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## THE BIBLE AS THE TEXT-BOOK IN SOCIOLOGY

We are accustomed to regard the Bible as *the* text-book, because the authority, in dogmatics and ethics. Our "Confession of Faith" (Chap. i. 10) says: "The Supreme Judge, by whom all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men and private spirits are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture." Our "Longer Catechism", in response to the inquiry, "What is the Word of God?" replies: "The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God, the only rule of faith and obedience." Our "Shorter Catechism", in answer to the question, "What do the Scriptures principally teach?" says: "The Scriptures principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man." Our "Form of Government" obliges all our church officers, ministers, ruling-elders and deacons, to affirm that they "believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice" (Chap. xiii. 4 and Chap. xv. 12). Our Book of Discipline says: "Nothing shall be the object of judicial process, which cannot be proved to be contrary to the Holy Scriptures, or to the regulation and practice of the Church founded thereon" (Chap. i. 4). Our "Directory for the Worship of God" in a footnote explanatory of its title is careful to state as follows: "The Scripture-warrant for what is specified in the various articles of this Directory, will be found at large in the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, in the places where the subjects are treated in a doctrinal form." These several

## THE HYMNODY OF THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL\*

### I

#### IN WHITEFIELD'S CIRCLE

The separation on doctrinal grounds of the Wesleys and George Whitefield in 1741 proved to be a permanent division of the XVIIIth century Revival forces into Methodists and Evangelicals. Whitefield, by reason of his flaming zeal and influence over men, must be regarded as the leader on the Calvinistic side, but he had nothing of Wesley's impulse and ability to organize his followers, and indeed no ambition beyond that of preaching the gospel far and wide. Contemporary observers and critics saw no distinction between Methodists and Evangelicals, even regarding Whitefield as the originator and leader of Methodism.<sup>1</sup> But by the participants themselves the line of theological demarcation was keenly felt from the beginning; and as the Revival progressed each party tended to develop its peculiar methods and even to make a separate sphere of operations. As the Revival extended into the Church of England, the Evangelical clergy came to resent the imputation of Methodism and to lament its nonconformity to parochial order.<sup>2</sup>

There was no one on the Evangelical side who shared to the full John Wesley's deep sense of the importance of the Hymn, his delight in Hymn singing, or his skill in administering it as a Christian ordinance; and certainly no one who equalled Charles Wesley in the facility and felicity of his Hymn writing. Nevertheless the Evangelical Revival

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\* Being the fifth 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. The sixth (and concluding) lecture has already appeared in this REVIEW, Vol. viii (1910), pp. 353-388.

<sup>1</sup> So Tindal described Whitefield in his *Continuation of Rapin's History of England*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. H. Overton, *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. London, 1900, pp. 45 ff.

caught and retained something of the glow of Methodist Song, developed its own Hymn writers, and established the permanent lines of Evangelical Hymnody. Most of all, it exercised an influence on the general extension of Hymn singing more immediate and effective than that of Methodism itself.

Whitefield had shared in the use of Hymn singing by the Wesleys as an aid to evangelism. In his early ministry and preaching tours he made use of the metrical Psalms bound up with the Prayer Book, the *Psalms and Hymns* of Dr. Watts, or the Wesleyan Hymns, as one or the other type happened to be convenient or acceptable. It is not clear that he was a writer of Hymns, but he made some use of manuscript Hymns adapted to special themes or occasions.<sup>3</sup> Like Wesley he encouraged also social Hymn singing as an act of devotion or even as a witness-bearing in unexpected places.<sup>4</sup> The practical influence of Whitefield's preaching, wherever he went, outside of such parish churches as suffered him, was overwhelmingly in favor of the singing of Hymns as distinguished from metrical Psalms. This was not only from the force of his personal example in using Hymns freely, but because the evangelical fervor he aroused demanded an evangelical response from his auditors. His influence in this respect was widespread; and we have already noted its part in bringing about "The Era of Watts" in American Churches.

A number of the preachers associated with Whitefield became themselves Hymn writers. John Cennick, while still assisting him, published his *Hymns for the Children of God in the days of their pilgrimage*. By J. C. (in 3 parts. London, 1741-42); and *Sacred Hymns for the use of Religious Societies. Generally composed in dialogues* (Bristol, 1743). Many of these Hymns commended themselves to

<sup>3</sup> See the hymn "for her Ladyship" in *The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon*, ed London, 1844, vol. i, p. 117: and that in L. Tyerman, *Life of George Whitefield*, London, 1877, vol. ii, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> Tyerman, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 241.

Whitefield, and some are still widely known and sung.<sup>5</sup> To the later collection, Joseph Humphreys, a co-worker, contributed six Hymns.<sup>6</sup> Cennick also introduced into some of the societies classes for Hymn singing patterned after the "choirs" of the Moravians, to whom his heart already turned.<sup>7</sup> In 1742 Robert Seagrave published his *Hymns for Christian worship: partly composed, and partly collected from various authors* (London: 4th ed., 1748); of which 45 were original. The first ("Now may the Spirit's holy Fire") Whitefield afterwards made the opening hymn of his own collection; but only "The Pilgrim's Song" ("Rise my Soul, and stretch thy Wings") can be said to have survived.<sup>8</sup> Seagrave was in Anglican orders, and in his preface denies the divine prescription of Psalm singing. Just at the point of leaving Whitefield for the Moravians William Hammond published his *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* (London, 1745). His Hymns are of merit,<sup>9</sup> and numerous versions of Latin Hymns anticipated by nearly a century the revival of Protestant interest in Latin Hymnody.

Seagrave's book was prepared for his congregation at Loriner's Hall, which he was Sunday evening lecturer for many years, but it was used more widely. It is likely that all these collections had more or less use in the societies, or at the temporary Tabernacle at Moorfields; but when the new Tabernacle was opened in 1753, Whitefield felt that he should have a hymn book of his own. It appeared as *Hymns for social worship, collected from various authors, and more particularly design'd for the use of the Tabernacle Congregation, in London. By George Whitefield,*

<sup>5</sup> Among them, "Children of the heav'nly King", "Jesus, my All, to Heav'n is gone", "E'er I sleep, for ev'ry Favour", "We sing to Thee, Thou Son of God" and "Brethren let us join to bless".

<sup>6</sup> Among them, "Blessed are the sons of God".

<sup>7</sup> See Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. ii, p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> Seagrave's Hymns are highly regarded by Josiah Miller, *Singers and Songs of the Church*, 2nd ed., London, 1869, pp. 152, 153, and have been reprinted by Daniel Sedgwick.

<sup>9</sup> "Awake, and sing the song", and "Lord, we come before Thee now", are arranged from longer Hymns in this book.

*A.B., late of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon. London: printed by William Strahan, and to be sold at the Tabernacle, near Moorfields. M DCC LIII.*<sup>10</sup>

The Countess of Huntingdon had 'turned Methodist' under the influence of her sister-in-law, Lady Margaret Hastings, who married Benjamin Ingham, one of Wesley's preachers; and became a member of the society meeting in Fetter Lane. She was especially moved by Whitefield's preaching. On his return from America in 1748, she exercised her right as a peeress to appoint him her chaplain, and opened her house in Park Lane that he might preach to semi-weekly gatherings of the aristocracy. She endeavored in vain the next year to reunite the Wesleys and Whitefield, and threw her influence on the side of Whitefield. It was his hope that Lady Huntingdon would assume charge of the societies he had founded, the management of which interfered with his freedom as an evangelist;<sup>11</sup> and it was largely through her encouragement that he undertook to erect the new and larger Tabernacle at Moorfields<sup>12</sup> for whose use his hymn book was prepared.

Whitefield's *Hymns* contained 132 "for public worship"; 38 "for Society and Persons meeting in Christian-Fellowship." It included Hymns by all four of his Hymn writing co-workers; notably of Cennick, the use of whose "Hymns in dialogue" was justified by a reference in the preface to the antiphonal singing of cathedral churches and of the "Celestial Choir".<sup>13</sup> A score of the Hymns of the Wesleys were included, but the Hymns of Watts predominated. Whitefield aimed at a standard of Praise combining the

<sup>10</sup>The book is described in *The Athenaeum* for Nov. 14, 1903, as "the excessively rare first edition of Whitefield's 'Hymns'", and mention made of a copy that "has just changed hands at the price of 2000 guineas". But the 1st ed. is far from being "excessively rare". The copy at the 6th McKee sale in May 1902, brought \$4.50: the writer's copy was purchased from an experienced London dealer in 1896 at half a guinea.

<sup>11</sup>*Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i, pp. 116, 117.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 202, 203.

<sup>13</sup>Preface.

doctrine and dignity of Watts with the evangelical fervor of Charles Wesley and his own colleagues. He thought Congregational Hymns "ought to abound much in Thanksgivings", and "be of such a Nature, that all who attend may join in them without being obliged to sing lies, or not sing at all". This was to confine his choice within what we have called Watts' "Common Ground", and to avoid the individualistic Wesleyan Hymns. It involved also some textual changes in the Wesleyan Hymns used; a freedom which Wesley bitterly resented.<sup>14</sup>

The actual use of Whitefield's hymn book by his own societies, and beyond them, was very large. Daniel Sedgwick has found thirty-six editions between 1753 and 1796.<sup>15</sup> Through it a number of Hymns now familiar, were given circulation. Its greatest permanent importance lay in its influence with the early Evangelical clergy of the Church of England, which made it the forerunner and even the model of the earlier group of hymnals in the Church of England.

