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UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS LYRIC

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

Of the Graduate School of the University of Louisville

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Of Master of Arts

Department of English

By

John Hines Drake

1935

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PREFACE

When one begins the study of the religious poetry of Elizabeth's age, one is amazed at the voluminousness of it. The writing of it came to be almost as popular as the writing of secular poetry. Concerning the Elizabethan lyric in general, Edward Bliss Reed says:

"With us the lyric is sung to a small group of listeners; in the days of Elizabeth it was the voice of the nation."¹

Necessarily much of this verse was sheer doggerel with little thought, rime, or metrical value. There were, however, some religious, as well as secular lyrics of excellent quality produced during the period.

Since this work is intended to study, primarily, the religious lyric, the secular lyric will be considered for comparison only. The term "lyric" will be applied rather broadly. The writer chooses to follow the definition of M. Brunetiere, as quoted by Professor Erskine.

"Our lyrics sing themselves into the heart, not on the tongue; the imagination supplies the physical effect, just as it does when we read a drama."²

Speaking broadly, Mr. Erskine lists the following three things as being characteristic of a successful lyric: first, emotional stimulus; second, development of

1. Reed, Edw. B. ENGLISH LYRICAL POETRY Yale U. 1912 p. 141

2. Erskine, John THE ELIZABETHAN LYRIC N. Y. 1916 p. 4

this emotional stimulus to its utmost capacity; third, the emotion is finally resolved into a thought, a mental resolution, or an attitude.¹

The writer acknowledges special indebtedness to SELECT POETRY, a two volume collection of the religious verse of thirty-seven Elizabethan poets. This work is a collection of the Parker Society and is edited by Edward Farr who was an authority on the religious poetry of the Elizabethan period. Without these volumes this work would perhaps not have been possible, certainly not probable, since they have been invaluable as a body of source material.

1. Ibid p. 17

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CHAPTER I

THE RELIGIOUS SONNET

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THE RELIGIOUS SONNET

The sonnet, which had its origin in thirteenth century Italy, was slow to gain favor in England. It was the third decade of the sixteenth century when Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey wrote sonnets after the Italian models. It was a quarter of a century later, however, before the birth of the Elizabethan sonnet. But its growth was slow even then, and not until the last decade of Elizabeth's reign did sonneteering become a passion with writers. Sidney Lee says of the period:

"No poetic aspirant between 1590 and 1600 failed to try his skill on this poetic instrument. During those ten years more sonnets were penned in England than in any other decade."¹

It seems rather strange that the sonnet should have been so slow in gaining popularity in view of the fact that Wyatt's and Surrey's sonnets were included in TOTTEL'S MISCELLANEE, a work that was so popular that it appeared seven times between 1557 and 1584. Yet, these sonnets seem to have attracted little attention.

George Gascoigne was the first to define a sonnet in reference to its technique. The term 'sonnet' had been

1. Lee, Sidney "The Elizabethan Sonnet" CAMBRIDGE

HISTORY ENGLISH LITERATURE N. Y. 1909 Vol. 14 p. 281

applied to all kinds of verse. In his treatise on poetic composition, which appeared as early as 1575, Gascoigne defines the normal sixteenth century sonnet as follows:

"Sonnets are of fouretene lynes, every line conteyn-
ing tenne syllables. The firste twelve do ryme in staves
of foure lines by cross meetre, and the last two ryming
together do conclude the whole."¹

It was the French, rather than the Italian sonnet, however, that was directly responsible for the rise and growth of the Elizabethan sonnet. Clement Marot, a Protestant French poet contemporary with Wyatt and Surrey, arduously studied Petrarch and translated into French some of his sonnets and odes. He also made some experiments of his own with the sonnet form and entitled them EPIGRAMMES. Marot's work was, however, that of a pioneer and it was left for Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Desportes to bring the sonnet into its full fruitage of popularity.

Spenser was influenced by Marot and Du Bellay and as a youth of seventeen he wrote twenty-six sonnets under the title A THEATRE FOR WORLDINGS. While these sonnets have never been rated very highly by critics, Spenser is considered, nevertheless, the virtual father of the Elizabethan sonnet.

The first Elizabethan to make a reputation as a sonneteer was Thomas Watson. Watson is considered by one

1. Ibid p. 282

4

critic as being a more elegant writer than Shakespeare. But Sidney Lee says that he was in reality "a frigid scholiast who was characteristically indifferent to strict metrical law---" Watson translated all of Petrarch's sonnets into Latin, only two specimens of which remain. His most important works are HEKATOMPATHIA, or PASSIONATE CENTURIE OF LOVE, and TEARS OF FANCIE. The first of these two works is a collection of a hundred 'passions' on themes of love.

The first Elizabethan sonneteer of exceptional ability, however, was Sir Philip Sidney. It was following his ASTROPHEL AND STELLA that a sonneteering rage began in England. Between the years 1591-1609, the following love sonnet sequences appeared in the order here given.

Sidney's ASTROPHEL AND STELLA; Daniel's DELIA; Constable's DIANA; Barnes's PARTHENOPHIL AND PARTHENOPE; Watson's TEARS OF FANCIE; Fletcher's LICIA; Drayton's IDEA; Percy's GOELIA; anonymous, ZEPHERIA; Spenser's AMORETTI; E. O's. EMERICDUIFE; Barnfield's CYNTHIA; Griffin's EIDEEZA; Davies' GULLING SONNETS; Ianche's DIELLA; Smith's CHLOEIS; Taffe's ALBA, and LAURA; Davies' ASTRAEA; Alexander's AURORA; Greville's CAELICA; Shakespeare's SONNETS. Three of these sequences, Davies' ASTRAEA, Alexander's AURORA, and Greville's CAELICA were not published until many years later.

Although the sonnet in Italy, France, and England had love for its principal theme, it never was devoted en-

tirely to this theme. Petrarch occasionally made religion or politics the subject of a sonnet. He also quite frequently praised a friend or patron through this medium of literary expression. From these occasional departures of Petrarch, the French and English sonneteers took their cue for their religious sonnets. It was, however, during the heyday of the Elizabethan love sonnet sequence that the religious and personal sonnet came most into favor. One of the principal reasons, perhaps, for the growing tendency to utilize these themes for sonnets, was that they did not arouse the criticism that much of the amorous verse had done. Some of the 'love theme' sonneteers who had suffered rather severe criticism for their amorous verses tried to make amends by writing religious sonnets and pretending to think more of them than they did their secular poetry. The result was that very many of these religious sonnets were rather poor poetry. In fact many of them were poor imitations of what some master had formerly produced.

Two outstanding religious sonneteers of the age were Henry Constable and Barnabe Barnes. Both were in close conformity with foreign practice and each supplemented his love sequence with an extended religious sonnet sequence.

Barnes's DIVINE CENTURIE OF SPIRITUAL SONNETS was first printed in 1595. This work was patterned after some religious sonnets that had appeared a few years earlier in France. Erskine¹ says that Barnes's sonnets are imitations

1. Op. Cit. p. 159

of SONNETS SPIRITUELS published by Abbe Jacques de Billy in 1573. Unfortunately Barnes's entire sequence has not been available for this study, but Edward Farr¹ has selected twenty of the sonnets, presumably the high points of the sequence and published them in his work. Farr does not publish the opening sonnet, but Professor Erskine says:

"Barnes exhorts his muse, in the first poem, to leave singing of earthly passion and to mount to heavenly themes."²

The general themes of the available sonnets are: the majesty of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, and the supremacy of the Church of England. Some of the terms used in addressing the son are: Savior, Son of David, Creator, Bridegroom, Spotless Lamb, Lion of Judah, and Messiah. Judging from those quoted by Farr, sonnets 14-32 are a prayer to God the Father, enumerating His holy attributes, and a review of His dealings with, and guidance of Israel, both national and spiritual. Judging again from available poems, sonnets 33-51 are a condemnation of the Catholic Church. Barnes thinks of the Church of England as the Bride of Christ, and of the Catholic Church as the 'harlot' and enemy of the lawful bride. In the last two lines of sonnet 33 he says:

1. Farr, Edward SELECT POETRY Cambridge 1845 pp. 41-51

2. Erskine, Op. Cit. p. 159

"As thou Dear God! art judge; so give thy doom
In justice to subvert ambitious Rome." ¹

In sonnet 51 the poet reaches the height of his indignation and pours out the following scathing invective against the Catholics.

"Break thou the jawes of olde Levyathan
Victorious conqueror! break thou the jawes,
Which, full of blasphemie, maligne thy lawes,
Ready to curse, slander, and blame;
Which nothing but abhominacion can;
Who, like a ranguing lyon, with his pawes
Thy little flock with daily bread adawes:
Antichrist's harrould, who with pride begonne
Bren into thy triumphant threane to prease,
And therefore his first comfort had forgonne:
The bodie's ruiner and soull's disease;
Bawle to that proud harlot of proud Babilon,
Which mortall man to mortall sinnes inviteth,
Teare out those fanges with which hee thy flock
biteth!" ²

This thrust at the Catholic Church may have been personal with Barnes. His father, Dr. Richard Barnes, who was the Bishop of Durham, was accused of having misapplied some church funds. He was also severely criticized for his very generous treatment of the Puritans. It is probable, though this statement is mere conjecture, that some of the Catholics may have used, to their own advantage, these accusations and criticisms that had been brought against the elder Barnes. Whether or not this was the case, the son of a Protestant bishop would be well acquainted with the Protestant-Catholic dispute. The reference to the Catholic

1. Op. Cit. p. 47

2. Idid p. 48

Church as the 'antichrist' and 'harlot of Babylon' was quite a popular interpretation of the eighteenth chapter of Revelation.

Barnes's sonnet technique is modeled after Wyatt's. Wyatt, while using the Italian octave (abbaabba), unhesitatingly adopted the sestet form (eddee). Commenting on Wyatt's departure from the Italian sestet (cdcdcd), Mr. Courthope says:

"Wyatt was evidently unaware of the secret principle underlying the extremely complex structure of the Italian sonnet; ---- and being unfortunately misled by his admiration for the STRANBOTTI of Serafino, which sums up the conclusion in a couplet, he endeavored to construct his sonnets on the same principle, thereby leading all English sonnet writers before Milton on the wrong path."¹

Surrey avoided the elaborate structure of the Italian sonnet by adopting a stanza of three quatrains of alternate rhyme, and a concluding couplet, (ababedodefeffg). This form was later made famous by Shakespeare, and has come to be known as the "English Sonnet".

Barnes used the forms of both Wyatt and Surrey, but he adhered more closely to the Italian octave, varying the rhyming of his sestet. Of the twenty-one sonnets available for this study from the DIVINE CENTURIE OF SPIRITUAL SONNETS nineteen use for the sestet arrangement (eddee).

1. Courthope, W. J. HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY London 1920 Vol. II. p. 91

The other two are irregular. In one he does not use (a) in the last line of his octave, but makes it (e), thereby making his sestet arrangement (dedeff). By this arrangement the last line of his octave rhymes with no other line. The other variation from his usual scheme is the following interesting arrangement: (abbeccadadacee). The sonnets in PARTHENOPHIL AND PARTHENOPE also vary in form but the majority of them follow his usual scheme. The sixty-sixth sonnet of this sequence is the one upon which Barnes's fame as a poet rests. Although not one of his religious sonnets, it is, as Professor Reed says, "marked by a pensive sweetness, a gentle melancholy."¹

There is a difference of opinion among critics concerning Barnes's rank as a sonneteer, but the majority of them do not rate him very highly.

Erskine says that his series of religious sonnets add no new facts of interest, and that they have never counted very much in his favor.²

Schelling, in comparing Watson and Barnes with Sidney, says that they "stand below, and apart from the eminence of their great fellow."³

Courthope refers to him as an "affected fool" and "idiot," and brands his PARTHENOPHIL AND PARTHENOPE as a mixture of "nonsense and nastiness."⁴ He thinks that

1. Reed, Op. Cit. p. 158

2. Erskine, Op. Cit. p. 159

3. Schelling, Felix, THE ENGLISH LYRIC p. 52 N.Y. 1913

4. Courthope, Op. Cit. Vol. II. p. 303

Barnes repented and wrote his religious sonnets. One wonders, in reading Courthope's criticism, if he is not a bit prejudiced, for he refers to Grosart as having considered Barnes a worthy. One must take Grosart's criticism with a grain of salt also, for he has a tendency to go to the other extreme.

Sidney Lee says that Barnes was a more voluminous writer than any of his contemporaries and that he gave some promise of lyric power which he never fulfilled. Lee thinks that, as a whole, Barnes's work is crude, sometimes sinking to "meaningless doggerel" because of his "offensive grotesque conceits."

It seems to the writer that Barnes's religious sonnets compare favorably with other like sequences of the time. That, however, is no great compliment to pay them.

In point of time, Henry Constable precedes Barnes as a religious sonneteer. His SPIRITUAL SONNETTES TO THE HONOR OF GOD AND HIS SAINTES first appeared in 1591 but was circulated in manuscript only. Schelling¹ says that Constable's religious sonnets appeared in 1593, but he does not say whether they were in manuscript or in printed form. Constable was a Catholic and his sonnets are addressed to God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, the Blessed Sacrament, Our Blessed Lady, St. Michael the Archangel, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul,

1. Op. Cit. p. 62

St. Mary Magdalen, St. Katharyne, St. Margaret. Altogether there are seventeen of these sonnets, four of which are addressed to Our Blessed Lady, four to St. Mary Magdalen, and one each to the other above mentioned personages.

The whole sequence is thoroughly Catholic in tone, and reflects the piety of its author. One is led to wonder whether or not Barnes got any of his inspiration from Constable's sonnets. As has already been pointed out, Barnes addresses sonnets to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, but of course since he was not a Catholic, none are addressed to any of the saints. As has already been shown, he, on the contrary, bitterly assailed the Catholics.

While Constable's sonnets contain less controversy than Barnes's yet there is enough of it to cause a man of Barnes's temperament and upbringing to reply with the scathing invectives such as he used.

Constable's sonnet addressed to Michael the Archangel is interesting from two standpoints. First, because of its likeness to Milton's account of the Archangel's contest with Satan as recorded in Book VI of PARADISE LOST; second, because of Constable's comparison of Satan's rebellion and punishment to the Reformers' rebellion against the Catholic Church and their excommunication. The Sonnet dealing with this theme is as follows:

"When as the prynce of angells puffed with pryde
 Styrr'd his seditious spyrittes to rebell
 God chose for cheife his champion Michaell

And gave him charge the host of heaven to guyde,
 And when the angells of the rebellis syde
 Vanquish't in battayle, from theyr glory fell
 The pride of heaven became the drake of hell
 And in the dungeon of despayre was tyed.
 Thys dragon, synce lett loose, Goddes church assail'd
 And thee, by helpe of Mychaell's swoarde prevail'd.
 Who ever'try'd adventures lyke thys knyght,
 Which, generall of heaven, hell e'er throwet
 For such a lady as Godde's spouse dyd fyght,
 And such a monster as the dyvell subdue¹

Constable, like Barnes, adheres to the Italian octave, but also varies the form of his sestets. Of the seventeen SPIRITUAL SONNETS only one uses the Italian sestet (cdcdcd). His favorite form in both DIANA and the SPIRITUAL SONNETS is (cdcdcd). Eight of the seventeen sonnets in the latter use this form, while nineteen of the twenty-eight in the former use it. Other forms that he uses in both sequences are: (cdcdcd); (cdcdcd); (cdcdcd); (cdcdcd).

Constable fares better in the hands of the critics than Barnes does, and upon comparison of DIANA and PARTHENOPE it is easy to see why. So far as their religious verse is concerned, however, there is very little difference. Both put too much of their personal prejudices and religious bias into their work. Constable accepts without question the unhistorical traditions of the Catholic Church, as Peter's founding the church in Rome, and also demonstrates his belief in the unscriptural practice of saint worship. He further errs.

1. Hazlitt, Wm. DIANA AND OTHER POEMS OF HENRY CONSTABLE
 London 1859 p. 53

in accepting the unscriptural slander that Mary Magdalene was a harlot. Barnes goes to the other extreme of blaming the Catholics for every evil under the sun.

