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Cover Page Footnote

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Paul Watt

Between 1878 and 1905 a positivist church flourished in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, led by Malcolm Quin, a disciple of Auguste Comte. This community was small in size but big on ambition: Quin (1854–1945) and his congregation sought to represent in religion the positive philosophy of Auguste Comte (1798–1857), whose *Cours de philosophie positive*, published between 1830 and 1842, influenced a raft of thinkers in the nineteenth century and laid the foundation for modern sociology.¹ Its cornerstone was to provide an alternative intellectual framework to Christianity and took an especially firm foothold in the United Kingdom.² Although Comte's writings influenced a significant range of musical literature, there is little trace of the French philosopher's impact on music making.³ However, one such example is a collection of hymns written by Malcolm Quin (Fig. 1).

Quin was a fervent figure in British positivism but until now has not been the subject of musicological inquiry.⁴ His positivist church appropriated a liturgy based on the positivist calendar (see below). Although the full details of his liturgies are unknown, they comprised the use of vestments and the veneration of the world's great thinkers featured in the positivist calendar, with their portraits hung in the church akin to the Stations of the Cross in the Roman Catholic tradition. The liturgies also served particular rituals—or sacraments, as Quin termed them—that ordained priests and named children.⁵

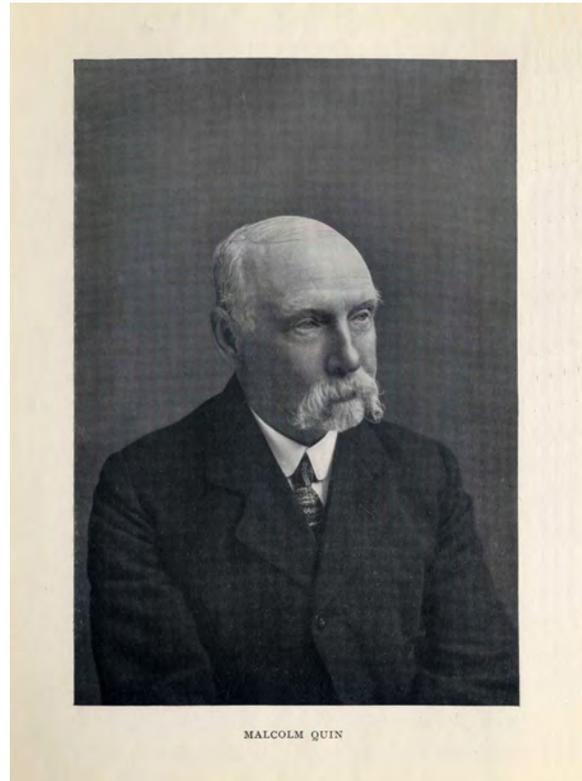


Figure 1: Photo of Malcom Quin, undated. Source: Frontispiece of Quin, *Memoirs of a Positivist*, iv.

Central to Quin's liturgies and rituals was music, both secular and sacred, including hymns that he composed himself. As Quin wrote in his *Memoirs of a Positivist*, the aim of his liturgies was to provide “the dramatic expression of Comte's synthetic conceptions, in which the recitation of hymns” played a central role.⁶

This article explores the intellectual, liturgical, musical, aesthetic, and psychological purposes that Quin sought to represent or express in his hymns. Intellectually, Quin was widely read in history, literature, and philosophy that

from a young age gradually steered him in the direction of Comte's positivism. Liturgically, he experienced a range of services in his youth from many Christian denominations. Ultimately, however, the Roman Catholic liturgy appealed to him most, and was adapted for the structure and content of the liturgies in his positivist church. Aesthetically, Quin strove to imbue his hymn texts with the parlance of Comte's positivism, though at the same time they shared some common themes with Christian hymns composed by others. However, the singing of hymns was deemed inconsequential in some positivist congregations in Britain, which may explain why hymns were probably intended to be recited rather than sung.⁷ The recitation of Quin's texts was undertaken to achieve a particular transcendental or psychological effect associated with the art—and science—of elocution of all manner of texts, but especially poetry, in the late 1800s. Ultimately, I argue, Quin's hymns can be read only as a very broad expression of Comte's positivism, for their points of reference to Comte are extremely general. Yet, these hymns are of significant historical interest for the light they shed on the broader place of music in the life of positivist congregations in Britain at the end of the nineteenth century and their appropriation of Christian traditions.

Auguste Comte: The Background

Auguste Comte was the founder of positivism, known generally as the "religion of humanity." Positivism was a method, a scientific process, that sought to establish a sequential order of laws to all human knowledge. Comte's positivism aimed to provide a rational, rather than religious, foundation for cultivating knowledge and

a moral life that persisted through and well beyond the intellectual climate of mid-nineteenth-century France.⁸ Positivism is usually understood to comprise a law of three stages—theological, metaphysical, and positive—through which knowledge passes sequentially, during which a three-dimensional intellectual maturity is accomplished. As Comte explains in the first volume of *Positive Philosophy* in relation to "the true value and character" of his project: "The first [stage] is a necessary point of departure of the human understanding; and the third is its fixed and definitive state. The second is merely a state of transition."⁹

Comte's scheme was a scientific classification of knowledge incorporating mathematics (Book 1), astronomy (Book 2), physics (Book 3), chemistry (Book 4), biology (Book 5), and social physics (Book 6). Comte's scheme sought to ascribe principles, rules, and laws to govern all modes of thought and reject metaphysical and theistic modes of belief and reasoning. Gertrude Lenzer has emphasized to modern readers that Comte's positivism should be seen not as evolutionary, but as revolutionary, because underpinning positivism are "the principles of individual liberty, freedom of thought, or sovereignty of the people—which in Comte's judgement threatened social stability and promoted universal anarchy."¹⁰ Indeed, chapters 1 and 12 of volume 2 of Comte's *Positive Philosophy* are devoted to this topic. Comte's positive philosophy served to be a universal and rational "religion for humanity": this was undoubtedly a utopian creed and was the main impetus behind Quin's curious mix of positivist, Catholic, and aesthetic sensibilities, which are exhibited in the texts to his hymns. Also exhibited in the hymns are a strong sense of human agency

and progress in a future of “intellectual liberty” from the constraints of European revolutions, as discussed in the final chapter of Comte’s book.¹¹ For Comte, his philosophy would “lead the human race to the social system which is most suitable to the nature of man, and which will greatly surpass in unity, extension, and stability all that the past has ever produced.”¹² Unlike Comte, it was Quin who strove to achieve this musically.

