

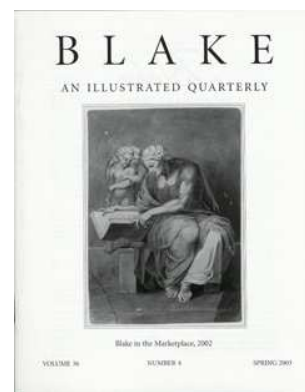
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The Sound of “Holy Thursday”

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Listed below are substantive additions or corrections to Roger R. Easson and Robert N. Essick, *William Blake: Book Illustrator*, vol. 1, Plates Designed and Engraved by Blake (1972); Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue* (1983); and Essick, *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations* (1991). Abbreviations and citation styles follow the respective volumes, with the addition of "Butlin" according to the List of Abbreviations at the beginning of this sales review. Newly discovered impressions of previously recorded published states of Blake's engravings are listed only for the rarer separate plates.

The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue

Pp. 60-89, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims." For important new information about the visual sources for Blake's portrayals of the pilgrims, see Alexander S. Gourlay, "Idolatry or Politics? Blake's Chaucer, the Gods of Priam, and the Powers of 1809," in *Prophetic Character: Essays on William Blake in Honor of John E. Grant*, ed. Gourlay (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 2002) 97-147.

P. 69, "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims," impression 4AA. For the attempted sale of this impression, 1 of only 3 recorded in the 4th st., see the first entry under "Separate Plates and Plates in Series" in the sales review, above.

Pp. 130-31, "Evening Amusement," after Watteau. For a previously unrecorded impression, see under "Separate Plates and Plates in Series" in the sales review, above.

Pp. 134-38, "The Fall of Rosamond," after Stothard. For a previously unrecorded impression, see under "Separate Plates and Plates in Series" in the sales review, above.

P. 150, "Rev. John Caspar Lavater," impression 1A, a unique proof state. Given July 2002 by Leo Steinberg to the Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Pp. 191-200, "M^o Q," after Villiers. For a previously unrecorded impression, see under "Separate Plates and Plates in Series" in the sales review, above.

MINUTE PARTICULARS

The Sound of "Holy Thursday"

BY W. H. STEVENSON

William Blake and Joseph Haydn make an odd pair. Quite possibly they passed one another in the street. Great Pulteney Street, where Haydn came to stay with Salomon on 7th January 1791, is only five minutes' walk from Blake's house in Poland Street—but the Blakes had almost certainly left for Lambeth not long before. Artistically, their paths are worlds apart. Blake, idiosyncratic and rebellious, inventing his own forms, openly hostile to all things classical; Haydn, content to use the classical forms of his age as the groundwork of his genius. The two men come together, however, over one event, the annual service of the London charity-school children in St. Paul's, recorded in Blake's two "Holy Thursday" poems:

Tw'as on a Holy Thursday their innocent faces clean
The children walking two & two in red & blue & green
Grey headed beadles walkd before with wands as white
as snow
Till into the high dome of Pauls they like Thames wa-
ters flow
.....
Now like a mighty wind they raise to heaven the voice
of song
Or like harmonious thunderings the seats of heaven
among (*Songs of Innocence*)

At different times, both witnessed this service. Haydn, in his notebook for 1792, wrote that "no music ever moved me so deeply in my whole life as this, devotional and innocent" (no small thing for Haydn to say). "All the children are newly clad, and enter in procession. The organist first played the melody very nicely and simply, and then they all began to sing at once."¹

What is more, he wrote down the tune that so moved him. It was composed by John Jones (1728-96), organist at St. Paul's for many years, and published as no. 24 in his *Sixty Chants* (1785) (illus. 1).²

1. H.C. Robbins Landon, *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn* (London: Barry and Rockliff, 1959) 261, where the tune is reproduced as Haydn heard it. Landon carefully heads the page "1791-1792"; *New Grove* (see next note) dates the event 1791. But though the entries are not in date order, all those around this entry that are dated are from 1792.

2. John Jones, *Sixty. I. Chants, Single and Double* (London: Longman and Broderip, 1785) 78-79. The copy in the National Library of Scotland (cat. no. Cwn 432) retains "1785" as the title page date, but self-evidently must have been printed no earlier than April



1. John Jones, "No. 24," from *Sixty Chants* (1785). © The Trustees of the National Library of Scotland. Cat. no. Cwn 432.

