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c.1547-1590*

ANDREW ROGER POXON

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Andrew Roger Poxon

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ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that the congregational or collective singing of metrical psalms was one of the principal means through which ordinary men, women and children negotiated the religious changes that shook sixteenth-century England. The thesis argues that these otherwise ‘voiceless’ individuals (those who, while using their voices to sing, lacked agency within their parish community, and are thus largely silent in the sources) shaped both the practice and corpus of texts and tunes to fit their preferences, and in doing so shaped both the speed and spread of Protestantism’s introduction into England, making its arrival and its ideas more palatable for themselves. To study fully the singing of metrical psalms, however, historians must appreciate the musical element which lies at the heart of this phenomenon. Without doing so, they miss some of the central reasons for its popularity and success. This thesis, therefore, establishes a framework through which historians can use music as a historical source, analysing it as it was heard by contemporaries. Drawing on the work of scholars from fields as diverse as music, theology, philosophy, and poetry, the thesis introduces three approaches which form the central pillars for this framework. Adopting this framework allows us to gain a fresh understanding of the surviving sources, revealing that the singing of metrical psalms may represent the most significant means through which the otherwise ‘voiceless’ came to accept Protestantism. The thesis also argues that the singing of metrical psalms was both more widespread and less controversial than scholars have previously understood, especially during the overlooked Edwardine and Marian periods. During Elizabeth I’s reign, in large part due to the experience of music and the agency of the otherwise ‘voiceless’, metrical psalmody firmly and quickly established itself first in London, then further afield, becoming an immovable element in congregational worship.

**Music, Sternhold and Hopkins's Metrical
Psalms and the Inculcation of Protestantism in
England, c.1547-1590**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library, London
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i> : https://www.proquest.com/eebo/
Marsh, <i>MSE</i>	Christopher Marsh, <i>Music and Society in Early Modern England</i> (Cambridge, 2010)
<i>MEPC</i>	Nicholas Temperley, <i>The Music of the English Parish Church</i> , vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1979)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online edition: https://www.oxforddnb.com
Quitslund, <i>RR</i>	Beth Quitslund, <i>The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603</i> (Farnham, 2008)
Q&T, vol. 2	Quitslund and Nicholas Temperley, <i>The Whole Book of Psalms: Collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and Others: A Critical Edition of the Texts and Tunes</i> , vol. 2 (Arizona, 2018)
RSTC	W. A. Jackson, J. F. Ferguson, and K. F. Pantzer (eds), <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640</i> (2 nd edn, London, 1986-91)
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue: https://ustc.ac.uk
Wing	Donald G. Wing (ed.), <i>Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America...1641-1700</i> (2 nd edn, New York, 1994)

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STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I argue that the singing of metrical psalms played a significant role in spreading Protestantism in sixteenth-century England, aiding the transition from one religious framework to another, especially for the majority of the population who left no written record. I will address a series of questions which hang over the scholarship on metrical psalmody, but also more general work on the English Reformation. The central question is: What role did the singing of metrical psalms play in the spread and inculcation of the Reformation in England between 1547 and the 1580s? While there is now a strong base of scholarship on metrical psalmody, much of it approaches the development and spread of the practice as a progression from which ordinary people were detached, or in which they played only a minimal part. Instead, I will emphasise that metrical psalmody was deeply and intricately connected with the lives of ordinary people, many of whom shaped metrical psalmody more than they would have realised. This thesis, therefore, places these ordinary men, women and children at the heart of the singing of metrical psalms. In particular, I address the extent to which they were central to its history, asking how the congregational singing of metrical psalms helped to ease their transition through the various religious frameworks which made up the English Reformation. I will also address how widespread the singing of metrical psalms was in sixteenth-century England, and what various forms it took, especially in the less studied reigns of Edward VI and Mary I.

Through a fresh reading of some well-used sources, and through uncovering and exploring new ones, I argue that the singing of metrical psalms played a significant role in the interaction between the voiceless majority (a category I have adopted and explained fully below) and the religious changes of the English Reformation. Although metrical psalmody has often been particularly associated with Puritan or

Calvinist practice, the thesis argues that under Edward VI metrical psalmody was viewed as fully in keeping with the religious policies of the king and his government, and even appears to have been associated with more conservative forms of evangelicalism. It was under Mary I that the singing of metrical psalms acquired its militant edge, as persecuted Protestants in England used it to ease their suffering, to unite the persecuted together, and to oppose, even attack, their persecutors. Meanwhile, on the Continent, English Protestants in exile experimented with including congregational singing of metrical psalms into their worship services, a practice they learnt from Reformed Protestants they settled alongside, though which they may also have been familiar with in England where the practice had been employed by the Stranger Churches. Finally, following the accession of Elizabeth I, congregational metrical psalmody flourished once the queen and her government appeared to offer tacit support for the practice. Thus, while it could be used for ‘militant’ purposes during the Elizabethan period (attacking popery or as a symbol of future reformation within the English Church), for the vast majority of the English population, the singing of metrical psalms emerged as an integral part of how they worshipped together and, by the 1580s, an expression of themselves as specifically English Protestants.

Moreover, few of the historians who have discussed metrical psalmody have engaged fully with the musical element of this phenomenon, which is surprising, given that this was, first and foremost, a musical practice which involved countless individuals across England singing together a shared corpus of texts and tunes. Focusing on this musical element, therefore, forms the second essential element of this thesis. In order to understand the music, however, and how it impacted the success of metrical psalmody, disciplines other than history are employed, especially philosophy,

musicology, music psychology and theology. In particular, a set of questions seeks to understand how historians can approach and understand music, as it was heard and produced, as a historical source. Why was metrical psalmody so enduringly popular, and why did it take root in English congregations at the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign? What functions did music in worship have in the lives of individuals? How did this music help them to understand the relationship between themselves and their Creator, to unite disparate individuals into a single collective, and to potentially foster a national identity? Once again, the common people are central to this discussion as we seek to understand how they interacted with the process of interpretation and application of music and the ideas it facilitated. It may very well be, as one historian has argued, that 'congregational psalmody was perhaps [the English Reformation's] greatest success.'¹ I hope to address some of the reasons why.

I Historians on Metrical Psalmody and Music

The historiography on music and the English Reformation is now vast, though it grew considerably after 2008.² Scholars of the Continental Reformation were, arguably, quicker to recognise and analyse the potency of congregational music during the sixteenth century. In part this may have been because, almost from the beginning, music to be sung by congregations was central to Luther's reform, and also played a part in the Swiss and Calvinist reformations, though its relationship with these reformations is considerably less prominent and more complex.³ Nevertheless, several

¹ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 452.

² On historians' neglect of music in England see Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 25-31.

³ For Lutheranism, the best recent accounts include: Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot, 2001); Alexander Fischer, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580-1630* (Aldershot, 2004); Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford, 2004); Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran hymns and the success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA, 2005); Robin A. Leaver, *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2017). The Swiss and Calvinist picture is more complex and sparser in its literature.

significant scholars of the English Reformation have provided passing references to metrical psalmody. A.G. Dickens provided a very brief mention of Sternhold and Hopkins's psalms in his *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York*, describing Robert Wisdom as 'falling ... under the now mysterious spell of Sternhold and Hopkins'.⁴ A more direct statement on metrical psalmody appeared in *The English Reformation*, in which Dickens declares: 'We should enter no controversial ground in expressing an aesthetic preference for the delightful macaronic poems and carols of the fifteenth century as compared with the jog-trot of the metrical psalms inflicted by Sternhold and Hopkins upon the mid-Tudor and later generations of Englishmen.'⁵ Dickens's aesthetic contempt for Sternhold and Hopkins may have blinded him and many others to the remarkable success of metrical psalmody, and its significance in shaping the English Reformation. On one more crucial point, Dickens is quite wrong: these psalms were not inflicted; they were requested, even desired.

Patrick Collinson and Christopher Haigh also make references to metrical psalmody. Yet reading both historians, one feels that psalm-singing is something not worth exploring; not for lack of interest or significance, but because it was simply a natural activity for English Protestants; a normal and expected out-pouring of their religious sensibilities, and little more.⁶ Diarmaid MacCulloch adopts a similar

See: Charles Garside, Jr., 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 69, No. 4 (1979), pp. 1-36; Kenneth H. Marcus, 'Hymnody and Hymnals in Basel, 1526-1606', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 32, no. 3 (2001), pp. 723-741; Daniel Trocmé-Latter, *The Singing of the Strasbourg Protestants, 1523-1541* (Burlington, VT, 2015). References to psalm-singing are also made in Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, CT, 2003).

⁴ A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York* (London, 1982), pp. 195-6.

⁵ A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (University Park, PA, 1991), p. 35.

⁶ For Patrick Collinson see his *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), pp. 95-7, 106-12; idem., *The Religion of Protestants: the Church in English Society, 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 190 n. 6, 237-8, 260, 265; idem., *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 50, 52, 359-60, 363-4; idem., *Godly people: essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1993), p. 54. For Christopher Haigh see his *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993) pp. 3, 232, 257, 278, 282, 286-7, 294; idem., *The Plain Man's Pathways to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England, 1570-1640* (Oxford, 2007), p. 206.

approach to Haigh, on multiple occasions referring to metrical psalms as the ‘secret weapon of the English Reformation’, asserting their central role in the spread of Reformed Protestantism in Continental Europe, predominantly because they had such a great appeal and acceptance amongst the laity.⁷ Metrical psalms were ‘the perfect vehicle for turning the Protestant message into a mass movement capable of embracing the illiterate alongside the literate’, and could be sung in worship in churches, but also in the market-place, becoming the ‘common property of all, both men and women’.⁸ Sadly, MacCulloch does not expand or explore this ‘secret weapon’, but his statement is a key entry point for scholars from a historian who considers the Reformation in its national and international contexts.

In recent years several scholars have devoted closer attention to the role of music during the English Reformation, and to metrical psalmody individually or as part of this wider musical culture. Through detailed study of accounts and other primary sources, Beat Kümin has explored the music of the English parish, looking at plainsong, polyphony, choirs, organs and metrical psalms. Kümin concludes, albeit briefly, that music had a vital role in aiding the spread of Protestantism in the parishes of England.⁹ Adam Fox has demonstrated the ways in which music intersected oral and literate culture in early modern England, though his focus is primarily on ballads, not congregational singing of metrical psalms.¹⁰ Taking a pan-European approach, Andrew Pettegree has recognised the power of music in spreading and inculcating the Reformation throughout Europe, considering both religious music and more secular

⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* (Basingstoke, 2001), p.138; idem., *Thomas Cranmer: a Life* (New Haven, CT, London, 1996), p. 618; idem., *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700* (St Ives, 2003), p. 36.

⁸ MacCulloch, *Europe's House Divided*, pp. 307-8.

⁹ Beat Kümin, ‘Masses, morris and metrical psalms: music in the English parish, c. 1400-1600’ in Fiona Kisby (ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 70-81.

¹⁰ Adam Fox, *Oral and literate culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000), esp. ch. 6, but also pp. 26-30, 383-93.

forms, such as the godly ballad in England.¹¹ For Pettegree, music was a potent force in the creation of loyalty and solidarity with Protestantism, both in England and on the Continent, though he is principally focused on music as a textual and historical rather than a musical phenomenon. Meanwhile, keeping his focus on England and drawing on source-based research combined with the methodologies employed in soundscapes, John Craig argues that the worship of the English parish was shaped by the desires of the laity and provides ‘evidence of the resilient popularity of parish worship.’¹² More substantially, Andrew Gant’s *O Sing Unto the Lord: A History of English Church Music* details the various changes to English church music from the turn of the first millennium (though principally from the fifteenth century onwards) to the present day. Gant’s account deals comprehensively with the music in question, offering the insights of a musician and musicologist on the aesthetic value of various musical forms, along with the historical significance, though the latter is sometimes overpowered by the former.¹³

Meanwhile, though separated by almost four decades, two scholars have explored similar uses of metrical psalmody in the early modern period. Stanford Reid explores the extent to which Protestants (though for Reid this means Calvinists) used psalm-singing as ‘battle hymns’, since, for Reid, ‘we must remember that the Reformation...[was] one of the earliest modern resistance movements’.¹⁴ Reid’s ‘battle hymns’ have the dual meaning of psalms that were, quite literally sung before battle, but the description is principally based on Calvinism’s more militant edge,

¹¹ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), ch. 3. England is discussed on pp. 64-5, 72-5.

¹² John Craig, ‘Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547-1642’ in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred space in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 104-123.

¹³ Andrew Gant, *O Sing Unto the Lord: A History of English Church Music* (London, 2015).

¹⁴ W. Stanford Reid, ‘The Battle Hymns of the Lord Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 2 (Jan., 1971), pp. 36-54.

which Reid argues psalm-singing facilitated and furthered. Picking up where Reid left, Alec Ryrie explores the place of the Psalms in the English and Scottish Reformations. Psalm-singing is one vital part of this process, but of equal importance for Ryrie are the psalms which were repeated monthly through the *Book of Common Prayer*, the various roles which Psalms facilitated in Protestant piety, the unity which Psalms fostered and reinforced, and the textual phenomenon which employed texts called psalms but which were not Biblical psalms.¹⁵ More recently, Ryrie has drawn our attention to the importance of both the Prayer Book and metrical psalmody in the English Reformation and in the complex history of the Church of England. Ryrie asks: ‘Which was it that shows us the true spirit of the Church of England, and of the English Reformation: the Prayer Book or the psalter?’ His conclusion: ‘You pays your money and you takes your choice.’¹⁶

Seven scholars have provided the most systematic accounts of metrical psalmody and psalm-singing during the English Reformation. The late Nicholas Temperley was the first to address metrical psalmody thoroughly, including it as part of his two-volume history of English parish music from the sixteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century.¹⁷ While Temperley was keen to make clear that his work was ‘a work of musical history’, he blended historical scholarship with musicology, with the second volume comprising musical examples to accompany volume one.¹⁸ Temperley’s account was thorough and provided the basis for much of

¹⁵ Alec Ryrie, ‘The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010), pp. 114-137. References to metrical psalmody are also made in Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013). On the importance of metrical psalms during the English Reformation see also Alec Ryrie, ‘The Reformation in Anglicanism’, in Mark Chapman, Sathianathan Clarke, and Martyn Percy (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies* (Oxford, 2015), p. 44.

¹⁶ Ryrie, ‘The Reformation in Anglicanism’, p. 44.

¹⁷ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1979). Temperley does briefly cover music before 1534, but his focus is primarily from this date onwards.

¹⁸ Temperley, *MEPC*, vol. 1, p. xvii.

the scholarly work that followed, though it was a decade before another systematic account was offered.¹⁹

In this, Robin Leaver presented a study of sixteenth-century Dutch and English metrical psalmody. Leaver demonstrates the individual developments of each of these traditions of metrical psalmody, but also the extent to which both developed in tandem, shaped by the religious upheavals in their respective countries.²⁰ Leaver's work is also central in providing a thorough picture of the significance of the Marian exile for both English Protestants and those from the Stranger Churches, and in particular how this time in exile shaped the traditions of congregational metrical psalmody following the accession of Elizabeth I.

Almost a decade after Leaver, Ian Green, in his exhaustive *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, offered an entire chapter to 'the mystery of the metrical psalm', with what he calls the 'common people' as the central protagonists.²¹ The mystery is, in part, the dramatic success of this phenomenon, and Green does consider some reasons for this, even dipping his toe into musicological and anthropological perspectives. In spite of this, his chapter remains firmly a textual history, and he comprehensively considers the printing and textual history of English

¹⁹ Nicholas Temperley's contribution to this field is considerable. A full account of all his work on this subject is not possible here, but can be found in Quitslund and Temperley, vol. 2, pp. 1065-6. Alongside his *Music of the English Parish Church* see in particular his "'All Skillful Praises Sing": How Congregations Sang the Psalms in Early Modern England", *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 29 (2015), pp. 531-53.

²⁰ Robin A. Leaver, *'Goostly psalms and spirituall songes': English and Dutch metrical psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535-1566* (Oxford, 1991).

²¹ For Green's use of the phrase 'common people', and his consideration of this group, see in particular Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 546-552, though the phrase also appears on pp. 508 and 523. The entirety of chapter 9 is devoted to his study of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms.

metrical psalmody throughout the early modern period, as well as attitudes to Sternhold and Hopkins.²²

The arrival of the twenty-first century has seen a substantial increase in the scholarship produced on metrical psalmody. The first of these was Beth Quitslund's *The Reformation in Rhyme*, which provided the first full monograph consideration of Sternhold and Hopkins's psalms.²³ Quitslund focuses on the sixteenth century, and though her academic background is in literary scholarship, she employs her considerable academic skill to deftly deal with the historical events and processes which helped to create this remarkably successful body of poetry. The shortcoming of her work from the perspective of this thesis is that she treats the metrical psalms as poetry, rather than as music. No doubt the psalms are poems (and were treated as such in early modern England), but the principal engagement for the vast majority of the population with Sternhold and Hopkins's collection was to hear the collection through song, rather than read as poetry in any modern sense.²⁴

Jonathan Willis, meanwhile, has made a more concerted effort to place music and musicology at the heart of historical enquiry. In his *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England*, Willis argues that music played an active and vital role in the process through which Protestantism spread in England. He argues that many local musical traditions which had been developed before 1540 continued after the accession of Elizabeth I. Staying with parish churches, he also notes the

²² Alongside his chapter in *Print and Protestantism*, see also Ian Green, "All people that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice": Protestantism and music in early modern England' in Simon Dichfield (ed.), *Christianity and Community in the West* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 148-64.

²³ Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603* (Aldershot, 2008). See also Beth Quitslund, 'Singing the Psalms for Fun and Profit', in Alec Ryrie and Jessica Martin (eds), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Aldershot, 2012), pp. 237-58.

²⁴ While not discussed here, two other works on English metrical psalms from a literary perspective are: Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge, 1987); Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2004).

importance of parishes in aiding or hindering the pace of reform in relation to musical direction, yet also argues that, certainly in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, the musical cultures of parishes and cathedrals were not as divergent as previously thought. Willis also quite correctly states that historians have tended to shy away from the study of music, fearing a lack of expertise, thus leaving the task to musicologists.²⁵ Yet while he does engage with a considerable body of musicological scholarship, the closest he comes to applying this readily to the study of Elizabethan church music (which Willis defines broadly) is in his construction of contemporary attitudes to music, especially debates around its moral and social benefits and risks, and in his discussion of how music was used, for example, as propaganda or as an educational tool. Nevertheless, his survey thoroughly constructs the worldview into which metrical psalmody (alongside other musical forms) entered and existed. He has focused historians on the ways in which parishes could influence the rate of reform, and the role of music in Protestantising England. Each of these are essential tasks, and establish the groundwork for more thorough engagement with musicology.

Thus far the historian who has come closest to balancing a historical and musicological survey of metrical psalmody is Christopher Marsh. In his monumental *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, Marsh includes a lengthy and detailed chapter on the history, practice, and significance of metrical psalmody in the English parish.²⁶ His account is thorough and sweeping, both in scope and timeframe, with a careful reading of sources accompanied by musical examples, both written and aural (accompanied by a CD in the hardback edition; online for the paperback). Marsh's

²⁵ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, 2010). See also Jonathan Willis, 'Protestant Worship and the Discourse of Music in Reformation England', in Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 131-150.

²⁶ Marsh, *MSE*, ch. 8.

work is also essential because he places metrical psalmody within a broader context of music in early modern England, from bell-ringing to ballads, dancing to recreational and occupational musicians, and also definitively orients historians towards the ubiquity of music in this period (discussed further below).

Timothy Duguid's more recent *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice* gives equal attention to the parallel developments in metrical psalm-singing, composition and printing in England and Scotland.²⁷ Through this cross-border focus, Duguid thoroughly and convincingly demonstrates that historians have been wrong to assume that Scottish and English metrical psalmody were, in his words, 'essentially the same in both print and practice.'²⁸ While he does devote one chapter each to the practice of psalm-singing in both countries, these are noticeably lacking in any engagement with the music itself, focusing more on traditions and forms (musical accompaniment, part- and homophonic singing, etc.). In so doing, the role of psalm-singing in influencing individuals' engagement with the body of music and with the differing reformations is lost.

Finally, Quitslund and Temperley's recent two-volume collection, encompassing a critical edition of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* alongside a wealth of supplementary historical and musicological material, adds to the validity of studying this phenomenon.²⁹ Historians can now no longer ignore it, for a scholarly edition of Sternhold and Hopkins and the sources involved has been produced to aid their research. Yet their collection should be considered as a key publication amongst the

²⁷ Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks', c. 1547-1640* (Farnham, 2014).

²⁸ Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody*, p. 8.

²⁹ Beth Quitslund and Nicholas Temperley (eds), *The Whole Book of Psalms, Collected into English Metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins and Others: A Critical Edition of the Texts and Tunes*, 2 Vols (Tempe, AZ., 2018).

rest cited here, all of which have, in various ways, shown the centrality of metrical psalmody to the English Reformation, especially in its congregational form.

Before finishing this review of the scholarship on English metrical psalmody, it is important to note the work of historians in establishing the ubiquity of music in the lives of the English population more generally. This largely separate group of historians (with the exception of Christopher Marsh who straddles both camps) has provided a greater understanding of the musical milieu for the various nations or contexts studied.³⁰ These studies have revealed the extent to which music was much more ubiquitous in the early modern period than it is today, or at least as it is perceived today. The majority of people could not read music, performing instead from memory, though it seems likely that musical literacy levels were rising more rapidly than previously recognised.³¹ Despite this, the period was not characterised by professional musicians in the modern sense of an individual who makes their living performing for others who sit and listen, nor indeed was the dominant interaction with music at concerts of performances. In England, this type of performance originated at the earliest in the late seventeenth century, while the middle of that century saw the rise of the professional musician, often hired to teach music.³² More helpful in the English context are Marsh's categories of 'occupational' and 'recreational' musicians, though

³⁰ For England, Christopher Marsh's *Music and Society* is now the definitive work, after which all historiography on the subject will undoubtedly follow. Also important are: Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England* (Cambridge, 1978); Ian Spink (ed.), *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1992); Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-factor* (Chicago, 1999); Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450-1550', *Early Music History*, vol. 19 (2000), pp. 1-46; Caroline Barron, 'Church Music in English Town, 1450-1550: An Interim Report', *Urban History*, vol. 29 (2002), pp. 83-91; Craig, 'Psalms, groans and dogwhippers', pp. 104-123; Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England* (New Haven, CT, 2007); Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (eds), *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2019).

³¹ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 6.

³² Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 23, 136.

the categories were not always clear cut.³³ And when we turn our attention from any form of music-making for profit, we find that sixteenth-century England was thoroughly musical, with singing as ‘the most frequently experienced of musical activities’.³⁴ Music was employed by almost every member of society for a range of purposes and at various times. It marked key moments in the life cycle such as baptism, marriage, and death; it accompanied social occasions, either community- or family-focused; it was a form of recreation and (slowly increasing) profit; it marked social divisions while at the same time fostering unity; and it provided the basis for an exploration of local and national identity. When viewed broadly and over a long period, one is left with an image of, in Christopher Marsh’s estimation, ‘the sheer vibrancy of [England’s] musical culture’.³⁵

The range of literature discussed here has established music as a subject worth studying by historians, and one which may reveal much about the various social, geographical, and sectarian contexts which they study. Historians now consider music more regularly, in spite of the fact that, as Scott Dixon notes, the subject ‘requires specialist knowledge’.³⁶ This, along with the fact that, ‘music had such a knotty relationship with the Reformation’, may have been why music has only relatively recently been more thoroughly included in historians’ accounts of the Reformation.³⁷ Dixon is, of course, correct in his assertion that music requires specialist knowledge, but historians should not shy away from studying music, or including it in their analyses (the latter of which, for example, Andrew Pettegree has done, as discussed above). Yet in spite of this, a new effort now needs to be undertaken, one in which the

³³ For a full account of the various forms of music-making in early modern England see especially Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 173-224.

³⁴ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 198.

³⁵ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 1.

³⁶ C. Scott Dixon, *Contesting the Reformation* (Chichester, 2012), p. 78.

³⁷ Dixon, *Contesting the Reformation*, p. 78.

methods employed by historians, and the questions they hope to answer, are brought alongside the work of musicologists and scholars in other fields, in order to gain a more rounded picture of how music impacts and shapes historical periods and events, not least the dramatic changes wrought by the Reformation. This thesis provides one example of how this renewed scholarly effort can be undertaken.

II History, Musicology, and a New Methodological Framework

While the thesis remains grounded in the work of historians, and asks those questions which historians have traditionally asked, it also engages with the work of scholars in other fields, to understand how historians can more fully engage with music as a historical source. Two of the scholars already discussed above have made the clearest attempt to unite historical-critical methods with other disciplines to assess music's power during the English Reformation, but neither provides an exhaustive account.³⁸

Jonathan Willis points to the fact that historians have tended to leave the study of music to musicologists, but that this is no longer a justifiable option.³⁹ The principal means through which Willis explores music is the recreation of contemporary theories on music and attitudes towards it, music's affective power for good or ill, and its place in theological debates and the lived experience of parishioners. But when he attempts to address the issues of why or how music itself functions as a vehicle for 'the

³⁸ Matthew Milner's *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham, 2011) offers an interesting entry point into the subject outlined in the title of his work, but also to how historians can engage with methodologies outside of the purely historical/historiographical. Milner's work, however, offers little direct impact on the present discussion of metrical psalmody, first, because he offers only passing references to metrical psalmody, second, because he neglects a discussion of how contemporary ideas on the senses impacted the musical experience of English parishioners during worship, and finally because he does not engage fully with music but rather with the act of hearing. This is in contrast to the experientially grounded work of Arnold Hunt's *The Art of Hearing*. Hunt outlines how contemporary ideas on hearing, and specifically hearing sermons, impacted those who heard and engaged with sermons, drawing on the experience of those from across the social spectrum, including the 'common people'. See Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010).

³⁹ Willis, *Church Music*, p. 2.

formation of a broad spectrum of Protestant religious identities’, Willis leaves some issues unexplored. His understanding of the power of music is best articulated in the subtitle to his book: ‘discourses, sites and identities’. For Willis, music’s ability to form identities lies in a contemporary dialectic on the positive and negative powers of music, its correct forms and setting, and a dialectic which takes place amongst the top and lower orders, and occasionally between the two. He sees the English people as ultimately responsible for the shape and form of their music, but does not fully explore the important musical elements of their preference, nor why metrical psalmody was so popular. Willis’s approach is, however, very useful in laying the groundwork for our understanding of how contemporaries debated and articulated their beliefs on the affective power and potential of music. It also provides an example of how historians can merge the frameworks offered by different disciplines (especially sociology in Willis’s case) with the source-based work of the historian. With Willis’s work completed, a more direct engagement with the music itself is nevertheless needed.⁴⁰

Christopher Marsh, meanwhile, is arguably the only historian to successfully and comprehensively assess the singing of metrical psalms as music. As mentioned above, central to this is Marsh’s recognition that the melodies to which the psalms were sung are vitally important if we are to understand this remarkable historical phenomenon. For Marsh, it is vital that ‘the psalms are considered as music rather than merely poetry’.⁴¹ He, therefore, carefully analyses the music, and considers how people learnt the tunes and texts, the role of choirs, schoolchildren learning to sing psalms, the importance of parish clerks, the development of lining out, and the slowing of tempo which characterised later metrical psalmody. Marsh is keen to recognise the

⁴⁰ See esp. Willis, *Church Music*, ch. 6.

⁴¹ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 434.

importance of psalm-singing in the English Reformation, even suggesting that ‘Congregational psalmody was perhaps [the English Reformation’s] greatest success...It helped parishioners to think of themselves as Protestant, both individually and collectively.’⁴² But despite this attention to musicology, Marsh’s work still leaves open the question of how this music may have affected those who sang it, and he leaves open an important question when addressing the music he analyses: What do we then do with this music, and how do we fully address people’s engagement with it? Given the scarcity (especially in the sixteenth century) of contemporary accounts on how people responded to the music, or how they conceptualised its role in mediating the relationship between themselves and their maker, how are we to understand music’s affective power, especially in the context of worship? Marsh’s work remains definitive in establishing the crucial role of metrical psalmody in inculcating the Reformation, yet he is reserved to assert that the sources can only take us so far. In particular, he is unable to get to the bottom of his belief that music’s power lay in ‘some combination of the “matter”, the “meeter”, the “maker” and the “musyke”’.⁴³

We are left, therefore, with a problem. As has been outlined here and above, it is now apparent that historians cannot study music as a purely textual phenomenon. Indeed, a textual form (printed music) is only one way in which music itself is interacted with, and this is more the case today than it was for the majority of people in the sixteenth century. No attempt, therefore, to understand why the singing of metrical psalms was so central to the spread and inculcation of Protestantism in England, and why such a vast array of people grew so fond of it so quickly, is complete

⁴² Marsh, *MSE*, p. 452.

⁴³ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 452.

unless we study this phenomenon as a musical one. After all, metrical psalms were first and foremost heard and sung. The answer, therefore, must lie in studying this as a *musical* phenomenon. Yet this is precisely what scholars find so difficult. How can we study the singing of metrical psalms – or, indeed, music more generally – as both grounded in the sources (which is to say the sources point in directions or provide answers to the questions we place before them), while at the same time always acknowledging that music is not the same as other phenomena we may study? To put it slightly differently, studying music as a historical phenomenon is not an easy task. It raises questions which historians are often tempted to flee from, such as issues of emotion, apparently anachronistic philosophical or theological concepts, the interaction between historical events and (messy and complex) human beings as shaping these events, and, similarly, the varieties and vagaries in humans and historical periods which we suspect are the result of human nature.

This thesis, therefore, offers a framework which allows historians to engage in empirical source-critical work and also draw on more theoretical scholarship, such as the fields of musicology, music-psychology, philosophy and theology. This framework is outlined in chapter one and then used throughout the remainder of the thesis to explore the ways in which metrical psalmody influenced the religious experience of the English population. In particular, the final chapter delves deeper into the utility of further methodologies, which explores how metrical psalmody developed during the Elizabethan period and thereafter, focusing on the most commonly used tunes in this period. To more fully understand music's affective power, and more generally its role in influencing and shaping important periods of history, and those who lived through and directed these moments, a more thorough interaction with scholarship outside history is essential. Not only this but studying music's affective

power allows us to understand how ordinary people navigated the world in which they lived, and especially the constantly changing world of the English Reformation. When studied, music may reveal itself as an unchanging force that allowed individuals to ride out periods of flux unscathed, or it may be that it was at the heart of some of the most divisive and tense moments. Either way, music as an aural rather than a textual phenomenon can no longer be ignored.

III Who Sang Metrical Psalms?

In this thesis I focus on the experience of those who sang metrical psalmody, who shaped it and who found that it in turn shaped their religious experience. But who should we understand these people to have been? Were they from particular strata within society, more from one group of age, gender or religious persuasion? More broadly, that the success of the English Reformation relied on the acceptance of the English population has been indisputable at least since the revisionist turn. Historians from then on have been very aware of the central role of a large proportion of the population of England, who, crucially, were not the gentry or those in government positions (ecclesiastical or secular), yet who nevertheless played a central role in spreading the Reformation in England. In this thesis, I argue that it was these people, those who were not in positions of ecclesiastical, political or social power, who played the most essential role in the history of metrical psalmody, a fact that has been underappreciated by historians to date.⁴⁴ One immediate problem, however, is who was singing metrical psalms, and how should we refer to them?

⁴⁴ Christopher Marsh is the only historian who has recognised this explicitly. As he argues: ‘One of the main secrets of psalmody’s success was the outlet it provided, in an intensely hierarchical world, for the massed ranks of ordinary parishioners to express themselves and even to influence the conditions under which they lived.’ Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 439-40.

Various terms have been adopted in referring to this vague mass of people. There has been a tendency within the historiography to adopt the terminology of the ‘common people’ or the ‘ordinary people’.⁴⁵ This categorisation is not without merit, especially since the same terms, or terminology closely related, were used by contemporaries. Sir Nicholas Bacon, for example, referred to ‘the common people’ when asking rhetorically why it was they ‘so seldome [come] to common prayer and devine service’.⁴⁶ Dr Charles Parkins, speaking to Sir Robert Cecil on 9 September 1595, referred to ‘the simple common people’.⁴⁷ John Earle, meanwhile, described the religion of the ‘plaine countrie fellow’, while Richard Kilby addressed ‘the common sort of people’ at the start of the seventeenth century.⁴⁸ Other examples persist, yet such references do not make identifying who was and was not included in these groups any easier. Additionally, John Craig has referred to ‘the mass of ordinary people’, which has the potential to be a very large group, depending on who is included as one of the ‘ordinary people’.⁴⁹

There is, of course, a substantial literature on ‘popular religion’, yet this material tends to outline the beliefs that people held (or did not hold in the sense of a rejection of orthodoxy), rather than defining who these people were. Christopher

⁴⁵ Examples of the phrase ‘common people’ can be found in: David Cressy, *Literacy and the social order: reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 42; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 508, 523, 546; Arnold Hunt, ‘The Lord’s Supper in Early Modern England’, *Past & Present*, No. 161 (Nov., 1998), p. 45, 52. Examples of the phrase ‘ordinary people’ can be found in: Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. xviii, 239, 289; Alexandra Walsham, Brian Cummings and Ceri Law, ‘Introduction: Memory and the English Reformation’ in Alexandra Walsham, Bronwyn Wallace, Ceri Law, and Brian Cummings (eds), *Memory and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2020), p. 4. Neither list should be seen as conclusive. Additionally, Peter Marshall opens his thorough account of the English Reformation by explaining that he is, ‘retelling the story of what happened to English people, of all sorts and conditions’: Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. xi.

⁴⁶ T.E. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, vol. 1, 1558-1581 (Leicester, 1981), p. 82.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, p. 48, n. 35.

⁴⁸ Richard Kilby, *Hallelu-iah: praise yee the Lord, for the vnburthening of a loaden conscience* (RSTC 14955: Cambridge, 1618), p. 29. John Earle is quoted in Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, p. 192.

⁴⁹ John Craig, ‘Parish Religion’, in Susan Doran and Norman Jones (eds), *The Elizabethan World* (London, 2011), p. 226.

Marsh has partially acknowledged this issue.⁵⁰ In his own study, he focuses ‘primarily upon the people beneath the level of the gentry’ and ‘upon the majority of England’s inhabitants’, yet he is clearer on who his study does not devote much attention to, namely, ‘martyrs, “puritans” and spiritual misfits’.⁵¹

So, returning to the question: who was it that was engaged with the singing of metrical psalms, of inculcating the practice into congregations, and of adapting it over time? Naturally, the originators of the texts and tunes played a part, but the argument of this thesis is that metrical psalmody was driven at every stage of its development by a wide range of individuals, yet especially by those who had no means of being heard within the prevailing contemporary power structures. There was no division on who influenced the success and spread of metrical psalmody, with men, women and children all playing their part, a fact remarked on by contemporaries. Through their singing of metrical psalms, this otherwise ‘voiceless’ majority were given a voice, shaping metrical psalmody in ways that could not have been envisioned when the first collections of metrical psalms texts were printed, nor even, one suspects, when exile congregations began experimenting with congregational singing of metrical psalms during the Marian period. Without the enthusiasm of the voiceless, it is hard to see how the practice could have taken root in congregations, and then become a central part of the worship in countless English parishes, before spreading beyond this setting. While the voiceless, by definition, left no direct written evidence of their involvement, we can nevertheless chart it through references from those who did leave such evidence. This will be seen most clearly in the final chapters of this thesis, when several Elizabethan authors remarked on the popularity of congregational singing of

⁵⁰ Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 6-8.

⁵¹ Marsh, *Popular Religion*, p. 7.

metrical psalms, and the developments to the practice during this period and into the seventeenth century which seemed to have been driven by the voiceless.

At the same time, one of the remarkable features of metrical psalmody was that it drew swathes of the population together, from across social divisions, uniting them in song. For the most part, it was those individuals who were expected to offer little or no direct participation in the worship service who may have exerted the greatest influence on the development and continuous popularity of metrical psalmody in England. It was those were initially defined as passive ‘hearers’ in several Tudor injunctions (and thus emphasising their lack of agency in worship) who exerted their influence and preferences through metrical psalmody, eventually using it to allow them a central and very active role in the worship service, where they were certainly not voiceless while united in song.⁵²

Nevertheless, while this voiceless majority made up the bulk of these singers, and will be the focus of this thesis, I also want to make clear that those in positions of power also influenced in the history of metrical psalmody, sometimes very significantly. Thus, for example, as I outline in the chapter addressing the Elizabethan origins of the congregational singing of metrical psalms, Bishop John Jewel offered his approval to psalm-singers from London who were interrupting the worship in Exeter cathedral. It should be noted, however, that Jewel was offering his approval of something already taking place, and the singers did not begin to sing *because* of Jewel’s approval.⁵³

Throughout the whole thesis, however, I argue that it was this voiceless majority who were central to, and shaped the arrival, spread, inculcation and practice

⁵² For definitions and examples of the ‘voiceless’ as ‘hearers’, see below pp. 70-1, 158.

⁵³ The incident is recounted on pp. 191-2 below.

of metrical psalmody in sixteenth-century England. As an alternative to the various terms explored above, this categorisation encompasses all of the categories which historians have offered, while recognising the fact that metrical psalmody brought people from across society into contact with one another, and through this, allowed variations and transformations to the practice to take place. Crucially, this terminology also recognises that the sources left to us do not necessarily present the full picture. The voices of the majority engaged with metrical psalmody are not left to us, yet those sources which we do have point towards the crucial role of voiceless individuals and congregations in shaping metrical psalmody into the form that they wanted, which ensured its continued success throughout the following 150 years. The practice pulled in people from across the social and political spectrum, blurring barriers which generally defined life, and allowed the voiceless majority to express their desires, shaping and influencing their interaction with the religious world they were now expected to inhabit. This category, therefore, provides some access to these individuals, while recognising the lack of material and the difficulty of understanding their collective desires.

While this terminology is used, this is not to deny the varied responses of individuals and groups to the religious changes known as the English Reformation. Thus, as Christopher Marsh has observed, in attempting to understand the vast majority of the population, there is ‘a danger of implying that “the people” somehow spoke with one voice.’⁵⁴ The terminology of the voiceless here should not be seen as denying variation, but rather of trying to understand exactly how the singing of metrical psalms spread in sixteenth-century England, and how it came to dominate the religious, and then cultural, experience of the voiceless majority. It was led by those

⁵⁴ Marsh, *Popular Religion*, p. 6.

who left no trace themselves, yet who appear to have developed a deep affection for the congregational singing of metrical psalms, and who in time used this same phenomenon in ways beyond the parish church. The practice came to dominate and shape their understanding of what it was to be Protestant and what it meant to be English, and it remained one of the central expressions of communal identity throughout the late sixteenth and then throughout the seventeenth centuries. The fact is that metrical psalmody could and did transverse society and its stratifications, and in so doing may represent the only example of a truly popular reformation: not directed ‘from above’, but rather driven and developed ‘from below’, or rather from across society.⁵⁵ Without these voiceless individuals, it is hard to see how the practice would have been brought into parish worship, and how it would become one of the defining features of reformed worship, and communal identity, in England.

IV Thesis Outline

The various issues raised in this introduction require a fresh investigation of metrical psalmody in which the ‘voiceless’ who sang metrical psalms, and the music of these psalms are placed at the centre. It seems strange that these issues should ever have been missed, yet one also recognises the importance of the various approaches taken in previous scholarship which has laid the groundwork for the current discussion. I hope to address the various issues discussed and where questions or problems remain, to offer possible directions for future scholarship. Following the opening chapter, which outlines the methodological framework based on various disciplines other than history, I have adopted a chronological approach, beginning in the reign of Edward

⁵⁵ The terms are taken from Christopher Haigh, ‘The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation’, *The Historical Journal*, vol. 25, no. 4 (1982), pp. 995-1007. Reprinted in Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 19-33.

VI, through the tumultuous years of Mary I, and finishing with the early Elizabethan period. This chronological approach allows us to study the key transformations to English metrical psalmody, many of which, unsurprisingly, roughly followed the religious and monarchical changes in sixteenth-century England.

Chapter one outlines a framework based on disciplines other than history, advancing three methodological approaches which may provide some insight into the success and popularity of metrical psalmody. It uses insights from philosophy, musicology, music psychology, theology and poetry to explore these issues, but more broadly, it is hoped that the framework provides an example to historians of how they can fully understand music as a historical source.

Using evidence gathered from bibliographical analysis of surviving Edwardine copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms, the second chapter argues that during this period, the singing of metrical psalms was a domestic devotional practice that was fully in keeping with the religious policies and perspective of the Edwardine government. Far from 'militant' in any sense, metrical psalmody under Edward VI accompanied other such domestic devotional practices in this period, as evidenced by surviving metrical psalms and those works that they are bound with. The survey is not complete (a substantial number of copies survive in North America), but it is nevertheless strongly suggestive.

The third chapter, briefer than the others, studies metrical psalmody in the Marian period. Using Foxe's accounts of martyrdom, it argues that metrical psalmody was employed by persecuted Protestants for a range of purposes, including to unite with one another (a key role of congregational singing of metrical psalms after the accession of Elizabeth I) and to confront their persecutors. It also suggests that it was the Marian persecutions which may provide the origins for the 'militant' or 'puritan'

label that accompanied later metrical psalmody, especially in the seventeenth century. The chapter then discusses the importance of the Marian exile for establishing the congregational singing of metrical psalms in English worship, while also suggesting that this may have followed the example of the Stranger Churches in London who had included congregational singing of metrical psalms in their worship prior to the accession of Mary I.

The fourth chapter addresses the arrival of congregational singing of metrical psalms in England following the accession of Elizabeth I. Central to this chapter is a close reading of some sources which historians have regularly employed in their discussions of metrical psalmody, but not beyond a surface reading. When read and analysed carefully, the sources reveal a more detailed and interesting picture of congregational singing of metrical psalms in the early stage of its inclusion into the worship of English congregations.

The final chapter addresses a question which hangs over much of the discussion of metrical psalmody, namely: why were they so enduringly popular? As mentioned, this chapter in particular draws on the methodological material outlined in chapter one, in addition to further scholarship, to provide a model of how historians can understand music as a historical source. The chapter addresses the popularity of metrical psalmody through a historical and musicological analysis of the two sets of tunes to which metrical psalms were sung: the ‘official’ tunes included in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* and the ‘common’ tunes which had more popular origins. While it draws on source-based evidence, it also employs the work of scholars in fields including musicology, music-psychology, philosophy and music-theology. It reveals that historians can analyse music’s affective power when equipped with the right scholarly tools, and that when they do so they can enter into a fresh reading of the

sources available to understand the reasons for music's power and enduring popularity.

The thesis focuses on the sixteenth century, the foundation period in the history of metrical psalmody. Some examples appear from the seventeenth century, but these are principally to demonstrate uses of metrical psalmody which are suggested but not outlined clearly in the sources for the sixteenth century. Historians have underestimated the importance of the Edwardine and Marian periods for the origins of the practice, while the early Elizabethan period is often brushed over quickly. The latter decades of the century have received more attention, but not on the importance of the voiceless in shaping the metrical psalmody, nor the importance of the musical element in the success and continued popularity of the practice, and its expansion beyond the parish church. I have chosen to stop in the 1580s for several reasons. First, stopping at any moment naturally means leaving out some material, but it is hoped that by focusing principally on the sixteenth century, the thesis demonstrates that more work needs to be done in establishing the full history of metrical psalmody in this period. It may be that some of the sources need revisiting while some remain to be discovered, but the importance of the sixteenth century cannot be disputed. Second, it is in the 1580s, and in the period immediately before this that we see an expansion of metrical psalmody beyond congregational singing in parish worship. As outlined in the final chapter, the 1580s see the singing of metrical psalms used during times of national celebration, during domestic worship, but also in contexts beyond English shores, for example by sailors. This period also sees the expansion of the corpus of tunes for metrical psalmody, an expansion which facilitated the success of this phenomenon for at least the next one hundred years.

Finally, there is a strong case, in a wider historiographical sense, for this period being one in which a clear change takes place in the religious landscape of England. It may simply have been that the population included few who could remember the Catholic past, or that, on the whole, the majority had accepted Protestantism, adapting it to a form that they could feel was ‘theirs’. Whichever it was (and, naturally, the answer probably lies in a combination of factors), there has been some consensus amongst historians for recognising this later Elizabethan period as one in which Protestantism was broadly cemented in the population.⁵⁶ The thesis ends in this period in part to argue that metrical psalmody may be part of this landscape of change. It may be that metrical psalmody acts as an indication of this change, for example in the development of a new corpus of tunes, reflecting the fact that people have accepted Protestantism, perhaps through the use of metrical psalmody, and are now adapting it in a new phase, where the practice (and Protestantism) is established and is now ready for a new generation to put their stamp on it. In a sense, therefore, it is also possible

⁵⁶ Eamon Duffy ends his *Stripping of the Altars* with ‘the Elizabethan “Settlement” of religion, which I take to have been more or less secure, or at least in the ascendant, by about 1580’ (Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven, CT, 1992), p. 1). He has also discussed the importance of generational change in establishing Protestantism, arguing that, ‘by the end of the 1570s, whatever the instincts and nostalgia of their seniors, a generation was growing up which had known nothing else, which believed the Pope to be Antichrist, the Mass a mummerly, which did not look back to the Catholic past as their own, but another country, another world’ (Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 593). Whether this made them Protestant, or ‘not Catholic’ can, of course, be debated. But what seems clear is that from the end of the 1570s and beginning of the 1580s, there was no going back, and certainly not without at least as seismic, indeed potentially violent, a transformation to the religion of England and its people. Meanwhile, Patrick Collinson famously believed that ‘it is only with the 1570s that the historically minded insomniac goes to sleep counting Catholics rather than Protestants, since only then did they begin to find themselves in a minority situation’ (Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. ix). Drawing on Collinson, Peter Marshall believes that ‘In the lowest common denominator sense of Protestant as “not Catholic”, there are good reasons for looking to the 1580s as the time when Collinson’s “birthpangs of Protestant England” actually produced the baby’ (Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642*, Third Edition (London, 2022), p. 170). Marshall has also argued that this period, or at least before the arrival of 1600, was one in which ‘a broad-based Protestantism was established as the majority faith of the nation’ (Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT, 2017), p. xviii). For other statements of the importance of generational shift see: Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford, 2002); Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, c.1500-1700’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 6, 21 (2011), pp. 93-121.

that metrical psalmody may also have been part of the change that was taking place, shaping its direction and form as the voiceless adapted the religious worldview they had inherited, but which they now thought of as definitively theirs. Either way, by the end of the sixteenth century, metrical psalmody had established a form and direction which could not be seriously challenged or changed until the arrival of hymnody. Focusing on the sixteenth century thus allows us to situate psalmody at the heart of the religious transformations that shook England in this period, and to recognise that it may provide one of the central reasons through which the voiceless majority adopted Protestantism.

It is widely recognised that the singing of metrical psalms was central to the religious experience of the ‘common people’, and shaped their religious practices and their interaction with each other and God for the following 150 years before the singing of hymns overtook that of metrical psalms. At the same time, the common people (whom this thesis refers to as the otherwise ‘voiceless’) themselves were central to the development of metrical psalmody and especially to its inclusion in their worship, and to its form and development once it had become an institutionalised part of English congregational worship. I make no attempt to argue that metrical psalmody was the only form of music or worship which shaped the English Reformation and people’s engagement with it. Many other forms of music remain to be studied in the way that this thesis treats the singing of metrical psalms, especially in the musicological treatment it is given in the final chapter. Metrical psalmody, however, was a truly popular practice, which was not prescribed by any Tudor government until they recognised its potential and included in the annual Accession Day service from

1576.⁵⁷ From this point, however, it increasingly shaped not only the interaction between individuals and God, but also between one another on a national as well as a local level. Once its popularity and institutionalisation was clear to the Elizabethan government, they tentatively capitalised on the emotional potential offered by congregational singing at a time which also witnessed a growing and evolving sense of English national identity. Yet while an interaction and (largely non-verbal) negotiation between the people and their government (along the lines proposed by Shagan) was always essential, the picture that emerges from this thesis is one in which the singing of metrical psalms was central to the common people's interaction with the English Reformation in its various stages, while they themselves were central to its development and inclusion in their worship.⁵⁸ This remarkably successful practice may, therefore, reveal the strongest evidence there is for a genuinely popular reformation from below.

⁵⁷ Natalie Mears and Philip Williamson have shown that even the publication of this service 'did not represent a wholly new practice but a developing trend', and rather than being official mandated relied on the support of local bishops and clergymen. See Natalie Mears and Philip Williamson, 'The 'Holy Days' of Queen Elizabeth I', *History*, vol. 105, Issue 365 (April 2020), pp. 201-228. Quote on p. 221.

⁵⁸ Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003).

1. MUSIC AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE: THREE APPROACHES

As discussed in the introduction, while historians have recognised that the congregational singing of metrical psalms was a significant part of the religious changes that shook sixteenth-century England, they have often underappreciated the importance of the music. This problem is not entirely of their own making. One of the problems with analysing the musical element in this phenomenon, aside from the need for musical expertise, is the lack of available sources. Indeed, the source base on which metrical psalmody in a broader sense is studied is rather small, often requiring historians to reuse the same material, or to approach the subject from angles sometimes indirectly relevant to the musical element. Thus, when assessing the singing of metrical psalms in England, historians are, naturally, limited in the data available to them. Empirical historical methods (source-based research) provide reliable data, but when the sources are not available, the trail stops, and historians must base their conclusions on inferences as well as limited material gleaned from the sources.

This chapter, however, offers the possibility that disciplines other than history may provide a framework in which more solid conclusions can be gathered, combining this with those sources which are available to the historian. The chapter, therefore, uses the work of musicologists, music psychologists, ethnomusicologists, philosophers of music, and music theologians, along with poetry, to establish a methodological framework which historians can use to fully address music as a historical source. The chapter addresses essential questions for this period and the topics of metrical psalmody including: To what extent did the singing of metrical psalms express collective emotion, or create a sense of parish or national unity at a time of dramatic religious, social and cultural upheaval?; To what extent did the singing of metrical psalms offer congregations, as well as individuals within those

congregations, the opportunity – to some extent for the first time – the opportunity to express emotion, or to communicate with each other but, more importantly, with God?

The chapter advances three methodological categories which offer historians a means through which they can understand the musical qualities of metrical psalmody, and the role these played in the success and developments of metrical psalmody throughout the sixteenth century and thereafter. The categories allow us to understand the importance of the voiceless in the shape and spread of metrical psalmody, and provide insight into some of the reasons why it was so successful and popular. These categories also enhance our understanding of how music shapes those who utilise it to navigate periods of change or crisis. While based on disciplines other than history, each category also offers a brief statement of the historical evidence which confirms the theories, though this evidence is dealt with more thoroughly throughout the remainder of the thesis. It is hoped that the chapter provides an example of how historians can draw on other disciplines as they seek to understand music's role in shaping the people at the centre of the periods they study. In our case, it is hoped that the chapter provides a useful framework for understanding music's role in shaping the English Reformation, and how ordinary men, women and children used it to negotiate and navigate the religious, social and political changes brought upon them in the mid-sixteenth century.

While the chapter discusses 'music' in a general sense, references will also be made to the literature available on 'singing' as a specific form of music.¹ While an

¹ For material on singing see in particular: Jeanette Bicknell, 'Song', in Theodore Gracyk, and Andrew Kania (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Philosophy and Music* (New York, 2011), pp. 437-445; Jeanette Bicknell, *Philosophy of Song and Singing: An Introduction* (New York, NY and Abingdon, Oxon, 2015); Martin Boykan, 'Reflections on Words and Music', *Musical Quarterly*, vol. 84 (2000), pp. 123-36; Martin Clayton, *Music, Words and Voice: A Reader* (Manchester, 2008); Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley, 1974); Jarold Levinson, 'Hybrid Art Forms', in idem, *Music, Art, and Metaphysics: Essays in Philosophical Aesthetics* (Ithaca, 1990), pp. 26-36; Aaron Ridley, *The Philosophy of Music: Theme and Variations* (Edinburgh, 2004); Paul Thom, *For an Audience: A Philosophy of the Performing Arts* (Philadelphia, 1993); Victor Zuckerkandl, *Man the Musician*

increasingly solid body of scholarship deals with ‘singing’ as distinct from ‘absolute’ music (which, for various reasons, musicologists and philosophers have tended to focus on), and worthy of the attention of philosophers for its own sake, rather than as a sub-genre, I have focused on material which focuses on music in a more general sense, but also that material which reduces music to its most essential elements.² The final chapter does deal with some of the important elements that differentiate ‘singing’ from ‘absolute’ music, and the importance of these in the success and popularity of metrical psalmody, but the majority of the thesis focuses on ‘music’ more generally. It is my belief that by reducing music to its most essential elements, we gain a much clearer, more precise understanding of why music provides a potent force, especially when sung collectively, and even more so when this collective singing is used as worship. Once we have reduced music in this way, we can then extrapolate upwards and assess the extent to which these essential elements of music are present in various forms of music, such as singing. It is my hope that, once this understanding of music has been established, future scholarship can build upon this and then turn to engage with the literature on singing specifically. For now, though, we should turn to the first category advanced in this chapter.

I Soundsmithing

In his poem ‘July’, Seamus Heaney opens by describing the sound of drummers playing music at an annual ‘Twelfth of July’ parade in Northern Ireland.³ He portrays

(Princeton, NJ., 1973). For musicologist’s neglect or even ‘prejudice’ against song, see Ridley, *Philosophy of Music*, pp. 76-83.

² As Andrew Kania explains, ‘absolute’ or ‘pure’ music is ‘music—instrumental music that has no non-musical aspects, elements, or accompaniments.’ On the reasons why philosophers have tended to focus on ‘pure’ or ‘absolute’ music, see Andrew Kania, ‘1.1 Beyond “Pure” Music’, in idem., ‘The Philosophy of Music’, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2017 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/music/>>.

³ Seamus Heaney, ‘July’ in *Opened Ground: Poems 1966-1996* (London, 1998), p. 84.

how, ‘The drumming didn’t murmur, rather hammered. Soundsmiths found a rhythm gradually.’ In this description, Heaney outlines the process through which musicians, especially amateur musicians playing folk tunes, gradually build up towards the rhythm and melody, shaping the music’s creation, including variables such as speed, timbre, volume, etc. Heaney describes them as ‘Soundsmiths’ since they are the ones who take the sound and transform it into something that resembles the tune. Such tunes are, in a context such as that Heaney describes, usually well known, and often learnt or passed on without musical notation, and more through a process of imitation and demonstration. The role of the individual as the craftsman who takes the raw sounds or melodies, learns them, and transforms them into the tune that others recognize is, therefore, vital. This important role of the individual as one who holds the tune, as opposed to having it written down, and also as one who can shape the music when recreating it is increasingly forgotten in modern music, as Roger Scruton has pointed out.

In a deconstructive analysis of modern pop music, Scruton has helpfully pointed out one of the key differences between it and the music that gave rise to it, namely the popular music of ballads and folksong. As Scruton summarizes, ‘Until recently the song has been detachable from the performer’.⁴ He continues: ‘Modern pop songs are meticulously put together ... so as to be indelibly marked with the trademark of the group. The lead singer projects *himself* and not the melody, emphasizing his particular tone, sentiment, and gesture.’⁵ For all those who live in this musical environment, even if they do not fully engage with it, understanding how unusual the centrality of the *original* performer is to music, and how this has not been

⁴ Roger Scruton, *Culture Counts: Faith and Feeling in a World Besieged* (New York, 2007), p. 63.

⁵ Scruton, *Culture Counts*, p. 63.

the norm previously, may provide one important insight into the success of metrical psalmody.

Turning specifically to the congregational singing of metrical psalms, when encountering the literature on this subject, one is left with an unavoidable impression of the importance of ordinary men, women and children in the origins, spread and development of the practice in England.⁶ Yet, while their importance is not doubted, one is also left with a set of important questions which urgently need answering. Central is the question of what the role of the voiceless was in the process by which metrical psalms were brought into worship, maintained there, became a central part of the worship of English congregations, and were then developed and changed over the course of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries? We know that voiceless people do play a central role, but to date we lack a vocabulary and methodology which allows us to analyse what this role is, where it originates, and what its traits and characteristics were or might be. Further to this, we also lack an understanding of who these voiceless people may have been and how they interacted with one another (for example, did the usual social barriers blur or disappear when individuals gathered to sing metrical psalms, or were they still present?). Through the terminology proposed here of ‘soundsmithing’, we are able to articulate neatly a much more complex and multifarious reality. In using this category, we are able to offer a synthesised understanding of the role of the common people, and are in turn able to use this

⁶ The clearest statement of this is offered in Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 440-435, but see also 435, 436. The theme is present throughout Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks', c. 1547-1640* (Farnham, 2014), especially in relation to his argument of the extent to which printed collections of metrical psalms, and the variations within these collections, reflected congregational practice (for example, p. 121). Beth Quitslund often prefers to assert the importance of the authors of metrical psalms, the printers, and those in positions of ecclesiastical authority, in shaping the religious convictions of English congregations. While this is not denied in this thesis, the emphasis here is on the importance of congregations in shaping the practice and form of metrical psalmody, from the creation of new or more pleasing melodies to the tempo of singing. Quitslund, however, is not averse to recognising the importance of these ‘ordinary’ individuals in shaping metrical psalmody. See, for example, Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 242, 243.

category to understand a broader, more nuanced and even more complex set of sources.

One of the central elements in the categories of ‘soundsmith’ or ‘soundsmithing’ is that it outlines direct engagement on the part of those who are involved with metrical psalmody to any extent, from passive performance (singing because it is what is required) to active development and promotion of texts and tunes. This engagement could take multiple forms, from shaping tunes on a low level (tempo, volume, articulation, and so on), high level (the development of the new ‘common tunes’, explored in the final chapter), teaching them to others and so knowing the tunes well enough to do so, to choosing and matching texts and tunes, especially by parish clerks but presumably also outside the church setting, for example by individuals in their own homes. The categorisation of ‘soundsmithing’ and ‘soundsmiths’ thus allows us to express this direct engagement and involvement and the myriad forms and directions this took. It should, however, be recognised that this is not simply a catch-all term, gathering all of the multifarious developments and elements in congregational singing and collecting them into one category. Rather, the category allows us to better understand how ordinary people engaged with metrical psalmody, how they shaped it for their purposes, but most importantly it allows us to place them at the centre of the practice and understand their role in the various developments that took place to it during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

While this category will be utilised throughout this thesis, three examples of this ‘soundsmithing’ categorisation are outlined here to aid understanding of this category and its benefit when studying the congregational singing of metrical psalms. First, we most clearly see this phenomenon that I have termed ‘soundsmithing’ in the development and success of the ‘common tunes’ which came to dominate the singing

of metrical psalms from the end of the sixteenth century. As will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter, while much remains unknown as to the exact origins of these common tunes, the common people were central in their development and inclusion in congregational worship. In this, we can see the common people as ‘soundsmiths’, especially in the creation of the common tunes and their inclusion in worship. First, as is outlined in the final chapter, there is evidence of significant movement between the official and common tunes, with the latter often drawing on the former in their creation. This movement from the official to common tunes was not mandated by any authority, and no single origin has yet been traced. Yet, as Christopher Marsh has argued, vital to this process were ‘anonymous local composers or experimental congregations – somewhat frustrated with the cumbersome common tunes – [who] constructed new, shorter melodies, drawing freely upon the more memorable phrases from the official psalter.’⁷

A second possible indication of the role of the voiceless in this process, of their role as ‘soundsmiths’ creating and shaping the tunes to which metrical psalms were sung, is found in the naming of the tunes. Many of the common tunes were named after historic towns or cities which may indicate (but is by no means certainly the case) that the tunes originated there, a belief shared by Daniel Warner at the end of the seventeenth century.⁸ Indeed, another possible indication of this naming process is found in the fact that some tunes were known by multiple place names. Space does not permit a full account of the names used for various tunes, though, for example, the tune which John Playford refers to as ‘St. Mary’s’ is referred to as ‘Hackney’ in the Sussex notebook of a woman named Agnes Veere.⁹ The ascription of place names to

⁷ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 417.

⁸ Warner, *A Collection of some verses* (Wing W893A: London, 1694), preface.

⁹ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 418.

these common tunes could point towards the role of the common people in the naming process. Like the origin of the tunes themselves, the naming was not mandated by any authority and, as we have seen, was not unified either; tunes could take on multiple names.¹⁰

The category proposed here of ‘soundsmithing’ thus allows us to begin to understand the development of the common tunes, particularly because it places those I have referred to as the otherwise ‘voiceless’ at the centre of the history of these tunes, and through it we can consider them not as passive in the development of these tunes, but as active ‘soundsmiths’, vital in the process through which the tunes originate, are taught, passed on and develop. These common people were musical craftsmen and -women, who knew the ‘official’ tunes in Sternhold and Hopkins, and they knew enough about music to know how to ‘copy and paste’ or compose phrases. Importantly, they also knew what they wanted from their worship music: how they could make it more appealing, vital if one wants to sing each week without the congregation complaining or singing without appropriate levels of enthusiasm (and congregations were nothing if not enthusiastic).¹¹ Much of this was based on personal preference, though the preference was not that of one individual but of multiple people, since musical tastes are usually shared by multiple people in society.

Additionally, the congregation as a whole could be seen as soundsmiths. As in the Heaney poem, the congregation (usually unaccompanied, and increasingly so throughout Elizabeth I’s reign) take the psalm and transform it into the musical piece they wish to perform. They decide tempo, duration of each note, emphasis on certain words, and so on. Even with the introduction of the practice of ‘lining out’, in which

¹⁰ Quitslund and Temperley (Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 990-1008) do recognise some of the different names offered in their collated account of the common tunes, though a more complete list is found by searching for individual tunes in the *HTI*.

