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NUMBER I.

THE HYMNS OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF LUKE

The outward form of Lk i. 5-ii. 52 invites investigation of sources. The prologue of the Gospel (Lk i. 1-4) is a genuine Greek period, clearly indicative of the literary culture of its author; yet it is followed by one of the most Hebraistic portions of the New Testament. Lk i.5-ii.52 exhibits throughout a marked affinity for the better portions of the Septuagint; while in the brief compass of the prologue there are no less than five words¹ that do not occur at all in the Septuagint, and six others that occur only rarely.² No greater contrast in style could be imagined than that which exists between Lk i. 1-4 and the passage which immediately follows. The contrast has usually been explained by supposing that the author of the Gospel is closely following a source in Lk i. 5-ii. 52. The prologue represents Luke's own style; the following passage represents the style of one of his sources.

In recent years this conclusion has been disputed by Holtzmann,³ by Dalman,⁴ and especially by Harnack.⁵ Harnack

¹ ἐπειδήπερ, ἀνατάσσομαι, ἀντόπτῃς, καθέξῃς, κατηχέω.

² ἐπιχειρεῖν occurs about twelve times, of which seven fall in the literary Greek of 2, 3, 4 Maccabees; διήγησις occurs about twelve times, mostly in Sirach; πληροφορέω occurs only once; ὑπηρετής, only four times; ἀκριβῶς, about five times; παρακολουθέω, only twice, in 2 Maccabees (the text doubtful in both places).

³ *Hand-Commentar*, I. i. p. 19.

⁴ *Worte Jesu*, i. pp. 31f., 150, 183, 226, 249.

⁵ Das Magnificat der Elisabet (Luc. i, 46-55) nebst einigen Bemerk-

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH HYMN.*

I.

INTRODUCTORY: PSALMODY AND HYMNODY.

Popular religious song began to play its part, in different localities on the continent of Europe, with the first stirring of the new life in the Western Church that culminated in the Reformation of the XVIth century. With the gathering of the followers of John Hus in Bohemia into congregations, popular song became definitely congregational song. A vernacular hymnody of considerable proportions was created by the Hussites, and provided with suitable melodies. These hymns and tunes were embodied in books designed for the worshippers' hands rather than for the choir. Thus the congregational hymn-book of the modern type had its origin, and congregational singing of hymns took its place as a recognized part of the new cultus.

The foundations of Congregational Song as a church ordinance were therefore laid before the beginnings of the Reformation in Germany under Luther and in Switzerland under Calvin. Congregational Song must be regarded as the liturgical expression of principles common to Protestantism, that were embodied in Lutheranism and Calvinism alike. It is true that Congregational Song received a great impulse and development from Luther's hands, and that his work in establishing it claims the priority over Calvin's, upon whom Luther's success doubtless exercised marked influence. But Congregational Song cannot be rightly regarded as the distinctive possession of either system, nor can it be fairly claimed that the one reformer showed more zeal in establishing it than the other.

* Being the first 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.

There were, however, from the first, marked differences in the type of Congregational Song established by Luther in the Lutheran Church and that established by Calvin in the Reformed Church. These appeared not only in details of administration, but in the principles determining the contents of the song itself,—that is to say, in the subject matter of praise.

In reconstructing the church worship, Luther's eye lingered affectionately upon the cultus of the Latin Church, with a purpose of preserving so much of it as might be practicable under the new conditions. He regarded with especial favor the metrical hymns which for many centuries had made a part of the Daily Office. The utility of the metrical form was obvious. And the fact that hymns were free compositions, not confined to Scriptural paraphrase, constituted no objection to them in Luther's mind, but on the other hand suggested an opportunity of filling the hymn-form with the doctrines and inspirations of the new evangel. Luther adopted without hesitation the metrical hymn of human composition as a permanent element of his cultus. And he provided a German hymnody set to suitable tunes, and put the hymn books into the hands of the people. From the beginning, therefore, Lutheran song became Hymnody in the narrower sense of the word. This Lutheran Hymnody was based indiscriminately on Scripture, the Latin and Hussite hymns, popular songs, and the thoughts and feelings of the writer. And from Luther's time to the present the composition of German hymns has proceeded without a break, and their congregational use has continued to be a characteristic feature of the Lutheran cultus.

Calvin, on the other hand, in arranging a cultus for the Reformed Church, proposed to ignore the historical development of worship in the Latin Church, and to reinstate the simpler conditions of the primitive Church. He would have nothing in the cultus which could not claim the express authority of Scripture. He found Scriptural prece-

dent for the ordinance of Congregational Song, and saw the advantage of the metrical hymn-form. But the historic position of the hymn of human composition gave it no sanctity in his mind. It rather revealed how readily the Hymn adapted itself to the embodiment of erroneous doctrine. And without definitely deciding the question between prescribed Psalm singing and the Church's right to make its own hymns, he rested upon the proposition that there could be no better songs than the inspired songs of Scripture. He established the precedent of Church Song taken from the word of God itself, and practically confined to the canonical Psalms. The authority of Calvin's opinion and example was such that the usage of singing metrical Psalms as instituted at Geneva followed the spread of Calvinistic doctrine through the world as a recognized feature of church order. It became as characteristic of the Reformed cultus as hymn singing was of the Lutheran cultus.

The new Protestant Church Song was thus from the first divided into two separate streams, having Luther and Calvin as their respective sources, and differing in their actual contents. If we attempt to put this new Protestant song in relation to the service of praise in the historic cultus of the Latin Church which it replaced, it appears that the Lutheran Hymnody and the Reformed Psalmody agree in taking the service of praise out of the hands of the choir and restoring it to the congregation, and, with that end in view, in rendering it in the vernacular tongue. But the Lutheran Hymn must be regarded as the lineal successor of the Latin hymns of the *Breviary*, and as carrying forward the usage of hymn singing without a break. The Calvinistic Psalm, on the other hand, would have to be regarded as the lineal successor of the old church Psalmody,—that rendering of the Latin prose Psalter in stated portions which constituted the main feature of the Daily Office. It is true that the Calvinistic Psalm was run into the mould of the metrical hymn, and being a metrical formula of congregational praise, it may be called a hymn, in the larger sense of

that word. But in reality it marked a breach with the extra-Biblical Hymnody of the Western Church, and of the Hussites and Lutherans. It represented a popularization of the old church Psalmody that offered itself as a substitute for Hymnody, whether old or new. Henceforward, for two centuries and a half at least, the Hymn and the metrical Psalm stand side by side as representing clearly differentiated and even opposing systems of congregational Church Song.

The origins, development and decline of the practice of singing metrical vernacular Psalms in the Reformed Churches of various lands and tongues has been the subject of an earlier course of "Stone Lectures", under the title: "The Psalmody of the Reformed Churches".¹ The present course resumes the history of Congregational Song at the point where the former course left it, and deals with the subsequent stages, not in all the Psalm-singing Churches, but only in those speaking our English tongue. Now we require a word to mark the fact that the distinguishing feature of these later stages lies in the use of metrical hymns of human composition in the stead of metrical versions of canonical Psalms. And this necessity must be the justification of the title of the present course: "The Hymnody of the English-speaking Churches", even though the word "Hymnody" be objected to by purists as lacking the highest sanction. Philologically the word would seem to be the analogue of "Psalmody", and practically would seem to be a necessity to express the practice of singing hymns, and also the body of the hymns thus sung. The current employment of "Psalmody" to express these things simply ignores the history of two centuries, and obscures the facts: and when, as by some recent writers, the word "Psalmody" is actually applied to the body of the tunes to which hymns are sung, we seem to reach a point at which the article ex-

¹ Of these the first, upon the Psalmody of the Calvinistic Reformation, was printed with additions in *The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* for March, June, and September, 1909.

hibited and the label attached to it have no obvious connection. English writers in general, dealing specifically with hymns, have used the word "Hymnology" to describe the collective body of them or some part of it. Thus James King gathers the body of hymns in widest use in the Church of England under the title *Anglican Hymnology* (London, 1885); and, as if to prove that we have not misunderstood him, entitles his first chapter "History of Ancient and Mediaeval Hymnology". When Mr. Courthope tells us² that "Hymnology had its rise among the Nonconformists", and that "the style of English Hymnology reaches its highest level" in certain hymns of Dr. Watts, we may not question the lawfulness of his use of the terms but we must affirm its inexpediency. When we have gathered the blossoms of a meadow, we have not gathered its "botany" but its flowers, from which the brain and not the hand must construct their botany. Just so, dealing at present with the English Hymn and its liturgical use, it would appear that the word "Hymnody" describes the materials for our study; and that the word "Hymnology" expresses rather that ordered knowledge of hymns to which a study such as ours may be expected to contribute.

Which of these contrasting types of Church Song was to establish itself among English-speaking peoples was at first by no means clear. Both in England and Scotland the impulse behind the early Reformation movement was Lutheran, and in each country the leaders endeavored to forward the movement by means of religious songs of Lutheran type, and in part derived from Lutheran sources.

In England this effort was ineffective. A few years later than 1531 Myles Coverdale issued the first English hymn-book, his *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes drawen out of the the holy Scripture*, based on the Wittenberg hymn books. These dull songs made little appeal to the

² W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry*, vol. v. London, 1905, pp. 328, 336.

people, and at the same time they were in advance of the limits of the scheme of reform then proposed by Henry VIII. In 1546 the King put the *Goostly Psalmes* among the prohibited books, and brought its ineffectual career to an end.

In Scotland, on the other hand, Coverdale's contemporaries, the Wedderburns, successfully introduced among the people hymns and songs based on Lutheran models. These played a great part in the development of the Reformation, down to and beyond the formal organization of the Reformed Church of Scotland.³

But in both countries the influence of Calvin prevailed over that of Luther, and determined among other things the form of Church Song. The Scottish Church, under Knox's influence, discarded the Wedderburn hymnody and adopted the Genevan system of metrical Psalmody into its constitution. The English Church adopted metrical Psalmody just as effectively, but less formally, as something not provided for in the Prayer Book system, but yet "allowed" to adhere to the margin of that system. Practically both English-speaking Churches entered upon an era of Psalm singing which was to be little disturbed through two centuries.

II.

THE HYMNS APPENDED TO THE METRICAL PSALTERS.

