

THE CAROL BOOKS OF THOMAS HARDY (1778-1837) AND THOMAS HARDY (1811-1892)

Abstract

In 1799, Thomas Hardy, grandfather of the novelist of the same name, wrote down texts and instrumental bass parts for several Christmas carols. This he continued until the number of carols reached 36, possibly in 1802 or 1803. His son, also named Thomas, penned a second carol book, and both men used the texts and music in their carol books when ‘going the rounds’ with their instrumentalists and singers on Christmas Eves. As music leader at Stinsford Church in Dorset, the elder Hardy played the bass viol, or violoncello, hence the bass parts in his carol book. Possibly his book is the earliest surviving manuscript collection of carols in modern English, except for privately owned collections. This study includes transcriptions of carol texts from the two Hardy manuscript books and considers their sources. The study also traces the influence of the carols and the traditions they represent in the writings of Thomas Hardy the novelist and in West Gallery music.

Introduction

Folk songs, including Christmas carols, deeply influenced the novelist Thomas Hardy, and this influence found its way into his novels, especially *Under the Greenwood Tree*. Hardy was born to a musical family, and fortunately, he kept carol books penned by his grandfather, Thomas Hardy (1778-1837), and father, Thomas Hardy (1811-1892). The three men are often referred to as Hardy I, Hardy II, and Hardy III.

Hardy I dated his carol book from 1799, when he was one-and-twenty years old. Possibly his book is the earliest manuscript collection of carols in modern English that is not privately owned.¹

The main purposes of this article are to present selected carol-texts from the two carol books, to discuss their sources to the extent that they could be determined, and to recognize, in Hardy’s writings and experiences, his love of and interest in the carols—and the bygone times they represent.

¹ Thomas Hardy, *The Carol Book of Thomas Hardy*, catalogued as Thomas Hardy Memorial Collection H 6363, (Dorchester, Dorset: Dorset County Museum). Accessioned into the Dorset County Museum collection in 2001.

Three generations of Hardy musicians

The grandfather Hardy's devotion to church music, including carols, and that of his son, is described in the novelist's autobiography:

When he was a young man living at Puddletown before the year 1800, he "had expressed his strong musical bias by playing the violoncello in the church of that parish. He had somewhat improvidently married at one-and-twenty, whereupon his father John had set him up in business by purchasing a piece of land at Bockhampton in the adjoining parish of Stinsford, and building a house for him there. On removing with his wife in 1801 to this home, [he] found the church music there in a deplorable condition [and] immediately set himself, with the easy-going vicar's hearty concurrence, to improve it, and got together some instrumentalists, himself taking the bass-viol as before, which he played in the gallery of Stinsford Church at two services every Sunday from 1801 or 1802 till his death in 1837, being joined later by his two sons [James (1805-1880) and Thomas (1811-1892)] who, with other reinforcement, continued playing till about 1842..."²

Hardy III was born 2 June 1840, his grandfather Hardy having died unexpectedly just less than three years earlier. The musical heritage of Hardy I had been passed along to Hardy II, who sang as a chorister while a boy and then played violin, as did Hardy III, who wrote that his father loved carolling as much as did Hardy I. Preparations for carolling involved 'a month of evenings' of copying and practicing. On Christmas Eve, as a rule, the group started in the northern part of Stinsford parish, playing 'at every house before supper', and then after an extended meal, journeying to other parts of the parish 'till all was finished at about six in the morning.' This practice 'was kept up by Thomas Hardy the Second' until 1841 or 1842.³ During the 1840's, instruments used in church at Stinsford and across England (and New England) were replaced by organs. Shown below are exhausted Christmastide instrumentalists, by Charles Green, from Hardy III's 'Wessex Folk' (subsequently renamed 'A Few Crusted Characters').⁴

² Thomas Hardy and Florence Emily Hardy, *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Michael Millgate (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), p. 13.

³ Hardy and Hardy, pp. 16-17.

⁴ Thomas Hardy, *Life's Little Ironies: A Set of Tales with Some Colloquial Sketches entitled A Few Crusted Characters* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1891), pp. 187-268.

The larger of the two churches was, and is, St. Mary's, Puddletown. The other is St. Michael's Church, Stinsford. (Hardy's heart was buried near the graves of his two wives in the graveyard of St. Michael's; his other remains were interred in Westminster Abbey.⁵



Figure 1. Exhausted Instrumentalists. Image scanned by Philip V. Allingham for the Victorian Web: <http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/hardyshortfiction/34.html>

Hardy III based his novel *Under the Greenwood Tree* (sometimes subtitled *The Mellstock Quire*) on characters and adventures of the musical life of earlier generations.⁶ His preface⁷, dated August 1896, opens thus:⁸

⁵ Hardy and Hardy, pp. 16-17.

⁶ Terence R. Wright, *Hardy and His Readers* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 53-63.

⁷ Thomas Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree: a Rural Painting of the Dutch School* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872).

⁸ Quoted material is from the Preface that Hardy added to the 1896 edition (New York: Harper & Brothers). The 1872 and 1896 editions do not include the words 'or, The Mellstock Quire' in the title, as do many other editions, including that from Oxford University Press, 2013.

This story of the Mellstock choir and its old established west-gallery musicians, with some supplementary descriptions of the like officials in ‘Two on a Tower,’ ‘A Few Crusted Characters’ and other places, is intended to be a fairly true picture, at first hand, of the personages, ways, and customs which were common among such orchestral bodies in the villages of fifty years ago.

One is inclined to regret the displacement of these ecclesiastical bandsmen by an isolated organist (often at first a barrel-organist) or harmonium player; and despite certain advantages in point of control and accomplishment which were, no doubt, secured by installing the single artist, the change has tended to stultify the professed aims of the clergy, its direct result being to curtail and extinguish the interest of parishioners in church doings.

A few years earlier, Hardy had expressed similar regrets:⁹

I can scarcely remember such choirs myself, but it is not so very long since they were very general in the villages ... It is almost a pity, I think, that they have been entirely superseded by the harmonium and the organ. To many an old worthy the loss of his occupation in the church must have been a sad blow. It gave them an interest in the services and a share in the work of the church. I should think that with better education in the villages and the diffusion of musical taste, the old choirs might well be revived.

Forty years after the first publication of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, in the preface to a 1912 edition, Hardy wrote:

In re-reading the narrative after a long interval there occurs the inevitable reflection that the realities out of which it was spun were material for another kind of study of this little group of church musicians than is found in the chapters here penned so lightly, even so farcically and flippantly at times. But circumstances would have rendered any aim at a deeper, more essential, more transcendent handling inadvisable at the date of writing.

This paragraph and the ‘circumstances’ have been examined in detail.¹⁰ Hardy’s further sense of loss is expressed in his poem, ‘The Dead Quire’:

⁹ Interview with Hardy III: ‘Representative Men at Home: Mr Thomas Hardy at Max Gate, Dorchester’, *Cassell’s Saturday Journal*, X (25 June 1892), p. 944.

¹⁰ Wright, pp. 53-63.

For two-score years, ere Christ-day light,
 Mellstock had throbb'd to strains from these;
 But now there echoed on the night
 No Christmas harmonies.¹¹

The continuing influence of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, stemming partly from the carol books of his grandfather and father, is evidenced by many reprintings of the book, by film adaptations in 1918 and 1930, and by a television movie by BBC Video One in 2005.

Hardy I's violoncello

In *Return of the Native*, Hardy describes the impassioned playing of the bass viol (a 'church bass', mistakenly sometimes regarded as something other than a violoncello):

One Sunday I can well mind—a bass viol day that time, and Yeobright had brought his own. 'Twas the hundred and thirty-third to 'Lydia,' and when they'd come to, 'Ran down his beard and o'er his robes its costly moisture shed,' neighbour Yeobright, who had just warmed to his work, drove his bow into them strings that glorious grand that he e'en a'most sawed the bass viol into two pieces. Every winder in church rattled as if 'twere a thunderstorm.¹²

The setting for this remarkable description is that Yeobright was 'on call' to play in several churches, as on this occasion in Kingsbere; Hardy I also played, on many occasions, in churches other than in Puddletown and Stinsford. Hardy III's first wife recalled that he 'acknowledged later that the description of Thomasin's father [Yeobright] is based on what he heard of his grandfather's playing as a young man...'¹³ The hymn tune 'Lydia' mentioned in the paragraph, questionably attributed to Thomas Phillips (1735-1807), was first published in 1844.

One characteristic of the grandfather's times was the use of Dorset dialect, as in Hardy's description of Yeobright's spirited playing of the bass viol. The words 'that glorious grand' imply a literal meaning of 'with such force', but they also convey a larger literary meaning. One might also guess that 'glorious grand' belongs to dialect, but this expression does not appear elsewhere in Hardy's writings. Indeed, Hardy greatly admired a master of Dorset dialect, the Rev. William

¹¹ Thomas Hardy, 'The Dead Quire', 1897, <http://www.poetryatlas.com/poetry/poem/174/the-dead-quire.html>.

¹² Thomas Hardy, *Return of the Native* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1878), vol. 1, p. 104.

¹³ Evelyn Hardy, *Thomas Hardy: a Critical Biography* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1954), p. 12.

Barnes, whose list of distinctive terms includes neither 'glorious' nor 'grand'.¹⁴ An indication of Hardy's interest in and command of Dorset dialect is the fact that he was the editor of a book of Barnes's poetry.¹⁵

There is an interesting indication that Hardy I's violoncello had been previously used in the choir of Olverston [*sic*] Church in Gloucestershire.¹⁶ No other record of Hardy's acquisition of the instrument seems to have survived. Perhaps the Olveston connection was recalled by Florence Emily Hardy (1879-1937, Hardy III's widow) during Elna Sherman's visit to the Hardy home, Max Gate, in 1936. In any case, if the most 'glorious grand' memorialisation of the bass viol is the one already quoted, a second grandiose recollection was published about three years later by the chief music critic of *The Daily Telegraph*:¹⁷

There was once a parish clerk in the village of Olveston, Gloucestershire, who, besides discharging his duties at the desk, played the violoncello in the choir gallery. This was his procedure: At the proper moment he would announce from his place in the "three-decker" the number of the Psalm and the name of the tune. Then would he move out of his official seat, stalk majestically down the aisle, ascend to the gallery, take a reserved place in the centre front, seize his instrument, and proceed to tune it. The tuning was not always speedily done, but it never failed to be done thoroughly, the good old gentleman having no notion of hurry in such a serious business.

Hardy I's 'cello, possibly the Olveston instrument, stayed in the Hardy family for three generations and is now kept in the Dorset County Museum.

Further insight into Hardy I's part in carolling with his bass viol, or cello, is provided by a paragraph in which Hardy III describes William Dewy, leader of the Mellstock choir:

Old William Dewy, with the violoncello, played the bass; his grandson Dick the treble violin; and Reuben and Michael Mail the tenor and second violins respectively. The singers consisted

¹⁴ William Barnes, *A Grammar and Glossary of the Dorset Dialect with the History, Outspreading, and Bearing of South-western English* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1863); <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112118029971>.

¹⁵ Thomas Hardy, *The Select Poems of William Barnes*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908).

¹⁶ Elna Sherman, 'Music in Thomas Hardy's Life and Work', *The Musical Quarterly*, 26 (1940), 419-445.

¹⁷ Joseph Bennett, 'Some recollections, IV', *The Musical Times*, 39 (1898), 655.

of four men and seven boys, upon whom devolved the task of carrying and attending to the lanterns, and holding books open for the players. Directly music was the theme, old William ever and instinctively came to the front.¹⁸

A few pages later, as the carollers prepare to move along, Old Dewy's son Reuben suggests that after carolling at Farmer Shiner's, the group should 'replenish our insides'. Old Dewy responds, "'Wi' all my heart" while 'shouldering his bass-viol.' The similarity of the three generations of Dewys to the three generations of Hardys is clear. Indeed, like Dick Dewy, Hardy III played the violin, although he was born a few years too late to go the rounds on Christmas Eves. In 1905, Hardy III sketched his cello and violin in 'Silent Christmas Voices'.¹⁹

Sources of the carols

Our method for finding sources of the texts in the two carol books depended largely on internet searching of individual lines. The results ranged from no-source-found to cases in which some portion of the text closely matches a text in at least one pre-1799 (or pre-1842, for Hardy II) publication. For the latter, we usually found several editions and re-publications. For example, for Carol 9, a search for line 3 found that lines 1-3, and only those lines, were taken from 'A Pastoral on the Nativity of our Saviour', by Elizabeth Singer Rowe, dating from as early as 1696. The poem was published in later editions and notably in John Wesley's *Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems* of 1744. We may never know the origin of lines 4-12 or who combined them with Mrs. Rowe's three lines. Possibly Hardy I himself added the final nine lines, as may be suggested by the fact that 'Hardy' is inscribed at the end of the carol.

Broadsheets are another likely source. Many contained religious poetry and songs, including carols. Also, the tenacity of oral transmission may have enabled some texts to survive from earlier times. Another possibility regarding carol texts for which no precedent was found is that they were penned by a 'pedlar'— the sort of traveler that Hardy III described in the preface to *Under the Greenwood Tree*:

Their music in those days was all in their own manuscript, copied in the evenings after work, and their music-books were home-bound.

¹⁸ Thomas Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, (New York, Harper and brothers, 1986), p. 28.

¹⁹ The Fiddle Corner at Max Gate; <http://thethomashardyassociation.org/DCM/fiddle.jpg>.

It was customary to inscribe a few jigs, reels, hornpipes, and ballads in the same book, by beginning it at the other end, the insertions being continued from front and back till sacred and secular met together in the middle, often with bizarre effect...

