
John Deffray and the religious society of Romney

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*John Deffray was a Huguenot refugee who took orders in the Church of England and became rector of Old Romney in 1690. He was unhappy with the poor quality of religious observance, including psalm singing, in the parish and formed a religious society of young men with the aim of remedying this. Singing was an important activity of the society and Deffray anonymously published two books for the society: *The Christian's Daily Manual* (1703) (CDM) and *The Christian Sacrifice of Praises* (1724) (CSP), the first of which contained some psalm and hymn settings in addition to prayers and readings for home worship and the second of which was entirely a collection of psalmody. The psalm texts used in the CDM are derived from the Old Version (OV) and the settings mainly from Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms*. The psalm texts in CSP are largely OV (although sometimes modified) and the settings are mainly derived (often with extensive modification) from Playford and from the harmonised settings of the 6th and later editions of the *Supplement to the New Version of the Psalms of David* (NV) by Tate and Brady. Contemporary manuscript accounts of services conducted for the society in 1701 and 1721 show that metrical psalms were the main part of their repertoire at the earlier date whereas they also included anthems and chant at the later date. This repertoire was very similar to that of London religious societies at the same date and shows the effectiveness of the society as a vehicle for transmitting urban innovations in psalmody to a rural area.*

Introduction

We first learnt of the existence of two books of music for the religious society of Old Romney from reading Nicholas Temperley's *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Temperley, 1979). One is entitled *The Christian's Daily Manual of Prayers and Praises* published in 1703, the other *The Christian Sacrifice of Praises* published in 1724, both anonymously. Copies of both are in the British Library which also has a copy of John Williams DD's *A Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism* which has manuscript material relating to the society bound in with it. Having a particular interest in Kentish country psalmody we set out to discover how, why and by whom these books came to be produced.

Religious societies

What was a religious society? Towards the end of the 17th century it was almost entirely an urban phenomenon. In 1678 an energetic and devout German, Dr Anthony Horneck, was preacher at the Savoy Chapel, London, when his pastoral work and sermons

so moved a large number of young men that they began ... to meet together with him weekly for devotional purposes and for mutual instruction in the principles of the faith.

(Bullock, 1963, p. 127)

The aims in forming such a society are clear from Dr Horneck's rules for that society (see Portus, 1912, pp. 256–8). They were, in brief, to meet weekly for the strengthening of personal faith, instruction in doctrine and biblical knowledge, charitable work and good living. They were permitted, after prayer and reading, to sing a psalm (rule 8) although singing was not apparently given any prominence. Their exclusivity was interpreted as secrecy by some outsiders, and led to accusations of popery, which was quite untrue but damaging. To refute these accusations, some deliberately started daily prayers in St Clement Danes at 8 a.m. in opposition to the Roman Catholic Mass at the Chapel Royal. They also instigated, at the same church, monthly lectures in preparation for the Holy Communion. After the succession of William III in 1689, the religious societies were once more in favour and reached the summit of their prosperity during that reign and that of Anne (Bullock, 1963, p. 132).

Many religious societies are recorded in London, Westminster and Dublin before 1700 but the only instance in a rural community of which any significant information survives is that of Old Romney, although there were others, for example at King's Lynn, formed in 1697 (Jacob, 1996, p. 84). Old Romney's society became generally known through a letter from its minister to 'a gentleman in London' which was published in the third edition (1701) of Josiah Woodward's *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London*. In it is described how when he came to the parish about ten years before, he found the people

very ignorant and irreligious, the Place of divine worship indecently kept and the public Service

neither understood nor attended, the Ministration of the Lord's Supper was supported only by the piety of Three or Four Communicants and the divine ordinance of singing psalms almost laid aside. ...

I was so of the opinion that the setting up of such a Religious Society as I had known in the City of London would be very proper [but there was] no competent disposition towards it. [So] at first I began to teach Three or Four Youths the skill of singing Psalms orderly and according to Rules.

Many other young men wanted instruction and were given lessons in singing. Eventually they

submitted to the Rules of a Religious Society, and they have been the most careful observers of them.

