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ENGLISH HYMNODY: ITS LATER DEVELOPMENTS.*

I.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT.

The publication in 1827 of Reginald Heber's *Hymns, written and adapted to the Weekly Church Service of the Year*¹, marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the English Hymn. This book offered a new standard of Hymnody; that of a carefully restrained devotion, accommodated to the Church Year, and expressed in forms of poetic grace and ornament. It introduced a new type, the Literary Hymn.

Heber's correspondence shows him in 1809 purposing to introduce hymn singing at Hodnet as a novelty calculated to increase the attendance at the parish church, and inquiring as to the purchase of a supply of *Olney Hymns*, for some of which he expresses great admiration². He speaks of them as Cowper's, and it seems improbable that his admiration covered many of Newton's.

* Being the Sixth of the Lectures upon "The Hymnody of the English-speaking Churches", delivered on the L. P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary, in February, 1910.

¹ London: John Murray, 8 vo.

² *Life of Reginald Heber*, by his Widow; ed. New York, 1830, vol. i, p. 334.

In *The Christian Observer* for October 1811, Heber, over the initials "D. R.", published four original hymns as specimens of a proposed series to be sung between the Nicene Creed and sermon on the Sundays and principal holy days of the year; the themes of the hymns to be more or less connected with the collects and gospel for the day. In a prefatory note he calls attention to the fulsome, indecorous or erotic language found in "popular collections of sacred poetry", and claims for his own hymns no more than their freedom from such profanities, except that in alluding to them he calls them "poems". He printed additional hymns in subsequent numbers of *The Christian Observer* down to May 1812, and a few more in January 1816.

The hymns thus appearing represented Heber's personal contribution to a hymn book he had projected on distinctly literary lines; a hymn book that should be in reality "a collection of sacred poetry". From the work of earlier hymn writers he made selections from Drummond, Ken, Dryden, Addison, Pope, Cowper, and also (unrecognized by himself) from Watts and Wesley. But especially he wished that his book should represent the great lyrical development of the contemporary school of Romantic poets. To the picturesque and ringing melodies of Scott, Byron, Moore and Campbell, he conceived his own hymns. And he eagerly sought the co-operation of Scott, Southey, Milman and others of his literary friends³; though securing actual contributions from Milman alone.

Rumors, more or less vague, of this projected hymnal of the poets, spread not only in England but, through the Episcopal periodicals, in America. Mühlenberg in the preface of his *Church Poetry*, 1823, doubts if the project will ever be realized, and from his Evangelical standpoint heartily disapproves of it. The harps of Southey, Scott and Moore, he says, "have not been tuned to the songs of Zion".

For this Romantic hymnal Heber sought the imprimatur of the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

³*Life*, ii, 26, 30, 57.

To that end he entered in 1820 into correspondence with the Bishop of London, to whom he submitted the manuscript in its incomplete state. He secured the Bishop's sympathy and admiration, but also his judgment that the time was not ripe for an authorized hymnal⁵. This manuscript Heber took with him to India, purposing its immediate publication; an act from which his sudden end debarred him. In 1827, the book was published at London by his widow. It was reprinted in India and in New York, and many times in London, in form suitable for reading and in more compact form for use in parochial worship.

The vogue of Heber's *Hymns* as a hymnal was limited and temporary. His ambitious scheme of furnishing an "authorized hymnal" had failed, and was not to be revived. And certainly his collection as published was unfitted for any such position. But it marked nevertheless the turning of the tide of hymn singing in the Church of England. Heber's accomplishments and position and death had made him a great name. He was a Tory and a churchman of opposite tendencies to those of the Evangelicals. Moreover his hymns were beautiful and also made the fullest recognition of the holy days of the liturgical year. All this went far to recommend hymn singing to the circles in which Heber had moved. His influence was very great in removing from that ordinance the reproach of dissent and even the flavor of Evangelicalism⁶.

Upon the development of the English Hymn itself Heber's influence was quite as marked. It became and has remained self evident that Hymnody had a great accession in the work of Heber and Milman. It is claimed for Heber, what could be claimed for no other considerable English hymn writer, that every hymn he wrote is to-day in common use⁷.

⁵ *Ibid*, ii, 21-29.

⁶ *Ibid*, ii, 28.

⁷ *Cf.* a paper, "Hymns for Public Worship" (presumably by Jno. Mason Neale) in *The Christian Remembrancer* for January 1842, p. 46.

¹ *Cf.* W. G. Horder, *The Hymn Lover*, London, n. d., p. 145.

But they were more than new hymns: they were a new type—the Literary Hymn.

Dr. Johnson in his *Life of Waller* had divorced religion and poetry, on the ground that the intercourse of the soul with God was in a realm above and beyond poetry, and an attempt to give it poetical expression necessarily failed. Pious verse might be useful to assist the memory, but there was no religious poetry. With differing views, but practically on these lines, Dr. Watts laid out the model of the modern English Hymn. He aimed at casting the ordinary speech of plain people into metrical form to assist their devotions. He wrote pious verses, and when he rose to poetry it was unconsciously. And he transmitted to a school of writers, and established throughout dissent, an ideal of Hymnody that shrank from free rhythm and poetic elevation. Charles Wesley set aside the Watts model and also the ordinary bonds of spiritual restraint, and poured out from a surcharged heart his inmost thoughts and feelings in a voice naturally musical. His rapid, impulsive work greatly modified the ideal of the Hymn in tone and form, and in contents. But his work was spontaneous, and its motive was not literary, and at the time perhaps only his brother realized that at certain moments it attained the spirit and vesture of poetry. The Evangelicals made use of both the dissenting and the Methodist models, inclining on the whole to Dr. Johnson's ideal of pious verse that would be useful. Of their movement indeed nothing could be less characteristic than any effort to balance or to reconcile the claims of religion and of culture. Of the Evangelical hymn writers following the Revival, the most outstanding and most voluminous was Thomas Kelly, whose publications range from 1802 to 1853. Moderate and fluent, sometimes attaining excellence and utility, one is hardly conscious of any direct influence upon Kelly of the great contemporaneous outburst of English poetry. As a whole he cultivated rather the commonplace, and over the area of his 765 hymns he beat it out to palpable thinness.

But with James Montgomery there is a change. He may be accounted as a minor member of the current Romantic School, and even in that great day he created and retained a provincial dissenting public for his musical verse. In the preface to his *Christian Psalmist* (Glasgow, 1825), he combats Johnson's theory of sacred poetry and Watts' theory of the Hymn, and criticizes the "negligence, feebleness, and prosing"⁸ of current Hymnody. But he is able to gather 461 hymns, apart from his own, as up to his standard. And the collection as a whole shows the actual standard to be that of a refined edification. This indeed was the line of Montgomery's excellent work for Hymnody. He helped to refine the taste of the dissenting churches especially; at the same time keeping the Hymn close to Scripture and true to the ends of edification. Montgomery himself wrote hymns worthy of a place in the poetical anthology, but he did not make an anthology of his hymn book.

Heber's *Hymns* appeared two years later than Montgomery's *Christian Psalmist*, but his project for reforming Hymnody antedated Montgomery's earliest hymn writing. So that in any case he was the first to propose making the current taste in poetry the touchstone of English hymns. His poetic standard was new—that of the Romanticists, and he applied it with a frankness and consistency of which Montgomery would not have dreamed. He was thus the founder of a movement to subject English Hymnody to the literary motive.