Some of Comte’s followers concerned themselves not with the detail of the law of the three stages, but with the broader purpose of the positive philosophy. Writing in 1918, for example, one of Comte’s most prominent disciples, Frederic Harrison, argued that the strongest aspect of the positivist scheme was its rigorous scientific method, its “systematic base in philosophy.”¹³ Quin was similarly drawn to positivism’s generalized but systematized nature, and wrote in his memoir that Comte

presented himself to me as a master of synthesis, and of a synthesis, which was an ordered unity of imagination, worship, doctrine, morals and life. In this he stood alone. He was then, and he is now, the one thinker of the modern world professing to offer men a religion—a religion of love, poetry and service—founded on science.¹⁴

The secular nature of Comte’s three-stage law—as expressed to Quin by fellow positivist Richard Congreve—was paraphrased as space, earth, and humanity. Space comprised the study of mathematics, calculus, geometry, and mechanics. Earth involved a study of astronomy, physics, and chemistry, and humanity incorporated biology, sociology, and morals. This “positivist trinity,” according to Quin, led to a world that consisted of “man and

the universe, with the gods eliminated,” mirroring Quin’s ideal of a “religion of humanity.”¹⁵ Quin regarded positivism as a “scientific philosophy.” It was not only independent of religion, but exclusive of it.¹⁶

Quin’s Intellectual Formation— and Comte’s Influence

The only detailed account of Quin’s life is his *Memoirs of a Positivist*, published in 1924.¹⁷ This volume is not a detailed blow-by-blow account of his daily life but rather charts his early fascination with ideas such as the aesthetics of religion and liturgy and his preoccupation with the writings of historians and philosophers such as Comte. Quin’s interests were broadly eclectic, embracing both sacred and secular topics:

My interest was in religion. Intellectually, moreover, I was at the feet, not of the secularists, but of such men as Carlyle, Mill, Emerson and Matthew Arnold. I was a lover of poets. I had been educated in the Church of England, and was still haunted by the cadences of its liturgy, and the charm of its ordered worship.¹⁸

Elsewhere in his *Memoirs* (which often lacks dates) Quin wrote of other sacred and secular authors and topics that nourished his intellect, including Macaulay’s *History of England*, and the study of the classics, modern languages, literature, and science.¹⁹ He also read various works by Byron, Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Dante, Milton, Scott, Thackeray, and George Eliot.²⁰ Later in his *Memoirs* Quin lists as his “chief influences of mind” Emerson, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, George Henry Lewes, and Matthew Arnold, and notes that he read essays by Aldous Huxley, John Tyndall, John Morley, and Frederic Harrison.²¹ Although Quin cited Carlyle, Mill, and Arnold as especially influential figures, Comte was

his “chief master,” and readings of plays and poems were to occupy parts of his liturgical framework in his church in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.²² Quin also published on positivism and liberal politics in various journals (see Appendix below) and by 1927 had even made progress on a biography of Comte that was never finished.²³

Quin, Liturgy, and “Religious Happiness”

Quin’s interest in music in service to the liturgy is closely associated with the pleasure that both sacred and secular music brought him in childhood and adolescence. This “religious happiness,” as he called it, was not based on any specific Comtean philosophy or writing on music.²⁴ Quin’s quest for the ultimate liturgical experience is documented extensively in his *Memoirs*. He writes that he attended services of “the Jews, Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Primitive Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, the Catholic Apostolic Church, the Salvation Army, the Plymouth Brethren, the Mormons, the Christian Scientists and the Unitarians.”²⁵ He was raised as a Protestant, attended the Church of England with his parents (his father is described by Quin as “Protestant Irish”), and was especially enamoured of the Anglican service and the Catholic litany: “The Litany is one of the pieces of the Catholic liturgy which are a nobler thing in English than in Latin.”²⁶ He mentioned hymn singing and organ music as particular highlights.²⁷ But sacred music was not his only interest. Sometime in the 1860s, when he visited London, Quin wrote of his eagerness for “good music, good plays and good pictures” in the capital.²⁸ He also loved opera: he wrote warmly and enthusiastically about the conductor Hans Richter’s famed Wagner concerts in London in the late 1870s, and of

hearing the singers Adelina Patti, John Sims Reeves, and Charles Santley.²⁹

Very early on, however, Quin recognized that it was the liturgical theater of Roman Catholicism to which he was drawn most of all:

I liked the organ music, the hymn-singing, the intoning of the prayers, the reading of the lessons, the processions, the choir in its cassocks and surplices, the ceremonies at the altar, the look of the church with the sun streaming through the pictured windows. I liked even the sermons. I questioned nothing. I did not, in my own mind, inquire why it was that ‘God’—the wonderful unseen potentate, whom I pictured to myself as throned sublimely in the sky—was pleased with all this chanting, praying and playing. I accepted it without doubt or misgiving, contentedly and happily. That is the state of Belief.³⁰

But Roman Catholicism was not the sole inspiration for Quin’s liturgy (see Fig. 2). In addition to hymns (detailed below), the liturgy included readings from literary sources such as Moncure Conway’s *Sacred Anthology* “or some other book of devotion.”³¹ Instrumental and vocal music were accorded a liturgical function, and he replaced a small American organ (probably a harmonium) with a small pipe organ, and eventually with a larger one. Moreover, Quin arranged music to suit the themes of the positivist calendar. One Sunday was devoted to Mozart, while other services included music ranging from “The Gregorian Tones and Palestrina to the Age of Wagner.”³² Later, services featured what Quin termed “dramatic readings” in addition to music, including “Goethe’s *Faust*, Milton’s *Samson Agonistes* and *Comus* . . . [and] . . . *Enoch Arden*, with Richard Strauss’s music.”³³ His liturgies also comprised hymns.

Quin's Hymns and Positivist Music Making: Moral Questions

Quin's interest in music found its keenest expression in hymns. He wrote the texts of approximately 70 hymns and he set tunes to

some of them. Ten hymns that Quin signed as "M.M." were written in 1876 and 50 more were published in his *Hymns of Worship* (1898). Some of the tunes were new, while other hymns drew on preexisting melodies

355 STOCKPORT (Yorkshire). 10. 10. 10. 10. 10.

MALCOLM QUIN, 1882 JOHN WAINWRIGHT, 1750

1. Now comes the light for which our souls have sought, O - ver the
 2. Now comes the love which makes all souls but one, Calm - ly e -
 3. O light and peace! O love and truth su - preme! Ye come, and

cloud - y path-ways of our life; Now comes the peace for which we long have wrought,
 mer-gent from the strife of years; Now comes the truth which long our souls did shun,
 com-ing, vanquish our de -spair; Ye bring us faith, ye bring the au-gust dream

Crown - ing with glad re - sults our cease - less strife; O light and peace! ye
 Lift - ing us high a - bove all doubts and fears; O love and truth! ye
 Of some great glad-ness which we now pre - pare; Oh, make us wor - thy

pow'rs of glad-ness sure, With you we con-quer, or with you en - dure.
 stars of hu-man fate, Be ye with us, and we for joy can wait.
 of that aff - er time Whose im-age fronts us now with looks sub - lime! A - MEN.