The aforesaid fiddle-strings, rosin, and music-paper were supplied by a pedlar, who travelled exclusively in such wares from choir to choir, coming to each village about every six months... He was generally a musician himself, and sometimes a composer in a small way, bringing his own new tunes, and tempting each choir to adopt them for a consideration.

One can well imagine that a pedlar supplemented his original tunes with partly or entirely original texts. There was also a class of itinerant singing-teachers who supported themselves by setting up singing schools and selling their own books. Hardy III's pedlar may have been partly modelled after such singing-teachers, who were in a position to spread carols from one village to another.

Guide to the presentation of carols

We begin with the carol book of Hardy I. For each of the 36 carols, we have included the complete texts for those carols not found to be published before 1799. The remaining 12 carols are represented by number of the carol, title, and lines that differ significantly from the cited published version, whereas the 24 'new' carols are transcribed here in full, using Hardy I's spellings (e.g., uppon, heavenly, stupendious), punctuation (a few apostrophes, but no commas or periods), and capitalizations. We use '?' for words that we were unable to read with certainty (e.g., two of the four words in line 2 of Carol 3) and for suggested clarifications, as in 'The tidings we a gaine apeat [again repeat?]' in Carol 26.

Following each of the carol titles are two index numbers: first the Roud Folksong Index, and then the Roud Number. These and selected post-1799 references are listed here:

Roud Folksong Index. Hardy I's 36 carols and all but two of Hardy II's carols are indexed in the Roud Folk Song Index, accessible at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.²⁰ For example, Carol 1 (As Shepherds watch) is indexed as S372315.²¹

²⁰ <https://www.vwml.org/vwml-home>

²¹

<https://www.vwml.org/search?q=As%20shepherds%20watch&collectionfilter=RoudFS;RoudBS&is=1> .

As an example, a search for ‘As shepherds watch’ finds not only S372315, but another, related, carol. The older of the two sources is Hardy I. Indeed, the earliest appearance recorded in the Roud Folksong Index for every one of the 36 carols is the Hardy I collection. *This is our primary evidence that the Hardy collection may be the earliest known manuscript collection of carols in modern English.* (There are many collections of carols in *early English*.²²)

Roud Number. In addition to its entry in the Roud Folksong Index, each of the 36 carols also has a Roud Number, which appears just after the Index entry. For example, Carol 2 (‘Arise arise sing and rejoice’) has Roud Number RN24361,²³ where it is found that this carol also appears in the Hardy II Carol Book. This sort of additional information makes the Roud Number especially useful.

Hardy II Carol Book (1842). This is a fragment of a carol book of Thomas Hardy II, marked as follows on the flyleaf: “Thomas Hardy, Bockhampton”. Added in the hand of Thomas Hardy III: “The Carol Book of T. H. II (used on the rounds, on Xmas Eves.) in the Mellstock Quire, down to about 1842.”²⁴ This fragment contains 34 hymns and carols. (“The Mellstock Quire” was Hardy’s III working title for *Under the Greenwood Tree*.) The contents of the Hardy II book and its connections to the Hardy I book are considered later in this article.

Townsend (2003). *The Mellstock Carols Vol. 1*, compiled and edited by Dave Townsend, (Oxford: Serpent Press).

Townsend (2011). *The Mellstock Carols Vol. 2*, compiled and edited by Dave Townsend, (Oxford: Serpent Press).

Pickard-Cambridge (1926) [coded below as PC1926]. *A Collection of Dorset Carols* (London: A.W. Ridley).²⁵ PC1926 does not mention the Hardy carol collections. Details regarding Pickard-Cambridge’s notes, including their destruction during World War II,

²² *The Early English Carols*, ed. Richard Leighton Green, (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1935).

²³ <https://www.vwml.org/rounumber/24361>

²⁴ Dorset County Museum Accession number 1936.1.7, accessioned into the Museum collection in 1936.

²⁵ https://www.hymnsandcarolsofchristmas.com/Hymns_and_Carols/Images/Pickard-Cambridge/table_of_contents.htm.

as well as comparisons of the Stinsford (Mellstock) band with bands in several other Dorset villages, with particular attention to ‘The Christmas Perambulations’, have been studied.²⁶

Hymns and Carols of Christmas [coded below as HCC], an online collection of more than 4,200 Christmas hymns and carols, including notes and reproductions of related works.²⁷

The carols in Hardy I’s carol book

We begin with a facsimile of the cover-page, showing the date of 1799.

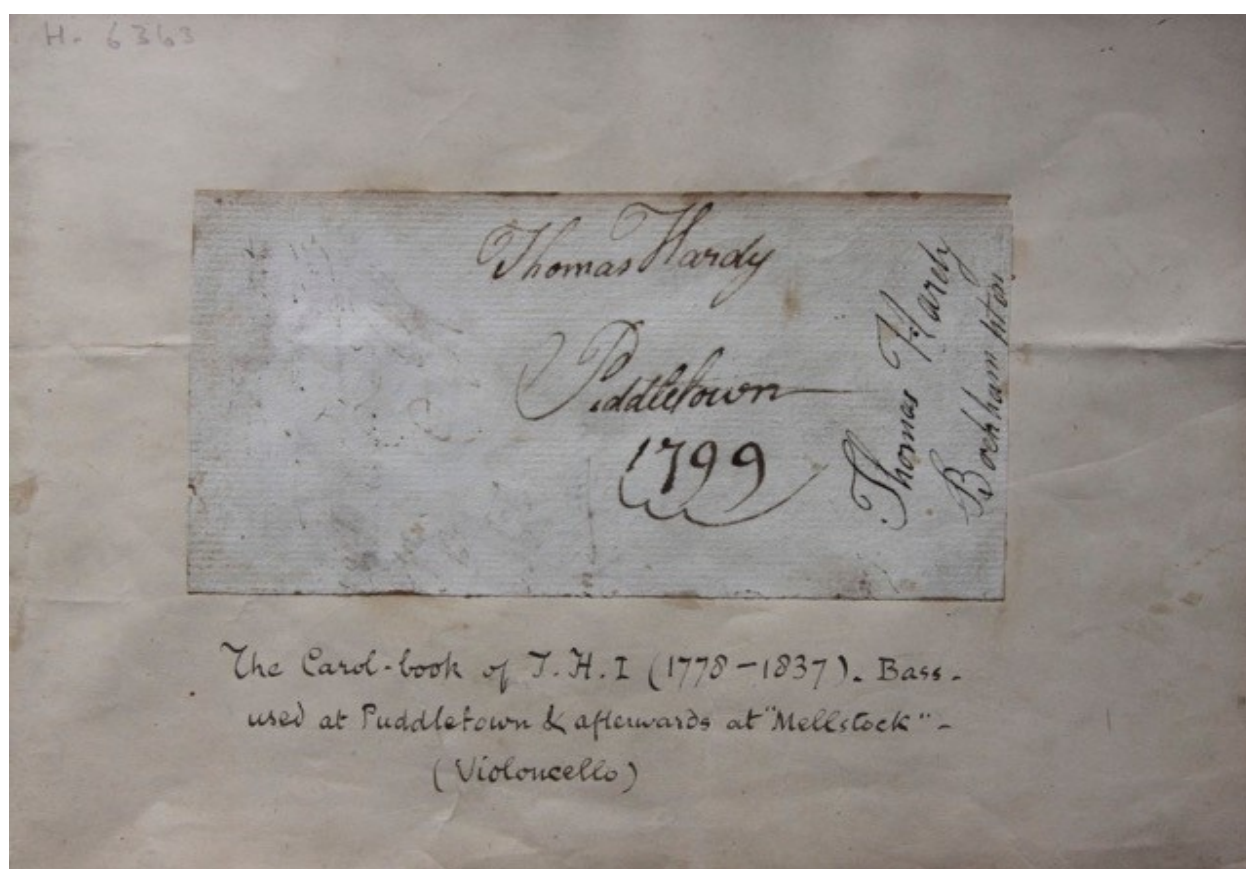


Figure 2. Facsimile of the title page of the Carol Book of Thomas Hardy I. Courtesy of Andrew Leah, Hon. Archivist, Dorset County Museum.

²⁶ Peter Robson, ‘Thomas Hardy and His Writings as a Source for the Study of Traditional Culture in Dorset’, Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Sheffield, 2004), Chapter 5, pp. 101, 109-112.

²⁷ Douglas D. Anderson, founder (2002), and Richard Jordan, *The Hymns and Carols of Christmas*: <https://www.hymnsandcarolsofchristmas.com/>.

In the title, Hardy I penned 'Piddletown', whereas Hardy III penned 'Puddletown'. The former place-name was officially replaced in the late 1950's. The River Piddle (or Trent, or North) flows nearby.

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- 1 As Shepherds watch
- 2 Arise arise sing and rejoice
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- 5 Rejoice all men no more Lament
- 6 Glad Tidings of great joy
- 7 Behold the joyfull Day appears
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- 9 Immortal glory give to god
- 10 Ye Sons of adam
- 11 Immortal glory give to god on high
- 12 Rejoice the glorious day is Come
- 13 Let Heaven and Earth rejoice and Sing
- 14 Come Christians now behold the Lamb
- 15 While Shephards watch there flocks
- 16 All glory to god and peace upon earth
- 17 As watchfull Shepherds in the night
- 18 Hark hark the glad Sound
- 19 Awake ye slumbring mortals
- 20 Harke hear you not a Chearfull voice
- 21 With rapturs abounding
- 22 Hence away
- 23 Yea Shepherds, all your fears
- 24 Come wake wake ye the angel voice
- 25 Hark hear you not a Chearfull voice
- 26 Dispel your Doubts
- 27 Behold the great Auspicious morn
- 28 Behold the Splend
- 29 He like a Shepherd kind
- 30 Awake your Souls with us to Sing
- 31 Lift up your heads
- 32 Hark the herald angels sing
- 33 Come ye redeemed of the Lord
- 34 Christians awake salute the happy morn
- 35 Behold what Splendid glory bright

36 Come all with us harmonious tongues

The contents page stops at Carol 30, but the book also has carols numbered 31, 32, 33, 34, followed by two more, unnumbered in the book, but numbered here as 35 and 36.

1 As Shepherds watch

As sheppards watch their breeding flocks
 In open fields by night
 The angel of the Lord came down
 Adorn'd with glory bright

Trembling they stood amaz'd to see
 His glory on the earth
 Whilst we with mourning accents soft
 Proclaim'd our saviour's birth

Behold he said to you I bring
 Glad tidings of great Joy
 A saviour unto you Is born
 In Betheham this day

Transported with the Joyfull news
 They Left their fleecy care
 And to embrace Redeemers Love
 To Betheham repair

Roud Folksong Index: S372315

Roud Number: RN24391

Line 1: British sheep breeding season is typically October-December.

Line 14: 'fleecy care', and 'breeding flocks' in line 1, were familiar to Dorset shepherds.

No precedent was found for Carol 1, nor any publication before 2021.

A facsimile of the text with bass part appears below.

2 Arise arise sing and rejoice

Arise arise sing and rejoice

To see this happy morn
 This Is the day that brings Joy
 For christ the Lord is borne

The shepperds heard the heavenly Choir
 Of angels in array
 Praising and glorifying God
 To usher In the day

Let all that hear the Joyfull sound
 Rejoice with holy mirth
 Let all your songs to god abound
 At our great saviours birth

To father son and holy gost
 Who sweetly all agree
 To save a world of sinners Lost
 Eternal glory Be

Roud Folksong Index: S371278

Round Number: RN24361

Included in Hardy II Carol Book (1842)

Lines 1-12: no precedent, nor any publication before 2021.

Lines 13-16: a doxology dated as early as 1786.²⁸ The same doxology ends Carol 17. Regarding lines 13 and 14, it is recorded that shortly before his death in 1791, these lines were sung by John Wesley. Then, after ‘gasping for breath, he said, “Now we have done all.” He was then laid in the bed, from which he rose no more.’²⁹

3 Celestial muse thy aid Impart

Celestial muse thy aid Impart
 Whils’t [?] gratefull [?]
 With Love inflame my Longing heart
 To sing my dear redeemer’s praise

²⁸ Rev. Edward Smythe, *A Choice Collection of Hymns, Psalms, and Anthems* (Dublin, 1786), p. 201.

²⁹ John Wesley, *The Life of the Rev John Wesley, M. A.* (Leeds: John Barr, 1825), p. 382.

Who to redeem our souls from death
 Quitted his glorious throne above
 What mortal eloquence can reach
 The height of his eternal Love

With wonders veiw'd his homely birth
 Thro' Life and veiw'd his wounds
 With raptuers then break forth and say
 His endless mercy knows no bounds

With angels Join the sons of men
 Thro' all the kingdoms of the earth
 To Celebrate that happy day
 Which gave our blest Redeemers birth

Roud Folksong Index: S371286

Roud Number: RN24365

No precedent was found for Carol 3, nor any publication before 2021.

4 Awake your souls

Awake your souls and spread your Joys
 O'er all the wondering earth
 Let loudly praises peirce the skys
 At our redeemers birth

Freedom and peace to contrite Men
 Celestial Love bestows
 Jesus relieves our present pain
 And saves from future woes

The father smiles and sends his son
 To save a dying race
 Oh sing the wonders god hath done
 And thank him for his grace

Mesiah's born Let all the earth
 Their Joyfull news repeat
 Before him satan's kingdom flies
 And sink beneath his feet

Roud Folksong Index: S371246

Roud Number: RN17544

No precedent was found for Carol 4, nor any publication of it before 2021.

