THE LITURGICO-MUSICAL INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE BROADER ANGLICAN COMMUNION ON THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNODICAL CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA

by

DANIEL GEORGE BAKER

A thesis submitted to the
University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Music
School of Languages, Cultures, Art History and Music
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
July 2024

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the influence of the liturgico-musical philosophy and resources of the Church of England and the broader Anglican Communion on the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America in the latter half of the nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century, culminating in the formation of the Synodical Conference's first and only joint hymnal, *The Lutheran Hymnal* (*TLH*) of 1941. It argues that Martin Luther established a unique liturgico-musical cultus as the progenitor of the Evangelical (Lutheran) tradition, in many ways epitomized by the form of the chorale, which served as a unifying cultural and doctrinal force in his native Saxony and beyond. Contrary to other analyses, which posit that Luther's chorale-based composition of the *Deutsche Messe* (German Mass) and his prescriptions for the *Formula Missae* (Latin Mass) represent two disparate liturgical streams, this thesis argues that Luther's Latin and German prescriptions were manifestations of a singular Evangelical paradigm that was expressed in idiomatically different ways to meet the latent requirements of the target cultures (*i.e*., Latin and German). This thesis shows that liturgico-musical considerations were at the center of Luther's Evangelical reforms, which in turn formed the heart of the first Lutheran liturgical materials in the United States, including those of each of the four constituent members of the Synodical Conference at the time of the formation of *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941 (*TLH*)—colloquially, the Missouri (LCMS), Wisconsin (WELS), Norwegian (ELS), and Slovak (SELC) Synods. In contrast, the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* (*BCP*), a tome essentially devoid of music, formed the heart of the Anglican liturgical tradition. Owing to the influence of the radical Reformation, the early Anglican tradition did not develop the wide corpus of hymnody and liturgical music apparent in the parallel Lutheran tradition. It was not until the nineteenth century that hymn writing began to exponentially flourish in the Anglican Church, in tandem with the liturgical renewal brought about by the Oxford Movement. This thesis argues that the American Lutheran development of *The Common Service* (*TCS*) of 1888, which was incorporated into the Synodical Conference tradition, was heavily influenced not only by the Anglican 1549 *BCP* and Victorian hymnody, but also by the Oxford Movement's efforts to repristinate antiquated forms. This thesis further demonstrates the ways in which the development of *TLH* was influenced by Anglican sources, including the decision to use *TCS* and Anglican hymnody against the advice and proposals of the sub-committees that were tasked with developing the liturgico-musical content of the hymnal. What is more, this thesis contends that the stated goal of the initial *TLH* project—to create a Lutheran hymnal that rectified certain non-Lutheran (Anglican) accretions in previous hymnal efforts—was not met and arguably resulted in the inverse. That is to say, *TLH* resulted in a greater amount of Anglican hymnody and liturgico-musical influence on the Synodical Conference than was manifest previously, the effects of which are still felt in the remnants of the Synodical Conference to this day.

This work is dedicated to my father, Leslie Kirk Baker (1953–2023), who inspired my love of theology, and to my grandfather, Daniel Frederick Hornak (1924–2015), who inspired my love of music. This thesis is the fruit of both trees, as am I. *Requiescant in pace*.

Siehe, ich mache alles neu! Ecce venio cito!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I certainly render heartfelt thanks to God that I have reached the culmination of this years-long project. I am thankful that I was given the opportunity to research this worthy topic at the University of Birmingham. My rationale for pursuing this research at a university in England was to provide for what was lacking in my knowledge of the Church of England and attendant facets of English history and music. But my studies have also enriched me personally, including in my knowledge of Lutheranism and the discipline of music as a whole.

It would be remiss at this point to fail to acknowledge the significant amount of time, advice, and genuine support that my supervisor, Paul Rodmell, has provided to me throughout this process. In the early (and even later) stages, this involved helpful suggestions for further reading from books and research in the vein of Anglican history that I might not have otherwise happened to find. But his expertise in Anglican Church music is not merely academic; it is also practical. His insights into Anglicanism "on the ground" were helpful in contextualizing the Church of England as a living and experienced tradition, as well as in providing useful comparisons and contrasts with my own lived Lutheran experience. I also owe him a debt of gratitude for bearing with my over-eager timelines, with regard to which I was almost always tardy. He was nevertheless accommodating of my life circumstances, including my marriage, career changes, and great personal loss. I appreciate his understanding and guidance, reminding me that one must live life outside of the thesis. I am very grateful for the hours he spent reading my drafts and copyediting my work for spelling, conventions of grammar, and so on.

My beloved wife, Emily, also deserves acknowledgment for the countless hours of menial labor she devoted to helping me copyedit, *etc*. But perhaps more so she deserves unqualified thanks for going through our engagement, wedding, honeymoon, buying our first house, career changes, and so much more during the course of this thesis work. We forewent numerous other

activities and desires so that I could work on this project. I sometimes wonder which of us had the most anxiety. But most of all, I am thankful for her unwavering love and support not only in this project, but in all aspects of life.

My parents, Les and Jeann, also deserve acknowledgment for the countless hours they devoted to providing for me and my education, as well as the material and emotional support they offered throughout this thesis process. Although my father is not able to see the final culmination of the work, he was eager to discuss my research with me throughout the process and was able to see the fruit of some of my research published in a peer-reviewed journal. Likewise, my maternal grandfather, Daniel Hornak, deserves acknowledgment for providing for my education with his time and talents. Without the generous monetary support he provided for all of his grandchildren, this research would have been impossible. But I owe him a debt of gratitude for so much more than that. His love of music-making was a wellspring of inspiration. He was a constant presence in my life, including at piano, band, and organ performances. So were my parents. My mother continues to support my performance and teaching endeavors. I am thankful that she is still with me to see the fruit of this labor.

I also wish to acknowledge the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Paul Grime to peruse the WELS Archives for material about Gervasius Fischer and his involvement in the publication of *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941. This suggestion extended the work of my thesis by a few months, but it was more than worth it. I ended up completely re-writing the last two chapters in lieu of this overwhelming evidence.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther, without whose inestimable work in creating the chorale tradition this research would have been impossible.

TABLE *of* CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION **1**
Research Questions 3
Review of Literature 3
Primary Sources 4
Review of Secondary Sources 16
Methodology 24
Procedures and Data Collection 24
Data Analysis 26
Delimitations 26
CHAPTER I: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND **27**
The Philosophical Paradigm of the Evangelical-Lutheran Liturgico-Musical Tradition 27
The Development of an Evangelical-Lutheran Liturgy 30
The Chorale as the Core of Evangelical-Lutheran Musical Expression 32
The Chorale and the Psalter 33
Melodic Simplicity 34
The Endurance of Evangelical-Lutheran Liturgico-Musical Reforms in the Saxon Tradition 40
The Effects of Pietism, Rationalism, and Unionism 44
The Neo-Lutheran Movement and the Saxon Migration 47
Concluding Thoughts on the Evangelical-Lutheran Tradition 48
The English Reformation's Musical Paradigm 49
Thomas Cranmer and Early Vernacular Anglican Liturgy 52
How Doctrine Shaped Practice in Lutheranism and Anglicanism 55
The Development of English Hymnody and Music 57
The Nonconformist Contribution of Isaac Watts 60
The Sanitation of English Hymnody Compared to the Chorale 61
The Victorian Connection 62
The Oxford Movement 65
"German Puseyism:" Distinctions Between the Neo-Lutheran and Oxford Movements 71
Conclusion of Chapter I 74
CHAPTER II: THE TRANSITION FROM GERMAN TO ENGLISH AMONG THE CONSTITUENT MEMBERS OF THE SYNODICAL CONFERENCE **76**
The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod 77

Repristinating Lutheran Orthodoxy 77
Kirchen-Agende and *Choralbuch* 78
Examining the Liturgy of the *Kirchen-Agende* 79
The Transition to English 86
The Publication of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* 89
Comparing the *Kirchen-Gesangbuch* and *ELHB* 91
Contrasting *ELHB* with the *Kirchen-Agende* and *Choralbuch* 94
More Nuanced Liturgico-Musical Changes 98
Acceptance of *ELHB* 100
Concluding Remarks 105
The Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod 106
The Eclectic Beginnings of the WELS 107
The WELS *Agende* 112
The Short-Lived History of the First WELS Hymnal 121
The Transition to English: *Book of Hymns* 123
The Reception of *BH* 128
Concluding Remarks 129
The Non-German Synods 130
The "Little Norwegian" Synod 131
The Slovak Synod 145
Early Synodical Conference Liturgico-Musical Materials in Review 151
CHAPTER III: *THE COMMON SERVICE* OF 1888 **154**
Background of *The Common Service* of 1888 156
A Brief History of the General Synod, *et al*. 156
Toward A Standard Lutheran Rite 158
Strains of Liturgical Renewal and Their Impact on the Development of a Common Service 161
Lutheran Sources Used by the Joint Committee 164
The Philosophical Basis of the Joint Committee's "Rule" 169
The Influence of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* on the Joint Committee 174
Other Anglican Influences 177
An Arbitrary Rule? 180
Contempt for the *Deutsche Messe* 182
Initial Musical Settings of *The Common Service* 183
The Common Service in Review 187
CHAPTER IV: DEVELOPING *THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL* OF 1941 **190**
Formation of an Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics 191
Guiding Principles 195

Working toward *The Lutheran Hymnal* 200
The Liturgics Subcommittee 202
The Liturgical Society of St. James 203
The Role and Work of the Liturgics Subcommittee 205
The Proposal 208
Publication of *The Lutheran Hymnal* 217
Impacts of the Development of *TLH* on the Non-German Synods 221
Concluding Remarks on the Development of *TLH* 223
CHAPTER V: LITURGICO-MUSICAL ANALYSIS OF *THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL* AND ITS EFFECT ON SUBSEQUENT MUSICAL PRODUCTS 225
The Order of Morning Service of *TLH*, Pages Five (P5) and Fifteen (P15) 226
Preparatory Service 233
Introit 234
Kyrie 235
Gloria 237
Collect 240
Gradual 241
Creed 242
Offertory 244
Liturgy of the Sacrament 245
Thanksgiving and Conclusion 247
Concluding Remarks on P5 and P15 248
Matins, Vespers, and Miscellaneous Rites 250
Matins 252
Venite 253
The Lesson 256
Te Deum 256
Benedictus 258
The Prayers 260
Vespers 260
Office Canticles 261
Miscellaneous Rites 264
Additional Content 265
Concluding Remarks on the Office 265
Anglican Influence on the Hymns of *The Lutheran Hymnal* 266
Final Remarks on the Liturgico-Musical Content of *The Lutheran Hymnal* 269
The Influence of *The Lutheran Hymnal* on Liturgico-Choral and Organ Music 270
Liturgical Music 271

Introits and Graduals for the Church Year 272
Healey Willan's Liturgical Contributions 278
Other Liturgical Offerings 285
Concluding Remarks on Liturgical Music in the Wake of *TLH* 287
Organ Music After *TLH* 288
Final Thoughts on the Musical Impact of *The Lutheran Hymnal* 294
CONCLUSION **297**
Research Question 1 298
Research Question 2 301
Research Question 3 304
Research Question 4 306
Research Question 5 308
The Unanswered Question 311
Implications for Future Research 314
The Final Coda 316
BIBLIOGRAPHY **318**
APPENDICES **354**
Appendix 1: Comparison of Liturgical Rites 354
Appendix 2: Comparison of Translations of *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* 358
Appendix 3: Data Pertaining to the Contents of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912) 360
Appendix 4: Data Pertaining to the Content of *The Lutheran Hymna*l (1941) 380
Appendix 5: Texts and Tunes in *The English Hymnal* (1906) and *The Hymnal* (1916) of the Episcopal Church that are Contained in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941) 405
Appendix 6: *The Parish Organist* (Vols. 1–4) Tunes, Preludes, Tune Composers, Prelude Composers, and Their Denominations 407
Appendix 7: *The Parish Organist* (Vols. 11–12) Tunes, Tune Composers, and Their Denominations 411

LIST *of* FIGURES

Figure 1.1. An image of a representative transcription of the first stanza of *Veni, Creator Spiritus* in the original Gregorian/Latin setting. **34**

Figure 1.2. A facsimile of the first stanza of Martin Luther's recasting of *Veni, Creator Spiritus* as the chorale *Komm, Gott Schöpfer* (*Erfurt Enchiridion*, 1524). **35**

Figure 1.3. A facsimile of Martin Luther's *Wir glauben all*, a chorale setting of the *Credo* (Johann Walter's *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn*, 1524). **35**

Figure 1.4a. A facsimile of the Gospel chant music from Martin Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, depicting the pointing of the narrator's portion of the text. **38**

Figure 1.4b. A facsimile of the Gospel chant music from Martin Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, depicting the pointing for words spoken by characters in the text (first two bars) and the voice of Christ (last two bars). **39**

Figure 1.5. A facsimile demonstrating the melismatic and rhythmic contours of Martin Luther's *Ein Feste Burg* (*Kirchengesenge Deudtsch*, etc., 1545). **45**

Figure 1.6. A transcription demonstrating the simplified isorhythmic (Pietist) form of the first system of Luther's *Ein Feste Burg* (*Neues Choralbuch*, etc., 1956, in Andrew Wilson-Dickson's *Geistliche Musik*, etc., 1994). **45**

Figure 1.7. A facsimile of the 1550 John Marbecke notated edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, depicting a portion of the page containing the music and text for the incipits of the *Venite exultemus* and the *Te deum laudamus*, respectively. **54**

Figure 2.1. A facsimile of Martin Luther's setting of the three-fold *Kyrie, eleison*, as published in 1540 in the *Agende* of Ducal Saxony. **120**

Figure 2.2. A facsimile of the first two systems of *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* from the 1896 *Agende* of the Wisconsin Synod, which was originally published as part of Luther's *Deutsche Messe* and was used in place of the *Kyrie* in the Wisconsin Synod. **121**

Figure 2.3. A facsimile of an advertisement for *Book of Hymns With Music* from the Wisconsin Synod journal, *Ev.-Luth. Gemeinde-Blatt*. **125**

Figure 2.4. A facsimile of the first page of "Form I" from *Book of Hymns*, demonstrating its radical truncation. **126**

Figure 2.5. A facsimile of the third through fifth systems of the representative musical setting of the *Benedictus* from the *Sanctus* in the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*. **127**

Figure 2.6. A facsimile of the *Gloria* music and textual rubrics from *The Lutheran Hymnary*. **143**

Figure 2.7. A facsimile of the first three systems of the *Kyrie* from *The Lutheran Hymnary*. **144**

Figure 2.8. A facsimile of the *Duchovná Cithara* (*c.* 1933), showing the use of Luther's musical setting with Jiří Třanovský's Slovak translation (*Bohu Buď chvála*) of *Gott sei gelobet.* **147**

Figure 2.9a. Facsimile of the the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-book* (1912) setting of Richard Massie's English translation, "May God Be Praised," of Luther's *Gott sei gelobet*, to the music of the same. **147**

Figure 2.9b. Facsimile of the the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-book* (1912) setting of Richard Massie's English translation, "May God Be Praised," of Luther's *Gott sei gelobet*, to the music of the same. **148**

Figure 2.10. A facsimile of the first five systems of a Slovak metrical *Kyrie* (*Hospodine, Otče žádoucí*) with music by J. Kunvaldsky, 1574, as contained in the Slovak *Duchovná Cithara* (c. 1933). **149**

Figure 2.11. A facsimile of the first two musical systems of a rendering of the *Verba Testamenti*, from their beginning through the first words of Christ in the narrative text, i.e. "Vezměte a jezte" ("Take and eat"), as contained in the Slovak *Duchovná Cithara*. **150**

Figure 3.1a/b/c. Facsimiles of the General Council's *Church Book* (1893), depicting the first eight musical options for the Gospel acclamations (*i.e.*, the responses sung before and after the Gospel is read). **185**

Figure 3.2. A facsimile of the General Synod's *Common Service Book With Music* (1888), depicting the two musical options and rubrics for the Gospel acclamations (*i.e.*, the responses sung before and after the Gospel is read). **186**

Figure 5.1. A facsimile of *The Lutheran Hymnal's* (1941) setting of the *Kyrie*, with text from the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* and music adapted from Luther's *Deutsche Messe*. **236**

Figure 5.2. A facsimile of Martin Luther's setting of the three-fold *Kyrie, eleison*, as published in 1540 in the *Agende* of Ducal Saxony. **236**

Figure 5.3. A facsimile of the first three systems of the *Gloria in excelsis* from *The Lutheran Hymnal*, which is set to the "Old Scottish Chant" melody from Episcopal usage. **239**

Figure 5.4. A facsimile of the "Old Scottish Chant" and the first two verses of the *Gloria in excelsis* from the 1916 Episcopal *Hymnal*. **239**

Figure 5.5. A facsimile of the *Gloria Patri* from Matins in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, set to the Anglican double chant tone by Thomas Norris (1741–1790). **252**

Figure 5.6. A facsimile of *The Parish Church Chant Book*, depicting the double Anglican chant by Thomas Norris also utilized in *The Lutheran Hymnal*. **253**

Figure 5.7. A facsimile of the Anglican chant melody of the *Venite Exultemus* ascribed to Handel from the General Council's *Church Book* (1893). **254**

Figure 5.8a/b. A facsimile of the of the *Venite* in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, demonstrating the same Anglican chant ascribed to Handel in the *Church Book*. **254**

Figure 5.9. A facsimile of the first four systems of a hand-edited draft of the *Venite* from "The Collection of Gervasius and William Fischer." **255**

Figure 5.10. A facsimile of the Anglican chant setting of the *Te Deum* by Henry Lawes (1596–1662) and Robert Cooke (1768–1814) from the Episcopalian *Hymnal* (1916). **257**

Figure 5.11a/b/c/d. Facsimiles of Lawes' chant for the *Te Deum* in *The Lutheran Hymnal*. **258**

Figure 5.12. A facsimile of a chant (no. 12) from the Episcopal Church's 1914 *The Mission Hymnal*, used with the *Benedictus*, for comparison with the modified form of the same chant in *The Lutheran Hymnal* as used with the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*. **262**

Figure 5.13. A facsimile of the first system of the text and music of the *Nunc Dimittis* from *The Lutheran Hymnal*. **262**

Figure 5.14. A transcription/engraving by Olorulus, corrected by Rabanus Flavus, of the first stanza of *Meine Seele erhebt*, Martin Luther's German setting of the *Magnificat,* set to *Tonus Peregrinus*, from *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch*, *etc*. **263**

Figure 5.15a. Facsimile of Healey Willan's musical setting of the Introit Antiphon (1957) for *Ad Te Levavi* (The First Sunday in Advent). **280**

Figure 5.15b. Facsimile of Healey Willan's musical setting of the Introit Psalm (1957) for *Ad Te Levavi* (The First Sunday in Advent). **281**

Figure 5.16. A facsimile of Healey Willan's musical setting of the Gradual (1960) and Tract (1960) for *Invocavit* (The First Sunday in Lent). **281**

Figure 5.17. A facsimile of the first system of Healey Willan's music for the *Kyrie* from his setting of *The Common Service* (1959). **282**

Figure 5.18. A facsimile of the first system of Healey Willan's music for the *Gloria in excelsis* from his setting of *The Common Service* (1959). **282**

Figure 5.19. A facsimile of the first four systems of Healey Willan's music for the *Credo* from his setting of *The Common Service* (1959). **283**

Figure 5.20. A facsimile of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, set by Carl Bergen to the Gregorian melody from Missa XIV for his setting of *The Common Service* (1967). **285**

Figure 5.21. A facsimile of the first four systems of Paul Bunjes' setting of the Introit for *Ad Te Levavi* (The First Sunday in Advent), from his work, *The Service Propers Noted* (1967). **287**

LIST *of* TABLES

Table 1.1. The imprecatory nature of Martin Luther's *Erhalt uns Herr,* stz. 1 and Justus Jonas' added stz. 4, juxtaposed with the literal English translations of the texts. **62**

Table 2.1. A table showing the elements of the Missouri Synod's *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856 and *Choralbuch* of 1886, along with details of their composition and text. **80**

Table 2.2. 1922 survey results of 24 English-speaking Missouri Synod pastors, containing suggestions of hymns most recommended for lay memorization. **104**

Table 2.3. A comparison of the liturgies of the Missouri Synod's *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856 with the Wisconsin Synod's *Agende* of 1896, with sundry information about the latter. **114**

Table 2.4. A comparison of the original German for the sixth stanza of the hymn *Ewige Liebe, mein Gemüte, waget einen kühnen Blick*, compared with a literal English translation, courtesy of Google Translate. **122**

Table 2.5. A comparison of the Missouri Synod's 1856 *Kirchen-Agende*, the Danish-Norwegian *Kirkeritual* of 1685, the Norwegian Church's 1899 *Alterbog*, and *The Common Service* of 1888, followed by general notes pertaining to the 1685 *Kirkeritual*. **135**

Table 3.1. A comparison of the contents of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's 1748 "Church Agenda" for the Pennsylvania Ministerium with the contents of the Wisconsin Synod's 1896 *Agende* and the Missouri Synod's 1856 *Kirchen-Agende*. **158**

Table 4.1. A comparison of *The Common Service* (*Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* version) with the proposals of the liturgics subcommittee for *The Lutheran Hymnal* in 1939. **208**

Table 5.1. A comparison of *The Lutheran Hymnal's* page five and page fifteen rites with the *Book of Common Prayer* in its 1549 and 1928 Episcopal iterations, followed by general notes on *TLH's* rite(s). **229**

Table 5.2. A comparison of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* "Collect for Trinity 10" with the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* "Collect for Trinity 10." **240**

LIST *of* ABBREVIATIONS

LCMS: The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod

WELS: Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod

ELS: Evangelical Lutheran Synod

SELC: Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church (later—Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches)

TCS: The Common Service

BCP: Book of Common Prayer

TLH: The Lutheran Hymnal

ELHB: Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book

BH: Book of Hymns

KGB: Kirchen-Gesangbuch

LHry: The Lutheran Hymnary

INTRODUCTION

From the day Luther set his pen to compose the first chorales in his unimposing Wittenberg community, the history of Lutheranism has been intimately shaped by the Evangelical liturgico-musical cultus he inspired. Following the example set by Luther's liturgical and musical prescriptions, the court of Ducal Saxony codified an order of worship that would prove definitive not only in their realm, but throughout the broader German-speaking Lutheran world. Indeed, the principles of Luther's reforms were also emulated by non-German speakers in Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, and beyond. This continued to hold true in the New World, where the chorale inspired the first American Lutheran liturgy. Though Lutheranism ebbed and flowed with time and assimilation, a swell of new immigration in the nineteenth century brought new Lutherans to the American continent. Church bodies or 'synods' were formed from many of these immigrant communities, which then federated together in larger fellowship organizations. One such federation was known as the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. The synods of this federation brought with them a continuity of tradition that was easily recognizable as bequeathed from Luther's liturgico-musical reforms.

Although the Synodical Conference fell apart in the mid-twentieth century, before its disintegration it managed to produce *The Lutheran Hymnal* (*TLH*) in 1941. Many American Lutherans today look back fondly on *The Lutheran Hymnal*, supposing that it too shares in a historical continuity with the liturgico-musical tradition in which the Synodical Conference had been so firmly rooted in the nineteenth century. This thesis contends otherwise. After tracing the Synodical Conference's liturgico-musical history through the development of *The Lutheran Hymnal* in 1941, this thesis posits that the Synodical Conference significantly departed from its

liturgical chorale-based roots. Among the various influences that precipitated this shift, it is demonstrable that the textual and liturgical resources of the Church of England and the broader Anglican Communion held considerable sway. It is important to note here that the use of "influence" in this thesis is not meant to indicate an active or institutional control, such that the bishops of the Anglican Communion provided directives to agents of the various Lutheran Churches. Rather, this thesis will provide for a gap in the literature by analyzing the extent to which Anglican liturgico-musical philosophy and resources influenced the thinking and practice of the Lutherans in the Synodical Conference, as well as the extent to which Luther's liturgico-musical principles were lost in the transition to Anglicized forms.

The contents of this thesis are constituted as follows. The introduction will guide the reader through the research questions that shaped this study. A review of literature will briefly explain the primary sources that are at the heart of the research, contextualizing it in light of the extant scholarship pertinent to the topic. The introduction will conclude with a description of the methodological approach that shaped the research process. The main body of the thesis will be broken up into five main chapters. The first of these will deal with historical background, delineating the Lutheran and Anglican traditions and their philosophical premises. An explanation of the differences between Lutheranism and Anglicanism will also form a critical part of this chapter. Although the qualitative influences of Anglicanism on every aspect of the Synodical Conference tradition cannot be exhausted in a study of this scope with respect to each hymn or liturgical text, the broader principles established in this chapter will help to contextualize the implications of such influences. The second chapter will examine the liturgico-musical traditions of the four constituent bodies of the Synodical Conference that existed at the time *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941) was published, demonstrating the progression

from their original liturgico-musical cultus to more Anglicized forms. The third chapter will provide an excursus from the Synodical Conference by analyzing the philosophical underpinnings of *The Common Service* of 1888, which, although not originally a Synodical Conference product, nevertheless resulted in perhaps the greatest example of Anglican liturgico-musical influence on the Synodical Conference. This will culminate in chapters four and five, which will respectively deal with the formation of *The Lutheran Hymnal* and its liturgico-musical contents. The Anglican influence on subsequent choral and organ products attendant to the *TLH* will also be considered in the final chapter. Finally, the conclusion will assess how this study has answered its research questions and provide implications for future research.

Research Questions

1. What paradigms guided the creation of the Lutheran and Anglican liturgico-musical traditions? Were they compatible or distinct?

2. Was the transition to English in nineteenth-century America the sole catalyst for the Lutheran adoption of Anglican liturgico-musical forms or did other factors play a role?

3. Did pseudo-ecumenical Lutheran agents who sympathized with the liturgical repristination movements of the period (and the Oxford Movement specifically) also play a role in the adoption of Anglican forms?

4. Did *The Lutheran Hymnal* (*TLH*) of 1941 rectify the abrogation of the Lutheran liturgico-musical paradigm in the English-language Synodical Conference hymnals that preceded it?

5. To what extent was the Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition and the chorale in particular displaced by Anglican forms in *TLH* and related musical publications?

Review of Literature

This thesis relies heavily upon several primary source documents that provide crucial context for the liturgico-musical traditions it examines. This review of literature will provide a

brief survey of these sources and the unique analyses of the same proffered by this study. Subsequently, a survey of the relevant scholarship on the subject matter will highlight where this thesis provides for gaps in the current literature.

Primary Sources

Of the primary source documents that demonstrate the transition to Anglican-influenced forms among the constituent bodies of the Synodical Conference, few are more instructive than the official hymnals and liturgical books of the synods that form the core of this study. These volumes typically fall into three categories: hymnals, agendas, and chorale-books (German: "*choralbuchs*"). Depending on the synod or timeframe in question, the contents and significance of these varying books might be lessened or amalgamated. But prior to the nineteenth century in the Lutheran tradition, hymnals tended to be strictly text volumes that provided suggested melodies contained in a separate volume, the chorale-book. These chorale-books contained four-part harmonizations for both the Lutheran chorales and liturgical music. To varying degrees, the prose content of the liturgy itself was sometimes included for congregational reference in the hymnals, but the fullest expression of the liturgy with its attendant clerical rubrics was provided in agendas. Agendas were clerical compendiums that contained various rites, prayers, and advice for the administration of pastoral duties. These agendas contained some musical notation, particularly if it was pertinent for the clerical administration of worship. By the mid-twentieth century, following the example of the Anglican *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861),[1] the standard shifted and text and tunes were predominantly published in the same volume, blurring the lines between the hymnal and the chorale-book categories. While organist volumes did exist after this

[1] William Henry Monk (ed.), *Hymns, Ancient and Modern, For Use in the Services of the Church, with Accompanying Tunes* (London: J. Alfred Novello, 1861), https://archive.org/details/modeance00chur.

transition, they were more a matter of convenience than necessity when the harmonizations for every hymn and liturgical rite were printed in the main hymnal, as was the case in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941).[2]

The first and prototypical example of a Synodical Conference liturgico-musical production that this study will consider is the *Kirchen-Gesangbuch* of 1847 (*KGB*),[3] a German-language hymnal that was produced by Die Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten (The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States), which is today known as The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS). Attendant volumes, including the *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856[4] and Friedrich Layriz' *Choralbuch* of 1863,[5] provided supplemental liturgico-musical context for how worship was executed in the oldest of the Synodical Conference constituent bodies. (In 1881, August Crull [1845-1923] translated the *Kirchen-Agende* liturgy into English, although it did not feature in the first official English hymnal of the LCMS.[6]) Unlike the other synods, which have liturgies stemming from differing linguistic strains, the Missouri Synod's volumes were the product of

---

[2] Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941).

[3] The original version of the hymnal was published under the auspices of Trinity Evangelical-Lutheran Church, St. Louis, MO (where the founding president of the Missouri Synod, C. F. W. Walther [1811–1887], served as president), on behalf of the broader Missouri Synod. Publication was subsequently taken over by Concordia Publishing House (CPH) on behalf of the Synod. A CPH edition is utilized in this study. See: The German Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession, darin des sel. Dr. Martin Luthers und anderer geistreichen Lehrer gebräuchlichste Kirchen-Lieder enthalten sind* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892), https://archive.org/details/kirchengesangbuc0000unse_e8z5.

[4] Originally published under synodical auspices in 1856, the publication was later turned over to CPH in subsequent editions, such as the one used in this study. See The German Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Kirchen-Agende für Evang.-Luth. Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1902), https://archive.org/details/kirchenagendefurevang.luth.gemeinden1902.

[5] Several subsequent editions of the *Choralbuch* were published by CPH, including an 1886 revision by Heinrich Hölter and Karl Brauer's *Mehrstimmiges Choralbuch zu dem Kirchengesangbuch fur Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden* (1888). Hölter's revision is utilized in this analysis. See Heinrich F. Hölter *Choralbuch: Eine Sammlung der gangbarsten Choräle der evang.-lutherischen Kirche, meist nach Dr. Fr. Layriz, nebst den wwichtigsten liturgischen Gässen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1902).

[6] Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Church Liturgy for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1881).

Saxon Lutheranism. The liturgy and chorales contained in these volumes are directly in the tradition of the 1539/1540[7] *Agende* from Ducal Saxony,[8] which, following Martin Luther's Wittenberg prescriptions in the *Formula Missae*[9] and *Deutsche Messe*,[10] is a prototypical example of the Lutheran tradition.

Using the *KGB* as a sort of baseline, this thesis considers the level of Anglican influence evident in the first official English hymnal produced by the Missouri Synod, the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (*ELHB*) of 1912.[11] Unlike with the *KGB* suite, Concordia Publishing House (CPH) published an edition of *ELHB With Music* that same year, which contained the four-part harmonizations of all the tunes in the hymnal.[12] It also provided full liturgical services with four-part musical settings and rubrics. Additional ministerial chants and musical context were provided in a *Music for the Liturgy* volume (1921).[13] The Missouri Synod published an attendant English agenda in 1921, aptly titled, *Liturgy and Agenda*.[14] This thesis provides for a gap in the literature by analyzing the progression of these liturgico-musical resources with a

---

[7] The original 1539/1540 *Agende* was expanded the following year in 1540 and is sometimes referred to as having been published in either year. Both dates are referenced in this thesis for for clarity.

[8] See Justus D. Jonas, Georgius Spalatinus, Caspar Creutziger, Fridericus Myconius, Justus Menius, and Johannes Weber. *Agenda, das ist, Kirchenordnung, wie sich die Pfarrherrn vnd Seelsorger in jren Ampten vnd Diensten halten sollen für die Diener der Kirchen in Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachssen V.G.H. Fürstenthumb gestellet* (Leipzig: Nicolaus Wolrab, 1540), https://books.google.com/books?id=SaFUAAAAcAAJ.

[9] Martin Luther, *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensi* (Wittenberg: 1523), https://archive.org/details/formula-missae-et-communionis-pro-ecclesia-wittembergensi.

[10] Martin Luther, *Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnu[n]g Gotes diensts, zů Wittemberg, fürgenom[m]en* ([Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner,] 1526), https://books.google.com/books?id=MC5SAAAAcAAJ.

[11] Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912).

[12] The 1912 version was republished several times. For ease of cross-reference in this study, the Internet Archive copy was utilized, which was published in 1930. See Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Music* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1930), https://archive.org/details/evangelicalluthe0000unse_q2e2.

[13] Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Music for the Liturgy: In Conformity with the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), https://archive.org/details/musicforliturgyi00evan.

[14] Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Liturgy and Agenda* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), https://books.google.com/books?id=NZg1AQAAMAAJ.

critical eye toward Anglican influence on the respective volumes contrasted against the Missouri Synod's Saxon heritage.

The next set of hymnals and agendas analyzed by this study were produced by what is today known as the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS). In the course of this study, a discovery was made of the 1870 edition of the Wisconsin Synod's first hymnal, *Evang.-Lutherische Gesangbuch*,[15] which by previous research had been assumed lost.[16] This thesis is the first to examine the 1870 edition side-by-side with the more prevalent 1872 redaction of *Evang.-Lutherische Gesangbuch* as part of an academic study.[17] The 1870 volume provides critical context for the liturgical conservatism of the WELS at that time, which brings into question historical tropes about the Synod's liberal tendencies in that period. Likewise does an analysis of the Wisconsin Synod's German *Agende* and the process that led to its publication in 1896.[18] The discovery of a version of the 1764 Mecklenberg *Gesang-Buch* in the archive of the oldest founding congregation of the Wisconsin Synod provides an interesting example of the kind of hymnal that may have influenced the liturgical practice of the Synod very early in its history; although a chain of evidence regarding its specific use could not be established, the collection of hymnals once belonging to early Synod leaders in the WELS archives demonstrates other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century volumes of a similar variety.[19] It will also be shown that the influence of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, with which the WELS was affiliated before

---

[15] Evang.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten, *Evang.-Lutherisches Gesangbuch* (Milwaukee: Georg Brumder, 1870).
[16] "No copy of the original 1870 issue of the hymnal remains extant." Arnold O. Lehmann, "Wisconsin Synod Hymnals and Agendas 1850–1950," *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 16, no. 2 (1998): 16–17, https://cs.welsrc.net/download-cs/wels-historical-institute-journal-archive/?wpdmdl=3474&refresh=668c5ba239ab41720474530&ind=1508772257861&filename=cs-whi-vol16-2.pdf.
[17] Evang.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten, *Evang.-Lutherisches Gesangbuch* (Milwaukee: Georg Brumder, 1872).
[18] Evang.-Luth. Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten, *Agende* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1911).
[19] Ducal Consistory of Mecklenburg, *Mecklenburgisches Kirchen-Gesang-Buch* (Rostock: M.J. Ebert, 1764); the WELS Archives has in its collection the personal hymnals that belonged to Synod President Johannes Bading (1824-1913; *Gesang-Buch* of Prost) and theologian August Pieper (1866-1942; the Laurentius David Bollhagen [1683-1738] *Gesangbuch*).

joining the Synodical Conference, shaped its liturgical practice prior to 1870.[20] This study contrasts this German liturgico-musical heritage with the publication of the WELS' first official English hymnal, *Book of Hymns,* in 1917.[21]

Although the Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, today known as the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (ELS), was obviously not German, let alone ethnically Saxon, the Reformation was brought to the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway by Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558), Martin Luther's father-confessor. Bugenhagen helped the Church of Denmark-Norway create an order of worship based on Luther's Saxon reforms in 1537, predating the formal codification of the Saxon *Agende*. The German chorales also formed an integral part of the core hymnody in Denmark-Norway, shaping the direction of the Church's liturgico-musical tradition. For the Norwegian Synod, the official *Kirke-ritual* for the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway of 1685 remained the official liturgical rite through the twentieth century.[22] With regard to hymnals, several iterations of Dano-Norwegian *Psalmebogen* were brought over from Norway, including various editions of *Dend Forordnede Ny Kirke-Psalme-Bog* (1669),[23] *Psalme-Bog eller en Samling af gamle og nye Psalmer* (1778),[24] and *Evangelisk-christelig Psalmebog* (1797),[25] as well as the *Kirkesalmebog* (1869) that was popularized after Norway became independent of Denmark.[26] The Norwegian Synod published its own *Psalmebog* in 1874,

---

[20] See footnote 33 below for the Pennsylvania Ministerium's founding liturgy.
[21] Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States, *Book of Hymns* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1917).
[22] Thomas Kingo, Caspar Schøller, et al. *Danmarks og Norges Kirke-ritual* (Copenhagen: Joachim Smedtgen, 1685). http://www.lutherdansk.dk/web-kirke-ritualet%201685/web-kirke-ritualet%201685/index.htm
[23] Thomas Kingo, *Dend Vorordnede Ny Kirke-Psalme-Bog* (Copenhagen: L. G. Lillie, 1754), https://books.google.com/books?id=UEca1I-GZFwC.
[24] Ludvig Harboe and Ove Høegh-Guldberg, *Psalme-Bog eller en Samling af gamle og nye Psalmer, til Guds Ære og hans Menigheds Opbyggelse* (Copenhagen: Kongelig Wansenhuuscr Bogtrvkkerie, 1778), https://www.kb.dk/e-mat/dod/11040802255A-bw.pdf.
[25] Nicolai Edinger Balle, *Evangelisk-christelig Psalmebog* (Christiana [Oslo]: W. C. Fabritius, 1856), https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.evangeliskchrist00ball.
[26] Magnus Brostrup Landstad, *Kirkesalmebog: efter offentlig foranstaltning samlet* (Christiana [Oslo]: Jacob Dybwad, 1873), https://books.google.com/books?id=3fVa_RdStm4C.

which drew heavily from these sources.[27] In 1913, several Norwegian church bodies banded together to publish *The Lutheran Hymnary* (*LHry*).[28] The Norwegians also had their own *Altarbog* (1902) in the vein of the German agenda tradition, which was translated in 1915 into English to comport with *LHry*.[29] The ultimate merger of these bodies in 1917 led to the secession of the "little" Norwegian Synod, which became the ELS and shared fellowship with the Synodical Conference when *TLH* was published in 1941.

In a similar vein, the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Augsburg Confession in the United States of America (SELC; today, it is a non-geographic District of the LCMS) was not from the German tradition, but was heavily influenced by Saxon theologians and liturgico-musical principles. The Slovak divines are said to have referred to the Saxon *Agende* tradition as the "Ritus ecclesiae Wittenbergensis," which they used to shape their own tradition.[30] Jiří Třanovský's work in the *Cithara Sanctorum* of 1636 translated a large quantity of the chorale corpus into Slovak, while also incorporating originally Czech and Slovak texts.[31] The SELC brought *Cithara Sanctorum* with them to the United States and eventually published their own version, the 1928 edition of which is used in this study.[32] For melodic analysis, this study relied upon the 1933 *Duchovna' Cithara* volume,[33] which functioned somewhat like the *choralbuchs* of

---

[27] Ulrich Vilhelm Koren (ed.), *Psalmebog udgiven af Synoden for Den Norsk Evangelisk Lutherske Kirke I Amerika* (Decorah, IA: Synodens Forlag, 1877), https://archive.org/details/psalmebog00amergoog.
[28] Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod, Hauge's Evangelical Lutheran Synod, and United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, *The Lutheran Hymnary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1913), https://archive.org/details/lutheranhymnary00synogoog.
[29] Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church, *Altar Book of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church With Scripture Lessons and Collects: A Translation* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1915), https://ia600504.us.archive.org/7/items/altarbookofnorwe00norw/altarbookofnorwe00norw.pdf.
[30] Julius Filo, "The Liturgical Life of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Slovakia as a Witness to her struggles and visions," trs. Paul R. Hinlicky and Ellen I. Hinlicky, *Seminary Ridge Review* 1, no. 4 (1999), https://www.angelfire.com/ny4/djw/liturgicalslovakia.html
[31] Jiří Třanovský, *Cithara Sanctorum: Písně Duchovní, Staré y Nowé* (Lewocza: W. Brewer, 1636). This study relied upon the version published in 1728, W. Laubnê, https://books.google.com/books?id=XD8As8kVT7EC.
[32] Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the United States of America, *Cithara Sanctorum. Písně Duchovní*, (Pittsburg: Tiskem Slavia Printing Co., 1928), https://archive.org/details/pisneduchovni0008cith.
[33] Jozef Kucharik, *Duchovná Cithara* (Leipzig: C. G. Röder, 1933).

the German tradition and was used by SELC congregations.[34] These liturgical texts provide a demonstration of how the Saxon tradition was adapted in other languages besides English, demonstrating that there was more at work in the anglicization process than simply the adoption of the English language. Although the Slovaks did not publish their own English hymnal before *TLH*, their 1928 *Cithara* demonstrates the encroachment of a Slovak version of *TCS* into their tradition.

In addition to these Synodical Conference sources, the initial publication of *The Common Service* (*TCS*) of 1888 will be discussed due to its significant influence on the Synodical Conference.[35] Because the ideological inspiration for *TCS* came from Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg (1711–1787), who was a founder of the Pennsylvania Ministerium (the first Lutheran church body in the United States), a volume containing the *Documentary History* (1898) of the Ministerium from its founding in 1748 (through 1821) and, in particular, its first liturgical rite (which, incidentally, was the first Lutheran liturgy in the United States) will prove helpful in contextualizing this thesis.[36] So, too, will the *Psalmodia Germanica* (1732) of John Christian Jacobi (1670–1750), the Verger of the Royal German Chapel at St. James' Palace in London from 1714–1750, whose translations and liturgy were utilized by the Pennsylvania Ministerium.[37] The Ministerium ultimately merged with the church bodies that went on to publish *TCS*.

---

[34] See the discussion of Slovak Hymnody in use at Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, Chicago, IL, in Paul Westermeyer, "The Ethnic Diversity of Catholicity in Chicago's Congregational Song," *The Hymn* 33, no. 4 (1982): 241, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013611937.

[35] General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, *The Common Service for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1888), https://books.google.com/books?id=bnRIAAAAYAAJ.

[36] Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States* (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1898), https://ia801308.us.archive.org/30/items/documentaryhisto00evan/documentaryhisto00evan.pdf.

[37] John Christian Jacobi (ed.), *Psalmodia Germanica: or The German Psalmody* (London: G. Smith, in Princess-Street, Spittle Fields, 1732), https://ks15.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/2/2a/IMSLP249700-PMLP404715-psalmodiagermani00jaco.pdf

TCS featured prominently in each of the Synodical Conference's constituent members' first English hymnals. Indeed, its use preceded these publications due to its use in the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, originally a member of the Synodical Conference, which eventually merged with and became the LCMS' English District.[38] An additional primer for *TCS* may have been Wilhelm Löhe's *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntinisses* (1844), which was born of a similar repristinatory spirit.[39] *TCS* was first created by the three largest German-Lutheran church bodies in the United States outside of the Synodical Conference as part of their transition to the English language. Several publications containing *TCS* from these church bodies will be discussed for their liturgico-musical significance, including the General Synod's *Common Service with Music* (1888),[40] the United Synod of the South's *Book of Worship* (1888),[41] and the General Council's *Church Book* (1893, with music).[42]

The culmination of this thesis' analysis of the hymnals of the Synodical Conference is realized in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (*TLH*) of 1941, which is the apex of this study.[43] *TLH* was a joint hymnal project of all four synods of the Synodical Conference. Supplemental volumes included *The Lutheran Liturgy* (1943), *Music for the Liturgies of The Lutheran Hymnal* (1944), *The Lutheran Lectionary* (1945), *The Lutheran Agenda* (1948), and *The Pastor's Companion*

---

[38] See, for example, Louis Khamer, *The Common Service with Music* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906), https://archive.org/details/commonservicewit0000unse.
[39] Wilhelm Löhe, *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntinisses* (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1844), https://books.google.com/books?id=S-BIAAAAcAAJ.
[40] General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. *The Common Service with Music. For the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1888), https://books.google.com/books?id=M5sUAAAAYAAJ
[41] United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South, *The Book of Worship. For the Use of the United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South* (Columbia, SC: W. J. Duffie, 1888), https://books.google.com/books?id=wI5UAAAAYAAJ. It is worth noting that the General Synod had its own version of *The Book of Worship* (1888).
[42] General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, *Church Book: For the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Philadelphia: J.K. Shrock, 1893), https://books.google.com/books?id=N31KoOfAmhQC.
[43] Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941).

(1950).[44] Additional liturgical materials examined by this thesis in tandem with the publication of *TLH* will include various settings of the propers, which had no musical settings in *TLH*. These include Walter Buszin's (1899–1973) *Introits for the Church Year* (1957)[45] and *Graduals for the Church Year* (1960),[46] Healey Willan's (1880–1968) *Introits* (1957) and *Graduals for the Church Year* (1960),[47] and Paul Bunjes' (1914–1998) *The Service Propers Noted* (1960).[48] Likewise, several ancillary settings of the liturgy from *TLH* will be discussed, including Willan's setting (1959)[49] and Carl Bergen's (1913–1997) plainsong setting (1967).[50] Finally, the publication of *The Parish Organist* (1953–1966), a series of chorale preludes for the organ, will be considered in light of its close connection with *TLH*.[51] An examination of *TLH* and these ancillary resources will demonstrate that its layout, content, and character are heavily influenced by Anglican liturgical and musical sources. Most scholarship considers *TLH* to be a classically Lutheran volume, so this comparative analysis constitutes a unique contribution to the literature in challenge to the conventional view.

An analysis of several editions of the *Book of Common Prayer (BCP)* is an important part of this study, particularly due to *TCS's* reliance upon the *BCP*. The *BCP* consists of the standard liturgical texts, forms, and practices of the Church of England. Of particular interest due to its influence on American Lutheranism is the original 1549 *BCP*, which was much more conservative than later editions.[52] In fact, the 1549 *BCP* Communion liturgy was nearly a

[44] All published by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis.
[45] Walter E. Buszin, *The Introits for the Church Year*, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942).
[46] Walter E. Buszin, *The Graduals for the Church Year*, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942).
[47] Healey Willan, *Introits and Graduals for the Church Year* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967).
[48] Paul Bunjes, *The Service Propers Noted* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1960).
[49] Commission on Worship, Liturgics and Hymnology of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, *The Order of Holy Communion: Musical Setting by Healey Willan* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959).
[50] Carl Bergen, *The Order of Holy Communion* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967).
[51] Heinrich E. Fleischer, Erich Goldschmidt, Willem Mudde, et al., eds., *The Parish Organist*, Parts 1–12 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953–1966).
[52] Thomas Cranmer, *The book of common prayer and administration of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church after the use of the Churche of England* (London: Officina Edouardi Whitchurche, 1549), https://archive.org/details/bookeofcommonpra00chur_1.

translation of the Latin Sarum Mass.[53] An examination of John Merbecke's *The Book of Common Prayer Notated* (1550) similarly demonstrates the conservative nature of musical reform in the early stages of the English Reformation.[54] The subsequent publication of the 1552 *BCP* represented a significant shift away from this model into a more radical approach owing somewhat to Reformed liturgico-musical principles,[55] a standard retained by the 1662 *BCP*, which remains an authorized text in the Church of England.[56] Other noteworthy liturgical texts from the broader Anglican Communion include the Church of Scotland's *Communion-Office* of 1764,[57] particularly due to its influence on the formation of the first *Book of Common Prayer* (1789) of the Episcopal Church in the United States.[58] Definitive Scottish/Episcopal influences on the Synodical Conference will make this relevancy apparent.

In addition to the *BCP*, several Anglican and Episcopal hymnals are relevant to this study. The formation of *TLH* was specifically attributed to six Anglo-Episcopal hymnals, which are discussed in this thesis. These include *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861),[59] *The English*

---

[53] Church of Sarum, *Missale ad vsum insignis ecclesie Sar[um]* (Rothomagi [Rouen, France]: Officina magistri Peter violette, 1509), https://archive.org/details/missaleadvsumins00cath.
[54] John Merbecke, *The Book of Common Prayer Noted* (London: Richard Grafton, 1550), http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/Merbecke/Merbecke.pdf.
[55] Thomas Cranmer (att.), *The boke of common prayer and administracion of the sacramentes and other rites and ceremonies in the Churche of Englande* (London: Officina Eduardi Whytchurche, 1552), https://archive.org/details/bokeofcommonpray00chur/page/n3/mode/2up
[56] Church of England, *Facsimile of the Original Manuscript of the Book of Common Prayer Signed by Convocation December 20th, 1661, and attached to the Act of Uniformity, 1662 (13 & 14 Charles 2. Cap. 4)* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1891), p. 58, https://books.google.com/books?id=twdPAAAAYAAJ, and: Church of England, *The Book of Common Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of The Church of England: Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches* (Cambridge: John Baskerville, 1762), https://books.google.com/books?id=_sYUAAAAQAAJ.
[57] Church of Scotland, *The Communion-Office for the Use of the Church of Scotland, as Far as Concerneth the Ministration of That Holy Sacrament* (Edinburgh: Drummond, Ossian's Head, 1764), in John Dowden, *Historical Account of Scottish & American Communion Offices. With Reprints* (Edinburgh: R. Grant & Son, 1884), pp. 133–156, https://archive.org/details/cu31924007588183.
[58] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *The Book of Common Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David* (Philadelphia: W. Young and J. Ormrod, 1795), https://books.google.com/books?id=KKYWWjGzVZcC.
[59] William Henry Monk, *Hymns Ancient and Modern for Use in the Services of the Church, with Accompanying Tunes* (London: Novello and Co., 1861), https://books.google.com/books?id=YlCH9PMivzcC.

Hymnal (1906),[60] *Songs of Praise* (1931),[61] along with the supplemental *Songs of Praise Discussed* (1933),[62] *Hymns Ancient and Modern: A Plainsong Hymn Book* (1932),[63] and *The Hymnal* of the U.S. Episcopal Church (1916/1930).[64] These hymnals represent the fruit of the explosion of hymnody in the Anglican tradition after the nineteenth century's hymn writing revival. This period also saw the rehabilitation of non-Conformist hymnwriters, most notably the "father" of English Hymnody, Isaac Watts (1674–1748), whose extensive writing in *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707) and other works came into the mainstream Anglican consciousness at this time.[65] This was also coupled with the introduction of new hymnody from ancient Latin and Greek sources thanks to the efforts of the Oxford Movement (*a la Hymns Ancient and Modern*). Additionally, the efforts of prolific Victorian translators like Catherine Winkworth (1827–1878), including her work in *Lyra Germanica* (1855)[66] and *The Chorale Book for England* (1863),[67] brought many Lutheran chorales into the English language. These translations were also used in *TLH* and other Synodical Conference hymnbooks.

---

[60] Percy Dearmer, W. J. Birkbeck, T. A. Lacey, D. C. Lathbury, A. Hanbury-Tracy, Athelstan Riley (eds.) and Ralph Vaughan Williams (mus. ed.), *The English Hymnal With Tunes* (London: H. Frowde, 1906), https://archive.org/details/englishhymnalwit0000unse_b6d2.

[61] Percy Dearmer (ed.), Ralph Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw (mus. eds.), *Songs of Praise With Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), https://archive.org/details/songsofpraisewit0000unse_t6i7.

[62] Percy Dearmer and Archibald Jacob, *Songs of Praise Discussed: A Handbook to the Best-Known Hymns and to Others Recently Introduced* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1952), https://archive.org/details/songsofpraisedis0000perc/page/n7/mode/2up.

[63] Sydney Hugo Nicholson, *Hymns Ancient and Modern: A Plainsong Hymnbook Musical Edition* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1932).

[64] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *The Hymnal As Authorized and Approved for Use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in the Year of Our Lord MCMXVI Together With the Canticles at Morning and Evening Prayer and Occasional Anthems* (New York: The Church Pension Fund, 1916), https://archive.org/details/authoriz00epis/page/n3/mode/2up.

[65] Isaac Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs. In Three Books. I. Collected from the Scriptures. II. Compos'd on Divine Subjects. III. Prepared for the Lord's Supper. With an Essay Towards the Improvement of Christian Psalmody, by the Use of Evangelical Hymns in Worship, as well as the Psalms of David* (London: J. Humfreys, 1707), https://archive.org/details/bim_eighteenth-century_hymns-and-spiritual-song_watts-isaac_1707.

[66] Catherine Winkworth, *Lyra Germanica: Hymns for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Christian Year* (New York: Thomas N. Stanford, 1857), https://archive.org/details/lyragermanica01buns_0/page/n25/mode/2up.

[67] Catherine Winkworth, William Sterndale Bennett, and Otto Goldschmidt, *The Chorale Book for England: A Complete Hymn-Book for Public and Private Worship, in Accordance with the Services and Festivals of the Church of England* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1863), https://archive.org/details/choralebookfore00winkgoog.

Other primary sources relevant to the Synodical Conference include resolutions, memorials, and convention proceedings from the various Synods, which provide key liturgical information, dates, and context for the development of the preceding volumes that this study will analyze. In addition, the data and philosophical perspective provided by the Synodical Conference's Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics will prove indispensable for this thesis, particularly in view of the committee minutes and personal correspondence of Gervasius Fischer contained in the WELS Archives,[68] which supplemented the more sanitized reckoning provided by the *Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal* (1942).[69] Finally, anecdotal records from parishes chronicling musical use and progression will prove useful to consider, while personal anecdotes and correspondences from both clerics and the laity will help augment the total context of the research. The synodical academic/theological journals will also provide examples and other details pertinent to primary source content, including the Missouri Synod's *Der Lutheraner* and *Lutheran Quarterly*, the Wisconsin Synod's *German Gemeinde-Blatt* and English *Northwestern Lutheran*, the little Norwegian Synod's *Luthersk Tidende/Evangelisk Luthersk Tidende*, and the Slovak Synod's *Svedok (The Witness).*[70]

Finally, other primary sources relevant to the Anglican Communion include the several writings of the divines of the Oxford Movement, which will provide key insights into their reform efforts in the course of this thesis. An analysis of the *Tracts for the Times* (1833–1941) will be instructive in this regard.[71] Other personal anecdotal references and correspondences will

---

[68] These were discovered thanks to a tip from Dr. Paul Grime, who suggested that the WELS archive might contain information from Fischer's work as a member of the liturgics subcommittee for *TLH*. These copious amounts of files, documents, proceedings, and correspondence are contained in Uncatalogued Boxes 846, 847, 1011, 1021, WELS Archive, Pewaukee, WI. See also Grime's article, "Dissension in the Making of The Lutheran Hymnal," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 88, nos. 2–3, pp. 161–184, https://ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/GrimeDissensioninthemakingofTheLutheranHymnal.pdf.

[69] William Gustave Polack, *The Handbook to The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942).

[70] Published with a Slovak and English title in Pittsburg by Slavia Printing Co., Inc.

[71] John Henry Newman, John Keble, and Edward Bouverie Pusey, William Palmer, Richard Hurrell Froude, and Isaac Williams, *Tracts for the Times*, Volumes I–VI (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1833–1841), 6 volumes,

also be considered, which were gleaned from several sources through various archives and repositories.

Review of Secondary Sources

A wealth of information exists delineating the development and changes embodied by the disparate liturgico-musical traditions of the Lutheran and Anglican Communions. With respect to the former, Robin Leaver is a foremost authority. His monograph, *Luther's Liturgical Music* (2007), is a decisive volume that went into great detail regarding the Reformer's theology of music, as well as the liturgico-musical hermeneutic behind the construction of the *Deutsche Messe*.[72] Leaver offered keen insights into several of Luther's compositions, including his chorale-canticles, and provided compelling evidence that the Reformer created settings of the Gregorian tones for the Psalms and Canticles used in liturgical worship. A significant amount of thought, particularly within the Synodical Conference, operates under the assumption that Luther was liturgically incompetent.[73] Little research exists within Synodical Conference circles that critically applies the paradigmatic insights fleshed out by scholars like Leaver and Bryan Spinks (*Luther's Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass,* 1982[74]) against the conventional wisdom that pits the *Formula Missae* against the *Deutsche Messe*. This study accounts for that gap in the literature.

---

https://books.google.com/books?id=3OpHAQAAMAAJ, https://books.google.com/books?id=CDMuAAAAYAAJ. https://books.google.com/books?id=8uQUAAAAYAAJ, https://books.google.com/books?id=tVMJAAAAQAAJ, https://books.google.com/books?id=mQtAAAAAcAAJ, https://books.google.com/books?id=7FYJAAAAQAAJ.

[72] Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007).

[73] See, for example, Eugene L. Brand, "Luther's Liturgical Surgery," *Interpreting Luther's Legacy: Essays in Honor of Edward C. Fendt*, eds. Fred W. Meuser and Stanley D. Schneider (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1969), pp. 108-119; William D. Maxwell, "The Lutheran Rites," *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms* (London: Faith, 1960), pp. 73-80, https://archive.org/details/outlineofchristi011849mbp; Frank C. Senn, "Martin Luther's Revision of the Eucharistic Canon in the Formula Missae of 1523," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 44 (1973), pp. 100-118, https://scholar.csl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5012&context=ctm.

[74] Bryan Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass* (Cambridge, Grove Books, 1982).

Daniel Zager's work, *Lutheran Music and Meaning* (2023), addressed the fundamental and supernatural power of music in Luther's philosophy and the way it is intimately connected to liturgy and worship.[75] Several other works deal with this aspect of Luther's theology of music, including Miikka Anttila's *Luther's Theology of Music* (2013)[76] and Yakub Kartawidjaja's *Music in Martin Luther's Theology* (2021).[77] These focus on Luther's views of music on a broader philosophical level,[78] particularly in light of Luther's own liturgical writings and compositions, which are contained in English translation in Volume 53 of the American Edition of *Luther's Works*.[79] But these authors do not have as much to say about the historical development and continuity of the chorale tradition, particularly delineated in its American iterations. Leaver did discuss the application (or lack thereof) of Luther's principles in American Lutheran contexts, but he conflated American Lutheran hymnals of the Synodical Conference with other groups, while erroneously claiming that "no earlier twentieth-century American Lutheran hymnal included all of Luther's catechism hymns,"[80] when in fact *ELHB* did include all of the catechism hymns.[81] This underscores the need for a comprehensive delineation of the Lutheran hymnal tradition within the Synodical Conference.

From the Anglican liturgico-musical perspective, Erik Routley's *A Short History of English Church Music* (1997) provided a broad survey, highlighting the vibrancy and uniquely English character of Church music prior to the radical Reformation.[82] Dana T. Marsh's "Sacred

---

[75] Daniel Zager, *Lutheran Music and Meaning* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2023).
[76] Miikka E. Anttila, *Luther's Theology of Music: Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013).
[77] Yakub E. Kartawidjaja, *Music in Martin Luther's Theology* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021).
[78] The author's own Master's-level research also focused on the influence of Luther's philosophy of music education on the broader Lutheran and specifically educational tradition. See Daniel George Baker, "Martin Luther and Music Education: The Impact of Luther's Philosophy on Lutheran Music Education Today," MM thesis (University of Florida, 2020), https://original-ufdc.uflib.ufl.edu/AA00090669/00001.
[79] Martin Luther, *Luther's Works,* Vols. 1–55; T. G. Tappert (ed.). (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1957–1966). 55 volumes. (Original works published 1512–1545.)
[80] Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, p. 112.
[81] Though, admittedly, two stanzas were missing from *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*, No. 441, p. 379.
[82] Erik Routley and Lionel Dakers, *A Short History of English Church Music* (London: Mowbray, 1997), https://books.google.com/books?id=jd3TAwAAQBAJ.

Polyphony 'Not Understandid'" in *Early Music History* (2010),[83] provided a novel look at the earliest iterations of liturgico-musical philosophy in the early Reformation of the Church of England, demonstrating that there was a deliberate snuffing out of what might have been considered Lutheran musical principles of worship between Cranmer's work on the 1549 *BCP* and the 1552 *BCP*. Christian Garrett's *The Marian Exiles* (2010),[84] Karl Gunther's *Reformation Unbound* (2014),[85] and Peter Marshall's "(Re)defining the English Reformation," *Journal of British Studies* (2009),[86] gave further context to the motivations behind these radical tendencies in the wake of several key English theologians and reformers being exiled to Geneva.

In terms of the development of Anglican liturgico-musical texts, J. R. Watson's *The English Hymn* (1999) provided a critical study into the development of hymnody in the English tradition.[87] Likewise can be said of Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck's *Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer* (2006).[88] Meanwhile, the specifically nineteenth-century developments in the Anglican Church, which are crucial to this thesis, similarly form the crux of Martin Clarke's *Music and Theology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2012).[89] This supplemented Jonathan Naumann's comparison of "Nineteenth Century Anglican and Lutheran Repristination Movements" (1990), which did not deal with music but provided a helpful comparison between

[83] Dana T. Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid': Medieval Exegesis, Ritual Tradition and Henry VIII's Reformation," *Early Music History* 29, no. 1 (2010), pp. 33–77. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261127910000069.
[84] Christian Hallowell Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[85] Karl Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[86] Peter Marshall, "(Re)defining the English Reformation," *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 3 (2009), pp. 564–586.
[87] J. R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
[88] Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[89] Martin Clarke, *Music and Theology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

the doctrinal approaches to the Eucharist—a valuable insight, since the Eucharistic liturgy is a key focal point of this thesis.[90]

This points to a notable absence in the literature in terms of comprehensive, comparative analysis of the Anglican and Lutheran liturgico-musical traditions. The closest example is Donald Engebretson's self-published "Anglican and Lutheran Worship: Comparison and Contrasts" (n.d.), which provided a cursory survey of both traditions without much comparative extrapolation.[91] In addition, Michael Church's "The Rage of Caliban" in *Anglican and Episcopal History* gave an insightful analysis of the *BCP* influence on *TCS* and, more specifically, the Anglican influence on the Lutheran architects of *TCS*.[92] Church's speculative analysis is a launching point for further inquiry, which is taken up in Chapter III of this thesis.

In addition to these philosophical and historical surveys and analyses of the broader Lutheran and Anglican traditions, there have been several studies into the hymnals of the various Lutheran bodies that have existed in America. Preeminent among these is Carl Schalk's *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America.*[93] Schalk was a lay LCMS musicologist,[94] organist, and composer who came of age in the twentieth century during the heyday of *TLH*. With particular respect to the Saxon Lutherans, Schalk's *The Roots of Hymnody in the Lutheran*

---

[90] Jonathan Charles Naumann, "The Eucharistic Theologies of Nineteenth Century Anglican and Lutheran Repristination Movements Compared," PhD diss. (Concordia Seminary St. Louis, 1990), https://scholar.csl.edu/phd/87.

[91] Engebretson, Donald V. "Anglican and Lutheran Worship: Comparison and Contrasts." N.d. Academia.edu, https://www.academia.edu/12372673/Anglican_and_Lutheran_Worship_Comparison_and_Contrasts.

[92] Michael G. L. Church, "The Rage of Caliban: The Common Service, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Catholic Revival," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 74, no. 3 (2005), pp. 357–383, https://www.proquest.com/docview/211065725?sourcetype=Scholarly%20Journals.

[93] Carl F. Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995).

[94] Schalk is credited with fleshing out the concept of the *kernlieder* in modern Lutheran liturgico-musical analysis. The *kernlieder* refer to the "core hymns" or chorales of the Lutheran tradition that constituted the basis of its liturgico-musical tradition as such.

Church, Missouri Synod (1965),[95] Jon D. Vieker's[96] *August Crull and the Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (2013),[97] and Vieker's doctoral dissertation, "The Father's Faith, the Children's Song" (2014) provided context for the development of the LCMS's first German and English hymnals.[98] An additional source of immense value from the LCMS ironically pertained to two companions to its current hymnal: *Lutheran Service Book*: *Companion to the Hymns* (2019)[99] and *Lutheran Service Book: Companion to the Services* (2022).[100] These works provided valuable information on hymn and translation sources where none else was available, as well as liturgical music bibliographic information that was otherwise difficult to track down. Both are incredibly well-sourced, albeit they do not contain information on the entire corpus of hymns and liturgical music contained in this study. The Missouri Synod's twentieth-century liturgico-musical underpinnings are perhaps best represented by the writings of Walter Buszin, many of which were anthologized by the Good Shepherd Institute under editor Daniel Zager as an appendix to Kirby Koriath's *Music for the Church* (2003), which provided a biography of Buszin's life and helpful context for his work with regard to *TLH* and the Intersynodical Committee that formed it.[101]

In the Wisconsin Synod, Arnold O. Lehmann served as a musicologist and musician, chronicling a wealth of historical information about the musical history of the Synod. His

---

[95] Carl F. Schalk. *The Roots of Hymnody in the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House (1965).
[96] Vieker is an LCMS clergyman, professor, and dean of the LCMS seminary chapel in St. Louis.
[97] Jon D. Vieker, *August Crull and the Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book (1912*) (Minneapolis: Lutheran University Press, 2013).
[98] Jon D. Vieker, "The Fathers Faith, the Children's Song: Missouri Lutheranism Encounters American Evangelicalism in its Hymnals, Hymn Writers, and Hymns, 1889–1912," PhD diss. (Concordia Seminary St. Louis, 2014), https://scholar.csl.edu/phd/49.
[99] Joseph Herl, Peter C. Reske, and Jon D. Vieker (eds.), *Lutheran Service Book: Companion to the Hymns* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2019).
[100] Paul J. Grime (ed.), *Lutheran Service Book: Companion to the Services*, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2022).
[101] Kirby Lawrence Koriath, *Music for the Church: The Life and Work of Walter E. Buszin* (Fort Wayne, IN: Good Shepherd Institute, Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 2003), https://archive.org/details/musicforchurchli0000kori.

doctoral thesis, "The Music of the Lutheran Church, Synodical Conference, Chiefly the Areas of Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin and Neighboring States, 1839–1941" (1967), may have been the first musicological study of the Synodical Conference and the development of its hymnals, particularly from a WELS perspective.[102] Lehmann's articles in the *WELS Historical Institute's Journal***,** particularly those that provided translations of synodical proceedings and reports, are an invaluable source for research into the development of hymnody in the WELS.[103] Similarly helpful are the insights of James P. Tiefel, who recently served as professor of liturgics at the WELS' Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary. His article, "The Formation and Flow of Worship Attitudes in the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod" in *LOGIA* (2005)[104] pointed to Lehmann's work and surveyed the hymnals of the Wisconsin Synod, while his Seminary work, "The Contributions of Gervasius W. Fischer to the Liturgical Awareness of the Wisconsin Synod" (1976), provided a keen anecdote from Fischer's souvenir copy of *TLH*.[105] This highlighted Fischer's general discontent with the final liturgical product and, ultimately, was the basis of the suggestion that led this study to the Fischer files at the WELS archive.[106]

Jorunn Raddum's "Variety is the Spice of Life" (2015)[107] provided background context for the development of the Norwegian liturgical tradition, while Craig Ferkenstad's "A Table in

---

[102] Arnold Otto Lehmann, "The Music of the Lutheran Church, Synodical Conference, Chiefly the Areas of Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin and Neighboring States, 1839–1941," PhD diss. (Northwestern Reserve University, 1967), Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/bim_early-english-books-1641-1700_arnold-otto-lehmann_1967-01_ia40331301-26.
[103] Arnold O. Lehmann, "Wisconsin Synod Hymnals and Agendas 1850–1950."
[104] James P. Tiefel, "The Formation and Flow of Worship Attitudes in the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod," *LOGIA: A Journal of Lutheran Theology* 14, no. 3 (2005), pp. 31–39.
[105] James P. Tiefel, "The Contributions of Gervasius W. Fischer to the Liturgical Awareness of the Wisconsin Synod," Seminary paper (Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, 1976). See especially pp. 10–11 for the hymnal inscription.
[106] *I.e*., Tiefel had relayed this information to Dr. Paul Grime, who in turn relayed it to the author.
[107] Jorunn Raddum, "Variety is the Spice of Life? Forandring fryder? The Church of Norway 2011 liturgical reform: A study of the concept of contextuality in Nord-Gubrandsdal," MA thesis (MF Norwegian School of Theology, 2015), http://mfopen.mf.no/mf-xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/2373794/AVH8020-kand-nr-5073-masteravh-Raddum-navn.pdf.

the Wilderness"[108] gave context for the development of the *Psalmebog* tradition in the Norwegian Synod and perspective on the ELS' self-referential view as the spiritual successors of the Norwegians in America. In a similar vein, Jarslov Vajda's "History of the *Cithara Sanctorum*" (1944)[109] provided information on the historical development of the *Cithara Sanctorum* and its use in the Slovak Lutheran Church, while S. G. Mazak's "A Brief History of the Slovak Lutheran Synod of the United States" (1929)[110] gave background context regarding the SELC's development and challenges.

However, while these and other volumes chronicled the historical detail and primary documents associated with the formation of the members of the Synodical Conference and their liturgico-musical traditions, little research exists comparatively analyzing specific musical and textual variants between successive hymnals and liturgical books in a particular synodical tradition, much less in a critical light. If anything, there tends to be a triumphalist attitude toward hymnal and liturgical progression rather than reflective or introspective analysis of the changes made, to say nothing of the catalyst for those changes. For example, Schalk went so far as to imply that the very propagation of the Lutheran chorale tradition in the English language depended on successive hymnals and translation tinkering: "Each successive generation has worked to improve these translations so that new generations might continue to sing the heritage of the chorale in the English language."[111] This belies a significant gap in the study of hymnology within American Lutheranism. This thesis will provide for this gap in the literature by analyzing

---

[108] Craig A. Ferkenstad, "A Table in the Wilderness: Our Legacy as the Spiritual Successors of the Norwegian Synod," Convention Essay (Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 2003), https://www.mnwebsteps.com/grover/pdf/2003-convention-essay.pdf

[109] Jaroslav Vajda, "A History of the Cithara Sanctorum (Tranoscius)," BDiv thesis (Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1944), https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv/110.

[110] S. G. Mazak, "A Brief History of the Slovak Lutheran Synod of the United States." BDiv thesis. 1929. Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, CSL Scholar, https://scholar.csl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi.

[111] Carl F. Schalk, "A Brief History of LCMS Hymnals (before LSB)," *Worship Notes* (Spring 2017), 1–4, <https://files.lcms.org/wl/?id=2ptHOjSEOjgDTq4iaBHmJ0QY0X18hp8y>

the progression of the Synodical Conference hymnal tradition on the basis of the Anglican influence on said tradition, a point of analysis that is also lacking in the literature.

The lack of this analysis is particularly profound when considering the liturgical developments surrounding *TCS*. It is often taken for granted that the self-referential claims made by the compilers of *TCS* are accurate, particularly vis-à-vis the notion that it represents the "common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the Sixteenth Century."[112] The writings of several of the men who worked on *TCS*, including Adolph Spaeth (1839–1910),[113] Edward T. Horn (1850–1915),[114] and particularly the *Memoirs* (1974)[115] of Henry Jacobs Eysters (1844–1932) gave a glimpse into this mindset. Luther D. Reed (1888–1961), who was a protégé of Jacobs, provided useful background context in his analyses of *TCS*,[116] especially in his seminal *The Lutheran Liturgy* (1947).[117] Alvin Lange's thesis, "The Common Service: A Study in the Adoption and Use of The Common Service Between 1891 and 1941 in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States" (1971) traced the history of *TCS* in the LCMS, particularly in its *ELHB* and *TLH* forms.[118] Lange's research showed the development of the various versions of *ELHB* and

---

[112] General Synod, *The Common Service,* "Preface," p. xxx.
[113] Adolph Spaeth, "The General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America," *The Lutheran Church Review* 4, no. 14 (1885), pp. 81–126, https://books.google.com/books?id=lUpQAQAAMAAJ.
[114] Edward T. Horn, "The Old Matin and Vesper Service of the Lutheran Church," *The Lutheran Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1882), pp. 514–525, https://books.google.com/books?id=qQxIAQAAMAAJ; "The Public Use of the Common Service," *The Lutheran Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1889), pp. 227–242, https://books.google.com/books?id=sgtIAQAAMAAJ; "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," The Lutheran Quarterly 21, no. 2 (1891), pp. 239–268, https://books.google.com/books?id=ABBIAQAAMAAJ; and "Luther on the Principles and Order of Christian Worship," *The Lutheran Church Review* 10, no. 3 (1891), pp. 217–256, https://books.google.com/books?id=80pQAQAAMAAJ.
[115] Henry Eyster Jacobs, *The Memoirs of Henry Eyster Jacobs: Notes on a Life of a Churchman*, Ed. Henry Eyster Horn, vol. 1–3 (Huntingdon, PA: Church Management Service, 1974), 3 vols., https://archive.org/details/memoirsonhenryey0001jaco, https://archive.org/details/memoirsonhenryey0002jaco, and https://archive.org/details/memoirsonhenryey0003jaco.
[116] *E.g.*, Luther D. Reed, "Historical Sketch of the Common Service," *The Lutheran Church Review*, 26, no. 5 (1917), pp. 501–519, https://books.google.com/books?id=JjtQAQAAMAAJ.
[117] Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Liturgy of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), https://archive.org/details/lutheranliturgys0000reed_m1j2.
[118] Alvin H. Lange, "The Common Service: A Study in the Adoption and Use of the Common Service between 1891 and 1941 in the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod and the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and

provided helpful data in that area. However, his study spent less time dealing with the character of *TCS* and the question of whether it lived up to the claim of being the consensus of pure Lutheran liturgies from the sixteenth century than this thesis will provide. Nor did he deal with the dissent among the liturgics subcommittee in the creation of *TLH* that this thesis will focus on. However, Lange did rightly note that the final liturgical form in *TLH* is not in fact *TCS* of 1888, which did allow for some use of the liturgical chorales..

While other recent scholarship has provided historical analysis of *TCS's* development, particularly James Heiser's *The Common Service* (2022),[119] there is a lack of scholarship that deals with how *TCS* was something substantially different from what came before in the Lutheran tradition. In fact, little scholarly work exists that analyzes *TCS* in a critical light, much less in view of Anglican influences (notwithstanding the previously referenced Church article, "The Rage of Caliban"). By tracing the actual history of Lutheran liturgical development not only in the sixteenth century, but also through the immigration of the constituent members of the Synodical Conference to the United States, and comparing it with developments in the Anglican tradition, this thesis provides for these critical gaps in the literature.

Methodology

Procedures and Data Collection

This study advanced a qualitative methodology, utilizing a historical research design. Inductive analysis was used in the collection of primary sources that demonstrate the transition

---

Other States," STM Thesis, (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1972), https://scholar.csl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1522&context=stm.

[119] James D. Heiser, *The Common Service: The English Liturgy of the Church of the Augsburg Confession* (Malone, TX: Repristination Press, 2022).

from the Lutheran tradition to Anglican-influenced forms among the constituent bodies of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Several databases and research libraries were used in the data collection process. The Hymnary.org, InternetArchive.org, Google Books, and IMSLP.org repositories were invaluable tools for preliminary research into various prototypical hymnals and liturgical texts, particularly those that are difficult to access in the United States. The progression of this thesis resulted in the author amassing a personal library of nearly all the hymnals and agendas of the four Synodical Conference constituent bodies. Gaps were filled by collections from other institutions. The WELS Archives in Pewaukee, WI, proved to be an invaluable resource, exceeding what was available at the Concordia Historical Institute library and research center in St. Louis, Missouri. The archive provided an incredible resource for the collection of primary data related to the first Synodical Conference hymnal, as well as behind-the-scenes interplay between the Synods. Research privileges at Concordia University in Mequon, WI and the Center for Church Music at Concordia University in Chicago, IL, provided access to multiple editions of nearly all Synodical hymnals being studied, as well as tangentially related hymnals from other Lutheran bodies in the United States and abroad. These resources also provided access to the editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* and Episcopal hymnals in use at the time.

