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CAMBRIDGE CONFERENCE, 1966

By THE EDITOR

A very happy and successful conference was held on July 12th and 13th, 1966, at Westminster College, Cambridge. More people were present at all the meetings than I can remember seeing at any of our conferences, and my memory, though not, I am afraid, my regular attendance, goes back to 'Jordans, 1945'.

The first public meeting gathered in the Union Rooms to hear a learned and highly profitable paper on J. M. Neale by Dr A. L. Peck of Christ's College. This set the general tone of the proceedings, for it was our chief business to celebrate the work of Neale

and Keble, both of whom died a hundred years ago. We hope that we may reproduce some of Dr Peck's paper in a future issue; what he said about Neale as a translator and versifier, and what he said *obiter* concerning the prosody of English translations from the Latin was very valuable and interesting. All we had to complain of was the incursion of traffic noises from the busy streets round about which, on a brilliantly fine afternoon, left us in the usual dilemma of choice between being baked in our seats or missing most of the lecturer's words. We chose, knowing what was best for us, to be baked.

The cool and tranquillity of St John's College chapel was, of course, just what we needed, and Evensong there was a delight to us all. Some of us had to resist the temptation to explore the rather esoteric hymn book they use there during the service: but we all joined lustily in all eight verses of 'Sing Alleluia forth', to Percy Buck's jolly tune.

After dinner we deserted the Gothic and explored the functional and the 'with-it'. The Reverend John Geyer, Tutor at Cheshunt College, a new voice in our Society, gave us a rousing and most entertaining paper on contemporary needs in hymnody. Mr Geyer claimed no special qualifications to do this, but those who suggested his being invited to address us knew better and were vindicated; for Mr Geyer is both capable of writing an excellent hymn in the traditional style (singable anyhow to a traditional tune), and also is very well seen in the world of pop music and of jazz. He has ministered in two Scottish cities to people of the kind whom the church has still hardly any notion how to communicate with, and he spoke to us out of this experience as well as out of the wisdom of a scholar. He provoked much discussion, which was a great deal more fruitful in good comment than discussions on such occasions normally are.

Our next public occasion was the lecture by the Reverend Adam Fox of Westminster, whose text occupies the greater part of this *Bulletin*. For its sake we have had to extend our issue by several pages—but when you read it you will surely agree that this was something not to be abridged or trifled with. This was an occasion of leisured wit and massive urbanity which concealed from none of us the quite remarkable acuteness of the author's faculty for contemporary observation and judgment. Dr Fox did conceal from us the fact that he is himself a hymn writer, though not as voluble as either Keble or Neale; and indeed that he has been Professor of Poetry at Oxford, as Keble was (but, we think, was not obliged in his day to deliver forty Latin lectures). His most used hymn is no doubt *AMR* 423 (*HCS* 252): 'Let us employ all notes of joy'. When you read what he reports of Keble's advice to hymn writers you may well find it instructive to see how well Dr Fox himself was capable of taking it. Our lecturer is, as the hymnals

insist on our knowing (if they didn't, our friend Robert Newton would) within a year of the age at which Dr Vaughan Williams addressed us in 1956. The meetings were comparable for their sense of occasion, but this was by far the finer and more robust lecture. We sat and chuckled and were refreshed and instructed and in the good puritan sense 'edified' for an hour, and could have done with more.

Wednesday afternoon found us at Ely for evensong. I would gladly write many pages about this, but must content myself with reminding our readers that this quiet place, off the main track perhaps even of the usual American cathedral-crawl, is one of the liveliest centres of church music today. The organist there, Dr Arthur Wills, is a highly experimental composer, and the choir is trained to sing with a precision and gusto which we are not yet led to expect in the usual cathedral service. Their performance of a plainsong hymn at about fifteen seconds to the verse was as inspiring as their rendering of the canticles in a setting in manuscript by Michael Howard, Dr Wills's predecessor.

Finally we went to Little St Mary's Church for an Act of Praise to honour Neale and Keble. These were the hymns we sang:

Creator of the stars of night
The royal banners
Jesu redemption all divine
(all to plainsong tunes)
Come, ye faithful (as *HCS* 110)
O what their joy and their glory (as *EH* 465, but with the
right reading of the last musical line)
Jerusalem the golden (*EH* 412 tune 284)
They whose course on earth (*EH* 500, tune as *HCS* 296)
O'er the hill and o'er the dale (Cowley 16)
New every morning (a new selection: tune *EH* 597).

The Act of Praise was most fittingly and ably led by Dr Pocknee as regards the commentary, and by a group of Cambridge singers as regarded the music. The close friendship between this church and Emmanuel Congregational Church hard by was evidenced in our being given the use of Emmanuel Church's hall for coffee after the service.

So much for our public activities. In the Executive we had much discussion of this and that. The Treasurer gave a report, an abstract of which we append to this article. The other main item of business concerned next year's Conference, and the Conference in 1968. As to 1967, we propose to meet in London, staying at King's College Hostel (which is in the area near Westminster Cathedral), and our chief public business will be to celebrate the work of Percy Dearmer, who was born in 1867. Further details

will be published in good time. In 1968 we plan to return to Cambridge, and we hope then to have a deferred celebration of the new Cambridge Hymn Book, which is to be published later this year.

The dates for London 1967 will be July 11th—13th, 1967.

Certain addenda to this report will now be given — the Treasurer's Report, a word from Mr Newton in commemoration of F. J. Gillman, one of our founder members, whom the seniors will remember, and an appreciation by Dr Pocknee of the late Canon Noel Boston, whose sudden death very soon after our Conference we heard of with the greatest sorrow.

Our thanks are due to the Reverend A. M. Watson of Irchester for all he did to help with executive details for the Cambridge conference, and we record with the greatest thanksgiving that this was the first time that members of the Roman Catholic Church have sung in the choir for one of our Acts of Praise, or that a member of that church has served on the committee which arranged it.