## II

### IN LADY HUNTINDON'S CONNEXION

Whitefield did not found a new denomination, nor did Lady Huntingdon assume the leadership of his societies, which were destined to disintegration. Her aim was rather to improve the Church of England. She claimed the right to build private chapels, and to furnish them with preachers by appointing clergymen as her domestic chaplains; and by so doing built up gradually a "connexion" within the bounds of the Church. But the opening of her chapel in Spa Fields in 1779 was opposed. She was obliged to take shelter under the Toleration Act, to register her ministers as dissenting ministers, and her chapels as dissenting places of worship.<sup>16</sup> The parochial clergy among her chaplains (Romaine, Venn, Beveridge, and others) withdrew, and her work took shape as a new denomination, "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion".<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See his preface to the *Methodist Collection*, of 1780.

<sup>15</sup> Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. ii, p. 294.

<sup>16</sup> See her *Life and Times*, vol. ii, pp. 309 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 490.

Lady Huntingdon shared the Methodist feeling for Hymns; and in the meetings at her different houses she made Hymn singing familiar in those aristocratic circles into which Methodism itself made no effort to penetrate. From her social influence, her headship of her many chapels, and her intimate relations with church and dissent, she was especially well situated to aid the extension of Hymn singing; and she was an influence behind the movement to introduce Hymns into the Church of England. She concerned herself with the development of an Evangelical Hymnody, combining evangelical fervor with Calvinistic doctrine, primarily for her own chapels but having wider bearings.

Whether or not Lady Huntingdon contributed Hymns of her own composition is uncertain. As early as 1748 Doddridge, writing after preaching at her house, confesses to his wife:<sup>18</sup> "I have stolen a hymn, which I steadfastly believe to be written by good Lady Huntingdon." The opinion that she was a Hymn writer was shared by others, until it acquired the force of a tradition. Josiah Miller regarded it "as proved beyond doubt that she was the author of a few hymns of great excellence", and asserted that a known list of them was lost.<sup>19</sup> But such a claim is not supported by actual evidence.

Lady Huntingdon's part in the preparation of hymn books for her chapels is much more certain, though not wholly defined. It is doubtful if full materials for a history of the Hymnody of her Connexion now exist. The earliest hymn book now known is *A Collection of Hymns*. London. Printed for William Lee at Lewes, in Sussex, MDCCLXIV. It is compiled from James Allen's *Kendal Hymn Book* of 1754 and other sources, and has a Moravian rather than a Calvinistic flavor. "Society Hymns" and "Congregational

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<sup>18</sup> *Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge*, vol. v, London, 1831, p. 74.

<sup>19</sup> *Singers and Songs of the Church*, London, 1869, p. 183. The only hymn he mentions as hers is the well-known "O when my righteous Judge shall come". For all really known of its history, see Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 854.

Hymns" are distinguished; and the preface is an earnest evangelistic appeal, which, according to Miller,<sup>20</sup> was written by the Countess herself. It was followed by a series of local hymn books which plainly had her approval and probably her supervision. The first was *The Collection of Hymns sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, Bristol* (Bath, 1765, 3rd ed., 1770). The distinction between "Society" and "Congregational" Hymns was continued, but large use was here made of Watts, Charles Wesley, and current Calvinistic Hymn writers. Then came *A Collection of Hymns sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels in Sussex* (Edinburgh, n.d.; c. 1771). Then, next, *A Collection of Hymns sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels, Bath* (Bristol, c. 1774), in which the greater festivals are provided for, and there are fifty-one Hymns "for the Sacrament". There followed *The Collection of Psalms and Hymns, sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels, in Lincolnshire* (Gainsborough, 1778).

During these formative years Lady Huntingdon appears to have encouraged, or perhaps permitted, her ministers to make hymn books for their own use. Thomas Maxfield,<sup>21</sup> one of the first of Wesley's lay preachers, later in Anglican orders, had revolted from Methodism, and brought a considerable following over to the Calvinistic side. He printed *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns: extracted from various authors: with some never published before. London: printed and sold at his chapel in Rope-maker's Alley, Little Moorfields, &c., MDCCLXVI* (2nd ed., 1768; 3rd ed., 1778). He aimed in this to emphasize his newly adopted Calvinism. Its "Collection of Hymns" (250) and "Collections of Psalms" (150) are followed by a series of independently numbered groups "for the Nativity", for "New Year's Day", &c., evidently in imitation of Wesley's hymn tracts. The Revs. Herbert Jones and William Taylor were the preachers of the new Spa Fields Chapel whose erection

<sup>20</sup> *Singers and Songs*, p. 182.

<sup>21</sup> For Lady Huntingdon's relations with Maxfield, see her *Life and Times*, vol. i, pp. 33, 34.

occasioned Lady Huntingdon's withdrawal from the Church of England. They published for it in 1777 a *Collection* mostly compiled from the earlier books and from Whitefield's.<sup>22</sup>

But the time had come, in Lady Huntingdon's judgment, for a common hymn book for her now very numerous chapels.<sup>23</sup> It would promote uniformity, and the profits on its sale would help to support the work.<sup>24</sup> She personally undertook the selection of the Hymns, relying upon the assistance of her cousin, the Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley.<sup>25</sup> The new book appeared as *A select Collection of Hymns to be universally sung in all the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels. Collected by her Ladyship. London MDCCLXXX.* Its 298 Hymns represent in the main her choice of the Hymns already used in her chapels; and comprise a compact devotional presentation of the Calvinistic interpretation of the gospel of grace.<sup>26</sup> This collection stood the test of use, and the maintenance of it in its integrity, became a matter of loyalty to the Countess. Supplements were added in 1796 and 1808, after her death; and in view of numerous "surreptitious editions", more or less incorrect, the book was copyrighted by her Trustees.<sup>27</sup> Some independent supplements followed: that of Thomas Young (*The Beauties of Dr. Watts, &c.*) in 1819; the *Psalms and Hymns* of Joseph Sartain in 1842; the Appendix of "G. H." of Worcester in 1848; and Thomas Haweis' *Carmina Christo* in 1792 and in later reprints. In 1854 a new hymn book appeared by order of the Conference as *The Countess of Huntingdon's*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 306.

<sup>23</sup> There were over 80 at the date of her death.

<sup>24</sup> Preface of 1808.

<sup>25</sup> *Her Life and Times*, vol. ii, p. 201, note.

<sup>26</sup> Nos. 62-64, "The Joy of Faith", from Toplady's *Psalms and Hymns* of 1776:

"How happy are we,  
Our election who see,

And can venture our souls on Thy gracious decree"

is an anti-Wesleyan presentation of the grounds of evangelical joy, set forth in the Wesleyan rhythm.

<sup>27</sup> Preface of 1808.

*Connexion Hymn Book*, and this also has been supplemented by the now dwindling denomination (*The Connexion Hymn Book with Supplement*, 1865).

Lady Huntingdon was intimate with the Wesleys, the hostess of Zinzendorf, the friend of Watts and Doddridge, and the center of the group of Hymn writers developed on the Calvinistic side of the Revival, whether of Whitefield's following or her own, or remaining, like Toplady, in the established Church. Of her immediate circle, her cousin Walter Shirley contributed several Hymns to her *Collection*, and is still remembered for his "Sweet the moments rich in blessing", a recast of a hymn by James Allen, and appearing in the 1770 edition of the *Bristol* collection. A more copious writer was Thomas Haweis, whose Hymns appeared as *Carmina Christo; or Hymns to the Saviour* (Bath, 1792). This book of Haweis was regarded by many as a companion to her Ladyship's *Collection*, and was often bound up with it. From it come his familiar Hymns: "From the cross uplifted high", "Enthron'd on high, almighty Lord!", and "O Thou, from whom all goodness flows". Lady Huntingdon's concern for the Calvinistic Methodist movement in Wales brought her the friendship of William Williams, its chief Hymn writer. Williams had also printed in early life an attempt at Hymn writing in English, *Hosannah to the Son of David; or Hymns of Praise to God* (Bristol, 1759). It is claimed<sup>28</sup> that after seeing this book Lady Huntingdon induced him to prepare his *Gloria in Excelsis: or Hymns of Praise to God and the Lamb* (Carmarthen, 1772). It is certain that she included a number of Hymns from this book in her *Collection*, including "O'er those gloomy Hills of Darkness", a forerunner of the later Missionary Hymnody. His "Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah" (first written in Welsh), was printed as a leaflet for use by the students of Lady Huntingdon's college and included in the *Collection* for Sussex (c. 1771); being thus started on its great career.

To develop and maintain an interest in Hymn singing,

<sup>28</sup>E. Morgan in Daniel Sedgwick's reprint of Williams' two publications as above, London, 1859, p. x.

on the Calvinistic as on the Methodist side of the Revival, demanded attention to its musical interests, if only to conquer the lethargy resulting from the degraded ideals and methods of Church of England Psalmody. Whitefield had no special gift for musical leadership, but Lady Huntingdon was interested in music and not satisfied merely to adopt the Wesleyan tune books. She knew most of the prominent musicians, including Handel, and included the words of the choruses of his *Messiah* in her *Collection*. This suggests her ambitions for her chapel services, but the withdrawal of these anthems from later editions indicates a conclusion that they were beyond the available musical resources. She engaged Giardini, the great violinist of her day, to compose some tunes for her chapels,<sup>29</sup> and secured others from Giordani, another Italian musician in London, with a very similar name. At her request, the younger Charles Wesley, whose musical career she had assisted, composed a tune for her favorite "In Christ my treasure's all contained".<sup>30</sup> Among her chaplains Thomas Haweis was the most musical, and composed tunes published after her death as *Original Music suited to the various metres*. The curious oblong shape assumed by the Connexion hymn books has not been explained, but may have been adopted as convenient for printing tunes to be bound up with them.