This is not a metrical psalm tune. Metrical psalms, though unlike the prose psalms not included in the statutory services of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, enabled the congregation to take an active part in worship, and had become popular in the Church of England in the eighteenth century. This is an Anglican chant, a form (different from plainsong though derived from it) which evolved after the Restoration for the singing of *prose* psalms and canticles, and so a musical form markedly different from the ballad stanza used for metrical psalms. In his edition, Jones proudly heads this chant with the words "performed at St. Paul's Cathedral on the General Thanksgiving April 23rd, 1789"—a special service on that St. George's Day to mark the King's recovery from his illness. It is a relatively simple tune, but with celebratory harmonies, and unusual, dramatic bare octaves at the opening of each phrase. Haydn did not note the harmonies, though of course he could easily have done so; it appears (from various contemporary references) that the children sang in unison.

But what words were sung to it? Jones gives no indication which psalm he designed this tune for, merely marking, by a capital R (for Rejoicing), the mood of the tune; he leaves the choice of psalm to the choirmaster.

At least one eyewitness account of the King's thanksgiving service seems to give an answer. Sir Gilbert Elliott reported the event to his wife, saying of the charity children's singing that he "found it by far the most interesting part of the show":

... when the King approached the centre all the 6,000 children set up their little voices and sang part of the Hundredth Psalm. This was the moment that I found most affecting; and, without knowing exactly why, I found my eyes *running over*, and the bone in my throat, which was the case with many other people.³

The King himself had asked for "a good old *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*"⁴—the latter being the traditional name for the 100th Psalm. We might suppose, then, that at this service Jones's Double 24th was the tune used for the prose 100th Psalm, "O be joyful in the Lord, O ye lands,"⁵ and also that the charity children were gathered to sing it on this special occasion (quite distinct from their own annual service, which was not due for another month).

But this does not settle the question. There are two ways in which the 100th Psalm might have been sung: as a chanted prose psalm, or in the popular metrical version by William Kethe (d. 1594), to its contemporary tune, the "Old Hundredth." Both sets of psalms were commonly included in editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* at this period. It is true that Haydn's note (and *perhaps* Blake's poem) suggests that the service opened with the children singing a chant, and the 100th Psalm would have been appropriate. But two documents⁶ in the Guildhall Library in London tell a more complex story.

3. Sir Gilbert Elliott, *Life and Letters*, ed. Nina, Countess of Minto, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1874) 1:304. He was no instinctive philanthropist; for example, he elsewhere treats the anti-slavery lobby with contempt.

4. Lambeth MS letter, 12 April 1789, from the Bishop of Worcester to the Archbishop of Canterbury, quoted in Olwen Hedley, *Queen Charlotte* (London: John Murray, 1975) 174.

5. The text of the psalms in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* in general follows the 1537 Great Bible, rather than the 1611 Authorized King James version, "Make a joyful noise unto the Lord."

6. "Psalms and Anthems to be sung at the Anniversary Meeting"

1789. Haydn's version (of the treble line only) differs slightly from Jones's, no doubt because the children missed out some of the fine detail of the tune. For John Jones, see *The Dictionary of National Biography* Volume XXX:128, and the entry under his name in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Volume XIII (London: Macmillan, 2001) 194.

One, dated 1797, is a handbill, "Psalms and Anthems to be sung at the Anniversary Meeting," consisting of the order of service. This begins: "Before Prayers the 100th Psalm"; the text of Kethe's metrical psalm, "All people that on earth do dwell," follows. Next: "The Reading Psalms to be Chaunted by the Gentlemen of the CHOIR,—the Children to join in the GLORIA PATRI to each Psalm." At this point the second document, "The ANTHEMS & PSALMS . . .," a collection of the music of the service, annotates "Double Chant," and prints Jones's 24th.

The children also took part in three anthems. In the first, "the Coronation Anthem" (Handel's "Zadok the Priest"), the children were to join in the dramatic repeated phrase, "God Save the King! Long live the King! May the king live for ever!" at the climax of the piece, and "Hallelujah! Amen" at the end. The second was a short 16-bar chorus to the word "Hallelujah!," which the children sang throughout, the girls alone being marked to sing four bars in the middle. The last was Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus," in which, again, "the Children [are] to join in such Parts as are marked"—in this case, substantial passages at the beginning and the end, more than a third (the easiest third) of the whole.