TREASURER'S REPORT TO THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1966

In presenting the Accounts for 1965, the Treasurer said that for various reasons the year had been abnormal both in income and in expenditure, but the two abnormalities had been fairly equal. Income had exceeded expenditure by about £34, but against this we had not had the usual expense of printing a Conference broadsheet. The Society was very grateful for donations of £50 from the Ecclesiastical Music Trust and £50 from the Proprietors of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*; both of these gifts had been allocated to the Julian Fund. The Accounts, which had been audited by Mr G. E. Jones, were adopted by the meeting. A copy may be had by any member on request to the Treasurer.

The Treasurer also raised the question of the fee for new Life Members. As a result of inflation the income from the Life Membership Fund had ceased to be realistic, and the alternatives were either to cease accepting Life Members or to increase the fee sufficiently to compensate for future inflation. After discussion, the meeting accepted the Executive's proposal that the Life Membership Fee should be increased forthwith from Seven Guineas to Fourteen Guineas.

FREDERICK JOHN GILLMAN

1866—1949

The mass of statistics which I, helped by friends, have compiled includes an exact chronological list of births and deaths. During the last century, names are increasingly connected with this society. This phase began with the birth on April 14th, 1860, of Howell Elvet Lewis, whom some of us met at Oxford in 1948. I greatly regret never having met the next member — Frederick John Gillman, who was born a hundred years ago. The Librarian of the Society of Friends kindly gave me the name of Mrs Lawson, Mr Gillman's daughter, who has given me some interesting information.

Her grandfather, Charles Gillman, was a notable man in his home town of Devizes. In addition to editing the *Wiltshire Advertiser* he followed another son of that county, Addison, in advocating Liberalism, and was twice elected local mayor. In his house, 19 Brittox, Frederick John arrived on February 25th, 1866. He was brought up as a Congregationalist, and later taught classes in Adult Schools. Through this and other influences, after the first World War he and his wife joined the Society of Friends.

His interest in hymns and hymnology needs no emphasis from me. Dr McAll described him to me as 'a sensitive hymn writer', though his original work, apart from the book, *The Evolution of the English Hymn*, is unlikely to survive.* His appointment as secretary of the *Fellowship Hymn Book* could not have been bettered. On my visits to local Brotherhood meetings, my attention has often been distracted by the fascinating notes in the words editions of that book. Through this movement Gillman's work probably had more impact on those 'on the fringe' than we may ever know.

R.F.N.

*'God send us men' is still sung a good deal in the U.S.A. It is for example in the *Pilgrim Hymnal* (1958), No. 434 (Editor).

CANON JOSEPH NOEL THOMAS BOSTON, M.A., F.S.A.,
1910—1966

It is with regret that we record the sudden death of a member of our committee while on holiday at the age of 55. I had known Noel Boston for something like twenty-five years. He was always a somewhat picturesque and flamboyant character, calculated to bring life into any committee meeting in which he took part.

He was one of the proprietors of *The English Hymnal* and took a prominent part in the editing of *The English Hymnal Service Book*, 1962. He had a wide variety of interests and frequently appeared on the television programmes. He was keenly interested in barrel organs and other eighteenth-century instruments used in church bands and choirs. He was for many years a member of the Central Council for the Care of Churches. The larger part of his ministry was spent in East Anglia, although he came from Warwickshire. First Precentor at Norwich Cathedral, then Vicar of Old Catton and then for twenty years Vicar of East Dereham, Norfolk, the home town of George Borrow. He had only recently gone to the Diocese of Bury St Edmunds to become a Canon residentiary at the Cathedral, where he was already making his influence felt. He will be greatly missed by a wide circle of people. May he rest in peace.

C.E.P.

Other members of the Society whose deaths during the past year were recorded with regret at the Annual General Meeting were

Mr J. J. Pittam

The Revd J. W. Anderson

Mr Arnold Barter

(all of whom were early members of our Society)

Max Hinrichsen, the publisher

Lyddon Thomas, a member of our Executive, who died at the age of 56 in June. He was a gifted organist and composer, and his memory is perpetuated in a fine tune in the *Baptist Hymn Book* (730), and an even finer one, COLLARDS LANE, in *New Songs*, which was sung at the Malvern Conference, 1963.

KEBLE AND NEALE: THEIR PLACE IN CHURCH
HISTORY

By THE REVd ADAM FOX, late Archdeacon of Westminster

When I received the kind invitation of your Society to come and read a paper at this meeting I accepted with alacrity, mainly for the pleasure of being with you. But also I have come, because I always seize on any excuse to be at Cambridge, and thirdly, because I was attracted by the assignment to dilate upon Keble and Neale. I welcomed the opportunity of fixing to some extent my very fluid ideas about the Tractarians and the Oxford Movement, in which I believed myself to be interested. I even thought I had been treading in their footsteps, until their successors left me far behind.

But I soon found there were some formidable difficulties. Keble and Neale looked as if they would make a good pair. They shared a common fame as writers of sacred verse, and they also shared a certain obscurity—lives not marked by striking preferments such as fell to Newman, the cardinal, and J. B. Mozley, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. But it was a question whether they could be treated as contemporaries or not. Keble was born 26 years before Neale, but they died in the same year. The interest of portraying parallel lives would be in one way inevitable, in other ways, difficult; inevitable, because at any rate their influence through their verse was widely diffused and more or less among the same people: on the other hand, in their other spheres of influence they were quite different. Keble was a leader of the Oxford Movement from its earliest days: Neale, only a fringe Tractarian of the second generation with a specialized interest in ecclesiology.

But what did they do that mattered? Here at once the contrast is extraordinary. Keble seemed to do so little, and Neale seemed to do an incredible amount, and thus far it is impossible to deal with them as a pair. I must begin by considering the significant facts about the life of each of them separately.