Another sonneteer worthy of consideration is Fulk Greville, (Lord Brooke). Brooke was a friend of Sir Philip Sidney, but he lacked the poetic ability of his distinguished friend. The collection in which most of his religious and metaphysical poetry appears is entitled CAELICA, OR COELICA, as some authorities spell it. There are one hundred and nine poems in this collection, each of which the author calls a sonnet after the loose fashion of the time. Only thirty-seven of these poems are quatorzains, the other seventy-two being lyrics of all lengths and meters. In fact the internal connection is so loose that they deserve to be treated rather as independent lyrics. Brooke's poetic mistresses, "Caelica" and "Myra" are mere figments of his brain to whom he varies his addresses. There is also an invocation to Queen Elizabeth under the poetic title of "Cynthia," besides reflective musings on metaphysical themes. One authority refers to it as "the latest example of the Elizabethan sonnet sequence."

Another sonneteer worthy of mention is Nicholas Breton. Breton is quite voluminous and one critic finds in his poems and tracts a "passionate yearning and rich imagery" suggestive of Southwell or Crashaw, but he adds that "they are defaced by wire-drawn conceits and mystical subtleties."

The following sonnet from his book written in 1602, and dedicated to Lady Sara Hastings, is a good illustration of the point of this criticism.

"Lord when I think how I offend thy will
And know what good is in obedience to it
And see my hurt, yet continue still
In doing ill and cannot leave to do it
And then again doe feel that bitter smart
That inward breeds of pleasure after paine,
When scarce the thought is entered in my heart
But it is gone, and sinne gets in againe:
And when againe the act of sinne is past,
And then thy grace doth call me back againe
Then in my teares I runne to thee as fast,
And of my sinnes and of myself complayne
What can I do but cry Sweet Iesus, save me?
For I am nothing but what thou wilt have me." ¹

Some other religious sonneteers of the period were Henry Lok and John Davies. Lok, besides being the author of a book of three hundred and twenty sonnets entitled HUNDREY AFFECTIONATE SONNETS OF A FEELING CONSCIENCE, also paraphrased several of the Psalms and Ecclesiastes. In the estimation of one critic the verse rendering of Ecclesiastes is very poor, rarely rising above doggerel. Alden says that altogether "Lok produced more than four hundred sonnets, proving himself an Elizabethan rival to Wordsworth."²

John Davies of Hereford, so called to distinguish him from Sir John Davies, was a poet and writing master. He was the author of several poetical works, both religious and secular, nearly all of which has a philosophical turn.

1. SELECT POETRY Vol. I. p. 195

2. Alden, Raymond M. ENGLISH VERSE N.Y. 1925 p. 273

His most widely known work is MICROGOSMOS. This is a religio-philosophical work and was dedicated to Sir Robert Sidney, the Earl of Pembroke. Davies never enjoyed any great popularity, however, because of his voluminousness and tediousness.

The religious sonnets of John Donne have purposely been left until last in this study because he comes at the very end of Elizabeth's reign. In fact many of his works, including those considered here, followed the death of the Queen, and a large number of critics place him in the Jacobean period. Since, however, he is a vital part of both periods, and since his style is more distinctly that of an Elizabethan, some other critics consider him as such.

The classification of Donne's poetry is the cause of quite a diversity of opinion among critics. Courthope, Palmer, and Grierson think of Donne as the earliest and most remarkable example of the metaphysical school. This school was a new kind of Pyrrhonism represented by Montaigne and built upon the decaying ruins of medieval philosophy.

"These three students, therefore, agree, though with varying emphasis," says Professor Bredvold, "on the fundamental principle that the metaphysical style is an expression of the disintegration of medieval thought under the influence of the new individualism and skepticism of the Renaissance."¹

1. Bredvold, Louis I. "Religious Thought of Donne"
STUDIES IN MILTON SHAKESPEARE AND DONNE
N. Y. 1925 pp. 195ff

A more recent study by Mary Paton Ramsay minimizes the Renaissance element in Donne's works. She, a true disciple of Professor Picavet of Paris, emphasizes the Plotinian, or Neo-Platonic element in Donne. She believes that he was an out and out Plotinian untouched by metaphysical doubts, and that both as poet and preacher, he was thoroughly medieval, and uninfluenced by the storm and stress of the Renaissance.

Mr. Bredvold takes the view that Donne's final study must be biographical if one is to understand his writings. He recognizes that the poet was a learned man and that his philosophy was a mingling of skepticism and mysticism. If one has read Donne's works, one is convinced that Mr. Bredvold is not far from the truth. He calls attention to the fact that the term "Epicurean," a word that remained current from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, was applied to all who questioned the orthodox plan of salvation. He says:

"In order to appreciate the power which such rigid and intolerant orthodoxy exercised over the medieval mind, we must remember the work medievalism had to do after the Barbarian invasion and the dark ages, namely, to organize anew and institutionalize civilization. In the intellectual, as well as the political and ecclesiastical spheres, it had to restore order and authority."¹

1. Ibid p. 204

On the political side this constructive effort aimed at a universal empire; on the ecclesiastical, a universal church; on the intellectual, a counterpart and support of both; a "Summa Philosophiae and Summa Theologiae".

The two outstanding schools of philosophy of medieval times were Realism and Nominalism. The chief exponent of the Realistic school was Thomas Aquinas, while the chief champions of the Nominalist school were Duns Scotus and William of Occam. Aquinas and the Realists claimed that God is pure Intelligence, the highest Universal, Ehs, Being. According to them it was impossible to know God, but that the approach to Him was a disciplining and enlightenment of the mind as it ascended a pyramid of universals until, at the apex, it achieved a mystic apprehension of the Mosaic "I am that I am."

The Nominalists called into question the rationalistic philosophy of the Realists. They claimed that God is not absolute Intelligence, but absolute Will, and that good is good merely because God wills it. Occam denied the philosophical value of universals and rejected Natural Theology. He said that all knowledge of God, even of His existence, and that all truths of religion and ethics must be accepted wholly on faith.

Out of this philosophy of skepticism grew up the notion of a double truth, one of philosophy, and one of theology. Reasoning upon this philosophical premise, Pomponatius, a professor of philosophy at the University of

Bologna, implied, in some of his writings, a doubt in the immortality of the soul, and the freedom of the will. When the church accused him of heresy he replied, "I believe as a Christian what I cannot believe as a philosopher." The church did not accept the doctrine of the double truth, however, and at the Lateran Council in 1512, condemned the doctrine by decreeing that:

"As what is true can never contradict what is true, we determine that every proposition which is contrary to the truth of the revealed faith is entirely false."¹

Donne had read the works of the exponents of these conflicting schools of philosophy and while his favorite philosopher was Aquinas, - whom he placed alongside Augustine, his favorite theologian, - he was, according to Bredvold, "immensely curious and receptive, and in him we can find the whole ferment of his age in all its variety."² Added to the skeptical philosophy of the Nominalists were the ESSAYS on Naturalism by Montaigne, and the new astronomy of Copernicus and Kepler. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Donne believed in the new astronomy, and saw no conflict between it and religion.

H. J. C. Grierson thinks that for both evil and good, Donne is the most shaping and determining influence to be met with in passing from the sixteenth to the seventeenth

1. Ibid p. 207

2. Ibid p. 208

century. Commenting on this influence he says:

"In certain aspects of mind and training the most medieval, in temper the most modern of his contemporaries, he is, with the radically more pedantic and neo-classical Jonson, at once the chief inspirer of the younger contemporaries and successors, and the most potent herald and pioneer of the school of poetic argument and eloquence."

Grierson discredits the belief held by some, that Donne was a Petrarchian poet, in either form or spirit. He thinks, on the other hand, that his poetry is the expression of a very "unique intense individuality; a complex imaginative temperament; a swift and subtle intellect; a mind stored with the minutiae of medieval theology, science, and jurisprudence."

No wonder this intellectual youth living in an age of such conflicting ideas, -many of which undermined the very foundations of his Catholic training, -had a hard time to find himself. In fact one wonders if Donne ever did really find himself, for, to the very end of his life he expressed doubts. The following sonnet from his Divine Poems is indicative of this fact.

"Oh, to vex me, contraries meet in one:
Inconstancy unnaturally hath begott
A constant habit; that when I would not
I change my vows and devotions.
As humorous is my contrition
As my prophane Love, and as soon forgot;
As rigidly distemper's, cold and hott,
As praying, as mute; as infinite as none.
I durst not view heaven yesterday; and today
In prayers, and flattering speeches I court God;
To morrow I quake with true feare of his rod.

So my devout fitts come and go away
 Like a fantastique ague: save that here
 These are my best dayes, when I shake with feare."

Some think that the voluptuousness of Donne's youth can be accounted for on the ground that a constant warfare was waging within him against a call to the ministry. Too much credence cannot be given this belief, but when one reads the following lines from the first Satire, written about 1593, one wonders whether there may not be some ground for it.

"But how shall I be pardoned my offense
 That thus have sinned against my conscience?"

The Protestant-Catholic dispute in England was at its highest when Donne was a youth. His family had all been loyal Catholics and his mother saw to it that her children were all brought up in the "old faith" lest they be led astray by outside influence. But she misjudged her brilliant son. He was the type of individual who thinks for himself, and he gradually drifted away from the faith of his family. This drifting reached its culmination in 1621 when he became dean of St. Paul's, which position he held until his death in 1631. Most critics agree, however, that Donne never got wholly away from his Catholic teachings. Bradvold quotes from one of his letters written in 1615, the following:

"I will not, nor need you, compare the religions.
 The channels of God's mercies run through both fields; and
 they are sister teats of His graces, yet both diseased and

infected, but not both alike." ¹

Donne longed for the true church because he saw the faults of both Catholics and Anglicans. He longed for the truly catholic and universal church, and in this respect he loved the word "catholic". This longing is expressed in the following sonnet.

"Show me, deare Christ, thy spouse, so bright and clear.
What! is it She, which on the other shore
Goes richly painted? or which reb's and tore
Laments and mournes in Germany and here?
Sleeps she a thousand, then peeps up one yeare?
Is she self truth and erre? now new, now outwore?
Doth she, and did she, and shall she evermore,
On one, or seven, or on no hill appeare?
Dwells she with us, or like adventuring knights
First travails to seek, and then to make love?
Betray kind husband thy spouse to our sights,
And let myne amorous soule court thy mild dove,
Who is most trew, and pleasing to thee, then
When she's embrac'd and open to most men."

Grierson² thinks that the third^{one} of Donne's early classical Satyres was written at the time when he was passing from the Roman to the Anglican church. He rates it as one of the most thoughtful appeals for toleration and scrutiny of religious differences ever written.

Bredvold³ gives, as the three aspects of Donne's religious experience, "his indecision as to which church was the true church, his conception of the relation between faith and reason, and his Augustinianism."

One of the most steady influences in Donne's life,

1. Bredvold, Op. Cit. p.211

2. Grierson, H.J.C. DONNE'S POETICAL WORKS Oxford 1912
Vol. II Introduction p. xv

3. Op. Cit. p. 208

however, and the one that unquestionably played a large part in shaping his career as a minister, was that of his wife, Anne More. After her death in 1617, Donne gave himself wholly to his divine calling and never remarried. The sorrow through which he passed because of his wife's death is reflected in his writings. Gosse says that the sincerest and most profound of Donne's devotional poetry dates from her death. Sonnet xvii of the holy sonnets verifies this statement.

"Since she whom I loved hath paid her last debt
To Nature, and to hers, and my good is dead
And her Soule early into heaven ravished,
Wholly on heavenly things my mind is sett.
Here the admiring her my mind did whett
To seek thee God; so streams do show their head;
But though I have found thee, and thou my thirst
hast fed;
A holy thirsty dropsy melts me yett.
But why should I beg more love, when as thou
Dost woo my soule for hers; offering all thine
And dost not only feare least I allow
My love to Saints and Angels things divine,
But in thy tender jealousy dost doubt,
Least the World, Flesh, yea Devill putt thee out."

Certainly no student of Donne can fail to see that there were powerful forces at work in the life of this very unusual man. The "progress of his soul" is far different from that set forth in his poem of that title. There is a world of difference in the voluptuous youth who wrote the following:

"Like pictures, or like books gay coverings made
For lay-men are all women thus array'd
Themselves are mystik books, which only wee
(Whom their imputed grace will dignifie)
Must see reveal'd. Then since that I may know;
As liberally as to a midwife, shew
Thyself: cast all, yea this white linnen hence;

There is no penance due to innocence.
 To teach thee, I am naked first, why than
 What needest thou have more covering than a man."

and the penitent dean of St. Paul's who wrote in "A Hyman
 to God the Father:"

"Wilt thou forgive that sinne which I begonne,
 Which was my sinne, though it were done before?
 Wilt thou forgive that sinne, through which I runne,
 And do run still; though still I deplore?
 When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
 For I have more.

"Wilt thou forgive that sinne which I have wonne
 Others to sinne? and made my sinne their doore?
 Wilt thou forgive that sinne which I did shunne
 A yeare, or two; but wallowed in a score?
 When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
 For I have more.

"I have a sinne of feare, that when I have spunne
 My last thread, I shall perish on the shore;
 But sweare by thyselfe, that at my death thy sunne
 Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
 And, having done that, Thou hast done,
 I feare no more."

Concerning the form of Donne's poetry, attention
 has already been called to the fact that Grierson says the
 poet was not a Petrarchan in either form or spirit. Alden
 says, however, that the seven sonnet sequence entitled,
LA CORONA, is an Italian form in that the first line of
 each sonnet is the same as the last line of the preceding
 sonnet, and that the last line of the last sonnet is the
 same as the first line of the first sonnet. In both LA
CORONA and the HOLY SONNETS Donne uses the Italian octave
 but varies the form of the sestet. In LA CORONA the ses-
 tet arrangement of five sonnets is (edcdce) and for two
 it is (edcdce), while in the HOLY SONNETS twelve have the

former arrangement, seven the latter, and one is arranged
(beesbees).

CHAPTER II

METRICAL VERSIONS OF THE PSALMS

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METRICAL VERSIONS OF THE PSALMS

Upon turning one's attention to the metrical versions of the Psalter in Elizabeth's age, one finds that translating and paraphrasing the Psalms came to be quite a fad. Courtiers, poets, lawyers, doctors, ministers, merchants -- in short people in nearly all walks of life turned to this fascinating diversion. The Queen herself paraphrased the 14th Psalm. The reason for this interest is very well pointed out by Prothero as follows:

"Throughout the Middle Ages, the Bible as a whole was, except to the clergy, a closed book. But the Psalms were permitted to be in the hands of laymen: the Council of Toulouse (1220) excepted them from the general prohibition which forbade the use of the Old Testament to the laity. Versions in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, or Old English, are among the earliest specimens of our vernacular literature."¹

He further says that medieval primers contained selections of the Psalms, and that various vernacular translations appeared. The prayer-book version of the Psalter in prose, originally made by Tyndall and Coverdale, and subsequently corrected by Crammer and his colleagues, was

1. Prothero, R. E. THE PSALMS IN HUMAN LIFE
London 1905 p. 144

put forth in ^{the} Bishop's Bible of 1541.

These vernacular translations created a new interest in hymnology, and Martin Luther was the first to bring out a hymn book in the vernacular based on the Psalter. The followers of Calvin and Zwingli went further than the German and French Lutherans by producing entire metrical versions of the Psalms for use in public worship.

Early in the sixteenth century Clement Marot translated a part of the Psalter into the French vernacular. This was first used at the court but was later completed by Bonn and others, and passed into the hands of the people where it became very popular in their morning and evening worship.

This interest in metrical translations of the Psalter crossed to England, and during the reign of Henry VIII, Thomas Sternhold, a groom of the King's robes, began to translate the Psalms for his own solace. It is said, that as a boy of twelve, Edward VI heard the groom singing these Psalms to the organ and was very much impressed with them. Edward Farr says that Sternhold, who was one of the principal contributors to the OLD VERSION OF THE PSALMS OF DAVID,* died in 1549, "in which year thirty-seven were first published by Day under the title: PSALMES OF DAVID, DRAWEN INTO ENGLISH METRE BY THOMAS STERNHOLD." In 1551 another edition was published with

* Hereinafter referred to as the OLD VERSION

seven additional Psalms from the pen of John Hopkins. In 1556 seven more were added by William Whittingham who was at that time an exile at Geneva. In 1562 still another edition appeared under the title: THE WHOLE BOOK OF PSALMES COLLECTED INTO ENGLISH METRE BY T. STERNHOLD, J. HOPKINS, AND OTHERS. SET FORTH AND ALLOWED TO BE SUNG IN ALL CHURCHES BEFORE AND AFTER MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER, AND ALSO BEFORE AND AFTER SERMONS.¹ One interesting feature of this Psalter is that there are fewer than fifty tunes for the one hundred and fifty Psalms. The poetry is arranged in octaves and set to music of long meter.* Frothero says that it was the work of Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, William Whittingham, Robert Wisdom (or Wisdon), William Kethe, John Craig and others, and that it remained in general use from 1563 to 1698 when it was superseded by the version of Tate and Brady.