This led to 'a general reviving of Piety' so that

to the Joy of all Pious Souls, our Shepherds, Ploughmen and other labourers at their work perfume the Air with the melodious singing of Psalms to the Praise of the great Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier of Men.

(Woodward, 1712, p. 43)

It would seem that the city societies were composed of capable and well-organised young men already of a religious disposition and able to sing psalms competently. Inducing religious devotion by first teaching a select group of young men to sing psalms correctly and beautifully would have created an elite group which others wanted to join, as well as making the services more enjoyable and inspiring for the congregation. This subtle and ingenious device, used successfully at Old Romney, inspired Samuel Wesley (father of John and Charles) when he read the letter in Woodward's book, and he copied the methods at Epworth commencing February 1702 with considerable success, which he communicated to the SPCK (Allen and McClure, 1898, pp. 89–93). It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the effect that the Epworth society had on the later activities of John Wesley although these included a religious society in Savannah, Georgia (1736), and another at Fetter Lane, London (1738), but the importance of music in the development of Methodism is perhaps significant within this context.

Old Romney

The parish of Old Romney lies in the centre of the extensive reclaimed marshlands of south-east Kent. Although an important port in Saxon and early medieval times, the process of human reclamation and continual deposition by rivers and by the sea had reduced it to a small inland rural community. Even its successor, New Romney, some two miles to the east, suffered the same

fate and by the late 17th century was a town in decline. Most of the inhabitants of Old Romney gained their living from fishing or sheep farming, augmented in many cases by the proceeds from smuggling (Brandon and Short, 1990, pp. 81, 232). The church still contains box pews and a west gallery, although the Queen Anne three-decker pulpit has been divided into pulpit and desk. In the floor of the chancel is a tombstone which bears the following inscription:

Here Lieth
the Body of y^e Rev^d M^r John Deffray A.M
who was a Faithfull Diligent Rector
of this Parish for near 48 Years.
After much Delight in doing Good
He departed this life Sept: y^e 4th 1738
in y^e 78th Year of His Age.
And also the Body of Margaret
Widow of the Rev^d M^r Deffray
Who departed this life July the 13th
1761. Aged 88 Years.

The Rev. John Deffray

From this inscription we first learnt the name of the 'minister of the parish' of Old Romney. In the Old Romney church guide reference is made to the diary of John Deffray, although its location is not stated (Roper, 1990, p. 10). A photocopy of the diary was eventually found to be in the keeping of one of the churchwardens, and although most of the entries are simply the texts used for his sermons, other information is sporadically given.

The diary was begun soon after he came to the parish and opens with a short biography. He states that he was born in Tours, France, educated at the academy of Saumur (the principal Protestant university) and landed at Dover in March 1685. Persecution of the Huguenots (French Protestants) had been worsening for some years, culminating in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685 when they were forbidden to practise their religion, and thousands fled abroad. Deffray spent the summer in London 'to improve my English tongue' then, still in London, worked as a private tutor for £12 per annum as did many another literate but poor Huguenot of good family (Scouloudi, 1987, p. 20). Ordained in 1687 and admitted Master of Arts at Oxford in 1689 while employed as a private chaplain, he became rector of Old Romney in July 1690.

Other details of his life in London have been found among the records of the Huguenot Society of London. His father was Dr Jean Deffray MD, who was *secrétaire et ancien* at the French Church of the Savoy in London from 1693 to 1702, and John himself was one of the ministers there in 1688 (Minet and Minet, 1914, p. xvii; Shaw, 1911,

p. 59). The Savoy church was in fact a French Anglican church, using a French translation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer in its services (which not all the French churches did, because Huguenots were permitted as dissenters to continue to use their own practices). This explains how John Deffray was able to become an Anglican clergyman and to obtain an Oxford degree, from which dissenters were barred. It was also the preferred place of worship of the elite of Huguenot society, attended mainly by gentry and professional families (Beeman, 1905, pp. 13–59). The Savoy church was of course situated close to the Savoy chapel where Dr Horneck's preaching had inspired the foundation of the religious societies. John Deffray must have been a member of one of those early societies in order to have become so conversant with their practices – doubtless it also helped to improve his English tongue.