Example 1: A preexisting hymn with new texts set by Quin. Source: *Hymns of the Spirit with Services* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1937).

(see Exx. 1–3). A body of Quin’s hymns were reprinted in many hymnals well into the twentieth century.³⁴ All are musically conventional, set in four parts with a simple musical style for ease of singing. For the

purposes of this article, Quin’s hymns are interesting not for their music but for their texts, though that is not to say the music is unworthy of study.³⁵

357 WER DA WONET. L. M. D.

MALCOLM QUIN, 1882 Melody from VERHE'S *Gesangbuchlein*, 1537
Arranged

1. We move in faith to un - seen goals; We strive in pa - tience
2. But, e - ven as we fail, our aim Grows larg - er from our

thro' the night, Which weighs up - on our doubt - ing souls,
high at - tempt; And while we suf - fer love's large blame,

To some great realm of love and light. For still the ig - no - rance that kills,
And rea - son's most au - gust contempt, We grow in great - ness of de - sign,

And still the ha - treds that di - vide, And still the strife of
In high - er pow'rs of pa - tient toil, In hopes that seize the

war - ring wills Sub - due our strength, and check our pride.
se - cret sign Of far - off joys which naught may foil. A - MEN.

Example 2: A preexisting hymn with new texts set by Quin. Source: *Hymns of the Spirit with Services* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1937).

MALCOLM QUIN, 1882

MELCHIOR VULPIUS, 1609
Harmonized by J. S. BACH

1. Say not they die, those mar-tyr souls Whose life is wing'd with
2. Such can-not die; they van- quish time, And fill the world with

pur- pose fine; Who leave us, point- ing to the goals;
grow- ing light, Mak- ing our hu- man life sub- lime

Who learn to con- quer and re- sign.
With mem- 'ries of their sa- cred might. A- MEN.

- 3 They cannot die whose lives are part
Of that great life which is to be,
Whose hearts beat with the world's great heart,
And throb with its high destiny.
- 4 Then mourn not those who, dying, gave
A gift of greater light to man:
Death stands abashed before the brave;
They own a life he may not ban.

Example 3: A preexisting hymn with new texts set by Quin. Source: *Hymns of the Spirit with Services* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1937).

In his *Memoirs*, Quin writes about his experience as a hymn writer:

My first essays in printed prose were followed, or accompanied, by my first essays in printed verse. This verse took the form of hymns. Some of the worst of these small hymns have even achieved a certain small popularity.

They have, at any rate, been printed in a number of collections, English and American, Secularist, Positivist, 'Ethical' and even Nonconformist. I should now describe them as hymns of ethical platitude, and I am inclined to think that there has ceased to be a demand for productions of this order, as I have

received no inquiries about them for a number of years. Perhaps they were really ‘Victorian’, and are unsuited to this great age of the Fifth George.³⁶

Quin’s hymns have survived only as texts, for example, in his *Hymns of Worship* (1898) for use by his Newcastle congregation.³⁷ Priced at ninepence, the hymnal was clearly a commercial publication, but there are no records of how far and wide it traveled or how many copies were sold. The texts of these hymns are arranged for the 13 months of the positivist calendar. In Quin’s words, they represent the “History of Humanity in Hymns.”³⁸

Like hymnbooks in other positivist and secular communities, Quin’s hymnals served altruistic, social, utopian, and moral purposes. Their prefaces, like those of many songsters and songbooks, outlined the hymnals’ scope and function; for example, the preface to *Hymns of Modern Thought* (1912) suggests that hymns are “exclusively concerned with the spiritual aspirations of men in regard to daily life, character and conduct.”³⁹

Similar thinking is evident in other contemporary hymnals, such as *Social Worship: For Use in Families, Schools and Churches*, published in the United Kingdom and North America in 1913.⁴⁰ It was issued on behalf of the West London Ethical Society to commemorate its twenty-first anniversary. Stanton Coit, the hymnal’s compiler and editor, provided an unusually long preface – 31 pages – outlining its aims and his editorial methods. Coit’s introductory essay highlights his view that “the identification of religion with the unifying impulse of a nation gives to religious Modernism that cohesive principle which was fatally lacking in the individualistic rationalism of the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries.”⁴¹ Moreover he hoped the hymnal and its future editions would “become more efficient as a national instrument of spiritual cohesion” and would “help towards the spiritual unification of the British Empire and its federated parts.”⁴² In an equally fervent tone, but without the narrative of empire building, the preface to *The Truth Seeker* (1877) noted that

it is desirable that Liberals of all kinds ... should sing much more than has been the custom. Singing is a natural accomplishment, improved by art, and there are no reasons why our Christian opponents should monopolize the whole of it. Let us sing more. Let us be happy.⁴³

Happy many positivist communities were when music was front and center in worship. The musical activities of Newton Hall, a leading positivist community in London, are detailed in John McGee’s history of English positivism and run parallel to Quin’s eclectic liturgy:

Music was introduced very early in the period, when someone hit upon the idea of using vocal and instrumental selections in connection with certain special occasions. This proving popular, musical worship was soon brought into wide use, while at the same time an organ and trained choir was introduced. The music heard at Newton Hall contained, besides many poems by positivists set to familiar tunes, compositions, both literary and musical, taken or adapted from the rich stores of the entire world without regard to religious affiliations or professions of the authors. Words or music were drawn from the works of Bach, Beethoven, William Blake, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Carlyle, Confucius, Dante, George Eliot, Longfellow, Lowell, Rouget de Lisle, William Morris, Mozart, Cardinal

Newman, Christina Rossetti, Lord Tennyson, Charles Wesley, Whitman, Whittier, and many others. The non-musical pieces utilized were converted into hymns and anthems, and covered many subjects—love, faith, hope, humanity, freedom, death, love for country, progress, Humanity, and others. The music was intended to inspire devotion to the service of man.⁴⁴