¹¹ On the gusto of congregations see, for example, Marsh, *MSE*, p. 433.

the parish clerk sang or spoke a line to the congregation who then repeated it together, the congregation could still alter these features if they so chose (though the transformation should perhaps be considered as potential rather than definitely and always actualised). This alteration was, however, probably less significant once the tunes became established, a process that probably accompanied the beginning of ‘lining out’ in the late-sixteenth to early-seventeenth century.¹² The collective nature of psalm-singing particularly reflects the position of Roger Scruton, outlined above: the important thing is not that there is a definitive version, but that, through performing, the individual becomes part of a community that know, engage with and perform the tune and text in question. Individuals also taught these tunes to each other and, presumably, to their children. We must presume that this passing of tunes was the key means through which the tunes were first known and used, and also taught to congregations or others, and through this could be passed on, both socially and geographically. This aural and oral movement of tunes is especially likely given Christopher Marsh’s assertion that, ‘Early modern people were thoroughly accustomed to picking up melodies by ear, and the evidence from balladry suggests that they could hold hundreds of tunes in their memories.’¹³ This aural transmission in particular resembles closely the ‘soundsmith[ing]’ described by Heaney.

Returning to the parish clerks, they played a vital role in psalm-singing, and as a soundsmith, from the beginning but certainly as the practice became more established. The clerk was responsible for leading the people in the singing of metrical psalms, but he might add emphasis in parts or vary a melody. He chose the psalms to be sung, and may also have paired psalm texts to different melodies, if he thought the

¹² On lining out see Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 427-30.

¹³ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 426.

latter more appropriate for the former. Indeed, the belief that certain tunes were more appropriate for certain psalms was laid out throughout the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries. As early as 1567, Archbishop Matthew Parker in his own *Whole Psalter* provided eight tunes to accompany his text, the tunes composed by Thomas Tallis, each with its own particular intent.¹⁴ The parish clerk was particularly important in pairing texts and tunes. As Christopher Marsh shows, ‘patterns and associations’ developed, so that certain psalm texts were regularly used at certain times of the year: for example, Psalms 23 and 118 were regularly chosen at communion. And at the same time, parish clerks were expected to choose tunes appropriate for the texts, with advice offered in parish clerk manuals such as *The Parish Clerks Vade-mecum*.¹⁵

This section has provided the outline for the terminology of ‘soundsmithing’, arguing that it allows us to encapsulate the various roles of individuals and groups in the origin, spread, and development of the congregational singing of metrical psalms. While historians have recognised the various ways that the common people were central to these processes, the single category of ‘soundsmithing’ or ‘soundsmiths’ provides a methodological basis for understanding what their role was in a complex, abstract, methodological sense, as well as a more fundamental sense. They took a melody or set of melodies, learnt, inculcated, and developed them, shaping them to their needs, to different settings, pairing texts and tunes in ways that had not been intended or imagined by the originators of each. The category allows us to better understand the role of the voiceless who embraced metrical psalmody yet left little to no trace of their experience, and also how individuals from across society shaped the practice to fit their desires, perhaps even as an aid to negotiating the religious changes

¹⁴ Parker writes, for example: ‘The first is meeke; devout to saie, the second sad in majesty’. Matthew Parker, *The Whole Psalter Translated into English Metre* (RSTC 2729: London, c.1567), W4v.

¹⁵ Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 428-9. See also pp. 441-2.

that shook sixteenth-century England. The category proposed here may also facilitate a renewed understanding of the sources which are available to us, or open up new avenues of scholarship. While this section has shown the importance of individuals, it has also shown the importance of these individuals when they formed into groups, which is also the second feature of this opening chapter.

II The Creation of Group Identity

One of the key reasons why the congregational singing of metrical psalms may have been so continuously successful was the extent to which it provided a means of expressing collective emotion, and through this of unifying those who participated in the creation of this music. Various points during the mid-to-late sixteenth century offer evidence of this possibility, and each will be explored more thoroughly in the following chapters, but it is important at this point to establish a theoretical basis for this argument.¹⁶

In the past few decades, a number of historians have attempted to understand the emotions of those in the periods they study, and how these emotions might shed light on their attitudes and actions. Barbara Rosenwein proposes the category of ‘emotional communities’ as one which ‘recognizes the complexity of emotional life’ while at the same time focusing ‘on more than power and politics’.¹⁷ Alec Ryrie, meanwhile, has argued that ‘emotion is to a degree collective: our emotions are not only reflected in, but also learned from, interpreted through and given force by our cultural setting.’¹⁸ Ryrie has even provided a tantalising glimpse of psalmody’s emotional potential and power, arguing that ‘What made the experience of metrical

¹⁶ See in particular the examples outlined below on pp. 127-130, 238-241, 271-279.

¹⁷ Barbara H. Rosenwein, ‘Worrying about Emotions in History’, in *American Historical Review*, vol. 107, no.3 (2002), pp. 842.

¹⁸ Alec Ryrie, *Unbelievers: An Emotional History of Doubt* (London, 2019), p. 213, n.13.

psalmody ... unique was the sense of unity which it fostered. Without harmonies, with men's, women's and children's voices together: this was the Church militant at work.'¹⁹ Christopher Marsh meanwhile provides evidence that, 'In some contexts, a simple and well-known psalm tune could even serve as a reassuring signal of unity across otherwise marked social boundaries.'²⁰ And Jonathan Willis also points us towards the fact that 'coming together in song created a bond of unity through musical concord.'²¹ Yet beyond the fact that people have gathered together, it is difficult to express where the unifying potential lies, and none of these scholars find an appropriate framework to express the emotional potential of singing and its distinctive ability to bring disparate people together.

Returning to musicology and philosophy, therefore, we find that a scholarly literature exists which demonstrates the power of music to invoke emotional response between disparate individuals. Martin Clayton has offered a definitive analysis of the interpersonal role of music, alongside its individual and social functions. As he argues, 'musical behaviour (within which category I include all kinds of listening as well as performance) ... covers a vast middle ground in which relationships between self and other or between the individual and the collective are played out.'²² Clayton continues by arguing that, 'Music is not a single form of behaviour any more than it is a single kind of sonic product, but a composite of different forms of sound and behaviour.'²³ Clayton, drawing on the work of a number of different scholars, then identifies four functions which 'musical behaviours tend to perform': first, the 'regulation of an

¹⁹ Alec Ryrie, 'The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101 (2010), p. 131.

²⁰ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 438.

²¹ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, 2010), p. 215.

²² Martin Clayton, 'The Social and Personal Functions of Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective' in Susan Hallam, Ian Cross, and Michael Thaut (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology* (Oxford, 2018), p. 47.

²³ Clayton, 'Functions of Music', p. 53.

individual's emotional, cognitive or physiological state'; second, a 'mediation between self and other'; third, a 'symbolic representation', or in an alternative phrasing music 'as a semiotic medium'; and fourth, the 'coordination of action'.²⁴ In all of these, however, the interpersonal, collective role of music is strongly asserted. Drawing on the work of a scholar we will discuss further below, Clayton refers to Victor Zuckerkandl's argument – especially useful for our purposes here – that, 'the tones – singing – essentially express not the individual but the group, more accurately, the individual in so far as he is a member of the group, still more accurately, the individual in so far as his relation to the others is not one of "facing them" but of togetherness.'²⁵ This understanding of the individual within the group is central to music's social and personal functions, and it is not limited to one function or purpose only. As Clayton argues:

Whether music indexes communication, communion or encounter makes a difference, of course: music is either a way for A to transfer information to B, how A and B affirm their collective identity, or simply what happens when A meets B. In fact it can be any and all of these things, and this flexibility is part of the point. If "communication" encompasses information transfer, communion, and encounter of all sorts, then we can freely describe music as part of man's communicatory toolbox, asking how it relates to other related tools such as language and physical gesture.²⁶

In all of these possibilities, music and 'musical behaviour simultaneously perform[s] several distinct yet inter-related functions.'²⁷ Even within this, however, Clayton argues that, 'it is not simply that multiple functions are performed simultaneously,

²⁴ Clayton, 'Functions of Music', pp. 54-5.

²⁵ Victor Zuckerkandl, *Man the Musician* (Princeton, NJ., 1973), p. 28.

²⁶ Clayton, 'Functions of Music', p. 53.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 55.

rather the very intensity of experience provides a basis for its many effects and interpretations.’²⁸

Clayton’s use of Victor Zuckerkandl is instructive, but this musicologist has more to say on music’s ability to dissolve the boundaries between self and other, or between object and subject. As part of his wider discussion of ‘the meaning of song’, and in the same work quoted here by Clayton, Zuckerkandl outlines the difference between singing and other sorts of activities. Attempting, it seems, to cover as broad a range as possible, Zuckerkandl outlines how in activities such as ‘thinking, study, or any other activity requiring concentration... self and object are sharply distinguished. When engaged in such activities we are wholly with ourselves and wholly with the object at the same time. True, we do not focus on ourselves, yet we are entirely absorbed in observing the object, concentrating on it, and in doing this we keep the object away from ourselves, distinct from ourselves.’²⁹ In comparison, music, for Zuckerkandl, requires that ‘the self goes beyond itself, where subject and object come together.’ It is tunes – music – which ‘provide[s] the bridge that makes it possible, or at least makes it easier, to cross the boundary separating the two [self and object]’.³⁰

Thus, when one engages in collective singing we encounter not a single experience, my singing in comparison to that of others, but rather we experience how, ‘in the one tone that comes from all, I encounter the group as well as myself.’³¹ As Zuckerkandl explains, in and through this experience:

The dividing line between myself and the others loses its sharpness. Here the situation is not one where two distinct parties face each other; here the others do not

²⁸ Clayton, ‘Functions of Music’, p. 56.

²⁹ Zuckerkandl, *Man the Musician*, p. 24.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 24.

³¹ *ibid.*, pp. 28.

address their singing to me. Whereas words turn people toward each other, as it were, make them look at each other, tones turn them all in the same direction: everyone follows the tones on their way out and on their way back. The moment tones resound, the situation where one party faces another is transmuted into a situation of togetherness, the many distinct individuals into the one group.³²

Zuckermandl's analysis includes a discussion of the relationship between words and music which will be outlined more considerably later. For our purposes at this stage, however, Zuckermandl concludes that the 'meaning of song...lies in the transmutation of the twofold confrontation between person and person and between person and thing into a twofold togetherness: the I-not-he and I-not-it become the I-and-he and the I-and-it. The tones are the medium in which the transmutation takes place.'³³ This is a powerful statement of the collective experience that is generated through a group singing together, where the barriers that divide are lowered. This, of course, includes the barriers between those in attendance, but it can also, surely, lower the dividing line between those worshiping and that which they worship, in our case the congregation and God.

Two issues with Zuckermandl's account are worth consideration. First, Zuckermandl, while offering this summary of collective singing, does not, it seems, fully grasp the importance of the collective element of music which is used for worship. His account is principally structured around a discussion of 'folk' music. For Zuckermandl, 'religious chants and hymns, have a specific, immediate purpose', though he does not explain what this purpose is, and the argument is made somewhat more confusing by his inclusion of 'dance tunes, lullabies, [and] martial airs' in this

³² Zuckermandl, *Man the Musician*, pp. 28-9.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 30.

list.³⁴ We can, however, extend his discussion to include music in worship, and the importance of collective singing in focusing the attention away from the individual towards the object (God). Most importantly, however, and one of the reasons why metrical psalms acquired such a powerful, collective presence especially in the later Elizabethan period, was their ability to bind individuals together. As we shall see in the following chapters, these individuals could be in close proximity to one another (in a parish or domestic setting), or they could be spread much further apart including throughout a nation.³⁵ Either way, singing's ability, in Zuckerkandl's phrasing, to allow individuals 'to cross the boundary separating' one another allowed the congregational and collective singing of metrical psalms to acquire an emotional power that may have been unthinkable when Sternhold published his first collection of metrical psalms in 1548. The fact that congregational singing is not directed towards one another but to God enhances the emotional potential of the music, especially since, through singing the same texts and tunes, we educate one another in a shared emotion. This will be outlined further below in relation to the work of theologian Jeremy Begbie.

Secondly, for Zuckerkandl, 'the emotion is secondary, is the effect not the cause of the sharing'. This, however, seems to ignore the possibility that emotions could be generated and then shared in the collective musical experience, especially in worship where emotions are often central to the songs included in worship. As we shall see later in the thesis, the emotional expression of metrical psalms may have been part of their importance, though in this the relationship between texts and tunes is of

³⁴ Zuckerkandl, *Man the Musician*, p. 25.

³⁵ This point is elaborated below: see esp. pp. 271-279.

central importance. For now, we should turn to Roger Scruton who offers a helpful vocabulary for discussing emotional representation through music.

Scruton challenges the view that emotions have solely an ‘inner or “subjective” aspect.’ For Scruton, emotions become what they are through their public expression, while also having two other important features. First, they are ‘a motive to action’, so that we act *out of* love, joy, hate, anger, and so on. And second, emotions are intentional states: an emotion is *of* or *about* an object. Emotion is not a response to stimulus, but to a thought, and the immediate object of a thought is the object or subject who has the emotion.³⁶

Building on this, Scruton outlines a theory of emotional engagement based on the notion of ‘sympathetic response.’ For Scruton, our response to expressions of emotion, ‘is awakened by the presentation of another life, another subjectivity, another viewpoint within the *Lebenswelt*.’³⁷ The essence of his theory is as follows. If you are afraid of something, and I too am afraid of the same thing, no sympathy is involved, since we are both experiencing the same object. If, however, I enter into your fear while not myself feeling fear, my response is sympathetic. Scruton argues that sympathetic emotions are aroused more easily in fictional situations, since in the fictional world ‘we are *exercising* our feelings, but not *acting from* them’.³⁸ In this fictional world, our emotions are detached from any particular ‘others’ who are the objects of our sympathy, and because of this detachment our emotions can also be educated, and our emotional lives stretched. In music, our emotions are exercised and educated. Hearing music can mean ‘the reordering of our sympathies’.³⁹

³⁶ Roger Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Music* (Oxford, 1997), p. 347.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 354.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 355.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 359.

As Scruton outlines, music not only reflects emotions which we have already experienced, but it can also take an emotion and enrich, enhance and reorder it, providing it with fuller and fuller meaning, which in turn affects subsequent experiences of this emotion. This may, in part, explain why we return again and again to a piece of music – in order for us to experience the same emotion, only now enhanced and enriched. For Scruton, ‘The education of the emotions is enhanced by repetition’.⁴⁰ And this is not a purely intellectual exercise, where we gain only information or theoretical knowledge. Instead, what we acquire is, ‘the reordering of [our] sympathies’, which we acquire through our response to art. Music’s internal structure and logic ‘compels our feelings to move along with it, and so leads us to rehearse a feeling at which we would not otherwise arrive.’⁴¹

When we apply Scruton’s ideas directly to Christian worship, we can see its emotional power to unite all those who collectively offer praise, lamentation or supplication to God. Worship, for the theologian and musicologist Jeremy Begbie, ‘is a *uniting* activity’, binding the Church together through love received when our worship is directed to the Father through the Son and by the Holy Spirit. Emotions which have been correctly orientated towards God, exercised through ‘sympathetic response’ (as per Scruton), can be ‘instrumental in generating and sustaining powerful bonds between people, and as such serve the Spirit’s work of bringing about the reconciled unity made possible through the death of Christ.’⁴² Begbie adds that the emotional potential also lies in the fact ‘that music is never heard on its own but as part of a perceptual complex that includes a range of non-musical phenomena: for

⁴⁰ Scruton, *Aesthetics*, p. 359.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 359.

⁴² Jeremy S. Begbie, ‘Faithful Feelings: Music and Emotion in Worship’ in Jeremy Begbie and Steven Guthrie (eds), *Resonant Witness: Conversations Between Music and Theology* (Grand Rapids, 2011), p. 337. See also Jeremy Begbie, ‘Room of One’s Own? Music, Space and Freedom’ in Jeremy Begbie, *Music, Modernity and God: Essays in Listening* (Oxford, 2013), p. 168.

example, the physical setting in which we hear the music, memories of people associated with it ... words... and so on.’ Thus, ‘Music is perceived in a manifold environment. And this generates a fund of material for us to be emotional “about.” Music swims in a sea of potential objects.’⁴³ Indeed, the fact that congregational singing is not directed towards one another but to God does not diminish, but rather enhances the emotional potential of the music, especially since, through singing the same texts and tunes, we educate one another in a shared emotion; we collectively learn to praise God, to declare and practice unity in the face of division, and to open ourselves up to judgement through confession and lamentation.

Turning our attention to the congregational singing of metrical psalms, it can seem obvious how group participation could lead to collective emotion. As Christopher Marsh has recognized, however, it is difficult to pinpoint the ‘sense of lay involvement with the psalms [since it] was rarely documented so specifically’. In spite of this, he believes that ‘it may have been extremely common.’⁴⁴ As he neatly summarizes: ‘The experience of singing in a crowd can be an overwhelming one, particularly when the atmosphere is charged with a sense of the sacred.’⁴⁵ As he continues: ‘Crucially, psalmody also set the individual within a *holy* community, encouraging earthly singers from all levels of society to lose themselves for a time. For many, the power of metrical psalms may have lain in their capacity to generate and articulate a mysterious sense of oneness under God, reinforced by the architectural setting.’⁴⁶

It is also worth noting the importance of individuals, in Marsh’s phrasing ‘from all levels of society’, standing next to one another singing together and the importance

⁴³ Begbie, ‘Faithful Feelings’, p. 339.

⁴⁴ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 440.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 440-1.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 441.

of collective timing and breathing required in this. Christopher Page has neatly summarised this in relation to Gregorian chant, but the point stands here too. As Page outlines: ‘The singers breathed as one and resumed, after each pause, as one, for that is how plainsong works: it helped the singers transcend the varied and disorganised breathing that marks any gathering of individuals, with as yet scattered minds.’⁴⁷ This sense of unity was expressed explicitly in the preface to the first edition of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* printed in 1562. The preface spoke of the “common place of prayer, where altogether with one voyce render thankes & prayes to God”.⁴⁸ Yet while concrete examples from the common people themselves may be hard to find, we can pinpoint moments when they gathered together to sing, and also the psalms that they sang.

One particular example, which demonstrates the expression of collective emotion clearly, returns us to Psalm 100. In 1576, a service was printed to celebrate the accession of Queen Elizabeth I. Printed at the end of *The Fourme of Praier with Thankes Giuing, to be Used Every Yeere, the 17 of November* was the direction: ‘The xxi Psalm in meter before the sermon, unto the end of the vii Verse. And the c psalm after the sermon.’⁴⁹ It is clear that these psalms are to be sung congregationally, and that each was chosen for its pertinence. Psalm 21 points congregations towards the Queen as the one whom God has ordained to lead the nation. As Mears and Williamson argue, in this service ‘archbishops and bishops provide opportunities and texts both to sustain loyalty to the actual queen and to stimulate hopes of an ideal queen who would

⁴⁷ Christopher Page, ‘Music and the Beyond in the Later Middle Ages’, in Férđia J. Stone-Davis (ed.), *Music and Transcendence* (London, 2020), p.16.

⁴⁸ *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, RSTC 2430, preface.

⁴⁹ *A Fourme of Praier with Thankes Giuing, to be Used Every Yeere, the 17. Of November, being the Day of the Queenes Majesties Entrie to her Reigne* (RSTC 164795: London, 1576), fol. B.i.v.

more completely fulfil their understanding of her providential role.’⁵⁰ Psalm 100 also unifies the congregation and the nation, though this time not as subjects of the queen, but as God’s people on earth. A hymn of praise, it exhorts ‘All people that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cherefull voyce’.⁵¹ In turn, the congregation declare themselves to be God’s people, singing: ‘We are his folk, he doth us feed, and for his sheep he doth us take.’⁵² The fact that metrical psalmody is used in this service for these purposes demonstrates its potential for generating and expressing collective, shared emotion, a fact recognised by contemporaries.

Through the framework of Scruton, we can see how both of these psalms create sympathetic responses which unite the congregation, and possibly the nation. In Psalm 21, the emotions of the congregation and the nation may be educated towards national unity, based on the image and commemoration of Queen Elizabeth – commemoration and emotion which may be enhanced when key moments in history are also remembered (discussed below). In addition, Psalm 100 allows the congregation to declare themselves to be the people of God, with the emotional hopes and sympathies created through such a declaration. Yet crucial to this is the ‘sympathetic response’ created through music. The sympathy is both within the congregation, but can also extend further, especially on such special occasions, when national sympathies are educated (especially, perhaps, to the young), exercised (for those who have sung these words previously), or enriched (following significant moments). Further examples of the emotional and collective emotional power of congregational singing of metrical

⁵⁰ Natalie Mears and Philip Williamson, ‘The ‘Holy Days’ of Queen Elizabeth I’, *History*, vol. 105, Issue 365 (April 2020), p. 201. See also: Natalie Mears, Alasdair Raffe, Stephen Taylor and Philip Williamson (with Lucy Bates), *National Prayers: Special Worship since the Reformation, Volume 1: Special Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgivings in the British Isles, 1533-1688* (Woodbridge, 2013). For a focus on the music see Katherine Butler, ‘Creating Harmonious Subjects? Ballads, Psalms and Godly Songs for Queen Elizabeth I’s Accession Day’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 140, No. 2 (2015), pp. 273–312.

⁵¹ *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (RSTC 2447: London, 1576), sig.F.i.v.

⁵² Psalm 100v3. See the text on Figure 3.1 (p. 239) and Figure 4.1 (p. 283).

psalms will be explored in the final chapter, including the role of collective singing before battle, by sailors, during times of national importance and commemoration, and during parish perambulations.⁵³

In all of this there is also an important point related to the creation and maintenance of group memory, alongside or based on collective emotion. As Bob Snyder argues, ‘Many studies have shown that emotion, or affect, might be one of the most significant factors that determine how and what we remember..., and given that music is strongly associated with the modulation of emotional state, it can be expected that the study of musical memory will provide critical evidence about the nature of human memory in general.’⁵⁴

This section has sought to address the emotional potential of collective singing of metrical psalms as part of the framework which this thesis is offering to allow historians to better understand this remarkable phenomenon. Before concluding this section, however, one final point is offered. As discussed, it seems highly likely (indeed, probable) that the collective singing of metrical psalms bound individuals together. The texts and the tunes played a vital part in this, as did the very act of standing shoulder to shoulder with one another, joined in one collective voice. Certainly, this close proximity to one another (in a parish service, or in domestic devotions, for example) had immense emotional potential, but individuals and groups could also be joined together over a much wider area, including throughout a nation. Examples of this are outlined in the final chapter, but, for example, we could see the singing of metrical psalms during celebrations after the defeat of the Babington Plot and, two years later, the Spanish Armada as representing the ways in which collective

⁵³ See below, especially pp. 271-279.

⁵⁴ Bob Snyder, ‘Memory for Music’, in Susan Hallam, Ian Cross, and Michael Thaut (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology* (Oxford, 2018), p. 176.

singing of metrical psalms facilitated an ‘imagined community’ of people across England.⁵⁵ It is possible that these psalms were chosen to represent the particular moments or sentiments surrounding these, but whatever the intention or the texts and tunes chosen, the collective singing of metrical psalms clearly facilitated this outpouring of shared emotion. It also may have facilitated a shared Protestant identity shared across the entire nation, based on collective emotion, expressed through the collective singing of metrical psalms. In this, Benedict Anderson’s now famous definition of the nation may prove useful in framing our understanding of how collective singing could foster shared identities, parochially, local and even nationally.

Anderson argues for understanding the nation as ‘an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.’⁵⁶ As he continues: ‘It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.’⁵⁷ Crucially, however, ‘it is imagined as a *community*, because...the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.’⁵⁸ Anderson believes that ‘ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.’⁵⁹ Anderson’s categories here are helpful because they encapsulate some of the ways that those who sang metrical psalms collectively (and, by extension, congregationally) may have conceptualised the

⁵⁵ For a full discussion of these instances, see pp. 271-279.

⁵⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism: Revised Edition* (London, 2016), p. 6.

⁵⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 6

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 7. While there is, as yet, no evidence for a correlation between collective singing and collective violence in sixteenth-century England, it is interesting to note the place of collective singing of metrical psalms during the English Civil War. Alec Ryrie has argued that, during this period, ‘The words, as much as the experience of song, helped to forge men into an army.’ See Alec Ryrie, ‘The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010), pp. 129-130; quote on p. 129.

role of this singing in binding themselves together, locally and nationally. This idea of the collective and congregational singing of metrical psalms as creating or facilitating the idea of an ‘imagined community’ in and across England will be explored throughout the thesis. A snapshot of the narrative, however, is helpful.

An imagined community of singers may have been present from the first collection of Thomas Sternhold’s metrical psalms, in which he hoped to encourage the king, and anyone else who used his collection, to sing the psalms rather than ‘any feigned rhymes of vanity’.⁶⁰ Yet, as Alec Ryrie notes, while Sternhold’s aim ‘was evidently to further the Protestant Reformation’, his collection of metrical psalms, along with others like it, were not intended for liturgical use, but to drive out bawdy songs from the repertoire sung during recreation or work.⁶¹ In this, a godly ‘imagined community’ could be created, as individuals refined themselves in their daily lives, as they would also do in the parish church (though not, at this stage, by singing metrical psalms congregationally). Then, in the Marian period, persecuted protestants sang metrical psalms as a means of binding themselves together. Some of these Protestants even appear to have been from various nationalities, pushing the imagined community beyond national borders towards confessional ones.⁶² Finally, an ‘imagined community’ of national singers became stronger as the sixteenth century progressed, especially, as we shall see, at moments of heightened national pride or solidarity, such as the defeat of the Babington Plot in 1586 and two years later with the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

The late sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries also offer more examples of, and a broader understanding of the ‘imagined community’ created through metrical

⁶⁰ *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, [and] drawen into English metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of ye kinges magesties roobes* (RSTC 2419.5: London, [1548]), sigs. A.iii.^r.

⁶¹ Ryrie, ‘Psalms and Confrontation’, p. 119.

⁶² See pp. 127-128 below.

psalmody. Along with the increased national uses of metrical psalmody (mentioned already and outlined in the final chapter), the period also saw a greater number of local identity expressions involving metrical psalms. As outlined in the final chapter we see, for example, the role of psalm-singing in the perambulation of the boundaries of the parish of Cuckfield in Sussex. In this instance, it seems that the texts and tunes were the key reasons why certain psalms were chosen, potentially drawing on historical precedence. This also reflects the possibility that the ‘imagined community’ could transcend temporal boundaries, for example the possibility that at Cuckfield a tune was chosen because it has been used previously and carried historical, emotional weight and significance.⁶³ If this was indeed the case, then one can see the power that collective singing could exert: it united disparate individuals together, locally, nationally, and across time. This is not to say that all of these were present at the same time or even regularly, but the evidence offered in this thesis suggests they were nevertheless present at various moments.

One final scholar offers us an insight into how collective singing, and a shared musical repertoire united individuals and groups across a large geographical range. Christopher Page has proposed an understanding of the term ‘transcendence’ which considers ‘a terrestrial, indeed political, meaning of the term in which a body of shared music may be said to transcend narrow political or ethnic allegiances.’ As Page argues, ‘music has an extraordinary power to do this: to consolidate human groups in relation to others deemed “primitive” and perhaps threatening because their music is different.’⁶⁴ In relation to this, Page has argued that, by the 1200s, Gregorian chant had developed a common repertory which transcended geographical and temporal

⁶³ See pp. 275-279 below.

⁶⁴ Page, ‘Music and the Beyond’, p. 15.

space, yet which also facilitated local identities.⁶⁵ While not the concern of this thesis, it is interesting to note a previous musical culture which was similar to metrical psalmody in the sense argued here: it facilitated a shared repertoire and in turn a shared understanding of what it was to be God's people, and to be his people across a temporal and geographical range, both local and national, in the present as well as in the past and the future.

This section has argued for the significance of collective singing of metrical psalms as a means of social bonding and to express shared emotions. In part, this lies in the 'sympathetic response' created when emotions are expressed in music, whether the sharing of real or imagined emotions. In part, this also comes from the very act of standing beside other people, with whom we may share a lot or little, and uniting in one breath, then one voice, and in one text and tune. While several historians have suggested that this might have been one of the reasons for the popularity and potency of metrical psalmody in Reformation England, this section has also argued that we should realise that a strong theoretical, methodological basis in support of this claim also exists. Once we recognise this strong theoretical understanding of the collective emotional power of music, we can better approach the singing of metrical psalms as achieving this in the sixteenth century. This need not lead to anachronism since, unlike modern psychology, we are not discussing ideas, concepts or evidence which is based on modern experiments or research, and which is then applied 'backwards' to previous historical periods or people. What we see is that a strong scholarly literature exists which supports the view touted by some historians, of psalmody's power to unite

⁶⁵ Page, 'Music and the Beyond', pp. 13-21.

groups through an expression of collective emotion, and which is used as a means of binding people together, expressing solidarity and emotional support.

This also links to two ideas discussed in this chapter: understanding the nature of music as a key means through which we can then properly interrogate musical phenomena in historical periods (discussed further below); and also our category of ‘soundsmithing’, since people may express certain emotions, sentiments or ideas through their choice of psalm or psalm tune – sombre psalms for a funeral or after communion, but perhaps especially for expressions of nationality. Congregational singing of metrical psalms brought disparate people together, and through sympathetic responses created through the music and words that they sang, they moved themselves from being individuals created by God, to His people on earth, united in His praise and ready to be sent into his world. This singing facilitated the creation of group identities and solidarities, as individuals formed themselves into ‘imagined communities’ when they met together to sing during parish worship or in domestic settings. More dramatically, however, this collective singing of a shared repertoire (both tunes and texts) may even have been one of the central means through which disparate individuals began to understand themselves as a nation, a national ‘imagined community’, whether this meant they were a ‘Protestant nation’ or a ‘nation of Protestants’.⁶⁶

III The Sound Space: Music and the Transcendent

A final theoretical framework outlined in this chapter is the possibility that music offered – and continues to offer – a representation of the transcendent. If this is true, then it may prove to be one of the central reasons for the success and popularity of

⁶⁶ The two alternative phrases are taken from Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), p. 280.

metrical psalmody, since it brought the congregation into direct interaction with God in and through worship (as opposed to the indirect involvement of the late-medieval period). Naturally, various approaches to how music represents the transcendent exist, yet in order to fully understand music and its potential to invoke response, we must first reduce music to its most essential part, namely ‘sound’.

Roger Scruton argues that sounds are best considered as ‘secondary objects’ and ‘pure events’.⁶⁷ In relation to the former, sounds are not attributable ‘to the bodies that emit them, nor to events that occur in those bodies. We attribute them to the sounds themselves, conceived as independently existing events, located in a region of space.’⁶⁸ We see this most clearly when we consider our descriptions of sounds. We refer to sounds as ‘pleasant’, ‘harsh’ or even ‘jarring’, yet these descriptions are attributing a quality to the sounds themselves, and not to the object that produced them, and nor to any physical changes in which the object participates or undergoes itself.⁶⁹ In addition, sounds are ‘pure events’ because, in hearing them, we are presented with the sound alone. As he clarifies, even if ‘The thing that produces the sound’ is heard, it is not the ‘intentional object of hearing, but only the cause of what I hear.’⁷⁰ Naturally, we normally make the jump from the sound to the object that produces it, so, when we hear a dog barking we say, ‘I heard/hear a dog.’ Yet because sounds are ‘secondary objects’, it is possible to remove the sound from the object that creates it. Thus, in hearing, we are presented with, ‘the pure event, in which no individual substances participate, and which therefore *becomes* the individual object of our

⁶⁷ Scruton, *Aesthetics of Music*, pp. 6-13; Roger Scruton, *Understanding Music: Philosophy and Interpretation* (London, 2009); Roger Scruton, ‘Sounds as Secondary Objects and Pure Events’, in Matthew Nudds and Casey O’Callaghan (eds), *Sounds and Perception: New Philosophical Essays* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 50-68.

⁶⁸ Scruton, ‘Sounds as Secondary Objects’, p. 57.

⁶⁹ With relation to the latter point, Scruton argues: ‘A sound is not a change in another thing, even if it is caused by such a change.’ Scruton, *Understanding Music*, p. 20.

⁷⁰ Scruton, *Aesthetics*, p. 11.

thought and attention.’⁷¹ This combination of sounds as secondary objects and pure events allows the one who listens or perceives to ‘detach the sound from the circumstances of its production and attend to it as it is in itself’.⁷² This Scruton refers to as ‘the “acousmatic” experience of sound’, and it is through this that musical understanding and meaning is generated. This ‘acousmatic space’ is ‘full of movement and fields of force in which nothing actually moves and of which we ourselves could never be a part. In a mysterious way the order of music transforms sequences of sound into melodies that begin and end, chords that occupy whole areas and gravitational fields that push and pull in ways of their own.’⁷³ Once in this acousmatic space, ‘music can put us in the presence of something that has no place in this world and which moves in a world of its own. And it can do this in a way that seems both orderly and personal, moving with a complete necessity that is also a kind of freedom.’⁷⁴ Thus, this ‘musical space is a space in which things move with a singular freedom, precisely because it contains no obstacles – no part of it is occupied, in the way physical space is occupied, but all of it is open.’⁷⁵

With the creation of this musical space, Scruton concludes:

we hear music as imbued with an intentionality, an “aboutness” of its own. It is as though it is reacting in its own way to something that we cannot know or observe, since this thing is buried in that space that we cannot enter, audible, so to speak, on its far horizon, but heard only by the music and not by us. Yet we move with the

⁷¹ Scruton, *Aesthetics*, p. 12.

⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁷³ Roger Scruton, ‘Music and the Transcendental’, in Férdia J. Stone-Davis (ed.), *Music and Transcendence* (London, 2020), p. 82.

⁷⁴ Scruton, ‘Music and the Transcendental’, p. 81.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 82.

music's sympathetic movement, and it is this, I think, which gives us the impression that we have been put in touch, in some way, with the transcendental.⁷⁶

It is important to note the use of the word 'impression' here. Indeed, this is a point which I want to emphasise. This section does not argue that music in any way reaches the transcendental, nor, indeed, that it in any way provides evidence of the transcendent. Rather, I am arguing that music's very nature, in its most essential form as sound, may provide a representation of the transcendental, or provide an aid to communication between those who sing or utilise music in worship and that to which they offer their music as worship or praise.⁷⁷

Focusing more particularly on the space inhabited by musical tones, Victor Zuckerkandl once again offers us a helpful vocabulary, proposing the category of 'interpenetration'.⁷⁸ For Zuckerkandl, when two tones are heard simultaneously, they occupy the same place and one does not drive the other away; we hear each as distinct from each other, rather than the two merging. Zuckerkandl also describes sonic space as 'coming from' and 'coming towards'. When we consider sound as distinct and detached from its source (as 'pure event' and 'secondary object' along Scrutonian lines), according to Zuckerkandl, this sound is then always imposing itself upon me. As Jeremy Begbie explains, 'Its happening...*is* its coming towards me.'⁷⁹ The space now becomes 'Space that has become alive as a result of sound! Hence not sound that has come alive in space...but space that becomes an occurrence through tone.'⁸⁰ This

⁷⁶ Scruton, 'Music and the Transcendental', p. 83.

⁷⁷ I am, to some extent, following Scruton in this. See Scruton, 'Music and the Transcendental', p. 83-4.

⁷⁸ Victor Zuckerkandl, *Sound and Symbol: Music and the External World* (London, 1956); idem., *The Sense of Music* (Princeton, NJ, 1971); idem., *Man the Musician* (Princeton, NJ, 1973).

⁷⁹ Begbie, 'Music, Space and Freedom', p. 160.

⁸⁰ Zuckerkandl, *Sound and Symbol*, p. 277.

is why music can provide a depth unlike that available in visual arts, where colours must either merge or displace one another.

Jeremy Begbie expands on this, suggesting sounds which are ordered into music as creating ‘resonant order’. He offers the three-note major triad as an example. When the triad is played, what we hear is three distinct tones, but each of which interacts and enhances the others creating at the same time a chord. He explains that ‘the three tones are perceptibly related, not just to me as the hearer but internally to one another. They are mutually *resonant*; they “set each other off”, enhancing, “enlarging” each other as particular and distinct. Thus we perceive an ordered chord, not three noises.’⁸¹ This ordered space Begbie refers to as “resonant order”, in which tones are heard to relate intrinsically to one another in such a way as to generate and reinforce each other.⁸² For Begbie, music is therefore capable ‘of evoking a space for the hearer that is, so to speak, “edgeless”, an inherently expansive space that has no close parallel in the world of the eye.’⁸³

Naturally, these three scholars do not provide an exhaustive understanding of the space of sounds and music. Nevertheless, an enhanced understanding of the spatial dimension in which sounds interact, expand and find order, and in which they are turned into music, in turn helps us understand the success of congregational singing during the English Reformation. In particular, music’s unique ability to fill the entirety of our aural field (to ‘saturate our hearing’), while at the same time not occupying a specific location could provide a representation of the transcendent God and his

⁸¹ Begbie, ‘Music, Space, and Freedom’, p. 161.

⁸² *ibid.*, p. 161.

⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 162. As Maurice Merleau-Ponty describes: ‘When, in the concert hall, I open my eyes, visible space seems to me cramped compared to that other space through which, a moment ago, the music was being unfolded, and even if I keep my eyes open while the piece is being played, I have the impression that the music is not really contained within this circumscribed and unimpressive space.’ (Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (New York, 1962), pp. 257-8.)

immanence in the created world.⁸⁴ In Christian and Jewish theology, the term ‘transcendent’ relates directly to God, and particularly ‘God’s transcendence of the created world.’⁸⁵ By this is meant that ‘God is transcendent in that there is an irreducible ontological distinction between Creator and the creation, between God and all that is not God. God is not the world, the world is not God.’⁸⁶ There is also, however, a sense in which God continues to be present and work in the world, in a way that does not seem to fit with transcendence. For this we speak of God’s immanence: His active participation and work in the physical world, though not disconnected from his transcendence.

In effect, music’s very nature – its filling of a space while not displacing the bodies within it – sounds very much like the descriptions of God’s transcendence and especially his immanence, the latter expressed in Scripture particularly through the Holy Spirit. In the account of the arrival of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, as recorded in The Acts of the Apostles, we read: ‘And sodenly ther came a sounde from heauen, as it had bene the commynge of a myghty wynde, and it fylled all the house where they sate. (v3) And there appered vnto them clouen tonges, lyke as they had bene of fyer, and it sate vpon eache one of them: v4) and they were all fylled with the holy goost, and beganne to speake with other tonges, euen as the same sprete gaue them vtteraunce.’⁸⁷ Through this passage, it appears that God’s Spirit is capable of filling the entirety of a space (‘and it fylled all the house where they sate’), yet without displacing the individuals. This view of God’s transcendence and immanence, however, was of course not located solely in the Bible.

⁸⁴ Scruton, *Aesthetics*, p. 13.

⁸⁵ Jeremy Begbie, *Redeeming Transcendence in the Arts: Bearing Witness to the Triune God* (London, 2018), p. 5.

⁸⁶ Begbie, *Redeeming Transcendence*, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁷ The Acts of the Apostles, Chapter 2vv2-4, taken from *The Byble in Englyshe that is to saye the content of all the holy scrypture,...* (RSTC 2068: London, 1539).

Turning our focus to sixteenth-century England, Jonathan Willis, by recreating understandings of music, has demonstrated that contemporary discourse on music was not reserved for intellectuals only, but had a direct bearing on how contemporaries at every social level interacted with music.⁸⁸ He states: ‘Religious attitudes to music were not simply conditioned by religious discourse itself. The role of music in formal worship and private devotion was not passively shaped by a set of overriding religious imperatives. Rather, musical discourse helped shape the place of musical practice in the religious life of early modern Englishmen and -women.’⁸⁹ Willis emphasizes ‘the correlation between musical harmonies and the proportionality of the natural world and the human form’, and also, connected to this, ‘its ability to influence inanimate objects, flora and fauna, and humanity itself, with equal efficacy and ease.’⁹⁰ Indeed, Willis’s findings should be combined with the work of Daniel Chua who has outlined late-medieval and early modern notions of the close relationship between the ordered universe and music. As he eloquently states, in the view of contemporaries, ‘What held this magical universe together was music.’⁹¹ The harmony of the universe, ‘came to be pictured as a monochord that connected the stars to the earth like a long piece of string; its harmonies imposed a unity over creation, linking everything along the entire chain of being. When music moved, the earth moved with it. Thus music was not simply an object in a magical world, *but the rational agent of enchantment itself*.’⁹²

Willis’s work reveals two key points for our discussion. First, while he does not state it in these terms, we could see Willis as demonstrating how music’s power

⁸⁸ Willis, *Church Music*, esp. ch. 1.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 36.

⁹¹ Daniel K. L. Chua, ‘Music as the Mouthpiece of Theology’, in Jeremy S. Begbie and Steven R. Guthrie (eds), *Resonant Witness: Conversations Between Music and Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI., 2011), p. 139.

⁹² Chua, ‘Music as the Mouthpiece’, p. 140.

came in part from its ability to be both transcendent and immanent. Through its transcendence, music affected cosmic change, maintained order and balance, and communicated the Divine to the human. Yet when made immanent it affected great change in the world, for good and for ill, and allowed humans to communicate with the Divine in a means not, it seemed, found elsewhere. And secondly, Willis helps us to see that engaging with the philosophical, theological or musicological understanding of music does not provide a cul-de-sac in our exploration of the congregational singing of metrical psalms, but instead opens up possible new avenues of discovery, once we realize – thanks to Willis – that such conceptions of music can and did have a direct bearing on how contemporaries interacted with the music they heard or produced. In so doing, we could add to Willis’s work by offering modern approaches to the subject, and, holding them lightly alongside more traditional historical-critical, source-based approaches, potentially gain a fuller understanding of the nature of the subject under investigation: namely music.

It has been the argument of this section that one reason why metrical psalmody was so popular is that music, through its unique ability to fill the entirety of our ‘aural field’ yet at the same time able to withhold categorization as ‘here’ as opposed to ‘there’, reflects an understanding of the transcendence and immanence of God’s Spirit, as expressed in the Christian scriptures. Music’s potential to convey the immanence and transcendence of the Creator God, entering our midst or bodies, yet filling it entirely and without temporal-spatial locatability, may provide one important reason as to the success of congregational singing of metrical psalms in sixteenth-century England. In the following chapters, more evidence of this from sixteenth-century England will be provided, but is it important to bear this possibility, and the theoretical basis for it, in mind.

IV Conclusion

The features of music explored here are various, and the theoretical literature on each is larger than can fully be explored in the available space. And while the ever-present fear of anachronism looms, we should nevertheless use the frameworks and theological implications outlined here as a possible way in which we can approach the issues at hand. Even if we were able to prove without doubt that sixteenth-century congregations did *not* conceive of sound or music in these ways, it would not negate the fact that modern scholars have articulated an understanding of sound and music which seems to reach to the core of the issue we are exploring: namely, why did congregations in sixteenth-century England adopt the singing of metrical psalms so readily and then cling to them so tightly? As this thesis progresses, the possibilities outlined here will be explored more thoroughly. Metrical psalmody acquired a remarkable vigour and popularity following the accession of Elizabeth I, but its origins lie in the Tudor court, particularly during the reign of Edward VI. It is to these origins that we now turn.

2. STERNHOLD AND HOPKINS AS DOMESTIC DEVOTION DURING THE EDWARDINE REFORMATION

It was during the reign of Edward VI that Thomas Sternhold produced a collection of 19 metrical psalms, expanded to 37 by John Hopkins after Sternhold's death. While the congregational singing of metrical psalms would become the dominant form of singing these texts in England (following the expansion of the collection during the Marian exile and start of Elizabeth I's reign), Sternhold and Hopkins's original collection was not intended for congregational use. And while some choirs may have experimented with including metrical psalms in their repertoire during the reign of Edward VI, the scholarly consensus is that the practice was not widespread during this period.¹ Yet while scholars have now provided analysis of the origins and development of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms during the Edwardine period, one key question still hangs over much of the historiography on this topic, namely: How did the singing of metrical psalms, based on those produced by Sternhold and Hopkins, move from a collection produced for courtly use under Edward VI to being a widespread congregational practice by the middle of Elizabeth I's reign?²

This chapter begins to address this question, exploring metrical psalmody under Edward VI and argues that during this period the singing of metrical psalms moved from its origins in the Tudor court to becoming part of domestic devotions. Evidence is found through a bibliographical survey of surviving copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms, and particularly what they are bound with. The copies studied in this section range from 1547/8 to 1553/4 and are surveyed in various

¹ *MEPC*, pp. 17-26; Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 103-109.

² For scholarly work on the origins and development of Sternhold and Hopkins see especially Quitslund, *RR*, chs. 1 & 2. A summary is found in *Q&T*, vol. 2, pp. 510-27.

categories, with reference throughout to the table below (see pages 115-122). These categories allow us to chart the development of the metrical psalms themselves, but also to see patterns as copies of metrical psalms are bound with other works, ranging from official publications such as *The primer* to devotional works intended for domestic use. The bibliographical work outlined in this chapter demonstrates that Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms were incorporated into the devotional religiosity of early English evangelicals. What is more, the binding of metrical psalms with old-style evangelical works points to the fact that metrical psalms in this period were not viewed as the quasi-militant religious songs that would later be associated more with the (perceived) 'puritanism' of Geneva, but as fully in keeping with the vision and programme of religious transformation pursued in England by Edward VI and his government.

Before this bibliographical analysis, the chapter outlines the various Edwardine injunctions related to music in worship. This is significant because scholars have not previously made the connection between these statements and the forty-ninth Elizabethan Injunction of 1559 which facilitated the inclusion of congregational singing of metrical psalms into English parish worship. Studying these injunctions reveals that the Elizabethan authorities may have been drawing on Edwardine precedents in a way that was significant for the history of congregational singing of metrical psalms in England. These injunctions are explored first because in so doing they set the scene for how the Edwardine government addressed and approached directions for music in worship. They are also explored here because they help us to see that, while the king and his government offered no directive for metrical psalms to be included in congregational worship, those directions that were offered may have provided a precedent for the Elizabethan Injunctions which were certainly more

important in facilitating the inclusion of the singing of metrical psalms in the worship of English congregations.

Finally, while this chapter engages with the least amount of methodological material introduced in chapter one, it does refer to some of those categories. As we will see, the ‘voiceless’ reveal themselves as a vital force in moving metrical psalmody from a courtly practice to something which took root in domestic devotions. It is also possible, as the chapter will outline, that this spread of collective singing may have begun to foster a shared Protestant identity through the collective singing of a shared set of texts and tunes. Of course, with the premature death of Edward VI any possibility of this came to an end. Nevertheless, the singing of Sternhold and Hopkins’s metrical psalms during the Edwardine period may have been more important in establishing a shared collective identity than has previously been realised. It is hoped that once the various historical issues outlined here have been resolved (especially the original evidence supplied here of metrical psalmody as a domestic, devotional practice) that future work will then apply the methodological framework from chapter one to metrical psalmody in this period, to provide an even more complete picture of its spread and influence in shaping the English Reformation. Now, however, we must consider the various Edwardine injunctions on music in worship, and principally their importance as the precursor to a much more widely considered Injunction from Elizabeth I’s reign.

I Music in Edwardine Worship: Injunctions and an Account

Scholars have often recognised the forty-ninth Elizabethan Injunction as central to the inclusion of metrical psalmody in the worship of English congregations following the queen’s accession. It appeared to offer tacit approval for the practice, which in turn

may have provided the impetus for some to begin to include congregational singing in their worship.³ Those who have noted the importance of this injunction, however, have not recognised the possible significance of the Edwardine Injunctions in supplying the origins for the Elizabethan government's direction on music in worship. In order, therefore, to gain a full understanding of the Elizabethan Injunction – so central to the congregational singing of metrical psalms – we must briefly consider directions on the inclusion and form of music in worship during the Edwardine period.

While Edward VI and his government offered no single, definitive decree or injunction on music, several were nevertheless written, usually directed to particular institutions or circumstances. The 1547 Royal Injunctions for Canterbury Cathedral declared 'that all psalms shall be sung with such leisure and deliberation as the pronouncing of them may be perceived both by the singer and of the hearer'.⁴ Meanwhile, two separate injunctions for the same year demonstrate that the Edwardine regime was more explicit in what could not be sung than the Elizabethan authorities would be. The Royal Injunctions for Winchester College stated, 'That all graces to be said or sung at meals, within the said College, and other prayers, which the said scholars or children are bound to use, shall be henceforth said or sung evermore in English; that they shall henceforth omit to sung or say "Regina Caeli," "Salve Regina," and any suchlike untrue or superstitious anthem.'⁵ The Injunctions for York Minster echoed this, stating, 'you shall sing, say, use or suffer none other anthems in your Churches but these two following'.⁶

³ See the fuller discussion of this on pp. 151-169 below.

⁴ Walter Howard Frere and William McLure Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, 1536-1558*, vol. II (London, 1910), p. 143.

⁵ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. II, p. 151.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 154.

Additionally, the wording of two injunctions appears to reflect the musical preferences of Cranmer (discussed in chapter four), while also foreshadowing the wording of the Elizabethan Injunctions on music some years later. In the 1548 injunctions for Lincoln Minster, it was explained that the cathedral ‘shall from hencefore sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other Saints, but only of our Lord, and them not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one’.⁷ Meanwhile, in August 1552, Archbishop Holgate’s Injunctions for York Minster commanded ‘that there be none other note sung or used in the said church at any service here to be had, saving square note plain, so that every syllable may be plainly and distinctly pronounced, and without any reports or repeatings which may induce any obscurenness to the hearers; and further, the lessons to be distinctly, plainly and apertly with a loud voice read, so that which shall be sung and read may be well heard and understood of the lay and ignorant people’.⁸

In relation to the Edwardine injunctions, it should be noted that these statements almost certainly do not refer to the singing of metrical psalms, and certainly not congregationally. While some choirs may have experimented with including metrical psalms in their repertoire during the Edwardine period, this was by no means a directive, nor was it particularly widespread.⁹ Instead, the various injunctions reveal, first, that in the case of music, for the Edwardine church the dominant consideration must be that the music does not obscure the words, but, as the last statement makes clear, ‘that every syllable may be plainly and distinctly pronounced’. The injunctions also suggest that the Edwardine church authorities may have recognised that multiple

⁷ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. II, p. 168.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 318.

⁹ *MEPC*, p. 18-19; Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 106-07.

worship forms existed which could be adopted by the newly reformed English church, and that some sort of statement on the form of English worship was needed following the various religious changes of Henry VIII's reign. One prime candidate was surely the congregational singing of hymns or psalms, prominent in Continental centres of reform, and especially amongst Lutherans.¹⁰ The injunctions, however, are not as clear on what *could* be adopted as what should not. They are clear that music should not reflect the key aspects of Catholic worship: the direction of music and worship towards Mary and the saints; it should not be elaborate or unclear; and it should be in English. These changes did, naturally, filter down to the parishes, and the change from Latin to English would have 'immediately rendered obsolete the entire musical repertoire of cathedral, chapel, and parish church.'¹¹ Those changes that did take place were, as Andrew Gant neatly summarises, 'rapid, far-reaching and confusing', though they were by no means cohesive.¹² Nevertheless, in these directions, the injunctions represent a clear break with the past, and while we cannot be certain what form worship music would have taken had Edward's reign continued, congregational song of some sort must surely have been an option.

At the same time, however, we should note that two of these injunctions refer to those members of the congregation not participating in the service as 'hearers' in the sense suggested in the introduction.¹³ These individuals, the injunctions make clear, are expected to receive and not to participate in the service. Yet, as this thesis

¹⁰ For congregational singing amongst Lutheran congregations, and its role in the Lutheran Reformation, see especially: Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran hymns and the success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA, 2005); Joseph Herl, *Worship wars in early Lutheranism: choir, congregation, and three centuries of conflict* (Oxford, 2004); Robin A. Leaver, *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2017); Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 43-54.

¹¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400- 1580* (New Haven, CT, 1992, 2005), p. 465. On music in the Edwardine parish see *MEPC*, pp. 13-19.

¹² Andrew Gant, *O Sing Unto the Lord: A History of English Church Music* (London, 2015), p. 92.

¹³ See above p. 21.

argues, it was precisely these ‘hearers’, or the ‘voiceless’ in the terminology of this thesis, who played the central role in the success and popularity of metrical psalmody.

Alongside the significance of these injunctions during the Edwardine period, they also had an important influence on the musical direction for the Elizabethan church. The Edwardine focus on clarity and comprehensibility would be picked up on in the forty-ninth Elizabethan Injunction (explored in chapter four), which outlined that music should be ‘plainly understood as if it were read without singing’. In turn, this Elizabethan injunction provided tacit support for the inclusion of metrical psalmody in worship, since to some, especially those returning from exile or those who hoped for further reform of the Church of England under Elizabeth I, congregational singing of metrical psalms fitted this requirement. This is not, of course, to say that the Edwardine injunctions left metrical psalmody as the only option. Instead, they left a vacuum which metrical psalmody could fill, alongside other forms of church music, such as John Marbeck’s accompaniment to the *Book of Common Prayer*. One of the arguments of this section, rather, is that, when read together and recognising the longer history, the Edwardine injunctions provided a key model for the Elizabethan church’s directions on music in worship, and to that extent reveal the importance of continuity in many aspects of the Elizabethan church.

One of the key elements of continuity between these two periods was also the extent to which the laity were placed at the centre of considerations on music used in worship. The importance of the laity, however, can also be glimpsed beyond the injunctions. On 5 December 1547, the ambassador of Emperor Charles V, François van der Delft reported that ‘Mass is still celebrated here, but the common people are

beginning to sing psalms in their own language in the churches.’¹⁴ The ambassador’s comments are interesting and deserve a pause for attention.

Alec Ryrie has suggested that it is likely that ‘the excitable ambassador had heard of Sternhold’s project and had jumped to conclusions.’¹⁵ This option, however, presents a number of further possibilities and problems. If Ryrie is correct, then it means either that van der Delft had heard word that Sternhold intended for his collection to be used for congregational singing, or that the ambassador knew that this practice took place on the Continent, and he concluded that the same form of congregational singing was being facilitated or provided for by Sternhold’s collection. Perhaps van der Delft’s comments reveal that congregations had experimented with congregational singing of metrical psalms during the later years of the reign of Henry VIII and the beginning of Edward’s reign, but these were unlikely to be those of Sternhold. Quitslund and Temperley suggest that van der Delft’s comments ‘could not have been more than a few months after the publication of Sternhold’s *Certayne Psalmes*’.¹⁶ They base this on Beth Quitslund’s argument elsewhere that the first printed version of Sternhold’s *Certayne Psalmes* should be dated ‘sometime between late 1547 and mid-1548.’¹⁷ This claim of Quitslund’s is not elaborated upon in Quitslund and Temperley’s appendix on predecessors, editions and companions to the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, in which they date the first edition to 1548 (which I have adopted in the table below). 1548 seems like a more probable date for the publication of Sternhold’s *Certayne Psalmes*, and it thus seems highly unlikely that the

¹⁴ Martin A S Hume and Royall Tyler (eds), *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 9, 1547-1549* (London, 1912), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol9/pp218-236> [accessed 8 February 2021]

¹⁵ Alec Ryrie, ‘The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism,’ *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101 (2010), p. 122.

¹⁶ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 526, n. 65.

¹⁷ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 28.

ambassador would have been familiar with a copy on the date he was writing. Indeed even if they had been printed the previous year and he had seen one, or knew of Sternhold's practice of singing his psalms to Edward VI, it would be a vast step, even for van der Delft, to then claim that the common people were singing these psalms 'in their own language in *the churches*.'¹⁸

Further, as this chapter argues below, there is currently no conclusive evidence of congregational singing of metrical psalms during the reign of Edward VI, and as we shall see, the bibliographical evidence suggests that metrical psalms were used principally and widespread as domestic devotion during this period. Alternatively, had the ambassador heard something suggesting that Sternhold's ambition for his collection was that it could be included in worship? This seems unlikely, and there is certainly no evidence that this was Sternhold's ambition. As outlined below, he expresses the exact opposite of this in the preface to his collection, declaring that the texts are presented to Edward VI so that he and others may sing the psalms as opposed to ungodly ballads.

Instead, perhaps the ambassador was familiar with or had been told of Myles Coverdale's collection of metrical psalms. While these had been printed in 1535-6, they had been banned by a royal proclamation of 1538, and, according to Robin Leaver, subsequently burnt at Paul's Cross in 1546.¹⁹ Beth Quitslund has tentatively

¹⁸ Italics mine.

¹⁹ Robin Leaver, *'Goostly psalms and spirituall songes': English and Dutch metrical psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535-1566* (Oxford, 1991), p. 65. On the dating of Coverdale's psalms see Leaver, *'Goostly Psalmes'*, esp. pp. 65-6. In relation to the work being banned, Leaver, following Foxe, incorrectly records that this was outlined by a royal injunction of 1539. Instead, it was stated through a proclamation of 16 November 1538 imposing various religious controls (Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. 1: The Early Tudors (1485-1553)* (London, 1964), pp. 270-276). In the 1563 edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, he follows his transcription of the proclamation with a list that was not printed after the original proclamation, but which Foxe states includes 'the names of certen boke whiche either after this iniunction or some other in the said kinges daies were prohibyted' (*TAMO*, 629 [573]). Included in this list is: 'Item. Psalmes and songes, drawn as is prete[n]ded out of holy scripture' (*TAMO*, 629 [573]). This item Leaver believes to have been Coverdale's collection (Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes*, p. 65). As Leaver states, however, subsequent

wondered whether, ‘some substantial number of copies of Coverdale’s *Goostly Psalmes* had escaped the hangman’s fire’, though this seems unlikely.²⁰ Alternatively, was the ambassador perhaps drawing a line between the Lutheran origins of Coverdale’s collection, and the importance of congregational singing in the Lutheran reformation, assuming that this was how Coverdale’s work had been used?²¹ Indeed, Robin Leaver has noted that Coverdale had first-hand experience of German congregational singing in worship, and argues that Coverdale ‘surely hoped that the singing of vernacular hymns would find a place in his English churches.’²² Leaver continues by suggesting that ‘it would be surprising if some congregations did not experiment with Coverdale’s *Goostly psalmes* in public worship, though there is no documentary evidence to confirm it.’²³ Perhaps van der Delft had heard it suggested that Coverdale had hoped for his collection to be included in worship, and so the ambassador had concluded that it was.

If we leave aside the fact that there is so far no viable collection of texts and tunes which congregations could easily have adopted, van der Delft’s comments perhaps reveal that congregations experimented with congregational singing of metrical psalms during the later years of the reign of Henry VIII and the beginning of Edward’s reign. Indeed, as Peter Marshall has noted, ‘Such adaptations on the ground were not unwelcome to the evangelical leadership.’²⁴ Yet even if this is true, it seems

editions of Foxe omit this list of prohibited books, ‘possibly owing to some confusion over the year the books were actually banned’. (Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes*, p. 65).

²⁰ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 106.

²¹ The influence of Lutheranism on Coverdale and his collection is discussed in Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, pp. 62-86.

²² *ibid.*, p. 81.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 82. While Quitslund and Temperley argue that Coverdale’s collection, ‘was explicitly designed for private use [and] there is nothing to suggest that it was ever used in church’, I find Leaver’s argument of the influence of Lutheranism and Lutheran hymnody on Coverdale and on his collection, and how this may have encouraged him towards hoping for congregational singing in England, to be compelling. The quotation is from Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 525-6, n. 65.

²⁴ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT, 2017), p. 312.

unlikely that the ambassador was reporting on a widespread practice, but more likely a very small number of congregations experimenting, or a distorted second-hand account which he has then inflated. If his reports of congregational experimentation are accurate, however, as Quitslund argues, ‘this experimentation was not widely imitated and must not have been long continued, as no other evidence of congregational psalm-singing in English at any point in Edward’s reign has surfaced’, and neither is there any evidence of the singing of psalms or hymns at large gatherings.²⁵ Whatever the reason, misheard information seems more likely than direct evidence of congregational singing of metrical psalms (and certainly *en masse*) at such an early date. As we shall see in chapter three, when Henry Machyn recorded the singing of metrical psalms at a funeral in 1559 he did so with a clear sense of surprise and interest, suggesting that the practice was not known to Machyn (himself a knowledgeable musician).²⁶

Returning to van der Delft’s comments, he continues from his earlier statement by declaring: ‘I do not know what will come of it eventually, since before even the religious question is decided by Parliament these innovations are being carried out.’²⁷ When read in light of the analysis above, his comments once again have an air of impulsive excitement, as opposed to careful reporting. Nevertheless, and while recognising the importance of the ambassador’s rhetorical purpose in providing Charles V with news of how quickly heresy is spreading in England, this further

²⁵ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 106. Anne Heminger has shown that the church of St Dionis Backchurch purchased ‘iiii bokes of sternal salmes’ in 1549. While she suggests that this shows that ‘at least a few churches experimented with singing Sternhold’s psalms liturgically’, there is no conclusive evidence of congregational singing of metrical psalms from Edward’s reign, nor at the time when van der Delft made his report, and certainly nothing on a scale like that suggested by the ambassador. See Anne Heminger, ‘Musical Devotions for Mixed Audiences: Printed Metrical Song in the Edwardian Reformation’, *Reformation*, 27:1 (2022), p. 47.

²⁶ The point is also made by Quitslund, *RR*, p. 106.

²⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, volume 9*, accessed 8 February 2021, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol9/pp218-236>.

comment might suggest that the lack of clear guidance on music was as much a product of the situation in the country, into which the Edwardine government entered as opposed to created (at least in this early stage), as it was a deliberate decision.

The ambassador's comments remain somewhat mysterious in relation to metrical psalmody, but they do provide a helpful insight into the more general atmosphere surrounding music in Edwardine England, both within the government and in the country. Before it reached the worship of English congregations, however, metrical psalmody was principally a domestic practice. While this has been suggested by some scholars (for example Ian Green's belief that 'metrical psalms probably began life in educated households, and official approval came later'), the remainder of this chapter uses bibliographical evidence to demonstrate the domestic, devotional origins of the practice.²⁸ Having established this, it is then argued (in this chapter and also those that follow) that this domestic origin facilitated the arrival of the singing of metrical psalms into the worship of congregations in England following the accession of Elizabeth I.²⁹

II Metrical Psalmody under Edward VI

As mentioned at the opening of this chapter, sometime around 1548, the evangelical printer Edward Whitchurch published a small octavo work entitled *Certayne Psalmes Chosen out of the Psalter of Dauid, & Drawen into Englishe Metre by Thomas Sternhold Grome of ye Kinges Maiesties Roobes*, containing nineteen metrical psalm paraphrases, each prefaced with the psalm number, Latin incipit and quatrain outlining

²⁸ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 519.