### III

#### SOME BY-STREAMS OF HYMNODY

Several by-streams of Hymnody can be conveniently traced from this point.

Benjamin Ingham, Lady Huntingdon's brother-in-law, had been the Wesleys' fellow-voyager to Georgia, and on his return became an evangelist. He turned over to the Moravians many societies he founded in Yorkshire and

<sup>29</sup> "Is it true that Lady Rockingham is turned Methodist? It will be a great acquisition to the sect to have their hymns set by Giardini." Horace Walpole, June 25, 1768, in Toynbee ed. of his *Letters*, vol. vii, Oxford, 1904, p. 205.

<sup>30</sup> Her *Life and Times*, vol. i, p. 230.

adjacent counties, but ultimately organized his followers as a new sect (Inghamites), making a sort of bishop of himself and ordaining his preachers. He published for them *A Collection of Hymns for Societies*. Leeds: printed by James Lister, 1748. Of its 88 Hymns 15 are from Watts, 8 from the Wesleys, 5 from Cennick: his own share is undetermined. Later a group of his helpers put forth *A Selection of Hymns for the use of those that seek, and those that have redemption in the blood of Christ*. Kendal: printed by Tho. Ashburner. MDCCLVII (2nd ed. with appx., 1761). James Allen and Christopher Batty were the largest contributors, and the flavor of the whole is Moravian. Much of its contents is doggerel.<sup>31</sup> A year later Ingham sent Batty and Allen northward to inquire into a movement inaugurated by John Glas. They returned as converts to the Glassite discipline and theology, and in the disputes and disruption that followed the Inghamite connexion was almost completely wrecked.

The Rev. John Glas had been deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1728. He formed at Perth and elsewhere churches aiming to revive primitive discipline, with such ordinances as feet washing, the love feast and community of goods. In public worship they were Psalm singers, but for their fellowship meetings were composed *Christian Songs*, first appearing at Edinburgh, 1749. Its 38 songs increased in number with each new edition, the fifth (1775) having 95 songs and 11 "elegies". The eighth (1794) added a second part of 25 songs, enlarged to 114 in the fourteenth edition of 1872. An edition printed for the Edinburgh congregation in 1875 was little more than a reprint of the first part of the 1794 edition. Most of the songs were on themes already familiar, but many show more than the usual lyrical feeling and facility, and are

<sup>31</sup> The book is known as *The Kendal Hymn Book*. Allen's "Glory to God on high" came into wide use: his "While my Jesus I'm possessing" was the basis of "Sweet the moments rich in blessing". Christopher and William Batty afterwards printed *A Publication of Hymns, in two parts* (4th ed., Nottingham, 1803). Christopher's "Captain of thy enlisted host" had some use,

referred to current Scottish and English song-tunes. Beside its long popularity in Glassite congregations, now become few and small, the *Christian Songs* is of some interest as the source of Hymns in various collections.<sup>32</sup>

James Rely, a convert and afterward a preacher of Whitefield's, broke with him on doctrinal grounds, adopting very comfortable views of the union of the whole race with the Redeemer. His London society was probably the first attempt at organized Universalism, and kept its meeting house open till 1830.<sup>33</sup> He published at London in 1754 *Christian Hymns, Poems, and Spiritual Songs, sacred to the praise of God our Saviour*: the fifty-page poem and first book of Hymns by himself, the second by his brother John. It is easier to understand that these rude Hymns should support the charge of antinomianism brought against Rely, than that they should prove attractive in reading or worship. But they were reprinted in 1758, 1777, and 1791, and were associated with the Universalist movement in America. It was no doubt natural that each of these XVIIIth century sectarian movements should aim at having its own Hymnody.

As independent in spirit as these founders of sects, but in doctrine straitly Calvinistic, was Rowland Hill. At one in his views with Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon, an imitator of the former's methods and associated with the latter's work, he was as unwilling to become the colleague of either as unable to keep to the lines of the Church of England, of which he was an ordained clergyman. After an itinerant ministry of twelve years, he founded in London the famous Surrey Chapel. During a fifty years' ministry

<sup>32</sup> These can be traced through Julian's *Dict. of Hymnology*, art. "Scottish Hymnology", pp. 1030 f. Glas' son-in-law Robert Sandeman came to Boston in 1764, and established churches known as Sandemanian in several towns. For their history see *The New England Magazine*, April, 1896, art. "Sandemanians". A hymn book for their use appeared as *Christian Songs; written by Mr. John Glas, and others. The seventh edition Perth, printed: Providence, reprinted. MDCCLXXXVII.*

<sup>33</sup> Richard Eddy, "The Universalists" in *American Church History Series*, vol. x, p. 349.

there, with some use of church formularies but without episcopal sanction, he exerted an influence in popularizing Hymn singing that was not unfelt in the Church itself. Hill had published at London in 1774 *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, chiefly intended for the use of the poor*; and on opening Surrey Chapel in 1783 printed for it *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, chiefly intended for public worship* (M. Pasham, 1783). He believed in the sacred use of popular melodies, and his organist, B. Jacob, coöperated with him, as appears from a *Collection of Hymn Tunes* (c. 1800). His hymn "When Jesus first, at Heav'n's command", set to "Rule Britannia", with which he stirred the hearts of the Volunteers during the Napoleonic wars, was long remembered.<sup>34</sup> An early Sunday school worker, Hill also popularized the ideal of a Children's Hymnody. Jacob prepared for him a tune book for Watts' *Divine and Moral Songs*, and Hill himself published *Divine Hymns attempted in easy language for the use of children* (and revised by Cowper: 1st ed., 1790); *A Collection of Hymns for children* (1808); and *Hymns for schools* (1832). As a Hymn writer, Hill was of Watts' school; and the prefaces of his various collections show that he contributed to them much more material than can now be identified. Of the Hymns that were new in one or other edition of the *Collection* of 1783, "Cast thy burden on the Lord", "We sing His love who once was slain", and "With heavenly power, O Lord, defend", are in common use to the present time.

#### IV

### IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

#### I. INTRODUCTION OF HYMN SINGING BY THE EVANGELICALS

Both the Wesleys and Whitefield had proposed an evangelistic movement within the Church of England. It is difficult to conceive the reshaping of the Church that would have resulted, had they been allowed to fulfil their purpose.

<sup>34</sup> It is in William James, *Memoir of the Rev. Rowland Hill*, 3rd ed., London, 1845, p. 349.

In fact their gospel, their methods, and most of all their "enthusiasm", aroused general hostility, and closed the parish churches against the "New Light" and the new Song it inevitably awakened. There were nevertheless in the ranks of the clergy some minds open to evangelical impressions, and the actual effect of the Revival was to develop in the Church of England an Evangelical Party.

The early Evangelicals were Calvinists, in sympathy with Whitefield. They moved in Lady Huntingdon's circle, and were thus in direct contact with the new Hymnody. Some of them, like Beveridge of Everton, and Grimshaw of Ha-worth, had control of their own churches; but, in London especially, the Evangelicals were dependent upon Lady Hunt-ington's house, the chapels she erected, the proprietary chapels others were allowed by the bishops to establish as the only form of church extension then practicable, and the endowed "lectureships" in various parish churches where the nomination of the lecturer was in the hands of the parish-ioners.<sup>35</sup> By means of these the opportunity was found to preach an evangelical gospel within the Church of England; and also to introduce Hymn singing into its services, with-out having to encounter the opposition inevitable in parish churches with long-established traditions in favor of Psalm singing.

The first of the Evangelical leaders was the excellent William Romaine, hustled from place to place in London before he could obtain a hearing. As it happened, he was a conscientious opponent of Hymn singing in general and of the Hymnody of the Revival in particular. He held the extreme Calvinistic position as to the exclusive use of in-spired words in Praise, and was able to impose his views upon his own congregation. But he could not stay the rising tide of Hymn singing or make a breach between the Gospel and the Hymns of the Revival.

In Martin Madan the new Hymn singing found an effective sponsor. He and his friends had built the chapel in

<sup>35</sup> See G. R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*, London, 1908, pp. 60-63.

connection with the Lock Hospital, near Hyde Park Corner, which introduced Evangelicalism into the West End. For its use he prepared and published *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, extracted from various authors, and published by the Reverend Mr. Madan. London: printed by Henry Cock: and sold at the Lock Hospital, near Hyde Park, MDCCLX*. The book was plainly modelled on Whitefield's, and often uses his textual alterations. Its 170 Hymns were put together without arrangement, beyond a grouping of "Sacramental Hymns". There was nothing to distinguish it as being of the Church of England. Its choice of Hymns and bright and cheerful tone gave immediate satisfaction. For some six years it had the field to itself, reaching a second edition in 1763, a fourth in 1765, and a twelfth in 1787. Madan's knack in reconstructing the work of other hands made his book a permanent influence both for good and evil. A number of familiar Hymns still bear the marks of his editorial revision. Madan was a musician, and, to accompany his hymn book, printed *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, never published before, 1769. Edited by M. Madan.*<sup>36</sup> It was reprinted both in England and America, and included 33 tunes from his own hand. These florid strains, then new, gained much vogue: "Helmsley" and "Huddersfield" still survive. The contempt expressed for these tunes by the modern Anglican school views them out of perspective. If they tickled the ear, it was with a view of arousing faculties that slept through the droned notes of parish Psalmody and of quickening the pace of the singing. And in this they were successful.