5 Rejoice all men no more Lament

Rejoice all men no more Lament
 Since christ the lord of Life was sent
 To Clense our sins by adams fall
 Concerns mankind both great & small

A glorious star appear'd in the sky
 An angel descending from on high
 With tidings to the virgin then
 What should befall the sons of men

Great good for man then god hath done
 In sending his beloved son
 Remember then that happy birth
 The day our saviour came on earth

He made the Lamé & crooked straight
 He helpt the needy in distress
 He cure'd disease's none before
 He fed the hungry & relieve'd the poor

Roud Folksong Index: S371280

Roud Number RN24362

No precedent was found for Carol 5.

Appears in Townsend (2003): 21

6 Glad tidings of great Joy

Glad tidings of great Joy I'll bring
 To you and unto all mankind
 Concerning him the prince of peace
 Who came poor sinners to release

Three sages there was which came from far
 Was straight directed by a star
 With them great riches they did bring
 To present to our heavenly king

Twass Joyfully to his mother then
 To see those wise & Learned men
 Who did great Adorations pay
 To him who on bosom Lay

Glory to god that reigns above
 The fountain of eternal Love
 Who sent his son our souls to save
 When we no hopes at all could have

Roud Folksong Index: S371282

Roud Number: RN24365

No precedent was found for Carol 6, except that line 13 occurs in Carol 8.

Appears in Townsend (2003): 13.

7 Behold the joyfull Day appears

Behold the Joyfull day appears
 Ye mortals set aside your fears
 Arise and Join us come away
 This Is the happy happy day

He's come of whom the prophets Old
 Such mighty things our fathers told
 His birth makes peace & Justice rule
 His name Is called wonderfull

All glory give to god on high
 Who sits on throne mankind to try
 All glory be to that blest host
 The father son & holy gost

Roud Folksong Index: S371270

Roud Number: RN24354

No precedent was found for Carol 7, nor any publication of it before 2021.

8 Shepherds rejoice Lift up your eyes

Roud Folksong Index: S371221

Roud Number: RN7105

Carol 8 consists of stanzas 1-3 and 6 from the 8-stanza carol, “The Nativity of Christ”, by Isaac Watts.³⁰

9 Immortal glory give to god

Immortal glory give to god
Throughout the Lofty sky
Let Joy on earth & peace ensue
The great redeemer’s nigh

Behold he comes who rides the winds
To raise ye song of earth
Mortals rejoice & hail this day
Of our emmanuels Birth

All glory give to god on high
Goodwill to men below
Let Joy with Love & endless peace
On earth eternal flow

Roud Folksong Index: S372283

Roud Number: RN24364

Included in Hardy II Carol Book (1842)

Lines 1-3: contracted from Elizabeth Singer Rowe, ‘A Pastoral on the Nativity of our Saviour’, which is in a longer metre; see the note for Carol 11.

Lines 4-12: no precedent found for lines 4-12, nor publication before 2021.

Line 12 is followed by large handwritten ‘Hardy’.

10 Ye sons of adam

³⁰ Isaac Watts, *Horae Lyricae. Poems Chiefly of the Lyric Kind* (London, 1709) Book 1, p. 16; <https://archive.org/details/horaelyricm00wa/page/n4>, (1762 edition, pp. 10-11).

Ye sons of adam now arise
 And hail this happy morn
 And Let your songs now reach the Skies
 Our saviour Christ Is born

Let heaven & earth In concert Join
 His greatness Let us sing
 Let's always mind the happy birth
 Of our eternal King

To Jesus Christ our glorious king
 Be endless praises given
 Let all the earth his praises sing
 Who made our peace with heaven

Roud Folksong Index: S371267

Roud Number: RN23725

Lines 1-12: no precedent found, nor publication before 2021, except that line 1 is found in PC1926, no. 19.

11 Immortal glory give to god on high

Roud Folksong Index: S371283

Roud Number: RN24364

Although the classifications S371283 and RN24364 here are identical to those for Carol 9 and come at least partly from the same source, the two carols differ markedly. The fact that the former has metre 8.6.8.6 and the latter, 10.10.10.10, is not the only major difference.

All except line 4 of Carol 11 is found in Elizabeth Singer Rowe.³¹

Rowe's line 4: The great Messiah's born, thrice happy morn! To you

Hardy's line 4: This day the great redeemer's born to you

12 Rejoice the glorious day is come

³¹ Elizabeth Singer Rowe, 'A Pastorale on the Nativity of our Saviour', in *Poems on Several Occasions*; e.g., page 38 in an edition of 1756:

https://books.google.com/books?id=zbkzAAAAMAAJ&pg=PP8&lpg=PP8&dq=A+Pastorale+on+the+Nativity+of+our+Saviour+Rowe&source=bl&ots=DifHTPL17f&sig=ACfU3U1ktabbJhb5-66OemPUcRa1QezIdg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiSyJP60KPkAhUOQq0KHXw_CXoQ6AEwAXoECACQAQ#v=onepage&q=A%20Pastorale%20on%20the%20Nativity%20of%20our%20Saviour%20Rowe&f=false

Rejoice the glorious day is come
 That our salvation came from heaven
 The Lord of Life has sent his son
 That all our sins may be forgiven

Behold he said to you I'll bring
 Glad tidings of salvation down
 And said a multitude I'll bring
 The prince of our salvations Come

The great redeemer Left his throne
 And took to end our earthly clay
 That We to him may be restored
 To bless the great & glorious day

Roud Folksong Index: S371266

Roud Number: RN23711

No precedent found, but the title occurs online in a copy of the index of carols in a collection belonging formerly to Joseph Willcox, Coombe Keynes, Dorset, circa 1833-41, perhaps now lost or privately owned.³² As there are many instances in which a single title is matched to several different carols, this may be the case here, as it is with no. 38 in PC1926.

13 Let Heaven and Earth rejoice and Sing

Let heaven & earth rejoice and sing
 All on this glorious morn
 A savior which is christ the Lord
 He on that day was born

Come Let us all in concert Join
 And thus exalt his fame
 To save us all the babe was born
 And Jesus is his name

Behold bright armies in the sky

³² *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, vol. IV, eds. F. W. Weaver and C. H. Mayo, (Sherborne: J. C. and A. T. Sawtell, 1895), p. 196, item 20;

<https://archive.org/details/notesqueriesfor10unkngoog>

This morning did appear
 Angels to sheppards testify
 The king of glory here

Awake ye chois arise and sing
 With angels bear a part
 Come Let us all In concert Join
 With melody of heart

Roud Folksong Index: S371264

Roud Number: 26393

Townsend (2003): 19

No precedent found, but there is some overlap between lines 1-8 and 'Let Heaven and Earth rejoice and sing'; see the three versions (dated as early as 1899) at HCC.

14 Come Christians now behold the Lamb

Come Christians now behold the Lamb
 Which on this day was born
 Come raise and praise his holy name
 And Usher In the morn

From heaven this glorious tidings come
 To mortals here on Earth
 God sent his own beloved Son
 By his stupendious birth

Then Let us sing to god our king
 And Join with angels Choir
 To praise & say blest be the Day
 That brought salvation nigher

Now to the father & the son
 All praise & glory given
 Let saints on earth with angels Join
 The harmony of heaven

Roud Folksong Index: S371230

Roud Number: RN12616

Lines 1-4 and 9-12: no precedent found, nor any publication before 2021.

Lines 5-8 and 13-16 occur in Sharp,³³ who writes ‘Come All You True Good Christians’, collected in Gloucestershire; a note on p. 64 traces those lines to an undated ‘broadside by Pitts’³⁴. John Pitts (1765-1844) was known for printing many broadsides.³⁵ Possibly Hardy’s lines predated the broadside by Pitts.

15 While shepherds watch’d their flocks

Roud Folksong Index: S371192

Roud Number: RN936

Included in Hardy II Carol Book (1842)

Townsend (2003): 33

In Tate and Brady, 1702.³⁶ Attributed to Nahum Tate, first published in Tate and Brady, 1700.³⁷

16 All glory to god and peace upon earth

Roud Folksong Index: S371205

Roud Number: RN2484

Carol 16 is by Charles Wesley, who has five stanzas, whereas Hardy has four; after the first four lines of Wesley’s second stanza are removed, two lines that remain are in Hardy’s fourth stanza.³⁸

17 As watchfull shepherds in the night

As watchfull shepherds In the night

Close by their flocks did stand

An angel came in heavenly Light

³³ Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Carols* (London, 1911), p. 22.

³⁴ <https://archive.org/details/englishfolkcarol00shar/page/n13>

³⁵

https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioid=111319

³⁶ <https://www.fresnostate.edu/folklore/ballads/OBC033.html>

³⁷ Nathan Tate and Nicholas Brady, *A Supplement to the new Version of the Psalms* (London: J. Heptinstall, 1700).

³⁸ Charles Wesley, *Hymns for the Nativity of Our Lord* (London: William Strahan, 1745); <https://www.umcdiscipleship.org/resources/nativity-of-our-lord-hymns>.

And glory deck'd the Land

Fear not said he for news I'll bring
 To sinfull men forlorn
 Lo Christ the Lord the promis'd king
 That day for you is born.

The shepherds heard the heavenly Choir
 Of angels in array
 Praising & glorifying God
 To Usher in the Day

To father son & holy gost
 Who sweetly all agree
 To save a World of sinners Lost
 Eternal glory Be

Roud Folksong Index: S371290

Roud Number: RN24369

Lines 1-8, with minor differences, comprise the first two of seven stanzas by William Tans'ur,³⁹

Lines 9-12: no precedent found, nor any publication before 2021.

Lines 13-16: see the note following Carol 2.

18 Hark hark the glad sound

*Hark hark hark hark
 hark the glad sound the savior
 The saviour comes the saviour promis'd Long the saviour
 And every voice a song & every voice & every voice a song.*

Hark from the skys a tunefull Choir
 Of seraphim to proclaim
 A saviours birth Let earth rejoice
 And praise his holy name

Comes hark hark hark hark hark hark

³⁹ William Tans'ur, *Royal Melody Compleat*, 3rd edn (London, 1764), p. 251.

http://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/1/13/IMSLP345990-PMLP512053-tansur_royal_melody_compleat.pdf.

Hark the glad sound promis'd promis'd
Lett every heart prepare a throne

Then let us ever bless that day
 For which he came on earth
 With gratefull songs his Love repay
 And hail his sacred birth

God bless the Ruler of this place
 And all his family
 Protect them with thy heavenly grace
 To all Eternity

Roud Folksong Index: S371276

Roud Number: RN24360.

Townsend (2003): p. 16, notes that this is the only carol in the collection that includes the other instrumental parts, along with the bass. The text includes a house-visiting verse, 'God bless the Ruler of this place...' of a kind 'commonly found in songs from other house-visiting customs such as wassailing and maying, but hardly ever in west gallery carols.'

The italicized words are printed line-by-line with the music; the others are printed (as usual) below the music. The italicized words, but only those, were apparently derived from the first of seven stanzas from a collection by Philip Doddridge, 1755, reproduced here:

Hark, the glad Sound! the Saviour comes! / The Saviour promis'd long!

Let ev'ry Heart prepare a Throne, / And every Voice a Song.

For details regarding the Doddridge source, see HCC: Hark the Glad Sound.

19 Awake ye slumbring mortals

Awake ye slumbring mortals all
 And tune your voice to sing
 For unto you this day is born
 A saviour christ & king

Behold I come from that blest Land
 Which gave our saviour birth
 Angels proclaim this glorious Day
 To mortals here on Earth

All glory be to god on high

And to the sons of Earth
 Be Everlasting peace and Love
 With Joy and Heavenly Mirth

Roud Folksong Index: S371346

Roud Number: 214422

No precedent found, although the distinctive phrase ‘sons of Earth’ occurs in Charles Wesley’s ‘Hark! The Herald Angels Sing’, 1739, stanza 6, quoted here:

Mild he lays his Glory by;
 Born; that Man no more may die,
 Born; to raise the Sons of Earth,
 Born; to give them Second Birth.

20 Hark hear you not a cheerfull voice

Roud Folksong Index: S371297

Roud Number: RN24376

Same first line as in Carol 25; thereafter, quite different; see the note at Carol 25.

All except the first two lines appear in John Lucas, 1776.⁴⁰

21 With Raptures abounding

With raptures abounding
 And musick resounding
 Ye angels surrounding
 Glad homage pay
 Let every nation
 With Loud acclamation
 Proclaim this Salvation
 Wrought on this day

Expos'd to great danger
 The blest infant stranger
 Was Laid in a manger
 In Oxen stall
 Past all comprehension

⁴⁰ John Lucas, ‘A Midnight Meditation on Christmas Day’, in *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, (Salisbury: J. Hodson, 1776); <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008665482>.

Let every one mention
 His great condescension
 To Save Us all

Let no one betray him
 Nor ever dismay him
 But always obey him
 In truth and Love

Then Joys in possession
 He'll give with his blessing
 Beyond all expression
 In heaven above.

All glory and power
 To god every hour
 Let peace ev'er be shewer
 From heaven to Earth
 Good will to all Living
 Thank god for his giving
 Us grace to believe
 In our Saviour's Birth

Roud Folksong Index: S371301

Roud Number: RN24378

Is in HCC and in Townsend (2003), p. 34

This carol, with remarkable triple rhyme scheme, occurs in PC1926, which has 'confessing' and 'expressing' in place of 'possession' and 'expression' and 'Let peace e'er be showered' for 'Let peace ev'er be shewer', while Townsend has 'Let peace ever shower'. PC1926 has 'Goodwill to the living', compared to Hardy's 'Good will to all Living'. A facsimile of this Carol 21 appears below.