Heber's and Milman's own work illustrates both the strength and the limitations of the new movement. It attains instant success in such a hymn of adoration of The Triune God as "Holy! Holy! Holy! Lord God Almighty!", upon a height where the poet's is the only human voice one cares to hear. It succeeds almost as well in the descriptive hymn, celebrating the events chronicled in the Christian Year. But in the hymn of spiritual experience the literary motive assumes a look of self-consciousness. It seems to

⁸ p. xxii.

invite inquiry whether its intrusion has lowered the spiritual temperature, and whether its welcome involves any sacrifice of spiritual reality or depth.

The quality of elegance and the alleged defect of that quality in Heber's hymns caused many then and since to look askance at them. To dissenters trained in the school of Watts, and to the Evangelical with sober standards of edification, they seemed to violate the canons of spiritual simplicity. This feeling is expressed by Josiah Miller in his *Singers and Songs of the Church*:—their “rhetorical flow and an elevation of manner and imagery * * * threaten to take them out of the class of hymns, and rob them of the pious moderation we ordinarily expect to meet with in such productions”⁹. The hymns also proved unsatisfactory to another school of thought just emerging in the Church, who sought for moderation of another sort, that may be called liturgical moderation. To John Mason Neale in 1843 it seemed “wonderful both that [Heber] should have *made* such a collection, and that it should have taken such hold, even for a time, on the public mind”¹⁰. He found the metres fantastical, the poetic merit slight, the tone more fitted to the drawing-room than the church.

But the hymns on the whole retained and steadily broadened the hold they had first gained. And the acceptance of them by the Church established a new type of hymn, with the spirit and expression of lyrical poetry, a conscious literary motive, and an untrammelled metrical development.

We have henceforward a new school of hymn writers, consisting of poets who do not hesitate to work in the hymnic form, and of hymn writers who aim to produce hymns that shall make the impression of poetry.

And the movement thus started by Heber continues as one of the living forces at work in modifying the Hymnody of the English-speaking Churches to-day. Their acceptance of hymns such as Heber's “Holy! Holy! Holy!” and “Bright-

⁹ 2nd edition, London 1869, p. 379.

¹⁰ *Christian Remembrancer*, Jan. 1843, p. 46.

est and Best", sets up a standard of inevitable comparison; and with the dissemination of culture this literary standard has operated by way of the exclusion of materials no longer regarded as up to the mark. It happens that the greater part of the material thus winnowed by criticism is the hymns contributed by the Evangelical School; and thus the literary standard combines with a changing doctrinal emphasis to make the share of the old Evangelical Hymnody a diminishing proportion.

In filling the gap thus created by the exclusion of older material the literary motive has effected not only an improved expression of the recognized hymn form; it has also greatly widened the definition of the Hymn itself by annexing to the domain of Hymnody numerous religious lyrics heretofore not regarded as within the definition of liturgical poetry. Instances of this are to be found in the ballad-like "O Little Town of Bethlehem" of Bishop Brooks, and in the intense and generally subjective lyrics of Miss Rossetti. It has already become somewhat difficult to define the distinction between the Hymn and the religious lyric.

On such lines there has been, since Heber's time (and, we may add, Montgomery's) a continued conscious effort to elevate the literary tone of the Hymnal, in all the Churches. Among the Congregationalists, "Watts Entire" gave way to Conder, and Conder in his turn to others more advanced, up to Garrett Horder, a life-long advocate of a literary Hymnody, who embodies his views in his *Worship Song*, regarded by some as the best modern hymn-book. The Methodists, with every stage of revision, have left behind more and more of the Wesleyan hymns as outworn, and have sought more and more a modern literary standard. The American *Methodist Hymnal* of 1905 has gone out of its way to secure Dr. Holland's "There's a Star in the Sky", and Lanier's "Into the Woods My Master Went", and other current lyrics. A similar literary motive has contributed to transform Presbyterian Hymnody; and to that body belongs the distinction of introducing into the hymn book Tenny-

son's "Sunset and Evening Star", whose immediate acceptance by all the Churches is itself significant. In the Anglican Church the growth of the literary motive was impeded by liturgical obstructionists, but in some new books, such as the *Yattendon Hymnal* and *The English Hymnal*, it is frankly avowed and exemplified, and it has considerably modified the last editions of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and the *Church Hymns*. On the other hand, the new *Oxford Hymn Book* may be regarded as a protest in some sort against certain tendencies of the literary movement;—aiming at "simplicity, directness and genuineness of religious feeling", and the avoidance "of cheap sentiment, of conventional and rhetorical form, and of weak and honeyed phrase"¹¹.

There can be no doubt that the literary level of recent hymn books as a whole has been greatly raised, and it can hardly be said that the devotional level has suffered from that cause. The contempt and disregard of Hymnody by literary critics has so far yielded that several recent hymnals have been regarded as worthy of careful and extended reviews of such literary organs as *The Athenæum*, *The Spectator* and *The Nation*.

II.

THE HYMNODY OF THE OXFORD REVIVAL.

I.

THE MOVEMENT TO RESTORE THE OLD CHURCH HYMNODY.

Keble's *Christian Year* appeared in the same year as Heber's *Hymns*, and like them had been long delayed. The book was not a hymnal, by intention or in effect. The meditative verse lends itself reluctantly to hymnic use, and the familiar morning and evening hymns extracted from the opening pieces have been taken at the cost of marring the beauty of those poems. It had little direct influence upon Hymnody except as it elevated the standard of sacred verse.

¹¹ Oxford; at the Clarendon Press, 1908, preface, p. vi.

Its influence lay in the glamour of poetry it threw upon the feasts and fasts of the liturgical year, its call upon the imagination to prepare the way for the Oxford Movement. Of this Movement Keble was the undoubted founder, and his Assize Sermon of 14th July, 1833, was ever regarded by Newman as its actual start¹. And this movement was destined to exert a most direct and pronounced influence upon the Hymnody of the Church of England first of all, and ultimately upon that of all English-speaking Churches.

The Prayer Book with its elements of compromise between Catholic and Reformed types of churchmanship, was to give opportunity for the movement and to prove the center of its operations.

The task of demonstrating the essential catholicity of the Prayer Book was undertaken by William Palmer of Magdalen. His *Origines Liturgicae, or Antiquities of the English Ritual*, published in 1832, was an essential factor of the preparations for the Movement. Now, in the Prayer Book the daily order for Morning and Evening Prayer replaces the Divine Office for the observance of the daily Hours of Prayer in the old system. But Morning and Evening Prayer are so trifling in the extent of their contents against the vast bulk of the Divine Office as gathered in four volumes of the Breviary, that it suited Palmer's thesis to show how complicated and cumbrous the Office had become, and that before the Reformation various expedients of abridgment were resorted to; thus indicating the prudence of the Reformers in reducing the Hours of Prayer to two, and dropping the great mass of appointed materials². Among the materials missing from Morning and Evening Prayer were the metrical hymns that made a stated part of the Office. Hence it suited Palmer's purpose to slight the hymn singing feature of the Breviary, and by citing in a foot-note decrees of certain Councils prohibiting it, to leave the impression

¹ *Apologia*, ed. 1882, p. 35.