Keble was born in 1792 and brought up in a parsonage where, as he always said, the Church of England was never regarded as anything but the Catholic Church in England by continuous historical inheritance. He did not go to school—perhaps rather an important circumstance. (Incidentally, he never saw the sea till he was twenty.) He was taught by his father, got a scholarship at Corpus, Oxford, at the age of fourteen, and five years later was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel, then the greatest distinction academically that the university could offer a young man; he was a boy wonder, never very comfortable, however, at Oriel, though he gradually made friends with the brilliant Hurrell Froude who died in 1836, and the subtle John Henry Newman, who died a cardinal in 1890. He was a tutor at Oriel for a short time, and in

1822 he finally made up his mind to return to the country and exercised his ministry as a country parson for the rest of his life. Nevertheless he was universally regarded as being one of the two leaders of the Oxford Movement, the other of course being Newman. Strangely enough, it is not easy to see what precise gifts either of them had for leadership. Just two more dates: *The Christian Year* was published in 1827; Keble was Professor of Poetry at Oxford from 1832 to 1842, and in performance of his duties delivered forty lectures in Latin.

Neale was a very different kind of man. He was what I think is usually meant when a person is said to be colourful. He had a great variety of interests, and every interest led to action. His first interest was ecclesiology—a word which he probably invented himself for the study and recording of the architecture, antiquities and history of churches; he and his lifelong friend Benjamin Webb pursued and effectively organized this while they were still undergraduates. He had an early interest in hymns and translated a very great number in a useful, practical way. He was interested in Church History and wrote a big book on the Church in Alexandria, almost as eloquent as Gibbon. His interests never flagged, and to his various projects he brought a vast array of learning. He was a remarkable linguist, a great reader and retentive of what he read, and he knew how to organize his knowledge. He was an industrious and indefatigable traveller; finally, as we all know, he had a native gift for verse-making, equally facile apparently in Latin and in English. Between taking his degree in 1840 and 1846 he was very unsettled. In these few years he was ordained and he was married; he was chaplain of Downing College, but resigned after three months; he was intending to be curate of St Nicolas, Guildford, but the Bishop of Winchester refused to licence him; he was presented to the living of Crawley, but gave it up in six weeks; he wrote a successful novel; he fell ill and spent three winters in Madeira. In 1846, however, he accepted the Wardenship of Sackville College at East Grinstead at a stipend of about £30 a year, and there he was for the twenty remaining years of his life—though it can hardly be said that he ever settled down.

I must warn you that there is not a great deal about hymns in this paper. My subject is the place of Keble and Neale in Church History, but 'place' is probably not the right word. If by 'place' we mean position, neither of them ever occupied any prominent position. It would be profitless to compare Keble with other Vicars of Hursley, or Neale with the other Wardens of Sackville College, who in fact could be laymen; though I imagine that Keble was the most eminent of the vicars of Hursley, and Neale probably the most learned of the Sackville Wardens. I shall have something to say as to why they never had any notable preferment, but the real discussion must be about their influence, and I think the best

thing now will be to ask two questions about each of them, and try to find the answers.

To make a start with Keble—

(i) What was it in him that made people regard him as a leader and an almost infallible counsellor?

(ii) Has *The Christian Year* had any recognizable effect on the Church of England and its adherents?

About Neale I ask

(i) Whether he was a genius or a crank, and

(ii) Why he did not gain any post of importance in the Church.
Back to Keble.

What made him such a notable leader and counsellor?

First as to the Oxford Movement. The Movement properly so called belongs to the thirties and forties of last century, and I think it may be roughly said that in the thirties Keble was a leader because he was older than the rest, in the forties, because there were by then very few steady Anglicans still in the Movement who could lead, although Pusey could push the troops on from behind, and continued to do it into the eighties of the century.

It is not always realized, I think, that Keble was older than the rest. His youthful appearance and manner remained with him a long time, though Mrs Tom Mozley writing in April, 1841, on all the Tractarians looking so ill, says, 'Mr Keble *does* get so old.' In many ways he kept his youthful outlook nearly all his life. J. B. Mozley, staying at Hursley in 1838, wrote to his sister, 'Keble is certainly great fun' (Letters, p. 78). He had seemed a mere child—he was still a teenager—when he first went to Oriel, but he was in fact eight years older than Pusey, nine years older than Newman, eleven years older than Hurrell Froude, fourteen years older than Tom Mozley, and twenty-three years older than Dean Church who may be said to be the last of the Tractarian brotherhood of Oriel.

Keble had the further advantage that he had left Oxford by 1823, more than twenty years before Newman's secession. The Movement was rightly named after Oxford, and caused a stir there comparable perhaps to the stir at present being created by the 'Cambridge' theologians; but both movements exhibit what a handicap it is to be connected with a university.

At Oxford at any rate both the Tractarians and their opponents made every possible mistake with the best and most sincere intentions. And it was a great help to the Tractarian cause to have Keble at a distance, but familiar with the origins of the Movement and what it really stood for, and very ready to put pen to paper for a pamphlet or a letter or one of the Tracts as occasion arose. His detachment was invaluable, and the quiet in which he could

think out what to advise. It is said that Pusey constantly consulted him.

It was his place in the Oxford Movement, I imagine, which led on to his becoming the acknowledged counsellor and confessor of so many who sought a contact with him. And although I don't suppose he knew it, his correspondence seems to show that he had one of the great gifts in giving advice—he was always begging his correspondent not to take it; and so he created the impression that he was advocating what they had made up their minds to do. This gift could make him much sought after for advice and influential in giving it. Only occasionally was he definite and severe. The late Lord Halifax in his book on Keble prints a good deal of what he wrote to Newman before Newman joined the Roman Church. The letters seem to me rather diffuse and too long, and although intended to make Newman pause, I should imagine they gave him the impression that Keble regarded the step as inevitable. Miss Charlotte Yonge said she had never been to ask Mr Keble's advice without getting an answer different from what she expected, and one which showed that he had looked the matter round on all sides. This would be true of these letters to Newman.