One very interesting and important feature, from the standpoint of the authorship of these Psalms, is the initials accompanying them. Since the OLD VERSION passed through so many editions, necessarily there were likely to be some changes made in these initials, and upon investi-

1. Farr, Edward SELECT POETRY Cambridge 1845 Vol. I pp. xlv1 & xlv11 Introduction

* There is a copy of the 1560 version of the Geneva Bible in the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary to which is appended a 1619 edition of the OLD VERSION. Unfortunately, however, the last fourteen chapters, i.e. 136-150, together with the hymns that follow, are missing. Portrait of title page inserted

THE BOOKE OF PSALMES,

Collected into English Meeter,

by THOMAS STERNHOLD,

JOHN HOPKINS,

and others:

Conferred with the Hebrew: with apt
Notes to sing them withall.

*Set forth and allowed to be sung in all
Churches, of all the people together,
before and after Morning and
Evening prayer:*

As also before and after Sermons:

*and moreover, in private
houses:*

For their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all
vngodly songs and ballads, which tend only
to the nourishment of vice, and
corrupting of youth.

JAMES V.

*If any bee afflicted, let him pray: if any bee merrie, let him sing
Psalmes.*

COLL. III.

*Let the Word of God dwell plentifully in you, in all wisdom, tea-
ching and exhorting one another in Psalmes, Hymnes, and spiri-
tuali songs, and sing vnto the Lord in your hearts.*

LONDON

Printed for the Company of Stationers.

1619.

gation one finds that that is actually what did happen. Below is a comparative study of the 1619 edition referred to in the footnote, and the 1666 edition used by Duffield¹ in his study. Concerning the initials in the earlier editions Farr's data are used.

T. S. -- Thomas Sternhold.

Early editions: Ps. 1-23, 25, 26, 28, 32, 34, 41, 43, 44, 63, 68, 73, 103, 120, 123, 128.

1619 edition:* Ps. 1-23, 25, 28-34, 41, 43, 44, 51, 53, 73, 78, 103, 120, 123, 130.

1666 edition: Ps. 1-23, 25, 26, 28, 32, 34, 41, 43, 44, 53, 66, 68, 73, 103, 120, 123, 128.

J. H. -- John Hopkins.

First edition: Hopkins published seven Psalms anonymously. Later he translated and initialed fifty-eight. Which fifty-eight Farr does not say.

1619 edition: None.

1666 edition: Ps. 24, 27, 30, 31, 33, 36, 38-40, 42, 47-52, 55-58, 61-65, 67, 69-72, 75-77, 81, 85-89, 91-100, (two versions of 100), 108, 146, 148.

I. H. -- John Hopkins (?)

Early editions: Farr lists no one with these initials.

1619 editions: Ps. 24, 26, 27, 35, 36, 38-40, 42, 45-50, 52-72, 74, 76, 77, 79-99, 102.

1. Duffield, S. W. ENGLISH HYMNS N.Y. 1886 p. 25

* 136 Psalms available

1666 edition: Ps. 45, 46, 59, 60, 64, 74, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 90.

W. K. -- William Kethe.

Early editions: ?

1619 edition: Ps. 104, 107, 112, 113, 125, 134.

1666 edition: Ps. 104, 107, 112, 122, 125.

W. W. -- William Whittingham.

Early editions: Farr says that Whittingham translated the Psalms which appear under his initials, but he does not say which ones, nor how many.

1619 edition: Ps. 23, 37, 50, 51, 114, 119, 121, 122, 124, 127, 128, 133.

1666 edition: Ps. 23, 37, 50, 51, 114, 119, 121, 124, 126, 127, 130, 133, 134, 137.

M. -- John Marckant (?); Thomas Hardley(?).

Early editions: Ps. 118, 131, 132, 135, 145.

1619 edition: None.

1666 edition: Ps. 131, 132.

N. -- Thomas Norton (?).

Early editions: Farr thinks that "M" was gradually changed to "N". He does not say, however, which initial appeared in the earlier editions.

1619 editions: Ps. 75, 101, 105, 106, 108-111, 115-118, 126, 129, 131, 132, 135, 136.

1666 edition: Ps. 101, 102, 105, 106, 109, 110, 111, 115-118, 129, 135, 136, 139, 140-145, 147, 149, 150.

R. W. -- Robert Wisdom.

Early editions: Ps. 125

1619 edition: Ps. 125.

1666 edition: Ps. 125

T. C. -- Thomas Churchyard (?)

Early editions: Farr says that Churchyard contributed one Psalm but he does not say which one.

1619 edition: Ps. 136.

1666 edition: Ps. 136.

Duffield¹ raises a question concerning the identity of four of these initials, namely: "I.H.", "R.W.", "M.", and "T.C." There is only one of these, however, that seems to be really questionable, and that one is "M."

On the basis of external evidence "I.H." and "J.H." both seem to refer to John Hopkins. But Mr. Duffield says: " 'I.H.' is possibly - though scarcely probably - the same as 'J.H.'; indeed the juxtaposition of the two sets of initials seem to forbid the identity." Mr. Duffield's reasoning seems to be rather faulty, however, for the following reasons.

First, Farr, whom he recognizes as being a specialist in this particular field, makes absolutely no mention of anyone with the initials "I.H."

Second, the capitals "I" and "J" were used interchangeably during this period with "I" enjoying by far the greater frequency.

1. Op. cit. p. 26

Third, the 1666 edition, which he was using gives "I.H." credit for only one Psalm that the 1619 edition does not give the same initials credit for. Since the 1619 edition was forty-seven years nearer the original than the 1666 edition, the chances are that it would be more nearly like the original.

Concerning "R.W." Mr. Duffield says:

"There is no "H.W." for H. Wisdome, but there may be an error by which "R.W." meets the case."¹

The error, however, seems to be Mr. Duffield's. Farr, whom he frequently refers to, but whom he was evidently careless in reading at this point, makes no mention of an H. Wisdom, (or Wisedom, or Wisdome as it is variously spelled), but he does give a biographical sketch of a Robert Wisdom who was a clergyman in the Church of England and at one time archdeacon of Ely. Farr says, quoting from one Strype, the title of whose work he does not give, that Wisdom penned an exposition on the Psalms, and translated some of them into English meter. The one that he particularly mentions is the 125th Psalm, saying that Wisdom's initials were affixed to it in the early editions of the OLD VERSION. The writer has consulted several sources, but nowhere has he been able to find any reference to an H. Wisdom. Julian,² however, together

1. Ibid p. 26

2. Julian, John DICTIONARY OF HYMNOLOGY N.Y. 1892

with several others, does mention Robert Wisdom.

As intimated above, Farr indirectly identifies "T.C." as Thomas Churchyard, a prose and poetry writer of the Elizabethan age. He says: "Churchyard contributed one of the poetical translations to the OLD VERSION of Psalms."¹

Mr. Duffield says that "T.C." is unknown. But if one is to accept Mr. Farr's statement, together with the somewhat self-evident proof that since Churchyard contributed only one Psalm to the OLD VERSION, and since the only Psalm bearing his initials in both the 1619 and 1666 editions is the 136th, then the identity of the initials seems to be fairly well established. Of course Mr. Duffield may not have seen the 1619 edition, but he did see the 1666 edition, and as stated above he was familiar with Farr's work.

There seems to be more uncertainty about the identity of "M." Duffield says: "'M.' is John Marckant, or, as E. Farr asserts, John Mardley."² Still quoting from Farr he continues: "In the older editions of the Psalms, the 118, 131, 132, 135, and 145, have the initial 'M.'" Later editions assign all these to 'N.'³ The 1619 edition assigns none to "M", but, as has been pointed out, the 1666 edition assigns the 131 and 132 to this initial. Farr says that "M" was gradually changed to "N." Thus,

1. Op. Cit. Introduction p. xxxviii. 3. Ibid p. 26

2. Duffield, Op. Cit. p. 26

as stated above, the definite identity of this initial seems very uncertain.

In discussing the popularity of the OLD VERSION, Davison says:

"The OLD VERSION of Sternhold and Hopkins, published in Geneva in 1566, amidst the hottest fires of the Marian persecution, passed, we are told, through three hundred and nine distinct editions before it gave way in 1698 to Tate and Brady. But Tate and Brady has disappeared, and the older version yet lingers in many memories. ***** This is not so much to be wondered at, if, in order to gain a certain superficial smoothness, the spirited old rendering of Psalm xviii: 10-

'On cherub and on cherubin
Full royally he rode;
And on the wings of all the winds
Came flying all abroad.'

was supposed to give way to

'The chariot of the King of kings
Which active troops of angels drew,
On a strong tempest's rapid wings
With most amazing swiftness flew.'"¹

The people as a whole were very enthusiastic about the OLD VERSION. Prothero says that Bishop Jewel noted that "after the regular services six thousand persons, old and young of both sexes, might be heard chanting the Psalms in metre at Paul's Cross."²

1. Davison, W. T. THE PRAISES OF ISRAEL London 1893 p.272

2. Op. Cit. p. 149

The metrical translations did not enjoy universal favor, however, for, to the scholars and critics, they were sheer doggerel. Fuller thought that the versifiers had "drunk more of the Jordan than of the Helicon," and added that "two hammerers on a smith's anvil could have made better music." Queen Elizabeth condemned the "Geneva jigs" but, as has already been pointed out, she was influenced by them to the extent that she paraphrased the fourteenth Psalm. The Earl of Rochester, after hearing Psalm singing issuing from a church, wrote the following lines:

"Sternhold and Hopkins had great qualms
When they translated David's Psalms,
To make the heart right glad;
But had it been King David's fate
To hear thee sing and them translate,
By God! 't would set him mad."¹

The OLD VERSION was used by the Scotch reformers until it was replaced in 1650 by the version of Francis Rous. Prothero says that in no country, except France, did the metrical versions of the Psalms exert such an influence as in Scotland. He points out that the Lutherans and the Anglicans had their hymns, but that it was many years before the Calvinists, or the Presbyterians had any except the Psalms of David. It has already been shown, however, that the Anglicans were also greatly influenced by these metrical versions.

1. Ibid p. 49

Another complete translation of the Psalter was that of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury under Queen Elizabeth. He suffered during the Marian persecutions and had to flee for his life. His translation never gained as much favor as Sternhold's, but copies of it are to be found in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, and the Lambeth Public Library, besides some in private libraries. Following is his rendering of Psalm 95:1-3.

"A Joyfull thyng to man it is,
The Lord to celebrate;
To thy good name, O God so hye,
Due laudes to modulate.

"To preach, and shew thy gentleness
In early morning lyght;
Thy truth of word to testifie
All whole by length of myght.

"Upon the psalme, the decachord,
Upon the pleasant lute,
On sounding, good sweet instruments
With shaumes, with harpe and flute."

The translation in the Geneva Bible is as follows:

"It is a good thing to praise the Lord, and to sing
unto thy Name, O most high.

To declare thy loving kindnesse in the morning, and
thy truth in the might.*

Upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the
viole, with the song upon the harpe."

Edmund Spenser translated the 'penitential Psalms,'
but his translation has been irretrievably lost to pos-
terity.

The metrical translation of Sir Philip Sidney and

* The text has the word 'might' which of course is a type-
graphical error. The word should be 'night'.

his sister, the countess of Pembroke, is worthy of special notice. Just which ones of the Psalms were translated by Sidney himself, and which ones by his sister are not known. They are introduced as the joint authors of THE PSALMES OF DAVID, TRANSLATED INTO DIVERS AND SUNDREY KINDES OF VERSE, MORE RARE AND EXCELLENT, FOR THE METHOD AND VARIETIE, THAN EVER YET HATH BEEN DONE IN ENGLISH. The title-page of one of the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library states that the version was "begun by the noble and learned gent, Sir Philip Sidney, Knt., and finished by the Right Honourable, the Countess of Pembroke, his sister."¹

It is significant that Sidney should have undertaken the translation of the Psalter. The dispute that raged in Elizabeth's reign concerning poetry inspired many "defenses", the most able of which was Sidney's. The following extract concerning the Psalms is taken from his DEFENCE OF POESY.

"And may I not presume a little farther to show the reasonableness of this word yales, and say that the holy David's Psalms are a divine poem? If I do, I shall not do it without the testimony of great learned men, both ancient and modern. But even the name of 'Psalms' will speak for me, which, being interpreted, is nothing but 'Songs'; then, that it is fully written in metre, as all learned Hebricians agree, although the rules be not yet

1. Farr, Op. Cit. Vol. I p. xiv.

fully found. Lastly, and principally, his handling his prophecy, which is merely poetical. For what else is the awaking his musical instruments, the often and free changing of persons, his notable prosopopoeias, when he maketh you, as it were, see God coming in his majesty, his telling of the beasts' joyfulness, and hills leaping, but a heavenly poesy, wherein he showeth himself a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty, to be seen by the eyes of the mind, only cleared by faith? But truly, now, having named him, I fear I seem to profane that holy name, applying it to poetry, which is among us thrown down to so ridiculous an estimation. But they that with quiet judgments will look a little deeper into it shall find the end and working of it such as, being rightly applied, deserveth not to be scourged out of the church of God."¹

Sidney's translation was first printed in 1823 and a portion of it was included by Ruskin in his BIBLIOTHECA PASTORUM in 1877. Prothero says of it:

"The fact that Sidney should have set himself to the task is, itself significant, but his version is specially noteworthy in its mingled familiarity and dignity. It has the energy of the times, the fixed effort to reach the heart of the meaning and make it unmistakably clear. As Ruskin says: 'Sir Philip Sidney will use any cowboy's or

1. Potter, George R. ELIZABETHAN VERSE AND PROSE
N. Y. 1928 pp. 377-78

tinker's words, if only they help him to say precisely in English what David said in Hebrew; impressed the while himself so vividly by the majesty of the thought itself, that no tinker's language can lower, or vulgarize it in his mind."¹

Although the 117th Psalm is not one of the acrostic Psalms, Sidney renders the following interesting acrostic arrangement of it.

"P raise him that aye
R emains the same;
A ll tongues display
I ehova's fame.
S ing all that share
T his earthly ball;
H is mercies are
E xposed to all;
L ike as the word
O nce he doth give,
R old in record
D oth tyme outlyve."²

The metrical arrangement of the AUTHORIZED VERSION of the same Psalm is as follows:

"O praise the Lord all ye nations;
Praise him, all ye people.
For his merciful kindness is great toward us:
And the truth of the Lord endureth forever.
Praise ye the Lord."³

No doubt most readers will agree that the latter rendering is more dignified and much less stilted.

Following are some comparative versions of the twenty-third Psalm including both Bible and metrical ver-

1. Op. Cit. p. 169

2. Farr, Op. Cit. p. 74

3. PSALMS ARRANGED IN PARALLELISMS Toronto 1851 p. 122

sions.

Literal Translation¹

The Lord is my shepherd:
 I shall not want.
 In pastures of tender grass he shall make me lie down;
 By waters of quietness he shall lead me.
 My soul he shall restore;
 He shall bring me forth in the paths of righteousness,
 For the sake of his Name.
 Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow
 of death
 I will fear no evil;
 For thou art with me:
 Thy rod and thy staff they give me quietness.
 Thou shalt prepare before me a table in the presence
 of them that trouble me.
 Thou hast anointed with oil my head.
 My cup shall overflow.
 Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the
 days of my life:
 And I will rest in the house of the Lord to the end
 of days.

Geneva Bible

The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want.

He maketh me to rest in green pasture, and leadeth
 me by the still waters.

Hee restoreth my soule, and leadeth mee in the paths
 of righteousness for his Names sake.

Yea though I should walk thorow the valley of the
 shadow of death, I will feare no evill; for thou are with
 me; thy rod and thy staffe, they comfort me.

Thou dost prepare a table before mee in the sight
 of mine adversaries: thou dost anoint my head with oyle,
 and my cup runneth over.

Doubtless kindness and mercy shall follow mee all
 the dayes of my life, and I shall remain a long season in
 the house of the Lord.

Rhema Douay Version

The chapter divisions in this version are different

1. Jebb, John LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE PSALMS
 London 1846 Vol. I. p. 40

from all other versions from the ninth chapter forward, since the ninth and tenth Psalms are combined. What, therefore, is the 23rd Psalm in all other versions is the 22nd Psalm in this version.