Neither in England nor Scotland was the Psalm book which was put into the hands of the people confined exclusively to canonical Psalms. In both countries the Psalter

³ We have regarded the Coverdale episode in England and that of the Wedderburns in Scotland as belonging logically and chronologically to the earlier movement to establish Psalmody rather than to the later movement to establish Hymnody. Their fuller treatment fell therefore within the scope of the former course of Stone Lectures. There is an accessible reprint of Coverdale's book (without the music) in the Parker Society's edition of his *Remains* (Cambridge 1846). Of the Wedderburn book there is David Laing's annotated reprint (Edinburgh, 1868), and Dr. A. F. Mitchell's more elaborate edition of *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* for the Scottish Text Society (1897). See also his *The Wedderburns and their work* (Edinburgh and London, 1867).

included not only a complete metrical version of the Psalms, but appended thereto a group, comparatively small, of metrical paraphrases and hymns. Both the English and Scottish Psalters had a common origin in the work of the English exiles at Geneva, who found their inspiration in the Psalm singing established there by Calvin, and their model in his Psalm book containing the French versions of Clement Marot and Theodore Beza. But even at Geneva, the fountain head of metrical Psalmody, the addiction to Psalms was not absolutely exclusive, although in the final form of the *Genevan Psalter* the outside material was very slight, consisting only of the Commandments and *Nunc dimittis* versified and two metrical graces at meals. There was thus no departure from Genevan precedent made by including hymns in the English and Scottish Psalters; but in each case the appended hymns were more numerous and more diverse, and demand examination especially as to the actual significance of their appearance there.

1st. *The Hymns appended to the English Psalter.*

From the 1558 edition of the *Psalms* of the exiles at Geneva as their common source, diverged two lines of preparation which culminate in the respective Psalters of the English and Scottish Churches. The English Psalter, commonly called *Sternhold and Hopkins*, appeared in its completed form from the press of John Day at London, with a title not without significance for our inquiry: *The whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into Englysh metre by T. Starnhold, I. Hopkins & others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withal, Faithfully perused and allowed according to thordre appointed in the Quenes maiesties Iniunctions. Very mete to be used of all sortes of people priuately for their solace & comfort: laying apart all vn-godly Songes and Ballades, which tende only to the norishing of vyce, and corrupting of youth.* [Followed by two texts and imprint]. *An. 1562.*

Included in this Psalter, sharing such authorization as it

had, are two groups of metrical hymns, one immediately preceding and one following the "PSALMS OF DAVID". In the preliminary edition of 1561 they had numbered seventeen, in the completed edition of 1562 they number nineteen, and in editions immediately succeeding they attain a total of twenty-three pieces. In the edition of 1562 the hymns are as follows:

Before the Psalms—

1. *Veni Creator*. "Come Holy Ghost, eternal God."
[*Venite*. In 1562 there is only a reference to Ps. 95 as serving for the *Venite* of 1561.]
2. *Te Deum*. "We praise thee God."
3. *Benedicite*. "O all ye works of God the lord."
4. *Benedictus*. "The only lorde of Israel."
5. *Magnificat*. "My soule doth magnifye the Lord."
6. *Nunc dimittis*. "O Lord be cause my harts desire."
7. *Creed of Athanasius*. "What man soeuer he be that."
8. *Lamentation of a Sinner*. "O Lord turn not away thy face."
9. *Humble Sute of the Sinner*. "O Lorde of whom I do depend."
10. *Lord's Prayer* (D. C. M.). "Our father which in heauen art."
11. *Commandments* (D. C. M.). "Hark Israel, and what I say."

After the Psalms—

1. *Commandments* (L. M.). "Attend my people and geue eare": followed by "A Prayer".
2. *Lord's Prayer* (8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8.). "Our father which in heauen art."
3. *XII Articles of the Faith*. "All my belief, and confidence."
4. *A Prayer before Sermon*. "Come holie spirit the God of might."
5. *Da pacem*. "Give peace in these our daies O Lord."
6. *The Lamentation*. "O Lord in thee is all my trust."
7. *Thanksgiving after receiving the Lord's Supper*. "The Lord be thanked for his gifts."
8. "Preserue us Lord by thy deare word."

In succeeding editions the *Venite* of 1561 ("O come and let us now reioyce") was restored and the following additional hymns appeared:

1. *Before Morning Prayer*. "Prayse the Lord, O ye Gentiles all."
2. *Before Evening Prayer*. "Behold now geue heede such as be."
3. *Complaint of a Sinner*. "Where righteousnesse doth say."

All but two of the hymns of 1562 have their "proper tunes" provided: in the remaining cases suitable tunes are indicated. We have thus before us what seems at first sight a not inconsiderable provision for congregational use in the Church of England of hymns as distinguished from

Psalms. But there are some considerations tending to modify this impression. It was, in the first place, a familiar device at the time to cast in metrical form, and set to music, doctrinal or other material for use by the people. This was partly with a view to furnish religious songs and partly to assist the memory to retain things regarded as desirable for the people to know, and was independent of the question of what should be sung in church. There was, in the second place, no hesitation on the part of the compilers of the early Psalters in joining to the Psalm versions matter intended for such private use. Witness the graces for the family meal in the *Genevan Psalter*, the treatise on music and "A Forme of Prayer to bee vsed in priuate houses euery Morning and Euening" in the English Psalter of 1562. And, in the third place, it appears from the title pages of the English Psalter that it was intended for use outside of church. The title of the editions of 1561-1562 contained the words: "Very mete to be vsed of all sorts of people priuately." It was not until 1564 that the title page of the Psalter claimed authorization for its use in church.⁴

It is then obvious that the presence of these hymns in the English Psalter does not of itself imply, either in intention or in fact, their use in the church services. As to the

⁴The statement of Dr. Julian, in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1540, that "the *Use* was, from 1561 to 1566, for *Private Use* only", is offset by the title of an apparently unrecorded edition of 1564 in the writer's possession. It was "printed by Iohn Windet for the Assignes of Richard Day, 1564". The title reads: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, . . . Set fourth and allowed to bee song in all Churches, of all the people together before and after Morning and Evening praier: as also before and after Sermons, and moreouer in priuate houses . . .* But in this matter the opinion of many since was voiced by George Wither in his pamphlet, *The Scholar's Purgatory* (1624): "that those metrical Psalms were never commanded to be used in divine service, or in our public congregations, by any canon or ecclesiastical constitution, though many of the vulgar be of that opinion. But whatsoever the Stationers do in their title page pretend to that purpose, they being first allowed for private devotion only, crept into public use by toleration rather than by command."

actual significance of their inclusion one must form his own conclusions.

Turning first to the prefixed hymns, the Prayer Book complexion of the whole group is at once apparent. If we regard the "Lamentation" and "Humble Sute" as representing the elements of Confession of Sin and Prayer for Pardon and Peace incorporated in the Order for Daily Prayer in 1552, then the entire group represents *The Book of Common Prayer* in the same way that the paraphrases of Psalms represent the canonical *Book of Psalms*. We judge it to be the work of the mediating party who wished to remove the Genevan taint from the transplanted Psalmody by mingling Prayer Book materials with the Scriptural songs of the people. They may have found their precedent in the Latin Psalters of the old Church, in which canticles and the creed and Lord's Prayer were added to the Psalter proper. That these paraphrases of Prayer Book materials were intended for use in church services seems unlikely from the point of view here suggested. There is no evidence that they were so used until the Puritans of a later period ventured to substitute these metrical versions for the corresponding prose passages in the required Prayer Book service; their aim being to avoid the necessity of chanting them.

Turning to the affixed hymns the atmosphere is notably different, and is plainly that of Strassburg, with its Lutheran hymnody. The version of the Lord's Prayer (by Dr. Cox) is a rendering of Luther's metrical version and is set to his tune. The "Da Pacem" is a close translation of Wolfgang Capito's German hymn ("Gieb Fried zu unser Zeit, O Herr"), made by Edmund Grindal, a Marian exile at Strassburg. The last hymn of 1562 is a rendering by Wisdom of Luther's famous prayer for aid against Turk and infidel, and is set to his tune. We judge therefore that the later group of hymns reflects the influence of a party which in exile abroad had become familiar with Lutheran hymnody and who favored some recognition of hymns at home;

and moreover that a place in the Psalter was gained for these few hymns in expectation or at least hope of getting them sung in the church services. In favor of this view we note the rubrics of No. 4, "to bee sung before the sermon", and of two of the added hymns, "to bee sung before Morning prayer", "to bee sung before Evening prayer". All three correspond precisely with the church uses designated on the title-page of the 1564 edition already quoted. As regards the expectation of church use for these hymns we can say that it was realized in the case of the Communion Thanksgiving. George Wither, writing in 1623, says:⁵ "We have a custom among us, that, during the time of administering the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is some Psalm or hymn sung, the better to keep the thoughts of the Communicants from wandering after vain objects." This was the hymn that shared such employment with Psalms. It was sung while seated by the portion of the congregation which had already communicated or which awaited their turn to communicate, and its great length (124 lines) suggests that such use was foreseen. But such use was disassociated from the actual administration of the Sacrament and in a sense semi-private; and it may well be that some parishes made such use of this particular hymn which otherwise admitted Psalms alone to the church services.

On the whole these hymns present no more than an insignificant exception to the statement that the Church of England became a Psalm singing church. At the first they proved no impediment to the advancing tide of Psalmody. There was no time when their voice could be distinguished from the volume of Psalmody that filled the land. They were not destined to form the nucleus of an ultimate Hymnal nor to point the way toward it. As time passed they tended to decrease. In a Psalter of 1612 we mark

⁵ *The Hymnes and Songs of the Church*, ed. 1623, p. 63: Farr's reprint, p. 271. Here the spelling of the quotation is modernized for convenience's sake.

the first step, where the prefixed hymns are removed to the back of the book. Next appeared a tendency to reduce their number. In a London edition of 1713, bound up with the Prayer Book, they number only sixteen: in a Cambridge University Press edition of 1737, only thirteen. From the Baskerville edition of 1762 they have disappeared altogether. In later movements to introduce hymns into church worship the hymns of the early Psalter played but an insignificant part.