I come now to my second question—what about *The Christian Year*, of which at least half a million copies must have been sold? Surely that will have had some influence?

The book was published in 1827 under pressure mainly from the author's old father. It had not been written for immediate publication; it seems that Keble had it in mind to go on improving it with a view to a posthumous appearance; late in life he told Pusey that Wordsworth had once proposed to him that they should go over it with a view to correcting the English: coming from Wordsworth one can imagine how clumsily this proposal would have been made. Still Keble himself was no admirer of the work, and would never have it mentioned in his presence. And the reason he gave for disliking it was that it was too personal, too often an expression of feelings without the needful reserve. This may be true. Hurrell Froude said that people would think it was written by a Methodist. But if there was too little reserve, the bad effects of this were mitigated by two characteristics. In the first place, it was often not very intelligible to the reader, because it had to be associated with thoughts or recollections which were only in the mind of the writer; and secondly, anyone who has had a classical education will very often detect the effect of the writer's having written Latin verses; one notes it in the convolutions of the phrasing (e.g., 'There is a book who runs may read'), in the lines often overloaded and too compact, and the insensibility to the nuances of English prosody in one whose ear had been accustomed to the solid longs and shorts of Latin verse. The metre is correct, but it rarely sings. (In fairness I ought to say that Canon Overton

thought Keble owed a lot to having missed school and therefore *not* having written many Latin verses.) Anyway, to illustrate the faults and virtues of the verse I will quote three lines taken almost at random: they are from the second verse of the poem for the first Sunday after Easter, beginning 'First Father of the holy seed'. (Incidentally, I cannot tell till the sixth line whether this refers to God Almighty or Adam or Abraham and am then rather surprised to find that it refers to God.) But my quotation is this:

Upon thine altar's horn of gold
Help me to lay my trembling hold
Though stain'd with Christian gore.

I won't stay to comment on this, but go on to say that the whole result of Keble's make-up and Keble's method as a poet resulted in my view in some quite unattractive verse, but sometimes enabled him to bring it off with great sincerity and with noble truth, and also very neatly. I am sure we must all admire the familiar

Two worlds are ours: 'tis only sin
Forbids us to descry
The mystic heaven and earth within,
Plain as the sea and sky.

And I could quote a number of verses of almost equal quality.

But I turn now from the writer to the readers of *The Christian Year*. There must have been a million of them at least. It is contrary to human nature to suppose that everyone into whose hands it fell read it through or even read it cursorily. It must have been given to many confirmation candidates to whom it meant very little, and to godchildren and nephews and nieces similarly. Wordsworth's daughter Dora received it as a gift from her uncle Christopher, the Master of Trinity, in 1829. But it certainly meant a very great deal to great numbers of people. Many read it from Sunday to Sunday: I believe they were mostly women, for poetry was more in fashion with the ladies than with the men in the middle of last century; and as lovers of poetry then (as perhaps now), they did not bother much about nuances or subtleties: there were really exquisite descriptions of nature, praised for their accurate observations, and very obviously a real love of nature, sometimes perhaps a little far-fetched—but what did that matter? It was quite easy to find it very beautiful without very clearly understanding it. This was also true of another and better series of poems popular in the same period—I mean Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. (I was interested to be told very recently that about sixty years ago, when an old lady read me out a few verses from *The Christian Year*, I had said, 'Read it again. I don't understand a word of it'.)

The influence of *The Christian Year* on literature has been negligible. It must have had many imitators, but the less successful ones are forgotten, and those who are remembered are probably regarded as imitators of the less inspired parts of Wordsworth, as Keble was himself (as for example in calling wild flowers 'Sweet nurslings of the vernal sky'). The more perceptible influence, I should be inclined to think, was in creating in the Victorian mind the popular image of a 'lady.' The ideal Victorian gentleman was, I have very little doubt, founded on the Psalms, which had been dinned daily into so many ears at boarding school. The Psalmist never tires of exalting the high-minded, useful, slightly self-righteous and rather misunderstood type of man, in which he includes himself, and in which we detect so plainly the Victorian gentleman. Psalm 101 is in truth the perfect description of the good school prefect. And similarly *The Christian Year*, I say, gave rise to the associations which in Victoria's later years attached themselves to the word 'lady-like', conveying a picture of church-going, charity, self-sacrifice, sweet manners, and delicate speech, all of which tended in a surprising manner to make these women formidable. We are not to underrate their influence, which was a power for good, nor Keble's influence on them.

I do not mean to imply that men did not care for *The Christian Year*: there are records of its being carried into the battlefield as well as kept on the study table. But it is difficult to detect its influence upon men's manners or their religion in general. No one of course would call Keble a ladies' man, but he was a woman's man from necessity and probably from choice; he lived almost all his life with invalid women, and he himself said that his *Lyra Innocentium* was a book for mothers.

Now I turn to Neale, and I ask first, was he either a genius or a crank? This is a question you would never dream of asking about Keble. But Neale might have been either, or he might have been both—the combination is not unknown. Or of course he may have been neither.

If by a genius we always mean somebody whose gifts are unaccountable (like Shakespeare), then Neale was not a genius, for all he achieved can be accounted for by an uncommon assembly of gifts of mind and energy, any one of which might be found in a person who would never be acclaimed as a genius. Neale (as we have seen) was a remarkably good linguist, he was very eloquent with his pen (more so than with his tongue); he could range with seeming ease over fields of learning hitherto unexplored, such as his ecclesiology and the history of the Eastern Church: he was the first person to translate hymns from the Greek into English in such a way as to popularize them: he was amazingly quick off the mark and would hit upon something new and have the scheme or the book under way in no time; he would be carrying on several

activities and conducting several exacting correspondences side by side, and day by day. He was doing all at once things which other people could only do one at a time, but he was not doing what nobody else could do at all. His distinction consisted in having a great many ideas and the impetuous energy, and the needful equipment, to set about to convert the ideas into realities.