As we have seen, his early intention on arriving at Old Romney was to form a religious society there. From his liberal education at Saumur he would undoubtedly have been aware that Luther used psalm-singing as a way of educating people, which may have been his inspiration (Schneider, 1925, p. 312). Although most of his diary after the initial biography is relatively uninformative as to his life, an entry for 17 January 1692 reads: 'THE SOCIETY OF ROMNEY WAS INSTITUTED'. Thereafter, references to the society are brief and infrequent, the reason for which we learn from an entry on Monday 4 February 1695: 'Transcribed the 4 volumes of the Society Diary'. These diaries have not so far been found.

William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury (he was also Bishop of Canterbury), made four-yearly enquiries of the clergy in his see in 1716, 1720, 1724 and 1728. In the first, Deffray states that he had 18 families containing about 80 persons, among them being one family of Anabaptists, then:

There are no Public or charity schools in the place, Except the Free school of New Romney or some lower schools taught by Dames up and down the Corporation and town of New Romney comprehending the two parishes of New and Old Romney and in this Place there is a Religious Society of bound men who do take care of the education of all sort rich and poor sent to the several schools and they are taught according to [the] General Catechism and Mr Lewis's Exposition.¹

¹ The Rev. John Lewis was author of *An Exposition of the Church Catechism* (which Deffray used for many years) and rector of Acrise. He later became famous as an antiquary.

In 1720 (18 families, no dissenters) he states that there is 'No charity School. The Clerk's wife teaches the poor children to read and their catechism'; in 1724 (also 18 families, no dissenters) '3 Charity scholars at present which make part of the Charity school kept by the Society at New Romney and they are constantly instructed in the principles of the Christian religion as the Church of England requires'. In 1728 (15 families, no dissenters) he simply states that there is no charity school.² This suggests that the society lapsed around 1720, but was revived before 1724, the date of the publication of the second volume of psalmody, *The Christian's Sacrifice of Praises*, then lapsed again. However, at the time of Deffray's will, dated 1738, the society was still in existence supervised by trustees, as he instructed his heir (his cousin Margaret Cooper otherwise Tonelier) that from the books in the

Press Standing in my study Between the Cloaths press and the Sash window ... in case the members of the Religious Society now subsisting ... at New Romney should ... have occasion for any book or books ... that she ... should lend the same unto them but I do not desire she should lend above one at a time.

He also left £20 to the society. It would appear that the society of Old Romney had lapsed by this time but that of New Romney survived – not surprising in view of the fact that the population of Old Romney was probably down to about 60 then and Deffray was 78 years old and living, as he had done for almost all of his ministry, in New Romney.

The success of the religious society of Romney is surely a tribute to the religious fervour and fortitude of a gentleman raised in France's beautiful Loire valley, in Tours where the purest French is traditionally spoken, who, as a refugee, endured almost half a century on Kent's remote, bleak and windswept marshes, and a childless marriage. His concern and enthusiasm for the religious education of children is evident from his diary entry of Thursday 1 November 1694 (these sort of entries are so rare that they must be considered significant), from a book that he had read:

nothing is of greater importance than seasoning of youth with [the] early principles of piety & Religion ... that every day they should make some steps and advances towards [the] purification of their lives by a review of their actions every night by a true sorrow for what was done amiss by constant prayers by constant meditating upon the mischief of sinning by considering before & after every action.

² Christ Church College Oxford, Wake MSS, Visitatio Dioces. Cantuar 1716, 1720, 1724, 1728.

Deffray was an unusually diligent minister. His parish registers are most beautifully executed, all except the last few years in his own hand, with lines and columns ruled, and giving birth dates as well as baptismal dates, which is rare for registers of this period. His diary reveals that he was fluent in Latin and Greek as well as French and English, and had some knowledge of Hebrew. As far as his musical abilities can be assessed he mentions a spinet and (according to his will) owned at least one 'fiddle'. He must surely have been a good singer to so inspire the young men of his congregation. He would thus seem to be the most likely person to have arranged the psalms, hymns and anthems for his society, though he put his name to nothing except personal letters and official correspondence. Intriguingly, his place was taken by John Peters MA, Lecturer at St Clement Danes, in the Strand, close to the Savoy district in London.³ This lectureship, as noted above, had been established by the same religious societies which John Deffray had probably belonged to in his youth (Portus, 1912, p. 14).