The humorous and sturdy John Berridge was as early on the field as Madan, but less effective. He published *A Collection of Divine Songs, designed chiefly for the Religious Societies of Churchmen in the neighbourhood of Everton, Bedfordshire (1760)*. As may be inferred, Berridge was already a "Methodist", a field-preacher, and encourager of societies outside the parish churches. His

<sup>36</sup> Generally called "The Lock Collection".

collection is mostly Wesleyan, with some Hymns from Watts and some originals. With a change in doctrinal views Berridge became

"Not wholly satisfied with the collection [he] had published. The bells, indeed, had been chiefly cast in a celebrated Foundry, and in ringing were tunable enough, none more so, but a clear gospel tone was not found in them all. Human wisdom and strength, perfection and merit, give Sion's bells a Levitical twang, and drown the mellow tone of the gospel outright."<sup>37</sup>

With such convictions Berridge attempted to suppress his *Divine Songs*, buying and destroying every copy he could secure. During a six months' illness in the early seventies he composed a large number of Hymns. A few of these appeared in *The Gospel Magazine*, or elsewhere: most were laid aside till in 1785 he printed the whole body of them as *Sion's Songs, or Hymns: composed for the use of them that love and follow the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. By John Berridge, M.A., Vicar of Everton* (London). There were 342 Hymns of a homely type, without classification or even an index of first lines, but numbered as a hymn book. They were sung no doubt through the circuit of Berridge's preaching and societies, but made no marked impression on Evangelical Hymnody. New editions in 1805 and 1820 may have been as much designed for reading as for singing, as was J. C. Philpots' reprint of 1842.<sup>38</sup>

Seven years after Madan's *Collection* and Berridge's earlier hymn book, Richard Conyers, Vicar of Helmsley in Yorkshire, published *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, from various authors: for the use of serious and devout Christians of every denomination* (London, 1767). This is the third of the Church of England hymnals, revealing by its title how broad was the sympathy of the early Evangelicals. The printing of a fifth edition at York in 1788 shows

<sup>37</sup> Preface to *Sion's Songs*, 1785.

<sup>38</sup> There is a good account of Berridge and his Hymns in Thos. Wright, *Augustus M. Toplady, &c.*, London, 1911, pp. 252-60. Gadsby's *Memoirs of Hymn-Writers and Compilers* is fuller, but inaccurate. Berridge's best remembered Hymns are: "Jesus, cast a look on me", "O happy saints, who dwell in light", and "Since Jesus freely did appear" (in altered forms).

that it helped to extend and provide for Hymn singing at the North. Conyers followed Madan's lead and appropriated fully two thirds of the contents of Madan's *Collection*. He was however happy in getting his friend Cowper interested in his book and in securing contributions from that poet. His second edition of 1772 will always have a place as the original source of "There is a fountain filled with blood", and "O for a closer walk with God".

The fourth of the Evangelical series appeared in 1775. That was also the year of Romaine's philippic against the new Hymnody, in which he reveals the situation as he saw it:

"The hymn-makers . . . have supplied us with a vast variety, collection upon collection, and in use too, new hymns starting up daily—appendix added to appendix—sung in many congregations, yea admired by very high professors to such a degree, that the psalms are become quite obsolete, and the singing of them is now almost as despicable among the modern religious, as it was some time ago among the profane."<sup>39</sup>

Romaine, no doubt, is speaking not of the Church at large, but of the small group of churches affected by the movement which he represented at London, and De Courcy (whose recent appointment by Lord Dartmouth as Vicar of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, caused a great stir) represented at the West. The latter's *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, extracted from different authors . . . with a preface by the Reverend Mr. De Courcy* (Shrewsbury, 1775: 2nd ed., 1782), might seem a defiance of Romaine; for its distinction lay in the increased number of authors from whom it drew, adding for their accommodation "appendix to appendix" in its later editions.

But in the project of widening the area of the Evangelical Hymnody these later editions had been preceded, and probably influenced, by another hymn book of greater importance: *Psalms and Hymns for public and private worship. Collected (for the most part), and published, by Augustus Toplady, A.B., Vicar of Broad Hembury. London: printed*

<sup>39</sup> *An Essay on Psalmody*, London, 1775, pp. 104, 105.

for *E. and C. Dilly*, 1776. "It ought," Toplady said, "to be the *best* that has yet appeared, considering the great number of volumes (no fewer than between forty and fifty), which have, more or less, contributed to this Compilation."<sup>40</sup> In its 418 Hymns many Nonconformists, beside Watts, were represented, some of them new to Church of England hymn books. The book was occasioned by Toplady's removal to London, and was made for the evening congregation he had gathered in the Huguenot Chapel in Orange Street. Toplady regarded Hymn singing as an ordinance of God, "which He designs eminently to bless at this present day", and dismissed Romaine's protest against Hymns, of the year before, with contempt.<sup>41</sup>

Toplady's book was more pronouncedly Calvinistic than its predecessors. Such titles as "Original Sin", "Election Unchangeable", "Electing Grace", "Efficacious Grace", "Imputed Righteousness", "Preserving Grace", and "Assurance of Faith", show that the "Five Points" were carefully illustrated. In 1770, and the years following, the Calvinistic Controversy had reached its crisis, and none had contributed more to its heat and bitterness than Toplady. The separation of the two parties was final, and his book expressed his conviction<sup>42</sup> that the Church of England belonged on the Calvinistic side. In view of the extreme virulence of his attacks upon Wesley, Toplady's inclusion of a number of Wesleyan Hymns is noteworthy. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Toplady must have identified the authorship of these Hymns:<sup>43</sup> and it is to be added that

<sup>40</sup> Preface.

<sup>41</sup> "What absurdity is there, for which some well-meaning people have not contended?" *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Historic Proof of the doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England* (1774).

<sup>43</sup> It is quite certain that the editor of Toplady's *Works* could not distinguish even Toplady's Hymns from those of the Wesleys. He prints "Christ whose glory fills the skies" and "Father, I want a thankful heart", as Toplady's (vol. vi [1794], pp. 420, 428). This act of Row's is the sole basis for the charge that Toplady appropriated as his own some of Charles Wesley's Hymns (David Creamer, *Methodist Hymnology*, N. Y., 1848, pp. 45-47). Row in his turn is accused of

he carefully altered the text of such as he used.<sup>44</sup> And here, for the first time in a hymn book, "Rock of Ages" and "Jesu, Lover of my soul", stand side by side.

Even more unexpected, in view of the history of the Evangelical Party, is the aesthetic motive in Toplady's book. "God," so the preface opens, "is the God of *Truth*, of *Holiness*, and of *Elegance*. Whoever, therefore, has the honor to compose, or to compile, anything that may constitute a part of his worship, should keep those three particulars, constantly, in view." If only these quaint words could have been taken to heart by the Evangelical Party, Toplady's hymn book would not only have put into circulation the greatest English Hymn, but would have prevented that perverse ignoring of the aesthetic side of human nature which proved so serious a barrier to the spread of evangelical religion, and palliated the excesses of the Oxford Revival in the century following.

Toplady did not live to reprint his hymn book. A second edition, somewhat modified, appeared in 1787, edited by his friend Walter Row. For this there continued a demand sufficient to keep it in print during the first quarter of the XIXth century.

Toplady included only six of his own Hymns<sup>45</sup> in his *Psalms and Hymns*, though he had been a Hymn writer from his youth.<sup>46</sup> The larger number of his Hymns appeared at Dublin in 1759 as *Poems on Sacred Subjects*, and portray the stress of thought and feeling that accompanied his transition to Calvinistic views. Long afterward he printed 26 Hymns in *The Gospel Magazine*,<sup>47</sup> and five

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printing some of Toplady's Hymns as his own (Gadsby, *Hymn Writers*, 4th ed., 1870, p. 157).

<sup>44</sup> E.g. in "Blow ye the trumpet, blow", the Wesleyan "The all-atoning Lamb" becomes "The sin-atoning Lamb".

<sup>45</sup> They were "Holy Ghost, dispel our sadness"; "A debtor to Mercy alone"; "Thou fountain of bliss"; "Rock of Ages"; "What tho' my frail eye-lids refuse"; and "How happy are we".

<sup>46</sup> See Wright, *Augustus M. Toplady*, p. 23.

<sup>47</sup> In 1771, 1772, 1774, 1776. "Rock of Ages" appeared in March, 1776. There is a complete list in Wright, p. 100. *The Gospel Maga-*

others are traceable. Toplady's Hymns have been widely appreciated and largely used. In *Denham's Selection* (Baptist), a considerable body of them is still available, but on the whole the number in actual use is constantly diminishing. His polemic Hymns have died a natural death: his deep and sincere Hymns of Christian experience invite a sympathetic reading rather than a congregational employment: and the conviction can hardly be resisted that his poetic inspiration and even metrical method were borrowed from Charles Wesley. His "Rock of Ages" isolates itself from the body of his work in its impressiveness and usefulness, and maintains its place at the head of English Hymns.

Mention must also be made of the *Select Psalms and Hymns* of David Simpson (Macclesfield, 1776; 2nd ed., 1780; new ed. 1795). It was made for the great congregation in the church built for him at Macclesfield after the rector of the parish church had thrown him bodily out of his pulpit; and is chiefly notable for the new Hymns it introduced and for the inclusion of anthems.