22 Hence away dull cares & sadness

Hence away dull cares & sadness
 Joyfull news this day do bring
 Let your hearts be fil'd with gladness
 Whilst our saviours birth we sing

Roud Folksong Index: S371301 and S374227

Roud Number: RN24379

Is in HCC and in Townsend (2003), p. 15

No precedent found for lines 1-4, which appear above. The remaining 28 lines, with a few alterations, are from Isaac Watts.⁴¹

23 Yea Sheppards all your fears

Yea Sheppards all your fears repine
 I come not arm'd With Wrath defin'd
 But Laud with heavenly Love
 The news that welcome news I bring
 Sound high from every [Sacred?] string
 Thro' all your realms above

I'm Come & tis a blest of [?]
 I Come a Messenger of Joy
 Go Publish What I Say
 This is no more a sin forlorn
 This is the day that Christ was born
 Your Saviour & your king

Roud Folksong Index: S371307

Roud Number: RN24383

No precedent found, nor any publication before 2021.

24 Come awake wake ye angles say

Come awake wake ye angles say
 Awake you Shepards Come away
 Good tidings unto you I Bring
 This Day is born the heavenly king

The Sign thereof I tell to you
 This night to Bethelam you must go
 A Star your Shurest guide Shall be
 Untill the blessed babe you See

⁴¹ Isaac Watts, 'Cradle Hymn', in *Divine Songs* (London: printed for M. Lawrence at the Angel in the Poultry, 1715).

What blessed Light was this to See
 The only Son of god to be
 Sent Down from Heavens throne so high
 And for our Sins was Born to Die

Roud Folksong Index: S371303

Roud Number: RN24380

No precedent found, nor any publication before 2021.

25 Hark hear you not a Chearfull voice

Roud Folksong Index: S371298

Roud Number: RN24376

Although Carol 25 has the same Roud number as Carol 20, the two carols are quite different after the first line.

Attributed to Matthew Wilkins because of its appearance in one of his books.⁴² However, the attribution for the tune and, it appears, even more so for the text, was not accepted by editors of *The New Oxford Book of Carols*.⁴³ Indeed, the text had been printed more than a century earlier, as described after these transcriptions.

Inscribed at bottom of first page of Carol 25: 'New in 1798'

26 Dispel your Doubts

Dispell your doubts ye Mortals all
 And Throw aside your fears
 Awake arise Make no delay
 A Glorious morn appears

This is the Day the Happy day
 For mortals hear on Earth

⁴² Matthew Wilkins, *A Book of Psalmody, containing a choice collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns and Anthems, in Two, Three, and Four parts by the best masters ancient and modern*, (Great Milton near Thame, Oxfordshire, 1760).

⁴³ *The New Oxford Book of Carols*, eds. Hugh Keyte and Andrew Parrott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 263.

The Star appeared wick doth foretell
The Great Messiah birth

Behold what tidings Angels Brought
To Sheppards on this morn
The tidings we a gaine apeat [again repeat]
Our Saviour Christ is Born

Then let us all with Hart and Voice
Rejoice uppon this Morn
Sing hymns of Prayse uppon this day
Our Saviour Christ is Born

Roud Folksong Index: S371304
Roud Number: RN24381
No precedent found, nor any publication before 2021.

27 Behold the great Auspicious morn

Behold the great Auspicious morn
Foretold in Ancient Days
Ye Mortals at your Saviours birth
Your gratefull Voices Raise

Hear not glad tidings we declare
Ye humble Swains to you
Go you to David's City there
Your Infant Saviour View

Jesus the god whom we adore
Has Laid his glory by
And he who fills the Starry throne
Doth in a Manger lie

Roud Folksong Index: S371360
Roud Number: RN24430
No precedent found.
Townsend (2003): 11

Written at the top of the first page of Carol 27: ‘Thomas Hardy’

28 Behold the Splendour hear them Shout

Roud Folksong Index: S371349

Roud Number: RN24425.

Published with music by William Knapp, the words marked “anon”.⁴⁴ In Townsend (2011), it is noted that ‘Knapp was the clerk of St. James’ Church, Poole, Dorset, and a popular and influential west gallery composer.’

29 He like a Shepherd kind

[Only lines 13-16 follow.]

Give glory to this heavenly prince of peace
From whom all blessings flow and never cease
With Angels then Lets prise his glorious name
And whilst on Earth we’ll Celebrate his fame

Roud Folksong Index: S371305, which shows first word ‘Be’; Hardy shows ‘He’.)

Roud Number: RN24382

Lines 1-12 were printed as early as 1778.⁴⁵

Lines 13-16: no precedent found.

Handwritten after line 16: ‘New in 1799’

30 Awake your Souls with us to Sing

Awake your Souls with us to Sing
The praises of our heavenly king
In Sacred hymns of Goldly [Godly] Mirth
To Celebrate our Saviours birth

⁴⁴ William Knapp, *New Church Melody; being a set of anthems, psalms, hymns, &c. in four parts, on various occasions* (London: R. Baldwin, 1751).

[http://www1.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Behold_that_splendour:_hear_the_shout_\(William_Knapp\)](http://www1.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Behold_that_splendour:_hear_the_shout_(William_Knapp))).

⁴⁵ *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, 63 (December 1778), 317;

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433095197004;view=1up;seq=5> .

Upon this day the blessed Child
 Born of A Virgin meek and mild
 Our mortal souls for to set free
 From Satan that grand Enemy

The Angel from the throne of light
 Did to the Sheppards take their flight
 Hark hark said they what news we bring
 Glad tidings of a new born king

The Sheppards from their flocks did fly
 To Bethl'em where our saviour Lay
 Rejoicing with great joy to find
 The Blessed Saviour of mankind

Roud Folksong Index: S371247

Roud Number: RN17544

No precedent found, nor any publication before 2021.

31 Lift up your heads

Roud Folksong Index: S371306, which has 'Lift up your souls'; Hardy has 'Lift up your heads'.

Roud Number: RN24382

Carol 31 was known to Martin Madan.⁴⁶

Between Carols 31 and 32 is found a page of astronomical measurements leading to an observation about the 21st of December (hence a connection to the carolling season). The first sentence: "Sir Isaac Newton Computes the Sun to be 900,000 times Bigger than the Earth." Last sentence: "For about the 21st of December we are above 160,000,000 of Miles Nearer the Northern parts of the Sky than we are the 21st of June." It appears that these lines were first written by the Rev. James Hervey (1714-1758). Such insertions in manuscript song books were not uncommon.⁴⁷ Possibly

⁴⁶ Martin Madan, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns: Never Published before* (London, 1769).

⁴⁷ Dave Townsend, 'Processes of transmission in the country psalmody tradition', in *The Gallery Tradition: Aspects of Georgian Psalmody* (Papers from the International Conference organized by The Colchester Institute, August 1995, SG Publishing in association with Anglia Polytechnic University, 1997), p. 29.

the astronomical page indicates an interest that was passed along to Hardy III, whose novel *Two on a Tower* reflects the author's familiarity with astronomy.⁴⁸

32 Hark the herald Angels Sing

Roud Folksong Index: S371224

Roud Number: RN8337

This well-known carol originates with Charles Wesley, 'Hymn for Christmas Day'⁴⁹. It has been greatly altered.⁵⁰ The familiar melody was composed by Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847). Written after the last line in Hardy's Carol 32: 'New In 1800'; i.e., new to the repertoire of Hardy's carollers.

33 Come ye redeemed of the Lord

Roud Folksong Index: S371263

Roud Number: RN23676

From John Hart, 1759.⁵¹

Hardy's four stanzas are essentially stanzas 1, 6, 7, and 12 in Hart.

34 Christians awake salute the happy morn

Roud Folksong Index: S371223

Roud Number: RN8334

With minor changes, from John Byrom (1692-1763).

At the bottom of the 2nd page of the carol is written: 1802.

This carol appears in many collections that predate Hardy I's carol book.⁵²

⁴⁸ D. C. Wright, 'Thomas Hardy's Astronomer', *The Observatory* 118 (1993), 301-302.

⁴⁹ John and Charles Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London: W. Strahan, 1739).

⁵⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hark!_The_Herald_Angels_Sing

⁵¹ John Hart, *Hymns &c. Composed on Various Subjects*, 6th ed (London, 1759), p. 15; <https://ia801406.us.archive.org/35/items/hymnscomposedo00hartgoog/hymnscomposedo00hartgoog.pdf>.

⁵² HCC.

Further history of “Lift up your heads”, as early as 1749, is known.⁵³ It was first published in 1766.⁵⁴

35 Behold what Splendid glory bright

Behold what Splendid glory bright
Darts from the Cleaving Skys
And heavenly messenger descends
Bids Slumbring Mortals Rise

Rise up expected Sav[i]our’s born
We Celebrate his birth
Glad tiding[s] of salvation now
Is Usher’d on the Earth

Let us rejoice & render thanks
To our Almighty king
And with unfind [unfein’d] Sincerity
His praise devoutly Sing

To god be glory peace on Earth
To all mankind good will
We bless we pray we worship thee
And glorify thee Still

Roud S371273, which shows ‘Behold what splendid glory brought’; Hardy shows ‘... glory bright.’

Roud Number: RN24357

Lines 1-12: no precedent found.

Lines 13-16: In the 1805 edition of Tate and Brady,⁵⁵ but not the 1803.

⁵³ Sally Drage, ‘The Wainwright Family: A Reappraisal—Part 1,’ *Manchester Sounds* 3 (2002), 91-106.

⁵⁴ John Wainwright, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes, Anthems, Hymns, and Chants, for one, two, three, and four Voices; composed by Mr. John Wainwright, Organist of the Collegiate Church, at Manchester* (London, 1766).

⁵⁵ Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, *A New Version of the Psalms of David*, (London: Reeves, 1805).

36 Come all with us harmonious Tongues

Come all with us harmonious Tongues
 Your Noble music bring
 Our Saviour Christ this day was born
 With Joy to him we Sing

The king of glory sent his Son
 To Mortals here on Earth
 Behold the Midnight bright as noon
 Angels declares his birth

About our young Redeemers head
 Behold what glories meet
 A glor[i]ous Star arose and led
 The Sages to his Feet

To Jesus Christ enthron'd above
 Let every Nation sing
 And angels Sound with endless joy
 Christ Jesus is our king

Roud Folksong Index: S339681

Roud Number: RN23671

Lines 1-2 are similar to Isaac Watts's 'Come, all harmonious tongues / Your noblest music bring'.⁵⁶

Line 3-4: no precedent found

Lines 5-12: Isaac Watts.⁵⁷

Line 13: no precedent found

Lines 14-16: Isaac Watts.⁵⁸ These are the final three lines of 'Thus saith the Ruler of the skies'.

⁵⁶ Isaac Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London, 1707), Book 2, Hymn 84, p. 156.

⁵⁷ Isaac Watts, *The Psalms and Hymns of the Rev. Isaac Watts, a New Edition*, (London: Williams & Smith, etc., 1806).

⁵⁸ Isaac Watts, *Psalms and Hymns* (London: J. Humfreys, 1707), Book 2, Hymn 83, p. 206; [https://www.cpdl.org/wiki/index.php/Hymns_and_Spiritual_Songs_\(Isaac_Watts\)](https://www.cpdl.org/wiki/index.php/Hymns_and_Spiritual_Songs_(Isaac_Watts)).

The following pages show facsimiles of two of the carols in Hardy I's carol book.

1)

As shepherds watch their breeding flocks
 In open fields by night
 The angel of the Lord came down
 Saddled with glory bright

Trembling they stoop amazed to see
 His glory on the earth
 Whilst we with unwarbling accents soft
 Proclaim'd the wondrous birth

Figure 3. Facsimile of Carol 1: As shepherds watch, first page

Behold he said to you I bring
 Glad tidings of great joy
 A saviour born to you the Son
 In Bethlem this day

Transported with the joyfull news
 They left their flocks care
 And to embrace the newborn Love
 In Bethlem repair

Figure 4. Carol 1, second page

With raptures abounding
 Loud music resounding
 Ye angels surrounding
 Glad homage pay
 Let every nation
 With loud acclamation
 Proclaim this salvation
 Brought on this day

Exposed to great danger
 The best infant stranger
 Was laid in a manger
 In Oxen stall
 & ^{stable} ~~Pro~~comprehension
 Let every one mention
 His great condescension
 To save us all

Figure 5. Facsimile of Carol 21: With raptures abounding, first page

Let no one betray him
 Nor ever deny him
 But always obey him
 In truth with love
 Hear joy in his passion
 Let give with his offering
 Beyond all expression
 In heaven above

All glory and power
 To God every hour
 Let peace enter the hearts
 From heaven to earth
 Good will to all wishing
 Thank god for his giving
 His grace to believe
 In our Saviour's birth

Figure 6. Facsimile of Carol 21, second page

A summary of findings for the Hardy I carol book

Although Hardy I wrote ‘1799’ at one end of his carol book, several dates appear within. Carol 25 is marked ‘New in 1798’, and the years 1800 (Carol 32) and 1802 (Carol 34) also occur. It therefore seems likely that Carols 1-34 were written during 1799-1802. (Reading the book in reverse order, so that the pages show pieces other than carols, one finds Hardy I’s initial date of April 25, 1800.)

Of the 36 carols in Hardy I’s book, the following 24 seem not to have been widely published—if published at all—before Hardy wrote them down: 1, 2 (lines 1-12), 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 (lines 4-12), 10, 12, 13, 14 (lines 1-4, 9-12), 17 (lines 9-12), 18 (except for italicized lines), 19, 21, 22 (lines 1-4), 23, 24, 26, 27, 29 (lines 13-16), 30, 35 (lines 1-12), and 36 (lines 3-4, 13).