Many of these sources were also accessed through the use of online databases such as JSTOR, Google Scholar, and the like, which were also helpful in triangulating information on the key figures and movements within the Anglican tradition that affected American Lutheranism during the research time period. These resources also provided access to Lutheran periodicals and journals, which contained valuable accounts from various clerical and lay stakeholders in the realm of music, as well as several dissertations and theses that were relevant to the research.

Data Analysis

Because this is a qualitative study, data analysis occurred inductively, interpreting and analyzing the historical data as they were collected. Different categories were established based on key themes relative to the nature of the data, such as ‘hymnody,’ ‘liturgy,’ and ‘choral music.’ An internal system of coding sorted the various data for further analysis using a word-processor. At the end of the initial process of data collection for a particular research question, key themes were established and organized into a detailed narrative description, after which preliminary conclusions were drawn. Potential answers to the research questions are discussed based on these conclusions. Particular forms of Anglican influence were deduced on the basis of compositional influence (e.g., music and/or text directly from an Anglican source), structural similarity (i.e., content and layout), and inferred influence (e.g., written records that demonstrate motivations from Anglican-inclined Lutheran sources).

Delimitations

The primary American Lutheran church bodies included in this study were delimited to the former constituent members of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America at the time of its 1963 fracture, which consisted of the bodies that are today known as The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS), the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS), the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (ELS), and the SELC District of the LCMS (formerly the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church). Although these Church bodies had various names in different languages over the past two centuries, the modern acronyms will be anachronistically applied for clarity in this study.

CHAPTER I:

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Philosophical Paradigm of the Evangelical-Lutheran Liturgico-Musical Tradition

The role of music in the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition, particularly in the form of the chorale and the hymnals and agendas[120] that contained its many iterations, was a creative and conforming force for both clergy and laity in the movement's formative centuries. Much has been written that extols the use of the chorale for its ability to aid in confessional[121] conformity and propagation. But this strong doctrinal emphasis belies a misunderstanding of the symbiosis between theology and music that was latent in the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition from its inception. Understanding the elevated role of music in the tradition is paramount when contrasting it with other Reformation movements.

The prototypical and eponymous Saxon philosopher of the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition, Martin Luther, was initially responsible for enshrining the centrality of music within the tradition. So much was this the case that he placed music on par with theology itself as the discipline that "deserves the highest praise."[122] While the other divines of the burgeoning

[120] Liturgical agendas, sometimes referred to as 'Church Orders' and by other monikers, are similar in scope to the missals of the Catholic tradition. These texts (to varying degrees) contained the liturgical services, prayers, and rites that ministers would need in the performance of their duties.
[121] The term "confessional" is used by Lutherans to denote doctrinal and theological orthodoxy in view of the Lutheran Confessions, *i.e*., the *Book of Concord* of 1580. See Friedrich Bente (ed.), *Triglot Concordia: The symbolical books of the Ev. Lutheran Church* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1580), https://books.google.com/books?id=vQtIZfctcRYC.
[122] Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, p. 323.

Lutheran movement were codifying the tenets of their faith at the Diet of Augsburg,[123] Luther—who at the time was holed up in Coburg Castle to prevent his arrest by papal forces—was preoccupied with outlining a treatise aptly titled, Περί τῆς μουσικῆς ("About Music").

> About Music.
> I love music.
> Its condemnation by the Enthusiasts[124] does not please me,
> Because
> 1. It is a gift of God, not men,
> 2. Because it makes souls happy
> 3. Because it drives away the devil
> 4. Because it makes the innocent joyful,
> wrath
> Meanwhile destroying < lust
> Pride
>
> I give music the next place after theology. This is clear from the example of David and all the prophets, who commanded everything with meters and songs.
>
> 5. Because it reigns in time of peace.
>
> Endure, then, and it will be better for this art with those after us, because they are of peace.
>
> I praise the Dukes of Bavaria in this, because they worship music. Among us the Saxons preach arms and bombardments.[125]

Although the original manuscript is lost, one of Luther's contemporaries preserved this original outline as penned by the Reformer. Luther's intended treatise is worth examining for a thorough understanding of the uniqueness of music within the Lutheran tradition, which from the outset set itself apart from the "Enthusiasts" (the fathers of the radical Reformation) who denied music's intrinsic value.

---

[123] Luther wished to be present at the Diet in 1530, but the responsibility of both writing and presenting what came to be known as the Augsburg Confession, the principle document defining and defending Luther's teachings at variance with official papal doctrine, fell to his trusted lay friend and theological aide, Philipp Melanchthon.

[124] Literally, "*Schwermerii*," from the German "*Schwärmerei*." Enthusiasts at Luther's time included members of the radical Reformation like Ulrich Zwingli, Andreas Karlstadt, and Caspar Schwenckfeld, who taught that the Holy Spirit worked directly in men outside of the Means of Scripture and the Sacraments. A hallmark of the radical Reformation was iconoclasm in art and music.

[125] Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe) 30. Band Zweite Abteilung* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachsolger, 1909), p. 696, https://books.google.com/books?id=KPkoU76M_xYC. The translation is composite and original to this thesis, using translation software.

Principally, Luther's philosophy of music was driven by the conviction that it is a gift and creation of God. Luther believed that music is ontologically woven into the fabric of nature, enabling human beings to become cooperatively engaged in the processes of creation through the act of music-making. In this vein, Luther viewed mundane and operative forces of daily life in musical terms:

> From the beginning of the world it [music] has been instilled and implanted in all creatures, individually and collectively. For nothing is without sound or harmony, Even the air, which of itself is invisible and imperceptible to all our senses, and which, since it lacks both voice and speech, is the least musical of all things, becomes sonorous, audible, and comprehensible when it is set in motion.[126]

The implications of music's preeminence were transformative, such that Luther believed music could literally drive out the devil and be a source of spiritual aid. This belief was scaffolded by his understanding of various Old Testament texts, of which Luther was a prolific scholar and lecturer. For example, the narrative in 1 Samuel 16:14–23 records David's use of music to drive evil spirits away from King Saul, which is alluded to in the fourth point of Luther's outline.

There was also a socially transformative element to Luther's treatise on music. As opposed to the medieval scholastics, who considered music strictly in theoretical terms as a subset of mathematics, Luther began his treatise with the emotive "I love music." He believed music had emotional and experiential value beyond theoretical constructs. In the spirit of humanist philosophy, he believed music had the power to change mood and behavior. In the outline's conclusion, Luther noted that the Bavarians esteemed music highly, to the shame of the Saxon princes who esteemed weaponry instead. Consequently, Luther contended that music would have socio-cultural implications for a society that was engaged in its enlightened pursuit. This contention is most clearly demonstrated by an examination of Luther's development of an

[126] Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, p. 321.

evangelical[127] idiom[128] in liturgy, as well as the vernacular expression of the chorale as a cultural phenomenon in post-Reformation Saxony.

The Development of an Evangelical-Lutheran Liturgy

Luther published two liturgical rites that other musicologists and theologians have analyzed to distill the Reformer's liturgico-musical strategy:[129] The *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe.*[130] But these rites were not in themselves the basis of evangelical liturgical reform. Rather, they were prototypical examples of how different cultural expressions could stem from the same evangelical basis.[131] Before the *Formula Missae*'s publication in December of 1523, Luther set his pen to establish an evangelical understanding of liturgical worship earlier that year in the *Ordenung Gottis Diensts Ynn Der Gemeyne* ("Order of Divine Service in the Congregation").[132] The *Ordenung* laid out many suggestions for what worship should look like, ranging from less formal study of the Bible in the daily Office, to the fuller celebration of the Mass and Vespers on the Lord's Day.[133] Summarized, the *Ordenung* also established five basic principles for worship in the Evangelical Church:[134]

1. The Word is central. All public worship should involve preaching and prayer.

---

[127] *Evangelische* was the historical term used to refer to the Lutheran movement. It denoted a philosophical view predominated by the gospel of justification by faith alone rather than the Roman Catholic system, which required good works from the believer as part of the process of justification (being declared righteous or forgiven in God's sight).

[128] This thesis uses "idiom" here and throughout in the sense of a characteristic liturgico-musical expression. It is used broadly to refer to the overarching evangelical expression, as well as to specific vernacular iterations of the evangelical principle.

[129] Refer, *e.g.*, to the works of Buszin, Horn, Leaver, Miikka, Reed, Schalk, and Zager discussed in the Review of Literature.

[130] For translations, see Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, pp. 15*ff*, and 51*ff*.

[131] This section of the research, along with the discussion of Löhe on p. 72*ff*, was the inspiration for the peer-reviewed article: Daniel G. Baker, "The False Dichotomy of *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe*," *LOGIA: A Journal of Lutheran Theology: Formula Missae* 32, no. 2 (2023), pp. 7–17.

[132] Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, pp. 9–14.

[133] The fact that Vespers was specified in the *Ordenung* should not be seen to preclude the use of Matins. Luther wrote music for Matins, which will be comparatively discussed in Chapter V.

[134] As a convention in this thesis, the use of "evangelical" in the lowercase refers to the principle, while the uppercase use of "Evangelical" refers to the movement more broadly (*e.g.*, Evangelical-Lutheran).

2. The chants and liturgical texts that conform to the Scriptures should be retained.
3. The ministers are responsible for maintaining liturgical worship.
4. The cult of the saints should be abolished, but the biblical feasts retained.
5. The Sacrament should be offered every Sunday and whenever it is desired.

Luther's publication of the *Formula Missae* shortly after the *Ordenung* was a practical manifestation of these evangelical ideals. At the outset, he again maintained, "It is not now nor ever has been our intention to abolish the liturgical service of God completely, but rather to purify the one that is now in use from the wretched accretions which corrupt it and to point out an evangelical use."[135] This reality was instantiated in the *Formula Missae*'s retention of the traditional ordinary of the mass, collects, chants, and cycle of lessons, but with the restoration of an overarching evangelical paradigm.

This paradigm, distilled to its core, can be understood from the first of Luther's evangelical principles of worship: the Word is central. For Luther, the heart of that Word was the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith alone. In the context of worship, this meant understanding the Mass as a gift—God's work—rather than the dogma of human works that plagued what Luther called the "abomination of the mass" under the papacy.[136] No longer was the Mass a sacrifice to propitiate the wrath of God and atone for the sins of the living and the dead. The Evangelical Mass, or Divine Service, delivered the fruit of Christ's once-for-all atonement. The stark contrast could not be clearer.[137]

In the *Deutsche Messe*, published three years later, Luther augmented this emphasis of justification by faith alone through musical composition. Unlike the *Formula Missae*, the

---

[135] Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, p. 19.
[136] Luther, "Smalcald Articles," in Bente (ed.), *Triglotta*, p. 463.
[137] For a deeper look into Luther's reform of the Canon of the Mass in particular, see Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass*.

Deutsche Messe included notation for various chants and other musical prescriptions, which were likely edited by Luther's kantor, Johann Walter.[138] The *Formula Missae* did not necessitate complex musical settings for an obvious reason: it was an evangelical revision of an existing liturgico-musical cultus. Although a vestige of an ancient civilization, the Latin Mass represented the survival of a unique musical and linguistic culture—admittedly, with numerous regional dialects as it spread further from its source in Rome. Nevertheless, the text and music of the liturgy were already suited to the language and culture of Latin in its various forms. In contrast, no such liturgical cultus existed for the German language. Luther had the monumental task of developing a textual and musical expression that represented the culture and language of Germany rather than Rome. The success of his labors is represented by the chorale tradition that flourished in the centuries that followed.

The Chorale as the Core of Evangelical-Lutheran Musical Expression

From the publication of the first Lutheran hymnal in 1524 and the *Deutsche Messe* in 1526, the chorale held pride of place at the heart of the movement's liturgico-musical expression. Luther is credited with the conception of the chorale as a musical form. As a trained musician himself, Luther composed over 45 chorale melodies along with their attendant prose.[139] The premise behind the chorale as a construct was to provide accessible, appropriate, and musically interesting settings of "German Psalms" that could be used in corporate, vernacular worship.[140] Luther understood this to be a truly catholic undertaking.[141] He sought to recast and use the

[138] Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music,* p. 211.
[139] Albeit this is disputed. Consider the discussion of the various works attributed to him in *Luther's Works*, vol. 53; cf. William Armand Kelley, "The Relationship of the Early Lutheran Hymns to Certain Features of Martin Luther's Theories of Religious Education," PhD diss. (New York University, 1957), accessed via ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.
[140] Martin Luther, *Luther's Works, Vol. 49: Letters II* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1972), 69.
[141] In this context, "catholic" means "universal," as opposed to the Roman Catholic denomination.

models of Latin hymnody and Psalm chants that the Church had used for centuries in the construction of these German settings.

The Chorale and the Psalter

The Psalter was foundational in Luther's formation as a scholar and a theologian. In both his formal education and religious experience, Luther was inundated with the Psalter as both musician and monastic. He envisioned the chorale functioning as the biblical Psalms did for the Hebrew people, but in a Germanic idiom for a German people. Indeed, many of Luther's earliest hymns were simply recasts of various Psalms. For example, perhaps his most famous *Ein Feste Burg ist unser Gott* ("A Mighty Fortress is Our God"), along with the so-called Battle Hymn of the Reformation, *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh Darein* ("O Lord, Look Down From Heav'n, Behold"), were based on Psalms 46 and 12, respectively. For Luther, the Psalter provided an example *par excellence* of the wedding of music and text, since he believed the Psalter was literally the Word of God. While only the texts of the Psalms were contained in the Latin Bible at the young Luther's disposal, the medieval Church used plainsong melodies that in some cases had been associated with specific Psalms for at least a millennium. From these ancient melodies, a series of modal tones developed that were used alternatingly with various Psalms over the course of the liturgical year. Eventually, more elaborate melodies developed from these modal roots into flourishing Gregorian chant melodies for the Ordinary and Proper of the Mass and the antiphons, responsory texts, and hymns for the Divine Office.

It is little wonder that Luther utilized these melodies in his own liturgical compositions. For example, Luther's *Nun Komm der Heiden Heiland* ("Savior of the Nations, Come") was based on the fourth-century Latin melody *Veni redemptor gentium* by St. Ambrose, while his *All Ehr und Lob soll Gottes sein* (not to be confused with the later chorale melody of the same

name), which was based on the *Gloria* for the Paschal season from the Roman *Kyriale*, dating to at least the twelfth century. Luther believed in the power of the music of the ancient Gregorian melodies even when their texts were dubious. In his *Preface to Burial Hymns*, he wrote:

> This is also why we have collected the fine music and songs which under the papacy were used at vigils, masses for the dead, and burials, [. . .] But we have adapted other texts to the music so that it may adorn our article of the resurrection, instead of purgatory with its torment and satisfaction which lets their dead neither sleep nor rest. The melodies and notes are precious. It would be a pity to let them perish.[142]

This contention is demonstrative of the Reformer's belief in music's inherent quality distinct from any associated text, even when the two shared an innate connection. He believed that the beautiful, well-made music of the ancient Church should not be abandoned on the basis of errant theological accretions.

Melodic Simplicity

Though the chorales utilized Gregorian melodies, they were recast in Germanic idioms. For example, Luther recast the melismatic *Veni Creator Spiritus* (Figure 1.1) in a syllabic form (Figure 1.2), translating the Latin text into a German poetic idiom.
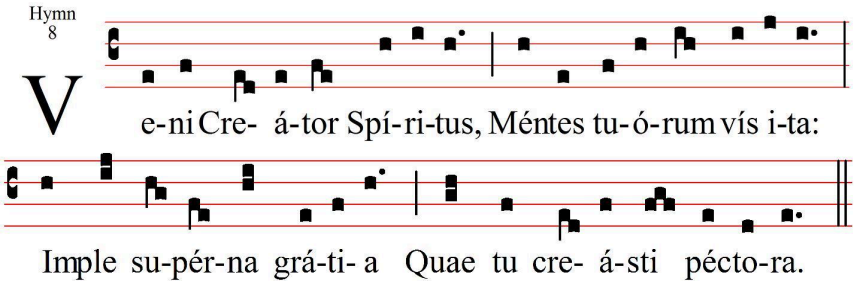


Figure 1.1. An image of a representative transcription of the first stanza of *Veni, Creator Spiritus* in the original Gregorian/Latin setting.[143]

[142] Luther, *Luther's Works* (vol. 53), p. 326.
[143] Image in the Public Domain, courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Veni_Creator_Spiritus-1.jpg.
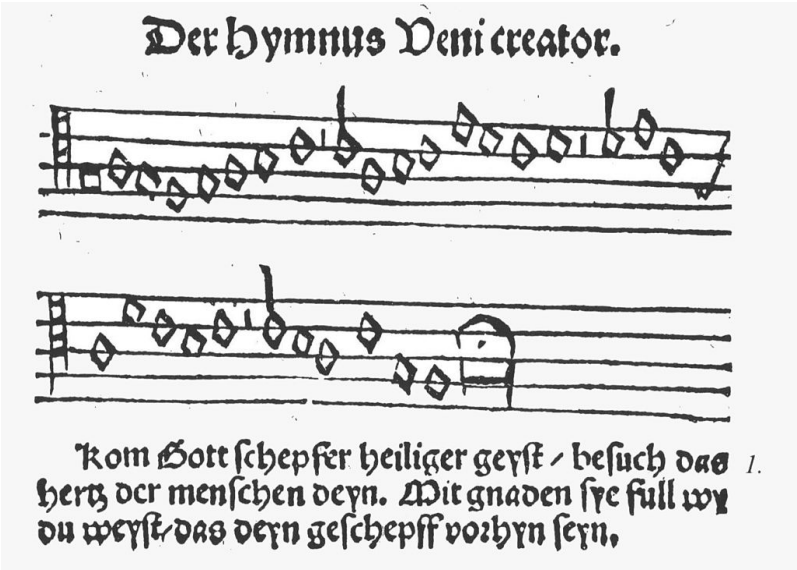


Figure 1.2. A facsimile of the first stanza of Martin Luther's recasting of *Veni, Creator Spiritus* as the chorale *Komm, Gott Schöpfer*, as represented in the *Erfurt Enchiridion*, the second Evangelical-Lutheran Hymnal, 1524.[144]

The simplification of the melodic structure of the chant was meant to facilitate its use in a German idiom, as the syllabic emphases of the melismas were intended for a Latin idiom in the original chant. But Luther did not hesitate to use more complicated melodic structures when it would emphasize a German idiom. For example, in his chorale setting of the *Credo*, melismas abounded from the incipit (Figure 1.3):
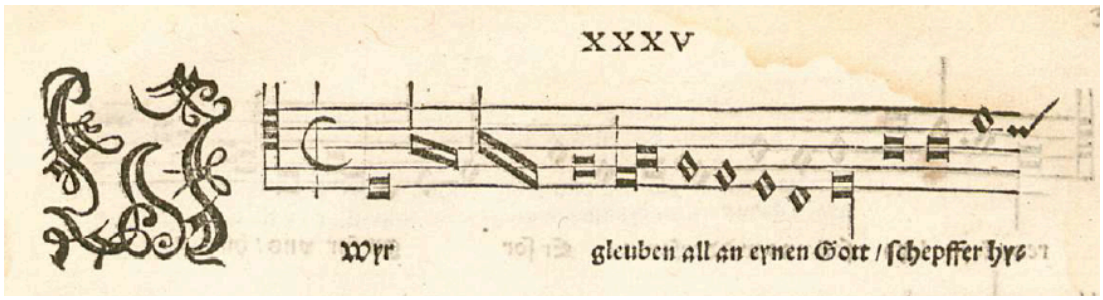


Figure 1.3. A facsimile of Martin Luther's *Wir glauben all*, a chorale setting of the *Credo*, as contained in Johann Walter's *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn*, 1524.[145]

[144] *Ibid*., https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Enchiridion_geistlicher_Ges%C3%A4nge_39.jpg.
[145] *Ibid*,. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Luther-Walter-Wir-glauben-1524.png.

The melismatic character of this chant melody recast in a German context exceeds that of the Latin version of *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Although Luther wanted the melodies to be relatively simple for accessibility, he did not want to sacrifice musical interest. The paramount consideration in melodic complexity was that it was consistent with a German idiom for ease of accessibility among the common people. The use of bar form in many of Luther's chorales was intended to facilitate the appropriation of these melodies for the laity. Whereas the Gregorian melodies of the medieval Church had been almost exclusively the domain of the choir, Luther intended for the congregation to engage in a radically participatory role in the liturgy. He wanted to maintain a continuity with the ancient Church on a musical basis while engaging the laity in the renewed emphasis on evangelical doctrine—a synthesis that would be integral to the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition in the centuries that followed.

Just as with the melodies, it was important that the chorale texts "spoke German." Rather than, for example, transliterations of the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew into German, Luther wanted the liturgical and biblical texts to be conveyed in a German idiom. Luther's translational paradigm was concerned with matching the meaning of the source language with intelligibility in the target language. This sometimes meant the development of entirely new phrases in his German translations, drawn from conversational study of the vernacular of the common people. He listened "to the speech of the mother at home, the children in the street, the men and women in the market, the butcher and various tradesmen in their shops, and 'looked them on the mouth,' in pursuit of the most intelligible terms."[146] His mastery of the German tongue allowed him to reproduce Hebrew poetry and prose in German rhythm and rhyme. These simple—yet

[146] Philip Schaff, *The History of the Christian Church, Volume VII: Modern Christianity: The German Reformation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), p. 345, https://books.google.com/books?id=DxFGAQAAMAAJ.

doctrinally rich—rhyming texts were meant to facilitate memorization for a laity that was theologically impoverished and illiterate. As a humanist philosopher, Luther believed in the innate dignity of each individual, as well as his (or her![147]) capacity to learn sacred truths.

This is why it would be remiss to think that technical and stylistic considerations predominated Luther's goals. As much as the chorale was intended to convey a German idiom both melodically and textually, it was also meant to convey an *Evangelical* idiom. Inevitably, the idea of "German Psalms" exceeded the Biblical book of Psalms and came to encompass all hymns intended for corporate worship—just as the original Hebrew Psalter was a compilation of hymnody intended for use in corporate Hebrew worship. This meant that other Biblical texts and Canticles were used in the composition of chorales meant to teach the people key reformational truths. This reality is most clearly evidenced in Luther's liturgical reforms. Just as he sought to preserve the Church's traditional chant melodies in his chorales, Luther retained much of the essence of the Roman Mass in the *Deutsche Messe*,[148] recasting it in German *and* evangelical idioms.

The *Deutsche Messe* incorporated the use of the chorale and modal compositional structures to achieve these idiomatic goals, demonstrating the principles of his philosophy of music in a practical way.[149] Robin Leaver demonstrated in *Luther's Liturgical Music* the level to which Luther utilized his evangelical principles, musical skill, and the related philosophy of humanism to craft the master work that is the *Deutsche Messe*. In keeping with humanist philosophy, Luther believed that the eight Church modes uniquely evoked certain emotions and

---

[147] Luther's belief in universal education for boys and girls became a hallmark of the Lutheran parochial school system.
[148] Luther, *Luther's Works* (vol. 53), pp. 60*ff*.
[149] See Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, p. 181 for an in-depth discussion of the philosophical constructs that humanism, to which Luther subscribed at least in part, ascribed to the various Church modes. Luther weaved these throughout the *Deutsche Messe*, organizing the parts of the Liturgy to emphasize key theological constructs (*e.g*., paralleling the *Kyrie* with the *Agnus Dei* to emphasize the holistic eucharistic character of the *Messe*).

virtues.[150] He appropriated the compositional practice of changing modes to signal textual cues in the setting of his liturgical chants. For example, in a letter to his kantor, Johann Walter, Luther wrote:

> Christ is a friendly Lord, and his sayings are gentle, therefore, we want to take the *Sextum Tonum* for the Gospel; and because St. Paul is a serious Apostle, we want to appoint the *Octavum Tonum* for the Epistle.[151]

As the longest and most intricate of all his compositions, Luther's use of mode and melody throughout the *Deutsche Messe* demonstrated the importance he placed on music itself to convey meaning most clearly. As a specific example, consider the chant tone for the Gospel explained in the letter to Walter above. Luther cleverly moved the voice of Christ (Figure 1.4b) a fifth lower than the rest of the narrative chant (Figure 1.4a/b):

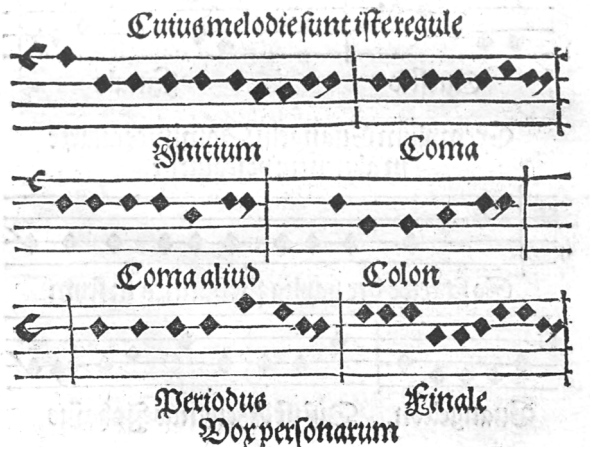


Figure 1.4a. A facsimile of the Gospel chant music from Martin Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, depicting the pointing of the narrator's portion of the text.[152]

[150] See Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, "Part III: Liturgico-Musical Hermeneutics and Pedagogy," pp. 172–225.
[151] Luther, n.d., as quoted in Walther, 1565, as quoted in Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, p. 333.
[152] Luther, *Deutsche Messe*, p. 26.

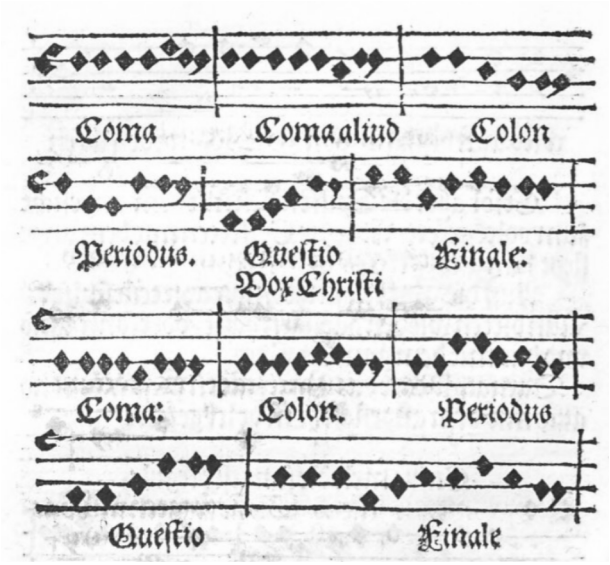


Figure 1.4b. A facsimile of the Gospel chant music from Martin Luther's Deutsche Messe, depicting the pointing for words spoken by characters in the text (first two bars) and the voice of Christ (last two bars).[153]

Luther's compositional intent, utilizing the humanist understanding of the Church modes, demonstrated his philosophy that music itself has the capacity to express evangelical truths. This was continued throughout the various chorale-canticles of the *Deutsche Messe*. The melody of the *Kyrie* is revisited in the *Agnus Dei*. The through-composed chant melody of the *Gloria* matches the mode and phrasing of the *Sanctus*. His use of identical melodies in the chanting of the Gospel and the chanting of the *Verba Testamenti* (the consecration of the Eucharist) were meant to convey the heart of the Evangelical contention that the Mass was in fact a sacramental rather than sacrificial event.

The liturgical impetus behind the chorales of the *Deutsche Messe* enabled a robust appropriation of Church music for a laity that had been theretofore deprived.[154] He envisioned the chorale as a vehicle for the people's singing of the liturgy. Even the incorporation of rich

[153] *Ibid*., p. 26.
[154] This deprivation was really two-fold: First, the laity did not speak the Latin to which medieval Church music was set, to say nothing of general literacy. And, secondly, the various parts of the medieval Mass were not really meant to be sung by the people, but rather by trained choirs.

musical chants for the priest served this end—previously inaudible sections of the priestly prayers became proclamatory, sung for the people in musically interesting ways.[155] No longer was Church music the domain of priests and choristers; the laity were able to access the liturgy and embrace it in ways that shaped German culture for centuries.[156]

The Endurance of Evangelical-Lutheran Liturgico-Musical Reforms in the Saxon Tradition

Luther's efforts to reshape medieval Church music into a form accessible to the German common people were successful. This is clearly demonstrated in the case of Magdeburg, where the infectious nature of the chorale tradition preceded any doctrinal teaching of the Reformation. Luther's chorale settings of Psalms 67 (*Es woll' Gott uns genädig sein*/"May God Bestow on Us His Grace") and 130 (*Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*/"From Depths of Woe I Cry to Thee") were spread by broadsheet in the town square and sung before the Roman Mass in that city.[157] Likewise, in the suburbs of Leipzig, when Catholic priests urged their prince to suppress the use of one of Luther's chorales, the prince asked:

> "Which hymns?" The priest answered, "My lord, it is called 'To Us May Our God Gracious Be.'" Whereupon the prince snapped, "Well, then, should the devil be gracious to us? Who can be gracious to us but God?" Thus, the practice of singing Luther's hymns in that particular chapel was continued.[158]

---

[155] For example, in place of the silently spoken Roman Canon, Luther composed a chant melody for the priest to audibly speak in the hearing of the people, turning this previously offertory element into a sacramental one.
[156] One might argue that the "Evangelical" moniker should qualify "German" here, but even the Catholic Germans were influenced by the cultural force of the chorale, creating their own chorale tunes and even appropriating some Protestant ones—and vice versa.
[157] Worship Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary Handbook*, Online Draft ed. (Mankato: Bethany Lutheran College, n.d.), https://blc.edu/comm/gargy/gargy1/elh.hymn.info.mno.html.
[158] C. T. Aufdemberge, *Christian Worship: Handbook* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1997), p. 581.

The success of the chorale exceeded the confines of any German border, or even those of Europe. The nineteenth-century American Lutheran seminary professor Samuel Budd captured this sentiment when describing the superiority of the chorale over Methodist tunes:

> Perhaps none other [than our own Church] is so rich in that style of music which, of any one kind, is most suitable for congregational use. Nothing more dignified in construction and movement than the Chorale has been found; and when the melody is sung in unison by a multitude, with the harmony supplied by a fine organ, the effect is truly sublime. The Chorale was pre-eminently the music of the Reformation, and its native characteristics—firmness, strength, faith—were exactly what were demanded by the times. Were all our hymns of the same general mould, [*sic*] no other form of tune need be sought or used. But the subject matter, the rhythm, the modes of thought, all vary widely and call for corresponding variety in the music. Although music is a universal language, it has many dialects, or at least idioms. Nationalities, temperaments and individualities, all impress it with their own types. One type is not necessarily either better or worse than another, merely because it differs from it. The Chorale is full of the strong masculinity of German thought; but is there no place for the melodious elegance of the Italian? It would be as reasonable to ask that our sacred poetry be all written in one rhythmic form, and have but one mode of presenting its subjects, as that our tunes be composed after one model. Let them vary as the minds of Christians are various, provided that anything which savors of levity or flippancy be not heard.[159]

The success of the chorale was also demonstrated in its liturgical enshrinement in the Evangelical tradition. In addition to the staple chorales that formed the ordinary of the Mass, the seasonal chorales that Luther and his contemporaries composed became the *Kernlieder* ("core hymns") that formed the basis of weekly liturgical expression, which earned pride of place through the ages in German hymnals, as evidenced in compendiums like the 1682 *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch*[160] used through Johann Sebastian Bach's (1685–1750) time in Leipzig (1723-1750). These hymns also became enshrined in the liturgy as the *Hauptlied* (English: Chief Hymn) of the week, which shaped piety throughout the Church year. For a laity that had been deprived of basic

[159] Samuel W. Budd, "Church Music," *The Lutheran Church Review*, 1, no. 4 (1882), p. 268, https://books.google.com/books?id=7UhQAQAAMAAJ.
[160] See Gottfried Vopelius, *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* (Leipzig: Gallus Riemann, 1682), http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10592508-5.

education, these texts and melodies were a ritual that ordered the yearly rhythm of life. In the words of Carl Schalk,

> Since the time of the Reformation, three books, it has been said, have been the principal shapers of Lutheran piety. Of these three books—the Bible, the catechism, and the hymnbook—one might reasonably argue that it was the hymnbook, certainly the most regularly and frequently encountered, that has had the most enduring and lasting influence. It is unquestionably the regular and recurrent use of hymns in worship that has shaped so much of our basic vocabulary of words, phrases, and images that have become part of both our individual and collective memory as church. Hymns planted deep in memory and recalled to mind in various situations of the Christian life, are more powerful and influential in our spiritual nurture than we might imagine. Nor was singing in Lutheran piety relegated to the Sunday gathering of the faithful. It was equally part of Lutheran piety in the home in family and personal devotions, and hymns—at various times in Lutheran history—could be heard at work, in the fields, wherever Christians might gather. Singing hymns was an activity that permeated the Christian life day in and day out.[161]

While Schalk's description of the role of hymnody in the average Evangelical-Lutheran household during the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy might seem somewhat wistful, the manifest importance of the chorale might be most clearly evinced by the inspiration it provided for the copious musical compositions from a wide swath of German composers, ranging from Michael Praetorius (1571–1621) and Johann Pachlebel (1653-1706) to J. S. Bach, who utilized them in diverse ways. Volumes have been written chronicling the musical nuance of Bach's works, among the other German masters, as expressions of theological truths based on the melodic character of the chorales upon which they were based—even without any textual reference.[162] Indeed, the chorale was proffered by composers of organ and other instrumental pieces that became liturgico-musical offerings in their own right, fulfilling Luther's philosophical conviction

---

[161] Carl Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land,* Kindle location 112–119.

[162] E.g., Gerhard Herz, *Essays on J. S. Bach* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1985); Richard Jones, *The Creative Development of Johann Sebastian Bach*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Russell H. Miles, *Johann Sebastian Bach: An Introduction to His Life and Works*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1962); Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach* (2nd ed.), (Cambridge University Press, 2003); Christoph Wolff (ed.), *The World of the Bach Cantatas: Johann Sebastian Bach's Early Sacred Cantatas* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007).

that "the music, or the notes, which are a wonderful creation and gift of God, help materially" as a source of spirituality and praise.[163]

Meanwhile, Luther's sixteenth-century *Deutsche Messe* flourished and was codified in the Saxon agendas, which embellished upon his original metrical offerings with new settings in the spirit of his original vision. The prototypical *Agende* of the Saxon tradition was produced by Justus Jonas and others under the auspices of Duke Henry IV the Pious (*Herzog Heinrich IV der fromme*) in 1539/1540—a mere thirteen years after the original publication of the *Deutsche Messe.*[164] The liturgical flow of the *Agende* and its structural elements were adapted from Luther's rites, with a simpler form for village settings and a more elaborate ritual for cities.[165] It is important to note that the *Agende* did not rigidly follow *Formula Missae* or *Deutsche Messe* exclusively in either the city or village. The Latin prose settings of the Ordinary were juxtaposed with chorales. Later versions would embellish even further, including with the addition of chorale settings of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*. These liturgical "Ordinary" chorales[166] used in the Saxon *Agende* had the potential to become even more enshrined in the hearts of the faithful than the ritualized use of the *Hauptlied*, since the liturgical chorales were a weekly mainstay of the rite. This promoted the inculcation and continuing cultural significance of the chorale tradition on a much deeper level. Indeed, while successive editions of the Saxon *Agende* were published, the volume remained relatively consistent until the eighteenth century.[167]

---

[163] Luther, *Luther's Works* (vol. 15), p. 273.
[164] See Jonas, *et al*., *Agenda,* https://books.google.com/books?id=SaFUAAAAcAAJ.
[165] See Appendix 1 for an outline of the city rite.
[166] *I.e*., the metrical, chorale-based settings of the *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus,* and *Agnus Dei,* which formed the traditional "Ordinary of the Mass" from the medieval Pre-Reformation rite, which were sung every week, as opposed to the "Proper of the Mass," which varied on a weekly basis according to the Church Year.
[167] Minor additions were made, e.g., the inclusion of certain prayers from neighboring regions, such as the inclusion of Martin Chemnitz' (1522–1586) General Confession from the neighboring Church Order in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. See Friedrich Lochner, *The Chief Divine Service*, tr. Matthew Carver (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2020), especially pp. 14-54, for more detailed information tracing the progression of the Saxon tradition and its use by the Saxon immigrants of the Missouri Synod.

The Effects of Pietism, Rationalism, and Unionism

The eighteenth century saw a radical departure from the established norms of the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition. Just as the spirit of the age of enlightenment induced revolutions in the secular world, so there was an overturn of thought in ecclesiastical affairs. On the one hand, there was a parochial movement within Lutheranism, which started with the Saxon-born Philipp Spener (1635–1705). His well-intentioned movement, which came to be known as Pietism, sought to infuse deeper spiritual significance into religious life. While recognizing a substantive problem in what they perceived as "dead orthodoxy," or the experience of ritual divorced from a deep appreciation and lived experience of the ritual meaning of the acts, the champions of Pietism in the eighteenth century (after Spener's death) began to advocate for the wholesale rejection of the established liturgical ritual.[168]

The Lutheran Reformation to this point had been characteristically conservative. Luther famously rejected the iconoclastic tendencies of the radical reformers like Andreas Karlstadt (1486-1541), who attempted to remove all iconography and statuary in Wittenberg, as well as the "iconoclasm" of music in the Reformed tradition, which rejected all but the Psalter. For Luther, the liturgical tradition of the Church represented something to be cherished and preserved, if in a culturally appropriate idiom. The Pietists, in contrast, saw the liturgy as a sign of "dead orthodoxy," much as the radical reformers of the sixteenth century viewed the liturgy as nothing but a vestige of the Roman Mass. Notwithstanding any legitimate concerns the Pietists may have had regarding the rote performance of the liturgy among the "dead orthodox," they moved in a direction that was different from the restorative mindset of Luther's reforms. This meant the abandonment of texts like the Saxon *Agende* and its liturgical chorale tradition.

[168] The era roughly spanning the late sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries is typically described as the period of "Lutheran Orthodoxy."

Aiding in the Pietists' efforts was a change in the nature of the chorale, which—while not excised to the same degree as the liturgy and *Agende*—represented a significant change from Luther's original philosophical goals. For example, the robust rhythmic chorales of the sixteenth century were changed from their melismatic, chant, and Renaissance-dance-like forms to stately isorhythmic versions devoid of the syncopation, upbeat tempos, and disjunct melodic contours that were eschewed by the more contemplative Pietists. Compare, for example, the highly melismatic and rhythmically interesting incipit of Luther's *Ein' feste Burg* (Figure 1.5) with its Pietist revision (Figure 1.6).
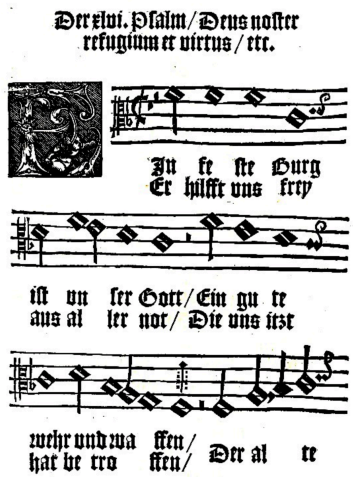


Figure 1.5. A demonstration of the melismatic and rhythmic contours of Martin Luther's *Ein Feste Burg*, from a facsimile of the 1545 *Kirchengesenge Deudtsch*, etc., showing the first "A" section of the chorale (with its repeat) and the incipit of the "B" section.
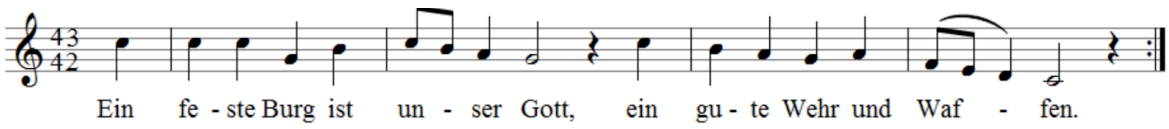


Figure 1.6. A demonstration of the isorhythmic (Pietist), simplified form of Luther's Ein Feste Burg, transcribed from the *Neues Choralbuch,* etc., 1956, as presented in Andrew Wilson-Dickson's *Geistliche Musik*, *etc*., 1994, showing the "A" section of the chorale.[169]

[169] Martin Luther, in Karl Gerok, *Neues Choralbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch*, (Augsburg: Bärenreiter, Kassel und Bael, 1956), p. 55, in Andrew Wilson-Dickson, *Geistliche Musik — Ihre großen Traditionen — Vom Psalmengesang zum Gospel* (Gießen: Brunnen Verlag, 1994), p. 63, image courtesy of Wikimedia Foundation, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ein_feste_Burg_ist_unser_Gott#/media/File: Ein-feste-Burg-zwei-Fassungen.png.

Though the melodic contour remained roughly the same, the piece is smoothed out to a stately 4/4 meter devoid of syncopation, rhythm, or melisma (occasional passing tones notwithstanding depending on the variant).[170]

In addition to the musical changes in old chorales, there was an explosion of new Pietist chorale melodies modeled after novel musical settings. These were attended by novel texts, which focused heavily on the personal experience of the hymn-singer rather than the objective evangelical truths that were at the core of Luther's reforming efforts. What is more, the epistemological tendencies of Rationalism that pervaded the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries resulted in truncated hymn texts, with difficult sacramental and seemingly paradoxical theological tenets whitewashed or removed entirely.[171]

The sheer glut of hymnody produced from these frameworks meant the displacement of the *Kernlieder* and *Hauptlied*. For example, the *Musicalisches Gesang-Buch*[172] of 1736, which was published at the end of Bach's tenure in Leipzig (usually regarded as the "last bastion" of Lutheran Orthodoxy), had some 954 hymns. Another influential Pietist hymnal, Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen's (1670-1739) *Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch* (1705), contained over 759 hymns.[173] This was functionally disjointed from the culture of those pastors who prided themselves in their peoples' ability to sing the *Hauptlied* without the aid of text and almost certainly resulted in the chorale having less staying-power than in centuries before.

---

[170] It is worth noting that the isorhythmification of the chorale in the Pietist era was adopted even by the orthodox Lutherans (see J. S. Bach's chorale settings, e.g., *Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis [BWV]* 250-438).
[171] For example, texts referencing the resurrection of the dead were removed. See also Peter C. Cage, "Sacramental Hymnody in American Lutheran Hymnals During the Nineteenth Century," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2002), pp. 195–220, http://www.ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/cagesacramentalhymnody.pdf.
[172] Georg Christian Schmelli, *Musicalisches Gesang-Buch* (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, Buchdr., 1736), https://books.google.com/books?id=szMJMq_zmygC.
[173] Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen, *Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch: Den Kern Alter und Neuer Lieder, Wie auch die Noten der unbekannten Melodeyen Und dazu gehörige nützliche Register in sich haltend* (Halle: Waysenhaus, 1705), https://books.google.com/books?id=b84pdM75PN0C.

After the religious and philosophical problems that troubled the Evangelical-Lutheran musical tradition in the eighteenth century, political challenges arose that made adherence to Lutheran orthodoxy difficult in the nineteenth century. The Prussian Union of Churches in 1817 served as a model for other German states that sought to merge their separate strands of Evangelical Protestantism (chiefly, Reformed and Lutheran) under one banner. While the punishments were not as severe in Saxony, the Saxon Lutheran faithful were still subjected to governmental interference, specifically with regard to the education of their children, which prohibited them from practicing their religion the way they wanted. These unionizing tendencies led to major pushback from those who still maintained traditional affinities.

The Neo-Lutheran Movement and the Saxon Migration

The Pietism and rationalism of the eighteenth century and the unionism of the nineteenth century culminated in a backlash known as the Neo-Lutheran movement. So-called "Confessional Lutherans," who held to the foundational documents of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church contained in the *Book of Concord* of 1580, pushed back against forced governmental unionism and the abject rejection of tradition and doctrine fostered by Pietism. Often meeting in secret and working *pro bono*, the pastors of these movements were heavily persecuted. It was against this backdrop that the great Saxon migrations to North America occurred in the nineteenth century, most notably (for the purposes of this thesis) those that eventually came under the pastoral care of Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther (1811–1887).[174] These Saxon immigrants settled primarily along the Mississippi River in Texas, Missouri, and the upper

[174] Although Walther did not lead the initial migration (that was led by Bishop Martin Stephan), after scandal and internal political turmoil, Walther became the leader of the group in the year following their arrival. See the following footnote for more details.

Midwest.[175] Walther and Saxon settlers from these groups went on to be instrumental in forming the ecclesiastical organization today known as The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS), a founding member of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. These Saxon Lutherans took great pains to repristinate their Saxon liturgico-musical heritage in the United States, which will be examined in Chapter II. This Neo-Lutheran movement was not concerned with repristinating an ancient form of the Latin Mass, but rather forging a continuity with the organic Lutheran tradition that had unraveled in less than a century due to Pietism, Rationalism, and the Prussian Union.

Concluding Thoughts on the Evangelical-Lutheran Tradition

Martin Luther advocated a philosophy of music that emphasized the inherent quality of music as a manifestation of God's heavenly order and an intrinsic part of the fabric of the universe. Music was next to the Word of God not simply as a means to an end—a useful vehicle to convey the Biblical texts—but rather as a profound gift and creation of God in its own right. This understanding manifested in a rich chorale and liturgical tradition. The Saxon *Agende* that was born from this tradition went on to internationally inspire other Church orders in the Evangelical-Lutheran world and beyond. The desire to recapture this tradition was at the heart of the Saxon migrations to the United States and their liturgical renewal efforts. The impetus of this liturgical renewal was of a different sort than the contemporaneous movements happening in the nineteenth-century Church of England, which had its own unique tradition and a different musical paradigm.

---

[175] See Walter O. Forester, *Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri 1839–1841* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953) for a more robust description of these events.

The English Reformation's Musical Paradigm

Even before the Reformation, the English liturgico-musical tradition was distinct from continental Europe. The Sarum Rite—a form of the Latin Mass and Breviary unique to British Isles—had been in use since the twelfth century.[176] Likewise, the distinctive *Contenance angloise* ("English manner" of polyphony), which utilized harmonies on the third and sixth pitches to emphasize the sung text,[177] separated the musical tradition of England from other traditions as the Renaissance began to take root.[178] Nevertheless, these differences in form did not separate the pre-Reformation English Church substantively from Rome, but its liturgico-musical context was already somewhat set apart from the broader European sphere.

The distinctive English manner was also evident in England's foray into reform at the beginning of the Reformation. While controversies over liturgical forms and doctrinal imperatives mounted, the catalyst that allowed the Reformation to boil over in the English Church was Henry VIII's desire for an annulment.[179] The politically charged nature of the English Reformation spurred Parliament's enactment of laws forbidding papal authority and land ownership, declaring their monarch to be the "head of the Church" and, incidentally, increasing Parliament's power.[180] The seminal emphasis on the political dimension of the Reformation was somewhat different from the way things unfolded on the continent, where doctrinal and liturgical

---

[176] See Church of Sarum, *Missale*.
[177] See Ronald H. Fritze and William B. Robison, *Historical Dictionary of Late Medieval England, 1272–1485* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), p. 363.
[178] It could be suggested that this idiosyncratic use of harmonization for non-musical purposes to emphasize strictly theological tenets was an early instantiation of the supremacy of text over music in the English subconscious.
[179] The nuance of the interplay between the various factors precipitating the English Reformation is much greater than the space or topic at hand allow. For a contemporary reassessment of historical perspectives on the English Reformation, see: Marshall, "(Re)defining the English Reformation," pp. 564–586.
[180] Karl Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 66.

concerns precipitated the inevitable political quagmires.[181] The earlier fusion of the political and doctrinal dimension of the English Reformation affected the development of the movement in different ways than its continental counterparts. In some ways, the English Reformation was politically declared under Henry VIII's headship in 1534, albeit the king and his clerics and theologians still had to wrestle with what this would mean doctrinally and practically for the realm.

To satiate the need for direction in the fledgling English Reformation, Henry VIII made known to Parliament[182] his intention "set forth true doctrine: then to separate pious from impious ceremonies, and to teach the right use of them."[183] To effect this, the king divided the Lords Spiritual[184] into two committees, the first tasked with doctrine and the second with ceremony. This latter task was set to be codified in a book titled *Ceremonies to be Used in the Church of England*.[185] The initial draft of this tome was markedly conservative in its reform philosophy and contains a notably Lutheran philosophical approach to music [reproduced here with original spellings]:[186]

> The discrete and devowte syngyng / mvsyke, and playing with organs, vsed in the churche, for the suice of god are ordeynid to move and stire the people to the swetenes of godes worde there songe ~~and not vnderstanid~~, and by y^{l} swete armonye both to excite

[181] This should not, however, be construed to mean that, *e.g.*, the German electors that backed Luther against the Holy Roman Emperor did so exclusively for doctrinal reasons. Political dimensions seeded the Reformation on the continent, too, albeit in arguably less overt ways.
[182] That is, mediated through Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal and one of the earliest proponents of reform.
[183] Thomas Cromwell, *Journal of the House of Lords*, i (London, 1802), p. 129, as quoted in Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'," p. 7.
[184] Also referred to in the literature as the "episcopal bench," this group was part of the House of Lords and consisted of 26 bishops from sees throughout England.
[185] Marsh, in his work "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'," goes into great detail highlighting the political machinations behind the formation of these committees, as well as the contrivance intended by Henry VIII to form a "middle way" and preserve a conservative balance in the work being done.
[186] Incidentally, had this work actually been codified and become an official Anglican ecclesial document, this would have been the first and only reference to music as an aspect of ritual ceremony in the Church of England promulgated under Henry's reign.

> theym to prayers and devotion, and also put theym in rememberaunce, of the hevelye tryumphante churche, where ys everlasting yoye, wth contynuall lawde and praise.[187]

It is noteworthy that the initial formulation of the *Book of Ceremonies* allowed for the ritual use of music—which explicitly included choral and organ varieties—to aid in the experience of worship even where the lyric might be "not understanid [*sic*]." The *Book of Ceremonies* specifically noted the power of music to excite a spiritual response in the listener and to immerse the listener in what could be described as a mystagogical[188] experience. Understandably, the division between music and the Biblical text as distinct mystical and ceremonial realities in worship was contrary to more radical reformed ideals. Consequently, the clause "and not understanid [*sic*]" was stricken in the original Lambeth record.[189] Later copies of the *Book of Ceremonies* omitted this clause entirely, along with other subtle changes that made clear the subordinate role of music in worship to the Word of God:

> The Sober discrete and devoute Syngyng / musike and playing with orgaynes vsid in the church in the servyce of god ar ordeynyd to move and stere the people to the swetnes of goddis worde the which is their songe. And by that swete armonye bothe to excite them to prayers and devoción and also to putt theym in remembraunce of the hevenlie triumphante churche where is everlasting Joye v/ contynuall laude & prayis to god [aberrant spelling throughout original to the document].[190]

The *Book of Ceremonies* did not ultimately become an official document of constitution for the Anglican Church. But the revision process the book underwent provides a vital glimpse into the mindset of the early English reformers as they deliberated the role that music would play in the worship life of the English Church. The evolution of this particular passage dealing with music demonstrates that, though there was initial consistency with Luther's conservative

---

[187] See Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'," p. 72, for an image of the original manuscript from Lambeth Archiepiscopal Library, Manuscript 1107, folio 179.
[188] Mystagogy is the Christian principle of learning the meaning of sacramental truths through ritual participation in worship.
[189] Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'," p. 72.
[190] See Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'," p. 74, for an image of the original manuscript from the British Library Board, Cotton Manuscript Cleopatra E.v., folio 275.

philosophy of music, ultimately the voices that prevailed were of a more radical bent. The sections that follow will trace the paradigmatic and historical development of the Anglican tradition in this context, with commentary that compares and contrasts it with the Lutheran tradition.

Thomas Cranmer and Early Vernacular Anglican Liturgy

As alluded to above, the tenuous doctrinal relationship between the Lutheran and Anglican Communions can be traced back to the beginning of the Reformation. Myles Coverdale's (1488–1569) translation of the Psalter, which became the liturgical standard in Anglican worship, relied upon Luther's German translation.[191] At the same time, William Tyndale (c. 1494–1536), who had a legacy that went on to shape the course of the King James Bible (influential in later Anglican liturgical music), was directly influenced by his studies in Luther's Wittenberg.[192] Likewise, Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), the liturgical architect of the *Book of Common Prayer* and Archbishop of Canterbury under Henry VIII, also had a dalliance in Germany with the Lutheran theologian Andreas Osiander (1498–1552) and even brought back the German reformer's niece as his wife, which was noteworthy given the expected celibacy of those in the episcopal office.[193] After being recalled to Britain, Cranmer influenced the shape of

[191] See Heinz Bluhm, "The 'Douche' Sources of Coverdale's Translation of the Twenty-Third Psalm," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 46, no. 1 (1947), pp. 53–62, Edgar R. Smothers, "The Coverdale Translation of Psalm LXXXIV," *The Harvard Theological Review* 38, no. 4 (1945), pp. 245–269, and Robin A. Leaver, *"Goostly Psalmes and spirituall songes": English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535–1566* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) for fuller treatments of the influence of Luther's translation on the Coverdale Psalter. It is also worth noting that Coverdale produced what has been called the "first Anglican hymnbook," *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes.* In addition to original English translations of Latin hymns like *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, the majority of this "hymnbook" consisted of English translations of Lutheran hymns. See Myles Coverdale, *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes drawen out of the holy Scripture: for the co[m]forte and consolacyon of soch as loue to reioyse in God and his Worde (*London: J. Rastell Publisher/Johan Gough, 1535), https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/17321610.

[192] Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformation* (Chichester, WS: John Wiley & Sons, 2009), pp. 298–300, https://books.google.com/books?id=GKoS6pB_3RQC.

[193] This defiant act by Cranmer was a decisive nod to the direction England was headed with regard to Reformation sympathies. See Susan Wabuda, *Thomas Cranmer (Routledge Historical Biographies)* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2017) for a thorough biography.

liturgical development in the fledgling English Reformation with some of the tenets of burgeoning evangelical doctrine.[194]

However, Cranmer's time among the Lutherans was early in the Reformation. His return to England in 1532 was less than a decade after Luther had debuted his first liturgical reforms and before the chorale was firmly entrenched as the cultural force it later became. What is more, at this time more radical elements of the Reformation were still operating under the same banner as Luther's more conservative reforms. In this sense, not only was Cranmer's exposure to Lutheranism more doctrinal than practical, it was also limited in scope. He had little opportunity to imbibe the liturgical and musical elements that were so integral to Luther's reform efforts. The significance of this contention is perhaps most clearly seen in Cranmer's own words. In a correspondence with Henry VIII, he advocated the following:

> In my opinion, the song that should 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.[195]

One need not speculate what this might have looked like practically. Although it never came into widespread use due to the later 1552 edition of the *BCP*, Cranmer solicited the services of composer John Merbecke (c. 1510–1585) to produce and publish a notated version of the 1549 *BCP*[196] with versions of the Canticles that were illustrated in his letter to Henry VIII. Consider the example of the *Venite* and *Te Deum* in Figure 1.7:

---

[194] This historical reality would be used as grounds for cross-pollination between English and Lutheran forms by the Lutheran architects of *The Common Service* of 1888 in the nineteenth century. See Chapter III for more details.
[195] Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556*, ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge: The University Press, 1846), p. 412, https://books.google.com/books?id=dcQUAAAAQAAJ.
[196] See Appendix 1 for a comparison of the 1549 *BCP* with other liturgies.
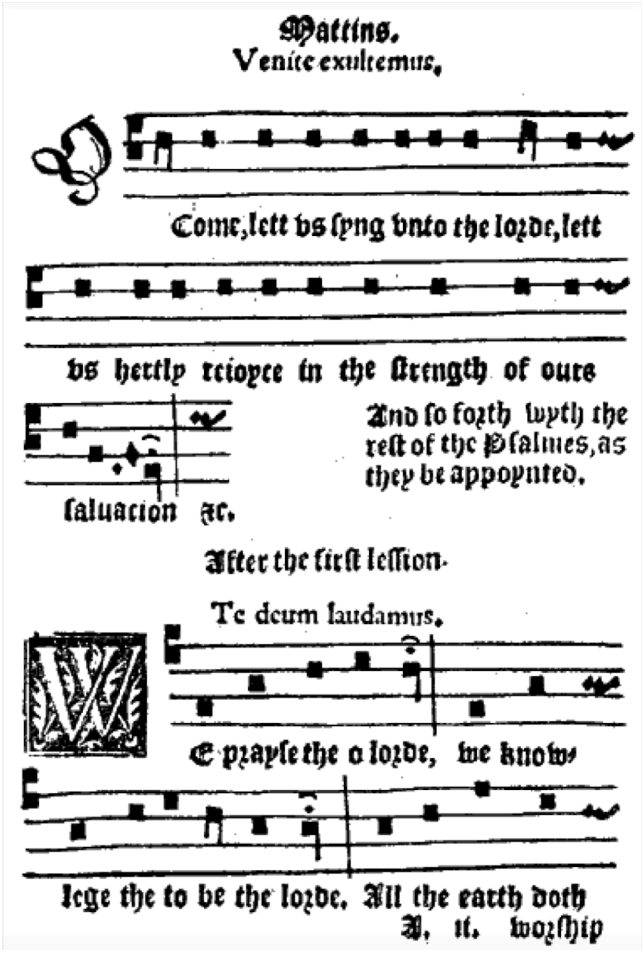


Figure 1.7. A facsimile of a page from Mattins in the 1549 version of the *Book of Common Prayer,* musically notated by John Marbecke, showing the beginning music and text for the *Venite exultemus* and the *Te deum laudamus*, respectively.[197]

Although at this early stage Cranmer's reform strategy was markedly conservative in producing a simplified vernacular version of the Sarum Missal in the 1549 *BCP*, already the iconoclastic tendencies of the radical and Calvinistic strain of the Reformation movement were apparent. Any latent Lutheran influences were ultimately tempered and arguably cut short by the political machinations of the English crown, which teetered between Roman Catholicism and Reformation sympathies, in addition to the power dynamics within the episcopal and ecclesiastical system that ultimately favored a more radical approach than the conservative

[197] Merbecke, *Book of Common Prayer Noted*, p. 4.

Lutheran strain.[198] After the ascendancy of Queen Mary I in 1553 and the subsequent persecution of those loyal to the Reformation, many key Reformation figures that already favored a more radical approach were driven to Geneva.[199] There, the so-called 'Reformed'[200] strand of Reformation theology was solidified among these exiled English theologians over and against Lutheran influences.[201] But the Reformed strand had already taken root in the revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1552, which remained relatively unchanged through the twentieth century.[202] Unlike the conservative reforms of the 1549 version, which simply excised the most unpalatable elements of the papal forms of worship, the 1552 version radically altered the basic flow of the liturgy to conform with a more Reformed faith.

How Doctrine Shaped Practice in Lutheranism and Anglicanism

Distilled to their doctrinal cores, there is much that is similar between the evangelical doctrine of the Anglican and Lutheran traditions. The idea of justification by faith alone, which was the doctrinal heart of Luther's liturgical reforms (as opposed to the Roman Church's concept of "faith and works"), reigned supreme in both traditions. A historical mistrust of the papacy was also common to both (tempered, of course, in most modern contexts). Both Communions held to the so-called "*solas*" of the Reformation, which are Latin phrases that define evangelical

---

[198] As was discussed above, see Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid'," p. 33–77, for a discussion of the evidence of the power struggles within the Church of England already during Henry VIII's reign.
[199] Garrett, *The Marian Exiles,* provided examples from over 800 individuals who fled persecution under Mary.
[200] Chief leaders in the Reformed movement were John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli. The former championed the notion of double-predestination. Both eschewed a belief in the substantial presence of Christ in the Sacrament of Holy Communion. They favored simplicity in worship and demonstrated iconoclastic tendencies.
[201] As Oxford Movement-inspired author put it: "Calvin indeed, doctrinally, could never have found fault with that portion of the Prayer-Book of 1549, on which we are now engaged: for he taught again and again identical doctrine which is there ritualised." Edmund Salusbury Ffoulkes, "Consecration *not* Transubstantiation," in *Oxford Tracts for English Churchmen,* vol. 3 (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1881), p. 6, https://books.google.com/books?id=O8cHAAAAQAAJ.
[202] Recall that the *BCP* offered precious little in terms of a musical mandate or standard, including hymnody, so there was no need for periodic updates to accommodate new melodies, tunes, or hymn texts.

doctrine: *sola gratia* (grace alone), *sola fide* (faith alone), *sola Scriptura* (Scripture alone), *solus Christus* (Christ alone), and *soli Deo gloria* (to the glory of God alone).

Perhaps the most substantive point of departure was the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar. The Reformed view held that the Body and Blood of Christ are not substantially present in the Sacrament of the Altar; this was anathema to the Lutheran Confessions.[203] In fact, the matter of the Sacrament was a primary reason that the Evangelical movement splintered into the Lutheran and Reformed distinction in the first place. The firm belief in the substantial presence of Christ in the Sacrament also shaped the development of Luther's liturgical reform. His musical and liturgical design of the *Deutsche Messe* placed equal weight between the reading of the Scriptures and the administration of the Sacrament as a unified Eucharistic whole. Although Calvin himself recognized the importance of a weekly Eucharist,[204] the Reformed mindset among those that followed him leaned more heavily upon emphasizing the written Scriptures, relegating the Sacrament to a more limited frequency. Rather than understanding the Sacrament to be the "fundamental of fundamentals" in receiving orally the substantial Body and Blood of Christ as the Lutherans believed,[205] the Anglican Church maintained the Reformed contention that Christ's presence was, in the words of the 39 Articles, "only after a heavenly and spiritual manner."[206]

---

[203] "Substantially present" is repeated in the Lutheran Confessions in relation to the Sacrament. See Bente, *Troglot Concordia*, pp. 176–178, 187, 247, and 975.

[204] A quote to the effect that Communion should be offered "every time the Word is preached, or at least weekly" is often attributed to Calvin, though without source. However, the literature does indicate he was in favor of this practice, though had to settle for monthly celebrations in Geneva due to the lack of interest in his position. *Cf.* Gregory David Soderberg, *As Often As You Eat This Bread: Communion Frequency in English, Scottish, and Early American Churches* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2023), p. 14, https://books.google.com/books?id=_JTkEAAAQBAJ.

[205] Charles Porterfield Krauth, *The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology: As Represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1872), https://books.google.com/books?id=4kqtrrCfulcC.

[206] Church of England, "Article XXVIII, Of the Lord's Supper," in J. W., *The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, or the Confession of Faith Put Forth by the Church of England, With Scripture Proofs, for the Use of Schools and Junior Students* (London/Winchester: Griffith & Farran/Warren & Son, 1877), p. 171, https://books.google.com/books?id=mmy2G_vUY1cC. *N.b.*, it is possible that this was less an ode to Calvinism specifically as much as it was a rejection of Catholicism.

This resulted in notable differences between the emphases of liturgical development in both traditions. For the Lutherans, their reform of the Mass took central place due to the centrality of Eucharistic theology in the tradition. In contrast, liturgical offices that centered on the Scriptures took the place of prominence in the Anglican tradition. An amalgam of Matins, the Great Litany, and what was known as 'Antecommunion' (functionally, the liturgy of readings from the first half of the ancient Mass) took central place in the average parish. While Matins and Vespers continued in Lutheranism in an analogue to Morning Prayer and Evensong in the Anglican tradition, they were secondary to the regular Eucharistic Service. In contrast, the *BCP* only required Communion to be administered on Christmas and Easter, consequently resulting in a general disregard for the Communion liturgy until the twentieth century.[207]

The Development of English Hymnody and Music

As was the case in the Lutheran tradition, Anglican hymnody began with the Psalter. But there it stayed until the nineteenth century, and even then only unofficially, as no provision for metrical Psalmody or hymnody is contained in the *BCP*. In fact, the 1662 *BCP*'s only provision for liturgical music is this obscure rubric from the orders of Morning and Evening Prayer: "In quires and places where they sing here followeth the anthem."[208] As part of the broader Reformed world, what is known as the "regulative principle" is important to note here. The Reformed regulative principle of worship, like the Reformed iconoclasm that restricted the use of the visual arts in worship spaces, restricted music in worship to the use of Biblical texts like the Psalter. The *Genevan Psalter* (1539), a metrical Psalter compiled under the supervision of Calvin

[207] Contrast this with the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Article XXIV, which binds Lutheran pastors to offer the Eucharist "every Lord's Day and on the other festivals, in which the Sacrament is offered to those who wish to use it." See Bente, *Triglot Concordia*, pp. 383, 385. Admittedly, this practice was also abrogated in the eighteenth century in many Lutheran contexts due to the influences of Pietism.

[208] Church of England, *Facsimile of the Original [. . . BCP] 1662 [. . .]*, p. 58. Note that an "anthem" in this context could be synonymous with the Lutheran "antiphon," but could include any Biblical text.

himself, became the initial standard for the Reformed world. In the Church of England, the first metrical Psalter was published in 1547 by Thomas Sternhold and completed in 1562 thanks to additions by John Hopkins and others.[209] It is often referred to as the "Old Version" since the 1696 publication of the "New Version" by Nicholas Brady and Nahum Tate had largely replaced its use in the eighteenth century. The hymn settings in these volumes follow a strict translation of the Biblical text, with the allowance for rhyme scheme and meter.

This allowance does seem reminiscent of Luther's desire for a vernacular idiom in the production of Church music. However, where Luther considered his early chorales to be "German Psalms," the corpus of metrical Psalmody in the Church of England tradition was strictly based on the approved list of closely translated Biblical texts authorized by the Church. There was also little diversity in meter, with most of the metrical Psalms using common meter (four lines containing eight and six syllables alternately rhyming) or long meter (four lines containing eight syllables alternately rhyming). Melodic nuance was limited to these constraints.

The actual execution of metrical Psalmody varied widely. "Lining out," which is a call-and-response format where a minister or cantor would sing a line and the congregation would repeat it in response, was typical.[210] Call-and-response was meant to accommodate congregations that were largely illiterate. This style would often include spontaneous ornamentation, with varying degrees of success and uproarious sound. Later, the West Gallery tradition grew in response to this format after the renewal in hymn singing that followed the Puritan reign of Oliver Cromwell in the seventeenth century. The interregnum had resulted in the disbanding of all choirs and widespread destruction of the few musical instruments, namely

---

[209] Note the distinction between metrical and prose Psalters. The first Anglican prose Psalter was produced by Myles Coverdale in 1535 (*Goostly Psalmes [. . .]*). This translation, colloquially called the "Coverdale Psalter," was the primary liturgical text used in Anglican worship and was officially contained in the *BCP*. Metrical Psalmody, which are in meter and rhyme, are the topic of discussion here due to their relationship to hymnody as such.

[210] See David Horn, "Lining Out," *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World, Volume 11: Performance and Production,* vol. 11 (London: Continuum, 2003), p. 146, https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472504289.

organs, that were still in use. Freed from these restrictive constraints upon the return of Charles II, there was a desire for musical revival. The formation of small choirs aided in the lining-out of congregational singing. The use of strictly Biblical texts as the basis for hymns was relaxed. By the middle of the eighteenth century, instrumental groups consisting of various forms of fiddles, woodwinds, and brass supplanted these choirs. Their positioning in the west end of the church structure resulted in the West Gallery moniker. In some instances, the music-making eventually supplanted hymn singing entirely and became a listening opportunity, while in others the bands played the role of accompaniment due to the general lack of organs.[211]

The disbanding of the West Gallery coincided with a boon in organ building in the nineteenth century, due in no small part to the impact of the Bach revival and the need for new organs that would accommodate the German pedalboard and a tendency toward "what has been called 'Victorian fancy-dress.'"[212] The industrial age allowed for ease of production that enabled even smaller parishes to feasibly procure an organ—or at least a harmonium, which was becoming an affordable instrument even for household consumption.[213] At the same time as these trends, the Oxford Movement was coming into vogue, which was particularly disdainful of the West Gallery tradition in view of their interest in ancient forms. In the realm of hymnody, this meant translating ancient, pre-Reformation hymns and those from other denominational traditions, which relied on organ and plainchant styles. The popular Victorian ethos, in contrast, viewed the West Gallery askance precisely because it was "old-fashioned."[214] Instead, a

---

[211] For a more in-depth treatment of West Gallery music and its use in the local parish, see Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), and Rollo G. Woods, *Good Singing Still: A Handbook on West Gallery Music* (Ironbridge, UK: West Gallery Music Association, 1995).
[212]Peter F. Williams, "J. S. Bach and English Organ Music," in *Music & Letters* 44, no. 2 (1963), p. 151, https://www.jstor.org/stable/731102.
[213] Nicholas Temperley, "Domestic Music in England 1800–1860," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 85th Sess. (1958–1959), pp. 31–47, https://www.jstor.org/stable/766225.
[214] As Victorian hymn-writer Arthur Sullivan told his biographer: "Sometimes I used to go to Sunday afternoon service at the old church at Sandhurst. The church was old in every respect: old-fashioned, high-backed, whitewashed pews, with a gallery at one end of the church for the musicians." Arthur Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan:*

proliferation of hymn-writing occurred on all manner of subjects and themes. Centuries of expression that had been limited to strictly Biblical texts seemed to come pouring forth from all sides, ancient and modern, in repudiation.

The Nonconformist Contribution of Isaac Watts

Although non-Biblical hymnody was rare due to its being unsanctioned in the Anglican tradition prior to the Victorian era, there were nonconformist groups in England that engaged in hymn-writing long before the Victorians. The nonconformist Isaac Watts (1674–1748) is often recognized as the most revolutionary hymn-writer of the English language. In his own words, from the preface to *Hymns and Spiritual Songs,* Watts' hymn-writing efforts seem to have been predicated on a desire to build piety among the faithful:

> And in these very last Days of the Gospel we are brought almost within sight of the Kingdom of our Lord; yet we are very much unacquainted with the Songs of the *New Jerusalem*, and unpractis'd [*sic*] in the Work of Praise. To see the dull Indifference, the negligent and the thoughtless Air that sits upon the Faces of a whole Assembly, while the Psalm is on their Lips, might tempt even a charitable Observer to suspect the Fervency of inward Religion; and 'tis much to be feared that the Minds of most of the Worshippers are absent or unconcern'd. [*sic*][215]

Watts was also motivated by a desire to provide an English Psalter that spoke an Evangelical idiom through English prose, much like Luther's intention with the German chorale. He continued:

> When we are just entering into an Evangelic Frame by some of the Glories of the Gospel presented in the brightest Figures of *Judaism*, yet the very next Line perhaps which the Clerk parcels out unto us, hath something in it so extremely *Jewish* and cloudy, that darkens our Sight of God the Saviour: Thus by keeping too close to *David* in the House of God, the Vail of *Moses* is thrown over our Hearts.[216]

Life Story, Letters and Reminiscences, ed. B. W. Findon and bibliography by Wilfrid Bendall (New York: Duffield & Company, 1907), p. 236, https://archive.org/details/sirarthursulliva00lawruoft.

[215] Watts, "Preface," *Hymns and Spiritual Songs,* pp. iii–iv.

[216] *Ibid*., p. v.

By recasting the Biblical Psalter in this way, Watts provided an Evangelical framework for the English nonconformist laity of the eighteenth century. One might say he wanted the texts to "speak English,'" just as Luther wanted his "German Psalms" to "speak German."'

The Sanitation of English Hymnody Compared to the Chorale

There was a tendency in Watts's version of the Evangelical hermeneutic that differed slightly from Luther's approach to the Psalter.

> While we are kindling into divine Love by the Meditations of the *loving Kindness of God, and the Multitude of his tender Mercies*, within a few Verses some dreadful Curse against Men is propos'd [*sic*] to our Lips; That *God would add Iniquity unto their Iniquity, not let 'em* [*sic*] *come into his Righteousness, but blot 'em* [*sic*] *out of the Book of the Living,* Psal. 69, 16, 27, 28. which is so contrary to the New Commandment, *of loving our Enemies*. Some Sentences of the *Psalmist* that are expressive of the Temper of our own Hearts and the Circumstances of our Lives may compose our Spirits to Seriousness, and allure us to a sweet Retirement within ourselves; but we meet with a following Line which so peculiarly belongs but to one Action or Hour of the Life of *David* or *Asaph*, that breaks off our Song in the midst; our Consciences are affrighted lest we should speak a Falsehood unto God : Thus the Powers of our Souls are shock'd [*sic*] on a sudden, and our Spirits ruffled before we have time to reflect that this may be sung only as a History of ancient Saints : And perhaps in some Instances that *Salvo* is hardly sufficient neither.[217]

Watts here indicated his belief that some parts of the Psalms were not fit for Christians' lips in every age: ". . . it must be acknowledged still, that there are a thousand Lines in [the Psalter] which were not made for a Saint in our Day, to assume as his own." His hymns, therefore, while framing the Psalms in an English context, did not always embody the fullness of the Psalter, particularly in its imprecatory expressions.

In contrast to this, the ethos of the Lutheran chorale was committed to embracing the full counsel of the Biblical narrative, including the visceral, gritty details and raw emotion. These rather comprehensive expressions of difficult emotions were then applied to situations that Christians faced in their daily lives. Consider the imprecatory nature of the famous (children's!) chorale, *Erhalt uns Herr* (Table 1.2):

---

[217] *Ibid*., pp. v-vi.

Table 1.1. A demonstration of the imprecatory nature of the original German text of stanza one of Martin Luther's, *Erhalt uns Herr* and Justus Jonas' added fourth stanza, juxtaposed with the literal English translations of the texts.

Original German (Luther, 1541; Jonas, 1545)	**Literal English Translation**
1. Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort und steur' das Papsts und Turken Mord, die Jesum Christum, deinen Sohn, wollen stürzen von deinem Thron.	*Keep us, Lord, by Thy Word* *and restrain the Pope's and Turk's murder,* *who Jesus Christ, Thy Son,* *want to topple from Thy Throne.*
4. Ihr' Anschläg', Herr, zu nichte mach', laß sie treffen die böse Sach' und stürz' sie in die Grub' hinein, die sie machen den Christen dein!	*Their onslaught, Lord, bring to nothing,* *let them meet the evil thing* *and plunge them into the pit,* *which they make for Thy Christians.*[218]

The visceral language of this prose is evocative of the Psalter in its imprecatory instances, which arguably lends a unique ability to realize and give expression to the full range of human emotions, and with them, a greater relatability that may not be achieved by sanitizing the prose.