2nd. *The Hymns Appended to the Scottish Psalter.*

The first edition of the Psalm book for the Scottish Church appeared in 1564 and 1565 as a constituent part (without separate title-page) of *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments &c used in the English Church at Geneva, approued and receiued by the Church of Scotland, whereunto besydes that was in the former bokes, are also added sondrie other prayers, with the whole Psalmes of Dauid in English meter . . .* (Edinburgh: Robert Lekpreuick).⁶ Unlike the "former bokes" at Geneva, and the English Psalter of two years before, the Psalms were unaccompanied by paraphrases or hymns.

Oddly enough the song first appended to the Scottish Psalter was a mere love song, appearing in an unlicensed edition of 1568; an impertinent intrusion by its printer, Thomas Bassandyne, which invoked the intervention of the General Assembly, who ordered him to call in the copies sold, and to "delete the said baudie song out of the end of the psalm books".⁷

⁶ Two copies that include the "Psalmes" are extant, one at Oxford, one at Cambridge. For facsimile of title-page see Neil Livingston, *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A. D. 1635. Reprinted . . . and illustrated by dissertations, &c.*, folio, Glasgow, 1864, p. 72; and, for description of contents, pp. 13, 27 ff., and appendix. For a collation, see Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, Cambridge, 1890, pp. 220 ff.

⁷ No copy has survived. For the action of the Assembly see the Maitland Club ed. of *The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, part i, pp. 125, 126. For the recently recovered text of the "Baudie

At the same time Bassandyne was ordered to abstain from printing anything "without licence of the Supreme Magistrate, and revising of sick things as pertain to religion be some of the Kirk appointed for that purpose". But in 1575 Bassandyne again printed the Psalter as *The CL. Psalms of David in English Metre. With the Forme of Prayers &c.*⁸ In this (apparently without objection from the Assembly) four hymns were appended to the Psalms: The Commandments (with the "Prayer" following), the Lord's Prayer (Cox), the Lamentation ("O Lord, in Thee is all my trust") and *Veni Creator*. And thereafter the inclusion of some hymns was the rule rather than the exception in the Scottish Psalter. In the edition of 1595 there were ten, all evidently copied from the English Psalter. In 1615 appeared "The Song of Moses", a Scottish paraphrase of Deuteronomy xxxii in forty-three D. C. M. stanzas, divided into six parts for singing "to the tune of the Third Psalm". It was placed before the title page of the Psalms, with a note by the printer (Andro Hart), explaining why he had inserted it and recommending it to the church.⁹ In the edition of 1635 the hymns attained a maximum of thirteen; eleven selected from the English Psalter, two of Scottish origin;—the Song of Moses, and "A Spiritual Song", beginning "What greater wealth than a contented minde?"

The whole list thus appearing is as follows:—

I. *Commandments* (L. M.). "Attend my people": with the "Prayer".

Song" ("Welcume Fortoun, welcum againe",) see Charles G. M'Crie, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1892, appendix H.

⁸ No complete copy survives, but the late D. Laing's copy and one at the Bodleian, Oxford, contain the Psalms. For a collation of the latter, see Dickson and Edmond, *op. cit.* pp. 309 ff., and for description of contents see Livingston, *ut supra*.

⁹ A godly brother, to whom he announced his intention of reprinting the Psalter, expressed surprise that the Song of Moses had never found place in earlier editions. Hart thereupon requested him to prepare a metrical version for insertion in the forthcoming edition. The song is signed "I. M.", and its author has been identified as James Melville, nephew of Andrew and minister of Kilrenny.

2. *Lord's Prayer* (Cox's).
3. *Veni Creator*.
4. *Nunc dimittis*.
5. *XII Articles*.
6. *The Humble Sute*. "O Lord, on whom I do depend."
7. *The Lamentation*. "O Lord, turn not."
8. *The Complaint*. "Where righteousnesse doth say."
9. *Magnificat*.
10. *The Lamentation*. "O Lord, in thee."
11. *The Song of Moses*.
12. *Thanksgiving after the Lord's Supper*.
13. *A Spirituall Song*.

The questions that concern us are whether these appended hymns were authorized, and, if so, for use in church worship, and whether by making use of them the Church of Scotland was at first, and to that extent, a hymn singing church.

No express authorization of them has been shown. On the other hand their appearance was known to the Assemblies, and not rebuked as the appearance of "Welcume Fortoun" had been. We must then say that the hymns were tacitly allowed. Such careful students as Dr. Horatius Bonar and Dr. Sprott have assumed as a matter of course that this action or lack of action on the part of the Assembly was with a view to the church use of the hymns in public worship.¹⁰ This assumption involves the position that miscellaneous hymn singing was so much a matter of common consent among Scottish reformers that the appearing of a group of hymns for church worship along with the Psalms was not a thing requiring action or even notice by the church authorities. For this there is no evidence in their writings or recorded practice or in the rubrics of the *Common Order*. The probabilities seem to point in a direction precisely op-

¹⁰ Dr. Bonar in *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation* (London, 1860), p. 302; Dr. Sprott in *The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1882), p. 33. They are answered with warmth by D. Hay Fleming in *The Hymnology of the Scottish Reformation* (Reprinted from "Original Secession Magazine"), 1884. It seems to be the rule in Scotland that those favoring the use of hymns see clearly that the church has always allowed them, while those opposing hymns are concerned to maintain what was until lately the church's unvarying practice.

posite. They suggest that the addition of hymns was made so easily simply because their use in church worship was not proposed, and because the singing of spiritual songs by the people or their use as means for instructing the young was acceptable to all. That no one of these hymns was ever used in any Scottish church cannot be affirmed, but if so there is no known record of it. But that the appendix of hymns did not constitute a church hymn book, and that the hymns were not used continuously or generally can be affirmed with confidence, and proved by reference to successive editions of the Psalter itself. No hymns are known to have been appended till 1575, when they number four. In the editions of 1587, 1594 and 1595, they number ten, In 1599 there is but one (the "Lamentation"). In 1602 there are again ten: in one edition of 1611 three, and in another, a small and cheap edition for general use, there are none at all. In 1615 there are ten affixed, and one prefixed on the printer's own motion. In 1629 there is only one hymn. In 1635 there are thirteen, and the "Song" prefixed by the printer in 1615 appears in the appendage with the earlier hymns. The editions of the Scottish Psalter were numerous, in order that the people might have their own copies; the days of 'lining out the Psalm' were not yet;¹¹ and plainly the Psalters in their hands did not furnish the materials for the congregational singing of the hymns.

We do not know under what auspices the hymns were added to the Scottish Psalters. It has already become evident that the printers exercised some liberty in this connection, and that the appendage to the English Psalter furnished a motive and also the materials. We can only surmise the reasons that guided the selection of English material. The apocryphal *Benedicite*, the *Te Deum* and Creed of Athanasius, would be regarded as inexpedient; the alternative Commandments and Lord's Prayer, and the *Venite* ("see Psalm 95") as surplusage; the other omitted hymns as perhaps unnecessary or unattractive.

¹¹ Cf. Livingston, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

In Scotland as in England the hymns appended to the Psalter failed to furnish the nucleus of a future hymn book. The increase of their number in 1635 did not imply a movement to make larger use of them in worship, and when the *Psalms of David in Meeter* were prepared in 1649-50 there seems to have been no thought given to reprinting the earlier hymns but rather to the question of adding Scriptural paraphrases in the strict sense.

As the result of our examination we are compelled to conclude that in spite of appearances the hymns appended to the English and Scottish Psalters must be regarded as an episode, and one of no great significance, in the history of Psalmody rather than as a link in the continuity of the development of the English Hymn. Their relation to church worship is indeterminate. They did not become the nucleus of a Hymnal. They were hardly even prophetic of the lines on which the Hymn developed; for the demand for hymns grew out of long experience in singing metrical Psalms, and not out of any satisfaction in the use of appended hymns.

III.

THE FINAL EXCLUSION OF THE OLD CHURCH HYMNODY.

The most striking feature of the hymns appended to the English and Scottish Psalters is the appearance in each of a translation of the old Latin church hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which was in the *Breviary* and had also a place of special honor in the *Pontifical*. It suggests at first sight a purpose of giving the old church Hymnody some recognition along with the new Psalmody, but it had in reality no such significance. In the case of Scotland the appearance of the hymn had probably no significance one way or the other. Under Knox's influence the Genevan model had been transported to Scotland bodily, and there was no question among the reformers of continuing the Latin Hymnody or any other features of the old church services. Whoever chose the hymns for the Scottish Psalter found this one in the English Psalter, chose it and inserted it for reasons we

do not know and for uses we can only surmise. But in England the situation was different. The course taken by the Reformation there left ample opportunities for the introduction of an English Hymnody on the lines of the old Latin Hymnody so familiar and so dear to many; of which opportunities the occasion of adding an appendix of hymns to the metrical Psalter may be regarded as the last. What the appearance of the *Veni Creator* alone in this appendix really signifies is not a purpose to embrace this final opportunity, but rather an acquiescence in a situation in which, with the single exception of *Veni Creator*, the whole area of the Latin Hymnody had been excluded from the worship of the Reformed Church of England. And, before taking up the lines upon which an English Hymnody did develop, its failure to develop on the line that seems most natural and inviting demands some consideration.

There had been from the very first the promise of such development through the simple process of turning the Latin hymns into English; a process happening to be consistent with the scope and direction of the plans of Henry VIII. Apart from the efforts of reformers the Church had already shown some purpose of meeting the desire of the laity for a more intelligent part in worship. This showed itself first in the *Horae* or *Primer*, the layman's book of private devotion, whether at home or in church; containing offices for the hours, commandments, creed, litany, the penitential and other Psalms, with various prayers and materials for devotion and sometimes for instruction; and including in the offices the hymns proper to the time. The Ms. *Sarum Primer* of the beginning of the 15th century, is already wholly in English and the hymns are translated into prose.¹² In printed editions of Sarum Primers from 1538, the hymns are versified in a rude way, not apparently for singing and certainly not for singing in church. From the Sarum Primers grew a modified and unauthorized type, of which

¹² Reprinted in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. iii.

Marshall's Primer of c. 1534 is the earliest survivor.¹³ The hand of reform is disclosed by the omission of hymns to the Virgin; the Latin hymns of the *Sarum Primer* are rejected, and new hymns are furnished on the Latin model: another effort by an unknown hand toward supplying a Reformed Hymnody, and paralleling in a small way that of Coverdale.