As already indicated, we have not included complete carols that were published before 1799, but we emphasize that Hardy I’s version for some of them differs markedly from earlier versions. As an example, Carol 25 can be traced back to William Austin, published posthumously by his widow.⁵⁹ Shown below are the first eight lines of eighteen as published in 1635:

Harke: heare you not a *cheerefull* Noyfe,
That makes *Heavens-Vaults* ring thrill with joyes?
See; where (like Starres) bright, *Angels* flye,
And thoufand heavenly *Echo's* cry.
So *lowd* they chaunt, that downe to *Earth*,
Innocent *Children* heare their *Mirth*.
And ling with *them*, *what*, none can say,
For you their *Prince* is *borne*, this *Day*:

Here are the matching lines as written in Hardy I’s Carol 25:

Hark hear you not a Chearfull voice
Which maks the heavons Ring with joy
See whare like Stars bright angels fly
A thousand heavenly Eacos Cry

⁵⁹ *Devotionis Augustinianae flamma, or, Certaine devout, godly, and learned meditations written, by the excellently-accomplisht gentleman, William Austin, of Lincolnes-Inne, Esquire. The particulars whereof, the reader may finde in the page following:) set forth, after his decease, by his deare wife and executrix, Mrs. Anne Austin, as a surviving monument of some part of the great worth of her ever-honoured husband, who changed his life, Ian 16. 1633.* (London: John Legat and Ralph Mab, 1635, p. 53.)

So Loud there Songs come Down to Earth
 Innocent Children had there Mirth
 And Sung with them what none Could Say
 For Joy there Prince was Born this Day

The contents of the Carol Book of Hardy II

Unlike the Hardy I carol book, the Hardy II book does not include a Contents page or other list of included carols. The Hardy II book is a fragment of an earlier book, now lost, which perhaps contained a list that included the following items, as they appear in Hardy II's carol book:

1. While Shepherd Watch'd their flocks by Night
2. Awake arise Rejoice and Sing
3. Arise and Hail the Glorious Morn that Christ Came from Above
4. While Shepherds were feeding their flocks in the field
5. Rejoice this Glorious Day is Come
6. Arise bright sons of Righteousness
7. In Bethelms happy Regions were of Old
8. Hark the Glad Sound []
9. Arise and Join the Heavenly Choir
10. Hark Hark the angels on this Morn
11. Hosanna to the anointed King
12. Once [] Beheld the Glorious Way
13. O what Unbounded goodness Lord
14. As Shepherds Watched their fleecy Care
15. Behold the Morning Star
16. Hark how the Heavenly angels [sing]
17. Awake Arise and Hail the Morn
18. Come ye that Love the Saviours Name
19. Behold the Morning Star Arise
20. Hark Shepherds Now the angels Sing
21. Behold Behold what Glorious News
22. Hark hark what News the angels Bring
23. Arise and Hail the Sacred Day
24. Awake, our Heart []
25. O Jesus My Saviour, I fain Would embrace
26. Behold Good News from []
27. Arise Arise, Sing And Rejoice
28. Come Christians Now Behold the Lamb
29. [] Immortal Glory give to God

30. Awake ye Drowsy Mortals all
31. Let all on Earth Rejoice
32. Rejoice ye Tenants of the Earth
33. (Tenor and Counter for Behold the Morning Star Arise, no. 15)
34. Awake, awake the sacred song, [printed]
35. Hail Blessed virgin full of grace [printed]

The above index of these carols is in the order in which they appear in the book. This index appears to be new. Earlier indexes are described here:

- (1) Hardy II's numbering as marked on the pages of some of the carols; e.g., Carol 3 is the first to bear Hardy II's number, which is 27, indicating its position in the lost book of which the surviving book is a fragment. Hardy's numbers, in cases where they appear, are indicated below.
- (2) Item numbers as indexed in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. Because Hardy II's Carols 5 and 31 are missing from the VWML itemisation, that index differs somewhat from ours. Other discrepancies in the VWML itemisation occur for Carols 27 and 32, as explained below.

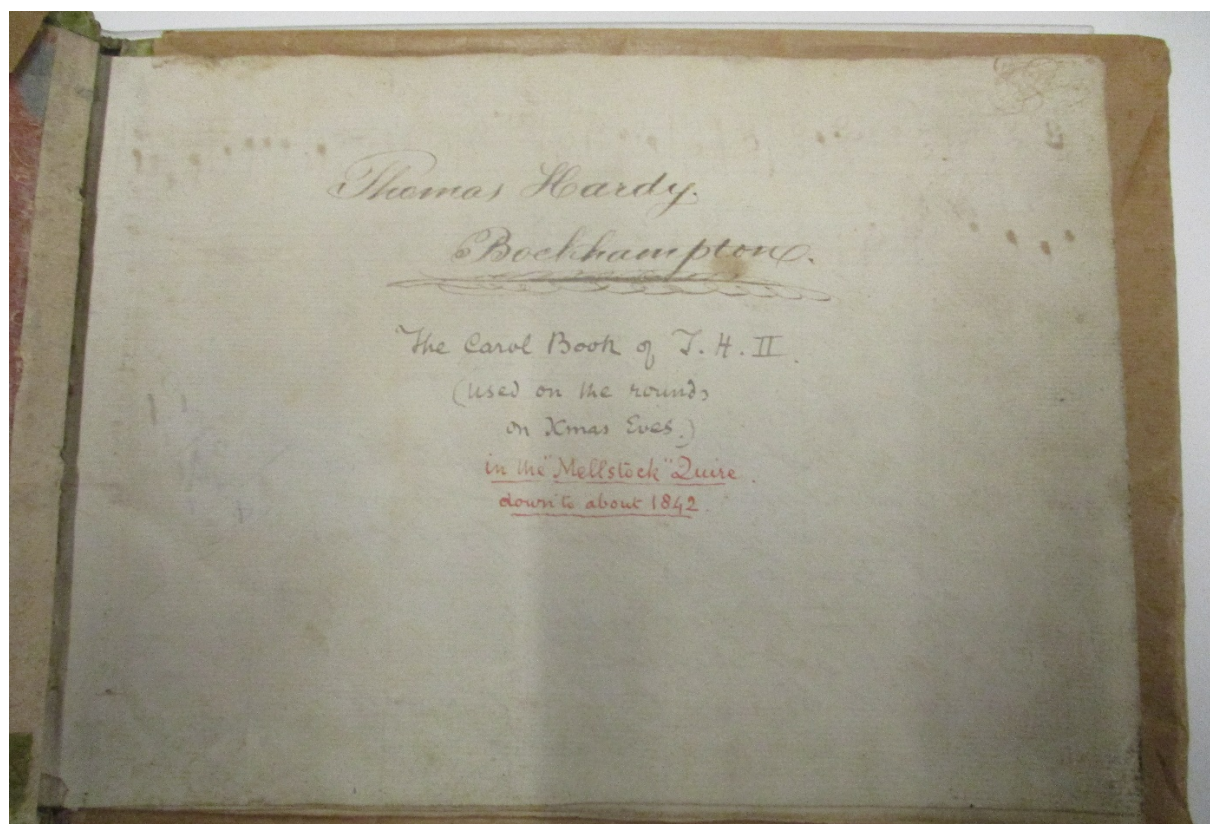


Figure 7. Facsimile of the title page of the Carol Book of Thomas Hardy II

Continuing the format and abbreviations used above for the Hardy I book, we present here transcriptions and notes about sources:

1. While Shepherds Watch'd their flocks by Night

While Shepherds Watch'd their flocks by Night

All Seated on the Ground

The Angel of the Lord Came Down

And Glory Shone Around

Fear Not Said He for Mighty Dread

Had Seiz'd their troubled Mind

Glad Tidings of great Joy I Bring

To you and all Mankind.

All Glory give to God on High

And to the Earth Be Peace

Good will Henceforth from heaven to Man

Begin and Never Cease.

Roud Folksong Index: S371193

Roud Number: 936

Words by Nahum Tate⁶⁰

Is in HCC

2. Awake Arise Rejoice and Sing

Awake Arise Rejoice and Sing

To See this Blessed Morn

Awake Awake lift up your Voice

Our Saviour Christ is Born.

The Watchfull Shepards hear their flock

Were waiting for the Morn

But better News from Heaven

Our Saviour Christ is Born.

Go [home] with Speed the Angels Said

Make Hast Without Delay

The Heavenly babe that Now is Born

Doth in A manger lay.

⁶⁰ Tate and Brady, *A Supplement*, 1700.

Roud Folksong Index: S371200

Roud Number: 1503

Stanza 1 appears in HCC; no precedent found for stanzas 2 and 3

3. Arise and Hail the Glorious Morn that Christ came from Above

Arise and Hail the Glorious Morn that Christ came from Above
 For to Make Known to Sinfull Men the Wondrous of His Love
 Behold Your King Your Saviour Crown'd With Glories all divine
 And tell the Wondring Nations Round how bright his Glories Shine.

Now lets proclaim the joyfull Day When heaven + earth Shall raise
 With All their powers the Rapturd Lay to Celebrate His praise
 Glory to You in Highest Strains in HighestWorld Be paid
 His Glory By our lips proclaim + By our Lives Displayed

Roud Folksong Index: S371314

Roud Number: 24390

Marked as No. 27 in Hardy II

This carol is printed in modern notation, 'reconstructed by the editors' from the Thomas Hardy Collection. The text is derived from 'Hymns for Christmas Day', in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1748 (pp. 516-517), 'the words by Mr. Oats'. The text appears in several other 18th - century collections.⁶¹

Lines 3 and 4 are nearly identical to the four-line stanza of Anne Steele's poem 'Come, ye that love the Saviour's name'.⁶²

4. While Shepherds were feeding their flocks in the field

While Shepherds were feeding their flocks in the field
 The birth of our Saviour to them was reveal'd
 And Angels Assembling in Clouds did Appear
 While Shepherds Lay Trembling and Smitten with fear

Forbear to Be fearful, You've reason to Sing

⁶¹ *The New Oxford Book of Carols*, Carol 87, pp. 306-308.

⁶² *A Collection of Evangelical Hymns*, ed. John Stanford (New York: Thomas and James Swords, 1793).

Rejoice and Be Chearful Glad tidings We Bring
 He's born in the City of David therefore
 A Saviour of pity, whom all will Adore

He's Come to Redeem us from guilt and from Sin
 For love He Would have us New lives to Begin
 In love each believer shall Gladly adore
 For ever and ever, when Time is no More

Roud Folksong Index: S371248

Roud Number: 17548

Marked in Hardy II as No. 32

HCC attributes the words to John Moreton (1764-1804), Birmingham; however, Moreton's collection suggests that he was a composer and that the texts were by Isaac Watts and others.⁶³

Hardy's text differs only slightly from that in PC1926, mostly with pronouns; e.g., "have you New lives" instead of Hardy's "have us New lives".)

5. Rejoice this Glorious Day is Come

Rejoice this Glorious Day is Come
 The great Redeemer's Born
 O then rejoice rejoice and Sing
 on this All Glorious Morn

He comes let every heart rejoice
 Behold the Sacred Morn
 Be Chearful and lift up your voice
 For Now A Saviours Born

Roud Folksong Index: (none)

Roud Number: (none)

Marked in Hardy II as No. 39

Hardy's stanza 2 is stanza 4 (of 5) in PC1926.

6. Arise bright Sons of Righteousness

Arise bright Sons of Righteousness
 Let all the earth rejoice

⁶³ John Moreton, *Sacred melody: being fifty Psalm & hymn tunes, in four parts, with entire new music set to the works of Dr. Watts & others, and suited to the new version Psalms, for the use of the Church of England* (London: J. Davies, 1800).

Our Saviour Christ is born to Day
The Sons of Adam's race

Let elders worship at thy feet
Thy Saints Adore Around
With Valleys full of Odours Sweet
And Harps of Sweetest Sound.

This Glorious Day let's all rejoice
That Christ the Lord is born
In Hymns of praises let us Sing
Upon this Blessed Morn

Roud Folksong Index: S371287

Roud Number: 24366

Marked in Hardy as No. 43

Stanza 2 resembles the following stanza 2 from "Song of praise to the Lamb that was slain"⁶⁴,
quoted here: Lo! Elders worship at his feet; / The church adores around / With vials full of
odours rich, / And harps of sweetest sound.

No precedent was found for stanzas 1 and 3.

7. In Bethelms happy Regions were of Old

In Bethelms happy Regions were of Old
The Royal Shepherd once there flocks did fold
The Same inploy the Swains did waiting keep
From thieves and Midnight wolves to Guard their Sheep.

The Queen of Night High Mounted on her throne
Had now thrown half her Silent Journey Round
When to the Eastern lovely Beams Adorn
Then Guide the Evening Cloudy Rising Morn

Was Ever Such Cause of Joy this Happy Morn
The Promised Saviour of this World is Born
To Bethelm hast – You'l find Him there he Said
Nurst in a Stall and in A manger Laid

Roud Folksong Index: S371288

⁶⁴ *Hymns adapted for the Worship of God. Selected and sanctioned by the Synod of Relief,*
(Glasgow: John Symington & Co., 1838).

Roud Number: 24367

Marked in Hardy as No. 44

These 12 lines are reduced from Samuel Wesley's original 20 lines, with substantial changes.⁶⁵
For example, Hardy's "Stall" replaced Wesley's "Cave".

