs of their own musical community, rather than attempting to imitate a particular style of art or church music or to interpret the composer's wishes.

No discussion, edition or performance can afford to ignore the evidence of these manuscripts, because they are the closest indications we have of the performance practice of the quires themselves. They also frequently contain valuable background information, such as the names of owners, dates, places etc. The way they are laid out may also provide clues to performance practice. It is common to find parts differently disposed in the same book⁷ with inconsistent labelling or none, implying that parts were not necessarily assigned as we might expect or as the original publication gave them.

Mary Furber's book⁸ dated 1765 contains an interesting mixture of treble parts and counter parts written in the high octave,⁹ with no indication as to which is which or that any are to be sung an octave lower, which may be taken as confirmation of the practice of singing counter parts at their apparent written pitch, where instrumentalists played them. The manuscript record, far from being seen as inaccurate or degenerate, must be accorded the status of a primary source for west gallery music, both as a guide to performance prac-

¹ The relatively high price of printed music during this period may be a significant reason for the existence of these manuscripts.

² TH II in the Thomas Hardy Memorial Collection, Dorset County Museum (henceforth DCM).

³ DCM, Thomas Hardy Memorial Collection, Hook MS.

⁴ Joseph Stephenson (1723–1810) was a psalmist and 'Clerk of the Meeting' at the Unitarian Church, Poole, Dorset. The carol is in *The Musical Companion* (c. 1775; BL, H.879.a.(2)), p. 42.

⁵ Bodleian Museum, 55e 148. I am grateful to Sally Drage for providing this transcription.

⁶ DCM, Ladies' Parlour, Box 2, nos. 8 and 9.

⁷ See the Bridport manuscript, PE/BT/CW9/3, for example, or Thomas Hames' book, D1/OA/Z.8.

⁸ DCM, Ladies' Parlour, Box 1, no. 5.

⁹ In country psalmody books from about 1760 onwards, it became common practice to give the alto line, generally termed 'counter', in treble clef an octave higher than sounding pitch, as was done with the tenor parts.

Panel 1 Variants of 'Otford'

Example 1

PSALM 8 N. Version

MICHAEL BEESLY

A Collection of 20 New Psalm Tunes... c.1746

1. O thou to whom all crea - tures bow With - in this
 1. O thou to whom all crea - tures bow With - in this

earth - ly frame, Thro' all the world how
 earth - ly frame, Thro'
 earth - ly frame, Thro' all the world how great art thou, Thro'
 earth - ly frame, Thro' all the world how great art thou, Thro' all the

great art thou, How glo - rious is thy name. name.
 all the world how great art thou, How glo - rious is thy name. name.
 all the world how great art thou, How glo - rious is thy name. name.
 world how great art thou, How glo - rious is thy name. name.

[alto originally in alto C clef from: Bodleian Mus 55e 148]

Example 3

Otford

Ps: 118. O praise the Lord for He is good his
 mercies neer de - cay Bafs Solo that
 that his kind favours,
 his kind favours ever last that his kind favours e - ver
 ever last - - -
 last Let grate - ful Britons fay.

2. For better 'tis to trust in God, Tho' many Nations clofely leagu'd,
 And have the Lord our Friend, Did oft befet me round;
 Than on the greatelt human Pow'r Yet by his boundlefs Pow'r fustain'd,
 For Safety to depend, I did their Strength confound.

16. He by his own, refiftlefs Pow'r
 Has endless Honour won;
 The faving Strength of his right Hand
 Amazing Works has done.

Example 2

While Shephards watch their flocks by Night -
 God save the Queen

tice and as a 'score' indicating exactly what was actually played and sung by country quires.