But in such a case some of the ideas will prove not to be practicable, and some of the activities not acceptable, and it is this which makes me ask whether Neale was a crank. For I suppose one describes as a crank a person who holds fast to a notion or an interest which to others seems unpromising or unprofitable or unimportant. If so, Neale must often have been called a crank. His ecclesiology was bound to seem so; apart from collecting items of information all over England, which most people had never given a thought to, he was said for instance to have been ready to see Peterborough Cathedral pulled down and replaced by a Middle pointed church as good of its kind. People no doubt wondered why he spent so much time on the history and hymns of the Eastern Church when everyone around him was discussing the Roman Church; people were ready in the late fifties of last century to think his zeal in organizing nuns was deplorable. But they did not reckon either on his energy or his originality. Ecclesiology led to a comeliness in church within our own times which had not been seen for centuries, though it must be confessed that the path which led to this desirable end was strewn with the products of ignorance, error and want of taste. As a case in point, of the interior of St Andrew's, Well Street, Benjamin Webb's church, we should now say, from what we know of it, that in his time everything was wrong. Neale's interest in the Eastern Church has been taken up ever since, first by scholars here and there, like Mandell Creighton, but now widely, and as being indispensable in the dialogue which is going to be intense on Unity. The value of nuns as the solid centre of an increasing ministry of women in the Church is generally acknowledged. And here Neale presents a remarkable piece of originality as to detail. He was the first to send nuns to hospital to get their training; it is to the credit of Westminster Hospital that they agreed to take them without hesitation after they had been refused elsewhere.

I do not think it can be questioned that Neale was practical. The success of his hymns is largely due to their being so straightforward. But even in this very quality perhaps he did sometimes tend to be something of a crank. He was being somewhat too ingenious, I should fancy, when he said that a projected book of hymns for the sick should be in uncommon and difficult metres, because often in illness verses written in a very easy metrical scheme will run in the mind for hours together and thus worry instead of soothing. He was perhaps over-ingenious too when he proposed

to launch *The Hymnal Noted* by 'printing at once sixteen pages of hymns, in the cheapest and nastiest way possible, to sell, if it may be, for a penny.'

If he was not a crank, he must have been thought one. For otherwise why did he never have any preferment in the Church? I must dispose of one answer to this question at once. He was offered the Provostship of the Cathedral at Perth, and with not much hesitation he refused it. And I think wisely. He was essentially a free-lance ecclesiastic, and his wardenship of Sackville College gave him much more scope. Another answer to my question is that he was not personally ambitious, and kept out of the main stream of church activities and agitations. He was close to the Oxford Movement, but he was never really in the midst of it. Thirdly, he was regarded as an aesthete, which in fact is what he claimed to be, though the word perhaps meant more what we should call a romantic. Of the Bishop's Palace at Wells he wrote, 'it is the *baroniality* that is so wonderful.' On the aesthetic side he and his group felt that the Oxford reformers were weak, 'on the side', as someone said, 'of religious art, notably architecture, and worship treated in reciprocal dependence'. But they were misunderstood. As Webb remarked, 'We poor aesthetical fellows get knocks from all.' It did not give them a reputation for sober judgment or common sense: it certainly would not help them to preferment.

And Neale laboured under another obvious handicap in his being at loggerheads for many years with Dr Gilbert, the Bishop of Chichester. It is sad to see two good men in such disagreement, when both were acting from the sincerest convictions; indeed, they had a great deal in common. The Bishop inhibited Neale in January, 1848, and only withdrew the inhibition in 1863. It began with a familiar quarrel over Ornaments, complicated by the question whether in fact the Bishop had any jurisdiction over Sackville College. When it came to the Court of Arches, Neale lost his case—whether rightly or wrongly is difficult to say. The Bishop anyway does seem to have lost his temper, and this may have been due to Neale's being the better controversialist, if not a very wise one. He could be and very often was very forceful and lucid.

He wrote a very good letter, for example, signed 'A Priest of the Diocese' but known to be his, on what he called Pictorial Crucifixes in St Paul's Church, Brighton. But just because it was a good letter, it would do him no good with his Bishop. And I am afraid it would not be unfair to say that he was not much liked in general. But people who worked with him did like working with him: there is not much doubt about that.

I have been trying to give some idea of Keble and Neale and the impression they made on their contemporaries, contrasting that to some extent with the impression they make on me. I must

now say a little more about the question I raised at the beginning of this paper, as to whether Keble and Neale can be regarded as contemporaries or not. I think we must say that they cannot. In the last ten years of his life Keble was quiescent, though that of course is not the same as being quiet. Neale in those same ten years, the last of his life too, achieved more and more, culminating in the foundation of St. Margaret's Convent at East Grinstead. The Master of Selwyn has recently published the first volume of his great book on the Victorian Church: it goes only as far as 1859; in the index there are 32 references to Keble, all of some consequence, and only five to Neale, of which three are of no consequence. I shall be surprised if there are not more in the next volume.

At the same time it is true to say that Keble in his lifetime was considerably more in the public eye than Neale. I think it is a fair contrast between them to say that Keble was much occupied in telling people what to do, while Neale was particularly busy in doing what people told him not to do. I have already mentioned his inhibition by the Bishop of Chichester; the story of St Margaret's Convent and the opposition to it illustrates the same point vividly. I am going to tell the story because it shows Neale at his most militant and his best.

It seems that nuns did not enter into his thought seriously until 1854, but by the beginning of 1855 he had visited a number of sisterhoods in France and had written a great many letters—'my first begging letters', he called them—asking for support and interest. I think that four things led to his strenuous efforts in this direction. First, already a number of religious communities had been recently started in the Church of England—some in fact had already come to an end. Secondly, in the very countrified district in which he was living he became aware of the illnesses and sufferings of the rustic poor, with no remedies or cures except of a primitive and even savage kind. Thirdly, in Ann Gream, a neighbouring rector's daughter, he found at Rotherfield, 14 miles away, the very person to make a beginning. Fourthly, it was obvious that success could only be had in the face of many difficulties and of active opposition: that by itself was enough to set him off. And I am sure his determination was fortified when they told him in France that cottage nursing was the hardest work women could undertake. (I quote from Dr Lough's book, where he is quoting from Mr Allchin.) 'You will find it impossible,' they said, 'because it requires an amount of grace which cannot be had out of the True Church.' Neale, narrating this some years after (in 1863), said, '*that prediction did not frighten us!*' One may be certain it had precisely the opposite effect.