²⁹ The domestic origins of English metrical psalms have been suggested by Quitslund and Temperley: Q&T, vol. 2, p. 520.

the psalm's contents.³⁰ Before the psalms was a preface dedicating the work to Edward VI and providing some revealing remarks. In the preface, Sternhold praised Edward because his 'tender and Godly zeale doethe more delyghte in the holye songes of veritie than in anye fayned rimes of vanitie' and for having 'so searched y[e] fountaines of the scriptures' that he understands them to be 'the verye meane to attayne to the perfyte gouernement of this your realme'.³¹ We further learn that Sternhold himself sings to the king and hopes that this collection of psalms will provide the basis for others to do likewise, stating: 'trusting that as your grace taketh pleasure to heare the[m] song sumtimes of me, so ye wil also delight not onely to se[e] & read them your selfe, but also to com[m]and them to be song to you of others'.³² This preface to the king was reprinted in every subsequent Edwardian edition of Sternhold's psalms, testifying to the origin of the work and to Sternhold's original intention for the collection – that these are not simply texts to be seen or read but have as their *raison d'être* that they are to be sung – even while it expanded beyond the courtly setting.

³⁰ In relation to the dating of the first edition of Sternhold's *Certayne Psalmes*, Beth Quitslund has argued that 'it seems safest to assign the *editio princeps* of the *Certayne Psalmes* to sometime between late 1547 and mid-1548' (Quitslund, *RR*, p. 28). Her reasons are as follows (taken from *RR*, pp. 227-28). Both the first and second editions of *Certayne Psalmes* survive undated, but the third edition is printed with a posthumous title and so must have been printed after Sternhold's death in August 1549. Given this, Quitslund believes that the first edition is unlikely to have been printed any later than late 1548 or very beginning of 1549. The earliest date, meanwhile, must have been after the Royal Injunctions of 31 July 1547 because, in Quitslund's words, the preface, 'refers to Edward's encouragement of biblically based sermons and lay scripture-reading'. (p. 27) An early Edwardine date is also implied based on the fact that Sternhold states in the preface that he sings to Edward VI, but he only joined the king's household after the death of Henry VIII. Finally, imitations of Sternhold's psalms do not appear, even in manuscript, until the middle of 1549. While Quitslund doesn't settle on a specific date for the first edition of *Certayne Psalmes* in her *Reformation and Rhyme*, she does, along with Nicholas Temperley in their two-volume edition on the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, adopt 1548 as the most likely date, for the reasons cited here (see Q&T, vol. 2, p. 510, n. 20). Finally, Quitslund's reason for offering late 1547 as an earlier dating option is comments made in December 1547 by the ambassador to Emperor Charles V, François van der Delft, in which he claims that the common people in England are singing psalms in their own language in their churches. The comments made by the ambassador are analysed thoroughly above (pp. 38-42). For this earlier date option see Quitslund, p. 28, n. 35; see pp. 105-6 for her discussion of the ambassador.

³¹ *Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of Dauid, [and] drawen into English metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of ye kinges magesties roobes* (RSTC 2419.5: London, [1548]), sigs. A.iii.^f and A.ii.^v.

³² *Certayne Psalmes*, RSTC 2419.5, sig. A.iii.^f.

After Sternhold's death in August 1549, Whitchurch printed *Al Such Psalmes of Dauid as Thomas Sternehold late grome of [the] kinges Maiesties Robes, didde in his life time draw into English Metre*, dated 24 December 1549, expanding the collection of psalms to 37 psalms, and adding 7 more psalms in a separate section by the young cleric John Hopkins.³³ These two names would become synonymous with the singing of metrical psalms in England, even after the expanded *Whole Booke of Psalmes* was published during Elizabeth's reign with the additional efforts of other composers and versifiers. This expansion of the corpus of psalms and the new title coincided with the expansion of settings in which the singing of metrical psalms took place. Where the Tudor court had been the locus for the practice in its origins, it now expanded out into a wider sphere of influence, moving into the domestic devotions of some of the English population. As outlined below, the sheer volume of copies of *Al Suche Psalmes*, alongside the fact that Whitchurch printed an expanded edition – presumably recognising a market substantial enough to justify this endeavour – which continued in circulation until the accession of Mary I, is testament to the fact that this collection of metrical psalms found a market and a usership (or perhaps more correctly a 'singership') beyond the Tudor court.

I have carried out a preliminary survey of 12 surviving copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms printed before the accession of Mary I (outlined in the table at the end of the chapter), when printing was halted (for obvious reasons), all of which are currently held in repositories in the UK.³⁴ After the accession of Elizabeth I

³³ *Al such psalmes of Dauid as Thomas Sternehold late grome of [the] kinges Maiesties Robes, didde in his life time draw into English Metre* (RSTC 2420: London, 1549). As Zim explains, it was the printer Edward Whitchurch who provided the link between the two men, and 'there is no evidence that Hopkins knew Sternhold personally and no likelihood that they collaborated'. Rivkah Zim, 'Hopkins, John (1520/21-1570), psalmist and Church of England clergyman', *ODNB*, 3 January 2008. Accessed 12 April 2020 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13748>>.

³⁴ In the analysis that follows, I use 'copy numbers' to refer to those copies which I have studied. The 'copy numbers' correspond to those found in Table 1 below.

printing resumed, though now the corpus of psalms had significantly expanded due largely to work carried out by English Protestants during the Marian exile. Then, in 1562, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* emerged as a complete collection of metrical versions of all 150 Psalms, along with various other hymns and prayers, and would remain the sole edition (with minor variations) in print until the early eighteenth century. This preliminary survey has shown the relatively sparse survival of Edwardine copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's psalms, though those which do survive reveal something about the possible nature of metrical psalmody during this period. Before discussing this, however, we should consider the likelihood that many copies do not survive. While a precise number for the Edwardine period has not previously been offered, Alec Ryrie has suggested that there may have been 'ten thousand Edwardian copies of Sternhold's psalter'.³⁵ When this figure is analysed and compared with current scholarship on lost books it seems very likely to be correct, if not indeed an underestimate.

II.i. 'The Legion of the Lost': Estimating Lost Copies of Sternhold and Hopkins³⁶

Historians have long been faced with the issues of lost sources. Indeed, in many respects, this has been one of the central facets of historical scholarship; we must learn to deal with the absence of some source material, abstracting conclusions from what survives and attempting to create a larger, more concrete picture based on those works which we can infer existed but are now lost to us. The response of historians to this 'legion of the lost' has been various, though on the whole a glancing nod in the

³⁵ Ryrie, 'Psalms and Confrontation,' p. 125.

³⁶ The phrase is taken from Andrew Pettegree, 'The Legion of the Lost. Recovering the Lost Books of Early Modern Europe' in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden; Boston, 2016), pp. 1-27.

direction of lost material and a recognition of the difficulties posed by its absence has been made before moving on to works which have survived. As Andrew Pettegree explains, the questions which scholars are presented with are stark: ‘is there in fact any alternative to relying [on] the evidence we have to hand, in the corpus of books assembled in the world’s libraries? ... [Must we] proceed ... simply [by] acknowledging the disappearance of this vast shadow army of lost books as an unavoidable fact of historical scholarship, recognisable but ultimately not susceptible of correction?’³⁷

A growing corpus of scholarship responds, ‘No’, and seeks to establish the existence of works which were once printed and sold, but are now lost. Either they are hidden away and await discovery (either because they are overlooked, they are not recognised for what they are, they are incorrectly recorded, or they are hidden away without anyone knowing of their existence), or, in most cases, they no longer survive. In order to establish the previous existence of these works, various methods have been adopted, ranging from complicated mathematical and statistical modelling to comparing contemporary lists, inventories or bibliographies with modern catalogues in order to establish if works were printed but have not survived.³⁸ This method, however, only demonstrates that a work existed, not how many copies were printed: we learn, for example, that a ballad was registered with the Stationers Company and (presumably) printed, but not the number of copies printed or its circulation.³⁹

³⁷ Pettegree, ‘The Legion of the Lost’, p. 3.

³⁸ Alexandra Hill, ‘Lost Print in England: Entries in the Stationers’ Company Register, 1557-1640’ in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden; Boston, 2016), p. 145.

³⁹ I have used the example of a ballad because, as Hill asserts, licensing a work for publication was expensive and so a printer was unlikely to register a piece of cheap, ephemeral print if they did not believe they would see it to publication; it would not be cost effective. See Hill, ‘Lost Print in England’, p. 150.

Yet the issue for us is slightly different. We have evidence in surviving physical copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms, but want to establish the number that have been lost, knowing indeed that many have.⁴⁰ Indeed, one could see the material we are dealing with here as inherently more prone to being lost than other, more expensive works. As Andrew Pettegree explains: 'By a strange inversion of value and rarity, books which command a much lower sale value can be very rare indeed.'⁴¹ The reason for this is that many books published in the first two centuries of print were used, served their purpose and – if they were not used to destruction – were then discarded; they were rarely purchased with the intention of being retained in libraries. Additionally, Oliver Willard observed that smaller works were also less likely to survive, stating that this was even recognised in the sixteenth century. For example, he cites Christopher Barker who said in 1582: 'Flower...[hath] the *Grammar, and accident for the instruction of youth*: which being but a small booke, and occupied by children, is greatlie spent; and therefore the most profitable Copie in the Realme for the quantitie.'⁴²

Returning to Pettegree, he further explains that around 30% of the known corpus of books printed before 1601 are known to us by the survival of only a single copy. He continues by suggesting that 'it is fairly obvious that if we know of many of these books only through the chance discovery of a single stray survivor, often in a library far distant from the original place of publication, then many other early editions must be lost altogether'.⁴³ This is most certainly the case with those publications which

⁴⁰ For an estimate of the number of copies printed between by 1640 see Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 509.

⁴¹ Pettegree, 'The Legion of the Lost', p. 1-2.

⁴² Oliver Willard, 'The Survival of Some English Books Published Before 1640: a Theory and Some Illustrations', *The Library*, 4th ser., 23 (1942-3), p. 175, n. 2: The Barker quote is from Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers* (London, 1875-94), vol. i, p. 115.

⁴³ Pettegree, 'The Legion of the Lost', p. 2.

were intended for use, which is to say their purpose was to facilitate a set of actions, responses or outcomes. This includes works such as ABCs and catechisms, primers and prayer books, sermons, ballads, song or music books, playbooks, or cookbooks.⁴⁴ This must also be the case for copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms, particularly in the later sixteenth century and thereafter given their popularity, but also in the Edwardine period.

Using a framework based on an essay by Andrew Pettegree, we can attempt to establish the number of Edwardine copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's psalms. Pettegree explains that the printshop ordinances of Geneva assume the production of 1,300 copies of a single sheet, front and back, per day as the normal rate of operation for a single press. This is a remarkable figure, and it is also important to note that the speed of production was not determined by the size of the edition. Broken down, this meant four pulls per minute, all day in a ten-hour day, without a break, and that the size of an edition was determined by the shape of the day; editions tended to be calculated in multiples of 700 for a half day's work, or 1,300 for a full day's.⁴⁵ By implication, Pettegree argues that this figure could be used for other print shops, and I have adopted it here for England.

⁴⁴ Mary Morrissey, 'Sermons, Primers and Prayerbooks', in Joad Raymond, *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1, Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford, 2011), p. 496. Again in relation to the survival rates of books used regularly and intensively, Pettegree discusses the works produced by the press of Christophe Plantin, using the file copies retained by Plantin as a means of establishing the number of lost works from his press. Pettegree asserts: 'Mostly the lost books of the Plantin press are either small format educational texts – ABC books – or devotional texts. These are types of books that have exceptionally poor survival rates, precisely because they were so intensively used. For England we know of one ABC book authorised for publication in an edition of 10,000 copies, of which not one single copy survives.' Pettegree, 'The Legion of the Lost', p. 13. This latter example helps create a fuller picture of the world in which copies of metrical psalms would be used and, over time, lost and allows us to see the figure of c.10,000 copies as being entirely possible.

⁴⁵ Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation: the English exception' in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 159. See also, as Pettegree's source, Jean-François Gilmont, 'Printers by the Rules', *The Library* 6th series, 2 (1980), pp. 129-55.

If we take this as a model and insert the editions of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms which we currently know of, we come up with the following figures. As seen in table 1, thirteen distinct editions survive and are recorded in the RSTC. If we take this as an estimate for the number of editions produced, and multiply this by 700 (a low estimate), 1,000 (a mid-point estimate) and 1,300 (a high estimate), we can calculate the following three possible numbers: 9,100 (low), 13,000 (mid) and 16,900 (high). We could round the top and bottom figures up, first because of the high chance that there are lost editions (for example, as is seen in the table below, no surviving copies or editions that we currently know of were printed in 1550), and second because with the book selling well, 1300 copies was the maximum a printer could produce in a single day, though it sometimes made sense to produce bigger editions. The fact that we can see numerous editions of the book being produced during the Edwardine period reflects the possibility that the book was selling well, and so printers would be less likely to be left with unsaleable stock. Indeed, the argument of this second section of this chapter is that the number of copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms was significantly higher than has previously been realised, and so we should expect more lost copies and editions than this calculation provides.

Once we have rounded the top and bottom figures, we could say that between the first printing of the first edition of *Certayne psalmes* in 1547/8 and the final edition of *Al Suche Psalmes* published in 1553/4, between 9,000 and 17,000 copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms were produced. Further, given the frequency with which works were lost, misplaced or reused (for example as paper for teaching writing or as wastepaper on book boards), we could suggest that this number was even

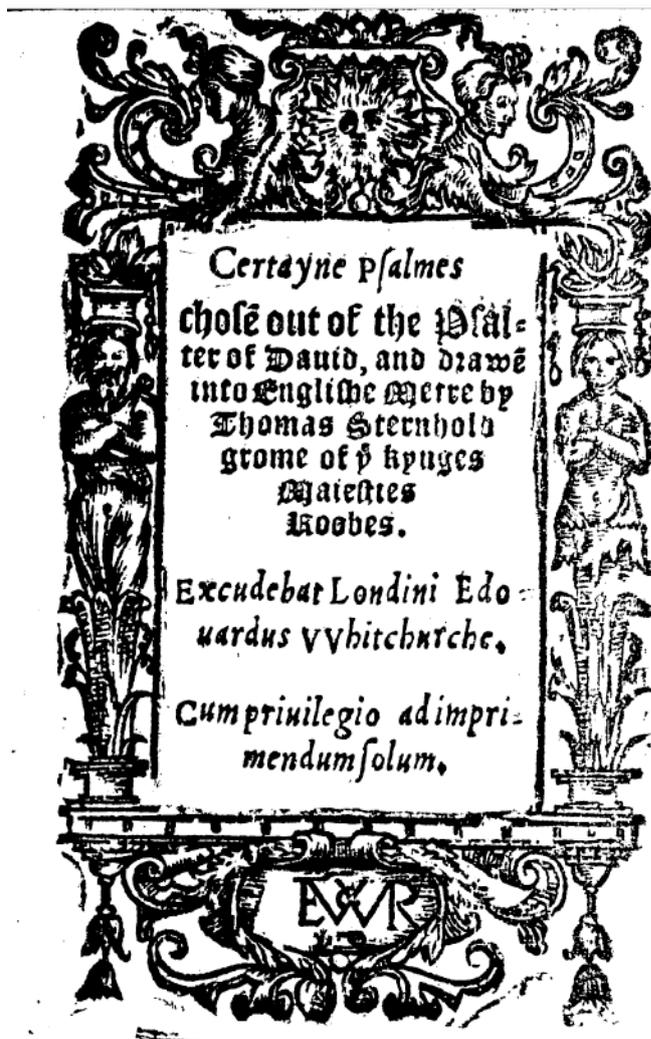
higher, though for this to be substantiated we would need additional bibliographical evidence.⁴⁶

This multiplier is not dissimilar to that used by Ian Green when calculating the often-quoted statistic that, by 1640, ‘we are probably talking of hundreds of thousands of copies [of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*], quite possibly a million, having been produced’.⁴⁷ Green also suggests that, using the RSTC, there are 9 editions of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* produced between 1562 and 1569. Once again, this statistic points to the fact that there was not a dramatic rise in the number of editions produced in the immediate period after the publication of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* in 1562, suggesting that the initial explosion in practice came less through an actual increase in the number of copies available, and more through the means by which the psalms were performed, taught and learned.

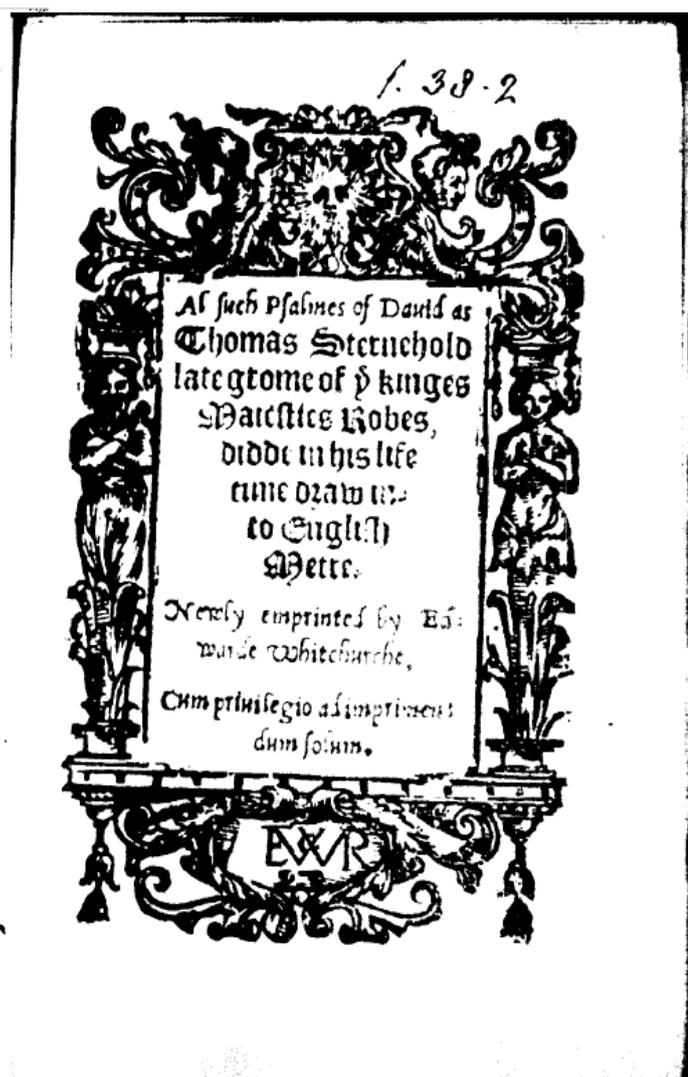
From the discussion above we can see that while a substantial number of copies of Sternhold and Hopkins’s earliest metrical psalms have not survived, a figure of *c.*10,000 copies (as suggested by Alec Ryrie) produced in the Edwardine period is not unrealistic. Indeed, this figure may be considerably lower than the actual number produced and in circulation. This is a very significant number of copies, comparable to other works from the period which are viewed by scholars as significant in their impact and didactic role. And indeed, some of these works survive bound with copies

⁴⁶ I am aware of some of the other issues with relation to counting of distinct editions and copies, such as the reprinting of title pages only and placing these before older copies, or the binding together of two different copies in order to use up leftover printings. In this regard I have followed Ian Green who, with reference to Professor Brian McCullin’s work on the continuous printing of editions of the Bible and binding together multiple different copies into one edition, and particularly the question of ‘How far the numbers of *copies* produced were affected’ by this practice concludes: ‘Presumably if continuous reprinting was designed to use up leftovers at a time of great demand, the numbers of copies with mixed sheets that resulted would not have been much smaller, at least in the first instance, than the numbers produced if those copies all consisted of sheets from the same discrete editions; otherwise the printer would have ended up with more copies of the new sheets than of the originals with which they were to be matched.’ See Green, *Print and Protestantism*, ‘Appendix 2: Problems with Counting Editions of the Bible in Early Modern England’.

⁴⁷ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 509.



Left, Figure 1.1: The title page for *Certayne Psalmes...* (RSTC 2419: London, 1549), taken from EEBO



Right, Figure 1.2: The title page for *Al Such Psalmes of Dauid...* (RSTC 2420: London, 1549), taken from EEBO

of metrical psalms from this period suggesting that they were used alongside one another, discussed below. While we cannot say with complete certainty that the earliest copies surveyed here were not bound with other works at some stage in their existence, it does appear that there is a shift which takes place after the first editions are published and have become more established in the market.

Turning our attention to the surviving copies which have been studied for this chapter, none of the earliest printed surviving copies show clear signs of use,

annotations or corrections. They do demonstrate the evolution of the collection, such as (as is well known) the addition of psalms by John Hopkins, and the title changing from *Certayne Psalmes* to *Al such psalmes...as Thomas Sternhold dyd in hys lyfe tyme...* (copy numbers 1 to 4). As can also be seen in the table below, seven of those copies studied are not bound with any other works, spread throughout the period under study (1548-1553). Of the copies I have studied, none were known to have been printed in 1550, but we do find copies printed the following year, and now bound with other works. It is these copies which survive in shared bindings which most clearly demonstrate the domestic nature of the singing of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms during the Edwardine period, which was to prove important in the decades after the king's early death. These copies with shared bindings form the bulk of the investigation in this chapter, and it is to these that we now turn.

II.ii. Metrical Psalms and 'The Primer'

The domestic origins of the singing of metrical psalms should not come as much of a surprise. Late-Medieval English lay devotion centred on works such as psalters or Books of Hours (or 'primers'), and while the latter naturally contained fewer psalms than the former, the psalms remained, nevertheless, central to their patterns of devotion. With the arrival of the Reformation to England, and the parallel ideas of the centrality of the Biblical texts and the need for vernacular translations of these and other works, it was natural that the Psalms – so central to Jewish and Christian devotion for centuries – should take a central place in both congregational and domestic devotion.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ For the place of psalmody before the Reformation see, for example, James McKinnon, 'The Book of Psalms, Monasticism, and the Western Liturgy,' in Nancy Van Deusen (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany, NY, 1999), pp. 43-58.

Yet while lay domestic religiosity formed the centre from which the singing of metrical psalms established itself in both the congregational worship and domestic devotion in England, the origin of the singing of metrical psalms in England lies unquestionably in the Tudor court. As Beth Quitslund and Nicholas Temperley have pointed out, from the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII the singing of metrical psalms flourished in the Tudor court, particularly drawing on the musical style popular in the French court through the psalm paraphrases of Clement Marot. As evidence they point us towards the memoirs of Thomas Whythorne, who recorded that he ‘did write out ... diverse songs and sonnets that were made by the Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, and Mr. More the excellent harper, besides certain psalms that were made by the said Mr. Wyatt, and also Mr. Sternhold.’⁴⁹ In this setting, however, the harp, keyboard or lute were the leaders of the music, rather than the *a capella* congregational voices that dominated later in the century. And while Quitslund and Temperley argue that Miles Coverdale (with his *Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songes*) and Thomas Wyatt were the first and second men to establish the style of Marot in the English court, it will be clear that, of the names mentioned, the most enduring legacy was the metrical psalms of Thomas Sternhold.⁵⁰

This legacy, however, came particularly because the psalms of Thomas Sternhold found a usership beyond the Tudor court and, in an expanded form including the psalms of John Hopkins, found a role in the domestic devotions of individuals in the Edwardine period. When we look for more concrete evidence of this domestic role,

⁴⁹ James M. Osborn (ed.), *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 13-14, quoted in Q&T, vol. 2, p. 509.

⁵⁰ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 509-10.

we find it particularly in copies of *Al Suche Psalmes* which survive to the present day bound with other devotional works.⁵¹

Of those copies of metrical psalms studied so far, two copies (copy numbers seven and nine in the table below) are bound with *The primer, and catechisme, sette furthe by the kynges highnes and his clergie*.⁵² This particular work was often referred to simply as *The primer* and formed the centrepiece of domestic devotion from the mid-sixteenth century.⁵³ The primer found alongside the catechism was *The King's Primer* first published by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch on 29 May 1545. It was the final innovation of worship to be put in place before the death of Henry VIII and, as Diarmaid MacCulloch asserts, carried out the programme of 'promoting reform within the shell of traditional forms.'⁵⁴ The Primer is divided into three

⁵¹ There is very little scholarship directly discussing whether works that survive bound together were used together, or used in equal or similar measure. The literature available often assumes use. Naturally, Ian Green's *Print and Protestantism* serves as the key work to turn to. In this, Green assumes that bindings are significant, but also that they are amongst the ways historians can find 'evidence of use'. For example, he outlines a set of criteria which can be used to determine 'the intended and actual targets of many of the religious works of the early modern period...with a modicum of confidence' (p. 41). The criteria includes 'evidence of use in the copies themselves (autographs, bindings, or annotations)' (p. 41). More specific to our purposes, in his chapter on metrical psalmody Green raises the issue that 'what remains unclear is how far the customer who bought a copy of the metrical psalms that matched another staple religious work was acting under pressure [from publishers, printers or booksellers].' Part of his conclusion is that 'it is unlikely that purchasers would have parted with their money if they had not believed that there was a good chance that they might soon need a copy' (p. 517). There is a clear assumption here by Green that for books to have been purchased (for individuals to part with their hard-earned cash) they must have intended to read it, either immediately or at some later stage. Thus, interestingly, Green's use of the phrase 'might soon need a copy' points to a growing context in which books are circulated and form vital focal point for the spreading of ideas, and to promote godly attitudes and practices. While Green is here discussing the Elizabethan and early Stuart purchasing of metrical psalms, his conclusions must surely also apply to the Edwardine period, even if the market is smaller during this time (though, as has been pointed out, larger than historians have realised). In particular, his assumption that for someone to purchase a work they must envisage its use, seems a salient one, especially during a period of rapid religious change such as the early English Reformation.

⁵² The exact copies of the primer which accompanies the copies of metrical psalms is referred to in the relevant footnotes, referred to by RSTC number.

⁵³ As Ian Green has pointed out, 'The primer' usually referred to *The primer and catechisme* and allowed individuals to have 'a limited quantity of safe reading material such as the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed.' The sphere in which *The primer* was used, alongside works such as *The ABC* (usually, according to Green *The ABC with the catechism*), was unquestionably domestic, though of course they also had a place in, for example, English grammar schools. Yet, nevertheless, the primer's role was to provide a 'safe' piece and quantity of literature which could be used by individuals or families to continue devotions outside of the parish church. See Ian Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham, 2009), p. 44 and n. 122.

⁵⁴ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, CT, London, 1996), p. 335.

sections: first, there are the usual preliminary features (the calendar, though with considerably fewer saints to be commemorated, the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, Ten Commandments, and so on, and graces to be used before and after dinner and supper); this is followed by the regular offices making up the familiar core of the Primer (Matins through to Compline, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Litany, Dirige and Commendations, and the Psalms of the Passion); and finally the Passion narrative from St John's Gospel, a set of 'Praisers of the Passion' and lastly, what Butterworth refers to as, 'a large and unusual collection of prayers'.⁵⁵ As Eamon Duffy notes, throughout the Primer, 'a consistently reforming emphasis is evident' and the work demonstrates 'the Tudor state attempt[ing] a stricter regulation of this vast and potentially influential area of religious publishing'.⁵⁶ Indeed, the injunction written by Henry VIII and printed at the beginning of the book demonstrates this.⁵⁷

Here, Henry bemoans 'the dyuersytie of primer bookes that are nowe abroade, wherefore are almost innumerable sortes whiche minister occasion of contentions & vaine disputations, rather then to edifye'. Indeed, the Primer followed a proclamation of 6 May 1545 in which Henry decreed the use of a single primer, 'for the avoiding of the diversity of primer books ... whereof are almost innumerable sorts which minister occasion of contentious and vain disputations rather than to edifye'.⁵⁸ Thus, this Primer offers 'one vniforme ordre', to be used throughout Henry's dominions, and particularly to be taught to children and used 'for ordinary praiers of al our people'. The Primer is to be taught to children after they have learnt their ABC by

⁵⁵ Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529-1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 259.

⁵⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 445-7.

⁵⁷ MacCulloch asserts that the 'long additional commendatory preface whose clumsy style indicated that it is indeed, as it proclaims, the composition of King Henry himself.' MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 335.

⁵⁸ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. I (London, 1964), no. 248.

schoolmasters or teachers of young people, and all subjects and booksellers, along with schoolmasters and teachers of young children were forbidden to ‘bye, sell, occupye, vse, nor teache preuily or apertly any other prymer’ in English or Latin. Indeed, the injunction makes reference to the Latin edition of the Primer, and makes clear that the additional purpose of the Primer in English is for use by the youth ‘untyl they be of co[m]petent vndersta[n]dyng and knowledge to preceyue it in Latin’. The key purpose, however, is to provoke ‘true deuotion’ amongst people, allowing them ‘the better [to] set their heartes vpon those things that they pray for’ while also teaching the youth ‘of their dutye towardes God, their prince, & all other in their degre’.⁵⁹ The Primer had an enduring legacy and influence on the future *Book of Common Prayer*, as MacCulloch notes, and standardised the texts used for the Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis and Lord’s Prayer in English.⁶⁰

The first copy of *All Suche Psalmes* which I have studied and survives bound with a copy of *The primer, and catechisme* is held in the archives of Canterbury Cathedral (table 1, no. 9). Both the metrical psalms and primer were printed in 1552 and are without any alterations or adaptations by the owner, except for four cross marks on the calendar (though none are feast or festival days and so most probably lack religious significance), some handwriting on a folio of the psalms (which notes that an owner or user has marked with an ‘x’ the psalms of John Hopkins), and finally some mathematical sums and what appear to be accounts or payments on the recto and verso of the final page.⁶¹ The latter features point towards ownership of the copy, even if it was eventually not used for its original purposes, while also pointing towards the

⁵⁹ *The Primer, set foorth by the Kynges maiestie and his Clergie, to be taught lerned, & read: and none other to be vsed throughout all his dominions* (RSTC 16034: London, 1545), sigs. ***.i.^r-ii.^v.

⁶⁰ MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, p. 336.

⁶¹ *All suche psalmes of Dauid as Thomas Sternholde* (RSTC 2424.1: London, 1552); CCAL H/L-4-16(2). The copy of the Primer is *The primer, and catechisme, sette furthe by the kynges highnes and his clergie, ...* (RSTC 16057: London, 1552).

limited amount of paper available to contemporaries. These features suggest two possibilities: either the copy is still in constant use, and carrying it with you allows the paper at the back to be used for accounts or other daily requirements; or it suggests that while the copy is owned by a contemporary and has previously been used, it has fallen out of its original use and thus can be reused for other purposes. This copy, though interesting, does not shed much light on the place of the singing of metrical psalms in the mid-sixteenth century, though the significance of the binding with the primer will be understood once we look more closely at the other copy of *Al Suche Psalmes* which survives bound to the same work.

More interesting for our purposes, therefore, is the copy of *Al Suche Psalmes* held in the Bodleian Library (no. 7), which is bound with the Primer.⁶² Here we find that the title page is missing, as is everything before the second folio of the Injunction by Henry VIII. While some lines of the Injunction have been underlined, it is not immediately apparent if this is the work of a contemporary or slightly later hand. Nevertheless, some of those sections underlined include: ‘by the meaning thereof, they should be the more prouoked to true deuocion’; ‘the diuersitie of Primer bookes that are now abrode, wherof are almost innumerable sortes’; ‘to be taught vnto children’; ‘duetie towardes God, their Prince’; ‘euery scholemaister and bringer vp of yong’; ‘vntill they be of competent vnderstandyng and ... perceiue it in latin’.⁶³ The primer itself is certainly one produced during the reign of Edward VI, and while it is the same as that produced in the Henrician period, the form for Evensong has been slightly changed. Evidence for this copy as Edwardine comes in particular from the Litany, with a prayer reading: ‘That is may please thee to kepe Edward the sixt thy seruau[n]t

⁶² Bod. 8° C 648 Linc. The primer is [*The primer, and catechisme, set furth ... corrected accordyng to the statute*] (RSTC 16054: London, 1551).

⁶³ *The primer, and catechism, set furth* (RSTC 16054: London, 1551), sigs.a.ii.^r, a.ii.^v - iii.^r.

our Kyng and gouernor'.⁶⁴ This line, however, has been crossed out in the edition consulted, along with the prayer for deliverance from the 'Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities'.⁶⁵ As these lines were removed in the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, this points towards use of this Primer later in the period.

This process of adaptation of the Primer is not unique to this copy. Indeed, such changes can be seen in other copies, published during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Four copies demonstrate a wider trend. First, a 1545 copy held in the British Library features the removal of the line (in both English and Latin), 'fro[m] the tyra[n]ny of ye bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities'. We can pinpoint this change to the reign of Mary, since, also in the Litany, the line 'That it may please the to kepe oure noble queen Catherine in thy feare & loue' has had the name 'Catherine' changed to 'Mary' in the English text and 'Maria' in the Latin.⁶⁶ Second, among the changes to another copy from Henry's reign is the removal of the sections reading 'That it may please the to rule his [Henry VIII's] heart in thy faith, fear and loue, that he may euer haue affiaunce in the, and euer seke thi honour and glory'; 'kepe our noble queen Catherin' and 'her increase of all godliness, honour and chyldren'; and finally, 'That it maye please the too kepe & defend our noble prince Edwarde, and all the kynges'.⁶⁷ A third copy has the following prayers, which were not included in editions which followed, removed: 'Al holy angels and Archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirites: Pray for vs'; and, the prayer immediately following this, 'All holy Patriarkes, & Prophetes, Apostles, & Martyrs, Confessours & virgyns, and all the

⁶⁴ RSTC 16054, sig. h.ii.^r.

⁶⁵ RSTC 16054, sig.h.i.^v

⁶⁶ *The Primer, In Englishe and Latyn, set foorth by the Kynges maiestie and his Clergie to be taught learned, and read: and none other to be vsed throughout all his dominions* (RSTC 16040: London, 1545) (BL General Reference Collection 692.d.28), sigs.G.iii.^v-G.iiii.^r.

⁶⁷ [*The primer set foorth by the kynges maiestie and his clergie.*], (RSTC 16035: London, 1545) (Emmanuel College, Cambridge, S1.5.35(1)), sig. F.vii.^r.

blessed company of heauen'.⁶⁸ A final copy sees the Hail Mary at the very beginning of the Primer crossed out and a large Greek cross has been drawn next to it, while later in the copy the line 'from the tyranny of the [bishop] of Rome and all his detestable enormities' has also been crossed out.⁶⁹

These various adaptations demonstrate that the King's Primer was continually adapted by its owners throughout the various religious and monarchical changes of the mid-Tudor period, and point towards the possibility that it was used even after the publication of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549 and 1552 and in a revised form in 1559. It demonstrates that the primer still had an important role in domestic devotions even as the *Book of Common Prayer* grew in prominence, predominantly in congregational worship but increasingly in the domestic setting also. With these possibilities in mind, it also reinforces the point which began this section: how interesting it is that we find an edition of the King's Primer, printed during the reign of Edward VI, but with Henry VIII's injunction at the beginning, and bound before a 1551 copy of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms. Having established that such changes to the Primer are common in surviving editions, we can see that the edition held in Oxford, which is bound before metrical psalms, is no different with relation to its changes. This does not, however, lessen the interesting feature of being bound before metrical psalms. Indeed, when we turn to consider both of these works alongside one another we see significant similarities.

As noted above, there is a clear reforming emphasis evident in the primer and its publication had as one of its key aims to allow those who were literate to have a

⁶⁸ *The primer set furth by the Kinges maiestie [and] his clergie, to be taught lerned, and red: and none other to be vsed thorowout all his dominions* (RSTC 16048: London, 1547) (BL General Reference Collection C.25.h.6), sig.K.iii.^r.

⁶⁹ *The Primer set furth by the Kinges maiestie & his clerie, to be taught, lerned, and red, and none other to be vsed thorowout his highnes dominions* (RSTC 16048a: London, 1547) (Christ Church Library, Oxford, WN.5.10(3)), sigs.A.i.^r and K.ii.^v.

‘safe’ piece of literature which could guide their devotions or those of their household, albeit in a truncated form. When we combine this with a similar view of the contents of *Al Suche Psalmes* we can see that the two works fit well together in devotion, and both conform to the particular programme and emphases of reform which characterised the final Henrician years, but more importantly the Edwardine period. As Quitslund and Temperley assert:

The selection of psalms that Sternhold included in his first publication ... and the choices he made in paraphrasing them strongly suggest that he intended the little book as a contribution to the evangelical political advice with which Edward’s ears were filled in the late 1540s. Sternhold both includes a high proportion of wisdom-type psalms in his selection and emphasizes moralizing didacticism in his versifications of other psalms, like Psalms 28 or 41, that might seem to lend themselves better to expressions of subjective experience. Many of the subjects on which Sternhold moralizes were popular evangelical *topoi* during Edward’s reign: the importance of the Bible as the highest political authority; the Deuteronomic justice that rewards godly nations and punishes those that go astray; the danger of hypocritical flatterers; and the importance of distributive justice for the godly commonwealth.⁷⁰

This allows us to see that *Al Suche Psalmes* fits alongside other printed works from this period, many of which have been viewed as clear representations of the process of reform enacted under Edward VI, and which would have seemed much less controversial or provocative than many of the other features of that process.⁷¹ Indeed,

⁷⁰ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 511.

⁷¹ While Quitslund and Temperley refer to ‘the selection of psalms that Sternhold included in his first publication’ it seems clear that they are including those added after his death and also those by John Hopkins.

Quitslund and Temperley go on to suggest that the collection of metrical psalms can be seen as expressing similar motivations to the printed sermons of Hugh Latimer, aiming ‘to portray Edward as the recipient of godly counsel and his regime as founded on scriptural imperatives.’⁷² Many of these works were specifically intended for the domestic sphere, with the aim of encouraging the reform of hearts and minds outside of the parish church.

Not only that but, given the fact that, as Green points out, the catechism is itself given so that individuals can have a safe piece of literature on which to base their devotions, we can surmise that metrical psalmody in the Edwardian period did not bare the same badge of quasi-militancy that it acquired during the persecutions of Mary I, and then (though for slightly different reasons) under Elizabeth and thereafter.⁷³ The binding of *Al Suche Psalmes* with two copies of *The primer and catechisme* allows us to suggest, therefore, that metrical psalmody may have had an increasingly important place in English domestic devotions during this period, and that during this time they were considered by the authorities and by the book-buying public as an equally acceptable devotional work for the encouragement of religious reform.

The bindings discussed here also reveal the extent to which the voiceless influenced the spread of metrical psalmody. Naturally, they did so by purchasing and using copies of Sternhold and Hopkins, through which they formed themselves into a collective who shared a set of texts and tunes which expressed the aims and theology of the Edwardine reformation. But the research discussed here, and in the section that

⁷² Q&T, vol. 2, p. 511. See also Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 19-57.

⁷³ On some of the more militant or reformist Protestant uses to which the singing of metrical psalms have been put see W. Stanford Reid, ‘The Battle Hymns of the Lord Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century’, *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, II (Jan., 1971), pp. 36-54; and Ryrie, ‘Psalms and Confrontation’, pp. 114-137.

follows, reveals the importance of the voiceless in forming a wider purchasing collective, who bought and bound works which they felt were important to their own religious experience, but also which formed an important link between one another, and between themselves and the Tudor regime. Metrical psalmody remained, however, a domestic devotional practice, evidenced not only by the binding with the primer, but also with devotional works from the late-Henrician and Edwardine periods.

II.iii. Binding with Other Devotional Works

Returning to the bibliographical survey, the works which are bound with other surviving copies of *Al Suche Psalmes* are all similar in that they are devotional works, and are all printed around the same time as the edition of metrical psalms with which they are bound. First, a copy of *Al Suche Psalmes of Dauid* (1551), held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (copy number 6 in the table below), is bound before a copy of *Deuout psalmes and collectes, gathered and set in suche order, as may be vsed for daylye meditacions*.⁷⁴ First printed in 1547 and then reprinted twice in 1550, the work consists of a collection of psalms and prayers to be said on each day of the week, followed by the Litany, Lord's Prayer, The Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, 'The places concernyng baptisme', 'The places concernyng the Supper of the Lorde' and some final prayers. The copy itself appears clean, apart from two phrases which are underlined: in the preface to the king, the phrase, 'them songe sometimes of me' is underlined, while, in the 'To the Reader' preface before Hopkins's psalm the phrase 'on the dead man' has been underlined. It is not immediately clear whether this

⁷⁴ The copy of *Al Suche Psalmes* is RSTC 2422; Bod. Tanner 56. *Deuout Psalmes and Collectes, gathered and set in suche order, as may be vsed for daylye meditacions* (RSTC 2999: London, 1547). The work was reprinted in two editions in 1550: RSTC 2999.5 and 3000.

underlining is that of a contemporary hand, or of Thomas Tanner, the antiquarian whose name is written on the first page of the preface to the king. Nevertheless, the shared binding of metrical psalms with *Devout psalmes and collectes* is interesting.

While no substantial account of this work has been found in the scholarship on the period, we can attempt to draw some conclusions based on analysis of the contents of the work. First, this is another example of devotional works published in the late-Henrician and Edwardine periods, many of which attempted to bridge the gap between late-Medieval church rites and devotional works, and newly published early Evangelical works which aimed at progressing the English Reformation, such as the King's Primer (discussed above). Its devotional nature is seen in the psalms and prayers given for each day of the week, printed at the beginning, and then the presence of other key prayers and elements of devotion: The Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, Apostle's Creed and so on. At the end of the work, one of the prayers again points towards domestic use, and looks as if it is intended to be prayed after hearing a sermon. It reads: 'Graunt we beseche thee almighty god, [that] the wordes which we haue heard this daye with our outward eares, may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hertes, [that] thei may bring furth in vs [the] fruite of good liuing, to the honor & praise of thy name: Through Jesus Christ our Lorde. Amen.' While these factors are not definitive, they point towards domestic use and in many respects this work could provide an alternative (given the presence of the litany and key elements in devotion) or addition to the King's Primer. It looks as though it is providing the outline for one period of devotion per day, rather than the eight offices maintained in the King's Primer, though one could also divide each day up, reading a psalm at various points during the day and substituting this with praying through the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and so on, and also using the prayers at the end.

The binding of *Al Suche Psalmes* and *Deuout psalmes and collectes* also suggests, once again, that the singing of metrical psalms was increasingly taking place in a domestic setting; the binding of the two works points towards an understanding by the purchaser that both could be used in domestic devotion, that they were not works which were hostile in or to the current religious climate, and their binding together suggests the owner wished them to be used or located together. Further, this copy also has an interesting feature: it is the only example I have seen where metrical psalms are bound *before* other works, both in this period and during the reign of Elizabeth, when copies of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* were often bound after a Bible, *Book of Common Prayer* or both. This may have little bearing on understanding how the text was used or regarded, but it may point towards an increased importance or frequency of use for the metrical psalms; bound first because that is why the book is more regularly opened, or because psalms are sung first, and then the devotional work is used, possibly for a domestic family service.

A further possible implication of its presence before the copy of *Deuout psalmes and collectes* is that it had an increasingly important place in domestic devotions in the period and that contemporaries recognised that it could and did have an important role to play here. These two works in their shared binding thus allow us to see the process by which the English Reformation spread, placing the individual believer (the voiceless in my terminology) as an important vehicle and instigator of reform. There is also an interaction here between the role of the market as a place for purchasing works which the regime hopes to promote, but also the importance of the individual buyer in dictating the works available. Only a small number of copies of *Deuout psalmes and collectes* survive, which might suggest that it was not as popular as other works, and perhaps the development of the *Book of Common Prayer*

facilitated the devotion at which this work aimed.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, its presence here is revealing.

The remaining two copies of *Al Suche Psalmes* which survive with other works (copy numbers 7 and 14) are both bound with devotional works by Katherine Parr.⁷⁶ One of these copies (copy number 7) has already been studied above as being bound with *The primer and catechisme*, which comes before a copy of Katherine Parr's *Psalms or Prayers taken out of Holy Scripture* (1545), followed by *Al Suche Psalmes*.⁷⁷ This copy reveals little about ownership, other than some underlining in 'A prayer for the kyng' when 'Edwarde' is underlined, with two lines in the margin.⁷⁸ That each of these three works is bound together suggests that they were viewed as similarly suitable and acceptable as works to aid and direct domestic devotion. The owner of this copy must have purchased Katherine's *Psalms or Prayers* when they were first published, suggesting that the owner had accepted the late-Henrician religious changes, and pursuing this in their own devotions as well as in the parish church. The significance of this work lies in the fact that it was printed for domestic devotions.⁷⁹ Its origin, as Mueller asserts, was for personal use in royal household prayers, though the presence of concluding prayers which have a more 'public' focus – being directed to the king and for those entering into battle – allow the work to have an audience and usership outside the royal household. This wider range of users came

⁷⁵ The ESTC records the following number of surviving copies for each edition: 5 copies for RSTC 2999: <http://estc.bl.uk/S107833>; 1 copy for RSTC 2999.5: <http://estc.bl.uk/S107835>; 1 copy for RSTC 3000: <http://estc.bl.uk/S91060>.

⁷⁶ The two copies, as will be seen in the table, are RSTC 2423 (Bod. 8^o C 648 Linc) and RSTC 2425 (CUL Syn.8.54.153).

⁷⁷ *Psalms or Prayers Taken Out of Holy Scripture* (RSTC 3003.5: London, 1545). For a modern, annotated edition of this work see Janel Mueller (ed.), *Katherine Parr: Complete Works and Correspondence* (Chicago, 2011), pp. 197-368.

⁷⁸ This is the copy bound with RSTC 2423.

⁷⁹ The work is originally that of John Fisher, though there appears to be a scholarly consensus that Katherine had a sufficiently significant input in its translation and adaptation to warrant her name on the title page. See Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, p. 12-13.

following the printing of a 1545 edition, on which the Queen placed her name as the author. The book was printed throughout the period and become known as ‘The Queen’s Prayers’ in its subsequent editions.⁸⁰

We can see that both *The primer* and *Al Suche Psalmes* were printed in 1551, and it seems possible that they were purchased around the same time, a possibility furthered by the fact that both works were published by Edward Whitchurch. Irrespective of when they were purchased, it seems likely that the owner may have bound both of these with *Psalms or Prayers* in order to use all three in their devotions. This picture allows us once more to see metrical psalmody as a work fitting the Evangelical works printed in the late-Henrician years, and then also fitting with those religious developments of the Edwardine period.⁸¹ It also allows us to see how the singing of metrical psalmody may very easily have fitted into domestic worship; it was not, it would seem, a stretch for individuals to imagine how this could be done, and this binding demonstrates that individuals had established a means through which they could do so.

One final copy (number 14), held in Cambridge University Library, survives bound with three works by Katherine Parr.⁸² The entire collection is covered in handwritten prayers, some in Latin and some in English. The sources of the prayers (where these have been identified) are various and illuminating. At the beginning of the collection, on the inside of the front board and on various blank pieces of paper following this, are a collection of handwritten scripture references and prayers in

⁸⁰ Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, p. 199 n. 10.

⁸¹ While not central to the discussion here, it is worth noting Micheline White’s argument that this work represents one of the most important pieces of royal iconography produced in the final years of Henry VIII’s reign. See Micheline White, ‘The Psalms, War, and Royal Iconography: Katherine Parr’s Psalms or Prayers (1544) and Henry VIII as David’, *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 29, Issue 4 (September 2015), pp. 554-575.

⁸² RSTC 2425; CUL Syn.8.54.153.

Latin. At the top appears a Latin version of Mark 16 verses 14 and 15 and below this appears some more writing, possibly a section from John's Gospel, though this has been covered by a bookplate for Cambridge University, dated 1715. Below this is some writing in English, much of which is unclear but the end of which reads, 'being the 26 die Aprill 1560'. It is unclear if the Latin and English (on the front and throughout) are in the same hand, but the distinctive 'a' shape suggests that they may indeed be. On the following pages are some prayers: one is from the 'Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Primi Clare-Vallensis'; another is from the Missal of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury; another is 'The Confiteor', said during the Penitential Act at the beginning of Mass in the Roman Rite, and another begins 'Misereat vestri' and is found in Sarum; and, finally, one of the last prayers is the Sanctus.⁸³

Following these prayers there is a copy of Katherine Parr's *Psalms or Prayers taken out of Holy Scripture*. Though the title page is missing, the copy begins on the first page of the work and is unannotated or written on until the end. Below the final printed prayer (which is entitled 'A praier for men to saie entryng into battaile') is a handwritten version of 'A Praier of Hieremy. Hieremy xxxi', found in the King's Primer.⁸⁴ The prayer continues on the following page (which contains a printed note on printing location and the name of the printer) where it is then followed by 'A prayer of Solomon for a competent lyvinge [from] Proverb[s] xxx' which is the prayer immediately following the previous one in the King's Primer.⁸⁵ On the reverse side of this page are two other prayers, both also taken from the 'Prayers' section of the King's

⁸³ *Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Primi Clare-Vallensis*, vol. 2 (Parisiis, 1719), p. 912; Martin Rule (ed.), *The Missal of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury with Excerpts from the Antiphonary and Lectionary of the Same Monastery* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 4; For 'The Confiteor' and prayer beginning 'Misereat vestri' in Sarum see Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth (eds), *Breviarium ad Usam Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1879), p. 239.

⁸⁴ The prayer is handwritten on Syn.8.54.153, sig. L.vii.v. For the text of this prayer in the King's Primer see, for example, RSTC 16034, sig. Ee.iii.v.

⁸⁵ For the handwritten prayer see Syn.8.54.153, sig. L.viii.f. For the 'Prayer of Solomon' in the King's Primer see RSTC 16034, sig. Ee.iv.f.

Primer (also in this order): First is ‘The oracion of Job in his moost greuous aduersitie and losse of goodes. Job i’; and second, ‘A Praier of Hiermey. Hieremy xvii’.⁸⁶ Throughout the remainder of the collection, all of the handwritten sections are found in the King’s Primer, but where that is not the case the source is explained.

Following this is a copy of Katherine Parr’s *Prayers or Meditations* (1545).⁸⁷ The title page is relatively simple in design and without handwriting, though the verso has a handwritten version of ‘A prayer against pride and unchastnes’.⁸⁸ Once again, the copy itself is without handwriting except at the end, when another is written, namely ‘A fruitfull praye[r] to be sayd att all tymes’.⁸⁹ This prayer is lengthy and continues from the end of *Prayers and Meditations* onto a blank piece of paper thereafter, and is then followed by a section from Compline: first the anthem ‘Save us good lord’ and then the following chapter beginning ‘Thou art (o Lord) in the midst of us’.⁹⁰

After this is the final work which is likely by Katherine Parr: a copy of *A Goodly Exposition... Upon the 51[st] Psalm* ([1544/5?]).⁹¹ While acknowledging that the work is originally that of ‘Hierom of Ferrary’ (Girolamo Savonarola), Strype suspects that the work was translated into English by Katherine Parr.⁹² The copy itself

⁸⁶ Syn.8.54.153, sig. L.viii.^v. RSTC 16034 sigs. Ee.iii.^{r-v}.

⁸⁷ *Prayers or Medytacions, wherein the mynd is stirred* (RSTC 4819: London, 1545). Mueller notes that this is the first complete edition of the work, in spite of the publication of two precursor editions: Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, p. 1, n. 2. For a modern edition see Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, pp. 369-424.

⁸⁸ CUL Syn.8.54.153, sig. A.i.^v. For the prayer in the King’s Primer see RSTC 16034, sigs. Hh.ii.^{r-v}.

⁸⁹ For the Prayer in the King’s Primer see RSTC 16034, sigs. Jj.i.^v-ii.^v.

⁹⁰ See RSTC 16034, sigs. H.ii.^{r-v}.

⁹¹ Strype possibly suggests 1545 as a date for this source, while Susan E James discusses Katherine’s possible role in a translation appearing in 1544, suggesting that as a date. John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it, and the Emergencies of the Church of England, Under King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. and Queen Mary I.*, Vol. 2, part 1 (Oxford, 1822), p. 206; and James, *Kateryn Parr*, pp. 207, 221. Additionally, the RSTC has a reference for a work of the same name which it records as RSTC 21789.4. This is not, however, the precise edition here, but possibly that of William Marshall (see note 87). See ESTC with notes at <http://estc.bl.uk/S95050>.

⁹² Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Vol. 2, part 1, p. 206. For a modern scholar arguing for Parr’s role of this translation see Susan E. James, *Kateryn Parr: The Making of a Queen* (Aldershot, 1999), p. 207. Mueller, meanwhile, argues that Katherine has largely copied the text from a translation of the original appended to William Marshall’s *Goodly Prymer in Englyshe* (RSTC 15988: London, 1535): Mueller,

appears clean except for one handwritten note in the margin: the word ‘from’ in the body of the work has been underlined and the word ‘for’ written in the margin.⁹³ In addition to this correction, the work has handwritten prayers at the beginning and end, as throughout the collection. Below the title, and written on both recto and verso of the title page, is a handwritten transcription of ‘A prayer agenst wor[l]dly carefulnes’ and ‘a prayer agenst anger’.⁹⁴ Some prayers also appear on the final page, which is otherwise blank. First is the anthem and final prayer from the end of the Ninth Hour, beginning with ‘blessed are the peacemakers’ and ending with ‘which livest and reignest, &c. Amen’.⁹⁵ After this comes two prayers from Lauds: first is the chapter beginning ‘Virgin Mari reioyce alwaye’; and after this the prayer ‘Come holy spirit of God’.⁹⁶

Following this is Sternhold and Hopkins’s *All Suche Psalmes of Dauid* (1553); the last known edition printed before the accession of Queen Mary, and the subsequent flight of English Protestant exiles. Handwritten on the reverse of the title page is the anthem and prayer from the end of Prime, then followed by the final prayer from Evensong. Then, handwritten at the end of the ‘Preface to the King’ printed at the beginning of *All Suche Psalmes* are the anthem and prayer from the end of Compline. In the body of *All Suche Psalmes*, three printing mistakes have been corrected. First, ‘Psalm xxiiii’ has been corrected to ‘ciii’. Second, a stem has been added so that ‘Loroe’ reads ‘Lorde’. Finally, a mistake (the original unclear) has been changed to read ‘Psalm xxxiii’.⁹⁷ After the end of *All Suche Psalmes* comes a final, lengthy,

Katherine Parr, p. 581, n. 186. Savonarola’s appeal was also present later in the sixteenth century when William Byrd and William Mundy both set his poetry to music: Gant, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, pp. 140, 170.

⁹³ Syn.8.54.153, sig.v.^v

⁹⁴ For their appearance in the *King’s Primer* see for example, RSTC 16034, sigs. Hh.i.^v-ii.^r and Hh.iii.^v-iv.^r.

⁹⁵ RSTC 16034 sig.Fii.^v.

⁹⁶ RSTC 16034 sigs. C.iii.^v and D.i.^r.

⁹⁷ Syn.8.54.153, sigs. F.vi.^r, G.ii.^v and G.iii.^r.

selection of prayers, in the following order: A prayer against the assaults of vices; A meditation touching adversity made by my Lady Mary's Grace, 1549; A Prayer to be said at the hour of death; An unidentified text which has been ascribed as 'Psalm 101' though it also appears as though someone has written 'not' before this ascription; 'Oratio divina' with an as yet unidentified Latin text; A prayer for true humility (from the Sixth Hour); a series of unidentified text(s); A prayer in Prosperity; and what appears to be a final prayer that is missing except for one or two words.⁹⁸ All of these prayers are found in the King's Primer alone, with the exception of 'A prayer against the assaults of vices' and 'A meditation touching...', which are both found in an appendix to a volume of Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*.⁹⁹ In addition, 'A Prayer to be said at the hour of death' is found in both Strype and the King's Primer.¹⁰⁰

Strype ascribes the three prayers which he reproduces in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials* to Mary Tudor, when she was still Lady Mary. Strype notes that the first of these – the prayer against vices – has a note at the end in which Mary addresses her chaplain, Dr. Francis Mallet, asking him to pray that she receives the petitions contained in the prayer, which points us to the fact that he too would have seen the prayer, and indeed may have prayed it for Mary.¹⁰¹ Immediately after this, Strype notes that 'a meditation touching adversity' was also written by Mary, in 1549, and he suggests it may have been occasioned by her sickness that year. At the end of her prayer, she adds a note imploring 'good cousin Capel' to pray this prayer for her as often as they are able.¹⁰² Interestingly, while Strype references this final note in the

⁹⁸ For the location of some of these prayers in the King's Primer, see, in order, RSTC 16034 sigs. Jj.iv.^f-Kk.i.^v, E.iii.^v, and Jj.i.^f-v.

⁹⁹ John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it, and the Emergencies of the Church of England, Under King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. and Queen Mary I.* ... Vol. 3, part 2 (Oxford, 1822), pp. 550-552.

¹⁰⁰ RSTC 16034 Jjiv^f-Kki^v; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol.3, part 2, pp. 552-3.

¹⁰¹ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol.3, part 2, pp. 144-45.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 145.

body of his narrative, he does not include it in the appendix where he quotes the entire prayer, suggesting that he did not feel it would have a significant place outside of the original source. Yet, it seems that the person who wrote this prayer in the copy I have studied in Cambridge knew of this note and added it to the end of their prayer. Finally, Strype asserts that he has seen a final prayer, ‘to be said at the hour of death, which also might belong to the said Queen’s devotions.’ This prayer, which Strype includes in his appendix, is also included in the King’s Primer (as noted above), so it remains unclear if the prayer was originally of Mary’s creation, or if she noted it from the King’s Primer for her own use.¹⁰³

This is a fascinating source, and while we cannot draw firm conclusions from it, some of the features outlined here point towards some possible implications. First, the presence of Latin prayers, from various sources, demonstrates a knowledge of and ability to read and use Latin, while also suggesting a knowledge of the various sources from which these prayers are taken. It is, perhaps, possible that the prayers themselves were all gathered in another document at some point and then collected here, but that seems less likely. Additionally, the fact that all of the Latin prayers come at the beginning of the collection suggests that these are the ones which will be used most regularly.

The collection of English prayers is also interesting. As noted above, with the exception of two, they all come from the King’s Primer, which would not have been in print during the reign of Elizabeth, and the two handwritten dates (26 April 1560 and 11 February 1572) fall during her reign. While a replacement for the King’s Primer was printed in 1559, this did not include some of the prayers handwritten in this collection, in particular the chapter from Lauds (mentioned above), beginning

¹⁰³ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol.3, part 2, p. 145.

‘Virgin Mary rejoice always’.¹⁰⁴ There is no clear order for the prayers, and they are not taken from the King’s Primer in the order in which they appear there. Those prayers that do not come from the King’s Primer are all ascribed to Mary Tudor by John Strype. If, as Strype suggests, he has seen a source in which these appear, it remains to be seen how they would end up handwritten in a collection such as this one. Further research needs to be undertaken on both the provenance and distribution of these prayers in the period, in order to establish how they came to be written in this collection, along with the personal notes Mary adds to the end of two of them. Yet the presence of these prayers here does suggest knowledge of a range of sources and a possible belief of the transcriber that the prayers of Mary Tudor are worth praying for oneself.

A further interesting feature is the shared binding of three works all by Katherine Parr. While scholars have debated the exact role of Katherine in the final of these (as mentioned above), her name is nevertheless associated with the work, and its binding here with two others which are explicitly of her hand suggests a knowledge of her role in it. With this in mind, it is possibly more striking that these works are all bound before a collection of metrical psalms. The psalms do appear to have been used, or at least studied in enough detail for someone to have corrected printing mistakes, and the correction of mistakes in the psalm numbers suggests either a knowledge of the psalm texts as found in the Bible or Psalter, or in a later edition of the metrical psalms (*The Whole Booke of Psalmes* from 1562), given the two handwritten dates which are both from Elizabeth’s reign. If this latter possibility is true it means either that the owner has seen another copy and felt they could correct theirs, or that there is

¹⁰⁴ *The Primer set furth at large* (RSTC 16087: London, 1559). See also, Micheline White, ‘Dismantling Catholic Primers and Reforming Private Prayer: Anne Lock, Hezekiah’s Song and Psalm 50/51’ in Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 95-6.

another copy in church which they have seen or used for singing – they could either know the correct psalm number through reading it or the parish clerk announcing it before lining it out (though there is little evidence for this practice this early on).

These possibilities also add weight to the use of this text in domestic devotions rather than congregational worship, a fact which is attested to further by the binding with the three works by Katherine Parr. Further, if this copy is indeed used for domestic devotion, it suggests that the texts contained within it are sufficient for the owner's domestic singing for if they had need for the full range of psalms they could buy a copy of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*. The surviving copies surveyed are not conclusive, but they do give us a snapshot of the possibility that the singing of metrical psalms had a place alongside other forms of domestic devotion, whether based on prayers from the King's Primer or on devotional works such as those by Katherine Parr or *Deuout Psalmes*. They also reveal that contemporaries during the Edwardine period felt there was no difficulty with binding and, presumably using, copies of metrical psalms alongside more old-style Evangelical and Henrician-style devotional works. This also suggests that the singing of metrical psalms was not perceived to be as militant in Edward's reign.

Finally, there is also an interesting parallel between the devotional works which survive bound with *Al Suche Psalmes* and Sternhold's metrical psalms themselves: both originated in or around the Tudor court (particularly the works by Katherine Parr) and yet both found a substantial (though more so in the case of *The primer* and metrical psalms) market outside of this sphere and assumed a significant place in the devotions of English households. They each demonstrate the way in which the Henrician and Edwardine Reformations moved from the Tudor court out into the localities, albeit with varying degrees of success, but nevertheless changing the lives

and, in this case religious practices of individuals. Through the bibliographical evidence outlined in this section, we see that while the reformation moved from the Tudor court it also required genuine grass-roots engagement in order to take hold. The same can be seen in the singing of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms, which also moved from the Tudor court, but found fertile ground beyond this with individuals willing to include the practice in their domestic devotions. In so doing, these voiceless individuals adapted somewhat the religious changes that surrounded them and found ways to make the change from one religious framework to another more palatable.