However, hymn singing was not supported in all positivist communities. At the Chapel Street Church in London, for example, “there was some hostility” in relation to the music, according to Quin.⁴⁵ He writes of an “undercurrent” of opposition to hymn singing because this pocket of resistance found singing to be “a little beneath them.”⁴⁶ Moreover, Quin opined that Richard Congreve, the leader of the Chapel Street congregation, “had no great feeling for music.”⁴⁷ Quin reports that Congreve lost some members of his congregation “owing to a lack of singing,” but he does not say to where these disaffected worshippers defected, though it may have been to Newton Hall, where hymns were introduced (Quin does not provide dates) and some of his hymns were sung.⁴⁸

In his 1937 study of churches and the working classes, K. S. Inglis recorded that in some quarters hymn singing, especially in nonconformist and evangelical circles—and even by “rich” people—was considered to be of questionable moral value.⁴⁹ Even British journals sympathetic to Comte, such as the *National Reformer*, and the development of sociology published few articles on music. It appears that for positivists at large—and freethinkers more generally—music was to be enjoyed rather than intellectualized or used for worship, hymns notwithstanding.⁵⁰

Quin’s Hymn Texts Analyzed

The analysis of nineteenth-century hymns can take many forms, but it tends to focus on their texts, elucidating precise theological meanings that reach beyond grand narratives. T. R. Wright recognizes that Quin’s hymns have the “complexity of poems” in their use of “rhetorical techniques, anaphora, tradition, merisma and so on” and are influenced significantly by the poetry of Wordsworth and Tennyson, though he provides few examples.⁵¹ By contrast, Sandra S. Sizer provides a useful, if complex, method of analysis that could be applied to all manner of hymns.⁵² It involves identifying metaphors as well as the use of parallelism and analogizing.

In my view, the analysis of Quin’s hymns calls for more of Wright’s approach and less of Sizer’s. More can be said about the parlance of positivism in the hymn texts (after Wright) and less needs to be said about the formalist or structural aspects of the poems (after Sizer). Indeed, such is the model of Michael Wheeler in chapter 3 of *Heaven Hell, and the Victorians*, where he undertakes a close reading of the hymn texts that is not fixed on any particular musical or semantic method.⁵³ The process I adopt in analyzing the texts of Quin’s hymns is first to identify their possible positivist references and then to compare them with other Christian hymns to demonstrate that the hymns are a blend of both positivist and Christian thought.

Quin’s hymns contain no explicit mention of sin, guilt, salvation, forgiveness or compassion, heaven or hell, as might reasonably be expected of any hymns, and there is no use of the first person. There is no mention of God or Jesus or a Trinity, reflecting the scientific and rationalist creed

of Comte's philosophy. Instead, Quin's hymns invariably express a yearning for a better, transcendental existence, and the attainment of peace. Such ideas are readily found in *Love Vanquishes Fear*:

Now comes the light for which
our souls have sought
Over the cloudy pathways
of our life;
O light and peace! ye pow'rs
of gladness sure
Now comes the peace for which
we long have wrought
Crowning with glad results
our ceaseless strife;
O light and peace! ye pow'rs
of gladness sure
With you we conquer, or
with you endure

Now comes the love which makes
all souls but one
Calmly emergent from the
strife of years;
Now comes the truth which long
our souls did shun
Lifting us high above all doubts
and fears;
O love and truth! ye stars of
human fate
Be ye with us, and we for joy
can wait

O light and peace! O love and
truth supreme!
Ye come, and coming, vanquish
and despair;
Ye bring us faith, ye bring the
brightening dream
Of some great gladness which
we now prepare;
Oh make us worthy of that
after-time
Whose image fronts us now
with looks sublime!⁵⁴

The text of this hymn seeks "light" and "peace" (stanzas 1 and 2, first lines). The seeking is further represented by references to "cloudy

pathways" and "ceaseless strife," and the present turmoil of life to be conquered (stanza 1, line 4). The object of this quest is to find "gladness," "truth," and "joy" and to experience the "sublime." This example further illustrates Quin's appropriation of Christian hymns and positivist thought: Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 44 exhibits strong themes of light, love, truth, and peace (not to mention suffering and struggle, and also the "sublime"). Love personified—and related ideas of the quest for experiencing the sublime—is given expression in this well-known and widely published hymn by Bianco da Siena (1350–1399):

Come down, O Love divine,
seek thou this soul of mine,
and visit it with thine own
ardor glowing;
O Comforter, draw near,
within my heart appear,
and kindle it, thy holy
flame bestowing.

O let it freely burn,
till earthly passions turn
to dust and ashes in its
heat consuming;
and let thy glorious light
shine ever on my sight,
and clothe me round, the while
my path illuming.

And so the yearning strong,
with which the soul will long,
shall far outpass the power
of human telling;
for none can guess its grace,
till Love create a place
wherein the Holy Spirit
makes a dwelling.

The title *Love Vanquishes Fear* may also echo 1 John 4:18: "There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear"; and Corinthians 15:55: "O death where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

The trope of a quest or yearning is also found in other hymns by Quin, such as *Live for the Future*:

Why repine we, why despair
Yielding to the instant woe?
We are not what once we were;
Let us build on what we know.

Let the future and the past
Make sublime the present hour:
What we do is doomed to last;
And we know not all our power.

Even now the future life
Shape we with unconscious hands;
Sudden midst and woe and strife
Full our dream incarnate stands.

Lightest thought and humblest deed.
Aspiration's faintest breath—
These are but the unseen seed
That fructifies in spite of death.

Not despair, but wise devotion
Takes the meanness from our task;
High resolve and onward motion—
These the passing moments ask.

What is past died not forever
What is now is not the all;
Work we still with strong endeavor:
Loudly doth the future call.⁵⁵

This hymn describes building a future (stanza 1, line 4) in order to reach a state of the sublime (stanza 2, line 2). The journey, as in *Love Vanquishes Fear*, is hard work: stanza 3, line 3 refers to “woe and strife,” and in stanza 5 the quest requires “wise devotion” that “takes the meanness from our task.”

In *O Grave, Where Is Thy Victory?* (also called *Say not They Die*), Comte's positivist calendar (replacing the ecclesiastical calendar) appears to be referenced in stanza 3:

Say not they die, those martyr souls
Whose life is wing'd with
purpose fine;
Who leave us, pointing to the goals;
Who learn to conquer and resign.

Such cannot die; they
vanquish time
And fill the world with
growing light,
Making the human life sublime
With memories of their
sacred might.

They cannot die whose lives are part
Of that great Life which is to be
Whose hearts beat with the world's
great heart
And throb with its high destiny.