The Lord ruleth me; and I shall want nothing.*

2. He hath set me in a place of pasture.

He hath brought me up on the water of refreshment:

3. He hath converted my soul.

He hath led me on in the paths of justice for his own name's sake.

4. For though I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils, for thou art with me.

Thy rod and thy staff, they have comforted me.

5. Thou hast prepared a table before me, against them that afflict me.

Thou hast anointed my head with oil; and my chalice which inebriateth me, how goodly it is!

6. And thy mercy will follow me all the days of my life.

And that I may dwell in the house of the Lord unto the length of days.

King James Version#

* These verse numbers are placed in the same order as they are found in this version.

Exact copy from a facsimile edition of the original 1611 version.

The LORD is my shepherd, I shall not want.

2. He maketh me to lie downe in greene pastures:
he leadeth mee beside the still waters.

3. He restoreth my soule: He leadeth me in the
paths of righteousness, for his names sake.

4. Yea though I walke through the valley of the
shadowe of death, I will feare no evill: for thou art with
me, thy rod and thy staffe, they comfort me.

5. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence
of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oyle, my
cuppe runneth over.

6. Surely goodness and mercie shall follow me all
the daies of my life: and I will dwell in the house of
the LORD forever.

Metrical Versions

Sir Phillip Sidney

The Lord, the Lord my shepherd is,
And so can never I
Tast misery.

He rests me in greene pastures his:
By waters still and sweete
He guides my feete.

Hee me revives; leads me the way,
Which righteousness doth take,
For his name sake.

Yea though I should through valleys stray
Of death's dark shade, I will
Nee whitt feare ill.

For thou, deare Lord, thou me besett'st;
Thy rodd and thy staff be
To comfort me:

Before me thou a table sett'st,
Even then foes' envious eye
Doth it espy.

Thou oil'st my head, thou fill'st my cup;
 May more, thou endless good,
 Shalt give me food.
 To thee, I say ascended up,
 Where thou, the Lord of all,
 Dost hold thy hall.

Sternhold and Hopkins 1562 or 1563*

The Lord is only my support
 and he that doth me feed:
 How can I then lack anything
 whereof I stand in need?

He doth me fold in coats most safe
 in tender grass fast by:
 And after drives me to the streames
 that runne most pleasantly.

And when I feel my selfe neere left,
 then doth he me home take,
 Conducting me in the right paths
 even for his own names sake

And though I were even at deaths doore,
 yet would I feare none ill:
 For with thy rod and shepherdes crooke
 I am comforted still.

Thou hast my table richly deckt,
 in despight of my foe:
 Thou hast my head with balme refresht
 my cup doth ever flow.

And finally while breath doth last,
 thy grace shall me defend:
 And in the house of God will I
 my life forever spend.

Francis Davison

Francis Davison, son of William Davison, a secretary of state and privy counselor to Queen Elizabeth, translated a number of the Psalms into metrical arrangements different from those used in the church psalters. None of

* Copied from a 1619 edition appended to a Geneva Bible.

his works, however, were published until after his death. The manuscript of these Psalms is in the Harleian collection in the British Museum. The following is his arrangement of the twenty-third Psalm.

God, who in the universe doth hold
In his fold,
Is my shepherd kind and heedful,--
Is my shepherd, and doth keepe
Me his sheepe
Still supplied with all things needfull.

He feeds me in fields which beane
Fresh and Greene,
Nottled with Spring's flowry painting;
Through which creepe with murmuring crookes
Christall brookes,
To refresh my spirit's fainting.

When my soul from heaven's way
Went astray
With earth's vanities seduced,
For his name sake kindly he
Wandering me
To his holy field reduced.

Yea, should I stray through death's vale
Where his pale
Shades did on each side enfold me;
Dreadles, having thee for guide,
Should I bide,
For thy rod and staff uphold me.

Thou my beard with messes large
Dost surcharge;
My bowles full of wine thou powrest
And before myne enemies'
Envious eyes
Balme upon my head thou showerest.

Neither dures thy bounteous grace
For a space;
But it knowes nor bound nor measure.
So my daies to my live's end
I shall spend
In thy courts with heavenly pleasure.

Psalm IX: 1-2

Version of Edward VII¹

I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord,
 With all my heart;
 I will speak of all thy marvellous works,
 in whole or in part.
 I will be glad and rejoice in thee:
 Yea, my songs and my praises shall ever be,
 O thou most highest, ever the same
 Will I sing of thy holy name.

Sternhold and Hopkins Version

With heart and mouth unto thee, Lord,
 will I sing laud and praise:
 And speake of all thy wondrous workes,
 and then declare alwaies.
 I will be glad and much reioyce
 in thee O Lord most hie:
 And make my songs extoll thy name
 above the starrie skie.

William Byrd

Byrd was organist at the Royal Chapel during Elizabeth's reign, and, according to Fellowes,² he is considered by some critics as England's greatest composer. He was the founder of the English madrigal school and one of his most famous collections is PSALMES, SONETS AND SONGS OF SADNESS AND PIETIE. Below is his arrangement of Psalm 55: 1-4.

O God give ear and do apply
 To hear me when I pray,
 And when to thee I call and cry
 Hide not thyself away.

1. Kohut, George A. A HEBREW ANTHOLOGY Cincinnati 1913
 Vol. 1. p. 302

2. Fellowes, E. H. THE ENGLISH MADRIGAL SCHOOL London 1920
 Preface Vol. XIV p. iv

Take heed to me and grant my request
 And answer me again;
 With plaints I pray full sore oppressed,
 Great grief doth me constrain.

Because my foes with threats and cries
 Oppress me through despite,
 And so the wicked sort likewise
 To vex me have delight.

For they in counsel do conspire
 To charge me with some ill;
 So in their hasty wrath and ire
 They do pursue me still.

Francis Rous Version

Francis Rous was a Scotch Presbyterian, and a lawyer by profession. He rendered a metrical version of the Psalms, the first copy of which appeared in 1643. After seven years of emendation and revision the Scotch Presbyterian church adopted and published it in 1650. "It became the psalter of the Psalm-singing churches of the English tongue for two hundred years," says Breed.¹ Scotch and American churches known as "Covenanters" still use it. Although this version is later than Elizabeth's time, it is interesting for a comparative study with the metrical versions of her age.

Rous Version of Psalm I

That man hath perfect blessedness
 Who walketh not astray
 In counsel of ungodly men
 Nor stand in sinners' way;
 Nor sitteth in the scorner's chair;
 But placeth his delight
 Upon God's law, and meditates
 On his law day and night.

1. Breed, David R., D.D. HISTORY AND USE OF HYMNS AND
 HYMN TUNES N. Y. 1903 p. 61

He shall be like a tree that grows
 Near planted by a river
 Which in his season yields his fruit
 And his leaf fadeth never;
 And all he doth shall prosper well.
 The wicked are not so,
 But they are like unto the chaff
 Which wind drives to and fro.

In judgment, therefore, shall not stand
 Such as ungodly are;
 Nor in th' assembly of the just
 Shall wicked men appear,
 Because the way of ungodly men
 Unto the Lord is known;
 Whereas the way of wicked men
 Shall quite be overthrown.

Sternhold and Hopkins Version of Psalm I

The man is blest that hath not bent
 to wicked men his care;
 Nor led his life as sinners do
 nor sate in scorners' chair
 But in the law of God the Lord doth
 set his whole delight:
 And in that law doth exercise himselfe
 both day and night.

He shall be like the tree that grows
 fast by the river side:
 Which bringeth forth most pleasant fruit
 in her due time and tide.
 Whose leaf shall never fade nor fall,
 but flourish still and stand:
 Even so all things shall prosper well,
 that this man takes in hand.

So shall not the ungodly man
 they shall be nothing so:
 But as the dust which from the earth
 the winds drive to and fro,
 Therefore shall not the wicked man
 in judgement stand upright
 Nor yet the sinners with the just,
 shall come in place or sight.

A careful reading of these two versions makes one wonder how much Rous is indebted to the latter for some of his imagery and phraseology.

One of the most popular Psalms from the OLD VERSION is the One Hundredth. It is published under the title "Old Hundred". Its authorship is a matter of dispute. It is attributed to both John Hopkins and William Kethe, with good arguments for both. Kethe, however, seems to be the most widely accepted author. HOMES OF PRAISE, a hymnal edited by Humphrey Milford and published by Oxford Press in 1925, attributes it to Kethe as does Robinson¹ in his book on hymnology.

The music is written in long meter and was composed by Louis Bourgeois, a Frenchman, who was born near the beginning of the sixteenth century, and served as musical editor of the Genevan Psalter from 1542 to 1557.

The tune of "Old Hundred" is the same as that of the "Doxology". Below is a copy of the music and words as they appear in the 1619 edition of the OLD VERSION.

1. Robinson, Rev. C. S. ANNOTATIONS UPON POPULAR HYMNS
N. Y. 1893 p.60

All peo-ple that on earth doe dwell,

Sing to the Lord with cheere - full voyce;

Him serve with feare, his praise forth tell

Come ye be-fore him and re - ioyce

The Lord, ye know, is God indeed,
without our aid he did us make;
We are his flocke, he doth us feed,
and for our sheep he doth us take.

O enter then his gates with praise,
approach with ioy his courts unto,
Praise, laud, and bless his name alwaies,
for it is seemly so to doe.

For why? the Lord our God is good,
his mercie is forever sure.
His truth at all times firmly stood,
and shall from age to age endure.

Burghley and Bacon are both cited by Prothero as being diligent students of the Psalms. It is said that Burghley took great comfort in his declining years in reading, or in hearing read, the scriptures, Psalms, and prayers. Bacon made reference to the Psalms in his essays OF ADVERSITY AND OF ATHEISM. He studied, quoted, and even versified the Psalms, as did also Wyatt, Surrey, Spenser,

Sidney, Queen Elizabeth, James I, and Phineas Fletcher. One of Bacon's works was CERTAIN PSALMES WRITTEN IN SICKNESS. It was published in 1624 and dedicated to George Herbert, but "it was so unmelodious that it is difficult even to imagine that he was a poet," says Prothero.

So far as is known, Shakespeare never versified any of the Psalms, but Prothero calls attention to the fact that he was very familiar with them and cites several instances where he made references to them. When Queen Margaret asks in the second part of "Henry the Sixth,"

"What! art thou, like the adder waxen deaf?
Be poisonous too, and kill their forlorn queen."

or when Hector tells Paris, in "Troilus and Cressida,"

"Pleasure and revenge
Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice
Of any true decision,"

the allusion is to Psalm 58:4, which reads:

"Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: they are like the deaf adder which stoppeth her ear."

Prothero thinks that Buckingham's words in "King Henry the Eighth,"

"And, as the long divorce of steel falls on me,
Make of your prayers one sweet sacrifice,
And lift my soul to Heaven,"

refer to Psalm 141: 2,

"Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice."

He says that Antony's prayer in "Antony and Cleopatra,"

"Oh that I were
Upon the hill of Bashan, to out-roar
The horned herd! for I have savage cause -"

plainly refers to the Psalmist's "Hill of Bashan," Psalm 68: 15, and the "fat bulls of Bashan," Psalm 22: 12.

The prayer of Adam in, "As you like It,"

"He doth the ravens feed,
Yea, providently caters to the sparrow,
Be comfort to my age,"

is partly founded on Psalm 147: 9,

"He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young
ravens which cry."

When the king in "Hamlet" asks:

"What if this cursed hand
Were thicker than itself with brother's blood,
Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens
To wash it white as snow?"

he refers to Psalm 51: 7,

"Thou shalt wash me and I shall be whiter than snow."

The same author cites several other references, some of which seem a bit far fetched, but it is very plain that there are many evidences of likeness to the Psalter in Shakespeare's works.

Besides those already mentioned, Farr names the following men who produced metrical versions of the Psalms: Sir John Harington, a courtier and man of wit; Henry Lok, a courtier; William Hunnis, chapel master to Elizabeth; John Hall, physician and poet; Abraham Fraunce, poet; William Samuel, clergyman; Christopher Davison, brother to Francis Davison; Joseph Bryan; Richard Gipps; T. Carey, gentlemen; John Pitts; Michael Cosworth; Elizabeth Grymston; Henry Dodd, a silkman; John Pullian, clergyman.¹

1. Farr, Op. Cit. Table of Contents

CHAPTER III

HYMNS AND HYMN BOOKS

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HYMNS AND HYMN BOOKS

From the standpoint of literary criticism, hymns have never rated very highly as lyric poetry. In discussing the poetry of hymns Schelling says: "We may accept -- even the 'Olney Hymns,' though we need not read them."¹ In another place this same critic somewhat condescendingly accords to hymns "the respect that honest devotional effort (even when versified) should properly inspire."²

It is true that much of the poetry of hymnody is sheer doggerel and very justly deserves adverse criticism, but to cast, indiscriminately, all hymn poems into the junk heap of doggerel, as some critics have shown a tendency to do, is to let one's prejudice outrun one's better judgment. The fact should not be overlooked that hymn poems are not written to meet all the tests of literary criticism, but that they are written to express, through song, the religious devotion of the human soul. Mr. Louis F. Benson makes the following clear-cut distinction between the hymn poem and the poem of literature:

"A hymn may or may not happen to be literature; in any case it is something more; its sphere, its motive, its canons and its use are different. It belongs to the things

1. Schelling, Felix E. THE ENGLISH LYRIC Boston 1913 p.139

2. Ibid p. 136

of the spirit, in the sphere of religious experience and communion with God. Its special sphere is worship, and its fundamental relations are not literary but liturgical. Of all definitions of the hymn, that which claims least for it best defines it: it is liturgical verse."¹

MacDonald says: "Of the lyrical poems of England, religion possesses the most."²

Upon investigation one finds that these religious poems fall in many different classes and that hymns come in for quite a large share of them, though not so much so in the Elizabethan, as in later periods of English history. To overlook the hymn, therefore, in a study of the religious lyric, is to ignore the form of lyric that has affected the largest number of people. After all, the masses do not read the poetry that meets all the tests of literary criticism, but the majority of people do sing hymns, especially those who are members of Protestant bodies.

But hymns have not always enjoyed the popularity that they do today. In his discussion of the hymn of eighteenth century England and Scotland Benson says:

"To love hymns in eighteenth century Scotland was to be accused of heresy; in England it was to be convicted of that worse thing, 'enthusiasm.'"³

1. Benson, Louis F. THE ENGLISH HYMN p. viii N.Y. 1915

2. MacDonald, George ENGLAND'S ANTIPHON London p. 1

3. Op. Cit. p. v Preface

Benson further quotes Dr. Johnson as saying of a girl who came to sacrament in a bed gown: "I gave her privately a crown, though I saw a copy of Hart's hymns in her hand."¹

Such an attitude on the part of the English and Scotch at this late period in their history is more easily understood when one is familiar with the historical background of the English hymn.

There were English hymns long before the Reformation. Carol singing was brought over from France very early, and by the thirteenth century the Norman carols began to give way to those in the English language. These carols often retained the French refrain, at the same time introducing Latin lines taken from the church service, the principal theme being events connected with the Nativity. Besides these were the less homely hymns to Christ and the Virgin, and mystical devotional verses written in the monasteries. But the connection of these early carols with the church songs of Protestantism is very slight. Between these and the hymns that developed later, lay the Reformation.

Before Luther and the Reformation, however, come the followers of John Huss. This sect, known by various names, such as 'Bohemians', 'Moravians', and 'United Brethren', "gave special attention to popular praise," says Breed.²

1. Ibid p. v Preface

2. Op. Cit. p. 39

In 1504 Lucas of Prague, the Bohemian bishop, collected four hundred of the best German hymns and published them. This was the first published copy of a hymn book for congregational use. In 1552 Michael Weiss published a number of German translations of Bohemian hymns, together with some of his own. These he sent to Luther who heartily approved them. Luther's own personal contribution to hymnody was his publication of several hymns in the German vernacular. Calvin, who was no doubt influenced by Luther's success, made a similar contribution in the publication of his Genevan Psalter.