8. Hark the Glad Sound the Saviour Comes

Hark the Glad Sound the Saviour Comes

The Saviour promis'd Long

Let every heart prepare a throne

And every Voice a song

He Comes the Prisoners to Release
In Satans Bondage held
The Gates of Brass before him burst
The Iron Fetters Yield

Our glad Hosanna prince of peace

They Welcome Shal proclaim

And Heavens eternal Arches ring

With thy Beloved Name

Roud Folksong Index: S371277

Roud Number: 24360

Marked in Hardy II as No. 54

Hardy's carol is essentially the same as stanzas 1, 3, and 7 by Philip Doddridge (1735).⁶⁶

9. Arise and Join the Heavenly Choir

Arise and Join the Heavenly Choir

Rise on this glorious Morn

⁶⁵ Samuel Wesley, *The history of the Old and New Testament attempted in verse: and adorn'd with three hundred & thirty sculptures*, vol. 1 (London: for C. Harper, 1701), p. 154, no. 72;

<https://ia800908.us.archive.org/16/items/historyoldandne00weslgoog/historyoldandne00weslgoog.pdf>

⁶⁶ *Hymns founded on Various Texts in the Holy Scriptures. By the late Reverend Philip Doddridge, D.D. Published from the Author's Manuscript, 3rd ed.*, ed. Job Orton (London: J. Buckland, et al., 1776), no. 203, pp. 180-181.

This is the Day the Blessed day
Our Saviour Christ Was Born

From heav'n Above the Saviour Came
To Sinfull men on Earth
Then let us all Rejoice in Song
At our Redeemers Birth

All glory be the God above
That Sent his Son on Earth
And Hallelujah let us Sing
For Joy of Such A birth

Roud Folksong Index: S371204

Roud Number: 2364

Marked in Hardy II as No. 55; also marked with year: 1837

No precedent was found for Carol 9, nor any publication before 2021.

10. Hark Hark the angels on this Morn

Hark Hark the angels on this Morn
Melodious Music bring
Our Saviour Christ this day is born
With joy to Him We Sing

Then let us Join the heavenly Choir
Who Dwells with Christ above
And Celebrate his glorious Name
With great redeeming Love

For ever Bless that Joyfull Day
Our Saviour Came on earth
With gratefull songs his love repay
In Songs that Never Cease

Roud Folksong Index: S371289

Roud Number: 24368

Marked in Hardy II as No. 56

The Bundell ms (1830s ?), held by The Madding Crowd,⁶⁷ includes a version of this carol, numbered 45, set to the tune ZADOCK. The two texts are almost identical up to the third stanza,

⁶⁷ The Madding Crowd: <http://www.maddingcrowd.org.uk/>.

which in the Bundell ms is “All Glory to our God be given, / And unto Mortals Peace; / In Chorus join the Choirs Above, / In songs that never Cease.”

11. Hosanna to the anointed King

Hosanna to the anointed King
To David’s only Son
Help us O Lord descend and Bring
Salvation from thy throne

Blest be the Lord Who Comes to Men
With [] of Grace
Who Comes in god the fathers Name
To Save our Sinfull race

Hosanna in the highest Strains
The Church on Earth Can Raise
The highest heavens in Which he Reigns
Shall give Him nobler praise

Roud Folksong Index: S371300

Roud Number: 24378

Marked in Hardy II as No. 57

Hardy’s stanzas 1-3 are stanzas 3-5 of Watts’s “This is the day the Lord hath made.”⁶⁸

12. Once More Behold the Glorious Day

Once More Behold the Glorious Day
Returned to Bless our favourd eyes
Which took the Sting of Death away
And Sent a Saviour from the Skyes

For When by Adams fall undone
To Endless Death We’re All Consign’d
Then Came [the everlasting] Son
And Bore the Sins of all Mankind

⁶⁸ Isaac Watts, *The psalms of David imitated in the language of the New Testament : And apply'd to the Christian State and Worship* (London, 1719).

By Him Restored to grace and Love
 New Life Immortal is the prize
 And Oh What Blissfull State above
 Awaits us in the glorious Skyes

Roud Folksong Index: S371275

Roud Number: 24359

Marked in Hardy II as No. 58

No precedent was found for Carol 12, nor any publication before 2021.

13. O what Unbounded goodness Lord

O what Unbounded goodness Lord
 Hast thou this Morn Displayd
 In Sending here the infant god
 Who in a manger Laid.

With pure Delight our bosoms Glow
 Our Infant Lord to See
 And to the Courtley Stable Speed
 With gifts for Christ and thee

Oh let us loudly now proclaim
 Our adoration here
 And henceforth worship well thy Son
 Our Lord and Saviour Dear

Roud Folksong Index: S371299

Roud Number: 24377

Marked in Hardy II as No. 59

This carol is quoted in full by Jackson-Houston in connection with Hardy II's carol book and Hardy III's *Under the Greenwood Tree*.⁶⁹

14. As Shepherds watched their fleecy Care

As Shepherds watched their fleecy Care
 In open field by Night

⁶⁹ Caroline Mary Jackson-Houlston, *Ballads, Songs, and Snatches: The Appropriation of Folk Song and Popular Culture in British Nineteenth-century Realist Prose* (Aldershot, UK, and Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 149-150.

The Angel of the Lord Appeared
A-Dorn'd With Glory Bright

Fear Not Said He for News I Bring
To You and all Mankind
Of Jesus Christ our Lord and king
As you May Surely find

See the Bright Star all in the east
Your faithfull Guide Shall be
Till you arrive Unto the place
Your Saviour for to See

Roud Folksong Index: S371209

Roud Number: 3205

Marked in Hardy II as No. 60

Hymn Tune Index lists three carols with the same first line (only) as Carol 14.⁷⁰ Otherwise, no precedent was found.

15. Behold the Morning Star

Behold the Morning Star
How bright its glorious Shine!
See How the heavens Now open are
Hark Music How Divine

Arise Ye Mortals hear
Angelic voices Sing
And shout with the Celestial Choir
The praise of Christ your king

He comes to Bless Mankind
With Universal Peace
He Comes to Heal the Sinners Mind
To Save a Ruin'd Race

Roud Folksong Index: S371271

Roud Number: 24355

Marked in Hardy II as No. 61

⁷⁰ Nicholas Temperley, *Hymn Tune Index*;
<https://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/CitationXC.asp?B2=Find+Citations&R1=no&R2=no&box1=ON>.

PC1926, no. 31, is a version similar to Hardy's, with interesting exceptions. In the following list, the wording in Hardy II appears first:

Line 2: *glorious Shine!* — and glories shine (no punctuation)

Line 3: *Now open are* — wide opening are

Line 8: *praise of Christ your king* — praises of our King!

Line 10: *With Universal Peace* — With Universal grace:

The version in PC1926 has a fourth stanza, whereas Hardy II has only three.

16. Hark how the Heavenly angels Sing

Hark how the Heavenly Angels Sing
With a Melodious Voice
News of our Saviours birth they Bring
Which Makes the earth Rejoice

Behold in Bethelam this Day
A Virgin Choice and Pure
Brings forth our Saviour Christ and King
Salvation to Secure

Glory We Sing to God above
With Grateful heart and Voice
Peace and Good Will to Men we bring
Let all the earth Rejoice

Roud Folksong Index: S371313

Roud Number: 24389

Marked in Hardy II as No. 62

First line is listed in Notes and Queries.⁷¹ Of course, this does not mean that the two carols are similar throughout.

17. Awake Arise and Hail the Morn

Awake Arise and Hail the Morn
For unto us a Saviour's Born
See How the angels Wing their Way
To usher in the glorious Day

Hark What Sweet Music What a Song

⁷¹ *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, vol. IV, p. 196, item 41.

Sounds from the Bright Celestial throng
 Sweet Song whose Melting Sounds impart
 Joy to each Raptured listening heart

Come Join the Angels in the Sky
 Glory to God who reigns on high
 Let Peace and Love on Earth a bound
 While time Revolves and Years roll Round

Roud Folksong Index: S371252

Roud Number: 22274

Probably by John Dobell of Poole, Dorset.⁷² He included this carol in a collection of 700 hymns, first published in 1806.⁷³

18. Come Ye that Love the Saviours Name

Come Ye that Love the Saviours Name
 And Joy to Make it known
 The Sovereign of your Heart proclaim
 And Bow before this throne

Behold your King, your Saviour Crown'd
 With Glories all Divine
 And tell the Wondering Nations Round
 How bright those Glories Shine

Let every tongue his Name Confess
 With bowing knees Adore
 The King of Glory Prince of Peace
 Who Reigns for Ever More

Roud Folksong Index: S371292

Roud Number: 24371

Marked in Hardy II as No. 64

⁷²John Richard Watson, 'John Dobell', *Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*:
<https://hymnology.hymnsam.co.uk/j/john-dobell?q=Dobell>

⁷³ John Dobell, *A New Selection of Seven Hundred Evangelical Hymns* (Morristown, New Jersey: Peter A. Johnson and Henry P. Russell, 1810), p. 29, No. 29.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah4y8s&view=1up&seq=56&skin=2021>.

The first two stanzas here are the first two, of eight, in Hymn CXXXVIII by Anne Steele.⁷⁴ No precedent for the final stanza was found.

19. Behold the Morning Star Arise

Behold the Morning Star Arise
The Son of God Appears
Seraphic legions rend the Skies
Hark, Hallelujah, hear !

Be every Vale exalted high
Sink every Mountain low
Behold the great Messiah Comes
Salvation to Bestow

He Comes from Yonder Realms Above
With his Angelic train
O think what Mighty Works of Love
Lost Sinners to Regain

Roud Folksong Index: S371274

Roud Number: 24358

Marked in Hardy II as No. 65

The first line here is the first line of the final (eighth) stanza of Watts, ‘Hymn 50’.⁷⁵ Stanza 2 is also in Watts’s ‘Hymn 50’. No precedent was found for the other lines. A four-part arrangement based on this Hardy text and tune, both marked “anon.”, has been set in modern notation.⁷⁶

20. Hark Shepherds how the angels Sing

Hark Shepherds how the angels Sing
For Joy that Christ was born
A Spotless Virgin Did him bring
All on this Blessed Morn

⁷⁴ Anne Steele, *Hymns by Anne Steele* (London: Gospel Standard Baptist Trust, 1967), p. 150.

⁷⁵ Christian Classics Ethereal Library, *The Psalms and Hymns of Isaac Watts*;
<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/w/watts/psalmshymns/cache/psalmshymns.pdf>

⁷⁶ “Behold the morning star arise” ed. Laura Conrad (Oxford: Serpent Publications)
<http://serpent.serpentpublications.org/~lconrad/music/wg/music/indexed.pdf>

Wise Men from far Led by a Star
 Which was a faithful guide
 Untill they Came Where Jesus laid
 And Him they Glorified
 Glory to God Arise and sing
 And usher in the Morn
 Hark how the heavenly air Doth ring
 Sweet Jesus he is Born

Roud Folksong Index: S371243

Roud Number: 17435

Marked in Hardy II as No. 66

This is no. 28 in PC1926, with sources marked in the Index as Bloxworth, Hazlebury Brian, and Stratton. PC1926 has four stanzas, of which the second is missing from Hardy II. The remaining lines are quite similar, except for these two in PC1926: “At length did come where Jesus lay / Then Him they glorified.” No precedent was found.

21. Behold Behold what Glorious News

Behold Behold what Glorious News
 Breaks in upon this Morn
 The Heavenly Host to Man proclaim
 That Christ our Saviours Born

He comes He Comes With Glory Crownd
 To Sinfull Men on earth
 And Angels Strike their Harps With Song
 At our Redeemer’s Birth

Roud Folksong Index: S371268

Roud Number: 23738

Marked in Hardy II as No. 67

No precedent was found for Carol 21, nor any publication before 2021.

22. Hark hark what News the Angels Bring

Hark hark what News the Angels Bring
 All on this Blessed Morn
 Our Saviour Jesus Christ the Lord
 He on this Day Was Born

Behold Bright Armies in the Sky
 This Morning Did Appear
 Angels to Shepherds Testify
 The King of Glory here

O Lord to thee all Glory Be
 Thy fountain of all Grace
 The everlasting father He
 and only Prince of Peace

Roud Folksong Index: S371210

Roud Number: 3210

Marked in Hardy II as No. 68

The first line matches that of a carol published in 1822.⁷⁷ No other trace of this carol was found.

23. Arise and Hail the Sacred Day

Arise and Hail the Sacred Day
 Cast all Dull Cares of Life Away
 The thoughts of Men or things
 This Day to [bear ?] the Deadly Wounds
 The Son of Righteousness Arose
 With Healing in His Wings

If Angels on this happy Morn
 When Christ our Saviour Lord Was Born
 [Put ?] forth a Joyfull Song
 Why Should Not We for Human Race
 Declare the Wounders of thy Grace
 To Whom thy Now belong

Roud Folksong Index: S371337

Roud Number: 24413

Marked in Hardy II as No. 69

These two stanzas match the first two of five stanzas found in a collection, with music, dated 1878.⁷⁸ The match, however, includes several substantial differences:

⁷⁷ Davies Gilbert, *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* (London: John Nichols and Son, 1822), p. 22, Carol V.

⁷⁸ Henry Ramsden Bramley and John Stainer, *Christmas Carols New and Old* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1878), Carol 58.

Stanza 1: Arise, and hail the Sacred Day, / Cast all low cares of life away,
 And thoughts of meaner things; / This day to cure our deadly woes,
 The Sun of Righteousness arose / With healing in His wings.