Then mourn not those,
who, dying, gave
A gift of greater light to man.
Death stands abashed before
the brave;
They own a life he may not ban.⁵⁶

It might be argued that “that great Life” and “the world's great heart” that “throb[s] with its high destiny” refer to the scientists and artists represented in the positivist calendar, just as stanza 4 may emphasize the legacies of the great men of science to posterity.

Like many hymns of the period, whether sacred or secular, Quin's hymns often mention pilgrimage, the seeking of guidance (or deliverance), and perseverance.⁵⁷ But there are references to this trope in Christian hymns, for example, the widely-known hymn *Through the Night of Doubt and Sorrow* by Bernhardt S. Ingemann (1789–1862), as translated by Sabine Baring Gould (1834–1924):

Through the night of doubt
and sorrow
Onward goes the pilgrim band,
Singing songs of expectation,
Marching to the Promised Land.
Clear before us, through
the darkness,
Gleams and burns the guiding light.
Brother clasps the hand of brother,
Stepping fearless through the night.

One the light of God's own presence,
 O'er His ransomed people shed,
 Chasing far the gloom and terror,
 Brightening all the path we tread;
 One the object of our journey,
 One the faith which never tires.
 One the earnest looking forward,
 One the hope our God inspires.

One the strain the lips of thousands
 Lift as from the heart of one;
 One the conflict, one the peril,
 One their march in God begun;
 One the gladness of rejoicing
 On the far eternal shore,
 Where the one almighty Father
 Reigns in love forevermore.

Onward, therefore,
 pilgrim brothers!
 Onward, with the cross our aid!
 Bear its shame and fight its battle
 Till we rest beneath its shade.
 Soon shall come the great awaking,
 Soon the rending of the tomb,
 Then the scattering of all shadows,
 And the end of toil and gloom.

Quin's hymns are often dour and melancholy, even though he tried to avoid these moods, writing that he found many hymns of the late 1870s to be colored by "the cold Unitarian tinge, and very unmoving."⁵⁸ An example of a dour hymn is no. 66 from Annie Besant's *Secular Song and Hymn Book*.⁵⁹ Quin writes, "Life is sad, but hope is growing" and "Sing we, then, no more of sorrow." Suffering, struggle, yearning, despair, hopelessness, and the need for "battle" all figure in the hymns from Besant's hymnal. Quin also uses the word "sublime" to transcend the angst of the present. For example, in *Live for the Future*, he writes, "Make sublime the present hour" (stanza 2, line 2). Quin's meaning is not altogether clear, though the line probably reflects William Jevons's definition of "the sublime" as a "passion for admiration." In his work

on beauty and the sublime, published in the early nineteenth century, Jevons writes that this passion produces a "formidable effect," such as when a "great power" – in this case, Comte – is worshipped.⁶⁰

Also present in some of Quin's hymns is the angst or despair of contemporary life. This angst is alleviated by the prospect of a better future (heaven or an afterlife is never mentioned), to which he alludes in phrases such as "The great reality we seek," "The future in our souls is glowing," and "Let us wait the great tomorrow" (Besant 66). Quin makes use of the word "toil" from time to time, as well as phrases such as "call to arms" and "In our struggle to be free" (Besant 73), to emphasize man's struggle.

Themes of yearning and working hard for a better life are found in Quin's hymns, especially the ten hymns that comprise the "Hymns of Transition" in Quin's *Hymns of Worship*. Hymn 27 (the hymns are untitled) begins: "We strive and search, we strive and search away / Seeing the day, oh Love, beyond the gloom." Hymn 29 is more aspirational:

In Thee we strive, in Thee we rest
 In Thee our climbing love attains
 Its last fulfilment, and obtains
 The utmost truth, the crowning best

References to patience in the advancement of faith or progress of life are tropes in hymns 32 through 36. For example, hymn 32 begins:

Not in darkness, not in sorrow
 Move we to the distant goal
 Not in fear, though each to-morrow
 Bring its burden of new dole
 Truth and love illumine the way
 Onward move toward the day

And in a similar vein, hymn 34 begins:

We wait in faith; the years are long
 The years are long, oh Love

Till Thou are throned, till Thou
art strong
And all the power doest prove

There is virtually no mention of any deities in Quin's hymns except in the third stanza of Besant 66:

Gods are with us, not above us
Gods who suffer and achieve;
Gods who work with us and love us
Gods in whom we must believe

As in *O Grave, Where Is thy Victory?*⁶⁰ the reference is probably not to the gods of other, non-Western faiths, but rather to the scientists and philosophers represented in the positivist calendar.

In his *Memoirs*, Quin succinctly summarizes his reasons for writing hymns: "My wish always was not to have 'music' only, but music which contributed to the dramatic expression of Comte's synthetic conceptions – or, better still, of the advancing genius and creation of Humanity."⁶¹ In broad terms, this sentence lays out the function of Quin's hymns: they were intended to be not the expression of a particular Comtean principle but a generalized expression of humanity containing references to other Christian hymns. These hymns articulated a vision of the future for the "unity" and "stability" of civilization as expressed in the final chapter of Comte's *Positive Philosophy*.⁶²

The Performance of Quin's Hymns: Aesthetic and Psychological Meaning

There is very little evidence of the performance history of positivist hymns in general, and of Quin's hymns in particular.⁶³ With such small numbers in some of the congregations, there were barely enough people to fill out four parts, let alone form a choir. At what point did Quin's hymns move from recitation to song? Did both women

and men recite them? Were the hymns sung in unison and were they unaccompanied? Were all verses always sung, or which particular hymns omitted particular verses? We cannot answer these questions because there is simply not enough information. But the proliferation of books and essays on hymn singing in the late nineteenth century, and the widespread interest in elocution, especially of verse, help explain why Quin's hymns were recited and the psychological reaction they were designed to provoke in both reciter and listener.