While Luther and Calvin both made their contributions, there was a wide divergence in their source and method. These differences grew largely out of the personalities and training of the two men. Luther loved the German folk song for social singing and for use in the home. He also still had an affectionate regard for the ritual of the Catholic Church, especially the Latin hymns, which, for centuries, had been a part of the Daily Office. These hymns were free compositions, facile in metrical arrangement, and were not confined to scriptural paraphrase. This plan, Luther felt, would be the ideal way to proclaim the new doctrine of Lutheranism, especially since the Germans were so fond of congregational singing. Hence he adopted without any hesitancy the hymn of human composition, thereby determining the congregational hymn as the form of Lutheran Church music. Calvin, on the other hand,

keenly felt the frivolity of the current French songs and was very impatient with any melody in any way connected with them. His attitude toward the music of the Catholic Church was far different from that of Luther. He was hostile to it because he felt that it was a "human contrivance and scaffolding of a merely formal religion."¹ Consequently he chose to have nothing to do with the music of his religious cultus that reminded him of the Latin Church, but chose rather to reinstate the practice of the primitive church by practically confining himself to the canonical Psalms. The Calvinistic psalm was, therefore, a successor to the old church psalms, while the Lutheran hymn was a lineal descendent of the Latin hymns of the "Breviary".

"Which of these two contrasting types of church song was to establish itself among English speaking people was at first by no means clear," says Benson.²

The impulse behind the early Reformation in both England and Scotland was Lutheranism, and the leaders tried to put forth the Lutheran type of church music. But the effort was ineffective in England, for in 1531 Miles Coverdale issued the first English hymn book under the title GOOSTLY PSALMES AND SPIRITUALL SONGES DRAWEN OUT OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. This hymnal was based upon the

1. Benson, Op. Cit. p. 23

2. Ibid p. 25

Wittenberg hymn books, but the songs in it proved to be so dull that in 1546, King Henry VIII placed it among the list of prohibited books.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the Wedderburns, who were contemporaries of Coverdale, successfully introduced hymns and songs based upon Luther's models. These exerted an influence in the development of Reformation music until after the organization of the Reformed Church of Scotland.

In both England and Scotland, however, Calvin's influence prevailed over that of Luther and determined the form of music for the church. The Scottish Church, under Knox's influence, discarded the Wedderburn hymn book, and adopted into its constitution the Genevan form of metrical psalmody instead. The English Church adopted psalmody just as effectively as did the Scottish Church though in a more informal manner. Thus, both churches entered upon an era of Psalm singing that was to be very little disturbed for more than two hundred years. The psalm book used by the people, however, was not confined wholly to canonical Psalms. In both England and Scotland the psalm books had, appended to them, small groups of hymns, metrical paraphrases of other scriptural passages, and Prayer Book material. These common features are to be explained by the fact that they originated with Knox, Whittingham, and others of the Puritan party who were Marian exiles at Geneva, and who had come under the influence of Calvin's psalm-singing French congregation.

The English Psalter (commonly known as the OLD VERSION) first appeared in complete form in 1562 from the press of John Day. In this edition there were two groups of metrical hymns, one before and one after the Psalms of David. In a preliminary edition which appeared in 1561 there were seventeen of these hymns. The 1562 edition had nineteen, and editions immediately succeeding attained a total of twenty-three. There are thirteen hymns preceding the Psalter in the 1619 edition. According to Benson the hymns in the 1562 edition are arranged in the following order.

Before the Psalms:

1. VENI CREATOR - "Come Holy Ghost eternal God."
(Venite - In the 1562 edition there is only a reference to Psalm 95 as serving for the Venite of 1651.)
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 soul doth magnify the Lord."
6. NUNC DIMITTIS - "O Lord because my heart's desire."
7. CREED OF ATHANASIUS - "What man soever he be that."
8. LAMENTATION OF A SINNER - "O Lord turn not away thy face."
9. HUMBLE SUITE OF A SINNER - "O Lorde of whom I doe depend."
10. LORD'S PRAYER - (D.C.M.) "Our Father which in heaven art."

11. COMMANDMENTS (D.C.M.) - "Hark Israel, and what I say."

After the Psalms:

1. COMMANDMENTS (L.M.) - "Attend my people and give care." Followed by "A Prayer."
2. LORD'S PRAYER (S.S.S.S.S.S.) - "Our Father which in heaven art."
3. XII ARTICLES OF THE FAITH - "All my belief and confidence."
4. A PRAYER BEFORE SERMON - "Come Helie 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 THE LORD'S SUPPER - "The Lord be thanked for his gifts."
8. PRESERVE US LORD BY THY DEARE WORD.

In succeeding editions the VENITE of 1561 was restored and the following hymns added.

1. BEFORE MORNING PRAYER - "Praise the Lord O ye Gentiles all."
2. BEFORE EVENING PRAYER - "Behold now give heed such as be."
3. COMPLAINT OF A SINNER - "Where righteousness doth say."

The 1619 edition referred to above contains the following hymns listed in the order here given.

1. VENI CREATOR.

2. THE HUMBLE SUITE OF A SINNER.
3. VENITE EXULTATE - "O come and let us now rejoice."
4. TE DEUM.
5. THE SONG OF THREE CHILDREN - "All ye works of God the Lord." (This is the BENEDICTITE of former editions.)
6. BENEDICTUS or THE SONG OF ZACHARIAS.
7. MAGNIFICAT or the SONG OF BLESSED MARY.
8. NUNC DIMITTIS or the SONG OF SIMEON.
9. CREED OF ATHANASIUS or QUICUNQUE VULT.
10. LAMENTATION OF A SINNER.
11. LORD'S PRAYER or PATER NOSTER.
12. THE X COMMANDMENTS.
13. COMPLAINT OF A SINNER.

After the Psalms: Lacking in the available copy.

Benson says that these hymns were not as popular for public worship as their number might lead one to think. He points out that it was a familiar device to cast doctrinal matter into metrical form and set it to music, partly to furnish the people religious songs, and partly for the purpose of helping them to memorize the doctrinal matter. He calls attention to the fact that many of the hymns were for private use in the homes.

The following hymns were appended to the 1635 edition of the Scotch Psalter.

1. COMMANDMENTS (L.M.) - "Attend My People," with the "Prayer."
2. LORD'S PRAYER (Cox's)

3. VENI CREATOR
4. NUNC DIMITTIS
5. XII ARTICLES
6. THE HUMBLE SUITE - "O Lord, on Whom I Do Depend."
7. THE LAMENTATION - "O Lord, Turn Not."
8. MAGNIFICAT
9. THE LAMENTATION - "O Lord, in Thee."
10. THE SONG OF MOSES
11. THANKSGIVING AFTER LORD'S PRAYER
12. A SPIRITUAL SONG
13. THE COMPLAINT - "Where Righteousness Doth Say."

There is a question whether or not these hymns were used to any great extent in the church service. Benson thinks that they were not, since quite a number of the many editions of the Scotch Psalter had very few, and some, none of these hymns at all. They were permitted in the psalter, but their purpose seems to have been mainly for use in the home rather than for public worship.

It was a long process in the evolution of the church hymn from the metrical psalters to the hymn as we know it today. There was, however, a growing interest in hymnody, and such seventeenth century names as Wither, Herbert, Crossman, Austin, Ken, Baxter, Mason, Playford, and Bayse are outstanding in the development of the hymn up to 1707, when Isaac Watts appeared on the scene. Watts has been called the "Father of the English hymn", for it was he who gave the greatest impetus to the development of a new and

higher type of church music. Following him were Doddridge, Newton, Cowper, the Wesleys, Toplady, Beddome, and others, who gave to the church more great hymns than the writers of any other period of church history.

There was a large number of hymns written near the end of Elizabeth's reign, and some shortly after her death, that never were included in any of the psalters. A few of these, however, have found their way into some modern hymnals. Humphrey Milford, a London publisher, recently published two books, THE ENGLISH HYMNAL and SONGS OF PRAISE that contain quite a number of these hymns. Some Elizabethans whose works appear in these two books are: Gascoigne, Spenser, Sidney, Keble, Shakespeare, Wotton, Heywood, and Donne. Others who were born near the end of the Elizabethan period but whose works come in the following period, also have song poems appearing in these same books. Some of them are: Phineas Fletcher, Pestel, Wither, Herrick, Herbert, and Cosin. The following arrangement of sonnet lxxiii of "Amoretti and Epithalamion" appears under the title "Sunday Morning".

"Most glorious Lord of life, that on this day
Didst make thy triumph over death and sin,
And having harrowed hell, didst bring away
Captivity thence captive, us to win.

"This joyous day, dear Lord, with joy begin,
And grant that we for whom thou didst die,
Being with dear blood clean washed from sin,
May live forever in felicity:

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"And that thy love we weighing worthily
May likewise love thee for the same again;
And for thy sake, that all like dear didst buy,
With love may one another entertain;

"So let us love, dear Love, like as we ought;
Love is the lesson which the Lord us taught."

Thus the sonnet becomes a three stanza hymn with the
rhyming couplet at the end used as a refrain. The music
was written by one H. Lowes, 1596-1662.

Farr lists a poem by Gascoigne entitled "Good
Morrow", which SONGS OF PRAISE uses as a morning song.
This hymnal has reduced the original long poem to one of
six quatrains of alternate rhyme scheme. Gascoigne's most
famous hymn, however, is his "De Profundus". This same
hymnal also includes Sidney's version of Psalm 139, Kethe's
Psalm 100, Herbert's Psalm 23, and Shakespeare's 146th
sonnet, the latter of which is entitled "Soul and Body".
Following is the arrangement used.

"Poor Soul, the center of my sinful earth,
Fooled by these rebel powers that thee array,
Why dost thou pine within, and suffer death,
Painting thy outward walls so gay?

"Why so large cost, having so short a lease
Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?
Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,
Eat up thy charge? Is this thy body's end?

"Then, Soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,
And let that pine to aggravate thy store;
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;
Within be fed, without be rich no more:

"So shalt thou feed on death that feeds on men,
And death once dead, there's no more dying then."

George Wither, who was the most voluminous hymn
writer of the early years of the period immediately suc-

eeding Elizabeth, has an evening hymn in SONGS OF PRAISE, as well as his version of Psalm 143. The evening hymn is written in octaves, and is set to the music of a melody taken from Day's Psalter of 1563.

Next to Wither, George Herbert wrote more hymns than any other poet of this period. The two English hymnals referred to above contain six of his hymns. Herbert was known for his deep devotion, and yet Prescott¹ thinks that his poems are "sweet lyrics rather than hymns."

Both hymnals include Bishop Cosin's "Veni Creator". This is a somewhat different translation, however, from the "Veni Creator" of the OLD VERSION. Prescott says that the old Latin hymn upon which all later translations are based goes back to the ninth century. He says: "The earliest recorded instance of its use was in A.D. 898, at the translation relics as mentioned in the ANNAIS of the Benedictines; doubtless it is older." Robert II of France rendered a translation into French in the eleventh century. This was in turn translated into English by one Edward Caswell. The first line of this translation is:

"Come, thou Holy Spirit, come."

A later and well known rendering which appeared in the Prayer Book and the one most frequently used now is:

"Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire."

In the Ordinal of the 1552 Prayer Book the first

1. Prescott, J. E. CHRISTIAN HYMNS AND HYMN WRITERS
Cambridge 1883 p. 70

line was:

"Come, Holy Ghost, eternal God."

This is the rendering that was used in the first edition of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter and is one of the very few hymns that retains a place in practically every following edition.

"Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," is attributed to Bishop Cosin. Prescott says that it was found in Cosin's COLLECTION OF PRIVATE DEVOTIONS of 1637, and appeared in the Ordinal of the Prayer Book of 1662.¹

John Donne's "Hymn to God the Father", set to music by Bach, is found in the ENGLISH HYMNAL. A hymn of deep penitence by Phineas Fletcher is found in both of the above mentioned hymnals. THE OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE² edited by Quiller Couch, and Ault's book, ELIZABETHAN LYRICS,³ both contain Fletcher's poem. Following is the text.

"Drop, drop slow tears,
And bathe these bounteous feet,
Which brought from heaven
The news, and Prince of Peace.
Cease not, wet eyes,
His mercies to entreat;
To cry for vengeance
Sin doth never cease.
In your deep floods
Drown all my faults and fears;
Nor let his eye
See sin, but through my tears,"

For hymn arrangement, the poem is divided into three

1. Ibid p.32

2. Quiller-Couch OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE London p. 244

3. Ault, Norman ELIZABETHAN LYRICS p. 400

quatrains.

Robert Herrick wrote a poem entitled "Litany to the Holy Spirit", which the writer has found listed by Palgrave,¹ Wilmott,² Quiller-Couch,³ and Griswold⁴ in their respective works. The editor of the ENGLISH HYMNAL has selected the best five of the eleven stanzas, and set them to rather elaborate music. The poem is marred, however, in that it goes from the sublime to the ridiculous.

Herrick opens the poem with the lines.

"In the hour of my distress,
When temptations me oppress,
And when I my sins confess,
Sweet Spirit, comfort me."

and closes with:

"When the judgment is revealed
And that opened which was seal'd
When to thee I have appeal'd,
Sweet Spirit, comfort me."

But when the poet sinks to such doggerel as:

"When the artless doctor sees,
No one hope, but of his fees,
And his skill runs on the lees;
Sweet Spirit, comfort me."

"When his potion and his pill,
Has nor none, or little skill,
Meet for nothing but to kill;
Sweet Spirit, comfort me,"

the reader experiences mingled feelings of mirth and dis-

1. Palgrave, F. T. THE TREASURY OF SACRED SONG Oxford 1889
2. Wilmott, R. A. ENGLISH SACRED POETRY London 1863
3. Op. Cit.
4. Griswold, R. W. THE SACRED POETS OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA
N.Y. 1850

gust.

Although this chapter on HYMNS AND HYMN BOOKS has grown to some length, it has been a somewhat disheartening task to find such an extreme paucity of really good Elizabethan hymns. The few good ones that one does find, however, make the search amply worth while.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS LYRICS OF THE SONG BOOKS

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What has been said of the literary value of the Elizabethan hymn, may also be said of the religious lyric in general if one is to accept the following statement of A. H. Bullen.

"Our poets, as a rule, do themselves but scant justice when they turn their hands to devotional verse; their genius seems to forsake them; they either drop into commonplace, or are stiff and awkward. It is astonishing, when one comes to think of it, how very little devotional poetry of high merit we possess, how rarely do we meet the lyric cry joined to religious exaltation."¹

Mr. Bullen places Campian and Vaughn at the top of the list of those few who did have the power to write superior religious lyric poetry. There are, however, a number of song writers who produced some religious lyrics that compare quite favorably with Campian's and Vaughn's lyrics.

Mr. E. H. Fellowes has made some excellent collections of these lyrics in his ENGLISH MADRIGAL VERSE, and THE ENGLISH MADRIGAL SCHOOL. The latter work is an edition of several volumes containing both words and music. The only volume that has been available for this study is the one entitled PSALMS, SONETS AND SONGS OF WILLIAM BYRD.

1. Bullen, A. H. ELIZABETHANS N.Y. 1924 p. 133

Bullen's collections also contain many religious lyrics along with the love lyrics, but Fellowes' works are somewhat better organized and contain practically everything that Bullen's collections contain.

Fellowes divides his ENGLISH MADRIGAL VERSE into two divisions, namely: "The Madrigalists", and "The Lutenists". Under the first division he lists religious lyrics taken from the song books of the following composers:

Richard Allison, William Byrd, Michael East, John Mundy, Martin Peerson, Francis Pilkington, and Thomas Tomkins.

Most of these men were composers only, but Campian was both composer and poet. As stated above, Bullen rates Campian as one of the peers of English lyric poetry, but Mr. Bullen seems to be addicted to the over-use of superlatives, hence one cannot give too much credence to his critical opinions.

Byrd's is the only book containing religious lyrics in their musical setting, hence the discussion will be confined largely to his book. In discussing the contents of his book, Byrd says in his "Epistle to the Reader":

"Benigne Reader, heere is offered unto thy courteous acceptance, musicke of sundrie sorts, and to content diuers humors. If thou be disposed to praye, heere are Psalmes. If thou be merrie, heere are Sonets. If to lament for thy sinnes, heere are diuers songs, which being originally made for Instruments to expresse the harmonie,

and one voyce to pronounce the dittie, are now framed in all parts for voyces to sing the same. If thou desire songs of small compasse & fit for reach of most voyces, heere are most in number of that sort."¹

There are ten Psalms in this work, and Fellowes says in a note concerning them:

"The author of these metrical versions of the Psalms has not been identified, but it may be stated that a number of such versions existed at this period besides that of Sterndale and Hopkins."²

Mr. Fellowes makes two errors in this statement, which are all the more surprising since they come from a man who impresses one as being, in most cases, a careful student. The first error that he makes is the one concerning the authorship of the Psalms used by Byrd. Evidently Mr. Fellowes had not made a first-hand investigation of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter, for the version of Psalm 55 which Byrd uses is that of John Hopkins. It is one of the Psalms that Duffield thinks is the translation of some one other than John Hopkins because it is initialed "I.H." As has already been pointed out, however, Duffield's argument seems to be rather inconclusive. At any rate, whether "I.H." means John Hopkins or some one else, it is in the Sternhold and Hopkins version.