The Victorian Connection

While the non-conformist and Anglican traditions developed separately in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Victorian revival of hymnody in the Anglican tradition brought the non-conformists back into the proverbial fold. Since Watts was the grandfather of English hymnody, his works featured prominently in later tomes, including prolific representation in the Oxfordian *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and even published in an appendix with the Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer* of 1892.[219] J. R. Watson noted that much of Anglican hymnody, particularly of the nineteenth century, seemingly fails to address the more difficult aspects of human emotion:

[218] Stanza 1 by Martin Luther, c. 1541, and stanza 4 by Justas Jonas, c. 1545. The full text may be found in hymn 159 in the Missouri Synod's *Kirchen-Gesangbuch*. The translation is composite, original to this thesis.
[219] Selections 117, "Thee will I bless, my God and King," and 120, "I'll praise my Maker with my breath," in *Hymns, Suited to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, and Other Occasions of Public Worship* (Philadelphia: Henry F. Anners, 1850, p. 114–116; 118–119, https://books.google.com/books?id=xscCAAAAQAAJ.

> The hymn is not expected to sow doubt in the mind of the singer, or to produce complex and contradictory emotions, or to express frustration, anxiety or confusion. Hymns do not often use irony, that commonest of twentieth-century modes; instead they express assurance and banish doubt ('Blessed assurance, Jesus is mine'). Hymns of this kind seem very simple, not only in metre and image, but in their whole mode of operation. Apart from the portrayal of the Crucifixion, there does not seem much awareness, in hymnody, of misery and suffering, of the great dilemmas of the human situation, of the most serious problems of tragic art and human life, of the greatness and wretchedness of the human condition.[220]

Indeed, Catherine Winkworth (1827–1878), a prolific Anglican translator of German Lutheran hymns, later noted how difficult it was to convey Luther's bluntness and strength of feeling in an acceptable Victorian idiom.[221] After publishing the first edition of her *Lyra Germanica* (1854) with her translation of Luther's iconic *Ein Feste Burg* ("A Mighty Fortress"), Winkworth found herself unsatisfied with her flowing, smooth rendition, which, though perfectly suited to a Victorian audience, felt to her far from the power of the original. For the publication of the second edition (1855), Winkworth switched out her translation for William Gaskell's more literal, less delicate version, which is closer to the translation that is utilized by most American Lutherans today. To Winkworth, the musical basis of the Lutheran chorale stood aesthetically opposed to the delicate sensibilities of the Victorian era broadly and the Oxford Movement particularly.[222] Likewise, the melodies were musically jarring to the simple and refined musical palate of the Victorian era. In her own words, "Luther's hymns are wanting in harmony and correctness, of meter to a degree, which often makes them jarring to our modern ears. But they

---

[220] Watson, *The English Hymn,* p. 4.

[221] It is worth noting, in her own words, the rationale for hymn selection in her translational project, *Lyra Germanica*: The following hymns are selected from Chevalier Bunsen's 'Versuch eines allgemeinen Gesang und Gebetbuchs,' published in 1833. From the large number there given, about nine hundred, little more than one hundred have been chosen. This selection contains many of those best known and loved in Germany, but in a work of this size it is impossible to include all that have become classical in that home of Christian poetry. In reading them it must be remembered that they are hymns, not sacred poems, though from their length and the intricacy of their metres, many of them may seem to English readers adapted rather to purposes of private than of public devotion. But the singing of hymns forms a much larger and more important part of public worship in the German Reformed Churches than in our own services It is the mode by which the whole congregation is enabled to bear its part in the worship of God, answering in this respect to the chanting of our own Liturgy." Winkowrth, "Preface," *Lyra Germanica*, pp. vii–viii.

[222] Watson, *The English Hymn*, p. 414.

are always full of fire and strength, of clear Christian faith, and brave joyful trust in God."[223] Winkworth's understanding is particularly important in the context of this thesis, given that she translated more hymns than any author in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (a point that will be particularly relevant in Chapters IV and V; see also Appendix 4).

These cursory examples from Watts and Winkworth illustrate a distinctive element of the English hymn-writing tradition: a custom of creating curated hymns that showcase an aesthetically appealing prose portion of Scripture, often without being wedded to any particular tune (particularly in the case of original texts as opposed to translations from German chorales). In Watts' case, this also entailed the use of particular Scriptures that were deemed suitable for public consumption.[224] The influence of this "sanitation" existed beyond hymnwriting. A practical example of this influence in the broader Anglican tradition is exemplified in the excision of certain verses of Psalm 95, the *Venite*, during Morning Prayer or Matins in the 1789 Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer*, which later English Lutheran liturgies would emulate. "Unto whom I swear in my wrath that they shall not enter into my Rest" does not fit with this sanitized paradigm.[225] When utilized as such in corporate worship, the effect on the laity of this application can be profound. Indeed, as one Anglican composer and hymnologist put it:

> Moreover, when a man sings "City of God," he says not only, "Samuel Johnson thinks that, and I agree," but, quite simply, "I think that"; and when a congregation sings it, they are not far from saying, "We think this. This is our own idea." A fine tune and well-written words are not only attractive, they are persuasive.[226]

---

[223] *Ibid*.

[224] On the other hand, Victorian sermons could certainly portray visceral imagery. Although not directly related, this cognitive dissonance is tangentially explored in Rebecca Rainof, "Victorians in Purgatory: Newman's Poetics of Conciliation and the Afterlife of the Oxford Movement," *Victorian Poetry*, 51, no. 2 (2013), pp. 227–247, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43592651. Rainof examines the dichotomy of (spiritual) poetry and sermons/tracts in the Victorian aesthetic.

[225] It is worth noting that the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* did not omit these verses, nor did the version used in England from 1662. The later *BCP* produced in America was of a time more suited to the Victorian idiom.

[226] Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, p. 21.

This expresses a profoundly Lutheran idea: that congregational singing is confessional singing. Even if they were not meant to have this effect, the words a congregation sings are formative; they can influence what the congregants think about their faith and will likely become a hermeneutic for Scriptural interpretation. They can be as powerful as the words of a sermon —if not more so, seeing as the hymns would be sung year after year and facilitate memorization. The effect they have on the worldview of the faithful and the lived expression of their faith tradition is profound. For the Victorian Anglicans, the introduction of Lutheran hymnody was part of a spiritual revival that sought to capture the best of the past to forge a new liturgico-musical future for the Church of England. The imbibing of ancient Latin and the best of German hymnody from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries inspired further hymnic creativity in their own sphere. In contrast, when Lutherans began to imbibe the Anglican translations of their own hymns in English, they, too, imbibed something of the Anglican approach to theology and worldview. This is a natural process, to be sure, but one that must be emphasized when considering the data that will follow in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

The Oxford Movement

The outpouring of Victorian hymnody (notably, a textual pursuit more so than a musical one) and its attendant search for and translation of hymn texts (again, distinct from music) from outside the English tradition was not the last word on a renewal of worship in the nineteenth-century Church of England. The Oxford Movement, so-called because of its initial proponents' affiliation with the eponymous University, was a collaboration of various Anglican clerics and stakeholders who were seeking a doctrinal and practical return to the essentials of their faith. The first stirrings of the Oxford Movement were felt on July 14, 1833, when John

Keble (1792–1866) preached his famous sermon, "National Apostasy."[227] Keble's oration was focused on the growing infringement of the State on the authority of the Church. Courts seemed to be gaining power while clergy held less and less sway. He emphasized the ultimate derivation of the Church's authority from God rather than from the State. Keble and other clerics—notably, Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–1882) and John Henry Newmann (1801–1890)—continued the fledgling Movement's momentum by publishing a series of *Tracts.* These *Tracts* ignited a desire for ecclesiastical reform and a reconsideration of the Church of England's relationship to the liturgical and doctrinal tenets of the past. In an 1836 *Tract*,[228] Newman[229] described his belief that the liturgical texts of the Roman Catholic Church were actually the property of all Christians and should be appropriated for devotional use; he believed, "by retaining it in its ancient Latin form, they have defrauded the Church of that benefit which, in the vernacular tongue, it might have afforded to the people at large."[230] A growing concern for the ritual repristination of pre-Anglican liturgical texts ultimately came to a head in the later movement known as Anglo-Catholicism, which sprung from the Oxford Movement. The latter, in contrast, ostensibly envisioned true catholicity through a conservative use of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

At this point, the question of which *Book of Common Prayer* is important to address. Pusey and the other founders of the Oxford Movement intended a return to Anglicanism as originally established by the *BCP* and antecedent ecclesiastical proclamations, which they believed comported with the tradition of antiquity. While some used the Oxford *Tracts* to stand in opposition to the accretion of "Romish doctrines," such as transubstantiation, and the

---

[227] John Keble, "National Apostasy" (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., n. d.), accessed via Project Canterbury, https://anglicanhistory.org/keble/keble1.html.
[228] Members of the Oxford Movement were often called "Tractarians" due to their systematic publication of various tracts related to orthopraxy in the Anglican Church.
[229] A pivotal figure in the Oxford Movement, it is worth noting that Newmann, like other Tractarian leaders, ended up converting to Roman Catholicism. This is one reason the Oxford Movement is largely seen as the impetus for modern Anglo-Catholicism.
[230] Newman*, Tracts for the Times*, vol. 3, p. 175.

introduction of novel liturgical rituals, vestments, and other elements generally associated with Catholicism, others piggybacked on the *Tracts* as an opportunity to advocate for a return to a pre-Elizabethan tradition.[231]

This idea of a return to the purity of older forms in Oxford Movement thought is evident in a renewed publication called *Oxford Tracts* in the latter half of the nineteenth century, which advocated the restoration of the epiclesis (that is, the calling down of the Holy Spirit to consecrate the bread and wine in the Euchasrist) in the Eucharistic Prayer of the Anglican Church, as was contained in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*.[232] These *Tracts,* which were written by Anglican clergyman Edmund Salusbury Ffoulkes (1819–1894),[233] drew on support from the Church Fathers to lament the loss of the 1549 epiclesis as a result of the Reformed influences of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr. Ffoulkes contended that this led to an inferior rite in the 1552 and subsequent 1662 prayer books. Pusey might not have stated things as directly as this later Tractarian, but he similarly bemoaned the loss of this "purer" rite of the early Anglican tradition:

> It makes, in truth, a man's "eyes gush out with water," to see in these notices, how the glory of our church, the days of her youth, and her first love are departed: and to think what she might have been, had she stood in the old paths. [. . .] On the ascension of Q. Elizabeth, the worst alteration, that of the words used at the delivery of the holy elements, was modified. [. . .] The confession of the true doctrine had been once half suppressed, and was now not more than half avowed: and it seems annexed as a penalty to all unfaithfulness in guarding the deposit committed to us, that we cannot replace thingsa s they were. The snow which descends from Heaven, cannot, if once polluted, recover its former purity.[234]

This excerpt demonstrates that elements of the Oxford Movement were not only interested in a principled return to the accepted 1662 *BCP* tradition of its day, but also in incorporating the older

---

[231] See Ffoulkes, *Oxford Tracts for English Churchmen* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.: 1881).
[232] Ffoulkes, *Oxford Tracts*, p. 26.
[233] Ffoulkes, like Newman, converted to Roman Catholicism in 1855. But, unlike Newman, he returned to the Church of England around 1870 and resumed clerical duties.
[234] Pusey, *Tracts for the Times* (81), vol. 4, p. 19.

1549 form. It is understandable how this eventually gave way to the Anglo-Catholic movement, particularly given the 1549 *BCP*'s similarity to the Tridentine Mass, which itself was in some ways both a simplification and standardization of the pre-Reformation tradition.[235] Indeed, Pusey elsewhere wrote that "the Council of Trent is not an insurmountable obstacle to Reunion [with the Church of Rome], but that it may be so explained that we could receive it,"[236] viewing the "re-union of the [Western] Church as the end" of "the present Movement" and "what is called Anglicanism."[237] While Pusey meant this in a positive light, this correspondence shows the Romanizing tendency was already at work among some of the Oxford Movement's principal founders.

The "popish" trend within the Oxford Movement certainly alarmed some of the more conservative Tractarians, such as Walter Hook (1798–1875), who wrote a discouraged letter to this effect to Henry Edward Manning (1808–1902; ironically, Manning would later convert to Catholicism and become an Archbishop and Cardinal):

> Those whom I took for Church of England men, and who as such hated Popery, who once, as in the Tracts for the Times, openly assailed Popery, I find now to be enamoured of her. I find young men thinking it orthodox to read and study Popish books of devotion, and to imitate Popish priests in their attire; I find Justification by faith, the doctrine of our articles, the test of a standing or falling Church, repudiated, and consequently a set of works of supererogation and a feeling in favour of the intercession of those who are supposed to have been more than unprofitable servants; I find Confession, which our Church permits as a means of comfort to the weak and foolish, received as a means of grace and therefore essentia,—an error which leads to the virtual denial of the only chance of comfort, the Justification of faith,—and finding these things in places where I

[235] Refer to Appendix 1 for a comparison of the 1549 *BCP* with the Tridentine Mass.
[236] Pusey, in a letter addressed to the editor of *John Bull,* 1865, as quoted in Walter Wash, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1898), p. 381, https://books.google.com/books?id=9Bg2AQAAMAAJ.
[237] Henry Parry Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey: Doctor of Divinity Canon of Christ Church; Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford*, ed. J. O. Johnston and Robert J. Wilson, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893), p. 404, https://books.google.com/books?id=2TEem6HUkFAC.

did not expect it, I am grieved to the heart.[238]

Hook's discouraged sentiment shows that not all the Tractarians wanted to convert to Rome, or even adopt Roman externals. The important point of emphasis here is that the Oxford Movement had a strain of philosophical thought that sought the restoration of older liturgical forms. These forms were a repristination of rites (1549 *BCP*) that were not consistent with the development of the liturgical tradition contained in the 1662 *BCP* that had been used for centuries.

In addition to the liturgical repristination championed by some of the Tractarians, there was also a growing appreciation for the place of pre-Reformation hymnody in Anglican worship services. As John Mason Neale wrote in 1862, "Church hymns must be the life-expression of all hearts. The Church was forced to make a way for saying in poetry what her message bade her say."[239] Neale and others produced a proliferation of translations from ancient sources, which were disseminated among clergy and laity through the release of thousands of local hymn-books that culminated in the massive success of *Hymns Ancient and Modern,* published in 1861. For Tractarians, this proliferation was a useful tool in seeding a latent sense of catholicity. They cleverly capitalized on the adjacent "evangelical" fervor among Methodists for hymns that emphasized personal piety and the lived experience of faith. As Ian Bradley put it:

> Tractarians found themselves in total agreement with evangelicals in wanting to get rid of metrical psalms . . . They differed, however, over what should replace them. Where evangelicals wanted lively congregational hymns of experiential faith expressing the doctrines of conversion and atonement, Tractarians dreamed of robed choirs intoning the chants of the early church. . . . It was as a vehicle for catholicizing Anglican worship that Tractarians seized on hymnody and made it a key element in their crusade to sweep away

[238] Walter Farquhar Hook, letter to Henry Edward Manning, as printed in Edmund Sheridan Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, Volume 1: Manning As An Anglican* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), p. 328, https://books.google.com/books?id=tzyRwcfZMUsC.
[239] John Mason Neale, "Introduction," *Hymns of the Eastern Church* (London: J. T. Hayes, 1862), https://biblehub.com/library/neale/hymns_of_the_eastern_church/introduction.htm.

everything modern and reformed.[240]

Although new life was breathed into these ancient texts, many of their accompanying melodies were left in the dust with the composition of newly composed tunes to go with the texts. Though plainchant melodies were used as inspiration in some cases (in tandem with a general revival of the use of plainchant), on the whole the principal concern of the Oxford Movement was the repristination of ancient texts in a vernacular idiom. The overwhelming transfer of the ancient Church's musical idiom that was enjoyed in the antecedent Evangelical-Lutheran reform did not have a similar widespread analogy in the Tractarian reforms.

The prolific twentieth-century Anglican composer Healey Willan captured the essence of this approach to liturgy and music in an interview he gave late in his life in 1966:

> The characteristic of plainchant is that the accentuation and rhythm of words is always paramount. The music is, so to speak, a framework on which the word is superimposed. I think that is a most suitable music indeed for all forms of religious type, especially when it comes to what is known as the propers of the mass, such as the introit, gradual, [*etc.*].[241]

This sentiment was echoed by Erik Routley's assessment of the proper relationship between a text and its attendant music:

> Hymn writing, then, is poetry under strict discipline. But more—hymn writing is a lyric under a vow of renunciation. It is more like writing opera than writing a song. Sir Donald Tovey once pointed out how a good opera libretto virtually is bound to read like something thin and feeble when it is divorced from its music. Were it too profound and pregnant in its own right, the music might sound like a needless addition. Music cannot carry words when they are the work of a poet in full flight, unless that music is itself very free and subtle.[242]

Routley made the case that either a text or a tune must predominate—if both are written to their fullest, they will detract from one another. While this framework makes sense within the context

---

[240] Ian Bradley, *Abide With Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, p. 22, as quoted in Jon D. Vieker, "'The Most Beautiful Hymns in the World' The Hymns and Hymn Writers of the Early LCMS English Hymnals," *LOGIA: A Journal of Lutheran Theology: Lutheran Lectionaries* 14, no. 3 (2005), pp. 12–13.
[241] Healey Willan, in Peter Kelley, dir., "Appointment With Music," *Telescope,* season 4, episode Christmas Special, hosted by Fletcher Markle, featuring Healey Willan, aired December of 1966, YouTube, https://youtu.be/81WMhZXU6GU, 13:04–13:42.
[242] Routley, *Short History of English Church Music*, p. 19.

of the Oxford movement (and, indeed, even sixteenth-century Anglicanism), it is something that is foreign to the Lutheran philosophy of music. This important distinction must be understood in order to accurately consider the superimposition of Anglican forms on Lutheran worship practices, as well as in any general comparison of the Neo-Lutheran and Oxford Movements.

"German Puseyism:" Distinctions between the Neo-Lutheran and Oxford Movements

Parallel to what was spreading from Oxford, the Neo-Lutheran movement was sometimes referred to as the "German Puseyism," a moniker harkening to Edward Pusey, the influential leader of the Oxford Movement referenced in the preceding section, whose *Eirenicon* argued for the similarities between the Anglican and Roman Churches. Although Pusey remained a faithful Anglican, other Tractarians ended up converting to Roman Catholicism—including notable hymnwriters whose works would find their way into English Lutheran hymnals, such as Matthew Bridges (1800–94), Edward Caswall (1814–78), Frederick W. Faber (1814–63), and Henry John Pye (1825–1903).[243] In contrast, the Neo-Lutheran movement represented by Walther and the Saxon migrants in America did not seek to identify with or find their roots in Roman Catholicism, but rather restored a mere century-old break from a decidedly Saxon Lutheran tradition.

Meanwhile, Pusey's vision of the Oxford Movement sought to repristinate a catholicity that predated the foundational liturgical principles of Anglicanism as established in its 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*.[244] He sought to repristinate a more Roman liturgical orthopraxy by returning to sixteenth-century forms, coupled with the introduction of hymns "ancient and modern"[245] that

[243] See, *e.g.*, their contributions in Appendices 2*ff*.
[244] Although the 1549 *BCP* was very similar to what would become the Tridentine Mass, there were still some departures. The 1552 version ultimately became much more radical and, though some of its more radical elements were lightened in future revisions, the substantive flow of the Roman Mass was never conserved as it was in the Lutheran tradition. See Appendix 1 for a more detailed side-by-side comparison.
[245] See Monk, *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*.

were novel to the tradition. Although the contemporaneous nature of the Neo-Lutheran and Oxford Movements is sometimes a topic of scholarly consideration, it is important to keep the qualitative differences of both repristinatory movements in mind.[246] The Anglican utilitarian view of music stood in contrast to Luther's belief that music is ontologically woven into the fabric of nature—a philosophy that permeated his writings and shaped the development of the Lutheran Church after him. While some voices in the early stages of the Anglican reform advocated for this position, they were drowned out by a more radical approach.[247] Among the Lutherans, the chorale's cultural significance in the realm of music, singing, and a rich development of music for its own sake, rather than simply as a necessary means to an end (*e.g.*, conveying a Biblical text), was representative.

Some elements that have come to be associated with the Neo-Lutheran movement, particularly in Germany, were more analogous to the Tractarian movement. Among these, William Löhe (1808–1872) was particularly well known. Löhe sponsored mission congregations in the United States, for which he assembled the *Agende fur christliche Gemeinden des lutehrischen Bekenntnisses* in 1844. Several of these congregations went on to become associated with the Synodical Conference. Unlike Walther and his Saxon cohort, Löhe and his *Agende* rejected the Saxon tradition that Luther had championed:

> Luther exceeded the boundaries of the reformational approach to liturgy with his Deutsche Messe (1526), and set forth on a path other than the one on which he had embarked with the genuinely reformational approach of 1523 [Formula Missae . . .]. There existed too great a dearth in liturgical education and that particular insight which was able to scan the entire liturgical field of the early church, even among the earliest Lutherans, so that even then many an irreproachable and splendid treasure inherited from

[246] See, for example, Nelson, *Lutherans in North America*, p. 181.
[247] See Marsh, "Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid', pp. 7*ff*.

> ancient times might have been cast aside. For my part, I find nowhere the application of a Lutheran principle in the Lutheran agendas —save that of negative dogmatism.[248]

Löhe's interpretation failed to recognize the nearly-identical structure of the *Formula Missae* and the *Deutsche Messe,* differing only in the idiomatic vernacular expression of their shared Evangelical idiom.[249] Subsequently, other Lutheran liturgical scholars developed a false dichotomy between the *Formula Missae* and the *Deutsche Messe* due to an ignorance of Luther's philosophical strategy as outlined earlier in this chapter. The *Formula Missae* existed to satisfy a Latin idiom. The *Deutsche Messe* satisfied a German idiom. But both were firmly rooted in the shared Evangelical idiom of Luther's *Ordenung Gottis Dynst*. As a result of this false dichotomy, Löhe and others rejected the development of the Evangelical tradition represented by the Saxon *Agende* tradition that began with the *Ordenung Gottis Diensts Ynn Der Gemeyne*. They found the Lutheran liturgical chorales to be inferior to the purer Roman forms.

Löhe's sentiment was not shared by the founders of the Synodical Conference as reflected by their earliest hymnal traditions, which will be clearly evidenced in Chapter II of this thesis. But Löhe's view did gain traction within factions of the Synodical Conference and elsewhere in American Lutheranism. Writing for *The Lutheran Liturgical Association*, Earnest A. Trabert encapsulated this sentiment in 1906: "In every Lutheran or Evangelical Kirchenordnung, either the *Formula Missae* or the German Mass was the basis. Where there was the greater attachment to the Roman ritual, the former as used, and where there was the greater independence, the latter."[250] This understanding has been especially prevalent since the

---

[248] Willhelm Löhe, as quoted in John W. Fenton, "Wilhelm Löhe's Hauptgottesdienst (1844) as Critique of Luther's Deutsche Messe," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2000), p. 135.

[249] Both Services followed nearly identical liturgical structures. The chief difference between the two was the placement of the Lord's Prayer, which the *Formula Missae* placed after the *Verba*, while the *Duetsche Messe* placed it before the *Verba*. But the Eucharsitic rites of both Masses followed the uniquely Evangelical placement of the *Sanctus* after the *Verba*. Nearly all other structural elements are paralleled.

[250] Earnest Anton Trabert, "Luther's Liturgical Writings," in *Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association,* vol. 4, ed. Luther D. Reed (Pittsburgh: The Lutheran Liturgical Association, 1906), 42, https://books.google.com/books?id=tcMGAAAAYAAJ.

publication of *The Common Service* in the late nineteenth century and remains so to this day.[251] The significance of Löhe's anti-*Deutsche Messe* stance will come to the fore in Chapter III of this thesis, which will examine the development of *The Common Service* of 1888, as well as in Chapter IV, which will examine the ideological perspectives that resulted in *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941. In both cases, the repristinatory mindset that began with the Oxford Movement—which sought to replace its received 1662 *BCP* tradition with the earlier 1549 (and perhaps Roman) form—will be evident among those late-nineteenth and twentieth-century Lutherans who advocated for a return to "purer" sixteenth-century forms.

Conclusion of Chapter I

The rich histories of the Lutheran and Anglican strains of the Evangelical tradition demonstrate key differences in the philosophy and practice of liturgico-musical reform. This difference was evident in a number of key areas, to wit: where Luther's foundational *Deutsche Messe* was replete with musical prescriptions from start to finish, music was an afterthought for Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer*. The chorale tradition of the Lutheran Church was essential to its identity as an institution from its inception, while the Anglican Church had no significant hymn-writing before the eighteenth century. General hymn-writing was largely relegated to the realm of poetry and dissenters.[252] Similarly, the flourishing of organ and choral works based on the chorale tradition did not have a parallel in Anglican music. Once the monasteries were dissolved, the use of organ and choir music was largely restricted to

[251] In a recently published historical analysis of *The Common Service,* James Heiser, Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Diocese of North America, similarly stated, "The 'Common Service' is much more similar to Luther's *Formula Missae*; the Walther service belongs to those which are generally derived from the *Deutsche Messe*." Heiser, *The Common Service,* pp. 145–146.

[252] Indeed, the flowering of hymnody in England was thanks to non-conformist Issacc Watts, who is colloquially known as the father of English Hymnody.

cathedral, collegiate, and royal contexts, based on the whims of political power. In general, music was viewed in either utilitarian or exhibitionist terms. Its utilitarian function was paramount across the board (e.g., singing the Psalter), not considered in view of any inherent metaphysical value—a concept that was deliberately eschewed as the English reformers were codifying their doctrines and ceremonies.[253] Conversely, it was exhibitionist in the demonstration of musical skill that might occur in cathedral, court, and college. But even then, the place of music was largely dependent on the religious purview of whoever was (or was not) on the throne and the sympathies of the man in charge of a particular church.

In the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition, music played an integral role in the development of the faith practically and communally. In particular, the rite of Luther's native Saxony became a normative force for the various iterations in each culture that followed his strain of reform. In the Anglican tradition, successive reform movements shaped how music was used, including in subsequent Churches that today form a part of the Anglican Communion.[254] The influence of a more radical Reformation approach meant that music was viewed as subservient and secondary to the text, rather than at the core of the tradition itself. The vacuum in hymnody and musical expression this created resulted in an explosion of new and reclaimed forms in the Victorian era. The chapter that follows will explore the hymnal and liturgical traditions of American Lutherans in the Synodical Conference during the same period, noting the ways that the contemporaneous Anglican developments impacted the progression of the Synodical Conference Lutheran traditions.

---

[253] Refer back to "Thomas Cranmer and Early Vernacular Anglican Liturgy," pp. 50*ff*, noting the evolution of the *Book of Ceremonies*.
[254] *E.g.*, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the U.S.A.

CHAPTER II:

THE TRANSITION FROM GERMAN TO ENGLISH AMONG THE CONSTITUENT MEMBERS OF THE SYNODICAL CONFERENCE

In 1872, a number of midwestern Synods (Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Norwegian, and Wisconsin), united by their fidelity to the Lutheran Confessions, agreed to form a new federation. This group, known as the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (Synodical Conference), saw constituent members come and go over various disputes and consolidations. By the time that the Conference's joint hymnal was published in 1941, four constituent Synods remained: The Missouri Synod (LCMS), the Wisconsin Synod (WELS), the Norwegian Synod (today known as the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, or ELS), and the Slovak Synod (today known as the Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, or SELC, which is now a district of the LCMS). The sections that follow will trace the transition from German and other native languages to English based on analyses of the liturgies and hymnals of these Synods, noting the dramatic shift away from the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition toward other—and specifically Anglican—forms. Centuries of Lutheran liturgical use would ultimately be lost in this transition, resulting in substantial upheaval in the piety of clergy and laity in the respective

Synods. The study of these changes will finally culminate in an analysis of the joint Synodical Conference hymnal, *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941, which will be the subject of Chapters IV–V.

The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod

In order to adequately examine the LCMS's transition to English, it is necessary to consider what came before. Without going into too much depth, it is worth briefly exploring the circumstances surrounding the first official hymnbook of the Synod*, Kirkengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeaenderter Augburgischer Confession* (*Church-hymnbook for Evangelical-Lutheran parishes of the unaltered Augsburg Confession*) (*KGB*). Originally published in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1847, the *KGB* is also colloquially known in English as "Walther's Hymnal."[255] *KGB* earned this contemporary moniker due to the instrumental work in its creation by the LCMS' first president and pseudo-founder, C. F. W. Walther. Work on the hymnal predated the founding of the Synod itself, with its initial publication in 1847 coinciding with the Synod's formal charter.[256] *KGB* naturally became the Synod's first, official, and only German-language hymnal, setting the tone for Saxon-American Lutheran piety for decades until the eventual transition to English.

Repristinating Lutheran Orthodoxy

Walther's hymnal project endeavored, in the words of Robin Leaver, to "undo layers of editorial rewriting and truncation and give the texts in the language and length their authors gave to them,"[257] while simultaneously restoring the original musical intent of the Lutheran Church's

[255] For an English translation of the *Kirkengesangbuch* into English, see: Matthew Carver, *Walther's Hymnal: Church Hymnbook for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2012).
[256] Schalk, *God's Song*, Kindle location 1627.
[257] Robin A. Leaver, in Carver, *Walther's Hymnal*, i.

chorale tradition by repristinating the rhythmic settings to which the chorales were originally set.[258] This musical restoration is made all the more impressive by the fact that virtually all of the hymns in "Walther's Hymnal" were of pre-Reformation or Evangelical provenance.[259] Further, it contained a rich corpus of the *Kernlieder* that formed an integral part of the catechetical, pedagogical, and liturgical piety of the Lutheran tradition. Among these, it notably contained 37 of 45 original compositions by Martin Luther, as well as 31 chorales by the notable hymnwriter Johann Heermann (1585–1647), and 39 by the prolific Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676), who is often hailed as one of the Lutheran Church's greatest poetic minds.[260] A comparison of these numbers with the author/composer index of the successor English hymnal of the LCMS (see Appendix 3) demonstrates that the transition to English marked a departure from the early Saxons' efforts to repristinate a purely Lutheran corpus of hymnody.

Kirchen-Agende and *Choralbuch*

More can be gleaned from the liturgico-musical content of its related agenda and chorale-book than solely from *KGB*. It is important to note that neither the hymnal nor the *Kirchen-Agende* contained the primary music for the Service. Friedrich Layriz, a liturgiologist and avid composer, had already begun to publish all the chorale tunes and a wide swath of other liturgical music in 1844 in his series, *Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs*.[261] This music would form the basis of Layriz' *Choralbuch* of 1863, which was reissued with a preface and additional

---

[258] Walther, for example, had to organize regular sessions for his congregation to practice singing the unfamiliar chorale melodies. Cf. Schalk, *God's Song*, K.L. 1669.

[259] The label "Evangelical" here must be qualified, as the distinction between Evangelical-Lutheran and Evangelical-Reformed was not clearly defined early on in the sixteenth century; the Lutheran Confessions were not finally codified until 1580 (albeit the Augsburg Confession was ratified in 1530). The intermediary period before 1580 saw overlap between Reformed- and Lutheran-composed chorale melodies (*e.g.*, the ubiquitous "Old Hundredth" from the Genevan Psalter was known to Lutheran as the chorale *Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir*). As such, there are some chorale melodies written by Reformed composers that have nearly five centuries of pedigree in Lutheran use, and vice versa.

[260] Carver, *Walther's Hymnal*, "Index."

[261] Schalk*, God's Song*, K. L. 1675.

labor by Heinrich F. Hölter in 1886.[262] The *Choralbuch* aligned with the liturgical order and hymn selections from the original *Kirchen-Gesangbuch* of 1847. Like the *KGB*, both the *Kirchen-Agende* and the *Choralbuch* were official publications of the Synod and the only texts authorized for liturgical use in the LCMS.

In stark defiance of the unionistic and pietistic tendencies of the preceding century, the *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856 (published in St. Louis), included an ordo descended from the Saxon *Agende* as its principal liturgical offering. As was previously stated in the brief overview of the history of the Saxon liturgico-musical tradition, this is notable firstly because the efforts of those who produced the *KGB* and the later *Agende* were demonstrably repristinatory in nature. If the compilers thought that the liturgical purity of the Saxon tradition was wanting, one could hardly imagine a time more appropriate for repristinatory efforts. Secondly, the Saxon tradition was part of the unbroken continuity—an organic liturgico-musical tradition—that spanned all the way back to the 1539/1540 *Agende* of Ducal Saxony and, ultimately, the liturgical reforms and compositions of Martin Luther himself, specifically in the *Deutsche Messe.*

Examining the Liturgy of the *Kirchen-Agende*

At this point, a cursory overview of the content of the Saxon tradition represented in the Missouri Synod's *Kirchen-Agende*[263] will provide helpful context when comparing later changes. Table 2.1 provides the order of the Service and general notes about the provenance and history of the various elements, with musical information supplemented from the *Choralbuch*. (For

[262] Karl Brauer's *Mehrstimmiges Choralbuch* (1888) was also used.
[263] The LCMS's first English Agenda, *Church Agenda for Evangelical-Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confessio*n, first published in 1881, is a translation of the German text of the *Kirchen-Agende*. The *Church Agenda* translation is provided as an appendix in Carver, *Walther's Hymnal,* 389–394, and also appears in a modified form in the 1921 *Liturgy and Agenda*.

reference, the reader may find it helpful to compare this order with other liturgico-musical traditions, which are provided side-by-side in Appendix 1).

Table 2.1. A table listing the contents of the Saxon Order as contained in the Missouri Synod's *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856 and *Choralbuch* of 1886, along with various details of information pertaining to its basis and composition.

The Saxon Order of the Divine Service as found in the *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856 and *Choralbuch* of 1886 (1902)	**Musical and/or Historical Basis**	**General Musical Notes**	**Composer/Author, Date, Publication Location**
♫ *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit*	*Kyrie, fons bonitatis,* from the *Roman Kyriale* for Mass II (pre-Reformation).	Troped settings. E Phrygian melodically; harmonically in E minor with interior D minor modulation.	Anon. Naumburg, 1537/38
♫ Gloria intonation (in German) and ♫ *Allein Gott in der Höh*	Paschal season Gloria *Lux et origo* from the *Roman Kyriale* for Mass I (pre-Reformation). metrical exposition of classic Latin text, drawn from St. Luke 2.	German chorale; Key of G Major.	N. Decius, 1523.
♫ Salutation	Apostolic greeting from New Testament.	Responsive; Pastor starts on reciting tone of G, congregation responds in four parts harmonized in G Major.	1 Timothy 4:22

♫ Antiphon(s)	Seasonally drawn from various Biblical texts relevant to the theme of the day. Two antiphons were used on high festivals.	Two musical options are offered. Both start on the reciting tone of G for the Pastor, with a four-part congregational response harmonized in C Major.	
♫ Collect of the Day	Relevant to the theme of the day, based on a combination of pre-reformation and sixteenth-century texts.	Five options are offered for congregational response ("Amen"), all in four part harmony in the key of G Major.	
Epistle	Seasonally selected from the New Testament based on a pre-Reformation lectionary. Based on the fifth-century *Tomes of St. Jerome.*		
♫ *Hauptlied*	Drawn from various sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Lutheran composers/authors. From the *Kernlieder*.		
Gospel	Seasonally selected from the New Testament based on a pre-Reformation lectionary. Based on the		

	fifth-century *Tomes of St. Jerome.*		
♫ *Wir glauben all an einem Gott*	Based on a fourteenth-century Gregorian paraphrase of the Apostle's Creed. Recast by Luther as a musical setting of the Creed w/ explanations from his Small Catechism.	Melodically altered and harmonized in D minor.	M. Luther, 1524. First published in J. Walther, *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn.*
Pulpit Service & Sermon	An exposition of one of the biblical texts. Announcements and other administrative functions would also occur at this time.	A seasonal Pulpit verse was sung.	
Bid to Confession			
General Confession			
Absolution			
General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings			
Lord's Prayer			St. Matthew 6:9–13; St. Luke 11:2–4
Pax Votum			Philippians 4:7
♫ *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines herze*	Textually drawn from Psalm 51:10–12. Likely originally included as a hymn of response to the General Confession. Functionally	Two options offered in G major, both in four part for congregational singing.	Option 1 ascribed to G. Winer, 1648. Option 2 ascribed to Umänderung.

	served as an offertory, though not with that terminology.		
♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda	A responsive liturgical element dating to the first-century A.D. *Didache*, with the titular element "lift up your hearts" drawn from the Book of Lamentations.	Two options offered. First in the key of F Major. Second in the Key of G Major.	Ascribed to Direct. Chori v. Quidetti, 1589. Braunschweig R. O. 1528.
♫ Preface & Proper Preface	Pre-reformation liturgical text (and Gregorian melody for option 1). Seasonal to the period of the church year.	Two options offered. The first is Aeolian mode, terminates on G. The second in G Major.	Anonymous Gregorian melody Braunschweig R. O. 1528.
♫ Sanctus w/ Seasonal Benedictus	Liturgical text drawn from Isaiah 6:3 and Psalm 118:26. This textual setting is unique in offering seasonal varients for Christmas and Easter.	Two options offered. Both in F Major.	L. Lossius: Psalmodia, 1564. Seit c. 1848 allhier verbreitet.
♫ Lord's Prayer	Used by Lutherans to replace the Canon of the Mass. Sung by the pastor to a traditional chant melody.	Reciting tone on A, harmonization offered in F Major.	St. Matthew 6:9–13; St. Luke 11:2–4
♫ Doxology	The congregational response to the Lord's Prayer. Two musical options offered.	Both options in F Major.	Braunschweig R.O. 1528. Psalzneub. R. O. 1543
♫ Words of Institution	Chanted to a melody similar to the Lord's Prayer.	Set in the key of F Major.	Braunschweig R. O. 1528.

	Luther introduced chanting of the Words of Institution to the Liturgy (in the Latin Mass the Canon was spoken nearly inaudibly).		
♫ *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*	A German setting of the traditional Agnus Dei (St. John 1:29). Luther used this musical setting in his *Deutsche Messe*.	Key of F Major.	Martin Luther, Wittenberg, 1526.
Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn	A set of varying Communion hymns would be sung while the people communed.		
♫ Antiphon	A seasonal antiphon would be sung before the closing Collect.	Set to the same music as the antiphons at the beginning of the Service.	
♫ Luther's Postcommunion Collect	Luther wrote this collect for the *Deutsche Messe*.	G Major.	M. Luther, Wittenberg, 1526.
♫ Aaronic Benediction	Drawn from the book of Numbers, used by the Levite priests to bless the Israelite people. Luther prescribed this to be used in the *Deutsche Messe*.	Two options offered for a three-fold congregational Amen in G Major.	Numbers 6:22–27
♫ Closing Verse	A seasonally appropriate stanza would be used. The rubrics suggest Luther's *Gott sei Gelobet.*		

An important take-away from the Order proffered by the *Kirchen-Agende* is the sheer amount of singing that occurred. The only parts of the liturgy not sung were the lessons.[264] Even the parts performed solely by the pastor included some kind of congregational response. All five parts of the historic "Ordinary of the Mass" were sung by the congregation. This was consistent with Luther's paradigm, which emphasized the participatory nature of worship for the whole congregation.[265] The significance of specific features of the liturgy will be juxtaposed with the changes made in the successive English volume in the following sections.

The Transition to English

As was briefly intimated above, the *KGB* and the *Kirchen-Agende* were the gold standard of LCMS hymnody and liturgico-musical practice for a generation until the need for English resources became too difficult to ignore. This need arose in a two-fold sense: first, the children born to Saxon immigrants were becoming assimilated into an American culture where English was the mother tongue. And in a similar vein, efforts to proselytize their American neighbors were difficult at best due to the language barrier. But the idea of transitioning to English was not without trepidation.

In his sociological study of the transition to English in the Missouri Synod, Leonard Heidemann noted the power of language on cultural cohesion:

> As in other racial groups, the spirit of ethnocentrism prevailed among them. They had left Germany because they were dissatisfied with religious and political conditions. They held the German language, however, in high esteem and retained its use in the church for themselves and for their children.[266]

---

[264] Perhaps ironically, this is actually a regression from the *Deutsche Messe* tradition, in which Luther prescribed that the lessons be chanted.
[265] Though, of course, Luther's rubrics for the *Deutsche Messe* called for the use of the choir in tandem with the congregation. See *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, p. 74.
[266] Leonard Williams Heidemann, "Acceptance of the English Language in the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod," MS thesis (Iowa State College, 1950), p. 38, https://behost.lib.iastate.edu/DR/Heidemann_BX8061.M7-H362a.pdf.

This observation regarding the German language in particular extends to the cultural idiom of the Evangelical-Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition. Chapter I of this thesis argued for the development of the chorale as an invigorating and transformative force among German Lutherans, which held them together against even intra-German political and religious squabbles. Certainly, the loss of the German language would be significant in its own right, but it is important to remember that the chorale is a vernacular expression of piety. While the chorale could be (and was) translated into other languages, when this was done in other cultures it was attended by idiomatic expressions in that language. The transition to English involved adopting foreign musical principles and hymns that were created outside of the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition. Put simply, if one accepts the premise that the chorale was the primary vehicle of liturgical piety in the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition, then its removal would have a significant effect—perhaps even more profound than the change in language (refer back to Chapter I, p. 32*ff* for more in-depth discussion on this point). The lengths to which the Saxon immigrants to the United States went in order to preserve and recreate their Saxon tradition in a new land should be a testament to this fact. Preserving their Lutheran identity, of which their liturgico-musical legacy was a formative part, was of greater importance than a "German" identity in its own right. German was a means to the end of Lutheran orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

This sentiment was explicitly stated by numerous stakeholders in the Synodical Conference. Take Walther, for example, writing from St. Louis, Missouri, in 1841:

> Incidentally, there seems to be much less danger of the German language being pushed out of the communities here than in the East and Central States. The Lutheran communities here are exclusively German and have no need for an English Divine Service. [. . .] We are all very serious about doing everything we can to preserve the German language here and to reject the evil leaven that so easily mixes with the English language here in the pure teaching and understanding of our church; this probably needs

no mention.[267]

Walther's belief in this regard was so profound that in 1843 he put forward an "unalterable and irreparable" clause for the constitution of his congregation—Trinity Lutheran in St. Louis—upon the construction of their new church building, mandating that Services be conducted only in German, "since we regard this church as a foundation for German Lutherans for the maintenance of Divine Services."[268] The resolution was summarily passed by the laity. This passage was not insignificant, given the Waltherian doctrine of congregational supremacy in church polity.

This sentiment was not limited to Walther in Missouri's circles. F. C. D. Wynken, the Missouri Synod's second president and one of its founders, expressed similar fears about what would happen to those imbibing the English language and culture on the frontier: "The children follow in the footsteps of their parents. Some grow up without the least bit of schooling. Others go to English schools and merely learn the things which are necessary for this life."[269] The fear of secularization and Americanization was also shared by those without the Missouri Synod's founders' liturgical convictions. Even Willhelm Löhe, who decried Luther's approach in the *Deutsche Messe* and the subsequent Saxon *Agende* tradition, believed that "the English spirit — that is, the Methodistic spirit — would prevail" if allowed in the seminary.[270]

---

[267] Original translation. Original German: "Übrigens scheint hier viel weniger Gesahr zu sein, das die deutsche Sprache aus den Gemeinden verdrangt werden dürste, als im Eiten und in den Mittel-Staaten. Die luterhischen Gemeinden sind hier ausschlicklich deutsch und haben gar zein Bedürsnis eines englischen Gottesdienstes. [. . .] Wir alle mit dem grökten Ernste darauf densen, alles zu tun, um hier die deutsche Sprache zu erhalten und sen bösen Sauerteig abzuweisen, der sich mit der englischen Sprache hier so leicht der reinen Lehre und Berfassung unserer Kirche beimischt, bedarf wohl zeiner Erwähnung." C. F. W. Walther, *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther an seine Freunde, Synodalgenossen und Familienglieder*, *Volume 1, 1841–1865,* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1915), pp. 13–14, https://books.google.com/books?id=vyQRAAAAIAAJ.

[268] Trinity Lutheran Church, St. Louis, MO, Meeting Minutes from April 3, 1843, in Carl S. Mundinger, *Concordia Historical Series: Government in the Missouri Synod: The Genesis of Decentralized Government in the Missouri Synod*, ed. W. G. Polack, vol. 4 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 207, https://archive.org/stream/in.ernet.dli.2015.89311/2015.89311.Government-In-The-Missouri-Synod_djvu.txt.

[269] F. Wyneken, "Aufruf an die lutherische Kirche Deutschlands zur Unterstützung der Glaubensbrüder in Nordamerika," *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche* 5, no. [?] (1843), p. 127, https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?urn:nbn:de:bsz:21-dt-2774.

[270] Wilhelm Löhe, *Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus, über und für Nord-Amerika: ein Blatt für innere Mission* (Nördlingen: C. P. Beck'schen Buchhandlung, 1844), Nro. 11, https://books.google.com/books?id=TDJCAAAAcAAJ.

Still, the reality that the Missouri Synod was among English neighbors could not be ignored. Although the Missouri Synod's founders wanted German to be retained for their German congregations, they were not ideologically opposed to congregations that originated in English or joined their ranks from other groups that had already made the transition. What is more, before the official adoption of an English hymnal, Walther found that ministers "did what was right in their own eyes" (Judges 17:6, 21:25) in curating English hymnody. When asked about the propriety of introducing Methodist songs in Lutheran Sunday schools, for example, Walther advised that it was "very incorrect and pernicious," likening the practice to "soul-murder."[271] He went on to argue that, even if a preacher were to claim that particular Methodist hymns are "correct," the hymns still did not convey the "true Lutheran spirit," that they lack the "more powerful, more substantive, and more prosaic" quality of Lutheran chorales, that the hymns dealing with sacramentology "are completely in error," and that proffering hymns from a collection that contains error causes little children to "openly read and sing false hymns."[272] Of course, the lack of available English-language resources left little option for mission-oriented pastors that needed ready-to-use resources in their mission fields—or so they argued. This resulted in growing pressure to produce accessible resources that still fell within the scope of the Missouri Synod's staunchly conservative and confessional roots. It was against this backdrop that the sanction of the first English-language hymnal was to occur within the LCMS.

---

[271] C.F.W. Walther, in a letter dated January 23, 1883, tr. by M. Harrison, reprinted in Mark DeGarmeaux, "Sacramental Worship, Sacramental Preaching: Treasures of our Lutheran Church" (Milwaukee: Evangelical Lutheran Confessional Forum of the ELS and WELS, 1998), Appendix A, https://blc.edu/comm/gargy/gargy1/SacramentalWorship.html.
[272] *Ibid*.

The Publication of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*

Although there was skepticism about English resources, Walther "highly praised" the hymnal published under the auspices of the Norwegian Synod in 1879 and the editorial guidance of August Crull (1845-1923),[273] *Hymnbook for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations.*[274] He believed it provided an unabashedly confessional example of how to produce an English-language resource faithful to the spirit of the mother tradition, as evidenced by the glowing review he wrote the year it was published:

> We call it a pure hymnal because it contains only those English hymns that not only contain no false doctrine, but also breathe a truly evangelical spirit. More than half of them (72), so far as we are able to judge, are in form and content admirably successful English translations of the best hymns of our German Evangelical-Lutheran Church.[275]

Although the *Hymnbook* did contain 38 hymns of English origin, the rest of its contents (70.77%) were translations from German chorales and other Evangelical hymnody.[276] Crull's work in compiling the hymns was viewed so favorably that the production of similar resources for use in English missions within the Missouri Synod was authorized.[277] As will be considered in the section on the "little" Norwegian Synod in this chapter, it must be noted that the Norwegians managed their transition to English without sacrificing their chorale-based liturgico-musical identity. This is the model that Walther enjoined the Missouri Synod to emulate. It was in this context that August Crull was eventually charged with publishing an English translation of the *Kirchen-Agende* in 1881.[278] He also helped[279] in the production of an

[273] Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land*, Kindle location 1467.
[274] For further historical background on the Crull translation, see William Weedon, "The Forgotten Church Liturgy of 1881," *Lutheran Forum* 44, no. 3 (2010), pp. 20–21.
[275] C. F. W. Walther, "Review of Hymn Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations," *Der Lutheraner* 35, no. 13 (1879), p. 104, as quoted in Vieker, "Father's Faith," p. 42.
[276] Vieker, "Father's Faith," p. 43.
[277] Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land,* Kindle location 1999.
[278] Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Church Liturgy for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1881).
[279] Crull's work is documented in Jon D. Vieker, *August Crull and the Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book.* Crull was eventually put off from the work due to mismanagement by William Dallman. See Vieker, "Father's Faith," p. 61.

Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book (1889) for the English Evangelical Lutheran Conference of Missouri[280] (originally part of the Tennessee Synod), which became the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and other states in 1888. The original 1889 version of *ELHB* was considered to be inadequate due to its liturgical rite, which was crafted by William Dallmann (1862-1952). Dallmann later admitted that he had been "goaded to it by 'friends.' It was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, nor Truman's good red herring."[281] Dallmann's liturgy included no *Kyrie*, the optional use of the *Gloria Patri* in place of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and several other peculiarities, like the *Sanctus* without *Benedictus*.[282] The stress of dealing with Dallmann drove Crull to the point of "nervous prostration," requiring him to take a break from the project entirely.[283] The 1889 version was redacted in 1892 and its liturgy replaced by the English Synod with *The Common Service of 1888 (TCS)*. It is unclear why the Synod did not use Crull's 1881 translation of the *Kirchen-Agende*, or why they chose to use *TCS* in particular. "No reason is given by the convention for the decision to adopt the Common Service in place of the Dallmann-Bartholomew liturgy of the 1889 Hymn Book. There were no relevent [*sic*] articles in Lutheran periodicals found from that time to shed some light on this decision."[284] The *Hymn Book* went through more revisions in 1894 and 1909, still retaining *TCS*. In 1911, the English Synod was accepted into the Missouri Synod, forming what is today known as the English District. Afterwards, a new version of the *Hymn Book* was published in 1912, making the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* the first official English hymnal of the Missouri Synod.[285]

---

[280] This conference eventually became what is known as the "English District" of the LCMS today. See: Schalk, *God's Song*, Kindle location 2012.
[281] Vieker, "Father's Faith, Children's Song," p. 66.
[282] See Lange, "The Common Service," [p. 53,] Appendix I, for an outline of the liturgy.
[283] Vieker, "Father's Faith, Children's Song," p. 66.
[284] Lange, "The Common Service," p. 14.
[285] *Ibid*.

Comparing *Kirchen-Gesangbuch* and *ELHB*

Perhaps the most notable difference between *KGB* and *ELHB* is that the latter was published in two forms, one with just the text and the other as the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Music*. While hymnals containing music had been published in prior centuries, the majority of those used by the laity were text-only volumes. This would change in the LCMS English hymnal tradition, as well as among the other members of the Synodical Conference. In spite of the LCMS' German founders' vehement disdain for the incorporation of non-Lutheran hymnody, the number of hymns in the tome dramatically increased from 443 in *KGB* to 594 (accounting for duplicates) hymns and chants in *ELHB*, owing in large part to the introduction of English hymns of non-Lutheran origin. This was reminiscent of the similar explosion in hymnody that occurred in the eighteenth century during the era of Pietism, which similarly resulted in a shift in both doctrinal fidelity and cultural tradition.[286]

Several Oxford Movement figures, such as John Keble, Edward Caswall, and John Mason Neale, among several other Anglican authors and composers, found their way into the hymn index of *ELHB*. So, too, did the hymns of Watts and the Wesleys, Church of Scotland authors, and Anglican translations of German hymns by prolific translators like Catherine Winkworth and Richard Massie.[287] Although the intention was undoubtedly genuine, significant theological nuance was lost even in seemingly minor points of translation. Take, for example, Winkworth's translation of *Herzlich Lieb hab ich dich, O Herr*.[288] The tenth line of the third stanza reads in German: "Mein Heiland und mein Gnadenthron!" Winkworth translated this as "My Savior and my Fount of grace." Although this is a close translation, *Gnadenthron* should be

[286] *Cf.* the 954 hymns in Georg Christian Schmelli, *Musicalisches Gesang-Buch* (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, Buchdr., 1736), https://books.google.com/books?id=pF9FAAAAcAAJ.
[287] See Appendix 3 for a thorough delineation of the denominational affiliations of the authors, composers, and translators of *ELHB*.
[288] Carver, *Walther's Hymnal*, no. 271.

translated as "Throne of Grace." This may seem insignificant, but the Throne of Grace analogy is one of the pinnacles of the Evangelical doctrine of justification, which is at the heart of the chorale tradition: the *Gnadenthron* evokes the imagery of the Mercy-Seat on the Ark of the Covenant in the Old Testament. The English translations by non-Lutheran authors that were relied upon in the production of *ELHB* sometimes missed subtle nuances like this. Even the King of Chorales (*Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*[289]) was not immune. Winkworth's use of "the nuptial hall" in place of "*das Abendmahl*" at the end of stanza 2 of the chorale missed the fact that *Abendmahl* is a word that refers to the Sacrament of Holy Communion. (It is however worth noting that sometimes the use of Winkworth's translations in *ELHB* were better in quality than other English alternatives. For a textual comparison of portions of the *ELHB* text of the Queen of Chorales, *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern,*[290] with the translation that supplanted it in *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941, see Appendix 2 of this thesis.)

There were also more obvious theological omissions in the *ELHB* translations, like *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*—Luther's Catechism Hymn for the Lord's Supper—missing 20% of its original stanzas.[291] Sometimes these omissions can be owed to the prerogative of the given translator; for example, Paul Gerhardt's *Jesu Christ, meine schönstes Licht*, originally with 16 stanzas, only had 8 translated by John Wesley, which was the translation used in *ELHB*.[292] This was in addition to any translational license that may have occurred due to the variance between the Wesleyan and the Lutheran Gerhardt's approaches to theology. It is unclear why the editors of *ELHB* chose to use these texts, though there may be a number of rationales. On a pragmatic level, if the German hymns already had a favored translation in widespread use in

[289] That is, "Wake, Awake! For Night is Flying." See Carver, *Walther's Hymnal*, no. 436.
[290] That is, "How Lovely Shines the Morning Star!" See Carver, *Walther's Hymnal*, no, 261.
[291] Missouri Synod, *ELHB*, no. 441.
[292] *Ibid*., no. 84.

English-speaking circles, it may have been viewed as unpastoral to make a change to the text.[293] However, it should be noted that there were other English translations of the chorales by Lutheran translators in use in the United States that predated the formation of the Missouri Synod by over a hundred years.[294] There may also have been an issue of workload; the "pay" for most of the editors of the Missouri Synod's previous hymnal project was a personal copy of the hymnal.[295]

A full accounting of the hymn sources in *ELHB* is available in Appendix 3. Ultimately, 171 of *ELHB*'s 601 hymns are of Anglican textual origin. One must also take into account that even the hymns of Lutheran origin could be Anglican-influenced. 169 of the translations of non-English hymns were undertaken by Anglicans. That's a staggering 56.41% of the texts of the hymns having direct Anglican influence. Likewise, 179 of the hymn melodies (29.78%) were directly composed by Anglicans. In contrast, only 225 texts and 78 translations were written by Lutherans, for a total of 37.44%. Of the tunes, only 267—less than half (44.42%)—were of Lutheran origin. In other words, the Anglican textual and musical influence outperformed the Lutheran sources of this "Lutheran" *Hymn-Book* by an order of approximately 4:3 (401 Anglican-provenance hymns to 303 Lutheran-provenance hymns; see Appendix 3 for more statistical delineation). The seeming disconnect between the Missouri Synod's confessional heritage and their first English hymnal is a little more intelligible in this light.

---

[293] Indeed, this would have been rather 'unLutheran,' since the Preface to the Small Catechism gravely warns pastors against flippantly changing translations to Scripture and other dearly memorized texts. See Bente, *Triglot Concordia*, p. 535.
[294] See Jacobi, *Psalmodia Germanica*.
[295] Schalk, "Brief History," 1.

Contrasting *ELHB* with the *Kirchen-Agende* and *Choralbuch*

A more surprising change made by *ELHB* is found in its abandonment of the traditional Saxon liturgy contained in the *KGB*'s accompanying *Kirchen-Agende* for the relative novelty of *The Common Service* of 1888 (*TCS*). Where the *Kirchen-Agende* sought to repristinate the more organic tradition from which the Saxons were spiritual and geographical descendants, the creators of *TCS* claimed it repristinated what they believed was a purer form of not only the Lutheran liturgy, but the "pure Service of the Christian Church of the West."[296] In other words, they lauded their efforts as the true and pristine form of the Western Mass in contradistinction to the Tridentine, Anglican, and Saxon *Agende*-inspired rites. (The significance of this position and the parties at the heart of the formation of *The Common Service* will be examined in Chapter III.) For a side-by-side comparison of the *ELHB* liturgy with these rites and the *Kirchen-Agende*, please refer to Appendix 1.

Some of the clearest changes made in *ELHB* were manifest in the entrance rite. The significance of these changes occurred on two levels. First was the addition of the penitential rite in *ELHB*. Confession and Absolution was originally observed after the Sermon in the *Kirchen-Agende*.[297] In contrast, *ELHB* followed the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* in placing the confession of sins at the beginning of the Communion liturgy, reminiscent of the pre-Reformation Confiteor prayed by the priest before Mass. This change from the post-Sermon General Confession also caused the liturgical Canticle *Schaffe in mir* ("Create in Me") to become displaced. The use of this repentance-themed text, based on the penitential Psalm 51, occurred directly after the General Confession in the *Kirchen-Agende* rite. *ELHB* retained "Create in Me,"

[296] General Council, "Preface," *Church Book*, p. viii.
[297] This corresponded to the catechetical flow of the Liturgy; Luther's Small Catechism placed Confession after his explanations of Law (Ten Commandments) and Gospel (Creed) as well. See Bente, *Triglot Concordia*, pp. 530–563.

but left it behind when moving the rest of the General Confession to the front of the Service. The now stand-alone "Create in Me" was recast solely as an "offertory."

The changes to the Entrance Rite in *ELHB* also altered the ritual expression of the liturgy for the laity. Two of the most significant examples of culture-forming chorales in the Saxon (and, indeed, broader Lutheran) tradition are represented by *Kyrie, Gott Vater* and *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr*, which were so pervasive in the tradition that they became lovingly known as the "Lutheran *Kyrie*" and the "Lutheran *Gloria*."[298] Where these two hymns enjoyed pride of place[299] at the beginning of the *Kirchen-Agende*, both are conspicuously absent from the *ELHB* liturgical rite.[300] In place of *Kyrie, Gott Vater*, *ELHB* has an English setting of the *Kyrie* Luther composed for his *Deutsche Messe*. This was a simple three-fold *Kyrie,* without the context of the bids with which they were paired in the ancient Church or even the original Greek that was maintained in the *Kyrie, Gott Vater* trope and the *Deutsche Messe*. The Lutheran *Kyrie* was ahead of its time in restoring the prayer-based petitions through a trope—to say nothing of its melodic complexity and antiquity.[301] In fact, as Lochner succinctly pointed out, congregations that had the means utilized a number of seasonal versions of troped *Kyries* throughout the Church year.[302] This particular capacity for musical variety and theological depth was absent in the *ELHB* rite.[303] The

---

[298] Some church bells are inscribed with the "Lutheran Gloria." See, e.g., William Weedon, "Church Bells," *Weedon's Blog*, Blogger, 06 June 2007, https://weedon.blogspot.com/2007/06/church-bells.html.
[299] Of course, it should be noted that other *Kyries* were used; meanwhile, Luther's *All Ehr und Lob* was used in the sixteenth century as a chorale setting of the Gloria, albeit its use paled in comparison in the centuries that followed. Latin and chorale settings of the Ordinary texts were also maintained in certain areas. For further discussion, see Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 57.
[300] Though both are happily included in the hymn index.
[301] The modern liturgical renewal trend is to have a bidding prayer, using the *Kyrie* as a response to the bids, a form modeled after the Byzantine liturgy. This format is alluded to in the tropes that *Kyrie, Gott Vater* already had.
[302] Friedrich Lochner, *The Chief Divine Service of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church: Explained, and Furnished with Historic Church Melodies for the Preservation of the Liturgical Heritage and for the Advancement of Liturgical Study in the American-Lutheran Church,* ed. Jon D. Vieker, Kevin J. Hildebrand, and Nathaniel S. Jensen, tr. Matthew Carver, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2020), pp. 102–104.
[303] Another result of this three-fold *Kyrie* use, particularly with the addition of "upon us," is that many congregations began to think of the Kyrie as penitential. This ultimately led to the WELS moving the Kyrie to the Confiteor in *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1993).

impetus for this change appears to have been the 1549 *BCP*, a contention that will be explored later in the chapters dealing with *The Lutheran Hymnal*.

After the *Kyrie*, the *ELHB* Entrance Rite contained an English translation of the *Gloria in Excelsis*,[304] directly drawn from the 1549 *BCP*.[305] So, too, the *Gloria* was set to an Anglican chant, an "Old Scottish Chant" from *Tunes for Particular Hymns* of 1763.[306] On a musical level, this represented the clearest example of Anglican influence in the *ELHB* rite This particular setting of the *Gloria* is still published in Episcopal, Methodist, and Presbyterian hymnals in the United States,[307] as well as by the remnants of the Synodical Conference.

While the rubrics of the *ELHB* did allow that "another Canticle or Hymn of Praise may be sung," this was only permitted if Communion or a Festival was not being celebrated,[308] only tacitly allowing the pride of place once enjoyed by *Allein Gott* in Lutheran worship. As with the *Kyrie*, it can be argued that the introduction of an Anglican *Gloria* seemed to be at the expense of the rich musical tradition of the "Lutheran *Gloria*." This is to say nothing of the copious amounts of chorale preludes, choral music, and other settings of its tune—or the fact that *Allein Gott* is based on an ancient Gregorian melody of an ironically more Latin pedigree than the eighteenth-century "Old Scottish Chant."

After the Entrance Rite, the most notable change in *ELHB* was the rubric for the Nicene Creed or the Apostles' Creed (only if Communion is not celebrated) to be said or sung.[309] This rubric and the text used for the Creeds was virtually identical to the one included in the 1549

---

[304] Missouri Synod, *ELHB*, pp. 3–4.
[305] Episcopal Church, *Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 324–325.
[306] This is to be expected, since the U.S. *Book of Common Prayer* was heavily influenced by the Scottish Church due to political and immigration nuances.
[307] It is Canticle 6 in *The Hymnal* of 1982. See Episcopal Church, *The Hymnal 1982* (New York: Church Hymnal Corp., 1985), S204.
[308] Missouri Synod, *ELHB*, p. 3.
[309] *Ibid*.

BCP and the U. S. BCP.[310] This was contrasted by the singing of Luther's *Wir glauben* in the *Kirchen-Agende*. Although *ELHB* gave the nod to singing the Nicene Creed, no music was provided to this end. It is hard to imagine a fledgling mission congregation—much less German immigrants struggling to learn English as a second language—singing this substantive text with no prior experience. In addition to losing this part of the liturgy as a musical expression, the loss of *Wir glauben* cannot be understated. Like *Kyrie, Gott Vater* and *Allein Gott, Wir glauben* forms an integral part of the Lutheran *Missa brevis* tradition. Its influence on Lutheran composers through the centuries has been profound, in addition to whatever effect it had on the piety of the laity.[311] Its loss in the transition to English represented a break in a continuity spanning centuries.

Conspicuously (owing to some of the peculiarities of the formation of the *Common Service*, which will be addressed later in Chapter III), the Eucharistic portion of the *ELHB* Service departs from both the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Kirchen-Agende* traditions. Rather than a Eucharistic Prayer as in the former, or simply going into the *Pater Noster* as in the latter, *ELHB* curiously inserts an Exhortation after the *Sanctus*.[312] Although only prefaced with a "may" rubric, its inclusion here is a nod to the Saxon tradition that predates even Walther's hymnal. The use of the Exhortation can be traced all the way back to the *Deutsche Messe* itself, while Church Orders like those of Martin Chemnitz codified numerous and fuller iterations.[313] The content of the Exhortation included in *ELHB* was certainly in the spirit of those texts.

The rest of the Communion rite represented the most similarity between the *Kirchen-Agende* and the *ELHB* liturgies. It is worth mentioning that *ELHB* included an English

---

[310] Episcopal Church, *BCP*, 326–327.
[311] For example, consider Bach's Lutheran Organ Mass in Clavier-Ubung III, which was likely written in conjunction with a civic celebration of the bicentennial of the Augsburg Confession.
[312] Missouri Synod, *ELHB*, p. 12.
[313] See Martin Chemnitz and Jacob Andreae, *Church Order for Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel: How Doctrine, Ceremonies, and Other Church-Related Matters Shall (by God's Grace) Be Conducted Henceforth*, ed. Jacob Corzine and Matthew Carver, tr. Jacob Corzine, Matthew C. Harrison, and Andrew Smith (Concordia Publishing House: St. Louis, 2015).

translation of Luther's *Christe, du Lamm gottes* as the *Agnus Dei*.[314] In addition to its use in the *Kirchen-Agende*, this setting of the *Agnus Dei* also stemmed from the *Deutsche Messe*, where it shared musical symmetry with the *Kyrie* (the same one also used in *ELHB*).

More nuanced liturgico-musical changes

One of the interesting features of the *Kirchen-Agende* and *Choralbuch* was the copious amount of interesting musical responses the congregation could sing at various points in the liturgy. Where in the Latin Mass these responses would typically be sung in unison on a single reciting tone, the *Choralbuch* offered harmonically rich settings with rhythmic and harmonic variation. There were no fewer than five different ways to sing "Amen" in response to a Collect in the *Choralbuch*;[315] *ELHB* only offered one.

The *Kirchen-Agende* did not include the *Introits*, *Graduals*, or other propers from the Roman tradition, but it did include various antiphons throughout the Service. These offered a rich corpus of texts to draw from, allowing the people to sing different words of Scripture that were uniquely relevant to the theme of the day in musically interesting ways. *ELHB* removed these antiphons and reintroduced the Introit and seasonal "Hallelujah verses." However, no music was provided for these texts.[316]

From a musical perspective, the variety proffered by the use of Collect antiphons in the *Choralbuch* was arguably preferable to having no music at all offered for the Introit and Hallelujah antiphons of *ELHB*.[317] Even assuming the use and availability of ancillary resources

---

[314] Missouri Synod, *ELHB*, p. 13.
[315] Hölter, *Choralbuch*, p. 200.
[316] Missouri Synod, *ELHB*, 5.
[317] Comparing what might have been intended from the *Common Service Book,* from which large swaths of *ELHB* were copied, the outlook is no less bleak. The long-short rhythmic interest of the Choralbuch melodies for the antiphons were replaced by an isorhythmic meter in the *CSB* Hallelujah verses. Ironically, at the same time, it also makes the harmonic progressions more difficult for part-singing. Whereas the Choralbuch harmonizations are almost entirely conjunct in contour (with the occasional fifth), the motion in *ELHB* is more disjunct—in spite of the simplified rhythms. Also of note is that these melodies in *CSB* are attributed to Merbecke, 1550; ostensibly the

that contained music for the assigned Introits and Hallelujahs in *ELHB*, one must consider this possibility in the context of the rubric allowing for the Introit to be sung by the choir.[318] It hardly needs mentioning that few German immigrant Churches, let alone their English missions, were in possession of a regular liturgical choir, so this rubric seems perfunctory at best. Thus, the rubric calling for the minister to simply read the Introit became standard practice for most congregations. There is an "ordinary" setting of the *Gloria Patri* that is offered in this case, which became usual for the congregation to sing. Where the collect antiphons in *KGB* basically functioned like the Introit, offering musically satisfying yet accessible congregational singing and parts for a richer choral use, the introduction of the Roman Introit became more of a formality to be read than a musically interesting part of the liturgy. Although these changes may seem subtle, the result throughout the Service was significantly reduced congregational participation in the singing of the liturgy in favor of a functional, text-driven approach. It can also be argued that these changes stemmed from the loss of the Saxon *Agende's* allowance for variance in ritual practice dependent on geographical circumstance (i.e., using more elaborate choral and even Latin forms in cities, but simpler chorale forms in villages).

Acceptance of *ELHB*

As noted above, the formal adoption of *ELHB* came as a result of the English Synod's merger with the German Missouri Synod. The profundity of this event was succinctly captured by a 1912 review of *ELHB* in *Theological Quarterly*:

> While the English Synod of Missouri was discussing the advisability and feasibility of organic union with the German Missouri Synod, a great work was quietly being done for it which was destined to affect, in a perceptible manner, the public worship and private devotions of its members. At its final convention in St.

composer commissioned to set the 1549 *BCP* to music. See United Lutheran Church in America, *Common Service Book With Hymnal* (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1918), p. 15.

[318] *Ibid*., p. 2.

> Louis, the Synod's Hymn-Book Committee reported that it had finished its work, and 'that the Hymnal is in the hands of the printer.' [. . .] The contemplated union with the German Synod was effected, and in time adjustment of the former English Synod's business affairs, notably the transfer of its publication concern to the German Synod, the latter body took over all the assets and liabilities of the English body. The new hymnal, therefore, by the logic of events becomes the hymnal of the entire Missouri Synod. We have deemed this event of sufficient importance to publish it in the form of an article rather than in a book-review.[319]

The prescient acknowledgment that the *ELHB* would "affect, in a perceptible manner, the public worship and private devotions of its members" is particularly relevant for consideration here, but perhaps not in the immediate way the reviewer intended. In point of fact, as the *Quarterly* went on to report, the subscriptions to the first edition of the *ELHB* only amounted to 4,802 copies. While this immediately necessitated a second printing, these numbers must be kept in perspective of the relative size of the LCMS as a whole, as well as the percentage of its congregations that made use of English in its worship Services in the year 1912. When considering the total member base of the LCMS in 1912, the initial subscriptions[320] would only service approximately 0.52% of its membership.[321] Even factoring for congregations that used English at least in part, the percentage only rises to 2.36.[322]

There are a few explanations for why this figure might be so low. In the first place, prior to its merger with the LCMS, roughly 60,000 copies of predecessor versions of *ELHB* had been

---

[319] William Herman Theodore Dau, "Our New English Hymn-Book," *Theological Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1912), pp. 154–155, http://www.ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/DauOurNewEnglishHymnBook.pdf.

[320] It is worth noting that at this time "subscriptions" referred to pre-orders to ensure profitability of printing. The subsequent purchases of *ELHB* are not factored into these figures.

[321] The statistical year-book for the LCMS demonstrates that the Synod maintained a total census of 838,646 members in its constituent congregations in the year 1907, rising to 1,001,380 a decade later. Halving the difference of 162,734 to provide an estimate for the midpoint year of 1912, the LCMS had roughly 920,013 members in its constituent congregations in the year 1912. This accounts for the 0.52% figure above, representing the number of members from LCMS congregations for whom an *ELHB* could have been purchased at the time of publication. Assuming a total membership of 920,013, the average among the 2,756 constituent congregations in 1912 would be 334 members. Multiplied by the 610 congregations that used English at least in part, this would equal 203,740 members of congregations that would be most likely to subscribe to the use of ELHB. Even among this more favorable demographic, this would equate to only 2.36% hymnal subscriptions.

[322] *Ibid*.

sold within the English Missouri Synod since 1889.[323] But even adjusted to account for these additional editions, enough copies had been sold to account for only 31.81% of the English-using LCMS congregation members in 1912 (and 7.04% of the total membership). This does not account for individuals who almost certainly purchased successive copies, nor copies purchased for communal, library, or academic use. Although admittedly circumstantial, *ELHB* could be described as an underperforming volume based on the evidence of these statistical data.

Further historical context supplements the little extent to which the radical changes of *ELHB* were accepted. The LCMS publication of the *Liturgy and Agenda* in 1918, intended to be the English agenda counterpart to the *ELHB*, included rubrics not just for the rite inspired by *TCS* contained in *ELHB*. *Liturgy and Agenda* also included a "Second Form," which was functionally an English translation of the Saxon rite from the original *KGB*.[324] This Saxon form continued to be published in the 1921 edition of the *Liturgy and Agenda,* nearly a decade after the publication of *ELHB* and without any official English hymnal utilizing the form. In fact, the original *KGB* and *Kirchen-Agende* continued to be published by CPH as late as 1967.[325] This is significant because 78.91% of the congregations in the Synod were at least using some English by 1920.[326] In spite of this trend, the original Saxon order of Service—which was not promulgated in any English hymnal of the LCMS—was still in such widespread use that the editors of *Liturgy and Agenda* were compelled to include it as an option in their publication.

A dramatic change in language trajectory occurred between 1917 and 1920, with an uptick of 2,085 congregations that made use of English in their Services.[327] The timing of this

---

[323] Vieker, "Fathers' Faith, Children's Song," p. 82.
[324] Missouri Synod, *Liturgy and Agenda*, p. 15.
[325] It was noted in 1967 that "the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden may still be purchased from Concordia Publishing House." James L. Brauer, "The Hymnals of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod" (STM Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1967), 42, as quoted in Vieker, *Fathers' Faith, Children's Song*, 42.
[326]Heidemann, *Acceptance of the English language*, p. 57*f*.
[327] With an average congregation size of 270, this represented something like 563,375 people.

change coincided with the racial prejudices that Germans faced in the United States in the wake of the First World War. The pressure to discontinue the use of German continued through the Second World War. In 1935, 509 congregations made predominant use of German; in 1945, only 107 remained, with the number plummeting to 31 by 1948.[328]

The fearful abandonment of the German language due to geopolitical and social pressures meant that the decision was not necessarily measured or theologically minded. What is more, the dramatic abandonment of liturgico-musical continuity that attended this change in language also lacked the measured theological approach of Lutheran precedent, as previously described. It is natural that in such conditions things might become confusing or chaotic. These are the same sentiments expressed by the lay editorials published in the *Lutheran Witness* in 1931 and 1933, respectively titled "Our Liturgical Confusion" and "Our Liturgical Chaos." The first of these addressed the state of confusion a husband and wife felt at the liturgical novelties of various LCMS congregations that were local to them:

> I am writing to you this morning that my wife and I attended Services at H. Church in S. last evening as visitors, as in the morning we had not been able to attend our own church. [. . .] The form used in H. Church was entirely different from that of two other churches which I frequently attend, and these two also differ very much from each other. The result was that the whole service was spoiled for me because I could not take part in anything but the hymns on the board and listen to the sermon. One stands there like a dummy, and if one tries to find the responses to the altar readings or chants, one usually does not succeed until it is all finished.[329]

Another layperson recounted a similar experience in his hometown, where among the dozens of LCMS congregations located there, not a single one conducted the liturgy uniformly with another. "In my home town there are about 25 churches of the Missouri Synod, and I do not know of two that use the same liturgy. Some pastors and organists have reduced the liturgy to the

---

[328] Heidemann, *Acceptance of the English language*, p. 58.
[329] Anon., "Our Liturgical Confusion," *Lutheran Witness* 50, no. 12 (1931), p. 206.

merest skeleton, while others have made a very elaborate affair out of it."[330] In his essay "Our Liturgical Chaos," Thomas Graebner documented several of these examples in greater depth, including the specific cases of twenty different liturgical "orders" in use at the time. Of them, he wrote:

> We have both extremes, a High Church tendency towards ritualism and the ("Low Church") elimination of all liturgical features except Collect, Lord's Prayer, Benediction, and the responses of Amen; and we have all degrees between. [. . .] The bulk of our churches have developed individually a type of liturgy, the Common Service rearranged and condensed, with special original features added and no attempt made to conform to the standards or practices of any congregation, be it even in the same city.[331]

This laissez-faire approach to liturgics wrought during the transitional period from German to English directly impacted the laity. While nuance of form and theory of liturgics is the realm of clerics, the practical application is imbibed by those in the pews. The most well-intentioned changes or omissions were likely to have an impact on the private piety and devotional lives of the average parishioner. This was ever more the case with the dramatic change to the hymnal itself, which historically represented a cultural and devotional throughline between worship and church and personal piety in the home. The loss of language was culture shock enough; the loss of the chorale tradition untethered the laity from historic Lutheran orthopraxy (albeit the process of this untethering may have begun in some cases prior to the transition through the adoption of American hymnody and the like). The most significant architects of the forms used in this process had Anglican sympathies, as will be discussed in Chapter III.