We thus have before us the first group of Church of England hymn books. Their dates of publication cover only seventeen years, and they have much in common. Generally entitled *Psalms and Hymns* they show no concern with the old metrical Psalmody. They are collections of Hymns, gradually expanding from the 170 of Madan to the 600 and over of Simpson. The Hymns are thrown together without arrangement and without indications of their authorship, and there are no musical notes or suggestions. From the prefaces we may infer that Madan stood alone among the editors in giving attention to the musical side. In the body of Hymns also, there was much that was common to the books. Watts, and to a less degree the Wesleys and Joseph Hart, furnished a nucleus and a considerable share of their contents. Watts' followers, especially Doddridge and the new Baptist Hymn writers, were drawn upon; and also the group more or less affiliated with *Whitezine*, the source of so many evangelical Hymns, ran from 1766 to 1772, and was revived in 1774. Toplady became its editor at the end of 1775.

field or using *The Gospel Magazine* as their medium of publication. Of the editors themselves, only Toplady and Berdridge contributed Hymns of note, but Newton and Cowper offered their first-fruits.

The group of hymn books shows a very determined purpose to introduce Hymn singing and great activity in providing materials for it. They do not of course represent the Church but a small party within it. The new movement was an intrusion of the outside Revival forces. The Hymnody showed its revival origin and character in the evangelistic note, in its concern with experimental religion, and its warmth amid chilling surroundings; and once within the dikes, revealed it yet further by its obliviousness of principles and practices distinguishing church from dissent, and its subordination of the sacramental side of religion. Inspired as it was by a Calvinistic movement the Hymnody was inevitably consistent with Calvinism. This showed itself negatively in its omissions or alterations of Methodist Songs. Positively it was in general content to express a deep sense of sin, an entire dependence on God for deliverance and the discovery of his method in Scripture. With Toplady came more of the terminology and specific statements of Calvinism. It is from this adhesion to the principles of the Revival rather than of the Church of England that these early hymn books derive their larger import; for they helped to establish the foundations of an Evangelical Hymnody not only within but beyond the Church of England.

## 2. "OLNEY HYMNS": THE EVANGELICAL MANUAL

In line with the earlier Evangelical hymn books, but an event important enough to stand alone, came the publication in 1779 by John Newton, then curate of Olney, of 280 of his own Hymns and 68 of his friend William Cowper, under the title of *Olney Hymns, in three Books. Book I. On select texts of Scripture. Book II. On occasional subjects. Book III. On the progress and changes of the spirit-*

ual life (London: W. Oliver, 1779). Both men had contributed Hymns to *The Gospel Magazine*, and to one or other of the Evangelical hymn books. Newton had appended eighteen pages of "Hymns, &c." to his *Twenty-Six Letters on Religious Subjects* of 1774.<sup>48</sup> As early as 1771 Newton proposed to Cowper that they jointly compose a volume of Hymns, partly from "a desire of promoting the faith and comfort of sincere Christians", partly "as a monument to perpetuate the remembrance of an intimate and endeared friendship".<sup>49</sup> Before the work had proceeded far, Cowper was prostrated by brain trouble, and Newton ultimately completed it alone.

The Hymns were conceived in the very spirit of their time and surroundings. From them we could reconstruct the actual working of the Revival in an English parish under Evangelical leadership; and they may be regarded as bringing the Hymnody of the Evangelical Revival to a close. In them the offices of the Prayer Book yield to the sermon, the Church Year is superseded by the civil, the sacraments are subordinated, and the Revival method expresses itself in the evangelical theology, the strenuous activity in the sphere of individual emotion, the didactic element employed to instruct and edify the simple believer, and the expository dealings with Scripture. Many of the Hymns had been actually a part of the revival services at Olney, being written for special occasions, or to be sung after some special appeal from the pulpit, or to be made the theme of an exposition by Newton in the prayer meetings held at the Great House.<sup>50</sup>

In the making of these Hymns Cowper, as long as he was able, wrought with the feeling and craftsmanship of a true poet, and clothed them with the tender charm of his own spirit. Newton poured into them the pulsing life of an intense and commanding personality, and proved himself

<sup>48</sup> Including Cowper's "God moves in a mysterious way", and his own "While with ceaseless course" and "I asked the Lord".

<sup>49</sup> Preface, p. vi.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. (Diary, Dec. 6, 1772) "Expounded my new hymn at the Great House on the subject of a burdened sinner". Josiah Bull, *John Newton*, London, n.d., p. 183.

capable at his best of producing great Hymns. When his inspiration failed it was like him to have "done his best" to fill the spaces left by his friend's silence. And even when most prosaic and homiletical Newton's work has the quality of being alive and the gift of appealing to other minds. Indeed the *Olney Hymns* are to be taken as a whole,<sup>51</sup> and measured by the unity of the impression they created. Their appeal was immediate, and to an unusual degree permanent. Even in our own day, Faber, the Roman Catholic Hymn writer, speaks of their "acting like a spell upon him for years, strong enough to be for long a counter-influence to very grave convictions, and even now to come back from time to time unbidden into the mind".<sup>52</sup>

This influence of *Olney Hymns*, securing for it so many reprintings<sup>53</sup> and so wide a circulation, was much more than that of a hymn book. In form the book was available for congregational use (being arranged precisely as Watts' *Hymns* had been), though some of its materials were not suitable. To what extent it was so employed is not now discoverable. But it furnished many with their favorite songs and devotional reading. It played a part among Evangelicals akin to that of Wesley's *Collection* of the following year among Methodists. It became a people's manual of evangelical doctrine and an instrument of spiritual discipline.

But the place of its Hymns in Hymnody itself is a very considerable one. They were inevitably recognized as a very notable accession to the store available for Evangelical use. They began at once to furnish materials for the hymn books. The proportion of them that became familiar and endeared to various denominations is surprisingly large. In

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<sup>51</sup> The best study of the *Olney Hymns* is Montgomery's "Introductory Essay", written for Collins' Glasgow ed., and often reprinted. In his contentment with Cowper's poetic grace, Montgomery perhaps overlooks something of Newton's bluff virility.

<sup>52</sup> Frederick Wm. Faber, *Hymns*, preface to ed. of 1861.

<sup>53</sup> 3rd ed., 1783; 9th, 1810. It was kept in print during most, if not all, of the XIXth century. The numerous American reprints seem to have begun in New York in 1787 (Evans' *American Bibliography*, vol. vii, item 20588).

the Church of England a number won a place from which even the reconstructions of the Oxford Revival have been unable to dislodge them.<sup>54</sup> At the lowest estimate six must be accorded a classical position: three of Cowper's—"Hark my soul! it is the Lord", "Oh! for a closer walk with God", "God moves in a mysterious way", and three of Newton's—"Come, my soul, thy suit prepare", "Glorious things of thee are spoken", "How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds".

The Hymns exercised also a decided influence upon the Evangelical ideal of the Hymn, not so much in the way of modifying as in the way of confirming and deepening it. Like Charles Wesley's it was an influence favoring the use of Hymns as an expression of the most private experience, and like his again, Newton's method was autobiographical. If indeed he intended all his Hymns for public use, he was careless of Whitefield's dictum that Congregational Hymns should confine themselves to sentiments common to the singers. This inward-looking of "the old blasphemer" begat intense remorse and measureless self-contempt, and made the Hymn of Experience an instrument of self-reproach. In the same way Cowper's dreadful depression, and Newton's sympathy with him, tinged the *Olney Hymns* at times with the shadow of the cloud hiding the divine Presence. It can hardly be denied that the indiscriminate use of such materials by congregations introduced an element of unreality and morbidness into Evangelical Hymnody, from which it was slow to recover. On the other hand, Newton's perfect faith in the salvation offered, his glorying in its efficacy, his wonder at its grace, the tender note of his love for the Saviour, the exultation of his triumphant faith;—all these things entered into the warp and woof of the Evangelical Hymnody, and Newton's close relating of personal experience with the truths and narratives of Scripture became preëminently the accepted method of that Hymnody.

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<sup>54</sup> In the latest edition of *Hymns ancient and modern* there are six by Newton and seven by Cowper.

Any who were brought up in some one of the Evangelical churches, in the period after Watts' domination had passed, is likely to recall a number of Newton's Hymns, a few of Cowper's also, as inevitably associated with the gospel there proclaimed and the type of religion there practised.

### 3. MOVEMENTS TO INTRODUCE HYMNS IN THE MAIN BODY OF THE CHURCH

*Olney Hymns* marks a point of transition in Church of England Hymnody. It was the last of a group of books bringing the Evangelical Hymnody into the Church without remoulding or even rearranging it into accommodation with the Prayer Book system of parochial worship. It was to be followed by a group of books, still Evangelical, that aimed to adapt the new Hymnody to the methods and manners of the Church.

The point is thus a convenient one at which to turn from the small Evangelical Party to the main body of the Church where Psalm singing prevailed and the Prayer Book system was unimpaired by revival influences outside, in order to discover what progress had been made there in introducing the singing of Hymns.

In this main body there was no unity of feeling or purpose in regard to the use of Hymns in public worship.