The music: sources of information

There are four sources containing information about the music of the religious society of Romney: two in manuscript and two printed books. The manuscript sources are both orders of service written on the fly-leaves of a volume of Williams' *A Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism* (J. Williams, nd), which was a recommended text for religious societies (Woodward, 1712).

The earlier of the two manuscripts comprises the minutes of a society meeting held on 18 February 1701 (Shrove Tuesday). This is written on leaves inside the back cover of the volume and is headed by the following order of service:

February the 18' 1701 at the parish church of
Old Romney having assisted at Divine Service.
Sung of the Sixt Ps. Bristol
25th Ps South' tune [Southwel]
40 Ps West' [Westminster]

This was followed by a sermon by Mr Lewis⁴ on Proverbs 10, 'then after singing of the Ten Commandments'.

The second manuscript is inside the front cover of the volume and comprises a section on 'the Duties of a President' and the following:

*Soc. Directory
for May 1st 1721
at church*⁵

After the Lesson, Manch[ester] Ps 16
After the W. Coll. the ant[hem] arise O Lord
before serm. [sermon] Mart[tyrs] Ps XV
after serm. Bristol Ps LXVIII

In the assembly

- 1° 2 Pt of the X Com. [Commandments] sung on Savoy
- 2° Exhor. [Exhortation] rise and prayr and roll
- 3° Th[e] 8th and 15 reading Psal[m] be sung on Ch 2
- 4 Call over the members
- 5 and mark the present members on the list
- 6 let the list of the candidates be delvrd [delivered]
- 7 O sing unto the Lord chant 5
- 8 Thanks be returned to the preacher
- 9 Desire the minutes of the last general assembly St Matthias's day to be read
- 10 Let the order for the examination be read
- 11 Song of the 3 Children
- 12 Examination
- 13 Prizes adjudged
- 14 O praise God in His holiness
- 15 admonition before prayer to the end of the Lords prayer rise and progress' 42
- 16 [Psalm] CIII on Ch[ant] 8
- 17 admonition rise and progress p [?Psalm] 127
- 18 Ps LXXXIV Windsor
prayer of the K.R. I am the ch.
Ejac [Ejaculation] Bless. [Blessing] dom.

The printed sources comprise two volumes. The first contains two books: *The Christian's Daily Manual of Prayer and Praises* and *The Christian Sacrifice of Praises* bound in one volume ([Deffray], 1703, 1724). The pages of the latter book have been fairly severely trimmed during rebinding and it lacks the title page. This volume bears on the front flyleaf the inscription 'Robert Parris His Book August 11th 1808 Dymchurch, Kent'. The second is a volume of *The Christian Sacrifice of Praises*, apparently in its original binding ([Deffray], 1724).

⁵ All of the quoted spellings and abbreviations are as in the original and abbreviated tune titles have been completed in brackets. Number 15 seems to indicate that a procession occurred during this part of the service. The part of number 18 following Psalm 84 apparently refers to the prayers for the royal family and blessing that would have ended the service but the meaning of some individual abbreviations is obscure.

³ Registers of Old Romney, Centre for Kentish Studies PAR 310/1/1.

⁴ See note 1 above.

Although published anonymously, these two titles are attributable to John Deffray by both internal evidence and correspondence with the SPCK. The title page of *Christian's Daily Manual* (henceforth CDM) recommends it 'for the use of Religious Societies and Pious Families', while the *Christian's Sacrifice of Praises* (CSP) is subtitled 'For the Use of the Religious Society of ROMNEY' and 'Collected by the Author of the Christian's Daily Manual', which suggests Deffray's authorship (as the most closely involved clergyman) and this is confirmed by evidence from the SPCK abstract letter books. Volume 8 (1717–18) contains the following:

no. 5438 John De'ffray at New Romney Kent 18 Nov. ... he very much likes what is added to the Circular Letter, that the Minister should appoint the Psalms to be sung by the Congregation himself. That this appear'd to him so weighty that in 1705 [sic] he compil'd a manual of prayers and praises containing a Course of Psalms for 12 Sundays.