As to the opening psalm: on these occasions, then, it was not Jones's prose chant, but the metrical version, the Old Hundredth. This service found places for two more metrical psalms: Nahum Tate's 113th before the sermon, and four verses of Kethe's 104th (to William Croft's tune, "Hanover") after it. The prose "reading psalms," on the other hand, were part of the formal body of the service, and, depending on circumstances, in parish church or cathedral, might be literally *read* by the minister, or chanted, either by him or by the choir (if any). Here the cathedral choir alone chanted the "reading" psalms to Jones's 24th, the children joining in only at the end.

What was the most moving point of the service for Blake and Haydn? Elliott is quite plain; for him, it was the children's singing of the Old Hundredth, the dramatic beginning of the special thanksgiving service. The *Innocence* poem suggests that Blake felt the same effect at the charity service. But it was Jones's chant tune later in the service that Haydn wrote down. Perhaps he was moved most powerfully at the point of a second raising "to heaven the voice of song," "devotional and innocent," when the thousands of children broke into "Glory be ..." to Jones's tune, after the more attenuated monotone chanting of the text of the

psalm. This could well have led Haydn to note down the tune they sang.

Dr. William Vincent, trying by his little book⁷ to improve congregational singing in parish services, certainly found the chant inspiring. Almost in a parenthesis—in a footnote, that is, he says that, for untrained singers, "... no chant is better calculated than that which the charity children sing at the conclusion of each psalm at St. Paul's.—It is composed by Mr. Jones . . ." Vincent makes other enlightening comments about the quality of the singing at the annual charity-school service. The singing of the Anglican chant requires a certain skill; there is no rhythmical pattern to follow, as in an ordinary song, and untrained singers can easily fall into a gabble. Vincent laments the general standard of singing in the chapels of several hospitals and public charities in the metropolis, where "they universally sing at the utmost height of their voices, and fifty or an hundred trebles strained to their highest pitch, united to the roar of the full organ, can never raise admiration of the performers . . ." (p. 8). Instead of that coarseness—perhaps because the children of Coram's Foundling Hospital (which "appears to have obtained all that is desirable in this point"⁸) formed a tenth of the whole, and because there were public rehearsals—"the effect is just the reverse in the general assembly of the charity children at St. Paul's The union of five thousand trebles, raises admiration and astonishment . . ." (p. 9).

We should not really ask, "What point was most moving?," since it would be a total effect that people would take away with them. It is plain from all allusions to this service that the similar emotional response of such very dissimilar people as Blake, Haydn, and Elliott was widespread. In 1800, John Page, the choirmaster, claimed for this service, in eighteenth-century style, that

amongst the many laudable Charities with which this Munificent Kingdom abounds, there is none . . . can fill the mind with such affectionate sensation and religious awe . . . [T]hat public display of Benevolence, has been eagerly attended by crowded Congregations annually, for nearly a Century past . . .

The self-congratulatory tone grates today, but it does seem that the feeling at that time for the charity-children's service was not unlike the modern popular affection for the annual carol service at King's College, Cambridge.

What song the sirens sang may be beyond conjecture; but we know what the "Holy Thursday" children sang. And

(1797) is a single-sided handbill resembling, and catalogued as, a broadside. The second document is: John Page, "The / ANTHEMS & PSALMS / as Performed at / ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL / On the day of the Anniversary Meeting of the / Charity Children ... 3/-" (London: Ann Rivington). The Library dates it 1800. Page, "Conductor of the Music," has arranged the music in two staves for keyboard, and marks in detail where the children are to sing. I am indebted to Mr. J.J. Wisdom, Librarian of St. Paul's, for finding these documents for me in the Guildhall Library.

7. Rev. William Vincent, D.D., *Considerations on Parochial Music*, 2nd ed. with additions (London: Cadell, 1790) 10n. He was Headmaster of Westminster School from 1788, and Dean of the Abbey from 1802.