If the significance of this change was not implicit enough, it was made explicit by the practical piety expressed by the pastors and theologians of the LCMS. A 1922 survey of 24

---

[330] Anon., "Our Liturgical Chaos," *Lutheran Witnes*s 52, no. 4 (1933), p. 57, as quoted in Paul J. Grime, "*The Lutheran Hymnal* after Seventy-Five Years: Its Role in the Shaping of *Lutheran Service Book*," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 79, nos. 3–4 (2015), p. 197, http://www.ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/GrimeLutheranHymnalAfterSeventy-FiveYears.pdf.

[331] Thomas Graebner, "Our Liturgical Chaos," in *The Problem of Lutheran Union and Other Essays* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935), pp. 140, 156–158.

English-speaking pastors and seminary professors regarding what hymns should be committed to memory by a layperson interested in ministry yielded the following results (Table 2.2):

Table 2.2. Results of a 1922 survey of 24 English-speaking Missouri Synod pastors, containing suggestions of hymns most recommended for lay memorization.[332]

Hymn	**% of Respondents**
Rock of Ages	100%
Just As I Am	95.83%
Abide With Me	87.5%
What a Friend We Have in Jesus	87.5%
Jesus, Lover of My Soul	75%
A Mighty Fortress Is Our God	70.83%
My Faith Looks Up to Thee	66.67%
Come, Thou Almighty King	62.5%
There Is a Fountain Filled with Blood	58.33%
From Greenland's Icy Mountains	54.17%

Seven of these hymns were composed by Anglican hymn writers. The exceptions were "What a Friend We Have in Jesus," which was composed by the once-Anglican Joseph Scriven, who joined the offshoot Plymouth brethren community, and "My Faith Looks Up to Thee," whose composer, Ray Palmer, was trained at the Episcopal Yale Divinity school but went on to minister at Congregationalist churches. The only Lutheran hymn on the list, Martin Luther's famous "A Mighty Fortress," had been a generic favorite among all Protestants since its translation into English—and it did not even make the top five.

Concluding Remarks

Although an effort was made to repristinate older Lutheran and German music in addition to the more "pristine" western rite, the paradigms of liturgical reform movements moved *ELHB*

[332] Theo. Buenger, "Hymns in the Curriculum of Our Colleges," *The Lutheran Witness* 41, no. 5 (1922), p. 75, https://books.google.com/books?id=8ZosAAAAYAAJ.

in a liturgico-musical direction that did not prioritize as highly the musical richness and uniqueness of the preceding Saxon tradition. The compilers of *ELHB* seem to have been unconcerned by or ignorant of the motivations behind the compilation of *TCS* when they included it as the sole liturgical rite, to say nothing of the implications of severing the centuries-old liturgical connection to the Saxon *Agende*.[333] Chapter III of this thesis will pay particular attention to how the non-Synodical Conference architects of the *TCS* were influenced by Anglo-Catholicism and the Episcopal Church in general, which will explicate the direct influence of the *TCS* on the compilers of the *ELHB* and other Synodical Conference tomes.

As for the denizens of the LCMS, the data seem to indicate that the transition from German to English was a time of significant upheaval and inconsistency. The liturgical chorales somewhat faded from the collective consciousness of those who fully embraced the *ELHB*. Those who came from and appreciated their Saxon tradition perpetuated the use of their traditional liturgy over and against the officially promulgated liturgy in *ELHB*, to the extent that an accompanying *Liturgy and Agenda* made allowance for the Saxon use. This period of nonconformity and ligurico-musical upheaval left the LCMS primed and waiting for the unifying force that would ultimately be realized in *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941, which will be examined in Chapter IV.

The Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod

Unlike its Missourian counterpart, the Wisconsin Synod did not enjoy an ethnically Saxon homogeneity in its formative years. Indeed, the fledgling Wisconsin Synod served

[333] This will be the focus of the next chapter, while the influence of *TCS* on *TLH* will be addressed in Chapters IV and V.

German immigrants from various regions—and even some Yankees.[334] This diasporic constitution meant a lack of cohesion in ideological and religious identity as well. Particularly in the mid-nineteenth century, this led to a narrative that the LCMS provided a conservative counterbalance that brought Wisconsin back from the brink of a doctrinal collapse. In his corrective volume, *A Tale of Two Synods*, WELS seminary professor Mark Brug spent considerable time dispelling this notion, finding "a change in Wisconsin [was brought about] long before Missouri ever noticed the existence of the Wisconsin Synod or directed 'loving' criticisms its way."[335]

Although Brug's research provided a corrective understanding of the internal factors that precipitated the WELS' early doctrinal reform, the myth of the LCMS being the savior of the WELS still persists, particularly in practical (as opposed to doctrinal) considerations. Indeed, it is widely believed even within the WELS itself that the Synod was bereft of liturgical orthopraxy until the dawn of *The Lutheran Hymnal* under the auspices of the Synodical Conference in 1941 (notably with the LCMS at the helm). As a WELS essayist put it, "One can argue that without the Missouri Synod's influence, especially in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, Wisconsin Synod liturgical worship would be markedly different today."[336] The veracity of this statement may be defensible, but perhaps not in the way that the essayist implied. The same internal movements that provided a confessional corrective to the Wisconsin Synod's eclectic origin story also resulted in liturgical

---

[334] Apparently, the earlier settlers worked together with the English in lieu of resources. Things eventually came to a head and the Yankee element split off to form the neighboring West Granville Presbyterian congregation. See City of Milwaukee Historic Preservation Commission, "Historic Designation Study Report: Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church" (Milwaukee, 1982), p. 2. https://city.milwaukee.gov/ImageLibrary/Groups/cityHPC/DesignatedReports/vticnf/SalemLutheranChurch.pdf

[335] Mark E. Braun, *A Tale of Two Synods: Events That Led to the Split Between Wisconsin and Missouri* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2003), p. 34, https://books.google.com/books/about/A_Tale_of_Two_Synods.html?id=uQLrAAAAMAAJ.

[336] Newlin T. Schafer, "The Missouri Synod Influence on Wisconsin Synod Worship in the Era of the Synodical Conference," MDiv thesis (Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, 2010), p. 21, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/handle/123456789/2017.

and particularly hymnological conservatisms in its early years, which were firmly rooted in the old Evangelical-Lutheran tradition long before its dalliance with Missouri. The research that follows will demonstrate the same seeds of confessional conservatism that won out doctrinally in the WELS were also present in the liturgical and hymnological practice of the Synod from shortly after its founding, both of which were rooted in the ideological principles of Luther's liturgico-musical philosophy. This will call into question certain notions that the WELS was utterly bereft of liturgical piety prior to the advent of *The Lutheran Hymnal* in 1941 and will provide important context for later considerations regarding the influence of *TLH* on the liturgical developments of the WELS.

The Eclectic Beginnings of the WELS

Known today as the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS), the founders of the Synod called their meager group the "First Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin" at a founding meeting in December of 1849.[337] These were pastors Johannes Weinmann of St. John's Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Oakwood, WI; William Wrede of Salem Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Granville, WI; and Johannes Muehlhaeuser of Grace Evangelical-Lutheran Church in downtown Milwaukee. With Salem at the northwestern reaches of Milwaukee County and St. John's at the southeast, the mission efforts of the collective spanned a wide geographical area, covering most of what is today the greater Milwaukee area. Unlike the LCMS in its fledgling years, predominantly situated on a singular compound and comprising individuals that immigrated together seeking religious freedom, the families that comprised the three founding WELS congregations came to America for more individual and (in some cases) temporal

[337] Clifford E. Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1980), p. 183, https://books.google.com/books?id=q3xyPFA_8O0C.

reasons. These congregations consisted of families from various regions in Germany that banded together due to a shared tongue more so than a shared regional heritage or faith. Practicality and survival were paramount considerations rather than a utopian vision of a spiritual retreat.

This relative diversity of the German immigrant backgrounds of the charter WELS congregations was also reflected by the diversity of the missionaries who served them. Finding clergy to serve on the frontier was difficult and resulted in a veritable smorgasbord of theological paradigms. Although a lay leader from St. John's successfully petitioned the Langenberg Mission Society to send over itinerant preachers (an event considered pivotal in bringing the founding pastors of the WELS to the area[338]), there was still significant turnover in clergy. This rotation of pastors from Germany brought the ideological tensions that were latent to Germany with them.

In the case of St. John's, the result was a congregation not at all monolithic in its beliefs. A rationalist minister led an exodus of half of the membership of the congregation in 1851. Afterward, the congregation received a more confessional Lutheran pastor who helped to seed numerous daughter congregations throughout the region. These congregations remain members of the WELS to this day.[339] Similarly, Salem's first church building was named "Salem Evangelical and Reformed Church of Granville." In 1861, the Reformed portions of the congregation broke away and formed their own Presbyterian congregation.[340] At Grace, Pastor Johannes Muehlhauser, who was also elected as the founding president of the WELS, had a notable unionist streak in his willingness to work with those outside of the Lutheran communion:

---

[338] L. Ristow, "In The Beginning—A Layman," *The Northwestern Lutheran* 62, no. 7 (1975), p. 249–250, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/handle/123456789/6527.
[339] John L. May, *Why wasn't the "Founding" Layman of the Wisconsin Synod Buried by a German Lutheran (Wisconsin Synod) Church? A Study of Ehrenfried Seebach from 1845–1897*, MDiv essay (Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary: Senior Church History, 1976), pp. 8–9, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/bitstream/handle/123456789/3244/MayBuried.pdf.
[340] Historic Preservation Commission, "Historic Designation Study Report," p. 2.

> Because I am not strictly or Old-Lutheran, I am in a position to offer every child of God and servant of Christ the hand of fellowship over the ecclesiastical fence. [I] have quite often been together with English preachers of the various denominations in ministerial conference and we respected and loved each other as brethren and deliberated on the general welfare of the church. So I am not, dear Methodist brother, withdrawing the hand of brotherhood from you if you are a Methodist in the spirit of the Methodist church's founder.[341]

Muehlhaeuser's role as the founding president of the WELS fueled the notion that the WELS had this unionizing tendency *en masse,* among other doctrinal errors, prior to its partnership with the LCMS. This selective reading ignores other sentiments Muehlhaeuser expressed, such as where he rebuked a fellow-Lutheran for converting to Methodism, writing, "I am wondering how you, a theologian pledged to the confessional books, could take the step without a struggle. You won't expect me to believe that the teaching of the Methodist church, especially regarding the Sacraments, yes, even pertaining to justification and sanctification, is Lutheran?"[342] In addition to the nuance in Muehlhaeuser's own writings, the other two founding pastors of the WELS helped cement the "Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other Lutheran symbols" as the basis of its Synodical fellowship.[343]

By 1860, a stalwart confessional, Johannes Bading, replaced Muehlhaeuser as WELS president, solidifying the WELS' stance as a confessional Lutheran Synod—long before it declared fellowship with the Missouri Synod in 1869. During the interim, the WELS was in fellowship with the General Council, which was itself striving to bring a confessional revival to the old-stock Lutherans of the East Coast. Unfortunately, the General Council was more interested in confessionalism on paper than in practice. By 1869, the WELS rejected the General Council because it was not confessional enough, at which time it finally came into fellowship

---

[341] J. Muehlhaeuser, personal Letter, 1853, as quoted in Brug, *Tale of Two Synods*, p. 21.
[342] J. Muehlhaeuser to Gotthlife Weitbrecht, November 1853; cited in Koehler, HWS, 43–4., as quoted in Brug, *Tale of Two Synods*, p. 22.
[343] John Philipp Koehler, *The History of the Wisconsin Synod* (St. Cloud, MN: Faith-Life, 1970), pp. 41, 45.

with the LCMS and was one of the founding bodies of the Synodical Conference.

While these historical data show the confessional *bona fides* of the Wisconsin Synod in doctrinal terms, there persists a notion that the WELS lacked orthodox Lutheran liturgical materials before its joining the Synodical Conference. Muehlhaeuser features prominently again in this polemic, with his infamous insistence in the charter of Grace Lutheran Church that "never may or shall a preacher of the said congregation use the rite of the Old Lutheran Church, whether in Baptism or the Lord's Supper."[344] However, Grace was not the only founding congregation, nor even the oldest.

Founded in 1843, St. John's Oakwood is the oldest founding congregation of the WELS.[345] Unique access to the parish archive at St. John's as a part of this research revealed an antiquated hymnal buried under other forgotten tomes. Investigation into the contents of the hymnal, with a foreword inscription dating to 1764, revealed it to be an eighteenth-century edition of the Mecklenburg *Kirchen Gesangbuch*. Although Mecklenberg is about 200 miles to the north of Saxony, its agenda and subsequent hymnary corpus were both directly linked to the liturgical chorale tradition that Luther propagated.[346] Because the missionary-pastors that serviced St. John's in the frontier days served Germans of disparate geographical origin, it is not far-fetched that a north German hymnal like that of Mecklenburg might have come into use. The missionaries serving in the frontier made use of whatever resources they had available and were familiar with.[347] For St. John's, the Mecklenburg *Gesangbuch* may have fit the bill and would

---

[344] *Kirchen-Ordnung der Deutschen Evangelische Lutherische Gnaden-Gemeinde in Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Druck der Germania Publishing Co., 1851), 1; trans. Edwin Lehmann, "An All-Consuming Love," 10, as quoted in Mark Braun, *Changes Within The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America That Led To The Exit of The Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod*, p. 8, https://scholar.csl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1051.
[345] As a point of reference, this was only five years removed from Walther and the Saxons' arrival in St. Louis.
[346] For a broad sketch from Wittenberg to Mecklenburg, see James Ambrose Lee II, *Tracing Wittenberg's Liturgical Lineage: Mecklenburg's Reception of Luther's Reforms of the Mass* (New Haven, CT: Yale Divinity School, 2012).
[347] Compare how the first Lutherans in America drafted the first Lutheran liturgy in America, detailed in Chapter III, Table 3.1 of this thesis.

make it the oldest hymnal of record ever used by a Wisconsin Synod congregation.[348]

Although it is unknown the extent to which, if at all, the Mecklenberg hymnal was used, there is evidence that other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German hymnals continued in the Wisconsin Synod in its first two decades.[349] In this preliminary period before the Synod published its own liturgical resources, the hymnal in use was a matter of pastoral discretion. But a frontrunner took precedence as the Synod began to grow. At its constitutional convention in 1850, the Synod chose the name, *The German Evangelical Ministerium of Wisconsin,*[350] which it kept until its incorporation by the Wisconsin Legislature as the *German Evangelical Lutheran synod of Wisconsin* in 1864.[351] The "ministerium" nomenclature was used by the East Coast Lutherans dating back to the eighteenth century.[352] As the Wisconsin Synod sought to pattern itself after and partner with these East Coast Lutherans, the widespread use of the hymnal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium—the oldest Lutheran Church body in America—took root.

The first recorded liturgical resolution of the Synod, preserved in the minutes of its 1857 convention, pertained to this Pennsylvania hymnal: "Resolved that the Ministerium support the resolution of the Ohio Synod, in which it requests the Hon. Synod of Pennsylvania to institute a basic revision of the next edition of its Agenda."[353] The use of the Pennsylvania resources was apparently commonplace enough that the proceedings of the 1860 convention stated that "the

---

[348] Unfortunately, no documentation proving chain of custody has been verified as of this writing.
[349] Synod President Johannes Bading used Prost's *Gesang-buch*, while theologian August Pieper used the Bollhagen *Gesangbuch*. The personal hymnals of both men are preserved in the WELS Synod Archives.
[350] John P. Koehler, *Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin und anderen Staaten* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1925), p. 189. The Synod had chosen to pattern its Constitution after the New York Ministerium (from which its first president hailed), and so used the "Ministerium" title in this early period.
[351] State of Wisconsin, "Wisconsin Session Laws, Chapter 299," *Private and Local Acts, and Charters of Incorporated Companies, Passed by the Legislature of Wisconsin, in the Year 1864* (Madison, WI: William J. Park, State Printer, 1864), p. 119, https://books.google.com/books?id=7gIrAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA119.
[352] In this case, the WELS patterned its first constitution after the New York Ministerium; Muehlhaeuser had come to Wisconsin via New York.
[353] What this "basic revision" entailed is not entirely clear. It may have had something to do with the ultimate severance of fellowship between the Wisconsin and Pennsylvania Synods, or it could have simply referred to a generic revision of the work for use in a broader context. *Cf.* Lehmann, "Wisconsin Synod Hymnals and Agendas.".

opening service was conducted 'according to the liturgical order of the Pennsylvania Agenda.'"[354] It is worth noting that the Pennsylvania Ministerium's first agenda (and subsequently the first agenda in the United States) was indisputably a product of the liturgical chorale tradition shared by the Saxon *Agende*.[355] In 1853, the Pennsylvania Ministerium rejoined the General Synod, which was a conglomerate of most of the Lutheran church bodies in America outside of what would become the Synodical Conference. However, in 1864 it left the General Synod to form the more conservative General Council, with which the WELS would eventually seek fellowship. This liturgical renewal in Pennsylvania shaped the fledgling Wisconsin Synod. Pennsylvania's later reticence to separate itself from all of the liberalizing tendencies of the General Synod led the Wisconsin Synod to abandon the use of its liturgical resources and to resolve to produce a Wisconsin Synod agenda in 1860.

The WELS *Agende*

Owing to a number of factors, ranging from financial setbacks to the focus on publishing a hymnal, the question of an agenda was tabled until 1873, when a memorial to the [Wisconsin] Synod urged the Convention to publish an agenda for liturgical uniformity. A timetable and committees were appointed, but failures to meet deadlines prolonged the work. The floor committee responsible for the agenda at the 1874 convention proposed either adopting the Missouri agenda (with whom the WELS had declared fellowship in the Synodical Conference after moving away from the General Council) outright, or developing an order of worship consistent with what the majority of the Wisconsin Synod was already using. The convention approved the latter option and appointed a committee to produce such an order. Although it failed to meet the deadline for the 1875 convention, by 1876 it had produced a liturgical order.

---

[354] *Ibid*., p. 4,

[355] See Chapter III, Table 3.1 for a discussion of the Pennsylvania Ministerium's first liturgy.

However, disputes over the wording of the absolution formula halted progress. Although a reworking was proposed for the 1877 convention, the *Agende* issue stagnated for a number of years and does not appear to have been taken up in Convention proceedings again until 1886:

> Since the proof copy of the new Agenda was placed before us, it was resolved by the synod that it be given to the theological faculty in Milwaukee and to a committee consisting of the president and Pastors Jaekel, Reinsch and Brockmann for review. After a completion of this, the publication of it should be begun.[356]

After final touches were reported in the 1887 proceedings, it was reported to the 1888 Convention that the *Agende* was ready to print; the same was reported in 1889.[357] But in 1891, the publishing house was ordered not to move forward with publication until subscriptions would pay for publication costs.[358] Evidently, this took a further five years, as the date of first publication was 1896.[359] Although this enormous timeframe may strike the reader as incredible, it is important to remember that those working on the project did so in a volunteer capacity and only in a secondary or even tertiary relationship to their primary ministries. There were apparently no individuals dedicated full-time to the task.[360]

Notwithstanding the prolonged process that led to the publication of the first *Agende* of the Wisconsin Synod, an analysis of its contents demonstrates the Wisconsin Synod's initial commitment to the German Lutheran tradition that began in Saxony as the basis of its first liturgico-musical publication. Table 2.3 below provides a detailed analysis of the contents of the first WELS *Agende*, as well as a comparison with the 1847 *Kirchen-Agende* of the LCMS.

---

[356] Lehmann, "Wisconsin Synod Hymnals," p. 20.
[357] *Ibid*.
[358] *Ibid*.
[359] Evang.-Luth. Synode von Wisconsin, *Agende*.
[360] This service was performed without any record of pay, which is unsurprising for the relatively small WELS.

Table 2.3. A comparison of the liturgies of the LCMS *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856 with the WELS *Agende* of 1896, followed by the musico-historical basis and information pertaining to the WELS *Agende*.

LCMS *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856	**WELS *Agende* of 1896**[361]	**Musical and/or Historical Basis**	**General Notes**	**Composer/ Author, Date, Publication Location**
	♫ Introit hymn	The rubrics call for the pastor to approach the Altar during the final verse. This hymn would function as the traditional Introit Psalm.		
(Confession after Sermon)	General Confession			
♫ *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit*	♫ Christe du Lamm Gottes	A German setting of the traditional Agnus Dei (St. John 1:29). Luther used this musical setting in his *Deutsche Messe*.	Key of F Major.	Martin Luther, Wittenberg, 1526.
	Declaration of Grace			
♫ Gloria intonation (in German) and ♫ *Allein Gott in der Höh*	Gloria intonation (in German) and ♫ *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* or *et terra pax* [in German] by choir, or some combination.	Paschal season Gloria *Lux et origo* from the *Roman Kyriale* for Mass I (pre-Reformation). metrical exposition of classic Latin text, drawn from St. Luke 2.	*Gloria intonation:* Two options provided, one plainchant for solo minister intonation in the Key of G Major. The other responsive with the congregation, with rhythmic variation. Also in G Major. *Allein Gott*: German chorale;	Allein Gott: N. Decius, 1523.

[361] Wisconsin Synod, *Agende*, pp. 3–6, 22–27.

			Key of G Major. Music for traditional *et terra pax* not specified.	
♫ Salutation	♫ Salutation	Apostolic greeting from New Testament.	G Major. Traditional melody. Two options for congregational response. One mimics the minister, the other is highly ornamented swelling to a tessitura of E5 before terminating on B4.	1 Timothy 4:22
♫ Antiphon(s)	♫ Antiphon(s)	Seasonally drawn from various Biblical texts relevant to the theme of the day. Two antiphons were used on high festivals.	Two musical options are offered. Both start on the reciting tone of G for the Pastor, fluctuating between a G and C tonality. The four-part congregational response is harmonized and terminates in C Major.	
♫ Collect of the Day	♫ Collect of the Day	Relevant to the theme of the day, based on a combination of pre-reformation and sixteenth-century texts.	Like the above, the collect begins in G Major but appears to terminate in C major, with a double-Amen harmonized in C Major.	

Epistle	Epistle	Seasonally selected from the New Testament based on a pre-Reformation lectionary. Based on the fifth-century *Tomes of St. Jerome.*		
♫ *Hauptlied*	♫ Hallelujah Verse	Various seasonal options offered.		
Gospel	Gospel with ♫ acclamations.	Seasonally selected from the New Testament based on a pre-Reformation lectionary. Based on the fifth-century *Tomes of St. Jerome.*		
♫ *Wir glauben all an einem Gott*	Apostles' Creed with three-fold Amen.	Based on a fourteenth-centur y Gregorian paraphrase of the Apostle's Creed. Recast by Luther as a musical setting of the Creed w/ explanations from his Small Catechism.	Melodically altered and harmonized in D minor.	M. Luther, 1524. First published in J. Walther, *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn.*
	♫ *Hauptlied*	An exposition of one of the biblical texts. Announcements and other administrative functions would also occur at this time.	A seasonal Pulpit verse was sung.	
Pulpit Service & Sermon	Pulpit Service & Sermon.			

Bid to Confession				
General Confession	(Confession at beginning)			
Absolution				
General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, Lord's Prayer	General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, Lord's Prayer			St. Matthew 6:9–13; St. Luke 11:2–4
Pax Votum	Pax Votum			Philippians 4:7
♫ *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines herze*	♫ *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines herze*	Textually drawn from Psalm 51:10–12. Likely originally included as a hymn of response to the General Confession. Functionally served as an offertory, though not with that terminology.	Two options offered in G major, both in four part for congregational singing.	Option 1 ascribed to G. Winer, 1648. Option 2 ascribed to Umänderung.
♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda	♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda	A responsive liturgical element dating to the first-century A.D. *Didache*, with the titular element "lift up your hearts" drawn from the Book of Lamentations.	Two options offered. First in the key of F Major. Second in the Key of G Major.	Ascribed to Direct. Chori v. Quidetti, 1589. Braunschweig R. O. 1528.
♫ Preface & Proper Preface	♫ Preface & Proper Preface	Pre-reformation liturgical text (and Gregorian melody for option 1). Seasonal to the period of the church year.	Two options offered. The first is Aeolian mode, terminates on G. The second in G Major.	Anonymous Gregorian melody Braunschweig R. O. 1528.
♫ Sanctus w/ Seasonal Benedictus	♫ Sanctus w/ Benedictus	Liturgical text drawn from Isaiah 6:3 and Psalm 118:26. This textual	Two options offered. Both in F Major.	L. Lossius: Psalmodia, 1564. Seit c. 1848

		setting is unique in offering seasonal varients for Christmas and Easter.		allhier verbreitet.
♫ Lord's Prayer	♫ Lord's Prayer	Used by Lutherans to replace the Canon of the Mass. Sung by the pastor to a traditional chant melody.	Reciting tone on A, harmonization offered in F Major.	St. Matthew 6:9–13; St. Luke 11:2–4
♫ Doxology	♫ Doxology	The congregational response to the Lord's Prayer. Two musical options offered.	Both options in F Major.	Braunschweig R.O. 1528. Psalzneub. R. O. 1543
♫ Words of Institution	♫ Words of Institution	Chanted to a melody similar to the Lord's Prayer. Luther introduced chanting of the Words of Institution to the Liturgy (in the Latin Mass the Canon was spoken nearly inaudibly).	Set in the key of F Major.	Braunschweig R. O. 1528.
♫ *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*	♫ *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*	A German setting of the traditional Agnus Dei (St. John 1:29). Luther used this musical setting in his *Deutsche Messe*.	Key of F Major.	Martin Luther, Wittenberg, 1526.
	♫ Pax Domini	"The peace of the Lord be with you always." A traditional element of the Mass. Luther viewed it as a "final absolution"		

		before the Sacrament.		
Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn	Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn	A set of varying Communion hymns would be sung while the people communed.		
♫ Antiphon	♫ Antiphon	A seasonal antiphon would be sung before the closing Collect.	Set to the same music as the antiphons at the beginning of the Service.	
♫ Luther's Postcommunion Collect	♫ Luther's Postcommunion Collect	Luther wrote this collect for the *Deutsche Messe*.	G Major.	M. Luther, Wittenberg, 1526.
♫ Aaronic Benediction	♫ Aaronic Benediction	Drawn from the book of Numbers, used by the Levite priests to bless the Israelite people. Luther prescribed this to be used in the *Deutsche Messe*.	Two options offered for a three-fold congregational Amen in G Major.	Numbers 6:22–27
♫ Closing Verse (Gott sei gelobet recommended)	♫ Gott sei gelobet und debendeiet	A Communion hymn set and prescribed by Martin Luther for the *Deutsche Messe*.	G Major.	M. Luther, Wittenberg, 1526.

Although there are a few significant differences between the first WELS *Agende* and its LCMS counterpart, a cursory look at the general outline provided in Table 2 demonstrates that the two share a common liturgical chorale pedigree. The most substantive difference is in the placement of the Confiteor. In the preceding analysis of the LCMS' first English hymnal, it was noted that the change in placement in that tradition was a result of the influence of *The Common Service*. That does not seem to be the case with the WELS *Agende*. It is important to note that neither Luther's prototypical rites nor the 1539/1540 Saxon *Agende* contained rubrics for

corporate confession and absolution. While within Saxony the norm was a post-Sermon use, this was not the case throughout all of Germany.[362] In fact, the first Lutheran rite in North America, the Pennsylvania Ministerium's order of 1764, placed the Confiteor before the Service proper. The WELS' usage here seems to mimic that tradition, which is not at all surprising considering their use of Pennsylvania resources prior to creating their own *Agende*. Where the LCMS prioritized its Saxon heritage in its *Kirchen-Agende*, the WELS *Agende* was more pragmatic in facilitating the already extant practices of its userbase. In other words, it seemed to be catering to its recent norms.

This key distinction perhaps explains the second most significant difference, which was the use of *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* in place of *Kyrie, Gott Vater* as part of the Confiteor rite. This placement of the *Kyrie* was also consistent with the older Pennsylvania order. What is more, the use of *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* conformed more closely with Luther's original musical composition of the *Deutsche Messe* and his intent for the piece. The *Kyrie* he proffered in the *Deutsche Messe* (Figure 2.1) was meant to melodically mirror *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* (Figure 2.2). The subsequent development and proliferation of troped *Kyries* in the Lutheran tradition makes the fuller use of *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* as a *Kyrie* in its own right a usage in keeping with Luther's compositional intent and Lutheran precedent.
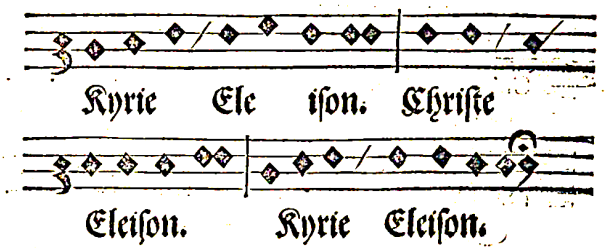


Figure 2.1. A facsimile of Martin Luther's setting of the three-fold *Kyrie, eleison*, as published in 1540 in the *Agende* of Ducal Saxony.

[362] See Andreas Osiander, *Ordnu[n]g wie man Tauffet: bißher im Latein gehalten, verteütscht. Hierin ist, auß etlichen vrsachen, was die andern, als vberflüssig, veracht haben, nicht außgelassen* (Nürnburg: Gutknecht, 1524), https://books.google.com/books?id=YHU8AAAAcAAJ, as well as the rite of the Pennsylvania Ministerium.

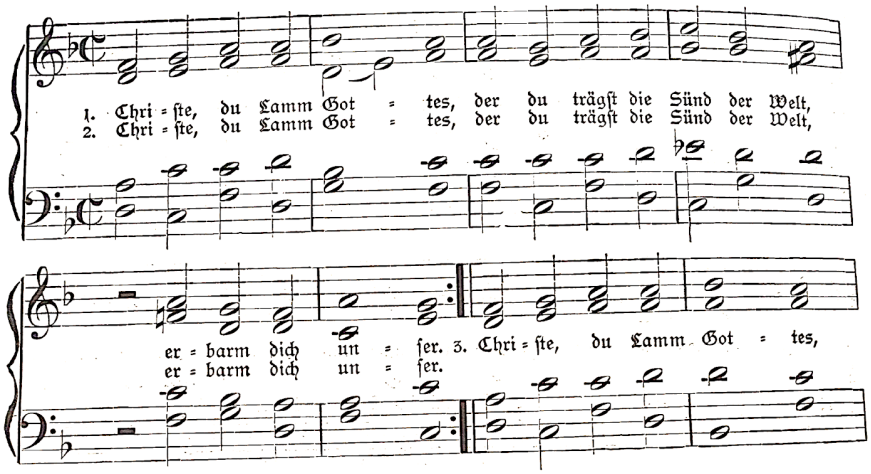


Figure 2.2. A facsimile of the first two systems of Christe, du Lamm Gottes from the 1896 Agende of the Wisconsin Synod, which was originally published as part of Luther's Deutsche Messe with music paralleling the Kyrie from the same work. The Agende used this setting of Christe, du Lamm Gottes in place of the Kyrie.[363]

This change may also demonstrate a pragmatic approach, since the lack of pastoral ministry (a problem not faced by Walther and his Saxon cohorts, since the pastors migrated with their parishioners) in the WELS' early missions necessitated infrequent celebration of Holy Communion. The use of the *Agnus Dei* in the Confiteor would not be redundant if the Sacrament were not regularly celebrated. Notwithstanding their differences, other musical selections in the 1896 *Agende* conform to traditional liturgical chorale usage and the LCMS *Kirchen-Agende*. This most notably includes key elements of the Communion liturgy like the *Pater Noster* and *Verba*. The antiphon and *responsorum* music are also consistent with the *Kirchen-Agende*.

The Short-Lived History of the First WELS Hymnal

Just as the WELS and LCMS *Agende* traditions shared similarities, the first WELS hymnal, the *Evangelische Gesangbuch* of 1870, shared nearly 90% of its contents with the LCMS' *Kirchengesangbuch* of 1847.[364] Unique to this study was an examination of the 1870 *Gesangbuch* vis-à-vis its 1872 redaction, as previous analyses had only been able to rely upon

[363] Evang.-Luth. Synode von Wisconsin, *Agende*, p. 438.
[364] Lehmann, "The Music of the Lutheran Church," p. 141.

the 1872 version due to the former's scarcity.[365] The impetus for the immediate republication of the hymnal within two years was a somewhat heated controversy at the WELS' 1870 Synodical Convention. This resulted in resolutions like the following:

> RESOLVED, since several hymns have unfortunately remained which contain untruths or can be interpreted incorrectly, or which contradict doctrines of the Lutheran Church, a committee should remove these and insert others in their places [. . . and] that there be printed for the already printed hymnals leaflets which contain the newly accepted hymns together with an adequate explanation.[366]

The Synod in Convention believed that the inclusion of some of this content would give the impression that the WELS supported erroneous teaching. For this reason, a redaction of the hymnal was published in 1872 to replace a handful of hymns—out of 695 total—with different chorales from the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition. Consider the example of the omitted hymn, *Ewige Liebe, mein Gemüte, waget einen kühnen Blick,* in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. A comparison of the original German for the sixth stanza of the hymn *Ewige Liebe, mein Gemüte, waget einen kühnen Blick*, compared with a literal English translation, courtesy of Google Translate.

Ewige Liebe, mein Gemüte, waget einen kühnen Blick (German)	**Eternal Love, My Soul, Dare a Bold Look (English Translation)**
6. Wo du nun vorher gesehen, daß ein mensch auf dieser Erd deinem Geist nicht widerstehen, noch sein Werk verhindern werd, sondern ahne Heuchelschein werd im Glauben feste sein: diesen hast du auserwählet und den Deinen zugezählet.	6. Now, since you have seen beforehand that a person on this earth will not resist your spirit, nor hinder his work, but will be firm in faith without any appearance of hypocrisy, you have chosen this person and counted him among your own.

While the rest of the hymn does not appear offensive at a cursory analysis, this stanza clearly confesses the tenets of the *intuitu fidei* ideology that caused controversy in the Synodical Conference and led to the departure of the Ohio Synod.[367] The early Wisconsin Synod was so

[365] As Lehmann stated in "Hymnals and Agendas," pp. 16–17, that "no copy of the original 1870 issue of the hymnal remains extant."
[366] Quoted from the Proceedings of the 1870 Convention of the Wisconsin Synod, as quoted in Lehmann, "Hymnals and Agendas, p. 28.
[367] *Intuitu fidei* is the teaching that God chooses ("elects") people to salvation because he foreknew that they would later come to faith. The problem with this from a classical Lutheran perspective is that it places the onus of conversion upon humans and their choice to believe rather than on the sovereignty and grace of God.

concerned with maintaining conservative doctrinal integrity in the confession of their hymns and liturgy that it went through the trouble of republishing an entire hymnal because of the faintest appearance of agreement with what they considered error. This brings into question the canard that the early Wisconsin Synod was adrift prior to its collaboration with the Missouri Synod.

The Transition to English: *Book of Hymns*

If the Missouri Synod formally[368] led the WELS in a certain direction, it might be convincingly argued that it was away from an exclusively Lutheran liturgical expression. The first official WELS English hymnal, *Book of Hymns* (1917), borrowed heavily from the LCMS' *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-book* of 1912. The adoption of English in the WELS also followed a similar pattern to the LCMS, albeit on a delayed schedule. Like the founders of the larger LCMS, there was an initial hesitation to adopt English forms among WELS leadership. August Pieper, the WELS Seminary director from 1929 to 1937, wrote as late as 1919 (more than a full year after the publication of the WELS' first English hymnal):

> But the German language (we always talk about Luther's German, as it exists in his German Bible, catechisms, his other writings and has become the language of Lutheran theology and church—not about the modern German theological and ecclesiastical unspiritual whore language) is a better vehicle for the gospel than any other modern cultural language.[369]

Certainly, an air of German superiority seems apparent from this citation, but the distinction between modern cultural expressions (even in German) and the traditional cultural idiom crafted

---

[368] As has been stated elsewhere, it must be noted that the congregations of the Synodical Conference did not all abide by the official liturgico-musical books of their respective synods. Therefore, there were many congregations that had already abandoned the Lutheran liturgico-musical expression in favor of other sectarian forms.

[369] Original German: "Aber die deutsche Sprache (wir reden immer von der Lutherschen deutschen, wie sie in seiner deutschen Bibel, Katechismen, seinen übrigen Schriften vorliegt und Sprache der lutherischen Theologie und Kirche geworden ist, — nicht von der modernen deutschen theologischen und kirchlichen ungeistlechen Hurensprache) ist ein besseres Vehikel des Evangeliums als jede andre moderne Kultursprache." August Pieper, "Unsere Ubergang ins Englische," *Theologische Quartalschrift* (Milwaukee, WI: Northwestern Publishing House), 1918–1919, p. 253, as quoted in David D. Reichel, "The W.E.L.S. Change from German to English: The When and Why," MDiv thesis (Mequon, WI: Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, 1986), p. 6, http://http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/handle/123456789/3972.

by Luther himself as delineated in Chapter I is important to keep in view. There was also likely resistance to external cultural pressures (*e.g.*, to conform to English neighbors). In this context, it was not until 1909 that the WELS established its first English congregation.[370] By 1920, there were just 54 congregations that offered any English content at all in the WELS and only nine that did so exclusively out of approximately 538 congregations.[371] This trepidation notwithstanding, and perhaps in an effort to stay relevant with the larger LCMS, in 1910 the WELS Synod Convention resolved that it was necessary to produce an English catechism and hymnal.[372] While an unofficial publication known as the *Church Hymnal for Lutheran Services* was published by the WELS' Northwestern Publishing House in 1911, the first authorized hymnal was published in 1917 under the title *Book of Hymns*.[373] Figure 2.3 shows an image of the Synod's efforts to promote the new hymnal among the pastorate by way of advertising in its theological journal.

[370] That is, Grace English Ev. Lutheran Church in Waukesha, WI. See Robert C. Hartman, "The Growth of the WELS through the Years," *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 8, no. 2 (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1990), p. 34.
[371] *Ibid*., p. 39. Note that no data are presented for the congregational totals for 1909, but extrapolating from the totals in 1892 (411) and 1915 (583), the average yearly increase places the 1909 figure at roughly 538.
[372] It might be tempting to think this was in reaction to a groundswell of need for English resources due to large growth in the English-speaking congregations, but the first English congregation of the WELS was only formed in 1909. See Hartman, "The Growth of the WELS through the Years."
[373] *Book of Hymns*, Northwestern Publishing House, 1917.

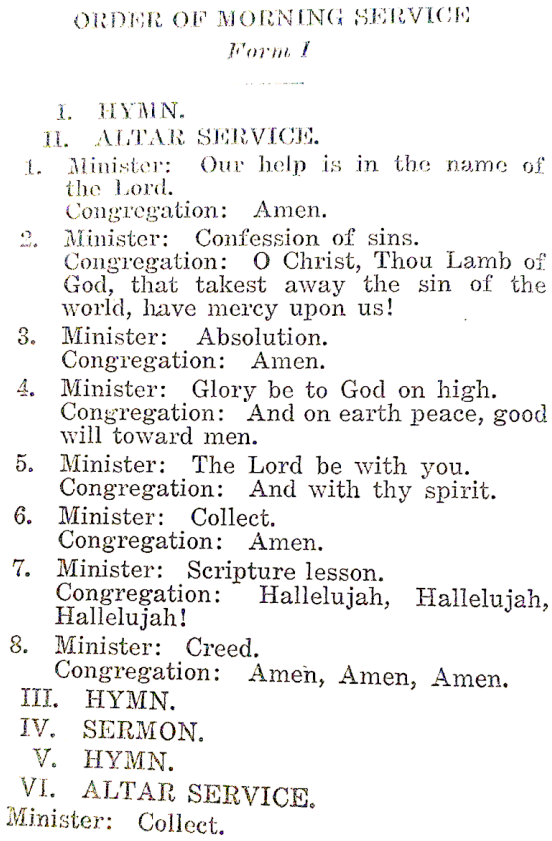


Figure 2.3. A facsimile of an advertisement for *Book of Hymns with Music* in the Wisconsin Synod Journal, *Ev.-Luth. Gemeinde-Blatt.*[374]

One might note that the *Book of Hymns* (*BH*) title is simply an inversion of the *ELHB's* "Hymn-book" title. Whether or not this was intentional, it also curiously took up the "Book of…" phrasing that is evocative of the *Book of Common Prayer* among an English audience. Despite inverting the title, *BH* was very similar to *ELHB* in its content. Unlike *ELHB*, however, it retained two options for the first half[375] of its chief liturgical offering, the first of which was apparently a nod to the order of Service in the WELS' 1896 *Agende*. The reader might recall (p. 89*f*) that August Crull of the LCMS had provided an English translation of their 1847 German liturgy (*Church Liturgy for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations*, 1881), which he had hoped to include in *ELHB*, but was ultimately stymied in that effort (albeit the attendant *Liturgy and Agend*a did include a truncated form of this rite). The WELS seemed to have succeeded in providing such a translation in "Form 1" in *BH*. The heavily redacted form without music pictured below (see Figure 2.4) is a far cry from the *Agende*, albeit musical settings for the liturgy were extant in attendant volumes.[376]

---

[374] Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States, *Ev.-luth. Gemeinde-Blatt: Organ der Allg. Ev.-Luth. Synode von Wisconsin* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1916), p. 288, https://books.google.com/books?id=ZUcRPSEUvt8C&pg=RA1-PA288.
[375] *I.e.*, the Service of the Word, traditionally considered to begin with the Introit and end with the Sermon/Prayers.
[376] *E.g.*, the "With Music" edition and the Chorale-Book.



ORDER OF MORNING SERVICE

Form I

I. HYMN.
II. ALTAR SERVICE.
1. Minister: Our help is in the name of the Lord.
Congregation: Amen.
2. Minister: Confession of sins.
Congregation: O Christ, Thou Lamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us!
3. Minister: Absolution.
Congregation: Amen.
4. Minister: Glory be to God on high.
Congregation: And on earth peace, good will toward men.
5. Minister: The Lord be with you.
Congregation: And with thy spirit.
6. Minister: Collect.
Congregation: Amen.
7. Minister: Scripture lesson.
Congregation: Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah!
8. Minister: Creed.
Congregation: Amen, Amen, Amen.
III. HYMN.
IV. SERMON.
V. HYMN.
VI. ALTAR SERVICE.
Minister: Collect.

Figure 2.4. A facsimile of the first page of "Form I" from *Book of Hymns*, demonstrating its radical truncation.[377]

The *Kyrie* was reduced to a single strophe of the *Agnus Dei*. The *Gloria* became a spoken versicle. The compiler of *BH* went so far as to self-congratulatingly state, "We believe that the average church-goer will thank us for not putting in more than one Scripture Lesson."[378] Such radical truncation was not ideologically on par with Lutheran orthopraxy, to say nothing of the lesser amount of music available in the Form 1 liturgy.[379]

---

[377] Wisconsin Synod, *BH*, p. xviii.
[378] Otto Hagedorn, *Northwestern Lutheran* (1918), as quoted in Bryan Gerlach, *How High is Too High? How Low Can We Go? Acceptable range of worship practice in the WELS*, Conference presentation (Southeastern Michigan District Pastor Conference, 2021), p. 19, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/bitstream/handle/123456789/4445/GerlachWorship.pdf.
[379] Certainly, the use of the melodies that accompanied the German *Agende* might have been possible, but the syllabic emphases of the varied chants would not have a one-for-one transference, to say nothing of the fact that the applicable chants did not all make it into the truncated Form I rite.

Form II, in contrast, was a modified version of *The Common Service*. With the exception of the inclusion of only one Scripture lesson, the text-only version could be utilized with the music printed in *ELHB*. The intentionality of this textual consistency was made explicit by the inclusion of the thrice-repeated *Hosanna* and *Benedictus* in the *Sanctus* (Figure 2.5), a peculiarity of the LCMS tradition that was not present in the WELS' German *Agende* but is the only option in *BH*.

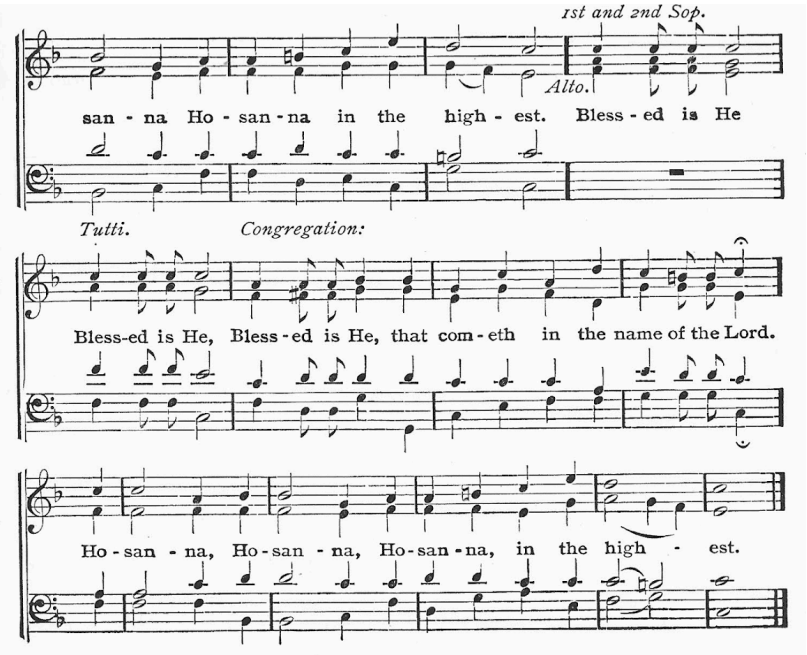


Figure 2.5. A facsimile of the third through fifth systems of the representative musical setting of the *Benedictus* from the *Sanctus* in *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book,* showing the triple repetitions of "hosanna in the highest" and "blessed is He." The same triplicated texts are contained in the *Sanctus* in *Book of Hymns*.[380]

In terms of the significance of including the *ELHB* iteration of *TCS*, one can revisit the preceding analysis in the section on the *ELHB* and the following Chapters on *The Common Service* of 1888 (III) and *The Lutheran Hymnal* (IV–V). The Anglican influences on the liturgical changes in *BH* are dealt with in more depth in those contexts. In addition, just as the Wisconsin *Gesangbuch* had much in common with *KGB*, so *BH* followed *ELHB* in adopting Anglican content. Thus the changes to hymnody brought about in the transition to English in the

[380] *ELHB with music*, 1912, Concordia Publishing House, p. 11.

Wisconsin Synod are more fully examined in the context of the transition from *ELHB* to *TLH* (Chapters IV–V, Appendices 3–4).

The Reception of *BH*

Based on the approximate number of WELS members in 1918 and the Synodical Convention statistical report that *BH* sold 8500 copies that first year, it can be extrapolated that enough were sold to accommodate approximately 4.32% of the Synod.[381] For point of reference, 14,200 German hymnals—which had been in publication for 48 years at that point —were sold that same year. This was enough to accommodate 7.22% of the Synod.[382] Put in simple terms, the German hymnal outpaced the brand new English hymnal at a ratio of almost 2–1. This would seem to indicate that *BH* was not generally well-received on the whole by the Synod, if for no other reason than a lack of interest in English. Although it did considerably better among the exclusively English-speaking congregations of the WELS, with an almost 54.1% adoption rate

[381] At the following Synodical Convention in 1918, it was reported that 7,000 text-only versions of *BH* were sold, along with 1,500 copies with music. Official congregational and member statistics for the Synod were only sporadically included in Convention proceedings prior to official publication of Synodical statistics beginning in the 1950s. However, the data from 1915 and 1920 can be used to extrapolate the approximate Synodical statistics from 1918. In 1915, the WELS had 583 congregations and 133 preaching stations, with 130,803 confirmed members among its congregations and a combined total of 196,555. By 1920, the number of reported congregations had grown to 737, but no other statistical data have been located. However, utilizing the 1915 statistical data, the congregational growth statistic from 1920, and information from the U.S. Census Bureau, one can very roughly estimate the totals in 1918. According to the U. S. Census Bureau, approximately 29.9% of the U.S. population was under confirmation age in 1915. If one takes 29.9% of the total membership (196,555), that yields 45,011 pre-confirmed children. If one subtracts this number from the total 65,752 non-communicant members, approximately 20,741 adults and 6,202 children were members of the preaching stations. This means that there were approximately 169,612 total members of the regular congregations, with an average of 291 members per congregation. Assuming an even growth (admittedly a large assumption, but we have little other data), this would mean the WELS gained an average of 31 congregations and 9,021 members each year between 1915 and 1920. This means in 1918, we can assume the WELS had very roughly 677 congregations 196,675 congregation members. Since it is impossible to ascertain the preaching station growth or loss statistics (and it is very likely many of the stations became full congregations), these statistics are based only on the congregational data exclusive of the preaching stations. See Hartman, "The Growth of the WELS," pp. 3–4; Lehmann, "Wisconsin Synod Hymnals;" U. S. Census Bureau, Population Division, "Resident Population--Estimates by Age, Sex, and Race: July 1, 1915," p. 1, https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/tables/1900-1980/national/asrh/pe-11-1915.pdf; and U. S. Census Bureau, Population Division, "Resident Population--Estimates by Age, Sex, and Race: July 1, 1918," https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/tables/1900-1980/national/asrh/pe-11-1918.xls.

[382] This would account for the approximately 1.99% of members aged 13 (confirmation age) and the approximate 4.59% membership growth from that year. Extrapolated from U. S. Census Bureau data, *cf*. U. S. Census Bureau, "Resident Population, [. . .] July 1, 1918."

(much better than the analogous *ELHB* fared in the LCMS),[383] it must be remembered that this only constituted 54 congregations.

Confirming the lack of interest in the hymnal, two separate conferences memorialized the Synod in Convention in 1925 with "concerns about the inadequacies" of *BH*.[384] The memorials suggested that there were "good English hymns which are now lacking" and called for "a hymnal produced by the Synodical conference."[385] These overtures were accepted by the Synod and were one of many preludes to the creation of *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941 (*TLH*). Ultimately, like the LCMS before it, the blowback from the First and Second World Wars, which included federal investigations into her pastors,[386] eventually forced the Synod into adopting the English language. In spite of the general lack of acceptance of *BH* at its inception, the forced nature of the transition to English also led to the same liturgical and musical waywardness that was evident in the LCMS, which would find resolution in *TLH*.

Concluding Remarks

Arnold Lehmann, one of the WELS' foremost scholars in liturgics and music in the twentieth century, recalled the liturgical impoverishment of the transitional period between *Evang.-Lutherisches Gesangbuch a*nd the adoption of English in the WELS: "The liturgical altar services were not only truncated, but were spoken and not chanted or sung. Gospel hymns and spiritual songs replaced the chorale."[387] From a musical perspective, the dramatic loss of chorale

[383] Of the 54 congregations that were using English at the time, extrapolating data in the same way as above, we can assume there were approximately 15,714 members in English-servicing congregations. Based on this metric, if one analyzes the data based on the assumption that all members of these congregations purchased a *BH*, the hymnal would fare significantly better at a 54.1% adoption rate. Still, since this only constituted 7.99% of the Synod, the number is not very significant as a whole.
[384] Lehmann, "Wisconsin Synod Hymnals," p. 25.
[385] *Ibid*.
[386] See Stephen Scott Gurgel, "The War to End All Germans: Wisconsin Synod Lutherans and the First World War," MA thesis (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2012), https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/52.
[387] Lehmann, *The Music of the Lutheran Church*, p. 235.

melodies that occurred for those transitioning between the WELS' first German and English hymnals represented a loss of Lutheran liturgico-musical distinctiveness. The WELS German *Gesangbuch* contained 697 distinctly Lutheran chorales, with more melodic variety than the entire corpus of hymns in the *BH*. What is more, the WELS went from the unique chorale style, with rich melodic interest stemming from ancient Gregorian melodies and robust rhythmic dances, to a decidedly nineteenth-century idiom of musicality and hymn singing. The Lutheran musical aesthetic spanned millennia, synthesizing traditions as varied as ancient semitic and Gregorian traditions with Renaissance and contemplative Pietist fare in a vibrant, organic way. The aesthetic adopted in *BH* was much more monolithic in its contemporary application than it was an organic incorporation of a new idiomatic trend. While the transition in terms of difficulty would not have been particularly profound—such English hymnody was produced for congregations with very little musical training—the loss of the chorale would have profound effects in light of the discussion elaborated in Chapter I. In some respects, the trail had been blazed by congregations that sought to mimic American culture both socially and religiously. Still, the adoption rate of *BH* was lackluster. Congregations continued to provide for their own needs in lieu of the product offered in *BH*. Like the LCMS before it, this circumstance left the WELS equally primed for the unifying force of *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941, which will be examined in Chapter IV.

The Non-German Synods

While this thesis has emphasized the German particulars of Luther's development of the chorale, it is important to remember that the impact of the chorale exceeded the German idiom. Indeed, there were Evangelical-Lutheran Churches that existed outside the boundaries of German

politics and language. Nevertheless, the liturgical chorales permeated all of Lutheranism, owing at least in part to the influence of the Saxon Reformer who inspired them. Indeed, beyond Luther himself, theologians and compatriots of the Reformer spread his evangelical message abroad to various peoples and languages. Of particular interest for this study is the spread of the Evangelical tradition to Norway and Slovakia, as these comprised the ethnic origins of the two other Synods of the Synodical Conference at the time of the publication of *The Lutheran Hymnal*: the Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELS) and the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the United States of America (SELC).

The relevance of these non-German Lutheran agendas and traditions is apparent in their application of Luther's paradigm and adaptation of the liturgy into the vernacular. The Norwegians and Slovaks demonstrated that the Evangelical-Lutheran paradigm was not ideologically aberrational or linguistically confined. Just as Luther adapted the Mass to fit Latin, German, and evangelical idioms, so other languages and cultures adapted the Mass to idiomatically suit their cultures in an evangelical idiom. The Norwegian Synod in particular also provides an example of what might have been if the use of English had been approached in a similar way by the German Synods. Ultimately, the adaptation of preexisting English materials—many from an Anglican provenance—became the standard in the Synodical Conference, as will be discussed further in Chapter III of this thesis.

The "Little Norwegian" Synod

The Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, today simply referred to as the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (ELS), was born out of a rupture in the larger Norwegian Synod in 1917, which at the time was in fellowship with the Synodical Conference. The immigration of Norwegians to the United States began in earnest in the 1830s, with the

immigrants settling primarily in the upper Midwest. Like their German counterparts, the Norwegians brought hymnals from their homeland, most of which derived from Thomas Kingo's *Kirke-Psalme-Bog* (1699). Primary iterations used included an 1819 revision of Kingo's hymnbook, as well as later editions of the *Evangelisk-christelig Psalmebog* (1797) by Nicolai Belle (1744–1816), the Høegh-Guldberg *Psalme-Bog* (1778), and Magnus Landstad's *Kirkesalmebog* (1869).[388] A *Psalmebog* was eventually published by the Norwegian Synod in 1874, which formed a textual basis for Norwegian hymnody in the United States.[389] The Norwegian Synod merged with two other Norwegian Lutheran groups in 1917 to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Members of the other Norwegian groups held to the novel *intuitu fidei* doctrine discussed above (on p. 122*f*). This resulted in a controversy among the Norwegians, with those holding to the more traditional view (which was also the position of the larger Synodical Conference) splintering off from the rest of the Norwegians, earning it the "Little Norwegian" moniker.

Because the ELS was effectively a splinter group of the original Norwegian Synod, its de-facto first English hymnal, *The Lutheran Hymnary* (*LHry*, 1913), was already in existence at the time that the ELS was founded in 1917. Prior to the transition to English, the Norwegian Synod had published a Norwegian *Psalmebog* in the 1870s, which unsurprisingly featured exclusively Evangelical hymnody from the Scandinavian and German traditions. *The Lutheran Hymnary* was conceived not only as a transition to English, but also to bridge the gap between the disparate Norwegian-heritage groups that would eventually merge in 1917. Although the ELS was clearly not satisfied with the merger, it was content to use *LHry* for worship. The *Hymnary* was published in 1913, which is within a year of the LCMS' publication of *ELHB*. What makes

[388] Schalk, *God's Song*, K.L. 1448.
[389] *Ibid*.

The Lutheran Hymnary stand out contra *ELHB* or the WELS' *BH* is its retention of a notably Lutheran character as a transitional hymnal.

The return to a more authentic iteration of the Lutheran chorale for English-speaking Norwegians was at the fore of the *LHry* project. In a way, this effort was somewhat analogous to Walther's work in the LCMS to restore the traditional rhythmic chorales and other expressions of Lutheran musicality. The introduction to *LHry* clarifies this in the compilers' own words:

> Twenty German chorales are arranged in rhythmical meter; twenty of a melodic or contrapuntal setting. These special features the committee hopes will serve a purpose in discovering the wishes of the Church regarding the rhythmical form and the melodic arrangement of Lutheran chorales.[390]

This effort was in effect a movement to restore the original paradigm of the chorale to a wide group of Norwegians, some of whom had become allured by the generic American milieu of Protestant hymnody. Beyond the realm of hymnody, *LHry* also championed an authentic iteration of a Saxon-inspired Norwegian Church Order.

The Saxon *bona fides* of the Norwegian rite are owed to Luther's father confessor, Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558). Although Bugenhagen served as a minister in Saxony in Luther's Wittenberg, he originally hailed from Pomerania. As a result, he took a keen interest in spreading the Reformation to Northern Germany and Scandinavia. In fact, he was instrumental in creating *Agendae*/Church Orders in Hildesheim (1544), Hamburg (1529), Lübeck (1532), the Duchy of Pomerania (1535), East Frisia (1535), Schleswig-Holstein (1542), Braunschweig (1528), Denmark-Norway (1542), and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1543).[391] It is the Church Order of Denmark-Norway that is of obvious interest here. The Church Order that Bugenhagen developed for Denmark was approved by Luther and the Wittenberg theologians as consistent

---

[390] Norwegian Synod, et al., "Preface," *The Lutheran Hymnary*, p. xiv.
[391] See W. L., "Bugenhagen, Johannes, called Pomeranus" in ed. Henry Eyster Jacobs and John A.W. Haas, *The Lutheran Cyclopedia* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), p. 67, https://books.google.com/books?id=BOmhfwrKp1AC, for the full delineation.

with their tradition. Ultimately, Bugenhagen was responsible for the coronation of Christian III as the first king of Denmark-Norway, which is where the connection to the Norwegian Synod unfolds.

The rite produced by Bugenhagen in 1542 remained the universal rite in Denmark-Norway until 1685, when King Christian V promulgated a slightly modified order in the *Danmark og Norges Kirkeritual*. The 1685 order remained in force through the founding of the Norwegian Synod in the United States and eventually the "Little Norwegians" in 1917. The ELS constitution stipulated that "the liturgy of 1685 and agenda of 1688 of the Church of Norway, or the new liturgy and agenda adopted by the Synod at Spring Grove, Minn., June, 1899" be used.[392] The ELS would later remove reference to the the 1899 liturgy in 1906, such that their constitution currently reads: "In order to preserve unity in liturgical forms and ceremonies, the synod recommends to its congregations that they use the Order of Worship based on the Danish—Norwegian liturgy of 1685 and agenda of 1688, or the Common Order of Worship, as each congregation may decide."[393]

However, since the 1899 liturgy was officially endorsed during the period under consideration, it is worth analyzing the discrepancies between the 1899 and the 1685 versions. A careful comparison will demonstrate that the 1685 version is remarkably similar to the 1847 *Kirchen-Agende* of the LCMS, while the 1899 version bears striking resemblance to *The Common Service* tradition. Table 2.5 juxtaposes the content of the 1685 and 1899 versions, with the *Kirchen-Agende* and *The Common Service* flanking on opposite sides for comparison:

---

[392] Christian Anderson, "Our Liturgy," *Clergy Bulletin* 17, no. 2 (1957), p. 1 (original printing: p. 5), https://els.org/wp-content/download/worship_committee/Anderson-Christian-Our-Liturgy.pdf.

[393] Evangelical Lutheran Synod, *Handbook of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod* (Mankato: Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 2023), p. 14, https://els.org/serving/administration/handbook.

Table 2.5. A comparison of the Missouri Synod's 1856 Kirchen-Agende, the Danish-Norwegian *Kirkeritual* of 1685, the Norwegian Church's 1899 *Alterbog*, and *The Common Service* of 1888, followed by general notes pertaining to the 1685 *Kirkeritual*.

LCMS *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856	***Danmark og Norges Kirkeritual* of 1685 (by royal decree)**	***Alterbog for den norske Kirke* of 1899 (by royal decree); accepted for use by Norwegian Lutherans[394]**	***The Common Service* of 1888**	**General Notes [Musical notes, Composer/Author, Date, Publication Location pertaining to the 1685 version)**
	The Opening Prayer & Lord's Prayer	The Opening Prayer		This was a traditional prayer with fixed wording that was spoken loudly by *precentor* (assisitng minister) as the pastor and congregation knelt.
		Opening Hymn	Opening Hymn	
(Confession after Sermon)		Confession of Sins	Invocation, Address, Versicles, Confession of Sins & Absolution	
			Introit	
♫ *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit*	General time: ♫ *Kyrie Gud Fader alsomhøjeste Trøst* From Christmas to the Purification: ♫ *Kyrie Gud Fader af Himmerig* From Passover (Easter) to Pentecost:	♫ 3-fold Kyrie in vernacular	♫ 3-fold Kyrie in English	*Kyrie, Gud Fader* is a troped *Kyrie*, set to *Kyrie, fons bonitatis* from *Missa ii* in the Roman Kyriale (as is the German *Kyrie, Gott Vater*). The seasonal offerings for the Festival half of the Church year compare to Lochner's prescriptions for the Chief Divine Service to accompany the

[394] With minor modifications; some of the U.S. Lutherans wanted to add an absolution. There was a general desire to continue singing the Epistles and Gospels. These changes were reflected in U.S. publications.

	♫ *Kyrie Gud Fader forbarme dig over os*			LCMS *Kirchen-agende*.[395]
♫ *Gloria* intonation (in German) and ♫ *Allein Gott in der Höh*	(Intoned by the minister): ♫ *Alleniste Gud i Himmerig være Lov og Priis for al sin Naade*	♫ *Gloria* intonation between minster and congregation in vernacular.	*Gloria in Excelsis* in English.	Metrical exposition of classic Latin text, drawn from St. Luke 2. Melody based on the Paschal season *Gloria Lux et origo* from the *Roman Kyriale* for Mass I (pre-Reformation). *Alleniste Gud* is a Norwegian setting of *Allein Gott* by N. Decius, 1523.
		"On the three great Festivals an appropriate Hymn shall then be sung by the Congregation."		
♫ Salutation	♫ Salutation	♫ Salutation	(♫) Salutation	Apostolic greeting from New Testament. Melody not provided, but the rubric indicates being sung. It can be assumed that the melody would be drawn from the Kyriale.
♫ Antiphon(s) & Collect of the Day	♫ Collect of the Day	♫ Collect of the Day	(♫) Collect of the Day	Relevant to the theme of the day, based on a combination of pre-reformation and sixteenth-century texts. The collect would be chanted on the same tone as the Salutation.

[395] Lochner, Chief Divine Service, pp.xxx-xxi.

Epistle	♫ Epistle	(♫)[396] Epistle	Epistle	Seasonally selected from the New Testament based on a pre-Reformation lectionary. Based on the fifth-century *Tomes of St. Jerome. S*ung "to the usual tone."
♫ *Hauptlied*	♫ Psalm-Hymn and seasonal sequence-style hymn/verse	♫ Short Hymn	(♫) Gradual / ♫ Alleluia	Various seasonal options offered, in the vein of the *Hauptlied*. The offered "sequence" hymns include Luther's *Nu bede vi den H. Aand* (*Nun bitten wir, c. 1526*), as well as seasonal hymns by Thomas Kingo (1634–1703).
Gospel	♫ Gospel with acclamations: "Gud være lovet for sit gladelige Budskab" or "Priis og ære være dig HERRE!"	(♫) Gospel with acclamations.	Gospel with ♫ acclamations: "Praise and glory be to Thee, O Lord" or "Blessed be the Lord for His glad tidings."	Seasonally selected from the New Testament based on a pre-Reformation lectionary. Based on the fifth-century *Tomes of St. Jerome.* Acclamations prescribed to a choir.
♫ *Wir glauben all an einem Gott*	♫ *Vi tro allesammen paa een Gud*	Apostles' Creed (congregation may sing "Amen")	Nicene Creed	Based on a fourteenth-century Gregorian paraphrase of the Apostle's Creed. Recast by Luther as a musical setting of the Creed/Catechism Melodically altered and harmonized in D minor. This is a Norwegian setting of Luther's *Wir glauben*, c. 1524. First published in J.

[396] The Epistle and Gospel were prescribed to be chanted in the American iteration of the 1899 order.

				Walther, *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn.*
		♫ Hymn before the Sermon	♫ Hymn of the Day	
Pulpit Service & Sermon	Pulpit Service & Sermon	Sermon (concluded by the Lesser Doxology)	Sermon	An exposition of one of the biblical texts. Announcements and other administrative functions would also occur at this time. A seasonal verse was sung during the *Excordium* (ritual explanation of the day) on special Feasts.
Bid to Confession				
General Confession		(Confession at beginning)	(Confession at beginning)	
Absolution		(Absolution at beginning)	(Absolution at beginning)	
General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, Lord's Prayer	General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, Lord's Prayer	General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, Lord's Prayer	(Prayers Below)	St. Matthew 6:9–13; St. Luke 11:2–4
Pax Votum	Aaronic Benediction	Apostolic Benediction	Pax Votum	Numbers 6:22–27
♫ *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines herze*	♫ Hymn after the Sermon	♫ Hymn after the Sermon	♫ Offertory (Ps. 51, selected verses)	Selected from several verses proper to the day.
			General Prayer Lord's Prayer	
	Optional Baptisms and Catechism Instruction, each concluding with an appropriate ♫ hymn	Optional Baptisms and Catechism Instruction, each concluding with an appropriate ♫ hymn		
	Hymn Before Communion	Hymn before Communion	Hymn	

♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda in German		♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda in vernacular	♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda in English	
♫ Preface & Proper Preface in German		♫ Preface & Proper Preface in vernacular	♫ Preface & Proper Preface in English	
♫ Sanctus w/ Seasonal Benedictus		♫ Sanctus w/ Benedictus		
	Exhortation	Exhortation		
♫ Lord's Prayer	♫ Lord's Prayer & Doxology	♫ Lord's Prayer & Doxology	Lord's Prayer	Used by Lutherans to replace the Canon of the Mass. Sung by the pastor to a traditional chant melody. Traditionally in F Major. Drawn from St. Matthew 6:9–13; St. Luke 11:2–4. The Doxology is not sung separately by the congregation.
♫ Doxology			♫ Doxology	
♫ Words of Institution	♫ Words of Institution	♫ Words of Institution	Words of Institution	Luther introduced chanting of the Words of Institution to the Liturgy (in the Latin Mass the Canon was spoken nearly inaudibly). Traditionally set in the key of F Major.
♫ *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*	(*Agnus Dei* hymn may have been used as the "Hymn before Communion")	(*Agnus Dei* hymn may have been used as the "Hymn before Communion")	♫ *Agnus Dei,* in English, including "O Christ"	
	♫ Pax Domini	"The peace of the Lord be with you always." A traditional element of the Mass. Luther viewed it as a		"The peace of the Lord be with you always." A traditional element of the Mass. Luther viewed it as a "final

		"final absolution" before the Sacrament.		absolution" before the Sacrament.
Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn	Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn	Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn	Distribution	A set of varying Communion hymns would be sung while the people communed, including the Norwegian setting of Luther's *Gott sei gelobet*.
			♫ *Nunc Dimittis*	
♫ Antiphon			♫ Antiphon	
♫ Luther's Post-Communion Collect; congregation sings "Amen"	♫ Luther's Post-Communion Collect; congregation may sing "Amen"	♫ Luther's Post-Communion Collect; congregation may sing "Amen"	Luther's Post-Communion Collect; congregation may sing "Amen"	Luther wrote this collect for the *Deutsche Messe*, Wittenberg, 1526. Reciting tone typically would be F Major.
♫ Aaronic Benediction; congregation may sing "Amen"	♫ Salutation & Aaronic Benediction; congregation may sing "Amen"	♫ Salutation & Aaronic Benediction; congregation may sing "Amen"	Salutation (♫ Response), Benedcamus (♫ Response), Aaronic Benediction; congregation may sing "Amen"	Drawn from the book of Numbers, used by the Levite priests to bless the Israelite people. Luther prescribed this to be used in the *Deutsche Messe*. Numbers 6:22–27
♫ Closing Verse (*Gott sei gelobet* recommended)	♫ Closing Hymn	♫ Closing Hymn		Unspecified verse.
	Closing Prayer (traditional) and Lord's Prayer	Closing Prayer (traditional) and Lord's Prayer		This was a traditional prayer with fixed wording that was spoken loudly by *precentor* (assisitng minister).

The royal promulgation of the 1899 liturgy contained in the *Alterbog for den norske Kirke* was conceived by Gustav Jensen, who originally published the so-called "new liturgy" in 1887; this had the stated effect of replacing[397] the so-called "hymn-mass" of the 1685 version with the "prosaic" form of the liturgical Canticles that originated in the Latin Mass.[398] This was not a parochial Norwegian trend. Eschewing Luther's liturgical chorale tradition in favor of vernacular translations of the original Latin texts also found a champion in Wilhelm Löhe—discussed in Chapter I—, who was instrumental in crafting the Bavarian Order of 1879, from which the *Alterbog* drew inspiration.[399] Recall that Löhe rejected the Saxon *Agende* tradition of utilizing the chorale-canticles. While the Saxon *Agende* allowed for the Latin prose forms of the Ordinary in larger city contexts, it did so in tandem with the use of the liturgical chorales. Löhe's distaste for that liturgical-chorale tradition led to a false dichotomy between the *Deutsche Messe* and the *Formula Missae*, which viewed them as different liturgical traditions rather than being different cultural expressions of the same Evangelical tradition.[400] Löhe's views were also instrumental in shaping the views of the architects behind *The Common Service* in the United States, which was contemporaneous with the *Alterbog*.[401] The dynamics of the Norwegian Court and Church are outside of the scope of this study, but these data seem noteworthy considering that both *The Common Service* and a modified form of the *Alterbog* rite are contained in *LHry.*

---

[397] Oscar o.s.v. Gjøre, "Royal Ordinance concerning the Introduction of a new Service Book for the Norwegian Church [extracts]," *Norsk Lovtidende. 2den Afdeling. 1889,* Kristiania, 1889, pp. 19–20, 519, 522–523, 528–530, 534–535, as reproduced in Dag Trygsland Hoelseth (2012), https://www.hoelseth.com/res/res18890214.html.
[398] Thomas F. Best and Dagmar Heller, *Worship Today: Understanding, Practice, Ecumenical Implications* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2004), pp. 179*ff.*
[399] Mark E. DeGarmeaux, "Appendices," *O Come, Let Us Worship!*, conference paper for the 78th Annual Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (1995), https://blc.edu/comm/gargy/gargy1/o_come.appendices.html.
[400] Fenton, "Wilhelm Löhe's *Hauptgottesdienst* (1844)," *etc.,* p. 135.
[401] *Ibid*., p. 147.

That all being said, the following context is important to keep in mind when considering the official liturgical tradition of the Norwegian Synod and its religion to *The Lutheran Hymnary*:

> The translation to English which we have in the Lutheran Hymnary has never been officially adopted by the Norwegian Synod, and in a few instances it is not fully in accordance with what was adopted by the convention in Spring Grove. And when "The Order of Morning Service or Communion" was printed in the Hymnary, it was not because of any official resolution to that effect, but the committee decided to print it for the convenience of those who wanted to use this order, since, after all, the matter of the liturgy is an adiaphoron so long as it does not contain or help to promote false doctrine. The agenda printed by the United Norwegian Lutheran Church seems to be altogether a translation of the new liturgy adopted in Norway except that there are a few necessary changes in the general prayer. Hence it is not in every point an authority by which we can determine exactly what the new liturgy adopted by our Synod is.[402]

In spite of the *Alterbog* connection, the first rite in *The Lutheran Hymnary* is still colloquially known as the "Bugenhagen Rite." Even though neither the 1685 or 1899 liturgies that were formally approved at the time of *LHry*'s publication are fully representative of the 1537 order produced by Bugenhagen under the auspices of the Saxon reformers, the homage points to a certain implicit liturgical continuity that is favored within the ELS.[403] Unlike the LCMS' complete removal of their traditional Saxon rite in *ELHB* and the WELS' incredible truncation in *BH*, the Norwegians retained continuity with the rite in use by their native Church with *LHry,* as well as continuity with the demonstrably Saxon-inspired 1685 *Kirkeritual* that remains their Synodically-approved order of Service to this day.[404] Even in its *LHry* form, an analysis of the "Bugenhagen Rite" demonstrates its indebtedness to the Saxon tradition. For example, an isorhythmic setting of Decius' "Lutheran *Gloria*," *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Herr*, featured prominently in the Liturgy, as it did in the German *Agendae* of the Missouri and Wisconsin

---

[402] Christian Anderson, "Our Liturgy," p. 5.
[403] Bugenhagen's order is the basis of Rite 1 in the ELS' current hymnal, *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary*. See Worship Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary* (St. Louis: MorningStar Publishing, 1996).
[404] *Ibid*.