Volume 15 (1729–) contains:

no. 10374 J. Deffray at New Romney, Kent Sept. 4th ... That the Society there have long thought that a delightful performance of Musick might be useful to reclaim people from Lewd Songs and Ballads and raises a greater sense of Religion and for that purpose they have got a Collection of Psalms and Hymns printed, entitled the Xtian Sacrifice of Praise by Jo. Wyatt ...⁶

CDM comprises a first section of 'Family Devotions for every day of the week' and a second 'course of select Psalms and Hymns' in a twelve-week cycle, repeated through the year, containing 35 psalms and 13 hymns to 24 two-part settings (TB), all of which are to common tunes (except Psalm 81 Proper). CSP includes only psalmody and contains 41 psalms to 32 common-tune settings, and 27 hymns of which 13 are provided with proper settings. Ten settings are two-part (TB) and 35 are three-part (30 TTB and 5 TrTB).

Musical repertoire and style

The pieces mentioned in the 1701 manuscript are metrical psalms and one metrical paraphrase (the Ten Commandments), all of which are set to common-tune settings that are used for the same texts in both CDM and Playford's *The Whole Book of Psalms* (Playford, 1677) and the manuscript can probably be taken as referring to Playford's settings or a manuscript version of the settings in

Title	Metre	Source	Changes
SION	DCM		
YORK	CM		
BRISTOL	CM	WBP	Transposed
ST MARY'S	CM	WBP	
MARTYRS	CM		
MANCHESTER	CM	WBP	
WINDSOR	CM	WBP	Transposed, bass altered
SOUTHWEL	SM	WBP	Transposed
NORWICH	CM		
LONDON NEW	CM	WBP	
WESTMINSTER	CM	WBP	
LONDON OLD	CM	WBP	
ST DAVID'S	CM	WBP	Transposed
CHARENTON	PM		
SAUMUR'S	LM		
PSALM 81 PROPER	CM		
ST JAMES'S	CM		
SAVOY	LM		
HIGH DUTCH	PM		
ROCHEL	PM		
JERSEY	LM		
TOURS	PM		
ALDERNEY	CM		
CHRIST CHURCH HOSPITAL	CM		

Table 1 Proposed sources and changes to psalm tunes in *Christian's Daily Manual* (1704). The tunes are listed in order of printing. WBP = *The Whole Book of Psalms* (Playford, 1677)

CDM, derived from Playford. The 24 named common-tune settings in CDM itself comprise 15 common metre (CM), 1 double common metre (DCM), 1 short metre (SM), 3 long metre (LM) and 4 peculiar metre (PM) settings of Old Version metrical psalms and hymns (Table 1).

The 1721 manuscript shows a much wider repertoire, comprising metrical psalms but with the addition of chanted 'reading psalms'⁷ (presumably the prose versions of the Prayer Book or Authorised Version) and an anthem. However, while the CSP, published in 1724, contains a much wider range of metrical psalm and hymn settings than the earlier book, these other forms are notably absent. This is explicable in the case of anthems as they were presumably learned and performed for particular occasions. However, the absence of chants from the book is more difficult to account for if they were in regular use in church services;

⁶ This information was kindly supplied by Sally Drage as the SPCK archive was unavailable for consultation at the time of writing.

⁷ Temperley (1979) discusses the issue of chanting in some depth.

their absence from CSP would suggest that they, too, were part of a repertoire reserved for special occasions such as society meetings. Of the 32 common-tune settings in CSP, 27 are CM, 1 DCM, 1 SM and 1 LM (Table 2 on page 30) and there are, in addition, 13 proper hymn tunes.

Interestingly, there are no peculiar-metre settings in CSP. Since three out of the four PM settings in CDM have French names (TOURS, ROCHEL and CHARENTON), it is tempting to speculate that their inclusion in CDM may represent the Huguenot influence, especially as the places after which they are named are in the Loire, then a strongly Huguenot region of France (and, as we have seen already, John Deffray's birthplace).