His schemes grew in his mind. When almost nothing had been realized except Miss Gream, he wrote to Webb, 'Now my little cub

was beginning to take good proportions: the next thing was to feed him.' This meant more begging letters. From small but energetic beginnings the convent emerged. Neale kept steadily to nursing as the first and essential thing, and rightly, for it was the great challenge of the time—it was the Florence Nightingale era. At first an attempt was made to gather a little community at Rotherfield, but this was too far off and met with much local opposition. This opposition is described by Mr Bligh, who succeeded Miss Gream's father at Rotherfield. He is writing of 1856:

When I first went to Rotherfield, the whole parish had been completely upset and alienated from the Church by the ultra-sacerdotal and Tractarian (not yet called Ritualistic) doctrines and practices of the former Rector, curates and Family, who were under the influence of the well-known 'Father Neale' of East Grinstead; who if not actively a 'Pervert' to Rome, was next door to it. . . . I was assured, however, that there would be a rally if there were a change of system and the good old simple truth of the Gospel once more put before the people in the plain and usual way, and I must say that from the first Sunday of my incumbency I had no occasion to complain for want of a hearty welcome from all classes. They were a rough, uncultured and discourteous lot—took everything as a matter of course or right and seemed to think they had nothing to thank for or to learn from anybody.

In consequence of this opposition the sisters were moved to East Grinstead and lodged in a house close to Sackville College in June, 1856. Fifteen months later there were nine of them, and they grew and grew in numbers; in 1861 there were fifteen, and in 1866, forty. They were noted for their gaiety. There was further opposition, and a riot when Neale visited Lewes. The question of vows arose and created misunderstanding, as it so often does. Neale was sympathetic towards sisterhoods where there were no vows, but he found by experience that many members of St Margaret's wished to take vows, and with his strong romantic imagination he gave a striking image of them in a lecture not long before he died. It is a good example of his rhetoric. 'Oh, if you did but know, ay, if you could but see, how the brightest and happiest of all human creatures are sisters thoroughly engaged in their work; if you could but see how these novices come out of their probationary state like caterpillars turned into butterflies, and how they long to take the vows, you would all agree with me as to the absurdity of using the term "bondage" and "misery" in reference to such a state.' But the last words of the lecture were conciliatory—"That makes the end of all I have to say, in which some of us perhaps may not quite agree."

The difficulties and the opposition were overcome, and they

were overcome because Neale had a lot of practical sense, a human moderation, and a talent for detail, but alongside of this he had his romantic and aesthetic temperament and a strong sense of the supernatural. His visible memorial is the convent, designed by G. E. Street, with its nursing at houses in Clapham and Chiswick, and various activities in Cardiff, Cambridge, South Africa and Ceylon. He laid the foundation stone of the Mother House on St Margaret's Day, 1865, and the whole of East Grinstead rejoiced with him. He died just a year later. He was only 48; he had done an enormous amount of work in the short time allotted to him.

I have spoken of St Margaret's as a visible memorial, but I ask myself if hymns are a visible memorial too. In a sense they obviously are, but if so, not of the same order; for very few people see the convent, and millions have seen the printed pages with Neale's hymns on them, and Keble's hymns too. At any rate I come at last to the hymns, and I will begin by stating my main contention, which is that Keble as a hymn writer has not made history, but Neale has. It must not be forgotten however that Keble wrote impressively and at length about the art of poetry, whereas Neale was not much interested in that; and it is no paradox to say that if he had been interested in it, he would not have achieved all he did as a hymn writer. About actual hymns he knew a great deal.

Canon Overton, when he wrote the biographical article on Keble in Julian's Dictionary (and a very interesting panegyric it is), says 'in the popular sense of the word "hymn", Keble can hardly be called a hymn writer at all.' But, he continues, 'Taking the word "hymn" in the wider sense as given by Dr Johnson—"a song of adoration to some superior Being", Keble stands in the very front rank of hymn writers.' Where are we then? Or rather, where stands Keble? We must fall back on the more matter-of-fact Dr Julian himself. 'It is found', he says, 'that nearly 100 hymns by Keble, including centos, are in common use.' This was written in 1891. What he says may have been true, but he was writing nearly eighty years ago, and the question naturally arises, Is Keble in the front rank of hymn-writers now? I do not think there are ten hymns of his, if as many, that I have ever heard sung myself.

So I have made an investigation. I have examined *Hymns AMR*, the *English Hymnal* and the *Anglican Hymn Book* as being recent, and also *Congregational Praise*. They all have 'New every morning', 'Sun of my soul', 'There is a book', and 'Blest are the pure in heart', and all but *AHB* have 'When God of old'. *AMR* and *EH* share 'Word supreme'; *EH* alone has 'Ave Maria! Blessed maid', and, rather surprisingly, at any rate to me, it is the only one to have 'The voice that breathed o'er Eden'. As a test of relative popularity, if I am right, in *AMR* there are eight pieces by Keble, and only eight authors from whom there are more: in

EH, nine pieces by Keble and only five authors from whom there are more.

I think we must accord Keble a high place among the leading hymn writers—I am not sure if among the Top Ten. But it is not easy to feel that he has had much influence in this field. I do not detect any particular difference between his hymns and other people's. I don't really know what Canon Overton meant, unless it is that most of Keble's poems would not make good hymns, or hymns at all. That I think is true; yet I dare say that we could find that we have quite a number of good and popular hymns from authors who never would have written them if they had not come across *The Christian Year*. Keble left three short rules for hymn-writing—jotted them on a scrap of paper, probably in 1856, and these, I think, should on all grounds be treated with respect.