Information about the recitation of hymns and verse comes from a wide variety of sources. For example, in an essay titled "A Few Words on Singing" from a late nineteenth-century secular hymnal, John R. Lowry provides extensive instructions for singing hymns (when set to music), as well as guidance on how to recite them when they are orated rather than sung:

Make yourself acquainted with the poem or story you are about to relate or sing, and feel assured it is worth your singing before using it; this will at once call up what of poesy there is within, and you will pour into your endeavour that which is the life, the charm, in all singing (and without which every effort is the mere grinding of a barrel organ) – depth of feeling, identification. Let your countenance and style of delivery be a reflex, as far as you can, of your subject, and sing naturally, avoiding all affectation, uttering each word distinctly, and finishing one word before beginning another. When singing, you require a pronunciation rather more open than usual, as you have often to sustain a word much longer than in ordinary speech; in these cases, the voice can only be sustained upon the vowel-sound, the consonants having no sounds of themselves, being pronounced by bringing the tongue against the teeth, or against the roof of

the mouth, or by the closing of the lips: and when either of these actions takes place, all power over the musical sound is at an end. In all singing, then, in order to get a pure and distinct utterance, the mouth must be kept open, the teeth kept well apart, and the lips never allowed to come together, nor the tongue to touch the roof of the mouth until the note is quite finished.⁶⁴

Lowry goes on to outline the finer points of elocution, including tips for amateurs on how to aspirate the letter *h* and how to properly pronounce particular groupings of letters.⁶⁵

In the large body of nineteenth-century literature on the art and science of speech (i.e., elocution), some sources specifically addressed the connection between recitation and musical affect.⁶⁶ One example comes from *Beeton's Art of Public Speaking*:

Inflection may be called music in speech, and an acquaintance with the art of music will greatly assist us in comprehending it. It must not be overlooked that there is a difference between music in speech and in singing. The difference may be thus expressed: In speaking every syllabic sound from its outset to its termination, glides in an unbroken movement from high to low, traversing measurable points of the scale, but slurring in the intermediate divisions, and never dwelling for a perceptible space of time on a level line. Whereas, in singing, the progression from tone to tone is accomplished by a series of leaps, and once a note is commenced, one of its great beauties consists in its remaining on a level line till its termination.⁶⁷

In another example, in his handbook *Forensic Oratory*, William C. Robinson refers to musical sound in public speaking, noting that if delivered in a monotone the sound is “dead.”⁶⁸

Explicit references to the aesthetics and psychological effect of recitation are also found in a variety of hymnals. In the introduction to *Social Worship: For Use in Families, School and Churches*, the compiler, Stanton Coit, writes:

First, when an Introductory Sentence has been chosen, let its precise meaning and value be closely pondered, so that, when the occasion comes for reading it in public, its essential idea and purpose will flood the whole mind. But it will be necessary also that the exact structure of the sentence shall have been analysed, and each clause taken to heart and felt in relation to the adjoining clauses. Only such a sense of the structure of the sentence will cause the speaker's voice to vary in stress, volume, and in emotional quality from word to word according to the inner purport.⁶⁹

This psychological aesthetics may refer to the state of transcendence. Such a state could be secular or sacred, as Peter Gay has recently explained with reference to Friedrich Schleiermacher, for whom “intuition and feeling” were the essence of religion.⁷⁰ For nineteenth-century British poets, according to Cynthia Scheinberg, poetry was inextricably linked to religion and religious experience.⁷¹ Catherine Robson argues that the recitation of poetry came from “the zones of poetry or religion.”⁷² It is the careful enunciation of the texts that give Quin's hymns their aesthetic importance. It was these spoken texts that provided the sublime nature or religious feeling that Robson has described.

The texts of Quin's hymns represent an eclectic mixture of language that broadly references positivist and Christian ideals and values. The texts might even be termed eclectic or hybrid hymns, in much the same

way that Quin’s liturgies were fashioned with the use of vestments, sacraments, a positivist calendar, and plans for a “priesthood”: a mix or appropriation of positivist and Christian practices. The manner in which the hymns were recited or sung in the Newcastle-upon-Tyne congregation is not clear, but recited texts were part and parcel of other British positivist communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and it seems evident that the function of Quin’s hymns was to create a diverse liturgy comprising sacred and secular music. Auguste Comte did not provide a musical expression of his philosophy, but Quin supplied that link.

However the hymns were presented in his liturgy, they were imbued with particular intellectual, liturgical, musical, aesthetic, and psychological meanings. In other words, Quin’s hymns—like many hymns—were not written solely to give musical pleasure. They were a manifestation of liturgical theater expressing the sublime, or aspiring to spiritual and metaphysical transformation. Quin tells us in his *Memoirs* that his hymns represented “the dramatic expression of Comte’s synthetic conceptions,” but, as this article has shown, their points of reference in achieving “religious happiness,” for Quin and his congregation, were considerably broader.

Appendix 1: Malcolm Quin’s Publications⁷³

Aids to Worship: An Essay towards the Positive Preservation and Development of Catholicism. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Grierson, 1909.

The Angels of the Founder: A Sermon ... (13th April, 1902). Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1902.

An Apostolic Letter Addressed to the Members ... of the Positivist Church and Apostolate of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1899.

Catholicism and the Modern Mind: A Contribution to Religious Unity and Progress. London: E. Arnold, 1912.

The Church of Humanity ... The Annual Address ... (1st January, 1896). Newcastle-upon-Tyne: The author, 1896.

Disertaciones políticas: La Guerra Hispano Americana. México: E. Sánchez, Impresor, 1898.

The Future of Positivism: A Public Letter Addressed to Monsieur August Paul Edger, Secretary of the Exécution testamentaire d’Auguste Comte. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: T. M. Grierson, 1927.

Hymns of Worship. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: N.p., 1898.

An Indian Positivist: A Sermon ... in Commemoration of Jogendra Chandra Ghosh. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1902. [A Letter to the Members of the Trade Union Congress]

The Liberty of Humanity: A Sacramental Address. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1900.

Memoirs of a Positivist. London: Allen & Unwin, 1924.

The Nation and the Jubilee. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1897.

The New Religion. Church of Humanity series. Tract No.1. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1888.

Ninety-one letters from Malcolm Quin to Professor Arthur James Grant, 1892–1927. Special Collections, University of Leeds GB 206 M# 431.

Notes on a Progressive Catholicism. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Grierson, 1909.

On the Positive Idea of the Church. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1903.

The Patriot Boers: A Sermon. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1902.

The Patriotic Union. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1898.

The Patriotic Union. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1900.