(1) There were first the stand-fasts, who through the entire XVIIIth century maintained the position Bishop Beveridge had taken at its beginning, that the good estate of the Church was bound up with the continued use of the Sternhold and Hopkins version of the Psalms, and that the traditional method of singing them need not be disturbed. Outside of the Church Watts had successfully attacked the divine prescription of the Psalms, and the Hymns of himself and his school had largely displaced them in Non-conformist use. At the borders of the Church the Wesleys had disregarded Psalmody and instituted a popular Hymnody of feeling and experience. All these changes tended to strengthen the position of the metrical Psalm in the minds of the conservative and stiff churchmen, and led them to con-

stitute themselves special guardians of that metrical Psalm, originally the creation and the badge of Geneva. Psalmody had come to seem to them a characteristic part of the Prayer Book system and the Hymns a menace. The more widely Watts' Hymns spread, and the more fervid the Methodist Song grew, the more obvious it became that the Hymn was stamped with the hall-mark of dissent and, even worse, of "enthusiasm". The prejudice against Hymns in churchly circles grew very strong. Dr. Samuel Johnson plumed himself for having let it yield to a charitable impulse; writing of a poor girl he saw at Communion, "I gave her, privately, half a crown, though I saw Hart's Hymns in her hand".<sup>55</sup>

(2) There were the less extreme conservatives, just as anxious to maintain the old Psalmody, but who lamented the prevailing apathy fallen on the ordinance, and saw the force of the demand for Hymns suitable for holy days and occasions. Bishop Gibson had suggested the remedy in his *Directions given to the clergy* (1724) on his translation to London. He urged the great need of a better and heartier musical performance and laid out a "Course of Singing Psalms" covering the Sundays, Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and some Church occasions. The expedient was a good one and somewhat widely adopted; but it was also quickly appropriated by the advocates of Hymns. In 1734 "R. W." printed at Nottingham *The excellent use of Psalmody, with a course of Singing Psalms for half a year*, adding an appendix of twenty-eight Hymns for the festivals, the Communion, morning and evening, midnight, and funerals. Still later the Rivingtons reissued *The excellent use*, bound up with their tractate of (12) *Divine Hymns and Hymns taken from the Supplement to Tate and Brady's Psalms*.

In this group of conservatives Romaine belonged, as has appeared, and although foremost in adopting the theology of the Revival, was more strenuous than most in resisting

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in Boyd Carpenter, *Popular History of the Church of England*, p. 478.

its Hymnody. His *A Collection out of the Book of Psalms, suited to every Sunday in the year* (London, 1775), shows by its title that he followed Bishop Gibson's lead, but he went a step farther by adding notes on the evangelical interpretation of various Psalms. To us who look back it seems very plain that the addition of evangelical annotations to the "Singing Psalms" could not stay the intrusion of a pronouncedly evangelical Hymnody, any more than the appropriation of Psalms to Christian festivals could illustrate their full significance.

(3) There were those, and perhaps Romaine had no quarrel with them, who were fully persuaded that Hymns had a real function in the Christian life, and favored their use provided only they were not introduced into the stated church services. As early as 1727 there appeared *A Collection of Psalms, and Divine Hymns, suited to the great festivals of the Church, for morning and evening, and other occasions* (London; J. Downing, 1727). It was in all respects a hymn book, with the Hymns numbered for use, and included "a Table of Psalms on practical subjects, which may be of use to Parish-Clarks".<sup>56</sup> Notwithstanding this suggestive reference (on the title-page) to parish clerks, the preface opens with the declaration: "I have no thought of proposing the Use of any Part of this *Collection* in the Publick Service." Of hymn books, however, as of greater ventures, it is true that man proposes and Providence disposes. And it is not unlikely that some Parish clerks who consulted the Table were tempted to line out the hymns. The few Psalms in this book were from Denham and Patrick. The Hymns constituting the majority of its forty-nine pieces "were collected from several Books, some of which are not easy to be met with".<sup>57</sup> The little book was published cheaply for general distribution and for binding

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<sup>56</sup> This apparently unnoticed book preceded by ten years John Wesley's *Charlestown Collection*, which Dr. Julian calls "the first hymn-book compiled for use in the Church of England". *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 332.

<sup>57</sup> P. 8.

up with others of like size in a series printed by Downing "for promoting Christian knowledge and Practice". The practical effect of this book and others like it was undoubtedly to familiarize Hymn singing.

(4) There was also in the main body of the Church a constantly growing party of progress in Psalmody, whose plans for its improvement included some use of Hymns;<sup>58</sup> and whose efforts it will be convenient to distinguish as two parallel movements.

One of these was plainly suggested by the new and hearty Hymn singing of the Revival, and took shape in the cultivation of music in several of the charitable institutions of London. To furnish suitable tunes especially, a series of books was published in which "Psalms, Hymns and Anthems" were printed with equal freedom. Such an use of Hymns is partly explained by the 'Charity Hymns' and those written to grace special occasions in these institutions. In the case of the Lock Hospital, the musical movement coincided with the Evangelical. Its chapel was used not only by its inmates, but by a strongly contrasting West End Evangelical congregation who rented sittings.<sup>59</sup> The hymn book and tune book prepared for their common use by Martin Madan have already been noted.

At the "Asylum or House of Refuge for Female Orphans" at Westminster Bridge, the improvement of its music under William Riley took the form of antagonism to the tunes made popular by the Revival. His *Parochial Music Corrected* (1762) dwelt especially on the light fuguing tunes of the "Methodists", which were creeping into the Church through the "Lectureships" in parish churches that gave Evangelicals their opportunity. Nevertheless here as elsewhere the use of Hymns followed musical improvement. Riley's *Psalms, and Hymns for the Chapel of the Asylum or House of Refuge for Female Orphans* (n.d.; after 1762) included the words of the Hymns.<sup>60</sup> For the

<sup>58</sup> But not particularly the Hymns of the Evangelical movement.

<sup>59</sup> Balleine, *The Evangelical Party*, p. 61.

<sup>60</sup> Rev. Jacob Duché, the refugee rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia,

Foundling Hospital a series of books was published, beginning with *Psalms, Hymns and Anthems used in the Chapel of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children* (1774). It contained sixteen Hymns, including some of Addison's, and which by 1796 had increased to twenty-two. One of the Foundling Hymns, often appearing as a leaflet pasted in at the end of the 1796 edition, was our familiar "Praise the Lord! ye heavens adore Him". For the Magdalen Hospital five separate collections were printed, beginning with *The Hymns Anthems and Tunes with the Ode used at the Magdalen Chapel* (n.d.). This contains twenty-seven Hymns by Ken, Addison, Doddridge and others, including a version of *Dies Irae*. This was followed by *A Second Collection of Psalms and Hymns*;<sup>61</sup> *A Third*, and *A Fourth Collection of Hymns for the use of the Magdalen Chapel*. These were afterward republished as a single volume.

The singing of the inmates became a marked feature of the life of these institutions and something like a feature of London life itself; drawing the general public to the chapel services and to the united service held annually in one of the churches and later in St. Paul's. "Charity children" were, moreover, commonly distributed among the parish churches, to act as a choir, taking their Hymns with them. In this way they did much toward making Hymn singing familiar and popular; just as in our own day the Sunday schools, coming into the churches with their liturgical services, have so widely affected the ordinary worship of non-liturgical churches.

became chaplain of the Asylum in 1782 (C. Higham in *New Church Magazine*, London, Sept. 1896, p. 461). He is said to have edited the editions of 1785 and 1789 (W. T. Brooke in *Morning Light*, Nov. 16, 1895); and is credited with the authorship of three of the Asylum Hymns (*New Ch. Maga. ut supra*, pp. 464, 465). Duché preached Swedenborgian views, and one of these Hymns appears in *New Church hymnals up to the present day* (*Hymns for use of the New Church*, London, 1881, No. 575: "Come, love Divine! thy power impart".)

<sup>61</sup> There is suggestiveness in the advertisement it carries of its publisher's shop: "Where also may be had, Six favourite Hymns used at the Tabernacles of the Rev. Mess. *Whitefield* and *Wesley*".

(5) The other section of the progressive element was less free in its ways. It was more or less interested in musical improvement: the desired improvement in the subject matter of Psalmody it had found by introducing Tate & Brady's *New Version* (1696) into its parish churches. It was not interested in the Revival Hymnody nor in the hymn books of the Evangelicals, but favored supplementing the Psalms with a few Hymns for festivals and other church occasions. We have already described<sup>62</sup> the early embodiment of such desire in the *Supplement to the New Version*, first printed in 1700, with its paraphrases of canticles and six other Hymns increased to nine in 1708.

In 1741 John Arnold of Great Warley, Essex, printed a setting of the Psalms, in the Playford fashion, as *The Compleat Psalmist. In four books*; the fourth being "A Select Number of Divine Hymns on various occasions", mostly the festivals and Good Friday. He included one each from Ken and Watts and two from the Tate and Brady *Supplement*, and sixteen less familiar. Most of the Hymns were *de trop*, and were dropped out of later editions, but one, "Jesus Christ is ris'n to-day" (partly taken, like its stirring tune, from the earlier *Lyra Davidica* of 1708), ultimately attached itself to the *New Version*.

The *Supplement* itself was kept in print, and copies of Tate and Brady bearing dates up to the middle of the century occur with the *Supplement* bound in. Its Hymns were not therefore lost to sight; but the usual surviving copies of like dates have no Hymns. We may infer that many parishes using Tate and Brady grew disposed to rest satisfied with the good qualities of the Psalms themselves.

During the last quarter of the century there came some change in the situation. A disposition showed itself in what we may call Tate and Brady circles to make more use of the Hymns in the *Supplement*, and to facilitate such use by attaching them to the printed Psalters. The Rivingtons issued in 1779 a small tractate entitled *Hymns taken from*

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<sup>62</sup> See chap. ii.

*the Supplement to Tate and Brady's Psalter*, and an undated copy of the same has turned up which is thought to be earlier.<sup>63</sup> This tractate was intended to be inserted or bound in current copies of Tate and Brady. In a London trade edition of Tate and Brady of 1780, four Hymns selected from the *Supplement* appear printed at the end of the Psalms, following the Gloria Patri, with separate pagination, and headed simply as HYMNS. They are:

Come, Holy Ghost, Creator, come.  
 While Shepherds watch'd their flocks by Night.  
 Since Christ, our Passover, is slain.  
 Christ from the Dead is rais'd, and made.