- (i) Always use 'we' instead of 'I', or nearly always;
- (ii) Insert as many touches of doctrine as may be;
- (iii) Under every head have at least one ancient or archaic hymn.

The first of these rules is equivalent to what is often urged in the form, 'Avoid, or almost always avoid, subjective hymns'; but Keble's rule seems easier to apply. Let me apply it to three hymns which are very subjective, but have been very much liked—'Abide with me,' 'Just as I am,' 'Lead, kindly light.' I think apart from the insuperable difficulty of the rhymes we can almost as well say 'Abide with us' with propriety, and it would have the advantage of being closer to its inspiration in 'Abide with us, for it is toward evening and the day is far spent.' 'Just as I am' could be altered to 'Just as we are' at the end of a mission service or evangelistic campaign which had achieved its purpose of evoking a spirit of dedication. In 'Lead, kindly light', it would be impossible to say 'we' and 'us' for 'I' and 'me', and Keble, I dare say, would have regarded it as quite inadmissible as a hymn; and perhaps it ought to be, but it isn't. In any case, to condemn all subjective hymns is quite uncalled for.

'Insert as many touches of doctrine as may be'—Yes, certainly, and go further, I should say. Insert as many *statements* of doctrine as may be, and as is admirably done in a very natural way about the Atonement in 'There is a green hill far away', and a little more consciously about the Incarnation in 'At the name of Jesus'. Most of what ordinary Christians know of doctrine outside the Creed is derived from hymns, and it is a pity our hymn books contain so many dreary items without a scrap of doctrine in them.

'Under each heading have one ancient or archaic hymn'. I don't think I know what the distinction is between ancient and

archaic, but this is excellent advice, provided they are not hymns which are never likely to be sung.

I come now to Neale as a hymn writer, and there is no question that he was a very prolific one. He had a very remarkable facility in verse. In 1842 he wrote 34 children's hymns in six weeks, besides some hymns for the sick, and he won the Seatonian Prize for a Sacred Poem at Cambridge ten times. The prize-money made a useful addition to his income, but he regarded it as hack work. In 1852 he wrote to Webb: 'On Monday I hope to have finished the disgusting Seatonian'; and in 1856, 'it was a great joke my getting the Seatonian. I began it on the Tuesday morning, and the fair copy was finished on the Wednesday evening. So I bagged £38 net by two days' work.'

He began translating Latin hymns for inclusion in an Anglican office book, and acquired early on a great knowledge of Latin hymnology, and before long of Greek. He became convinced that it was pointless to try to reproduce the effect of the original metres, and this applied particularly, of course, to the Greek: perhaps he was warned by Keble's 'Hail gladdening Light', first published in 1834; Stainer's setting has made this something of a success, but a book containing many hymns in a similar form could not have been popular. It did not prove difficult to get the Latin hymns accepted in the English form which Neale and Caswall and some others gave them, and it would not be far from the mark to say that the word 'Ancient' so familiar in the title of *A & M* won its place there very largely owing to Neale. The Introduction of Greek hymns owes him even more; he was the first to translate any considerable number of them, and now of the 21 hymns from the Greek in *AMR*, nine are by Neale and all nine are much sung and liked.

Turning to the original English hymns, I find them equal if not superior in attainment, not least because he was showing what could be done in this way at a time when the use of hymns in the Church of England was known to be illegal and was in many quarters much questioned and objected to. In September, 1840, he had himself written in a letter to his friend Boyce, 'You know my dislike of hymns.' And as late as 1849 Webb wrote to Neale, 'The age of hymns has passed,' and 'I am not convinced of the possibility of hymns.' It might be that some of Neale's efforts were partly responsible for Webb's gloomy view. In Dr Lough's book, at about page 100, many will have read a number of items from some of Neale's earlier efforts—the stirring hymn in favour of the abolition of Pews, first line 'The good old Church of England', and the last two—

For England has said it,
Away with the Pews!

(I think he meant Pew-rents), or the beginning of 'A Ballad for Engine Drivers'—

Water and flame to agreement they came,
And a solemn league they swore.

It sounds like a parody of Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome, which had recently come out—perhaps it was meant to be. We must remember, however, that the engine-driver of those days was no doubt as compelling a figure as the space-man of to-day. (Lough, p. 83.)

But Neale came to write more useful hymns than these, and to think better of hymn singing. He is quoted as saying, 'Give me the selection of a church's hymns, and I care not who made, or rather in the present instance who has made, its Articles.' In the hymn books his translations greatly exceed the original hymns in number: taking the same four books as for Keble, there are four hymns which they all have—'Art thou weary', 'Christian, dost thou see them,' 'Come, ye faithful', and 'O happy band of pilgrims'; and I do think these residual four are very good hymns, and although they sound simple and are simple, such hymns, so tidy, interesting, instructive and useful, are not easy to write. There is a tendency to-day to underrate Neale's hymns; this should be resisted, I feel, and I wanted to say so.

Finally, I must try to sum up the influence of Keble and Neale in Church History.

To sum up Keble's influence is by no means easy. There is not the smallest doubt that he was a very holy man with a very winning way, and such a man will have an influence which may well last for all of a century, but it will be in ways which are not easy to trace—

—that best portion of a good man's life,
His little nameless unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love.

His advice, we have seen, was highly valued. But he does not seem to have had much gift for policy in the affairs of Church and State. He was a persevering controversialist, but he cannot be called a successful one. His contribution of a single word to the making of a book was, however, remarkably influential. He advised the editors of *Hymns A & M* to make their book *comprehensive*, and they did, and as it is believed that about 150 million copies of this book have been circulated, and the revision of 1904, which made it much less comprehensive, was a great flop, at least one piece of his advice was not given in vain. And if I had time I think I could show that the words *soothing* and *healing*, used by Matthew Arnold in his *Memorial Verses on the Death of Wordsworth* are owed to Keble.