Of the six metrical psalms referred to in the 1721 manuscript, two settings (Psalm 16 to MANCHESTER and Psalm 84 to WINDSOR) carry the same texts as those given in CSP while the remaining four settings carry the same texts in both CSP and Playford (1677). All of the settings themselves appear to be derived from Playford. This would suggest that the settings and texts in both CDM and CSP represent the actual repertoire of the society at the respective publication dates of the two books. From this standpoint, it can be seen that the repertoire of the society expanded significantly during the first two decades of the 18th century from an initial repertoire of metrical psalms and hymns to include chants and anthems as well as a greater number of metrical psalms and hymns. In this respect, the repertoire in 1724 was perhaps quite similar to that of the London religious societies (Temperley, 1979, p. 104) which also contained essentially syllabic metrical psalm settings for congregational use as well as more complex settings and anthems for society use (see, for example, Richardson, 1730).

The two printed books both consist of metrical settings of psalms and hymns. However, there are noteworthy differences between the style of their settings. The most obvious point of difference is that, while all of the settings in CDM are in two parts with the air carried in a tenor (or treble) line written on a treble clef, 35 out of a total of 45 settings in CSP are in three parts. CSP also uses a greater range of key signatures than CDM (from two flats to two sharps rather than one flat to one sharp), and several pieces are transposed in the later book, being raised by a second or a third compared to the earlier version.

While the settings in CDM are almost entirely syllabic, some of the writing of CSP is more florid. This is especially noticeable in the *medius* part which can become quite melismatic, but some ornamentation, mainly consisting of appoggiaturas, is also written into the air. Example 1 shows the settings of SION from both books, which

is one of the more extreme examples of these trends. There are also a small number of tunes common to both books where the bass line differs significantly (MARTYRS, ST DAVIDS and ST JAMES'S), implying that the settings are different.

The two books also differ in the way in which the music is laid out; the tenor and bass parts of CDM are printed separately without any text underlay while the parts of CSP are arranged as a system with the first verse underlaid. This may simply represent technical improvements in music printing in the 21 years separating the publications, but it could also indicate a greater reliance on sight-reading at the later date for which the arrangement of CSP is more convenient.

Origins of material in the society's repertoire

The similarity between the repertoire described in the 1721 manuscript and that appearing in contemporary publications for the London societies has already been remarked upon and it should be considered that 18th-century Romney Marsh probably had better communications with the metropolis than might be thought. The close proximity of sea ports such as Hythe and New Romney meant that communication by sea was relatively easy and considerably faster and more comfortable than land routes across the Weald. In addition, produce was traded in London, and gentry (including John Deffray himself) were wont to spend part of the year in London, and both they and merchants could return with new ideas and music. However, in the absence of any direct evidence in John Deffray's diaries, the most reliable indication of any publication being used as a source for a setting is similarity of the setting and a prior date. Identifying this requires an examination of a wide range of the collections of the period which is still in progress at the time of writing and progress has been made in identifying the sources of some of the named common-tune settings.

Two groups of settings in CSP stand out as distinct. These are a set of three tunes with names local to Romney: RYE, HASTINGS and ROMNEY. In addition there are five settings (NEWBURY, CARLISLE, ST ALBANS, BLANDFORDS and NORTHAMPTON) which are distinguished from the rest of the settings in CSP by their TrTB arrangement in which the tenor line is written on a C clef. With the exception of ROMNEY, all these tunes are listed by Temperley (1998) as having their first appearance in print in CSP and, in addition, ROMNEY is a reworking of the first four lines of an older DCM tune SION (this is a different tune from the SION in the two Romney books). Nevertheless, despite all appearing first in CSP, these tunes form two distinct groups. The

Example 1 SION in settings from (a) *The Christian's Daily Manual* and (b) *The Christian Sacrifice of Praises*

(a)

[11]

(b)

[11]

Features to note are that the setting in CSP is transposed up a third and has, in addition to a somewhat florid *medius*, a number of embellishments in the *cantus* and modifications including ornaments and rewritten passages in the *bass*. The third minim in bar 5 should probably be a semibreve but is shown as in the original.

three tunes which have local names are set *TTB* as the rest of the book and were clearly written or reworked locally. Two of these, *RYE* and *HASTINGS*, are set to Sir Richard Blackmore's versions of the 8th and 15th psalms respectively. These paraphrases were published in Blackmore's (1721) *New Version of the Psalms of David* and, interestingly, are the only psalm texts admitted to CSP other than those of the Old Version (Psalm 95 NV is also allowed, but only as a hymn). This presumably reflects Blackmore's contemporary reputation as

a scholar and poet (Bullen, 1981). The texts were also of very recent publication when CSP itself was published which supports their settings being specially written.