Stanza 2. If Angels, on that happy morn / The Saviour of the world was born,
 Poured forth seraphic songs; / Much more should we of human race

24. Awake, our Hearts and Let us Sing

Awake, our Hearts and Let us Sing
 Prepare attune full Voice
 Our Saviour Christ Glad Tidings Bring
 A-loud Will We Rejoice

What Joyful News awake and Hear
 From heaven to earth is borne
 Loud Shouting Angels Rend the Air
 For Joy of Such a Son

Glory to God who Reigns Above
 And Lasting peace on earth
 Good will to Men & Angels Join
 At our Redeemer's Birth

Roud Folksong Index: S371291

Roud Number: 24370

Marked in Hardy II as No. 70

No precedent was found for Carol 18, nor any publication before 2021.

25. O Jesus My Saviour, I fain Would embrace

O Jesus My Saviour, I fain Would embrace
 Thy Name and thy Nature thy Spirit and Grace
 I'll trace the Dear foot Steps of Jesus My Lord
 And Glory in Him Whom the Nations Abhorr'd

O Wonder of Wonders astonished I Gaze
 To See in a Manger the ancient of Days

And Angels proclaiming to Strangers forlorn
And telling the Shepherds that Jesus is Born.

My God is Returned to His Glory on High
When Death makes a passage to Him I will fly
And Gladly Will leave all my brethren Behind
Expecting in Glory we all Shall be Join'd

Roud Folksong Index: S371245

Roud Number: 17543

Marked in Hardy II as No. 71

It seems likely that this carol first appeared in *Kendal Hymn Book* (1757).⁷⁹ Although the carol has been attributed to Christopher Batty, Hyde's introduction to the 2010 reprinting, and the printing of the original carol, show that the author's initials were clearly 'S.M.'. Extensive efforts have failed to identify the author definitively. 'S.M.'s carol consists of six stanzas, of which Hardy II's carol closely matches stanzas 1, 2, and 6.

26. Behold Good News from Heaven is Come

Behold Good News from heaven is Come
A Saviour Shall be born
While Shepherds in the fields did Wait
To See the glorious morn

Awake and Celebrate the Day
That Jesus Christ Was Born
With Solemn Joy we gladly Sing
The glory in the Morn

Loud Hallelujahs let us sing
Be praise and glory given
Let Saints on earth and angels Sing
The harmony of Heaven

Roud Folksong Index: S371279

Roud Number: 24356

Marked in Hardy II as No. 72

⁷⁹ *A Collection of Hymns for the use of those that seek, and those that have Redemption in the Blood of Christ*, ed. James Allen and Christopher Batty (Kendal [Cumbria]: Thomas Ashburner, 1757), pp. 130-131. Reprinted as *A Faithful Reproduction of: The Kendal Hymnbook*, with introduction by Matthew J. Hyde (Appledore, Kent: Matthew J. Hyde, 2010).

These are the first three of four stanzas found in several Dorset manuscript carol collections, possibly as early as 1815.⁸⁰ At the bottom of the page, there is a small sketch of a man wearing a hat. No comparable image appears on any other page.

27. Arise Arise Sing And Rejoice

Arise Arise Sing and Rejoice
To See this happy morn
This is the Day that Brigs us joy
For Christ the Lord is Born

Let All that hear the Joyfull Sound
Rejoice with Holy Mirth
Let all your Songs to God Abound
At our great Saviours Birth

To Father Son and Holy Ghost
Who Sweetly all agree
To Save a World of Sinners lost
Eternal Glory Be

Roud Folksong Index: S371279

Roud Number: 24361

Marked in Hardy II as No. 73

This is Carol 2 in Hardy I.

Line 5, “Let all...” was misread in the compiling of the RVW list as a first line, so that “Let all..” has its own Roud Folksong Index, S371309, and its own Round Number, 24385. The misreading probably occurred because the top of the second page begins with line 5, regarded hastily as the first line of a separate carol. (Similarly for Carol 32.)

28. Come Christians now Behold the Lamb

Come Christians now Behold the Lamb
Which on this Day was born
Come rise and praise his holy Name
And Usher in the Morn

From Heaven this Glorious tidings Come
To Mortals hear on Earth
God Sent His own beloved Son –
By His Stupendious Birth

⁸⁰ Ros Clements, representing The Madding Crowd, correspondence, July 2021.

Now to the father and the Son
 All praise and glory given
 Let Saints on earth with Angels Join
 The Harmony of heaven

Roud Folksong Index: S371336

Roud Number: 24412

Marked in Hardy II as No. 74

This carol (with four stanzas) is in Hardy I as Carol 14; see the notes there.

29. Immortal Glory give to God

Immortal Glory give to God
 Throughout the lofty Sky
 Let Joy on earth and peace ensue
 The great Redeemer's high
 Now let us Haste and Join the throng
 To Sing our Maker's praise
 O earth Come Join our New Made Song
 And High Your Voices raise

Since heaven is Now Come Down to Earth
 Whither the Angels fly
 Hark How the Heavenly Choirs Do Sing
 Glory to God on High

Roud Folksong Index: S371285

Roud Number: 24364

Included in Hardy I as Carol 9

Marked in Hardy II as No. 75

This carol (with four stanzas) is in Hardy I as Carol 11; see the notes there.

30. Awake ye Drowsy Mortals all

Awake ye Drowsy Mortals all
 Hear Music from on High
 And Listen to the Heavenly Call
 A Saviours born to Day

Arise and Hail the Joyfull Day
 Of your Redeemers Birth

Lift up your Voices to the Sky
A Saviours born on Earth

We Will Exalt the Lord our god
And His great Name adore
And Sing His praises Here on earth
Till Time Shall Be No More

Roud Folksong Index: S371241

Roud Number: 23741

Marked in Hardy II as No. 77 (had been No. 76, but that number is crossed out)

This is not the same carol as “Awake ye slumbring mortals all” in Hardy I (no. 19).

This title is in PC1926, but only the first of the three stanzas is similar to the Hardy II carol.

31. Let all on Earth Rejoice

Let all on Earth Rejoice
To Hear what News is Brought
The Lord Has Sent his holy Son
That Sinners Might Be Taught

Long god Has Promiss'd us
A Saviour Should Be Born
That we may all his praises See,
And Sing His Love this Morn

Glory to the Father
And glory to the Son
Sing glory unto god Above
Eternal three in one.

Roud Folksong Index: (none)

Roud Number: (none)

Although this carol is marked out in Hardy II, it was marked as No. 77, even though the carol just before this one was also marked as No. 77. No precedent was found for Carol 31, nor any publication before 2021.

32. Rejoice Ye Tenants of the Earth

Rejoice ye Tenants of the Earth

And Celebrate your Saviours Birth
 This is the happy Morn
 On which the angels Did impart
 These tidings to Each Longing Heart
 Your Saviour Christ is born

Behold a Meteor Shining bright
 Conducts the eastern Sages Right
 To Judahs Distant land
 And guides to Bethlem their Road
 Then fixed over land Abode
 Directed by his hand

And there they found there New Born king
 To Whom they Did their offerings Bring
 And worship at His feet
 While angels flying from there throne
 Proclaim that he alone is Come
 Salvation to Compleate

Roud Folksong Index: S371281

Roud Number: 24363

Marked in Hardy II as No. 79. (The carol numbered 78, not found in this fragment of the original Hardy II collection, is discussed below.)

Attributed to W. Gifford of South Petherton, 1804.⁸¹

This carol is been published online in modern music notation.⁸²

Townsend (2003) adds a fourth stanza from Gifford.

All four stanzas appear in modern notation, arranged for 4-part singing with 2 flutes, violin, cello, and continuo. Accompanying historical notes quote substantially from Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree*. 'Thus', the editors write, 'does the Mellstock choir first set eyes on Fancy Day, the new village schoolmistress, not knowing that her fine touch on the vicar's harmonium will be their undoing.'⁸³

⁸¹ William Gifford, *Twelve new psalm tunes, in three, four, five, and six parts: with symphonies and a thorough bass for the organ, piano forte, &c., with two favorite Christmas hymns* (London: J. Peck, 1804), pp. 19-20.

⁸² Immanuel's Ground: Warwick's West Gallery Quire:
http://immanuelsground.com/downloads/pdfs/Shropshire/1-Shropshire_Carols_2012/Horn%20parts/C086_Rejoice%20ye%20tenants-Horn%20in%20F.pdf.

⁸³ *The New Oxford Book of Carols*, Carol 88, pp. 309-312.

Line 16, “While angels flying...” was misread in the compiling of the RVW list as a first line, so that “While angels flying...” has its own Roud Folksong Index, S371293, and its own Round Number, 24372. The misreading may have occurred because the three lines at the bottom of the first page, after the six staves of music, were hastily assumed to be the beginning of a separate carol. Instead, the text begins at the top of the second page, and the three lines at the bottom of page 1 are actually lines 16-18 of the text. (Similarly for Carol 27.)

33. (Music only: Staves 1 and 2 give the tenor part for “Behold the Morning Star Arise;” (no. 19); staves 3 and 4 give the Counter part.

34. Awake, awake the sacred song. [Printed, 5 stanzas, 4 lines each]. Handwritten beneath by Hardy III: “*Mellstock*” Choir (Stinsford) *Fragment of a Music book belonging to T. H. ’s grandfather*”

Roud Folksong Index: S371295

Roud Number: 24374

These are stanzas 1 and 3-6 of a well-known carol by Anne Steele was first published in 1760.⁸⁴

35. Hail Blessed virgin full of grace. [Printed, 4 stanzas, 4 lines each]

Roud Folksong Index: S371294

Roud Number: 24373

Stanzas 3, 5, 10, and 11 of a well-known carol in Sandys.⁸⁵

36. Fugue on “While Shepherds Watch” [Carol 1]

Shows where in the text each of the four parts enters in the fugue. (A ‘fugue’ in West Gallery music is a short contrapuntal treatment of portions of the text.)

The missing carol, number 78 in Hardy II’s earlier (now lost) collection

Stanza 1 of this famous carol is quoted here:

⁸⁴ Anne Steele, *The works of Mrs. Anne Steele, complete in two volumes: comprehending poems on subjects chiefly devotional; and miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse; heretofore published under the title of Theodosia* (Boston: Munroe, Francis and Parker, 1808), p. 94, <https://archive.org/details/worksofmrsannest00stee/mode/2up>

⁸⁵ William Sandys, *Christmas carols, ancient and modern; including the most popular in the west of England, and the airs to which they are sung* (London: R. Beckley, 1833), pp. 145-146; <https://archive.org/details/christmascarolsa00sandrich/page/146/mode/2up>.

Remember Adam's fall,
 O thou Man;
 Remember Adam's fall
 From Heaven to Hell.
 Remember Adam's fall;
 How he hath condemned all
 In Hell perpetual
 There for to dwell.

This carol, more than any other in the Hardy family repertoire, is explicitly mentioned in the writings of Hardy III. The third chapter of *Under the Greenwood Tree* includes the following dialogue:

“Better try over number seventy-eight before we start, I suppose?” said William, pointing to a heap of old Christmas-carol books on a side table.

“Wi’ all my heart,” said the choir generally.

“Number seventy-eight was always a teaser—always. I can mind him ever since I was growing up a hard boy-chap.”

“But he’s a good tune, and worth a mint o’ practice,” said Michael.

“He is; though I’ve been mad enough wi’ that tune at times to seize en an tear en all to linnit. Ay, he’s a splendid carrel—there’s no denying that.”

“The first line is well enough,” said Mr. Spinks; “but when you come to ‘O Thou man,’ you make a mess o’t.”

In Chapter 4, the tale of this special carol continues:

‘Number seventy-eight,’ he softly gave out as they formed round in a semicircle, the boys opening the lanterns to get a clearer light, and directing their rays on the books. Then passed forth into the quiet night an ancient and time-worn hymn, embodying a quaint Christianity in words orally transmitted from father to son through several generations...

Hardy II’s number seventy-eight can be traced back to Thomas Ravenscroft.⁸⁶ A facsimile is available online.⁸⁷

Summary of findings of the Hardy II carol book and comparisons with the Hardy I carol book

⁸⁶ *Melismata: Musically Phansies. Fitting the Court, Citie, and Countrey Humours*, ed. Thomas Ravenscroft (London: William Stansly for Thomas Adams, 1611).

⁸⁷ <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ravenscroft/melismata/>

As a first point of comparison, the two carol books have about the same number of carols (36 and 34), and there are three carols that are, at least by title and Roud Number, in both books: Hardy I Carol 2 is much like Hardy II Carol 27, as are Hardy II Carol 11 and Hardy II Carol 29, and Hardy I Carol 14 and Hardy II Carol 28. However, there are substantial differences within these pairs, as is clear from quick perusals of the foregoing transcriptions.

A major physical difference between the two books is that fact that almost all the carols in Hardy I occupy two pages (the exception being Carol 18 with four pages), whereas all but three carols in Hardy II occupy only one page (the exceptions being two pages for Carols 27, 31, and 32).

As already noted, we found essentially no precedent for 24 of the carols in Hardy I's book. It is more difficult to determine which carols in Hardy II's book did not appear earlier in any known collection. For example, it appears that in the second book, a greater number of carols consist of "known" parts mixed with "unknown" parts, as typified by Carols 2, 3, 6, and 19. Second, unsurprisingly, more of the carols in Hardy II's book appear in other Dorset pre-1845 collections, and in most cases, dates of appearance are not revealed. For references to other such Dorset collections, see the Notes and Sources at the ends of Townsend (2003) and Townsend (2011).