8. Vincent, 11n. Charles Dickens alludes to the continued quality of the musical training at Coram's Hospital in *Little Dorrit* (1855-57), ch. 2.

though we cannot be certain at what point in the service Blake's and Haydn's eyes began to fill, we know what sound it was that could so raise Blake's emotions: whether immediately and simply, as in *Innocence*; or, as in *Experience* years later, to make him challenge us to be satisfied with a lump in the throat when the children sing:

Is that trembling cry a song?
Can it be a song of joy?
And so many children poor?
It is a land of poverty! (*Songs of Experience*)

Erdman's Pagination of *The Four Zoas*

By WAYNE C. RIPLEY

In their 1987 facsimile of *The Four Zoas*, David Erdman and Cettina Magno rearrange the pages of the manuscript "in the sequence now recognized as least departing from the textual sequences called for by Blake's own marks of instruction" (16).¹ This change in sequence involved the renumbering of twenty-four pages over twelve leaves, which Erdman presents in the following chart:

19 [21]	87 [95]	95 [87]	105 [113]	109 [105]	113 [109]
20 [22]	88 [96]	96 [88]	106 [114]	110 [106]	114 [110]
21 [19]	89 [97]	97 [89]	107 [115]	111 [107]	115 [111]
22 [20]	90 [98]	98 [90]	108 [116]	112 [108]	116 [112]

The numbers outside the brackets are those of Erdman and Magno's new arrangement, used by their facsimile, while those inside the brackets represent the older arrangement, used most notably by Bentley's 1963 facsimile.²

Again presenting this chart in the 1988 new revised edition of *The Complete Poetry and Prose*, Erdman acknowledges that to apply this new numbering in "the present text would be confusing since Blake's poem moves about (because of his own revisions) in a sequence that does not correspond exactly to any sequence of the manuscript leaves" (E 818).³ Yet, despite his recognition of the potential confusion that could result from applying these new page num-

bers to the poem, Erdman in practice inconsistently adopts the new numbers in his text, which drastically complicates the reader's ability to refer back to either of the poem's facsimiles, and this confusion is only augmented by Erdman's decision to leave his textual notes completely in the old numbering.

To facilitate, therefore, references back to the facsimiles from the now standard 1988 edition, four tables are provided below rectifying Erdman's inconsistencies and offering a few touchstones for negotiating between Erdman's text and the facsimiles. The first table corrects the page numbers found in the text so that Erdman's new numbering is consistently applied. The second changes the headings in the textual notes so that they correspond to Erdman's text as corrected by Table 1. More difficult to rectify in the textual notes are the references to the pages that occur in Erdman's prose. These are concentrated chiefly on page 827, for pages 19-22, and between pages 836-41, for Nights VII and VIII. As the prose of 836-41 provides in large part Erdman's reasoning in renumbering and rearranging the manuscript pages, it may be simpler to explain this rearrangement in terms of Erdman's new numbering.⁴ In this arrangement, which is often made to sound more difficult than it is, the pages of VIIa1 begin the Night, standing unaltered as 77-85:22. What once provided the close for VIIb2, 95-98, follows, renumbered by Erdman as 87-90. This section commences on the second portion of 87 [95] where Blake has written in the margin "Beginning of Night VII" and in the text "Beginning of the Book Seventh Night" (Erdman and Magno 201). VIIb1 follows the last page of VIIb2, 90 [98], retaining its original numbers 91-94. The first portion of 87 [95] succeeds 94, followed by 85:23-47. Although it is shown in Table 1, because this page begins VIIa2, it should be noted that Erdman mislabeled what should be 85 (SECOND PORTION) as 95 [87] (SECOND PORTION) (E 367). 86 follows 85:23-47 unaltered, succeeded by the remainder of VIIa2, originally 87-90 but renumbered 95-98. These pages are made up of the Edward and Elenor print; hence, only 95 [97] and 98 [90] have text. Erdman concludes the night with the "End of the Seventh Night" from page 90 [98]. This arrangement in both numbering systems is summarized in Table 3.

Table 4 lists those manuscript pages whose texts are split up. This will preclude, I hope, fishing for where the other portions of a particular manuscript page may be in the text's arrangement. Note here that the first portion of 91 is the title of VIIb and is not used by Erdman.

1. *The Four Zoas by William Blake: A Photographic Facsimile of the Manuscript with Commentary on the Illuminations*, eds. Cettina Tramontano Magno and David V. Erdman (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1987).

2. *Vala; or The Four Zoas: A Facsimile of the Manuscript, a Transcript of the Poem, and a Study of its Growth and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

3. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, with commentary by Harold Bloom, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

4. Erdman's arrangement is that put forward by Mark S. Lefebvre's "A Note on the Structural Necessity of Night VIIb" in *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* 46 (fall 1978):134, an issue devoted to *The Four Zoas*. Erdman's reasoning for accepting Lefebvre's argument is found in his "Night the Seventh: The Editorial Problem," which follows Lefebvre's piece, 135-39. John Kilgore's and Andrew Lincoln's articles in the is-