- Peace and Good-will: A Sermon ... (1st January, 1902).* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1902.
- Political Tracts. I. The Spanish-American War.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: [Church of Humanity], 1898.
- Political Tracts. II. Industrial Imperialism.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: [Church of Humanity], 1898.
- Political Tracts. III. England and the Czar's Rescript.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: [Church of Humanity], 1899.
- Political Tracts. IV. England and the Transvaal.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: [Church of Humanity], 1899.
- Political Tracts. V. Empire and Humanity: A Letter to the House of Commons.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: [Church of Humanity], 1899.
- Political Tracts. VI. The War in South Africa.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1900.
- Political Tracts. VII. Positivist Counsels to Electors.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: [Church of Humanity], 1900.
- Political Tracts. IX. English Policy in the Far East.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1902.
- Political Tracts. X. The Peace in South Africa: (A Letter to the Marquis of Salisbury.)* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: [Church of Humanity], 1902.
- Political Tracts. XI. Issues of the General Election.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: [Church of Humanity], 1906.
- The Politics of the Proletariat: A Contribution to the Science of Citizenship Based Chiefly on the Sociology of Auguste Comte.* London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1920.
- Quin, Malcolm, and P. Edger. *La politique et les événements en Extrême-Orient : Étude sur les relations européennes en Chine, suivie de la traduction libre et résumée du manifeste de Malcolm-Quin sur la politique anglaise en Extrême-Orient.* Paris: Union patriotique de France pour la pacification de l'Europe et le désarmement, 1903.
- Positivism and Its Founder ... The Annual Address ... (1st January, 1893).* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: The author, 1893.
- Positivism and the Religious Revolution ... : Being the Annual Address Delivered ... on the Festival of Humanity, 1 Moses, 101 (1st January, 1889).* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Positivist Dépôt, 1889.
- Positivism and Social Problems ... The Annual Address ... (1st January, 1895).* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: The author, 1895.
- The Problem of Human Peace, Studied from the Standpoint of a Scientific Catholicism.* London: Fisher Unwin, 1916.
- Religion of Humanity. The Annual Address Delivered at the Positivist Room ... Newcastle-on-Tyne (1st January, 1887).* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Printed for the author, 1887.
- Religion of Humanity: The Western Republic: Order and Progress.* Political Tracts. II series. *Industrial Imperialism.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Mawson, Swan, & Morgan, 1898.
- Richard Congreve: Born 23 Gutenberg 30 (4 September, 1818), Died 18 Charlemagne (5 July, 1899.) A Commemorative Address Delivered at the Church of Humanity, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 8 Dante (23 July, 1899).* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1899.
- The Rule of Auguste Comte: A Sermon ... (1st January, 1901).* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1901.
- Some Principles of Positivist Education: A Sacramental Address.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1900.
- The South African Volunteers: A Letter to the Mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne.* Political Tracts. VIII Series. 1901.
- State and Education.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1896.
- A Syllabus of Religious Positivism.* London: C. W. Daniel, 1923.
- Thoughts for Electors and Non-electors.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1910.
- The Way of the Positivist Life: A Pastoral Letter ... to the Members of the Above Church [Church of Humanity, Newcastle-upon-Tyne].* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: N.p., 1904.
- Words on the Positive Religion.* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1900.
- The Worship of Humanity ... The Annual Address ... (1st January, 1897).* Newcastle-upon-Tyne: The author, [1897].

NOTES

1 Auguste Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, 6 vols. (Paris: Bachelier, 1830–42) and *Système de politique positive, ou Traité de sociologie instituant la religion de l'Humanité*, 4 vols. (Paris: L. Mathias, 1851–54).

2 See, for example, Susan Budd, *Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society 1850–1960* (London: Heinemann, 1977) and T. R. Wright, *The Religion of Humanity: The Impact of Comtean Philosophy on Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Positivism also found expression in many countries around the world, most notably in India and Brazil. See, for example, Geraldine Forbes, “Striking a Chord: The Reception of Comte’s Positivism in Colonial India,” in *The Worlds of Positivism: A Global Intellectual History, 1770–1930*, ed. Johannes Feichtinger, Franz L. Fillafer, and Jan Surman (London: Palgrave, 2018), 31–51; Robert G. Nachman, “Positivism, Modernization, and the Middle Class in Brazil,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57/1 (1977): 1–23; and Elías José Palti, “Positivism, Revolution, and History in Brazil,” in Feichtinger, Fillafer, and Surman, eds., *Worlds of Positivism*, 53–80.

3 The influence of Comte on British intellectual thought about music has, however, been examined by Bennett Zon in his *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007) and, more recently, in *Evolution and Victorian Musical Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), especially in terms of music history and historiography.

4 The only substantial study on Quin is T. R. Wright, “Positively Catholic: Malcolm Quin’s Church of Humanity in Newcastle upon Tyne,” *Durham University Journal* 75 (1983): 11–20. See also Wright, *Religion of Humanity*: 249–60.

5 See Malcolm Quin, *Memoirs of a Positivist* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1924), 87, 125, 140, 155, 157.

6 *Ibid.*, 48.

7 Wright, *Religion of Humanity*, 83.

8 For the standard texts on Comte and the influences of his positive thought in subsequent writers and French intellectual thought and beyond, see D. G. Charlton, *Positivist Thought in France During the Second Empire, 1852–1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959); W. M. Simon, *European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century: An Essay in Intellectual History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963); Mary Pickering, *Auguste Comte: An Intellectual Biography*,

3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993–2009); Andrew Wernick, *Auguste Comte and the Religion of Humanity: The Post-Theistic Program of French Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Jan Goldstein, *The Post-revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); and Feichtinger, Fillafer, and Surman, eds., *Worlds of Positivism*.

9 Auguste Comte, *The Positive Philosophy*, trans. Harriet Martineau, vol. 1 (London: John Chapman, 1853), 1, 2. Subsequent quotes are from this edition, given the accuracy of translation and ease of availability to modern readers.

10 Gertrude Lenzer, *Auguste Comte and Positivism: The Essential Writings* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1998), xviii.

11 Comte, *The Positive Philosophy*, 2: 549–50.

12 *Ibid.*, 2: 559.

13 Frederic Harrison, *On Society* (London: Macmillan, 1918), 278.

14 Quin, *Memoirs*, 41.

15 *Ibid.*, 129.

16 *Ibid.*, 73.

17 See note 4 above.

18 Quin, *Memoirs*, 48. In a letter dated October 27, 1893 to Professor Arthur James Grant (1892–1927), Quin relays that he is reading Carlyle’s *Cromwell*. In other correspondence to Grant, Quin thanks him for lending him books (May 14, 1894) and shares notes of his reading of works by (or meetings with) Richard Congreve (1893), Émile Zola (March 3, 1898), Immanuel Kant (July 13, 1899), and sundry “modern thinkers” (June 17, 1892). Correspondence from Quin to Grant is in Brotherton Special Collections MS431, University of Leeds. Note that Quin is not always specific with dates, so references to events in quotes from Quin in this article are often estimated.

19 Quin, *Memoirs*, 24.

20 *Ibid.*, 35.

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*, 65; 180.

23 Correspondence from Quin to Grant, November 21, 1927, Brotherton Special Collections MS431.

24 *Ibid.*, 28.