The various copies of *Al Suche Psalmes* surveyed here, all of which survive bound with other contemporaneous devotional works allow us to glimpse, through bibliographical analysis, the role of metrical psalms in domestic devotions during the Edwardine period. One final copy included in the table below, however, shows that this place of metrical psalmody continued into the Marian period. Copy number 17 appears to be printed along with four other works: 'Certaine Christian and godly prayers'; 'The catechisme'; 'A maner of examininge children before thei be admitted to the Lords Supper'; and 'Another more briefe and shorter forme of the same.'¹⁰⁵ In this continuous, shared printing, we see the formalising of a trend glimpsed in Edward's reign and carried out more thoroughly during Mary's reign by exiles on the continent: the inclusion of metrical psalms as part of a wider domestic religiosity. This is not a copy with shared bindings, but rather is printed as a single unit with other works that were used in domestic devotions. In this single printing, we see that metrical psalms continued to have a domestic devotional role for Protestant exiles during Mary's reign, drawing on the same role for metrical psalms during the

¹⁰⁵ This information is taken from the online catalogue, since I have been unable to view the physical copy due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Edwardine period. This continuity, however, would have been accompanied by the inclusion of metrical psalms in the worship of English exile congregations, explored in the next chapter, though as will also be argued there, this inclusion also drew on the popularity and success of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms in Edwardine England.

II.iv. Bibliographical Signposts

Each of these bindings allows us to glimpse more clearly the settings in which the singing of metrical psalms became established during the Edwardine Reformation. With their origins in courtly circles, it seems surprising that these psalm paraphrases should take hold so firmly in the worship of English men, women and children in Reformation England. The reasons for this will be explored more fully in the remainder of this thesis, but this section has demonstrated that the reign of Edward VI was more significant for the growth of the practice than has been recognised by some scholars. It was during this period that the singing of metrical psalms moved from the Tudor court and became part of English Evangelical domestic religiosity. We see this process taking place through the binding of copies of *Al Suche Psalmes* with works which are more conventionally understood to have been important to domestic religiosity in this period. Towering over all other works in this category is *The primer*, which provided individuals (albeit those who could read and had enough disposable income to afford it) with a piece of literature containing a 'safe' number and selection of prayers to be used outside of the parish church. While we have evidence of only two surviving copies studied thus far, and while two does not prove a pattern, it does point towards the possibilities that both *The primer* and metrical psalms were used alongside one another in domestic devotions, and also that these works were viewed

by contemporaries in the same light: this point is more significant for metrical psalmody which has been viewed as a more ‘Reformed’ even ‘Puritan’ practice.¹⁰⁶

As has been outlined, we also have surviving copies bound with other devotional works though, once again, not in particularly large numbers. It has not, however, been the argument of this section that *Al Suche Psalmes* and devotional works by Katherine Parr or works such as *Deuout Psalmes* were usually or even regularly bound together, but that the survival of some copies of metrical psalms bound along with devotional material from the same period, not least *The primer*, points towards the possibility that metrical psalmody moved from the preserve of those in the Tudor court to a wider audience of those who could purchase, read and use them. This must have been more significant than previously understood, given the number of copies in print during this period, with at least 10,000 copies a very real possibility. That so few copies survive is testament to the way in which early modern people viewed and used books; they were used to the loss of books and to buying a book and using it until its purpose had run out, before discarding it or using the paper for other purposes.

The possibilities explored in this section, and particularly the place of metrical psalmody in domestic devotions, also helps us to understand how the congregational singing of Sternhold and Hopkins’s metrical psalms became an established part of the worship of English exiles. As will be explored in the following chapter, these exiles carried copies of Sternhold and Hopkins with them when they fled England and used these as the basis for the inclusion of congregational singing of metrical psalms in their worship while on the Continent. The bibliographical work explored here leaves

¹⁰⁶ For the ‘puritan’ label see Quitslund, *RR*, p. 228.

many unanswered questions, and a more thorough survey will need to be completed to cement the findings one way or another.¹⁰⁷

Finally, it is also worth noting what these conclusions mean in relation to the framework outlined in the first chapter. As noted above, there has so far been no definitive evidence offered which shows whether works which survive bound together were indeed used together, either to the same or different extents.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, as has been outlined in this chapter, those copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's earliest printed psalms which survive show signs of use, and of inclusion in domestic devotions. This inclusion must have been directed by individuals, since no official directive was given, and so reflects the category of 'soundsmiths' outlined in the previous chapter. When applied to this chapter, we see how individuals proceeded with purchasing copies of works which were designed for the Edwardine reformation, and combined these with copies of *Al Suche Psalmes*. In so doing, the voiceless shaped their experience of the Edwardine reformation (and the religious changes throughout the following decades), by purchasing and using various works, but also by using these works for annotations which may then have defined and shaped their devotional life. Through this, they developed a domestic devotional life which was based around a set of texts (and music) which were fully in keeping with the Edwardine reformation though the majority of which were not mandated.

Additionally, we could see the process of binding these works together as evidence of the creation of group identity. As mentioned, the works which survive bound with metrical psalms all contained material fully in keeping with the Edwardine reformation. The chapter has argued that metrical psalms must have been viewed in

¹⁰⁷ Further bibliographical research for this chapter was stopped by the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic.

¹⁰⁸ See above, p. 88, n. 51.

this light by contemporaries, and this perspective must have been passed from one person to another. This may also have meant that individuals (extending to families and possibly also congregations) may have increasingly identified themselves with the religious perspectives and expressions of the Edwardine reformation. After all, why purchase a collection of psalms (or other material) which has not been officially mandated, for use in domestic devotions, unless you believe that it expresses a religious perspective to which you hold, and unless you believe that doing so will benefit your spiritual life? In turn, this may have bound individuals together as they shared in an expanding body of literature which emphasised the religious perspective of the Edwardine reformation.¹⁰⁹

It will not have escaped attention that this chapter has been limited in its discussion of the music of Edwardine metrical psalmody. Some work has been undertaken, but much more remains. This chapter has not offered thoughts on that specific question, but it has laid the foundation for future work on the musical element in part by demonstrating the domestic, devotional nature of metrical psalmody, and the ways in which voiceless individuals used metrical psalmody to shape their experience of this period of religious change. Future scholarship will no doubt reinforce the importance of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms in shaping both the Edwardine Reformation, but also those which followed (though some reference to this point will be made in the remainder of the thesis).

¹⁰⁹ Anne Heminger has, for example, pointed to the importance of other Edwardine printed metrical psalms alongside those of Sternhold and Hopkins: Heminger, 'Musical Devotions for Mixed Audiences', pp. 43-64. On music providing an expression of and forming collective emotion and group identity see above pp. 40-56.

III Conclusion

This chapter has articulated a picture of metrical psalmody during the reign of Edward VI which is richer and more complex than has so far been recognised by historians. During this period, metrical psalmody moved from the Tudor court and established itself as a domestic devotional practice that was fully in keeping with the aims and aspirations of the Edwardine reformation. As we have seen, metrical psalmody was both more popular in this period than has previously been realised, and it was not militant as some have suggested. To adapt a phrase from Susan Doran, metrical psalmody in the Edwardine period was not a militant or reformist form of Protestantism and instead may have been viewed as ‘an old sort of Protestant[ism]’.¹¹⁰ In part, this can be glimpsed even in the dedicatory preface in *Al Suche Psalmes*. As seen the preface was addressed to Edward VI from Sternhold and suggests that the king use these psalms essentially as a form of domestic devotion. It is easy to see how this could then percolate beyond the Tudor court, to those who were perhaps trying to emulate the piety of the king by including these metrical psalms in their devotions, or in domestic performances. What better way to show your piety and your intimate knowledge of the newest courtly fashion, than to sing metrical psalmody as King Edward himself does, or has done for him.

Naturally, the image presented by this chapter is not complete. A much fuller bibliographical survey will need to be carried out in order to confirm or refute the picture, though the evidence presented here suggests that a more likely outcome than the latter is a more complicated understanding of the practice during Edward’s reign. The scale of metrical psalmody, while suggested in the 10,000 copies and bindings

¹¹⁰ Susan Doran, ‘Elizabeth I’s Religion: The Evidence of Her Letters’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (October 2000), p. 720.

explored above, also remains to be seen. Scholars will also need to employ methodological frameworks such as that outlined in the first chapter of this thesis to establish how we can explore the Edwardine metrical psalmody as a musical event, and how the musical element played a part in the popularity and spread of the phenomenon.

What is clear, however, is that the Edwardine period was more important in cementing Sternhold and Hopkins's psalms into English Protestant devotions than has been realised. It appears that the practice was more widespread, and may have become a central element of the devotions of many in England. Glimpses of this, however, are visible during the Marian period, in particular the fact that English exiles fled Mary's persecutions carrying copies of *Al Suche Psalmes*, which were then used as the basis for congregational singing in English congregations on the Continent. It is to Mary's complicated and convulsive reign that we now turn, and once again, a picture emerges of metrical psalmody occupying a more important role for English Protestants than has been accepted.

Table 1: Pre-1562 Copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's Metrical Psalms¹

Copy Number	RSTC Number	Title	Year of Publication	Location	Repository Call Number	Size	Bound With	Publisher/Printer of Psalms
1	2419.5	<i>Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of Dauid, [and] drawen into English metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of ye kinges magesties roobes</i>	[1548] ²	Huntington*	4830	8o	[Not yet viewed]	Edward Whitchurche
2	2419	<i>Certayne psalmes chose[n] out of the Psalter of Dauid, and drawe[n] into Englishe metre by Thomas Sternhold grome of ye kynges Maiesties roobes</i>	[1549a] ³	BL	G. 12147	8o	//	Edward Whitchurche
3	''	''	''	Folger*	STC 2419	[Not yet seen]	[Not yet viewed]	''
4	2420	<i>Al such psalmes of Dauid as Thomas Sternehold late grome of [the] kinges Maiesties Robes, didde in his</i>	1549b ⁴	CUL	Syn.8.54.157	8o	1. //	Edward Whitchurche

¹ This information is based on my own research. I have, however, compared this with information in Quitslund and Temperley and where this differs in important ways, or helps clarify a point, I have made this clear in the footnotes.

² Quitslund and Temperley suggest that this may have been published in 1548 while the RSTC has 1549 (Q&T, vol. 2, p. 790). I have used Quitslund and Temperley's dating, acknowledging their more up-to-date scholarship, which follows after the longer discussion of the dating of this first edition in Quitslund's *Reformation in Rhyme*, pp. 27-8. On the dating of this edition and Quitslund's discussion see p. 46 n. 27 above.

³ Q&T, vol.2, p. 790.

⁴ Q&T, vol.2, p. 790.

		<i>life time draw into English Metre</i>						
5	”	”	”	Bod.	Douce fragm. f.16	8o/12o	// [Only a single fragment]	”
6	2422	<i>[Al such psalmes of Daud as T. Sternehold didde in his life time draw into English metre.]</i>	1551	Bod.	Tanner 56	8o	<i>Deuout psalmes and collectes, gathered and set in suche order, as may be vsed for daylye meditacions</i> (1547)	Edward Whitchurche
7	2423	<i>[Al such psalmes of Daud as T. Sternehold didde in his life time draw into English metre.]</i>	[1551]	Bod.	8° C 648 Linc	8o	1. <i>The primer, and cathechisme...</i> (1551) 2. <i>Psalms or Prayers taken out of Holy Scripture</i> (1545)	Edward Whitchurche
8	2424	<i>Psalmes of Daud drawen into English metre by Tomas Sterneholde.</i>	1551	BL	C.123.a.4	16mo	//	Edward Whitchurche
9	2424.1	<i>All suche psalmes of Daud as Thomas Sternholde late grome of the Kynges Maiestyas robes, did in his life tyme drawe into Englyshe metre.</i>	1552	CCAL	H/L-4-16(2)	8o	<i>The primer, and cathechisme...</i> (1552)	Edward Whitchurche

10	2424.2	<i>All suche psalmes of Dauid [etc.]</i>	1553	NYPL*	*KC 1553	8o	[Not yet viewed]	Edward Whitchurche
11	2424.4 ⁵	<i>All suche psalmes of Dauid, as Thomas Sternholde late grome of the kinges Maiesties robes, dyd in hys lyfe tyme drawe into Englyshe metre</i>	[1553]	TCL	P. OO. 19. No. 2	12mo	1. <i>An introduction to the looue of God ... newlie turned into Englishe meter, by Robert Fletcher, RSTC 936 (1581)</i> 2. <i>David Blak[e], An exposition vppon the thirtie two psalme, ... RSTC 3122 (Edinburgh, 1600)</i> 3. <i>George Phillips, The Aprill of the Church, RSTC 19856.3 (1596)</i> 4. <i>Een ABC Boecrken seer bequaem ende profijtelijck boor de jonge kinderen</i>	Edward Whitchurche

⁵ This copy is bound with an eclectic collection of works, though they suggest a collector's binding rather than an original owner.

							<i>om te leren...</i> (Leyden, 1608) 5. <i>Consilium delectorum cardinalium...</i> (1609)	
12	2424.6	<i>[All such psalmes of Dauid as T. Sternehold didde in his life time draw into English metre]</i> ⁶	[1553]	CUL	Syn.8.54.154	8o	//	Edward Whitchurche
13	2424.8	<i>Al such Psalmes of Dauid, as Thomas Sternhold, late grome of the kinges maiesties robes did in his lyfe time drawe into english meter</i>	[1553]	BL	G. 12148	8o	//	Edward Whitchurche
14	2425	<i>All suche Psalmes of Dauid, as Thomas Sterneholde, late grome of the kynges Maiesties robes, did in his life tyme drawe into Englishe metre</i>	1553	CUL	Syn.8.54.153	8o	1. <i>Psalms or Prayers taken out of Holy Scripture</i> (1545) 2. <i>Prayers or Meditations</i> (1545) 3. <i>A Goodly Exposition... Upon the 51[st] Psalm</i> ([1544/5?]) ⁷	John Kingston and Henry Sutton

⁶ All missing before verse 2 of psalm 24.

⁷ For dating of this work, see p. 70 n. 86 in chapter above.

15	2426	<i>All suche Psalmes of Dauid, as Thomas Sternholde, late grome of the kinges Maiesties Robes, did in his life tyme drawe into Englishe metre.</i>	1553	BL	C.122.b.25.	8o	//	John Kingston and Henry Sutton
16	2426.5	<i>Al such psalmes of Dauid as T. Sternehold didde in his life time draw into English metre.</i>	1554	Private Collections* ⁸		8o	[Not yet viewed]	[R. Tottle]
17	2426.8	<i>Psalmes of Dauid in metre</i>	[1556w] ⁹	Harvard Uni. Houghton Lib.*	(HOLLIS number) 990044254060203941	16mo	[Not yet viewed]	[H. Singleton?]
18	2427	<i>Psalmes of Dauid in Englishe metre, by Thomas Sterneholde and others: conferred with the Ebrue, & in certeine places corrected, as the sense of the prophete required: and the note ioyned withall. Very mete to be vsed of all sorts of people priuately for their godly solace and confort, laiying aparte all vngodly songes & ballades, which</i>	1560a ¹⁰	CCO	e.8.6 (2)	12mo	<i>Book of Common Prayer</i>	John Day

⁸ I have been unable to view this because it is held in a private collection.

⁹ Q&T, vol.2, p. 790.

¹⁰ Q&T, vol.2, p. 790.

		<i>tende only to the norishing of vice, and corrupting of youth. Newly set fourth and allowed, according to the order appointed in the Quenes Maiesties iniunctions</i>						
19	2428	<i>Foure score and seuen Psalmes of Dauid in English mitre by Thomas Sterneholde and others: conferred with the Hebrewe, a[n]d in certeine places corrected, as the se[n]se of the prophet requireth. Whereunto are added the Songe of Simeon, the ten commandements and the Lords Prayer</i>	1561b	BL	C.36.bb.4	16mo	1. //	John Day
20	”	”	”	St. Paul’s* ¹¹	[Unable to find the call number]	”	[Not yet viewed]	”
21	2429 ¹²	<i>Psalmes. Of David in Englishe metre, by Thomas Sterneholde and others: conferred with the Ebrue, & in certein places corrected (as the sense of the</i>	1561d ¹³	SAL*	Cab Lib n	4o	1. The boke of common-prayer and administration of the sacraments, etc (Printed in	John Day

¹¹ I was unable to view this copy due to the COVID-19 pandemic, but also because St Paul’s Cathedral Library was closed for conservation work until October 2021.

¹² The ESTC states that a copy of this edition is held in Leicester University Library, but following correspondence with the library it seems that they do not hold a copy of this edition.

¹³ Q&T, vol.2, p. 790.

		<p><i>prophet required) and the note ioyned withall. Veri mete to be vsed of all sortes of people priuatly for their godly solace and confort [sic]: lailyng aparte all vngodlye songes and balledes, which tende only to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of youth. Newly set fourth and allowed, accordyng to the order appointed in the Quenes Maiesties Iniunctions.</i></p>				<p>London by Rychard Lugge & John Cawood, 1560) 2. The Bible in English according to the translation of the great Bible (including ‘the volume of the bookes called Hagiographa) (Richard Grafton, 1553) 3. Certayne sermons appoynted by the Quenes maiestie. (Richard Lugge & John Cawood, 1560)¹⁴</p>	
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Key:

Bod: Bodleian Library, Oxford

BL: British Library

CCAL: Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library

CUL: Cambridge University Library

¹⁴ This information is taken from the SAL catalogue.

CCO: Christ Church College, Oxford
Folger: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.
Harvard Uni. Houghton Lib.: Houghton Library, Harvard University
Huntington: The Huntington Library, San Marino, California
NYPL: New York Public Library
St. Paul's: St. Paul's Cathedral, London
SAL: Society of Antiquaries Library, London
TCL: Trinity College Library, Dublin

//: Not bound with any other works

*: Copies marked with an asterisk are those that I have been unable to view in person due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Where other reasons have prevented viewing, these are outlined in a footnote.

3. THE GESTATION OF CONGREGATIONAL SINGING: METRICAL PSALMODY DURING THE REIGN OF MARY I

This chapter argues that Mary's reign was vital in the history of metrical psalmody for two reasons. First, through engaging in a fresh reading of Foxe's accounts of martyrdom during Mary's reign, the chapter argues that the singing of metrical psalms by persecuted English Protestants may have been more prevalent than has previously been recognised. This section, though also the chapter as a whole, should be read through the argument and evidence presented in the previous chapter, where it was also argued that the practice of singing metrical psalms in Edwardine England may have been more widespread than has previously been acknowledged, especially in domestic devotions. This first section outlines the various ways in which English martyrs used metrical psalms, for example to ease their suffering, unite them, or to attack their persecutors. The section also argues that it was during this period that the singing of metrical psalms acquired its more militant image, associated with those Protestants who were more fervent in their faith, even if this was not a correct conclusion. This is not to suggest that the 'militant' label stuck firmly to metrical psalmody, or to suggest that this was principally how contemporaries viewed it, but instead to propose that the militant image which would become more prevalent in the late-sixteenth but especially into the seventeenth century may have found its origins during and as a result of Mary's persecution of English Protestants. The label developed through the two-pronged history of metrical psalmody sung by persecuted Protestants in England as well as those exiles who included it in their worship on the Continent.

The second section of the chapter argues that the Marian exile was vital in establishing unison congregational singing of metrical psalms in English

congregations. In this, a pan-European dimension was central, as English exiles fled to Continental Europe where the practice of congregational singing in unison had developed in centres of the European Reformation. It was this time in exile that allowed the practice to develop in the form that it would maintain in England following Elizabeth's accession, and for a corpus of tunes and texts in English to develop. This section also outlines the possible significance of the English Stranger Churches in providing an example of how the congregational singing of metrical psalms could be included in English worship. The evidence is scarce but suggestive, especially when read alongside the importance of the Marian exile in establishing metrical psalmody in English congregational worship.

Alongside new source material and fresh readings of previously used sources, the chapter also utilises some of the methodological framework outlined in chapter one. Using this, it will argue that metrical psalmody acted as a powerful force for binding disparate and dislocated people together principally through the act of singing a shared set of texts and tunes. The texts and tunes are vital to this, but so too is the simple act of joining together to sing, a powerful and potent force to unite people at times of great upheaval or suffering. While there remain many unanswered questions surrounding metrical psalmody in the Marian period, the chapter hopes to offer suggestions as to how these questions might be approached and where the evidence might point us.

I Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* as Evidence for the Singing of Metrical Psalms

Scholars have made some reference to Foxe's accounts of persecution in Marian England as providing evidence of the singing of metrical psalms.¹ A comprehensive account, however, has not been completed, and several references have been missed. This section engages these sources, arguing that metrical psalmody was employed by persecuted English Protestants for several purposes during this period. These psalms may not have been those of Sternhold and Hopkins, though it seems likely that they were, especially considering the argument in the previous chapter on the prevalence of these versifications during Edward's reign.

Turning our attention to Foxe, we see, first, that he uses psalm-singing as a marker of piety in his accounts of Marian martyrs. At the end of his work, he describes 'The quiet and ioyfull end of the Martyrs' explaining how, amongst other pious behaviours, some 'kissed the stake, some embraced the Fagottes, some clapt theyr

¹ See, for example, Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 237-8; Robin A. Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes': *English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535-1566* (Oxford, 1991), p. 240; Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 141-2; Alec Ryrie, 'The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010), pp. 122-3. Interestingly, Christopher Marsh makes no reference to Foxe's accounts in his otherwise seminal *Music and Society*. More striking, however, Beth Quitslund and Nicholas Temperley, in their recent scholarly edition of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, make only one reference to Foxe recording incidents of psalm-singing, and this account does not come in the Marian section of their historical essay, but in the section on 'The Psalm Book Outside the Church'. In this they explain that Foxe records singing of psalms by prisoners and as 'audience participation in the condemned criminal's last act'. For Quitslund and Temperley, 'among Marian Protestants in England, [these incidents were] demonstrations of undaunted spiritual mirth in the face of persecution.' (Q&T, vol. 2, p. 597). The fact that this is the only reference to Foxe's accounts of psalm-singing is also striking given that Quitslund and Temperley refer to Foxe's collection at a number of points in their second volume, though principally with reference to the fact that both the *Acts and Monuments* and *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* were printed by John Day, along with fact that two prayers from Foxe's work would eventually be printed in the latter. Nevertheless, Quitslund and Temperley's omission of Foxe's references to the singing of metrical psalms means that Marian England is barely treated in their otherwise comprehensive and very thorough analysis. Instead they focus their attention almost entirely on the Marian exiles and their experience as crucial for the expansion and incorporation of the singing of metrical psalms in congregational worship. This focus may explain why they omit a survey of psalmody in Marian England, namely: the exile is the crucial period in establishing congregational metrical psalmody into English worship, and thus deserves the most attention. Even if this is the case, however, and as will argued in this chapter, metrical psalmody in Marian England may have been considerably more prevalent than previously realised, and may have formed an important part of the experience of Protestant martyrs in England. Sadly, their omission of a consideration of metrical psalmody in Marian England leaves the picture of this period (and its importance for the period that followed) as incomplete.

handes, some song Psalmes'.² The account of John Denley also shows piety expressed through psalm-singing. On 8 August 1555, Denley sang a psalm whilst being burnt for heresy. His singing clearly annoyed those standing by and was stopped only when the commissioner, Dr John Story, 'commaunded one of the Tor-mentors to hurle a fagot at him' at which point the singing ceased, thanks to the bleeding from his head. Presumably to Dr Story's disappointment, however, Denley then, 'put hys handes abroad and sang agayne, yelding at the last his spirite into the handes of God through his sonne IESVS CHRIST.'³ The story's principal purpose is to demonstrate the joy of Denley during his death, along the same lines as Foxe's description of the martyrs cited above (kissing the stake and embracing the fire), though of course also elsewhere in his work. At the same time, Denley's singing is also presented as a mark of piety and of perseverance, especially since it accompanies his revival, which is followed closely by his death 'into the hands of God'. Additionally, Foxe records that the Welsh fisherman Rawlins White, held in Cardiff Castle for one year before being executed for refusing to desist in his Protestant proselytising, 'passed away the tyme in prayer, and chiefly in singing of Psalmes: whych kynde of godly exercise he alwayes vsed, both at Cardiffe Castell, and in all other places.'⁴ The implication here appears to be first that White sang psalms as a godly way to pass the time and keep his spirits up, but also that in doing so he displays his piety, especially since this was not the first time he had done so (he had sung 'in all other places').

Psalms are also used as an indication of piety in Foxe's recounting of Thomas Hudson. After Hudson's wife refused to give her husband's location to the vicar of the

² John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011) available from <http://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe>, 1570 edition, 2353 [2313]; hereafter 'Foxe'. All references to and quotations from Foxe are taken from this online edition, and while the 1570 edition has been used for quotations, references to the same incidents recorded in the 1563 edition are provided.

³ Foxe, 1906 [1867]; 1563 edn. 1318 [1249].

⁴ Foxe, 1766 [1727].

town (a man named Berry, who Foxe describes as ‘one of the Byshops Commissaryes, a very euill man’), Hudson ‘waxed euery day more zealous then other, and continually red and sang Psalmes, to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to hym to heare his exhortations and vehement prayers.’⁵ Eventually, he walked around the town ‘crying out continually agaynst the Masse’, before returning home, where he knelt for three days and nights, reading and singing psalms, before finally being arrested.⁶ In this account, Hudson’s singing of Psalms acts as a symbol of praise and devotion, the latter seen especially as he kneels for three days and nights. Foxe presents us with the strength of Hudson’s devotion as he waits, not knowing what is going to happen, though presumably aware that the likeliest outcome is that he will be arrested and executed. Hudson’s singing also acts as a witness to those in his village, and, as with Denley, also of joy in spite of, or rather because of his circumstances. Foxe records that when he was arrested Hudson declared: ‘Now mine houre is come. Welcome frendes welcome: you be they that shall lead me to lyfe in Christ, I thanke God therfore, and the Lord enhable me thereto for his mercies sake.’ According to Foxe, Hudson’s ‘desire was, and euer he prayed (if it were the Lordes wil) that he might suffer for the Gospell of Christ’, and when he was eventually sent to be imprisoned in Norwich he went ‘with ioye and singing chere’.⁷

Foxe’s accounts of psalm-singing also reveals how it could act as a force for binding people together. Foxe recounts, for example, how Julins Palmer, accompanied by John Gwyn and Thomas Askine, sang a psalm together before being led to the flames by an armed guard in Newbury, Berkshire.⁸ Foxe also recounts Thomas Green’s imprisonment in the Lollards’ Tower with an unnamed Englishman and a

⁵ Foxe, 2272 [2232].

⁶ Foxe, 2272-3 [2232-3].

⁷ Foxe, 2273 [2233]. Hudson’s story is recounted in Foxe’s 1563 edn. 1736-1737 [1655-1656].

⁸ Foxe, 2162 [2123]. This detail does not appear to be present in the 1563 edition.

Frenchman named Lyon. At one point, Lyon ‘song a Psalme in the French tounge, and [Green and his English companion] sang with hym’.⁹ Quitslund notes that ‘Green seems an odd candidate for a fluent French speaker,’ but asks, ‘Could he have been singing an English paraphrase to a French tune from one of the Anglo-Genevan metrical psalters?’¹⁰ As discussed below, these psalters were produced during the Marian exile, drawing on the Continental traditions of metrical psalmody, both congregational and domestic. Regardless of which psalms or tunes were sung, Foxe’s account reveals the role of singing metrical psalms as a means of binding together individuals from various backgrounds, especially during a time of emotional turmoil. This function of psalm-singing has been recognised as important for Marian exiles on the Continent but not for persecuted Protestants in England. Timothy Duguid, for example, has argued that those metrical psalms which were carried into exile provided a link with home, yet also ‘became expressions of exilic identity, as they offered the exiles a form of self-expression in divinely sanctioned, emotionally charged songs’.¹¹ The account of Green as recorded by Foxe suggests that the same process took place in England amongst those who were led to their deaths.¹²

Psalm-singing as a means of binding people together is also seen in Foxe’s account of John Philpot, though here it is combined with other functions. In Foxe’s account of John Philpot’s examination before Bishop Bonner, Bonner jests with Philpot that, ‘I maruaile that you are so mery in prison as you be, singing and reioycing as the Prophet sayth: exultantes in rebus pessimis reioycing in your naughtyynes,’ but suggests that ‘you doe not well herein: you shoulde rather lament and be sory.’ Philpot

⁹ Foxe, 2303 [2263]; 1563 edn. 1768 [1687].

¹⁰ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 142.

¹¹ Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English ‘Singing Psalms’ and Scottish ‘Psalm Buiks’, c. 1547-1640* (Farnham, 2014), p. 13.

¹² The role of psalm-singing as a means of binding people together is introduced above and will be discussed more thoroughly in the final chapter. See above pp. 40-56, and below esp. pp. 271-279.

responds by outlining both the manner and source of the singing and the scriptural warrant for his merriment: ‘My Lord, the myrth that we make is but in singing certaine Psalmes, accordyng as we are commaunded by S. Paule, willing vs to be mery in the Lord, singing together in Hymnes and Psalmes: and I trust your Lordship can not be displeased with that.’ While Bonner then tries to refute Philpot, the latter further outlines both the warrant for his mirth but also, illuminatingly, the effect it has on him and his companions. He states: ‘We are my Lord, in a darke comfortles place, and therefore it behoueth vs to bee mery, lest, as Salomon sayth, sorowfulnes eate vp our hart. Therefore I trust your Lordship wyll not bee angrye for our singing of Psalmes, since S. Paule sayth: If anye man bee of an vpright mynd, let hym sing. And we therefore, to testifie that we are of an vpright mynde to God (though wee be in misery) do syng.’¹³

Even if we accept that Philpot hopes to present himself as a man whose life is directed and governed by the Bible and whose actions and arguments are in keeping with it rather than opposed to it, his comment as to the purpose of his (and his companions’) singing of psalms is illuminating. We see that the purpose of their singing is to ease their misery and bring light to their ‘darke comfortles place’, ‘lest...sorowfulnes eate vp our hart’. We also see the implication that singing together is an important part of this process: the phrase ‘our hart’ has the pleasant double meaning of ‘one’s own heart’ and ‘our collective heart’. Finally, Philpot explains that his singing is ‘to testifie that we are of an vpright mynde to God (though wee be in misery)’. The phrase reveals that their singing testifies to those watching or listening that they are, in spite of their present troubles, of upright hearts and minds, and thus firm in their faith. For Philpot, the singing of psalms, therefore, fulfils three purposes:

¹³ Foxe, 2004 [1965]; 1563 edn. 1462 [1393].

it provides mutual encouragement, it is polemical, and it is devotional. The collective aspect of their singing is also important in this, as it has been in other accounts, in that it alleviates suffering and reorients the gaze of Philpot and his companions towards God. This use of psalm-singing as a force for binding people together and expressing collective emotion may have been one of the central reasons for its success. This possibility was explored in the thesis' first chapter, and it is worth returning to it here.

In the incidents explored here, where singing acts to bind people together, we see the argument outlined by Victor Zuckerkandl, the musicologist discussed in chapter one. As Zuckerkandl states: 'The moment tones resound, the situation where one party faces another is transmuted into a situation of togetherness, the many distinct individuals into the one group.'¹⁴ This moment has a powerful binding force, as the tones (but also the texts) create, as Scruton argues, a 'sympathetic response' between people. In the examples provided here by John Foxe, we can see this taking place in the singing by Julins Palmer, John Gwyn and Thomas Askine as they are led to their deaths, but more interestingly in the singing which unites Thomas Green with the unnamed Englishman and the Frenchman Lyon. This singing apparently unites them across linguistic barriers, at a time of emotional turmoil. In this sense, we see music's ability to act, in Martin Clayton's terminology, 'as part of man's communicatory toolbox'.¹⁵ This will be explored further in the remainder of the chapter, but in this instance we can see how music acts to communicate between individuals usually separated by language.

Returning to Foxe, as well as an expression of unity and a force for binding people together, the singing of psalms in the Marian persecutions also acted as an

¹⁴ Victor Zuckerkandl, *Man the Musician* (Princeton, NJ., 1973), pp. 28-9.

¹⁵ Martin Clayton, 'The Social and Personal Functions of Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective' in Susan Hallam, Ian Cross, and Michael Thaut (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology* (Oxford, 2018), p. 53.

expression of judgement against the persecutors. Beth Quitslund mentions that ‘the Catholic authorities heard the psalms as a particularly impertinent form of resistance’ but offers no further suggestion as to possible reasons for this, nor any evidence beyond the examples of John Denley or Julins Palmer.¹⁶ W. Stanford Reid and Alec Ryrie have both pointed to the polemical and militant potential of the singing of metrical psalms (‘Battle Hymns of the Lord’ in Reid’s terminology).¹⁷ Neither of these scholars, however, see the Marian period as particularly important for the development of this phenomenon.

Yet in one example from Foxe we glimpse one of the reasons why the singing of metrical psalms developed as a quasi-militant means through which individuals or groups could express polemical ideas in Marian England. Foxe recounts how, in the list of charges brought against Rafe Allerton, he is accused thus: ‘Item, that he was much desirous to haue the people beleue as he did, and therefore beyng in prison with hys fellowes did sing Psalmes and other songes against the Sacrament of the altare and other ordinaunces of the Church, so loud, that the people abroad might here them and delight in them.’¹⁸ Here we see that the singing of psalms and hymns by Allerton and his fellow prisoners is specifically aimed at the doctrines and teachings of Catholicism. The singing also acted as a sign of solidarity with and to those abroad: we are told that Rafe Allerton and his companions sing, ‘so loud, that the people abroad might here them and delight in them.’

This account demonstrates that Allerton and his fellow prisoners have recognised the power of song both to unite one another (and unite with those outside

¹⁶ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 142.

¹⁷ W. Stanford Reid, ‘The Battle Hymns of the Lord: Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century’, in C.S. Meyer (ed.), *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, Vol. 2 (1971), pp. 36-54; Ryrie, ‘The Psalms and Confrontation’, pp. 114-137.

¹⁸ Foxe, 2253 [2213]. 1563 1710 [1710].

their immediate situation and space), and as a potentially destabilising weapon when pointed against their persecutors, a weapon sharpened by the very nature and source of the words they were singing; words recognised by both parties as divine in origin and expressing a complex reality, yet also often aimed, in vigorously aggressive language, against those who oppose God's law, his will and his servants. It is easy to see why such words could cause offence when they were turned against those who believed they were carrying out the work and will of God. It seems likely that Allerton was not alone in using psalmody against Catholicism and those who are carrying out the persecutions (as glimpsed in the Philpott account above), making the persecuted the righteous and their persecutors those who work against the Lord's will.

Through renewed attention to Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, this section has outlined the possibility that the singing of metrical psalms was more prevalent and more significant in Marian England than has previously been realised. Read individually the accounts reveal interesting episodes, but their significance is heightened when they are taken together. When this is done, the accounts reveal, first, that psalm-singing acts as an indicator of piety in Foxe's accounts, though this seems to be a technique employed by Foxe as much as by those singing. In addition, singing psalms together acted as a means of unifying the group, and of directing attention away from the present troubles towards God. Psalm-singing could also be used to attack the persecuted, and the sources used (the Psalms) carried a particular bite because they were shared between the two groups, the persecuted and the persecutors. We also see the role of individuals in shaping metrical psalmody for their own purposes, since up to this point the practice had been used principally in domestic devotions. Now, however, it was used to bind various people together (even across linguistic barriers), to attack persecutors, and to demonstrate piety. In all of these,

individuals decided how, when, and where they would utilise metrical psalmody, rather than receiving any direction, including in the collections of metrical psalms themselves. They were soundsmiths, shaping the practice for their purposes and situation.¹⁹

It is also possible that in these accounts we glimpse the origins of metrical psalmody as a ‘militant practice’, and in particular of the reputation for it as an expression of Protestant militancy which it had acquired by the later sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries. As seen in the accounts outlined above, during the Marian period, metrical psalmody’s later militant image may have emerged as English Protestants who were persecuted and executed used the singing of metrical psalms to attack their persecutors, as a polemical instrument, to bind one another together, and to witness to those around them that they were willing to embrace death for the sake of the Gospel. Added to this was the use of metrical psalmody by French Huguenots during periods of fierce persecution and battle especially during the 1560s, but throughout the remainder of the century.²⁰

During the seventeenth century, metrical psalmody was often attacked and acquired a more militant edge and image (even if this was not necessarily true). While many of these attacks focused on a perceived association between the practice and ‘puritanism’, they may also have been formed through Foxe’s accounts of psalms singing by those fervent in their faith, despite persecution and death.²¹ The imagery may have been confirmed for some in England when the singing of metrical psalms was used against the enemy as well as in favour of those who were singing (as in the Marian period) during the English Civil War. During this period, for example,

¹⁹ On the terminology of ‘soundsmiths’ see above pp. 32-40.

²⁰ Reid, ‘The Battle Hymns’, pp. 36-54.

²¹ The association between puritanism and the singing of metrical psalms, and the origins of this, is discussed in Quitslund, *RR*, ch. 6.

Parliamentary troops rallied for a second attack at the siege of Leeds in January 1643 by singing the first verse of Psalm 68, Parliamentary horsemen sang psalms at the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, while Robert Brooke led his men in singing Psalm 149 before an attack on Lichfield on 2 March 1643.²² These incidents and the use of metrical psalmody which they portray mirror strongly the uses of this practice by English persecuted Protestants during Marian period, as described by Foxe.

It was during the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth I and into the seventeenth century that the image of metrical psalmody as a militant practice came to surround discourse on the practice. As explored in the previous chapter, this label was not prevalent during the Edwardine reformation, nor during the early part of the reign of Elizabeth I, as the following chapter outlines. Instead, the fresh reading of Foxe's accounts of the singing of metrical psalms explored here reveal that the origins of this label in England may lie in the reign of Mary I when persecuted English Protestants sang psalms to attack their persecutors and their ideologies, alongside using singing to lift their spirits, to unite, and to witness to their piety.

II The Origins of English Congregational Singing of Metrical Psalms

The remainder of this chapter will explore the origins of the congregational singing of metrical psalms in England. While domestic devotional singing was the principal form in Edwardine England, it was congregational singing of metrical psalms which dominated English history following Elizabeth's accession. Yet while Elizabeth's reign certainly saw the practice firmly established in English congregations in England, two sites were vital in the origins and cementing of congregational singing. The second section of this chapter, therefore, is perhaps best thought of as providing

²² Ryrice, 'Psalms and Confrontation', pp. 129, 130.

evidence of two parallel paths leading to one end point. That end point was the dramatic uptake of congregational metrical psalmody in England following the accession of Elizabeth I; the two paths were the Marian exile and the Stranger Churches in England. The following section explores both, and while the Marian exile appears more direct in its influence, the section also outlines the possible significance of the Stranger Churches in providing an example on English soil of how metrical psalmody could be included in worship. The discussion of these churches will form the first part of this section, and while this remains a mysterious part of the history of metrical psalmody in England, it is one that cannot be left out of any account of the history of English metrical psalmody.

II.i. The Stranger Churches

The single most important document for the Stranger Churches was à Lasco's *Forma ac ratio*, used by both the Dutch and French churches, though translated into their own language.²³ The *Forma ac ratio*, composed between 1550 and 1553, provides a detailed account of the rites and discipline of the London Strangers' church alongside substantial commentary from à Lasco.²⁴ Within this order for church worship, the singing of metrical psalms was central. More significantly, the singing of these psalms in the Stranger Churches represents the earliest record, and the first instance of, 'congregational singing of metrical psalms at an authorised service in England.'²⁵ In the Dutch church, the metrical psalms of Jan Utenhove were used, drawing on the

²³ Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes', p. 155

²⁴ A more comprehensive account of the document and its significance can be found in Michael S. Springer, *Restoring Christ's Church: John à Lasco and the Forma ac ratio* (Aldershot, 2007). See also, Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski in the English Reformation', in Christoph Strohm (ed.), *Johannes a Lasco (1499-1560): Polnischer Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator* (Tübingen, 2000), pp. 315-45; Andrew Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 19-20, 32-6; Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 22-4.

²⁵ *MEPC*, p. 18.

Dutch *Souterliedkens* songbook, and psalms were used by the French Stranger Church.²⁶ In à Lasco's ordinance, the singing of psalms happened at least twice: once at the beginning of the service after the confession and absolution of sins and the Lord's prayer, and then at the end just before the dismissal.²⁷ À Lasco directed the singing of the metrical psalms thus:

After the Lord's prayer is finished, by order of the minster a psalm is begun by persons specifically appointed for this purpose with a view to avoiding confusion in the singing, the whole congregation soon joining the singing with the utmost propriety and dignity.²⁸

[...] Then those who are specially appointed may begin with all dignity a psalm in the common tongue, in which the whole congregational soon joins with equal dignity; and it must be sung with such moderation, even by the whole congregation together, that all who know the language at all can easily understand everything that is to be sung.²⁹

As can be seen, it appears that the regular form of singing was for an appointed member of the congregation to begin the singing, after which the rest of the congregation joined in. This form appears identical to that which would come to predominate in English congregations.³⁰ This will be discussed in the following

²⁶ Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), p. 59; Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 62; Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes', pp. 92-8.

²⁷ *MEPC*, p. 17.

²⁸ *MEPC*, p. 18.

²⁹ *MEPC*, p. 18.

³⁰ While it is not clear what exact form the singing took (homophonic in unison or congregational singing with harmonies), it seems certain that the music was unaccompanied. If this was the case, homophonic singing in unison would be the most obvious and, arguably, easiest, form to adopt. See *MEPC*, p. 18.

chapter but included in the different forms which English congregations adopted were the choir or organ beginning the psalm, or playing the first verse, after which the congregation joined in, though the form that would then predominate in English congregations was one in which the parish clerk began the singing. In time it appears that this developed into the practice known as ‘lining out’, in which the clerk said or sang a line, which was then repeated by the congregation singing in unison. This is not necessarily to draw a direct line between the Stranger Churches and the English churches which adopted congregational metrical psalmody, but to outline the similarities which existed and the possibility of the Stranger Church influencing the practice in English congregations.

With the death of Edward VI, the future of the Stranger Churches in England was filled with uncertainty. Almost from the very beginning of her reign, the Stranger Churches and particularly their ministers were marked as one of the most serious impediments to Mary’s desire for the total restoration of Catholicism in England.³¹ Already in July 1553, the Spanish ambassadors brought to Mary’s attention the large number of sectaries living in England, urging her to expel them immediately.³² Several moves were made to diminish the size and impact of the Stranger Churches, with the decisive move coming on 17 February 1554.³³ On this date, Mary issued a proclamation asserting that the country was inhabited by ‘a multitude of evil disposed persons’ who had been born outside of the realm, and had fled to England to escape the punishment they deserved for ‘heresy...murder, treason, robbery, and...other horrible crimes’.³⁴ They were no longer welcome and had to leave. Foreigners who

³¹ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant*, p. 114.

³² Royall Tyler (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11, 1553* (London, 1916), pp. 109-127.

³³ See Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant*, p. 114; Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. II (London, 1964), pp. 5-8; John Roche Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 4, 1552-1554* (London, 1892), p. 341.

³⁴ Hughes and Larkin, (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. II, pp. 31-2.

were not denizens were given 24 days to leave England, after which time they would face imprisonment, confiscation of their goods, and would then be transported back to their home countries to face punishment there. Many members of the Stranger Churches returned to the Continent, where they sought safety from Protestant princes and rulers. Those who fled were accompanied by many English Protestants who established their own communities in centres of the Continental Reformation.³⁵

For the Stranger Churches in England the psalms were not only part of the worship of these foreign communities, but they became a badge of identity, uniting members of the congregation together, and creating a link between them and the people of their homelands where the practice was also well-established. The practice became a defining feature of Continental Reformed Protestantism, and many condemned evangelicals went to their death singing the psalms, or sang them in large groups when meeting in fields to hear exile preachers.³⁶ As the Dutch Calvinist diarist Marcus van Vaernewijck observed, the psalms ‘fostered a truly godly exhilaration, the more so because each understood the fine words of the Holy Scripture which he sang’.³⁷ Indeed, congregational singing of metrical psalms played such an intrinsic part in the Stranger community, not only in its worship, but in its very identity, that as some 175 from à Lasco’s church set sail, fleeing Mary’s proclamations and the likely fatal punishment that would await them were they to remain, they were sent off to the accompaniment of ‘prayers, godly exhortations and the singing of psalms’ from those

³⁵ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT, 2017), p. 384; Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, p. 276. On the exile of the Stranger Churches (though principally focused on their worship) see Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, pp. 175-92. A more thorough account of the Stranger Church during the reign of Mary I (both in England and abroad) is found in Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant*, ch. 5.

³⁶ Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion*, p. 63.

³⁷ Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis and Andrew Pettegree (eds), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1610: a collection of documents* (Manchester, 1992), p. 155.

left behind who had found no space on the ships.³⁸ Of those that remained, many departed by other routes, while others who initially stayed in the hope of continuing their worship or work eventually filtered out of London, though Andrew Pettegree has also noted that a not unsubstantial number of foreigners did remain in the capital during Mary's reign.³⁹ The imagery of a ship setting sail to the singing of metrical psalms is powerful, and while it is the only example thus known, we should perhaps imagine that the practice accompanied other such incidents for the Stranger community, including as they met together before leaving, as they set sail, and as they journeyed to and through the Continent. It certainly formed an important element of their worship when they arrived, and surely also in their journey.

It is also important to note the point raised in the first chapter on the role of worship as 'a uniting activity' (in Jeremy Begbie's phrasing), and the role of music in this.⁴⁰ In chapter one, it was noted how Begbie adds that music, especially in worship, 'is perceived in a manifold environment. And this generates a fund of material for us to be emotional "about."'⁴¹ This seems very clearly to be the case in the incidents here,

³⁸ Translation mine, from the Latin quote reading: 'se precibus, piis exhortationibus et cantioni Psalmorum'. The full account from Utenhove reads: 'Dumque sublatis anchoris uela uentis damas, illi ipsi fratres (quorum nomine & foeminas comprehendo) montem proximum conscendunt, unde nos nauigantes eminus oculis sequuntur: et ubi nos amplius non conspiciunt, se precibus, piis exhortationibus et cantioni Psalmorum multis cum lachrymis dedut, atque in usum pauperum suorum eleemosynas inter sese colligunt.' The account is found in Jan Utenhove, *Simplex et fidelis narratione de instituta ac demum dissipata Belgarum, aliorumque peregrinorum in Anglia, Ecclesia: et potissimum de suspectis postea illius nomine itineribus, per Ioannem Utenhovium* (USTC 694005: Basel, 1560), fol. 21. A modern Latin edition is printed in S. Cranmer and F. Pijper (eds), *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica: Geschriften uit den Tijd der Jervorming in de Nederlanden*, vol. ix ('s-Gravenhage, 1912), pp. 29-186. The relevant section (including the relevant section on psalm-singing translated here) is found on pp. 39-40 of this modern edition.

³⁹ Andrew Pettegree has also argued that many more foreigners remained during Mary's reign than historians have appreciated, and that many foreigners may have arrived during the period. Nevertheless, a substantial number did leave, and for those who remained, 'life became progressively more uncomfortable as the reign worse on.' Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant*, pp. 181-131, quotation on pp. 129-30.

⁴⁰ Jeremy S. Begbie, 'Faithful Feelings: Music and Emotion in Worship' in Jeremy Begbie and Steven Guthrie (eds), *Resonant Witness: Conversations Between Music and Theology* (Grand Rapids, 2011), p. 337. See also Jeremy Begbie, 'Room of One's Own? Music, Space and Freedom' in Jeremy Begbie, *Music, Modernity and God: Essays in Listening* (Oxford, 2013), p. 168.

⁴¹ Begbie, 'Faithful Feelings', p. 339.

from the highly emotionally charged moment of the Strangers' ship sailing away from England, to the singing of a shared collection of texts and tunes whilst physically and environmentally dislocated from those with whom one would normally sing. This could certainly create new layers of meaning, but it could also bind people together across barriers of time and location, as suggested by Christopher Page's work on Gregorian chant in the middle ages, outlined in chapter one.⁴² In this we once again glimpse the importance of music as a force in the creation and then maintenance of group identity, especially during highly emotionally charged moments. We may also here glimpse the importance of the voiceless as soundsmiths who utilise metrical psalmody for their own purposes, such as singing as ships set sail for the Continent.

While not conclusive, this sub-section has provided a series of points which, when considered in the context of English metrical psalmody, may provide tantalising glimpses of a connection between the congregational singing of metrical psalms in the Stranger Churches and the later adoption of the practice in English congregations. It is clear that the Stranger Churches stood as an example to some of the reform that was possible for the English Church.⁴³ Central to this reform would be worship, and à Lasco's liturgy was, it seems, a well-known possible example for this.⁴⁴ One of the defining features of the *Forma ac Ratio* was the place of congregational singing, something which took place on the Continent, but had not made its way to England. It

⁴² See pp. 54-55 above.

⁴³ Robin Leaver suggests a possible influence of the Stranger Churches on English practice in relation to the recital of the Ten Commandments at the beginning of communion in the *Book of Common Prayer*. The claim is echoed by Peter Marshall. See Leaver, *'Goostly Psalmes'*, p. 174; Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 348.

⁴⁴ A manuscript English translation survives in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; MS Barlow 19. While Robin Leaver asserts that it is possible that the manuscript English translation 'was prepared with Cranmer's knowledge', as Diarmaid MacCulloch convincingly asserts it was probably written during the reign of Elizabeth I, a belief shared by Michael Springer. See Leaver, *'Goostly Psalmes'*, p. 173; MacCulloch, 'Jan Laski', p. 345, n. 88; Springer, *Lasco*, p. 6 and n. 20. Irrespective of when it was produced, Leaver also raises the point that had an English translation of the *Forma ac ratio* 'been published, it would have encouraged the liturgical use of metrical psalmody in English churches.' Leaver, *'Goostly Psalmes'*, p. 173.

seems highly likely that at least some ecclesiastical voices knew à Lasco's work, and of this practice by the Stranger Churches, and hoped for its inclusion in English congregations. This should also be considered alongside the fact that English exiles carried copies of *Al Suche Psalmes* with them as they fled their homeland. While these psalms were most likely carried into exile to form part of domestic devotions, we should also consider the possibility that these psalms were carried by some because they hoped to sing them congregationally, following the Stranger Churches or other European Protestants. Thus far, no sources have been uncovered which allow us to draw a direct line between the Stranger Churches and English congregational singing of metrical psalms. Much remains unknown, though if this section reveals anything it is surely that those who seek to understand English metrical psalmody cannot ignore the Stranger Churches. Yet while the Stranger Churches may have provided an example of how metrical psalms could be included in worship, it was the time spent in exile on the Continent that was the most significant for the inclusion of the practice in English congregations.

II.ii. The Marian Exile

Thus far, the exploration of metrical psalmody during the reign of Queen Mary has focused on events on English soil. Yet Mary's reign was as significant because it led to a considerable number of English Protestants fleeing England for Continental Europe.⁴⁵ Some fled of their own volition, while others were expelled, as with the Stranger Churches. As English exiles gathered in different parts of Europe, they

⁴⁵ The figures are not certain. Christina Hallowell Garrett believes Foxe's figure of '800 persons, Students, and other together' to be accurate, though a slightly higher figure of 1,000 people could be more likely. Foxe (1570), p. 1625 [1563]; Christina Hallowell Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 30-2. Peter Marshall suggests a figure of 'perhaps a thousand persons in all'. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 384.

received permission from local authorities to start their own worship services. This usually meant using a modified version of the Edwardian liturgy, while also incorporating the worship practices both of the local area and the Stranger Churches themselves. The metrical psalms that were used by exile congregations included a mixture of those found in the early editions of Sternhold and Hopkins, which were taken abroad by the exiles, as well as those used by congregations in the centres where the exiles settled, including Calvin's *Genevan Psalter*.⁴⁶ This period of exile was vital in the history of metrical psalmody for English congregations, cementing the practice in the form that was dominant once they returned to England.

Congregational singing was a feature of worship in most of the congregations which English exiles settled alongside. According to Robin Leaver, however, Strassburg appears to have been a particularly key location for the development of congregational metrical psalmody amongst English exiles, who began to settle in the Alsatian city in April 1554.⁴⁷ Leaver's argument is in part based on the fact that the hymns and psalms of Becon, Grindal, Coxe, and Wisdom, which found their way into the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, originated in Strassburg, and are associated with originals found in the hymnals used by German congregations in and around the city.⁴⁸ Leaver concludes his discussion of Strassburg by suggesting a link between the Strassburg developments and the arrival of metrical psalmody in England after Elizabeth's accession. Leaver concludes: 'On returning to England it was natural for these English Strassburgers to want their own additions to vernacular congregational song included in the developing English psalter.'⁴⁹ We should, however, perhaps read Leaver's terminology of 'English Strassburgers' as referring to English exiles across

⁴⁶ Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody*, p. 13; Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes', p. 276.

⁴⁷ Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes', p. 192.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 194.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 194.

Europe as opposed to only those who settled in the city, especially given his belief in the centrality of the city for determining and directing the worship practices of English exiles throughout the Continent.⁵⁰ As he has shown, there were undoubtedly lines of communication throughout the various exile communities in Europe, in part to establish, it seems, a clear and consistent set of worship practices.⁵¹ Thus Leaver records the congregational singing of metrical psalms not only in Strassburg but also in Wesel, Frankfurt and Geneva.⁵²

A collection of manuscript papers in Lambeth Palace library offers a unique insight into the possible worship undertaken by English exiles, and, for the first time in English worship, the place of metrical psalmody in this.⁵³ The documents include draft instructions on the conduct of services among the English exiles in Wesel during the Marian exile. Amongst other details, the documents describe the desire for the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* to be maintained in the worship of the exile community, outlining: ‘Towcheng common prayer it is thought good rather with iudgement to reteyn so muctche of the booke heretofore in our owne cuntry <in the days of the gospel> received’.⁵⁴ The manuscript also includes a statement on the singing of metrical psalms. A final form of the statement reads: ‘Item. that some psalme or thanksgyving or invocation may at sometyme be sung at the discreation of thelders.’⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Leaver argues that the leaders of the Strassburg church ‘attempted to regulate the other English exile communities.’ Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, p. 192. A full account of the city and its significance for the exiles is found on pp. 192-4.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, pp. 191-2. Leaver also postulates a line of communication which reveals itself in the development of the 1556 Geneva psalter and Wesel psalter of 1555: *ibid.*, p. 206. On the Wesel Psalms see also Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 126-42.

⁵² Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, ch. 6 *passim*.

⁵³ The information is taken from Leaver who describes these as ‘a small collection of manuscript papers’, Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, p. 196. I was unable to examine the manuscript myself due to the extended closure of Lambeth Palace Library in 2020-1 during the COVID-19 pandemic.

⁵⁴ Lambeth Palace Library MS 2523, fo. 5v, quoted in Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, p. 198. A full discussion of the manuscript can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 196-215. I have retained the angled brackets included by Leaver, who explains that words included in these are crossed out in the original manuscript: *ibid.*, p. 196.

⁵⁵ Lambeth Palace Library MS 2523, fo. 3v, quoted in Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, p. 214.

Leaver, however, records a lengthier version of this statement, which removes an addition and restores several deletions. When this is completed, the statement reads: ‘Item. that some psalm or invocation may at sometyme be sung ether in one tune, or in severall parts, at the discreation of all theholders provided alwayes that the verse wich shalbe so sung be befoer playnly & distinctly read of the minister.’⁵⁶ Leaver believes that the changes to this statement ‘reflected the English practice of metrical psalm-singing [which he believes to have been in parts], developed during the reign of Edward VI, and the revised form of continental practice, which the exile community in Wesel wished to emulate.’⁵⁷ Leaver also believes that in this document we see implied ‘that the established custom of singing the psalms was for the minister to read each stanza before it was sung by the congregation,’ the origins of which he suggests may be found in the Prayer Book’s direction for the congregation to repeat prayers after the minister.⁵⁸ Whether or not Leaver is correct in these assertions, what the manuscript reflects is the connection between English exile congregations and those they settled alongside, and in particular the significance of this time in exile for the development of unison singing of metrical psalms by the congregation. Whatever form metrical psalmody may have taken during Edward’s reign – and some suggestions have been offered in the previous chapter – we can be certain that unison congregational singing was not a widespread practice. This manuscript from Wesel, therefore, presents the first real indication of the inclusion of metrical psalmody into the worship of at least the English congregation in the city, though most probably others spread throughout Europe. The manuscript also reveals, once again, the

⁵⁶ Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, p. 214.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 214.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 214.

possibility that the Stranger Churches were central in the inclusion of the practice, since it is strikingly similar to à Lasco's *Forma ac ratio*.⁵⁹

Of course, to include metrical psalmody in their worship, English congregations needed two things: a collection of texts and a body of music to sing them to. The first collection of texts produced by English exiles on the Continent appeared in February 1556 as *One and Fiftie Psalmes of Dauid in Englishe Metre, whereof, 37. were made by Thomas Sterneholde: and the Rest by Others*. It was printed as part of *The Forme of Prayers and Minstration of the Sacramentes, &c, Used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua: and approued, by the famous and godly learned man, Iohn Caluyn*, which was the service book used by the Anglo-Scottish community in Geneva.⁶⁰ The work used the psalm versifications from *Al Suche Psalmes*, but added new texts. Before its completion, congregations may have acted as soundsmiths, and begun to include metrical psalms in their worship with the texts from *Al Suche Psalmes*, since these had been taken with them into exile. Returning to *One and Fiftie Psalmes*, while marginal glosses point towards the possibility that the collection of psalms could have a 'household use' as well as in 'reflective private reading,' the explicit purpose of the collection 'was to provide the singing psalms that the *Form of Prayers* required during public services'.⁶¹ The collection also included tunes to which the psalms could be sung, which Quitslund and Temperley declare as 'explicitly designed for congregational participation in worship'.⁶² The collection was significant, first, because it represents the first time (that we currently know of) that

⁵⁹ Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes', p. 196.

⁶⁰ *The Forme of Prayers and Minstration of the Sacramentes, &c, Used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua: and approued, by the famous and godly learned man, Iohn Caluyn* (RSTC 16561: Geneva, 1556). *One and Fiftie Psalmes* was printed as the second part of the work.

⁶¹ Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 16-17.

⁶² Q&T, vol. 2, p. 530. A full account of the contents and development of this collection, and its textual and musical precedents and sources can be found in Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 527-535. The work of completing a collection of metrical psalms for the exiles' is also analysed in Duguid, *Print and Practice*, ch. 1.

metrical psalms have been produced in English for the specific purpose of being included in worship, or to be sung in unison by the congregation. Second, it facilitated the arrival of congregational metrical psalmody in England in a well-organised form, following the accession of Elizabeth I.

The time in exile, meanwhile, allowed English Protestants to establish how congregational singing could fit alongside those services outlined in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Exile congregations in Emden, Strassburg and Wesel all appear to have adopted the 1552 Prayer Book, while the community in Frankfurt engaged in what Leaver describes as a ‘radical revision of the 1552 Prayer Book’, before some of the congregation were thrown out and migrated to Geneva, while those that remained returned to using the Prayer Book in their worship.⁶³ The inclusion of metrical psalmody alongside the liturgy of the *Book of Common Prayer* would have required a period of experimentation in establishing how and when the two would fit together. This is not an insignificant point. As we see, the Elizabethan government, unsurprisingly, directed all congregations to use the Prayer Book (though, of course, the 1559 version) in their worship. Yet the time in exile had allowed English congregations on the Continent time to establish how metrical psalmody and the Prayer Book could fit together in worship, meaning that when they returned to England, there was no time wasted in incorporating metrical psalmody in English congregational worship, alongside the *Book of Common Prayer*.

While not directly addressing the singing of metrical psalms, Peter Marshall’s synopsis of the Marian exile provides a neat summary of the significance of this event in the longer history of the practice. On the Marian exile Marshall concludes: ‘The

⁶³ Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, p. 219. A discussion of this revision can be found on pp. 219-25. The further development of the liturgy in Geneva is found on pp. 226-7. Evidence for the *Book of Common Prayer* in other congregations can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 192, 193-4, and 198-9.

experience of exile enabled growing numbers of English Protestants to see more clearly than ever that they were not in fact bound to the legacy of Henry VIII – limited to adapting, reforming or refining the old structures he had wrested from the control of the pope. A Church could be reconstituted from first and fundamental principles.⁶⁴ When read through the history of metrical psalmody explored here, Marshall's summary allows us to see that the exile provided the time and space for those who sought to do so to develop the corpus of metrical psalms, and to realise how the English liturgy of the *Book of Common Prayer* could be placed alongside congregational singing. When viewed retrospectively, the Marian exile thus appears to represent perhaps the most important single period in establishing the congregational singing of metrical psalms in English congregations.⁶⁵

III Conclusion

The Marian exile has long been recognised as crucial in the development of English congregational metrical psalmody, but when attention has been paid to Marian England, nothing of any great significance was thought to have taken place. In part this may have been due to historians' searching for congregational singing of metrical psalms (or at least a lack of understanding what other forms the practice may have taken), but as the previous chapter has shown, the evidence suggests that metrical psalmody in England was a domestic, devotional practice until the Marian exiles developed congregational singing, based on the practice of their Continental brethren.

⁶⁴ Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, p. 388.

⁶⁵ Quitslund and Temperley believe the period to have been 'the real beginning of English congregational singing, and of the tunes that went with it'. They continue by arguing that its significance lies in the fact that, 'it represented an almost total break with the English past, and the version of the Sternhold-Hopkins collection that would become the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* was effectively rewritten'. Q&T, vol. 2, p 527.

Once we recognise this domestic role, the sources that are available to us do seem to reveal more than previously appreciated.