1. THE ENGLISH MADRIGAL SCHOOL Vol. xiv Preface p. x

2. Ibid p. xxxvi

Byrd's collection also contains the sixth Psalm from the same version. There is no question among critics concerning the authorship of Psalms 1-23. They all agree that they are from the pen of Thomas Sternhold. One has a feeling that Mr. Fellowes was not as careful as he might have been, else he would have consulted the OLD VERSION. Certainly a copy of it was available since he had access to the British Museum, the Oxford, Bodleian, and other libraries of England. The writer has searched all available sources, however, without establishing the identity of the authorship of the other eight Psalms in Byrd's work.

The other error which Mr. Fellowes makes, is that of referring to the Sternhold and Hopkins Version as the Sterndale and Hopkins Version. The writer has carefully examined all available sources, but nowhere has he found a single reference to a "Sterndale," but he has found literally dozens of references to "Sternhold." Of course this could be a typographical error, but since it is used repeatedly this is hardly the case. Even though this were true, it still has the appearance of hurried, if not careless, proof reading. Certainly, with the exception of the letter 'l', 'dale' and 'hold' have no resemblance to each other.

Byrd uses the motet form of composition for his Psalms. This is an arrangement whereby two verses, or even more, serve as one performance rather than the verse by verse performance as in the hymn. The version of Psalm

55, which Byrd uses, is one continuous performance for every four verses, thereby producing a rather elaborate anthem or cantata. The motet may also be arranged for only one verse. The music is much more complicated than that for hymn tunes, and may be arranged for any number of parts. All of Byrd's motets are arranged for five parts, and are to be sung without instrumental accompaniment. In fact, as Grove¹ and other music critics point out, the music for the madrigal and the motet is similar in that each is a continuous performance. The principal difference is in the subject matter of the lyric. The madrigal is, most generally, the pastoral love theme, whereas the motet verse is nearly always a religious theme.

In discussing the madrigal Fellowes says:

"The madrigal took the form of accompanied song for at least three, and rarely for more than six, voice parts. It was constructed mainly upon short musical phrases treated contrapuntally, while each voice part had an equal share of melodic interest, the musical phrases being several times reiterated. Occasionally this method was varied by short periods in which all the voices moved together in blocks of harmony. The true madrigal was seldom set to more than one stanza of poetry; and indeed these composers studied their words so closely, and expressed themselves with such intimate regard for the particular meaning of

1. Grove, George DICTIONARY OF MUSIC AND MUSICIANS N.Y. 1927 Vol. III pp 12ff and 271ff

each word and each phrase that the exact repetition of their music to a free stanza of words was scarcely ever possible."¹

He goes on to say that composers cooperated to produce a high type of both words and music, and that both strove to create and sustain interest. He further calls attention to the fact that the canzonet and other alternative terms used by composers implied no material difference in constructive principles. The ballet was an exception in that it was founded upon more regular rhythmic outline, having originally been an art form in which singing and dancing were combined.

The ten Psalms listed in Byrd's book range in length from one to ten stanzas. The one stanza lyric is the following version of Psalm 130:1.

"Even from the depth unto thee, Lord
With heart and voice I cry;
Give ear, O God, unto my plaint
And help my misery."

and yet this short verse is stretched into a motet four pages in length. The longest motet listed in the collection is Hopkins' version of Psalm 55:1-4. It is one continuous performance of eight pages.

The shortest madrigal verse in the collection is:

"Although the heathen poets did
Apollo famous praise,
As one who for his music sweet
No peer had in his days."

This is stretched into a two page performance.

1. ENGLISH MADRIGAL VERSE Preface p. ix.

All the compilers who publish a list of the song poems used by Byrd include a carol on the subject of the Nativity. Each of the four stanzas is preceded by the following refrain.

"Lulla, la lulla, lulla lullaby,
My sweet little Baby, what meanest thou to cry?"

The carol is a recital of the visit of the Wise Men, the decree of Herod, and the flight into Egypt. The first three stanzas end with the line:

"Oh wee! and woeful heavy day, when wretches have
their will."

The last stanza is a song of rejoicing because of the escape into Egypt. It ends with the triumphant line:

"Oh joy! and joyful happy day, when wretches want
their will."

One of the most famous madrigal poems in Byrd's book is Edward Dyer's, "My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is". While the theme of this poem is not distinctly religious, it is, in spirit, very much like the Apostle Paul's expression in Philippians 4:11, "I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content." There are six stanzas in this poem, but the first and the last ones seem to summarize the philosophy of the whole.

"My mind to me a kingdom is,
Such perfect joy therein I find
That it excels all other bliss,
Which God or nature hath assigned;
Though much I want that most would have
Yet still my mind forbids to crave."

"My wealth is health and perfect ease
 And conscience clear my chief defense;
 I never seek by bribes to please,
 Nor by desert to give offence.
 Thus do I live, thus will I die;
 Would all did so well as I."

This is a composition five pages in length.

Although most madrigal verse has love for its theme, Fellowes lists, in the first division of his book,¹ eighty-two madrigals with religious themes. These represent seven of the twenty-five authors whose works appear in the book.

The second part of Fellowes' book is devoted to another type of composer, namely, the lutenist, and the poems listed here are those used by this school of composers. The title ordinarily given to their song was 'air', or 'ayre' as spelled by the Elizabethans. This term was also used by the madrigalists for distinctly madrigalian purposes, says Fellowes.

"The airs of the lutenists usually took the form of solo-songs with several stanzas of words, for each of which, as a general rule, the same music was repeated: the first stanza being set up with the music in the song books, while the subsequent stanzas were printed in metrical form on another part of the page."²

He further says that when these airs were performed as solo songs, they were accompanied by the lute, often being reinforced by the bass-viol or other like instrument.

1. ENGLISH MADRIGAL VERSE

2. Ibid p. xi Preface

Occasionally more elaborate accompaniment was added.

Among the collections of the twenty lutenists listed in Fellowes' book, only seven include religious lyrics. Altogether there are twenty-nine of these religious lyrics, seventeen of which are in Campian's undated work, FIRST BOOK OF AIRS. The other lutenists including religious lyrics in their collections are: Thomas Greaves, John Bartlet, John Danyel, John Dowland, Walter Porter and Philip Rossiter.

One lyric that Fellowes, Palgrave, and Bullen all include in their collections of Campian's Aires is one entitled.

"View Me, Lord, a Work of Thine."

While this five-stanza lyric does not seem to be a metrical version of any particular Psalm, still it breathes the spirit of the Psalter, especially the Penitential Psalms. This spirit seems to be most prevalent in the first, third, and fifth stanzas. They are as follows.

"View me, Lord, a work of thine!
Shall I then lie drowned in night?
Nigh thy grace in me but shine,
I should seem made all of light."

"Cleanse me, Lord, that I may kneel
At thine altar pure and white;
They that once thy mercies feel,
Gaze no more on earth's delight."

"In thy word, Lord, is my trust.
To thy mercies fast I fly.
Though I am but clay and dust,
Yet thy grace can lift me high."

Equally musical is the version of Psalm 137 that is used by Campian. Whether or not Campian or someone else wrote this version, Fellowes does not say. It is, however, well chosen for this collection, since the lyric quality, and the subject matter are well adapted to the music of the lute. Following is a comparison between the first six stanzas from the AUTHORIZED VERSION, and the first four stanzas of Campian's lyric.

Psalm 137:1-6. Authorized Version

1. By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down, yea we wept when we remembered Zion.
2. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.
3. For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.
4. How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?
5. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.
6. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.

Metrical version used by Campian. Stanzas 1-4

"As by the streams of Babylon
Far from our native soil we sat,
Sweet Sion thee we thought upon
And every thought a tear begat.

"Aloft the trees that spring up there
Our silent harps we pensive hung.
Said they that captived us: Let's hear
Some song which you in Sion sung.

"Is then the song of our God fit
To be profaned in foreign land?
O Salem, thee when I forget,
Forget his skill may my right hand.

"Fast to the roof cleave may my tongue,
If mindless I of thee be found;
Or if when all my joys are sung,
Jerusalem be not the ground."

John Dowland, who for several years was lutenist to the King of Denmark, included only four religious lyrics in A PILGRIM'S SOLACE, published in 1612. These he did include, however, are lyric gems. The following are two examples.

"If that a sinner's sighs be angel's food,
Or that repentant tears be angel's wine,
Accept, O Lord, in this most pensive mood,
These hearty sighs and doleful plaints of mine
That went with Peter forth most sinfully,
But not, as Peter, did weep bitterly."

"Thou mighty God that rightest every wrong,
Listen to Patience in a dying song.
When Job had lost his children, lands, and goods,
Patience assuaged his excessive pain;
And when his sorrows came as fast as floods,
Hope kept his heart till Comfort came again."

The songs in A PILGRIM'S SOLACE were set to music for three, four, and five parts to be sung to the accompaniment of the lute and the viols.

The madrigalists and the lutenists have contributed an interesting chapter to the history of the Elizabethan lyric, but, unfortunately for this work, the quantity of religious lyrics in the Song Books is inconsequential in comparison with the love lyrics. The writer hopes, however, that enough examples of the religious lyrics have been cited to show favorable comparison with the love lyrics.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIO-PHILOSOPHICAL

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In discussing this particular type of religious lyric only those poems will be discussed that have not been considered elsewhere in this study. Much of Donne's work falls within this class, but since his writings have been discussed at length in the chapter on the religious sonnet, nothing further will be said of him.

There are many works of lesser importance which might be given attention in this chapter, but in order to keep within the bounds of reasonable length, the writer has chosen to confine the discussion to Spenser's, "Hymne of Heavenly Love", and "Hymne of Heavenly Beauty", and Davies', "Nosce Teipsum".

In speaking of the "Fowre Hymnes" and the "Prothalamium," Schelling¹ says that they are important for their subject matter and belong more to a study of Platonism rather than to the history of the lyric. He further says:

"In manner they are narrative or didactic; yet their great melody and their personal emotion and rapture give them, if not lyric form, at least very high lyrical quality."

There is a wide divergence of opinion among critics whether the latter two of the "Fowre Hymnes" are more predominantly Platonic, or Christian, in tenor. They all

admit that there is a mixture of both, but as to the extent of each, opinions vary widely. In discussing the "Hymne of Heavenly Love", Schelling says:

"The poet applies the same poetic method and the same Platonic theories to spiritual love, as before he had applied to human passion. He tells how, in the beginning, God, enamored of his own beauty, beget the other persons of the Trinity; then, of the same love, He created the angels; after they rebelled, He created man to fill their place; then after man too had fallen, He redeemed him with the sacrifice of Christ. The poet then exhorts men to follow this example of unselfish love."¹

Thus Schelling makes Christianity the predominating element in this hymn.

In his criticism of the "Hymne of Heavenly Beautie", this same author thinks it is the least successful of the four lyrics. He thinks that it is too sublime even for Spenser's lofty mood, and that his fine conceptions take all but trained scholastic minds out of their depth. He thinks, also, that it is not only the most intellectual, but the least lyrical of the "Fowre Hymnes". He summarizes the poet's method as follows:

"The firmament is taken as the first type of divine beauty; then, in the next grade, the sun and the moon are contemplated; then the unseen stars, and the borders of

1. Ibid p. 195

that heaven wherein dwells the First Cause; then, the habitation of human souls in bliss; then the reign of ideas, in the Platonic sense, and of the Pure Intelligence; then, through still higher conceptions of beauty the poet contemplates the image of God himself."¹

One can see from this analysis, therefore, that Mr. Schelling thinks Spenser emphasizes Platonism more than Christianity in the fourth hymn.

Concerning "Sapience" in this hymn, Professor Osgood,² of Princeton, thinks that Spenser drew from the Hebrew personification as found in the Biblical books of Proverbs and Job, and the Apocryphal books of Wisdom, Sirach, and Baruch. In discussing "Sapience" he says:

"She sits in the bosom of God, 'The sovaine darling of the Deity,' robed like a queen."

Concerning the Platonism of the fourth hymn, Mr. Osgood thinks that it is traceable "more to late Greek and oriental theosophy, and to Christian medieval mysticism, than to Plato himself."

Of the origin of the Heavenly Beauty this critic thinks that "the Heavenly Beauty is not one with the Holy Spirit, but derived from it." In order to set forth what he thinks is Spenser's real belief, he quotes the seventy-ninth sonnet from the "Amoretti". The following lines

1. *Ibid* p. 195

2. Osgood, Charles G. "Spenser's Sapience"
STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY Vol. XIV pp. 167-177

from this sonnet epitomize Osgood's conception.

"That is true beauty: that doth argue you
To be divine and born of heavenly seed,
Deriv'd from that fayre Spirit from whom
al true
And perfect beauty did at first proceed."¹

But Professor Fletcher,² of Columbia University, holds a different view from that of Professor Osgood. He holds that Sapience is to be identified with the Holy Ghost or Pneuma, who, according to a belief held by Gnostics, the Kabbalists, and Origen, was a female personality eternally "married" to the Son of God. Commenting on this point Mr. Fletcher says:

"In the early centuries of Christianity the Gnostics, a school of mystics, influenced by, and influencing the Christians ---- conceived the divinity, Christ, eternally 'married' to Pneuma, the Holy Spirit, or Ghost. Precisely so the Kabbalists conceived the Word, or Logos, as a male principle eternally mated to a female principle, which they call Intelligence, or Wisdom."³

He calls attention to the fact that Origen spoke of the Holy Ghost as his "mother" and that the Gnostics "recognized two divinities under the name of Sophia, or Wisdom, one heavenly, the other earthly, corresponding very closely to the Neo-Platonic Heavenly and Earthly Venuses."

1. SP Vol. 14 p. 176

2. Fletcher, J. B. "Spenser's Four Hymns"
PM IA Vol. XXVI pp 452-475

3. IDIA p. 460

"Theophilus of Antioch," says Fletcher, "conceived the Trinity as Theos, Logos, Sophia -- God, the Word, Wisdom," as did also Irenaeus, St. Gregory, Thaumaturgus, and Athanasius, the latter of which said, "To possess the Holy Ghost is to possess God."

To substantiate his argument that Spenser got his idea from the Gnostics, Fletcher calls attention to the poet's thorough acquaintance with the writings of Ficino of the Neo-Platonic Academy of Florence. He quotes from Ficino's commentary on Plato's "Symposium" as follows:

"Above our soul is a Sapience which is not distributed through various doctrine, but it is one; and from its one truth springs the manifold truth of man. ---- This one light of the One Sapience is Angelic Beauty -- is Infinite Beauty."¹

Ficino identifies this beautiful Sapience with the Heavenly Venus. Fletcher quoting from Ficino says:

"Since the Angelic mind has being, life, and intelligence, they, the Platonists call it Being or Essence, Saturn; its Life, Joy; its Intelligence, Venus."

The analogy with the Christian Trinity is obvious, the latter being: God the Father, Supreme Being; God the Son, the perfect Life; the Holy Ghost, the Divine Intelligence, or Sapience.

Professor Fletcher rejects Miss Winstanley's view

1. Ibid p. 461

that Sapience represents the Virgin Mary. Rather, he accepts the Gnostic and Mystic belief that it is to be identified with the Holy Ghost, a female personality. He thinks that Spenser combined Calvinism and Neo-Platonic Mysticism as Dante had combined Scholastic Catholicism and Neo-Platonic Mysticism.

"Men," he says, "possess not God's wisdom as it is in itself but as it is imaged through the temporal mind of the man - Christ, or in St. John's still more Neo-Platonic manner of speaking, men possess the Word, the Logos, which is the man - Christ, but not the Mind, the Nous, which is the God - Christ."¹

Speaking further of the lover and the loved, Fletcher says:

"Spenser's mystic reward of the true lover, the mind has put off immortality - the gift of Sapience - means that the beatified human mind shall, in St. Paul's words, 'know the mind of the Lord.'²

According to ^{the}Platonists, however, "what the mind truly knows it possesses." Hence if the true lover really knows the mind of God, or Sapience, then he shall eventually attain the object of his love and thereby possess God.