By 1539 Henry VIII takes the *Primer* in hand, and through Bishop Hilsey issues one based on the *Sarum*.¹⁴ In 1545 appeared the first of many editions of *The Primer set furth by the kinge's maiestie & his Clergie, to be taught lerned, and red; & none other to be vsed thorowout all his Dominions*.¹⁵ By royal injunction prefixed, this book became the sole authorized primer; the selling, use or teaching of any of the earlier ones being prohibited.

The hymns of this *King's Primer* are a fresh selection, taken with one exception from the *Sarum Breviary*. They mark a great advance over their predecessors in the primers and in Coverdale: the sweetness of their spiritual tone and the excellence of their verse are still appealing. In this book our Long Metre takes its place as the English equivalent of the Iambic Dimeter of the Ambrosian hymns; and the Trochaic 7s is also successfully introduced.

Before the publication of this *Primer* for private use, the first step had already been taken toward introducing the vernacular into the public worship of the church. The Convocation of 1542 ordered that twice on every Sunday and holy day a chapter of the Bible in English should be read to the people; and in 1544 was set forth a "Litany with suffrages" in English, to be used in processions.¹⁶ Cranmer had also made a beginning in providing English versions of the hymns used in the public services. A letter he sent to the King a few months after the publication of the

¹³E. Hoskins, *Sarum and York Primers, with Kindred Books*, London, 1901 No. 115, and see pp. 193 ff.

¹⁴Hoskins, No. 142 and see pp. 225 ff.

¹⁵The title is from a copy of the edition of 1546 (xvii August).

¹⁶*Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth*. Parker Society ed: Appendix.

English Litany, encloses, with other translations and music, a draft of a version of the hymn *Salve festa dies* set to the Gregorian melody. "I have travailed", Cranmer says, "to make the verses in English I made them only for a proof to see how English would do in song. But, by cause mine English verses want the grace and facility that I would wish they had, your majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase."¹⁷

There is no evidence that any use was made of Cranmer's hymn or of his suggestion to employ a more cunning hand. In fact during the remainder of Henry's reign no further steps were taken toward vernacular services.

But when under Edward VI the way was opened to introduce English service books, neither the First Prayer Book of 1549 nor the Second of 1552, contained any of the hymns which were an essential part of the offices from which the Prayer Book Services were framed, except a rendering of the *Veni Creator Spiritus* in the ordinal of 1550. The little that is known of the genesis of the First Prayer Book throws scanty light on this omission. The recently printed Ms. of Cranmer's two drafts of his successive schemes of liturgical revision bears no dates.¹⁸ The first is the scheme of a revised Breviary, containing offices for all the canonical hours, in the Latin language throughout, and based on the Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quignon.¹⁹ The second draft seems to belong to the early years of Edward VI's reign, and marks the transition from the "Divine Office" of the ancient Church to the "Morning and Evening Prayer" of the Church of England. The 'Hours' are reduced to two, Matins and Vespers, and the Lord's Prayer and Lessons are in English. Of the Latin hymns of the Breviaries, twenty-six are retained, fourteen being assigned to the days

¹⁷ *Misc. Writings and Letters of Cranmer*. Parker Soc. ed., p. 412.

¹⁸ First printed in Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, London 1890.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

of the week, twelve to the seasons of the Church year.²⁰ For some reason Cranmer did not use the Breviaries as the sources of his hymns, but took them from the *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum* of Clichtoveus, one of the earliest collectors of hymns, following his text.²¹ Four of the hymns had never appeared in an English office book, and of these one is by Clichtoveus himself.²² In the preface of his draft Cranmer says: "We have left only a few hymns which appeared to be more ancient and more beautiful than the rest."²³ In thus dealing with the hymns Cranmer was following the example of Quignon, and to some extent his preface here follows the words of Quignon's. The preface to the First Prayer Book of Edward VI is little more than a translation of the preface to this second of Cranmer's drafts; but as there are no Office hymns in the Prayer Book the reference to them just quoted of course drops out.²⁴

Cranmer's draft shows a purpose of reducing the number of the hymns in use, and a preference for the ancient hymns as against those more recently added to the Breviaries. But it does not explain why in turning his services into English he should have omitted metrical hymns altogether from his Prayer Book. And no adequate explanation of this singular omission has ever yet been offered. Mr. Frere, in his *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, says that Cranmer omitted the hymns because he had "failed in his attempts to reproduce them in English dress, as he had planned to do".²⁵ The two difficulties in the way of accepting this explanation are: *1st* that some English versions were already at hand in the *King's Primer*, which were themselves available and whose existence argues

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 353 ff. and 334.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 354 and note.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁴ See the two prefaces in parallel columns in Gasquet and Bishop, Appendix iii.

²⁵ London 1901, pp. 309 f.

that a capacity to translate other hymns was not lacking.²⁶ and that English hymns not only failed to appear in the Prayer Book, but they actually disappeared from the new *Primer* of 1553, which is based on *The Book of Common Prayer*, and contains no metrical hymns, unless rhymed graces be so called.²⁷ This exclusion of hymns in themselves so good from the place already gained in the *Primer* seems to imply that the omission of hymns from the Prayer Book arose from a change of sentiment or judgment in regard to them, with which even the new *Primer* had to accord. In the vacillation of Cranmer's mind between Lutheranism and Calvinism, his omission of the hymns from the Prayer Book is *a priori* explicable as due to either influence. He might have argued that the true place of the hymn was not in the structure of the Offices, where it would be rendered by the choir, but in a hymn-book, where it could be sung by the people, according to the Lutheran precedent. But the absence of hymns from the *Primer* tells against this explanation. He might, on the other hand, have been sufficiently under the influence of his Calvinistic advisers to feel that hymns of human composition had but a doubtful place in public worship. There are indications in the *Zurich Letters* confirming such a

²⁶ The following may serve as a specimen of these hymns. It is from the edition of August 17, 1546:—

“Felowe of thy fathers lyght,
Lyght of light and day most bryght,
Christ that chaseth away nyghte,
Ayde vs for to pray aright.

Drive out darkness, from our mindes,
Drive away the flocke of fendes,
Drousynes, take from our eyes,
That from slouth we may aryse.

Christ vouchsafe mercy to geue,
To vs all that do beleue,
Let it profit vs that pray
All that we do syng or say. Amen”.

²⁷ *Liturgies of Edward VI.* Parker Soc. ed., pp. 357-384.

supposition; and of the two explanations of Cranmer's change of sentiment it is the more probable.

Whatever Cranmer's motives were, his action, together with the growing predilection of the people for metrical Psalms, proved decisive in excluding the old church hymns from the worship of the Church of England. Hymns appeared again in Elizabeth's *Primer* of 1559; and in the 49th of her Injunctions of that year it was permitted "that in the beginning or in the end of the Common Prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived." It has been suggested²⁸ that this Injunction contemplated the introduction, among other things, of naturalized Latin hymns. Doubtless the Injunction was broad enough to accomplish such an end if the desire for it existed, but its own declaration of purpose ("for the comforting of such that delight in music") and its language throughout make clear its intention to permit anthems by the choir of florid music in addition to the plain-song which it prescribes for general use. It became in fact the recognized authorization at once of the anthem by the choir and of the Genevan Psalm by the people.

And when the completed Psalter of 1562 was prepared no advantage was taken of the opportunity to provide versions of Latin hymns. It is likely that the interests represented in the prefixed group of "churchly" hymns were not solicitous for the introduction of hymns of any sort into public worship. They found the *Veni Creator* in the Ordinal, and it fell in with their purpose of giving a Prayer Book tone to their appendage of hymns. There is at least no evidence of any desire to modify Cranmer's rejection of the old church Hymnody.

Nor did any such proposal follow. The metrical Psalm had prevailed. The Latin Hymn remained in the possession

²⁸ By Dr. Julian in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 344².

of the Roman Catholic Church, and successive editions of the Roman Primer witness its efforts that its people should know the hymns in their own tongue. In the *Primer* of 1604 (Antwerp) appeared an English version of the Vesper hymns from the *Breviary*. This was replaced in that of 1615 (Machline) by another version of the same. Twenty of the translations in this Primer have been claimed for Drummond of Hawthornden, a Scottish Protestant of the prelatie type, and printed as his by the editor of the 1711 Edinburgh edition of his works.²⁹ The *Primer* of 1685 has still another version of the hymns; and in that of 1706³⁰ the whole circle of the Breviary hymns is represented by English versions which are regarded³¹ as owing their origin to the distinguished poet Dryden and as being in large part his own work.

This body of vernacular hymns for the use of Catholic laymen had of course no bearing upon the services of their church, and no influence on those of the Church of England.³² It gradually passed, with the *Primer* itself, out of use and largely out of recollection until freshly studied in our own time by the Rev. Orby Shipley, an Anglican clergyman who passed into the Roman Church in 1877. But side by side with the Roman Primers appeared numerous editions of Primers of the Henry VIII type, from which devout Anglicans with Roman leanings could use versions of old church hymns in their private devotions.

²⁹ They are printed in W. C. Ward's "Muses' Library" ed. of Drummond, London, 1894, but the editor follows Orby Shipley (*Annus Sanctus*, London, 1884, vol. i, preface pp. 12 ff.) in doubting Drummond's authorship. For the opposite view, see Wm. T. Brooks in Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, pp. 312, 313.

³⁰ *The Primer, or Office of the B. Virgin Mary, revis'd: with a new and approv'd version of the Church-Hymns throughout the Year: to which are added the remaining Hymns of the Roman Breviary. Printed in the Year 1706.*

³¹ By Orby Shipley, who prints a full selection in his *Annus Sanctus*. For Dryden's claims of authorship, see preface, pp. 9-12.

³² Dryden's version of *Veni Creator* in the 1706 *Primer* has become familiar in Protestant use. It had, however, appeared in Tonson's folio edition of Dryden's Poems in 1701.