25 *Ibid.*, 42.

26 *Ibid.*, 23.

27 *Ibid.*

28 *Ibid.*

29 *Ibid.*, 25.

30 Ibid., 34.

31 Ibid., 107. Moncure Conway, ed., *The Sacred Anthology: A Book of Ethical Scriptures* (London: Trübner & Co., 1889).

32 Quin, *Memoirs*, 151–52.

33 Ibid., 180.

34 For example, *The Day God Gives Me* is reprinted in 14 hymnals, including *The Catholic Book of Workshop III* (Ottawa: Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1994) and *Together in Song* (East Melbourne: HarperCollins, 1999).

35 For examples of studies of the musical structure, style, patterning, and melodic and harmonic shapes of hymns, see Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971); Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); and Martin V. Clarke, *British Methodist Hymnody: Theology, Heritage, and Experience* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

36 Quin, *Memoirs*, 52.

37 Malcolm Quin, *Hymns of Worship* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Church of Humanity, 1898).

38 Quin, *Memoirs*, 152.

39 *Hymns of Modern Thought: Special Edition with Supplement for the Use of the South Place Ethical Society* (London: South Place Ethical Society, 1912), v.

40 Stanton Coit, comp., and Charles Kennedy Scott, ed., *Social Worship: For Use in Families, Schools and Churches*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan; London: George Allen, 1913).

41 Ibid., v.

42 Ibid.

43 *The Truth Seeker: Collection of Forms, Hymns and Recitations, Original and Selected, for the Use of Liberals* (New York: D. M. Bennett Liberal and Scientific Publications, 1877).

44 John McGee, *A Crusade for Humanity: The History of Organized Positivism in England* (London: Watts, 1931), 155–56. McGee's sources for information on this musical activity are Ethel B. Harrison, *Service of Man* (London, 1890) and the annual reports of the Positivist Committee, 1883–1900. Mention of similar musical activities in various positivist congregations is corroborated by Wright, *Religion of Humanity*, 95–99. Wright also outlines some of the opposition to music in positivist meeting services.

45 Quin, *Memoirs*, 87.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., 85.

49 K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan

Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), esp. pp. 74–85. For an essay arguing that hymn singing can be appropriate (depending on the circumstances) and where distinctions are made between dignified and undignified music and hymn singing, see Robert Bridges, *A Practical Discourse on Some Principles of Hymn-Singing* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1901) (reprinted from the *Journal of Theological Studies*, October 1899).

50 For background on the freethinkers' preoccupation with literary, religious and social studies—at the expense of the intellectual study of music—see Paul Watt, *Ernest Newman: A Critical Biography* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), 37–64.

51 Wright, “Positively Catholic,” 15.

52 Sandra S. Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978), 161–73. See also chap. 5 in Ian Badley, “Abide with Me”: *The World of Victorian Hymns* (London: SCM Press, 1997).

53 Michael Wheeler, *Heaven, Hell, and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

54 This hymn is printed in many hymnals, including *Social Worship for Use in Families, Schools and Churches* (No. 82) and *Hymns of Modern Thought* (London: Hampstead Ethical Institute, 1900) (No. 86).

55 Published in Annie Besant, ed., *The Secular Song and Hymn Book* (London: Watts, 1875) (No. 78); *The Truth Seeker* (No. 36); *Universal Hymns Compiled for the North End Union* (Boston: Thomas Todd, 1894), p. 49; and *Ethical Hymns* (London: Swan Sonnenschein) (No. 14). The original version of this hymn was published in Quin, *Hymns of Worship* (No. xlix).

56 Probably one of Quin's best-loved hymns printed in more than ten hymnals, including *The Truth Seeker* (No. 136) and *Ethical Hymns* (No. 14)

57 Martin V. Clarke notes that the *Methodist Hymn Book* 1933 categorizes hymns under the theme “Pilgrimage, Guidance, Perseverance,” and I have used this category to usefully describe the tone of Quin's hymns. See Clarke, *British Methodist Hymnody*, 2017), 25.

58 Extract from correspondence from Dr. Carson to Malcolm Quin, n.d., cited in Quin, *Memoirs*, 119.

59 Besant, ed., *Secular Song and Hymn Book* (London: Watts, 1875).

60 William Jevons, *Systematic Morality, or a Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Human Duty on the Grounds of Natural Religion* (London: Rowland Hunter, 1827), 55, 56.

- 61 Quin, *Memoirs*, 151.
- 62 Comte, *Positive Philosophy*, 2: 559; see n. 28.
- 63 John R. Lowry, "A Few Words on Singing," in *The Secularists' Manual of Songs and Ceremonies*, ed. Austin Holyoake and Charles Watts (London: Austin, n.d.).
- 64 *Ibid.*, 7–8.
- 65 Pronouncing dictionaries were widespread in the nineteenth century. A particularly extensive one—some 800 pages—was P. Austin Nuttall, ed., *Routledge's Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1867).
- 66 For an overview, see Joy Damousi, *Colonial Voices: A Cultural History of English in Australia, 1840–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) and Marian Wilson Kimber, *The Elocutionists: Women, Music, and the Spoken Word* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2017). Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources are vast, but some better-known examples are James Rush, *The Philosophy of the Human Voice* (Philadelphia: J. Maxwell, 1827); Nuttall, *Routledge's Pronouncing Dictionary*; John Hullah, *The Cultivation of the Speaking Voice* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1884); and Gordon Heller and Clifton Hooke, *The Voice in Song and Speech and Practical Singing* (London: Waverley Book Company, ca. 1926).
- 67 Beeton's *Art of Public Speaking: A Practical Treatise on Oratory* (London: Ward, Locke, 1882), 80.
- 68 William C. Robinson, *Forensic Oratory: A Manual for Advocates* (Boston: Little Brown, 1893), 245.
- 69 Coit and Scott, *Social Worship*, 1: xxx.
- 70 Friedrich Schleiermacher, *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultural Despisers*, trans. John Oman (London, 1893), 277–78; cited in Peter Gay, *Why the Romantics Matter* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 4–5.
- 71 Cynthia Scheinberg, "Victorian Poetry and Religious Diversity," in Joseph Bristow, ed., *Victorian Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 159–79.
- 72 Catherine Robson, *Heart Beats: Everyday Life and the Memorized Poem* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 166. For a further examination of the psychology of poetry recitation, see Meredith Martin, *The Rise and Fall of Meter: Poetry and National Culture, 1830–1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 109–22.
- 73 This list has been compiled from various incomplete sources. Sources lacking a publisher and/or date of publication are likely to have been privately printed.