With the idea in mind that Sapience is a female personality, Professor Fletcher says that, "the 'Fowre Hymnes' are not two separate and antagonistic pairs, but one whole

1. Ibid p. 457

2. Ibid p. 457

and progressive poem representing a soul's conversion from
 ---- 'that mad fire that fooles call love, to true love.'"¹

Mrs. Josephine Bennett² holds that the "Fowre Hymnes"
 are a progressive unfolding of Spenser's love idea. She
 says:

"The idea of the Four Hymns arises, of course, di-
 rectly out of the Platonic conception of two loves and two
 beauties, one earthly and the other heavenly in each case.
 yet not in opposition, for earthly love and beauty are a
 reflection or image of heavenly love and beauty."³

To substantiate her argument for the unitary idea of
 the "Fowre Hymnes", Mrs. Bennett calls attention to the six-
 teenth century Platonic love idea of the ascent of the soul
 from lower to higher love and beauty, by a series of six
 steps. She attempts to trace the steps through the "Fowre
 Hymnes". Professor Padelford takes issue with her, however,
 in an article that will be discussed more fully, later.

Mrs. Bennett, in comparing Spenser's hymns with the
 works of Pico and Benivieni, says that Spenser went far-
 ther than the other two and gave his poem more of a
 Christian coloring, but that it was only a coloring. In
 Mrs. Bennett's opinion, Neo-Platonic love is the predomi-
 nating theme in all four hymns. In fact she says that the

1. Ibid p. 462

2. Bennett, Mrs. Josephine W. "The Theme of Spenser's 'Fowre
 Hymnes'" SP Vol. 28 pp 18-57

3. Ibid p. 21

last stanza of the first hymn foreshadows the first stanza of the third hymn.

But Professor Padelford disagrees with Mrs. Bennett here. He says, in speaking of her identity of Christ and the celestial love, that such an identity would amount to a bargain something like the following:

"If love will grant me the joyous possession of my mistress, I will agree to compose a hymn in honor of Christ that will be worthy of the angels."¹

He adds that "a lover-poet would be terribly at ease in Zion to propose such a contract." He thinks that the proper interpretation of the opening stanza of the third hymn can best be arrived at when one understands Spenser's purpose in writing it. That purpose he holds to be the correction, or rather retraction, of the improper emphasis upon earthly love in the first hymn. After a comparative study of the two hymns, the writer finds himself agreeing with Mr. Padelford rather than with Mrs. Bennett.

In further disagreement with Mrs. Bennett, Mr. Padelford thinks that the "Hymne of Heavenly Love" reduced to its lowest terms comes to this:

"Reflect upon the life and passion of Christ, nurture your soul upon the sacraments, and you will come to

1. Padelford, F. M. "Spenser's Four Hymnes, A Resurvey" SP April 1932, p. 214
2. Ibid p. 217

love God and your fellow-men with a love so ardent that you will ultimately gain the beatific vision."¹

Padelford quotes Professor Renwick as saying that the third hymn does not continue the Platonic scale, but that it breaks away to set down the central tenets of Christianity. Renwick thinks that in this hymn, Spenser's method is one of parallelism rather than of ascent, and that his end is Love, as taught by the Apostle John and the Christian churches.

But Mr. Padelford quotes from Professor Greenlaw who partially disagrees with Mr. Renwick's belief that the last two hymns are "confused and uncertain, filled with merely literary sources, making fresh starts because of the inability of the poet to think things through." Mr. Greenlaw thinks, "the four poems form a closely knit sequence," thereby partially agreeing with Mrs. Bennett.

Mr. Greenlaw agrees with Mr. Renwick in opposition to Mrs. Bennett, "that while there are vestiges of literary Platonism in the last two hymns, the underlying philosophy ----- is Christian mystical theory."²

Professor Padelford says:

"That the third hymn is written in the spirit of the Christian mystics all scholars are seemingly agreed."

But then he raises the question concerning the relationship between Neo-Platonism and Christian Mysticism.

1. Ibid p. 217

2. Ibid p. 217

He asks whether they are essentially in harmony, or whether they present divergencies and contradictions, and if they do present them, just where Spenser stands in reference thereto. Before answering his question, he reviews the philosophy of John, Paul, and St. Augustine, and shows that they were all well acquainted with the Neo-Platonic teachings of their day. He points out, however, that these early Christians escaped the pitfalls of Neo-Platonism by distinguishing clearly between the Creator and the created, and by co-ordinating the metaphysics of Neo-Platonism and the ethics of Christianity.

Mr. Padelford quotes the following contrast between Neo-Platonism and Christianity from Canon Ottley.

"To Plotinus it appeared inconceivable that the immutable "One" should act upon the many except as a principle of attraction. It could not go after the lost sheep; at best it would draw all things towards itself, whereas the gospel proclaimed an actual descent of Deity into the very heart of the world to redeem, to heal and to aid the aspiring will of man: an incarnation of the Divine, uniting matter and spirit. Such an idea is wholly uncongenial to the Neo-Platonic thought: indeed pagan Neo-Platonism used its influence to revive the Gnostic fantasy of a chain of mediators; its whole tendency being to remove the divine nature as far as possible from any possible contact with the natural universe."¹

1. Ibid p. 222

Mr. Padelford, while fully cognizant of the fact that the "idea of illumination through contemplation," is common to both Christianity and Neo-Platonism, says, in reference to the third hymn, that "the subject matter of this contemplation is foreign to Neo-Platonism and opposed to its fundamental postulates."¹

He further points out that the fall, the incarnation, the atonement, the immanent God, and the moral discipline of active Christian living which establishes character and gives potency to contemplation, was a language foreign to Neo-Platonism. Furthermore, the Genesis account of direct creation left no place for Platonic emanations and the intermediaries of Neo-Platonism.

This critic thinks that Spenser deals with the more commonplace and universal themes of Christianity in this hymn, and that it is free from the "metaphysical refinements" except at the very end, where, in somewhat Neo-Platonic phraseology the poet expresses "the vision of the Christ which awaits the purified and meditative soul."

Concerning the fourth hymn, Mr. Padelford has very little to say. He sees within it a certain unity, but very little emotional conviction. He does not think that the poem is essentially Neo-Platonic. In fact he says that the Neo-Platonic elements in it, like a similar one of Benivieni's, which he quotes in full from the Italian,

1. *Ibid* p. 223

are incidental rather than basic.

He says that "the God which Spenser here depicts, a combination of a forbidding and terrible Jehovah and a thunder-hurling Jove, is very far removed from the 'One' who draws the created into the creator."¹

He disposes of the Sapience of this hymn in a few brief sentences. He thinks that it fulfills a double purpose, similar to the office of the 'One;' namely, the receptive soul finds joy and ultimate rest in her, and at the same time preserves his personal identity in accordance with the Thomasion and Christian teaching. The only attempt that he makes to identify Sapience is in the following sentence.

"Sapience and the World-Soul are not to be identified; Sapience is closer to Plato's Ideal Reason, which itself framed the body of the universe and placed the World-Soul within it."²

Mrs. Bennett, following Pico, and in opposition to Fletcher, says that Sapience is "neither Holy Ghost, nor the second person in the Christian Trinity." She thinks, with Pico, that "she is rather the 'only begotten', the Word or Logos, of the Neo-Platonists but not of the Christians."³

She says that Pico was careful to make this distinction in order to avoid suspicion of heterodoxy. She

1. Ibid p. 225.

2. Ibid p. 232

3. Op. Cit. p. 45

thinks that Spenser, also, was aware of this distinction, since he does not associate Sapience with any part of the Trinity. She calls attention to the fact that Spenser, like Pico, separates Christ and Sapience.

That the "Fewre Hymnes" are quite enigmatical to scholars is evidenced by the fact that all the critics consulted in this study agree that it is very difficult to discover the real meaning of all of Spenser's religious and philosophical implications.

Notwithstanding the fact that his real belief is hard to discover, it is an interesting experience to follow through the intricate maze of philosophical and theological speculation toward the clear sunlight of ultimate truth.

The other work worthy of consideration in this chapter is NOSCE TEIPSUM by Sir John Davies, one of Spenser's later contemporaries.

Grosart says of this poem:

"I value NOSCE TEIPSUM as a first thing for its deep and original thinking."¹

This critic considers the work all the more remarkable because Davies was only in his twenty-eighth year when he wrote it. As a philosophical poem, and as a contribution to metaphysics, Grosart considers the thought of the poem as at once "a characteristic and a merit."

1. Grosart, Alexander COMPLETE POEMS OF SIR JOHN DAVIES
London 1876 Introduction pp. lix ff

He goes on to say that, in his opinion, NOSCE TEIPSUM is "practically the earliest and still most remarkable example of deep reflective-meditative thinking in verse in our language or in any language."

One has a feeling, however, as he reads Mr. Grosart's criticism, that Mr. Grosart, the preacher, is letting superlatives and ornate oratory run away with Mr. Grosart, the critic. It is, nevertheless, a rather general opinion among critics that NOSCE TEIPSUM is an outstanding philosophical poem. The latest edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica says of it:

"Its force, eloquence and ingenuity, the orderly and lucid arrangement of its matter, place it among the finest of English philosophical poems."¹

Concerning its originality, however, there is very serious question. One of the first to raise this question was one Alexander Dalrymple in NICHOLS' LITERARY ILLUSTRATION. Dalrymple claimed that Davies source was Nemesius' DE NATURA HOMINA. But Grosart vigorously denies this claim. He says that he read every word of the original Nemesius and also Wither's translation of it, and that there is not a single "simile or observation" in NOSCE TEIPSUM drawn from either.

Other critics, however, are not so sure of Davies' originality. Louis I. Bredvold thinks that "philosophical

1. ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA 14th Edition London 1929
Vol. 7 p. 82

poetry is seldom original."¹ He says that critics have generally ignored Grosart's claim and have suggested various sources for Davies' inspiration. Professor Bredvold quotes from E. H. Sneth's PHILOSOPHY IN POETRY, in which the author says that Davies was influenced by four thinkers: Aristotle, Cicero, Nemesius, and Calvin. Opposed to this view, however, Mr. Bredvold quotes from Margarine Gemmann, a German scholar. This critic thinks that Davies derived his ideas from a study of Aristotle's DE ANIMA, modified by a reading of religious commentators, principally Thomas Aquinas.

Courthope recognizes the greatness of the poem, but he discredits Grosart's anxiety to attribute its originality to Davies. This critic thinks that "every great didactic poem that the world preserves is founded on a basis of science provided by some philosophic predecessor."²

Courthope holds that Davies' source is Nemesius, but he gives the poet full credit for what he has done by saying:

"The order and method of argument, the beauty of illustrations, and the harmony and dignity of versification are his own."³

Bredvold calls attention to a later, and what he con-

1. Bredvold, Louis I. "The Source Used by Davies in 'Nessee Teipsum'" PMIA Vol. 38 1923 p.145
2. Courthope, W.J. A HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY London 1924 Vol. III p. 57
3. Ibid p. 58

siders the best suggestion, that the poem "is a re-statement of the Neo-Platonic tradition which permeated Christian thought in the middle ages and the Renaissance."¹

Some authorities think that Davies utilized both Platonic and Aristotelian ideas and from these ideas worked out a spiritual philosophy in which the soul and the universal order were akin.

In substantiation of this argument the following stanza is quoted from NOSCE TEIPSUM.

"For Nature in Man's heart her lover
doth possess;
Prescribing truth to wit, and good to will,
Which doe accuse, or else excuse all men,
For every thought or practice, good or ill."

And concerning the real goal of satisfaction for the hungry soul, the poet says:

"Wit seeking Truth, from cause to cause ascends,
And never rests till it the first attaine;
Will seeking Good, finds many middle ends,
But never staves, till it the last doe gaine."

Mr. Bredvold assumes that Davies, being a university man, was thoroughly acquainted with the classics of theology and philosophy, and, as a result, was influenced by the Neo-Platonic tradition. While he does not believe that Davies necessarily had a copy of Plato, or Nemesius, or Augustine open before him, this critic does think that all of these men exerted a powerful influence upon NOSCE TEIPSUM.

Two other works that Mr. Bredvold thinks may have

1. Bredvold, Op. Cit. p. 145

influenced Davies are Primaudaye's THE SECOND PART OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY, and Phillipe de Mornay's De la verite' de la religion Chrestienne. Contre les athées, Epicuriens, Payens, Juifs, Mohumedanistes, et autres Infidels.

To prove his argument this critic lists several parallel passages from NOSCE TEIPSUM and the other two works. But Mr. Bredvold is not quite sure of Mornay's influence. The similarity of his work to that of Davies is suggestive rather than convincing. His argument for the similarity of Davies' and Primaudaye's works is much more convincing, however.

Professor George T. Buckley,¹ of Chicago University, begins where Professor Bredvold leaves off and attempts to show that Davies drew quite extensively from Mornay's work. Mr. Buckley agrees with Mr. Bredvold that Davies, in all probability, was influenced by Primaudaye, but he holds that the poet was influenced even more by Mornay. Buckley, like Bredvold, cites several parallel passages from Davies and Mornay with quite convincing effect.

The point of major importance, however, as Professor Bredvold intimates, is not so much the source of NOSCE TEIPSUM, as is the subject matter of the poem. Bredvold, Buckley, Courthope, Grosart, and Sorley are unanimous in their opinion, that, as an analysis of the Human Soul,

1. Buckley, George T. "Indebtedness of Sir John Davies to Mornay" MODERN PHILOLOGY, University of Chicago 1927-28 Vol. 25 pp 67-78

Davies' poem far surpasses any of the sources from which he may have drawn.

Only a casual reading of the poem is enough to convince one of the poet's knowledge of Neo-Platonic philosophy and Calvinistic theology. One is convinced of Davies acquaintance with, if not his belief in, the Calvinistic doctrine of Total Depravity when one reads such passages as the following.

"So when the root and fountaine of Mankind
Did draw corruption, and God's curse by sin;
This was a charge that all his heirs did bind
And all his offspring grew corrupt therein.

"And as the hand doth strike, the Man offends,
(For part from whole, Law severs not in this)
So Adam's sinne to the whole kind extends;
For all their natures are but part of his.

"Therefore this sinne of kind, not personall,
But real and hereditary was;
The guilt whereof and punishment to all,
By course of Nature and of Law doth passe."

Concerning the Calvinistic doctrines of the Foreknowledge of God, the Free will of Man, and Election he says:

"Lastly the soule were better so to bee
Borne slave to sinne, then not to be at all;
Since (if she do believe) One sets her free,
That makes her mount the higher for the fall.

"Yet this, the curious wit's will not content;
They yet will know (sith God foresaw this ill)
Why His high Providence did not prevent
The declination of the first man's will.

"If by His Word He had the current staid
Of Adam's will, which was by nature free;
It had bene one, as if His Word had said,
I will henceforth that Man no man shall bee.

"For what is Man without a moving mind,
Which hath a judging wit and chusing will?
Now, if God's power should her election bind,
Her motions then would cease and stand all still."

The innate ability of man, and yet the futility of life, are set forth in the following lines.

"I know my soul hath power to know all things,
Yet is she blind and ignorant in all;
I know I am one of nature's little kings,
Yet to the least and vilest things am thrall."

"I know my life's a paine and but a span,
I know my Sense is mockt with every thing;
And to conclude, I know myself a MAN,
Which is a proud, and yet a wretched thing."

Self-examination, or the Neo-Platonic inward look, is set forth in the following passage.

"Since nature fails us in no needful thing
Why want I meanes my inward self to see?
Which sight the knowledg of myself might bring,
Which to true wisdom is the first degree."

"That Power which gave me eyes the world to view,
To see myselfe infused an inward light;
Whereby my Soule, as by a mirror true,
Of her owne forme may take a perfect sight,"

"But as the sharpest eye discerneth, nought,
Except the sunne-beames in the ayre doe shine;
So the best Soule with her reflecting thought,
Sees not herselfe without some light divine."

In the stanza succeeding the ones just quoted, the poet invokes the guidance of this "light divine", following which he launches into a detailed analysis of the soul.

Altogether the poem contains five hundred and eighty-one quatrains of alternate rime, some of which are rather dull reading, while others are interesting revelations of Davies keen insight into human nature.

The work as a whole is truly a masterful blending of the fields of metaphysics, philosophy, and theology, from the orthodox viewpoint.

CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS RELIGIOUS LYRICS

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Besides all of the other types of the religious lyric heretofore discussed, there is still a large body of religious lyrics which cannot be over-looked in a study of this nature. Because of the varied types of these lyrics it would be impractical to devote a chapter to the discussion of each particular type. The writer has chosen, therefore, to group them miscellaneously.