² Vol. i, "Antiquities" etc., chap. i, pt. i, "Hours of Prayer".

that hymn singing was not Catholic in the "semper" and "ubique" sense³.

If this position had been maintained by the other Oxford leaders, the subsequent fortune of the English Hymn would have been different from what we know. Some of them undertook the study of the Breviary in a different spirit, as expressed by Newman in the title of his 75th number of the famous *Tracts for the Times*, "On the Roman Breviary as embodying the substance of the devotional services of the Church Catholic". Newman's thesis was that the Breviary was an inestimable treasure of devotion, of which the Roman Church had defrauded the Church at large, by retaining the ancient Latin form, and that the Church of England should reappropriate what it had lost by mere inadvertence⁴. To this end he appended 123 pages of selections from the Breviary translated by him, including in their proper places versions of ten of the office hymns rendered into his limpid verse.

As early as 1829 Bishop Lloyd's divinity lectures at Oxford upon the sources of the Prayer Book had directed attention to the breviaries, and the contents of a copy of the *Paris Breviary* brought over by Sir John Prevost took Keble and Isaac Williams 'much by surprise'⁵. Charmed by the beauty of its hymns, Williams at once began to translate them, and in 1833 to publish his versions in *The British Magazine*. In 1839 he gathered them into a volume, *Hymns translated from the Parisian Breviary* (London, Rivington). But Williams dreaded the use of unauthorized hymns in the Church services, and originally chose "unrhythmical harsh meters to prevent this"⁶. This course he subsequently modified, and, in the preface of 1839, expressed the opinion that Cranmer had omitted the Breviary hymns from the Prayer Book because of the lack of competent translators, but that

³ Ed. 4, 1845, vol. i, p. 224 and note.

⁴ *Tract No. 75*, pp. 1, 2.

⁵ *Autobiography of Isaac Williams, B.D.*, 2nd ed. London, 1892, pp. 36, 37.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 37, note.

they were more congenial to the spirit of the book than the modern hymns so often introduced in connection with it. Newman, on the other hand, thought the hymns had been "discarded because of associations with which they were then viewed, and of the interpolations by which they were disfigured, but that, when purified from these, they at once commended themselves to the thoughtful mind who would repair the breaches of the Reformation⁷. The average opinion of the time is illustrated in John Chandler, fellow of Corpus Christi and curate of Witley, who had become a seeker for things primitive. He had not been aware that there were any good ancient hymns extant, and regarded those contained in what he calls "Popish missals" as "barbarous in their latinity as defective in their doctrine"⁸. To the English hymns in current use he objected likewise, not only as unauthorized, but because "many are from sources to which our Primitive Apostolic Church would not choose to be indebted"⁹. His attention was caught by Williams' versions of the Parisian hymns, appearing in *The British Magazine*. He purchased a copy of the *Paris Breviary* and of Casander's *Hymni Sacri* of 1556, and set to work upon the translation of the hymns. In 1837 he published *The Hymns of the Primitive Church, now first collected, translated and arranged, by the Rev. J. Chandler*. The work was hasty, and the versions far from reproducing the originals. But it was opportune, and the hymns were rhythmical; and Chandler's book played a considerable part in the revival of Latin hymns.

In the same year, an Irish bishop, Richard Mant, published his *Ancient Hymns, from the Roman Breviary, for Domestic Use*, with a preface commending the hymns and other parts of the Breviary as an acceptable manual of private devotion. In 1838 Newman followed with his *Hymni Ecclesiae*, being two volumes of the texts of Latin hymns,

⁷ Preface to *Hymni Ecclesiae*, 1838.

⁸ Preface to *Hymns of the Primitive Church*, 1837, p. viii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. iv.

the first from the *Paris Breviary*, the other from the *Roman Breviary* and other sources.

The prominence of the *Paris Breviary* and the Breviary of Urban VIII in this movement to restore things primitive is curious enough. The hymnal of the *Paris Breviary* from which Williams worked, and in which Chandler found *The Hymns of the Primitive Church*, was substantially the work of a group of French poets writing to the order of the Archbishop of Paris; and whose work appeared in 1736, with the intention of supplanting the ancient hymns by these on modern lines. And the Breviary hymns of Bishop Mant were from the Renaissance hymnal which Urban VIII introduced into the *Roman Breviary* of 1632, to satisfy the pseudo-classical taste of his time. One gets the impression that among this first group of restorers Newman alone knew what he was about. To the others, in the elation of discovery, everything Latin was assumed to be primitive, and to men educated in the classical atmosphere of Oxford the language of the later hymnals, in its approach to classical models, appealed more than the early hymns could have done, even had they known them¹⁰. They were working with no adequate knowledge of their materials; but their work, however amusingly ineffective for the specific purpose they had at heart, proved effective enough in the general interests of Hymnody. It revealed the Latin hymn to the English Church and it acclimated it.

This was the first distinguishing feature of the Hymnody of the Oxford Movement, that it opened up rich sources of Church song till then practically unexplored, that it restored to the use of the English Church the Ambrosian Hymnody embodied in the Breviary, which had been laid aside by the English Reformers, and replaced by Metrical Psalmody, together with the later accretions of church hymns, whether Roman or Gallican. This enrichment and restoration has

¹⁰ Cf. Jno. M. Neale's article in *The Christian Remembrancer*, 1850, hereafter referred to.

in the course of time become so much an accepted thing that we hardly appreciate the changed point of view involved. But it is doubtful if anything short of Tractarian principles, or any urgency less than the Oxford upheaval, would have had the force to overcome the deep prejudices and deliberate ignorance that had kept the old church hymns outside the pale of Protestant sympathy.

The second feature of the Oxford Hymnody (also a restoration) was in the type of the Hymn itself. It became the Liturgical Hymn. The Evangelical Hymn is inevitably the voice of the believer; the Liturgical Hymn is the voice of the Church. The Evangelical Hymn deals primarily with inward experience; the Liturgical Hymn with the Church season. The Evangelical Hymn is free; the Liturgical Hymn is the metrical element of a closely articulated liturgical order, having its fixed place which determines its contents. Bishop Heber's mind and hand were turned toward this ideal, and served as a preparation for its fulfillment at the hands of the Oxford Reformers and their disciples. Newman's *Tract No. 75* exemplified the Liturgical Hymn *in situ*. And the early group of books of hymns,—Williams', Chandler's, Mant's,—were all liturgical. With an appearance of being accommodated to the familiar Prayer Book, they were in reality articulated by the far more complicated framework of the Breviary, and brought with them something of its doctrine and terminology. Each day of the week has its special hymns, and Chandler provides for the daily nocturns, matins and even song. There are hymns for the Sundays and familiar fasts and feasts not only, but for their vigils and octaves, for a line of saints' days, and for the commemoration of the blessed Virgin Mary, the holy martyrs, bishops, presbyters, virgins, etc.