Oral transmission

Oral transmission played a large part in the music of this tradition. The older unison psalm-singing tradition used tunes learnt and sung orally, several of which appeared in west gallery guise. Printed books frequently make reference to the familiar or common way in which tunes are sung, usually with the intention of improving it. Wesley rather unusually declares his purpose of 'not mending our tunes, but setting them down, neither better nor worse than they were' (1765, p. iv), giving this as the reason why he did not employ a professional musician, who would have 'improved' the music. Apart from the sacred traditional tunes, there are some instances of secular traditional tunes being adapted, though this was far more common in the early American psalmody tradition (Gordon, Barrand and Moody Compton, 1995, pp. 224–5, 228–9, 236). We should also remember that the teaching of singing schools was a largely oral process. Though some quires doubtless acquired the skill of music-reading, the initial teaching of a new quire would involve learning the parts by ear, using the fasola system. Many members of the choir would have been illiterate, and it is a good question whether it is possible to learn to read music without having acquired the ability to scan lines of text (Gammon, 1981, pp. 62–88).

There are places in some west gallery manuscripts which point to pieces being taken down by ear. One of the manuscripts¹ from Great Milton, Oxfordshire, has a series of hasty, rather grubby notations, on odd staves, which add up to a version of the 'Evening Hymn' (Tallis' tune in its usual late 18th-century guise). No-one copying from a score would do it so chaotically, with bits crossed out and sections re-written; the obvious conclusion is that the compiler was writing as he listened, trying to pick out the different parts. A Christmas carol 'The Shepherds Amazed' in the Bridport book (see above) is written in the same hasty and much-corrected way on page 30, and copied in a tidier form later in the same book (page 50). This carol also appears on page 105 of James Bridcut's book (see above), in a different setting and quite tidily written, but mis-barred, which may suggest that in this book also the carol did not come from a printed source, but derived from an oral transcription. A Dorset manuscript² with the names 'Harry Adams' and 'William

Goodfellow. Cranborne. Dorset' but no date contains a four-part setting of Psalm 88. In another Dorset book³ mainly of tenor parts, with the name 'John Legg' and the date 1808, there is a Psalm 88 which is not exactly any of the parts found in Harry Adams' book, but the upper line that would be heard if the tenor and treble of the Harry Adams setting were to be sung or played in the same octave. It seems most likely to be the result of someone hearing the psalm sung, with parts doubled at the octave or voiced in the same octave, and then writing down what they perceived as the tune. The generation of new melodic lines in this way has been demonstrated by Nicholas Temperley (1979, pp. 74–5) in reference to early psalm tunes and by Ian Russell as part of present-day carolling traditions.⁴

Music from the country psalmody tradition has frequently been collected from oral tradition, tunes, other parts, and even full settings having been learnt and passed on by informants. A brief look at the oral history of one carol, Stephenson's 'A Christmas Hymn' from *Church Harmony Sacred to Devotion* (1760, 3rd edn), will prove instructive (see Panel 2). It appears to have had sustained popularity from the time it was published up to the present century. The transcription of the original publication (Example 4) shows a piece of some complexity and a clear shape: after the opening 'Harks', there is a short homophonic passage leading into a short fugal conclusion, and this pattern is repeated. As well as being found in manuscripts and the air being collected from tradition, at least three collectors with antiquarian interests claimed to have taken down the whole piece from tradition. In 1822, Davies Gilbert published *Some Ancient Christmas Carols*, and included a version of this one (Example 5). The opening 'Harks' have disappeared – in fact they are not found in any traditional version to my knowledge. The melodic line of the air retains its shape, with a few added ornamental passing notes. The bass follows the original some of the time, and diverges elsewhere. It is worth noting that the exposed fugal entry in the second section is preserved, but not the modulation that precedes it. The top line also loses the contrapuntal overlap at the cadence of the first section, and Stephenson does not have the very obvious series of consecutive fifths just before this cadence in Gilbert's version. The presence of these fifths makes it less likely that Gilbert has 'corrected' or

¹ OCRO, MS. DD. Par. Gt. Milton, e.9.

² DCM, Ladies' Parlour, Box 1, no. 4.

³ DCM, Ladies' Parlour, Box 2, no. 2.

⁴ Ian Russell, notes to various cassettes in the *Village Carols* series (listed in the recordings section in the references); personal communication.

Panel 2 Variants of 'A Christmas Hymn'

Example 4

A Christmas Hymn

Joseph Stephenson, Church Harmony Sacred to Devotion, 4th edition c. 1795. Transcription by Dave Townsend

Hark Hark Hark, hark what news the an - gels bring.