One of them, John Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, aimed at a general introduction of offices in Primer fashion in his *A Collection of Private Devotions in the practice of the Ancient Church called the Houres of Prayer* (1627), renamed, the year following, by William Prynne, "Mr. Cozens His Couzening Devotions." It contained numerous versions of hymns for the canonical hours, and from it Cosin's own version of *Veni Creator* passed into *The Book of Common Prayer* of 1662, of which he was one of the revisers. There are other evidences that there still lingered in the English Church a feeling for and a feeling after the old Office Hymns which the Church had rejected. But it was confined within a narrow circle and it gradually waned. It was not without its influence in turning the minds of devotional poets toward the hymn-form. But by the XVIIIth century the whole area of Latin Hymnody had become a remote and unknown country to the Church of England clergy, vaguely indicated as "Popish." It was destined to remain so until the Oxford Revival of the XIXth century, whose leaders encountered much reproach in their efforts to explore it.

IV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH HYMN FROM THE METRICAL PSALM

The modern practice of singing hymns in English-speaking Churches grew, as has been intimated already, out of the Psalmody actually practised in those Churches. It found its occasion in the dissatisfaction with which the body of metrical Psalms, substantially alike in England and Scotland, came to be regarded by many of those who were expected to sing them. It found its opportunity in growing indifference toward Psalmody as a church ordinance, and the consequent degradation into which the practice of Psalmody as a musical performance was allowed to fall. This indifference and neglect was occasioned partly at least by the fact that the strict principle of an exclusive

use of Psalms in worship had lost something of the earlier force of its appeal to the conscience, and Psalms had failed to express fully the thoughts and emotions of the Christian heart.

The new Hymn itself was partly an outspreading of the metrical Psalm from its original basis of being a strict translation, to embrace a freer method of paraphrase, to include other parts of Scripture, to become an 'imitation' or exposition of Scripture, and finally a hymn more or less suggested by Scripture. It was partly also a development of the impulse to write devotional poetry, to which a hymnic turn was given by the felt need of hymns at first for private and then for public use. In the moulding of its form the precedent of the metrical Psalm no doubt predominated, but at the same time the older Latin ideal of the Hymn, kept alive by Roman Catholic books of devotion, was not without influence, by way of suggestion especially, upon the English Hymn.

The development of the Hymn from the metrical Psalm may perhaps be distinguished as proceeding along three lines, more or less synchronous.

1st. *By way of an effort to improve the literary character of the authorized Psalters.*

Our ineradicable conviction that one choosing the medium of verse should justify his choice by the artistic character of his work gives us a poor point of view from which to regard metrical Psalmody. It was a utilitarian device, based on devotion to the letter of God's word, aiming merely to cast it into measured and rhyming lines which plain people could sing to simple melodies, as they sang their ballads. The Swiss and French Calvinists, it is true, were able to make large use of the work of Clement Marot, the outstanding poet of France, and secured a version of one third of the Psalter which satisfied Calvin for its accuracy and the whole of France for its beauty. In England and Scotland it was otherwise. The men who made their Psalters were not poets nor even good craftsmen.

The poor and prosaic character of their work was an unconscious testimony that English prose was the natural medium of a literal translation of the Hebrew Psalms, and that resort to verse had secured singableness at the expense of literal fidelity; and, on the other hand, that the desire to be as literal as the English metre allowed, had joined with the authors' meagre poetic gifts, to produce a metrical version devoid of the grace or charm of poetry.

Therefore the English and Scottish Psalters were, from the beginning of the XVIIth century, subject to two influences. One was the Puritan demand for greater *literalness*. This culminated in the New England version, the famous *Bay Psalm Book* of 1640, and in the Scottish recension of the Psalter recommended by the Westminster Assembly, commonly called *Rous's Version*, 1650. These represented the Puritan movement to maintain Psalmody in its purity. It was an effectual movement in Scotland. But with the exclusion of the Puritans from the Church of England the movement did little permanently, except to remain as unsettlement and a desire for revision.

The other influence upon the Psalters was that of literary culture, which regarded them with growing dissatisfaction. The earlier private versions following the publication of *Sternhold and Hopkins*,—those, for example, of Archbishop Parker, Sir Philip Sidney and his sister, Sir John Harrington, and Sir John Davies, in England, and of Alexander Montgomerie in Scotland,—were literary efforts or intended for private use, and some remained in Ms. They were no doubt in their way protests against the current Psalters. But in 1619 George Wither in his *A Preparation to the Psalter* laboriously cleared the ground for the introduction of a better version than that employed since the Reformation. And his *The Psalms of David translated into Lyrick Verse* (1632), and also *The Psalms of King David translated by King James* (1631), were deliberate attempts to impose upon the people of England and Scotland respectively new versions of the Psalms, of which they had no

appreciation. The one was ordered to be bound up with every copy of the Bible issued in England, the other was bound up with Laud's Prayer Book for the Scottish Church: and both were futile enough.

Such desire and ability to improve the Psalter as there was in Scotland found its final expression in *The Psalms of David in Meeter*, 1650, in which painstaking work the preponderance of the Puritan motive did not prevent an advance in expression and in smoothness. In England the desire to improve the Psalter was confined to the educated minority. It was expressed, for a long time ineffectually, in criticisms and protests and in private versions of the Book of Psalms offered more or less frankly in the place of the current one. Of these George Sandys' *A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* attained real literary distinction and was set to music in 1638 by Henry Lawes. It failed, however, to attain any wide use, for which it was indeed poorly adapted.

But in 1695 appeared specimen sheets of a new Psalter by two Irishmen,—Nahum Tate, whom William III had made Poet Laureate, and Dr. Nicholas Brady, who had been zealous for the Prince of Orange in the Revolution, and was then a Royal Chaplain, and the holder also of a London living. Their joint work was completed and published in 1696 as *A New Version³³ of the Psalms of David, Fitted to the tunes used in Churches. By N. Tate and N. Brady*. Both writers were in royal favor, and on December 3 of the year of its publication, their version was by the King in Council "Allowed and Permitted to be used in all Churches, Chappels, and Congregations, as shall think fit to receive the same." In May, 1698, the Bishop of London "persuaded it may take off that unhappy Objection, which has hitherto lain against the Singing Psalms," 'heartily recommended the Use of this Version to all his Brethren within his Diocess.'

³³ The designation of *New Version* thus given has ever since clung to it as distinguishing it from the *Old Version* of Sternhold and Hopkins.

What at present concerns us is to determine the nature of the influence this book was fitted to exert on a Psalm singing church. The impression it makes upon ourselves, accustomed to the use of hymns, is not difficult to define. Our opinions might differ as to details, but we are likely to agree that these new Psalm versions—fluent and rhythmical and eminently singable as they are, following closely the Scripture and yet yielding to the devices of rhetoric as they do,—often make upon us the impression of being hymns rather than Psalms in the stricter sense. We feel, at times certainly, as though we had a hymn book in hand, and indeed recognize a number of pieces long familiar to us as hymns.³⁴ What we wish, however, is to know the impression made by the *New Version* at the time upon one who was accustomed and attached to singing Psalms of the *Old Version* in church worship.

Fortunately we have the testimony of one who regarded the attachment of the plain people to *Sternhold and Hopkins* as a sheet-anchor of English religion, and who has given us the impression made upon him by an examination of Tate and Brady. It occurs in *A Defence of the Book of Psalms, Collected into English Metre, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others. With Critical observations on the late New Version, Compar'd with the Old. By William Beveridge, D.D. Late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.* (London, 1710). He says:—

“I do not hear, that this [*New Version*] was ever conferred with the *Hebrew*, as the other was; nor so much as that any of our Bishops, or other learned in that language, were appointed or authorized to do it. And there is too much cause to suspect, that it was never done. For, if we may take our Measures of its agreeing or disagreeing with the *Hebrew* Text, from its agreeing or not agreeing with the Psalms in the New Translation of the Bible, made out of the *Hebrew*, we may thence conclude, that there was not the Care taken about this, as there was about the Old Version. So far, at least, as I am able to judge, Who having got a Sight of this New Translation of the

³⁴ Among such: the 34th, “Thro’ all the changing Scenes of life”; the 42nd, “As pants the Hart for cooling Streams”; the 51st, “Have Mercy, Lord, on me”; the 84th, “O God of Hosts, the mighty Lord”; and the 93rd, “With Glory clad, with Strength array’d”.

Psalms in Verse, could not satisfy my own Mind about it, without comparing it with the New Translation in Prose. Which I had no sooner begun, but I found so many Variations, that I thought to have gather'd together all that I judged to be so, throughout the whole Book, without any other Design, but for my own Satisfaction. But when I had gone a little way, I found them multiply so fast upon me, that I could see no end, and, therefore, was forced to give it over, and to content myself with observing the reason of it; which, to me, seem'd to be this: That, whereas the Composers and Reviewers of the Old Translation had nothing else in their Eye, but to give us the true Sense of each place in as few Words as could be in Verse, and, therefore, keep close to the Text, without deviating from it, upon any account: In this New Translation, there is so much regard had to the Poetry, the Style, the Running of the Verse, and such-like inconsiderable Circumstances, that it was almost impossible to avoid going from the Text, and altering the true Sense and Meaning of it. For, hence it came to pass, that although the Authors, doubtless, designed a true Translation, yet other things crowding into their Heads at the same time, justled that Design so, that it could not always take effect".⁸⁵

We conclude that the impression made by the *New Version* upon the lovers of the old Psalter was not very different from that it makes upon ourselves. They recognized in it the proposal of a new standard in Church of England Psalmody, a proposed exchange of the Reformation principle of a close translation of the letter of Scripture for that of a rhetorical paraphrase.

And this perception on their part determined and limited the career of the *New Version* within the Church of England. It never became the Psalter of the whole Church. It never dispossessed the *Old Version* in many a village and country side parish, where, partly from conviction, partly owing to the force of use and wont, successive generations of the congregations went on singing the *Old Version* until well toward the middle of the nineteenth century. But it worked its way, often against resistance, into one and another parish church of London and its neighborhood, until it became preëminately the London Psalter, and into widening circles beyond, as those concerned for the improvement of Psalmody were able to have their way.

On the whole, the influence of the *New Version* was

⁸⁵ pp. 39-41.

very considerable. It set up in the Church of England a new standard of Psalmody, with the same authorization as the older one,—that of a Paraphrase which had something of the freer lyrical spirit of the Hymn as against the restrictions of the metrical Psalm. It is not unfair to say that the spirit and tendency of the *New Version* appears in the fact that it proved most acceptable to those least bent on maintaining the older type of Psalmody and whose minds were turning toward hymns; that a movement toward introducing them was connected with it, apparently from the beginning, and that by means of its "Supplement" it became the actual medium by which hymns were introduced into many churches in and beyond London.