The Liturgical Hymn was thus one of the earliest products of the Movement, and came into life full fledged. This happened naturally from the amount of attention given the Breviary. And the Breviary furnished precisely that

portion of the ancient system of devotion which could be incorporated into the English with the least degree of friction, because it was adapted for private recitation, and was so used in the Roman Church. It is true that *Tract No. 75* brought upon Newman "a great deal of censure"¹¹. Even Keble and Williams were frightened on learning that two of Newman's pupils were on the point of publishing a complete English translation of the *Roman Breviary*, with the hymns translated by Newman, who yielded to their remonstrances with some heat¹². But no one could interfere with Newman's daily recitation of the Breviary offices, and in this practice he was soon followed by Pusey¹³. Daily public service in the church had been established by Thomas Keble at Bisley since 1827, later at Oxford by Newman and Williams¹⁴, and also in London at the Margaret Chapel, the chosen place at which Tractarian principles were to be applied to public worship. It was not possible to substitute the Breviary Offices for Morning and Evening Prayer at such services. But Hymnody was as free for Tractarians as for Evangelicals. And the use of the Breviary hymns afforded the most available means of recognizing any desired number of holy days, and of imparting a Tractarian atmosphere to the whole service.

There was therefore a need of new hymn books. The first of note after the beginning of the movement was the *Psalms and Hymns adapted to the Services of the Church of England*, published in 1836 by W. J. Hall of Tottenham. This has generally been regarded as High Church, for no reason apparent other than the mitre embossed upon the cover, or its arrangement of the hymns under the Sundays of the Church Year, after the model of Heber. It won the approval of the Bishop of London, and a circulation of

¹¹ *Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*, Oxford 1841, p. 9.

¹² Williams, *Autobiography*, p. 103.

¹³ H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward B. Pusey*, 2nd ed., London 1893, vol. ii, pp. 145, 146.

¹⁴ Williams, pp. 75ff.

4,000,000 copies is claimed for it¹⁵. It represented the Oxford leaders in no way, and was unacceptable to them¹⁶.

A small collection printed by J. Holt Simpson in 1837, *Psalms and Hymns, original and selected*, included some translations of Mant, Chandler and Williams. More significant was *A Selection of Psalms, to which are added Hymns chiefly ancient*, published the same year by Dodsworth, the incumbent of Margaret Chapel. Several of Chandler's versions are in *Hymns Selected* for local use by J. Latham in 1841; and in 1842 Chandler himself revised and arranged his translations in hymnal form, as *The Hymns of the Church, mostly primitive, collected, translated and arranged for public use* (London, Parker). In 1849 appeared *Introsits and Hymns for Margaret Chapel* (Enlarged ed. 1852); and two books of 1850, Henry Stretton's *Church Hymns*, and Joseph Oldknow's *Hymns for the Services of the Church*, are largely made up of the translations of the Oxford group. An anonymous London *Hymn Book for the use of Churches and Chapels* introduced some of the versions of Edward Caswall. His *Lyra Catholica*, appearing in 1849, contained versions of all the hymns in the Roman Breviary and Missal. Caswall was among the earliest Oxford Tractarians to pass over (in the succeeding year) to Rome. But his translations found general favor and were reprinted in New York in 1851.

This early group of Tractarian hymnals evinces the disposition of a widening circle to follow the Oxford leaders in their search for the old paths. They accepted the materials furnished by the Oxford translators, and employed it with little knowledge or discrimination. The books might serve to experiment with in local use, but no one of them commended itself to Tractarians generally, or was worthy to become the nucleus of an "Anglo-Catholic Hymnal".

These facts were set forth in an article on "English

¹⁵ Cf. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 336.

¹⁶ Jno. M. Neale in *The Christian Remembrancer*, (1850), calls it "one of the worst".

Hymnology, its History and Prospects", contributed by John Mason Neale to *The Christian Remembrancer* in 1850. This pungent paper reviewed the current Evangelical Hymnody in a very contemptuous spirit, but dealt just as freely with the Oxford translators:—Their zeal for the newly discovered primitive Hymnody had carried them off their feet, and in choosing the *Paris Breviary*, they had mistaken the new paths for the old; their work was careless and inadequate, and its metres badly chosen; as embodied in the new hymn books, it was unworthy of acceptance by the Church. At the time, Neale's proposals for the ideal hymnal did not go beyond a better selection and better translation of the Breviary hymns, with some 12 or 15 of the best English hymns added, the whole to be revised by competent scholars.

No man in England had an equal right with Neale to say these things. And this paper may be said to mark the point of contact of his gifts and scholarship with the actual Hymnody of the Church. He was among the earliest Cambridge disciples of the Tractarian Movement, already spending the long vacations in researches in ecclesiastical archaeology. He made himself a master of post-classic Latin, and began to prepare for a history of the mediaeval Latin poets¹⁸. These neglected authors he loved for their own sake, accounting Adam of St. Victor the greatest Latin poet of all ages¹⁹.

Neale pursued his hymnological studies with life-long ardor, and with results that put the study of mediaeval Hymnody upon a new basis for English-speaking people. His study of "The Ecclesiastical Latin Poetry of the Middle Ages" contributed to *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*²⁰, laid out the field. By patient researches among the manuscript sources on the continent, he "brought to light a multitude of hymns unknown before"²¹. In his treatise on Se-

¹⁷ E. A. Towle, *John Mason Neale*, London, 1906, p. 35.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 31.

¹⁹ Preface to his *Mediaeval Hymns*, 2nd ed., p. ix.

²⁰ Vol. 25

²¹ Printed in *The Ecclesiologist*, of which he was joint editor.

quences²², he for the first time revealed the actual essence and structure of these most characteristic hymns of the Middle Ages. And by his translations he added a great wealth of mediaeval hymnody to the actual resources of English-speaking Churches. Of these versions the earliest were gathered in 1851 as *Mediaeval Hymns and Sequences*; ninety-four appeared in the *Hymnal Noted* in 1851-54. The *Rhythm of Bernard* followed in 1858, and *Hymns chiefly Mediaeval* in 1865. After Neale's death a few more of his translations appeared in *S. Margaret's Hymnal*, 1875.

These translations have been challenged by Roman Catholics, on the one hand, as wanting in fidelity to the whole doctrinal contents of the originals, and on the other by Protestants as importing too much of the Roman atmosphere into the Church of England. On the whole it may be said of Neale's method of translation that his aim was practical and his ameliorations or omissions were generally those suggested by prudence or good taste, with a view to the admission of the hymns to the Church of England. A literal fidelity would have gratified a few scholars. As it was, these strong and beautiful versions just filled the needs of contemporary and later Tractarians, and many of them passed the bounds not only of party but of the Church of England, and gave a new color to Protestant Hymnody. The atmosphere of the time was favorable to the dissemination of the monastic conceptions of religion. Evangelicalism itself was more other-worldly than now. And Dr. Neale was able to say that his "Jerusalem the Golden" was the most popular hymn of the Church.

This practical aim of Dr. Neale rapidly developed into nothing short of a proposal that the Church of England should forego the use of English Protestant hymns altogether in favor of English versions of the pre-Reformation hymns. He had been careful to preserve the original meters and rhythm of these hymns in his own work, and now took

²² Originally attached to his *Mediaeval Hymns*, and enlarged for Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*.

the position that if they were to be sung at all, they lost greatly by being separated from their original melodies. He claimed, moreover, that the Gregorian music had not only the claim of a remote antiquity, reaching back in some part to the usage of the first temple, but that it was the only music that had any imprimatur of the Church acting in its corporate capacity²³.

This proposal Neale embodied in a hymn book, under the sanction and with the co-operation of the Ecclesiological Society, and the musical editorship of Thomas Helmore. The first part of the *Hymnal Noted* appeared in 1851, containing 46 hymns, mostly from the Sarum office books, set to their plain-song melodies; the second part in 1854, with 59 hymns from various ancient sources: the work in final form with accompanying harmonies in 1858; 94 of the 105 hymns being Neale's own work.