This chapter has presented a series of possibilities. The first is that metrical psalmody in England may have been more prevalent than previously realised (though not in a congregational form), and that during this period it acquired the ‘militant’ or ‘puritan’ label which would later come to surround metrical psalmody for some. To the persecuted in Mary’s England the singing of metrical psalms provided a means of attacking their persecutors and uniting one another through expressions of solidarity and praise. In so doing, they fulfilled the functions which many in Judeo-Christian history had recognised as uniquely found in the psalms: they provided well-synthesised expressions of complex emotions and significant events, all the while directing the attention of those singing (singular or plural) from their present reality to their God.

The second possibility was two paths leading to one endpoint. The first path restated what historians have long recognised, namely that the Marian exile was essential in cementing the congregational singing of metrical psalms into the worship of English exile communities, who then implanted the phenomenon into their own and neighbouring congregations in England following their return with the accession of Elizabeth I. The second path offered the suggestion that the presence of congregational singing of metrical psalms in the Stranger Churches of London may have provided an example of how the practice could be included in English congregations, especially to those who hoped to further reform in the Church, and those who saw in the Stranger Churches an image of what the English Church could or indeed should look like. If the possibilities and suggestions offered in this chapter are correct, then the reign of Mary I may have been significantly more important in the history of metrical

psalmody than has been realised thus far. Yet its principal significance lies in the fact that it established the place of metrical psalmody in English worship, a practice which was taken up with zeal following the accession of Elizabeth I.

Finally, the chapter has also drawn on the methodological material outlined in the first chapter on how historians can utilise music as a historical source. While we may never know what tunes were used in some of the cases discussed in this chapter (in particular in the examples quoted from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*), we can nevertheless draw on methodological material which allows us to enter into fresh readings of the sources available to us. Through this, we can see the power that the singing of metrical psalms played in binding people together during a time of intense turmoil and persecution, crossing barriers of language, time, and geography. We also once again see the importance of the voiceless in shaping how metrical psalms were used during this period. They were soundsmiths who decided how, what, when, and where they sang, but who also found new purposes for it, such as aiming it against their persecutors, or binding themselves with those around them. One must also presume that within this period, those who sang metrical psalms felt that their singing communicated to the God whose texts the Psalms were, and through their singing that he communicated with them. The chapter has thus shown that the Marian period requires a renewed attention from scholars, who can see the role of metrical psalmody in the period, but who may also return to their sources with methodologies from other disciplines in order to reassess the sources that have been so central to our understanding of this period.

4. THE ARRIVAL OF A PHENOMENON: METRICAL PSALMODY IN EARLY ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

The congregational singing of metrical psalms arrived into England almost in parallel with the accession of Elizabeth I. It was during these early years that the voiceless found their voice; when congregational participation in English parish worship services took off, and spread between congregations in London, and then beyond the capital. By extension, this early period may also represent the point when mass collaboration and involvement in the English Reformation gathered real momentum, facilitated through the collective singing of metrical psalms.

It seems clear that many exiles returned to England hoping that the practice would be included in worship, and the evidence suggests that their hopes were realised. Right from the outset, congregations included the congregational singing of metrical psalms in their worship, a feature which, as we will see, was striking to contemporaries. This was undoubtedly facilitated by those in authority within congregations, especially priests and clerks, but we should not doubt the mass appeal of metrical psalmody amongst the otherwise ‘voiceless’ in the congregation. These individuals were ‘voiceless’ since they lacked agency or ‘a voice’ nationally and within their parish or congregation, and because of this they are largely voiceless in the sources. Nevertheless, they acted as ‘soundsmiths’ and employed metrical psalmody in a range of settings, using it to express a collective, Protestant identity, yet also to communicate with and worship God. Without their support, congregational singing would not have taken off, a fact implicit in the sources discussed below.

At the outset, we should recognise that a considerable amount of domestic psalm-singing was also probably taking place during this time. Chapter two of this thesis argued that domestic metrical psalmody was considerably more widespread

during Edward VI's reign than has previously been accepted, and it seems highly likely that this continued during Elizabeth's reign. This domestic psalmody would provide a springboard for the congregational practice that would develop, yet continued with its own momentum throughout the period. It deserves a considerable treatment of its own, but will not be considered here.¹

This chapter engages in a close reading of a number of texts which have been regularly used by scholars, yet few have given the texts the close attention they require. In so doing, a picture emerges of metrical psalmody arriving into England with the accession of Elizabeth I and establishing itself quickly, especially in London but also further afield. The practice grew and spread with a speed few could have predicted, and firmly established itself as a key part of the worship of English congregations. The second part of the chapter focuses on two sources which demonstrate the arrival of congregational singing of metrical psalms into England: the chronicle of Henry Machyn, and a letter of Bishop John Jewel. Both have been studied by previous scholars, but fresh light is shed on them here. The first section, meanwhile, studies the Elizabethan Injunction on music, and argues that one of the key reasons for the establishment and spread of congregational metrical psalmody was the tacit approval which the Elizabethan religious establishment appeared to offer for the practice. It is to this injunction that we now turn.

I The Elizabethan Injunctions on Music: Establishing a Phenomenon

Following the accession of Elizabeth I, the place of congregational singing of metrical psalms – which, as seen in the previous chapter was now held by some as central to

¹ On the domestic singing of metrical psalms during Elizabeth's reign see, Quitslund, *RR*, esp. pp. 248-50; Marsh, *MSE*, p. 437; Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 597-9.

the future worship of English congregations – was left in doubt, due to the lack of official musical direction in the Edwardine Church, restored by Elizabeth.² Nevertheless, the Elizabethan settlement addressed the issue of music in worship in item forty-nine of the Royal Injunctions (issued in July 1559), though managing it through a high level of ambiguity. The injunction stated:

Item, because [in] divers collegiate and some parish churches heretofore, there hath been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children, to use singing in the church, by means whereof the laudable science of music hath been had in estimation and preserved in knowledge, the Queen's Majesty neither meaning in any wise the decay of anything that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the church, that thereby the common prayer should be the worse understood of the hearers, willeth and commandeth that first, no alteration be made of such alignments of living, as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or music in the church, but that the same to remain. And that there be a modest and distinct song so used, in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing. And yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or suchlike song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.³

Scholars have often quoted the line 'there may be sung an hymn or suchlike song' as important in providing the possibility that metrical psalms could be sung in

² Quitslund, *RR*, p. 195.

³ Gerald Bray (ed.), *Documents of the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 344-5.

parish worship. Christopher Marsh has referred to this line as ‘offering vague encouragement to those who hoped to hear congregations participating for themselves’, while Beth Quitslund refers to the injunction as ‘masterfully ambiguous’ and goes so far as to suggest that the injunction, especially in relation to the phrase ‘hymn or such like song’ is ‘crafted to allow the congregational singing that most of the returning exiles strongly favored.’⁴ Quitslund sees the injunction as divided into two halves, the first addressing professional choirs and the second addressing what may be sung and when. In her reading of the text, the injunction implies that choirs offer ‘the best sort of melody and music that may conveniently be devised’, though the injunction does not state this explicitly.

In spite of its ambiguity, the injunction made a number of points clear. Where choral music was maintained, it should avoid complex music which obscures the text, so that both the music and the text ‘may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing’.⁵ As discussed in the first chapter and outlined further below, this phrasing and the sentiment behind it may have drawn on the Edwardine injunctions on music more than scholars have previously realised. As with this precedent, the Elizabethan injunction was no doubt directed towards choral music, but the injunction could and did as easily permit the congregational singing of metrical psalms. As mentioned, the phrase ‘hymn or suchlike song’ was particularly important in this regard, providing for many contemporaries the tacit authorisation needed for congregations to sing metrical psalms as part of their worship.⁶ Christopher Marsh has added an extra layer to our understanding of the injunction, and helpfully explains that for contemporaries, ‘The term “hymn” referred to any song of praise, whether or not

⁴ Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 401; Quitslund, *RR*, p. 196. See also Q&T, vol. 2, p. 563.

⁵ Robin A. Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes*’: *English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566* (Oxford, 1991), p. 239; *MEPC*, p. 40.

⁶ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 196; Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, p. 239.

its text was based squarely on a Scriptural passage'.⁷ It may be that, as Leaver has claimed, this injunction 'was designed to secure a unified tradition of Anglican church music', but if so, its ambiguity left this aim unfulfilled, and from the Elizabethan period onwards the Church of England developed two traditions of church music: choral music principally in cathedrals and chapels, and metrical psalms in parish worship.⁸ And while Jonathan Willis has pointed us towards the importance of organs and choirs in providing a context in which metrical psalmody could become established in parish worship, and possibly a role in teaching psalms to congregations, Christopher Marsh also reminds us that, when combined with the fact that the Elizabethan Injunctions provided no financial support to make good the abolition of chantries, the forty-ninth injunction offered 'vague encouragement to those who hoped to hear congregations participating for themselves in "an hymn or suchlike song" ... [and] opened up the possibility that choirs, like organs, would in time become redundant.'⁹

While we can, therefore, see the importance of the forty-ninth injunction in providing a basis for the inclusion of metrical psalmody in congregational worship, we should also note that historians have missed, or at least failed to draw explicit attention to the fact that the injunction is more nuanced than a simple outline of what could and could not be sung in worship. In particular, the injunction contains an understanding and division of the differences between texts and tunes. With relation to the former, the message is clear: the texts must be understandable to all, not only the educated, and must be equally communicable in prose ('as if it were read without

⁷ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 407.

⁸ Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes', p. 240.

⁹ Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, 2010), ch.3; Marsh, *MSE*, p. 401-2. See also *MEPC*, p. 59-61; and *Q&T*, vol. 2, p. 582.

singing’). For some of Elizabeth’s clergy, however, including some bishops, this still left the musical provision too close to the old Latin service, which would form the basis for calls for the removal of ‘organs and curious singing’ during the Convocation of 1563.¹⁰

In this statement, however, the injunction ties together texts and tunes in a way that scholars have overlooked. This is seen for the first time in the second half of the injunction when it states that the queen ‘willeth and commandeth ... that there be a modest and distinct song so used, in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing.’ The first third of this sentence addresses the music directly, calling for a modest and distinct song. In so doing, it manages to avoid any language which may refer to specific forms of music – polyphonic or monophonic being the two most important for our purposes – and leaves the interpretation to individual churches. Naturally, and as mentioned above, this means that the phrase could be interpreted as referring to the singing of metrical psalms and offers them as an alternative to choral music. At the same time, however, it combines this concern with the music with a concern for the texts, namely that it ‘may be plainly understood as if it were read without singing’.

The injunction also combines this concern with texts and tunes with a subtle statement on polyphony. The first half of the injunction, and in particular through to ‘that the same to remain,’ carefully makes the case that, where previously there had been ‘livings appointed’ to keep ‘men and children’ who would sing, the Queen does not wish to make a clear statement that these *must* be maintained, fearing that should she promote polyphony, and that this would make ‘the common prayer...worse understood of the hearers’. In essence, and without specifically naming it, the

¹⁰ Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 261-2.

injunction implies that polyphonic music might indeed obscure the words which accompany it, preventing a proper understanding by the common people, and that the Queen wishes to avoid anything which might allow this, even if it means a lack of choral polyphony. This statement is interesting for two reasons. First, the statement may seem somewhat obscure unless it is read alongside those injunctions offered by the Edwardine church, discussed in the second chapter, and in particular the Edwardine church's concern that the tunes should not obscure the texts. On this point, the phrase 'worse understood' is particularly interesting: it implies that polyphony may indeed obscure the texts, and appears to build upon Edwardine injunctions. For example, as was stated previously, the 1548 injunctions for Lincoln Minster explained that the cathedral 'shall from hencefore sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other Saints, but only of our Lord, and them not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one'.¹¹ Meanwhile Archbishop Holgate's August 1552 Injunctions for York Minster more clearly anticipate the Elizabethan Injunction, stating: 'that every syllable may be plainly and distinctly pronounced, and without any reports or repeatings which may induce any obscureness to the hearers; and further, the lessons to be distinctly, plainly and apertly with a loud voice read, so that which shall be sung and read may be well heard and understood of the lay and ignorant people'.¹²

The similarity between these directions and that outlined in the forty-ninth Elizabethan Injunction is clear, and we should perhaps see this as an attempt by the Elizabethan authorities to air an opinion which may be voiced by those who want a

¹¹ Walter Howard Frere and William McLure Kennedy (eds), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, 1536-1558*, vol. II (London, 1910), p. 168.

¹² Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. II, p. 318.

removal of choral polyphony, rather than as a definitive statement of the Elizabethan government's view on music in worship. Indeed, a few phrases later, the injunction implies that, where such music, and those choirs which are necessary for its performance, is currently maintained, 'no alteration [should] be made of such alignments of living...but that the same [should] remain.' In this carefully worded statement, the Elizabethan authorities inherit and build upon statements on music which were offered by the Edwardine church, and at the same time offer a piecemeal reassessment in an attempt to cut a path which keeps both sides happy – in this case traditionalists who hope for the reestablishment and royal support for choral polyphony alongside those individuals whose livings were in question from congregational singing of metrical psalms, and reformers who believe that the congregational singing of metrical psalms should be the principal musical element of congregational worship.

As this latter point suggests, the statement is also interesting because it shows how metrical psalmody has taken hold (at least enough to be able to put pressure on the authorities) but also that there is still considerable support for choral polyphony. This reminds us that congregational singing of metrical psalms, even in spite of its increased popularity in the worship of Marian exiles (while in exile and upon their return), was by no means all-encompassing and not a foregone conclusion for inclusion in worship by this early date, even while there is enough support for it to be implied in this royal injunction.

Returning to the injunction, one of the most significant implications of the connection between texts and tunes (in this case seen in the line, 'that thereby the common prayer should be the worse understood of the hearers') is that it brings the individual worshipper – from all levels of society – into direct consideration of music's

form and purpose in worship. For church leaders of all sorts – priests and parish clerks through to bishops – a concern for ensuring that the music is ‘understood’ must be central, bringing the ‘voiceless’ into particular focus since they are the ones who are most likely to be left behind by elaborate music which obscures texts. Yet the injunction applies a passive role for these individuals. They are seen as ‘hearers’, and thus those who receive the word, and are present in the service yet do not have an active role. But, as pointed out in the introduction, it is precisely these ‘hearers’, those who this thesis has been referring to as the ‘voiceless’ who played the crucial role in the success of metrical psalmody. They may not have been assigned an active role in the service by the Elizabethan authorities, but they found their voice and an outlet for active participation in the form of congregational singing of metrical psalms.¹³

In this, the injunction affirms the importance of the parish church as the site in which the Elizabethan Reformation takes root, now with a particular focus on the music used in worship. For many, and particularly as Elizabeth’s reign went on, metrical psalmody became the most obvious candidate to fulfil this requirement, a point which is seen clearly as the singing of metrical psalms became a defining feature of Elizabethan spirituality for the otherwise ‘voiceless’.

We could also, perhaps, see in this statement an understanding of the idea that music communicates in a different, sometimes more powerful way to, say, spoken liturgy, and perhaps also the implication that music provides a more universal form of knowledge and understanding. This point has been developed in the first chapter of this thesis, particularly in relation to music’s ability to communicate between individuals and groups, and between those individuals and God.¹⁴ As argued in the

¹³ See the discussion of this in the introduction, p. 21, and in chapter 2, pp. 70-1.

¹⁴ See above pp. 40-56.

first chapter, we should also turn to historical scholarship to confirm or refute this point.

Jonathan Willis, for example, has convincingly demonstrated that English congregations enjoyed music in their worship, before and during the Reformation, that the foundations were already in place for the music that was included in worship during this period, both structurally (with, for example, choirs, organs and music books) and emotionally (in the passion of congregations for music in their worship).¹⁵ What Willis does not develop, however, is the increased passion that seems to surround metrical psalmody in parish worship, if not initially, certainly as the Elizabethan period continued. One reason for this was surely the fact that, over time, many congregations saw the singing of metrical psalms as the best form of music which they could maintain, which provided ‘a modest and distinct song’ that allowed the texts to be ‘plainly understood’, and in so doing fulfilled the requirement of this injunction and the musical needs of the parish. Indeed, such arguments appear to have been central to those who defended the singing of metrical psalms from the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* and those who called for the removal of organs and choirs, which will be expanded below.

Returning to the forty-ninth injunction, the final line once again recognises the link between texts and tunes, and also echoes elements of the Edwardine injunctions. The line reads: ‘to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.’ In the first phrase, the injunction makes clear that all music must take the form of ‘the praise of Almighty God’. In this, the injunction once

¹⁵ Willis, *Church Music*, ch. 3.

again mirrors the Edwardine injunctions, such as those outlined above for York minster and for Lincoln minster.

Following this, the Elizabethan injunction attempts to address the issue raised at the beginning of the injunction: how congregations could maintain music as a central part of their worship following the destruction of chantries, and without financial support from Elizabeth's government. In so doing, the injunction could be seen as offering tacit support for the congregational singing of metrical psalms, which required little or no musical accompaniment, but could certainly be bolstered should choirs or organs be maintained. And, as already noted, Jonathan Willis has demonstrated that this may indeed have been a very real possibility while slowly introducing the congregational singing of metrical psalms and even sometimes as an aid to it.¹⁶ Further, the final phrase of the injunction ties the issue of music with that of texts, stating, 'having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived'. The sentiment here is clear and relates to the other statements on texts already outlined, and, once again, building on the Edwardine injunctions, most clearly, perhaps the statement for York Minster that clarity is imperative, 'so that which shall be sung and read may be well heard and understood of the lay and ignorant people'.¹⁷ The Elizabethan injunction recognises that music within the worship service has an important place, leaving to congregations themselves the impetus to pursue the form or style they so wish, while adding that this must be carried out alongside the important factor that the music must not hinder the understanding of the texts.

For some within the Elizabethan church, and especially returning exiles who entered into positions of leadership (for example Alexander Nowell and Thomas

¹⁶ Willis, *Church Music*, p. 130.

¹⁷ Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. II, p. 318.

Sampson who were involved in debate during the 1563 Convocation on the removal of organs and choirs), monosyllabic music, such as the metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, offered the best case for justifying this requirement. Indeed, such clerics could have looked back to the Edwardine injunctions, but also to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer for a potential justification for this position. In a letter to Henry VIII, dated 7 October 1544, Cranmer outlined his views on church music, stating:

but in mine opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly, as be in the Matins and Evensong, Venite, the Hymns, Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, and all the Psalms and Versicles; and in the mass Gloria in Excelsis, Gloria Patri, the Creed, the Preface, the Pater noster, and some of the Sanctus and Agnus.¹⁸

Samantha Arten argues that his views ‘referred to adaptations of Latin chant for the new English service and was not intended as a guide to either congregational or choral music’, concluding that ‘Cranmer was not overly concerned with English musical reform.’¹⁹ Nevertheless, Cranmer’s views could be seen as foreshadowing those outlined in the Elizabethan Injunction above, in particular a shared, if implied, concern for the music allowing clarity of the text. With the success of Sternhold and Hopkins in domestic devotions during Edward VI’s reign, and their growth in congregational worship during the exile, the texts and tunes contained within Sternhold and Hopkins’s collection of metrical psalms were seen by many – initially, but especially as

¹⁸ Thomas Cranmer, ‘To King Henry VIII,’ in John Edmund Cox (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Cranmer: Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer* (Cambridge, 1846), p. 412.

¹⁹ Samantha Arten, ‘Singing as English Protestants: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*’ Theology of Music’, *Yale Journal of Music & Religion*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2019), p. 1.

Elizabeth's reign continued – as fulfilling the requirements expressed in the Elizabethan Injunctions on parish music. As will be explored below, this was even more certainly the case with those psalms and tunes composed by William Whittingham and others during and immediately following the exile, which were composed for congregational use, and provide 'the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised', either with or without an organ or choir, and through their monosyllabic form allow 'the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived'. The fact remains, however, that the impetus for music in worship must come from the parishes, and they cannot expect financial aid for this. Possibly as a means of mitigating this, the injunction outlines that parishes are to maintain the best music that they are able to. In time, however, this will mean that parishes will dispense with organs and choirs, opting instead for unaccompanied congregational singing of metrical psalms as a central part of their worship services, a point addressed more fully in the remainder of this chapter.

It is worth noting one final implication of this injunction, which relates more specifically to the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* itself. Beth Quitslund has argued that the uncertainty caused by the forty-ninth injunction may have been responsible for the wording of the title page of the first surviving edition of Sternhold and Hopkins published in Elizabethan London. The 1560 *Psalmes of David in Englishe metre, by Thomas Sterneholde and others* (STC 2427) (Figure 2.1 below) includes the line, 'Very mete to be used of all sorts of people privately for their godly solace and comfort', which Quitslund believes 'shows the uncertainty that persisted in 1560 about how much official approval it was safe to assert for congregational psalm-singing.'²⁰

²⁰ *Psalmes of David in Englishe metre, by Thomas Sterneholde and others* (RSTC 2427: London, 1560), title page; Quitslund, *RR*, p. 201.

Further evidence of John Day's uncertainty could be seen in the fact that, while he begins to print the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* and its predecessors, he also prints other musical works for choirs, which would find a more obvious place in English parish, and especially cathedral and chapel worship.²¹

In addition, the title page of this edition also includes the phrase, 'Newly set fourth and allowed, according to the order appointed in the Quenes Majesties Injunctions'. This line has caused some scholarly division. Some scholars have seen it as a reference to the forty-ninth injunction, and thus a covert attempt to justify the practice, and the printing of the collection by John Day, to the Elizabethan authorities.²² Beth Quitslund, however, argues that this phrase is instead a reference to the fifty-first injunction, which established the authorities through whom books had to pass before publication. For her, the title page 'advertises [John Day's] strict obedience to new Elizabethan regulation of public religious discourse rather than recording an overt attempt to exploit a loophole.'²³ While Quitslund may indeed be correct, what is clear is that the forty-ninth injunction was used as an indication of orthodox practice by Day later in the decade. His title page to the 1566 edition of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (the development of which will be discussed in more detail below) included the line: 'Newlye set foorth and allowed to bee soong of the people together, in Churches, before and after Morning and Euening Prayer: as also before and after the Sermon ...' (Figure 2.2 below).²⁴ What is particularly interesting, however, is that this provides more of an allusion or reference to the injunction, as opposed to a direct quote. The injunction is quite specific in this regard, and in what

²¹ *MEPC*, pp. 53-4.

²² *MEPC*, pp. 53-4; Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes', p. 240; Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 142; Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 27-8.

²³ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 201.

²⁴ *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (RSTC 2437: London, 1566).

is acceptable and when. As it permits: ‘in the beginning *or* in the end of common prayers, *either* at morning *or* evening, there may be sung *an* hymn *or* suchlike song’.²⁵ The message here seems clear: you may sing one hymn or psalm, either before or after the service appointed in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and only at one service.

Yet what we see in the title page from 1566 onwards is the claim that an extension of this is now permitted. As we have seen, the title page claimed that the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* was now ‘allowed to bee soong of the people together, in Churches, before *and* after Morning *and* Euening Prayer: as *also* before *and* after the Sermon’.²⁶ With this statement, there are potentially four occasions when the congregational could sing metrical psalms, in contrast to the grudging Elizabethan injunction which provides only one, and only once per day. The title page also adds to the injunction by claiming that congregations could also sing it before or after the sermon. It is not clear where Day finds approval for this practice, yet most probably as with much of the history of metrical psalmody, we should perhaps imagine that congregations had developed this as a regular practice, perhaps, as Ian Green suggests, ‘as welcome relief’ from the lengthy contemporary services.²⁷ In turn, and as with the origins of congregational singing of metrical psalms, the Elizabethan authorities seem to have ignored this development, and their lack of reprimand in turn led some to see their response as tacit approval. Whatever its origins, as the Elizabethan period continued, the singing of metrical psalms as a bookend to sermons would become a regular fixture of the worship of English congregations, as will be covered below.²⁸

²⁵ Italics mine.

²⁶ Italics mine.

²⁷ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 547.

²⁸ On this, see below p. 156 and n. 91, and p. 158 and n. 102.

PSALMES

OF DAVID FN

Englishe Metre, by Thomas Sterne
holde and others: conferred with the Ebrue, & in
certeine places corrected, as the
sense of the Prophete requi-
red: and the Note ioy-
ned withall.

VERY METE TO BE USED
of all sorts of people priuatly for their godly
solace and confort, laiying aparte all vno
godly songes & ballades, which
tende only to the norishing
of vice, and corrupting
of youth.

¶ Newly set fourth and allowed, according to the
order appointed in the Quenes Ma-
iesties Injunctions.

JAMES. V.

¶ If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any
be mery let him singe Psalmes.

COLLOSS. III.

¶ Let the worde of God dwell plentiouslye in all
wisedome, teachinge & exhorting one another
in Psalmes, Hymnes & Spirituall songes,
& sing vnto the Lord in your herts.

1560

Figure 2.1: The title page for the 1560 *Psalmes of Dauid in Englishe Metre* (RSTC 2427: London, 1560), taken from EEBO.

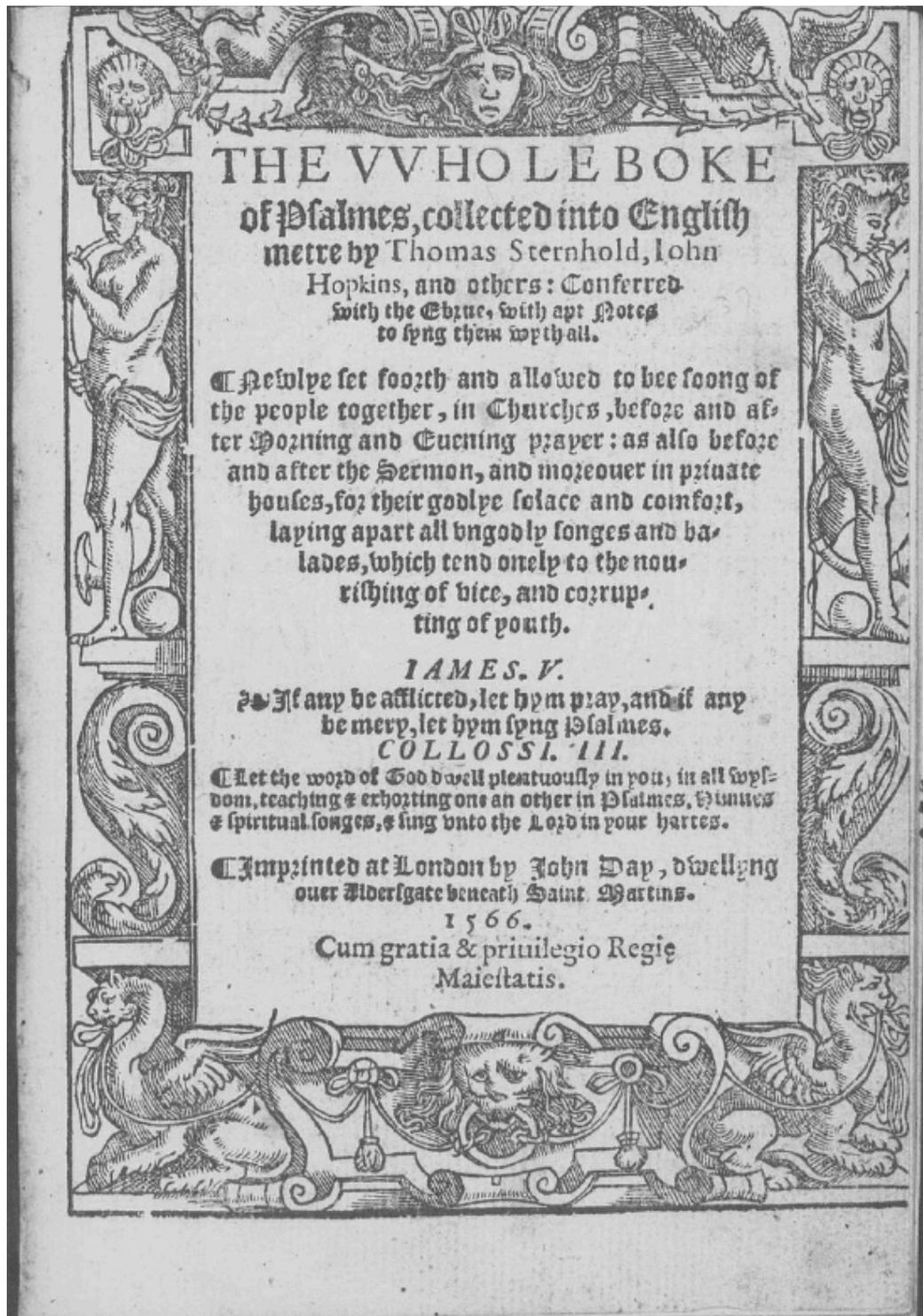


Figure 2.2: The title page for the 1566 *Whole Booke of Psalmes* (RSTC 2437: London, 1566), taken from EBO. From this point onwards, each edition appears to have extended the permission of when and where in the service psalms were permitted to be sung

The 1566 title page also provides the first indication that the congregational singing of metrical psalms – as opposed to singing in domestic settings – is becoming a more regular part of the worship of English congregations. Day’s appeal to the injunction could also suggest, however, that while the practice is spreading, there is still uncertainty as to whether or not the practice is specifically permitted. Day’s title page thus holds a dual purpose: to confirm the validity of the practice to licensing authorities (following Quitslund’s argument), while at the same time quelling anxieties of congregations who may be worried about justifying to royal visitors its incorporation into their worship. The phrase appeared in subsequent editions of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, with minor and insignificant variation.²⁹ Yet even if Quitslund is correct, the title page does seem to be in direct confrontation with the forty-ninth injunction, and why the authorities did not clamp down on this remains to be seen, though possibilities ranging from the piecemeal religious settlement and a desire to quell the criticisms of some reform-minded clerics on church music, both already discussed, may provide some options. With this lack of restriction from the authorities it seems, therefore, that the tacit approval offered in the Elizabethan injunction continued throughout the first decade of Elizabeth’s reign.

What is clear from this discussion is the uncertainty which surrounded the congregational singing of metrical psalms at the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign. At the same time, it is evident that there is a considerable body of support for its inclusion in worship in the period, particularly from the title pages discussed. John Day’s knowledge of this support was first-hand from exiles returning from Strasbourg who provided him with manuscript copies of psalms and hymns which he could use as the

²⁹ The following edition, and those printed in subsequent years, reads: ‘Newly set forth and allowed to be song in all Churches, of all the people together, before & after morning & euenyng prayer: as also before and after the Sermo[n]’ (*The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, (RSTC 2438: London, 1567)).

basis for the 1560 edition discussed above.³⁰ And while Quitslund may indeed be correct in her belief that the 1560 title page is not ‘an overt attempt to exploit a loophole’, and not a reference to the forty-ninth injunction, those title pages that come after, and particularly from 1566 onwards, did nevertheless signal to the authorities the legality of the practice through explicit reference to the injunction.

This sub-section has laid out the official directions on music in the Elizabethan church in an attempt to demonstrate, first, that the carefully constructed yet ambiguous forty-ninth injunction provided, and would continue to provide, tacit support for the music supported by different sides of the Elizabethan church: the maintenance of choral polyphony on the one hand and the congregational singing of metrical psalms on the other. Yet even in their wording, the Elizabethan church drew much from the Edwardine Injunctions, even if these had been less formalised and were focused on particular institutions. The Elizabethan church, as with so many other issues, showed itself willing to find a solution which (in theory, at least) kept multiple sides happy, and yet still provided a single, unified and clear statement on the form, purpose and place of music in worship. As Jonathan Willis has neatly summarised, ‘The deliberate vagueness of the Elizabethan injunctions of 1559, combined with the lack of prescriptive guidance in the Book of Common Prayer, enshrined doctrinal and liturgical uniformity while leaving space for diversity and initiative in parochial musical worship practices. In other words, while the order and content of Common Prayer services were rigidly inflexible, the aural experience of communal worship could vary dramatically from parish to parish, and across the country.’³¹ As the

³⁰ Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 202-3.

³¹ Willis, *Church Music*, p. 131.

remainder of this chapter will demonstrate, these injunctions proved crucial in allowing the congregational singing of metrical psalms to become an institutionalised part of the worship of English congregations, while also keeping them at the heart of crucial debates on the form, function and direction of the Elizabethan religious settlement throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century.

As has been argued in this section, however, the Elizabethan Injunctions, while indefinite, are more precise than has been previously recognised, and in particular, they express – building partially upon the Edwardine Injunctions – a recognition of the differences between texts and tunes, and the unique power of both, when included in worship, to edify, teach and unify. Of course, however, a simple binary division between text and tune and the implication that each are fully separated from the other, as if to suggest that without the other they would each carry the same meaning, is to overlook the vital relationship between the two, and the possibility for enhanced meaning and understanding.³² This point has been outlined and expanded at the beginning of this thesis, but our attention at this point should be to recognise that the Elizabethan Injunctions recognised this relationship, if perhaps more implicitly than explicitly, and its power to affect a response from individuals to better understand the basic tenets of Protestantism and their place in it, and as a nation of Protestants – a point which will be expanded upon in the remainder of this thesis. Yet while we have begun to glimpse the introduction of metrical psalmody into the worship of English congregations, through the wording of the 1566 title page to *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, we should return to address how this inclusion took shape, and its origins in England.

³² For a thorough account of this see the first chapter of this thesis. For the relationship between texts and tunes in this period see especially Christopher Marsh, 'The sound of print in early modern England: the broadside ballad as song' in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 171-190.

II The Arrival of Congregational Singing of Metrical Psalms into the Elizabethan Parish

As the previous chapter argued, the Marian exile was crucial for bringing congregational singing of metrical psalms into the worship of English exile congregations on the continent, yet, with the accession of Elizabeth I and in spite of pressure from some influential corners, it still remained to be seen whether it would indeed take root. And with the forty-ninth injunction, its inclusion was now primarily the responsibility of individual bishops and, potentially, of individual parishes. To chart its development in England, we must return to the first record we have of this practice, found in the chronicle of Henry Machyn, and to a regularly quoted letter of John Jewel.

II.i. Henry Machyn's Chronicle

A merchant-tailor living in London, Henry Machyn's chronicle provides us with a unique insight into the real-world experience of someone living through the religious, social and cultural transformations of the mid-Tudor period. His manuscript principally focused on the recording of funerals and sermons, though expanded to record everything from pageants, public punishments and royal events. Machyn's chronicle has sparked considerable scholarly debate, centring around its nature (which the Victorian editor of the text, John Gough Nichols, seems to have mis-identified and referred to as a diary) and Machyn's own religious leanings.³³ On the former, Christopher Marsh neatly remarks that Machyn's 'manuscript is a "diary" only in

³³ On the nature of Machyn's manuscript and Machyn's own history and religious leanings see Ian Mortimer, 'Tudor Chronicler or Sixteenth-century Diarist? Henry Machyn and the Nature of his Manuscript', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 33, no. 4 (2002), pp. 981-98; and Gary G. Gibbs, 'Marking the Days: Henry Machyn's Manuscript and the Mid-Tudor Era', in Eamon Duffy and David Loades (eds.), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 281-308. Also on Machyn, and for a fascinating comparison between his and the diary of Samuel Pepys, see Marsh, *MSE*, conclusion, pp. 505-25.

embryo,' while Gary Gibbs states that his religious position was less dogmatically 'Catholic' or 'Protestant', but attended rather to 'pageantry and deference to status', with Gibbs describing him as a 'sincere Christian with Catholic tastes'.³⁴ In turning to Machyn's chronicle for our purposes, we find six accounts of the congregational or collective singing of metrical psalms following the accession of Elizabeth I, some of which have not been commented upon by previous scholars.³⁵ What is also significant is that the first account of the singing of metrical psalms which Machyn records predates the Elizabethan Injunctions discussed above by several months.

Machyn records a funeral on 7 April 1559 which arrived at '[saint Thomas] of Acurs in Chepe from lytyll sant Barthellmuw [in] Lothbere'.³⁶ The funeral included neither priests nor clerks, but with 'a gret compene of pepull, ij and ij together', and 'the nuw prychers in ther gowne lyke ley[-men]'. The funeral began with neither 'syngyng nor sayhyng' until they reached the grave, at which point a collect was said in English and the coffin laid into the ground. He then records that after this, however, 'thay song *pater-noster* in Englysh, boyth prychers and odur, and [women,] of a nuw fassyon, and after on[e] of them went in-to the pulpytt and mad a sermon'.³⁷ As can be seen, it appears that those attending the funeral, following the burial itself, gathered to sing together before hearing a sermon. Machyn describes the singing as 'of a nuw fassyon', but he is clearly devoid of the vocabulary or knowledge to describe what this

³⁴ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 506; Gibbs, 'Marking the Days', pp. 297, 308. Gibbs's full remark on Machyn's religion is as follows: 'religion also infuses the text, although Machyn never makes an explicitly dogmatic or doctrinal statement. He expressed pleasure at the return of old practices under Mary, but positive statements regarding religious practices and events were made about religious events under Edward and Elizabeth that were anything but Catholic. His admiration for pageantry and deference to status might account for some of those positive assessments.' Gibbs, 'Marking the Days' pp. 296-7.

³⁵ For discussions of Machyn in relation to metrical psalmody, see, for example, *MEPC*, p. 43; Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 196-7; Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 407, 420, 422; Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 526-7.

³⁶ J. G. Nichols (ed.), *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563* (London, 1848), p. 193 (hereafter '*Machyn*'). As discussed below, John Gough Nichols adds the parentheses here, and seems to be referring to the church of St Thomas the Apostle, later destroyed in the Great Fire of London. See p. 136 and n. 44, 45 below.

³⁷ *Machyn*, p. 193.

might have been. Some months later, however, he records another service which sheds some light on the reference.

On 21 September of the same year, Machyn then recorded how ‘the nuw mornynge prayer [began] at sant Antholyns in Boge-row, after Geneve fassyon,—begyne to ryng at v in the mornynge; men and women all do syng, and boys.’ Machyn’s recording of this incident is initially a little confusing. While Robin Leaver, Beth Quitslund and Nicholas Temperley all interpret his phrasing as stating that the metrical psalm was sung by the congregation ‘after Geneva fashion’, we could also interpret his phrasing as suggesting that the whole service followed ‘Geneva fashion’.³⁸ It is not clear what this would mean, and it seems unlikely that Machyn is referring, for example, to the use of the Anglo-Genevan *Forme of Prayers*, originally published in Geneva in 1556, but followed by other editions including one printed in 1558.³⁹ It seems unlikely that the congregation would be using this or any other liturgy, given the Act of Uniformity’s requirement for all parishes and cathedrals to purchase the new *Book of Common Prayer* by the Feast of the Birth of John the Baptist (24 June), and to be using the book within three weeks of purchase.⁴⁰ Finally, Machyn’s phrase ‘the nuw mornynge prayer’ seems most likely to be referring to ‘the new’ morning prayer in the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer*, now required by law.

The final phrase of Machyn’s account from September 1559 outlines what was surely the most startling feature to him: ‘men and women all do syng, and boys’; or, as Beth Quitslund rephrases it, those singing were ‘the flock rather than the choir’.⁴¹

³⁸ Leaver, ‘Goostly Psalmes’, p. 240; Q&T, vol. 2, p. 526.

³⁹ Leaver, ‘Goostly Psalmes’, pp. 226, 231-37; *The forme of prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c. vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua: and approued, by the famous and godly learned man, Iohn Caluyn*, (RSTC 16561: Geneva, 1556). The edition printed in 1558 is RSTC 16561a.

⁴⁰ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT, 2017), p. 433.

⁴¹ *Machyn*, p. 212; Quitslund, *RR*, p. 196.

As Beth Quitslund and Nicholas Temperley correctly point out, ‘There is no hint here of an indigenous tradition being restored’ in any of these first accounts recorded by Machyn. They also remind us that Machyn, having been a parish clerk in the London parish of Holy Trinity-the-Less, ‘would have had charge of the music and the choir’, implying a familiarity with previous musical practices and provision, and thus the newness of this practice.⁴²

Tied to this, we should also note Machyn’s attention to the fact that women joined the singing. As will be seen below, this feature also stood out to Bishop John Jewel in his record of the collective singing of metrical psalms at Paul’s Cross. Yet here, Machyn records it with a sense of fascination and perhaps even surprise. Alec Ryrie has described the fact that men and women sang together as ‘the genuine novelty’ for Machyn, and while its impact and novelty should not be ignored, it is perhaps worth recognising that it was only one of the fascinating and remarkable features of this practice which would have jumped out to Machyn.⁴³ With Machyn’s musical experience, each part of this new practice would have been worth noting: men and women singing together; the style and form of the music and the tunes that were sung; the fact that the singing was being integrated into the service.

Returning to Machyn’s recording of this incident, it appears that, between April and September, Machyn has come to know that this singing is ‘after Geneve fassyon’. It seems perhaps most likely that this ‘fashion’ is for congregations to sing together, as opposed to the tunes themselves originating from Geneva, though that could be a possibility. The point, however, reinforces the argument of the previous chapter on the importance of the Marian period for cementing this practice, so much

⁴² Q&T, vol. 2, p. 527.

⁴³ Alec Ryrie, ‘The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101 (2010), p. 125.

so that it is being described as ‘after Geneve fassyon’. It also suggests that others are aware of the practice, and of its origins, either through participation themselves, from their own experience of exile, or from being introduced to it by others.

It is also worth noting Machyn’s explicit mention of ‘boys’ here. The reference may refer to choristers, maintained by some parishes to assist paid singingmen. Christopher Marsh and Jonathan Willis have argued for the role of trained singers in teaching congregations the tunes of metrical psalms, of accompanying the congregation, and Willis even argues that the earliest recorded parish purchases of metrical psalms appear ‘to have been designed to furnish choirs with confessionally appropriate material to sing during the service in place of traditional Latin liturgical works and motets.’⁴⁴ It may also be worth considering whether the reference to boys singing here and in other accounts from Machyn may reflect the fact that boys’ voices led psalm-singing in the Dutch London congregation.⁴⁵ In this we may once again glimpse, as was suggested in the previous chapter, the influence of the Stranger Churches on the development of congregational singing of metrical psalms in England.

At the same time, however, we should note the possibility that the reference to ‘boys’ here may reflect that children who were not trained choristers were joining the singing. Indeed, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, metrical psalmody does not appear to have been limited to adults but included children. Jonathan Willis has shown that metrical psalms were used, or at least were believed useful, in children’s education, while also outlining that even if not exposed to metrical psalms in a schoolroom, many more children would have been exposed at home or in

⁴⁴ Willis, *Church Music*, pp. 126-8, 129-30, quote from p. 126. See also Marsh, *MSE*, p. 425.

⁴⁵ Leaver, ‘*Goostly Psalmes*’, p. 176.

the wider community.⁴⁶ Indeed, there is some evidence of the purchasing of psalm books specifically for young boys towards the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ Alec Ryrie, meanwhile, provides the account of Richard Norwood who outlines how, as a child, he learned to sing the psalms ‘with great facility and delight’, and was ‘much affected’ by them, especially the psalms of praise’. Norwood seems to have learned the psalms in school, though it seems equally as likely that he learned them, or at least had them reinforced in the parish church, or even in the home.⁴⁸ Indeed, Ryrie has argued elsewhere that during family prayers, ‘one or more metrical psalms might be sung at some stage of the proceedings, which would of course involve everyone present.’⁴⁹ In addition, he explains that in private households, ‘grace was often not said by an adult at all, but by a child.’⁵⁰ With this role in devotions, it is clear that children were not to be excluded, and, combined with the fact that the 1562 *Whole Booke of Psalmes* included graces at the end of the book, it seems likely that they were a central part of the singing of metrical psalms also.⁵¹

Of course, however, we should note that Machyn does specifically say ‘boys’ in his account here, and thus does not make reference to girls singing. As mentioned in the paragraph above, it is possible that he is recording a specific group of boy choristers, either leading the singing or simply maintained by the parish and thus singing at the same time as the congregation with no sense of being the leading singers. Nevertheless, as the sixteenth century progressed, and the congregational singing of

⁴⁶ See Willis, *Church Music*, pp. 170-1 for the former; pp. 172-3 for the latter.

⁴⁷ The accounts of the Duke of Rutland, for example, record that, on the 3 May, 1594, John Ward, servant of Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, paid ‘at Newarcke fayre for thre psalme bookes for my yong masters, iij.s.’: *Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, vol. 4 (London, 1905), p. 408. Reference taken from Nicholas Orme, *Tudor Children* (New Haven and London), p. 104, n. 28.

⁴⁸ Alec Ryrie, ‘Protestants’ in Anna French (ed.), *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction* (Abingdon, Oxon, 2020), p. 132.

⁴⁹ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 374. See also Ryrie, ‘Protestants’, p. 126.

⁵⁰ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 385-8, quote on p. 385.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 384. Graces can be found in *Whole Booke of Psalmes* (RSTC 2430: London, 1562), pp. 398-401.

metrical psalms became a central feature of parish worship, there appears to have been no apparent division whereby girls were specifically left out of the singing. Indeed, as will be explored below, when Bishop John Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr in February 1560 providing an account of psalm-singing at Paul's Cross, he made no mention of a gendered division, of a division based on age, or of gendered division within age groups. What Jewel described was that 'old and young, of both sexes' sang together, with no hint in his account of anyone excluded from the singing.⁵² Thus, it seems most likely that Machyn is describing how a group of boy choristers are present during this event, perhaps to lead the singing (though not as soloists), but that they were not the only ones singing: men, women and children of both sexes must presumably have been singing too, though Machyn here is taken by the fact that even choristers have now been absorbed into this new congregational singing 'after Geneve fassyon', though they (the choristers) hold their place as a group of trained singers.

Continuing with this account from Machyn, and most important of the various elements contained in it, is the fact that it provides us with a precise location for congregational singing of metrical psalms at the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and while it may not provide the exact location of its origin, it does remain the first reference to the practice taking place on English soil.

It is worth considering one other interesting possible connection between these two events. John Gough Nichols, the Victorian editor of Machyn's diary, adds parentheses to the funeral on 7 April so that we can discern that this took place in the church of St Thomas the Apostle (see map below).⁵³ The church was destroyed by the

⁵² See the discussion of this, and a translation and exposition of this phrase, on pp. 206-208 below. See also Kate Narveson's comment that for contemporaries, 'souls have no sexes' on p. 207, n. 122 below.

⁵³ Machyn records: '[saint Thomas] of Acurs in Chepe', *Machyn*, p. 193. The church of St Thomas the Apostle was originally located a few streets away from Cheapside Street and this appears to be the most likely option for where Machyn is referring to.

Great Fire of London in 1666, and was not included as one of the fifty-one churches chosen to be rebuilt under the Rebuilding Act, overseen by Sir Christopher Wren.⁵⁴ What is then potentially quite interesting is that the next recorded incident, in September 1559, takes place in the church of St Antholin in Budge Row (which was restored after the Great Fire), located very close to that of St Thomas the Apostle (see the map below). While it would be too much to draw a direct correlation from this location, suggesting a link between the spread of the practice, it is nevertheless a feature worth holding in our minds. Is it, perhaps, possible that their close proximity meant that the practice could have spread from one church to the other, especially given the possibility that, given the somewhat flexible parish boundaries in London, members from one church could have attended a service in the other and encountered the practice, returning to their own congregation to suggest its inclusion. Of course, five months is a relatively short period of time for such a practice to have become embedded, and it seems more likely that these churches developed the practice at similar times. It is also possible that this is the area most familiar to and frequented by Machyn, and so he is able to record the development (whether passing from one to another or entirely separate) of congregational singing in these churches.

Over the following years, Machyn records a small number of other instances where he encountered the congregational singing of metrical psalms. After the singing which accompanied morning prayer in St Antholin's, Machyn's next encounter was on 3 March 1560. After hearing Edmund Grindal preach at St Paul's Cross, Machyn records how, 'after sermon done the pepull dyd syng', and while it is not immediately clear what was sung, we could presume that it was a psalm.⁵⁵ A reference from the

⁵⁴ John Betjeman, *City of London Churches* (Andover, 1993), p. 14.

⁵⁵ *Machyn*, p. 226. A psalm is a possibility also offered by Quitslund, *RR*, p. 196.

same month adds weight to this possibility. On 17 March, and again at Paul's Cross, Machyn records that after the sermon was preached by 'Veron [Jean Véron], parsun of sant Martens att Ludgatt' (a church located very close to St Paul's), 'they songe all, old and yong, a salme in myter, the tune of Genevay ways.'⁵⁶

Only two days later, on 19 March, at 'at santt Martens at Ludgatt all the belles of the chyrch dyd ryng a grett pelle, and after done all the pepull dyd syng the tune of Geneway, and with the base of the organes', after which the parson (presumably Véron, mentioned on 17 March, who was a prebendary of St Paul's and known to preach there regularly) preached a sermon.⁵⁷ This reference is interesting because it shows us the relationship between the congregation, the parish priest and the singing of metrical psalms. In this example, it seems as if the congregation under the care of the priest of St Martin's, who also preached at Paul's Cross, had begun to include the singing of metrical psalms in their worship – thus the singing at Paul's Cross would most probably have included members of this congregation, who could lead the singing, or at least carry it along for those less familiar with the words or tunes, or even collective singing as worship.

This reference also reveals to us a possibility of how congregations learnt the melodies: through the help of the organ. Indeed, this possibility has been suggested by a number of scholars. Christopher Marsh has argued that, 'In the minority of parishes that continued to maintain organs into the seventeenth century, it can be assumed that this remained the instrument's primary role.'⁵⁸ Marsh is supported in this assertion by Jonathan Willis who, in a thorough account of music in the Elizabethan parish based

⁵⁶ *Machyn*, p. 228.

⁵⁷ *Machyn*, p. 228. On Jean Véron see Carrie Euler, 'Véron, Jean (d. 1563), religious writer and translator and Church of England clergyman.', *ODNB*. September 23, 2004. Accessed 19 Feb. 2021, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28250>>.

⁵⁸ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 422

largely on churchwardens' accounts, believes 'that those churches which continued to maintain organs must have involved them in metrical psalmody on an occasional or even regular basis, either as accompaniment, for lining-out the tune, or to play *in alternatim* with the voices of the choir or congregation.'⁵⁹ While Nicholas Temperley declares this account to be '[t]he only reference to an organ accompanying a metrical psalm from any period in Elizabeth's reign', we can find evidence of it continuing in a later period.⁶⁰ We know, for example, that in 1641, in the parish of St Wulfram's in Grantham, Lincolnshire, this very practice continued. A petition from the parish explained:

We do further certify that we are still very willing to have the organ continued and used in our church as it has been, viz. to accompany the singing of the psalms after the common and plain tunes appointed to be used in the church. Finding by experience that by use of it hitherto practised in our church. First the Parish Clerk signifying which psalm is to be sung and the organist then distinctly playing the *tune*, all persons that can read have time to turn unto the psalms.⁶¹

The petition and date suggest that the parish is defending the maintenance of the organ in a period of increasingly hostility towards organs in worship, yet we should also see it as an indication that the practice described by Machyn would continue in those parishes which maintained such musical provision, as Marsh and Willis have argued.

Returning once again to Henry Machyn, on 17 January 1561 he records another funeral, at St Peter's Cornhill, which involved the singing of metrical psalms. The

⁵⁹ Willis, *Church Music*, p. 128. For more evidence on the role of organs in accompanying psalm-singing see Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 422-4, 450-2.

⁶⁰ *MEPC*, p. 43.

⁶¹ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 3, n. 7.

deceased, ‘master Flammoke grocer’, was carried to the church ‘with-owt syngyng’, but once at the church a psalm was sung ‘after Genevay’, followed by a sermon and the burial.⁶² The church of St Peter Cornhill is located across the street from St Michael Cornhill, which we know did purchase copies of metrical psalms later in the reign, a point which will be addressed more thoroughly below. In this account in Machyn we once again see him describe the singing as ‘after Genevay’, with the implications of this statement discussed above. And once again we also see a pattern developing whereby the singing of metrical psalms takes place as part of the service (here the singing has moved from the graveside as recorded on 7 April 1559 into the church itself) and once again it takes place before the sermon. This latter point will be recognised as related to the claim on the 1566 title page to *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* and would become a key occasion in the service where the singing of metrical psalms would take place, as will be discussed below. It should also be pointed out that this was one of the parts of the service of the Stranger Churches when the congregation would sing metrical psalms, as has been discussed in the previous chapter.

It is worth considering one feature which relates to both this last reference and the first. Naturally, it should not surprise us that Machyn records funerals. As mentioned above, Machyn’s living was as a merchant tailor (who had been admitted to the Merchant Taylors’ Company in 1530), where he provided materials for funerals of the wealthy.⁶³ Given this, we could see his references as nothing more than him recording a setting in which he had a vested interest. Yet even with this, it should nevertheless be significant to us that he records the collective or congregational singing of metrical psalms as taking place at these funerals. First, it is worth

⁶² Machyn, p. 247.

⁶³ Ian Mortimer, ‘Machyn [Machin], Henry (1496/1498–1563), chronicler merchant.’ *ODNB*. September 23, 2004. Accessed 14 April 2021, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17531>>; Mortimer, ‘Henry Machyn and the Nature of his Manuscript’, pp. 987, 990.

considering the fact that the first reference we have to the congregational singing of metrical psalms in England is at a funeral. It seems unlikely that a funeral would be the best place to ‘experiment’ with a new form of worship: a funeral is, of course, a time of mourning and not one to cause undue frustration or upset. It also suggests that those in attendance have at least some sense of what they are doing, why and, important especially in the first incident where there appears to be no leadership, when to do so. It is also interesting for us to consider whether the singing of metrical psalms at the funeral is something directed by the deceased or their family. To restate the point, it would seem at best unwise to add a practice such as the collective singing of metrical psalms to the funeral service of an individual if it would directly violate the wishes or perspective of the deceased or their family. Of course, much of this remains speculation at present, but we should consider this as providing possibilities which create a larger sphere in which the singing of metrical psalms is slowly becoming a key part of the worship (including at funerals) of English congregations.

Machyn’s chronicle also reveals the extent to which the voiceless shaped the arrival of metrical psalmody in England. There was no directive to include metrical psalms in funerals or services at this early stage, so the origins of inclusion must have come from local or congregational initiative. While members of the congregation may have suggested the idea, it seems more likely that it arose from those in authority, such as the priest or clerk. Nevertheless, in order for the practice to have been successful, we must presume a support base large enough that any inclusion of congregational singing of metrical psalms would not fall flat, and that enough people would know the practice but, more importantly, the texts and tunes, so that the funeral or service could flow smoothly. It is worth noting that Machyn does not record that a few individuals sang, or anything similar. Rather, the number of people singing together is part of what

shocks him, so we should presume that the support base among the voiceless was substantial enough for the practice to work.

Machyn's account is pivotal in demonstrating the arrival of metrical psalmody into England in the first years of Elizabeth I's reign. Yet what it does not reveal is exactly why people did include metrical psalms in the funerals or services described by Machyn. While his accounts do not offer a definitive answer to this, when we read his accounts through the framework outlined in chapter one, we could suggest some possible reasons. It may have been, for example, that the collective singing of metrical psalms united the entire funeral procession together in a way that choral singing would not, and so created a group identity centring around the deceased individual. Tied to this, it may also have been included to unite those in attendance with the deceased, especially if the singing of metrical psalms (collective or otherwise) was a practice that they had enjoyed or championed, perhaps while in exile. Finally, the collective singing of metrical psalms may have been used to allow those in attendance to communicate with God, or receive communication from him (for example, the words of the psalm as a comfort during the funeral and time of mourning). These possibilities, however, are largely conjecture, and require further evidence to confirm them.

Nevertheless, Machyn's accounts reveal that by the early years of Elizabeth I's reign, congregations, through the direction of the priest or clerk, yet with the support of the congregation, began to include metrical psalms in their funerals and worship services. These are the first references to the congregational singing of metrical psalms in Elizabethan England and, once each reference has been teased out, reveal the considerable growth of the practice in the nation's capital. Yet when we turn from Machyn, another contemporary – this time of considerably more renown –

provides more evidence of the growth of the practice, albeit in a somewhat more public arena.

II.ii. Bishop Jewel's Six Thousand Singers

Commenting on the dramatic growth of congregational singing of metrical psalms in early Elizabethan England, scholars have often quoted Bishop John Jewel's claim to Peter Martyr Vermigli that 'You may now sometimes see at Paul's cross, after the sermon, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together, and praising God.'⁶⁴ Jewel's figure is nothing short of remarkable, yet it is also deeply puzzling. While scholars have regularly referred to this phrase, none have so far offered a thorough analysis of it, nor of the longer paragraph in which Jewel discusses this phenomenon. This subsection offers a close, thorough reading of Jewel's claim and his letter more generally, in an attempt to ascertain the validity of this figure, but also as a means of understanding the early form and expansion of congregational singing of metrical psalms in early-Elizabethan England.

We should, however, begin by noting that this was by no means the first letter between John Jewel and Peter Martyr since the former's return to England after the death of Mary I, and even after this point the two men appear to have kept an almost continuous correspondence. It is worth recognising this at the outset since some of the points which will be discussed from the letter from Jewel in which he discussed metrical psalmody had been raised in previous letters, with strikingly similar language, albeit in slightly different forms and with different intentions. These points will be expanded further below, but at this stage we should note that both John Ayre and Hastings Robinson record 19 correspondences from Jewel to Martyr between 26

⁶⁴ On scholars repeated use of this phrase see below, p. 202, n. 112.

January 1559 and 14 August 1562 (three months before the latter's death), though undoubtedly others existed too.⁶⁵ Jewel's letters to Martyr often follow a similar pattern, with one paragraph usually detailing the state of religion in England, often declaring the religion of the people as being 'exceedingly well disposed' (or a similar description), while the clergy, and especially the bishops receive harsher criticism. Jewel often then explains that the mass priests have caused problems, that they are getting annoyed by the reformers, but often ends by declaring something akin to, 'Let them be annoyed; God is at work'. With this pre-history established, we return to the issue at hand.

In a letter dated 4 February 1560, John Jewel described to Peter Martyr the state of religion in England. Jewel wrote:

Religio nunc aliquanto confirmator est quam fuit. Populus ubique ad meliorem partem valde proclivis. Magnum ad eam rem momentum attulit ecclesiastica et popularis musica. Postquam enim semel Londini cœptum est in una tantum ecclesiola cani publice, statim non tantum ecclesiæ aliæ finitimæ, sed etiam longe disjunctæ civitates, cœperunt idem institum certatim expetere. Nunc ad crucem Pauli videas interdum sex hominum millia, finite concione, sense, pueros, mulierculas, una canere et laudare Deum. Id sacrificos et diabolum ægre habet. Vident enim sacras conciones hoc pacto profundius descendere in hominum animos, et ad singulos pene numeros convelli et conculi regnum suum.⁶⁶

Scholars have often used Jewel's letter as a touchstone for briefly considering the spread and popularity of metrical psalmody in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. As

⁶⁵ John Ayre (ed.), *The Works of John Jewel*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1850), vol. IV, pp. 1196-1256. Hastings Robinson, *The Zurich Letters, Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops ... During the Early Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge, 1842), passim.

⁶⁶ Ayre, *The Works of John Jewel*, vol. IV, p. 1230.

will be seen more thoroughly below, certain parts of the letter have attracted regular attention, though often without a full consideration of Jewel's claims, or an analysis of the historical context which provides an insight into their validity.⁶⁷ In addition, scholars have relied on the translation of Hastings Robinson, though as this section will argue, Robinson's translation is wanting in some places. It is, therefore, necessary to re-evaluate Robinson's translation, and in order to do so thoroughly, this section will apply wider contextual knowledge and linguistic analysis to assess Robinson's translation, but also Jewel's claims, returning to them in their original Latin form. Since, however, scholarly interaction with Jewel's letter has used the translation offered by Robinson, it will be more profitable to use this translation and to compare it with the original, as opposed to offering a new rendering of the text by the present author.⁶⁸ Returning, therefore, to Jewel's letter, Robinson's translation of the section quoted above reads:

Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are every where exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in church music has very much conduced to this. For, as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's cross, after the sermon, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together, and praising God. This sadly annoys the mass-priests, and the devil. For they perceive that by

⁶⁷ See below p. 202, n. 112.

⁶⁸ Hastings Robinson's original translation is found in his *The Zurich Letters, Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops ... During the Early Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge, 1842). In this chapter, however, I have cited the version in John Ayre *The Works of John Jewel* since it also includes the Latin texts, which will be consulted and used regularly in the discussion here.

these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note.⁶⁹

Several fascinating claims made by Jewel jump out to us. First, Jewel makes a direct correlation between congregations ‘joining in church music’ and the fact that ‘The people are every where exceedingly inclined to the better part [i.e. Protestantism] [Religio nunc aliquanto confirmator est quam fuit].’⁷⁰ While Jewel may be exaggerating, his claim should remind us of the importance of congregational singing in the continental Reformation, and particularly sites such as Geneva where English exiles – such as Jewel himself – settled and learnt the practice, as argued in the previous chapter. And as Beth Quitslund points out, even if ‘Elizabeth’s response to congregational singing was tepid, she had several bishops and substantial numbers of ordinary congregants who enthusiastically embraced it.’⁷¹

Indeed, this is not the first time Jewel had made such a claim about the religious condition of the English population. In a letter to Peter Martyr dated 1 August 1559, before setting off on the royal visitation of the Province of Canterbury, Jewel claimed that ‘Our affairs are now in a favourable condition. The queen is exceedingly well disposed; and the people everywhere thirsting after religion [populus ubique sitiens religionis].’⁷² The last phrase is particularly striking in its similarity to Jewel’s later claim that ‘Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are every where exceedingly inclined to the better part.’ Jewel once again makes another very similar claim to Martyr having returned from his visitation. As he writes:

⁶⁹ Ayre, *Works of Jewel*, vol. IV, pp. 1231.

⁷⁰ The Latin for the first two sentences reads: ‘Religio nunc aliquanto confirmator est quam fuit. Populus ubique ad meliorem partem valde proclivis.’ Ayre, *Works of Jewel*, IV, p. 1230.

⁷¹ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 197.

⁷² Ayre, *Works of Jewel*, vol. IV, p. 1214, 1215.