2nd. The second line of the development of the Hymn from the metrical Psalm was *by way of an effort to accommodate the Scriptural text to the circumstances of present day worshippers.*

In the first enthusiasm at being in the possession of God's word in the vernacular, there was no desire to choose among Psalms equally inspired; and the custom was to sing the Psalter through in course. But after some experience the Reformed clergy in all the Churches exercised the right of selection. Even so there remained the inconvenience of singing certain statements in the selected Psalms inapplicable to the congregation. This became more conspicuous when each statement was put into the congregation's mouth separately and distinctly in the process of "lining out" before singing. In England both the selection and the lining of the Psalm fell into the hands of the parish clerk. And to him fell consequently the opportunity of omitting or even altering any lines he regarded as inopportune. While freely exercised, the remedy was irregular, inconvenient to those who could read, and dependent at best upon the discretion and readiness of a class of officials not characteristically gifted with either. The difficulty was in fact inherent in the strict conception of Psalmody itself, and hardly capable of remedy within its own limits.

A much more serious inconvenience in confining the con-

gregational praise to the Psalter made itself felt in England as it was felt in every country where the Reformed cultus had been introduced. It arose from the fact that the canonical Psalms represented one dispensation and the worshippers another; and the difficulty was that of satisfying Christian devotion with the songs of an earlier stage of revelation. In all Reformed Churches the congregations had been duly trained in the evangelical interpretation of the Psalms; and its expression was a commonplace of preaching and public prayer. The individual believer was of course expected to have in mind the evangelical implications of what he sang; but nevertheless it remained true that the Psalmody was his peculiar opportunity for expression in the church service, and that in Psalmody he could not name his Saviour's name. There was no real solution of this difficulty short of the inauguration of a Christian Hymnody; and toward this solution the Psalmody of all countries inevitably tended.

In England at the middle of the XVIIth century the mass of the people were not ready for so radical a change, and the expedient suggested itself of accomodating the Psalmody to the circumstances of the Christian dispensation by introducing the familiar evangelical interpretations of the Psalms into their actual text. In this way it seemed possible to attain the desired end, while leaving the accustomed form and manner of Psalmody entirely unimpaired and with changes in the words of inspiration only in the sense of interpreting them.

The name of Dr. Watts became, from the second decade of the XVIIIth century so inevitably associated with this method of accommodating the Psalms, and his influence told so overwhelmingly in favor of its adoption and spread, that it becomes difficult to realize that he was not the inventor of it. He had, however, an English predecessor in John Patrick, "Preacher to the Charter-House, London."

Patrick was one of the divines who hoped to remedy the low estate of Psalmody in the Church of England after

the Restoration by producing a version of the Psalms more acceptable than *Sternhold and Hopkins*. He published in 1672 *A Century of Select Psalms and portions of the Psalms of David, especially those of praise*. His work had less influence in the Church of England than with nonconformists. Richard Baxter in 1681³⁶ contrasts the work of the brothers Patrick. One by his *Friendly Debate* has done all in his power to destroy concord, the other by his *Psalms* "hath so far reconciled the nonconformists that divers of them use his Psalms in their congregations, though they have their old ones, Rouses . . . the New Englands . . . the Scots (agreed on by two nations)" and others, "in competition with it."

Dr. Watts³⁷ attributed the welcome given to Patrick's version by nonconformists to the fact "that he hath made use of the present language of *Christianity* in several Psalms, and left out many of the *Judaisms*."

"This", he says, "is the thing that hath introduced him into the favour of so many religious assemblies. Even those very persons that have an Aversion to sing any thing in Worship but *David's* Psalms have been led insensibly to fall in with Dr. Patrick's Performance by a relish of pious Pleasure; never considering that his work is by no means a just Translation, but a Paraphrase; and there are scarce any that have departed farther than he hath often done, in order to suit his Thoughts to the State and Worship of Christians. This I esteem his peculiar Excellency in those Psalms wherein he has practis'd it".

In this spirit of accommodation to Christian feeling Patrick did not hesitate to introduce the name of Christ, and to address to Him specifically passages inviting such interpretation.³⁸

Patrick also, as his title-page indicates, exercised freely the right of selection, the same privilege, he asserts in his preface, as every parish clerk practises; and he frankly avows that there is much in the Psalter unsuited, in his

³⁶ Preface to his *Poetical Fragments*.

³⁷ Preface to *The Psalms of David imitated*, 1719; p. xi.

³⁸ e. g. Psalm cxviii, part 2, verse 26:—

"Blest Saviour! that from God to us

On this kind errand came,

We welcome Thee; and bless all those

That spread Thy Glorious Fame".

opinion, to Christian use. In the preface to *A Century of Psalms*, he says:

"I considered and pitched upon, those Psalms or portions of them, which were . . . most proper and of most general use to us Christians. . . . But I balked those whose whole aspect was upon David's personal troubles, or Israel's particular condition, or related to the Jewish and Legal Oeconomy, . . . or where they express a temper not so suitable to the mild and gentle spirit of the Gospel, such as our Saviour repressed in his Disciples, not allowing imprecations of vengeance against our Enemies, but rather praying for them; especially when that prophetick spirit do's not now rest upon us, that did upon David. . . ."

The popularity of Patrick's version made these principles of evangelical interpretation and of selection familiar in nonconformist circles, and did something to undermine the supremacy of the *Old Version* within the Church of England, into some of whose parishes Patrick's version gradually worked its way. By 1691 his *Century* had reached its fifth edition, and in that year he rounded it out to a full version of the Psalter, which continued to be reprinted till the middle of the XVIIIth century as *The Psalms of David in metre: Fitted to the Tunes used in Parish-Churches*.

But Patrick's special importance is as the forerunner and exemplar of Dr. Watts, who in his work of turning the Psalms into Christian hymns frankly announced himself as following out more fully the lines instituted by Patrick. The full extent of Watts' obligations to his predecessor is indeed somewhat surprising. They cover not only the rhetorical style and rhythmical treatment, but extend to the language itself. Many lines in the two versions are identical; many more are reproduced by Watts with some alteration; and there are even whole stanzas which he has borrowed substantially unchanged. Dr. Watts announced his purpose to be to "exceed" Dr. Patrick by applying his method to every Psalm and by improving upon his verse.³⁹

It was Patrick, therefore, who first occupied successfully this middle ground between the metrical Psalm and the English Hymn. Actual priority in the device of giving an

³⁹ Preface to *The Psalms of David imitated*.

evangelical turn to the metrical Psalm belongs neither to Patrick nor Watts. Both were anticipated by Luther, and by the authors of Psalters in Switzerland and Holland. But in England the priority rests with Patrick.

(3) The third line of the development of the Hymn from the metrical Psalm was *by extension of the principle of Scripture paraphrase to cover the evangelical hymns and other parts of the Bible.*

Such extension was implicitly recognized in the original Calvinistic settlement of Church Song. No divine prescription was claimed for the Psalter. Calvin's *Genevan Psalter* included as a matter of fact the Commandments and *Nunc Dimittis*. From the first days of Psalm singing in England, a series of efforts began to provide paraphrases of other parts of Scripture for singing. The *Song of Solomon* was especially favored, and before the completion of the metrical Psalter, the first fourteen chapters of *The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre, and dedicated to the Kynges moste excellent Maiestye, by Christofer Tye Doctor in Musyke, . . . wyth notes to eche Chapter, to synge and also to play upon the Lute* (1553),⁴⁰ were actually sung in Edward VIth's chapel. But both in England and Scotland the zeal of the people was for Psalmody, and the other paraphrases took no hold.

Versions of the evangelical canticles and other Prayer Book materials, were prefixed, as has already appeared, to the Psalter of 1562, without it may be any intention of church use. If we are to believe Warton, William Whyttingham introduced their use at once into his church at Durham, "to accommodate every part of the service to the psalmodic tone."⁴¹ However this may be, there was a movement in the XVIIth century to sing these paraphrases in place of the corresponding prose passages in the Prayer Book. One notes that in 1621, apparently for the first time,

⁴⁰ There is a facsimile in Robt. Steel, *The Earliest English Music Printing*, London, 1903, figure 13.

⁴¹ *History of English Poetry*, Hazlitt's ed., 1871, vol. iv, p. 130.

the hymns appended to *Sternhold and Hopkins* are displayed in the title, in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: with the Hymnes Evangelicall, and Songs Spirituall. Composed into 4 parts by sundry authors, . . . newly corrected and enlarged by Tho: Rauenscroft*. This was a private venture, but became a standard in Psalmody, and may have influenced or merely recorded a changing fashion. The movement to utilize the paraphrases was not to enlarge the Psalmody so much as to get the canticles out of the hands of the choir and into those of the people. In effect it made paraphrases, of the canticles especially, a part of Psalmody in numerous Puritan churches. It is surprising to find that this practice survived the Restoration, and left traces in XVIIIth century worship.⁴²

Apart from this there was a movement toward Scriptural paraphrases in both England and Scotland with a view of supplementing the felt deficiencies of Psalmody.

In Scotland this showed itself in the proceedings resulting in the new Psalter of 1649-50. The hymns of the old Psalter seem to have been ignored, and attention was fixed upon the work of a small number of writers who were claimants for recognition.

Foremost among them was the influential but eccentric Zachary Boyd, three times Rector and twice Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, in whose library a mass of his work in paraphrasing Scripture remains in Ms. Boyd published in 1644 *The Garden of Zion*, containing in the first volume metrical histories of Scripture characters, and in the second, metrical versions of Job, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs and Solomon's Song. Under a separate title, but with continuous paging was appended *The Holy Songs of the Old and New Testament*. In or about 1646

⁴²"It ought to be noted, that both the sixty-seventh and hundredth Psalms, being inserted in the Common Prayer-Books in the ordinary version, ought so to be used, and not to be sung in Sternhold and Hopkins, or any other metre; as is now the custom in too many churches." Chas. Wheatly, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, cap. 3, Sect. 13.

he published *The Psalmes of David in Meeter*. The earliest copy known is of the 3rd edition of 1648, and copies of this were sent to most of the Presbyteries with a preface reading like a challenge to attention. To this edition "The Songs of the Old and New Testament," numbering 16, were appended.