Several of Christendom's most highly venerated hymn writers are represented in the two Hardy carol books. These include Isaac Watts,⁸⁸ Elizabeth Rowe,⁸⁹ Anne Steele,⁹⁰ Philip Doddridge,⁹¹ Charles Wesley,⁹² and Samuel Wesley.⁹³

⁸⁸ Alan Gaunt, 'Isaac Watts', *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, (Norwich: Canterbury Press); <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/i/isaac-watts>.

⁸⁹ John Richard Watson, 'Elizabeth Rowe', *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, (Norwich: Canterbury Press); <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/e/elizabeth-rowe>.

⁹⁰ John Richard Watson, 'Anne Steele', *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, (Norwich: Canterbury Press); <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/a/anne-steele>.

⁹¹ Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, 'Philip Doddridge', *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, (Norwich: Canterbury Press); <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/p/philip-doddridge>.

⁹² Timothy Dudley-Smith, 'Charles Wesley', *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, (Norwich: Canterbury Press); <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/c/charles-wesley>.

⁹³ John Richard Watson, 'Samuel Wesley (I)', *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, (Norwich: Canterbury Press); [http://www.hymnology.co.uk/s/samuel-wesley-\(i\)](http://www.hymnology.co.uk/s/samuel-wesley-(i)).

In several cases, the final stanza of a carol is a trinitarian doxology: in Hardy I these are Carols 2, 7, and 17, and in Hardy II, Carols 27 and 31. In a few others, the final stanza is a doxology in which the Holy Ghost is not mentioned: Carols 6 and 14 in Hardy I and Carols 9, 22, and 28 in Hardy II.

West Gallery music, Thomas Hardy III, and performance practice as pertains to the Hardy family carol books

According to Woods,⁹⁴ the term ‘West Gallery music’ for a distinctive kind of sacred music originated with Hardy III, where, near the beginning of *A Laodicean*⁹⁵, he writes ‘...the old west gallery period of church music, anterior to the great choral reformation and the rule of Monk—that old time when the repetition of a word, or half-line of a verse, was not considered a disgrace to an ecclesiastical choir.’ The ‘rule of Monk’ refers to hymn tunes ‘reduced to one dead level of rigidly uniform rhythm’ in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, of which William Henry Monk was musical editor.⁹⁶

Shown below are undated plans of the West Gallery of Stinsford Church. The one on the left is reproduced from a drawing made by Hardy III under the supervision of his father.⁹⁷ The image on the right comes from a later drawing by Hardy III for the Rev. H. G. B. Cowley.⁹⁸ Close examination shows at least twenty minor differences, but the overall significance of the two drawings—one made years before the turn of the century and the other years after—is the enduring significance of the West Gallery for three generations of Hardys.

The drawings show that Hardy I occupied the leader’s position in the front and center, with his instrument marked ‘cello’ and ‘(Bass)’ in the earlier drawing and ‘Bass (Violoncello)’ in the other. Hardy II and his brother James played violins just behind and to the sides of Hardy I. Hardy II

⁹⁴ Rollo G. Woods, with Sally Drage and Francis Roads, ‘West Gallery music,’ *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/w/west-gallery-music>.

⁹⁵ T. Hardy, *A Laodicean* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searly & Rivington, 1881), p. 7.

⁹⁶ Charles W. Pearce, ‘English Sacred Folk Song of the West Gallery Period (circa 1695-1820)’, *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, (1921-1922) p. 4.

⁹⁷ Hardy and Hardy, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁸ C. J. P. Beatty, *Stinsford – A Hardy Church* (St. Peter Port, Guernsey, C. I.: Towan Press, 1967), p. 3.

played the tenor part and James played treble, with nearby singers of those parts. The fourth part, the Counter, was provided by the third row. Perhaps these positions of players and singers were kept, to some extent, when going the rounds on Christmas Eves.

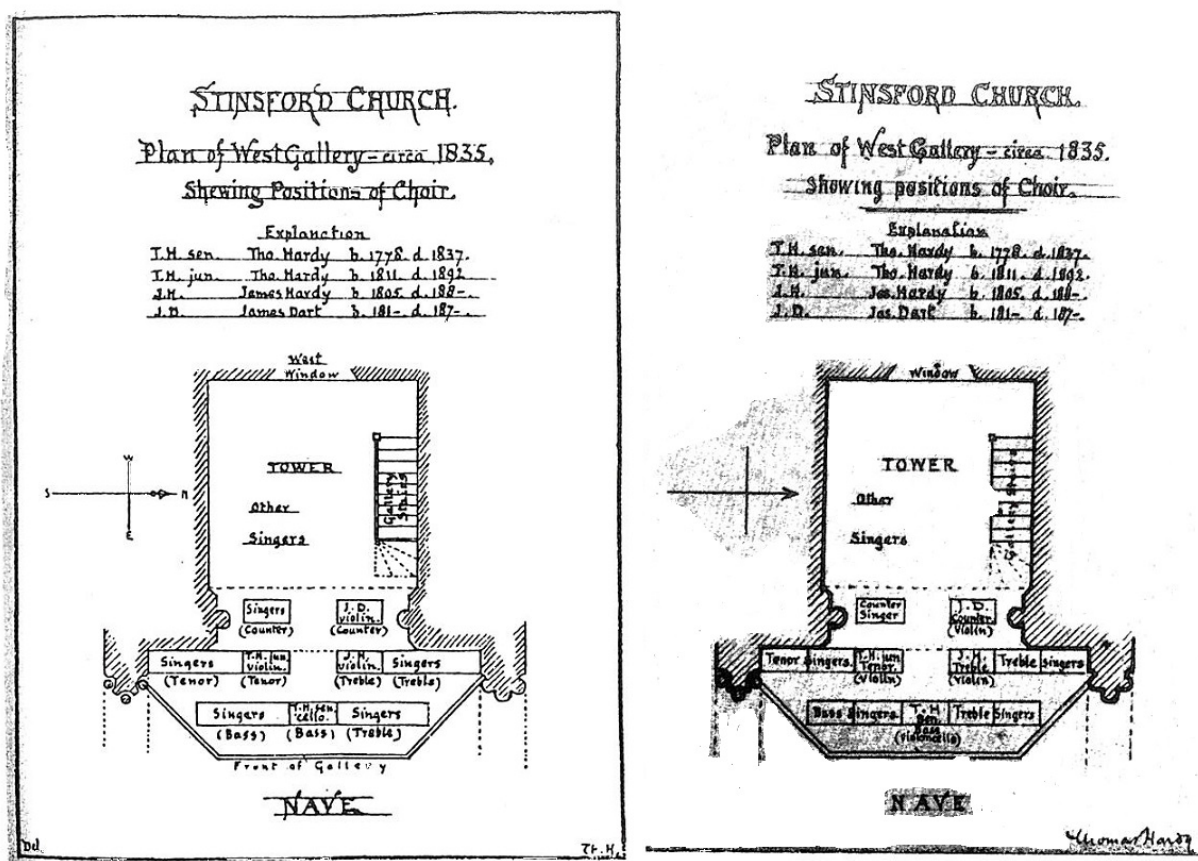


Figure 8. West Gallery Plan of Stinsford Church: two drawings by Thomas Hardy III

The carol books of Hardy I and Hardy II include several occurrences of *treble*, *tenor*, or *counter*, especially as cues. (Part-books for these parts probably have not survived.) It was a characteristic of West Gallery music that the tenor part was played an octave higher than written. This fact led Hardy III to raise a historical question at a meeting in Dorchester (about six miles from Stinsford and six miles from Puddletown) of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club. The Rev. Francis William Galpin had finished reading his paper,⁹⁹ after which Hardy asked a question:

⁹⁹ Francis William Galpin, 'Old Dorset Village Choirs and Bands', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, 26 (1905), 172-181.

¹⁰⁰ *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, 26 (1905), xl.

Can Mr. Galpin account for the curious fact of their always playing the tenor on a treble instrument an octave higher? I have known many of the old bands play it in that way.

Mr. Galpin, in reply, said: It was undoubtedly a survival of the earlier period, when the melody, or plainsong, was in the tenor, and the treble and alto parts wove themselves in a more or less harmonious way about it; then when the melody was transferred to the treble, the true tenor was still played on a treble instrument.

There may be more to this exchange than a mere question and answer, especially as Galpin had, presumably just minutes before, already answered the question, as appears in his paper, in this manner: ‘It seems to have been the general practice to play the tenor part on a treble instrument an octave above the voices—a relic probably of the old “plainsong days.”’ Aside from shifting from ‘probably’ to ‘undoubtedly’, Galpin was perhaps unaware that Hardy’s father had played tenor at the octave for many years, so that the question may have been asked in anticipation of a more detailed answer. Hardy surely knew that plainsong was unaccompanied, and even after plainsong developed into cantus firmus, it is not undoubted that this voice was generally accompanied by an instrument playing an octave above, a practice that perhaps became common only during the years of West Gallery music. Moreover, in Hardy I’s and Hardy II’s experience, the tenor part in many West Gallery pieces was the melody, so that playing it at the octave gave extra support for those worshippers and carollers who sang the melody. Hardy’s question is addressed elsewhere in a different manner, and at some length.¹⁰¹

The paper Galpin read at the meeting in 1905 has been widely cited. As published, it includes a photographic image of the Singers’ Gallery, Puddletown Church,¹⁰² ‘immortalized by Thomas Hardy...’. Galpin also noted, ‘How graphic a picture Thomas Hardy gives us of these old Dorset choirs in his charming tale of village life, *Under the Greenwood Tree*.’¹⁰³

Born on Christmas Day 1858 in Dorchester and married in Dorset in 1889, Galpin described several Dorset West Gallery MS music books.¹⁰⁴ ‘It is to be noted,’ he writes, ‘that in all these books the special music is for Christmastide...’ Among the MS books were one from Martinstown

¹⁰¹ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 197-199.

¹⁰² Galpin, facing p. 78.

¹⁰³ Galpin, p. 173.

¹⁰⁴ Galpin, pp. 176-180.

(1831), a violoncello book of John Chapman of Steepleton (1816, transcribed 1846), and a book bound in home-made vellum, inscribed ‘The Gift of Mrs. Price to the Choir of Piddletown, Feb. 1, 1823’. It appears that all the MS books Galpin described may now be lost or privately owned. He did not mention the MS books compiled by Hardy I and Hardy II.

However, Galpin did describe a choirmaster of St. Peter’s Church, Dorchester, named John Brown, ‘whose tunes were in great request’ during years that Hardy I led the players and singers in the West Gallery and when going the rounds on Christmas Eves. Because some of the tunes in Hardy I’s carol book may have been composed by Brown, it is worth repeating what Galpin wrote about Brown in his 1905 paper: ‘He was evidently not ashamed of his productions, as it was his custom when giving out the number of the psalm, after the privilege of those days, to add “to a tune of my own composing,” by which well-timed advertisement his fame spread mightily.’ Elsewhere, it is recorded that Brown died in 1833, and that he had published three books entitled *Sacred Music*, of which only the second two have been preserved, in the Dorset County Museum.¹⁰⁵

Historical and hymnological perspectives

Steve Roud summarises the overall history of West Gallery music succinctly: ‘It is interesting to note that West Gallery music came in as a result of a reform movement within the church, after the Restoration, and went out as a result of another reform movement 150 years later.’¹⁰⁶

Regarding the first of the two reform movements, the Rev. F. W. Galpin writes, ‘The year 1644 was fraught with momentous consequences for village and for town,’ for in that year a [Puritan-dominated] parliamentary ordinance required sweeping reforms in churches, including the ‘speedy demolition of all organs.’¹⁰⁷ He continues, ‘Toward the end of the eighteenth century, however, an awakened interest was aroused [and] the more tuneful portions of the service were undertaken by a select company of “singers and musicianers” who, installed at the west end [as in] these old Dorset choirs...’. (The need for reform, however, had been felt at least a century earlier.¹⁰⁸) The restoration of organs ‘saw the rapid rise of differences between town and country’; e.g., by 1780, 70% of London parish churches had organs, but ‘even by 1800 the overall national figure was probably less than 10 per cent, and it remained at a low level until the major reforms of the mid-

¹⁰⁵ Temperley, p. 197.

¹⁰⁶ Steve Roud, *Folk Song in England* (London: Faber & Faber, 2017), p. 506.

¹⁰⁷ Galpin, p. 172.

¹⁰⁸ Sally Drage, ‘The Performance of English Provincial Psalmody c.1690-c.1840’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 2010.

nineteenth century.’¹⁰⁹ The impact of the introduction of an organ on the music in Hardy’s Mellstock church is portrayed in *Under the Greenwood Tree*. On the changes brought about by the organ, Galpin writes, ‘The old players, not without serious misgivings, vacated the gallery on the introduction of a barrel organ about the year 1845’, to be replaced by a pipe organ within the next decade.¹¹⁰

From the perspective of an Anglican priest, Galpin concludes with these words:

I am inclined to believe that, after all, the suppression of these bands as relics of a barbarous age and the introduction of the organs, often far too large for our village churches, has not been an unmixed good. Reformation, no doubt was needed, but not extinction, for the practice of these wind and stringed instruments gave occupation and recreation to the peasant folk; their performances brightened village life; then added gaiety to the rustic wedding; they cheered the long Christmas evenings. But more than that. By this means those who had no vocal gifts took their part in the music of God’s House, and with their quiet and unsustained accompaniment invited the people to support and swell the strain of praise.

By far the most substantial collection of carols ever published is the *New Oxford Book of Carols*, in which West Gallery carols and Hardy’s *Under the Greenwood Tree* are well represented in Appendix 3. Members of the Hardy family are mentioned in notes following three carols, numbered 47 (II), 88, and 90.

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¹⁰⁹ Roud, p. 506.

¹¹⁰ Galpin, p. 181.