‘Receive then in one word what it took me a long time to investigate. We found everywhere the people sufficiently well disposed towards religion, and even in those quarters where we expected most difficulty [Invenimus ubique animos multitudinis satis propensos ad religionem; ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima]. It is however hardly credible what a harvest, or rather what a wilderness of superstition, had sprung up in the darkness of the Marian times.’⁷³

Continuing, Jewel draws a correlation between the religious condition of the population and ‘the practice of joining in church music’. In so doing, he deviates from the letters cited here in that he now provides a clear reason, as he sees it, for this positive religious change. So, while the Latin used has, it seems, been rather loosely translated, Jewel nevertheless sees the collective singing of metrical psalms as a key reason for the positive response of the people to Protestantism.⁷⁴ This point will also be addressed below in relation to the latter part of Jewel’s paragraph cited here, and more thoroughly in the following chapter in an attempt to understand why the congregational singing of metrical psalms was so popular and took hold so firmly. For our purposes now, we should recognise the fascinating link Jewel draws between the spreading and inculcation of Protestantism and the collective singing of metrical psalms, still by his date of writing a new phenomenon without a complete or solid body of texts and tunes to base the practice on.

Jewel continues his letter with a timeline of where and how metrical psalmody originated in England, asserting, ‘as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the

⁷³ Ayre, *Works of Jewel*, vol. IV, pp. 1216, 1217.

⁷⁴ The Latin here reads ‘Magnum ad eam rem momentum attulit ecclesiastica et popularis musica’. (Ayre, *Works of Jewel*, p. 1230) As we have seen (p. 129 above), Hastings Robinson renders this as ‘The practice of joining in church music has very much conduced to this’, which seems loose though probably accurate.

neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice'. Jewel's timeline and his choice of words here is interesting. First, his use of the word 'immediately' (*statim*) gives a sense of urgency, almost as if the very moment one church began to sing, others in the neighbourhood could not help themselves but sing too. Jewel also provides us with a glimpse (even if hyperbolic) of how the practice spread, claiming that congregational singing began in one church in London, and that this one church began singing in public (*in una tantum ecclesiola cani publice*). Pausing briefly, it seems strange for Jewel to claim that the church sang in 'public', unless this was indeed what was happening. Even if we accept that his letter contains a certain amount of gloss, this claim itself seems more likely to be based on truth. Indeed, we should perhaps read Jewel's claim here alongside the narrative outlined above through the chronicle of Henry Machyn, whose first experience of congregational metrical psalmody was at a funeral, which is to say a service that is more 'public' and open to a wider range of people than a parish service. Of course, we should not read Jewel's claim of 'public' origins and replace it with the word 'funeral', and indeed it seems clear that if Jewel is aware of congregational metrical psalmody's origins, and if this was at a funeral, he would presumably say so. Instead, we should perhaps (though, as usual, remembering this is in no way certain) read the word 'public' alongside the mention of 'Paul's Cross', and consider the possibility of one congregation gathering there to sing before or after a sermon, such as the congregation of St Martin, Ludgate, led by Jean Véron, as mentioned by Henry Machyn and discussed above, at which point or thereafter other congregations joined in or adopted the practice. Of course, we cannot be certain of any of this, and it is most likely that Jewel's use of 'public' carries significantly less weight than it has been given here, but it is worth exploring each word alongside the broader context brought about by

this thesis, and by the exploration of other sources such as Machyn's chronicle above. This wider contextual reading is also useful when considering another claim in the same sentence from Jewel's letter.

Jewel continues by narrating to Peter Martyr that once this one London church began to sing in public, 'immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood (*finitimæ*), but even the towns far distant (*sed etiam longe disjunctæ civitates*), began to vie with each other in the same practice (*cœperunt idem institum certatim expetere*).' Jewel's word here (*finitimæ*), which Robinson translates as 'neighbourhood', could provide us with an image of 'adjoining' or 'bordering' parishes joining in, or of the practice spreading from one parish to the next. Yet Jewel's claim is even more than one of diffusion. He also claims that a quasi-competitive element accompanied the spread, with congregations in London and those further afield vying with one another.⁷⁵ His claim here provides a zealous tone (implied if not explicit) to the spreading of congregational singing of metrical psalms, and indeed Jewel himself had experienced first-hand this spreading to 'towns far distant' and a zealous uptake of the practice.

Between August and November 1559, Jewel was part of the group of visitors who took part in the royal visitation of the province of Canterbury, an attempt to bring about an 'alteration of religion' across the country.⁷⁶ In a letter to Peter Martyr written on 1 August 1559, Jewel writes that his visitation journey will travel through Reading, Abingdon, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, Wells, Exeter, Cornwall, Dorset, and Salisbury. C. G. Bayne, though not naming Martyr as the recipient of the letter, believes that Jewel's list is 'no doubt taken from an official programme and presumably mentions

⁷⁵ Jewel's use of the word 'certatim' here provides a sense of rivalry or competitiveness.

⁷⁶ A full list of commissioners can be found in C. G. Bayne, 'The Visitation of the Province of Canterbury, 1559', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 28, No. 112 (October, 1913), pp. 658-9.

the various places in the order in which it was intended to visit them.⁷⁷ Bayne compiles a more complete list using other documents, though Jewel's list forms the basis, and the order is the same. Bayne also dates the visitation as beginning on 1 August, with Salisbury as the first stop on the 10th of that month, with the commission returning to London on 1 November.⁷⁸ Most significant for our purposes, from the latter part of September until October the visitors were in Exeter where, as Bayne records, 'the attendance of commissioners was larger than at any other recorded session.'⁷⁹ Bayne records that the commissioners 'drew up statutes for the chapter' while in Exeter, though according to Frere and Kennedy, the articles were sent to the cathedral clergy after the visitation in October 1559 and, significantly, were 'subscribed only by [John] Jewel and [Henry] Parry.'⁸⁰

Two significant directions from these injunctions are worth mentioning, especially because they relate to an incident that is of supreme importance in interpreting Jewel's letter to Peter Martyr. First, along with a direction for the Chancellor of the church to 'provide a lecture of divinity', and to 'read by the space of one half-hour and more, one chapter of the Paraphrases of the Epistles and Gospels,' the Injunctions for Exeter Cathedral also directed, at nine in the morning, 'all the vicars and singing men Of the church in their habits shall be present in the choir, and then the Sub-chanter shall begin in plain-song the Hymn, Veni Creator'.⁸¹ In outlining this, the royal visitors provided what Frere and Kennedy refer to as 'elasticity' in the

⁷⁷ Bayne, 'The Visitation of the Province of Canterbury', p. 638.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 638-9.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 642.

⁸⁰ Bayne, 'The Visitation of the Province of Canterbury', p. 642; Walter Howard Frere and William McLure Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, 1559-1575*, vol. III (London, 1910), p. 39.

⁸¹ Frere and Kennedy, *Articles and Injunctions*, vol. III, p. 42. A direction for a divinity lecture was also outlined in the Injunctions for Salisbury Cathedral: Frere and Kennedy, *Articles and Injunctions*, vol. III, pp. 31-2.

interpretation of the Act of Uniformity and the Royal Injunctions.⁸² Second, in their injunctions for Exeter cathedral, the royal visitors required the canons to hold a daily service at 6am before morning prayer at 9am. This was an unusual direction, though not without some precedent. In the injunctions for Salisbury Cathedral, the visitors outlined that Common Prayer was to be said, ‘the next week following every morning from the first day of April until the last day of September at five of the clock after the bell is rung, and from the last day of September until the first day of April at six of the clock’.⁸³ A similar prescription was then outlined for Exeter Cathedral: ‘for the better order of Divine Service in this cathedral church, and that the vicars and singing men may be at sundry hours well occupied before noon, we do order that as the bell was wont to ring at six of the clock to a morning Mass, so now from henceforth the minister that was [t]abled to sing the Communion and other Divine Service the week before, shall from henceforth at the said six hour of the clock after the bell is rung to the choir use Common Prayer’.⁸⁴ Both of these injunctions are particularly significant in relation to an incident which took place in Exeter Cathedral, and which brought the clergy into conflict with royal visitors.

In December 1559, a group from London who had travelled to Exeter to attend St Nicholas’s Fair, accompanied by some locals, marched into the cathedral to sing psalms at the 6am service.⁸⁵ Men and women sang together, ‘unbidden and unlicensed,’ as Frere records, and to the annoyance of the cathedral clergy.⁸⁶ The cathedral clergy warned the singers that their actions were in direct violation of the act

⁸² Frere and Kennedy, *Articles and Injunctions*, vol. III, p. 42, n. 1.

⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 33.

⁸⁴ Frere and Kennedy, *Articles and Injunctions*, vol. III, p. 41.

⁸⁵ The event is recounted in W.H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (London, 1904), pp. 43-4. The date of October 1559 was incorrectly recorded in the present author’s article ‘The Institutionalization of the Congregational Singing of Metrical Psalms in the Elizabethan Reformation’, *Studies in Church History*, 57 (2021), p. 120.

⁸⁶ Frere, *The English Church*, p. 44.

left by the visitors prescribing the form of worship for the 6am service, though this did not hinder the group, who proceeded to oust the vicars from their seats. In response, the ministers appealed to the royal visitors, though they did not get the desired response. The visitors ordered the clergy to allow the singers to continue, while the lead visitor, John Jewel, praised the laity's desire 'to sing a Psalm for their greater comfort and better stirring up of their hearts to devotion ... according to the use and manner of the Primitive Church.' While the cathedral clergy replied to the visitors by arguing that the behaviour of the singers went against the Act of Uniformity, the outcome fell on the side of the psalm-singers, and Jewel acquired a letter from Archbishop Matthew Parker which gave the singers his blessing.⁸⁷

The incident is significant for a number of reasons, though for our purposes two in particular stand out. First, as mentioned above, the injunction for 9am Morning Prayer at Exeter Cathedral was somewhat 'elastic' in its interpretation of the Act of Uniformity and the Royal Injunctions. This elasticity was significant because, as Frere and Kennedy imply, it provided the justification needed for the group from London, along with their local supporters, to march into the cathedral and sing metrical psalms. The group themselves did make this argument, appealing to the Injunctions as providing the basis for their actions, which they saw as fully lawful; as far as they were concerned, their actions were fully in keeping with the Act of Uniformity, a belief which turned out to be upheld by the royal visitors who had returned to London. Second, the singers, however, disrupted the service at 6am, not the later service of Morning Prayer. Bayne draws a direct correlation between the prescription for a service at 6am and the incident in December, while acknowledging that the latter did

⁸⁷ Herbert Reynolds (ed.), *The Use of Exeter Cathedral* (London, 1891), p. 54, cited in Ryrie, 'The Psalms and Confrontation', p. 125.

not take place until after the commissioners had returned to London.⁸⁸ What he seems to imply is that the singers used the royal visitors' 'elastic' injunction for Morning Prayer as an encouragement to place the singing of metrical psalms in the earlier service. He is not alone in this belief, for Frere also believes that the group may have been 'encouraged perhaps by the directions that the visitors had given for the nine o'clock service'.⁸⁹

The incident is particularly interesting since it provides an example of the otherwise 'voiceless' taking the initiative and using the singing of metrical psalms as part of their worship. In this instance the voiceless are small, even local congregations or groups who take the singing of metrical psalms into their own hands, while finding in their own reading of official injunctions, license to sing metrical psalms. In so doing, they act as 'soundsmiths', shaping the collective singing of metrical psalms for their own purposes, considering the texts and tunes, but also the validity and legality of the practice taking place in a cathedral. The example also provides further evidence of collective singing of metrical psalms in London, since this is where the group have travelled from. It is worth recognising the fact that the group marched into the cathedral to sing psalms, and presumably did so without the aid of books. It is possible that someone was leading them, though it seems equally likely (though of course not certain since we are not told) that the group was able to sing together without someone leading them. This is quite a remarkable possibility, since it suggests to us that this group had memorised the texts and tunes of some psalms, even if only a very limited number of psalms or verses from the psalms. This possibility sheds a little more light on Jewel's claim of six thousand persons singing together, which we shall come to

⁸⁸ Bayne, 'The Visitation of the Province of Canterbury', p. 642-3.

⁸⁹ Frere, *The English Church*, p. 43

shortly, and the possibility that a substantial number of congregations in London, and increasingly elsewhere, were including metrical psalmody as a central part of their worship, to such an extent as to have memorised a certain (if small) number of texts and tunes.

Above all, however, when the incident in Exeter Cathedral is considered alongside Jewel's letter, and in particular with his claim that psalm-singing spread to 'towns far distant', it adds validity to his claim and offers an insight into the geographical range and the speed with which the singing of metrical psalms spread in England. Of course, we cannot claim that these two incidents provide a complete picture, and demonstrate that metrical psalmody spread across the whole of England, but they do bring the image into sharper focus, and most significantly, even suggesting what Jewel might have meant by his comment that psalmody spread from London to 'towns far distant'.

Staying with Jewel's claim, however, that towns 'began to vie with each other in the same practice', two strange parts of this stand out. First, Jewel claims that 'towns' began to 'vie with each other', which is to say he does not claim that congregations are those who are competing. The claim could be a less precise reading of the Exeter example outlined above, where Jewel sees the group from London as representative of that entire city, so that 'London' is somehow competing against 'Exeter', though this seems unlikely. Even so, we could offer the possibility of translating the word 'civitates' as 'communities' or 'citizens', even while 'towns' is also a perfectly legitimate translation by John Ayre. This alternative translation would fit neatly into the example from Exeter, where we see two separate 'communities' in the form of the group from London and the cathedral clergy, though the competition here is not so much zeal for congregational singing from both sides, but the disruption

of the worship of the cathedral. Even with a different translation, however, it is perhaps more probable that Jewel's language here is an attempt to maintain the image he has begun with, in claiming that Protestantism is 'more established' amongst 'the people', with no sense of nuanced groups or variable spread in this claim. With this, he is able to maintain a portrayal of religion in England which is zealous for the new faith, and its practices, across a large geographical area, and not simply in the capital. Nevertheless, we should also recognise that Jewel maintains that 'the people', or, in this thesis' terms, the 'voiceless', are essential to the spread of Protestantism in England, and, by implication, that they are essential to metrical psalmody's inclusion as one of the expressions of this new religious identity. The 'people' may be portrayed as homogenous, but this allows Jewel to portray them as a population who are central to the spread of the reformation, who seek it, and who take the initiative to allow its spread in his country.

Second, and perhaps stranger, is Jewel's claim of competition in the singing. As mentioned above, his language here suggests a zealous population responding to Protestantism's return to England with aggressive vigour. As with the use of the word 'towns', Jewel's description of competition should most probably be viewed as an attempt to maintain his image of England as a land zealous for the spread of Protestantism. There is a possibility that Jewel has experienced an element of 'competition', such as that in Exeter already outlined, though his claim here, which is placed in the context of metrical psalmody originating and then spreading, seems most likely to be an attempt to paint England's return to Protestantism under Elizabeth in a

positive light to Peter Martyr, who had fled England under Mary I, yet maintained an interest in its Reformation and an influence over its direction and theology.⁹⁰

Additionally, each of these claims should perhaps be viewed alongside the end of Jewel's letter, in which he encourages Peter Martyr to return to England in the future, reassuring him that he has friends who remain, and an open position in Oxford should he wish to return. Jewel writes:

Meanwhile, my father, do not suppose that there are none here who think of you in your absence. Your divinity lecture at Oxford is still kept open, and, as I hope, for no one but yourself, if you are so disposed. Cecil is your friend. Sir William Petre speaks of you with the greatest kindness. After a while, when the work is finished, and the affairs of religion and the state thoroughly settled, should you be spontaneously and honourably recalled, in the name both of the queen, who still bears you in mind, and of the commonwealth, I entreat you not to be unwilling to return. You will return, I hope to men who are not ungrateful, and who still remember you with kindness.⁹¹

Jewel's discussion of Martyr's lectureship in Oxford had been raised between the two men previously. In a letter dated 2 November, upon returning to London after the royal visitations (discussed above), Jewel wrote Martyr: 'Yesterday, as soon as I returned to London, I heard from the archbishop of Canterbury, that you are invited hither, and that your old lectureship is kept open for you. I know not how true this may

⁹⁰ On Vermigli's continuing influence on theology see Torrance Kirby, 'From Florence To Zürich Via Strasbourg And Oxford: The International Career of Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562)', in Peter Opitz and Christian Moser (eds), *Bewegung und Beharrung: Aspekte des reformierten Protestantismus, 1520-1650* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 143-4. See also Torrance Kirby, Emidio Campi, and Frank A. James III (eds), *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Leiden, 2009).

⁹¹ Ayre, *Works of Jewel*, vol. IV, pp. 1231-2.

be; I can only affirm thus much, that no professor of divinity is yet appointed at Oxford.’⁹²

Reading this paragraph and recognising that it is part of the same letter should perhaps provide us with a framework for understanding the claims of Jewel in the section on metrical psalmody. As has been argued above, and will be maintained below, Jewel’s claims about congregational singing, even if largely true, should also be read as providing the necessary imagery to provide Peter Martyr with a positive image of the spread of Protestantism in England under Elizabeth I, which Jewel has also done in previous and subsequent letters. This paragraph in which Jewel encourages his friend to return to England in the future, provides us with a lens through which to read that early section, and opens up the possibility that Jewel’s claims have the aim, not only of explaining the place of congregational metrical psalmody, but of using this new phenomenon as an exemplar of Protestantism’s expansion and the English people’s zeal for it. As already stated, this does not undermine the possibility that Jewel’s claims are based on truth, or contain truthful claims, but we should avoid reading the paragraph on metrical psalmody alone, as if it were from a letter on that practice and nothing else, and remember that it is part of a letter, with more complex and multifarious purposes.

Returning to his letter to Peter Martyr, Jewel continues with a claim that has been oft quoted by scholars, though few of them have considered it fully.⁹³ Jewel, with a sense of excitement and pride, described how, ‘You may now sometimes see at Paul’s cross, after the sermon, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together, and praising God.’ Each part of this sentence provides us with details

⁹² Ayre, *Works of Jewel*, vol. IV, p. 1218.

⁹³ See p. 202 n. 112 below.

as to the origins and development of the congregational singing of metrical psalms, details which are unlocked only once we carefully analyse the language used, and when we compare it with both of the sources already considered: the Elizabethan Injunctions on music and Henry Machyn's chronicle.

Six points are worth our consideration in relation to this claim. First, and briefly, it is worth noting that Jewel states that, 'You may now *sometimes see* [videas interdum]' the singing at Paul's Cross.⁹⁴ It is significant that he makes this clear, and suggests to Martyr that this is not yet a regular occurrence. As we will see below, this may reflect Jewel's attempts in this letter to portray the religion of the English population in a favourable light to his old friend, while also suggesting that there remains more work to be undertaken in establishing Protestantism in England.

The second point to consider is the unsurprising and surely uncontested location of Paul's Cross as a centre for the collective singing of metrical psalms (Nunc ad crucem Pauli videas interdum). Jewel is himself a useful source for what took place at Paul's Cross, especially through his own considerable experience of preaching there. He would, no doubt, have attended many sermons there, but perhaps more significantly he himself had preached at Paul's Cross, and was a key figure in using sermons in this forum as a propaganda instrument against the Catholic hierarchy that was being replaced at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.⁹⁵ Jewel's most famous contribution at Paul's Cross was his 'Challenge Sermon' preached on 26 November 1559.⁹⁶ Paul's Cross was, of course, the site of much preaching, leading Torrance

⁹⁴ Italics mine.

⁹⁵ Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 71-2.

⁹⁶ Torrance Kirby, P.G. Stanwood, Mary Morrissey and John N. King (eds.), *Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1521-1642* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 225-30; the text of the sermon is in *ibid.*, pp. 231-59. Kirby also notes that the sermon was preached on three occasions: twice at Paul's Cross (on 26 November 1559 and 31 March 1560) and once at court (on 17 March 1560). *ibid.*, p. 231, n. 24. See also Torrance Kirby, 'John Jewel at Paul's Cross: A Culture of Persuasion and England's Emerging Public Sphere', in Angela Ranson, André A. Gazal, and Sarah Bastow (eds), *Defending the Faith: John Jewel and the Elizabethan Church* (Pennsylvania, 2018), pp. 42-62.

Kirby to conclude that ‘Many more Londoners heard a sermon at Paul’s Cross than had ever read a book or attended the theatre.’⁹⁷ And as the sixteenth century progressed, the singing of metrical psalms at Paul’s Cross after a sermon became a regular feature, and would remain one of the defining features of sermons into the following century.⁹⁸

The singing of metrical psalms before and/or after the sermon was not only a feature at the meetings at Paul’s Cross. As Christopher Marsh neatly summarises, ‘by 1580 a typical Sunday service in an English parish church probably included the singing of a psalm both before and after the sermon or homily.’⁹⁹ As early as 1562 the bishop of Winchester, Robert Horne, ordered the precentor of his cathedral to ‘have in readiness books of psalms set forth in English metre to be provided at the costs of the church, and to sing in the body of the church both afore the sermon and after the sermon one of the said psalms to be appointed at the discretion of the Chanter [precentor].’¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, William Harrison’s *Description of England* (printed in Raphael Holinshed’s 1577 *Chronicles*) included a description of Sunday worship in a parish church, in which he outlined how, following various other parts, the service proceeded ‘unto an homily or sermon, which hath a psalm before and after it’.¹⁰¹ Meanwhile, in cathedrals, metrical psalmody was sung in the nave after the sermon, which people would come to hear after they had attended morning prayer in their own parish church.¹⁰² As Quitslund and Temperley assert, ‘the intention was to confine

⁹⁷ Kirby, ‘John Jewel at Paul’s Cross’, p. 45.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Matthew J. Smith, ‘Meeting John Donne: The Virtual Paul’s Cross Project’, *Spenser Review*, 44.2.33 (2014) <<http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/volume-44/442/digital-projects/meeting-john-donne-the-virtual-pauls-cross-project>> Accessed 26 February 2021.

⁹⁹ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 409.

¹⁰⁰ Walter Howard Frere and William McLure Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, 1559-1575*, vol. III (London, 1910).

¹⁰¹ Taken from *Holinshed’s Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, Vol. 1 (London, 1807), p. 232.

¹⁰² *MEPC*, p. 43.

psalm-singing to the nave, where the people would congregate after the choral service to hear the sermon.’¹⁰³

Beth Quitslund even suggests that a metrical psalm may have been sung after the sermon at the church service that immediately preceded the opening of Parliament in 1562. The account of this incident, however, does not seem clear enough, and the psalm may have been a polyphonic one, which would presumably have better fitted the tastes of the queen.¹⁰⁴ Even if this account does not outline such a practice, two forms of prayer for special occasions, published by the Elizabethan authorities, did direct the singing of metrical psalms before and/or after the sermon. The service to celebrate the accession of Elizabeth I, first celebrated in 1576, specified ‘The xxi Psalm in meter before the sermon, unto the end of the vii Verse. And the c psalm after the sermon.’¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, in 1580, following an earthquake, the authorities published a liturgy to be used, ‘vpon Wednesdayes and Frydayes, to auert and turne Gods wrath from vs’.¹⁰⁶ Alongside psalms, readings and a prayer, the liturgy also printed John Hopkins’s version of Psalm 46, which is stipulated was to be used ‘after the sermon, or homily.’¹⁰⁷

Indeed, we can even find evidence for this practice in the English Jesuit Robert Persons. In his 1580 text, *A brief discours containing certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church*, Persons complains that the English liturgy and service ‘is nought, because they haue dyuers false, and blasphemous things therein: and that which is yet worse, they soe place those things, as they may seeme to the

¹⁰³ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 589. This practice continued into the seventeenth-century, and for examples after the Restoration see Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁴ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 244.

¹⁰⁵ *A Fourme of Praier with Thankes Giving, to be Used Every Yeare, the 17. Of November, being the Day of the Queenes Majesties Entrie to her Reigne* (RSTC 164795: London, 1576), fol. B.i.v.

¹⁰⁶ *The Order of Prayer, and Other Exercises upon Wednesdayes and Fridayes* (RSTC 16512: London, 1580), title page.

¹⁰⁷ *The Order of Prayer*, RSTC 16512, sig. A.ii.v.

simple, to be verye Scripture. As for example, In the end of a certayne Geneua Psalme. They praye to God to keepe them, from Pope, Turke, and Papistrye, which is blasphemous.’ For Persons, this is made worse, ‘because they singe it, and make other simple men to singe it, in the beginning of sermons, and otherwise: as though it were scripture itselfe, and one of Dauids psalmes.’¹⁰⁸ Persons attack merely highlighted a practice that was quite well cemented by 1580, and in particular the singing of metrical psalms as a bookend to sermons would continue into the seventeenth century, and became one of the defining features of the practice.¹⁰⁹

Returning to Jewel’s letter, the third feature which is worth our consideration is his claim that the singing took place ‘after the sermon’. The translation in John Ayre renders the Latin ‘finite concione’ as ‘after the sermon’, and while Robinson’s translation is no doubt sound (indeed, later he uses ‘concione’ once again, in relation to Scripture), we could also consider an alternative which would read ‘after/at the end of the meeting/assembly’. Naturally, this still means that the singing took place after the sermon had finished, though the alternative translation removes a possible reading which sees the singing as happening immediately afterwards; instead it takes place sometime between the end of the sermon and the end of the meeting. When we compare this alternative translation with other contemporary sources it seems possible that this latter possibility – namely that the psalm-singing took place as the last act of the time together – is more accurate. This alternative translation, for example, fits with the descriptions offered above by Henry Machyn. On both 3 and 17 March 1560

¹⁰⁸ [Robert Persons], *A brief discours containing certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church* (RSTC 19394: Douai [London secret press], 1580), sigs. F.i.v -F.ii.r, F.ii.v. The bibliographical details of this work have been taken from Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (Suffolk, 2000), p. 215, n. 14.

¹⁰⁹ For further examples from the seventeenth-century, see, for example, Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks', c. 1547-1640* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 191, 195.

(noticeably only one month after Jewel's letter), Machyn recounts how, 'after sermon done the pepull dyd syng'.¹¹⁰ Machyn's accounts could be read as suggesting that the singing took place immediately following the end of the sermon, but an alternative, based also on our reading of Jewel here, could also suggest the very end of the event. The placing at the end of the service may also imply that the congregational singing is more informal than planned, perhaps led by a group of parishioners who are keen to sing metrical psalms, but did not want to cause (or have been ordered not to cause) too much disturbance for those who did not want to sing them. This possibility may also open to us an insight into how metrical psalmody became an institutionalised part of the worship of English congregations: it was a practice which was originally informal and pushed by a small group within the congregation, which then over time expanded those who joined the singing of metrical psalms, until the practice eventually became a central part of the worship of the congregation as a whole.¹¹¹

The fourth feature which is worth our attention is Jewel's figure of six thousand persons (*sex hominum millia*) singing together. The claim has proved a recurring touchstone for scholars, with some adding commentary and some drawing attention to and then passing over the incident.¹¹² And while establishing whether Jewel's figure itself is perfectly accurate is of course impossible, it is perhaps best for us to consider it alongside some additional sources, and subsequently alongside a possibility mentioned above.

¹¹⁰ *Machyn*, p. 226.

¹¹¹ On the movement of psalm-singing into the worship of English congregations, and the terminology applied here of 'institutionalisation', see Andrew Poxon, 'The Institutionalization of the Congregational Singing of Metrical Psalms in the Elizabethan Reformation', *Studies in Church History*, 57 (2021), pp. 120-141.

¹¹² See, for example, Rylie, 'The Psalms and Confrontation', p. 125; Duguid, *Print and Practice*, p. 185; Quitslund, *RR*, p. 153. Both Nicholas Temperley and Christopher Marsh recount Jewel's letter, but without any commentary: *MEPC*, p. 43; Marsh, *MSE*, p. 507.

First, a significant fact about this figure, when additional research is undertaken, is that it is a regularly quoted approximation (by contemporaries and modern scholars) for the audience capacity of Paul's Cross sermons in the period. For example, Mary Morrissey reports that in 1545 a visitor to England reported that sermons at Paul's Cross were attended by 6,000 people.¹¹³ Though Morrissey is unclear on where the figure is taken from, it does appear in Thomas Platter's *Travels in England* from 1599, where, in his description of London, he recounts how 'at St. Paul's Cross a sermon is preached to a congregation of 6000 every Sunday', then immediately moves on to describe how 'here also around the precincts is the home of the printers and booksellers of London.'¹¹⁴ Additionally, a letter by the Venetian Ambassador, Il Schifanoja, dated 13 February 1559, reported a 'congregation consisting of more than 5,000 persons' at a sermon at Paul's Cross preached by John Scory, the Bishop of Hereford.¹¹⁵ Meanwhile, the recent scholarly endeavour entitled, The Virtual Paul's Cross Project, has used the figure of 5,000-6,000 people to form the basis for establishing part of the physical environment and the audience in their attempt to recreate the environment and experience of worship and preaching at Paul's Cross in the seventeenth century.¹¹⁶ Based on this, we could perhaps interpret Jewel's figure as suggesting to Martyr something close to: 'You may now sometimes see at Paul's Cross, at the end of the meeting, *the entire place, at full capacity*, filled with men, women, and children all singing together and praising God.' While of course not a definitive interpretation or understanding of Jewel's still fascinating figure, when

¹¹³ Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons*, p. 23.

¹¹⁴ Platter appears to be basing the figure on Sebastian Münster's, *Angliae Descriptionis Compendium*. Thomas Platter, *Thomas Platter's Travels in England, 1599*, translated and with an introduction by Clare Williams (London, 1937), p. 52.

¹¹⁵ Rawdon Brown and G Cavendish Bentinck (eds), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 7, 1558-1580* (London, 1890), pp. 30-1.

¹¹⁶ See <https://ypcp.chass.ncsu.edu/size-of-the-crowd/>. Accessed 7 April 2021.

viewed in this (minimally) additional light the figure does seem to be more comprehensible, and Jewel's reason for choosing it more understandable.

Yet there is more to interrogate in this still confusing reference, and we must crucially recognise exactly what we are dealing with in this picture painted by Jewel. In order for Jewel's observation to be correct, two things need to take place: those singing need to have learnt the psalms, and the crowd needs to be led. Dealing with the latter, it seems most likely that the singing did not take place spontaneously and in unison, but that the crowd were directed in when and what to sing. Even accepting that metrical psalmody became a regular part of the sermons at Paul's Cross, and the worship of English congregations, this was probably not cemented until later, and so at this early point it seems more likely that we should imagine someone (most likely, perhaps, the preacher), leading the singing, or at least directing the crowd to begin, and stating what psalm they are to sing. If we combine this point with the description offered by Machyn above, in which he recounts how the crowd at Paul's Cross sang a psalm after the sermon by Jean Véron, we can see that some preachers must surely have been familiar with the practice enough to begin or lead the singing. It seems unlikely, however, that this would take the shape of the later practice of lining out, where the parish clerk would speak or sing a line after which the congregation would then repeat it in unison.

Of course, this still leaves us with the problem of how the crowd sang metrical psalms together. As has been argued above, it seems likely that those churches which maintained choirs or organs in this period may have deployed them to teach and accompany the singing of metrical psalms by the congregation. This possibility could suggest that it was possible for those who assembled in Paul's Cross to have learnt the texts and/or tunes of the metrical psalms in their congregations through the help of

organs and then brought this knowledge to the singing at Paul's Cross, where, presumably, others could and did join in, and where still others could learn the tunes and words for the first time. This is a possibility that has been suggested by Quitslund and Temperley, who conclude 'that the tunes were new to most English churchgoers' in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, further suggesting that, 'in some churches the parson or parish clerk, perhaps backed by a few returning exiles, or some well-educated churchgoers who could read music notation, would have led the people.'¹¹⁷ Additionally, purchases from churchwardens' accounts led them, following Jonathan Willis, to believe that in addition to parish clerks, choirs, organs and even schoolchildren may have led the singing, 'until frequent repetition made them familiar to all.'¹¹⁸ Yet even if one or more congregations had learnt the tunes, it seems highly unlikely that a group as large as that described by Jewel would have memorised the psalms enough to sing them in so large a group. We should, I think, combine these points with that above on the size of the crowd at Paul's Cross, and see in Jewel's claim an image of the crowd at Paul's Cross working their way through a few verses of a psalm, led or started by the preacher, with some of the crowd singing enthusiastically and with confidence in the tune and text, and some repeating immediately after in an attempt to keep up.

Two parts of the singing need to be considered: the texts and the tunes. The latter seems less problematic in terms of memorisation and collective singing. As Christopher Marsh has argued, 'Through most of the period, therefore, there was no serious obstacle to the learning of psalm tunes by congregations. Early modern people were thoroughly accustomed to picking up melodies by ear, and the evidence from

¹¹⁷ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 581.

¹¹⁸ Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 581-2. Quote on p. 582.

balladry suggests that they could hold hundreds of tunes in their memories.’¹¹⁹ Marsh has also helpfully reminded us that it is possible for such a large crowd to maintain a tune together without grinding to a halt, as evidenced by modern football crowds.¹²⁰ It seems most likely, therefore, that the memorisation of the texts is the key issue here, and while we should dismiss any image of a crowd holding psalm books and singing from them, a possibility does remain that a small number of people from congregations or groups (perhaps returning exiles) who have already included the singing of metrical psalms in their worship could have memorised a small number of texts, in order to at least give some organisation and substance to the singing at Paul’s Cross. And while we cannot be certain which psalms were sung, it is entirely possible, though obviously speculative, that those psalms which maintained significance throughout the remainder of the century (as will be discussed in the next chapter) would have been popular from the outset; psalms which had formed the centre of Christian devotion and worship for centuries, such as Psalms 1, 51 or 100.¹²¹

The fifth feature of this sentence from Jewel is something we have already encountered above. Both Jewel and Machyn draw attention to one feature of psalm-singing in this early stage which they find remarkable, which, simply put, is that men and women are singing together. In Machyn’s first two accounts he describes that both men and women sing together, and while this feature is missing from the later accounts, that should perhaps be seen as an indication that the feature is no longer a novelty to him. And as Jewel also remarks, the singing at Paul’s Cross involves ‘old

¹¹⁹ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 427. Ian Green also argues that, ‘There are also clear indications that by the late seventeenth century many people had memorized at least part of a number of the psalms in the “old version”, with or without the benefit of print.’ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 524.

¹²⁰ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 421, n. 87.

¹²¹ The continuous popularity of certain psalm texts and tunes in the later sixteenth century will be discussed in the following chapter.

and young, of both sexes'. Jewel's list of those who sing is: 'senes, pueros, mulierculas', which, fascinatingly, could be translated as, 'the elderly, children [or young boys], [and] women'. What is remarkable is that Jewel specifically names each of these groups, as an effort to show the array of people singing. Even if we take the possibility mentioned already that choirs of young boys taught congregations or led the singing of metrical psalms in the early phases of its inclusion in England, it is still remarkable how inclusive the practise was. As seen in Machyn's diary above, and as was a defining feature of the congregational singing of metrical psalms in this period and thereafter, no divisions occurred between those who sang and those who did not: men and women, the old and the young all sang together.¹²²

It is also that feature which stands out in the Exeter example above. As Alec Ryrie has recognised, this appears as a 'genuine novelty' to the two men, and 'clearly had no English precedent.'¹²³ And as Timothy Duguid has also pointed out, Jewel's account should be read in light of the fact that this was a period when it was 'an exciting novelty for men, women, and children to sing together from the Bible in the vernacular.'¹²⁴ The origins of this practice, as we have seen in the previous chapter, lie in Genevan congregational psalmody, and yet once it established itself, it facilitated the singing of metrical psalms to become institutionalised in the worship of English congregations.¹²⁵ We should see this as one of the key reasons why metrical psalmody established itself, and as Beth Quitslund has neatly summarised, for Jewel (as

¹²² For children singing metrical psalms, see pp. 174-176 above. It is interesting to note Kate Narveson's observation in her work on lay Protestant devotional writing culture that 'there is greater truth in the early modern commonplace that "souls have no sexes" than is often recognized – that, in other words, gender does not clearly mark devotional discourse.' See Kate Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self-definition in an Emergent Writing Culture* (Farnham, 2012), p. 170. It seems that this also extended to the singing of metrical psalms.

¹²³ Ryrie, 'Psalms and Confrontation', p. 125.

¹²⁴ Duguid, *Print and Practice*, p. 185.

¹²⁵ The terminology of institutionalisation is discussed in Poxon, 'The Institutionalization of the Congregational Singing of Metrical Psalms', pp. 120-141.

presumably for many others, from bishops down to the common people), in its inclusion of *all* members of society, psalm-singing provided ‘a powerful means of unifying the membership of the English Church’ and ‘a potent weapon against the Catholic remnants.’¹²⁶ Yet even taking into consideration all of these accounts of early singing of metrical psalms, we still do not know exactly what these individuals were singing, and concomitantly on what were they basing their singing. Nevertheless, in these examples we glimpse the possibility outlined in the first chapter and maintained throughout the thesis: that metrical psalmody offered individuals a means through which they could express a unified collective identity, expressed through the texts they sang, but more importantly through the very act of gathering together to sing a shared set of texts and tunes. This could be a highly emotionally charged event in which ‘sympathetic responses’ are felt, and where the boundaries between oneself and another are broken down until individuals turn from facing towards each other to facing the same direction (in Zuckerkandl’s phrasing).¹²⁷

Finally, moving to the final two words of this sentence, ‘praising God’ could simply provide a different expression of people singing together as worship, yet it is interesting to consider this phrase alongside the forty-ninth Elizabethan Injunction.¹²⁸ As has already been discussed in detail above, the injunction permitted, ‘an hymn or suchlike song, to the praise of Almighty God’. In this, we could perhaps see that Jewel is not simply recording that a large group sang together, but that their singing was fully in keeping with the Elizabethan Injunctions, and thus lawful, and that those who sang were not praising Mary or the Saints, but God alone.

¹²⁶ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 153.

¹²⁷ See the discussion of these ideas on pp. 40-56.

¹²⁸ Jewel’s Latin reads: ‘una canere et laudare Deum.’ Ayre, *Works of Jewel*, IV, p. 1230.

Reaching the end of Jewel's letter (or at least the section which concerns us here), he continues by describing how the singing that takes place at Paul's Cross 'sadly annoys the mass-priests and the devil' (Id sacrificos et diabolum ægre habet). Worth noting in relation to this claim is that we see that Jewel offers comments to Martyr on the state of the priests in two other letters, both of which have been discussed above in relation to their similarity to different claims. In a letter dated 1 August 1559, before setting out on the Visitation of the Province of Canterbury, Jewel claims: 'Now that religion is everywhere changed, the mass-priests absent themselves altogether from public worship, as if it were the greatest impiety to have any thing in common with the people of God. But the fury of these wretches is so great that nothing can exceed it.'¹²⁹ The similarity between this claim and that from the letter on psalm-singing is clear, if not certainly direct. Less striking, though still a commentary on the priests in England, is another similar claim made by Jewel in a letter dated 2 November of the same year. Having returned from his visitation, Jewel writes:

We found everywhere the people sufficiently well disposed towards religion, and even in those quarters where we expected most difficulty. It is however hardly credible what a harvest, or rather what a wilderness of superstition, had spring up in the darkness of the Marian times. ... If inveterate obstinacy was found anywhere, it was altogether among the priests, those especially who had once been on our side. They are not throwing all things into confusion, in order, I suppose, that they may not seem to have changed their opinions without due consideration.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ The Latin reads: 'Sacrifici jam tandem mutata religione passim abstinēt a cœtu sacro, quasi piaculum summum sit cum populo Dei quicquam habere commune. Est autem tanta illorum nebulonum rabies, ut nihil supra.' Ayre, *Works of John Jewel*, IV, pp. 1213-15.

¹³⁰ Ayre, *Works of John Jewel*, IV, p. 1217. The Latin is: 'Invenimus ubique animos multitudinis satis propensos ad religionem; ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima. Incredibile tamen dictus est, in illis tenebris Mariani temporis quanta ubique proruperit seges et sylva superstitionum. ... Si quid erat obstinatæ malitiæ, id totum erat in presbyteris, illis præsertim, qui aliquando stetissent a nostra sententia. Illi nunc, credo, ne parum considerate videantur mutasse voluntatem, turban omnia. Sed

These additional letters allow us to see that there is something of a precedent for Jewel reporting to Martyr on the condition and frustrations of the mass-priests. In these letters, Jewel seems to outline that how the mass-priests are annoyed by the arrival and spread of Protestantism, and the popularity of it amongst the population.

Returning to Jewel's letter from February 1560, however, he adds some additional commentary, revealing the reason for the mass-priests' annoyance. As he states: 'For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses [sacras conciones] sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note.'¹³¹ In the later letter Jewel draws a direct correlation between the annoyance of the mass-priests, and the arrival and popularity of the singing of metrical psalms. The singing of metrical psalms, he believes, has a didactic effect, almost acting as a form of conversion to Protestantism, establishing the kingdom ushered by it, while weakening and shaking the kingdom of Catholicism. Indeed, Jewel's understanding of the teaching role of Psalms reflects that of John Calvin who, in his introduction to the 1543 Genevan metrical psalter, tacitly described how, 'when we sing them [the Psalms], we are certain that God puts the words in our mouths, as if he himself were singing in us to exalt his glory'.¹³² Beth Quitslund, meanwhile, has even postulated that this very role for the singing of metrical psalms (to teach Scripture) may have been one of Sternhold's original intentions for his versifications.¹³³

turbent, quantum velint: nos tamen interim illos de gradu et de sacerdotiis exturbavimus.' Ayre, *Works of John Jewel*, IV, p. 1216.

¹³¹ Vident enim sacras conciones hoc pacto profundius descendere in hominum animos, et ad singulos pene numeros convelli et concuti regnum suum. Ayre, *Works of John Jewel*, IV, p. 1230.

¹³² This English translation is taken from Charles Garside, Jr., 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 69, No. 4 (1979), p. 33.

¹³³ Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 70-1.

Returning to Jewel's letter (if we were to offer a paraphrase), his belief appears to be that such a large crowd singing metrical psalms annoys the mass-priests because it shows that Protestantism is establishing itself in the population. Reading these two additional letters, therefore, allows us to see that Jewel's claim here may indeed be true, though it seems most likely to be a continuation of his previous reports. The new element, however, is that the singing of metrical psalms causes the annoyance, which is itself a fascinating claim, and given later frustrations and criticisms of metrical psalmody by Catholic authors (as will be discussed in the following chapter), it seems likely that a similar disapproval may exist at this early date.

At the same time, Jewel's statement should be read as offering a nuanced understanding of the relationship between, and didactic potential of, the texts and the tunes. Indeed, his statement, 'that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note', provides us with a nice piece of word painting for metrical psalmody which was largely homophonic (each syllable sung to one note), a feature which will be analysed in the following chapter. In recognising this relationship, Jewel shows himself capable of understanding the remarkable dual potential of congregational singing in spreading Protestantism, for the words themselves ('the sacred discourses') are vital, but so too is the tune, which generates meaning, emotion and community. We should, therefore, recognise that Jewel's letter, along with the Elizabethan Injunctions discussed above, sufficiently identifies a distinction and relationship between texts and tunes, which scholars have often overlooked. This relationship provided psalmody with added emotional potential and power, a feature which will be explored more thoroughly in the following chapter, in an attempt to understand why certain psalm melodies and texts survived and others did not.

Naturally, it remains unclear exactly what took place at Paul's Cross, and whether Jewel's figure is accurate, though it seems increasingly likely that it is not entirely fictitious. Combining the possibilities on texts and tunes outlined here with the evidence on the crowd size at Paul's Cross, we should see Jewel's picture as both possible (if, perhaps, more feasible with a diminished crowd size), yet possibly more as his attempt to describe to Peter Martyr the remarkable growth of the practice, especially at so central and crucial a place for teaching London's population, and connecting them in the religious settlement of Elizabeth I. When we combine Jewel's account with those incidents described by Henry Machyn, and especially once each has been thoroughly analysed, a picture emerges of a practice which is gathering momentum amongst the population in the capital, yet which is still novel and unique enough to warrant description and record. Neither man, however, could have predicted the pace and enthusiasm which would latch on to the practice, and by the end of the 1560s, ever increasing numbers of English congregations were including the singing of metrical psalms in their worship. Yet even once we have taken into consideration each of these early accounts, it still remains unclear what exactly these individuals were singing, and concomitantly on what were they basing their singing.

From 1560, John Day began publishing collections of metrical psalms which were intended for congregational singing. This culminated in the publication in 1562 of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, the text which formed the basis of congregational singing until the end of the seventeenth century when hymnody slowly took the place previously occupied by metrical psalmody. Yet throughout the early 1560s, and even into the 1570s, the collection of metrical psalms published by John Day went through

a series of changes, first major, and then more limited ones.¹³⁴ It seems highly unlikely that any of the accounts of congregational or collective singing of metrical psalms outlined in this chapter, certainly any before the early 1560s, would have been relying on these collections printed by Day. Instead, it seems more likely that they would be drawing on metrical psalm texts produced during Edward's reign, or possibly during the Marian exile, and pairing these with well-known tunes.

Whatever they were singing, the important point for our purposes is to recognise that they were indeed singing, and doing so in considerable numbers, not only in London but in other parts of the country as well. Jewel's account reveals strong support for singing at Paul's Cross, but we have also seen how groups included the singing of metrical psalms in funeral services and as part of their regular parish worship from the earliest years of Elizabeth's reign. In so doing, these previously 'voiceless' individuals acted as 'soundsmiths', shaping metrical psalmody for their purposes, choosing when, where and what they sang, and using it as a means of gathering together, expressing collective identity, and, centrally, worshipping and communicating with God.

III Conclusion

John Jewel's description of 'six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together, and praising God' has framed much scholarly discussion of metrical psalmody over the previous decades, and this thesis has been no different. His account is puzzling and grabs the reader's attention, and indeed this latter feature, it has been suggested here, may have been his original intention. As we have also seen, even if

¹³⁴ For a full account of the early printing history, and development of the contents of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, see in particular Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 535-46, Appendix 1 and 8; Quitslund, *RR*, pp. 197-235; Duguid, *Print and Practice*, pp. 49-76, 105-111.

we accept Jewel's account discussed above, we should nevertheless dismiss the image of six thousand people standing with their psalm books in hand, singing out line-by-line. As was argued above, it seems more probable that a small number of people – perhaps even originating from one congregation – would have 'lead' the singing (enthusiastically singing out the texts and tunes they knew), while others joined in or followed their singing immediately after, attempting to keep up. Yet our consideration of this account points us in fascinating directions.

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the domestic let alone congregational singing of metrical psalms was by no means a certainty. As reflected in the Elizabethan Injunctions, the ecclesiastical and political authorities themselves were uncertain, though it is fair to say that the injunctions reflected a growing body of opinion – popular and clerical – which saw the congregational singing of metrical psalms as central to the form and future of the Elizabethan church. This realisation on the part of the Elizabethan authorities may have been based on the support of reform-minded clerics, who would continue to push for congregational psalmody at the expense of all other forms of church music throughout Elizabeth's reign. Yet the government's actions may equally have been based on knowledge that the collective or congregational singing of metrical psalms was taking root in England, and they saw the best option as funnelling as opposed to outlawing the practice, setting parameters which they knew would satisfy those who participated in or pushed for psalmody, even if it meant frustrating the more traditional musical tastes of some. As has been discussed, examples of early congregational singing in Elizabethan England are in limited supply, but analysis of them is revealing. It paints a picture of a practice that is gathering stream, is finding support and expression in the capital and further afield, and a distinct place in the structure of English worship, often and increasingly

revolving around the sermon. We should perhaps also recognise that even at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, little of what we have seen points to the 'militant' or 'puritan' imagery that occasionally surrounds the singing of metrical psalms. This imagery was created once the practice established itself (though may have originated from Mary's persecutions), and while it was cemented in the English Civil Wars, it does appear to have been a perspective which grew towards the end of Elizabeth's reign.

As the number of participants grew, so too, naturally, did the market, both actual and potential. John Day, ever a shrewd businessman, even if this was matched by his reforming zeal, saw this potential and developed a collection which would define English parish worship for at least 150 years. When Day published the completed *Whole Booke of Psalmes* in 1562, he provided everything a keen congregation would need to include the singing of metrical psalms in their service.

As discussed above, examples of the congregational or collective singing of metrical psalms appeared to grow during the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. This may have been due to the increased popularity of the practice, or to the fact that it was increasingly prominent and attracting attention. The number of examples appears to grow during the beginning of the reign, though they are by no means definitive in establishing the number of participants. To flesh out these examples, we can turn to the work of some scholars on churchwardens' accounts, which has shown a growing number of purchases of metrical psalms in London parishes from Elizabeth I's accession. In assessing the scale of purchases, scholars have reminded us of the need to distinguish between purchases of 'psalters' which refers to purchasing of the prose psalter which was not included in the *Book of Common Prayer* until 1662, and variations on 'psalms', which refers to metrical psalms. Once this distinction is made,

we see that a growing number of parishes, especially in London, begin acquiring metrical psalms from the beginning of 1559, for example St Benet Gracechurch, St Botolph Aldgate and St Margaret Pattens (see the map below).¹³⁵ It is not necessary to consider the full extent of purchases here, but the evidence clearly suggests a market that was growing and spreading, and the purchasing by churches is instructive. While the exact nature of this inclusion remains unknown, we should nevertheless recognise that the practice is now clearly moving from a purely individual, devotional one into the congregational worship of parishes in the nation's capital.¹³⁶

Indeed it is also interesting to chart this spread and to consider it alongside Bishop Jewel's claim above that 'as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice.' While it is perhaps too much to conclude a direct correlation between Jewel's assertion and the evidence in churchwardens' accounts, it is nevertheless interesting to recognise that three churches within close proximity of one another (St Margaret Pattens, St Andrew Hubbard and St Benet Gracechurch, all shown on the map below) each purchased copies of metrical psalms between 1558 and 1560, and (along with others) would continue to purchase copies throughout the 1560s.¹³⁷ More

¹³⁵ Jonathan Willis has completed the most thorough analysis of surviving churchwardens' accounts in relation to congregational metrical psalmody. As will be seen in this chapter, little more can be gleaned from these sources, though I have drawn upon some of the most relevant material for the purposes of this thesis. See in particular Willis, *Church Music*, pp. 121-128. Willis's work is drawn on heavily by Quitslund and Temperley: Q&T, vol. 2, Appendix 7. See also John Craig, 'Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547-1642' in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred space in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 105-9. On the distinction between 'psalters' and 'psalms' see Craig, 'Psalms, groans and dogwhippers', p. 106; Jonathan Willis, 'Ecclesiastical sources' in Laura Sangha and Jonathan Willis (eds), *Understanding Early Modern Primary Sources* (Abingdon, Oxon, 2016), pp. 58-77; Q&T, vol. 2, p. 1023.

¹³⁶ Willis suggests that 'the earliest purchases of metrical Psalms seem to have been designed to furnish choirs with confessionally appropriate material to sing during the service in place of traditional Latin liturgical works and motets.' Willis, *Church Music*, p. 126. See also p. 128. Willis, however, provides no evidence, and his conclusion has correctly been challenged by Q&T, vol. 2, p. 582.

¹³⁷ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 1024-7.

conclusive work charting this spread remains to be carried out, though their purchases in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, and their close proximity is interesting.

By the middle of the 1570s, psalmody had cemented itself and important variations occurred with the removal of organs and choirs and the preference for unaccompanied congregational singing in unison, as well as the possible development (perhaps to replace the role of the organ or choir in leading or introducing the psalm) of lining out by a parish clerk.¹³⁸ In addition, congregations had developed a set number of tunes which they preferred to sing, preferring shorter tunes, while the tempo itself seems to have slowed.¹³⁹ Moving into the 1580s, however, the course of metrical psalmody shifted slightly. The texts and tunes of Sternhold and Hopkins came under their first volley of criticism, while congregational performance developed once again, with the arrival of new tunes to which the psalms could be sung, developed not by composers, printers or reformers, but by the common people and parishes themselves.

¹³⁸ On the declining role of choirs and organs and the possible development of lining out, see, for example Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 422-30; and Willis, *Church Music*, pp. 128-31. On lining out see also Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 522.

¹³⁹ These developments will be explored fully in the following chapter, though see, for example, Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 423-34; and Quidslund, *RR*, p. 242.

MAP 1: SELECT CHURCHES IN EARLY MODERN LONDON¹



Churches:

1. St Thomas Apostle
2. St Antholin

3. St Michael (Cornhill)
4. St Benet Gracechurch

5. St Andrew Hubbard
6. St Margaret Pattens

7. St Botolph (Aldgate)

¹ This map is taken from Janelle Jenstad (ed.), 'The Agas Map', *The Map of Early Modern London*, edition 6.6, mapoflondon.uvic.ca/edition/6.6/map.htm.

5. METRICAL PSALMODY IN LATER ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND: THE OFFICIAL AND COMMON TUNES

As the sixteenth century progressed, metrical psalmody firmly established itself as an essential part of the worship of English congregations. This did not mean, however, that the practice went unchanged or unchallenged. Indeed, the period under consideration in this chapter (loosely covering the late-1570s into the seventeenth century) marks a vital point in the history of metrical psalmody in England. During this period, clear preferences began to emerge from those who used metrical psalms in their worship, preferences which would define the history of metrical psalmody throughout the remainder of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These preferences often centred around the tunes to which the psalms in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* were sung. While many of the ‘official tunes’ (those published in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* itself) were falling out of use, an increasingly small corpus of these tunes was being maintained by congregations.¹ The reasons for this remain unclear, though this chapter will argue that those official tunes which continued to be used were maintained first, because the tunes were felt to be particularly pleasant, and second, because the tunes fitted (metrically and emotionally) the texts to which they

¹ While some scholars have referred to the tunes included in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* as ‘proper tunes’, I have followed Christopher Marsh in referring to them as ‘official’ tunes (for example, Marsh, *MSE*, p. 413). Quitslund and Temperley provide the following definition of the term ‘proper tune’: ‘A “proper tune,” in both early modern and recent scholarly usage, refers to a tune intended for the specific text to which it is allocated. The contrasting term, “common tune”, means one that can be used with any text of the same metre.’ (Q&T, vol. 2, p. 554, n. 144). While they assert that the term ‘proper tune’ was in early modern usage, they do not lay out any clear evidence for this, and it is especially unclear if this was true for the sixteenth-century where, for example, Thomas East (discussed below) refers to the tunes simply as ‘the tunes usually printed’ (Thomas East, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: With Their Wonted Tunes, as they are song in Churches, composed into foure parts*, RSTC 2482 (London, 1592), p. 2). Temperley’s earlier work, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, is also unclear on this, where he seems to use the two phrases interchangeably. See, for example *MEPC*, pp. 57-65. Temperley does provide an example from the seventeenth century in which the term ‘proper tune’ is used: entry in Pepys’s diary from January 1662, though clearly this does not resolve the issue for the previous century (*MEPC*, p. 92). A much later use of the phrase ‘proper tune’ is found in Daniel Warner, *A Collection of some verses out of the Psalmes of David suited to several occasions* (Wing W893A: London, 1694), p. viii.

were sung. As will be discussed, those official psalm tunes which were maintained by congregations appear to have been those for which the texts were also significant, either because they expressed a particular emotion or sentiment, or because they had formed a key part of Christian (and Jewish) worship for centuries. This point also makes clear something which many historians have missed when studying the singing of metrical psalms, namely the vital interaction between texts and tunes, and the shared importance of both in the maintenance and continuity of congregational singing of metrical psalms throughout the period. English congregations (along with those using the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* in domestic devotions) clearly wanted to sing the texts in the book, though some of the included tunes proved difficult, while others were unpleasant. In part as a response to the desire to use the texts yet inadequate tunes to sing them to, a set of melodies developed called the ‘common tunes’. While the history and development of these tunes remains largely mysterious, the evidence in this chapter argues that both the origins and the musical development of these tunes relied on those this thesis has referred to as ‘the voiceless’: those who lacked agency or a means of exerting their hopes, yet who found a way of doing so through metrical psalmody. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Elizabethan establishment referred to these people as ‘hearers’, and because of their lack of influence they are often ‘voiceless’ in the sources available to us.²

This chapter, however, establishes the centrality of these otherwise ‘voiceless’ individuals in the success of metrical psalmody, and in the development of the practice from 1562 onwards. They were crucial to establishing which tunes and texts maintained popularity, where and when metrical psalms were sung, and the process

² On the terminology of the ‘voiceless’ see above pp. 20-23. For these individuals as ‘hearers’ see pp. 70-1, 158.

by which metrical psalms spread between individuals and from one congregation to another. However, the very fact that these otherwise ‘voiceless’ individuals lacked agency in the religious, social or political policies of their congregations, parishes and the nation has meant that they have largely been left out of the sources which historians have used to study the history of metrical psalmody. This chapter, however, adopts the framework established in chapter one, combining this with further scholarship from fields outside of history, to establish the centrality of these individuals in shaping metrical psalmody, and thus the history of the reformation in England.

By using this framework, and by focusing on the tunes to which metrical psalms were sung, we see that ordinary men, women and children (those this thesis has referred to as ‘the voiceless’) were intimately involved in the development of this remarkably successful body of music and thus in the success and spread of metrical psalmody throughout the later sixteenth century. These ordinary individuals were, therefore, ‘soundsmiths’ who shaped the melodies and passed them on from one to another (individually and congregationally), incorporating them into their worship. They paired these tunes with the texts that they wanted to sing, generating a body of songs (combining texts and tunes) which they found pleasing and appropriate, and which united them together in worship.³ This process of developing the texts and tunes allowed congregational singing of metrical psalms to survive and grow throughout the later sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, until the development of hymnody challenged the singing of metrical psalms.

More significantly, through their involvement in metrical psalmody, they influenced the shape of the English Reformation by inserting their preferences (usually

³ The terminology of ‘soundsmiths’ was introduced on pp. 32-40 above, and is elaborated on pp. 265-271 below.

musical) and desires (principally to sing metrical psalms in worship) into the programme of reform that was being enacted from above by the Elizabethan government. Studying the music of metrical psalmody (using the framework established in chapter one) allows us to see that these otherwise ‘voiceless’ individuals did influence the shape and form of both metrical psalmody and the English Reformation. Only by studying the music itself are we able to grasp this and see what previous scholars were unable to recognise. The music to which metrical psalms were sung, therefore, forms the main evidence base for the chapter, though supplemented with textual sources. In placing the music at the centre, and analysing it through the framework established in chapter one, we allow it to act as a historical source, and through this we are able to demonstrate how the otherwise ‘voiceless’ were deeply, intricately connected to the development and success of metrical psalmody.

The first section of this chapter looks at the most popular ‘official tunes’, using Psalms 51 and 100 from the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* to assess why some psalms maintained their popularity while others did not. Through the framework established in chapter one, and additional musicological material, this section argues that the most successful official tunes maintained their popularity because they offered particularly pleasant or coherent melodies; because the texts and tunes fitted well together (both stylistically and metrically); and because they offered particularly neat statements of key Christian doctrines, in the case of the two case study Psalms this meant praise and collective identity for Psalm 100, and lamentation or penitence for Psalm 51.

The second section turns our attention to the arrival of the ‘common tunes’, outlining some of the possible origins of these tunes, before turning once again to assess why these tunes were more popular, and thus survived in place of the vast majority of the official tunes. The section uses musicology alongside other disciplines

to argue that the common tunes survived because they were more pleasing, pleasant, and coherent melodies, but also because it was the otherwise ‘voiceless’ who played a central role in establishing these melodies as part of the key corpus of tunes used in congregational metrical psalmody, and who then shaped the melodies to fit their tastes and needs, and passed these on to one another. In this, the terminology of ‘soundsmiths’ and ‘soundsmithing’ is re-introduced, to provide a terminology which outlines the role of ordinary people in introducing, shaping and spreading the collective singing of metrical psalmody, and more specifically the common tunes, into the worship of congregations across England. These ‘common tunes’ offered those who did not otherwise have influence to collectively exert themselves and their desires onto their religious experience, and through this to shape their experience of the English Reformation. This terminology of ‘soundsmiths’ allows us to see in the sources what would not previously have been possible to recognise, namely the influence of the otherwise ‘voiceless’ in shaping the English Reformation.

The final section argues that metrical psalmody was successful because it aided the creation and maintenance of group identity at a time of significant social, political and religious upheaval. This is explored through some of the work outlined in chapter one and in this chapter also, especially that of musicologists Martin Clayton and Victor Zuckerkandl. This role was recognised by contemporaries and allowed metrical psalmody to take on a key place during occasions of collective national pride or solidarity, such as the annual Accession Day service, or moments of intense political significance such as the defeat of the Spanish Armada or the defeat of the Babington Plot. It was also recognised and used by the English outside of England, with accounts of sailors and explorers singing of metrical psalms. Finally, the collective singing of metrical psalms as a means of social bonding continued into the seventeenth century,

taking on a quasi-ritualistic element and being included in, for example, the perambulation of a Sussex parish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These examples reinforce the argument that metrical psalmody offered a key means of uniting disparate individuals together as they turned together to offer praise to God using a shared body of texts and tunes. It is the argument of this thesis, however, that the tunes offered a particularly important means of uniting people, and a key element of metrical psalmody that has not been properly addressed by previous historians. It is, therefore, to these tunes that we must now turn.

I The Development of the Tunes to Which the Psalms Were Sung: The ‘Official’ Tunes

As discussed at the end of the previous chapter, in 1562 John Day printed his complete metrical psalter: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*.⁴ Day’s psalter included metrical versifications of every psalm, along with a large collection of prayers, hymns and canticles. Significantly, Day’s collection also included tunes to which the psalms could be sung, or where tunes were not printed alongside texts tune suggestions were offered, for example alongside Psalm 2 is stated: ‘Sing this psalme with the first tune’.⁵ By the time the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* was released in 1562, the music that was included had settled in its almost permanent form, while the number of tunes was reduced from 125 to sixty-six between 1556 and 1565.⁶ As Quitslund and Temperley have neatly stated: ‘The sixty-six proper tunes, even if their quality and popularity

⁴ *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (RSTC 2430: London, 1562).

⁵ *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, RSTC 2430, fol. 3.