The same act of the General Assembly of 1647 which ordered the revision of *Rous's Psalms* had also recommended "That Mr. Zachary Boyd be at the paines to translate the other Scriptural Songs in meeter, and to report his travels also to the Commission of Assembly, that after their examination thereof, they may send the same to Presbyteries to be there considered until the next Generall Assembly."⁴³ The Assembly of 1648, in sending down the amended *Rous*, also appointed "Master John Adamson and Mr. Thomas Craford to revise the Labours of Mr. Zachary Boyd upon the other Scripturall Songs," with a view to reporting them to the next Assembly.⁴⁴ There is no record of such a report upon Boyd's songs having reached the Assembly. David Leitch, minister of Ellon, had also presented some hymns of his own to the Commission of the Assembly in 1648, who took steps to further his labors, but do not seem to have brought them before the Assembly itself.⁴⁵ In February, 1650 the Commission called upon the Rev. Robert Lowrie, then of Edinburgh, to exhibit his work in versifying the Scripture songs.

With this request the effort to introduce Scripture songs ceased, and the new Psalter appeared without them. This result has been attributed somewhat vaguely to the "troublesome times."⁴⁶ The record itself suggests a sufficient explanation in the evident fact that the songs offered as available did not commend themselves to the Assembly or its Commission; a situation readily accounted for by an ex-

⁴³ *Acts of the General Assemblies, 1638-1649*; ed. 1691, p. 354.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁴⁵ See D. J. MacLagan, *The Scottish Paraphrases*, Edinburgh, 1889, pp. 2, 3.

⁴⁶ Rev. Jas. Mearns in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1023.

amination of Boyd's crude work. We may agree with Maclagan⁴⁷ that those who had the improvement of the Psalmody in hand thought it prudent to have the new Psalter established as soon as possible without waiting for Scriptural songs, which they expected would follow as soon as a collection could be agreed on. With this expectation the "troubulous times" no doubt interfered.

In the years preceding the Revolution Patrick Symson, an "outed" minister, deprived of his benefice at Renfrew, occupied his compelled leisure by paraphrasing Scripture. He published in 1685 a little book of *Spiritual Songs or Holy Poems. A garden of true delight, containing all the Scripture-Songs that are not in the Book of Psalms, together with several sweet prophetic and Evangelical Scriptures, meet to be composed into songs. Translated into English meeter, and fitted to be sung with any of the common tunes of the Psalms.* (Edinburgh: Anderson).

Symson's preface assumes that the Church's purpose to add the other Scriptural songs to the Psalms still holds good; and in this he was plainly justified, as after-proceedings showed. But his preface recognizes also that in "putting many more Scriptures into song than were intended for such by the Spirit", he is merely trying experiments, the success of which the Church must judge.

The General Assembly resumed its sessions after the Revolution of 1689; and in December 1695 Symson became its moderator. In the month following, there was a reference of his *Spiritual Songs* to the Commission for revision.⁴⁸ Owing to the loss of the records further proceedings cannot be followed, till in April 1705 the Commission was directed to revise Symson's book for public use, and report to the next Assembly. The work was put into the hands of two committees, one for the East, and one for the West. The Committees agreed to exclude Symson's experiments in versifying passages of Scripture that were not

⁴⁷ *The Scottish Paraphrases*, p. 2.

⁴⁸ See Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

songs, so far as their public use was concerned, "seeing if other places of Holy Scripture should be turned into meeter, there would be no end." But they reported 26 versions of Scripture songs as available after revision by a hand skilled in "poecie". These the Assembly of 1706 sent down to the Presbyteries for examination and report.⁴⁹ So slight was the response that the Assembly of 1707 continued the reference.⁵⁰ That of 1708 ordered the commission to examine the songs in the light of amendments suggested by Presbyteries, and then to establish and issue them for public use, as was formerly done with the Psalms in 1649.⁵¹ The Commission appealed to the Synods for help in the matter, and failed to elicit any of consequence. It became plain that the Church felt no interest in the songs offered it, and the Commission allowed the whole project to drop.⁵²

This whole movement toward paraphrases in Scotland presents some curious features. We see, on the one hand, a stirring within the church of dissatisfaction with the current Psalmody and of sympathy with the movement of the time to modify it. We see the ideal of the Hymn evolving itself in men's minds, and gradually seeking expression in their work. We see, on the other hand, practical hindrances preventing any realization of the ideal in Scotland. There was, to begin with, the prejudice of the plain people in favor of the familiar Psalms. There was also the hindrance from leadership which did not see its way clearly, and was misled by the ambitious influences of authorship. But the greatest hindrance of all was the paraphrasers themselves, whose work seemed to be the only available embodiment of the new movement. Their work was of a quality so poor, so far below even the standard of the metrical Psalms, that it gave even those most zealous for enlarging the Psalmody a feeling of helplessness and indecision, soon merging into hopelessness.

⁴⁹ *Acts of the General Assembly*, Edinburgh, 1843, p. 392.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

⁵² See Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

In Scotland, then, we have first to note the work of Boyd and Symson as marking the beginning of the development of the Hymn from the Psalm, and then to note that their work became practically a bar to the introduction of paraphrases into Scotland. The attempt to introduce their work into public use reacted in favor of pure Psalmody. The desire for other Scripture songs never perhaps died out, but when those of Symson were consigned to oblivion in 1709 the whole movement followed them, not to emerge again until the general Assembly of 1741.

In England the contemporaneous movement to supplement the Psalms with other Scripture songs found its fullest expression in the work of William Barton. Barton has been well described as a "conforming Puritan", and was probably vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester, at his death. During the whole of the Civil War period and long after the Restoration he pursued two projects for the betterment of Church Song with unflagging zeal. He stands at and, it must be said, he crosses the dividing line between the old Psalmody and the new Hymnody, and his work faces both ways.

His earlier project was in line with the Puritan demand for a "purer" version of the Psalter. He published in 1644 *The Book of Psalms in metre close and proper to the Hebrew*. It was favorably received, and its third edition (1646) was recommended by the Lords to the Westminster Assembly as their preferred version. The contest between the partisans of Rous and Barton prevented any version from receiving the imprimatur of Parliament. It was a great sorrow to Barton that his version failed to displace the old Psalter, but the substance of it entered largely into the Scottish *Psalms of David in Meeter* of 1650.

In the preface to his Psalter Barton gave preëminence to the Psalms, and emphasized their appropriateness to present day use. But in 1659 he took an opposite direction, and published *A Century of Select Hymns*, increased in 1670 to

Two Centuries,⁵³ and, after his death, published complete by his son as *Six Centuries of Select Hymns and Spiritual Songs collected out of the Holy Bible* (London, 1688).

In the preface to the *Centuries*, Barton came out boldly for hymns, with the proviso that they be founded on Scripture. He cited the example of the Apostles and early Church and of the Bohemian Brethren. The hymns of the Latin Church, on the other hand, proved how "horrid blasphemy" creeps into hymns forsaking the Scripture basis. He condemns the "Complaint of a Sinner" and "Humble Sute" in the *Old Version* as nonsensical or erroneous. But in applying his principle to his own work, he allowed himself great liberties. It was enough that his hymns were "collected out of the Bible". He selects passages and individual texts from one Testament or both, turns them into verses, and weaves them into the unity of a mosaic hymn: each hymn and often each stanza being preceded by the "proof texts". Three of his *Six Centuries* are "Psalm Hymns", in which he deals in the same way with the Psalms, omitting what he regards as unsuitable, and expounding "dark passages".

Are these productions translations or paraphrases or hymns? In relation to the individual texts dealt with they are translations, adhering closely to the English prose version. In their freedom in handling and combining unrelated texts, they suggest the paraphrase. In motive and intention and in their general effect they are clearly hymns. Their author so named them: they were so regarded by his

⁵³Some malign influences were working against Barton. He complains that the appearance of his *Two Centuries* was obstructed for three years by fraud and injuriousness; that *Four Centuries* appeared in 1668 without his knowledge and through deceit; that the adoption of his Psalter was thwarted by enemies; and that an edition of 1500 was printed by stealth to supply Scottish churches that much preferred it to the officially adopted *Psalms in Meeter*. Barton's protest that he had no aim but that of promoting godliness perhaps furnishes a key. Some may have thought so much zeal had an eye for personal glory and profit, and have set about to diminish or share them.

contemporaries⁵⁴ and by the hymn writers who followed him.⁵⁵

Barton's work thus occupies the very point of transition between the metrical Psalm and the Hymn, and its influence was very marked upon English Hymnody. In his own Church his immediate influence was barred by the Restoration, when the singing of *Sternhold and Hopkins* was resumed just where it had left off at the Puritan Revolution, and without spirit enough to seek improvement. But among the Independents Barton's hymns as well as his Psalms were widely introduced and used in some places for a long time.⁵⁶ They accustomed the people to New Testament song and to a freer handling of Scripture than obtained under Psalmody. It was among the Independents that the new school of hymn writers was to arise and conquer the churches. And it was on them that Barton's influence told most, and through them that he helped to fix the type and character of the English Hymn as based upon Scripture and saturated with it. There was no essential difference between Barton's hymns collected out of Scripture and the succeeding hymns based upon Scripture. Dr. Watts in the preface to his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* of 1707, has his eye on Barton when he says: "I might have brought some Text or other, and applied it to the Margin of every Verse if this method had been as Useful as it was easy."⁵⁷

V.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ORIGINAL HYMN WRITING.

The Reformation settlement of Congregational Song on the basis of the metrical Psalm was not only a turning away from the historic source of Hymnody in the Latin Church, but also an indefinite postponement of any enterprise to-

⁵⁴ In a copy of the 1688 ed. of the *Centuries* a contemporary Ms. index is bound in, showing "In what page of the *Hymn Book* Composed by Mr. Wm. Barton to find any Scripture Therein translated".

⁵⁵ "These hymns of Mr. Barton": Simon Brown, *Hymns*, 1720, preface.

⁵⁶ The last ed. of the *Centuries* was in 1768.