Synods. However, the Norwegians provided their own spin on the *Gloria*-chorale, preceding it with a Dano-Norwegian chant intoned by the minister and completed by the congregation. Figure 2.6 demonstrates this portion of the *Gloria* in *The Lutheran Hymnary,* followed by a rubric directing the congregation to sing the familiar chorale setting on Festival days.
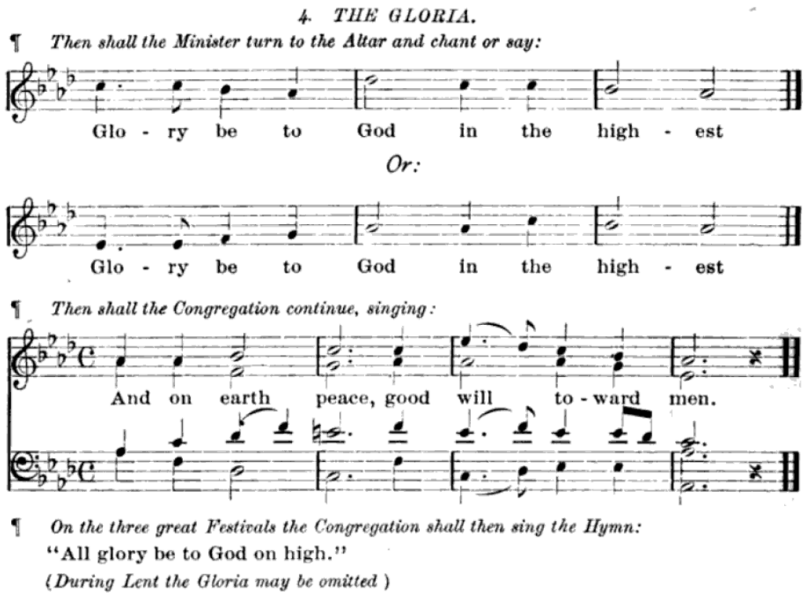


Figure 2.6. A facsimile of the *Gloria* music and textual rubrics from *The Lutheran Hymnary.* [405]

In a similar way, the Norwegians took the basic premise of the Saxon troped Kyries and cast it in their own idiom (Figure 2.7):[406]
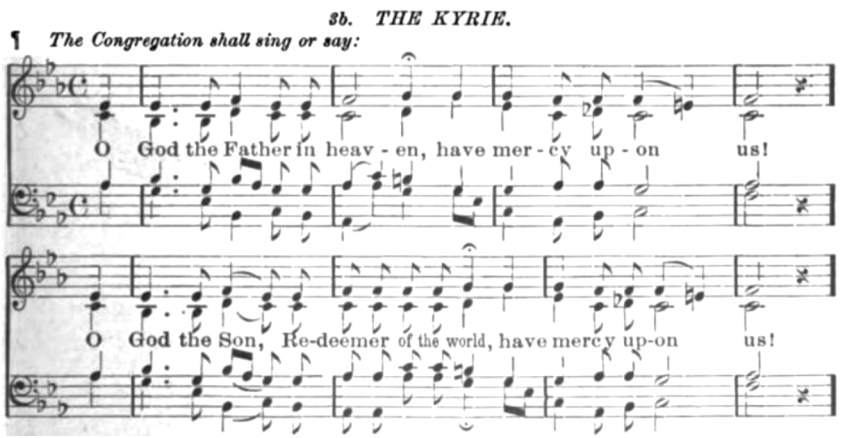


Figure 2.7. A facsimile of the first three systems of the *Kyrie* from *The Lutheran Hymnary*, p. 7.[407]

[405] Norwegian Synod, et al., *The Lutheran Hymnary*, p. 8.
[406] "Idiom" here refers to a characteristic cultural mode of expression, as defined in the discussion in Chapter I, which dealt more exclusively with the Evangelical and German-language idioms.
[407] Norwegian Synod, et al., *The Lutheran Hymnary*, p. 7.

Although the *Kyrie* and antiphonal *Gloria* intonation in *The Lutheran Hymnary* were unique to the Norwegian tradition, the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* more clearly demonstrated its musical continuity with the Saxon rite. The *Sanctus* proffered was a setting by J. S. Bach during his tenure in Leipzig, while the *Agnus Dei* was Luther's classic *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* from the *Deutsche Messe*. But even in this context, there were highly melismatic settings of various responses, the Preface, and even the Lord's Prayer that are unique to the Bugenhagen Rite and were different from the analogous chants in the German tradition. In short, the *LHry* provides an example of an idiomatic vernacular tradition born out of Luther's Saxon liturgico-musical reforms that carried from the source language into a new target language while maintaining the uniqueness of its heritage.

As previously mentioned, just as was the case with the WELS' *Book of Hymns*, there was a second form of Communion Liturgy in *The Lutheran Hymnary.* This order for Communion was virtually identical in content and music to the iteration of *The Common Service* contained in the LCMS' *ELHB*, as delineated earlier in this chapter. Anglican influences were also addressed there and will be further extrapolated in the chapters that follow on *The Common Service* and *The Lutheran Hymnal*. Aside from the *The Common Service*, *LHry* had Anglican influences in its hymns—texts, translations, and melodies—, as was the case in *ELHB* and *BH*.

It must be highlighted that Anglican translations were almost exclusively of the German chorales. Within the realm of their own Scandinavian tradition, there was a wealth of chorales that developed following Luther's philosophy of music (outlined in Chapter I), but utilizing Scandinavian idioms rather than German ones. The texts of these Scandinavian chorales were almost exclusively translated by parochial translators affiliated with the Norwegian tradition in America for *The Lutheran Hymnary*. This cursory analysis demonstrates that both in terms of

their liturgical tradition and their chorale heritage, the Norwegians retained the principles of Luther's Saxon reforms after transitioning to English in a much more effective way than their German counterparts were able to achieve at that point in time. The Norwegian example further demonstrates that a transition to English did not necessitate the wholesale abandonment of the Saxon *Agende* tradition as occurred in the German Synods.

The Slovak Synod

The transition to English did not occur independently for Slovak Lutherans in America. Founded in 1902 with 15 congregations as the *Slovenská evanjelická celocirkev augsburgského vyznania v Spojenych štátoch amerických*, the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Augsburg Confession in the United States of America (SELC; colloquially, the "Slovak Synod") was comprised of much more recent immigrants than their German and Scandinavian counterparts in the Synodical Conference.[408] But before delving further into their history stateside, it is necessary to establish the development of the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition in Slovakia.

As early as 1521, the Slovakian political theorist István Werbőczy, who was also guardian and envoy of the boy-King Louis II, King of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia, was a participant in the Imperial Diet of Worms of 1521,[409] where Luther famously refused to recant his evangelical teachings. Luther's Reformation spread quickly in Slovakia, which had already been primed a century earlier by the reform efforts of Jan Huss and his acolytes. Close dialogue existed between Slovak reformers and those in Wittenberg, with the latter approving the teachings and liturgical reforms of the former.

---

[408] In 1945, the group rebranded as the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church and, by 1959, simply as the Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches due to their abandonment of the Slovak language.
[409] Jan Kvachala, *The History of the Reformation in Slovakia*, p. 39f.

From a musicological perspective, the development of a distinctly Slovak strain of the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition is much easier to trace thanks to the ubiquitous use of the *Cithara Sanctorum* ("Lyre of the Saints"). Jiří Třanovský, known as the "Luther of the Slavs," produced the first Slovak hymnal, *Cithara Sanctorum,* in 1636. It was the first liturgical text published in the Slovak tradition and provided liturgico-musical unity at the height of the Thirty Years' War. Known among the Slovaks as "Ritus ecclesiae Wittenbergensis" (Church Rite of Wittenberg), the Saxon *Agende* provided the ideological basis for their liturgical unity.[410] But also in keeping with Luther's philosophical paradigm, the Saxon principles were expressed in a uniquely Slovak idiom.

The Slovak Synod in the United States continued to use versions of the *Cithara Sanctorum* published in Europe until they produced their own version, *Cithara Sanctorum--Pisne Duchovni* in 1928, with a subsequent edition in 1952. As was the case with the other mother-language hymnals examined by this study, the use of hymnody in *Cithara Sanctorum* was exclusively Evangelical in origin. Like the Norwegians, the Slovaks also appropriated German hymnody for their use. In some instances, this meant wholesale adoption. Consider the *Cithara Sanctorum* setting of Luther's famous Eucharistic hymn, *Gott sei gelobet* (which featured prominently in the rubrics of the Eucharistic liturgy of both the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods), compared with its *ELHB* form (Figures 2.8 and 2.9a/b).

[410] Filo, "The Liturgical Life [. . .]," https://www.angelfire.com/ny4/djw/liturgicalslovakia.html.

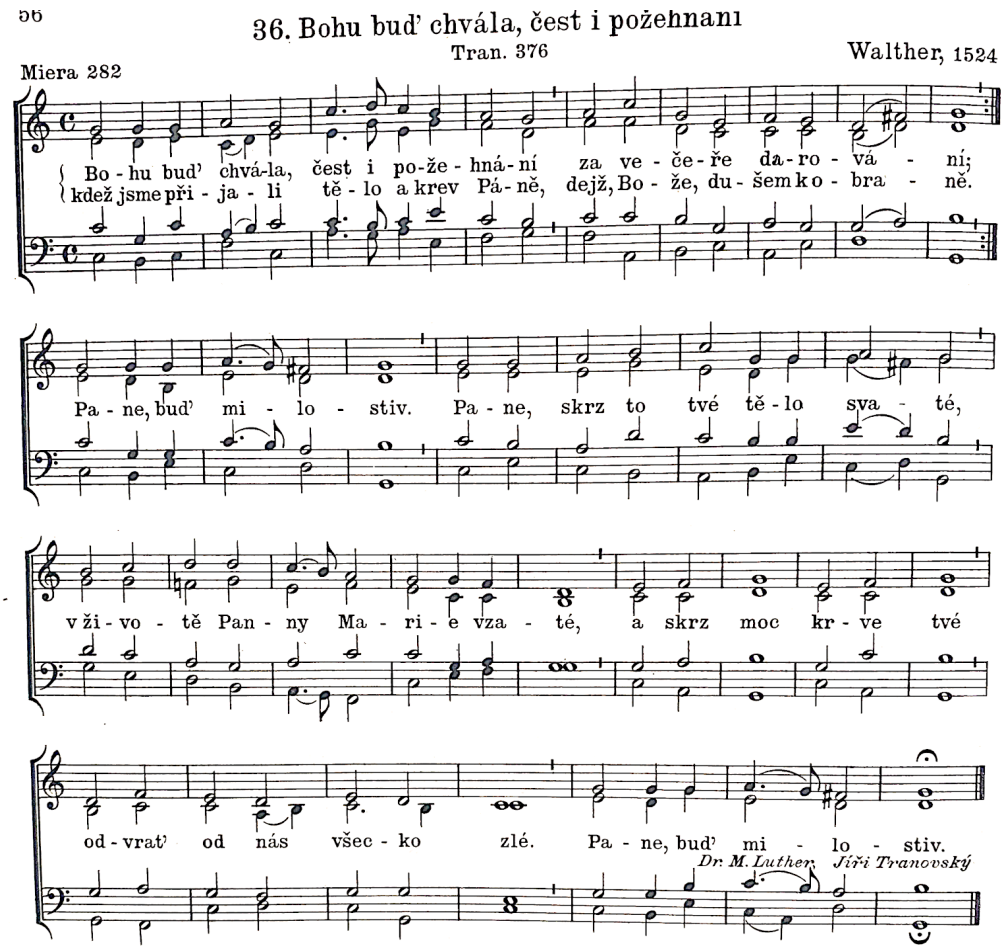


Figure 2.8. A facsimile of the *Duchovná Cithara* (c. 1933) setting of Jiří Třanovský's Slovak translation, *Bohu Buď chvála*, of the first stanza of Martin Luther's *Gott sei gelobet,* to the music of Luther's *Gott sei gelobet*.[411]

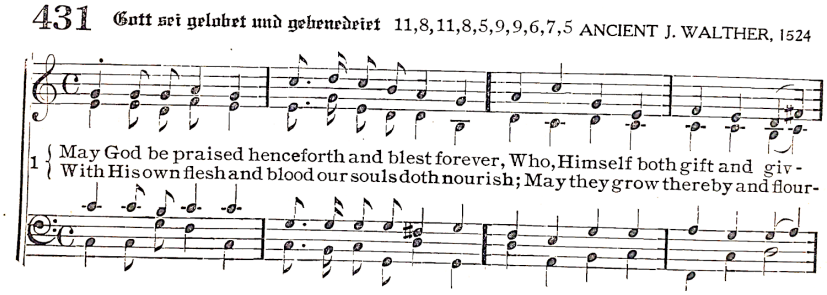


Figure 2.9a. A facsimile of the first system of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-book* (1912) setting of Richard Massie's English translation, "May God Be Praised," of Luther's *Gott sei gelobet*, to the music of the same.

[411] Kucharik, *Duchovna' Cithara*, p. 56.

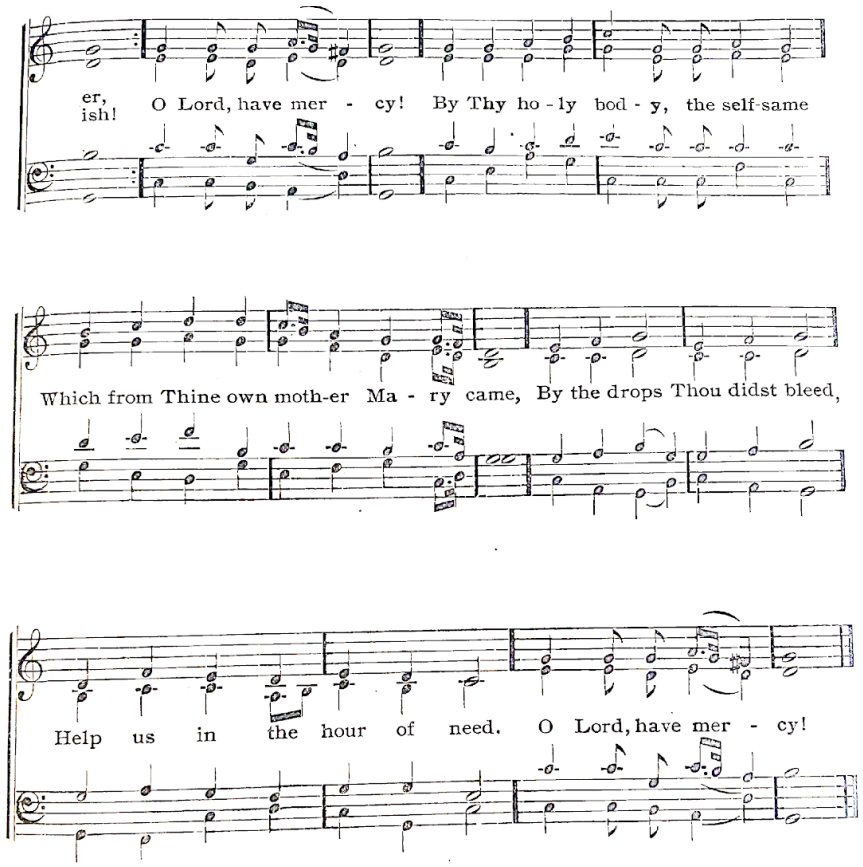


Figure 2.9b. A facsimile of the second through fourth systems of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-book* (1912) setting of Richard Massie's English translation, "May God Be Praised," of Luther's *Gott sei gelobet*, to the music of the same. [412]

With the exception of the *ELHB* version being notated with the quarter note as the pulse rather than the half note in the *Cithara* version, these pieces are melodically identical. While the Slovaks appropriated Saxon melodies wholesale, including liturgically (*e.g.*, Luther's *Agnus Dei*, *i.e.*, *Christe du Lamm Gottes*, is utilized in *Cithara*), folk melodies and chants endemic to the Slovak tradition also find central place in *Cithara Sanctorum.* In this way, the Slovak idiom provided a much starker contrast to the German chorales in its volume. Following the Saxon tradition of the chorale, which sought to appropriate ancient ecclesial melodies in a contemporary, vernacular idiom, the Slovaks also created troped settings of the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*,

[412] Missouri Synod, *ELHB With Tunes,* pp. 370–371.

and *Credo* for use in their tradition. Figure 2.10 is a representative example of an appropriated *Kyrie*.

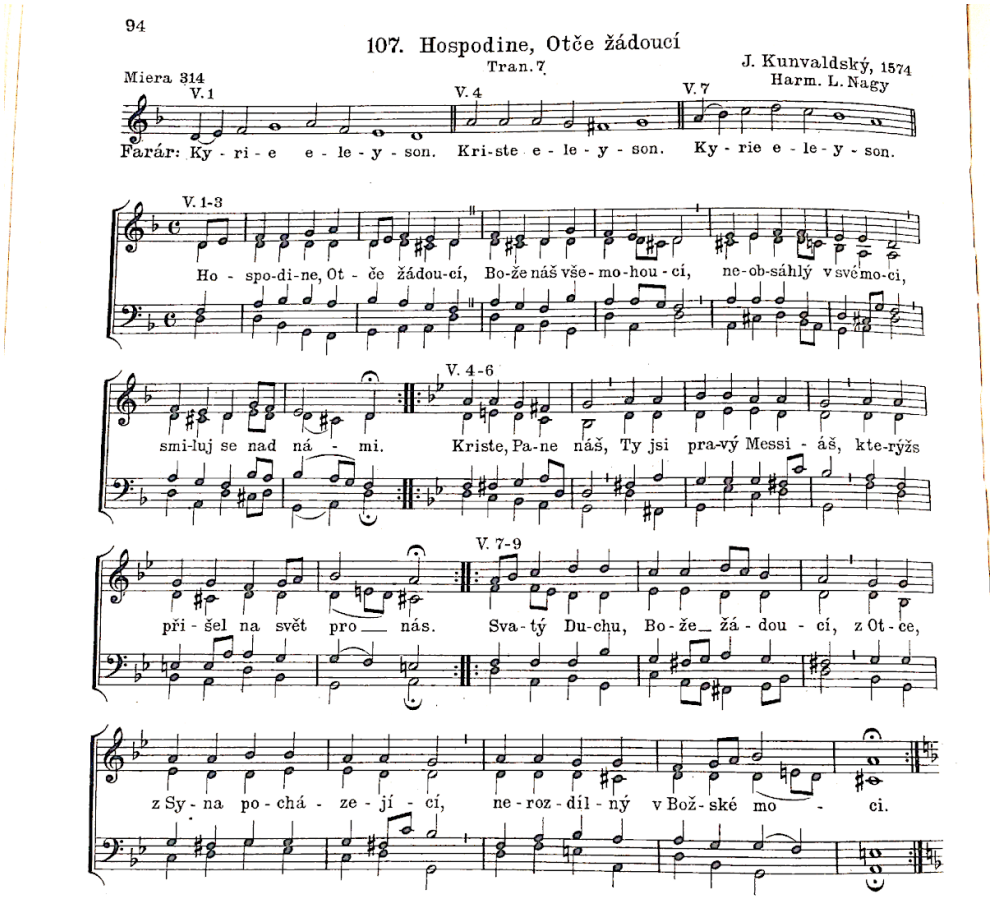


Figure 2.10. A facsimile of the first five systems of a Slovak metrical *Kyrie* (*Hospodine, Otče žádoucí*) with music by J. Kunvaldsky, 1574, as contained in the Slovak *Duchovná Cithara* (c. 1933).[413]

Note the plainchant setting of the *Kyrie* that bursts into vernacular song, reminiscent of the Saxon reimagining of *Kyrie, fons bonitatis,* but in a completely different idiom. It is beyond the scope of this study to provide an in-depth analysis of the melodic peculiarities of the Slovak idiom, but as a cursory example, observe the motivic use of eighth note couplets, which seem to shape the rise and fall of melodic contours in several examples of these Slovak chants. Although the melody is not particularly complex from a rhythmic perspective, much less melismatic, the harmonic interest and key changes provided a style distinct from the German tradition. Luther's

[413] Kucharik, *Duchovna' Cithara*, p. 94.

vision of a uniquely Evangelical rite for people of every nation and tongue was more fully realized.

Perhaps one of the most beautiful examples of this is the Slovak take on the *Verba Testamenti*. Following Luther's example of functionally red-lettering the voice of Christ through melodic painting, the melodic flow in the Slovak iteration inverted Luther's model and always introduces the voice of Christ at a fifth higher than the terminus of the narration (Figure 2.11):
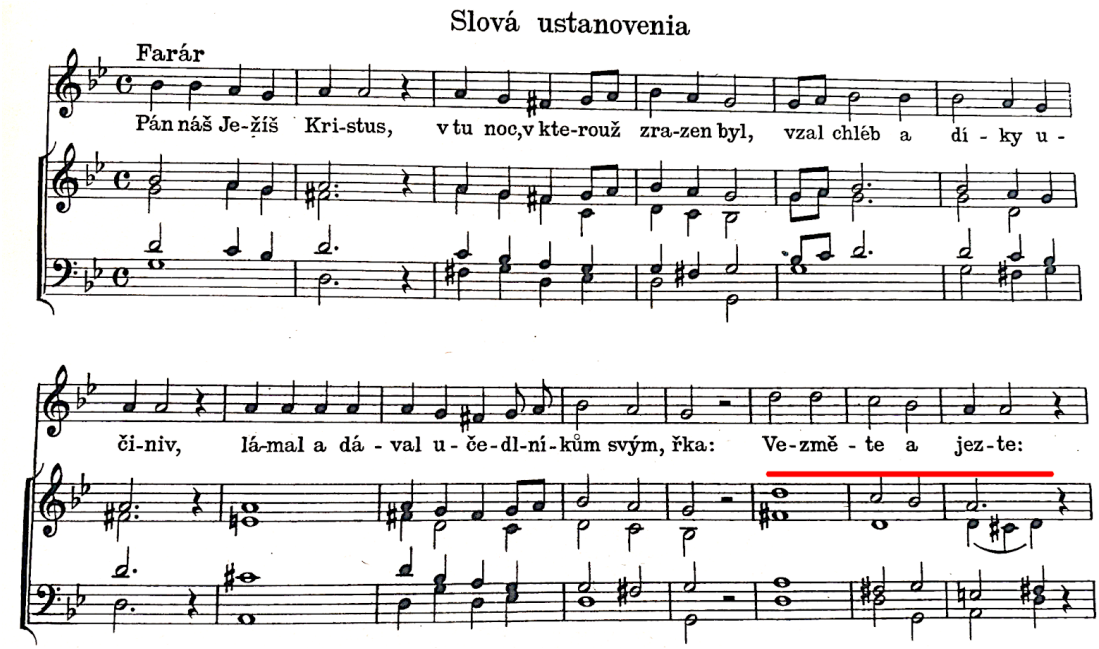


Figure 2.11. A facsimile of the first two musical systems of a rendering of the *Verba Testamenti,* from their beginning through the first words of Christ in the narrative text, *i.e.* "Vezměte a jezte" ("Take and eat"), in the Slovak *Duchovná Cithara*. Emphasis has been added in this thesis copy to indicate the Voice of Christ.[414]

Without belaboring the point, this cursory analysis of the *Cithara Sanctorum* tradition demonstrates the Saxon inspiration behind the Slovak rite. Because the SELC did not publish its own English hymnal prior to its involvement in the publication of *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941, commentary on the effects of Anglicization on the SELC tradition must be reserved for the next chapter.

Concluding Remarks

[414] Kucharik, *Duchovna' Cithara*, p. 23.

The vernacular hymnals and Church Orders of the Slovak and Norwegian Synods actualized Luther's vision of an Evangelical rite that crossed borders and languages. Nevertheless, the rise of the unsanctioned *Common Service* and non-Lutheran English hymnody, of which Anglican hymns held the largest percentage, were evident in the publication of the Norwegian Synod's English hymnal, *LHry*. Meanwhile, the Slovak Synod did not publish its own English hymnal, but had a growing need for English resources, particularly given its reliance on the LCMS. Like its counterparts in the German Synods, it too was in need of a new resource, one that would be realized in the advent of *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941.

Early Synodical Conference Liturgico-Musical Materials in Review

Having examined the liturgico-musical and hymnic basis of the constituent bodies of the Synodical Conference, it is clear that their formative influence was derived from the Evangelical tradition first established by Martin Luther and codified in the Saxon *Agende* and subsequent Church Orders. In the Missouri Synod, C. F. W. Walther's *Kirchengesangbuch*, *Kirchen-agende*, and the accompanying *Choralbuch* directly repristinated the Saxon liturgical and chorale tradition for a Saxon Synod. Among the broader German diaspora in the Wisconsin Synod, the influence of many German hymn books and agendas in its formative years, most notably that of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, kept the Synod rooted in the Evangelical-Lutheran chorale tradition that predominated within German Lutheran materials. By the time the WELS published its own *Evang.-Lutherisches Gesangbuch* in 1870/1872 and *Agende* in 1896, the Synod was officially grounded in the liturgical-chorale tradition, any Pietistic sentiments in its fledgling years notwithstanding. So, too, the non-German Synods demonstrated their Evangelical-Lutheran liturgico-musical *bona fides*: The "Little Norwegian Synod" constitutionally endorsed the 1685

"Liturgy of the Danish-Norwegian Church," which borrowed heavily from the the Saxon *Agende* and German chorale tradition—not at all surprising, since the Saxon Reformer Bugenhagen was behind its construction. Saxon reformers also directly influenced the formation of *Cithara Sanctorum,* the official liturgy and hymn book of the Slovak Synod, which followed a similar liturgical order and utilized the chorales of the German tradition.

The transition to English, to varying degrees, marked a departure from an exclusive adherence to the Evangelical-Lutheran liturgical and chorale tradition to the adoption of non-Lutheran and particularly Anglican forms of worship among these constituent members of the Synodical Conference. This chapter has not been as focused on the rationale behind the shift to English and Anglican forms as much as on establishing the facts of the transition. The LCMS' publication of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-book* (*ELHB*) in 1912 set the stage for the rest of the Synodical Conference to follow down *The Common Service* path. The WELS' first English hymnal, *Book of Hymns*, contained a derivative form of the *ELHB* liturgy, and many parallel hymns. Its Saxon-inspired rite was truncated to the point of being unrecognizable. While the ELS managed to preserve its "Bugenhagen Rite" with more integrity, along with scores of Scandinavian chorales, its *Lutheran Hymnary* (*LHry*) also published *The Common Service*—a rite not endorsed by its own constitutional imperative—and a substantive percentage of non-Lutheran hymnody, the majority of which had Anglican provenance. The Slovaks did not get an English hymnal of their own, but their close association with the LCMS—even sharing a Seminary—made the influence of *ELHB* on its faithful direct.

The liturgical chorale's transference into Norwegian and Slovak idioms exemplified the way that Luther's liturgical paradigm was meant to be adapted to all cultures and languages while maintaining a distinctly Evangelical liturgico-musical ethos. The Norwegians' translation

of their "Bugenhagen Rite" demonstrated that the preservation of this tradition was also possible in the transition to English. This model could have been utilized to transfer the Evangelical idiom from German into an English idiom. Instead, the prevailing winds of *The Common Service* took hold. Although the varying degrees to which Anglican hymnody was adopted within the Synodical Conference is significant, the throughline of Anglican influence in all four synods seems to be *The Common Service*. This necessarily calls into question just how much Anglican influence is demonstrable in *The Common Service*. Chapter II provided a summary analysis of the iteration of *The Common Service* within *ELHB* and subsequent Synodical Conference hymnals, showing some of the direct parallels in music and text with Anglican sources. But an argument can be made for a deeper philosophical and paradigmatic influence, which can only be gleaned from a closer analysis of the words and motivations of the architects of *The Common Service* themselves. Chapter III will deal more directly with the ideological and philosophical impetus behind *The Common Service.* Afterward, Chapter IV will analyze the culminating catalyst of the Anglicization of the Synodical Conference represented by *The Lutheran Hymnal,* which—unlike the hymnals discussed in Chapter II—favored almost unanimous adoption.

CHAPTER III:

THE COMMON SERVICE OF 1888

"Thomas Cranmer had drawn upon the Lutheran church orders in the preparation of the Edwardian Prayer Books, and now that Lutherans were ready to worship and pray in English they could receive back these texts in worthy English translations."[415] This prescient summary by Frank Senn encapsulates a crucial component of the philosophical basis for appropriating Anglican liturgico-musical forms that will be explored in this chapter. The Lutherans who formulated what became known as *The Common Service* of 1888 (*TCS*)[416] argued that the Anglican liturgical tradition was originally Lutheran. *TCS* would go on to form the liturgical heart of the first (and only) pan-Synodical Conference hymnal, *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941 (*TLH*). The philosophical underpinnings of *TLH* were fundamentally rooted in the same spirit that formed *TCS*, which already had a foothold in all of the constituent bodies of the Synodical

---

[415] Frank Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), p. 588. Senn's summary comports with the *Explanation to the Common Service*, a booklet devised to teach children about *TCS*: "The Lutheran revision of the Service, issued in many editions, in many states and cities, had been fully tested by more than twenty years of continuous use before the revision made by the English Church, first issued in the Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth, 1549. The Latin Missals, from which the English translations were made, agreed almost entirely with the Missals from which the German translations had been made. Archbishop Cranmer, the head of the commission which prepared the first English Prayer Book, spent a year and a half in Germany in conference with Lutheran theologians and princes, and was thoroughly familiar with the Lutheran Service. Two Lutheran professors, who were called to the English Universities, took part in the formation of the Prayer Book. During the years 1535 to 1549 there had been many embassies and conferences between the English and the Lutheran rulers and theologians concerning these matters." Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, *An Explanation of The Common Service With Appendices on Christian Hymnody and Liturgical Colors and a Glossary of Liturgical Terms* (Philadelphia: General Council Publication House: 1908), p. 7, https://wolfmueller.co/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/ExplanComServ_cover.pdf.

[416] *The Common Service* was a jointly produced product, the title of which is used in several books by several institutions/authors. Here, it is used to refer collectively to the substance of the two volumes simultaneously published by the General Synod and General Council, respectively, in 1888, as detailed below. Colloquially in American Lutheran parlance, "The Common Service" often refers to the Eucharistic rite, but historically it referred to the Divine Office, the Eucharist, and the series of lessons, prayers, and propers that accompanied them. Notably, it did not refer to any specific musical rite.

Conference in their first English publications prior to *TLH* (refer back to Chapter II for a survey of these hymnals). However, the degree of influence exercised by the English hymnals of the Synodical Conference prior to *TLH* was not particularly extensive. The vernacular of the immigrant communities that formed the respective Synods of the Synodical Conference continued to predominate over English well into the twentieth century.[417] Even in English-speaking congregations, the use of translations of the Saxon-inspired rites over *TCS* was significant.[418]

This trend dramatically changed as anti-German sentiment in the wake of the First World War took hold within the Synodical Conference.[419] The desire for English resources became a necessity, and an English rite already existed and was familiar to all members of the Synodical Conference. Although Chapter II of this thesis demonstrated some differences in the early English hymnals and liturgical offerings of the respective Synods, the unifying thread in each was the use of some form of *TCS*. And, unlike the English offerings of the Saxon-inspired liturgies of the first English hymnals of the WELS and ELS, *TLH* would follow the LCMS' lead from *ELHB* in making exclusive use of *TCS*. While it may seem prudent to simply proceed directly into an analysis of the history and formation of *TLH*, such an analysis would not shed light on the formation of *TCS* as such, which was produced by Church bodies outside of the Synodical Conference. Therefore, this chapter will analyze the creation of *TCS* and the key individuals and institutions that were critical in that process before analyzing *The Lutheran Hymnal* more directly in Chapter IV.

---

[417] 1924 was the first year that the LCMS had equal use of English and German. For a full statistical analysis, see: Heidemann, "Acceptance of the English Language [. . .]," pp. 60–61. In the WELS, its German academic journal, *Gemeinde-Blatt*, had more subscriptions than its English counterpart, *Northwestern Lutheran*, until 1940. See Braun, "Changes Within [. . .]," p. xii.

[418] See Chapter II.

[419] Braun, "Changes Within [. . .]," pp. xi*ff*.

Background of *The Common Service* of 1888

For many, *The Common Service* of 1888 represents the pinnacle of the nineteenth-century liturgical renewal movement in American Lutheranism. As was glimpsed in Chapter II, a cursory look at the texts and melodies associated with *TCS* demonstrated origins in the *BCP* and Anglican chant traditions. In this way, *TCS* also remains one of the most obvious examples of Anglican influence on Synodical Conference Lutheranism, as will be discussed in the analysis that follows. However, to fully understand this influence, one must look beyond the Synodical Conference, since the chief architects of *TCS* were from older German-American Lutheran groups. Many of these Lutheran church bodies traced their heritage to the colonial period of the Eastern and Southern regions of the United States. By 1888, these Lutheran groups were represented by three federations known as the General Council, the General Synod, and Synod of the South.[420] These are the three federations that would join together to create the pan-American Lutheran liturgy known as *TCS*.

A Brief History of the General Synod, *et al.*

As a brief synopsis, in 1823 the German-American Lutheran Synods from Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia agreed to become constituent members of a federation known as the Evangelical Lutheran General Synod of the United States (General Synod).[421] Various constituent synods continued to join the General Synod in the decades that followed. During the American Civil War, the four member Synods of the Carolinas and Virginia left the

[420] Note that a federation of church bodies was not the same as a merger. They retained their individual governance and charters.

[421] For a more detailed history, see Henry Eyster Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States* (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1893), pp. 351*ff*, https://books.google.com/books?id=mHIq08M_AdkC.
Jacobs is one of the key individuals that will be considered in this chapter.

General Synod to form their own group, which came to be known colloquially as the Synod of the South.[422] In 1867, another split in the General Synod occurred when the Pennsylvania Ministerium—the oldest Lutheran church body in North America and the organizing founder of the General Synod—led an effort to renew interest in fidelity to the Lutheran Confessions. The lack of a majority interest in conforming to this newfound Confessionalism inevitably led Pennsylvania and nine other Synods to form a new federation called the General Council.

The General Council, and the Pennsylvania Ministerium in particular, had direct influence on the synods that would go on to form the Synodical Conference (recall that the Synodical Conference, led by the newly immigrated Saxons is the Missouri Synod, was likewise interested in fidelity to the Lutheran Confessions). The positioning of the Synodical Conference as an alternative to the General Council was only necessitated by the so-called "Four Points," or four areas of doctrinal contention that prohibited the Missouri Synod and others from joining the Council.[423] These were:

1. The acceptability of chiliasm (millennialism)
2. The permissibility of mixed (open) Communion
3. Pulpit fellowship with "sectarians" (i.e., non-Lutherans)
4. Membership in secret or unchurchly societies (e.g., the Masons and the Lodge)

The General Council's refusal to decisively reject these Four Points also caused several of the original constituent members of the General Council to leave it for the Synodical Conference.[424] The influence of the General Council and its former relation to the General Synod cannot be ignored when considering the Synodical Conference in purely historical terms.[425]

---

[422] *Ibid*., pp. 445–501.
[423] See Nelson, *Lutherans in North America*, p. 158 for a more thorough explanation.
[424] Namely, the Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois Synods.
[425] See Jurgen Ludwig Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, tr. Joseph Stump (Burlington, IA: German Literary Board, 1904), p. 185, https://books.google.com/books?id=31hKAAAAYAAJ.

These past relationships[426] particularly help to explain the acceptance of *TCS* among Synodical Conference Lutherans, an area of inquiry that was tacitly explored in Chapter II, and will be more generally treated later in this chapter.

Toward A Standard Lutheran Rite

The unity of the General Council, the General Synod, and the Synod of the South in undertaking a project like *TCS* is noteworthy, because the German synods in the United States followed the examples of their overseas counterparts in producing parochial agendas for their own use. However, the idea of a standardized liturgical rite for all of American Lutheranism was not new. This concept dated back to Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711–1787), who founded what became the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1748 (the precursor to the General Council); he is generally regarded as the Father of American Lutheranism.[427] Notably, Muhlenberg produced an order of Service to accommodate his young Pennsylvania Ministerium, which provides an important glimpse into what that unified rite might have entailed in his original vision. Consider the similarities between Muhlenberg's rite and those of the German rites of the LCMS and WELS *Agende* in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. A comparison of the contents of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's 1748 "Church Agenda" for the Pennsylvania Ministerium with the contents of the Wisconsin Synod's 1896 *Agende* and the Missouri Synod's 1856 *Kirchen-Agende*.

"The Church Agenda" of 1748 by H. Muhlenberg[428]	**WELS *Agende* of 1896[429]**	**LCMS *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856[430]**
♫ Hymn of Invocation of the Holy Ghost (Luther's *Nun*	♫ Introit hymn	(Opened with the hymn *Kyrie, Gott Vater*, below)

[426] As was discussed in Chapter II, the Wisconsin Synod almost joined the General Council and made significant use of its liturgical resources prior to transitioning into a relationship with the Missouri Synod.
[427] It was known as the "German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of North America" until 1792.
[428] Board of Publication, *Documentary History*, pp. 13–18.
[429] Wisconsin Synod, *Agende*, pp. 3–6 and 22–27.
[430] Missouri Synod, *Kirchen-Agende,* pp. 41–57.

bitten wir or *Komm Heiliger Geist*)		
Verses (Isaiah 57:15 and 1 John 1:9) & General Confession (Form prepared by Chemnitz and Andrae for Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel; the original placement in their Order was after the Sermon)[431]	General Confession	(Confession after Sermon)
Troped Trinitarian *Kyrie* in German	♫ Christe du Lamm Gottes (functioning as a troped *Kyrie*)	♫ *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit* (*i.e*., a troped Trinitarian *Kyrie*)
(Absolution on day before Communion)	Declaration of Grace (Absolution at Confessional Service)	(Absolution after Sermon)
♫ *Allein Gott in der Höh*	Gloria intonation (in German) and ♫ *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* or *et terra pax* [in German] by choir, or some combination.	♫ Gloria intonation (in German) and ♫ *Allein Gott in der Höh*
Salutation	♫ Salutation	♫ Salutation
(Antiphon after Communion)	♫ Antiphon(s)	♫ Antiphon(s)
Collect of the Day	♫ Collect of the Day	♫ Collect of the Day
Epistle	Epistle	Epistle
♫ *Hauptlied*	♫ Hallelujah Verse	♫ *Hauptlied*
Gospel	Gospel with ♫ acclamations.	Gospel
♫ *Wir glauben all an einem Gott*	Apostles' Creed with three-fold Amen.	♫ *Wir glauben all an einem Gott*
(*Hauptlied* between readings)	♫ *Hauptlied*	(*Hauptlied* between readings)
Pulpit Service & Sermon	Pulpit Service & Sermon	Pulpit Service & Sermon
(Confession at beginning)	(Confession at beginning)	Address and General Confession
(Absolution on day before Communion)	(Declaration of Grace before Sermon)	Absolution
General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, Lord's Prayer	General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, Lord's Prayer	General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, Lord's Prayer
Pax Votum	Pax Votum	Pax Votum
♫ Hymn	♫ *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines herze*	♫ *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines herze*
Salutation & Sursum Corda	♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda	♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda

[431] Chemnitz and Andrae, *Church Order*, p. 177.

(Prefatory elements in Exhortation, below)	♫ Preface & Proper Preface	♫ Preface & Proper Preface
Sanctus	♫ Sanctus w/ Benedictus	♫ Sanctus w/ Seasonal Benedictus
First Exhortation and Lord's Prayer (with Luther's expanded text, as in the *Deutsche Messe*)	♫ Lord's Prayer	♫ Lord's Prayer
Second Exhortation	♫ Doxology	♫ Doxology
Words of Institution	♫ Words of Institution	♫ Words of Institution
(*Agnus Dei* not referenced, but *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* may have been sung as a Distribution hymn in keeping with the *Deutsche Messe* prescription)	♫ *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*	♫ *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*
	♫ Pax Domini	
Distribution (No Communion Hymns specified, but such hymns were extant in the accompanying hymnals)	Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn	Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn
Antiphon ("O give thanks," etc. with Alleluias)	♫ Antiphon	♫ Antiphon
Luther's Postcommunion Collect	♫ Luther's Postcommunion Collect	♫ Luther's Postcommunion Collect
Aaronic Benediction w/ Trinitarian Invocation	♫ Aaronic Benediction	♫ Aaronic Benediction
♫ Closing Verse	♫ Gott sei gelobet und debendeiet	♫ Closing Verse (Gott sei gelobet recommended)

Even in this earliest manifestation of Lutheran liturgy in North America, the basic forms inspired by Luther's *Deutsche Messe* are readily apparent. Unfortunately, Muhlenberg's vision for a common rite was not realized for over a century, due to the loss of Lutheran liturgical integrity among the old German Lutherans and a general mimicry of American Protestantism (including Episcopalianism[432]). This was a pattern that was followed by the Saxon and broader

[432] Muhlenberg's own son ended up becoming an Episcopal priest, while the Pennsylvania Ministerium adopted Episcopalian parlance for its activities and services. His great-grandson, William Augustus, was an Episcopal priest who was at the forefront of the Anglican liturgical renewal in the U.S. See Paul V. Marshall, "William Augustus Muhlenberg's Quiet Defection from Liturgical Uniformity," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 64, no. 2 (1995), pp. 148–172, https://www.jstor.org/stable/42611695.

Synodical Conference Lutherans after them.[433] However, the renewed interest in confessional integrity that rocked the General Synod and led to the formation of the General Council also occurred in tandem with the Oxford Movement in England and the Catholic revival that was occurring throughout western Christianity in this period. This brought renewed interest in liturgical integrity as well as doctrinal renewal. The advent of *TCS* coincided with this broader liturgical movement that spanned across denominational borders.

Strains of Liturgical Renewal and their Impact on the Development of a Common Service

As discussed in Chapter I, the Oxford Movement was a multifaceted progenitor of liturgical renewal in the Anglican Communion. Many progressed beyond the fundamental principles of the Tractarians into a more "Anglo-Catholic" identity, with some even abandoning the Anglican Church for Roman Catholicism—most notably John Henry Newman and Cardinal Henry Manning (where Newman in particular became known as the "Father of Vatican II"[434]). Edward Pusey and other founders of the Oxford Movement remained faithful Anglicans, but did advocate a return to the original 1549 *BCP* and antecedent ecclesiastical proclamations, which they believed comported with the tradition of antiquity better than the 1662 *BCP* reforms.[435] This progression from the founding principles of the Oxford Movement to Anglo-Catholicism was viewed as a cautionary occurrence by reflective Lutherans:

> The early leaders of the Oxford Movement—the Tractarians—were reformers concerned with fundamentals. The later leaders—the Ritualists—were generally men of lesser mold and perhaps may be thought of as decorators. [. . .] The Movement now [is] in its third

[433] See Chapter II of this thesis for the transitional process in hymnals and agendas prior to *TLH,* which demonstrated an inclination away from purely Lutheran liturgico-musical practice into the realm of general American Protestant sources.
[434] In a way, the Second Vatican Council was the culmination of the liturgical renewal movements throughout Christianity, beginning with the nineteenth century reform movements highlighted in Chapter I. See: Ian Kerr, "The Father of Vatican II," *EWTN* (Irondale, AL: Eternal Word Television Network, 2009), https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/father-of-vatican-ii-5699. Accessed 2023.
[435] See Newmann, et al., *Tracts for the Times*.

phase, the Tractarians and the Ritualists being succeeded by the Anglo-Catholics.[436] The complex nature of the Oxford Movement and the broader Anglican liturgical renewal can make it difficult to pin down their varying effects as a whole on American Lutheranism. But their paradigm of liturgical repristination is clearly evident in the framework under which the persons who worked on *TCS* as a project were operating.

The heart of the Anglican liturgical renewal of the nineteenth century, whether directed more toward Rome, the ancient Church, or the early days of the Anglican Reformation, was one of liturgical repristination. For some, this eschewed the organic development of tradition and neglected to see continuity across centuries. Instead, a past ideal was identified and advocated on the basis of ideological principles. On the surface this may seem to be of a piece with the Neo-Lutheran movements that repristinated the Saxon *Agende* in the early Missouri Synod. After all, the manifestation of the Neo-Lutheran movement among the Saxon Americans had repristinated their own Saxon tradition some 40 years earlier in the *Kirchen-Agende*. Certainly, both were an effort to "restore" a Lutheran Liturgy, but the philosophical underpinnings were not the same. There was a qualitative difference in the spirit of their reforms. The Saxons were reclaiming a centuries-old tradition that had briefly ceased (rather than naturally changed) due to political aberration. The primitive hymnals of the forebears of the Synodical Conference did not return to the sixteenth-century liturgies of a fledgling Lutheranism, choosing here and there what they liked or did not, to create a novel ordo of their own. Rather, they restored or continued the use of the enduring, established liturgy of their Evangelical traditions, which shaped the development of Lutheranism for centuries. As will be shown below, the compilers of *TCS* did not seem to share the Synodical Conference approach, but rather relied upon the broader spirit of

[436] Luther D. Reed [1873–1972], *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Allentown, PA: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), p. 158.

liturgical renewal of the nineteenth century that sought to press back to ancient forms in rejection of more recent liturgical developments.

In his seminal work, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, in which Luther Reed (1888–1961) focused on "an interpretation of the Lutheran Liturgy and its music as set forth in the Common Service,"[437] he recognized the important effect of the Oxford Movement on the development of Lutheranism in the United States, noting the place of "the so-called Oxford Movement in England" in "the general nineteenth century [*sic*] revival of church life and worship," which he believed had particular effect in America due to "our common language, literature, and art."[438] Reed is a particularly helpful reference in the context of this thesis, because he not only cultivated rapport with the men who were involved in the creation of *TCS,*[439] but was also an influential figure who is viewed as something of a liturgico-musical expert by the denizens of the Synodical Conference bodies that produced *The Lutheran Hymnal*. In this light, consider Reed's impression of the influence of the Church of England and other British religious movements on American Lutheranism in the nineteenth century:

> English Lutheranism in America, while firmly rooted doctrinally in Lutheran backgrounds in Europe, has also been materially influenced in other respects by British church life, non-conformist as well as Anglican. In its development of the Sunday school, and in matters of church organization and finance, it has profited greatly by the experience of the English Free Churches. Its popular appreciation of liturgical worship, its forms of church architecture and churchly appointments in general, its hymnody and its church music have felt the powerful influence of forces and forms originating within the established Church of England. [. . .] While extremists have gone to indefensible lengths, the Oxford Movement as a whole restored to the Anglican Church the general type and spirit of worship which the Lutheran and the Anglican Churches had known in the sixteenth century. Churchly standards and taste were elevated by a program whose influence eventually reached to all other Christian groups in the English-speaking world. [. . .] The Lutheran Church in America, with theological foundations solidly in

[437] Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, p. vii.
[438] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[439] In the "Forward" to *The Lutheran Liturgy,* Reed states: "I have been encouraged by the hope that my efforts might, in part at least, fulfill the purpose and plan of those two great Christians to whose friendship and guidance I owed so much when I became their colleague in the seminary faculty and their close associate in the work of the joint committee which prepared the Common Service Book of the United Lutheran Church in America," p. x.

> continental Europe, has been aided greatly in its devotional and practical life by the comprehensive and sustained liturgical movement within the established Church of England in the nineteenth century.[440]

It is important to note that Reed recognized the influence of the "church music" and "hymnody" of the "established Church of England" in addition to philosophical influences on Lutheran practice. The spirit of this sort of liturgical renewal was also at the fore among the architects of *TCS,* who sought to repristinate a purer sixteenth-century liturgy than what had been bequeathed through the Saxon *Agende*. Like the 1549 *BCP*, this liturgy was inching closer to a purified Pre-Reformation Mass and away from the organic development of the Reformation tradition (see Appendix 1).

It is worth noting here that a distinction between the Oxford Movement's aims and those of the progenitors of *TCS* was manifest in their disparate liturgical traditions. The Anglican Church had a definitive sixteenth century liturgical text to repristinate. As will be shown below, the compilers of *TCS* recognized that a triangulation of sources would be needed to accommodate their disparate regional variances. However, as will also be noted, the Joint Committee recognized the preeminence of the sixteenth-century Saxon *Agende* tradition among those sources triangulated. This, however, was not the source that received preeminent deference in the establishment of *TCS*.

Lutheran Sources Used by the Joint Committee

As others have noted,[441] the pursual of this vision of liturgical renewal and the concept of a unified Lutheran rite that ultimately resulted in *TCS* began with an overture from the Synod of the South, which passed the following resolution at its 1876 convention:

---

[440] *Ibid*., pp. 154, 158–159.
[441] Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, p. 182; Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*, p. 335; Heiser, *The Common Service*, p. 74; etc.

> *Resolved*, That, with the view to promote uniformity in worship and the strengthening the bonds of unity throughout all of our Churches, the Committee on the Revision of the Book of Worship be instructed to confer with the Evangelical Lutheran General Synod in the United States and with the Evangelical Lutheran General Council in America in regard to the feasibility of adopting but one book, containing the same hymns, the same order of services and liturgic forms, to be used in the public worship of God in all English-speaking Evangelical Lutheran Churches in the United States.[442]

The General Council accepted this invitation in a resolution passed at their 1876 Convention, with the caveat that the project would follow what has come to be known as "the rule" upon which *TCS* project would be based:

> Resolved, That the General Council consents to co-operate in the preparation of an Order of Service for use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations, provided that the rule which shall decide all questions arising in its preparation shall be: The common consent of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century, and when there is not an entire agreement among them, the consent of the largest number of those of the greatest weight.[443]

This "rule" of the "common consent of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century" was further expounded upon in an article by Edward T. Horn (1850–1915) in *The Lutheran Quarterly*, "Feasibility of a Service for All English-Speaking Lutherans."[444] In the article, Horn is the first to refer to a "Common Service" as the ultimate goal of such a rule. Shortly thereafter, the "rule" was ratified by the Synod of the South at its 1882 Convention,[445] and the General Synod finally agreed to accept the invitation to join the project and its "rule" in 1883.[446]

---

[442] Proceedings of the 1876 Convention of the Synod of the South, as quoted in R. Morris Smith, "The Liturgical Development of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States," *Lutheran Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1917), pp. 401–514, https://books.google.com/books?id=0EdQAQAAMAAJ.

[443] Minutes of the Eighteenth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, Held in St. John's Church, Zanesville, O., October 9th to 14th, A.D. 1879, (Gettysburg: J.E. Wible Printer, 1879), p. 30.

[444] E. T. Horn, "German and Lutheran Development of Liturgies," *The Universal Cyclopedædia: A New Edition,* in ed. Charles Kendall Adams, vol. 7 of 12 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, a J. Johnson Company, 1900), p. 270, https://books.google.com/books?id=SyrmAAAAMAAJ.

[445] Reed, "Historical Sketch of the Common Service," p. 503.

[446] The General Synod was slow to acquiesce due to the fact that it had previously started its own liturgical project prior to the Synod of the South's 1876 overture. However, the product of the General Synod's solo efforts were not received favorably, with a cohort of some 55 pastors memorializing the Synod to limit the use of the liturgy and focus its efforts on cooperating with the General Synod and the Synod of the South in its project. See Smith, "Liturgical Development of the General Synod," pp. 75–76.

Although last to formally join the endeavor, the General Synod was the first to propose what would become known as the "Joint Committee:"

> *Resolved*, That the Synod hereby suggest to the ministers possessing a liturgic spirit, and gifted with a style of writing characterized by scholarly excellence, the propriety of a thorough study of the whole liturgical subject, and the outlining of well-matured forms, and their publication in papers or periodicals with a view to aiding ministers and people in forming clearer opinions on the subject, and that the way may be prepared to constitute the future committee to represent this body in a joint committee of all the bodies that may united in the preparation of a Common Service and Liturgy.[447]

The "Joint Committee on a Common Service Book" held its first official meeting in Philadelphia in May 1885.[448] The final makeup of the group consisted of several men from each of the three church bodies, to wit: For the General Synod, George U. Wenner (1844–1934), Frederick W. Conrad (1816–1898), Milton Valentine (1825–1906), Augustus Charles Wedekind (1824–1897), and Edmund Jacob Wolf (1840–1905; Wolf's position was intended to go to Charles Augustus Stork, 1838–1883, but he died prior to the Committee's first formal meeting); for the General Synod of the South, Edward T. Horn (1850–1915), Thomas William Luther Dosh (1830–1889), and Stephen Albion Repass (1838–1906); for the General Council, Charles William Schaeffer (1813–1896), John Kohler (1820–1898), Henry Eyster Jacobs (1844–1932), Samuel Laird (1835–1913), Beale Melanchthon Schmucker (1827–1888), Joseph Augustus Seiss (1823–1904), Adolph Spaeth (1839–1910), and Christian F. Welden (1812–1897).

However, by the time the Joint Committee held its first meeting in 1885, several of its members had already met in a less formal capacity. An apparent pre-authorization was given in 1883 for the formation of a so-called "sub-committee" to begin preparing an order of Service, a group that ended up with Schmucker as chair, Horn as secretary, and Wenner as its third member.[449] This sub-committee operated under the following guiding principles:

---

[447] *Ibid*., pp. 76–77.
[448] Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, p. 507.
[449] Reed, "Historical Sketch," p. 505.

> 1. It is the understanding of the whole Joint Committee that the result of our labors must be referred to the Bodies we represent.
> 2. We dare make no Service binding upon the Congregation, and no part of a Service should be used any longer than it serves to edification.
> 3. We agree to furnish the full Lutheran Service with all its provisions for all who wish to use it.[450]

Based on these principles, the sub-committee of three deliberated and came to an agreement[451] on "the constituent parts and order of the full normal Lutheran Service," after which Horn as secretary prepared a twenty-four page manuscript that was unanimously approved. When the full Joint Committee finally met in 1885, they appointed Schmucker and Horn to continue their work as chair and secretary on behalf of the full Joint Committee and received the manuscript they produced as the working draft for *TCS*. The subcommittee's work and guidelines were approved by the full Committee, with the additional caveat added to its "rule" and three guiding principles: "If at any time or place the use of the full Service is not desired, it is in entire conformity with good Lutheran usage that a simpler Service may be provided and used, in which only the principal parts of the Service in their order are contained."[452]

The influence of the members of the subcommittee must not be understated. The fact that Schmucker, Horn, and Wenner performed all the leg work before the full Joint Committee ever met is indicative of the significance of their influence. Indeed, many of the men on the Joint Committee apparently did not really understand the nuances of the liturgy that Schmucker, *et al*. presented to them and were simply following wherever the subcommittee led:

> I remember very distinctly that [Schmucker] then laid down the Chief Parts of the Service with equal success. In this enumeration he referred to the Collects, not as such, but to "Prayer before the reading of Epistle and Gospel," etc. By carefully avoiding technical liturgical terms, he suggested to the General Synod men a manner of meeting opposition that was entirely feasible, and at the same time endorsed their order as in its main features

---

[450] Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, p. 507.
[451] There was a disagreement on the placement of the Lord's Prayer, which will be discussed in the section that follows. See Reed, "Historical Sketch," pp. 504–505.
[452] *Ibid*., p. 505.

> in harmony with the best traditions of the Church. He knew well the elements with which he was dealing. With the exception of Dr. Wenner, all the members of the General Synod Committee were pupils of his father, and remembered the latter as an opponent of all liturgies, and yet always engaged in preparing or revising them. [. . .] The only member of the General Council Committee likely to object to his plans was Dr. Seiss. [. . .] The other members of the sub-committee, Drs. Wenner and Horn, had labored with him over the scheme then being considered. The "Church Book" of the General Council was never referred to or even mentioned. With the preliminaries settled, Dr. Schmucker gave attention to a high stack of authorities piled up on the table in front of him, and distributed them to the members of the committee. There was no dissent to the position that the Service proper begin with the Introit, or "Psalmody," as Dr. Schmucker first called it.[453]

This insightful excerpt from the *Memoirs* of Henry Eyster Jacobs, one of the longest-lived members of the Joint Committee, provides a useful first-hand account of the events surrounding the creation of *TCS*. Although Jacobs' writings are sometimes, if understandably, triumphalistic regarding the project of which he was a member,[454] his recollections clearly demonstrate the way that Schmucker carefully guided the Joint Committee into the adoption of *TCS*. Jacobs' *Memoirs* go on to recount how the members of the Joint Committee took the nascent liturgy proposed by the subcommittee back to their respective Church bodies for preliminary approval, which was overwhelmingly granted.[455] The subcommittee—again, unilaterally—fleshed out a more polished manuscript and, following the same process as in 1885, presented their work at a second meeting of the Joint Committee in 1887. According to Jacobs, only minor "emandations" needed addressing to come to concord between the three church bodies, with the only significant disagreement being a fraternal and "balanced" dispute regarding the placement of the Lord's Prayer.[456] Agreeing that the placement of the Lord's Prayer could be optional, the Joint

---

[453] Jacobs, *Memoirs*, p. 270.

[454] *E.g.*, consider how described how the Committee "laying aside all personal prejudices, and ignoring all books and orders of service in use in any of their congregations" in order to "rigidly" follow "the rule set before them." Jacobs, *History of the Evangleical Lutheran Church*, p. 507.

[455] With "great enthusiasm," in Jacobs' telling. *Ibid*.

[456] The Joint Committee could not come to a consensus regarding the placement of the Lord's Prayer in the Eucharistic rite. The General Council wanted it to occur be placed before the Words of Institution, to be prayed exclusively by the celebrating minister (they also wanted a second recitation placed earlier in the Service as part of the General Prayer, where it would be prayed by the entire assembly). The General Synod, in contrast, wanted it to

Committee unanimously approved The Common Service, which was approved and adopted in their slightly varied forms later in 1887.[457] *The Common Service* in this form would be officially published in 1888.

The Philosophical Basis of the Joint Committee's "Rule"

Before delving too much further into the content that the Joint Committee actually produced, it is prudent to consider the philosophical basis of the "rule" that guided their work. The throughline of "the rule" persisted not only in the nascent stages of their work, but carried along the promotion of the work after its completion. Indeed, the "Preface" of *The Common Service* makes this readily apparent:

> The revival of our Church life which has distinguished the Nineteenth Century brought with it in many minds the desire for a restoration of the Services belonging to the youth and formative period of our Evangelical Church. Those Services, it was hoped, would prove to be not only a fitting mode of worship, but also a valuable bond of union among the separate branches of our Church. Hence it was agreed by the General Bodies concerned in this work of securing a Common Service that the basis should be the "common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the Sixteenth Century."[458]

This guiding principle has been taken for granted in contemporary histories of *TCS*. This thesis uniquely posits that "the rule" is in fact an Anglican approach to liturgical renewal, rather than the one followed by the ideological forebears of the Synodical Conference. In Horn's own words, *TCS* was not the continuation of an organic liturgical tradition, or even a direct repristination of a sixteenth-century form, but rather a piecemeal effort:

> The Common Service is not the transcript of any Service of the Sixteenth Century. The Orders from which it is derived afford precedents for many things, which it does not

---

occur after the Words of Institution, to be recited by the entire congregation. (See Church, "The Rage of Caliban," for a more detailed analysis.) Ironically, the "Common Service" used in the Synodical Conference, first in *ELHB* and later in *TLH*, would similarly have slight variations from either form of the initial Common Service(s); incidentally, both Synodical Conference forms followed the General Council in the Lord's Prayer placement. *Cf*. E. J. Richter, "The Lord's Prayer in the Eucharistic Service," *The Lutheran Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (1885), pp. 418–448, https://books.google.com/books?id=QwxIAQAAMAAJ.

[457] See footnote 249.

[458] General Synod, *The Common Service*, pp. xxix-xxx.

> adopt. While it exhibits consensus of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of that age, in strict accordance with the spirit of Christianity embodied in our Confessions it freely rejects what was temporary and adapts the whole to this new age. [. . .] It must be observed that the Common Service has omitted what was inapplicable or inexpedient; retained what is edifying; and avoided any prescriptions which were not needful to show the right use of the parts of the Service.[459]

This striking admission demonstrates the reforming intent latent in this liturgical effort, the fruit of which allegedly "adapts the whole to this new age." Horn's assertion nearly places *TCS* in the realm of modernist thought, born of a reformist mindset aimed at meeting its modern context.

It is clear where this approach lacks the same philosophical basis as the approach taken by the founders of the Synodical Conference. However, as was noted more extensively in Chapter I, there is also a qualitative difference between these two approaches. The Saxons were picking up where their fathers had left off, following the Saxon *Agende* of their forebears. The liturgiologists of the Joint Committee, in contrast, were not picking up where their use of the worship forms of other English-speaking denominations had left off. Rather, they were creating a piecemeal liturgy that, in their own words, was a "consensus" of various agendas, and "when there is not an entire agreement among them, the consent of the largest number of those of the greatest weight."[460]

These liturgies, however, as will be shown below, were mostly from the middle of the sixteenth century, before the Lutheran religion had fully established its confessional tenets in 1580.[461] The sixteenth century was a period of liturgical upheaval and transition, before the standard Lutheran agendas had firmly taken root.[462] If one wanted to gain a consensus of truly Lutheran liturgies that persisted for generations, comparing the Church Orders and agendas of

---

[459] Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," p. 248.
[460] General Synod of the South*, Book of Worship, p. vii.*
[461] Such codification occurred in the publication of the *Book of Concord* of 1580.
[462] It is worth noting that even Luther himself was initially hesitant to work on the *Deutsche Messe* due to what he considered the unsatisfactory liturgical ordos that were proliferating at that time.

the sixteenth century with those of the seventeenth century would seem more effective than relying solely upon the fledgling offerings of an institution in upheaval. Looking only to the sixteenth century belied a spirit of repristination that was not necessarily concerned with fidelity to true historical precedent and the organic development of the Evangelical tradition. This is the same spirit that was expressed by the repristinatory efforts of the Oxford Movement, whose founders sought to repristinate its own sixteenth-century *Book of Common Prayer* rather than its developed seventeenth-century form.

Based on this evidence, the litmus test for what constituted the "greatest weight" already appears ill-defined. One can refer to the historical sources that were considered by the Joint Committee elsewhere, particularly in the account of Horn,[463] the liturgical subcommittee's secretary, as well as Reed's seminal work.[464] What is often overlooked in the literature is a critical analysis of the weighting the Committee applied. Ironically, the "Preface" from the General Council's publication of *TCS* provided an interesting admission regarding the Saxon *Agende*:

> That in the multitude of these works, the directions for the Services of Worship should at first differ from each other is but natural. But, after a time, these divergencies take a more definite form, and there appears in Saxony and throughout the countries north of it, **the most generally accepted type of Lutheran Liturgies**. When, after the death of Duke George, the Reformation took place in the Duchy of Saxony, Justus Jonas prepared the Order of Government and Worship, 1539, with the aid of Splatin, Cruciger and Myconius, and in consultation with all the Saxon theologians, ***and it became at once and permanently a standard of Lutheran Service***.[465] [emphases added]

The Saxon *Agende* certainly qualified as an early sixteenth-century liturgy—it followed the *Deutsche Messe* itself by a mere thirteen years. And, as this thesis established in Chapters I and

---

[463] Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," pp. 239–268.
[464] Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy.*
[465] The preface adds: "To this class of Lutheran Liturgies belong also those of Mecklenburg, Luneburg, Calenberg, and of many North German cities and States, in their successive editions, in whose preparation Bugenhagen, Melanchthon, Chemnitz, Andrae, Arndt, and other illustrious men had part," *General Synod of the South, Book of Worship*, p. viii.

II, it provided the framework for centuries of Church Orders that followed, including in the United States. The emphasized portions of the preceding excerpt demonstrate an acknowledgement by the Joint Committee of the supremacy of the Saxon liturgical order, a predominance that was evident not only among the sources they considered, but also in its becoming the "permanent standard" of Lutheran worship. This admission is incredibly bold considering the fact that the "greatest weight" was demonstrably not given to it, as this thesis argues throughout. The Saxon-inspired order is what was promulgated by the vernacular Agendas in America—not only those of the Synodical Conference examined in Chapter II, but also the first Lutheran Agenda in the United States of Muhlenberg, to which the Joint Committee could trace its pedigree.[466] Indeed, the progenitors of *TCS* themselves acknowledged that "the lines show how the Saxon influence (especially of the typical Saxon (Duke Henry) of 1539, was sought and felt in all later orders."[467] This, however, was plainly not the order ultimately favored by the Joint Committee, as will be detailed below.

Ironically, given this admission of the Saxon *Agende*'s primacy, Jacobs offered in his *Memoirs* an opinion regarding why the Committee neglected the organic liturgical development of the Lutheran Church:

> The XVI Century is mentioned because a deteriorating process begins as soon as we cross into the XVIIth., characterized at first by stiff and mechanical processes that introduce dogmatic formulas into devotional language - and, afterwards, corrupted by pietistic influences, preparing the way for the rationalistic liturgies of the XVIII Century.[468]

Of course, this contention is inaccurate, as was amply demonstrated in Chapter I. The Saxon *Agende* of the sixteenth century and its later versions became preeminent in the period of "Lutheran Orthodoxy" of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. It was the

[466] See Muhlenburg's Liturgy in Table 3.1.
[467] Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," p. 241.
[468] Jacobs, *Memoirs*, p. 268.

abandonment of this Saxon tradition in the nineteenth century due to the auspices of Pietism, Rationalism, and Unionism that caused a deterioration. What Jacobs calls the "mechanical processes" that lent themselves to this shift may have existed, but they were not of liturgico-musical origin. By ignoring the centuries-old and centuries-used Saxon-Lutheran tradition, the Joint Committee was implicitly stating that the Saxon *Agende* was not "pure" enough, according to its own "rule," necessitating they start over by reconstructing a corrected liturgical form.

The fact that this was not simply a return to a preceding German tradition was manifest in the General Synod's resolution following the final approval of *TCS*, such that "provision was also made for the publication of the Common Service in 'the German and Scandinavian languages.'"[469] *TCS* would not need to be rendered in German (much less a Scandinavian language) if it was of a piece with the Germanic liturgies already extant. In this vein, the "Preface" to *TCS* further stated, "The Lutheran Liturgies of the Sixteenth Century were not new and original works, created by the Reformers, but they were chiefly revisions of the Services of the Latin Church."[470] The motivation here, it could be argued, seems to be less the restoration of a "pure Lutheran liturgy" as the only aim, which is what was stated in the "Rule," but apparently also one that was somewhat more consistent with the pre-Reformation tradition of the Latin Mass. They believed the later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century traditions had deviated from this "purer" form, in the spirit of Wilhelm Löhe's strain of the German Neo-Lutheran Movement discussed in Chapter I. Relying on the Lutheran tradition as it had developed and found its fullest expression in the seventeenth century rather than repristinating the 'ancient' liturgy would have placed *TCS* outside the spirit of liturgical renewal of the period. In other words, the Joint

[469]Smith, "Liturgical Development of the General Synod," p. 81
[470] General Synod of the South, *Book of Worship*, p. viii.

Committee did not have the restoration of the Saxon-Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition as its priority. The Committee's production of (in their mind) a purified form of the "Services of the Latin Church" was of the same spirit of liturgical renewal that inspired the desire among some of the Oxford Movement's founders to repristinate the 1549 *BCP*.

The Influence of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* on the Joint Committee

Perhaps the clearest proof of a connection between the Joint Committee's repristinatory efforts and the stated desire among some of the tractarians in the Oxford Movement to repristinate its 1549 *BCP* comes from this startling admission by Horn:

> Again, the Reformation of Cologne 1543, cannot be appealed to with the same confidence we accord to the Saxon liturgies, because of un-Lutheran Protestant elements in it. But it is to be observed that the service of worship it gives does not depart from the Lutheran type, but furnishes much material: and it is especially valuable to us because the dependence upon it of the first Prayerbook of Edward VI. 1549 (whose place among Lutheran liturgies is shown in our chart) entitles us to free use of the inimitable English translations given in that book.[471]

In this excerpt, Horn makes clear that the Joint Committee relied upon the "free use" of the English translations of the 1549 *BCP* due to the fact that it "did not depart from the Lutheran type" and has "place among Lutheran liturgies." As mentioned above, the influence of the originally Anglican Oxford Movement on the Catholic revival of the nineteenth century cannot be overlooked in analyzing this conclusion, particularly in view of its inclination toward the repristination of the 1549 *BCP*. Jacobs, in his book *The Lutheran Movement in England*—a work initiated at the behest of Schmucker and indebted to him,[472] elucidated this point even more clearly than Horn:

> The problem of the hour for the Lutheran Church in America, is, how to unite these

[471] Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," p. 243.
[472] In his *Memoirs*, Jacobs recalled, "Dr. Schmucker was the first to urge that I gather the material into a book and then offered as Secretary of the Church Book Committee to import any books which I saw referred to, but failed to find in America," p. 273.

> various elements in the historical faith of the Lutheran Church as embodied in her historical Confessions, and with the worship prescribed in her historical Liturgies and Church Orders. As in the earlier efforts of Cranmer, Fox, Barnes, Coverdale, Rogers, Taverner and others in the Sixteenth Century in England, so here, the English language is again employed to furnish the mould in which Lutheran Theology is to be recast. In this work, the historical connection is again preserved. The good foundation then laid is not to be ignored. We gladly resume the undertaking, at the stage in which it was left by our predecessors in the same field, and which humble recognition of their admirable success, take it up simply where it was left incomplete by the intervention of the Calvinistic reaction, during the second period of the reign of Edward VI, as examined in these pages. But in doing so, it becomes necessary to explain our relations to the Church of England, and to carefully discriminate between what is common territory, and what is peculiar to each Church. It is a matter, not of regret, but of rejoicing, that the Church of England, and her daughter in America, have jealously preserved, and heartily commended by constant usage so much of the common heritage, not only antedating the Reformation and extending even far back beyond the corruptions of the Middle Ages, but also of what they have directly drawn from the Lutheran Reformers. It must not, however, be forgotten that the political complications, as well as other elements that entered, rendered the work of the Lutheran Church in reforming the old Church Service incomplete in many parts of Germany, and that even among those who have been faithful Lutherans in their Confessional position, there may be found those who are ready to indiscriminately censure what is common property, as though it were alien to the Lutheran Church.[473]

Jacobs made explicit what was only implied by the "Preface" to *TCS* by highlighting the notable influence of the *BCP* on *TCS*. The fact that "the problem of the hour" that was solved "here, [where] the English language is again employed to furnish the mould in which Lutheran Theology is to be recast" refers to *TCS* is made explicit by an excursus chapter lauding *TCS*, triumphantly titled, "The Typical Lutheran Chief Service."[474] Of course, on the face of it, Jacobs' description of the need to recast "Lutheran Theology" in an English "mould" could be viewed as consistent with Luther's own Evangelical paradigm, which sought to recast the Evangelical idiom using what one could call a vernacular "mould." However, it is clear that Jacobs was operating under the framework that "the Lutheran Church in reforming the old Church Service" left the job "incomplete in many parts of Germany." This ideology is in the spirit of the false

---

[473] Henry Eyster Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England: During the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward Vi., and Its Literary Monuments* (Philadelphia: G. W. Frederick, 1890), pp. viii–ix, https://books.google.com/books?id=m4AwAQAAMAAJ.
[474] *Ibid*., xi.

dichotomy that Löhe pitted between the *Formula Missae* and the *Deutsche Messe*, a perspective that viewed German Church orders as either following the pristine Roman-esque *Formula Missae* or deformed in following the *Deutsche Messe* approach. This is not surprising, since Schmucker admitted to being greatly influenced by Löhe's work.[475] This anachronistic view of the evidence was shared by the Tractarians who sought to jettison their own seventeenth-century tradition in a similar fashion in order to return to what was perceived as the purer 1549 version.

This view was manifestly shared by the Joint Committee based on the preceding quote from Jacobs, where he articulated that the "good foundation is not to be ignored," and that they would "gladly resume the undertaking" started by Cranmer and his Anglican cohorts in the 1549 *BCP*. Coupled with the eschewing of what Jacobs politely called the "incomplete" German Church Orders, it is clear that the "link" that was broken essentially stemmed back to the Reformation itself. Like the Elizabethan reforms to the *BCP*, the seventeenth-century Church Orders were to them something like corruptions of the pristine ancient rite (purified of Roman accretions, which reflected in their view the *Formula Missae* tradition). Furthermore, since Cranmer, *et al*. started on Lutheran foundations in 1549, using that form of the *BCP* was entirely germane and "common property;" indeed, it was a Lutheran rite on its own merits. Of course, this implicitly denied the validity of the chorale tradition that was latent not only in those Lutheran Church Orders, but also in those that proliferated in America. In contrast, the Joint Committee and the generation of Lutherans after them believed *TCS* "was in fact the typical historic Lutheran Liturgy in the English language, more fully representative of Lutheranism in its best estate than any other order of service that can be named."[476]

[475] Lange, "The Common Service," p. 10.
[476] Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, p. 195.

Other Anglican Influences

There may have been other elements of Anglican influence on Schmucker, *et al.*, in addition to the 1549 *BCP.* Michael G. L. Church's speculative study[477] of several of the individual members of the Joint Committee explored the influences of the Episcopal Church that may have created a sort of inferiority complex in the minds of these old stock German-American Lutherans. Although they believed their pedigree and locality[478] should have placed them on a par with the Episcopal powers of the United States, their societal status was anything but exalted. This thesis' examination of the evidence bears out Church's speculation. The wishful appropriation of the 1549 *BCP* may be more understandable in this light.

Explicitly promoting their own tradition, the Committee claimed that the Lutheran "purification" of the Latin rite occurred "before the revision of the old Service was made by the Anglican Church and issued in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI."[479] In fact, the "Preface" goes on to extensively compare itself to the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*:

> There is an extremely close agreement between this first Prayer Book of the Church of England and the Common Service. It is due to these causes. The Sarum and other Anglican Missals, from which the revision and translation was made, agreed almost entirely with the Bamberg, Mainz, and other German Missals, differing with them from the Roman. Archbishop Cranmer, Primate of the Anglican Church, and head of the commission which prepared the Prayer Book, was intimately acquainted with the Lutheran Service, having spent a year and a half in Germany in conference with theologians and princes, and he was most intimate with Osiander when he was at work on the Brandenburg-Nurnberg Order, in 1532. Two Lutheran Professors were called to the English Universities, and aided in this work, one of whom, Bucer, had with Melanchthon and others prepared the Revised Order of Cologne, 1543. And finally, during the years from 1535 to 1549, there had been constantly recurring embassies and conferences between the Anglican and Lutheran divines and rulers. It is therefore not at all strange that the first and best Service Book of the Church of England should have so closely followed the Lutheran use as to present very few divergencies from it. And should that Church and her daughters return to the use of the Book of Edward VI., as many of her

[477] Church, "The Rage of Caliban," pp. 357–383.
[478] That is to say, in the powerhouses of the East Coast. Regarding pedigree, consider Muhlenberg's son, who became the first U.S. Speaker of the House of Representatives.
[479] General Synod of the South, *Book of Worship*, p. x.