In this hymnal the seekers for the ancient paths had reached their goal. But their position was inevitably lonely. The average organist and singer could not even decipher the strange Gregorian notation. The general absence of definite rhythm and clear melody and the accumulation of unessential notes in the festal tunes, put the congregational performance of this ancient music among things least likely of attainment. The number of cathedral and parochial authorities prepared to return to the hymns and tunes of the Sarum office books was inconsiderable.

We feel, in looking back, that proposals so revolutionary and so impracticable might not only have failed to accomplish their purpose, but might have caused also a reaction in which the whole subject of a liturgical Hymnody should have sunk out of the hearing of English-speaking Churches. But such was not the case. The *Hymnal Noted* had but a trifling adoption. It met with ridicule and contempt in certain quarters. But it was also a full realization of Tractarian dreams of a "Catholic" Hymnal.

Neale's proposals remain in the mind of the more con-

²³Preface to *Hymnal Noted*, ed. 1858.

sistent Anglicans as an ideal that has never been foregone. There has never ceased to be a party to keep before the Church the paramount claims of the ancient hymns set to the ancient tunes. The place of the hymns is now secure enough. The opportunity of the Gregorian music is equally free. Quite beyond the bounds of Tractarianism, the historic sense is gratified by the use of historic hymns set to their proper tunes. But it still remains to the advocates of Gregorian music to convince the English peoples that it contributes, as a whole, either to their edification or their pleasure. It is, however, to be noted that each of the three latest Church of England hymnals in wide use makes provision for singing numerous of the more liturgical hymns to their plain-song melodies. Such unanimity is interesting: its effects remain to be seen.

In other directions also Dr. Neale's work for Hymnody was of note; in his zeal for a better Children's Hymnody, and his carols and original hymns. Especially he was a pioneer in the re-discovery of the hymns of the Greek Church. His researches in this overlooked and not superficially attractive field were pioneer work. His translations and transfusions published as *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, first appearing in 1862, again enlarged the resources of the Church. Dr. Neale has performed the *a priori* impossible feat of making a few of the Greek hymns a part of the standard Hymnody of English-speaking Churches, even though by methods of free dealing and adjustment. In the way thus opened, a small school of hymn translators has followed. In the *People's Hymnal* of Dr. Littledale (1867), no less than 28 Greek Church hymns appear as candidates for actual use. With such recognition of a new field, Allen William Chatfield published in 1876 his *Songs and Hymns of earlier Greek Christian Poets*, and, among others, Robert Maude Moorsom followed in 1901 with his *Renderings of Church Hymns from Eastern and Western Office Books*. The most diligent, and not the least successful, present worker in this great field is a Presbyterian, the Rev. John Brownlie of

Port Patrick. His five volumes of renderings of Greek Church hymns have contributed hymns to recent Church of England hymnals. Greek Hymnody has a special interest to that party in the English Church which turns toward the Eastern Church rather than to Protestants for any immediate realizations of church unity. But the barriers separating the Eastern and Western mind and taste are conspicuous in Hymnody. And the translating of a Greek hymn for English use is really a process of filtering it through an English mind²⁴.

²⁴ Cf. Moorsom, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

II.

THE RESULT: HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN.

The decade following the publication of Neale's *Hymnal Noted* was one of marked activity in Church of England Hymnody. Almost every school and tendency expressed itself in a hymn book, but as a whole the trend was in favor of the High Church party, and ended in their ascendancy.

In the *Psalms and Hymns* of Charles Kemble of Bath (1853), the old fashioned ways were proceeded in, as though nothing had happened; and his book found extensive use. The Evangelical succession was maintained by several editors, but notably by Edward H. Bickersteth's *Psalms and Hymns* of 1858, based on his father's collection; and subsequently enlarged into *The Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer*, today the principal representative of the Evangelical party, although fulfilling the adaptation to the Prayer Book system which its title calls for. A little book of *Hymns* published in 1852 by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, was to develop by successive stages into the *Church Hymns* of 1871, which gained much vogue in the musical edition of Sir Arthur Sullivan (1874), and which in its last revision continues to be the only formidable rival of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, representing a lower type of sacramental doctrine and a less self-assertive churchmanship.

A recent and very successful school of German translators had awakened in many an interest in German hymns. This found an expression in the *Psalms and Hymns* of Arthur T. Russell (1851), in which the German hymns played a very large part, the Latin a very small one; the very arrangement of the hymns being based on old Lutheran hymn books. German hymns and chorals had a part in the *Church Psalter and Hymn Book* of William Mercer of Sheffield (1854). Much interest in its preparation was taken by James Montgomery, in his last years an attendant of Mercer's church. This was the most successful of all the books of the decade, from the standpoint of actual use; partly because it contained the prose Psalter set for chanting and the tunes of the hymns edited by Sir John Goss. It was used in St. Paul's Cathedral until 1871, ten years after the publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*¹. This book represents one of the characteristic movements of the decade; a desire to get the Hymnody back into the people's hands and make it congregational. This grew partly out of observation of the hearty congregational song of dissenting churches; that of Dr. Allon's in London attracting wide attention. It was favored also by the disposition to open the naves of cathedrals for popular services, a project effected at St. Paul's in 1858². The success of congregational singing of the better type required a return to the Reformation practice of including the tunes, as well as words, in the people's hymn books. This seems to have been first done in W. J. Blew's *Church Hymn and Tune Book* of 1852. But his book was impracticable. In Mercer's book of 1854 it was done effectively, and though not immediately followed, it set the permanent standard, and marks the transition to the modern type of Church of England hymnal. Godfrey Thring's *Church of England Hymn Book* of 1880 was the last one of any note to appear without music, although word editions of the others are generally furnished.

¹ Bumpus, *English Cathedral Music*, London, n. d., vol. ii, p. 513.

² Bumpus, ut supra.

The extreme devotion to the Latin Church Hymnody exemplified in Dr. Neale, was also embodied during the decade by William J. Blew in his *Church Hymn and Tune Book* (1852) just referred to. He thus greatly enriched the store of versions of Latin hymns without appreciably affecting the actual situation.

The key to the actual future of the Church Hymnody was held by a group of men of Tractarian beliefs and practices, who shared Neale's and Blew's sense of the unique position of the hymns of the ancient and undivided Church, but who at the same time realized that many modern hymns, including some by dissenters, were dear to the people and spiritually effective; and that a selection could be made of such as might be used without any real violation of liturgical propriety.

In such a spirit C. G. White published in 1852 his *Hymns and Introits*, F. H. Murray in the same year his *Hymnal*, as also Cooke and Denton their *Church Hymnal*. They were followed by Keble's and Earl Nelson's *Salisbury Hymnal* of 1857. These were all men in thorough sympathy with the development of Church ideals and practices that had now proceeded for a generation, and most anxious for the adequate expression of these ideals in a popular Church Hymnody, for which the materials were now at hand in abundant measure. But while at one in opinion and judgment, they were in fact competitors for the adoption of their several books. Each book prevented the success of the other in their own circle, and no one could force its way into the majority of parishes, which adhered to books representing a lower type of churchmanship.