In a Cambridge Press edition of 1782 a new selection of Hymns is printed at the end of the Psalms, reflecting something of the current Hymnody, and including only one hymn from the *Supplement*. They are:

High let us swell our tuneful notes (Doddridge).  
 Hark! the herald angels sing (Wesley).  
 Christ from the dead is rais'd, and made (Tate and Brady).  
 My God, and is thy table spread (Doddridge).  
 Awake, my soul, and with the sun (Ken).

In London trade editions of 1790 and 1792 all the above Hymns are printed, except "While Shepherds watch'd". In another London trade edition of 1790 are the four Hymns of 1780, with Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns on printed slips pasted in. The latter, and the Easter Hymn, "Jesus Christ is ris'n to-day", also appear on printed slips pasted in University Press editions. Thenceforward it became the rule to print a group of Hymns after the Psalms as though a constituent part of the Psalter, and this continued so long as the *New Version* was kept in print. By the beginning of the XIXth century the Clarendon Press had its distinctive selection consisting of fifteen of the sixteen Hymns<sup>64</sup> and metrical canticles of the *Supplement* of 1700, with "O Lord, turn not Thy face away" from the Appendix to the *Old Version*, and the four Hymns from the

<sup>63</sup> Catalogue of Charles Higham & Son, London, No. 503, October, 1911, item 1950.

<sup>64</sup> The Commandments, "God spake these words", being omitted.

Cambridge edition of 1782. The Cambridge Press selection differed by including all sixteen of the *Supplement* Hymns, and by adding (from about 1816) "Jesus Christ is ris'n to-day" and Ken's Evening Hymn; but some copies from the Cambridge Press had a smaller selection.

These facts and dates are fitted to correct some current impressions of the Hymns appended to Tate and Brady's *New Version*. It has been a sort of fashion to regard them as something negligible in the history of Church of England Hymnody. It is assumed that they owe their place to the mere whim of the printer, and that their consequent introduction into worship was quite fortuitous and even humorous. This familiar assumption appears to find its only support in a surmise of Charles B. Pearson, who, in an essay on "Hymns and Hymn-writers", says:

"The introduction of hymns for Christian seasons in particular services is due, probably, to 'the stationers' before the Revolution, and to the University printers in modern times, more particularly to one of the latter about half a century back, who, being a Dissenter, thought fit to fill up the blank leaves at the end of the Prayer-book with hymns suggested by himself,—a liberty to which, apparently, no objection was raised by the authorities of the Church at that day, and thus 'factum valet'."<sup>65</sup>

What the actual evidence seems to show is that the Hymns were added neither by dissenters nor by Evangelicals, but by the Prayer Book party itself, and that they were printed in the Psalters because they were already being used in the services, and with a view of avoiding the necessity of inserting the little booklets and printed slips containing them. Indeed their significance seems to lie in their direct connection with the original *Supplement* of 1700, as showing how the continuous demand of the churchly yet progressive element for a few liturgical Hymns to supplement the Psalms kept open a channel of its own digging for the introduction of Hymn singing into the Church of England.

It thus appears that in its own way and within its defined limits the Prayer Book party co-operated with the freer movements that were making a Hymn singing Church. Its

<sup>65</sup> *Oxford Essays*, 1858.

special contribution was in getting its Hymns printed in the Psalters as though a part of the authorized Psalmody. From this position they were never dislodged. And as the Psalters were ordinarily bound up with the Prayer Books, the Hymns became for all practical purposes a part of the Prayer Books themselves, even those distributed by the "S. P. C. K." Whatever the legal niceties as to authorization may have been, henceforward the opponents of Hymn singing—and they were many and bitter—were handicapped by the presence of the Hymns within the sacred covers of the Prayer Book itself.

#### 4. THE PERIOD OF COMPROMISE: "PSALMS AND HYMNS" IN PARISH CHURCHES

We now take up the Hymnody and hymn book making of the Evangelical Party from the date of *Olney Hymns* (1779). It was, as has been said, the last of the earlier series that had little to distinguish them from the hymn books of dissent; and the conservatives were justified if they regarded it as a somewhat extreme example of that type. Just how the Evangelical leaders regarded it is difficult to estimate. Most of them probably welcomed it for its Hymns; none certainly as the model for a church hymn book.<sup>66</sup> The series of hymn books immediately following might seem to indicate a reaction from the unchurchly tendencies of *Olney Hymns*. But their altered complexion in reality reflected the change passing over the Evangelical movement itself. Like Methodism it had begun within the Church but apart from the parochial order and worship. Its beginnings had been extra-parochial, and even to the end of the XVIIIth century its strength lay in proprietary chapels, endowed lectureships and other centres of influence that had a measure of freedom. But with the waning of the century the movement began to draw established parishes

<sup>66</sup> Its publication probably seems more notable to us who look back than it did to the Evangelical leaders of the time. Richard Cecil, in his authorized *Memoir of the Rev. John Newton* (ed. H. T. Warren, Finsbury, n.d., p. 26), makes only incidental mention of it.

within its control and to influence parishes not to be accounted Evangelical. The Evangelicals themselves moderated their views, sought a closer conformity to the order and manners of their Church, and became disposed to affiliate more with the moderate element of the Prayer Book party.

These changes favored first of all the extension of Hymn singing into the regular services of parish churches, and consequently a compromise with the accustomed order of Psalm singing in those churches, by which both Psalms and Hymns should have equal recognition and use in parochial "Psalmody". To provide for this the new series of Evangelical hymn books became not only in name but in reality collections of "Psalms and Hymns".

From *Olney Hymns* we pass at once to *Psalms and Hymns, collected by William Bromley Cadogan* (1st ed., 1785: 4th, 1803), rector at Chelsea and also at Reading. It contains a complete metrical Psalter, with 150 Hymns chosen and arranged in the earlier manner. There is a similar provision of Psalms in the *Psalms and Hymns* of John Venn (London, 1785) and in Basil Woodd's book of 1794, hereafter to be described. And, it may be added, Church of England hymn books continued to be "Psalms and Hymns" down to the Oxford Revival. These Evangelical leaders took as much pains as Romaine himself to provide Psalm versions that should maintain or revive an interest in Psalm Singing. One of them indeed, Richard Cecil, followed Romaine for a while. His *Psalms of David* (1785) is confined to canonical Psalms, the versions drawn from the best available sources, including Addison and Milton. Not until 1806 did he add *Hymns for the principal festivals of the Church of England*. His collection had reached a thirty-second edition by 1840. Thomas Robinson, in the hymn book made for his church at Leicester (before 1790) included nothing from either the *Old* or *New Version* of the Psalms. He may have been moved by associations of them with his unwelcomed coming to Leicester,

“when the choir bellowed the most unsuitable psalms instead of those which he instructed the clerk to announce”.<sup>67</sup>

The conjunction of Psalms and Hymns in parish worship did something to bring more closely together the two main agencies of Hymn singing—the Evangelicals, who cared most for Hymns, and the moderate Prayer Book element, which wished to retain Psalmody supplemented by Hymns for holy days and occasions. It remained for Basil Woodd, an Evangelical leader of the second generation,—not a rector but preacher and indeed proprietor of Bentinck Chapel, Marylebone,—to take a further step, and bring the two parties to something very like the unity of a common ground in Hymnody. His project was to adapt Hymnody to the Prayer Book system itself. He conceived the ideal of a hymn book that should be “the companion to the Book of Common Prayer”.

The book in which Woodd embodied his ideal appeared at London in 1794 as *The Psalms of David, and other portions of the Sacred Scriptures, arranged according to the order of the Church of England, for every Sunday in the year; also for the Saints' Days, Holy Communion, and other services*. The promise of the title was scrupulously fulfilled. Under the heading of each Sunday and holy day of the Christian year a metrical Psalm was designated to serve as the Introit provided for in the rubrics of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. Then followed one or more Hymns, adapted to the Epistle or Gospel or subject of the day. The whole was followed by selections of Hymns for Communion, Baptism and other church offices and occasions, and a few for general use in public worship. The selection of Hymns, from all the materials then available, was good, and in later editions some originals were added.

In a word this interesting book stamped Hymnody with the mark of the Church rather than of a party. It pointed the way of making Hymns a constituent part of the liturgical order rather than a formless body of song intruded from without under the Revival impulse. It was Woodd in 1794,

<sup>67</sup> Balleine, *The Evangelical Party*, p. 121.

and not Heber in 1826, who worked out the ideal of "A Hymnal Companion to the Prayer Book", and thus anticipated the form in which ultimately Hymnody came to be accepted by the straitest school of churchmanship as an enrichment of the service.

This is not to say that Woodd set up a model at once followed by succeeding editors. On the contrary the editor next succeeding was that uncompromising Evangelical, Charles Simeon of Cambridge, who trained so many evangelical preachers and by deed of trust constituted Evangelicalism as a distinct denomination within the bounds of the Church. Simeon sought every occasion to vindicate his "regard for the Liturgy and Services of our Church".<sup>68</sup> His real concern was for the sermon and for a Hymnody that would illustrate its doctrine and enforce its appeals. He published in 1795 *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*. It contained a much abridged selection of Psalms. Otherwise the book affiliates in contents and manner with the earlier Evangelical group. Its Hymns follow the subject of discourse, its "Time and Seasons" are Morning, Evening, Spring, Summer, Harvest, and so forth. Even Easter and Christmas appear only in the table of contents, and in this way: "*Christmas-Day. See Incarnation*". As more than a hundred scattered parishes came to be included in "The Simeon Trust", the use of his *Collection* was widespread and long continued.<sup>69</sup> It thus kept alive in these and doubtless other parishes a distinctively Evangelical Hymnody, in no way differing from that of dissenting bodies holding similar convictions.