> most learned and devout members have ever wished, there would be an almost entire harmony in the Services of Worship between the two daughters of the Reformation, who both have purified and then have preserved the Services of the Christian Church of the olden time.[480]

It is almost bizarre that the Committee discussed in one paragraph its restoration of a "pure rite" drawn from a variety of disparate orders, while in another paragraph it prided itself in "preserv[ing]" the rite in a way that the Anglican Church failed to do. Church suggested[481] that the Joint Committee's bold language toward the Anglican Communion was a direct response to the Episcopal House of Bishops, which at its 1886 Quadrilateral issued the following resolution, which was ratified in a tempered form at the 1888 Lambeth Conference:

> We do hereby affirm that the Christian unity...can be restored only by the return of all Christian communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first ages of its existence; which principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian Faith and Order committed by Christ and his Apostles to the Church unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been ordained to be its stewards and trustees for the common and equal benefit of all men.
>
> As inherent parts of this sacred deposit, and therefore as essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom, we account the following, to wit: [. . .] 4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.
>
> Deeply grieved by the sad divisions which affect the Christian Church in our own land, we hereby declare our desire and readiness, so soon as there shall be any authorized response to this Declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian Bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the Church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass.[482]

There is no reason to believe that the Episcopal Bishops who issued this statement were disingenuous in their call for unity, albeit they certainly appeared convicted of the superiority of their position. But the stipulated necessity of the Anglican understanding of the historic

---

[480] *Ibid*.
[481] Church, "The Rage of Caliban," pp. 357–383.
[482] The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, "The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral 1886, 1888," *Anglicans Online*, 09 May 2019, https://anglicansonline.org/basics/Chicago_Lambeth.html, Accessed 2023.

episcopate would have excluded most Lutherans in America.[483] This might explain the vehemence the Joint Committee showed in asserting the legitimacy of Lutheran tradition and, indeed, going so far as to claim the 1549 *BCP* as a Lutheran work. In concluding its staunch defense of *TCS*, the author of its "Preface" almost echoed the Quadrilateral's wording and rebuffed its call with a call of its own: "The Common Service of the Reformers may well be placed by the side of the Confession of Augsburg, the one the Central Service, the other the Central Confession, of the Protestant Churches. We would gladly behold the day when the One, Holy, Catholic, Christian Church, shall use one Order of Service, and unite in one Confession of Faith."[484] Indeed, this took on an almost ecumenical fervor, such that it was maintained that "[*The Common Service*] can lay claim, as no other Order of Service now in use can, to be the Common Service of the Christian Church of all ages. It can reasonably be tendered to all Protestants, who use a fixed order, as the Service of the future, as it is of the past."[485]

The audacious claims made by the Joint Committee regarding *TCS*'s relationship with the Anglican Communion and vice versa are difficult to adequately examine in the space of this thesis. The most salient claim for the present analysis is that "there would be an almost entire harmony in the Services of Worship between the two daughters of the Reformation" if the Common Service were juxtaposed with the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549. This claim is easily demonstrated, as the translations of the various parts of the two liturgies were nearly identical, with *TCS* relying almost exclusively on the 1549 translations, as shown in the quote

---

[483] Lutherans believe that the local pastor of every parish has the full authority of a bishop, as stated in the *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope* and the definition of "Ecclesiastical Order" expounded upon in the *Augsburg Confession* and its *Apology*, all of which are contained in the *Book of Concord*. See Bente, *Triglot*, pp. 503*ff*, 49, 315.

[484] General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America, Trustees of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, and United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South, *The Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia and Columbia, SC: The Lutheran Publication Society, The General Council Publication Board, and The Lutheran Board of Publication, 1917), p. 308, https://books.google.com/books?id=IWM5AQAAMAAJ.

[485] Synod of the South, *The Book of Worship*, p. xi.

from Horn at the beginning of this chapter.[486] In the few cases where *TCS* departed from the 1549 *BCP* translations, it was usually[487] because translations were proffered to align with the Roman Missal more closely.[488] In a real sense, the Joint Committee believed they had not produced a "Common Service" for American Lutherans only, but for the whole Christian Church.

An Arbitrary Rule?

Having established the decidedly Anglican origin both philosophically and textually, a discussion of the actual construction of *TCS* is warranted, particularly in view of its "rule." Jacobs' *Memoirs* provide a bit of insight into the process undertaken by the Joint Committee:

> There was no dissent to the position that the Service proper began with the Introit, or "Psalmody," as Dr. Schmucker first called it, and if the Rule were strictly enforced, the Confession and the Declaration of Grace would have to be omitted. But all were equally desirous that this be retained, and good XVIth. Century authority for this could be found in the Brandenberg-Nurnberg Order of 1533. The three bodies were asked to assent to this addition to the service. A translation was made from the old Order, just as though it had not been in use in English for nearly twenty years.[489]

It is interesting to note the Committee's reluctance to abide by their rule when it came to the Confiteor. While Jacobs does not go into their reasoning for wanting to keep the Confiteor at the front end of the Service, based on the foregoing demonstration of the way that Schmucker guided the entire process, one could speculate that he and the rest of the subcommittee were inclined to repristinate the Latin placement, which had not been the Saxon norm or the "consensus" of other rites.

Jacobs went on to recollect about the *Kyrie*:

---

[486] A discussion of the textual reliance upon the 1549 *BCP* will also accompany the analysis in Chapter IV.
[487] An exception is the change of "Catholic" to Christian" in the Creeds, in keeping with the usage in the *Book of Concord*. This was due to a German translational convention that pre-dated the Reformation; declining to use "Catholic" was not a doctrinal protestation.
[488]Such as the addition of Introits and Graduals, as well as some of the Communion Prefaces.
[489] Jacobs, *Memoirs*, p. 270.

> There was some slight discussion on the position of the Kyrie, which was not a matter of surprise since the General Council had had the same experience. The objection is raised that, after sins have been confessed, and the Declaration of Grace has been heard, it seems incongruous for another confession to be made, as the Kyrie implies. The answer is that we should ever be reminded of the need for God's mercy. Even when we have the assurance of forgiveness, as forgiven, we still need mercy, for sin is still present.[490]

This unfortunate misunderstanding of the liturgical function of the *Kyrie* cements the point that the rest of the Joint Committee were not liturgical experts and were following the lead of the subcommittee. It is ironic that what Schmucker, *et al*. considered "incomplete" German Orders featured troped *Kyries* that functioned as the original litany *Kyrie* prayers rather than penitential bids. However, this would have been consistent with neither the Roman Rite nor the 1549 *BCP*.

Also ironically, the omission of the *Gloria Patri* during Passiontide is observed by the Roman Rite, but not by the 1549 *BCP*. The "rule" in this instance gave the "greater weight" to the *BCP*:

> While the Church-Book prescribed the omission of the Gloria Patri in Lent, the Common Service has not such a direction. The Roman Missal does indeed omit it from Judica Sunday until Easter, and so does the Bamberg Missal, on which so many of our Orders were based; but Losius gives it for Palm Sunday and has no Service for Holy Week; Spangenberg, Edward VI. and the Nurnberg Officium Sacrum retain the Gloria Patri. Therefore the Common Service retains it.[491]

Likewise, the establishment of proper "Offertory" verses in *TCS* is ascribed to the 1549 prayerbook:

> Edward VI. 1549, omitting the General Prayer at this place, says after the Sermon or Homily or Exhortation, "Then shall follow for the Offertory one or more of these sentences of holy Scripture, to be sung while the people do offer; or else one of them may be said by the minister immediately afore the offering. Where there be clerks, they shall sing one or many of the sentences above written, according to the length and shortness of the time that the people be offering. In the meantime, whiles the clerks do sing the Offertory, so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor men's box every one according to his ability and charitable mind."" The simple adoption from Schoberlein of passages from Ps. 51 to be sung as an Offertory in accordance with 2 Cor. 8:5 the permission of other suitable song [. . .] restore[s] an essential part of the Service, interpret[s] our

[490] Jacobs, Memoirs, p. 270, 271
[491] Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," p. 250.

> contributions to the Church, and accord[s] with the only precedents which the Orders of that age contain.[492]

These examples demonstrate that the "rule" was not only implemented with questionable consistency, but curiously favored the so-called Lutheran 1549 *BCP* in several instances that were at variance with actual Lutheran precedent.

Contempt for the *Deutsche Messe*

Based on these copious amounts of data, it is apparent that the "rule" was applied to the exclusion of the perceived *Deutsche Messe* tradition in a misguided effort to favor the *Formula Missae* "mould." Unfortunately, this effort failed to understand that both the *Deutsche Messe* and *Formula Missae* were specific linguistic expressions of an overarching Evangelical idiom and principle, each of which had unique liturgico-musical expressions, but singular philosophical implications. Both had liturgical placements (e.g., the *Sanctus* after the *Verba*) that were completely different from the traditional Roman rite, as well as the 1549 *BCP,* which itself went through significantly further transformation into the seventeenth century. The Joint Committee did not repristinate a developed Lutheran liturgy in *TCS*, but rather reshaped the very definition of Lutheran liturgy to fit the ritualistic liturgical renewal sensibilities of the nineteenth century. These efforts ultimately extended beyond the formulators of *TCS* and took root in the Synodical Conference:

> It is clear that we have to rise above national traditions to even get started in the way of uniform liturgies. There is only one basic question to be answered before we can start: 'What is the historic Lutheran liturgy?' The only possible answer seems to be the answer of Luther and the Confessions: 'We retain the Mass,' the sacred liturgy of the Christian Church through the centuries. And on that principle, Luther gives us in 1523 the 'Formula of the Mass,' the ancient Mass, or Hoimesse, purged of papal errors picked up in later centuries of the Middle Ages. That leaves no alternative, to the writer's mind, but to conclude that the Lutheran Liturgy is Luther's 'Formula of the Mass'. That fact was recognized long ago in America, first by the great Lutheran bodies in the East who gave

[492] *Ibid*., pp. 255–256.

> us that Service in English, the so-called Common Service, and by the Missouri Synod and the present American Lutheran church. In other words, the great bulk of American Lutheranism and of world Lutheranism is already agreed on what 'the uniform Lutheran Liturgy' is and must be.[493]

Initial Musical Settings of *The Common Service*

While there are a wide variety of musical settings of *TCS*, even within the Synodical Conference tradition, it is useful to consider the sources from which the original publishers of *TCS* drew their inspiration, with a particular focus on those that would come to be used in the Synodical Conference tradition. According to the *Common Service Book*, the approach to music taken by the General Council was specific: "The setting of the Services is largely based on melodies long associated with the English text of the Liturgy [. . .]. Modern Anglican chants and arrangements of recognized value are included also."[494] There was a notable excitement to reclaim what was almost considered a Lutheran birthright to chant: "No Church in Christendom has a clearer right than the Lutheran to enter this and take possession. It gave the congregational chorale to the Christian world, but few American Lutheran choirs and congregations have an intimate acquaintance with this great body of church song."[495]

While Anglican chants were not the exclusive purview of this sentiment, the supplemental *Common Service Book* (1917) reveals a preponderance of Anglican chant in particular canticle settings. What is more, the return to plainsong in general was one of the outcomes of the broader liturgical movement championed by the Tractarians. It is striking to note the way that the Lutherans behind *TCS* appropriated this trend in a singular fashion as their own

---

[493] Prof. Herman A. Preus of Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minn., writing in the *Lutheran Overlook*, March 1943, as quoted in Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, p. 197 (footnote 8).
[494] General Synod, et al., p. 318.
[495] Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy,* p. 214.

unique heritage contra the rest of the liturgically renewing Christian world. It is also worth noting how the Anglican paradigm of music seemed to proliferate with this appropriation:

> The Common Service was a purely literary effort without adequate study of proper music or ceremonial or of the liturgical requirements of the church building. Nor did the Common Service Book, thirty years later, attempt to cover all areas in this field. It supplied only the simplest musical forms for congregational use. It provided no music whatsoever for choral parts, such as chants for the Psalms or setting for the Introits, Graduals, Antiphons and Responsories. It made no pronouncements upon proper architectural appointments. Its rubrical directions were limited to the simplest and most necessary observances. The wisdom of this procedure, whether understood at the time or not, has been fully justified. The Church has been won to an appreciation of essential values without having to engage in endless controversies over nonessentials.[496]

The idea that music is a "nonessential" may comport with the Anglican philosophy of music outlined in Chapter I, but it cannot be conformed to the view expressed by Luther, much less the tradition that followed. Indeed, this may explain why the chorale tradition no longer represented the central driving force in the compositional strategy of *TCS*, but instead had been replaced by plainsong.

Just as the text of *TCS* was a composite from various sources with a preponderance of Anglican influence, so too the initial musical settings of the General Synod, General Council, and Synod of the South were drawn from a variety of traditions. The initial publications did not have a single through-composed setting by any one individual presented as a musical whole. This was a stark juxtaposition from Luther's *Deutsche Messe* and the continuing Saxon tradition, which did feature singularly composed settings meant to act as a cohesive, unified whole. For example, consider the several different Gospel acclamations offered in the General Council's musical settings of *TCS,* which include compositions by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Anglican composers James Turle (I), George Elvey (IX), and Philip Hayes (X) (Figure 3.1a/b/c):

---

[496] *Ibid*., p. 214.

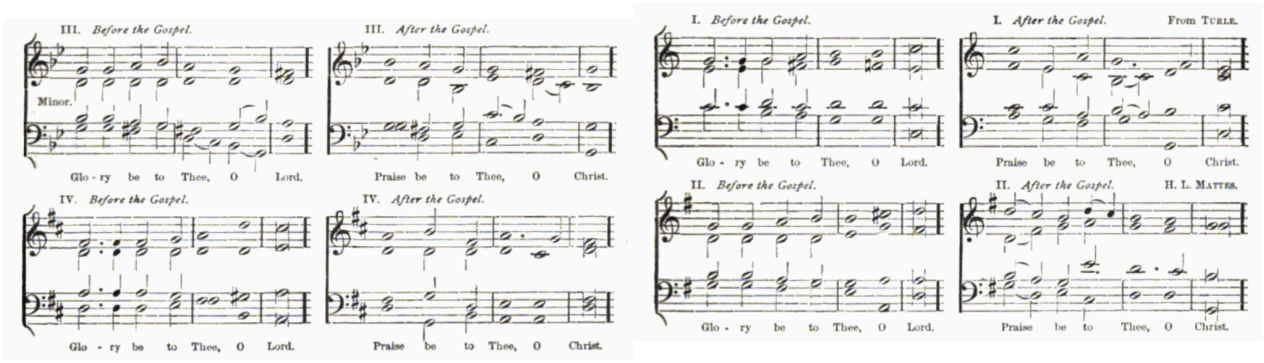


Figure 3.1a. A facsimile of the General Council's *Church Book* (1893), depicting the first four options for them music for the Gospel acclamations (i.e., the responses sung before and after the Gospel is read).
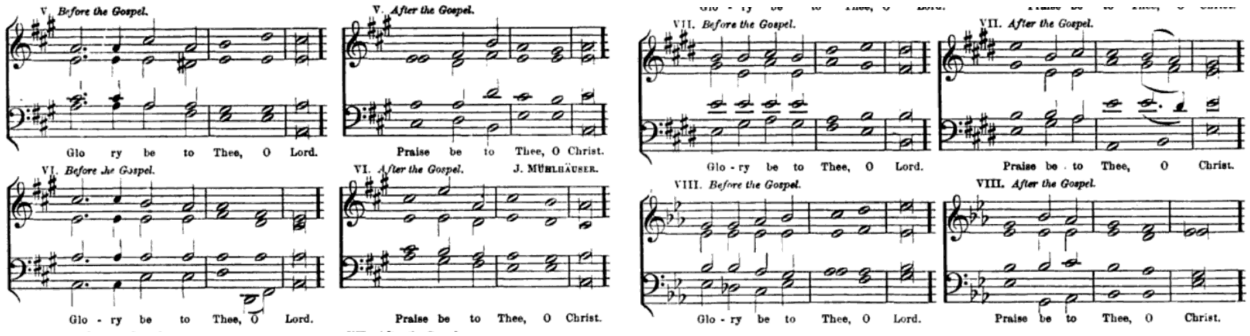


Figure 3.1b. A facsimile of the General Council's *Church Book* (1893), depicting the options four through eight for the music for the Gospel acclamations (i.e., the responses sung before and after the Gospel is read).
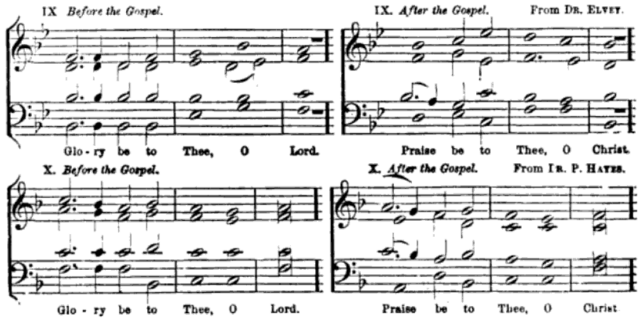


Figure 3.1c. A facsimile of the General Council's *Church Book* (1893), depicting the last two options for the music for the Gospel acclamations (i.e., the responses sung before and after the Gospel is read).[497]

The ten settings of the Gospel acclamations do not correspond to the number of settings or the liturgical parts that surround it. Preceding the acclamations are seven different settings of the Hallelujah and/or Sentence, which range in composition from the sixteenth through

[497] General Council, *Church Book*, pp. 11–12.

nineteenth century with such varied composers as Palestrina, anonymous German sources, and contemporary composers ostensibly favored by the Committee. The goal here seems to be a superabundance of musical options, several of which were drawn from well-established Anglican chants. Following the superabundance of acclamations is the much more conservative number of two settings of the Nicene Creed, ascribed respectively to Beethoven and Tallis. The fact that the original iterations of *TCS* intended the Creed to be sung will prove noteworthy in the sections ahead, as the Synodical Conference's adoption of *TCS* turned the Creed into a routinely spoken part of the Liturgy.

In contrast to the General Council's plethora of Gospel Acclamations, The General Synod's offering, is somewhat more succinct in this example (Figure 3.2):
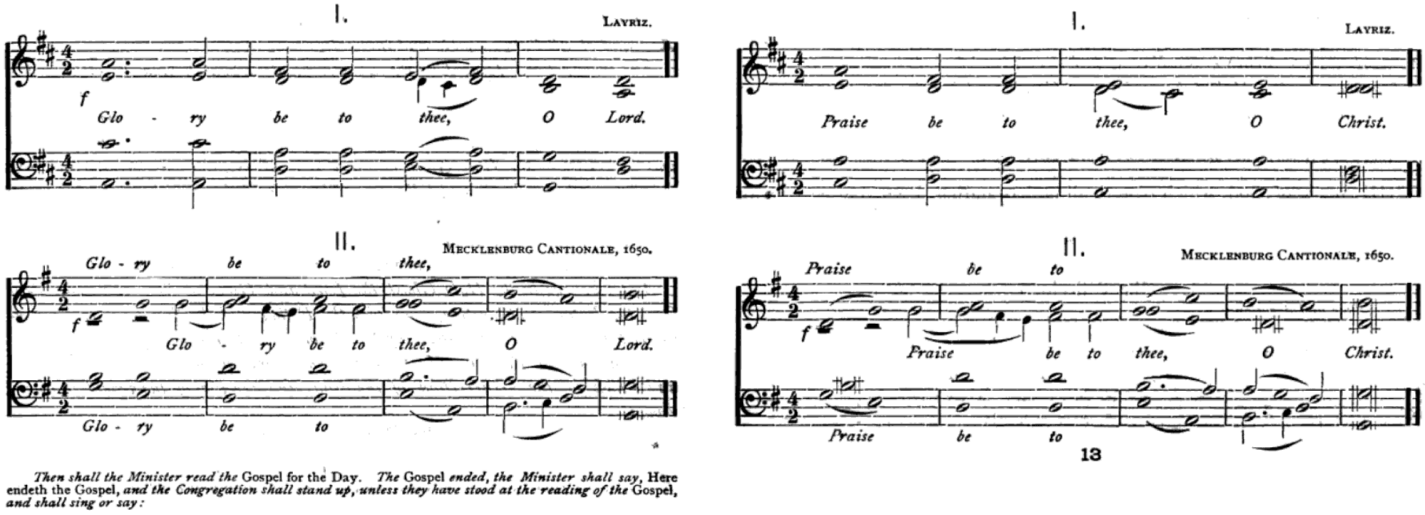


Figure 3.2. A facsimile of page 13 of the General Synod's *Common Service Book with Music* (1888), depicting the two musical options and rubrics for the Gospel acclamations (i.e., the responses sung before and after the Gospel is read).[498]

While the General Synod offered seven different Hallelujah Sentence settings for the various seasons, the majority of them come from the same source.[499]

---

[498] General Synod. *The Common Service with Music,* p. 13.

[499] Ludwig Schoeberlein's nineteenth century *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs nebst den Altarweisen in der deutschen evangelischen Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1865), http://hdl.handle.net/1802/29654.

What is more, the General Synod's musical settings relied heavily on the work of Friedrich Layriz, whose *Choralbuch* settings were heavily utilized by the Saxon American Lutherans in the assembly of their German hymnals and Agendas.[500] This may help to explain why the Synodical Conference chose to use many of the General Synod's musical offerings, despite their use of the General Council's version[501] of *TCS* and their closer ideological affiliation. This sort of liturgico-musical cherrypicking was codified in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, ultimately abrogating the richness of textual and musical cohesion that had been a hallmark of Luther's Saxon tradition. The loss of even the desire for musical excellence is palpable in this review from *The Lutheran Church Review*:

> Notwithstanding what we believe to be ascetical [. . .] in English Church music, they are doing a good work, and the effects are already making themselves felt. Many tunes of sterling merit have appeared to enrich our collections. Let us judge each production by its own character, without regard to its source: proving all, and holding fast the good. Absolute genius we see no sign of yet among the Anglican composers. But this, though desirable, is not necessary.[502]

An "ascetical" paradigm can hardly be conformed to the philosophy of Luther characterized in depth in Chapter I. But it perhaps makes sense if one considers *TCS* a Tractarian-derived liturgy, with a paradigm that views music only through the lens of its ability to service a text.

The Common Service in Review

There were some who articulated the view that *TCS* represented a departure from the Lutheran tradition. As one curt reviewer put it in *The Lutheran Church Review*:

> English translations are given, taken, as the editor says, partly from the "Common-Prayer Book," and partly from "Church Forms" (Dr. Seiss). The English translation made by Dr. Schmucker for the temporary use of the General Council is not mentioned; and yet the English order for baptism is appropriated word for word. The marriage ceremony of the

[500] Refer back to the development of the Missouri Synod's *Kirchen-Agende* in Chapter II.
[501] That is, they followed the General Council's placement of the Lord's Prayer.
[502] Budd, "Church Music," p. 265.

> English is entirely different from that of the German. For the English, the Episcopal service is adopted, with a few sentences derived from Dr. Seiss. It makes us feel indignant to see professed Lutherans turning to the "Book of Common Prayer" for a pure Lutheran service. It is a *Gemeinschaft* that is utterly reprehensible [. . .] The publishing of this book is undoubtedly a mistake [. . .] The inconsistency of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in allowing its German hymn book to be republished, may be urged as a justification; but the preparation and publication of an entirely new book, and the using of Episcopalian instead of Lutheran orders, is a much more serious matter.[503]

However, these opinions were drowned in the unifying force that *TCS* represented. The adoption of *The Common Service* by the three church bodies that originally embarked on enterprise was achieved formally and practically. The Synodical Conference would soon redouble this achievement by appropriating *TCS* for their own use. The chapter that follows will consider the adoption of *TCS* by the Synodical Conference's first pan-Synodical hymnal, *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941. Even in view of that adoption, however, one is left to wonder if Muhlenberg would have considered his dream truly fulfilled in the universal adoption of *TCS*, particularly in view of the Saxon-inspired Agenda he originally crafted in 1748. The authors of *TCS* produced a rite that was modeled in part after the 1549 *BCP*, based on the justification that the work was "properly Lutheran." The desire for a return to the 1549 *BCP*, however, was more consistent with the contemporaneous Oxford Movement's ideals than with anything from the seventeenth-century period of Lutheran Orthodoxy. Luther's liturgico-musical paradigm, which placed music as central—indeed, next to the Word of God itself—was replaced by a view of music that relegated it to a subservient role, also in keeping with the Anglican paradigm established in Chapter I. The music utilized in the initial publications of *TCS* demonstrate explicitly Anglican chant and derivative Tractarian sensibilities in the use of plainsong. The preponderance of Anglican influence on *TCS* makes it perhaps fitting, then, that the formal

---

[503] Henry Eyster Jacobs, ed., "Recent Publications," *The Lutheran Church Review* 8, no. 2 (1889), p. 155, (151–157) https://books.google.com/books?id=zEpQAQAAMAAJ.

resolution to adopt *TCS* by the General Synod was met with the thunderous singing of an Anglican hymn.[504]

[504] "The report was unanimously adopted, and in addition, with the following resolution, 'without a single dissenting voice': 'Resolved, That the General Synod has learned with great satisfaction that its committee of conference with the committee of the General Council and General Synod South for the arrangement of a Common Order of Service for English-speaking Lutheran, has reached a harmonious and unanimous agreement with those committees; that it approves of the work of the committee, submitted to us, and that the Committee be continued with instructions to finish details, and also be authorized to publish the completed service for the use of the churches, provided the other two bodies adopt it.' It must have been an inspiring moment and the General Synod expressed its feeling when the brethren arose and sang 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow,' etc., and the President pronounced the Benediction." Smith, "The Liturgical Develoment of the General Synod," p. 80.

CHAPTER IV:

DEVELOPING *THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL* OF 1941

The core argument of this thesis is that the traditional Saxon-inspired liturgico-musical heritage of the Synodical Conference was displaced philosophically and substantially by Anglican sources, mostly derived from the liturgical renewal ignited by the Oxford Movement. This contention was fully realized in *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941 (*TLH*). The reliance of *TLH*'s editors upon *The Common Service* (*TCS*) tradition implies that its content was heavily reliant upon the texts of the *Book of Common Prayer* (*BCP*), to say nothing of the Anglican liturgical music that accompanied the original creation of TCS, as was examined in Chapter III. But the question at hand is whether the decision to utilize *TCS* in the creation of *TLH* was simply expedient, for want of a better alternative, or if there was a deliberate decision made to utilize Anglican materials.

This chapter will demonstrate that the Intersynodical Committee responsible for creating *TLH* deliberately disregarded the use of traditional Lutheran liturgico-musical forms in favor of the *BCP* tradition—and not only in its 1549 form, lest one think that *TLH*'s editors rested on the same laurels as the progenitors of *TCS* in claiming that the 1549 *BCP* was actually a Lutheran order. More profoundly, this chapter will demonstrate that the liturgics subcommittee that was organized to produce the liturgy for *TLH* was almost entirely disregarded when the time for publication came, despite repeated communication. What is more, this chapter will show that the

principal sources consulted in the assembly of *TLH*'s hymn corpus were Anglican in provenance. *TLH*'s indebtedness to the Anglican liturgical and hymn-writing tradition was significant, which would in turn influence the musical products that will be examined in Chapter V. Even the name and layout of *TLH* has striking similarities with the contemporaneous Episcopal *The Hymnal* and the Anglican *The English Hymnal*, as if paying homage to its English forebears.[505]

Perhaps less obviously, the stated foundational tenets of *TLH's* editors had a similar philosophical paradigm as the nineteenth-century Anglican renewal movements in their approach to liturgy and music, which was repeatedly affirmed in the formal and informal statements of the committee members that worked on *TLH* and the correspondence between these men and other stakeholders in the Synodical Conference. The sections that follow will explore each of the foregoing assertions with these primary sources and those of the committees that created *TLH* themselves, demonstrating implicitly and explicitly the impact of Anglican materials on the only joint hymnal of the Synodical Conference.

Formation of an Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics

Historians of American Lutheran hymnody have documented that the official move toward a pan-Synodical Conference hymnal began on the 1929 convention floor of the Missouri Synod (LCMS).[506] The delegates were memorialized to authorize work on a successor to the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (*ELHB*) of 1912, an endeavor which they ultimately resolved to approve. The actual contents of the memorials that catalyzed this resolution, however, tend to

[505] And, indeed, these influenced *TLH* in its hymn content as well—see Appendix 5.
[506] See, for example, Carl Schalk, "A Brief History of LCMS Hymnals (before *LSB*), *LCMS Worship Library,* p. 3; Paul Grime, "*The Lutheran Hymnal* after Seventy-Five Years: Its Role in the Shaping of *Lutheran Service Book*," *Concordia Theological Quarterly (79)*3–4, p. 202; and Carl Schalk, *God's Song*, K. L. 2259.

be overlooked in other historical analyses. The memorials numbered 507 and 508 that were submitted to the 1929 convention iterated a general discontent with *ELHB* in several areas, ranging from translation quality, non-Lutheran hymn inclusion, and a lack of sensitivity for conforming melodic expression to an English idiom. They also advocated a return to the Saxon tradition and Lutheran liturgico-musical paradigm outlined in Chapter I. The *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Regular Convention* summarized these memorials as follows, which, given the significance of the claims and the general lack of attention given to them in other analyses, merits reproduction here in full. The following is a direct quote from the Convention proceedings:

> **Revision of Hymnal. Appendix to Hymn-Book.**
> In Memorial 507 the special Committee on the Revision of the Synodical Hymnal asked that a committee be appointed to prepare for the publication of a new English hymnal in from ten to fifteen years. The following reasons were advanced:—
> 1. Many of the translations from the German are of uncertain merit and ought to be corrected in the interest of a wider use of the splendid heritage which has come down to us from our fathers.
> 2. The selection of material from other fields outside of the German chorals [*sic*] is also subject to criticism, since, in many instances, we have better hymns for specific purposes from Lutheran sources, upon which we may well draw, than from extra-Lutheran, and we believe that other hymns from German sources, not now included, could be added or substituted.
> 3. Our hymnal ignores, to a large extent, many of the treasures found in the hymnals of the Scandinavian countries, also in those of Bohemia, France, and other countries. Much material found in the Lutheran Church of America may also be used to good advantage.
> 4. It will be necessary, in many instances, to do additional recasting of melodies in order to have the hymns as sung agree with the genius of the English language. It is furthermore suggested that the Ven. Synod instruct its President to confer with other synods composing the Synodical Conference in order to have their cooperation in the preparation of the proposed hymnal.
> Memorial 508 asked for the publication of an appendix to our English hymn-book. Two reasons were given for this request:—
> 1. Many gems of Lutheran hymnology which were not available in an English translation when the present hymn-book was compiled have since been translated in a very acceptable and creditable manner.
> 2. Our people, especially our rising generation, should not be deprived of the grand old Lutheran hymns which may now be had in good English translations until a new

hymn-book in which they are embodied will appear.[507]

Although the aims of their memorials were different, the unnamed signatories of Memorials 507 and 508 shared a concern both for the loss of traditional Lutheran hymnody and the propagation of Lutheran heritage to the next generation. Memorial 507, the one which ultimately resulted in an affirmative resolution, went further in demanding a new hymnal due to the "uncertain merit" of the translations of hymns already in *ELHB*, in addition to the loss of hymns that never made the cut into that hymnal, which the Memorial's author seems to believe should have been included over and against the "extra-Lutheran" materials that found their way into *ELHB*. It is also noteworthy that attention was given to non-German Lutheran material generally and "melodies" in particular, demonstrating a concern beyond doctrinal fidelity to the original texts. The concern for idiomatic sensitivity both textually and musically shown by Memorial 507 was synonymous with the aims of Luther's musical philosophy, which shaped the original development of the chorale as outlined in the first chapter of this thesis. In this way, the criticisms that ultimately inspired *TLH* recognized a need to return to the textual and musical idioms of the Evangelical-Lutheran tradition, even if the hymnal itself ultimately went in a quite different direction.

In the vein of including non-German Lutheran materials rather than extra-Lutheran materials, the Memorial called for the cooperation of the rest of the Synodical Conference constituent bodies, including the non-German members, in the production of a new English hymnal. The delegates concurred with this sentiment and the general concept of preparing a new hymnal, to which end they passed the following resolutions:

---

[507] Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Regular Convention of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled as the Nineteenth Delegate Convention at River Forest, Illinois June 19–28, 1929* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1929), pp. 131, 133. https://archive.org/details/1929LCMSConventionProceedings/page/131.

> 1. *Resolved* (with reference to Memorial 507), That the Ven. Synod instruct its President to appoint a standing committee of five on English hymnology and liturgics; and be it furthermore
> 2. *Resolved*, That this committee proceed at once to begin studies and make investigations with a view to the ultimate publication of a new hymnal, a task which may require from nine to twelve years; and be it furthermore
> 3. *Resolved*, That the Ven. Synod instruct its president to confer with other synods composing the Synodical Conference in order to have their cooperation in the preparation of the proposed hymnal; and be it furthermore
> 4. *Resolved* (with reference to Overture 508), That in the mean time no changes be made in, or additions to, the present hymnal except by special instruction or order of Synod.[508]

Rather than simply supplement the current hymnal per Overture 508, the Convention resolved to more decisively produce a new hymnal entirely. Conspicuously absent from these resolutions is anything dealing positively or negatively with the Memorials' criticisms of *ELHB*. The fact that a new hymnal was approved would seem to indicate that a general consensus existed regarding *ELHB*'s unsuitability as the Synod's primary English hymnal, but evidently with an unwillingness to codify what exactly made it unsuitable, or how the next hymnal might prevent that perception. Apparently, that responsibility would fall to the standing committee on "English hymnology and liturgics" for which the first resolution called, which held its inaugural meeting on November 20, 1929.

In keeping with the resolution to involve all members of the Synodical Conference, an Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics was organized a few weeks later on January 3, 1930. The LCMS "standing committee" on hymnology and liturgics that first met in 1929 transitioned to functioning as the LCMS delegation to the Intersynodical Committee. LCMS Professor William Gustave Polack (1890–1950) of Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis, MO, served as its chairman. The other members of the Intersynodical Committee were the Rev. Prof. Lorenz F. R. Blankenbuehler (LCMS, 1886–1964, resigned 1931; replaced by the Rev. William Moll, LCMS, 1867–1948, resigned 1934; replaced by the Rev. Otto H. Schmidt,

[508] *Ibid.,* p. 133.

LCMS, 1886–1971), the Rev. Prof. Ludwig Fuerbringer (LCMS, 1864–1947), the Rev. Oscar M. Kaiser (LCMS, 1860–1960), Bernard Schumacher (secretary, LCMS, 1886–1978), the Rev. Otto Hagedorn (WELS, 1872–1932; replaced by the Rev. Arthur P. Voss, WELS, 1899–1955), the Rev. Prof. John P. Meyer (WELS, 1873–1948, resigned 1931; replaced by the Rev. Prof. August F. Zich, WELS, 1868–1939), the Rev. Norman A. Madson, Sr. (ELS, 1886–1962), the Rev. Christian Anderson (ELS, 1874–1959), the Rev. Adolph M. Harstadt (appointed 1933, ELS, 1902–1988), and the Rev. Jaroslav Pelikan (SELC, 1898–1974, resigned 1938; replaced by the Rev. John Bajus, SELC, 1901–1970 and the Rev. Dr. Joseph Kucharik, SELC, 1887–1965).[509]

As this list shows, five members of the Committee hailed from the LCMS (including the secretary and chairman), with only two from the WELS, two from the ELS (with a third added in 1933), and one from the SELC (with a second added in 1938). This meant that the LCMS initially had representation that was commensurate with the combined delegations of the other constituent members of the Synodical Conference, in addition to exclusive control of the officer positions. This context will become especially important to keep in mind as the development of *TLH* is analyzed in the pages ahead, which will demonstrate a possible bias in favor of the established tradition of the LCMS and its *ELHB*.

Guiding Principles

The lack of official resolution regarding the principles that would be used in the creation of the intersynodical hymnal allowed the Intersynodical Committee to compose its own set of guidelines. In the official account after the publication of *TLH*, Polack recorded the principles that guided their work in *The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal:*

---

[509] Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Regular Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932), p. 189.

The following general guiding principles were accepted:

1. *Hymns*:
    a) They must be of intrinsic value as to content;
    b) They must be distinctively Christian.
2. *Translations*:
    a) They must be of good form;
    b) They must be in idiomatic English.
3. *Tunes*:
    a) They must be suited to text;
    b) They must be good church music. (Exceptions may be made in such cases in which texts and tunes are so wedded as to be practically inseparable.)[510]

That these principles did in fact guide the Committee's work-in-progress is demonstrated by their report to the 1932 Convention, which iterated the guiding principles with the same wording (parentheticals included).[511]

On the surface, it seems on the basis of its guiding principles that the Intersynodical Committee tried to address some of the primary criticisms from the Memorial that resulted in its creation. With respect to the translations of "uncertain merit" in *ELHB*, the committee consigned itself to seeking translations that would be "faithful in rendering the original." While the fine-tuning of melodies to suit an English idiom was not directly referenced, the Committee noted the importance of seeking out "idiomatic English" in hymn translations, while simultaneously contending that tunes "must be suited to text." This would seem to necessitate idiomatic melodies. Conspicuously absent from this set of guiding principles is the question of using non-Lutheran hymnody or restoring the copious amounts of Lutheran hymns that were omitted in the transition to *ELHB*. These guidelines also fail to address the question of incorporating Lutheran hymnody not historically associated with the LCMS, including the chorale traditions of the non-German Synods. A careful comparison of the Intersynodical Committee's guiding principles with Luther's paradigm (see Chapter I) and the example of the

[510] Polack*, Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal,* p. VII.
[511] *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Regular Convention*, p. 190.

prototypical hymnals of the Synodical Conference (Chapter II) demonstrates several key departures from historical norms, let alone from the intention of the Memorial to which the Committee owed its existence.

With regard to the question of the texts of the hymns, the notion of "intrinsic value" of "form and content" is vague enough to allow a broad amount of hymnody under the subjective lens of what the committee deemed "valuable." This first guiding principle certainly does not follow the careful metric of Luther's translational and compositional paradigm that envisioned the chorale's function as a vernacular Psalter. That a hymn must be "distinctly Christian in character" is also notably different from, for example, the framework that inspired the Wisconsin Synod's redaction of 12 otherwise unimposing chorales, lest it give even the slightest hint of conforming to erroneous positions.[512] There is a lack of clarity in simply demanding a hymn fall under the "Christian" umbrella, which can include widely disparate theology and practice. In contrast, a foundational characteristic of the prototypical hymnals of all the constituent members of the Synodical Conference had been the exclusivity of their Lutheran content. From the outset, the Intersynodical Committee seemed to make clear this was not a priority any longer, in spite of the Memorials that led to its creation at the 1929 LCMS Convention. The Committee's principle rather seems to imply a sort of ecumenicism, which ironically was at least tacitly rejected by the Synodical Conference from a doctrinal perspective.[513] The practical application of the rejection of ecumenicism was apparently softer than the rigid confession of the doctrinal position in this context, given the substantial non-Lutheran influences on what would become *The Lutheran Hymnal*. Of course, the official resolutions that created the Intersynodical Committee did not

[512] See the discussion in Chapter II of the WELS' redaction of its 1870 hymnal and quick republication in 1872 with the 12 erring hymns replaced by core chorales.
[513] Recall that several synods had left the Synodical Conference in the nineteenth century due to a controversy over the doctrine of Election.

give any related directions, so perhaps the Committee did not feel obliged to constrain itself in this regard, despite the clarity of spirit in the memorials that inspired the official resolutions. But on a more fundamental level, it is impossible to see how the inclusion of predominantly Anglican translations could possibly have hoped to meet the Committee's aims of being "faithful in rendering the original" in "idiomatic English" that nevertheless "must be suited to text." Anglican translators like Winkworth, Massie, *et al*. did not necessarily approach their translations with the same baseline, which is no indictment against them but simply a statement of fact. They had different aims and intentions in their translations, which were not to conform to the not-yet-extant guiding principles of the Intersynodical Committee.

In the matter of translation, the stated goals of the Intersynodical Committee appear much more consistent with Lutheran precedent. Luther's goal with the chorale was idiomatic fluency in the vernacular. He wanted the chorale to function in German as the Psalter did in Hebrew. But the hymnal committee was not creating new chorales in English; rather, it was seeking translations of chorales from German (in other words, works that recreated the idiomatic process from one language to another). In that context, an important consideration beyond idiomatic translation was also the question of accuracy. Whether the aim of translating with fidelity to the original texts at a standard that would have appeased the authors of Memorial 507 is dubious at best, since most of the translator credits in *TLH* were decades-old and of Anglican provenance.[514] The criticisms of *ELHB*'s translations could hardly have been abated when many of the translations from *ELHB* were copied wholesale, while others that were actually more faithful original translations by Lutherans were replaced by less precise translations, primarily of an Anglican provenance.[515] This will be further scrutinized in the sections that follow.

---

[514] See Appendix 4 for a description of translator denominations for each of *TLH*'s hymns.
[515] *Ibid*. See also Appendix 2 for an example of an *ELHB* translation of one of the most important Lutheran chorales (the so-called Queen of Chorales, *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*) that was actually made *worse* in *TLH*.

Finally, the guiding principle of music seems, at first glance, to comport with Luther's philosophy of music. Certainly, he believed in the creative power of music as secondary to only the Word of God itself. That necessitates "good" Church music, to use the somewhat vague term from the Intersynodical Committee.[516] Luther also fundamentally believed in the idiomatic quality of music to augment and speak in a way that was just as important as the text. In this way, the Committee's statement seems to align well with Luther's paradigm. But the Committee's parenthetical qualification regarding certain "inseparable" tunes calls into question the commitment to these principles. One might wonder why the Committee would select a hymn that was not of "good Church music" caliber for inclusion. It would seem impossible for something to have "intrinsic value as to form and content" if it is inseparably wedded to ostensibly "bad" music.[517] Certainly, Luther salvaged music that he considered to be of an intrinsically high quality from what he viewed as corrupt texts. But if a text is inseparably "wedded" to bad music such that it cannot stand without it ("inseparable"), then the intrinsic value does not seem to hold per the traditional Lutheran musical paradigm.

Upon this closer analysis, one can understand how the tenuousness of these guiding principles might have precipitated a questionable product from a classical Lutheran liturgico-musical perspective. It certainly seems bizarre that, in a hymnal of 644 hymns and 16 spiritual songs, a "wide field in search of hymns suitable for inclusion" was necessary, particularly when the result was "a goodly number of hymns which were altered in the process of

---

[516] Though almost certainly not intended by the Intersynodical Committee's use of "good" here, contemporary thought in the vein of cosmic symbolism has defined the term "good" as relating to that which supports one's identity. In this way, "good" Church music in the context of *TLH* would be that which supports the Lutheran identity. See Mathieu Pageau, *The Language of Creation: Cosmic Symbolism in Genesis: A Commentary* (North Charleston, SC: CreateSpace, 2018).

[517] Perhaps the Intersynodical Committee shared the opinion that a few accretions are inevitable when trying to select hymnody, such "that a few tunes have been retained which ought to have been rejected." See Vaughan Williams, "Preface," *The English Hymnal With Tunes*, p. xii.

editing."[518] This is particularly ironic when considering that the constituent bodies of the Synodical Conference had a repertoire of over a thousand solid Lutheran chorales, well over half of which were not finally included in *TLH*. This wealth of Lutheran hymnody could have been tapped to meet the needs of *TLH* rather than looking for non-Lutheran sources. It is the contention of this thesis that there was not a pressing need to search for new hymnody, but rather a desire to adopt hymnody that comported with the philosophical underpinnings of *The Common Service*, which was intimately concerned with measuring itself against the *Book of Common Prayer* and Anglican/Episcopalian standards.

Working Toward *The Lutheran Hymnal*

In addition to their dubious fulfillment of the motivations behind what would become *TLH* (clearly iterated by the relevant memorials and resolutions from the 1929 LCMS Convention), the official guiding principles Polack recorded in the *Handbook* only provide a partial glimpse into the processes that guided the Intersynodical Committee's work. Several subcommittees were appointed to help with the project, though all final decisions were ultimately at the sole discretion of the main Committee. The discovery of an unpublished document utilized by the Intersynodical Committee in the course of this research sheds more light on the method of hymn study undertaken by the Committee than was able to be stated in its official reports to the constituent members of the Synodical Conference or the post-hoc *Handbook*. The document, titled "PRINCIPAL HYMNALS CONSULTED AND COMPARED," is located in an uncatalogued collection at the WELS archives from the collection of Gervasius Fischer, a

[518] *Ibid*., p. 60. And, indeed, this extended to textual considerations, as modifications were necessary "in the interest of doctrinal soundness." *Ibid*.

member of one of the *TLH* subcommittees.[519] The document outlines the principal hymnals that were examined by the Committee in their development of *TLH*, the first half of which were of Anglican and Episcopal origin, to wit and in order: *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861), *The English Hymnal* (1906), *Songs of Praise* (1931), along with the supplemental *Songs of Praise Discussed* (1933), *Hymns Ancient and Modern: A Plainsong Hymn Book* (1932), and *Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States* (1916/1930).

Interestingly, this list seems to comport with the official record of the work undertaken by the Intersynodical Committee and its subcommittees as noted by Polack in the *Handbook*, such that the Committee concerned itself with studying "the hymns (a) of English and American origin (not by Lutheran authors); (b) of German origin; (c) of Scandinavian origin; (d) of American Lutheran origin; (e) of ancient and medieval origin; (f) the music of the hymns; and (g) the liturgy."[520] The preeminent placement of "the hymns of English and American origin (not by Lutheran authors)" was no coincidence in light of the unpublished list of hymnals consulted in the preliminary development of *TLH*. Also noteworthy is the claim that "the committee held it to be within the scope of its work to make no changes in the liturgies as such," but simply to correct any errors, simplify confusing rubrics, and expand the offering of liturgical texts to include more of the weekly propers from the Roman Mass, including Introits, Graduals, and the like.[521]

---

[519] Uncatalogued Boxes 846, 847, 1011, 1021, WELS Archive, Pewaukee, WI. The collection is a series of records and correspondences from the files of Gersavius Fischer (1895–1958), a WELS pastor and a member of the liturgics subcommittee for *TLH*. A suggestion from the Rev. Dr. Paul Grime inspired an inquiry into Fischer's files at the WELS Archive. Since Fischer was not a member of the full Intersynodical Committee and his *TLH* files are uncatalogued, this line of inquiry could have easily been overlooked. The uncatalogued files are a treasure trove of documents pertaining to the formation of *TLH*, many of which are not contained in the cataloged records in either the WELS Archive or the Concordia Historical Institute (LCMS) archives in St. Louis, MO.
[520] Polack, *Handbook to The Lutheran Hymnal*, p. vii.
[521] *Ibid*.

Functionally, however, the Committee's intent seems to have been much more pointed than passing on the liturgies received from predecessor hymnals within the Synodical Conference. By "liturgies," the Committee did not mean the Bugenhagen Rite from *LHry*, the truncated ordo from "Form 1" in the *BH*, or the liturgical orders of *Cithara,* none of which were utilized; rather, it singularly concerned itself with *The Common Service* (*TCS*), and particularly that in its *ELHB* form. It can hardly be argued that this was in the spirit of the memorials that inspired *TLH*, which so ardently enjoined the LCMS to move away from the extra-Lutheran elements of *ELHB*. On a surface level alone, the Intersynodical Committee's proclivity for Anglican/Episcopal hymnals creates little wonder that the Committee would want to stick with the partially Anglican-inspired liturgy of *TCS*, the particularities of which were analyzed in Chapter III. However, the real story of the liturgical development of *TLH* is much more nuanced based on a close analysis of the meeting minutes of its liturgics subcommittee. These records demonstrate that there was significant liturgical revision planned for *TLH*, all of which was ultimately rejected by the full Committee in favor of a slightly modified form of the *ELHB* rite.

The Liturgics Subcommittee

To understand the full scope of Anglican influence on *TLH*'s liturgico-musical development requires an excursus into the liturgics subcommittee, which was organized in 1934 under the auspices of the Intersynodical Committee. The members of the liturgics subcommittee were the Revs. Carl A. Bergen (1903–2000), Gervasius W. Fischer (1895–1958), Adolph M. Harstad (1902–1988), Paul E. Kretzmann (1883–1965), Paul Sauer (1874–1952), Otto H. Schmidt (1886–1971), and Adolph H. Wismar, Sr. (1884–1977).[522] Schmidt was selected to be

[522] Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, *Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935), p. 244, https://archive.org/details/1935LCMSConventionProceedings/page/n1/mode/2up.

chairman of the subcommittee, while Fischer served as its secretary. All of the members were LCMS clergymen, save Fischer (WELS) and Harstad (ELS).

The Liturgical Society of St. James

The inclusion of Wismar and Bergen on the committee is particularly noteworthy due to their infamous involvement in the Liturgical Society of St. James, a liturgical reform movement that began in 1925 under the auspices of New York City LCMS ministers who were interested in discussing liturgico-musical topics, with Berthold von Schenk (1895–1974) serving as its inaugural chairman. Over the following decade, a rift developed within the organization between sides championed by von Schenk and Wismar, respectively. In 1935, von Schenk resigned from the organization because, in his own words, he was "chiefly interested in the restoration of the sacramental life," whereas, ostensibly, Wismar's camp was "interested in the liturgical movement from the archaic view. This is what they are drifting into at the present time."[523] To be sure, a negative perception of the Society had developed in synodical circles due to what was perceived by some as overly ceremonial practices, including the restoration of ancient chant melodies, eucharistic prayers, high church vestments, and the like. Nonetheless, there was clearly some level of respect for Wismar and the other members of the Society, even among those who were more historically "low church." Several letters from Wismar to Fischer (a member of the WELS, which was historically perceived as "low church"), for example, were analyzed as part of this research, which revealed a significant rapport between the two.[524] Wismar was hopeful that

[523] Letter from Berthold von Schenk to Theodore Graebner, 1935, as quoted in Institute of Liturgical Studies, "History," *Valparaiso University* (n.d.), http://www.valpo.edu/institute-of-liturgical-studies/history, accessed 22 April 2024.

[524] An interesting excerpt from the paper Fischer produced in the course of his duties on the subcommittee (described later on in this section) demonstrated the cautious but favorable view he had of the St. James Society, which was almost radical for a WELS pastor: "By no means do we agree to all that has been done and is recommended by our own American Lutheran liturgical movements. This also applies to the St. James Society. However, in justification to the work done by these people in recent years it should be said that no attempts are being made to restore forms long forgotten and outdated, but by careful study of the Liturgy they are searching for

Fischer would join the Liturgical Society and invited him to several of their conferences, going so far as to address his letters to "Comrade Fischer" and sign them "St. Jamesically yours" in a lighthearted fraternal jest.[525] Ultimately, the Society transitioned into the Institute of Liturgical Studies at Valparaiso University, under the keen guidance of Otto Paul Kretzmann (1901-1975), president of Valparaiso at the time and nephew of the Paul Edward Kretzmann who had been a member of the *TLH* liturgics subcommittee. According to the Institute's self-description:

> The Society of Saint James, however, was a very tight-knit group and Dr. Kretzmann realized that the Liturgical Movement was something the Church needed — certainly the Missouri Synod. Recognizing also the fact that in the Anglican Church the Movement had its beginnings in a university situation and that he felt somewhat akin to this and saw the University itself as being the ground out of which the Liturgical Movement could grow and flourish — a different type of relationship than it had as a sort of an ad hoc organization coming out of the obviously radical East. Therefore it was his idea that the Institute for Liturgical Studies should be formed at the University and the Society of Saint James be phased out or, rather, become the cornerstone for the Institute for Liturgical Studies while losing its own identity.[526]

This context demonstrates that, at the very least, the reputations of a substantive portion of the liturgics subcommittee were known to be at least in parallel with the liturgical renewal movement that began with the Anglican divines in the Oxford Movement. The actual work of the Intersynodical Committee and its liturgics subcommittee will demonstrate a connection that is much more than incidental.

---

forms which will replace modern innovations (including those of Rationalism and Pietism) which have been gradually throwing the Lutheran Service from its proper center. I refer our pastors to the work of Dr. A. Wismar in his studies on the Common Service and especially the Preface. (Pro Ecclesia Lutherana, Volume V. The Communion Liturgy. 50 cents.) Others of the group have made special studies of Baptism, Wedding, Funeral, etc., Services. In each case they offer their studies as 'attempts' to such forms encouraging others to help them in arriving at more meaningful forms. In most cases they do not even go so far as to try their suggested services themselves." Gervasius Fischer, "What Benefits may be Derived from more Emphasis on the Study of Liturgics (Concluded)," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 36, no. 1 (1939), p. 198, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/handle/123456789/7208.

[525] Letter from Adolph Wismar to Gervasius Fischer, dated 03 December 1936, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

[526] Van C. Kussrow, as quoted in Institute of Liturgical Studies, "History."

The Role and Work of the Liturgics Subcommittee

In an official report to the 1935 Missouri Synod Convention, the Intersynodical Committee described the role it envisioned for its liturgics subcommittee:

> In the summer of 1934 a Subcommittee for Liturgics was organized [. . .]. This subcommittee is to concern itself with that part of the liturgy which is to go into the new hymn-book. It is carefully to go over the present material, prepare possible alternatives in musical setting, additional prefaces, collects, introits, and other prayers, and, in general, to interest itself in liturgical matters within our synodical body. The work was subdivided among different men and groups, and the subcommittee for liturgies shall endeavor to serve Synod and the Church, as much as may lie in its province and power, in the field of dignified, orderly, and edifying services of worship unto the Lord. [. . .] May it be said here that no radical changes in our liturgical services are being contemplated.[527]

The significance and accuracy of the last sentence of this excerpt will become particularly relevant in the analysis that follows. The specific details of the "subdivided work" referenced in the report are clearly chronicled in the minutes of a meeting of the subcommittee that took place on June 1, 1934 in Cleveland, OH. The following is a direct excerpt from the minutes:

> The following topics were suggested by the chair and assigned to the following to be ready for the next meeting:
> 1. Dr. Kretzmann.
> A. Guiding principles in the whole question of liturgics in the Lutheran Church according to the accepted confessions of our church.
> B. Tracing the interst [*sic*] for liturgics in our Synod and the Synodical Conference from 1847 to 1934. What is the situation to-day?
> C. The andgle [*sic*] of Confession in the liturgical question.
> D. What is the trend in liturgics in other Lutheran bodies, and in other church bodies outside of the Lutheran?
> 2. Pastor Schmidt.
> A. The dividing line between Lutheran liturgics, and Roman and Greek Catholic, and Reformed.
> B. Limitations imposed by the physical boundaries of our hymn-book, and agenda, the abilities of our congregations, organists, pastors, etc.
> 3. Dr. Wismar— Rev. Bergen.
> A. Digests to be prepared, especially for this committee of Luther's liturgical writings and other pertinent material.
> The place of liturgics in the scheme of the church.
> B. What additional and optional material can be offered in our hymn-book and agenda.

[527] ELSMOOS, *Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Regular Convention […],* p. 244.

C. How much and what Rubrics in our agenda and hymn-book. [*sic*]
D. The musical settings: critical survey of what we have, line up of additional material that might be incorporated in our hymn book and agenda.

4. Pastors Fischer and Harstad.
   A. To what extent is uniformity in exyernals [*sic*] in our services possible and desirable, and how can it be achieved?
   B. Dangers to be guarded against.
   C. Blessings to be expected from more emphasis on liturgics.[528]

Fischer particularly undertook his assignment in earnest, producing a publication directly titled after his assigned topics, to wit, "Blessings to be Expected From More Emphasis on Liturgics and Dangers to be Guarded Against," which he presented to the subcommittee at their meeting on June 6, 1935, in River Forest, IL.[529] Fischer's overachieving dedication to the topic assigned to him helps elucidate the context under which the subcommittee operated when considering the topics recorded by their official minutes, giving flesh to the conceptual framework that guided the course of their deliberations.

Although not all of the members produced scholarly papers on their topics, the subcommittee did engage in critical study of the topics themselves. Of particular note here is the topic 1.D, which was assigned to P. E. Kretzmann and dealt with non-Lutheran forms and trends. In a letter from Kretzmann to Fischer in 1940, the importance of thoroughly analyzing Anglican liturgico-musical trends was clearly a topic that both considered to be significant:

> Dear Pastor Fischer, In answer to your note of February 26 the following points will perhaps be of value to you. The field of liturgics, especially with reference to the Anglican Church, should be considered very carefully. I am glad that we have just received another volume, a publication of the Alcuin Society which presented some very valuable information concerning the liturgy of the Church of England. Men who are really interested in the field will have a fine chance to investigate source material. With regard to the position taken by Bucer, perhaps the information contained in an article in the C.T.M., vol. 7. p340–47 will be sufficient to give you the answer to your question. A

[528] Gersavius W. Fischer, "Minutes of Committee on Liturgics," Cleveland, OH, 1934, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.
[529] Incidentally, this paper is widely regarded as the first WELS scholarly article on the liturgy. See "Meeting Minutes of the Committee on Liturgics," 06 June 1935, River Forest, Illinois, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

> great deal of material has been written on Bucer in recent years, and we have some excellent books pertaining to his activities [. . .]. The book by Jacobs has gone to your address under a separate cover.[530]

These statements, coupled with the reference to Henry Eyster Jacobs' work (recall that Jacobs was instrumental in the formation of *The Common Service*), demonstrates that the liturgics subcommittee was not ignorant of the influence of the Anglican Communion on the *TCS* and the broader liturgical movement. Indeed, Fischer relied on this research in the production of his "Blessings to be Expected" paper.[531] He also referred to Wismar's treatise on *The Common Service,* demonstrating a widespread familiarity with the work among committee members.[532] They also studied *TCS* jointly at their June 7, 1935 meeting, examining the rubrics and beginning to formulate what they would include in their own hymnal project.[533]

This evidence demonstrates that the liturgics subcommittee was not ignorant of either the Anglican inspiration of *The Common Service,* nor were they liturgically ignorant—as was shown in Chapter III to be the case with regard to most of the Joint Committee that formed *TCS*. Indeed, the WELS member who might have been the most ignorant took it upon himself to develop a paper and seriously study the subject matter early on in their deliberations. The course of its research led the liturgics subcommittee to propose substantial changes to *TCS* as it had been received in the Synodical Conference in its *ELHB* iteration. It is worth recalling that the official stance of the Intersynodical Committee had been that "the committee held it to be within the scope of its work to make no changes in the liturgies as such." However, the changes the liturgics subcommittee would eventually proffer included changes to the texts of the liturgical propers and

---

[530] Letter to Rev. G.W. Fischer Peshtigo, WI, From Prof. P. E. Kretzmann, St. Louis, MO, February 28, 1940, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.
[531] Fischer, "What Benefits may be Derived[. . .]," p. 101.
[532] *Ibid*., p. 98.
[533] "The Rubrics of the Common Service," from the liturgics subcommittee, Hotel Sherman, Chicago, Illinois, July 7, 1935, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

the ordinary as well, which in turn would necessitate substantive musical revision. This was a significant departure from the official account of the Intersynodical Committee.

The Proposal

The minutes from the October 17–18, 1939 meeting of the liturgics subcommittee provide a full record of their final submission to the plenary Intersynodical Committee. The following Table (4.1) contrasts the textual content of the liturgics subcommittee's final suggestions with that of *TCS* as printed in the Missouri Synod's *ELHB* of 1912.

Table 4.1. A comparison of *The Common Service* in its Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-book (1912) iteration with the proposals set forward by the liturgics subcommittee for *The Lutheran Hymnal* in 1939.

***The Common Service (ELHB* of 1912 version)**	**1939 Liturgics Subcommittee Proposal**
Invocation	Invocation
Versicles	Versicles
Confiteor	Confiteor
Absolution	Absolution (altered form, with questions to the congregation ensuring their personal appropriation of the confession)
(♫) Introit	Introit (Shortened Form or Full Psalm)
♫ Kyrie in *BCP* form (set to Luther's *Deutsche Messe* melody)	*Kyrie* in English (Lord, have mercy; Latin—*Kyrie, eleison*) or *Kyrie, fons bonitatis/*metrical settings
♫ Gloria in Excelsis, BCP form with Scottish chant	*Gloria in Excelsis* in English; may be replaced by *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* or *All Ehr und Lob/*metrical settings
(♫) Salutation	Salutation
Collect of the Day	Collect of the Day
Epistle	Epistle
♫ Alleluia w/ optional verse	Gradual and Alleluia (Sequence)
Gospel w/ ♫ Acclamations	Gospel w/ Acclamations
Nicene or Apostolic Creed	Nicene Creed or one of the metrical *Wir glauben* hymns
♫ Hymn of the Day	Hymn ("may" rubric)
Sermon	Sermon
Pax Votum	Pax Votum

(♫) Offertory Verses (two options from Psalm 51)	Offertory Verses (two options from Psalm 51) or a Seasonal Offertory
General Prayer	Offertory Prayer
	Hymn ("may")
(♫) Salutation & Sursum Corda (English)	Salutation & Sursum Corda (English)
Preface & Proper Preface	Preface & Proper Prefaces (modified to more ancient forms)
Sanctus w/ *Benedictus* in English	*Sanctus* w/ *Benedictus* in English
Exhortation to Communion	(The subcommittee advocated for the Exhortation to Communion to go here but was not in this final revision)
Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer
♫ Doxology	Doxology
Words of Institution	Words of Institution
Pax Domini (congregation: Amen.)	Pax Domini (Congregation: "And with thy spirit.")
♫ Christe, du Lamm Gottes (in English)	*Agnus Dei* in English
Distribution	Distribution
♫ Nunc Dimittis	*Nunc Dimittis* or hymn 179 ("On My Heart Imprint Thine Image")
♫ Antiphon "O Give thanks…"	Antiphon "O Give thanks…" or "As often as ye eat…"
Luther's Postcommunion Collect	Luther's Postcommunion Collect or alternate Collects
♫ Salutation & Benedicamus	Salutation & Benedicamus
Aaronic Benediction (optional ♫ Amen)	Aaronic Benediction (Three-fold Amen)

Several significant textual changes were strenuously advocated for by the liturgics subcommittee, primarily those that would have revised the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* versions of the original rite from *TCS* to more faithful translations of the original languages (*e.g.*, "Lord, have mercy" in place of "Lord, have mercy upon us" for *Kyrie, eleison*). Musically, the liturgics subcommittee was even more radical. They encouraged the original Lutheran chorale-canticles to be allowed in place of the prose forms. After all, there was plenty of precedent for proudly using both side-by-side within the Lutheran tradition, as was established in the city and town distinction in the 1539/1540 Saxon *Agende*. Novel was the idea of using (strict translations of) the Latin texts to the exclusion of the chorales. What is more, they strongly urged

that no music be printed at all in the main liturgical rite of the hymnal. This was passed in a resolution at the October 19, 1938 meeting of the subcommittee in St. Louis, MO:

> That the communion Service be printed in full without music and with the Confession and Absolution as used in our Confessional Service instead of the present Preparatory Service and that all "if there be no Communion Rubrics be omitted." [*sic*] The Nicene Creed and General Prayer to be used with this service.[534]

The rationales behind the subcommittee's decision in this regard were manifold, but chiefly the subcommittee wanted to allow for a multiplicity of musical forms and not limit itself to one settled musical rite. Certainly, the subcommittee believed that musical settings of the service should be included in the hymnal, just not in the rite proper. The fuller context of this rationale was presented by Fischer in April of 1939, when it began to be clear that the Intersynodical Committee intended to move forward contrary to the subcommittee's recommendation:

> Could I seriously ask your committee to consider once more the recommendations of our~~r~~ [*sic*] sub-committee. The reasons di cussed [*sic*] at our meeting which brought us to the conclusion of recommending that the music be printed separately are about as follows.
>
> 1. To print the music more or less compells [*sic*] all our congregations to follow the same melody. To sing one melody while one has another accompanying words is very annoying.
> 2. T~~h~~e [*sic*] print the Liturgy without music makes it very "ubereichtlich" [unseemly] which is not the case when music is printed.[535]
> 3. Congregations usually sing the liturgy by rote, and so before any melody is sung at service [it] would have to be learned—so to have the music with the words would be of no advantage and really a disadvantage if another melody is used.
> 4. The same thing applies to Matins and Vespers, It will not be long that the number of those who use the Plain Chant melody for the Vespers will outnumber those who use the melody now printed in the book. Which of the two would be printed with the words?
>
> Could I again remind you of our recommendation?
>
> That the Order of Services be printed without note. That this section be followed by the music for the Orders, so that in each case the present melody be printed first, and that in the Liturgy (Communion) two variants be given, and in the case of the Minor services

[534] Gervasius W. Fischer, "Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Liturgics," St. Louis, MO, October 19, 1938, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

[535] Fischer seems to be referring to the old practice of not printing any liturgical music at all. The subcommittee was recommending the inclusion of liturgical music as an appendix rather than part of the rite itself.

> one variant be printed.—The Gloria Patri is to be given in the most important Psalm Tones.[536]

The plainchant melodies that Fischer referenced with regard to Vespers also reflect an intention the liturgical subcommittee had for the Communion liturgy. Another sub-committee member, Carl Bergen, had devoted his time to studying and preparing plainsong settings for the new hymnal.[537] Fischer believed that the fruit of Bergen's labor would be an increased appreciation for the Lutheran chorale:

> Pastor Carl Bergen has done valuable work in adapting the music of the Latin Propers and Ordinary to the English text. That much of this music has been disappointing to some is not surprising. It must be carefully studied to be appreciated. That our members do not at once like it is no test either. The only fair test is whether our children who learn to sing the Gregorian chants now will later continue to find in them their expression of musical emotion in worship. For the same reason that we condemn the Gregorian chants we could also drop our Lutheran Chorale. It is a well known fact that those who were not brought up in our Lutheran Church do not like the Lutheran Chorale and find its melodies monotonous. The untrained ear and heart will lean to the more subjective hymns and melodies. An interesting illustration of this was brought to my attention recently concerning two congregations. In the one where the children had received a careful religious training, also in hymnody, the people enjoyed the Lutheran Chorale and congregational singing and showed this in their requests for hymns at funerals and weddings. In the other, however, such training had been lacking, and these people usually asked for soloists at special services and requested songs like, "The Old Rugged Cross," "In the Garden," etc. In that church they too undoubtedly sing the Lutheran Chorale at services but because training is lacking, there is no appreciation for them. So the test for the Gregorian does not lie in our first impression of it, but whether, after careful study and application, it proves itself fitting in our Lutheran service. It is my opinion that even if after gaining widespread use, the Gregorian chant should again die out, its influence on the church music of the future will be such as to bring the Lutheran Chorale of the sixteenth century back as the proper pattern for Lutheran hymnody.[538]

Fischer understood that the Lutheran chorale was itself a German extension of the more ancient plainsong tradition, which Luther intentionally used as a model in crafting the first chorales and the subsequent Lutheran liturgy that formed the basis of his Saxon tradition. In this light, Fischer

---

[536] Letter from Gervasius Fischer to William Polack, April 14, 1939, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.
[537] Ultimately, this product would later be published in 1967 under the auspices of and authorized by the LCMS Commission on Worship via Concordia Publishing House. This setting will be examined in Chapter V.
[538] Fischer, "What Benefits [...]," p. 99.

believed the question of Lutheran liturgics and worship found its center in the Lutheran chorale. The liturgical subcommittee's recommendation that the Lutheran chorale settings of the canticles be restored to the Synodical Conference as part of the English ordinary seems to suggest that they recognized the power of the form as well in shaping Lutheran piety—or, at the very least, they recognized these canticles' historical significance in shaping liturgico-musical practice.

However, the Intersynodical Committee did not share the perspective of its subcommittee. Fischer's overture to Polack regarding the use of music in the liturgy apparently went ignored, as did the Subcommittee's other suggestions for the rubrical inclusion of the chorale-canticles and their general prescriptions for the form of the liturgy. When the "Final Report of the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics" was published on May 1, 1939, the liturgical ordo it contained was dramatically different from what the liturgics subcommittee had proposed. When Fischer wrote to Polack less than a month beforehand, he seemed to be under the impression that the Intersynodical Committee would take their subcommittee's suggestions in earnest and with respect to the half-decade of study and work he and the other members had put into pouring over liturgics. The Intersynodical Committee ultimately ignored nearly all of the suggestions made by their liturgics subcommittee to the basic structure of the liturgy, sticking instead to a form that was only slightly modified from the *ELHB* liturgy. No rationale appears to have been offered for this decision. The Committee did allow for a three month window of criticism and correction, which would conclude on August 1, 1939, noting that "it would again assure all those who write in that every letter and postal card will be prayerfully considered. The report is being sent out to all pastors and teachers of the constituent synods."[539]

[539] Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, "Final Report of the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," May 1, 1939, "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

The LCMS contingent of the liturgics subcommittee seemed to be more attuned to the politics and realities of the situation, such that Wismar plainly told Fischer "we have wasted considerable time by trying to help along," trying to get him to understand that "none of the material that we have suggested will be used."[540] Fischer continued to press the issue, following proper channels in appealing first to his WELS compatriots with connections to the Intersynodical Committee. Writing to Prof. John Meyer (who had resigned from the Committee in 1931 but was still very influential at the WELS Seminary and in intersynodical circles), he asked Meyer to consider the subcommittee's cause on several liturgical issues.

> I often wished that our Synodical Conference had studied its Liturgy before adopting the ULC Common Service. There are many items which we could have improved, besides we would not have tied ourselves down at this time to a unhealthy rigidity of liturgy...which does not even permit such improvements in the wording as
>
> Lord have mercy. (instead of the weaker form, Lord have mercy upon us.)
>
> or Glory to God in the Highest, (instead the less scriptural and less poetical form we now have.
>
> To say nothing of resistance to attempts in restoring the preface to its earliest beauty and effectiveness.
>
> To me it is not a healthy sign when the Liturgy becomes to [*sic*] rigid and all innovations are either toward the outward ceremonial or the weakening of forms we already have. In the translation of a number of the old favorite German hymns I have also feel [*sic*] the loss of the German ruggedness so characteristic of the German choral. [*sic*][541]

Fischer's commitment to the subcommittee's work demonstrated in this letter also belied a related concern regarding the syncretism that some in the Wisconsin Synod believed was occurring in the LCMS with the east coast Lutheran progenitors of *TCS*, with whom some in the LCMS were sharing liturgically-oriented dialogue.[542] So, not only was *TCS* objectionable on a

---

[540] Letter from Wismar to Fischer, March 1940, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

[541] Letter from Gervasius Fischer to John Meyer, Thiensville, WI, July 7, 1939, contained in Uncatalogued Box, WELS Archive, Pewaukee, WI.

[542] An unsent letter written by Fischer to Wismar discussed the weariness Wisconsin had regarding certain Missouri dalliances with the ALC/ULC: "My first impulse was to tell you that the time simply does not permit me to go to Chicago now. This would be true because in a few weeks I begin teaching daily and am working with three separate

content-level for Fischer, but also due to its potential for signaling union with errant bodies. If nothing else, perhaps Fischer thought this argument would appeal to Meyer's WELS sensibilities more than liturgical arguments might.

Whether his appeal to Meyer fell on deaf ears or was redirected, Fischer next appealed directly to the WELS representative on the Intersynodical Committee, Arthur Voss. Certainly this was a worthy tactic, since as late as 1941—just months before publication—Voss managed to convince Polack to make a last-minute addition to *TLH* by including a WELS-favorite Epiphany hymn in the back of the hymnal, where the proofs had not been rendered yet, under a "Foreign Missions" section.[543] Since Fischer was writing well in advance of any proof versions and well within the window of criticisms and corrections, Voss could have advocated for the rite that had been approved by the liturgics subcommittee. As in his letter to Meyer, Fischer tried to persuade Voss concerning the subcommittee's recommendations for the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* texts and music,

---

homes, instructing parents.Yet this would be only half true, so my second impulse was to tell you what I think about your suggestion. First of all, my interest is to work toward a united Lutheran Church on the basis of unity of doctrine and unity of faith and practice. This can alone be accomplished by continued study of the Bible, courageous confession of the truth, and conferences. Since the liturgy is not an essential of faith and plays no part in an Union of Lutheran bodies, I believe it should remain in the background. I received a letter and booklet from a man in Chicago recently in which he claimed that it high time that we agree on a uniform Liturgy of all Lutherans and by such means bring about gradually an amalgamation of all Lutheran bodies. Personally, I would very much regret such a procedure and would consider a sign of the weakening of the Lutheran Church of America. I still take the stand that I took some years ago at St. Luke's church when the matter of membership of the L.S.S.J. was up for discussion. Secondly, last fall our Synod rejected an invitation from the Augustana Synod that it send unofficial representative to such open Conference on liturgics. I could hardly attend such a conference now as an unofficial representative of Wis." He annotated the side of the letter, "I rewrote my letter to Wismar, but the leading arguments are contained herin. [*sic*] GF" Unsent Letter from Gervasius Fischer to Adolf Wismar, May 6, 1940, Uncatalogued Box, WELS Archives.

[543] Hymn 642. In a letter to Polack, Voss wrote: "For several days I have been searching in our master copy [of *TLH*] for a hymn which, I believe, should be included in the new hymnal. I have not found it. Perhaps we of Wisconsin have been asleep for ten long years, but I have come out of the coma in these last days. This is, of course, no time to suggest additions to the hymnal. But I do want to salve my conscience by calling attention to this hymn. You no doubt are familiar with it. It is found in our present Wisconsin Synod Hymnal under Epiphany, the first hymn, number 262: 'Arise, O God, and shine, in all Thy saving might—'. It is in my estimation one of the better Epiphany hymns. We usually sing it to the tune of 'Darwall['s 148th]'. Of course, the hymn cannot be included under the Epiphany hymns in the new hymnal. But, it occurs to me that the hymns for special occasions have not come through in proof. Can this hymn, perhaps, be included under this rubric under the heading "Foreign Missions" or 'Installation of a Missionary to Foreign Lands'? Anything, if only the hymn can be included. It is worthwhile." Arthur P. Voss to W. G. Polack, January 29, 1941, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

as well as their recommendation that the liturgy be printed without music so as to allow for variety and not solidify one standard form.[544] This appeal, too, was unsuccessful.