⁶ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 554. A full account of the history and development of the tunes, including work on establishing composers, can be found in Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 554-61. See also Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English ‘Singing Psalms’ and Scottish ‘Psalm Buiks’, c. 1547-1640* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 106-118.

were uneven, represent a remarkable achievement: nothing less than the coming-of-age of a new and revolutionary musical tradition'.⁷

Turning to the tunes themselves, they were predominantly eight lines long, so that one rendition would cover two verses of the accompanying psalm text. While some maintained popularity, many were unpopular and have been described by Quitslund and Temperley as producing 'a feeling of aimlessness', while Christopher Marsh describes them as 'rather featureless and lacking in a clear sense of direction'.⁸ The reasons for this are clear when we examine the most successful official tunes (outlined below), but generally speaking the tunes lacked a distinct shape, they were sometimes rhythmically complicated or inconsistent, or they did not fit metrically with the texts they were to be sung to making them a challenge for those attempting to sing them. What this meant in practice was that many congregations found the tunes either difficult or unappealing to sing, and many tunes fell out of use, even in the first decades of Elizabeth's reign. Indeed, contemporaries reported such sentiments towards the 'official' tunes, with Henry Dod, for example, stating in 1603 that there were 'diuers of the singing psalmes much out of vse onely because of the difficultie of their tunes'.⁹ In practice, this meant that, despite the fact that many endured a 'literary longevity, [the majority of] these tunes do not appear to have caught on.'¹⁰ The evidence for this is explored more thoroughly below when we consider musicological reasons for the survival of certain tunes, but as Marsh neatly concludes, '[the tunes] were hard to remember and harder to love.'¹¹

⁷ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 555.

⁸ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 557; Marsh, *MSE*, p. 412. For a further discussion of the features of the official tunes see Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 554-561.

⁹ Henry Dod, *Certaine Psalmes of David, heretofore much out of vse, because of their difficult tunes...Reduced into English meter better fitting the common tunes*, RSTC 2730 (London, 1603), p. 3.

¹⁰ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 412.

¹¹ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 412.

Other issues of the tunes also persisted, however, centring on problems arising in or through their printing, especially in relation to errors and inconsistencies in the tunes or tune suggestions. Timothy Duguid has shown the extent to which errors plagued various editions of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*.¹² As Duguid notes, these errors in the tunes clearly did not have a significant adverse effect on sales of the book, and he argues that ‘customers were aware of these inconsistencies, so they probably became familiar with the problems of the psalters they owned and used.’¹³ At the same time, and significantly for the history of the tunes to which the metrical psalms were sung, it forced congregations or individuals to take tune-finding into their own hands from the beginning, a feature which would become more significant for the development of the common tunes, discussed below. Nevertheless, the appearance of errors and inconsistencies should not detract from the fact that some ‘official’ tunes did achieve considerable and long-lasting popularity, both during the sixteenth century and thereafter.

Approaching those official tunes which maintained popularity throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries, two scholars have compiled lists of the most successful official tunes, though both lists are slightly different: the first looks at successful, printed tunes, while the second looks at the tunes which were the most widely sung, as identified by contemporaries. Table 2 gathers the essential information (for our purposes) from both scholars and outlines them side-by-side.

Nicholas Temperley has compiled the first of these, listing the nineteen (official) tunes which were found in all editions of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*

¹² Duguid, *Print and Practice*, pp. 106-25.

¹³ Duguid, *Print and Practice*, p. 111.

between 1562 and 1687.¹⁴ As Temperley outlines, most of these tunes remained the same across this entire period, and where limited revision did take place, it was not with the intention of ‘improving’ the tunes, but ‘to remove an awkward melodic leap or to modernise a cadence.’¹⁵ In these changes, however, Temperley sees a response to performance practice as opposed to an attempt to direct it.¹⁶ This is a significant point, since it demonstrates the importance of congregational practice in shaping metrical psalmody. Temperley’s list, however, focuses on tunes which were continually printed, with performance practice inferred as opposed to explicitly stated. The second list on the official tunes, however, compiled by Christopher Marsh, focuses specifically on the tunes which contemporary authors believed to be the most widely sung between 1590 and 1700. Marsh’s list is considerably shorter, containing only 8 Psalms, though it brings performance practice into direct consideration, since his list is concerned with what tunes were being regularly used by congregations.

The result of compiling both lists into Table 2 is significant for two reasons. First, the table demonstrates that Temperley’s statement (reasserted by Duguid) that performance practice is reflected in printing is largely correct. With only one exception, all of the tunes which Marsh records as being the most popular are printed in every edition between 1562 and 1687. The question of why these tunes survived and others did not will be addressed below. For now, though, we should focus on the second thing which Table 2 demonstrates, which is the extent to which certain metres appear to have been preferred by congregations.

¹⁴ Temperley also lists those prayers, hymns or canticles which appeared before or after the Psalms, though I have not included those here. The entire list he creates numbers 19 psalms and 17 hymns, prayers or canticles.

¹⁵ *MEPC*, p. 59.

¹⁶ *MEPC*, p. 59. This point has also been argued by Duguid, *Print and Practice*, p. 107.

In Nicholas Temperley’s list of the nineteen tunes which were found in all editions of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* between 1562 and 1687, 10 are in DCM, 1 is in DLM, 1 in LM, while the remainder are each unique in their metrical structure (for example, one has 4 lines of 10 followed by 2 lines of 11; another has 12 lines of 8). When we compare Temperley’s list with that of Christopher Marsh we see a significant cross-over in the tunes which survive; perhaps unsurprisingly, all but one

Table 2: The Most Popular ‘Official Tunes’

Temperley¹⁷ <i>Psalm</i>	<i>Metre¹⁸</i>	Marsh¹⁹ <i>Psalm</i>
Psalm 1	DCM	Psalm 1
Psalm 3	DCM	
Psalm 18	DCM	
Psalm 44	DCM	
Psalm 50, 1st version	10 ⁴ 11 ²	
Psalm 51, 1st version	DLM	Psalm 51
	(68) ⁴	Psalm 68
Psalm 69	DCM	
Psalm 77	DCM	
Psalm 81	DCM	Psalm 81
Psalm 100, 1st version	LM	Psalm 100
Psalm 103	DCM	
Psalm 113	8 ¹²	Psalm 113
Psalm 119	DCM	Psalm 119
Psalm 122	(668) ²	
Psalm 124	10 ⁵	
Psalm 126	12 ⁴ 10 ²	
Psalm 130	(76) ⁴	
Psalm 137	DCM	
Psalm 148	6 ⁴ 4 ⁴	Psalm 148

¹⁷ This information is taken from ‘Table 1’ in *MEPC*, p. 60.

¹⁸ The metres are described as follows (I have loosely followed Temperley’s descriptions, though adapted them when this seemed to promote clarity): Numbers refer to the number of syllables per line. Superscript numbers refer to the number of times the pattern is repeated (thus, 8⁸ means 8 syllables repeated 8 times; 12⁴10² meanwhile means 4 lines of 12 syllables followed by 2 lines of 10 syllables). Syllables which appear in brackets should be read alongside the superscript number that appears next to them. The numbers in brackets refer to pattern of syllables, while the superscript number refers to the number of times this pairing is repeated, thus (76)⁴ means 4 pairs of lines of 7 and 6 syllables each. Traditional abbreviations are used for commonly appearing metres and are as follows:

DCM (double common metre): (8686)²

DLM (double long metre): 8⁸

LM (long metre): 8⁴

¹⁹ This is taken from ‘Table 8.1’ from Marsh, *MSE*, p. 413.

appears in Temperley's list. To state the point clearly, of those in Marsh's table, 4 are in DCM, 1 is in DLM, 1 in LM, while the others have unique metres (Psalm 113 has 12 lines of 8, and Psalm 148 has 4 lines of 6 followed by 4 lines of 4). Only one Psalm appears in Marsh's table but not in Temperley's, namely Psalm 68, which has an uncommon metre. If, therefore, we take Temperley's point (above) about printing reflecting performance practice, we can see the extent to which these are the metres which are preferred. A comparison of these two lists, therefore, demonstrates a preponderance of DCM, followed by one Psalm each in DLM and LM maintaining popularity, while the remaining psalms are in unique metres. This matters for the history of metrical psalmody because the metres define the relationship between the texts and tunes, and define how comfortable people feeling singing them. So, for example, if a tune is in an irregular metre, or if the words don't feel as though they fit with the tune (because, for example, a word is drawn out over more syllables than feels comfortable), this will affect how people singing the psalms will interact with them, and how popular and long-lasting the tunes will be. At its heart, this is to some extent a musicological issue, though it also reminds us that preferences for certain texts or tunes can arise from a variety of places, even simply from a lack of 'comfort' in singing.

While a more thorough, musicological treatment may need to be completed in order to fully understand the significance of these metres in the history and development of metrical psalmody in England, for the purposes of this subsection it is enough to recognise that the metres of the metrical psalms could and indeed did define the success or failure of some texts and tunes over others. This issue of metre in the survival of tunes is seen most clearly in a set of tunes which have rightly fascinated historians of English metrical psalmody for some time, tunes whose origins remain

largely unclear, yet which became established favourites over the following 150 years: the so called ‘common tunes’, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Finally, Quitslund and Temperley offer an alternative reason for the survival of certain proper tunes. As they argue: ‘Soon the proper tunes of the canon were so entrenched that they were hard to challenge. They were loved – because they were familiar. Yet they would rapidly lose ground to the shorter and more accessible common tunes in the 1590s.’²⁰ Yet their claim has an air of finality without clear evidence, and we could respond by asking: Is it simply that they were loved because they were familiar? And if so, why were they familiar in the first place? In response we should reply that their familiarity came because they were used, and in order to be used they had to be enjoyed, and early modern congregations were nothing if not enthusiastic singers.²¹ Of course, this fact reminds us that we are still left to understand why exactly metrical psalmody was so popular, a question which has largely eluded historians to date. Drawing on the framework established in chapter one, and combining this with additional scholarship, this first section demonstrates how historians can use the official tunes as a historical source: as a means of understanding the success and development of congregational metrical psalmody, and the integral role of the otherwise ‘voiceless’ in the history of this practice.

I.i. Exploring the Survival of the ‘Official’ Tunes

In approaching reasons for the survival of some of the ‘official tunes’ in congregational worship, two of the long-lasting official Psalms and their tunes will be used as case studies. It is hoped that these will offer historians (and scholars in other

²⁰ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 561.

²¹ See, for example, Marsh, *MSE*, p. 433.

fields) an entry-point to exploring this subject, though the methods used could also be applied to other periods and fields.

I.ii. Case Study 1: Psalm 100

The first psalm which acts as a case study for us is Psalm 100. Without a doubt this Psalm was maintained as one of the most popular psalms used in the early modern period. The *Whole Booke of Psalmes* itself outlined the utility of this Psalm for worship, stating: ‘If thou markest the prouidence of the Lorde in al things, and the Lorde of the same, and wouldest enstruct any with the faythe and obedience therof, when thou hast perswaded the[m] fyrst to acknowledge, synge the 100. Psalm.’²² Three scholars have commented on the enduring popularity of this psalm, and have suggested reasons why it may have been enjoyed by contemporaries. Along with that of Psalm 119, Christopher Marsh describes the melody of Psalm 100 as ‘particularly fine’, and as ‘both joyous and memorable’.²³ Marsh also recognises the key relationship between text and tune which is vital in understanding the enduring popularity of the ‘official tunes’. Both the text and the tune of the Psalm were popular, yet of particular significance was the fact that its metre (LM) meant that, ‘there were few other melodies to which it could be sung.’²⁴

Beth Quitslund and Nicholas Temperley, meanwhile, have also included it in the list of the twelve French-based and five German-based tunes included in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*’s tunes, which they believe have, ‘an air of confidence and purpose that is lacking in most of the English ones.’²⁵ In addition, in their brief attempt to identify ‘the precise musical features’ which provided these tunes with this

²² *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, RSTC 2430, fol. A.ii.^r

²³ Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 412, 415.

²⁴ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 415.

²⁵ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 556.

impression, and the enduring popularity of the tunes, they identify a selection of features. Those applicable to Psalm 100 include: ‘a consistent but individual rhythmic pattern reflecting [the] often distinctive verse structures’; the remainder of the melody may ‘seem to grow out of [the] opening phrase’, while subsequent phrases of the melody are ‘audibly related’ to the opening phrase by ‘melodic sequence (partial repetition at a different pitch level)’; and ‘a distinct overall shape, with a climax at or soon after the middle, often characterized by an upward leap of an octave.’²⁶ They conclude by offering Psalm 100, along with 113, 124 and the second tune used for the Lord’s Prayer (found at the end rather than the beginning of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*) as ‘perhaps the grandest of the foreign tunes’.²⁷

Yet while both of these accounts offer some suggestions for popularity, that is as far as we are taken: possibilities. This is not to doubt in any way that their interpretations, or the features they identify, are significant, but rather to point out that their work seems incomplete without evidence, both from the tune itself and from secondary scholarship. Turning, therefore, to an analysis of the tune for Psalm 100 itself, we can identify a number of features or qualities which contribute to the tune’s significant popularity and long-lasting appeal.

One approach from music-psychology allows us to identify the hierarchical importance of different tones within a piece of music. Through the now famous ‘probe tone’ method, Krumhansl and collaborators sought to establish intra-key hierarchies (the organisation of pitches within a key, and the order which listeners gave to different tones within a key). As Krumhansl explains, participants were played, ‘a context establishing a key (such as its scale or a chord cadence)’, which was then,

²⁶ Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 556-7.

²⁷ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 557.

‘followed by a single tone. Listeners [then] rate how well the tone fits with the context.’²⁸ Through this method, it was established that, in major keys, the first tone of the scale (the tonic) received the highest rating (and was thus at the top of the hierarchy), followed by the fifth (dominant), the third (mediant), the fourth (the subdominant), and then the remaining tones. Slight variation occurred in minor key contexts, with the tonic remaining as the tone which best fits the context, though next is the third (mediant), followed by the fifth (dominant) and the sixth (submediant) degrees of the scale.²⁹ Emmanuel Bigand and Bénédicte Poulin-Charronnat have further elaborated by explaining that: ‘The influence of tonal hierarchies has been reported in several other studies in which participants were asked to evaluate the degree of completion or the degree of musical stability experienced at different points of a musical sequence. Ratings of completion or musical stability were higher when the music stopped on hierarchically important events. A similar result was found for chord sequences.’³⁰ In terms of how this knowledge is acquired, Bob Snyder concludes that ‘knowledge of scale-step categories [i.e., tonal hierarchies] is a kind of implicit statistical memory acquired by members of a musical culture through exposure to its music.’³¹

While this is, of course, a brief account, several possibilities present themselves when we consider these theories alongside Psalm 100. First, as recognised above, the importance of the tonic note in tonal hierarchies should be considered in

²⁸ Carol L. Krumhansl, ‘Rhythm and pitch in music cognition’, *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 126, Issue 1, (Jan. 2000), p. 169.

²⁹ A full account of the ‘probe tone’ method and the results from Krumhansl and collaborators is found in C.L. Krumhansl, *Cognitive foundations of musical pitch* (Oxford, 1990), ch. 2. A useful summary of the findings is found in Emmanuel Bigand and Bénédicte Poulin-Charronnat, ‘Tonal Cognition’ in Susan Hallam, Ian Cross, and Michael Thaut (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 97-100.

³⁰ Bigand and Poulin-Charronnat, ‘Tonal Cognition’, p. 106.

³¹ Bob Snyder, ‘Memory for Music’, in Susan Hallam, Ian Cross, and Michael Thaut (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology* (Oxford, 2018), p. 172.

relation to Psalm 100. As can be seen in the musical example below, the most common notes in the melody are the tonic (F) and third (A), both appearing 8 times, while the supertonic (the second degree of the scale; G) appears 7 times. Each of the other notes in the scale appear twice. Combined with this is the fact that the tonic note is regularly used to begin a phrase or a line, or at the start of a passage of ‘upward’ movement (for example the last three notes of the first line) or the last note of a section of downward movement (for example, twice in the final line). Naturally, the tonic appears as the first note of the tune, but then appears again as the first note for the third phrase of the tune. In the first of these instances, the tonic note moves through various notes to finish on the third note (at the end of line one), while in the third phrase it resolves back to the tonic again. This tonic note, however, should more probably be seen as setting up the note which begins the final line: the fifth.

The preponderance of the tonic, however, should also be recognised alongside another feature of this melody: the strong sense of movement which is exhibited throughout the tune. The melody always appears to be going somewhere, moving towards a point and without dramatic leaps from one note to another. The most obvious expression of this movement is seen at the end of each line: the first line moves upwards, the second downwards, the third once again moves upwards, and the final line downwards. Indeed, movement is heard not only the end of the final line, but this phrase of the tune can be divided into two sections each with their own distinct movement. The first part moves from the dominant note of the scale (the fifth) down, via the third, to the tonic note, creating an arpeggio, though the phrase then immediately moves upwards again, reaching the subdominant note (the fourth of the scale) before that too descends to finish on the tonic. This final line, therefore, also demonstrates two intervals (though with other notes between) which are a perfect fifth

in the first half of the line, and a perfect fourth in the second. The first provides a sense of finality, though this is immediately followed by the upwards movement of the melody, before landing on the subdominant note, creating a cadence which wants to resolve to the tonic. Once again, we also see the importance of the tonic note in this sense of movement: each of the two phrases arrive on the tonic note, though the former does not remain there. This sense of movement and the importance of certain tones are combined when the melody is moving, which it does regularly and in stepwise fashion. When the melody is travelling from one note to another in a phrase, it is regularly doing so towards and landing on notes which are considered important musicologically: the third, fourth or fifth. It could be argued that this provides the melody with a sense both of order and structure, but also of resolution when it moves downwards. Yet even acknowledging these musical features, we should recognise that this does not necessarily guarantee an answer as to why the tune was so successful.

Indeed, the music psychology discussed above provides us with an account of tones which can be (and have been) ordered hierarchically. Nevertheless, as Roger Scruton argues, ‘this space is a purely phenomenal space. No musical object can be identified except in terms of its place (middle C, for instance), so that position in musical space is an essential property of whatever possesses it. Hence, although we hear movement, nothing moves. The space that we hear is a kind of metaphorical space, but one that is vividly etched on our auditory experience.’³² It is thus vital, when discussing music and especially how its structure orients the listener towards meaning or movement, for us to recognise that the language used to understand or describe this musical experience is metaphorical: nothing literally moves, but this does not negate

³² Roger Scruton, ‘Music and Cognitive Science’, in Roger Scruton, *Music as an Art* (London, 2018) p. 43.

the spatial metaphors which, as Scruton recognises, ‘permeate our experience of music’.³³ Indeed, this perceived movement is represented by Western musical notation, which provides a clear picture of what is heard (notes rising and falling, etc.), though even this movement is primarily metaphorical. As Scruton explains: ‘When we hear music, we hear movements and relations in a certain kind of space. This space is what is represented in our standard musical notation, and it is one reason why that notation has caught on: it gives us a clear picture of what we hear’.³⁴

Scruton offers us a neat and essential counter-narrative to one in which cognitive science, such as music psychology which we have briefly considered, provides or seeks to provide musical meaning, or even to addresses causes for positive or negative responses to music. First, we should recognise, as Scruton states, that ‘the space of music...is a purely *intentional* space: a realm of intentional objects, which has no independent material reality. It is constituted by our way of hearing sound sequences, in terms of geometrical metaphors.’³⁵ Indeed, we should be wary of any perspective which seeks to explain response to music as based principally on cognitive processes, and in so doing leaves out those other factors which also play a vital role in establishing meaning and connection with and through music (as will be discussed below). As Scruton reminds us:

the purpose of listening is not to decipher messages or to trace the sounds we hear to some generative structure, still less to recuperate the information that is encoded in them. The purpose is for the listener to follow the musical journey, as rhythm, melody and harmony unfold according to their own inner logic so as to make audible patterns

³³ Roger Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Music* (Oxford, 1997), p. 15.

³⁴ Scruton, ‘Music and Cognitive Science’, p. 38.

³⁵ Scruton, ‘Music and Cognitive Science’, p. 38. For a fuller account of ‘intentionality’ see Scruton, *Aesthetics*, passim.

linking part to part. We understand music as an object of aesthetic interest, and this is quite unlike the understanding that we direct towards the day-to-day utterances of a language, even if it sometimes looks as though we “group” the elements in musical space in a way that resemblances our grouping of words in a sentence.³⁶

This does not negate the importance of some cognitive discoveries, but those which we should continue to use are the ones which appear to answer or address, in Scruton’s words, ‘the “why?” of reason, and not the “why?” of cause.’³⁷

Thus, returning to Psalm 100, we should recognise, following Scruton, that even if we discern the presence of certain tonal hierarchies in the melody (which nevertheless do provide legitimate structure and order, and generate senses of movement, or direction, of tension and resolve, and so on), we should not make these the principal basis on which musical meaning may be generated. After all, meaning in and through the singing of this Psalm is the heart of our discussion, since it is highly unlikely that congregations would have continued using Psalm 100 if they did not feel a connection with it, or that it expressed certain sentiments which they were unable to express elsewhere. In this, however, the text and tune are inseparably linked, a point which is ignored by each of the scholars mentioned so far in this section. Each of these scholars are principally interested in music on its own. But this, of course, is not how Psalm 100 would have been heard or performed. As congregational worship, text and tune are inseparably linked, and meaning and enjoyment (essential for continuous connection and usage) are generated through this relationship. So, while we have seen that the melody for Psalm 100 exhibits characteristics and traits which may have provided cognitive resolution or facilitated those singing to consider the tune as having

³⁶ Scruton, ‘Music and Cognitive Science’, pp. 35-6.

³⁷ Scruton, ‘Music and Cognitive Science’, p. 47.

direction and movement, we should also turn to consider two other factors which may have made Psalm 100 so popular and long-lasting.

First and perhaps most importantly is the extent to which singing this psalm (as with all others) involved unison singing by every member of the congregation: men, women and children; the voiceless and those in authority.³⁸ This was one of the great features of metrical psalmody, commented on by numerous contemporaries, as has been explored previously in this thesis.³⁹ The importance of this should not be underestimated, for this was the first time when congregations in England participated in worship in this form, with every member participating in equal measure. Drawing on the terminology offered by Roger Scruton and Victor Zuckerkandl explored in chapter one, this act of singing together might create ‘sympathetic responses’ between individuals, who turn from looking at one another and so seeing each other as separate or different, to turning to face the same direction in unity.⁴⁰ As discussed in chapter one, this psalm was one of two which was sung annually, beginning in November 1576, during the service to celebrate the accession of Elizabeth I.⁴¹ It may be that the focus of attention is a figure such as Elizabeth I, and that the purpose of the service is to maintain loyalty to her and, subsequently national unity, yet the essential element in providing this focus and unity is the music; it provides the means through which this shared collective identity is expressed as everyone gathers to sing the same words and melody, yet also where they are brought together to worship God and communicate with Him. This is, of course, a point which applies to congregational singing of metrical psalms more generally, yet in Psalm 100 we find an explicit

³⁸ On the remarkable inclusivity of metrical psalmody see above, pp. 206-208. For children singing metrical psalms see pp. 174-176.

³⁹ See above, pp. 173, 174-6, and 206-208

⁴⁰ Scruton is discussed on pp. 46-48; Zuckerkandl on pp. 43-46.

⁴¹ See above pp. 49-50.

all honour to him do:
his footefoole worship him before,
for it is holy to.

6 **G**oddes, Aaron, and Samuel,
as priests on him did call:
when they did pray he heard them well,
and gaue them answer all.

7 **M**erit the cloud to them he spake,
then did they labour fill:
to keepe such lawes as he did make,
and pointed them unwill.

8 **L**ord our God thou didst them heare:
and answeredst them agayne:
thy mercy did on them appeare,
their deedes didst not maintayne.

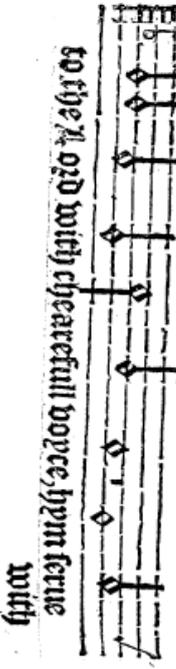
9 **L**aud and praye our God and Lord,
within his holy hill:
for why? our God throughout the world,
is holy euer fill.

2. *Tubilate Deo omnis terra. Pal. C.*

*The crietheth all to serue the Lord Solo hath made vs, and enter into
his courtes and assembles to praye his name.*



All people that on earth do dwell, sing



to the Lord with chearefull voyce, hym serue
with

with feare, his praye forth tell, come ye before



him and reioyce.

3 **T**he Lord ye know is God in deede,
without our ayde he did vs make:
we are his folke he doth vs feede,
and for his sheepe he doth vs take.

4 **O** enter then his gates with praye,
approch with joy his courtes into:
praye, laud, and blese his name alwayes,
for it is seemely so to do.

5 **F**or why? the Lord our God is good,
his mercy is for euer sure:
his truth at all times firmly stande,
and shall from age to age endure.

An other of the same.

Lord the Lord be glad and light,
praye him throughout the earth:
serue him and come before his sight,
with singing and with mirth.

3 **K**now that the Lord our God he is,
he did vs make and keepe:
not we our selues, for we are his,
o bene folke and pasture sheepe.

4 **G**o into his gates alwayes
with

Ps. l.

gene

Figure 3.1: Psalm 100 as found in the Whole Booke of Psalmes (RSTC 2448: London, 1577), fol. 272-273, taken from EBO

118 **Psalm. LI.**
Lord consider my distress. And now
with speede some pittie take: **W**hy sinnes Deface,
my fautes redyeffe, good **L**ord, for thy great
mercies sake, **M**erch me (**Q** **L**ord) and make
me cleane. **F**ro this broude & sinfull act: & purifie
pet once againe: my hainous crime & bloody fact

2. **R**emorse and sojow doo confitayne,
Me to acknowledge myne crimes:
3. **W**hy sinne alas Doth still remayne,
Befoie my face without releas,

119

Psalm. LI.

4. For thee alone **I** haue offended,
committing euyl in thy sight:
And if **I** were therfoie condemned,
yet were thy iudgement iust & right.

5. **I**t is to manifest alas,
that firste **I** was conceived in sinne:
Mea of my mother so boine was,
and yet vile wyethe remaine therein.

6. **A**lso beholde **L**ord thou doest loue,
the inward truth of a pure hart:
Wherfoie thy wisdom from aboute,
thou hast reueild me to conuert.

7. **I**f thou with **B**isshope purge this blot,
I shall be cleaner then the glasse:
And if thou wash away my spot,
the snow in whiteres shall **I** passe.

8. **W**herfoie (**Q** **L**ord) suche toy me send,
that inwardly **I** may fynd grace:
And that my strength may now amend,
which thou hast swagd for my trespass

9. **T**urne back thy face and frowning ire
for **I** haue felt inoughe thy hande:
And purge my sinnes **I** thee desire,
which doo in number passe the sand.

10. **M**ake new my hart within my byrd,
and frame it to thy holy will:
Why constant spirite in me let rest,
which may thele raging enemies kil.

Quoth the secon parte,
Cast me not (**L**ord) out from thy face,
but speeld my tormentes ende: **M**ake
R.iii.

Figure 3.2: The beginning of Psalm 51 as found in the Whole Booke of Psalmes (RSTC 2430: London, 1562), taken from EEBO

description of this unity (as mentioned in chapter one), declaring the entire congregation to be God's people, emphasised throughout by the regular use of plural pronouns (for example, 'without *our* aid he did *us* make'; '*We* are his folk, he doth *us* feed, and for his *sheep* he doth *us* take' (v3); 'the Lord *our* God' (v4)).⁴²

The fact, however, that this expression of unity and collective identity was combined by music which the entire congregation sang together added to these emotions and expressions. In so doing, we see the importance of the interaction between the texts and the tunes. Each could provide strong unity on its own, yet the combination of both elevates the sympathetic response and in so doing the sense of unity increases.

While this unity was not unique to this Psalm (as explored further below), Psalm 100 provides a clear expression of this, and combines it with a melody that is both pleasing and appropriate. In so doing, we perhaps see one of the key reasons for the popularity of this psalm, in that it expresses what congregational singing of metrical psalmody had been doing from the very beginning: it provided the means through which disparate individuals gathered together to sing the same words and melody, and in so doing to express a collective identity, yet also where they are brought together to worship God and communicate with Him. As will be seen, this was not a feature unique to the official tunes, and could also be applied to the common tunes discussed below. Yet in the merging of text and tune for Psalm 100, a clear expression of this was found.

⁴² See above pp. 49-50. Italics mine.

I.iii. Case Study 2: Psalm 51

The second case study – Psalm 51 – involves a quite different Psalm, in terms of tone, message and musical accompaniment. English congregations in the post-Reformation period would have been familiar with Psalm 51 through a number of different settings, though principally through its appearance in the *Book of Common Prayer*, where it was directed to be used as part of Morning Prayer on the tenth day of the month. In addition, the Psalm was the only one of the seven Penitential Psalms maintained from the Latin version of the Communion service (Ash Wednesday).⁴³ The 1552 version of the service included a new rubric which recommended that the service was ‘to be used [at] divers times in the yere’, and indeed the evidence suggests that this may have been the case.⁴⁴ As Brian Cummings notes, Grindal’s Visitation Articles suggest ‘that in the Elizabethan period the service was sometimes used on the three Sundays before Easter, and on one of the two Sundays immediately before both Pentecost and Christmas’.⁴⁵ Cummings also explains that Psalm 51 was also ‘routinely used in preparation for confession, and with the dying.’⁴⁶ It seems, therefore, that English congregations were more than familiar with Psalm 51, and its inclusion in their worship.

Turning to the congregational singing of metrical psalms, the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* itself reflected on the utility of the Psalm for individual devotion (though this could, of course, be expressed in a collective setting). In the prefatory treatise entitled ‘A Treatise made by Athanasius the great’, the first edition of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* outlined: ‘If thou hast sinned and, being turned, fallest to repentance, and

⁴³ Brian Cummings (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: the Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 719, 744.

⁴⁴ Cummings, *BCP*, p. 176.

⁴⁵ Cummings, *BCP*, p. 744.

⁴⁶ Cummings, *BCP*, p. 720.

wouldest obteyne mercy, thou hast the words of confession in the .51. Psalme'.⁴⁷ In the treatise which later replaced this one, a similar note was expressed: 'If thou hast sinned, and art conuerted and moued to doo penance, desirous to haue mercy, thou hast wordes of confession in the 51. Psalm'.⁴⁸

In contrast to Psalm 100 above, Psalm 51 is intensely personal. While this could be seen as limiting the psalm, moving it away from congregational use to personal devotion, this was evidently not the case. The short introduction to the Psalm which appears in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* bridges the gap between the Psalm as personal confession and devotion, and the implications of it in a congregational setting. The introduction does so by drawing the Psalm and the singer of it through a process beginning with personal confession and an acknowledgment of 'naturall corruption, and iniquitie', through desiring 'God to forgeue his [the individual's] sinnes and renew in him, his holye spirite: with promise that he will not be unmindfull, of those great graces.' The introduction then finishes by declaring: 'Finally fearing lest God would punish the whole churche for hys fault: He requireth that he would rather increase his grace towards the same.'⁴⁹ Thus, following the introduction to Psalm 51, the singer of the psalm is brought from an intense concentration on the self and one's own sin, towards a recognition of the importance of the whole congregation and of their role in correction and teaching of the whole community, and in so doing recognising the impact that one's sins can have on the collective; a neighbourly sentiment which was an imperative in early modern England, and reflects the

⁴⁷ *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, RSTC 2430, fol. A.i.^r.

⁴⁸ *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (RSTC 2449: London, 1578), fol. B.ii.^v. On this preface replacing the earlier one by Athanasius, see pp. 181-2 above.

⁴⁹ *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, RSTC 2430, fol. K.iii.^r.

importance of music and especially congregational singing, in generating the expression of collective emotion.⁵⁰

Turning our attention to the singing of Psalm 51 from the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, we should first recognise, and returning to a point raised above in relation to Psalm 100, that the melody for Psalm 51 exhibits clear movement. Notably, each line descends, albeit from and to different degrees of the scale and in different intervals. While this is in contrast to the ‘movement’ described above for Psalm 100, whose melody rose and fell twice, the descending lines nevertheless bring each line of the melody towards a sense of finality. The lines finish on a range of different notes: the fifth (3 times), the second, and the (minor) third (both twice). Noticeably, however, and what is especially significant in relation to the tonal hierarchies discussed above, only the final line of the entire tune finishes on the tonic. Indeed, throughout the whole of the melody, the tonic is used very rarely, appearing only 7 times in the whole tune, which is the combined lowest count for a note (along with the second and seventh which both also appear seven times), other than the fourth of the scale which appears six times. We should, however, see the absence of the tonic in the melody as significant for two reasons.

First, the tonic does appear occasionally, but this is often to set up the immediate rising of the melody. In the first line of the melody, the tonic appears as the highest note, immediately setting up a descent towards the fifth, via the seventh and sixth. This role for the tonic then also appears in two other sections. First, in line five the tonic appears for the word ‘Lord’, which brings a short section to resolution from the minor third, via the second, to the tonic, though here the melody then immediately

⁵⁰ The literature on neighbourliness in early modern England is now considerable, but for a neat summary see Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England* (London, 1998). On collective emotion see pp. 40-56 above and below pp. 271-276.

climbs again with the interval of a perfect fifth. The same pattern of the first half of a line ending on the tonic is seen again in line eight, on the word ‘crime’.⁵¹ Here, however, the tonic appears to be used to provide the same upwards momentum from line five, acting as a springboard for the melody to rise to the minor third, before falling to the tonic at the end of the line. These examples demonstrate that the tonic note does not offer the same sense of resolution as in, for example, Psalm 100 above. This lack of resolution, however, should be seen as fully in keeping with the mood of Psalm 51, in which the psalmist cries out to God for forgiveness, without, it seems, any certainty as to whether this forgiveness will arrive. The lack of the tonic provides the melody with a lack of resolution, and the melody thus appears in constant tension, without clear resolution from the tonic, until the final line, though even here the tonic is more important in acting as a ‘period’ to the tune, rather than offering musical expression to any resolution to the psalmist’s lament. Two other features, however, enhance this tone within the psalm.

First, when the melody is heard or sung there are five distinct moments which provide a clear ‘minor’ feel. Four appear at the end of lines (at the end of the second, sixth, seventh and eight lines), with one in the first half of the fifth line. These phrases feature a number of characteristics which are worth consideration in order to understand how they establish the ‘minor’ feel of the melody, and how the melody fits with the text for Psalm 51. The first feature is the use of the flattened third in these passages, this note being one of the defining notes in the minor scale. In this case the note is F natural, and as can be seen, all but one of the phrases mentioned here (line six being the exception) beginning on this note and then moving to the second note of

⁵¹ In the two examples here I have referred to the note in question by the word that appears in the first verse. Of course, this does not mean that these words appear in every verse, but have been used here simply for ease of reference.

the scale (E). This interval of a semitone is crucial in establishing the minor feel of the tune, where the interval in the major scale would be a tone. Two of the phrases (lines 5 and 8) are also phrases discussed previously in relation to the tonic note. These two phrases begin on the flattened third, before moving to the second and then the tonic. These are the first three notes of the scale for this key (D minor) in reverse order, and so ground the piece of music in this key, the interval between the third and the second being the most crucial, and the tonic adding the certainty that the key is D minor. The one phrase which does not use the flattened third and the second is found at the end of line 6. In this, however, the minor key and feel for the tune are assured by the presence of the flattened sixth, and the minor feeling is assured once again by the movement between this note and the fifth of the scale, with the distance of a semitone rather than a tone again assuring us of the feel and the key.

Simply counting the occurrence of certain notes, however, should not define this music and responses to it. Of equal if not more importance is where these notes appear, and their role in establishing the feel and emotional expression in the music. Consideration of the tune as a piece of music, and, crucially, as heard as opposed to seen, is vital in understanding the enduring popularity of this tune. Thus, while we could count the prevalence of certain notes, we should recognise that the tune appears to fit with the text with which it is paired. The tune is sombre and lamentable, fitting with the text for Psalm 51, and demonstrating the importance (discussed above) of the relationship between texts and tunes. One other feature, however, should also be recognised in establishing the ‘feel’ of this tune: the use of the Dorian mode.

The full history of the modes is long and complex, and while they were not new in Renaissance music, an important shift took place in the sixteenth century when the Swiss music theorist Heinrich Glarean provided definitions of the diatonic modes

as we understand them today, and completed the list of modes.⁵² The difference between the modes arises out of the different intervals which they employ between notes. So, whereas the C major scale uses all of the white notes beginning and ending on C, this is simply the easiest way of understanding the Ionian mode, which is the first mode in the sequence of the seven modes, and is characterised by the following intervals between the notes, in the major scale: tone, tone, semitone, tone, tone, tone, semitone. The Dorian mode, however, is characterised, first, by different intervals, namely: tone, semitone, tone, tone, tone, semitone, tone (a pattern which is established by playing all of the white keys on the piano, beginning and ending on D). The second characteristic of the Dorian mode is found in relation to the natural minor scale (which is also the Aeolian mode). In this mode/scale, and in comparison with the natural major scale, the sequence of intervals is as follows: tone, semitone, tone, tone, semitone, tone-plus-a-semitone, semitone. This pattern provides the harmonic or ‘natural’ minor scale, and is characterised (in comparison with the major scale) with a flattened third and sixth. The Dorian mode, however, while maintaining the flattened third, then raises the sixth degree of the scale by one semitone. In the tune for Psalm 51, the Dorian mode is most clearly seen by the presence of the natural as opposed to the sharpened seventh note (C in our case, as opposed to C-sharp in the natural minor).

It is difficult to offer conclusive evidence of the affective power of the modes on their listeners, and especially in understanding the power of the Dorian mode to convey the sentiments expressed in Psalm 51. Nevertheless, Powers provides

⁵² Heinrich Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (USTC 553084: Basel, 1547). For the history of the modes see especially Richard Taruskin, *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 74-86. See also Tim Carter, ‘The Search for Musical Meaning’, in Tim Carter and John Butt (eds), *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 169-79; Sarah Mead, ‘Renaissance Theory’ in Jeffrey Kite-Powell, *A Performer’s Guide to Renaissance Music* (Bloomington, IN, 2007); Claude Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Illinois, 2006), ch. 5.

compelling evidence for how Medieval and early modern theorists and musicians understood the affective power of polyphonic music, and the impact of the modes within this.⁵³ The problem, however, is that this pertains principally to polyphonic music. Early modern authors, however, did explicitly outline the affective power of this mode. Charles Butler, for example, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, explained how the: ‘Dorick Mood [Dorian mode] consiste[th] of sober slow-tuned Not[e]s, generally in Counter-point, set to a Psalm or oder pious Canticle, in Meeter or Rhyt[h]mical vers: [th]e not[e]s answering [th]e number of [th]e Syllables. [Th]is moove[th] to sobriety, prudenc[e], modesti, and godliness.’⁵⁴ John Playford, meanwhile, echoed this description of the mode, explaining that it, ‘consisted of sober slow Tun’d Notes’. Indeed, Playford even continued by suggesting the possible effect of the mode, describing how, ‘[it] being solemn, moveth to Sobriety and Godliness’.⁵⁵ Playford repeated such descriptions, first in defining the Dorian mode as ‘sober and solemn’, but perhaps more significantly by offering it as an antidote to any abuse of the Ionian mode, explaining: ‘The Ionick [Ionian] Mood was for more light and effeminate Musick, as pleasant amorous Songs, Corants, Sarabands, and Jigs, used for honest mirth and delight at Feasts and other merriments. [...] The abuse of this Mood [mode] is soon reformed by the sober Dorick; for what this [the Ionian mode] excites above moderation, the other draws into a true Decorum’.⁵⁶ Additionally, Playford subdivided his list of the best-known ‘common tunes’ into four categories: ‘Psalm Consolatory’, ‘Psalms of Prayer, Confession, and Funerals’, ‘peculiar Psalms’, and

⁵³ Harold S. Powers, Frans Wiering, James Porter, James Cowdery, Richard Widdess, Ruth Davis, Marc Perlman, Stephen Jones, and Allan Marett, ‘Mode’, *Grove Music Online*, 2001. Accessed 14 June 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.437189781561592630-e-0000043718>>.

⁵⁴ Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting with two-fold Use therof, [Ecclesiastical and Civil.]* (RSTC 4196: London, 1636), p. 1.

⁵⁵ John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (Wing P2480: London, 1674), p. 58.

⁵⁶ Playford, *Introduction*, Wing P2480, p. 61.

‘Psalms of Praise and Thanksgiving’.⁵⁷ As Christopher Marsh has identified, the modes appear to play a significant part in the division of this list. As he notes: ‘tunes in the more cheerful Ionian mode dominate the last of these categories (praise), while Dorian and Aeolian melodies feature more heavily in the first two (consolation and prayer or confession).’⁵⁸ It seems, therefore, that early modern theorists recognised the affective power of the Dorian mode, alongside the others. In turning to see how this was experienced in actual music engaged with by ‘ordinary people’, meanwhile, we could see its role in ‘the best known secular melody in early modern England.’⁵⁹

Christopher Marsh has shown the impact of the Dorian mode in portraying the hugely popular ballad tune ‘Fortune my Foe’ as a ‘predominantly serious tune, more glum than gleeful.’⁶⁰ While Marsh convincingly argues that the tune had a much wider range of emotional potential, created through associations between the tune and its original text, and its use for singing other texts throughout the early modern period, this does not detract from the power of the Dorian mode to generate and stimulate the array of emotions involved and expressed through the ballad tune. The issue here, it seems, is one of the relationship between texts and tunes, as opposed to an ‘about turn’ in understanding the emotional expression from the Dorian mode. Indeed, as Marsh points out, with the Dorian mode as a key characteristic of the tune, it should come as no surprise that the clergyman William Slatyer, ‘identified “Fortune” as one of the “common, but solemn tunes” to which he encouraged his readers to sing metrical

⁵⁷ Playford, *Introduction*, Wing P2480, p. 72.

⁵⁸ Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 418-19. Marsh does note that the ‘mournful-sounding’ tune ‘Martyrs’ is in the Dorian mode but is recommended for psalms of praise, though the reasons for this remain unclear (Marsh, *MSE*, p. 419, n.59).

⁵⁹ Christopher Marsh, “‘Fortune My Foe’: The Circulation of an English Super-Tune’ in Dieuwke van der Poel, Wim van Anrooij and Louis Peter Grijp (eds), *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture* (Leiden, 2016), p. 308.

⁶⁰ Marsh, ‘Fortune My Foe’, p. 315.

psalms in 1630.’⁶¹ Thus far, there is no evidence of such a practice happening in the sixteenth century, but it should allow us to recognise the emotional power and potential which the Dorian mode brought to music in this period, and especially in relation to Psalm 51.

Finally, the singing of Psalm 51 may also have fit neatly with the Prayer Book service, particularly where it encouraged the congregation to confess their sins, perhaps especially during the communion service. During this service, the congregation were prompted: ‘First to examine your liues, and conuersation by the rule of Goddes commaundementes, and wher in soeuer ye shall perceyue your selues to haue offended eyther by wil, worde, or deede, there bewayle your owne synfull liues, confesse your selues to almighty God with ful purpose of amendement of life.’⁶² Further, the congregation were encouraged to ‘reconcyle youre selues unto [your neighbours] ...and likewise [be] ready to forgeue other that haue offended you’.⁶³ Only those ‘that do truly and earnestly repente you of your sinnes, and be in loue, and charite with your neighbors’, may ‘draw nere and take this holy Sacrament to your comforte, make your humble confession to almighty God, before this congregation here gathered together’.⁶⁴ In these statements we see how individuals are encouraged to repent for their own sins, yet they are also reminded that they form part of a congregation and have a responsibility to resolve disputes between one another. In so doing, the prayer book offers something which may also have been found in the singing of Psalm 51: an expression of sin and a call to repentance.

⁶¹ Marsh, ‘Fortune My Foe’, p. 315; William Slatyer, *Psalmes, or Songs of Sion* (RSTC 22635: London, 1631), subtitle. Marsh records the date as 1630, when the RSTC records 1631.

⁶² *The booke of common praier and administration of the sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies in the Churche of Englande* (RSTC 16291: London, 1559), fol. 96^v.

⁶³ RSTC 16291, fol. 97^r.

⁶⁴ RSTC 16291, fol. 98^r.

Yet while the prayer book offered this expression through the priest on behalf of the congregation, Psalm 51 may have been used as a means through which this repentance could be vocalised by the congregation themselves. Could it have been that Psalm 51 maintained its popularity because it offered congregations an opportunity to confess their sins and seek repentance through collective singing, alongside the expressions offered in the communion service? Of course, it should not be assumed that Psalm 51 would have been sung during the communion service, but perhaps at the end of the service as a final reminder of the need for repentance, though this time one in which the congregation have an active voice, rather than hearing the words encouraging repentance said by the priest or offering short responses such as ‘Lord have mercy upon us’. Alternatively, perhaps the communion service offered the principal expression of repentance, while Psalm 51 was sung during morning or evening prayer (as stipulated on the titlepage to the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*) as a reminder of the need to repent and of the repentance offered during the communion service. Regardless of when it was used, it was certainly maintained as a favourite of congregations, perhaps because it offered an unparalleled expression of repentance and a means through which the congregation could express this themselves, as opposed to through the priest or minister.

As a case study, therefore, Psalm 51 appears to offer an example of a Psalm and official tune that were maintained for a number of reasons. Perhaps most important was this Psalm’s long-standing role as the prime expression of lamentation for the sinner. No other Psalm text offered so raw and emotional an expression of the repentant sinner, a fact which maintained the Psalm’s use in worship. Psalm 51 provided the ‘voiceless’ individual with a means through which to convey their own

repentance, and to join with those in the congregation in an act of collective penitence, perhaps drawing on ‘sympathetic responses’ of repentance between one another.

At the same time, we see that the text and the tune of Psalm 51 fitted together, with the latter reflecting well the sentiments expressed by the text. This undoubtedly aided the inclusion of this Psalm in worship, which in turn allowed it to maintain a continuous place in the worship of English congregations. The melody was central in this, and the relationship between the melody and the Dorian mode explored here should not be ignored, especially since contemporaries themselves recognised the emotional potential within this mode. Of course, these reasons are not guaranteed, but it is hoped that the exploration offered here, drawing on the work of multiple disciplines, may provide hints as to why this Psalm maintained popularity in early modern England.

I.iv. Conclusion

This section has not conclusively answered why the official Psalms were so popular. What it has attempted is to offer possibilities in addressing the remarkable popularity of metrical psalmody, and approaching why it was so constantly popular throughout the early modern period. Of course, this popularity waxed and waned but as outlined above, we can argue conclusively that some of the official tunes survived while others did not. Evidence is textual, but the reasons for their survival is not, or at least no textual evidence has as yet been uncovered. It has been the argument of this section that in addressing this issue, other disciplines may offer the means through which some possibilities can be assessed, adopting the language, research and frameworks of these disciplines. At this stage, however, we should not pause for conclusions, which will come at the very end of the chapter. Instead, we should continue our exploration of

the popularity of metrical psalmody by exploring what was arguably the most dramatic and significant shift from the Elizabethan period onwards.

II The Development of the Tunes to Which the Psalms Were Sung: the 'Common' Tunes

In the latter decades of Elizabeth's reign, congregational singing of metrical psalms made a remarkable and important shift, singing a set of shorter, more pleasant melodies instead of many of the 'official' tunes discussed above. At some point after metrical psalmody became an institutionalised part of the worship of English congregations, a collection of tunes developed which were 'common' in their origin, rather than the product of composers or printers. Christopher Marsh has identified the top thirty psalm melodies, those used most widely between 1590 and 1700. As mentioned above, the list consists of 8 'official' tunes, but also included 22 of the most popular 'common tunes'.⁶⁵ Table 3 (at the end of the chapter) outlines the tunes included in Marsh's list, alongside those tunes which were included in the sources which will be discussed here. A more thorough musicological account of the common tunes will be offered in the following sub-section. For now, though, it is important to recognise the origins of these tunes, since it reveals how ordinary people and congregations drove this important shift in the music that was used to sing metrical psalmody.

Among various possibilities for origin, Nicholas Temperley has suggested that parish clerks choosing 'a tune in a metre that did not fit the words' would 'produce a "new" tune derived from the old.'⁶⁶ He further offers the possibility that the development of common tunes may have arisen through 'evolution [of the official

⁶⁵ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 413.

⁶⁶ *MEPC*, pp. 70-1.

tunes] in the course of oral transmission'.⁶⁷ Quitslund and Temperley meanwhile note that 'several seem to have come into existence by a process of reduction, or as subordinate voice parts to existing tunes.'⁶⁸ This possibility is echoed by Christopher Marsh, who has also provided significant evidence for the sharing of musical phrases between the official and common tunes, while also neatly summarising that many of the common tunes themselves 'touch at numerous points, and they grow into and out of one another.'⁶⁹ As he concludes: 'it is not possible to identify precise and unmistakable genealogies, but we can certainly speak in terms of family resemblances.'⁷⁰ Meanwhile, recent scholarship has traced the textual origins for some of the tunes, though it is not immediately clear whether these printed versions were the origins or whether they were simply the first time that the tunes were written down. Indeed, even if the tunes do originate in print first, before being used in congregational practice, it is still unclear how they were then disseminated, by whom, from where, and so on.⁷¹ Indeed, as Quitslund and Temperley contend: 'in most cases the origins of the common tunes are unknown. With two exceptions ['Windsor' and 'Oxford'], they have not been positively identified with courtly songs, ballads, or any other secular source.'⁷²

It is worth noting, finally, that the fact that some Psalms in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* were printed without a tune but instead with a cross-reference to one contained elsewhere in the book could prove tricky. It is not difficult to see how this could cause problems, and as Quitslund and Temperley neatly outline, 'if no tune was

⁶⁷ *MEPC*, p. 70. For a fuller account see, pp. 65-71.

⁶⁸ *Q&T*, vol. 2, p. 991.

⁶⁹ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 417.

⁷⁰ Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 417-18.

⁷¹ While they do not cover the issues discussed above (vitaly whether the textual sources provide the origins of the tunes or the first time they appeared in printed form), Quitslund and Temperley have provided a useful starting point on the origins of the common tunes. See *Q&T*, vol. 2, pp. 990-1008. Though his work will be returned to below, see also Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 412-418.

⁷² *Q&T*, vol. 2, p. 991.

printed, but only a cross-reference to another long tune, it was easier to sing a shorter simpler one by heart.⁷³ Thus the impetus for the singing of metrical psalms could be gleaned from the official tunes and from sources that remain, though their origins are more difficult to discern. Yet while the origins of the tunes remain mysterious in many respects, we can begin to gather an understanding of the origins of this remarkable body of music through a number of works which were published as a Musical Companion to the Psalms', between 1563 and 1633, and specifically to those psalms found in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*.⁷⁴ Each work was intended for domestic as opposed to congregational use, yet they still provide an insight into the history and development of the common tunes in the congregational setting.⁷⁵ In particular, these sources provide insights into the common origins of this body of music (which is to say that they do not appear to have been the work of composers, but rather local adaptations), as well as the speed with which they became an institutionalised part of the worship of English congregations.

William Daman's 1579 *The Psalmes of David in English Meter* offers the first known source to include the common tunes in written form, though the work was published without his permission by his friend John Bull who, Mateer claims, 'had used them in his private devotions.'⁷⁶ Though not named, Daman's collection included the tunes later known as Cambridge and London, and it also appears to be the origin of 'the germ' of the tune Low Dutch.⁷⁷ Six years later, John Cosyn's *Musicke of Six, and Five Partes. Made upon the Common Tunes Used in Singing of the Psalmes*,

⁷³ Q&T, vol.2, p. 991.

⁷⁴ The phrase is Quitslund and Temperley's and a full account of these musical companions, and others not considered here, can be found in Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 1011-21.

⁷⁵ The domestic role of these works is argued in Q&T, vol. 2, p. 1011.

⁷⁶ David Mateer, 'Daman [Damon], William (d. 1591), composer', *ODNB*, 23 Sep 2004; Accessed 19 May 2021 < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7085>>.

⁷⁷ The phrase is Quitslund and Temperley's, vol. 2, p. 1014.

included in its musical setting five common tunes (those that would come to be known as Cambridge, London, Low Dutch, Oxford, and Southwell), as well as the tune for the Old 100th (one of the popular and long-lasting ‘official tunes’ discussed above).⁷⁸ Cosyn’s collection appears principally concerned with providing the melodies and does not explain their origins or anything about them. The same can be said for Richard Allison’s 1599 *The Psalmes of David in Meter*, which used common tunes for nine psalm texts, using tunes which were later known by the names: Cambridge, Glassenburie, Kentish, London, Low Dutch, Oxford, Winchester, Windsor.⁷⁹ He also included a tune which would later be known as Salisbury, though the name appears after the tune itself had been altered somewhat.⁸⁰ One other work from the 1590s, however, does offer tangible evidence that the common tunes were used in congregational worship during this period, if not before.

In 1592, Thomas East published *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: With Their Wonted Tunes, as they are song in Churches, composed into foure parts*.⁸¹ East’s collection gathered together 180 texts, accompanied by 72 distinct settings in four parts, and the same number of distinct tunes.⁸² To make clear which part contained the tune (perhaps in case those singing from his work wanted to sing in unison), East marked the Tenor part with a manicule and a note explaining: ‘This mark is a direction for the church tune’.⁸³ Those texts in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* which had an official tune printed alongside the text were given the same tune in East’s collection, leaving 108 psalms and hymns which did not have tunes. Some of these were given the tune that was

⁷⁸ John Cosyn, *Musicke of Six, and Five Partes. Made upon the Common Tunes Used in Singing of the Psalmes* (RSTC 5828: London, 1585). For a more complete account of this work see Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 1015-16.

⁷⁹ Richard Allison, *The Psalmes of David in Meter...* (RSTC 2497: London, 1599).

⁸⁰ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 1020.

⁸¹ Thomas East, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: With Their Wonted Tunes, as they are song in Churches, composed into foure parts* (RSTC 2482: London, 1592).

⁸² Q&T, vol. 2, p. 1012.

⁸³ East, *Psalmes*, RSTC 2482, p. 1.

advised by the cross reference in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, but the majority (98) were accompanied by a common tune.⁸⁴ East's collection provides a possible window into the actual performance practice of congregational metrical psalmody. As stated on the title page, East declared that his collection included the tunes, 'as they are song in Churches'. The title page continues by explaining that 'the Church tunes are carefully corrected, and thereunto added other short tunes usually song in London, and other places of this Realme.'⁸⁵ The 'short tunes' that he is referring to here were undoubtedly the 'common tunes'. Though he does not specifically identify these tunes in 1592, the 1594 edition of his work added a note beside the four more prominent tunes in his collection, which stated that 'the Psalmes are song to these 4 tunes in most churches of this Realme'. While not named by East, these tunes would later be known as 'Cambridge', 'Low Dutch' and 'Oxford' (each in common metre), and 'London' (in short metre), and were among the most successful common tunes.⁸⁶ It seems unlikely that East's claim is entirely accurate, since it would exclude many psalm tunes which would maintain popularity (official and common) and, as Quitslund and Temperley recognise, it would omit all the psalm texts in French metres, and those not in common or short metre.⁸⁷ Yet this does not diminish the fact that the common tunes were, by this stage, so popular and in such wide use that East can pair 98 of the psalm texts in his book with common tunes, and the majority with these four tunes.

East also included four other common tunes, though paired with only one Psalm text each. These common tunes he named as 'Glassenbury', 'Kentish', 'Suffolk' (though later known as 'Windsor', among other names), and 'Cheshire'. Alongside these four common tunes, East used two others in his collection ('Cheshire' and

⁸⁴ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 1018.

⁸⁵ East, *Psalmes*, RSTC 2482, title page.

⁸⁶ Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 992, 994-5.

⁸⁷ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 1019.

‘Winchester’, though the latter was dropped in the 1594 edition), though they were not identified on this prefatory page.⁸⁸ While East offers no other elaboration on the tunes, the presence of all ten demonstrates the speed with which they originated and were diffused, even if the extent of this diffusion remains to be fully analysed. The common tunes maintained their popularity throughout the seventeenth century, as evidenced by three sources. The first, however, is also significant because it neatly demonstrates the relationship between texts and tunes, and the extent to which this relationship could give rise to the common tunes replacing the official tunes, a point which will be returned to below.

In 1603, Henry Dod published new metrical versions of some psalm texts. Crucially, however, Dod provided evidence of why the official tunes were being replaced by the common tunes. As Dod claimed, his collection was required because some Psalms in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* were ‘much out of vse onely because of the difficultie of their tunes’. What is most interesting, however, is that Dod’s versions, he explains, were provided in ‘English meter fitting the common tunes.’⁸⁹ Indeed, those Psalms which Dod claims have fallen out of use were all found in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* with irregular metres.⁹⁰ Dod’s intentions for his collection appear principally textual, as opposed to musical, in that he is worried that certain psalm texts have fallen out of use because of their accompanying tunes. In this, Dod reveals the

⁸⁸ For a possible reason why Winchester was dropped see Q&T, vol. 2, p. 995.

⁸⁹ Henry Dod, *Certaine Psalmes of David* (RSTC 2730: London, 1603), p. 3.

⁹⁰ The psalms with their metres are as follows:

Ps. 104: 10.10.11.11.D; Dod DCM

Ps. 111: 6.6.6. 6.6.6. 6.6.7. 6.6.7.; Dod CM

Ps. 120: 6.6.6.6.6.6 (2 tunes, both in the same metre); Dod DCM

Ps. 121: 8.6.6.8.7.7; Dod DCM

Ps. 122: 6.6.8.6.6.8.D; Dod DCM

Ps. 124: 10.10.10.10.10; Dod DCM

Ps. 125: 8.8.8.8.6.6; Dod DCM

Ps. 126: 12.12.12.12.10.10; Dod DCM

Ps. 130: 7.6.7.6.D; Dod DCM

This information is gathered from Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 729, 735, 743-4, 745, 746, 747, 748-9, 750, 754.

close relationship between texts and tunes, and in this instance, the possibility that a difficult or unappealing melody could stop the accompanying text from being used. Secondly, we see in Dod an indication of how pervasive the common tunes are, since he provides no indication as to which specific tunes should be used, suggesting that the tunes were in such wide use that he did not need to provide musical direction or accompaniment.

Almost two decades later, Thomas Ravenscroft's *Whole Book of Psalmes* provided the origins for three tunes that maintained considerable appeal: 'York', 'Martyrs' and 'St David's'.⁹¹ Ravenscroft's work appears to be the rare occasion where common tunes in their finalised form originated with a specific composer and then entered into common usage. This does not appear to have been a regular trend, and as we have seen did not occur as neatly in the sixteenth century, though Ravenscroft's demonstrates how tunes could move in this direction, and then maintain considerable hold in the future.⁹² Why the tunes caught on is unclear, though it is possible that, in the words of Christopher Marsh, the melodies 'earned themselves a place within the congregational repertoire... [as] a consequence of their unusual beauty.'⁹³ Following Ravenscroft, no work was published as a companion to the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* until the final source which deserves our attention.

Later in the century, and continuing into the eighteenth century, John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* provided a printed collection of those tunes which were in regular and popular use, through the work was a musical primer more

⁹¹ Thomas Ravenscroft, *The Whole Book of Psalmes: with the Hymns Evangelicall, and Songs Spirituall. Composed into 4. Parts...*, STC 2575, 2575.3 (London, 1621).

⁹² Quitslund and Temperley briefly discuss Ravenscroft's collection, but they do not include Marsh's work in their discussion. See Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 1020-1. See also pp. 602, 991-2, 994-96.

⁹³ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 415.

generally.⁹⁴ Beginning in 1658, Playford's *Introduction* included psalm tunes, some of which were 'common tunes' and some of which were official tunes, each accompanied by the first stanza of an accompanying psalm text from the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*. He introduced the tunes in his collection as follows: 'The Tunes of the Psalmes As they are commonly sung in Parish-Churches. With the Bass set under each Tune, By which they may be Play'd and Sung to the Organ, Virginals, Theorbo-Lute, or Bass-Viol.'⁹⁵ Playford's work was intended principally to provide parish clerks with a set of tunes which they could use, and an instructional guide on how to do so, yet Nicholas Temperley also contends that Playford's desire in this collection was to record tunes as they were actually sung at the time.⁹⁶ By this stage, however, the corpus of tunes appears to have largely stabilised, yet this should not detract from the fact that the common people drove the origins and inclusion of this remarkable body of music from the origins in the late sixteenth century.

Perhaps the most important impact of the common tunes, it seems, was that they facilitated the continuity of metrical psalmody at a time when it appears that congregations may have been struggling to find music that fitted their requirements, both aesthetic and practical (easily memorised as opposed to written or printed). Of course, how these tunes came into congregational use remains mysterious, but like the arrival of congregational singing of metrical psalms into England, it seems highly likely that it was congregations themselves who led the change. It is also worth recognising that those common tunes which have been mentioned here represent only

⁹⁴ For full account of Playford's *Introduction*, along with the other works on metrical psalmody which he printed, and the relationship between these two things, see Nicholas Temperley, 'John Playford and the Metrical Psalms', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Autumn, 1972), pp. 331-378.

⁹⁵ John Playford, *A brief introduction to the skill of musick for song and viol in two books...* (Wing P2448: London, 1658), p. 49.

⁹⁶ On Playford's intention of providing a guide for parish clerks see Playford, *Introduction* (Wing P2480: London, 1674), p. 71. For Temperley's argument see *MEPC*, p. 75. See also, Temperley, 'John Playford', p. 366.

those which survive for us to study, and it is entirely possible that other tunes were used which were not included in printed musical companions, or which do but have not been identified.⁹⁷ A small number of common tunes did make their way into the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, though this seems to have taken place predominantly at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁹⁸ The tunes, however, were largely confined either to local practice and memory, or to a limited number of publications. Yet these printed collections provide only a tangible form of something that appears to have been driven principally by the common people, whose desire to sing pleasant tunes led to a collection of music which Christopher Marsh has described as ‘a fascinating and immensely solid body of extraordinarily successful music.’⁹⁹ This section, however, has focused on historical empirical data to explore the development and continuous success of the common tunes. Yet it is the argument of this chapter that approaches from other disciplines can be added to this empirical data in order to understand more fully the origins of the common tunes and why they were so continuously popular. This is where we will now turn.