As a poet Keble is not of importance, but his influence on

poetical theory is not negligible, and I rather suspect that as a literary critic he may yet attract the attention which I think he deserves and has so far missed. As a model country parson I am afraid his influence has been considerable, and bad. The image which the church, and especially the clergy, had of him was arresting, the image of one so learned, severe, self-controlled, and dutiful that his friendliness and concern for everyone seemed wonderfully graceful, even a sort of sanctified condescension. Unfortunately this was for his times and not for ours. In the middle of last century in an ordered society the parson, like everyone else, had his own particular place, and Keble filled it admirably; now like everybody else the parson has no place except what he can make for himself, although the training given to ordination candidates in the Church of England still aims at turning out Kebles, when something much more robust and even crude is needed.

To sum up Neale's influence is more difficult. In some ways you can lay your finger on it more easily than on Keble's; you can go to East Grinstead and see the convent; you can easily sing one of Neale's hymns; you can lay your finger on any ornamental object in the church furniture shop or in any kind of vesture in the church tailor's shop, and very likely you can trace it back to Neale; he ought to be canonized and made the patron saint of these indispensable purveyors to the Church of England. On the immaterial side, which counts for so much more, he corrected by his ideas of the spirit that ought to pervade a religious house the notions of the ascetic, rigorous Pusey; on the other hand, he rather fostered the militant and aggressive side of the Anglo-Catholic movement, and to some effect perhaps in former days. Finally, as far as hymns are concerned he made a masterly contribution to the mid-Victorian church service, and that kind of service survives in many places to-day. There was round about 1870 a remarkable partnership between words and music: and the English people being then better at poetry than music, the words were rather superior in merit to the music. But both were pleasurable, which is the first requirement in a hymn, and Neale was able to infuse into the words something more than pleasure without introducing anything obscure or unreal. Hymn singing is a lowly form of worship: those who want a higher may find it in the Liturgy or in the best of free prayer; but working within its limits, hymn singing is also a powerful form of worship. Neale observed the limitations, and with them and because of them he had the art to wield their power. He was not the only one to do so; there were others, and Charles Wesley had done it long before. There were many more in Neale's time than there are now when the principles of the art seem not to be understood.

'That makes the end of all I have to say, in which some of us perhaps may not agree.'

A CORRECTION IN 'ETERNAL RULER'

By JOHN WILSON

A small but significant error in the text of J. W. Chadwick's 'Eternal Ruler of the ceaseless round' slipped into the original *English Hymnal* and has never been corrected in that book.

The hymn was published by Chadwick in *A Book of Poems* (Boston, U.S.A., 1876), where the authentic form of the third stanza is as follows:

We would be one in hatred of all wrong,
One in our love of all things sweet and fair,
One with the joy that breaketh into song,
One with the grief that trembles into prayer,
One in the power that makes Thy children free
To follow truth, and thus to follow Thee.

This text was used by Garrett Horder in his *Congregational Hymns* (1884), and passed thence into *Worship Song*, the *Congregational Hymnary*, and the *Fellowship Hymn Book Supplement*. In the *Public School Hymn Book* of 1903 the only difference was a pedantic alteration of 'trembles' into the less-easy 'trembleth'. Three years later, however, *EH* appeared with the fifth line reading 'the children' instead of 'thy children', thus weakening both sound and sense in a way that can hardly have been deliberate. This error has been widely copied (as has 'trembleth'), and we find it in *SP*, *CP*, *BBC*, the *Methodist Hymn Book*, *A Students' Hymnal*, and the *Anglican Hymn Book*.

Recently, in the *Baptist Hymn Book* and *Hymns for Church & School*, the proper text has been restored. Is it too late to ask those responsible for *EH*, or for books that have copied *EH*, to make (at least) the correction of 'the' to 'thy' when their books are next reprinted?

A SURVEY PROJECTED

Members of the Society will be familiar with the moments when, looking through a new hymn book, we say, 'Who will ever sing *that*?' But even when a book is established and has been in use for years, one still sometimes says, 'Has anyone ever sung *that*?'

We thought that if we could ask for the co-operation of some of our readers, we might conduct a survey (everybody does it nowadays: why not our Society?) to discover what is the 'spread' of hymn tune usage in the ordinary churches of all denominations represented by our membership.

If you are willing to come in on this, we ask you to write to our Treasurer. He will send you a sheaf of paper containing columns of numbers. Using these to represent the numbers in the hymn book used in your church, we invite you, beginning on

January 1st and ending on December 31st, 1967, to note the praise-lists in your church Sunday by Sunday, and tick the appropriate number each time a tune is used. It does not, of course, matter whether you are the incumbent, or the organist, or a member of the congregation, and it doesn't matter which hymn book you use provided you state which it is. The survey will be particularly useful when applied to books that have been established for some time—*EH*, *A & M* (either edition), and the leading denominational books. But whichever you use, your help will be most welcome. (If it happens to be Sankey's 1,200, we are afraid you won't be able to help, because we shall produce sheets numbered up to 1,000 only!). If, as may well be inevitable, you are unable to report on complete praise-lists, through absence, or through your inability to be present more than once on Sunday, you will be asked either to state clearly the limitations of your report or to enlist the help of another member of the congregation (which, of course, will be more useful).

The survey will be limited to tunes: words are another matter, and we shall not at this stage tackle them.

There is no reason why people of good will outside our membership should not participate if they want to. If you care to introduce any such people to the project, please do so. It will be the more useful in its results, the more people take part. We shall, of course, report on its findings in one of the 1968 Bulletins.

Once again, we ask that if you are interested, you write, not to the Editor, but to the Treasurer, Mr John Wilson, 30 East Meads, Guildford, Surrey. Please write before December 1st, so that the forms can be duplicated and distributed in good time.

NEW MEMBERS, JUNE 1st, 1965—MAY 31st, 1966

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