The way out was found by the Rev. F. H. Murray, a Kentish rector. Through the Rev. Sir Henry Baker, he secured an agreement with the proprietors of competing hymn books that he and they should withdraw their respective books, and join in the preparation of a common collection of "Hymns ancient and modern"; and through advertising in *The Guardian*, he secured the promise of 200

clergymen to co-operate. The Committee began work in 1859; and in 1861 issued *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, containing 273 hymns, with accompanying tunes; with provision for days of the week, feasts, fasts and services of the Prayer Book, occasions and saints days, including the Annunciation and Purification of "the Blessed Virgin Mary", and a group of 67 "General Hymns". There were 132 versions of Latin hymns, mostly altered, 10 of German hymns, 12 original hymns, and 119 English hymns already in use³.

The success of this book has had no parallel, except in the case of Dr. Watts and of the Wesleyan Hymnody. Like these earlier instances its influence went far beyond the sphere of Hymnody. It became an effective means, in the hands of the people who used it, for spreading broadcast not only High Church views and practices but the High Church atmosphere. But in Hymnody its part in establishing, as it did, the type and tone of the representative Church of England Hymnody, and its influence on the Hymnody of other denominations, entitle its publication to rank as one of the great events in the history of the Hymnody of the English-speaking Churches.

In its immediate reception hostility of course mingled with appreciation, and there are reminiscences of serious disturbances ensuing upon attempts to introduce it. But there must have been a large body of clergy already prepared to welcome it; for in the first three years its sales reached 350,000. Then came the Appendix of 1868, the revised edition of 1875, the complete edition of 1889, and the recent revision of 1904. An official inquiry, made about 1895, showed that in 13,639 churches no less than 10,340 used *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. At the same date the book was used in 28 cathedrals, almost universally in the Scottish Episcopal churches, and universally throughout the Army and Navy. These facts prepare us to accept the state-

³ For the full history and contents of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, see the recently published "Historical Edition" (London, 1910).

ment that its circulation has reached the amazing total of more than 25,000,000 copies. The further growth of this circulation has been checked, temporarily at least, by a refusal of the churches to accept the last revision.

If we seek the cause of this success, it appears that it was partly predetermined. The ideal of a "Catholic" worship involved a liturgical Hymnody. This had been already provided by many books. But it involved also the ideal of uniformity, and in its interests a number of the accustomed books had been withdrawn, and those using them committed to the new book. And the book itself answered the demands of the moderate High Churchmen: viz, that the daily and Sunday and sacramental and saints' day services should be covered by the appropriate ancient hymns, and that a body of modern hymns should be provided for general use. And with the principle of growth recognized by successive revisions, the book continued to satisfy them. The opposition made to the book brought it to the universal attention of the laity, to many of whom the ideal of ancient hymns was thus first practically presented, and they in increasing numbers responded to it.

It is true that *Hymns Ancient and Modern* never became the hymnal of the entire Church of England. But it laid down the lines of Hymnody for the whole Church, on which even the hymnals of the Evangelical party have been content to advance. And it served as a point of departure from which the extreme High Church and Ritualistic parties proceeded to construct *The People's Hymnal* of 1867, *The Hymnary* of 1870, *The Eucharistic Hymnal* of 1877, and *The Altar Hymnal* of 1884.

Hymns Ancient and Modern became also the centre about which developed, or through which was disseminated, the work of a distinctly Anglican School of hymn writers who have permanently enriched the Hymnody of all Churches. Among them are Bishop Wordsworth, Monsell, Sir Henry Baker, Thring, Ellerton, Bright, Twells, Tuttielt, Mrs. Alexander, Stone, Chatterton Dix and Baring Gould. There

are no greater names in 19th century Hymnody, though the Evangelical succession was maintained by Charlotte Elliott, Bickersteth and Miss Havergal in England, and by Horatius Bonar in Scotland.

To some extent within the Church of England the influence of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was originally due to its tunes. The tunes of Monk, Dykes, Gauntlett, and others, and the former's choice and arrangement of ancient melodies and psalm tunes crystallized the musical tendencies of the time into a definite form of Anglican hymn tunes, with restrained melodies and close harmonies wonderfully adapted to liturgical worship, and yet appealing to the taste of the people. These tunes constituted the immediate appeal of the book to the dissenting churches. Into the choir lofts of a great many of them it was introduced simply as a tune-book, from which to render their own hymns, but in many homes the hymns to which they were set also became familiar. The hymns as well as the tunes of the Anglican School soon began to find their way into the books of the dissenting churches and the Church of Scotland. And, largely through the medium of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the Oxford Movement has become one of the marked factors in giving its present form and manner and contents to the Hymnody and the hymn books of these Churches.

III.

THE OXFORD INFLUENCES ON AMERICAN HYMNODY.

We have now to consider the effects of the Oxford Movement on the Hymnody of the American Churches.

An interest in Latin hymns was awakened here almost as soon as in England. In 1840 Dr. Henry Mills of Auburn published *The Hymn of Hildebert and the Ode of Xavier, with English Versions*. Bishop Williams followed in 1845 with *Ancient Hymns of Holy Church*, and Dr. Coles in 1847 with his versions of *Dies Irae*. The body of the Breviary and Missal hymns were made accessible to the American

public in 1851, and again in 1858 through the first volume of *Hymns of the Ages*, published at Boston with an introduction by the Rev. F. D. Huntington, and often reprinted. This included a complete reprint of Edward Caswall's *Lyra Catholica*. Unitarians were perhaps the first to introduce these versions into their hymn books. Among Congregationalists, Henry Ward Beecher used *Lyra Catholica* as one of the sources of his *Plymouth Collection* of 1855, and the Andover faculty secured further versions of Latin hymns from Dr. Ray Palmer for their *Sabbath Hymn Book* of 1858. Among Presbyterians Dr. Willis Lord had included numerous versions in his *Hymns of Worship*, 1858, one of many protests against the authorized Hymnody of his Church. And in 1861 Dr. Henry A. Boardman made a special point of including versions of Greek and Latin hymns in his *Selection of Hymns designed as a Supplement to the Psalms and Hymns of the Presbyterian Church*. These books were not official, but the personality of their editors being what it was, we may say that the status of the Latin hymn was thus early secured in the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches just as effectively and far more peaceably than it had been in the Church of England.

The influence of the Oxford Movement in its wider sense was naturally first felt here by the Episcopal Church. Some preparation for it had been laid by the High Church party under Bishop Hobart. In 1834 George W. Doane edited the first American reprint of Keble's *Christian Year*; and the amusingly elementary character of his notes imply that he regarded the main area of Episcopalian territory as virgin ground to be cleared for the Oxford plow. He and Crosswell and Coxe in their hymns and poems carried forward Keble's work on his own lines. Historical, doctrinal, devotional, polemical writers completed the preparation. And in a few years the Oxford influence set in like a strong tide that carried the Episcopal Church from its former moorings to the position it occupies today.

These changes became most visible in that Church's

worship;—in the conversion of the table into an altar at the east end of a gothic choir, in the change of gown into surplice with what it typified, and generally in the multiplication of services and their reorganization with more complicated ritual.