The general trend was, however, otherwise. The influence of Woodd's more churchly conception, even in his own party appears, for example, in Biddulph's *Selection of Hymns accommodated to the service of the Church of England* (2nd ed., 1804); in Cecil's similar *Appendix* of 1806, already referred to; and in John Venn's *Appendix* of the

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Wm. Carus, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, chap. xii, 3rd ed., London, 1848, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>69</sup> The 13th edition appeared in 1837.

same year *Containing Hymns for the principal festivals of the Church of England; and for family and private use*. Venn's book was decidedly evangelical under its churchly frame work and its transparent expedient of "private" Hymns. He represented the famous "Chapham sect", the new missionary society and *The Christian Observer*; and his inexpensive little book introduced Hymns into many of the "country congregations" for whose use it was designed. In extending Hymn singing beyond the Evangelical pale, Woodd's book played a greater part.

But, in general, those concerned for the integrity of the Prayer Book system were not yet converted to the latter day Hymnody. They saw with dismay Hymn singing spreading from parish to parish, and new hymn books appearing on every side. Of these, during the first two decades of the XIXth century there were not less than fifty.<sup>70</sup> A number of them were designed for use in a single parish. Of those of more general type, the most important, not already mentioned, were: J. Fawcett's *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns from various Authors* (Carlisle, 1802; 4th ed., 1811); J. Kempthorne's *Select portions of Psalms and Hymns from various authors* (London, 1810); Thos. Cotterill's *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for public and private use* (Newcastle, 1810; 8th ed., Sheffield, 1819); and G. T. Noel's *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns from the New Version of the Church of England and others* (London, c. 1811).<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> The fullest, though incomplete, list is in Julian's *Dictionary*, pp. 333, 334.

<sup>71</sup> The hymn books of this period introduced a few new Hymn writers. To Kempthorne's book Joseph Dacre Carlyle contributed his Hymns including "Lord, when we bend before Thy throne". Cotterill wrote many for the various editions of his *Selection*, and they attained considerable use. To its 9th edition, John Cawood contributed, among others, "Hark! what mean those holy voices?" and "Almighty God, Thy word is cast". The most voluminous writer was William Hurn, who, while vicar of Debenham, published *Psalms and Hymns, the greater part original* (Ipswich, 1813), containing more than 250 of his own. Their number was greatly increased in his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (Woodbridge, 1824), after he had seceded from the church. During this

It seemed to the conservatives that a purely voluntary system of worship was intruding into, if not threatening to supplant, the Prayer Book system. "The importance which, in many places, attaches to the Hymn Book," said Bishop Marsh, "is equal, if not superior, to the importance ascribed to the Prayer Book."<sup>72</sup> The objections urged against the Hymn Book were mainly two: It may tend to introduce false doctrines or to undermine Church doctrine in the minds of those using it; or it may (as in some instances already) offend against reverence in worship by the "flippancy and vulgarity" of its contents.

There were, doubtless, elements of disorder, and even of danger, in this unchecked zeal for hymnal making. But the opposition took deeper ground and aimed at the total suppression of Hymn singing itself as introduced and practised without even the shadow of authority. Woodd, in his preface, had cited the uniformity statute of Edward VI, authorizing the use of "any Psalm or Prayer taken out of the Bible at any due time", and Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559, permitting "an hymn or such-like song" "in the beginning or in the end of common prayer". He claimed also that the prose Hymns and *Veni Creator* in the Prayer Book involved an authorization of the singing of Hymns. Some of his successors endeavored to strengthen their cause by securing permission to dedicate their collections to some friendly prelate.<sup>73</sup>

Some bishops, on the other hand, were so confident that nothing but the *Old* or *New Version* of the Psalms was authorized for use that they warmly protested against, or even period also Sir Robert Grant was publishing Hymns in *The Christian Observer* (1806-1815) and Reginald Heber printed his in the same periodical (1811-1816).

<sup>72</sup> *A Charge delivered at the primary visitation of Herbert, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, in July 1820; with an Appendix, containing some remarks on the modern custom of singing in our churches unauthorized Psalms and Hymns.* London, 1820.

<sup>73</sup> The editors of *Psalms and Hymns, selected for the Churches of Buckden* (1815) dedicate it by permission to Bishop Tomline (of Lincoln); and in the 2nd ed. (1820) state it to be "sanctioned by the authority of that distinguished prelate".

prohibited, the employment of Hymns within their dioceses. We find Simeon in 1814 writing to an Evangelical friend to "put aside Hymns" rather than to continue his unseemly contest with his bishop.<sup>74</sup> The Bishop of Exeter is said to have prohibited the use of Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns within his diocese.<sup>75</sup>

The opposition was brought to a head by the publication in 1819 of an eighth and enlarged edition of Thomas Cotterill's *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for public and private use, adapted to the services of the Church of England. Sheffield: printed for the Editor, by J. Montgomery at the Iris-office. 1819:* and his attempt to enforce its use upon his congregation at St. Paul's, Sheffield. This caused much disturbance in the congregation, of which some outside opponents of Hymns took advantage; and suit was brought against Cotterill in the Consistory Court of the Archbishop of York. The Chancellor decided that Hymn singing was an irregularity without due authority, but he assumed that none could wish to attack a practice that had become so general and was so edifying. He refused costs and postponed sentence upon Cotterill for his irregularity, virtually reducing the issue before him to a question of the merits of Cotterill's book, which "certainly contained a great many excellent Psalms and Hymns to which there could be no reasonable objection".<sup>76</sup> He intimated that the interests of religion required a compromise of the suit, and offered the services of the Archbishop as mediator. In the end the compromise was effected. Cotterill's book was withdrawn, and a new one,<sup>77</sup> smaller and less markedly evangelical, was prepared under the eye of Archbishop Harcourt and at his expense, and the Sheffield church was supplied with a sufficiency of copies, each bear-

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<sup>74</sup> *Memoirs*, ed. cited, p. 272.

<sup>75</sup> *The Christian Observer*, July 1822, p. 435, n.

<sup>76</sup> For the legal proceedings, see *An Inquiry into historical facts relative to parochial Psalmody* [by J. Gray], York, 1821, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>77</sup> *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for public worship*, London, T. Cadell, 1820 (29th ed., 1840).

ing the inscription: "The gift of his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York".<sup>78</sup>

These curious proceedings, from which no appeal was taken, did not change the irregular status of Hymnody, but they certainly discouraged further legal contests. In 1822 H. J. Todd, of the York diocese, published a pamphlet,<sup>79</sup> urging the sole authority of the old Psalmody; in 1820 the Bishop of Peterborough charged against the liberty exercised by parishes in introducing hymn books,<sup>80</sup> in which he was followed by the Bishop of Killaloe, Ireland, in 1821.<sup>81</sup> But in general the ground was regarded as cleared of practical obstructions, and the making of new hymn books proceeded apace in the years following the York settlement.

In these books the influence of Cotterill's, in spite of its suppression, is very marked. Though somewhat on earlier lines, it was a fresh selection, at which the poet Montgomery assisted. And it had the distinction of introducing into church use some fifty of his Hymns, thus contributing to the permanent enrichment of Hymnody. In the interests, real or supposed, of the "good taste" at which Cotterill aimed, Montgomery also altered freely the texts of his predecessors. As Cotterill's *Selection* served as a source book for numerous succeeding compilers, it happened that these tinkered texts frequently remained the standard till very recent times, in some cases to the present day.

We may now regard Hymn singing in the Church of England as having passed the stage of intrusion and even of toleration, and to have reached that of substantial recognition. It had not superseded the singing of metrical Psalms but had reduced the Psalter to a selection of Psalms, with which Hymns were incorporated on equal footing. As to its prevalence we have the testimony of the editors of the Buckden *Selection*: "There are, perhaps, not many large

<sup>78</sup> *An Inquiry, &c.*, pp. 74, 75.

<sup>79</sup> *Observations upon the metrical version of the Psalms*, London, F. C. & J. Rivington, 1822.

<sup>80</sup> See note no. 72.

<sup>81</sup> Fully quoted in Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.

congregations in our national Church, where some Psalms, different from the old and new versions, and some Hymns, founded upon the history and doctrines of the Gospel, have not been admitted." More authoritative was the assumption of the Chancellor at York that no one having the interests of religion at heart would wish to disturb "the prevalent usage", "so edifying and acceptable to congregations".

This change had found its opportunity here, as elsewhere, in the decadence and indifference into which the old Psalmody had fallen. It had been brought about, first by the desire of musical improvement and for the recognition of church festivals and fasts, but mainly by the "enthusiasm" of the Evangelical Revival, and the persistence of the Evangelical Party within the Church.<sup>82</sup> The practice of Hymn singing had passed beyond the limits of party, but had not as yet brought itself into close relation with the Prayer Book system. The supply of hymn books was copious, and their very diversity had already suggested the need (not yet filled) of a collection of Hymns compiled and issued under competent authority.<sup>83</sup> The Hymnody itself bore the marks (never yet obliterated) of its Evangelical origin in its general non-sectarian character, its dealings with individual experience, and its mingling together of the work of churchman and dissenter.

*Philadelphia.*

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<sup>82</sup>The valuable introduction to *Hymns Ancient and Modern, Historical Edition*, 1909, appears to the present writer to ignore the main agency of the Evangelicals within the Church in introducing Hymnody, and to transfer it to the musical development of London Charities.

<sup>83</sup>See Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29.