Finally, Fischer appealed directly to Polack as the chairman of the Intersynodical Committee. At this point, his rhetoric was less cordial and deferential than previous instances:

> I sincerely hope, Prof. Polack, that I have made myself clear. The various fields represented in a hymn book like ours are too great in scope to be mastered by a committee with your present set up, especially for the wind up of the job. And under such an arrangement our new book simply cannot be the product of scholarly work.
> In the field of hymnology you have done the hardest work, and I give you all the confidence, especially since that is slo [*sic*] your personal special field, that this will be as good a job possible under the present day conditions.
> However, judging from what I heard at the last meeting, I fear that there is still much too [*sic*] be done and liturgically and musically our hymn book will not come up to the high standard that it might. My complaint is not in regard to your committee decision in some of the matters of our committee, but the way you passed on them. Every statement you read with reference to the Preface (as we have it!) was debatable, and it could have easily been shown just for that reasons [*sic*] Wismar's suggestion were [*sic*] quite logical. But that is neither here nor there. The fact is that your committee had neither time nor patience, to study or to listen to lengthy treatises in the matter. And no one can blame them for it. There [*sic*] big job was hymnology.
> BUT THERE STILL IS TIME. Your work had progressed well along certain lines. But lets [*sic*] not rush it toward the finish. A few article [*sic*] in our church papers as to to [*sic*] work accompleshed, [*sic*] the problem confronted, etc by a committee like yours, will soon convince all that it is better to wait a year and have a good job then hurry now, just to have the book.
> By the way, our Synod two years ago appointed a Committee which is to study carefully the COMPLETED MANUSCRIPT before it can be recommended for printing. Whether we buy plates or buy from Concordia Pub. H. changes the matter little. This committee undoubtedly will study the entire manuscript carefully, which will require time, and will be able to offer some important suggestions etc. Naturally, I shall insist that Synod's instructions be carried out.
> Your committee will understand that the contents of this letter are address [*sic*] to the committee and as far as I am concerned stay there. Then too, you will understand my frankness, which I wish to be lifted above all personal feelings. Our work in our church is too great to permit personal feelings to enter in. Among brethren and especially leaders in our various work we cannot be too frank with one another.[545]

[544] Letter from Gervasius Fischer to Arthur Voss, October 28, 1939, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.
[545] Letter from Gervasius Fischer to William Polack, c. March 1940, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

The idea that the Intersynodical Committee was rushing their work to meet a deadline was not unique to Fischer. For example, Wismar offered Fischer this advice:

> I'm rather sorry that you wrote Polack as you did. No doubt you are right in assuming that we have wasted considerable time trying to help along. But let that pass. I'm pretty sure that none of the material that we have suggested will be used. As for music, no doubt Bergen and I only get more experience in harmonizing Gregorian melodies, something we both needed. But as for getting our labors into the new hymnal, hardly. But to return to your letter to Polack. Your ideas are excellent. Indeed, had the procedure you suggest been followed, things would not be as they are today. But what can Polack do about it now? He wants to publish. He feels that he must publish. He has been at this thing for 8 years. Es muss doc bald etwas werden. [Something has to happen soon.] And since new ideas cannot be incorporated, there's only one alternative, namely and to wit, wir bleiben beim Alten. [we'll stick with the old.] Thus the only effect that I anticipate for your reasonable argument is that it will stiffen Polack's resolve to go to print. Also, it will make him ask you why you did not tell him your ideas are this. But in the long run, no harm is done. Whether you write or don't write, whether you plead or do not plead, this matter from the very outset had within it only those potentialities which are now being realised. [. . .] So my advice is just to forget the whole business. I fully expect that we shall find we are through anyway as far as the new hymnal is concerned. I mean this. Our ideas and those of the large committee quite evidently will not mix. They have the final say. Ergo, we have really nothing to say, no matter what we say. Ergo, furthermore, we are finished. There will be no further need to ask us about anything except, perhaps, what we think of the weather. And what we think of the weather will not affect one way or another.

While it may be impossible to deduce for certain the ultimate motivation for Polack's decision to nearly completely ignore the liturgics subcommittee's recommendations, Wismar's hypothetical argument on behalf of Polack (i.e., "it will make him ask you why you did not tell him your ideas are this") can not be one of them. This is due to the fact that Polack himself was present at the October 19, 1938 subcommittee meeting where it was resolved that "the communion Service be printed in full without music," along with recommendations for German and Gregorian settings of the canticles to be included elsewhere in the hymnal.[546]

The pressure to publish as soon as possible certainly may be the primary cause behind the Interysnodical Committee's ultimate rejection of the liturgics subcommittee's work. But one is

[546] Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Liturgics, St. Louis, Mo., October 19, 1938, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

left to wonder how difficult it truly would have been to publish liturgical texts and supplementary music that had already been prepared after years of work. One thing is for certain: Polack and the Intersynodical Committee were well briefed regarding the liturgics subcommittee's work, which made plainly clear their discontent with the heavily 1549 *BCP*-inspired texts of *TCS*, as well as the *ELHB* iteration's over-reliance on a sole musical form with significant Anglican chant influence. They were also aware of the subcommittee's recommendation to include the traditional Lutheran chorale-canticles as options for the Service—chorales which subcommittee members believed formed the core of Lutheran liturgico-musical practice. Whatever the reason, the Intersynodical Committee rejected the subcommittee's work in favor of Anglican-inspired forms, while simultaneously ignoring the Lutheran chorale as a basis for the liturgical rite.[547] Not only did this action fail to address the criticisms that called for a new hymnal over and against *ELHB* in the first place, but it set the stage for *TLH* to represent a break from the official liturgical use of the chorale, which was a standard until that time (albeit only in limited rubrical allowances in the original *TCS* of 1888[548]).

Publication of *The Lutheran Hymnal*

TLH was ultimately published in 1941, with negligible revision from the "Final Report." It contained the following brief preface by the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics:

> THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL is intended for use in church, school, and home. The committee entrusted with the task of compiling and editing has earnestly endeavored to produce a hymnal containing the best of the hymnodical treasures of the Church, both as

[547] This is particularly ironic, given the liturgics subcommittee had several members of the Liturgical Society of St. James, who were viewed as a sort of LCMS parallel to the Oxford Movement. The ostensibly Anglican-sympathetic LSSJ members proffered a less Anglican rite than was ultimately put forward by the Intersynodical Committee.
[548] See General Synod, *The Common Service*, p. 6, which rubrically allowed the singing of a chorale in place of the prose *Gloria*, albeit not on Communion Sundays, as well as a troped *Kyrie*.

> to texts and tunes, in accord with the highest standards of Christian worship. It is our sincere prayer that these treasures may be cherished by God's people wherever the English tongue is used in public or private worship. We have freely used whatever we found of value and, by way of acknowledgment, have carefully indicated all sources. In turn, we freely offer for the use of others all original contributions or translations made by the committee as such or by its individual members.
>
> "Unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father: to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever! Amen."
>
> THE INTERSYNODICAL COMMITTEE ON
> HYMONLOGY AND LITURGICS FOR THE EV. LUTH.
> SYNODICAL COFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA[549]

It is noteworthy that the Intersynodical Committee began their preface to *The Lutheran Hymnal* with nary a word of its *Lutheran* provenance beyond the title. Indeed, it was rather offered for "God's people wherever the English tongue is used" for use in "Christian worship," publicly or privately. This is an important distinction, particularly as the *Handbook* of *TLH* made clear that the work was intentionally ecumenical in scope.[550] The constitution of the work may indeed be harmonious with its stated intended audience, i.e., all English-speaking Christians—perhaps in a subtle way as an evangelistic endeavor, or perhaps as an overture to the broader English world in the spirit of the preceding editors of *The Common Service.*[551] That effort also sought to promote the Lutheran tradition as the primary and prototypical Evangelical (Protestant) movement, to which all others owe their existence.[552] Even decades after its publication, the impetus to find liturgical unity outside of Synodical borders was strong.[553]

---

[549] The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Hymnal*: Concordia Publishing House, 1941, p. 2.
[550] Polack, *Handbook*, XII.
[551] Recall that they maintained: "[*The Common Service*] can lay claim, as no other Order of Service now in use can, to be the Common Service of the Christian Church of all ages. It can reasonably be tendered to all Protestants, who use a fixed order, as the Service of the future, as it is of the past." Synod of the South, *The Book of Worship*, p. xi.
[552] See Chapter III for further analysis of these very motivations among the compilers of *TCS*.
[553] Indeed, this was one of the causes for alarm among certain members of the liturgics subcommittee that had championed the move away from *TCS*; consider, *e.g.,* Fischer's remarks: "We must guard against attempting a union of Lutheran bodies by means or even with the aid of a unified liturgy. Since the less informed Christian is often easily tempted to judge a church by its externals, such as the doctrines expressed in a single sermon, the sameness of the Catechism used, or the identity of hymns sung, he will be especially tempted to practice unionism because of a Common Liturgy." Gervasius Fischer, "Attempts Toward a Unified Liturgy of All Lutheran Bodies," located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

Another notable aspect of the Intersynodical Committee's proffering of *TLH* for "Christian worship" is the extent to which the full execution of worship is actually possible within the context of a single book. Several Synodical Conference hymnals did contain orders of Service, which were fleshed out to varying degrees and were surveyed in Chapter II of this research. Some were certainly much more skeletal than others and devoid of music, while others had fairly detailed musical guidelines for the congregation.[554] *TLH* was unique not only in its continuation of the pattern set by the musical edition of *ELHB* to include a full musical setting for the congregational execution of various orders of Service, but more so for its inclusion of the text for all choir and minister parts necessary to effectively conduct the Service. This includes various prayers, collects, introits, graduals, services of corporate confession, devotions, and prayer services. The hymnal would eventually be supplemented by *The Lutheran Liturgy* (1943), *Music for the Liturgies of The Lutheran Hymnal* (1944), *The Lutheran Lectionary* (1945), *The Lutheran Agenda* (1948), and *The Pastor's Companion* (1950). Although a specific *Agenda* was published in title, these different volumes all served various functions that would have been included in the historic *Agende* and *Choralbuchs* of previous generations. But in terms of the regular cycle of weekly worship, *TLH* was otherwise fairly self-contained.

From a Lutheran perspective, this was novel; previous hymnals required the use of accompanying agendas for ministers to completely execute a Service. In this way, *TLH* was sort of an amalgamation of a hymnal and what the *BCP* was intended to be. Among the Anglican tradition, however, the combination of the *BCP* and officially-sanctioned psalters and hymnals had been pioneered by the Episcopal Church as early as its 1870 publication of the U.S. *BCP* with metrical *Psalter* and *Hymnal*. Its official publication of *The Hymnal* in 1920 and 1940

[554] E.g., the outline format of Form 1 in the WELS *Book of Hymns* and the fuller rites contained in *The Lutheran Hymnary* of the ELS.

contained musical settings of liturgical canticles that would allow worshippers to reference musical settings for use in the Service. *TLH* combined both of these precedents by having self-contained liturgical rites with musical settings, all the necessary prayers and and liturgical propers, and a hymnal appendage. In this way, its being styled as a *Hymnal* can be somewhat misleading to those outside of the Lutheran sphere, albeit having copious amounts of supplementary material (collects, lessons, etc.) was not unusual in Lutheran precedent.

Aside from these extrapolations from the broadly ecumenical worship overture in the "Preface," the first explicit indication of Anglican influence on *TLH* is in the calendar listed on page three. The calendar is almost identical to the one printed at the front of the 1928 U.S. *Book of Common Prayer*.[555] Although most of the festivals listed have Lutheran precedent, the influence of Anglican nomenclature is readily apparent in the use of peculiar titles such as "Advent Sunday" in lieu of *Ad Te Levavi* and "Whitsunday" in place of Pentecost.[556] Whitsunday is the common name for the holiday in Britain, a convention retained in the U.S. *BCP* due to tradition. The name was not common in the United States outside of that context and certainly not within Lutheranism. Although this might appear insignificant, the Anglican influence even in the minutiae of *TLH*'s content is evident from the first page. As has already been demonstrated, this was not a fluke of happenstance, but rather further indication that the use of *BCP* texts and translations within *TLH* was prolific.

---

[555] The notable exceptions are the odd omission of the Feast of St. Barnabas in *TLH* and the omission of the Feast of the Visitation in the *BCP*. Also worth noting is that the *BCP* observed Transfiguration on the fixed date of August 6, whereas *TLH* observed it as a moveable Feast on the last Sunday of Trinity in keeping with prior Lutheran tradition. See Episcopal Church, *Book of Common Prayer*, pp. xlvi and following.

[556] *TLH*, p. 3.

Impacts of the Development of *TLH* on the Non-German Synods

Unlike the WELS and LCMS, the ELS did not receive regular reports regarding the progress of *TLH*. Shortly after the final publication of the hymnal, the ELS "Synod Report" made the ironically brief note:

> The new Synodical Conference Hymnbook is finished and on the market. We miss many of our favorite hymns in the new book. It has been suggested that the members of our hymn book committee confer with the publishers, asking for an edition for our Synod with an appendix containing some of our hymns.[557]

The widespread transition from Norwegian to English in the ELS had already occurred prior to *TLH*. By the time of its reorganization in 1918 after separating from Old Norwegian Synod, *The Lutheran Hymnary* had already been in use among its congregations for five years. Although the Synod formally codified in its constitution the use of the 1685 Norwegian Church Order (or its 1899 revision),[558] it also had more acceptance of English than its German counterparts in the Synodical Conference. At its opening Convention in 1918, business was stalwartly conducted in Norwegian and English.[559] So, too, were Services conducted in both languages at its Convention from 1918–1948. Recall from Chapter II the synergy that existed between Norwegian and English in the ELS prior to the dawn of the World Wars, which may help explain why the Saxon-inspired Bugenhagen Rite has persisted in the ELS to this day. Unlike the German Synods, which were caught off guard and forced into English prematurely, the Norwegians had more time to naturally adapt to their new language. This also enabled them to maintain some of

---

[557] The Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, Synod Report 1941, page 13, as quoted in Craig A. Ferkenstad, "The Continuation of the Synodical Conference 1918–1955," *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2000), p. 251.

[558] See ELS, *Handbook,* p. 14. This provision would technically remain in effect until 1986, though Norwegian was long abandoned by that point.

[559] See Theodore G. Gullixon, "O Rejoice, Ye Christians, Loudly: The History of the Choral Union in the ELS," *Lutheran Sentinel: A Publication of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod: 100 Years* 101, no. 3 (2018), p. 26, https://els.org/wp-content/download/lutheran_sentinel/TLS_MayJune18.pdf. Also recall that they had to cross state lines to conduct business in Norwegian due to the Governor of Iowa's edict prohibiting foreign languages.

their cultural elements without fully Anglo-Americanizing, at least liturgically.[560] In this light, they already had a substantive English hymnal that had their own Norwegian hymns. *TLH* would have represented an unnecessary abandonment of this established tradition. While there were ELS congregations that used *TLH*, their *Lutheran Hymnary* continued to be prevalent. This is understandable, given the understated criticism raised in the ELS "Synod Report" and *TLH's* apparent failure to live up to the expectation of including more Scandinavian hymnal as had been enjoined by the conceptual memorials of the 1929 LCMS Convention.

In contrast, the Slovaks in the SELC did not have a foray into English liturgics or hymnody prior to the World Wars or the advent of *TLH*. However, an analysis of issues of *Svedock* (dually titled *The Witness*), the "Official [Literary] Organ of the Slovak Lutheran Synod," from the 1930s revealed that the SELC was advertising the sale of the *ELHB* for those interested in English in tandem with its Slovak *Cithara Sanctorum*.[561] The use of the LCMS' English hymnal should not be surprising, however. The SELC's small size prohibited it from operating its own seminary. As such, SELC pastors were trained at the LCMS's Concordia Seminary in Springfield, IL; the professor who taught in Slovak was called away in 1909, leaving the men to study Slovak on their "own initiative," with the remainder of classes being taught in English and perhaps German.[562] Slovak persisted in the majority of *Svedock* publications, though English appeared in tandem on a few pages at the back of each issue (occasionally bible verses, pithy articles, hymns, editorials, or brief announcements) but, from a liturgico-musical perspective, the only resources the SELC was familiar with by the time of *TLH* were LCMS productions. As for *TLH* itself, the Slovak tradition was the most under-represented,

---

[560] So, too, the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary*, the successor hymnal of *The Lutheran Hymnary*, has a greater percentage of Lutheran-originated hymns than any other hymnal of the Synods that formerly constituted the Synodical Conference.

[561] "Anglické: Hymn-Book, Tune edition_____$1.75 Hymn-Book, cloth_____1.25 Catechism, Schwan, cloth_____.35." Joseph A. Dinda, ed., "Anglické," *Svedok* 33, no. 20, (1939), p. 1.

[562] Mazak, "A Brief History of the Slovak Lutheran Synod of the United States," p. 26.

with a mere six hymns and no liturgical contributions to speak of[563]—perhaps not surprising due to the fact that most of the SELC pastors were LCMS-trained anyway. It is understandable in this light that the SELC was absorbed into the LCMS a mere 30 years after the publication of *TLH* in 1931.

Concluding Remarks on the Development of *TLH*

It is difficult to assess the motivations behind the Intersynodical Committee's decision to disregard their liturgics subcommittee's recommendations in the production of *TLH*. In effect, their actions also represent a functional disregard for the LCMS memorials and resolutions that resulted in the creation of the Intersynodical Committee in the first place. In the final analysis, the call to improve what was wanting in Lutheran quantity or quality in *TLH* were not only left unaccomplished in *TLH,* but were arguably made worse. Some certainly believed that this was the result of a bias in favor of the *ELHB* tradition.[564] P. E. Kretzmann, a member of the liturgics subcommittee, noted:

> [. . .]. I am somewhat disappointed that the committee did not have the courage to break away from the tradition concerning translations from the German. These composite renderings of hymns very often represent real flickwork patched up without real unity. In many cases I should prefer to sing the original rather than the translation accepted by the hymnbook committee. But I suppose that conservatism was the watch-word and we can hardly expect anything better at this time. The worst of it is that the hymns in their present form are going to be accepted as the final word, and that will spoil the hymnal for me.[565]

Kretzmann was not alone in his analysis. Fischer left the following regretful inscription in his souvenir copy of *TLH*:

---

[563] By way of contrast, the Germans had 248 and the Scandinavians 31. It is worth noting, however, that a number of hymns in both the Scandinavian and Slovak tradition were originally translated from German.
[564] An unwitting bias on Polack's part could be contributed to the fact that his father was involved in writing tunes for the hymns of *ELHB*.
[565] Letter to Rev. G. W. Fischer Peshtigo, WI, From Prof. P. E. Kretzmann, St. Louis, MO, February 28, 1940, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive..

> The music of the liturgy herein is not that which we recommended. Committee favored Gregorian tones to English chants; also that music be not printed with the Liturgy to allow for greater varieties of melodies to be used. Music for Liturgy was to be printed in a special section of book.[566]

The poignancy of Fischer's frustration is the result of a half-decade of work on the liturgics subcommittee having been for naught. Unlike the Intersynodical Committee, the liturgics subcommittee did attempt to produce a demonstrably Lutheran liturgical-musical product, following the mandate stipulated by the Synodical resolutions that chartered their work. That their efforts were stymied would have been demoralizing not only on a personal level, but for the sake of their Synods and progeny as well. The struggles chronicled in this chapter had implications beyond committee politics. *TLH* would shape the piety of an entire generation, the formation of which would be markedly different due to the loss of the Saxon-originated chorale tradition that had been the heart of their forebears' liturgico-musical tradition and cultural experience. The specific implications of these liturgico-musical changes will be the crux of what follows in Chapter V.

[566] Gervasius W. Fischer, hand-written inscription on souvenir copy of *TLH* (c. approx. 1941?), as quoted in James Tiefel, "The Contributions of Gervasius W. Fischer to the Liturgical Awareness of the Wisconsin Synod," (paper written for Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, Mequon, WI, 1976), pp. 9–10, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.

CHAPTER V:

LITURGICO-MUSICAL ANALYSIS OF *THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL* AND ITS EFFECT ON SUBSEQUENT MUSICAL PRODUCTS

Chapter IV demonstrated that the Intersynodical Committee utilized forms from the *Book of Common Prayer* (*BCP*), in some cases above and beyond the original precedent of *The Common Service* (*TCS*). While some of this may be attributed to the predominance of LCMS representation on the Intersynodical Committee and a desire to perpetuate the tradition of the LCMS *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, the memorials that created the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics in the first place had enjoined them to make *TLH* more Lutheran in its content. From the statement of their guiding principles through the divisions of labor and progress toward *The Lutheran Hymnal*, the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics seemed to be not quite in step with the Missouri Synod memorials and resolutions that were the impetus behind its formation.

With the stated goal of producing a "distinctively Christian" hymnal, it is questionable how distinctively *Lutheran* the hymnal was, particularly compared to the *ELHB* that *TLH* sought

to replace. The Intersynodical Committee decided not to use their liturgics subcommittee's suggestions for the liturgico-musical content of the hymnal's rites, opting instead to retain forms derived from *TCS*, which significantly relied upon the 1549 *BCP*. This was at the expense of the Lutheran chorale, which had formed the basis of liturgical identity for centuries of Lutherans before the switch to English.[567] So, too, the Committee preeminently relied upon Anglican hymnbooks and sources as the inspiration for the texts and tunes included in the hymn repertoire. These actions were taken after multiple members of the Committee received repeated criticisms and objections from Gervasius Fischer outlining the rationale used by the liturgics committee to develop their suggestions.[568] The following analysis of the liturgico-musical contents of *TLH* will show this reality in greater detail, outlining the substantive influence of Anglican and Episcopal resources within its liturgical offerings. Subsequently, the influence of *TLH*'s liturgy and hymns on the production of ancillary musical products, ranging from settings of the Introits and Collects to supplemental liturgical music, choral pieces, and organ works, will be considered.

The Order of Morning Service of *TLH*, Pages Five (P5) and Fifteen (P15)

TLH's first liturgico-musical ordo begins promptly on page five with neither a table of contents nor index preceding it. The colloquialism "page[s] five and fifteen" remains strong in Synodical Conference circles as a nod to the rites that begin on those respective pages in *TLH*, which formed the crux of liturgical piety for their first generation of majority-English

[567] And even in English, if the St. Mary's mission in London that inspired the first American Lutheran liturgy is any indication, as well as the fact that the Saxon order continued to be employed by English language Lutheran hymnals in the ELS, WELS, and even the LCMS' *Liturgy and Agenda*.

[568] It is worth noting that, while not all the members of the liturgics subcommittee may have had as strong opinions as, e.g., Fischer, Wismar, and Bergen, there is no record of dissension in the final recommended product. See the committee reports in Uncatalogued Boxes 846, 847, 1011, 1021, WELS Archive, Pewaukee, WI.

worshippers in the Synodical Conference. As discussed earlier, the "page five and fifteen" system was a unique invention of the Intersynodical Committee that drafted *TLH*. The original *Common Service*, which was analyzed in-depth in Chapter III, as well as the preceding Saxon-inspired hymnals analyzed in Chapter II, did not have two fully fleshed liturgies depending on the presence of the Sacrament, albeit allowances for a brief form of Communion or celebration of the regular Service without Communion were common due to several factors.[569] *TLH* pioneered the idea of fully printing two separate orders of Service with the full western rite delineated through the Sermon (*Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, etc.*) in the "Order of Morning Service Without Communion" (P5) and "The Order of Morning Service With Communion" (P15). Both, however, were iterations of "The Order of Morning Service," or, in other words, the Chief Divine Service for Sunday morning, replete with a full Liturgy of the Word.

To be sure, prior Lutheran hymnals had envisioned the Chief Divine Service as potentially occurring without the Sacrament, not dissimilar from the Anglican Ante-Communion rite. After all, it was common practice in many congregations to celebrate the Sacrament as infrequently as quarterly or less. But, as stated, there were hardly two separate rites proffered to the detail supplied here. Often the Liturgy of the Word was provided in its place, with a separate rubric for the inclusion of Holy Communion, or a brief form of Communion would be offered in an appendix or some other part of the hymnal or agenda.[570] The liturgics subcommittee had initially suggested going with the latter option, as noted in a letter from one of its members to a member of the Intersynodical Committee:

---

[569] In the United States in particular, the lack of pastors on the frontier was a major factor, which was somewhat discussed in Chapter II in the section on the WELS. Circuit riders would tend multiple parishes over a wide geographical area, necessitating that Communion only be offered in a given locality on a limited basis. At other times, lay Elders would lead worship, which were conducted with various degrees of elaborateness.

[570] As was the case in, *e.g.*, several of the predecessor hymnals examined in Chapter II.

> We felt that since Pastors were using a shorter Communion form, that in place of a special Confession (which can be placed into ~~hymnal~~ Agenda [*sic*]) that we print a short Communion form (Fruehcommunion Form) this [*sic*] can then contain, Confession, Eucharistic Prayer, etc. I made a special study of the matter this summer—and find that it is the earliest form of any kind we have in Christian Liturgy...even earlier than the versicle in the Preface.—Your informant that it is an [*sic*] carryover of the later Eastern period of dramaticism and mysticism is not correct.[571]

Rather than include a "Fruehcommunion Form" as an option for pastoral discretion in the *Agenda*, the Intersynodical Committee created two separate rites with separate piety when the Sacrament would be celebrated. This in turn created new traditions for American Lutheranism (e.g., that the Apostles' Creed is traditional for non-Communion Sundays, since it appeared on P5, while the Nicene Creed is intended for Communion Sundays, since it appeared on P15). It is worth emphasizing that the decision to have P5 as a separate liturgy in *TLH* was out of step with the precedent of *ELHB*, *KGB*, the other synodical hymnals, the preceding German agendas, and even *TCS*. Nevertheless, although P5 and P15 have their peculiarities both textually and musically, the similarities are sufficient enough in their textual basis upon the western rite and their musical substance (mostly derived from *ELHB*) that, in the interest of space and readability, this section will consider them in tandem, highlighting their divergences where appropriate.

The "Order of Morning Service" in both its iterations in *TLH* very closely follows the form in *ELHB* that preceded it. In spite of the intention that *TLH* be a synthesis of four Synodical traditions with disparate ethnic heritages and a renewal of Lutheran tradition accounting for *ELHB*'s shortcomings, the practical application was substantively a liturgical reiteration of *ELHB,* particularly with regard to the musical form. While all of the Synods had varying levels of acquaintance with and use of *TCS*, the supremacy of the *ELHB* musical setting in the publication of *TLH* seems to suggest that the same biases inherent in the formation of *ELHB* (i.e.,

---

[571] Letter from Gervasius Fischer to Arthur Voss, Peshtigo, Wisconsin, October 28, 1939, p. 1, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files, WELS Archive.

against the Saxon tradition) were manifest in the creation of *TLH.* This choice is particularly dramatic considering the fact that the liturgics subcommittee had spent years working on an option that would have provided an alternative, during which process they directly highlighted the shortcomings of the *ELHB* rite. A careful analysis will demonstrate that the *TLH* rite is a continuation of the *ELHB* precedent, which relied heavily upon *TCS* and its *BCP* inspiration. To aid in this analysis, as well as to more effectively compare the *TLH* rites with the *BCP*, the following Table (5.1) will prove helpful:

Table 5.1. A comparison of *The Lutheran Hymnal's* page five and page fifteen rites with the *Book of Common Prayer* in its 1549 and 1928 Episcopal iterations, followed by general notes on *TLH's* rite(s).

***TLH* P5**	***TLH* P15**	**1549 *BCP***	**1928 U.S. *BCP***	**General Notes on *TLH* rite(s)**
Invocation	Invocation			
Exhortation to Confession	Exhortation to Confession			
Versicles	Versicles			
Confiteor	Confiteor			
Absolution	Absolution	Lord's Prayer & Collect for Grace	Lord's Prayer (without Doxology) & Collect for Grace	The "Amen" is harmonized in C Major.
(♫) Introit	(♫) Introit	Introit		The provenance of the music for the *Gloria Patri* is apparently the *Pfälzische Kirchenordnung* of 1550.[572] Somewhat unusually due to the harmonic structure surrounding it, the music of the *Gloria Patri* is

[572] Andreas Osiander and Ottheinrich Pfalzgrafen, *Kirchenordnung des Fürstentums Pfalz-Neuburg* ([Nuremberg]: Petreius, 1543), https://www.bavarikon.de/object/BSB-HSS-00000BSB00103360.

				provided in the key of D Major.
♫ 3-fold Kyrie in English	♫ 3-fold Kyrie in English	3-fold Kyrie in English	The 10 Commandments OR 3-fold Kyrie in English	The Kyrie is harmonized in G Major.
♫ Gloria in Excelsis in English	♫ Gloria in Excelsis in English	Gloria in Excelsis	(Gloria after Distribution)	
			Collect for Sanctification	
(♫) Salutation	(♫) Salutation	Salutation	Salutation	
Collect of the Day	Collect of the Day	Collect of the Day & King	Collect(s) of the Day	
Epistle	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle	
♫ Alleluia w/ optional verse	♫ Alleluia w/ optional verse		Hymn or Anthem	
Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	
Nicene or Apostolic Creed	Nicene or Apostolic Creed	Nicene Creed	Nicene or Apostolic Creed	
♫ Hymn of the Day	♫ Hymn of the Day		Declaration of Holy Days/Fasts and other announcements & Bidding Prayers, Optional Hymn	
Sermon & Pax Votum	Sermon & Pax Votum	Sermon & Exhortation	Sermon, followed by optional hymn	
♫ Offertory Verse (Psalm 51)	♫ Offertory Verse (Psalm 51)	Offertory Sentence(s)	Offertory Sentence(s)	Both P5 and P15 prescribe the Offertory canticle, 'Schaff in mir, Gott', but the former utilizes the musical setting from 1648 attributed to Johann G. Winer,[573] while

[573] *TLH*, p. 12.

				the latter utilizes a setting from Johann A. Freylinghausen's *Gesangbuch* from Halle in 1704.[574]
General Prayer	General Prayer		General Prayer	
		(Exhortation before Offertory)	Exhortation to Confession	
			General Confession	
			Absolution and Scripture verses	
Lord's Prayer				
	(♫) Salutation & Sursum Corda (English)	Salutation & Sursum Corda (English)	Sursum Corda (English)	
	Preface & Proper Preface	Preface & Proper Preface	Preface & Proper Preface	
	Sanctus w/ Benedictus	Sanctus w/ Benedictus	Sanctus w/ Glory be	
			Prayer of unworthiness	
	Exhortation to Communion	Eucharistic Prayer, Oblation & Epiclesis	Eucharistic Prayer (oblation & Epiclesis after Words of Inst.)	
	Lord's Prayer			
	♫ Doxology			
	Words of Institution	Words of Institution	Words of Institution, Oblation, Epiclesis	
		Anamnesis	Anamnesis	
		Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	
	Pax Domini	Pax Domini, Paschal	Prayer of Unworthiness	

[574] *TLH*, p. 22.

		Declaration, Confession, Absolution, Scripture Verses		
	♫ Christe, du Lamm Gottes (in English)	Agnus Dei (during Distribution	Hymn	
	Distribution	Distribution	Distribution	
	♫ Nunc Dimittis			
	♫ Antipon "O Give thanks…"	Postcommunion Sentence(s) (22 options provided)		
Hymn				
Prayer for the Word for the Church	Luther's Postcommunion Collect	Salutation & Postcommunion Prayer	Postcommunion Prayer	
			Gloria in Excelsis (In English)	
♫ Salutation & Benedicamus	♫ Salutation & Benedicamus			
Aaronic Benediction ♫ 3-fold Amen.	Aaronic Benediction ♫ 3-fold Amen.	Pax Votum and blessing	Pax Votum and Blessing	
		*Optional Collects if no Communion		

With minor exceptions, the flow of the liturgy in *TLH* and the *ELHB* are nearly identical. The similarities between *TLH* and the 1549 *BCP* are of course owed in part to their shared heritage as iterations of the western rite tradition (*i.e.*, the Roman Mass). Chapter III clearly established why the order of *TCS*, which forms the basis of *TLH's* rites, relied so heavily on the 1549 *BCP* tradition, since the editors of *TCS* considered the 1549 *BCP* to be a Lutheran work. The closer analysis that follows will demonstrate the particulars of the reliance upon *BCP* and supplemental Anglican forms, along with other relevant commentary regarding the P5 and P15 rites.

Preparatory Service

Both the P5 and P15 versions of "The Order of Morning Service" in *TLH* begin with a "Preparatory Service," which commences with "A Hymn of Invocation of the Holy Ghost or another Hymn."[575] Both rites then move into the Trinitarian Invocation, followed by an "Amen" to be spoken or chanted,[576] albeit the music is provided in the hymnal for the congregation to sing, which made its use almost obligatory. Also noteworthy is the fact that the music for the "Amens" and versicles are printed fully harmonized, as is the entire liturgical offering in *TLH*. During the formation of *TLH* it had been resolved,

> CONCERNING THE MUSIC:
>
> > It was resolved that in the entire liturgical part of the Hymn book the music be printed WITHOUT THE HARMONY, the melodies only. That however, simultaneously with the HymnBook a [*sic*] ORGAN AND CHOIR BOOK be printed containing the Harmony for this section.[577]

The choice to include the full harmonic accompaniment for the congregational responses in the preparatory rite is somewhat curious when considering that the ministerial chant notations are not included anywhere in *TLH*.[578] For the entire preparatory rite, the Morning Service rubrics indicate that "good usage permits speaking" the parts, largely because it consists of the extended prose of confession and absolution.[579] The rubrics on p. 4 also indicate that it would be fitting for

---

[575] *TLH*, pp. 5 & 15.

[576] The question of whether the rubrics must include "said or chanted" was a matter of much debate in the minutes and personal correspondence of the liturgics subcommittee, to the frustration of some of its members who felt the argument was much ado about nothing. Wismar in particular felt that simply using "say" was perfectly fine, so long as an initial rubric made clear that "say" encompasses speaking or chanting.

[577] Gervasius Fischer, sec., "MINUTES SUB COMMITTEE on LITURGICS SECOND DAY 1pm," October 19, 1938, located in "The Collection of Gervasius and William Fischer," WELS Archive.

[578] *Cf. The Music of the Liturgy* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing, 1949).

[579] The actual text of the Confiteor is different between P5 and P15, as is the minister's word of absolution. In P5, the minister himself speaks the bulk of the actual confession ("we poor sinners confess unto Thee that we are by nature sinful and unclean and that we have sinned against Thee by thought, word, and deed"), with the congregation joining in to ask for mercy, remission, and an increase of the Holy Spirit. The Minister's response is not an absolution in the strictest sense of the term, but is rather a declaration of grace and an assurance of forgiveness through the power of Holy Baptism and the work of the Holy Spirit. In contrast, the congregation begins and speaks the entire confession of sins in P15 and the minister responds with a full absolution: "I forgive you all your sins in

the congregation to speak its parts as well (even though music is provided). However, the *Music of the Liturgy* (1949) supplemental volume includes minister chants for these rubrically spoken parts. It is possible that the intention was to provide music for the congregation if the minister elected to chant, albeit the Intersynodical Committee's musical sample, led by Chairman Polack, modeled the singing of congregational parts and the speaking of ministerial parts.[580] Whatever the case, the lack of notation for the minister's parts in the hymnal proper, coupled with Polack's sing-speak demonstration, resulted in the peculiar development of the sing-speak tradition in the remnants of the Synodical Conference, a development that persists to this day.[581]

Introit

After the preparatory rite, the Morning Service (in both iterations) continues with the Introit, which the rubrics suggest may be sung by a choir.[582] The second rubrical option is for the minister to say the antiphon and psalm and have the congregation respond by chanting the *Gloria Patri*, which was printed as a sort of optional ordinary with four-part harmonization.[583] The liturgics subcommittee had recommended that "the Gloria Patri is to be given in the most important Psalm Tones."[584] In the end, *TLH* did not include musical settings of the *Gloria Patri* according to the Psalm tones, nor did it include any musical settings for the Introit texts themselves, let alone the Psalms more broadly.

---

the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The content of this preparatory rite formed a major source of consternation for the liturgics subcommittee as well, though it is outside the scope of this research.

[580] Peter C. Reske, "A Documentary History of LCMS Hymnals" (Noël Schalk Memorial Lecture, Lectures in Church Music at the Center for Church Music of Concordia University Chicago, River Forest, IL, October 21, 2024).

[581] For example, the WELS attempted to rectify this in its most recent Synodical hymnal (*Christian Worship,* 2021) by printing the ministerial chant music where appropriate, or otherwise reverting to speaking for both congregation and minister parts. See Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, *Christian Worship: Hymnal* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2021).

[582] The texts of the Introits are contained in full in *TLH,* pp. 54–94.

[583] *TLH*, pp. 6 & 16.

[584] Letter from Gervasius Fischer to Polack, April 14, 1939, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.

On that point, where *ELHB* had allowed for the traditional Lutheran practice of singing the entire Introit Psalm,[585] which Luther patterned in both his *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe*, the rubrics for *TLH* removed this allowance and indicated that only the Introits could be sung. These Introits[586] were drawn from *TCS*, which itself relied upon the precedent of the pre-Reformation Bamberg Missal.[587] Ultimately, the historical practices of singing the entire Introit Psalm or a metrical setting were not allowed.

Kyrie

While the musical selection for the *Kyrie* was derived from Luther's melody composed for the *Deutsche Messe*, the text used by *TLH* is "Lord, have mercy upon us. Christ, have mercy upon us. Lord, have mercy upon us."[588] This translation comes from the 1549 *BCP*, which interpretatively adds "upon us" to the direct translation of the Greek, which in English is "Lord, have mercy."[589] Since Luther originally wrote the melody to correspond to the Greek (*Kyrie, eleison*), the English, especially with the addition of "upon us," is not able to effectively accommodate the music. This required the addition of two syllables on a single note, the styling of which is contrasted below (Figure 5.1) with the original (Figure 5.2):

[585] Ironically, this practice was also utilized in the 1549 *BCP*.
[586] Located on p. 54*ff* in *TLH*, as the rubrics indicate in both the P5 and P15 rites.
[587] Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of The Common Service," p. 250. It is worth noting that there were certain exceptions to the rule, such as the alternate Introit for Easter, which was apparently proffered by Walther and Löhe and is not necessarily indicative of any ideological bias.
[588] *TLH*, pp. 7 and 17.
[589] Note that the original 1549 version, prior to the standardization of English, had, "Lorde, have mercie." Cranmer, *The book of common prayer*, p. 274.

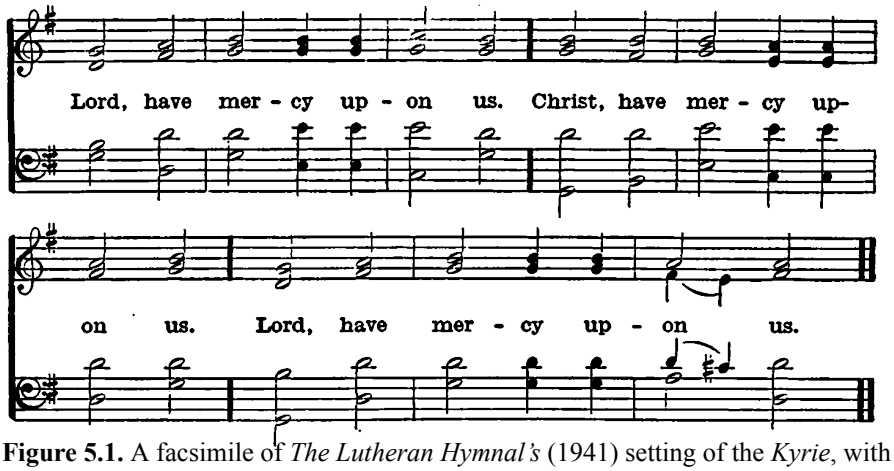


Figure 5.1. A facsimile of *The Lutheran Hymnal's* (1941) setting of the *Kyrie*, with text from the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* and music adapted from Luther's *Deutsche Messe*.[590]
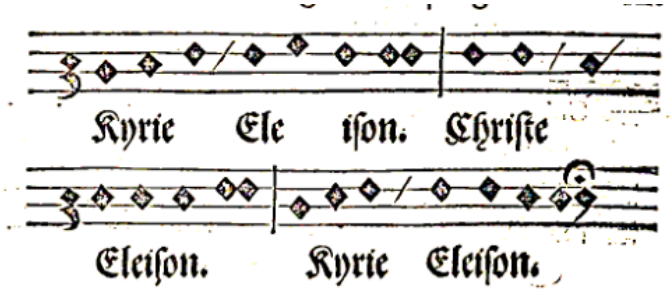


Figure 5.2. A facsimile of Martin Luther's setting of the three-fold *Kyrie, eleison*, as published in 1540 in the *Agende* of Ducal Saxony.[591]

As early as June 7, 1935, the liturgics subcommittee had met to preliminarily outline a liturgical sketch for *TLH*, which iterated the use of the *Kyrie, eleison*, *Christe, eleison, Kyrie, eleison,* with only a parenthetical English reference,[592] ostensibly advocating the use of the Greek as had been proffered in the *Deutsche Messe*.[593] This would not be unusual, considering foreign terms like "Amen," "Hallelujah," and "Sabaoth" also appear in the hymnal.[594] By the time the subcommittee issued its final recommendation in 1939, the Greek original had been relegated to

[590] *TLH*, pp. 7 & 17.
[591] Jonas, et al., *Agende*, p. 41.
[592] Admittedly, using the 1549 *BCP* version.
[593] Liturgics Subcommittee Meeting Minutes, June 7, 1935, Hotel Serman, Chicago, IL, p. 2, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.
[594] *E.g.*, "Amen" is used for various Collects and prayers and "Hallelujah" appears in multiple hymns and as a proper between the lessons. "Sabaoth" is used in the Sanctus and the hymn "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," *TLH* hymn 249.

parentheses, but the English translation they settled upon was "Lord, have mercy."[595] The subcommittee's preference for moving away from the *BCP* translation was not arbitrary, as at least one member argued in personal correspondence that the use of "Lord, have mercy" should be preferred because "Lord have mercy upon us" was a "weaker form."[596] Indeed, the editors of *TLH* in the Intersynodical Committee were aware of this recommendation, since their chairman was present at the subcommittee's meeting where the final recommendation of liturgical form was approved,[597] while another member received this rejection of the *BCP* form in a personal correspondence from the secretary of the liturgics subcommittee:

> Authorities everywhere regret that English adopted the words "Lord, have mercy upon us" which is not exact, but misleading as well for the Kyrie. For that reason the feeling that it belongs into the Confessional part, etc. Today I believe the ULC would not follow the English [Church]—and they would drop the words: "upon us."--The music committee agreed with us, and found the musical setting as given in my report much better than what we have now. You notice the notes are the same.[598]

This shows that these members of the Intersynodical Committee, regardless of their rationale, decided to use the *BCP* translation of the *Kyrie.* This decision was against the liturgics subcommittee's recommendation.[599]

Gloria

The *Gloria in Excelsis* selected for *TLH* had both textual and musical provenance in *BCP* forms. Looking first at the text, the translation of *Gloria in excelsis Deo* into English as "Glory be to God on high" was first used in the 1549 *BCP*[600] and continued to be utilized in later

---

[595] Subcommittee on Liturgics, Meeting Minutes from October 17–19, 1939, River Forrest, Illinois, p. 3, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.
[596] Letter from Gervasius Fischer to John Meyer, Thiensville, WI, July 7, 1939, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.
[597] That is, Polack. See, Subcommittee on Liturgics, Meeting Minutes from October 17–19, 1939, River Forrest, Illinois, p. 3, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.
[598] Fischer to Voss, October 28, 1939, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.
[599] Admittedly, retaining Luther's *Kyrie* music from the *Deutsche Messe* conformed better with the *BCP* text. But recall that the liturgics subcommittee recommended not printing music precisely so that the idea of a prescribed form that must be preserved at all costs would not take root.
[600] Cranmer, *The book of common prayer*, p. 274.

editions of the *BCP,* including the 1928 U.S. *BCP*.[601] As was the case with the *Kyrie*, the liturgics subcommittee proposed using a different translation of the *Gloria*, in this case "Glory to God in the highest."[602] They based this revision on several grounds, including accuracy and conformity to the Biblical text of the KJV, which rendered the *Gloria* in the same way.[603] Members of the liturgics subcommittee claimed the *BCP* version was not only "less scriptural," but also "less poetical" than the KJV rendering.[604]

The criticisms lodged by the liturgics subcommittee against what would finally end up in *TLH* were even more pointed.

> The present setting for the Glorias is far from good—even a revision would not make it good. The committee (music) did not feel that it wanted to recommend the present setting by printing it with the words, and to print a strange setting would certainly not meet with general approval. I believe we are bringing a good compromise."[605]

The "compromise" referenced was the liturgics subcommittee's resolution to not include music with the printing of the full rite. To this end, the subcommittee acknowledged that their insistence upon this recommendation may have been different if the musical option being proffered was of a greater quality.

> If we would have the best melodies in use now, it would still be different, but the selection of the tunes now in use was quite unfortunate to say the least. The Gloria Patri and Excelsis [*sic*] is more often "slaughtered" than sung properly. One solution would be the recommendation of our committee.[606]

---

[601] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America Together with The Psalter or Psalms of David* (New York: The Church Pension Fund, 1928), p. 76 (p. 148), http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1928/BCP1928.pdf.
[602] Liturgics Subcommittee Meeting Minutes, June 7, 1935, Hotel Serman, Chicago, IL, p. 2, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.
[603] St. Luke 2:14.
[604] Letter from Gervasius Fischer to John Meyer, Thiensville, WI, July 7, 1939, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.
[605] Fischer to Voss, October 28, 1939, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.
[606] Fischer to Polack, April 14, 1939, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.

It is important to note that the "slaughtered" melody being referenced is the Scottish chant melody that was already in use in the Synodical Conference via *ELHB*, which ended up being the only *Gloria* option included in the Morning Service in either of its *TLH* iterations. The text and melody of the beginning of the *Gloria* as it appears in *TLH* is reproduced below (Figure 5.3), juxtaposed with how it appears in the 1916 *Hymnal* of the Epsicopal Church.
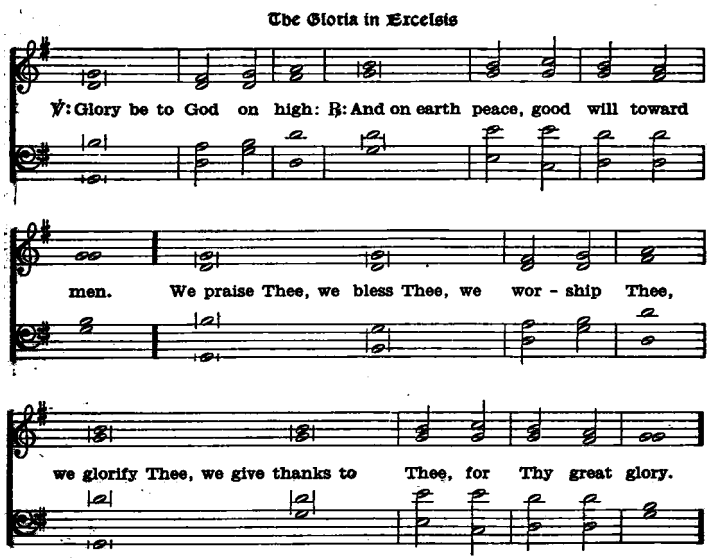


Figure 5.3. A facsimile of the first three systems of the *Gloria in excelsis* from *The Lutheran Hymnal*, which is set to the "Old Scottish Chant" melody from Episcopal usage.[607]

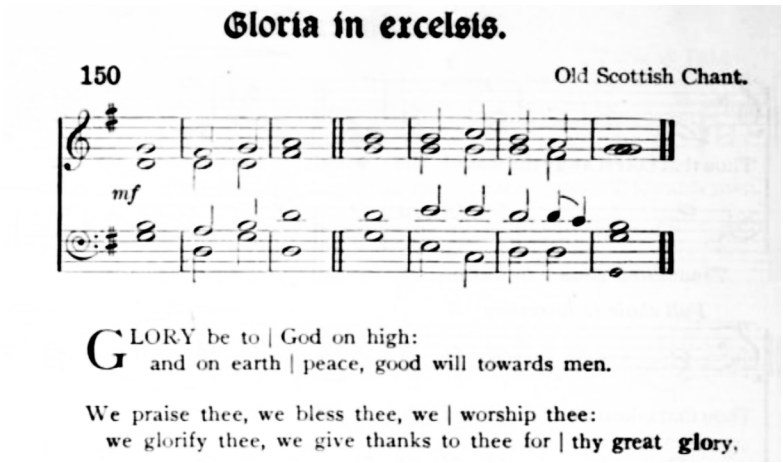


Figure 5.4. A facsimile of the "Old Scottish Chant" and the first two verses of the *Gloria in excelsis* from the 1916 Episcopal *Hymnal.*[608]

[607] *TLH*, pp. 7 and 17.
[608] Episcopal Church, *The Hymnal*, p. 808.

The decision to use this *Gloria* represents perhaps the most explicit example of Anglican influence in *TLH*, since both the text and melody hail from historical and contemporaneous Anglican sources. What is more, the decision not to rubrically allow for the singing of the so-called Lutheran *Gloria*, *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr*, represented a departure from the historical Lutheran orthopraxy of all four constituent bodies of the Synodical Conference, which had used *Allein Gott* in some form in their various native liturgies.

Collect

The Collects for the Day in *TLH* are almost exclusively derived from the 1662 *BCP* tradition, which are occasionally different than the 1549 forms and have been called by some "Calvinistic corruptions."[609] For example, the Lutheran Missal Project recently did a study of the Collect for Trinity 10, which highlighted the following interesting discrepancy as a reason to skeptically reconsider the 1662 *BCP* Collect texts (Table 5.2):

Table 5.2. A comparison of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* "Collect for Trinity 10" with the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* "Collect for Trinity 10."

1549 *BCP* Collect for Trinity 10	**1662 *BCP* Collect for Trinity 10**
God, which declarest thy almighty power, most chiefly in showing mercy and pity; Give unto us abundantly thy grace, that we, running to thy promises, may be made partakers of thy heavenly treasure; through, etc.	O God, who declares thy almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity; Mercifully grant unto us such a measure of thy grace, that we, running the way of thy commandments, may obtain thy gracious promises, and be made partakers of thy heavenly treasure; through, etc.

The Episcopalian *Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary* similarly criticized the difference in this translation:

[609] Evan Scamman, "Calvinistic Corruptions," *The Lutheran Missal* (21 October 2022), https://lutheranmissal.home.blog/2022/10/21/calvinistic-corruptions, accessed 2024.

> In translating this Gelasian [c. 750 AD] Collect the 1662 revisers made changes that altered the sense. The ending originally read: 'that we running to thy promises, may be made partakers of thy heavenly treasure.' The alteration gives the Collect a legalistic overtone, making salvation a future reward for obedience rather than the present possession of a free gift.[610]

It may be that the use of the 1662 *BCP* Collects in *TCS* and subsequently *TLH* was out of ignorance of the fact that they were not the same as the 1549 *BCP*. But it nevertheless undermines the argument that only the ostensibly Lutheran 1549 *BCP* was used in *TCS*.

Gradual

A detail that can not be attributed to the *BCP* tradition is the introduction of the Gradual in *TLH*, a liturgical feature that was not even in *TCS,* let alone the 1549 *BCP*. Its use in *TLH* precluded the Gradual "Psalm" (that is, a chorale, later the *Hauptlied*); the liturgics subcommittee had initially intended that "instead of the Gradual [. . .] a hymn may be sung."[611] The Intersynodical Committee did make sure, however, to include the seasonal sentences that were proffered by *TCS* as an option.

The rubrics also allowed the addition of a Sequence hymn if the Gradual was read by the minister rather than chanted by the choir. Luther patterned several chorales after traditional Latin Sequences, the use of which would later be prescribed as the *Hauptlied*. However, it appears that *TLH*'s rubric envisioned that actual Sequences be used in their traditional placement at this point, since a hymn is rubrically placed after the recitation of the Creed as well, which functionally served as the *Hauptlied*. The use of Sequences was prolific prior to their suppression at the Council of Trent (1545–1563). A revived interest in the Sarum Rite as part of the Oxford

---

[610] Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr., *The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 205, https://archive.org/details/oxfordamericanpr0000unse.
[611] Gervasius Fischer, sec., "The Rubrics and the Common Service, Liturgics Committee Minutes," Hotel Sherman, Chicago, Illinois, June 7, 1935, p. 3, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.

Movement simultaneously revived interest in these medieval Sequences.[612] John Mason Neale's 1851 compendium, *Medieval Hymns and Sequences,*[613] served as a predecessor to *Hymns: Ancient and Modern*. The later publication of *The English Hymnal* in 1906 sought to salvage as many of the original Sequences as possible for ecclesiastical use.[614] The use of the term "Sequence" in *TLH* seems to be a direct nod to these Oxfordian sensibilities, particularly since *Hymns: Ancient and Modern* and *The English Hymnal* were two of the principal hymnals consulted in the creation of *TLH*.

Creed

Aside from the form of confession and absolution in the preparatory rite, the divergence between P5 and P15 becomes stark beginning with the Creed. The rubric for P5 called for the recitation of the Apostles' Creed,[615] while the rubric for P15 called for the recitation of the Nicene Creed.[616] The idea of having two options for a prose Creed was somewhat novel in the Synodical tradition. As was discussed in Chapter II, the pre-English *Agende* of the various Synods unanimously prescribed the option of singing Luther's chorale version of the Creed, *Wir glauben*. Some rubrics allowed other metrical versions or a prose Creed in addition to *Wir glauben*, but whether the Nicene Creed or the Apostles Creed would be used was not typically changeable. This was typical, however, in the Episcopal *BCP*, which rubrically indicated that after the Gospel "shall be said the Creed commonly called the Nicene or else the Apostles'

---

[612] See, for example, Neale's *Mediaeval Hymns and Sequences, https://archive.org/details/mediaevalhymnsse00neal.*
[613] John Mason Neale, *Medieval Hymns and Sequences* (London: Joseph Masters and Son, 1857), https://archive.org/details/mediaevalhymnsse00neal.
[614] Specifically, Nos. 10, 22, 130, 172, 184, 200, 238, 253, 317, 351, and 494 in Percy Dearmer and Ralph Vaughan Williams (eds)., *The English Hymnal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906). It is also worth noting that Dearmer was an ardent proponent of the Sarum Use, and wrote another tome, *The Parson's Handbook*, in 1899 advocating the restoration of much of its ritual within an Anglican context.
[615] *TLH*, p. 12.
[616] *TLH*, p. 22.

Creed."[617] Likewise, the forms of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds used in *TLH* are virtually[618] identical to the 1662 and subsequent *BCP* forms.[619] This is noteworthy because, as was the case with the Collect translations discussed above, the 1549 form of the Nicene Creed was different from the later version, which further deconstructs the argument that only the "Lutheran" 1549 *BCP* was used in the formation of *TCS*.[620]

In any case, the nearly universal Lutheran precedent that Luther's *Wir glauben* or another chorale form would function as the sung version of the Creed was not permitted by *TLH*. This came against the recommendation of the liturgics subcommittee, which advocated that the rubrics should indicate "the metrical versions may be sung."[621] Although the "Music for the Liturgy" supplemental volume had chordal modulations that an organist could elect to use beneath the chanting of the Creeds on a reciting tone, and the rubric in *TLH* indicated that the Creeds could be "said or chanted,"[622] the omission of music in the rite of the hymnal itself arguably made the rubric moot. Recall from the discussion above on the preparatory rite that music was included even for sections in which the rubrics only indicated "said," or that "good usage" would have them spoken.[623] If the music was included for sections that were often spoken, then the omission of music in the Creed might have been viewed as a signal in its own

---

[617] The Episcopal Church, *The Book of Common Prayer,* p. 70.
[618] Where the *BCP* had "one Catholic and Apostolic Church," *TLH* put "one holy Christian and Apostolic Church." This distinction could have several factors, including the fact that the Book of Concord uses the phrase "Christian" rather than "Catholic," owing initially to a pre-Reformation translation convention rather than polemic, but certainly later a mark of disconnect from Rome. So, too, the omission of "holy" from the *BCP* can be understood as a mark of Protestant theology, denoting that the Church's struggles—marked, for example, by Rome's perceived errors—do not warrant the "holy" moniker.
[619] Episcopal Church, 1928 *BCP*, pp. 15*f.*
[620] The form of the Creed in the 1549 *BCP* entirely omitted the clause, "Whose kingdom shall have no end," from the Second Article. It is unclear why this was the case.
[621] Gervasius Fischer, *sec*., SUBCOMMITTEE ON LITURGICS, Meeting Minutes, Part II. Revision of Final Repoert [*sic*], October 17–19, 1939, River Forest, Ill., located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.
[622] *TLH*, pp. 12 and 22.
[623] *TLH*, p. 4.

right, the rubric notwithstanding. The resulting practice meant the loss of the singing of the Creed in the overwhelming majority of congregations.

Offertory

The first substantive musical differentiation between P5 and P15 is the music for the Offertory. Though the text is the same, the music for each Service had different versions originally written for the German text, 'Schaff in mir.'[624] Both melodies are of solidly Lutheran pedigree. What is more noteworthy here is their title and placement in *TLH*. As noted in the analyses in Chapters II and III, *Schaff in mir* was directly associated with the penitential rite and the Communion Liturgy in the *Kirchen Agende*, the Sacramental vestiges of which are completely divorced in P5.[625] Meanwhile, P15 alters the context of the hymn as part of the penitential rite, which occurs at the beginning of the Service rather than after the Sermon, where *Schaff in mir* is located. Filling this void, the hymn was reimagined as an "Offertory," akin to the Offertory verses utilized in the *BCP*. Where Luther had suppressed the Offertory and Canon due to the theological connotations of sacrifice in the Roman Church, the Anglican Church did not have qualms with an Offertory and Eucharistic Prayer and retained them. Of course, the placement of a hymn in most of the Synodical rites served an offertory function in the sense that the Lutheran ministers would prepare the elements of the Eucharist during that time. It is unclear why the final product in *TLH* did not include variable Offertories like the Introits and Graduals; after all, even *TCS* had two options for the Offertory text, where *TLH* had but the one. It seems probable that the influence of the LCMS on *TLH*'s development is evident in this choice, since the use of *Schaff in mir* was a vestige of the *Kirchen-Agende* tradition.

---

[624] Drawn from Psalm 51:10–12.
[625] Since neither Absolution nor the Sacrament are offered in P5.

Liturgy of the Sacrament

Much like the Offertory, the Liturgy of the Sacrament in P15 is almost exclusively drawn from the LCMS liturgical tradition. P5, of course, had no Eucharist, and promptly concluded after the Sermon as outlined in Table 5.2.[626] On a textual basis, the most significant departure in the P15 Liturgy of the Sacrament from *TCS* precedent was the omission of an Exhortation. The question of the Exhortation to Communion was of some consternation to the liturgics subcommittee, since the full Intersynodical Committee was resolved to include it in "The Order of the Confessional Service," where it finally ended up on page forty-seven of *TLH*. Of course, the Exhortation is for Communion, and its use as part of a Confessional Service outside of a Eucharistic context can be confusing (albeit the confessional Service was often used the Saturday before Communion was offered). Gervasius Fischer was particularly confounded by this choice and wrote in several places and to various members of the Committee concerning it. Chronicling the decisions made by the liturgics subcommittee, he wrote:

> If the Exhortation is to be printed, it should be printed before the Lord's Prayer, where it now appears, but not in connection with the ORDER OF PUBLIC CONFESSION. Tjis [*sic*] confessess [*sic*] the EXHORTATION with the regular Beichtvermahnung [Confessional Address]. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT IT APPEAR ON THEPAGE [*sic*] with special prayer at the opening of the service-- to be printed before the Liturgy. It would serve for private meditation, when not used in the service.[627]

Why the Exhortation failed to appear in P15 is difficult to ascertain, but some speculation will be offered in the section below on the "Order of Public Confession."

From a textual analysis perspective, the clearest iteration of *BCP* influence in the Eucharistic rite was the form of the Proper Preface, which followed a standard *BCP* style, particularly concluding: "Therefore with angels and archangels and with all the company of

---

[626] *TLH*, pp. 12-14.
[627] Gervasius Fischer, "CHANGES IN THE LITURGY," p. 2, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Files," WELS Archive.

heaven we laud and magnify Thy glorious name, evermore praising Thee and saying: [*Sanctus*]."[628] The liturgics subcommittee had spent an inordinate amount of time preparing alternate Prefaces that conformed more closely with the historic Lutheran agendas, themselves derived from the Latin originals (this is a good example of the fact that the liturgics subcommittee was not opposed to using prose forms at all, but simply wanted the chorales and "village" tradition of the Saxon *Agende* to be preserved alongside them). For example, their proposed revision to the Proper Preface's conclusion read: "Through Whom angels and archangels, together with the blessed seraphim and all the company of heaven, in unanimous exultation laud Thy divine majesty. With them permit us nol [*sic*] to lift up our voices, and adoring Thee, to say: Sanctus."[629]

The liturgics subcommittee had tasked Wismar with the work of revising the Preface texts. As was discussed in Chapter IV, Wismar was one of the primary instigators of the Liturgical Society of St. James, who advocated a much more traditional approach to liturgical practice. As such, his work was more in-depth than simply revising the Preface and also included recommendations to restore Eucharistic Prayer beyond what was offered in *TCS*. The liturgics subcommittee recommended having Wismar's Eucharistic Prayer as an alternative option. According to their minutes, "DR. WISMAR'S SUGGESTION FOR A MORE COMPLETE PREFACE WITH EUCHARISTIC PRAYER was discussed. It was decided the [*sic*] such a form be printed as an alternate on the same pagewith [*sic*] the alternate for Preparatory services." Ultimately, this recommendation was not implemented, nor was Wismar's work revising the Prefaces; instead, the *BCP* language was retained.

---

[628] *Cf. BCP*, 1549, p. 221, and *TLH*, p. 25.
[629] Gervasius Fischer, PROPOSED REVISION OF WISMAR'S PREFACE, 3–4–1939, p. 1, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archives.

Language notwithstanding, the music of the Communion liturgy would have been very familiar to LCMS Lutherans who had used Walther's *Kirchengesangbuch*. The Preface, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei* melodies were all the same as Walther's proto-hymnal, as had been the case in *ELHB*. The only melodic change was in the form of the addition of the *Nunc Dimittis,* set to a sixteenth-century German melody, in keeping with *TCS* precedent. This evidence seems to bolster the notion that the decisions of the Intersynodical Committee in the publication of *TLH* were ultimately guided by what was familiar to LCMS audiences. Had the liturgics subcommittee's recommendation been followed to print no music, a variety could have been proffered to accommodate all the members of the Synodical Conference. The Communion melodies from the Norwegian and Slovak traditions could have served as alternate options. The lack of alternate melodies from these disparate traditions certainly seems to point to a decision to provide music and texts that would augment continuity with the established *ELHB* tradition, for better or worse.

Thanksgiving and Conclusion

Where the Postcommunion Collect would naturally occur, the Communion-less P5 rite offered instead the option for a "Collect for the Word" or a "Collect for the Church."[630] The first option is a direct quote from the *BCP*'s Collect for the Second Sunday in Advent:

> Blessed Lord, who has caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning, grand that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of Thy holy Word we may embrace, and ever hold fast, the blessed hope of everlasting life, which Thou hast given us in our Savior Jesus Christ.[631]

[630] *TLH*, p. 14.
[631] *Cf. TLH* p. 14 and *BCP*, 1549, p. 34.

On P15, the second Poscommunion option offered is drawn from the Sarum Missal Communion prayers for the celebrating priest.[632] As with the Liturgy of the Sacrament that preceded it, the conclusion paid direct textual homage to the *BCP* and the broader Anglo-Catholic tradition while maintaining certain musical vestiges of a decidedly LCMS rite.

Concluding Remarks on P5 and P15

This overview of *TLH*'s Order of Morning Service in both its P5 and P15 iterations has demonstrated Anglican liturgico-musical influences throughout, most notably in its direct textual reliance upon the *BCP* and broader Anglican tradition, as well as through musical choices (particularly in the *Gloria*) that were drawn from the same. On both of these points, the liturgics subcommittee responsible for the production of *TLH*'s liturgy was ignored. They had proffered options that would not have relied upon the *BCP*. More profoundly from the perspective of Lutheran liturgico-musical continuity, they also recommended the retention of the chorale canticles that formed the heart of the Lutheran liturgical tradition stemming all the way back to the Saxon *Agende*. In this respect, the decision not to include any of the liturgics subcommittee's recommendations in the final product of *TLH* represented a departure from the Evangelical-Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition of the chorale in favor of forms with Anglican influences. While it is likely that this decision was simply due to LCMS hegemony and a seeming desire to have continuity with the *ELHB* tradition—in spite of many objections,

---

[632] *Cf.* "O God the Father, Fount and Source of all goodness, who in loving-kindness didst send Thine only-begotten Son into the flesh, we thank Thee that for His sake Thou hast given us pardon and peace in this Sacrament; and we beseech Thee not to forsake Thy children, but evermore to rule our hearts and minds by Thy Holy Spirit, that we may be enabled constantly to serve Thee," *TLH* p. 31, and "Deus Pater, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui ductus misericordia Unigenitum tuum pro nobis ad infima mundi descendere et carnem sumere voluisti, quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo: Te adoro, te glorifico, te tota mentis ac cordis intentione laudo: Et precor ut nos famulos tuos non deseras, sed peccata nostra dimittas, quatenus tibi soli vivo ac vero Deo, puro corde et casto corpore servire valeamus," *Sarum Missal,* in The Modern Medievalist, "The Sarum Low Mass: Mass of the Faithful," *Modern Medievalism*, 13 October 2012, https://modernmedievalism.blogspot.com/2012/10/the-sarum-low-mass-mass-of-faithful.html, accessed 2024.

including the memorials that had spawned *TLH* in the first place—, the end result was the same. For the majority of Synodical Conference Lutherans that adopted *TLH*, centuries of Lutheran liturgico-musical orthopraxy were replaced by forms inspired by the *BCP*.

In addition to *BCP* forms, the use the Propers of the Mass more broadly demonstrated in the P5 and P15 rites also seems to share certain characteristics with the progression of the contemporaneous Anglo-Catholic movement, which had sprung from the initial Tractarian circles. Advocating for an "Interim Rite" between the *BCP* and the Roman Missal in 1928, Norman Powell Williams (1883–1943) observed that "there are some among us who recommend that we should boldly introduce the Missal, Roman or Sarum, and defend our action on the ground that it has never been canonically abolished." However, he recognized that this model would not be generally appealing within the Anglican communion. Therefore, he encouraged:

> "For the sake of gaining uniformity among ourselves, 'for the present distress,' and until an adequate revision of our Liturgy can be secured by synodical authority, we should be content to use the words of the present Prayer-book Rite, rearranged in the order of the first Prayer-book of Edward V1."[633]

Even for those whose scruples compelled them to maintain the prescribed and authorized form of the *BCP*,[634] he noted, "there are many among us who feel that our promise to use the prescribed form does not prevent us from adding certain enrichments," which included "say[ing] the Introit," which of course was drawn from "the Roman Missal, or parts of it," used "in a vernacular translation."[635]

In the United States, this is precisely the model one finds among Anglican Churches that stringently advocate the use of the 1928 U.S. *BCP*, supplemented with the Roman Introits and

---

[633] Norman Powell Williams, "For the Present Distress: A Suggestion for an Interim Rite," 1928 (London: Printed for Private Circulation), anglicanhistory.org/england/npwilliams/interim1928.html.
[634] In the Anglican Church, this remained the 1662 *BCP*, as the 1928 proposed revision was defeated. In the U.S., the Episcopalians did produce a new U.S. *BCP* in 1928, albeit it was substantively very similar to the preceding Episcopal version.
[635] Williams, "For the Present Distress," <anglicanhistory.org/england/npwilliams/interim1928.html>.

other propers. This is particularly ironic, since the Anglican tradition had its own set of Introits prescribed in the 1549 *BCP*, which differed significantly from the Roman use. While the connection is at most indirect, this demonstrates a pattern of liturgical development that for the Protestant world began in Oxford and progressed into Romanizing tendencies. This model was at least paralleled if not explicitly patterned by the global Lutheran Church, which in America in particular adopted Episcopalian forms for various reasons that were explored in Chapter III with regard to *TCS*. With regard to *TLH*, the use of the Roman-esque Introits to the exclusion of fuller Psalm options (which even *TCS* had allowed) and the addition of the Roman Graduals (which were not in the *BCP*) seem to point to this trend.

Matins, Vespers, and Miscellaneous Rites

The Lutheran Hymnal contains much more than the liturgies of P5 and P15. In the first place, following the precedent set by *TCS*, *TLH* contains the Orders of Matins and Vespers directly following the so-called Morning Service (that is, what was historically the Eucharistic rite, with or without Communion). In fact, while "The Common Service" has come to be synonymous with the Morning Service specifically, the title was really intended to encompass the full liturgical progression of the Morning Service along with Matins and Vespers. Matins and Vespers initially existed as part of the monastic "Divine Office," a series of regimented prayer hours that center heavily on the Psalms. During the Reformation, Luther advocated the use of these Offices in simplified form for lay use.[636]

[636] "We should assemble daily at four or five in the morning and have [God's Word] read, either by pupils or priests, or whoever it may be, in the same manner as the lesson is still read at Matins; this should be done by one or two, or by one individual or choir after responding to the other, as may seem most suitable. [. . .] In like manner, come together at five or six in the evening. At this time one should really read again the Old Testament, book by book, namely the Prophets, even as Moses and the historical books are taken up in the morning. But since the New Testament is also a book, I read the Old Testament in the morning and the New Testament in the evening, or vice versa, and have reading, interpreting, praising, singing, and praying just as in the morning, also for an hour. For all

Luther's vision of Matins and Vespers served a similar function to what would come to be known as Mattins (known in its spoken form as Morning Prayer) and Evensong (known in its spoken form as Evening Prayer) in the Anglican tradition. The trajectory of the musical development and the ritual components of the two traditions, however, progressed along different paths. The Matins and Vespers liturgies represented in *TLH* demonstrated a clear example of Anglican musical influence, with nearly all of the major musical selections hailing from Anglican chant sources, along with a few plainsong additions that were borrowed from Episcopal use. Of course, the liturgics subcommittee had recommended that no music be printed at all, allowing for variety:

> The same thing applies to Matins and Vespers. It will not be long that the number of those who use the Plain Chant melody for the Vespers will outnumber those who use the melody now printed in the book. Which of the two would be printed with the words? Could I again remind you of our recommendation? That the Order of Services be printed without note.[637]

As was the case with the Morning Service in its P5 and P15 iterations analyzed above, the final product in *TLH* was published against the recommendation of the liturgics subcommittee that worked on the Matins and Vespers rites.

Most significant analyses of liturgico-musical development in the Lutheran tradition in America have focused primarily on the Communion liturgy and hymnody. The lack of attention to the Divine Office in particular is an area of inquiry that is answered by this study. Although the following sections will not provide an exhaustive treatment of the development of Matins and Vespers in the Lutheran and Anglican traditions, it will offer new perspectives and begin to

---

that matters is that the Word of God be given free reign to uplift and quicken souls so that they do not become weary. Should one desire to hold another such service during the day after lunch, that is a matter of choice." Luther, *Luther's works, vol. 53*, pp. 12–13.

[637] Gervasius Fischer to Polack, April 14, 1939, located in "The Gervasius and Willliam Fischer Collection," WELS Archives.

account for a void in the literature by highlighting specific instances of Anglican liturgico-musical influences on *TLH's* rites.

Matins

The order of Matins in *TLH* is really an amalgamation of the monastic Offices of Matins (also called Vigils) and Lauds from the Benedictine monastic tradition. Like many other facets in *TLH* and the broader rite of *TCS*, the Divine Office represents a return to a more Roman iteration of the rite than its Protestant development. But the musical forms used, in contrast, were of almost exclusively Anglican provenance, starting with the opening *Gloria Patri.*
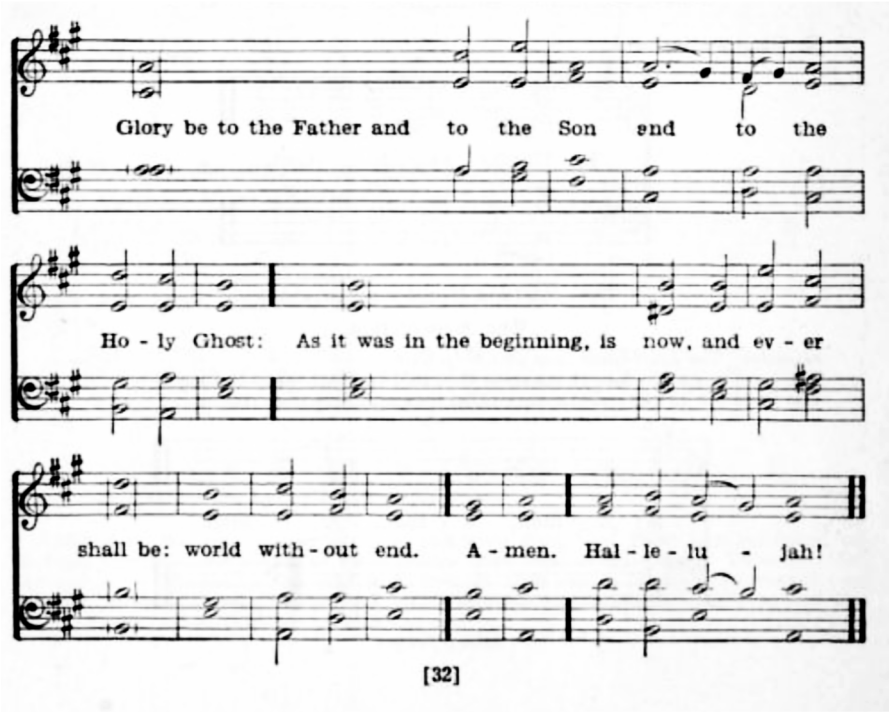


Figure 5.5. A facsimile of the *Gloria Patri* from Matins in *The Lutheran Hymnal,* set to the Anglican double chant tone by Thomas Norris (1741–1790).[638]

The musical setting of the *Gloria Patri*, pictured above, is an Anglican double chant tone composed by Thomas Norris (1741–1790), pictured below in its iteration in *The Parish Church*

[638] *TLH*, p. 32.