Such changes even in their earlier stages clearly called for a Hymnody more germane to the new ideals than the *Hymns* of 1827, and the *Select Metrical Psalms* of 1832. But owing to the conflict of parties no authorized hymnal was practicable, and presumably, private hymnals, such as the Oxford Movement multiplied in England, would not have been allowed for use in church services in any diocese. From 1832 to 1858 the hymnal activity was confined to the Evangelicals, the Selections of Henshaw of Brooklyn, Andrews of Philadelphia, and the senior and junior Tyng, being designed for the prayer meetings and "lecture room" services conducted by those rectors. In 1859 appeared the only private hymnal of the liturgical type, the *Sacred Hymns* of Frederick Wilson, rector of St. James the Less, Philadelphia, who had had an English parish, and whose book consisted mainly of translations from Chandler and others of the Oxford group. Whether he was permitted to use it has not appeared.

The *Hymns for Church and Home*, compiled by Bishop Burgess, Dr. Mühlenberg, Dr. Coxe, Dr. Howe and Prof. Wharton, in 1860, seems to have been intended to call the attention of Convention to the enlarged resources of Hymnody. It had 28 versions of Latin hymns, and 19 of German, but the larger part was from the 18th century Evangelical School. This book stimulated the already widespread desire for an improved Hymnody. Some relief was afforded by the appearance of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, which was welcomed by high churchmen and licensed for use in several dioceses; and, more generally, by 65 "additional" hymns licensed by the House of Bishops in 1865. It was only then that hymns now so familiar as "Sun of My Soul", "Abide with Me" and "Jerusalem the Golden", were

introduced to Episcopal Churches. A larger use of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was made by Dr. Batterson of Philadelphia in his *Church Hymnal* of 1870.

But the general desire was for uniformity, and in 1871 the authorized *Hymnal* of the General Convention appeared. It may be regarded as a compromise between Metrical Psalmody, the Liturgical and the Evangelical Hymnodies. *Tate and Brady's Psalter* was the largest contributor, 60 of their versions appearing as hymns. Watts, Wesley, Montgomery, Neale, Doddridge, Steele, Newton and Heber followed in the order named. There are 37 hymns from the Latin; and almost every type and school has some representation in this eclectic book, whose character was unchanged in the revision of 1874. The adoption of this book was reluctant in many advanced parishes that had been using *Hymns Ancient and Modern*; but it served the Church till the new *Hymnal*, authorized in 1892. The new *Hymnal* conforms more to the *Hymns Ancient and Modern* pattern, and has no marked features of its own. The selection and editing of the hymns appear to have satisfied no school or party in the Church. The musical settings on the other hand, left to private enterprise, gather about the hymns a great variety of the better types of Church tunes, with nevertheless too much tendency to cater to the choir rather than the people.

In the other American Churches the influence of the Oxford Movement is of course apparent in many directions; in the church architecture, decorations and fittings; in a slow but steady transition of the conception and practice of worship from the homiletical ideal to the liturgical; most of all in the general recognition and hearty observance of the greater festivals of the Christian year.

And the change that has passed over the face of the Hymnody of these Churches, so far as the Oxford influences have been concerned in that change, is one corresponding to the change in public worship itself; it has become more liturgical. If we go back to the Hymnody of the first half

of the 19th century it is easy to see that it was inspired by the homiletical motive. Such was the Evangelical inheritance. Watts, Doddridge, Davies, Stennett, Newton, wrote their hymns under the inspiration of a sermon, and often with the intention of using them to impress its teachings. One has only to examine the early books, the character of the hymns, their manner of arrangement, most of all the nature of the analytical indices at the back, to feel that the book was planned to meet an end largely homiletical. And the practice of Hymnody corresponded. It was the minister's rather than the people's ordinance, a Hymnody of expression on his part, of impression on theirs. He selected the hymns not for their intrinsic values, but because of their adaptation to his sermon theme; he read them through as poetical illustrations of his theme, though often calling for abridgement in the singing; and then they were given to the people who had no musical notes before them, and who in all the denominations evinced a very moderate desire to sing, or interest in the materials set before them.

The two books that mark the transition from the older type of church hymnal to the modern are Beecher's *Plymouth Collection* of 1855 and the Andover Faculty's *Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book* of 1859. In their preparation the whole area of available Hymnody was passed under review. In both books the best interests of congregational song were freshly and frankly regarded, from the standpoint of both literary and musical effectiveness. In both the chosen tunes were printed out in full and the body of hymns greatly enriched. Beecher's book was distinguished by the lyrical character of its contents, and the Andover book by the scholarship and editorial carefulness⁴ newly brought to bear upon the hymns.

And yet, notwithstanding the progressive features of these two books, their type was still homiletical. The *Plymouth Collection* contained 1374 hymns; the Andover book 1290.

⁴ Its process and results were exhibited in several review articles, subsequently gathered in *Hymns and Choirs*, Andover, 1860.

We ask the meaning of these vast collections that render any real familiarity with the hymns a hopeless task, and whether the people really demanded them. We find the answer in the "Analytical Index of Subjects" in the Andover book, covering $32\frac{1}{2}$ large 8vo. columns in fine print. Only a trained theologian could have made it, and by such only could it be used. It was the minister and not the people who wanted this analysis for homiletical purposes; this great array of corresponding hymns. In both books, that is to say, the motive of sermon illustration and enforcement still conditioned congregational praise.

And in the succeeding series of hymn books edited by Dr. Charles S. Robinson, which, in the lack of an adequate authorized Hymnody, largely supplied the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, we trace the transition which he partly helped to make, and partly followed with characteristic shrewdness, from the more homiletical *Songs of the Church* of 1869, to the more liturgical *New Laudes Domini* of 1892. It is a change in the point of view from which a hymn is regarded, as well as a change in the type of hymns and the tone of the music.

In the authorized Hymnody of the Presbyterian Church the transition became very marked in the ill-fated *Hymnal* of 1866. Its 576 hymns were a great contrast to the 1290 of the Andover book, too great for the ministry to welcome then, and the Assembly ordered a supplement. It ordered also an index of texts, but the book could not be used homiletically with good effect. The very arrangement of the hymns in 5 groups, General Praise, Church Seasons, Christian Life, Occasional and Miscellaneous, implies a different intention. The use of the new liturgical Hymnody in this book is very small, but there are a very few hymns from the Latin. This was the first of the authorized Presbyterian hymnals to introduce the tunes. But the musical setting was unsatisfactory to a degree that prevented the literary contents from receiving any fair test in actual use.

The *Hymnal* of 1874 bears many marks of haste, and is

said to be very largely the work of Dr. Duryea, to whom resort was had by a Committee unable to agree as to what was wanted. The classification of the hymns, opening with "The Call to Praise" and "The Response", "The Call to Prayer" and "The Response" and proceeding through the articles of the Apostles Creed to "Hymns of Occasion", makes evident that the book was planned as a manual of worship rather than of doctrine or homiletics. Dr. Duryea made a use of the Latin hymns hardly if at all less than that of the Episcopal *Hymnal* of 1872-74; even going so far as to use Caswall's version (with omission of one verse) of the Breviary hymn to "The Sacred Heart of Jesus"⁵. But the special medium through which the Oxford influences affected that Hymnal was *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, many copies of which had been brought here by Presbyterian tourists abroad, and which was familiar already in many cultivated homes. From this book numerous hymns, both those from the Latin and English, were extracted: among the latter, such as "Abide with Me", "Jerusalem the Golden", "Brief Life is Here Our Portion", "The Church's One Foundation" and "Saviour, Again to Thy Dear Name We Raise". Hardly inferior to these hymns in the influence they have exerted on Presbyterian Hymnody were the then altogether novel tunes of the Anglican School taken from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, such as "Innocents", "St. Alban", "Horbury", "St. Fulbert", "Hursley", "St. Peter", "Hollingside", and "Eventide". The older English tunes in the Hymnal of 1874 were in most cases the arrangements of them made by Monk to suit the ecclesiastical tone of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. It may be said in brief that through the Hymnal of 1874 *Hymns Ancient and Modern* immensely enriched and considerably modified Presbyterian Hymnody, and that as regards the hymn tunes its influence has been hardly short of revolutionary.