Hark Hark Hark, hark what news the an - gels bring, Glad ti-dings of Glad

Hark Hark Hark, hark what news the an - gels bring, Glad

Glad ti - dings of a new born King. Born of a maid, a vir - gin

ti-dings of a new - born King. Born of a maid, a vir - gin

ti-dings of a new - born King. Born of a maid, a vir - gin

15 pure, Born with-out sin, from guilt se - cure.

15 pure, Born with-out sin, from guilt, from guilt se - cure.

15 pure, Born with out sin, from guilt se - cure from guilt se - cure.

Example 5

CAROL 5.

Apparently less Ancient than the others.

Example 6

14. HARK, HARK, WHAT NEWS.

Hark hark what news the Angels bring Glad tidings of a

new born King who is the savi-

In

our of mankind In whom we may sal-

In whom we may Sal - va - tion

whom we may Sal - va - tion And

va - tion Sal - va - tion And

And Sal - va - tion And

Example 7

J.H.M. for Wm. Walker Oct 1820

"The Old Hark! Hark!"

Said also to be composed & written by Thomas Haynes Bayly, 1793

Hark! Hark! what news the an - gels bring! Glad

ti-dings of a New - born New - born King -

Glad ti-dings of the New - born King

Born of a Ma - ry, Vir - gin pure, Born without sin, Born

with-out sin from guilt - from guilt - se - cure.

Born without sin from guilt - se - cure.

with-out sin, from guilt, from guilt se - cure.

No. 2

'improved' this piece. Sandys, in *Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern* (1833), also presents this carol as a specimen of ancient Christmas music taken from tradition (Example 6). The first part, again lacking the opening 'harks', is unusual in that a whole bar has disappeared. The overlap of the counter at the first cadence is preserved, though it no longer makes sense in terms of word-fit and the notes are different. By contrast, the second section is remarkably close to Stephenson in all parts. It is significant that both Gilbert and Sandys thought that this was music of considerable antiquity, and were not aware that it had been first published only some fifty years before. It is just possible that they were right, and that Stephenson was merely adapting an older composition which has so far remained undiscovered.¹

In October 1916, Janet Blunt of Adderbury, Oxfordshire, took down the carol in Example 7 from her most prolific informant, William Walton.² He had sung in the choir from boyhood, and described a characteristic west gallery band including violin and serpent, and a custom of carol singing. He had learnt all the parts to certain items, especially carols, and Miss Blunt notated them from his singing. Her notes show a degree of correction and interpretation already taking place. The air is very stable, including ornamental passing notes, and the counter is fairly close to Stephenson's top line. The bass in the first section is quite different, but very close in the second section. All three versions indicate the creative element of oral tradition, and that harmony and counterpoint can be transmitted in this way. Perhaps the most extraordinary example of the tenacity of oral tradition is Ian Russell's recent discovery³ in present-day oral tradition of a Christmas

hymn published by William East in 1750,⁴ with most of the parts intact, including some unusual features of harmony and counterpoint.

Conclusions

The main conclusions I would draw from this survey is that the country psalmody tradition should be seen as a musical continuum, in which individual compositions and performances are liable to transformations caused by social needs and social change. The concerns of art music, the search for a composer's unique and original creation, are not appropriate here; in order to understand it, it is necessary to integrate information from the complete record, printed, manuscript and oral, and to accept each as equally valid and valuable.

Acknowledgements

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¹ In discussions after the presentation of this paper, it was mentioned that recent work on Gilbert and Sandys (McGrady, 1993) had shown that both had in part used village manuscript sources for their collections.

² VWML, Blunt Manuscript Collection, Vol. 12, p. 424.

³ Personal communication from Ian Russell in 1995. See Russell's paper in this volume for further details.

⁴ Sue Glover's transcription of this hymn from East's (1750) *Voice of Melody* Book 1 is available in Adobe Acrobat pdf format via:
<http://www.sgpublishing.co.uk/gm/music/East.html>