The other five texts which make their first printed appearance in CSP also form a distinct group due to the style of their settings discussed above. Those with place names are not local and the simplest explanation of their common features would be that they are derived from a com-

Title	Metre	Source	Changes:			
			Transposed	Cantus	Medius	Bass
SION	DCM	–				
YORK	CM	STB	T	O	new	O, R
BRISTOL	CM	WBP	T	O		
ST MARY'S	CM	WBP			new	
LONDON NEW	CM	WBP	T		O, R	
MANCHESTER	CM	WBP				
WINDSOR	CM	WBP	T		O	R
NEWBURY*	CM	–				
SOUTHWEL	SM	WBP	T	O	O, R	O, R
NORWICH	CM	STB	T		new	R
MARTYR'S	CM	–				
LITCHFIELD	CM	WBP				
WESTMINSTER	CM	WBP				
LONDON OLD	CM	WBP	T		O, R	
ST DAVID'S	CM	WBP			O, R	O
SAUMUR'S	LM	WBP			O	O, R
ST ANN'S	CM	STB				
ST GILES	CM	STB			none	R
CARLISLE*	CM	–				
ST JAMES'S	CM	STB		R	new	O, R
SAVOY	LM	WBP	T		O, R	O, R
ROMNEY*	CM	–				
JERSEY	LM	STB		R	new	
ST ALBAN'S*	CM	–				
CANTERBURY	CM	WBP	T		new	
BLANDFORD'S*	CM	–				
ST MICHAEL'S	CM	–				
ST ANDREW'S	CM	–				
CHRIST CHURCH HOSPITAL	CM	–				
NORTHAMPTON*	CM	–				
HASTINGS*	CM	–				
RYE*	CM	–				

Table 2 Summary of identified sources and adaptations made to common-tune settings in *The Christian Sacrifice of Praises* (1724). The settings are listed in order of appearance in CSP. T = settings transposed from the proposed source; O = ornamentation added; R = sections of a part have been rewritten; new = a new part has been written; WBP = Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms*; STB = *A Supplement to the New Version of the Psalms* (7th edn).⁸ The asterisked tunes are listed in Temperley (1998) as first occurring in print in CSP.

mon source, perhaps either a lost printed work or a manuscript source.

As mentioned previously, just under half of the named common-tune settings in CDM and CSP (8 and 13 settings respectively) appear to be derived from Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms* as they

show strong similarities to Playford's settings of the same tunes. Some are identical (e.g. WESTMINSTER) while others show varying amounts of reworking. All of these settings in use at Romney remain unaltered between the 1st (1677) and 18th (1729) editions⁹ of Playford so that there is no way of determining which edition(s) were used as a source. The sources of the remainder of the metrical psalms have not yet been ascertained and,

⁸ Settings which appear to be derived from the harmonised versions in the *Supplement to the New Version of the Psalms* by N. Tate and N. Brady were ascertained after the presentation was made but have been added to Table 2 for the sake of completeness. The harmonised settings appeared in the 6th edition (1708) or later (the 7th edition (1717) was consulted).

⁹ The editions of Playford consulted were the 1st (1677; National Library of Scotland (NLS), Cwn 377), 5th (1699; NLS, Cwn 350), 7th (1701; NLS, Cwn 515), 11th (1712; NLS, L.92.b) and 18th (1729 [1995]).

Example 2 SOUTHWEL in settings from (a) Playford's (1677) *Whole Book of Psalms* and (b) *The Christian Sacrifice of Praises* (5th edition)

(a)

(b)

In addition to transposition, the CSP setting has additional embellishments in all parts and short rewritten passages in the medius and bass, most notably in the last two bars of the setting.

in addition, those of the hymn settings have not yet been studied in detail. Some of the hymn sources are clear (for example, 'The Song of the Three Children' is identical to Playford's setting of the same hymn), but it is intended to consider the hymns as a group at a later date.