The first to be considered in this grouping is the Scriptural Song.

The Scriptural song is to be distinguished from the hymn, however. The Scriptural songs are those outbursts of praise that are found scattered throughout the Bible, such as the Song of Anna, the Song of Jephthah's Daughter, etc.

Various poets have been inspired to render their own metrical versions of these songs, and one of the first in point of time, even if not in importance, was Michael Drayton. Farr¹ lists from Dayton's HARMONIE OF THE CHURCH the following Scriptural songs.

"The most Excellent Song which was Solomon's."	Songs of Solomon 5
"Song of Anna."	1 Samuel 2
"The Prayer of Jeremiah."	Lamentations 5

1. Farr, Edw. Op. Cit. pp. 117-135

"A Song of Moses and the Israelites." Exodus 15

"A Song of the Faithful for the Mercies of God."
Isaiah 12

"A Song of the Faithful." Habakkuk 3

"The Song of Jonah in the Whale's Belly."
Jonah 2

"The Finding of Moses." Exodus 2

"The Passage of the Red Sea." Exodus 14

"The Law Given on Sinai." Exodus 19

Griswold¹ includes in his work Drayton's "Moses meeting the Daughter of Jethro", based on Exodus 2, and Kohut² includes his paraphrases of Isaiah 12, and Isaiah 26: 9-13, and "David and Goliath", based on 1 Samuel 17.

Below are the Authorized Version translation of Isaiah 12: 1-2, and Drayton's paraphrase of it.

Authorized Version

1. O Lord, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst me.

2. Behold, God is my salvation; I will trust and not be afraid: for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation.

Drayton's Paraphrase

"O Living Lord, I still will laud thy name,
For though Thou wert offended once with me,
Thy heavy wrath is turned from me again,
And graciously Thou now dost comfort me.

"Behold, the Lord is my salvation,
I trust in Him, and fear not any power;
He is my song, the strength I lean upon,
The Lord God is my loving Savior."

1. Griswold Op. Cit. p. 24

2. Kohut, Op. Cit. p. 394

Although Drayton's verse is not devoid of lyric quality, yet in comparison with the majestic grandeur of the Authorized Version, the paraphrase suffers.

Bullen¹ says that Drayton's HARMONIE OF THE CHURCH has no interest, or value, and is noteworthy only because it gave offense to the ecclesiastical authorities. Nobody seems to know the reason for its suppression, but at the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, all but forty copies of it were destroyed.

Farr lists one Jud Smith's paraphrase of the fifth chapter of the Song of Solomon, and one Dudley Fenner's paraphrase of the fourth chapter of the same book.

Kohut records metrical versions of Scriptural songs by the following Elizabethans.

Sir Philip Sidney - "Kyng David, Hys Lament Over the
Bedyes of Kyng Saul of Israel and
Hys Sonne Jonathan."

George Peele - - - "King David."

Robert Herrick - - "Dirge of Jephthah's Daughter."

George Sandys - - - "Lamentation of David Over
Saul and Jonathan."

The most prolific writer of poems based on Scriptural songs was George Wither. Although he was not born until 1588, practically the end of Elizabeth's reign, Ault, Kohut and others include his works with earlier Elizabethans. Kohut lists the following poems from the pen of Wither.

1. Bullen, A. H. ELIZABETHANS London p. 346

"The First Song of Moses."

"The Song of Deborah and Barak."

"The Song of Hannah."

"The Lamentation of David Over Saul
and Jonathan His Son."

"David's Thanksgiving."

"The Song of Songs."

"The First Song of Esai."

"The Second Song of Esai."

"The Third Song of Esai."

"The Lamentation of Jeremiah."

Another topic that inspired a large number of Elizabethan poets, was Prayers.

Farr¹ lists several short prayers from the pen of William Hunnis, a chapel master to Queen Elizabeth. Hunnis wrote more than four hundred poems of a religious nature including metrical versions of the Psalms. The highly alliterative title of one of his works is:

"Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne, Comprehending those seven Psalms of the Princelie Prophet David commonly called Penitentiall."

Other poem prayers by Hunnis are:

"Certaine Short and Pithy Prayers unto Jesu Christ our Savior."

"A Lamentation Touching the Follies and Vanities of our Youth."

"A Dialog Betweene Christ and a Sinner."

1. Op. Cit. p. 143 ff p. 180 ff.

"A Meditation."

"An Humble Suite of a Repentant Sinner for Mercie."

Farr also includes the following prayers from Nicholas Breton.

"A Prayer for Gentlewomen and Others to use."

"Gloria in Excelsis Deo."

Breton gives the following explanation concerning the first of these two prayers.

"Whereby through the helpe of deving grace, they may attayne the right sence of this Posie of Godly Flowres."

The second of these prayers is an eighteen stanza poem of sestets setting forth all the holy attributes of Christ as Savior, together with an enumeration of the Christian's privileges and his duties.

Other Elizabethans whose poem prayers are found in Farr's work are the Earl of Essex, Thomas Drant, Robert Holland, D. Cox, Christopher Lever, and Thomas Nelson. Nelson's prayer is an invocation for the safety of the Queen.

A third group representing quite a large body of poems may be classified as the Soul's Longings. Only a few of the most interesting of these will be considered here.

One of the most famous poems of this type is one by Sir Walter Raleigh, to which different anthologists give different titles. Ault¹ and Schelling² both use the

1. Ault, Op. Cit. p. 346. 2. Schelling, Felix, A BOOK OF ELIZABETHAN LYRICS N.Y. 1895 p.129

title:

"The Passionate Man's Pilgrimage."

Ault says that it first appeared in DIAPHANTES in 1604 and that it was written in the previous year. He gives as his source for this statement, J. Hannah's POEMS OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH, first published in London in 1873 and again in 1892. Unfortunately a copy of this work has not been available for this study.

Farr publishes it under the title "My Pilgrimage" and divides it into two stanzas of six and twelve lines respectively, while Quiller-Couch publishes it under the title "His Pilgrimage" and divides it as Farr does. There are several minor differences in the versions used by different anthologists, which makes one wonder just how Raleigh really wrote it. Following is the version Ault uses.

"Give me my scallop-shell of Quiet;
My staff of Faith to walk upon;
My Serip of Joy, immortal diet;
My bottle of Salvation;
My gown of Glory, hope's true gage;
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.
Blood must be my body's balmer,-
No other balm will there be given
While my soul like a white palmer
Travels to the land of Heaven;
Over the silver mountains,
Where spring the nectar fountains-
And there I'll kiss
The bowl of Bliss,
And drink my eternal fill
On every milken hill:
My soul will be a-dry before,
But after, it will ne'er thirst more."

Another poem of Raleigh's is one to which five

anthologists give three different titles. Quiller-Couch and Manly¹ both use the title "The Conclusion"; Farr, "An Epitaph"; while Ault and Schelling both use, "Even Such is Time". The same five compilers use two versions, Farr and Ault using one, while the other three use another. Below is the version that Farr and Ault use.

"Even such is Time, which takes in trust
Our Youth, and joys, and all we have;
And pays us but with age and dust,
Which in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways
Shuts up the story of our days:
And from which earth, and grave, and dust
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust."

This poem is said to have been written by Raleigh on the eve of his execution, which occurred October 29, 1618. It first appeared, according to Ault, with "The Prerogative of Parliaments" in 1628. Whether or not Ault had access to a copy of this he does not say. There is a probability that he may have been quoting from J. Hannah's work.

Another of Raleigh's lyrics entitled "An Aspiration" is listed by Wilmott in his work. For real lyric quality this poem is equal, if not superior, to the others quoted above. Following is the complete text.

"Rise, O my Soul, with thy desires to Heaven,
And with divinest contemplation use
Thy time, where time's eternity is given,
And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts abuse;
But down in darkness let them lie;
So live thy better, let thy worse thoughts die!

1. Manly, John M. ENGLISH POETRY N.Y. 1907 p. 89

"And thou, my Soul, inspired with holy flame,
View and review with most regardful eye
That holy Cross, whence thy salvation came,
On which thy savior and thy sin did die!
For in thy sacred object is much pleasure,
And in that Savior is my life, my treasure.

"To Thee, O Jesu! I direct my eyes,
To Thee, my hands, to Thee my humble knees;
To Thee my heart shall offer sacrifice;
To Thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only sees;
To Thee myself, - myself and all I give,
To Thee I die; To Thee I only live!"

The last line of the first stanza is particularly interesting because of its striking resemblance to Hamlet's words,

"O, throw away the worse part of it,
And live the purer with the other half."

in reply to his mother's expression

"O, Hamlet, thou hast cleft my heart in twain"¹

Unfortunately the writer has been unable to find the date of the writing of this poem. It is fairly well agreed that Hamlet was first published in 1603. Of course it is mere conjecture that either Shakespeare or Raleigh was influenced by the other in this instance, but certainly the similarity is quite noticeable.

Two interesting poems by Thomas Tusser are "Principal Points of Religion", and "Posies for Thine Own Bedchamber". The form rather than the lyric quality of these poems is of interest. Of the twenty-six lines that compose "Principal Points of Religion," fourteen end in -"ly," twelve of which are together. Nine end in -"tie," six

1. Hamlet, Act III Sc. IV ll 156-8

of which are in one group and three in another. Twenty of the lines begin with present infinitives, three being in one group, and seventeen in another.

Tusser's work is an excellent example of the stilted, laborious affectation that many Elizabethan writers strove to attain.

The principal points of religion which Tusser enumerates are: prayer, honor to the Trinity, service, praise, love, fear, trust, obedience, thankfulness, virtuous living, honesty, abiding in God, expectancy of death, ministry to the poor, expectancy of attaining heaven, faith, hope, charity, and the vanity of life.

Many more poems of this classification could be listed, but these are sufficient to show the trend of the Elizabethan mind.

A fourth group of poems are those dealing with the Person of Christ.

One could collect a good sized anthology of Elizabethan poems on this subject, but since such a task is beside the purpose of this work only a limited number of poets will be considered here.

Farr lists the following poets who wrote poems on subjects dealing with the person of work of Christ.

Edmund Spenser, Barnabe Barnes, Fulk Greville (Lord Brooke), Henry Lok, William Hunnis, Nicholas Breton, John Hall, John Davies, Thomas Tusser, Samuel Rowlands, John Markham, William Warner, Timothy Kendall, and quite

a number of anonymous writers.

The four poems of Rowlands, listed by Farr, deal with the trial and crucifixion of Christ. They are:

"Peter's Teares at the Cock's Crowing."

"The Death of Death, Sinne's Pardon, and Soule's Ransome."

"The High Way to Mount Calvary."

"Christ to the Women of Hierusalem."

The nativity is perhaps the most popular theme of any in connection with the person of Christ. There are literally dozens of them scattered through Elizabethan writings. Perhaps one of the most famous of all is "The Burning Babe" by Robert Southwell. Strictly speaking Southwell was not an Elizabethan, having been born very near the end of Elizabeth's reign. Many anthologists, however, include this poem in their collections. It is as follows.

"As I in hoary Winter's night stood shivering in the
snow,
Surprised I was with heat, which made my heart to glow;
And lifting up a fearful eye to view that fire was near,
A pretty Babe all burning bright, did in the fire appear;
Who, scorched with excessive heat, such floods of tears
did shed,
As though his floods should quench his flames which with
His tears were fed;
Alas! quoth He, but newly born, in fiery heats I fry,
Yet none approach to warm their hearts or feel my fire
but I!
My faultless breast the furnace is, the fuel wounding
thorns,
Love is the fire, and sighs the smoke, the ashes, shame
and scorns;
The fuel, Justice layeth on, and Mercy blows the coals;
The metal in this furnace wrought, are men's defiled
souls,
For which, as now on fire I am, to work them to their
good,

So will I melt into a bath to wash them in my blood.
 -- With this he vanish'd out of sight, and swiftly
 shrunk away, --
 And straight I called unto my mind that it was
 Christmas Day."

The fifth group covers various subjects. There are numerous poems on such subjects as God the Father, Holy Days, the Vanity of Life, Religious Controversy, the Soul, Heaven, Satan, the Angels, and various other religious themes.

Of course all of the Elizabethan religious poetry is not lyrical, nor is it by any means all good poetry. Nevertheless the very bulk of it, is proof positive that the Elizabethans thought a good deal more about religion than they have often been given credit for.

SUMMARY

SUMMARY

In making this study the writer has discovered two major forces that inspired the production of the greater body of Elizabethan religious lyrics. These forces are the reformation and Neo-Platonic philosophy.

Notwithstanding the fact that the reformation proper had occurred several years prior to the Elizabethan era its influence was still a very powerful factor in the political, religious and literary activities of the period. The terrific reign of "Bloody Mary", and the severance of Henry VIII from the Catholic Church, created an anti-Catholic psychology in England and Scotland that extends to the present time.

During the Renaissance a revival of interest in the study of philosophy swept over Europe and one has only to read the literature of this and the following periods to realize just how much influence it exerted upon men of letters.

Of the religious lyrics, as classified in this study, the two types least affected by current philosophic thought are hymns, and metrical versions of the Psalms. On the other hand, those most affected by it are the religious sonnets and the so-called religio-philosophical lyrics.

Of the religious sonneteers herein considered, Barnes and Constable reflect more of the direct influence of Reformation thought than any others. Both of their

sequences are arguments for their respective churches, with Barnes presenting the Protestant viewpoint and Constable the Catholic. Both sequences are marred, however, by the injection of too many of their religious prejudices.

The most able religious sonneteer of the period was John Donne. In his works one finds a masterful blending of the most profound religious and philosophical thought of his time. The intellectual, religious, moral, and even physical conflicts through which he passed gave him a background for writing religious sonnets such as no other man of his age possessed. The fact that he turned from his Catholic training to become a bishop in the Anglican Church, is proof positive of the influence that Reformation thought exerted upon Donne.

Turning to the religio-philosophical poetry, one finds considerable divergence of critical opinion as to whether Spenser is more predominantly Christian or Platonic in his hymns of "Heavenly Love" and "Heavenly Beauty". The writer has shown that Professors Schelling, Osgood, Padelford, Fletcher, Renwick, and Greenlaw think him more predominantly Christian than Platonic, although they are fully cognizant of the abundant element of Platonism contained therein. Opposing the view of these critics, Mrs. Josephine Bennett thinks that the "Four Hymns" are a progressive unfolding of Spenser's love idea. She adds that the poems have only a coloring of Christianity.

The writer agrees with those critics who hold that the Hymns contain both elements, but that Christianity is predominant.

Concerning "Nosce Teipsum", by Davies, the writer has shown that there is a difference in critical opinion on the question of its originality. Grosart, alone, holds that the work is wholly original with Davies, while Courthope, Bredvold, and Buckley present some rather conclusive arguments to show that he was influenced by Nemesius and Primaudaye. The originality of the work seems, however, to be of less importance than the content of the poem. It is an excellent blending of Calvinistic theology and Neo-Platonic philosophy.

Investigation reveals that Elizabethan hymns and metrical versions of the Psalms were almost wholly the outgrowth of the Reformation. Luther, recognizing the fondness of the German people for folk singing, adopted the hymn of human composition rather than the metrical Psalms for use in congregational singing. Another important element that entered into this choice was his affectionate regard for the Latin hymns of the Breviary.

Calvin, on the other hand, had no such regard for the Catholic ritual. He chose to get just as far away as possible from anything that reminded him of the Catholic Church. He also had a disdain for the frivolity of the current French songs and he determined to include nothing in his religious cultus that bore any resemblance thereto.

Hence Psalm singing came to be the form of church music for Calvin's followers.

Just which of these two forms of church music was to gain a foothold in England and Scotland was, at first, by no means clear. For a time Lutheranism held sway, but Calvinism finally triumphed over it and Psalm singing remained the form of congregational singing in English and Scotch churches for more than two hundred years. The hymn gradually grew into favor, however, for, as has been shown, the number of hymns appended to the Psalters gradually increased in number, thus paving the way for the revival of hymnody under Watts, Doddridge, Toplady, the Wesleys and others.

It has been shown in Chapter IV that the majority of religious lyrics from the song books are Psalms, hence they need no further mention here. The only difference was in their use.

The miscellaneous lyrics listed in Chapter VI represent several minor influences. The most important group, perhaps, is the one dealing with the person of Christ. These represent the Protestant and the Catholic interpretations of Him.

This study has revealed, then, that the Elizabethans could write not only good lyrics on the love theme, but that religion also inspired a large body of excellent poetry.

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