⁵⁷ P. xi.

ward producing an original English Hymnody. The few original hymns appended to the Psalters were not so much a promise and beginning of such a Hymnody as a closing of the account. In Churches given over to the singing of metrical versions of Scripture the motive toward producing hymns was largely lacking. Verse writing suggested by ideals of worship took the current form of paraphrase. Devotional verse felt free to clothe itself in elaborated metres and to express itself in ways alien to the unpoetic mind. To Spenser in Elizabeth's time and to Milton in the Puritan period the 'Hymn' meant the same thing. It was a religious ode. It is not in the great poets of any time we seek the origins and development of Hymnody. Their genius shrinks from liturgical restraints, and their pride from what Tennyson called the commonplaceness of hymns.

Of the first group of religious poets under Elizabeth and James, Southwell and John Davies were Roman Catholics, and the Fletchers made no contributions to Hymnody. Donne was a convert from Catholicism, and wrote generally in an esoteric style, but his touching lyric "Wilt Thou forgive" was frequently sung in his presence as an anthem by the choristers of St. Paul's Cathedral.⁵⁸ Some minor poets of these reigns, such as William Hunnis, Sir Nicholas Breton, Francis Kinwelmersh, Timothy Kendall and John Norden, furnish here and there among the more numerous Psalm versions a few simple devotional strains, generally personal and meditative and not intended for music, which may nevertheless be regarded as hymns.⁵⁹

A marked exception to the general trend of its time was *The Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623) of George Wither. It is in two parts, the first of Scriptural paraphrases, the second of hymns for the festivals, holy days and special occasions of the church. The hymns show a remarkable appreciation of the office and character of the

⁵⁸ Walton, *Lives*, 1670.

⁵⁹ Most of them may be found in the three volumes of *Select Poetry, chiefly devotional*, published by the Parker Society.

Hymn, in their tone of simple piety, their method and structure. Many of them were repeated, many added, in Wither's *Halelviah, or Britan's Second Remembrancer* (1641), a personal and household handbook of praise.

But the thing really remarkable is the appearance, so unrelated to its time and surroundings, of this fully formed hymn book for the Church of England. What its effect might have been upon the church worship and upon the development of a church Hymnody, can only be surmised. Wither, in his ambition and his sore need of money, obtained from James I a patent that his *Hymnes and Songs* should be bound up with every copy issued of the metrical Psalter. The effect of this extraordinary proceeding was disastrous. It aroused the animosity of the Company of Stationers, who resorted to every expedient to make the patent a dead letter until they secured its revocation.⁶⁰ They were responsible for preventing the circulation of Wither's hymns; as a result of which the hymns soon passed into oblivion and left singularly little influence behind them.⁶¹

In the group of sacred poets who flourished in the second quarter of the XVIIth century, Quarles, Herbert, Crashaw and Vaughan, and even in Herrick and other of the court group, it is not difficult to find materials more or less available for the hymn book, even though no such use occurred to the writers. Herbert delighted in sacred song, often singing his own pieces to the viol. His actual connection with Hymnody came through the appearance in 1697 of *Select Hymns from Mr. Herbert's Temple*, in which a C.M. recension of some of his verses was attempted, and through his later influence upon the Wesleys. In Donne's poetry English devotional verse recovered something of the churchly and Catholic spirit which had been repressed in the Church of England, and this Herbert inherited from Donne. But neither sought or found the plane on which the con-

⁶⁰ See E. Farr's preface to his reprint of *The Hymnes and Songs* in the "Library of Old Authors".

⁶¹ Two have been rescued, and have found a modest place in modern use:—"Come, O come, with pious lays", and "Behold the Sun that seemed but now". These are perhaps Wither's best.

gregational Hymn moves. Perhaps Vaughan, who learned his spirituality from Herbert, came the nearest of the three to the spirit and form of the Hymn.

But after the Restoration, with the palpable decadence of the newly restored Psalmody in the Church of England, as also among nonconformists, and with the feeling after hymns that was in both English and Scottish air, there came a decided change in the aim and character of devotional verse. The metrical Psalm, though it was to linger, had played its part: the paraphrase gave little satisfaction to the conscious or unconscious feeling after hymns; and, with the new demand, devotional feeling and homiletic intent expressed themselves in English hymns. It is likely that the revival of the 'Catholic' element in Anglicanism, expressed in Donne's and Herbert's poetry, played some part in this change by turning the attention of many back to the old church Hymnody of the office books and to the English versions of it always kept extant in England by Roman Catholic poets and in current books of private devotions. Jeremy Taylor's *The Golden Grove, or a Manual of Daily Prayers and Letanies fitted to the days of the week*, (1655) is itself Primerwise, and its hymns are "Festival Hymns according to the manner of the Ancient Church". Taylor, it is true, did not succeed in finding the plane of the congregational Hymn, but it will appear that the same influences were not wanting upon some of the earliest of his successors who did.

With Crossman (1664) and Ken (c. 1674) in the English Church, and Austin (1668) who had left it for the Roman, we may begin that succession of modern English hymn writers which has never failed up to the present time.

Samuel Crossman was one of the ejected ministers of 1662, but soon afterward he conformed, and became Dean of Bristol. In 1664 he published *The Young Man's Monitor*, to which was appended (with separate pagination) *The Young Man's Meditation, or some few Sacred Poems upon select Subjects and Scriptures*. These are in the

Psalm metres, and are clearly hymns. That they were thought more likely to be read than sung we may infer from the motto used: "A Verse may find him whom a Sermon flies." Two of these hymns were brought to modern notice by Lord Selborne, and are found in current hymn-books.⁶² Crossman's work suggests Puritan rather than Catholic influences.

A striking group of thirty-nine hymns⁶³ appeared in John Austin's *Devotions, in the ancient way of Offices: with Psalms, Hymns and Prayers; for every day in the week, and every holiday in the year* (Paris, 1668). It was a most influential book, of which four editions preserved its Roman form; and which, modified twice for Anglican use, was reprinted as late as 1856. Except for two or three from Crashaw the hymns are original,⁶⁴ and give Austin a distinguished place among the earliest English hymn writers. There is ample evidence that these fervid hymns found immediate acceptance beyond the bounds of Austin's own Church. As we shall see, they were at once appropriated by those endeavoring to introduce Hymnody into the Church of England.

Thomas Ken had been educated at Winchester College under the Puritan regime, and returned to it in some capacity in 1665. In 1674 he published *A Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester College*, which contained the injunction: "Be sure to sing the Morning and Evening Hymn in your chamber devoutly." Though Ken's morning and evening hymns, now so well known, were not included in the *Manual* till after 1694, we may conclude that they were thus in use within a few years of the Restoration. In these we can hardly fail to recognize an independent beginning of modern hymn writing and singing; not developed out of Puritan precedents, but suggested by the models of the *Breviary*. The Latin hymns

⁶² "My Song is love unknown", and "My Life's a Shade, my daies".

⁶³ 43 in 3rd ed.: the additions perhaps by the editor.

⁶⁴ The best may be found in Lord Selborne's *Book of Praise*.

had been sung in the daily services of Winchester College up to the Reformation, and not improbably until Ken's own school days.⁶⁵ But in any case a *Breviary*, *Missal*, and several works on the Liturgy were among Ken's cherished books.⁶⁶ He was evidently attracted by the old church ritual, and his hymns have caught the tone of the Breviary hymns.⁶⁷

Bishop Ken's hymns have had a marked influence upon English Hymnody in the direction of simplicity, but it must not be assumed that they had immediate influence upon the situation of their time. The *Manual* was a popular little book, often reprinted, but it is to be remembered that the hymns were not in it till the close of the XVIIth century. They were apparently sung in the school from Ms. or printed sheets, and only in 1692 were published in a pamphlet without Ken's knowledge or approval.⁶⁸ Until then at least they could not have been widely known.

Richard Baxter, an ejected minister of 1662, has left on record⁶⁹ his enthusiasm for Psalm singing, and left also an unpublished version of the Psalms.⁷⁰ But his *Poetical Fragments* of 1681 contained several original hymns. They were intended for singing, with the stanzas numbered, and a reference of each hymn to the appropriate Psalm-tune. While his contribution to modern Hymnody is but small, his figure seems to have stood for something like a centre of the Restoration Hymn movement, as the close friend of Mason and apparently the begetter of Barton, who traces his work to Baxter's request that he versify the *Te Deum*.⁷¹

The work of John Mason, rector of Water-Stratford, was at the time far more influential than Ken's. He pub-

⁶⁵ See E. H. Plumptre, *Life of Thomas Ken*, n. d., vol. i, p. 34.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, appendix ii, p. 297.

⁶⁷ Ken plainly knew also Sir Thomas Browne's bedside hymn in *Religio Medici*, "The night is come, like to the day".

⁶⁸ See Dr. Julian in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 2nd. ed., p. 1670.

⁶⁹ Epistle to the Reader in *Poetical Fragments*, 1681.

⁷⁰ Printed in 1692.

⁷¹ See "Epistle" in his *Two Centuries*

lished in 1683 *Spiritual Songs, or Songs of Praise to Almighty God upon several occasions. Together with the Song of Songs . . . paraphrased in English verse.* To this, in 1693, the inferior *Penitential Cries* of his friend Thomas Shepherd were added.

Mason's preface is a call to sing God's praises, and the songs are in the C.M. of the Psalm book, and numbered as in a hymn book.⁷² They are not paraphrases, but free hymns, and it is curious to note the effort to connect them at least mechanically with the strict paraphrases of Solomon's Song.

Mason worked within the limits of the Church of England, but his close friendship with Baxter and the association of his work with that of the nonconformist Shepherd, indicate no doubt his real position and sympathies. The great circulation and influence of his hymns was among nonconformists. His book was in its 8th edition at the date of the appearance of Watts's *Hymns*. Mason's work had a great influence on Watts, and must be credited with a considerable share both in moulding and in popularizing the English Hymn.

It thus appears that between the dates of the Restoration and the Revolution there arose a not inconsiderable group of original hymn writers, whose work in volume, in character, and in influence, counted for something in the history of the English Hymn. It is clear that these earlier writers deprive Dr. Watts of that extreme originality often ascribed to him as "The father of the English Hymn". And yet we shall not be far out of the way if we regard this earlier group as the Predecessors of Dr. Watts. Their work was necessarily somewhat tentative, because it was not until the appearance of Watts' *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* in 1707 that the type of the English Hymn was definitely determined.

Philadelphia.

LOUIS F. BENSON.

⁷² "My Lord, my Love, was crucified", and "Now from the altar of my heart", are the most familiar.