But the Oxford influences on Presbyterian Hymnody did not reach their maximum in the authorized Hymnody, but

⁵ *Hymnal* of 1874; no. 240.

in *The Evangelical Hymnal* of Charles Cuthbert Hall (1880). He found his motive in a critical judgment of hymns, a pronounced churchliness, and a reverence that was more an essence than a grace; and he found his musical inspiration in Joseph Barnby's setting of the advanced Anglican *Hymnary*. His close addiction to Anglican models did not appeal to very many in his own denomination. The *Churchman*⁶ on the contrary regarded it as "the richest collection for church worship within reach", and as "far surpassing" the Episcopal *Hymnal*.

IV.

PRESENT DAY HYMNODY.

In our review of the development of the English Hymn and of the ordinance of Hymnody it has of course been impossible to include and trace the course of every rivulet or branch of the larger stream. But we have before us what is substantially the general body of the Hymnody of the historic English-speaking Churches.

Its basis is the 18th century Hymnody of Watts and his school and of the Calvinistic Evangelical Revival, including an infusion, at first small but ever growing, of the hymns of its Methodist side. Upon these the influences of literary culture playing, just as they had done upon the earlier Psalmody, raised a literary standard, and by winnowing and adding, developed a body of more poetic hymns. Then came the powerful influences of the Oxford Revival, which claimed and appropriated the whole body of ancient hymns of the Church, revived the liturgical conception of Hymnody, and added a new body of liturgical hymns. Round about and intruding within the Church Hymnody thus forming played and play successive waves of Revival feeling, each leaving some mark of its influence. And these forces tending always to revise and modify the Hymnody, continuing to work in our own time, come under subjection to

⁶ October 8. 1884.

what seems the irresistible religious trend of our times, that of unification: the inherited area of Hymnody characteristic of each denomination consequently tending to shrink, and the body of hymns which all alike sing in common tending to enlarge. Until now the body of hymns of the English-speaking Churches presents a somewhat striking testimony to the spiritual unity of these Churches.

This Hymnody as a whole has been the expression of an Evangelical theology and an Evangelical experience. Beginning with Watts it recorded the Calvinistic faith, not polemically, but because it was the faith of him who wrote and those who were to be induced to sing. The opposition Hymnody of Wesley's revolt against Calvinism, aggressively polemical or definitely Arminian, remained always a thing apart, and tended rather to impart to the main stream of Hymnody, through the Evangelical Revival, a more definitely Calvinistic tone. The Evangelical side of the Wesleyan Hymnody fell in gradually with the main stream, and perceptibly deepened it in Christian experience, and widened it with evangelistic purpose and expression. The subsequent Unitarian Movement left the bounds of the historic Churches, and left their Hymnody unaffected doctrinally. The Oxford Movement was primarily in the domain of ecclesiology, exalting the doctrine of church and sacraments. Its primary effect on the general Hymnody was liturgical rather than doctrinal, but it operated also through its disregard of the older dogma, and more by putting the corporate Church in the place the individual saint and sinner had occupied in the older hymns of experience.

On the whole the present day Hymnody of the main body of English-speaking Churches may be claimed as consistent with an Evangelical system of doctrine and with an Evangelical experience.

But of recent years there has arisen a growing demand for a new Hymnody that shall in doctrinal expression and emphasis correspond with what is called the New Theology,

and in vigor and tone help to inspire the new-felt readiness for social service.

The origins and contents of this newer conception of religious truths do not belong to the hymnologist. But their expression in English Hymnody seems to have had an anticipation, even a clearing of the ground, in *Hymns of the Spirit*, edited in 1864 by Samuel Longfellow and Samuel Johnson. This book passes for a Unitarian hymnal. In reality it represents the later stage of its compilers' faith, in which Christ did not occupy the place assigned Him by Unitarianism, and Christianity had become but one of many manifestations of the presence of God in His world and in human hearts. It was the gift of Longfellow to be able to occupy this merely theistic position, and yet to produce hymns commending themselves to strict orthodoxy, at the same time with hymns that implied a protest against the old doctrines and called to a service humanitarian rather than distinctively Christian. He largely contributed to the Hymnody of the new type of Unitarianism developing under the Transcendental Movement, and equally inspired the song of various societies commonly distinguished as ethical.

In 1889 the newer conceptions of religion found embodiment, within the area of more Evangelical traditions, in the *Hymns of Faith and Hope* of John Hunter of Trinity Congregational Church, Glasgow, and to less extent in the *Worship Song* of Garrett Horder, a London Congregationalist. In *The Pilgrim Hymnal*, an official book in 1904 of American Congregationalism, the newer tendency in Hymnody is manifested more nearly at hand. Its criteria seem to be:

1. An attempt so far to restate the doctrine of God that He shall appear less as the throned majestic Personage, apart from the world, of the older hymns, and more as a Spirit of Power and Love resident in the world and operating within the hearts of all men.
2. An indefiniteness as to the nature and person and work of Christ, that shall at least avoid the dogmatic certain-

ties of the older theology. Thus, in *The Pilgrim Hymnal*, the section on God includes the Maker, the Living and Indwelling God, and the Holy Spirit; "The Lord Jesus Christ", a second section. And there is much diminution, if not avoidance, of the hymns that contemplate Christ as working out the atonement for sin.

3. A large disuse of the 18th century hymns involving the Evangelical conception of Christian experience, and the substitution for them of a response to the call for practical effort: and the hymns of Christian brotherhood.

4. A conception of "the essential divineness of the present life", and avoidance of hymns expressing a longing for Heaven—a more manly and resolute, and at the same time, more earthly note.

5. An insistent call for service of a humanitarian type, as against technical church work; an emphasis of the Kingdom of God in the world as against the earlier emphasis upon the Church: the coming of Christ in the amelioration of social conditions, and an entire omission of the department of the second advent of Christ and the Judgment.

It seems plain that *The Pilgrim Hymnal* embodies a Hymnody that is in several ways new, whose doctrinal contents do not, by intention, conform at all points with the earlier Evangelical Hymnody. To say so much is to fulfill the function of the historian. The role of the prophet who can fill? There were influential divines behind the book, and the book was framed to meet an undoubted call. The response of the churches so far has been a disappointment, and it seems likely that the book went considerably beyond the bounds of any very general demand in American Congregationalism. But certain features of a call for what is denominated a new Hymnody should be promptly met by all the Churches. The ideal of a more manly and resolute Hymnody appeals to all men and many women. And hymns of the Kingdom and of brotherhood naturally follow the formation and motives of the brotherhoods themselves. In the Hymnody of experience it may be granted that its 18th

century expression was not final, and yet it must be hoped that the work of the 18th century writers may be dealt with by men that have an equal genius for piety.

Philadelphia, Pa.

LOUIS F. BENSON.