II.i. Why Do Tunes Survive?: The ‘Common’ Tunes

While the exact reasons for the popularity of these tunes is not explicitly clear, some suggestions can be offered by looking at the music. For a start, the melodies are shorter, being four lines in length, as opposed to the longer ‘official tunes’ which were generally eight lines in length. The common tunes are also, generally, simpler, less

⁹⁷ Ravenscroft, for example, records a substantial list of common tune names, though it is unclear how many of these are unique, and how many have been renamed by Ravenscroft. For Ravenscroft’s list see RSTC 2575.3 (1621), p. 1. On Ravenscroft’s recording of new tunes and renaming of some see Quitslund & Temperley, vol. 2, p. 1021.

⁹⁸ See Q&T, vol.2, p. 991. Quitslund and Temperley also explain why publishers were unwilling to print the common tunes: Q&T, vol.2, p. 991.

⁹⁹ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 413.

demanding on the singer and more pleasant. Each tune has a greater sense of movement, with four distinct phrases, and the middle two phrases generally containing the highest note. Eighteen of the melodies start and end on the tonic note, with melodic movement usually by step, even while intervals of thirds are common, while, in Marsh's words, 'the four phrases comprise a unified whole that makes good sense'.¹⁰⁰ These features should be considered in relation to the tonal hierarchy material discussed above, though it is perhaps not the most important reason for the success of the common tunes. Amongst these, Marsh ascribes the shortness of the common tunes, as opposed to the eight-line melodies of the official tunes, as a key reason why the common melodies are more pleasant and their sense of movement more immediately discernible.¹⁰¹ Further, the common tunes employ a smaller vocal range than the official tunes, and, as Marsh observes, 'a comparison of the two groups also suggests that the common tunes are somewhat more compact and comprehensible in structural terms.'¹⁰² As Marsh concludes, the common tunes are simply 'shorter, tighter, more memorable and easier to sing.'¹⁰³

One of the other features of the common tunes, and which allows us to understand their success and longevity, relates to the fact that they could be sung to any tune which fitted their metre. Significantly, the two principal metres employed by the common tunes were common metre (CM) and short metre (SM).¹⁰⁴ As Quitslund and Temperley have argued, 'these are the only two meters sufficiently frequent among the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* texts for common tunes to be useful'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 414.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 414.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 414.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 414.

¹⁰⁴ CM consists of 8686, while SM is structured 6686. See Table 3 for the metres of the tunes studied in this section.

¹⁰⁵ Q&T, vol. 2, p. 990.

Additionally, in a neat historical circle, the deploying of common metre versifications was known in the mid-sixteenth century as ‘Sternhold’s metre’, and while the form was not new, Quitslund explains that ‘the meter was neither especially common nor associated with psalmody before Sternhold popularized it.’¹⁰⁶ It seems fitting, though not more than a historical coincidence, that the same metre would be one of the principal metres employed in the common tunes, facilitating the continuous use and popularity of the psalms which had grown out of Sternhold’s original collection.

When heard together, one other feature of the common tunes which jumps out to the listener is the high degree of similarity between the tunes. Christopher Marsh has pointed our attention towards the extent to which many of the common tunes share phrases, citing nine instances in which phrases can be seen in a number of different common tunes. Additionally, he points out that several tunes work as descants or harmonisations to other tunes, and the tune ‘Hereford’ contains four distinct phrases which are either ‘lifted wholesale’ from ‘official’ psalm tunes, or can be traced to them.¹⁰⁷ Marsh’s work points us towards the possibility that one reason for the success and longevity of the common tunes was that, because they shared phrases, they were more memorable, and more easily remembered. It seems that familiarity did not breed contempt.

Indeed, returning to music psychology, researchers have shown the extent to which listeners are better able to remember melodies which were strongly tonal (as opposed to atonal), while melodic contour (the rising and falling in pitch of a melody) has a strong influence on musical memory, though this decreases as the melody

¹⁰⁶ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁷ Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 416-18. One other sharing of phrases, which Marsh does not point out, is the fact that the tunes ‘Low Dutch’ and ‘Cambridge’ share the opening phrase, but one different pitches (which is to say that the intervals are the same). See also Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 990-96.

lengthens.¹⁰⁸ Tied to this, researchers have shown the extent to which contour may provide the vital determinant in melodic memory. Bob Snyder, summarising the work of W.J. Dowling, explains how, ‘when familiar melodies are presented with their pitches randomly scrambled to different octaves, they are generally unrecognizable. However, if the contour (up and down pattern) of the melodic line is preserved, they are more frequently recognized.’¹⁰⁹ This should be combined with the fact that the regular repetition of the melodies, or of parts of them, must have offered a considerable aid to the memorisation of the common tunes. Indeed, memorisation of the common tunes, including where tunes shared phrases, or even entire sections, should be thought of as rote memorisation, albeit with different lyrics. As Daniel Levitin has argued, individuals employ rote memorisation when learning many new ‘sequences of sounds’, be they musical or linguistic. Levitin combines this, however, with the understanding of tonal hierarchies discussed above, arguing that ‘this rote memorization is greatly facilitated by a hierarchical organisation of the material,’ which in our case is the organisation of tones into a hierarchy.¹¹⁰ This hierarchical organisation, combined with the regular repetition of the tunes (though with different lyrics), aids the memory of these tunes, embedding them into the memory of individuals.

This should also be considered alongside the fact that the common tunes are composed of short melodic sequences which, as outlined above, were more pleasant and memorable, or, to use a modern phrase, ‘catchier’. Modern music psychology might refer to such short melodic snippets as ‘earworms’. As Williamson and

¹⁰⁸ Mark A Schmuckler, ‘Tonality and Contour in Melodic Processing’ in Susan Hallam, Ian Cross, and Michael Thaut (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 154-6.

¹⁰⁹ Snyder, ‘Memory for Music’, p. 171.

¹¹⁰ Daniel Levitin, *This is Your Brain on Music: Understanding a Human Obsession* (Croydon, 2008), pp. 219-20.

Jakubowski explain, earworms can appear in the mind involuntarily, and are usually repeated at least once, ‘on a loop, without conscious effort.’¹¹¹ Researchers have also shown the extent to which these snippets can and do embed themselves in people’s memory and can be activated decades after they have first been learnt.¹¹² Such an understanding of music does not, arguably, rely as heavily on modern listeners, as could be argued for some of the music psychology material, and it is not hard to see how repetition would be an effective tool for early modern people learning metrical psalmody, and the common tunes more specifically.

While music psychology may therefore provide some indication as to why the common tunes were so popular and why they caught on with such considerable speed, there is another possibility for why the common tunes were so popular, and indeed possibly even why they were created in the first place. Arguably, one of the most important reasons for their success can be glimpsed in their origins, namely the fact that the ‘common’ tunes appear to have originated from local initiative as opposed to official direction. In order to assess this fully we must return to the framework established at the beginning of this thesis.

II.ii. Soundsmithing

In chapter one of this thesis, I introduced the category of ‘soundsmithing’, and of ordinary men, women, and children as soundsmiths, who are intricately involved in the success of metrical psalmody, but also in when and how the practice might have

¹¹¹ Victoria Williamson and Kelly Jakubowski, ‘Earworms’, in William Forde Thompson (ed.), *Music in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: An Encyclopedia* (Los Angeles, 2014), p. 353. See also Kelly Jakubowski, Sebastian Finkel, Lauren Stewart, Daniel Müllensiefen, ‘Dissecting an Earworm: Melodic Features and Song Popularity Predict Involuntary Musical Imagery’, *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2017), pp. 122–135.

¹¹² Elizabeth Hellmuth Margulis, *The Psychology of Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 115-16.

been used, in shaping the melodies, and in teaching it to others. In this earlier discussion, I also briefly mentioned that the terminology of ‘soundsmithing’ allowed us to better understand the development and success of the common tunes, principally because it placed the otherwise ‘voiceless’ (those ordinary sixteenth-century individuals who lacked agency and left little or no trace but who nevertheless played a vital role in the history of the period) at the centre of our discussion.¹¹³ In attempting to fully address the popularity, and indeed origins of the common tunes I want to return to this category now, employing it to assess the development and success of the common tunes.

As has been outlined in this chapter, the texts and tunes of metrical psalmody were often joined based on the appropriateness of the relationship between these two elements, at least in theory if not in practice (though it seems highly likely that this theory reflected practice). This mode of thinking was outlined most clearly by Matthew Parker and in the seventeenth century by John Playford, who subdivided his list of ‘the most usual’ tunes into four categories.¹¹⁴ Playford also distinguished between ‘Psalms of Prayer and Confession, to solemn grave Flat Tunes’ and ‘Psalms of Thanksgiving and Praise, to lively cheerful Sharp Tunes’.¹¹⁵ Likewise Thomas Mace advised that ‘the Musician should observe to cast all such Psalms as are concerning Humiliation, Confession, Supplication, Lamentation or Sorrow, &c. into a flat, solemn, mournful Key; and on the contrary, all such as are concerning Rejoycing, Praising of God, giving Thanks or extolling his wondrous works or goodness, &c. into a sharp, sprightly, brisk Key’. His reason for this advice was that there is ‘a very great

¹¹³ This category was explored on pp. 32-40 of chapter one, while the utility of this category in relation to the common tunes is mentioned briefly on pp. 35-37. For a discussion of the ‘voiceless’ see pp. 20-23 above.

¹¹⁴ John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (Wing P2479: London, 1672), p. 74.

¹¹⁵ John Playford, *The Whole Book of Psalms* (Wing 2527: London, 1677), preface.

affinity, nearness, naturalness or sameness betwixt Language and Mufick, although not known to many.’¹¹⁶

Thus, we return to a problem which has not been addressed in this section: how to address the pairing of texts with the common tunes, and in so doing understand the impact of this relationship on those singing the Psalms. As outlined above, one of the defining features of the common tunes was the fact that they could be paired with any Psalm text that fitted their metre. This, however, does present us with one problem. When we attempt to analyse the tunes, we can continue to do so in isolation (as above for the official tunes), noting features of interest and significance. Yet the relationship between the texts and the tunes is much harder to discuss, since the tunes could be paired with such a large number of texts. The problem can be seen, for example, when we look at the list of Psalm texts which Thomas East suggests being sung with certain common tunes. For the tune ‘Oxford’, East recommends 31 Psalms and one additional hymn, for ‘Low Dutch’ he suggests 36 Psalms, for ‘Cambridge’ 33 and one hymn, for ‘London’ 4 Psalms, and finally one Psalm each for ‘Cheshire’, ‘Glassenburie’, ‘Kentish’ and ‘Suffolk’.¹¹⁷ Thus, if we are to follow East, as well as other publications which pair the tunes with multiple texts, it may seem in part impossible to analyse the relationship between the texts and tunes, and in so doing also gain an insight into the musical features of the tunes.¹¹⁸ In addressing this issue, however, the terminology of ‘soundsmithing’ and of those who engage in metrical psalmody – and the creation of the common tunes – as ‘soundsmiths’ allows us, first, to consider the otherwise ‘voiceless’ as more deeply involved in the creation, continuation and development of

¹¹⁶ Thomas Mace, *Musick’s Monument* (London, 1676), pp. 2-3. See also the pairing of texts and tunes in William Barton, *The Book of Psalms in Metre* (London, 1645), A1^v.

¹¹⁷ East, *Psalmes*, RSTC 2488 (1594), p. 1. Only the final four of these tunes are referred to in East by the names given here. The first four are here referred to by the names they would later be given.

¹¹⁸ East, of course, is not unique in offering a list of texts to accompany tunes, and the same is found in each of the musical companions discussed above.

the singing of metrical psalms throughout the early modern period. As ‘soundsmiths’ they (by which I mean a range of possible people from individuals at home, to parish clerks, to entire congregations or individuals within that congregation) provide the vehicle through which the tunes are created, learnt and passed on, but they also contribute to the pairing of texts and tunes.

Thus, second, while we cannot be certain which psalm texts were paired with which common tunes, we could see the lists offered in, for example, Playford or Mace as possible indications of congregational practice. Since the authors are offering musical settings of the common tunes, it would likely be futile to drastically alter these, creating a division between those who learnt or performed the tunes through these printed versions and those who knew and performed them from memory. It could also prove embarrassing for anyone who attempted to offer a musical accompaniment if the tune they played was different to that used by non-musically-literate singers, or if they paired the tune with a different text to those more commonly used. Each of these possibilities also stands when we recognise that these publications were aimed at domestic devotional practice, since it seems unlikely that a drastically different set of texts or tunes would be used in this setting as opposed to congregational worship.

We should, therefore, see these authors as providing textual evidence for congregational practice. Once we do so, an even more remarkable feature jumps out to us: that those who have been using the common tunes have been doing so with a close relationship between musical mode or mood, and the mood of the texts they are using, whether knowingly or unknowingly. For example, as Christopher Marsh has outlined, in Playford’s categorisation of Psalm tunes, ‘tunes in the more cheerful Ionian mode dominate the last of these categories (praise), while Dorian and Aeolian melodies feature more heavily in the first two (consolation and prayer or

confession).'¹¹⁹ And as we have seen above, Playford and Thomas Mace both offer additional musicological directions for pairing texts and tunes. If this is indeed a glimpse into regular practice then it demonstrates the close relationship between text and tune which could arise (at least quasi-) organically, but also the extent to which music mood or 'feel' was understood by contemporaries, even those without formal understanding of complex music theory.

To put this another way, we glimpse how early modern people were actively involved as soundsmiths, creating, shaping, directing and developing the common tunes. They understood the role of different modes, notes and note patterns in shaping their interaction with the music, and in how that music could be applied to and interact with the Psalm texts which they sang, pairing 'cheerful' Psalms with 'cheerful' tunes, and 'sad' tunes with 'sad' Psalms. As soundsmiths they were active participants in this process of creation, evolution and continuation, and in so doing they developed a body of music which was 'theirs', from the music itself, to the naming of the tunes, and to the pairing of texts and tunes. Certain individuals may have had a more considerable role than others (for example the parish clerk), but that did not diminish the 'common' origins of these tunes. This process connected the singer or congregation more deeply with the singing of metrical psalms, since they were now part of the process (if only as a homogenous group of 'common people' or otherwise 'voiceless' individuals, whether or not they identified themselves as such), through which the Psalms impact individuals or congregations, for example by choosing Psalms to fit settings or moods, by choosing melodies which they like or passing them on, and even through establishing regular practice (as in Playford).

¹¹⁹ Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 418-19.

The joining of particular tunes and texts could also develop additional levels of meaning in the texts themselves. Since certain tunes were known to be used for specific purposes, when applied to different texts, meaning of a similar sort could be found. Such a development requires considerably more evidence, though we may be unlikely to find it, yet similar levels of meaning, which developed and grew, were common in balladry also, where tunes added additional levels of meaning to newly composed texts, or when newly applied to old texts.¹²⁰ This by no means precludes a link between balladry and metrical psalmody, but we should recognise that the population of sixteenth-century England lived in a world of complex connections and interrelations.¹²¹ While balladry and metrical psalmody may have been kept apart, this was done by individuals who inhabited a world in which both musical forms were present, and as argued, it seems likely that the layers of meaning which were so vital to the success of ballads may have been carried over to metrical psalmody, where individuals associated tunes with certain sentiments and then applied these to the texts.

In a sense this leaves us with more questions than answers, but it should nevertheless allow us to see the possibilities that remain in this field, and the extent to which this field opens up when we apply the work of other disciplines in our empirical analysis. The benefit of other disciplines – in this case especially poetry and philosophy – is that it provides a terminology through which we can properly investigate and interact with this historical phenomenon. The creation and spreading

¹²⁰ Christopher Marsh, 'The sound of print in early modern England: the broadside ballad as song' in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 171-190. Also Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 277-81 and 288-327.

¹²¹ While Beth Quitslund – along with Ian Green – states that the preference was for shorter tunes 'more like those associated with ballads', Christopher Marsh has convincingly argued that the link to balladry is unlikely in Elizabethan England, in which 'English parishioners did not in general want their psalms to sound like their ballads.' (Quitslund, *RR*, p. 242; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 546-7; Marsh, *MSE*, p. 422.) Marsh placed the final nail in the coffin on any possible link between psalms and ballads by declaring: 'Psalms begin to sound like ballads only if they are played or sung at quadruple speed and with greater rhythmic precision. We can be fairly sure that, in a congregational setting, they hardly ever were.' (Marsh, *MSE*, p. 434)

of the common tunes is a particularly strong example, investigated more thoroughly through the ‘soundsmithing’ idea explored above. In the case of the common tunes, individuals take responsibility for the creation of tunes they find more appealing, possibly more appropriate, but most importantly which they want to sing. Especially when we consider the fact that the singing of metrical psalms was predominantly practiced by the ‘common people’, and was also not mandated in a ‘top down’ approach (to borrow from Christopher Haigh’s dual-axis framework), this is a process that develops not at a higher level, but through grass-roots initiative.¹²² The use of multiple disciplines allows us to recognise the vital role of ordinary people in shaping the Reformation, shaping the music that was sung weekly or even daily – in turn potentially shaping musical tastes – and the possible role of this process in embedding Protestantism into England, addressing some of the key ‘why’ questions we considered above. This approach, however, does not only apply to the specific examples of the official and common tunes, but can be used for considering more wide-ranging reasons. Indeed, these final options may provide the clearest insight into exactly why metrical psalmody was so popular.

III The Appeal of Metrical Psalmody: The Creation of Group Identity

As seen so far, a number of reasons can be offered for why metrical psalmody was so popular. So far this has been divided between the two categories of tunes which accompanied the Psalms: the ‘official’ and ‘common’ tunes. This, however, cannot be the whole story. Reasons for the popularity of metrical psalmody transcended this

¹²² Christopher Haigh, ‘The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation’, *The Historical Journal*, 25, 4 (1982), pp. 995-1007.

division. There remains, therefore, one final reason for the success and popularity of metrical psalmody.

It has largely been the argument of this thesis that one of the key reasons why metrical psalmody was so successful was that it provided a means of social bonding and an expression of collective emotion during a period (or rather periods) of dramatic change. As explored in chapter one, the musicologists Martin Clayton and Victor Zuckerkandl offer particularly useful terminologies and frameworks within which to explore this role of music, with both emphasising music's ability to explore or challenge the boundaries between 'self and other', or in Zuckerkandl's phrasing, music's ability to turn individuals from facing one another to face the same direction.¹²³ In facing the same direction, this otherwise 'voiceless' body acquired agency where they otherwise did not. As we have seen above, the Elizabethan establishment largely viewed them as 'hearers', who were intended to play their minor part in parish worship and nothing more, and who had little-to-no say in real world decisions.¹²⁴ Yet by expressing their collective desire to sing metrical psalms as part of the worship service, and their preferences for some melodies over others, they were able to shape their own religious experience and the religious policies of the country, as well as the speed by which Protestantism was established across England. They therefore played an integral role in the spread of the English Reformation and acquired agency (a 'voice') in this process in a way that historians have not always recognised.

We should also recall the discussion of emotions and 'sympathetic response' in chapter one and above in relation to Psalm 100. As discussed there, this psalm was one of two which was sung during the annual service to celebrate the accession of

¹²³ See pp. 41-46 above.

¹²⁴ See pp. 21, 70-1 and 158 above.

Elizabeth I, the other being Psalm 21. As well as this service, however, key moments in English history were characterized by the singing of metrical psalms. On these occasions, collective national pride or solidarity were the key expressions of the population. In 1586, after the failure of the Babington plot to kill Queen Elizabeth I, ‘the city of London made extraordinary rejoicings, by public bonfires, ringing of bells, feasting in the street singing of psalms, and such like’.¹²⁵ Two years later, on 19 November 1588, psalms were sung ‘For ioy, and a thanks giuing unto God’, for the defeat of the Spanish Armada.¹²⁶ The singing of metrical psalms which accompanied these moments was certainly an expression of praise and thanksgiving, but it was also part of a growing sense of nationhood, which characterized the reign of Elizabeth I. We need only turn to a selection of psalm texts themselves to see how they offered plenty of expressions of this, wherein the congregation could declare themselves to be ‘his anointed’, ‘his people’, ‘his chosen folk’, ‘his people’, and ‘his elect’, or they could even hear him declare them to be ‘My people...Israel, to thee I cry’.¹²⁷

In a slightly different context, though no less unifying, the singing of psalms in a group could also be used to express collective solidarity before entering battle. Stanford Reid has even referred to such psalms as ‘battle hymns of the Lord’ and shown how Calvinist armies, especially those in Continental Europe, used psalms as an expression of identity and unity.¹²⁸ And with a focus more on Britain, Alec Ryrie has shown how psalm-singing was ‘a regular part of the Parliamentary forces’ arsenal’ during the English Civil War, where, according to one chaplain, the psalms were sung with ‘joy and resolution’. As Ryrie neatly summarizes, ‘The words, as much

¹²⁵ John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Other Religion*, Vol. III, i, (1824), p. 607.

¹²⁶ John Stowe, *The Annales of England* (RSTC 23334: London, 1592), sig. Pppp.i.^r.

¹²⁷ Psalms 20v6, 29v11, 105v43, 50v7. All quotations taken from *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (RSTC 2438: London, 1567).

¹²⁸ W. Stanford Reid, ‘The Battle Hymns of the Lord: Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century’, in C.S. Meyer (ed.), *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, Vol. 2 (1971), 36-54, esp. p. 43.

as the experience of song, helped to forge men into an army.’¹²⁹ English sailors were also known to sing Psalms, during services but also, according to Christopher Marsh, to make the setting of the watch.¹³⁰ The singing of Psalms was also carried to the New World and received with a certain appreciation. It was reported that Francis Drake and his men responded to a native American sacrifice (made, it seems, because the native people believed Drake and his men to be gods), with ‘prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible’. Indeed, the record of the incident even claims that the people ‘tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to vs, their first request was commonly this, Gnadh, by which they intreated that we would sing.’¹³¹ Meanwhile, Psalm 12 (‘Helpe, Lord, for good and godly men do perish and decay’) was sung by the crew of the *Tobie* which ran aground off the Barbary Coast in 1593. The survivors recorded that before they, ‘had finished foure verses the waves of the sea had stopped the breathes of most of our men.’ As Marsh argues, the event reflects ‘the deep roots that the musical psalms had sunk into the hearts and souls of English people by this date.’¹³² One final fascinating example occurs remarkably early into Elizabeth’s reign.

In 1570, a Portuguese sailor, Miguel Ribeiro, was testifying before the Spanish Inquisition against the Englishman and master of the ship ‘Jesus of Lubeck’, Robert Barrett, about an incident that had taken place in Sierra Leone. Included in Ribeiro’s testimony was the following detail:

¹²⁹ Ryrie, ‘The Psalms and Confrontation’, p. 129.

¹³⁰ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 435.

¹³¹ Francis Drake, Francis Fletcher, and William Sandys Wright Vaux, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake: Being His Next Voyage to That to Nombre De Dios: Collated with an Unpublished Manuscript of Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Expedition*, Cambridge Library Collection, Hakluyt First Series (Cambridge, 1854), p. 124.

¹³² Marsh, *MSE*, p. 436.

Every day when I was there, Barrett and those who accompanied him brought out a rush basket filled with books which they put down upon the deck of the ship, and everyone took his copy, Barrett with the rest, and they sat down in two rows and began to sing, each one with the open book in his hand. Happening to take up one of these books, I saw some of the Psalms of David therein, and at the foot of the verses and interlined a musical notation. And so they would sing for half an hour or so, and when they finished they shut up the books, and the English pilot would shout something which I did not understand, and the others would respond just as when we respond “Amen”.¹³³

Ribeiro’s account was confirmed by Barrett, who, according to Paul Hair, stated that, ‘while travelling up the Mytombo River in boats, in order to trade with Portuguese vessels, he and his crews sang the Psalms “in the mornings and evening”.’¹³⁴ This description of when the Psalms were sung should also be considered in the light of the discussion in the previous chapter on the development of when metrical psalms may have been sung as part of the worship of English congregations, and indeed the example adds validity to the claim made there that they may have been sung as part of both morning and evening prayer.

We should also consider the importance of the creation and maintenance of group memory, alongside our discussion of collective emotion, as outlined by Bob Snyder in chapter one.¹³⁵ Returning to this discussion, one fascinating example encapsulates both the role of music in the creation and maintenance of group memory, but also the emotional potential which could be held in the tunes, even, perhaps especially, in separation from texts. The perambulation of the boundaries of the parish

¹³³ Paul E.H. Hair, ‘Protestants As Pirates, Slavers, and Protomissionaries: Sierra Leone 1568 and 1582’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (1970), p. 204.

¹³⁴ Hair, ‘Protestants as Pirates’, p. 204.

¹³⁵ See p. 51 above.

of Cuckfield in Sussex between 11 and 13 May 1629 included the singing of a number of psalms (almost certainly metrical, though of course not explicitly stated). Over the three days, the following Psalms were recorded as sung. On the first day, Psalms 24 and 50 were sung. The second day began with the first four verses of Psalm 65, then at the end of the day Psalm 65 was again sung (though it is not clear if it resumed from verse 5 or returned to the beginning). The final day began with psalm 85, and later in the day those participating, 'Where thanking God for his mercie and praising his holie name by singing the 67 Psalme'. The day finished as the group 'went singing lustily and with a good courage towards the Vicarage the remainder of the 85 Psalme beginning at the 7 verse,' though whether this means that the first singing of Psalm 85 stopped at the end of verse 6 is not stated.¹³⁶

This example shows us three things. First, that by the early seventeenth century, the singing of metrical psalms had become an institutionalised part, not only of the worship of English congregations, but of the rituals and practices which defined local identity. Second, and tied to this point, we see the sense in which the singing of metrical psalms now formed an important part of collective emotion, at an event which designates clearly one community from another. And finally, the example shows us that by this early period (if not indeed before), congregations and communities had developed preferences or reasons for singing particular Psalms. In our example the reasons are not all stated, though we see that on one occasion the Psalm is chosen so that the group can praise God and thank him for his mercy. What is not known is what tunes were used. Only one of the Psalms mentioned – Psalm 50 – has a tune in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, and indeed this Psalm is included in the table of the longest-

¹³⁶ M. H. Cooper, 'A Perambulation of Cuckfield, 1629', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 61 (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 46, 50, 51; cited in Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 203-4.

lasting ‘official’ tunes (Table 2).¹³⁷ One example from the beginning of the eighteenth century from the same parish presents us with the possibility already discussed that the tunes themselves (whether official or common) played a central part in occasions of collective expression or emotion, and indeed the tunes may have been more important than the texts in this.

In 1705, once again at the perambulation of the same parish, which took place between 15 and 17 May, Psalms were included in the rituals.¹³⁸ On this occasion, a number of Psalms were sung, but those which were named were Psalm 42, Psalm 100 and, on the final day, ‘the first half, or the three first staves of the 148th Psalm’, with the remainder sung ‘when we got to the lane that leads to Court garden and the Churchyard’. Most interesting for our purposes, the account describes the following scene: ‘We came to Pain's Place and were kindly refreshed by M^r Rob. Norden, still owner of it: after which we sung in the Hall Psalm 42 in Babylon tune because we were desired of him so to do, not for the fitness of the Psalm to the occasion, but for the sake of the tune.’

Two things stand out in this account. First, that the procession sings Psalm 42 because, it seems, Mr Norden requests it from them (‘because we were desired of him so to do’), and second, and perhaps more intriguing, that the Psalm was sung ‘for the sake of the tune.’ Thus far, a tune named ‘Babylon’ has not been identified for this date, and it is not clear if this is the tune which usually accompanied Psalm 42 in this parish’s worship, though the fact that it is mentioned here would suggest that it was not. It is not exactly clear why this detail (that the tune was sung on the request of Mr

¹³⁷ Psalm 50 actually has two tunes in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*. As can be seen in Table 2, Nicholas Temperley identifies the first tune as the longest-lasting.

¹³⁸ The following account is taken from J. H. Cooper, ‘The Vicars and Parish of Cuckfield’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 50 (Lewes, Eng., 1908), pp. 14-15. Cited in Wood, *Memory of the People*, p. 203-4. Wood seems to have incorrectly recorded the date as 1702 (see p. 203).

Norden) has been added. Perhaps there is something in this detail that would be known to locals only, such as that the tune is not the one usually used for some reason, perhaps even because it has negative associations. The mention of, and request for, the tune could also be tied to the fact that, according to Andy Wood, in the parish's perambulation of this year, the minister, 'paid particular attention to singing the psalms as had been used by his early Stuart predecessor.'¹³⁹ Perhaps, therefore, the tune 'Babylon' was used in previous perambulations, but may have fallen out of use.

What is seen in this example, however, is the extent to which a tune can maintain a life of its own separate from the text, for whatever reason (personal preferences, associations with other texts, and so on). We also see how the expression of a communal or collective emotion, or the maintenance of unity at such a time as this, was not necessarily reliant on the combination of text and tune. This was, of course, vital at times (as we have seen). But the example here, if we follow the details offered, shows that the group in question were able to maintain their parish identity during the perambulation through the singing of a Psalm, when the text was not the key object of concern. This should remind us of a point which has been threaded throughout this thesis: that the singing of metrical psalms should be considered as a musical rather than a purely textual phenomenon. Of course, as we have seen, the interaction between text and tune could be essential, but this example has also shown us the extent to which music maintains a life of its own, beyond, outside or alongside the texts which accompanies it in this instance. It should also point us towards the importance of this group singing together, for in this the communal identity and collective emotion is maintained, without relying necessarily on any words. The music, and the act of singing together, acts as a social glue, uniting individuals. Of

¹³⁹ Wood, *Memory of the People*, p. 203.

course, this was also the case any time a group gathered to sing metrical psalms, but this example from the early eighteenth century encapsulates this neatly.

IV Conclusion

The features of music explored here are various, and the theoretical literature on each is larger than can fully be explored. And while the ever-present fear of anachronism looms, we should nevertheless use the frameworks and theological implications outlined here, and in chapter one, as a possible way in which we can approach the issues at hand. Even if we were able to prove without doubt that sixteenth-century congregations did *not* conceive of sound or music in this way, it would not negate the fact that modern scholars have articulated an understanding of sound and music which seems to reach to the core of the issue we are exploring: namely, why did congregations in sixteenth-century England adopt the singing of metrical psalms so readily and then cling to them so tightly?

Of course, no one answer exists, nor should it. If this chapter has revealed anything it is that the addition of disciplines outside of history adds new layers of complexity and meaning to the picture, yet it is hoped that the addition of these disciplines here shows that a more thorough analysis does not muddy the waters, but rather opens up new possibilities for enquiry. As Martin Clayton asks, ‘what defines music and what makes it a valuable analytical category cross-culturally? What would we lose if we argued the concept away?’ His answer reminds us that reducing complex phenomena like music to single functions is at best unwise, and at worse completely wrong. He answers his questions thus: ‘Ultimately, the phenomenon of people using organized sound in order to connect with each other – in ways which cannot be regarded simply as forms of language or information transfer, or completely explained

in terms of verbal concepts – can be regarded as a single, generalizable idea, and a robust one no matter how ill-defined and porous its boundaries are.’¹⁴⁰

Yet while it is absolutely true that no single reason exists in answering why the singing of metrical psalms was so important, considering this chapter, and indeed this thesis, in their entirety should perhaps point us strongly in one direction, namely that the singing of metrical psalms united disparate people into one single community through periods of immense upheaval, and then through periods of relative peace. It united households and groups of individuals who used metrical psalms during Edward’s reign, it united those in exile and those facing persecution, it united people following Elizabeth’s accession (even if it also separated those who sang from those who opposed it), and it united them as her reign continued, and peace and relative stability at home increased. In all of this, however, we must not underestimate the significance that this was a practice which principally united people in singing together and in worshipping God. This worship could take different forms, directed in part by the words used, and it could change depending on developments within the world (praise and unity after the defeat of the Armada, for example). Yet it remained the worship of English Protestants, even if this involved worshipping a God who was theologically confused or confusing, or even not completely formed.

As in much of this chapter, Roger Scruton offers us particularly helpful synopses of what is taking place in religious performances, and it seems to act well as a summary of what might have drawn early modern English people so strongly to the singing of metrical psalms. As Scruton argues:

¹⁴⁰ Clayton, ‘Functions of Music’, p. 53.

The religious experience is not disinterested – at least, not in the manner of the aesthetic experience. We do not participate in religious rites merely so as to contemplate their meaning in a detached way that we would contemplate a play or a painting. We are genuine *participants*, who are engaged for the sake of our salvation and with a view to the truth. Nevertheless, there are interesting similarities with the aesthetic experience. Although the purpose of an act of worship lies beyond the moment – in the form of a promised salvation, a revelation, or a restoration of the soul’s natural harmony – it is not entirely separable from the experience. God is *defined* in the act of worship far more precisely than he is defined by any theology, and this is why the forms of the ceremony are so important. Changes in the liturgy take on a momentous significance for the believer, for they are changes in his experience of God.¹⁴¹

Of course, while Scruton’s neat statement has been adopted here for the singing of metrical psalms that is in no way to argue that this was the only practice which found such an outworking in early modern England. This same sentiment which Scruton describes, this draw towards the ineffable through (and heightened by) the experience of the collective, was seen in numerous other settings, and at various times throughout the twisting history of the English Reformation. It has not been the argument of this chapter, or this thesis, that metrical psalmody should be seen as ‘the only’ reason for the success of the English Reformation, or as the most successful development of this period. Instead, it should be seen as sitting within a vast array of means through which English men, women and children negotiated these periods of change.¹⁴² Most

¹⁴¹ Scruton, *Aesthetics*, p. 460.

¹⁴² Of course, a vast historiography exists which addresses the various means through which the English population negotiated the English Reformation. Still an indispensable work addressing this is Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England* (London, 1998). The most recent book to address this subject as a whole is Alec Ryrie’s *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013). Also very valuable (though of course by no means definitive) are: Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London, 1992, 2005); Judith

importantly, however, it connected English individuals with each other when their world was in constant flux, and brought them into direct contact with their maker, uniting them, through singing, in worship, lament, and praise.

Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998); Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011).

Psalm 100 tune (Old 100th)

(v.1) All peo - ple that on earth do dwell,
 (v.3) The Lord ye know is God in - deed,
 (v.4) O en - ter then his gates with praise,
 For why the Lord our God is good,

2
 sing to the Lord with cheer - ful voice
 with - out our adi he did us make;
 a - pproach with joy his courts un - to;
 his mer - cy is for e - ver sure;

3
 (v.2) Him serve with fear, his praisie forth tell;
 We are his folk, he doth us feed,
 Paise, laud, and bless his name al - ways,
 His truth at all times fir - m;ly stood

4
 come ye be - fore him and re - joice.
 and for his sheep he doth us take.
 for it is seem - ly so to do.
 and shall from age to age en - dure.

Figure 4.1

Psalm 51 Tune

(v.1) O Lord, con - si - der my dis - tress,
2 and now with speed some pi - ty take:
3 My sins de - face, my faults re - dress,
4 good Lord, for thy great mer - cies' sake.
5 (v.2) Wash me, O Lord, and make me clean
6 from this un - just and sin - ful act,
7 And pu - ri - fy yet once a - gain
8 my hei - nous crime and bloo - dy fact.

Figure 4.2

Table 3: Common Tunes Included in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* and Other Printed Works

Marsh ¹	Metre	HTI ²	Quitslund & Temperley ³	Daman ⁴	Cosyn ⁵	East ⁶	Ravenscroft ⁷	Playford (1674) ⁸
Cambridge	CM	249a,b	Cambridge	[Cambridge] ⁹	[Cambridge] ₁₀	[Cambridge] ¹¹	Cambridge	Cambridge
Cheshire	CM	273a	Cheshire			Cheshire	Cheshire	
Glastonbury	CM	274a	Glastonbury			Glassenburie	Glaserbury	
Kentish	CM	275a	Kentish			Kentish	Rochester	

¹ Marsh, *MSE*, p. 413.

² Taken from the *Hymn Tune Index* <<https://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/default.asp>>

³ Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 993-1008. Note, however, that Quitslund and Temperley's list is made up only of the 10 Elizabethan common tunes that were eventually included in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*. Q&T, vol. 2, p. 992.

⁴ William Daman, *The Psalmes of David in English Meter, with Notes of Foure Parties Set unto them* (RSTC 6219: London, 1579). As Quitslund and Temperley have pointed out, five tunes included in Daman do not appear elsewhere, so are not included in this list since they evidently did not gain the level of popularity of the common tunes listed here. Q&T, vol. 2, p. 1014.

⁵ John Cosyn, *Musicke of Six, and Five Parties. Made upon the Common Tunes Used in Singing of the Psalmes* (RSTC 5828: London, 1585).

⁶ Thomas East, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: With Their Wonted Tunes, as they are song in Churches, composed into foure parts* (RSTC 2482: London, 1592). Reprints: RSTC 2488 (1594); RSTC 2515 (1604); and RSTC 2538.5 (1611).

⁷ Thomas Ravenscroft, *The Whole Book of Psalmes: with the Hymns Evangelicall, and Songs Spirituall. Composed into 4. Parts* (RSTC 2575, 2575.3: London, 1621). Reprinted RSTC 2648 (London, 1633).

⁸ John Playford, *A brief introduction to the skill of musick for song and viol in two books* (Wing P2480: London, 1674).

⁹ Unnamed.

¹⁰ Unnamed.

¹¹ Unnamed.

Marsh	Metre	HTI	Quitslund & Temperley	Daman	Cosyn	East	Ravenscroft	Playford (1674)
London ¹²	SM	269a,b,c	London	[London] ¹³	London	London	London	Cambridge short/Southwell ¹⁴
Low Dutch	CM	250b	Low Dutch	[Low Dutch] ¹⁵	Low Dutch	Low Dutch	Low Dutch	Canterbury ¹⁶
Oxford	CM	201a	Oxford	[Oxford] ¹⁷	Oxford	Oxford	Oxford	Oxford (Psalm 4)
Southwell ¹⁸	SM	251	Southwell	[Southwell] ¹⁹	[Southwell] ²⁰		Southwell	
Winchester	CM	276a,e	Winchester			[Winchester] ²¹	Winchester	Winchester
Windsor/Suffolk	CM	271a	Windsor	[Windsor] ²²		Suffolk ²³	Windsor/Eaton	Windsor

¹² In the original table in Marsh (*MSE*, p. 413), he names this tune as ‘London/Lichfield’, though in this he appears to have made a mistake. Litchfield is a different tune which newly appeared in the 1671 edition of Playford’s *Introduction*. See Q&T, vol. 2, p. 651.

¹³ Unnamed.

¹⁴ Playford used both of these names to refer to the tune ‘London’ For example, in 1672 Playford refers to the tune as ‘Southwell’ (Wing P2479, p.78), while in 1674 he calls it ‘Cambridge short tune’ (Wing P2480, p. 77). The same tune also appears in 1658 as ‘Second Metre’ (Wing P2448, p. 53). See also Q&T, vol. 2, pp. 994-5. Marsh may be mistaken in this identification of these tunes, where he appears to have understood them as separate to ‘London’ (*MSE*, p. 413).

¹⁵ As mentioned above, this was ‘the germ’ of the tune Low Dutch. See p. 225 above.

¹⁶ As Quitslund and Temperley record, by the time that Playford published the tune ‘Low Dutch’ in 1658, ‘the second half (lines 3-4) had changed to a form that may well have originated as a partial descant, and he called this version ‘Canterbury’. This latter version would eventually replace ‘Low Dutch’, though the two survived together for some time. See Q&T, vol. 2, p. 994.

¹⁷ Unnamed.

¹⁸ As in n.12 above, Marsh appears to mistake Playford’s naming of London as both Cambridge Short and Southwell for the tune Southwell. I have, therefore, added Southwell in a separate row here to distinguish the differences.

¹⁹ Unnamed

²⁰ Unnamed. While not included in 1579, it was included in the 1591 edition of Daman’s collection.

²¹ This tune is not named by East and is only included for Psalm 84.

²² Unnamed and added in 1591.

²³ The tune is unnamed in 1592 and paired with 116, but it is named in 1594 as Suffolk.

CONCLUSION

I have argued three things throughout this thesis. First, that a new methodological framework is required which allows historians to utilise music as a historical source. For this, disciplines other than history offer useful categories and discussions, and these can be used to better understand the sources which are available to historians. Second, that the collective or congregational singing of metrical psalms was both more prominent and widespread, and less controversial throughout sixteenth-century England than has been fully appreciated by historians. And finally, I have argued that at the heart of metrical psalmody's popularity and success lay ordinary men, women and children, those I have termed the otherwise 'voiceless'. It is worth refreshing the arguments and evidence for each of these.

First, in chapter one I offered a set of methodological frameworks through which music can be assessed and analysed as a historical source. This is one of the principal contributions of this thesis not only to studies of the English Reformation, but to a broader range of historiographical study. Drawing principally on musicology, philosophy, poetry, and theology, this chapter outlined an approach which allowed historians to study the singing of metrical psalms – a practice which, by its very nature, exists only for as long as it is performed – in the same way that we approach other sources which survive in physical form. In this chapter, I outlined three categories which historians can use to better analyse music as a historical source. It is worth recalling each one, to restate their significance and to demonstrate that their utility lies not only in this thesis, but in the work of historians studying other periods.

Drawing on a poem by Seamus Heaney, I first introduced the terminology of 'soundsmithing' and of individuals as 'soundsmiths', arguing that using this concept allows us to better understand the intimate and essential connection between ordinary

men, women and children, and the success and development of metrical psalms. These individuals were central to establishing the practice in parishes across England, teaching the tunes and texts to one another, and then to the next generation, establishing through popular consent the place of congregational singing in the service, the most popular texts and tunes, and variables such as speed or volume. Drawing on the framework from chapter one, the final chapter outlines the clearest evidence for the influence of these otherwise ‘voiceless’ (these ‘soundsmiths’) on metrical psalmody in the success and development of the so-called ‘common tunes’ in the later sixteenth century. Evidence can also be found in the naming of tunes, in the various ways that the tunes (official and common) evolved and changed in their printed forms, and in reports of congregational and collective singing of metrical psalms spreading from London to other parts of the country. Naturally, any initiative in parish worship, such as the inclusion of congregational singing of metrical psalms, would have relied on the support of those in authority locally, principally the priest or parish clerk. Indeed, as chapter one argued, these individuals also acted as ‘soundsmiths’, first, by allowing the innovation of congregational singing to take place, but also by choosing the tune, setting the pace and, later, lining out (roles assigned to the parish clerk). Nevertheless, without the support and enthusiasm of the otherwise ‘voiceless’ (and relying on them knowing the tunes and texts), any hope of incorporating the practice into parish worship would have quickly fallen flat (as discussed in chapter four in relation to Henry Machyn’s reports of congregational singing). Adopting the framework in chapter one and analysing these various changes to the music of metrical psalmody we can trace more clearly the influence of these otherwise ‘voiceless’ individuals and congregations as ‘soundsmiths’ who shaped metrical psalmody, and thereby the wider English Reformation.

The second category introduced in chapter one was music's ability to create group identity. Several musicologists offer a helpful scholarly framework within which this can be analysed. Roger Scruton offers the useful terminology of music creating a 'sympathetic response' between individuals, alongside Victor Zuckerkandl's notion of music's ability to break down barriers between self and other, or, as he argues, 'the I-not-he and I-not-it become the I-and-he and the I-and-it.'¹ Yet as Martin Clayton argued, music 'simultaneously perform[s] several distinct yet inter-related functions', generated by the intensity of the musical experience.² This can be related directly to Christian worship, as outlined by Jeremy Begbie, who argues that music in worship acts as a 'uniting activity', yet which is never heard on its own, but as part of a 'manifold environment' which thus provides a 'fund of material for us to be emotional "about."' ³ This musicological scholarship was combined with the work of Barbara Rosenwein and Alec Ryrie who have established the importance of emotions as a useful source for understanding various periods. Alongside this, Benedict Anderson's understanding of the nation as an 'imagined community' was introduced as helpful in understanding how contemporaries conceptualised the role of singing metrical psalms in binding themselves together. All of this methodological work provides a firmer foundation for the observation made by historians Christopher Marsh and Jonathan Willis that music during the Reformation era, and particularly the congregational singing of metrical psalms, had the power to generate a strong collective identity.

¹ Victor Zuckerkandl, *Man the Musician* (Princeton, NJ., 1973), p. 30.

² Martin Clayton, 'The Social and Personal Functions of Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective' in Susan Hallam, Ian Cross, and Michael Thaut (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Psychology* (Oxford, 2018), p. 55.

³ Jeremy S. Begbie, 'Faithful Feelings: Music and Emotion in Worship' in Jeremy Begbie and Steven Guthrie (eds), *Resonant Witness: Conversations Between Music and Theology* (Grand Rapids, 2011), p. 337. See also Jeremy Begbie, 'Room of One's Own? Music, Space and Freedom' in Jeremy Begbie, *Music, Modernity and God: Essays in Listening* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 168, 339.

With this framework established, historians can now understand that a wealth of material exists outlining music's ability to generate collective, group identity. Understanding music's ability to do so is vital if we are to recognise fully how ordinary people (the otherwise 'voiceless') negotiated the various religious, political and social upheavals of the English Reformation. More than this, though, understanding music's ability to unite people allows us to understand how the English Reformation was established amongst the population. As has been outlined repeatedly, metrical psalmody spread because ordinary men, women and children wanted to sing, and wanted to sing these texts and tunes. In part this was because it provided them with a 'voice' where previously they were 'voiceless', but it also united them during periods of upheaval and celebration. The Elizabethan government, it seems, did not put an end to it perhaps because this was one of their own key ambitions: to spread Protestantism throughout the country (creating a national religion) and to unite the population under this new religious identity. The singing of metrical psalms congregationally or collectively allowed this to happen, in part because it generated a group identity through a set of texts and tunes which everyone sang together, and which became a shared corpus, passed on from person to person, congregation to congregation (as discussed above in relation to the category of 'soundsmithing'). The texts and tunes, especially those which became the most popular and enduring, often expressed theological tenets which were acceptable – or not unacceptable – to the regime, and over time the Elizabethan government even seized on the popularity of metrical psalmody, including the singing of Psalms 21 and 100 in the annual Accession Day service. The ability of music to generate a shared collective identity may, therefore, have been one of the key reasons for the success of metrical psalmody, but more crucially why the English Reformation took root amongst the otherwise 'voiceless'.

The utility of this framework, however, lies in its ability to allow us to better understand the sources that survive, opening up fresh avenues of enquiry based on these sources. It has been one of the arguments of this thesis, through using this framework, that this is indeed possible. The singing of metrical psalms generated a collective identity throughout the sixteenth century, with some examples offered throughout the thesis. It was used, for example: during times of persecution to unite disparate people together, even at the point of death, as seen in martyrdom accounts from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*; it united English exiles together in continental Europe; after Elizabeth's accession it was used to express national pride and solidarity, such as in the Accession Day service, after the failure of the Babington Plot, and the defeat of Spanish Armada; it was used to unite people before or after sermons at Paul's Cross; it was used by English sailors travelling overseas; it became an expression of group identity for parishes and communities, as seen in the perambulation of the boundary of the parish of Cuckfield in Sussex; and later, in the seventeenth century, it was used to unite opposing armies during the English Civil War. As these examples demonstrate, we can see not only that the singing of metrical psalms acted as a means through which the otherwise 'voiceless' negotiated the religious changes of the English Reformation, but that they continued to use it as a means of establishing and reinforcing a collective identity.

Sometimes this was a national identity, while on other occasions it was more local, even congregational. In relation to the former, this need not mean that a collective identity was expressed simultaneously by the whole nation. For example, sailors abroad sang Psalms, perhaps remembering while singing the congregations or domestic settings in which the texts and tunes were learnt, connecting them with their

own ‘imagined communities’ back home.⁴ The English, meanwhile, were connected by singing during times of national celebration, such as the defeat of the Babington Plot or Spanish Armada. A connection could also potentially be made by the simple fact that, as you sang a Psalm or tune you are reminded (perhaps even by the name of the ‘common tune’) that somewhere in the same country, another congregation may also be singing this Psalm and tune, or has done so at some point. Thus, an ‘imagined community’ could be created, of a nation singing from the same collection of texts and tunes, united through this. At the same time, this collective identity could be more local, even congregational. The example from the final chapter of psalm-singing during the perambulation of the parish of Cuckfield provides a good example of this. Another could be provided by the account in chapter four of the group from London singing psalms in Exeter cathedral. It may have been that they saw it as their right to sing psalms in the cathedral, but in doing so expressed their local, perhaps congregational identity where such Psalms were a more common element in their worship, thus expressing their ‘imagined’ connection to a very real community. This thesis has shown that the collective singing of metrical psalms fulfilled these dual functions: it enabled individuals to imagine themselves as part of a larger ‘imagined community’, sometimes local, sometimes national, while being grounded in their immediate community through the act of singing together.

The third category introduced in chapter one was the possibility that music offered – and continues to offer – a representation of the transcendent. Naturally, if this is true, it is a particularly powerful reason for music’s enduring use during worship, and may represent one of the reasons why congregational metrical psalmody was so popular in sixteenth-century England. To understand this concept, we should

⁴ On Benedict Anderson’s terminology of ‘imagined communities’ see above pp. 52-54.

reduce music to its most essential nature and build up from there. Reducing music to sound and tones allows us to see that music is unique in its ability to fill the entirety of our aural field, yet at the same time we are able to identify individual tones simultaneously without one driving another away. The musicologist Victor Zuckerkandl's category of 'interpenetration' is particularly helpful here. Zuckerkandl's work is clarified further through Roger Scruton's conceptualisation of sounds as 'secondary objects' and 'pure events', and who believes that once we recognise music's nature and its 'sympathetic movement' we may gain an insight into why music 'gives us the impression that we have been put in touch...with the transcendental.'⁵ Finally, Jeremy Begbie suggests that music's ability to create a space which is seemingly 'edgeless' may provide, once again, a reason why it is so central to Christian worship, providing a representation of the transcendent, creator God. Indeed, it was argued that we should not dismiss these ideas as purely the work of modern scholars, and which have no precedent in sixteenth-century England. As Daniel Chua has shown, those living in early modern Europe believed that music had a direct bearing on and effect upon the universe and everything within it. This is reinforced by the work of Jonathan Willis, who has also shown that, in England, contemporary discourse on music was not solely the preserve of intellectuals but filtered down to how everyday people viewed music. Willis's work also gives us an insight into how sixteenth-century English people may have recognised music's ability to be both immanent and transcendent, in much the same way as is articulated by modern scholars, demonstrating that historians can, carefully, use both to gain a better, fuller understanding of how contemporaries understood music specifically, and

⁵ Roger Scruton, 'Music and the Transcendental', in Férdia J. Stone-Davis (ed.), *Music and Transcendence* (London, 2020), p. 83.

their world more broadly. This final approach (of music providing a representation of the transcendent) will require additional research to complete the picture, but by laying the groundwork I hope to have provided historians with a useful framework within which they can understand music as a historical source, and principally its potent ability to provide congregations with a representation of the transcendent during their worship.

This is the most evidentially problematic of the three categories proposed, but it is nevertheless important for understanding why congregations adopted the singing of metrical psalms. As discussed in chapter one, modern scholarship, especially musicology, theology and philosophy, has outlined a strong evidential base for music in worship providing a means of communicating with the transcendent. Scholars have suggested that this has been the case for centuries, if not millennia, and that it has been a feature of every society so far known or studied, up to and including the present day. Drawing on this framework, and adding the historiographical work of Jonathan Willis and Daniel Chua, we can see that contemporaries did accept a relationship between music and the transcendent, and that they understood the possibility of the presence of God in worship, as well as in the world beyond the parish church. Once this has been established, we should suggest that one of the reasons for the success of congregational metrical psalmody was that it brought the worshipper into a relationship with God. Naturally, a larger evidential basis for this argument is needed to flesh out the argument. Yet I have included the outlines of this argument because it may reveal a crucial reason why congregations adopted the singing of metrical psalms so quickly and clung onto it so tightly.

Establishing the framework in chapter one, based on these three categories, and carrying it throughout the remainder of the thesis, I have demonstrated how

historians can approach music as a valuable, usable historical source. Music as it was heard, performed and experienced lies at the heart of this issue, since music as a score tells us little about how contemporaries would have experienced this notation as sound. This framework is not useful only for sixteenth-century England, but can be used as the groundwork for future historians to consider music as a valuable part of the periods they study. Once historians do take music seriously, and are able to use it as they do more traditional sources, we may find that the music which ordinary men, women and children engaged with and encountered played a central role in how they negotiated and interacted with their world, especially during periods of change. We may also find, as has been argued in this thesis, that music provided them with a means of expressing a collective identity, and that in the realm of music these otherwise ‘voiceless’ individuals were able to exert more influence than we have realised, shaping each period in ways yet unrecognised. The framework offered throughout this thesis offers historians an example of how this can be done, and how they can draw on disciplines other than their own to gain a fuller understanding of the periods they study.

The second argument which has run throughout this thesis is that metrical psalmody was more prominent and widespread in sixteenth-century England than has previously been realised. This is true throughout the Tudor period but especially in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. Crucially, the singing of metrical psalms was also a less controversial practice than has sometimes been assumed, especially during the Edwardine and early-Elizabethan periods. Taking at face value the label of ‘Geneva jigs’ and later complaints from elites about metrical psalmody, historians may have overlooked the popularity and success of metrical psalmody during Edward VI’s reign. Christopher Marsh, Jonathan Willis, and Ian Green, among others, have all

effectively outlined later complaints about metrical psalmody, but none have turned their focus to the Edwardine period, in spite of the fact that the basis of the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* lies in that period, in the form of Sternhold's *Al Suche Psalmes*.⁶ Beth Quitslund, meanwhile, has recognised the fact that discussion on the reception of Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical psalms in Elizabethan England has been 'coloured' by 'later seventeenth-century criticism of the metrical psalms...as puritan, vulgar, and poetically crude'.⁷ Quitslund effectively outlines the 'puritan' or 'Reformed' elements within the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* which may have affected discussions of metrical psalmody in the Elizabethan period, yet she misses the possibility that these very criticisms and discussions may also have 'coloured' historians' understanding of Edwardine metrical psalmody.⁸ Indeed, as Alec Ryrie has pointed out, contemporaries themselves maintained a view of congregational metrical psalmody as 'associated with Geneva', a view which continued, he argues 'in many English eyes for generations.'⁹

The bibliographical material outlined in chapter two, therefore, reveals that, far from 'puritan', the practice appears to have been viewed as amongst the least controversial innovations which took place during the reign of Edward VI, or which were sponsored by the Edwardine government. Those copies of Sternhold and Hopkins's metrical psalms which survive from this period reveal that contemporaries bound and used these texts as part of a wider domestic religiosity. The third chapter continued with the argument that the practice was more widespread in Marian England

⁶ Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 445-450; Willis's discussion is on church music more broadly, not restricted solely to metrical psalmody: Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, 2010), ch. 2; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 503-506.

⁷ Quitslund, *RR*, p. 239.

⁸ Quitslund, *RR*, ch. 6.

⁹ Alec Ryrie, 'The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010), p 124.

than previously realised, particularly amongst persecuted Protestants who used the singing of metrical psalms to ease their suffering, to bind themselves together, and to attack their persecutors. That chapter also suggested that the Stranger Churches' inclusion of the congregational singing of metrical psalms may have provided a precedent and example which English congregations followed, though the Marian exile was undoubtedly the most important period for English congregations adopting the practice into their own worship. As outlined in chapter two, it also seems possible that metrical psalmody developed a slightly controversial edge during Mary's reign when persecuted Protestants used it as a means of attacking their persecutors, as well as binding themselves together. This use of metrical psalmody, along with later Elizabethan complaints about the practice, may have provided the groundwork of historians believing that the practice was more controversial during the sixteenth century than was actually the case.

With the death of Mary I, the future of metrical psalmody in England was again uncertain, though Henry Machyn's diary reveals that some congregations adopted the congregational singing of metrical psalms very soon after the accession of Elizabeth I. Regardless of how widespread it was in the first year of her reign, those who hoped for metrical psalmody's adoption into English congregational worship found that the queen and her government offered tacit support for the practice in the forty-ninth Injunction. With this statement, the way lay open for the inclusion of congregational metrical psalmody as a central element in the worship of English congregations, though of course it was not enforced. Further, many historians have relied on a letter from Bishop John Jewel to Peter Martyr to study the congregational singing of metrical psalms in the early Elizabethan period. Few of these accounts, however, have taken more than a few sentences of this letter, and none have studied Jewel's claims

thoroughly. When Jewel's letter is analysed, we find that the congregational singing of metrical psalms may indeed have been spreading more rapidly than historians have previously realised (for example a group from London singing metrical psalms in Exeter cathedral), and that it was readily adopted both by congregations in their worship and at large public gatherings. When Jewel's letter and the Elizabethan Injunctions are examined and compared with the work of other historians, a picture emerges of one congregation after another, across the country, quickly adopting the singing of metrical psalms, and soon making it a central element in their worship. This would not have been possible, however, had metrical psalmody not had a longer history in the country, having first established itself in Edward VI's reign, and travelled through and been adapted during the tumultuous reign of Mary. This longer, slow-burning history was crucial in the success of metrical psalmody throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century, until the arrival of hymnody in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries provided the first considerable challenge to the practice.

Finally, in this thesis I have argued that ordinary men, women and children played a central role in establishing, spreading and then developing the singing of metrical psalms throughout the sixteenth century. In turn, this meant that the practice itself provided a fundamental means through which they negotiated the changes brought by the English Reformation. These individuals were considered by the Tudor regime to be 'hearers' who were to participate in services at the required moments, but who otherwise exerted no influence over the worship service. These otherwise 'voiceless' individuals had little cultural, social or political capital, and as such were left out of decisions on the shape and direction of religious changes to their parishes, communities and country. Lacking this agency, they thus left little-to-no clear traces of their influence or perspectives in the sources. Nevertheless, they played a

fundamental role in shaping congregational singing of metrical psalms and used it to negotiate the various religious transformations that shook sixteenth-century England. In particular, by undertaking congregational singing of metrical psalms with such enthusiasm, and then by shaping it to their needs, these otherwise ‘voiceless’ influenced how quickly the English Reformation embedded itself into their lives and communities, they emphasised the centrality of English parish worship to the reformation, how the reformation moved from place to place, and how, in time, people came to think of these religious practices and doctrines as having a place in their private lives as well as in parish worship.

In this thesis the importance of these otherwise ‘voiceless’ can be viewed once we apply the framework outlined in chapter one (and summarised above) to the sources that are available to us. Once historians are provided with a framework that allows us to utilise music as a historical source, we find evidence for the influence of these otherwise ‘voiceless’ individuals as ‘soundsmiths’ who shape metrical psalmody and thus use it to negotiate the various religious, political, and social changes that surrounded them. Some evidence is found in places previously studied but now analysed more thoroughly: the popularity of metrical psalmody during the Edwardine period, relying at least in part on the support of the otherwise ‘voiceless’ by purchasing then using metrical psalms; the arrival of congregational metrical psalmody into exile congregations; the accounts of Henry Machyn, which point to the importance of ordinary men, women and children in enabling the singing of metrical psalms to take place during early-Elizabethan funerals; Bishop John Jewel’s letter to Peter Martyr, revealing their centrality to metrical psalmody’s success in London (especially Paul’s Cross) and further afield (the example from Exeter).

Other evidence is opened for the first time. Drawing on the methodological framework from chapter one, along with additional scholarship, especially musicology, I have provided a different analysis of the music to which metrical psalms were sung, studying Psalms 51 and 100 closely. Other scholars have provided musicological and historical analysis of metrical psalms and their melodies, but not in the multifaceted means offered in this thesis. Through this alternative analysis, we can see how the otherwise ‘voiceless’ acted as ‘soundsmiths’ by shaping and limiting the number of ‘official’ tunes which they used, for various reasons. We also see that they acted as soundsmiths by facilitating the arrival, spread and popularity of the common tunes, and by selecting which of these survived throughout the remainder of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century. Had these otherwise ‘voiceless’ men, women and children not exerted their influence in these ways, it is questionable whether metrical psalmody would have survived until the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when the arrival of hymnody offered the first major challenge to the practice. By this point, congregational singing was now so central to English worship that only a different form of the practice could challenge metrical psalmody. Even criticisms from religious and social elites, and from the musically literate was unable to remove metrical psalmody from its place in English worship.¹⁰ Yet the immovability of the practice came from the same source as did the origins of the practice in the sixteenth century: the support and enthusiasm of the otherwise ‘voiceless’ majority.

With this evidence presented, it is possible that the singing of metrical psalms may have been the most widespread grass-roots religious innovation in sixteenth-century England. As the Elizabethan period continued, it was embraced by increasing

¹⁰ On criticism of metrical psalmody see Marsh, *MSE*, pp. 432, 445-446.

numbers of people and congregations across the country. Naturally, by 1603 metrical psalmody was not the same as it had been when Thomas Sternhold published his first collection in 1547/8. These changes, however, did not take place through random acts, nor were they directed by the authorities in any rigid sense. Instead, this thesis has shown that the otherwise ‘voiceless’ were central to the changes that metrical psalmody went through, shaping it to their needs, yet through a process of negotiation with the Tudor authorities. Through this process we may glimpse the reasons why Protestantism did embed itself in England and realise that while the Tudor state played a significant part in this, English Protestantism would have been little more than a husk had it not been for genuine support and acceptance by those the Elizabethan regime termed ‘hearers’, and who I have referred to as the otherwise ‘voiceless’: ordinary men, women, and children.¹¹ They negotiated its form and function in their lives, while (on the whole) complying with the state’s edicts, even if they sometimes engaged in ‘looser’ readings of these directives. The practices they adapted and adopted were crucial in their acceptance of Protestantism, and its inculcation throughout the country, allowing them to negotiate the various religious, dynastic, political, and social changes that shook their country during the sixteenth century. When historians look at this picture, they find many practices which were crucial in this process. Yet when the evidence of this thesis is laid out, the singing of metrical psalms may have been among the most significant.

¹¹ I have outlined some evidence for the role of children in the history of metrical psalmody on pp. 174-176 above.

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