Most of the Playford settings in CDM are the same as Playford's *cantus* and *bassus*, with only BRISTOL, WINDSOR and ST DAVIDS being transposed. However, a high proportion of the pieces in CSP which apparently originated from Playford have been adapted to a greater or lesser extent (Table 2). The differences between Playford's settings and CSP are essentially similar to those between settings in CDM and CSP which have already been discussed. By far the most common changes are transposition, mainly up a second or third, and addition of embellishments such as appoggiaturas to the setting. These are the only alterations to the *cantus* of any of the settings but several pieces have short sections of the other parts rewritten, generally one or two bars in length. Several of these adaptations are seen in the two settings of SOUTHWEL (Example 2). More extensive rewriting of some pieces may have resulted in settings sufficiently different from Playford's to be attributed to a separate origin. A possible example of this is NORWICH in CSP. In addition there are

two settings in CSP, ST MARY'S and CANTERBURY, where the bass is essentially identical to Playford's but in which the *medius* is very different. Both of these settings are present in CDM, in tenor and bass only, and it would appear likely that a new *medius* was written in Romney to the previous two-part setting of Playford's *cantus* and *bassus*. The unacknowledged use and adaptation of Playford's settings are fairly characteristic of a period when copyright was non-existent in music and several psalmodies of the early 18th century contain material from Playford (Temperley, 1972, 1979). The changes in the structural aspects of the settings seem mainly intended to introduce more movement than is provided by Playford's settings. This can be seen in a comparison of the last two bars of SOUTHWEL in CSP with Playford (Example 2). The embellishments also appear to be added where, it was felt, the harmony needed enlivening rather than representing an attempt to dictate all of the sung ornamentation, and one is tempted to speculate whether it was added to encourage the singers to ornament these points or to discourage other free ornamentation. There is no indication in the settings of any other ornamentation, even of such typical 18th-century features as cadential shakes, so the positive reason seems the more likely.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can see a repertoire of music that grew over the first two decades of the 18th century from metrical psalms and hymns to include chanted psalms and anthems. It is unfortunate that we have no information about either the chants or anthems but the metrical pieces increased in number as well as in complexity from two to three parts with more ornate settings. This presents a picture of a musically adventurous society whose repertoire, by the 1720s, was comparable with that of the contemporary London religious societies. Although it seems likely that the role of the society in regular church services was to reinforce congregational singing of the metrical psalms, this also appears to have been the case in urban settings.

Much of the material was derived from London sources such as Playford and, while the communications with London were generally better at a sea-port than further inland, the London connections of John Deffray must have been pivotal in maintaining such contacts and his annual visits to London would have been opportunities to acquire new music. However, acquisition of material was not simply a matter of adopting printed sources wholesale. As well as a definite selection of repertoire from more than one source, the society also adapted material and had members who were capable of writing both parts and entirely new settings. John Deffray was probably the most active composer as he was a musician who could play both violin and spinet and possessed a collection of printed music that was mentioned in his will, but it is far from impossible that others were involved in writing material.

Deffray also encountered religious societies while living in London and introduced his own version at Old Romney and other parishes nearby, using singing to gain the interest of the young men. It is probable that reading Woodward's book inspired him to write about his experience. The publishing of this letter influenced at least one country clergyman, Samuel Wesley, to found a religious society based on a choir of young men (as in Old Romney) at Epworth, Lincolnshire. Is it too fanciful to suggest that John Deffray may have been the grandfather of Methodism? Other clergymen may have been similarly inspired by the letter, although we are not at present aware of any.

Deffray's society was apparently flourishing at least until his death in 1738 but we have not found any reference to it after that date and can shed no light as yet on the role of the religious societies, if any, in the formation of parish church choirs. It may possibly be significant that one of the parishes in the group of societies centred on Romney was Lydd which in 1755 engaged the psalmodist John Hill as parish clerk, but these questions are matters for further research.

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