Chant Book (Figure 5.6). It is unclear where the editors of *TLH* discovered this particular setting, particularly given the extra flourishes added to the second phrase and the variation to the terminal phrase.
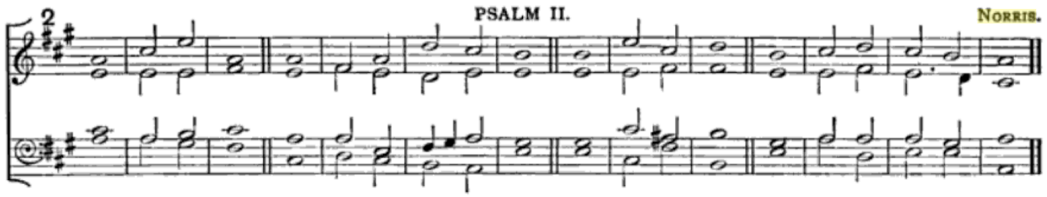


Figure 5.6. A facsimile of *The Parish Church Chant Book*, depicting the double Anglican chant by Thomas Norris (highlighting added to his name in this thesis copy) also utilized in *The Lutheran Hymnal*.[639]

This particular chant is used three times in *TLH*, as both the opening *Gloria Patri* in Matins and Vespers, and as the musical setting of the *Benedictus*. More will be said on the latter use in the section below dealing with the *Benedictus*. It is significant that the decision to use this Anglican chant can not be attributed to *ELHB* precedent. While much of the music was similar between the various rites, the *Gloria Patri* contained in its Office was set to a simple plainsong melody.[640]

Venite

The traditional monastic Matins began with Psalm 95, known also as the *Venite* from its Latin title. The *BCP* tradition retained the use of the *Venite,* while its use was not historically ubiquitous in Lutheran contexts.[641] Its inclusion is a clear example of *TLH's* (via *TCS*) adoption

---

[639] Henry J. Bidder and J. Varley Roberts, eds., *The Parish Church Chant Book* (London and New York: Novello, Ewar and Co., 1909), p. 2, https://books.google.com/books?id=NYZNx_QccRwC.
[640] ELSMOOS, *Music for the Liturgy*, p. 50, https://archive.org/details/musicforliturgyi00evan/page/50/mode/2up.
[641] "At five or six o'clock in the morning a few Psalms are chanted for Matins. A sermon follows on the Epistle of the day, chiefly for the sake of the servants so that they too may be cared for and hear God's Word, since they cannot be present at other sermons. After this an antiphon and the Te Deum or the Benedictus, alternately, with an Our Father, collects, and Benedicamus Domino." Martin Luther, *Luther's works, vol. 53: Liturgy and Hymns*, p. 68. See also Gunther Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig*, ed. Robin A. Leaver, tr. Herbert J. A. Bouman, Daniel F. Poellot, and Hilton C. Oswaldand (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1984) and Robin Leaver, *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2017) for examples of what Matins might have looked like in disparate Lutheran contexts. In city settings, Latin schools with boys' choirs could chant Gregorian settings of the Psalms, while in more rural contexts the chorales would function as "German Psalmody." In both of these studies, the *Venite* is not recorded as being part of the Matins rite.

of Anglican text and music.[642] The *Venite* in *TLH* (Figure 5.8a/b) was set to a double Anglican chant attributed to Georg Fredric Handel (1685–1759), which was also used by the General Council as part of the music attendant to the Venite in the original *TCS* (Figure 5.7). [643]

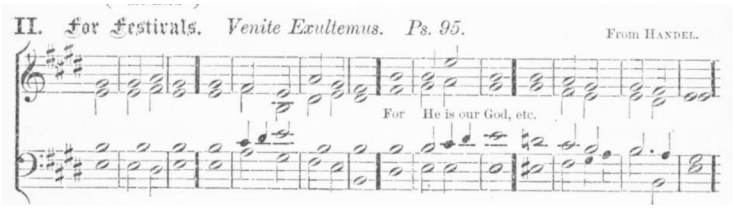


Figure 5.7. A facsimile of the Anglican chant melody of the *Venite Exultemus* ascribed to Handel from the General Council's *Church Book* (1893).[644]
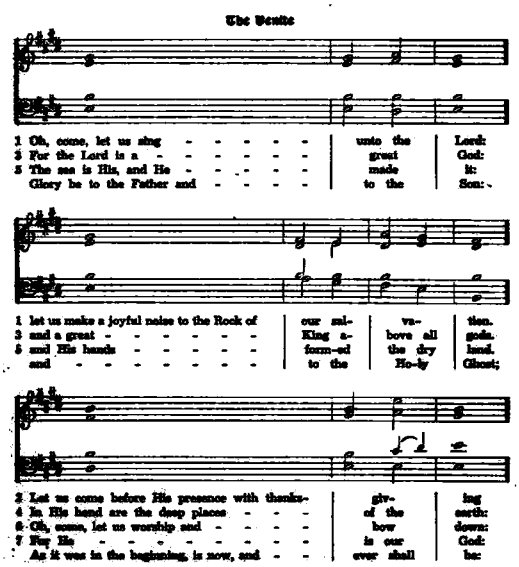


Figure 5.8a. A facsimile of the first three systems of the *Venite* in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, demonstrating the same Anglican chant ascribed to Handel in the *Church Book*.[645]

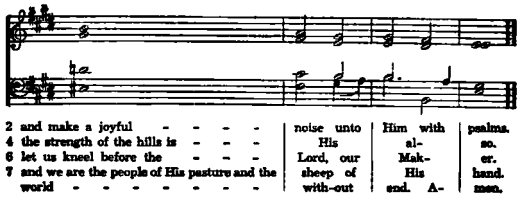


Figure 5.8b. A facsimile of the final system of the *Venite* in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, demonstrating the same

[642] It may also be indicative of the Oxford Movement-adjacent repristination mindset that sought to restore the more primitive forms of the ancient Church.
[643]General Council, *Church Book*, p. 52.
[644]General Council, *Church Book*, p. 52.
[645] *TLH*, p. 33.

Anglican chant ascribed to Handel in the *Church Book*.[646]

As mentioned above, the liturgics subcommittee had recommended no music be printed in the rite proper, but did advocate the inclusion of plainsong settings later on in *TLH*. The following is one example of the type of setting the liturgics subcommittee had in mind, which had previously been prescribed in the LCMS *Agenda*. Here, the *Venite* was set to the seventh tone, ostensibly mirroring the setting of the *Benedictus* to the seventh tone in traditional Lutheran practice (Figure 5.9).[647]

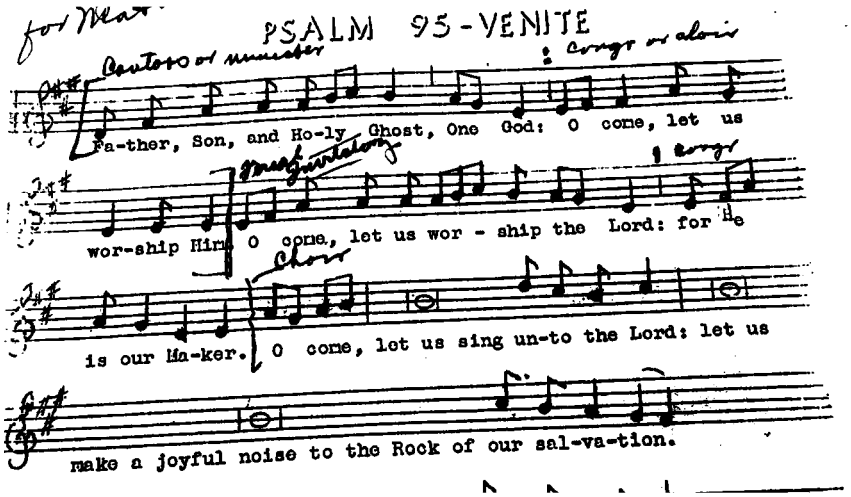


Figure 5.9. A facsimile of the first four systems of a hand-edited draft of the *Venite* from the files of Gervasius Fischer.[648]

The decision to use Anglican chant was not due to a lack of alternative discussion or resources. Beyond just the music, the textual truncation of Psalm 95 in *TLH's* rite follows an Episcopalian precedent. In the U.S. *BCP*, the *Venite* omitted vv. 7b-11, appending vv. 10 and 13 of Psalm 96 in their place.[649] *TLH* followed the truncation without the amendment. In this way, both the textual variant and the music of the *Venite* in *TLH* are owed to the Anglican tradition.

---

[646] *TLH*, p. 34.
[647] Luther had set his translations from the Lutherbibel of all three of the Biblical office canticles to various Psalm tones. For examples of each, see: Christopher J. Neuendorf, "The Psalter: The Canticles," *The Free Lutheran Chorale-Book*, WordPress, 2013–2024, https://www.lutheranchoralebook.com/resources/psalter, accessed 2023.
[648] Anon., "Psalm 95 — Venite," Located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.
[649] U.S. *BCP*, p. 9.

The Lesson

An ironic *BCP* influence on *TLH* was realized in the response to the lesson(s), "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord."[650] The traditional response to the lessons in the Office (as well as the Mass) in the Roman rite is *Deo Gracias*, literally meaning "Thanks be to God." The more verbose "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord" may appear to be a trivial prosaic flourish, but the textual variant comes from the Scottish *BCP*, which had the identical language as the response to the Gospel.[651] It is unclear why *TLH* was published with this usage, especially since the U.S. *BCP* did not use this form of the response. Whatever the case may be, it is clear that *TLH* utilized a wide array of *BCP* texts rather than a singular publication year or regional source.

Te Deum

Historically, Matins ended with the *Te Deum* on Sundays before continuing into Lauds. Since the Protestant tradition merged both rites, the *Te Deum* became an optional canticle alongside the *Benedictus* of Lauds.[652] Luther considered the *Te Deum* to be one of the Creeds, after the Apostles and Nicene,[653] a fondness which compelled him to set the *Te Deum* as a chorale, *Herr Gott, dich loben wir*.[654] This chorale setting became a staple not only for Lutheran Matins, but for the Lutheran chorale canon outright, frequently being sung after the Sermon in Communion liturgies on major festivals like Michaelmas, at times of thanksgiving, harvest

---

[650] *TLH*, p. 34.
[651] The Scottish *BCP* had in response to the Gospel as early as 1764, "Thanks be to thee, O Lord, for this thy Glorious Gospel." See John Dowden, *Historical Account of Scottish & American Communion Offices. With Reprints* (London: R. Grant & Son, 1884), p. 130, https://archive.org/details/annotatedscottis00dowd.
[652] As Luther recommended in 1526, "the *Te Deum* or the Benedictus, alternately" could be sung. *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, p. 68.
[653] "The third symbol is said to be of SS. Augustine and Ambrose, and is supposed to have been sung at the baptism of Augustine. Whether that is true or not—and it does no harm whether one believes it or not—it is nevertheless a fine symbol or creed (whoever the author) composed in the form of a chant, not only for the purpose of confessing the true faith, but also for praising and thanking God." Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 34, p. 201*f*.
[654] See *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, p. 173*f*.

festivals, and the like.[655] Luther's *Te Deum* appeared in the native hymnals of all four Synodical Conference members; indeed, it even had pride of place as the first hymn in the WELS' *Evangelisch Gesangbuch* of 1872.[656]

Despite this precedent, *Herr Gott, dich loben wir* was not proffered as an option in *TLH* Matins. In fact, it did not appear in *TLH* at all. In its place was the *BCP* prose text of the *Te Deum* (Figure 5.11a/b/c/d),[657] set in Matins with an Anglican double chant by Henry Lawes (1596–1662) in B-Flat Major for vv. 1–7, 14–17, as well as a double chant in B-flat Minor by Robert Cooke (1768–1814) for vv. 8–13 (Figure 5.10), following a convention from *The Hymnal of the Episcopal Church* (1916; note that the verses are numbered differently in *The Hymnal* than *TLH*, but the text and chants are the same).
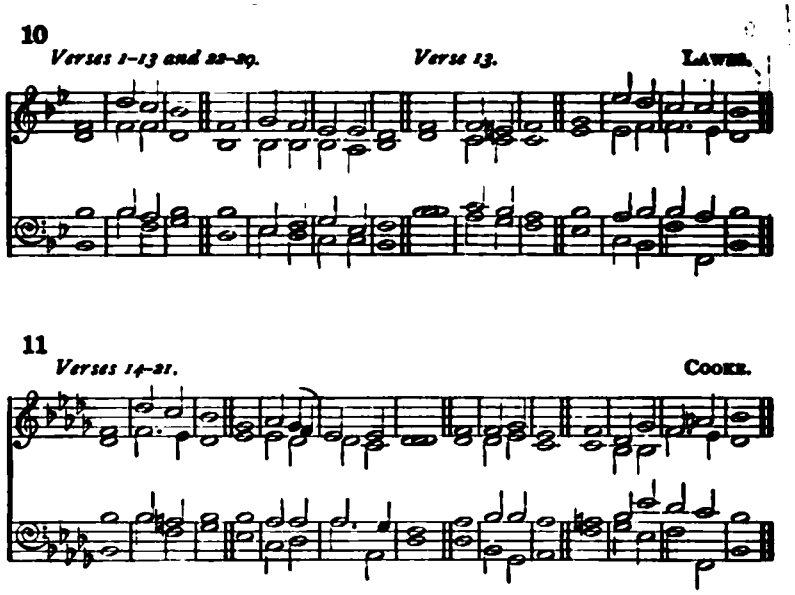


Figure 5.10. A facsimile of the Anglican chant setting of the *Te Deum* by Henry Lawes (1596–1662) and Robert Cooke (1768–1814) from the Episcopalian *The Hymnal* (1916).[658]

[655] See Robin Leaver, *Bach Studies: Liturgy, Hymnology, and Theology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), p. 342, https://books.google.com/books?id=vEEjEAAAQBAJ.
[656] As well as in its quickly-redacted 1870 version.
[657] U.S. *BCP*, p. 10*f*.
[658] Episcopal Church, *The Hymnal,* p. 730.

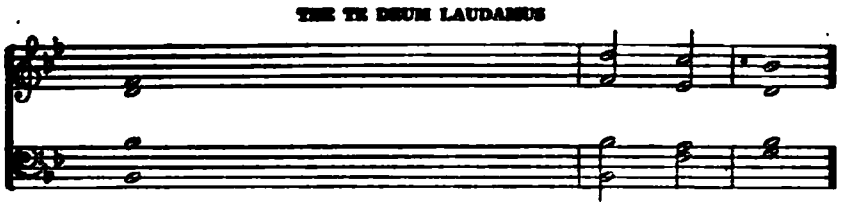


Figure 5.11a. A facsimile of the first system of Lawes' chant for the *Te Deum* in *The Lutheran Hymnal*.[659]
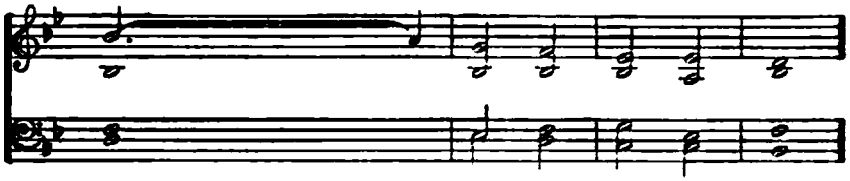


Figure 5.11b. A facsimile of the second system of Lawes' chant from the *Te Deum* in *The Lutheran Hymnal*.[660]

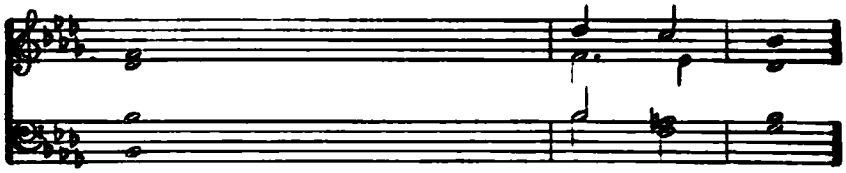


Figure 5.11c. A facsimile of the first system of Cooke's chant from the *Te Deum* in *The Lutheran Hymnal*.[661]

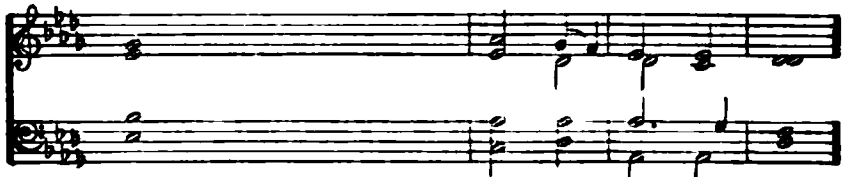


Figure 5.11d. A facsimile of the second system of Cooke's chant from the *Te Deum* in *The Lutheran Hymnal*.[662]

It is of note that this setting of the *Te Deum* was also included in *ELHB*.[663]

Benedictus

As referenced above, the alternating use of the *Benedictus* and *Te Deum* prescribed in *TLH*'s Matins stems from the precedent set by Luther himself.[664] Several Lutheran sources prescribed the singing of the *Benedictus* to the seventh tone.[665] This formed a tonal progression

[659] *TLH*, p. 35, text omitted. The text is centered below each system. P. 37 contains vv. 22–39 set separately.
[660] *Ibid*.
[661] *TLH*, p. 36, text omitted.
[662] *Ibid.*
[663] *ELHB* 571.
[664] As Luther recommended in 1526, "the *Te Deum* or the Benedictus, alternately" could be sung. *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, p. 68.
[665] See Neundorf, "The Psalter: The Canticles," https://www.lutheranchoralebook.com/resources/psalter.

between the Office canticles, since the eighth tone was prescribed for the *Nunc Dimittis* and the pseudo-ninth Peregrine tone was prescribed for the *Magnificat*. Although chorale settings supplanted most of these chants in popularity, just as Luther's *Te Deum* may have been more frequently sung by the laity than the *Benedictus* outside the context of Matins, the fact that there was historical precedence for the melody is noteworthy. This is especially true considering the fact that the liturgics subcommittee for *TLH* had recommended the use of the plainsong melodies in Matins and Vespers and believed their popularity would be realized over and against the forms that were ultimately published. In the end, *TLH* was published with the *Benedictus* having the same Anglican double chant by Thomas Norris that had been used for the *Gloria Patri*.[666]

It should be noted here that the rubric in *TLH* allowed for "other Canticles [to] be sung on other days" than Sunday.[667] The monastic tradition had seven Old Testament Canticles that were sung on specific days of the week at the end of the Psalmody at Lauds in addition to the *Benedictus* (as well as the *Magnificat* at Vespers and the *Nunc Dimittis* at Compline).[668] *TLH* printed all of these Old Testament Canticles on pages 130–132, albeit they were not referenced in the rubrics of the Matins liturgy. Although the use of these Canticles would have varied in practice, there was certainly Lutheran precedent for their maintenance, considering that many of them were preserved in the earliest Lutheran hymnals.[669] Unfortunately, *TLH* did not provide music for any of these texts, making them largely ignored. The omission is curious, given that

---

[666] *TLH*, p. 38.
[667] *TLH*, p. 35.
[668] These were, in order from Sunday through Saturday: *Benedicite omnia opera* (Song of the Three Young Men, Apocryphal Daniel 3) *Confitebor tibi, Domine* (Canticle of Isaiah, 12:1–6) *Ego dixi in dimidio dierum* (Canticle of Hezekiah, Isaiah 38:10–20), *Exultavit cor meum* (Canticle of Hannah, 1 Samuel 2:1–10), *Cantemus Domino* (Canticle of Moses, Exodus 15:1–6, 11–13, 17–18), *Domine, audivi* (Canticle of Habakkuk, 3) and *Audite, coeli* (Second Canticle of Moses, Deuteronomy 32:1–43).
[669] For example, in the Wittenberg Hymnal of 1529 and the Babst Hymnal of 1545. See Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, pp. 252, 273.

the printing of several other Psalms/Canticles following the hymns in *TLH*, numbered 662–668, are set to Anglican chant.

The Prayers

The most significant portion of the final section of Matins, aptly titled "The Prayers," is the *Kyrie*. The musical source of the *Kyrie* is unclear, though like P5 and P15, it features the additional "upon us" verbiage from the *BCP* tradition. In addition, the translation of the "Collect for Grace" in *TLH*[670] is directly drawn from the *BCP* Morning Prayer rite:

> O LORD, our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God, who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day; Defend us in the ame with thy mighty power; and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but that all our doings, being ordered by thy governance, may be righteous in thy sight.[671]

Vespers

Several of the items discussed above pertaining to Matins are redoubled in the Vespers rite in *TLH*, including the *Gloria Patri* set to the Anglican double chant by Thomas Norris,[672] the use of the lection response from the Scottish *BCP*,[673] and a Collect borrowed from the *BCP*. In the case of Vespers, this latter point was the borrowed "Collect for Peace:"

> O God, from whom all holy desires, all good councils, and all just works do proceed; Give unto thy servants that peace which the world cannot give; that our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments, and also that by thee, we, being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness; through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour.[674]

---

[670] *TLH*, p. 40.
[671] 1928 U.S. *BCP*, p. 40 (p. 77). Note that *TLH* adds a full Trinitarian doxology, whereas the *BCP* ends "through Jesus Christ, our Lord.
[672] *TLH*, p. 41.
[673] *TLH*, p. 42.
[674] 1928 U.S. *BCP*, p. 48 (p. 93). Note that *TLH* concludes with the rest of the Trinitarian formula and does not use the British spelling of "Saviour."

In addition to these points of similarity, Matins and Vespers in *TLH* also shared identical musical settings for the "Amens" and responses to the Salutation and *Benedicamus*. The primary area of differentiation between Matins and Vespers, aside from the absence of the *Venite* in the latter, was realized in the Canticles that were suggested for use. Where Matins offered the *Te Deum* and *Benedictus*, Vespers had the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*. This is also possibly borrowed from the Anglican *BCP* tradition, which amalgamated the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* in its Evening Prayer rite.

Office Canticles

Unlike the Canticles for Matins, both the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* were set to the same melody in *TLH*. The melody was a variant of the first tone, which was the same tone utilized for the *Nunc Dimittis* in *The Hymnal* of the Episcopal Church.[675] Elsewhere, the setting of the *Nunc Dimittis* used in *TLH* bore the inscription *Ferial Meditation*,[676] while a modified version of the chant setting used in *TLH* appeared in *The Mission Hymnal* of the Episcopal Church, as pictured below in Figures 5.12 and 5.13.

[675] *The Hymnal*, p. 759.
[676] See also an attribution to *Ferial Meditation* set to the *Nunc Dimittis* in Harry G. Archer and Luther D. Reed, eds., *The Psalter and Canticles Pointed for Chanting to The Gregorian Psalm Tones With a Plain Song Setting for the Order of Matins and Vespers, Accompanying Harmonies, and Tables of Proper Psalms for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897), p. 372, https://archive.org/details/psaltercanticles00arch/page/n3/mode/2up, for the General Synod.
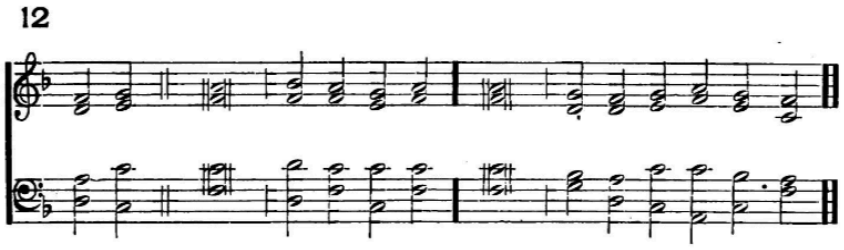


Figure 5.12. A facsimile of a chant (no. 12) from the Episcopal Church's 1914 *The Mission Hymnal*, used with the *Benedictus*; a modified form of this chant was used in *TLH* with the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis.*
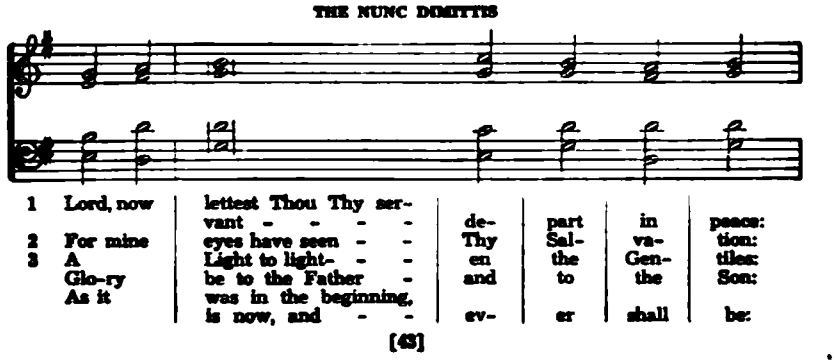


Figure 5.13. A facsimile of the first system of the text and music of the *Nunc Dimittis* from *The Lutheran Hymnal*.

As mentioned above, the *Magnificat* in *TLH* was set to the same music as well.

The convention of singing the *Nunc Dimittis* at Evensong was well established by the *BCP*, but originally the *Nunc Dimittis* belonged to the Office of Compline. In establishing his Saxon order, Luther had prescribed that "at Vespers in the afternoon the sermon before the Magnificat takes up the Old Testament chapter by chapter."[677] This prescription resulted in his own unique setting of the *Magnificat* to the Peregrine tone, or the so-called ninth tone. This subsequently became known as the "German Magnificat" and garnered nearly ubiquitous use in Lutheranism (Figure 5.14).

[677] Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 53, p. 68.
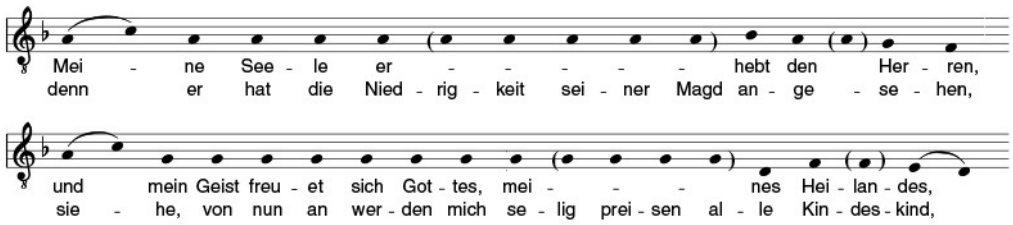


Figure 5.14. A transcription/engraving by Olorulus, corrected by Rabanus Flavus, of the first stanza of *Meine Seele erhebt*, Martin Luther's German setting of the *Magnificat* set to *Tonus Peregrinus*, from *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch*, etc.[678]

Luther's *Tonus Peregrinus* setting of the *Magnificat* featured prominently in several works of prolific German composers, including Scheidt, Schutz, Pachelbel, Buxtehude, and Bach.[679]

In a similar fashion, the *Nunc Dimittis* had its own unique Lutheran usage. Luther's chorale setting, *Mit Fried und Freud*, was perhaps most well-known and featured as the *Hauptlied* for the Feast of the Purification and in burials. But the prose version had its own Lutheran precedent as well, being commonly set to Tone VIII.[680] Like the *Benedictus* and *Magnificat*, the prose *Nunc Dimittis* seemed to have been preserved where the Office was maintained. The unique Church Modes prescribed for each of these had a precedent that very likely stemmed from the liturgico-musical mind of the Reformer himself. It is hard to understand, in this light, why *TLH* not only neglected this musical tradition, but also set the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* to the same chant. The best explanation seems to be that using the same chant for the same rite would facilitate learning the melody. But it is unclear why the *Nunc Dimittis* was not given a separate Compline Office.

---

[678] Martin Luther, "Meine Seele erhebt," engraved by Olorulus (2010), corrected by Rabanus Flavus (2017), from *Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch, Ausgabe für die Landeskirchen Rheinland, Westfalen und Lippe, Nr. 555 Anfang des Magnificat (Lutherübersetzung) mit dem 9. Psalmton.* In the Public Domain. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.
[679] See Samuel Scheidt's SSWV 331, Heinrich Schütz' SWV 494, Pachelbel's P362–363, Buxtehude's BuxWV 205, and Bach's BWV 10.
[680] See Robin Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, p. 264.

Miscellaneous Rites

In addition to Matins and Vespers, *TLH* also contained two additional rites, "The Order of the Confessional Service"[681] and the "A Form for Opening and Closing Christian Schools."[682] The former rite was discussed in the analysis of P5 and P15, where it was intimated that the Intersynodical Committee used the Confessional Service as a placeholder for elements that did not seem to fit elsewhere. For example, it includes the Slovak-originated question-and-answer form of confession, but only as a secondary option.[683] Likewise, as mentioned above, the Exhortation, which had featured prominently in the Communion liturgies of Lutheran agendas (including *TCS*) for centuries, was placed in this Confessional Service. The liturgics subcommittee found this decision perplexing and urged the Intersynodical Committee to reconsider before publishing, thinking it better not to have the Exhortation at all than have it out-of-place in a separate liturgical form.

So, too, the liturgics subcommittee argued against the "Christian Schools" rite. They feared that it would take the place of the regular liturgical services and did not belong in a hymnal for corporate use.[684] For full-time Christian schools, the orders of Matins and Vespers could have served a similar function. Indeed, that was Luther's original vision, as well as that of generations of Lutheran liturgical orthopraxy. Again, the liturgics subcommittee was overridden by the Intersynodical Committee. Ironically, the order is very similar to the Offices, except for its

---

[681] *TLH*, p. 46*ff*. This existed to provide for a corporate form of the Sacrament of Repentance prior to the reception of the Lord's Supper. In later Lutheran liturgies like *TLH*, this became part of the regular Sunday liturgy. As a result, "The Order of the Confessional Service" fell into disuse.
[682] *TLH*, p. 50*f*.
[683] *TLH*, p. 48.
[684] "We are not in favor of special service for Sunday School. [. . .] We should not permit our Sunday School to be considered a substitute for the service. Regardless what we call the form, it still could be considered a service. Let the Pastor and superintendent work out a form, where needed. It does not belong into [*sic*] a hymnal." Gervasius Fischer to Arthur P. Voss, October 28, 1939, Peshtigo, WI, located in "The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection," WELS Archive.

lack of a Canticle. It is unclear why the pedagogical opportunity presented by the Canticle texts might have been ignored.

Additional content

Immediately following *TLH*'s "Form for Opening and Closing Christian Schools" is the Athanasian Creed. This is essentially the placement of the Athanasian Creed in the *BCP*, where it directly followed the Office as well.[685] The form in *TLH* is directly copied from the *BCP* text, even maintaining the use of "catholic," which is not the case in the Nicene or Apostles' Creeds in *TLH*.[686] Also following the *BCP* precedent, *TLH* continued with the presentation of all the content necessary to perform the rites preceding. This supplementary content included the Introits, Graduals, Collects, Invitatories, Antiphons, Responsories, and Versicles organized by the Church Year, along with selected Psalmody, Canticles, and Lectionary tables. It must be observed, however, that none of this content included any musical information. Since the rites themselves did, incorporating the spoken material functionally would have been difficult.

Concluding Remarks on the Office

It is hardly disputed that the Divine Office had fallen out of use prior to *TLH*. The hymnal had a rare opportunity—and, indeed, the Synodical mandate—to improve upon the hymnal tradition that preceded it by enhancing its Lutheran liturgico-musical orthopraxy. The restoration of the historical Lutheran musical settings of the great Office Canticles, at least some of which were set by the Reformer himself, would have been an incredible way to realize that vision. Instead, the finished product of *TLH* nearly exceeded *ELHB*'s example in appropriating Anglican music and forms. All of the substantive chants in Matins were derived from demonstrable Anglican chants. In Vespers, only one plainsong melody, the setting of which was iterated in an

[685] 1662 *BCP*, p. 52.
[686] *TLH*, p. 53. It did, however, include brackets clarifying that "catholic" means "universal."

Anglican hymnal, prevented the rite from being exclusively Anglican chant as well. All of these decisions ignored the recommendations of the liturgics subcommittee that was tasked with preparing the rites for the Office, which had advocated that no music be printed to allow for versatile—indeed, Lutheran—use. The failure to do so can be fairly described as having created a preference for Anglican musical forms, even if one grants the hypothesis that deferring to the liturgico-musical norms of *ELHB* was the primary motivating factor.

Anglican Influence on the Hymns of *The Lutheran Hymnal*

In addition to texts and translations, this chapter also established that several Anglican and Episcopal hymnic sources were consulted in the formation of *TLH*, to wit: *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, *The English Hymnal*, *Songs of Praise* (along with the supplemental *Songs of Praise Discussed*), *Hymns Ancient and Modern: A Plainsong Hymn Book*, and *Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*. An analysis of these hymnals cross-referenced with *TLH* (see Appendix 5) demonstrates the significant influence that these sources brought to bear on the final product of the hymnal.

Although not as much evidence could be found in the course of this research as was discovered regarding the liturgics subcommittee, the memoirs of Walter Buszin (1899–1973), a member of the subcommittee charged with investigating hymn tunes (who would eventually go on to chair the successor body to the Intersynodical Committee), suggests that his subcommittee's work did not fare any better than the liturgics subcommittee. In fact, unlike the liturgics subcommittee, which at least met with Pollack and other members of the Intersynodical Committee throughout the course of their proceedings (admittedly to little avail), the subcommittee in which Buszin served apparently did not even get that courtesy:

> In those years I made a real nuisance of myself as a member of the subcommittee of the Commission on Hymnology and Liturgics. I created a big stir by insisting that The Lutheran Hymnal should include as few hymns as possible by men like Barnby, Dykes, Mason, Monk, and others. I was told to remember that I was no more than a member of a subcommittee and I never once met with the plenary or main committee throughout the years.[687]

Buszin was not arguing against the use of non-Lutheran forms entirely, but rather had a sensible view that a Lutheran hymnal should, in fact, be predominantly Lutheran:

> The Lutheran church has never been sufficiently prejudiced or self-satisfied to insist only hymns and music written by Lutheran authors and composers be used exclusively. However, to be truly Lutheran, it means that all hymns and hymn tunes are to be Lutheran in spirit, and it also means that the greater percentage of the hymns should be of Lutheran origin.[688]

Considering the Intersynodical Committee's stated predilection for non-Lutheran hymnody in their guiding principles, it is not surprising that the mediated approach of Buszin went unheeded. In fact, a statistical analysis of *TLH* demonstrates that staggering percentages of its authors and composers were of non-Lutheran origin.

Of the 680[689] hymns, carols, spiritual songs, and canticles in *TLH*, 171 (25.15%) were written by Anglican authors. An additional 176 (25.9%) were translated by Anglican translators (some 113 of which were translations of Lutheran hymns).[690] This makes for a total of 310 hymns written or translated by Anglicans: nearly half of the hymns in the hymnal (45.59%). That is a significant figure, particularly considering that the predecessor non-English hymnals were of 100% Evangelical textual provenance. This significant Anglican textual influence does not account for the English contributors who, though not directly Anglican, were significantly influenced by the Anglican tradition, including those from the Church of Scotland, Methodist, and Non-Conformist traditions (for a complete delineation, see Appendix 4). In terms of music,

---

[687] Walter E. Buszin, as quoted in Kirby L. Koriath, *Music for the Church*, p. 68.
[688] Walter E. Buszin, "Lutheran Church Music," 407, as quoted in Koriath, *Music for the Church*, p. 34.
[689] This number accounts for the twelve hymns that were printed to provide alternate tunes.
[690] Contrasted with the 152 translations in *TLH* from Lutheran translators.

148 (21.76%[691]) of the hymns, etc. in *TLH* have tunes that were composed by Anglican musicians. Beyond the direct Anglican compositions, hymns and melodies from non-Anglican sources were incorporated based on their popularity in Anglican use; recall that the primary hymnal sources referenced in *TLH's* formation were from the Anglican sphere.

Accounting for texts, translations, and tunes, a total of 406 (59.71%) of the hymns in *TLH* were directly written, translated, and/or composed by an Anglican person. The overwhelming Anglican influence on the hymnody of *TLH* is even more pronounced when considering that the nearest non-Lutheran competition comes from the 71 (11.68%) Presbyterian and 48 (7.9%) Catholic originated hymns, translations, and/or melodies, respectively. The relatively small influence of these other sources pales compared to the Anglican influence (and, as mentioned above, the presence of which is in many cases owed to their popularity in Anglican use). The irony of the preponderance of Anglican influence on *TLH* is particularly notable in light of the criticisms of *ELHB* that provided the impetus for the hymnal in the first place (which 'only' had 401 hymns directly written, translated, and/or composed by an Anglican person—see Appendix 3 for a full accounting of the hymn data of *ELHB*).

The substantive amount of Anglican hymnody in *TLH* would have fundamentally changed the musical and spiritual expression of the Evangelical-Lutheran worship tradition, for all of the reasons expounded upon in Chapter I. In short, it is hard to argue that the final product of *TLH* fomented a renewal of Lutheran hymnody and liturgics in the English tongue within Synodical Conference Lutheranism. It shared many of the same problems with *ELHB,* the very tome that *TLH* was originally commissioned to redress.[692] The preponderance of non-Lutheran

[691] That percentage rises to 23.53% when not counting duplicated tunes. In that case, Anglicans wrote 92 of the 391 unique tune melodies in *TLH's* 680 hymns, etc.

[692] Ironically, even where Anglican forms were removed, this did not necessarily improve the Lutheran bona fides. Consider the Committee's decision to adopt a Reformed translation of the queen of chorales, which gutted its original imagery, as outlined in Appendix 2.

hymnody, of which the overwhelming majority was Anglican in origin, would require a wealth of new musical products to fill the vacuum of content necessary for the successful execution of Lutheran musicianship, which will be considered in the final section of this chapter.

Final Remarks on the Liturgico-Musical Content of *The Lutheran Hymnal*

This examination of the content of *TLH* showcased the extensive influence of Anglican textual and musical sources on the liturgico-musical forms of the hymnal. This analysis has demonstrated that *TLH* departed from the codified Lutheran forms established in Chapters I and II. The overarching structure of P5 and P15 closely followed the 1549 *BCP* tradition, while utilizing textual variants from the later English and U.S. Episcopal forms, along with liturgical elements that can be attributed to the broader Anglo-Catholic liturgical renewal movement. Musically speaking, the use of Anglican chant in the *Gloria* foreshadowed what would come in the Office, where Anglican chant was almost exclusively used in the major musical selections. Even in the rare instance where plainsong was used, the setting was accounted for in pre-existing Anglican resources.

The preponderance of Anglican forms and music necessarily meant that the chorale tradition was abrogated in the liturgical rites, without so much as a rubrical allowance for the singing of liturgical canticles, including *Allein Gott*, *Kyrie, Gott Vater,* and *Wir glauben*. While those canticles were included as hymns, Luther's *Te Deum*, *Herr Gott, dich loben wir*, was completely absent from the tome, as were Luther's plainsong settings of the prose Office Canticles. It is hard to argue that Biblical prose and historic chants were the sole impetus for

including Anglican chants when these Lutheran alternatives were available, though ignorance of their existence certainly could have been a factor.

Beyond the chorale presence in the liturgical rites, absent were hundreds of other German chorales, along with nearly all those from the Scandinavian and Slovak traditions. The fact that half of the hymn corpus had no Lutheran pedigree at all is staggering (especially considering that this does not account for the question of translation, where Anglican influence also reigned supreme). The copious amounts of melodies that were novel to the Lutheran experience, along with new liturgical elements and music that had no basis in the Lutheran tradition, had other liturgico-musical implications beyond the codified hymnal text. The final sections of this chapter will deal with the effects of *TLH* on the musical products beyond the hymnal itself, focusing specifically on attendant liturgical music, extraneous choral music, and voluntary organ music.

The Influence of *The Lutheran Hymnal* on Liturgico-Choral and Organ Music

In addition to the ramifications of *TLH* on the experiential aspect of Lutheranism as a whole, its near-universal adoption by the constituent bodies of the Synodical Conference had practical implications for the church musicians in those respective bodies. Suddenly, a vast corpus of medieval liturgical texts—introits, graduals, versicles, antiphons, and the like—were printed in the official liturgical book; indeed, in the pew hymnal itself. The printing of these texts was done absent any musical setting, leaving a vacuum that industrious composers could fill. In a similar fashion, *TLH*'s corpus of hymnody, nearly half of which had non-Lutheran origins, meant a sudden influx of new texts and melodies to work into ancillary choral and organ voluntary music. Indeed, new music would have to be created for musicians intent on incorporating the relevant

new hymn melodies into their musical repertoire, if for no other reason than practicality.

The sections that follow will survey the impact of *TLH* on both of these areas of music—liturgical and organ—with an eye toward the specifically Anglican influences on their development. The particular focus of this survey will be those works produced under the auspices of the Intersynodical Committee and the antecedent LCMS Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics (renamed the Commission on Worship, Liturgics and Hymnology in 1959).[693] This analysis will show that the publication of *TLH* created a vacuum that was initially filled with the most basic of musical forms. A paucity of competent Synodical Conference experts necessitated the compositional hand of non-Lutherans, including significant contributions from the Anglo-Catholic sphere. The final analysis will demonstrate that it took a decade for Synodical Conference composers to finally supplement *TLH*, albeit still influenced by the Anglican hymns, melodies, and style that filled the initial void and inspired the final product of *TLH* in the first place.

Liturgical music

When Luther set his pen to creating vernacular liturgical music, he made use of the melodies that were endemic to the Latin idiom of the Roman Church. While his greatest genius may be the setting of those melodies in chorale form, recasting them in a uniquely German idiom, he did set some prose texts to simplified Gregorian forms. As was discussed in the preceding section on the Office Canticles, he fine-tuned the eight traditional Psalm tones to serve

[693] Chapter IV dealt with the establishment of the LCMS Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics as a direct result of Synodical resolution at its 1929 Convention. This Committee doubled as the LCMS contingent of the subsequent Intersynodical Committee and largely guided its efforts. Although the work of the LCMS Committee/Commission after the publication of *TLH* was not necessarily officially Intersynodical, representatives from the W/ELS, and Slovak Synod continued to regularly meet with the Committee/Commission in the furtherance of its work prior to the dissolution of the Synodical Conference. Because the LCMS owned Concordia Publishing House, which published *TLH*, the supplementary publications authorized by the Committee/Commission are directly relevant.

his German translation of the Biblical Psalter and Canticles. While a few of these unique prose texts endured in the Lutheran tradition of corporate singing,[694] the chorale largely supplanted such forms for congregational singing. Compared with the metrical form of the chorale, the prose texts set to Gregorian reciting tones did not easily lend themselves to unrehearsed corporate use or familiarity. While the tradition of using Gregorian chant (even with the original Latin) strongly endured in cities that had choirs and Latin schools, the use of such chants in rural contexts was much less profound.

This context helps explain the challenge that was faced by the sudden influx of nearly 86 pages of liturgical texts in *TLH* that were traditionally sung to Gregorian chant.[695] These Introits, Graduals, Versicles, Responsories, Canticles, and Psalms all appeared without music, but nevertheless formed a part of the liturgical skeleton and rubrics of P5, P15, and the Offices. While the result in many cases was for the ministers to simply read these texts (if they did not simply omit them entirely), there were musicians who recognized the unsuitability of this model. Thus, new musical collections were produced to meet the obvious need. The Intersynodical Committee tasked Walter E. Buszin (1899–1973), who had served on one of the musical subcommittees for *TLH*, to fill this void through three intended volumes: *The Introits for the Church Year* (1942), *The Graduals for the Church Year* (1947), and a *Canticles* volume that never manifested.

Introits **and** ***Graduals for the Church Year***

The publication of *Introits for the Church Year* (hereafter: *Introits*) contained all of the Introits from *TLH* set to plainsong melodies. The fact that the Intersynodical Committee charged

[694] Such as the ubiquitous ‘German Magnificat’ set to the Peregrine tone.
[695] *TLH*, pp. 54–101, 120–157.

Buszin with the task of publication is noteworthy because of his skepticism toward the over-emphasis on Gregorian chant that he sensed from certain Lutheran institutions, including those of the "St. James people," as he called them.[696]

> I am in sympathy with those who believe that a strongly Gregorian service impresses one as being archaic in character and expression. My own preference calls for the use of polyphonic music and not for music which is monodic. Nevertheless, I can enjoy monodic music thoroughly and am extremely fond of the recitatives of Scheutz, Bach, and Handel. I also enjoy Gregorian chant and consider it the greatest chant-music ever written. However, I do not believe that the spirit of Gregorian plainchant should dominate in a Lutheran service of worship.[697]

Buszin firmly believed in Luther's worship reforms, particularly in terms of the establishment of the chorale as the dominant force in Lutheran worship. He championed Luther's view that the liturgy and music of the church should aid in congregational participation, perhaps most notably demonstrated in his foundational article, "Luther on Music" (1946).[698] Buszin was earnestly concerned with restoring what he believed had been lost in Lutheran liturgico-musical expression, particularly in the form of forgotten works from the German masters of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.[699] His time as a professor among the ELS, having served for a time at their Bethany Lutheran College in Mankato, MN, further instilled in him the conviction

---

[696] "I have been working as organist and choir director of the church in Hoboken (Rev. B. von Schenk) where Gregorianism goes the limit. I have taken this position not because I am heartily in favor of it, but because I wanted to study the movement and its effects carefully and thus arrive at definite and correct conclusions. There are many dangers involved in this movement and most of our men who are fighting it are not as well-schooled in liturgics as the St. James people are." Walter Buszin, Letter to President Burhop, Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Indaina, April 25, 1936, as quoted in Koriath, *Music for the Church*, p. 9.

[697] Walter Buszin, "The Adoption of Various Types of Hymns by the Christian Church," (MS), 5, as quoted in Koriath, *Music for the Church*, p. 36.

[698] Walter E. Buszin and Martin Luther, "Luther on Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (1946), pp. 80–97, https://www.jstor.org/stable/739566.

[699] He believed that "no other church body has been blessed so amply in this field as has our Lutheran church," because "the only church body that has music for the congregation, the choir, and the organ which it can call its own is the Lutheran Church. We have the hymns of men like Luther, Paul Gerhardt, Nicolai, Hermann, Crüger, and Lindeman for the congregation; the motets, anthems, and cantatas of the Bachs, of Eccard, Mendelssohn, Praetorius, Kunau, Schein, and others for the choir; and the masterpieces of J. S. Bach, Böhm, Thunder, Pachelbel, Scheidt, Scheidemann and many others for the organ." Walter E. Buszin, "Lutheran Church Music," *Lutheran Sentinel* 14 (December 23, 1931), p. 406, as quoted in Koriath, *Music of the Church*, p. 21.

that the LCMS was particularly in need of serious liturgico-musical reform. This was made clear in a poignant letter to the Board of Regents of Bethany asking to be released from his call so he could help the LCMS regain its German Lutheran heritage, as he believed that there was "far greater need in Missouri Synod circles at the present time than in the ranks of the Norwegian Synod" for "proper guidance and instruction in church music and liturgics."[700]

This background context provides a necessary framework for Buszin's involvement in preparing the *Introits* and *Graduals* volumes. It also frames his introduction to *Introits* as almost rejecting the impulse toward a "strongly Gregorian service:"

> The role of the people in services of corporate worship is [. . .] a most important one. If it is true that, in a sense, a liturgy is a drama, then is it likewise true that in the Lutheran church all worshipers are not merely onlookers, but *dramatis personae*, performers of the Liturgy, Onlookers may dream away time and while away the moments, but performers must be alert and on the job; they must exert themselves and put forth effort. Those who fault The Lutheran Liturgy, who see in it only a form and little that is of spiritual value, often betray with their remarks that they do not really participate as they should, but merely look on; [. . .] it would be well for them to begin with themselves before they fault others.[701]

One can glean from this distinction between "performers" and "onlookers" an understanding of the participatory nature of Luther's liturgico-musical paradigm. Buszin's "Introduction" can be viewed in a certain sense as a warning to those who overestimated the role of Gregorian chant in what he called "The Lutheran Liturgy." After all, he was a staunch advocate of the chorale for its idiomatic and participatory value, which (as he elsewhere stated in no uncertain terms) he did not believe could be similarly channeled by Gregorian chant:

> A few very fine and simple plainsong tunes are to be found in our new hymnal and should be used in our services. Gregorian music is, however, at a serious disadvantage, a

[700] Walter E. Buszin, Letter to the Board of Regents of Bethany Lutheran College, June 14, 1937, as quoted in Koriath, *Music of the Church*, p. 7.
[701] Buszin, "Introduction," *Introits*, p. II.

> disadvantage to which many of its devotees are almost totally blind. Gregorian music has very little in common with folk song, nor is it, on the whole, congregational in character.[702]

This was so much the case that, subsequent to his editorial work in *Introits*, Buszin lamented the fact that choir directors "do not know how to conduct plainchant, their choirs chant it poorly, and the accompaniments show an utter lack of understanding of the techniques involved."[703]

It stands to reason that Buszin's acquiescence in editing the *Introits* volume was as pragmatic as it was functional. The use of plainsong Introits to complement the aesthetic of *TLH* made practical sense. It was also an easy way to functionally incorporate a sung Introit in the P5 and P15 liturgies. While Buszin did not consider plainsong to be "on the whole, congregational in character," he did believe it "should be used in our services," particularly due to its inclusion in *TLH* as such, as well as its use in historical Lutheran practice.[704] After all, even Luther prescribed a modified version of the first Psalm tone for the Introit in his *Deutsche Messe,* among his other Gregorian settings previously considered in this Chapter. Restrained use of plainsong, always subordinate to the chorale tradition, was no cause for alarm.

Where Buszin desired the preservation and predominance of the chorale, the final product of *TLH* demonstrated a departure from the chorale's liturgico-musical dominance. In the first place, the inclusion of the Roman Missal's cycle of Introits, without the rubrical allowance for whole Psalms or the metrical Psalmody that would have been endemic to the Lutheran tradition,

---

[702] Walter E. Buszin, Letter to Hans Behringer, Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana, November 16, 1964, as quoted in Koriath, *Music for the Church*, p. 36.
[703] Walter E. Buszin, "Church Music in our Day," p. 12, as quoted in Koriath *Music of the Church,* p. 39.
[704] Indeed, as he also wrote in the "Introduction" to *Introits*: "Plainsong settings are being used through the Christian world today, and their popularity continues to grow steadily. They are to be preferred to other settings of the Introits largely for the following valid reasons: a. they are truly liturgical in character; b. they are simple and may be sung by any type of church choir; they may well be transposed to other keys; c. they are churchly, giving prominence to the text and relegating the music to the background; d. they are undramatic and objective and yet possess great beauty; e. they have stood the test of time and have become a part of the Lutheran heritage." Buszin, *Introits*, p. III.

was part of the broader trend to imitate the Anglo-Catholic call for the incorporation of the Roman propers into the Protestant tradition.[705]

The importation of Anglican musical forms is even more explicit in the subsequent volume, *Graduals for the Church Year, Seasonal Sentences, and Sequences* (1947; hereafter: *Graduals*), co-edited by Buszin and Erwin Kurth (1898–1989).[706] Where *Introits* was essentially a volume of the Introits set to the eight Gregorian Psalm tones, *Graduals* consisted primarily of Anglican chant. As with Introits, the prefatory material in *Graduals* further elucidated the importance that Buszin placed on the Lutheran ethos of participatory worship: "Singing the proper of the service is one of the most important functions of a church choir. This does not militate against letting the congregation be as active as possible during the course of the service."[707]

On the one hand, the use of a liturgical choir in the Saxon tradition stemmed from the *Deutsche Messe* itself, where Luther prescribed the choir to sing parts of the *ordinary* in *alternatum*. On the other, Luther's prototypical use of the choir in his immediate context was in lieu of a substantive history of congregational participation in the Liturgy. In the more developed Lutheran tradition, those larger city congregations that maintained a choir utilized them for the performance of grand choral works that required significant technical mastery and practice (e.g., a cantata). The use of Introit motets certainly had a substantive pedigree in the Lutheran choral

---

[705] Recall the preceding discussion of Norman Powell Williams' "Interim Rite," published in 1928, which advocated for the use of the Roman Missal in tandem with the *BCP.* This suggestion has become normative among so-called "1928 parishes" (so-named for their use of the 1928 *BCP*, not the Interim Rite) in the Episcopal Church in the United States today.

[706] Kurth was pastor of Redeemer Lutheran Church, Fort Wayne, IN, from 1941–1951. Redeemer is recognized as a bastion of "high church" liturgical orthopraxy in the LCMS, and remains one of the few congregations that predominantly uses the Anglican composer Healey Willan's musical setting of the *TLH* liturgy, which will be examined later in this chapter.

[707] Buszin, *Graduals*, p. 9.

tradition in urban centers, but less so the perfunctory singing of the *BCP* or Latin texts (much less the Graduals, which almost immediately were replaced by chorale settings in the early Reformation). In the country parishes, metrical settings would have been the norm rather than plainsong, let alone Anglican chant.

The fact that Anglican chant was inculcated by the Intersynodical Committee against even the editor's wishes is perhaps best said by Buszin himself:

> The eight Gregorian psalm tones (used in *The Introits for the Church* year, 1942) were originally composed for Latin texts and therefore are not always well suited for English texts. Anglican chant (used in *The Graduals for the Church Year*, 1944) is not ideal chant, since it is in large part melodic and harmonic. Also it is dated and is falling into disuse.[708]

Buszin's harsh words against Anglican forms must be understood in light of his convictions regarding the superiority of the Lutheran Chorale as a vehicle for liturgical expression. A conversation Buszin once had with the Episcopalian composer and church musician Peter Christian Lutkin (1858–1931)[709] sets this reference in context. Buszin recollected Lutkin as saying:

> I am amazed. Due to the rise of worship standards, we of the Anglican church are adopting your Lutheran Chorales because of their rich worship value and are rejecting many of our own hymns; you Lutherans, however, are rejecting your chorales and you adopt what we reject.[710]

This would have been a stinging indictment for a champion of the chorale like Buszin, who believed Lutheranism had "even more to show than the Roman Catholics, the Eastern Orthodox, and the Anglicans."[711]

---

[708] Walter E. Buszin, "Foreword" to Bunjes, *The Service Propers Noted*, p. III.
[709] Lutkin was also the Dean of the School of Music at Northwestern University (Evanston, IL), where he served as Director of Choirs and Professor of Theory, Piano, Organ, and Composition.
[710] Walter E. Buszin, "The Liturgy in Worship" (MS), 1945, p. 8, as quoted in Koriath, *Music of the Church*, p. 26.
[711] Walter E. Buszin, "Benefits Derived from a More Scholarly Approach to the Rich Musical and Liturgical Heritage of the Lutheran Church," *The Musical Heritage of the Church* 1 (Valparaiso, IN: Valparaiso University, 1945), p. 19, as quoted in Koriath, *Music of the Church*, p. 22.

Although Buszin advocated for the Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition as centered on the Lutheran chorale, he nevertheless was a product of his time. He certainly advocated for the Lutheran chorale above the use of Gregorian chant. He recognized the ease of congregational participation afforded by the chorale as opposed to chant forms. However, as Chapter I of this thesis demonstrated, Luther's philosophical articulations of music argued for its unique and intrinsic properties as a near-partner to the text. Music certainly was wedded to the text, but it was not a means to an end. When Buszin made certain claims, such as the idea that "music was written so that its texts could be easily understood," arguing against the emotive nature of Pietistic chorales and suggesting that the "well organized, uncluttered, and plain" music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries functioned well because it "did not becloud the text," his articulations sounded more like those of the Anglican reformers than Luther's philosophical advocacy of music as a divinely ordained art with supernatural powers of its own.[712] The revival of the plainsong tradition within Lutheranism seemed predicated on the simple articulation of the text with music in a much more reserved role. Hymns could not be too emotive, lest they detract from biblical truths.

Healey Willan's Liturgical Contributions

Buszin's simultaneously negative view of Anglican chant and praise of plainsong ironically echoed the sentiments of renowned Anglican composer Healey Willan (1880–1968). Willan had grown up in an Anglo-Catholic Church of St. George in Beckenham, UK, where he experienced the suppression of "Anglican chant in favour of the restoration of plain chant" in his

[712] Buszin, "Benefits Derived," p. 15; consider also: "Buszin often suggested that the music must be *wortgebunden*; it must be bound or wedded to the text in such a way that the text could speak for itself without receiving much interpretative help from the music," as quoted in Koriath, *Music of the Church*, p. 30.

most formative years.[713] He believed that "Anglican Chant as a piece of congregational participation" was "[un]reasonable," geared more toward the "collegiate [or Cathedral] church where the congregation are [sic] expected to be present in silence."[714] On the surface, this sounds explicitly like Buszin's advocacy of congregational participation in Lutheran worship. However, one must recall the differences in the development of the Anglican and Lutheran liturgico-musical traditions established in Chapter I. The Lutheran answer for participatory worship was well-established in the use of the chorale. Lacking an analogue, the liturgical renewal movements of the nineteenth- to twentieth-century Anglican Church sought different musical methods to create participatory liturgical worship. In Willan's case, this would take shape in the form of the advocacy for plainsong that had been a hallmark of the Anglo-Catholic movement.

Willan believed that plainsong was most appropriate for ecclesiastical use due to its subservience to the text:

> The characteristic of plainchant is that the accentuation and rhythm of words is always paramount. The music is, so to speak, a framework on which the word is superimposed. I think that is a most suitable music indeed for all forms of religious type, especially when it comes to what is known as the propers of the mass, such as the introit, gradual, etc.[715]

Willan's relegation of music to a peripheral, literally "background" context, stands in stark contrast to Luther's philosophy of music. Where Luther viewed music as a unique and divine vehicle for the proclamation of the text and sought to maintain continuity with the various forms

---

[713] Godfrey Ridout, "Healey Willan," Canadian Music Journal, III (Spring 1959), p. 5, as quoted in Keith Allen Hamlin, "The Plainsong Use of Healey Willan: A Study of Dr. Willan's Role in the Restoration of Plainsong to the Worship of the Anglican Church," ThM thesis (University of Toronto, 1979), p. 9, https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/70942/3/HamlinThesiscombined.pdf.
[714] Transcript of conversations between Healey Willan and Max Parker, 1963–1965, as quoted in Hamlin, "The Plainsong Use of Healey Willan," p. 97.
[715] Willan, in Kelley, "Appointment with Music," 13:04–13:42.

of music he inherited from the medieval Church, Willan was intent on excising the development of an elaborate chant tradition in the Anglican Church and replacing it with a simplified plainsong form. This context augments this thesis' contention that the introduction of plainsong in *TLH* and its subsequent volumes is actually a decisive element of Anglican influence.

In addition to his augmentation of this broader liturgical trend, Willan also represented the most direct influence of any single Anglican composer on the Synodical Conference liturgico-musical tradition. In the vein of liturgical music, he published several volumes for the LCMS via Concordia Publishing House, including *Introits for the Church Year* (1957) and *Graduals for the Church Year* (1960), republished together as *Introits and Graduals for the Church Year* (1967), as well as an entire liturgical setting of the Divine Service (1959). The following example from *Ad Te Levavi* is representative of the works he produced for *Introits and Graduals for the Church Year* (Figure 5.15a/b):
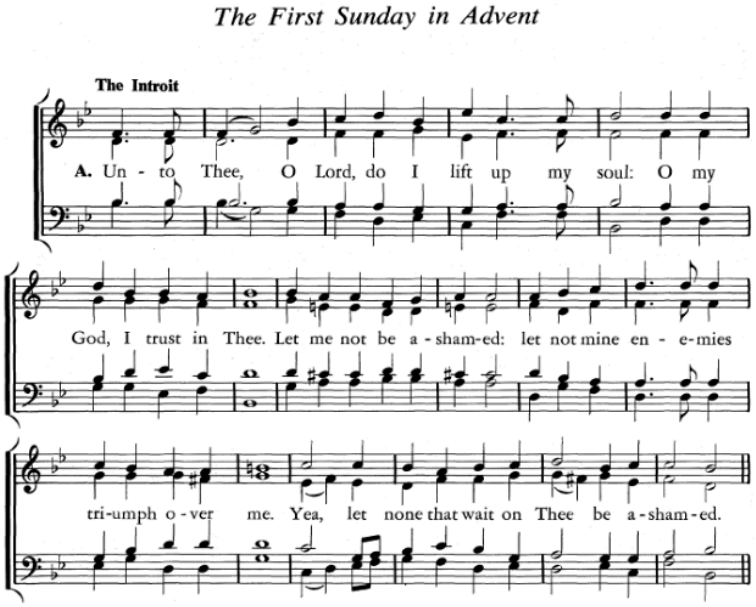


Figure 5.15a. A facsimile of Healey Willan's musical setting of the Introit Antiphon for *Ad Te Levavi.*
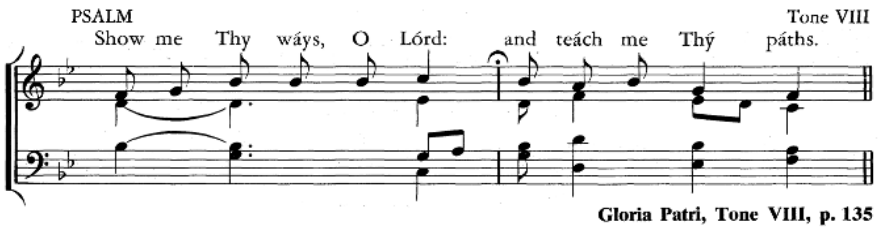


Figure 5.15b. A facsimile of Healey Willan's musical setting of the Introit (1957) Psalm for *Ad Te Levavi* (The First Sunday in Advent).[716]

Willan's Introits began with an Antiphon set homophonically to a through-composed melody, intended for SATB choral singing "in motet fashion," while the Psalm verse and *Gloria Patri* were set to one of the traditional Gregorian Psalm tones harmonized for monodic chanting.[717] The Graduals and Alleluias shared a structure that was similar to the Introit Antiphon pattern, with the melodic and harmonic structures remaining fairly consistent throughout a given season (*e.g.*, Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, etc.) for ease of use. Where the Tract replaced the Alleluia, the pattern established in the Introit (*i.e.*, a through-composed SATB Antiphon melody followed Gregorian Psalm tone verses) is followed, as can be seen in the following example from the Gradual and Tract for *Invocavit*, the first Sunday in Lent (Figure 5.16):

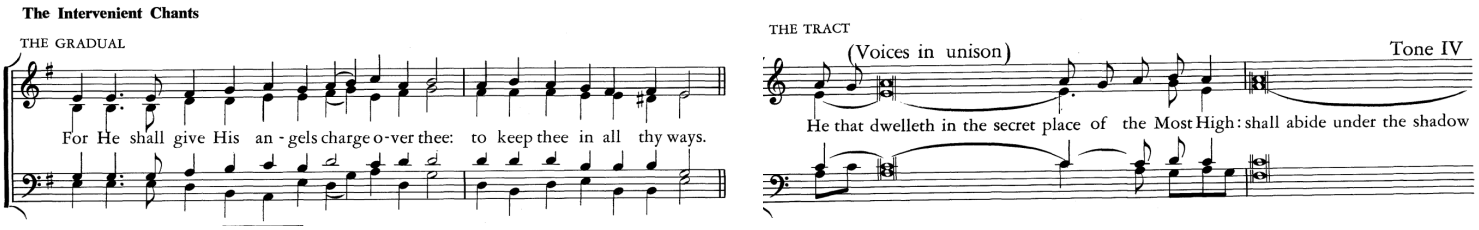


Figure 5.16. A facsimile of portions of Healey Willan's musical setting of the Gradual (1960) and Tract (1960) for *Invocavit* (The First Sunday in Lent).[718]

[716] Healey WIllan, *Introits and Graduals for the Church Year,* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967) p. 5.
[717] Healey Willan, "Introduction," *Introits and Graduals for the Church Year*, p. 3.
[718] Healey Willan, *Introits and Graduals for the Church Year*, p. 42.

In addition to these through-composed settings of the variable chants in his *Introits and Graduals*, Willan also produced through-composed settings of the Ordinary of the Divine Service from *TLH*. This service was commissioned by the LCMS Commission on Worship and is still an authorized setting used by congregations of the LCMS. The following excerpts of the *Kyrie* (Figure 5.17) and *Gloria* (Figure 5.18) demonstrate the nature of the compositional style:
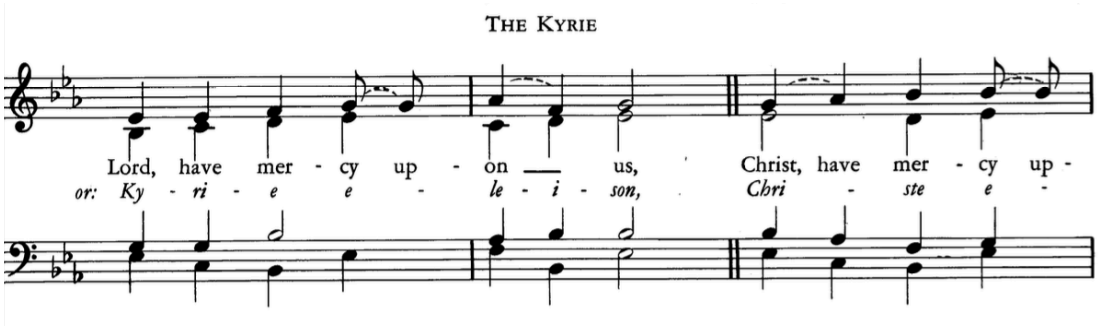


Figure 5.17. A facsimile of the first system of Healey Willan's music for the *Kyrie* from his setting of *The Common Service* (1959).[719]
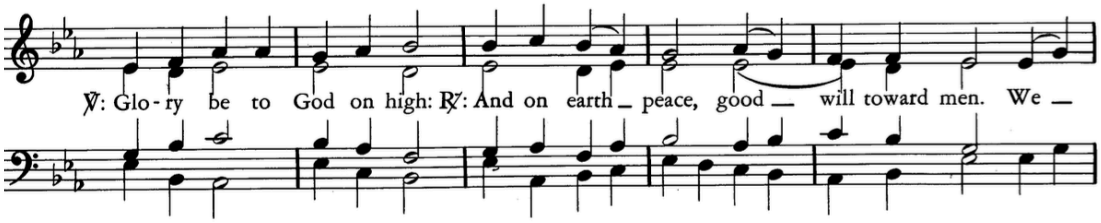


Figure 5.18. A facsimile of the first system of Healey Willan's music for the *Gloria in excelsis* from his setting of *The Common Service* (1959).[720]

These settings provide melodic, stylistic, and harmonic unity in a way that was substantially lacking in *TLH*.[721] Writing on behalf of the Commission on Worship, Buszin noted in the preface to Willan's setting that it was commissioned in part due to *TLH*'s "monotony and the deadening effect produced by the use of the same setting year in and year out," in addition to *TLH*'s "lack

[719] Commission on Worship, *The Order of Holy Communion [Willan]*, p. 3.
[720] *Ibid*.
[721] Recall the disparate styles evident in the opening rite of *TLH*, ranging from Luther's modal *Kyrie* to the Scottish chant of the *Gloria*, while tonicizing in its varying parts between D and G Major. See *TLH*, pp. 6–7, 16–17.

of unity of style" and "the quality of some of the music the Service" that precluded laymen from being able "to sing with ease and enthusiasm."[722]

Although the publication of Willan's work overtly represented Anglican influence from one of the preeminent twentieth-century Anglo-Catholic composers, it also was an attempt to correct some of the questionable decisions of *TLH*, including those that suppressed historic Lutheran liturgico-musical orthopraxy in the first place. This is evident, for example, in Willan's inclusion of a musical setting of the Creed (Figure 5.19):
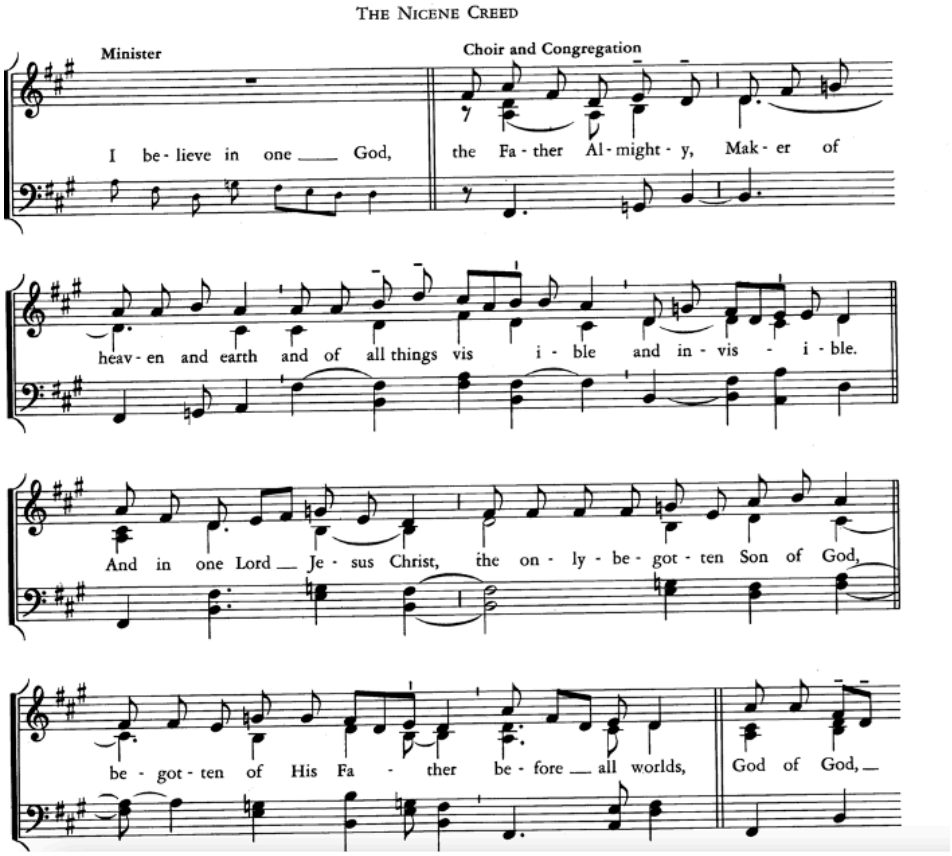


Figure 5.19. A facsimile of the first four systems of Healey Willan's music for the *Credo* from his setting of *The Common Service* (1959).[723]

[722] Walter Buszin, "Preface," in Commission on Worship, etc., *The Order of Holy Communion*, etc., p. 1.
[723] Commission on Worship, *The Order of Holy Communion [Willan]*, p. 7.

As was noted at length earlier in this chapter, *TLH* did not include music for the Creed in P5 or P15. Willan's use here is clearly based on the Gregorian *Credo* III from the Roman Missal, in much the same way that his *Introits and Graduals* incorporated plainsong amidst his original compositions. While the singing of the *Credo* in Luther's metrical form was standard Lutheran practice prior to the advent of the Common Service, the inclusion of a melodically sung Creed at all was a step back in the direction of Lutheran liturgico-musical norms. While Willan's setting of the liturgy from *TLH* may have been couched in the liturgico-musical frame of the Anglo-Catholic plainsong revival, it was published in tandem with a setting of *TLH*'s liturgy by Jan Bender (1909–1994), a Dutch-born organist and composer who studied under several renowned German composers in the Lutheran tradition.[724] Buszin commended "the two new musical settings of the Service by Healey Willan and Jan Bender" as part of "a more healthy tradition of the Lutheran Church."[725] The solicitation of Willan's contributions by Buszin and his Commission on Worship must be understood in this light.

---

[724] Bender lived in Lübeck, Germany, from the age of 13, where he studied organ under Karl Lichtwark at the Marienkirche, followed by Walter Kraft. He later studied under Karl Straube in Leipzig, returning to Lübeck to study under Hugo Distler—his sole composition student. For further background, see David Fienen, *Jan Bender: A Church Musician of the 20th Century* (Saint Peter, MN: Gustavus Adolphus College, n.d.), https://www.cuchicago.edu/contentassets/3fe7947ed6974559bb72509d11184447/early-life.pdf.

[725] "It is in keeping with the best traditions of the Lutheran Church to vary the musical settings of the Service and to provide settings which fit the season. For various reasons this tradition has not been followed in the Lutheran churches in America. However, complaints and criticisms of the present musical setting indicate that the time is ripe for a return to a more healthy tradition of the Lutheran Church. Therefore, in the spirit of the rubric 'The music of the Service is not a part of the Liturgy and may be altered as circumstances permit or require' (*The Lutheran Liturgy*, p. 418), the music editors of Concordia Publishing House, in conjunction with the members of the Commission on Worship, Liturgics, and Hymnology, commend to our churches the two new musical settings of the Service by Healey Willan and Jan Bender. May they be used in the spirit of Christian liberty to glorify Christ and to edify His body, the Church." Walter E. Buszin, "Introduction" to *The Order of Holy Communion [Willan],* p. 1.

Other Liturgical Offerings

The promulgation of plainsong was not unique to Willan among composers within the *TLH* sphere. Chapter IV discussed the predilections of the St. James Society, which strongly advocated an Anglo-Catholic-esque renewal of liturgy and music within the LCMS and the broader American Lutheran world. Although they were unable to significantly alter the final product of *TLH*, key members of the Society were nevertheless heavily involved in the liturgics subcommittee. Among the St. James men in that subcommittee, Adolf Wismar and Carl Bergen were particularly tasked with harmonizing Gregorian melodies for the project. Although their work seemed for naught when the Intersynodical Committee ignored the liturgico-musical suggestions of its subcommittee, the LCMS' successor Commission on Worship eventually published some of Bergen's work in an alternate setting of *TLH*'s Communion liturgy in 1966. The Gregorian melodies used in the Bergen setting ranged from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries, including the *Kyrie* from *Missa* XVI, the *Gloria* from *Missa* XIV (Figure 5.20), *Credo* I, the Sanctus from *Missa* XVII, and the *Agnus Dei* from *Missa* XVII, along with simple Gregorian tone settings for the Offertory and *Nunc Dimittis*.
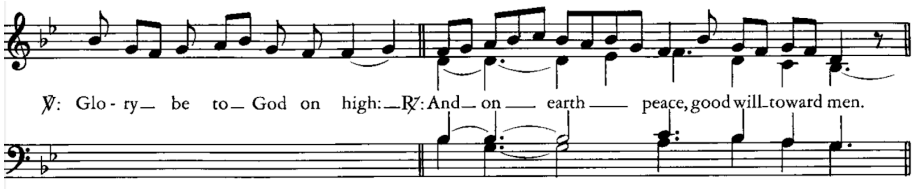


Figure 5.20. A facsimile of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, set by Carl Bergen to the Gregorian melody from *Missa* XIV for his setting of *The Common Service* (1967). [726]

The reader may recall that the liturgics subcommittee secretary lauded Bergen's work with Gregorian chant, arguing that "its influence on the church music of the future will be such

[726] Carl Bergen, *The Order of Holy Communion*, p. 5.

as to bring the Lutheran Chorale of the sixteenth century back as the proper pattern for Lutheran hymnody."[727] This was because Luther originally created the chorale to be a German expression of the Gregorian melodic tradition. It is true that Luther was decidedly against the wooden transliteration of the Latin prose into vernacular for use with melodies specifically created for the Latin text. But, if these transliterations were to be used, it is understandable why some might believe the attendant use of Gregorian melodies would only augment the Lutheran tradition. Whether or not this perception was accurate, the development and publication of these plainsong melodies were born from the Anglo-Catholic preference for plainsong while simultaneously moving beyond the rigidity of *TLH*'s forms to establish a wider array of liturgico-musical orthopraxy.

Perhaps the final and most significant iteration of this progression is represented by Paul Bunjes (1914–1988) in his *The Service Propers Noted* (1960). The work set all of the Introits and Graduals in *TLH* to thirteen newly crafted "Formulary Tones," which were envisioned as "genuine chant settings written for English texts."[728] For Buszin and the Commission on Worship, this work represented a healthy synthesis between the prose texts of *TLH*, which naturally lent themselves to plainsong, and the venerable chorale tradition of the Lutheran Church. "The *Formulary Tones*, though related to plain song and, in part, to chorale melodies, are nevertheless genuine chant which take into consideration the intrinsic and distinctive character of the English language."[729] Figure 5.21 is an excerpt from Bunjes' Introit for *Ad Te Levavi* set to Formulary Tone I:

---

[727] Fischer, "What Benefits [...]," p. 99.
[728] Buszin, "Foreward" to Bunjes, *The Service Propers Noted*, p. III.
[729] *Ibid*.
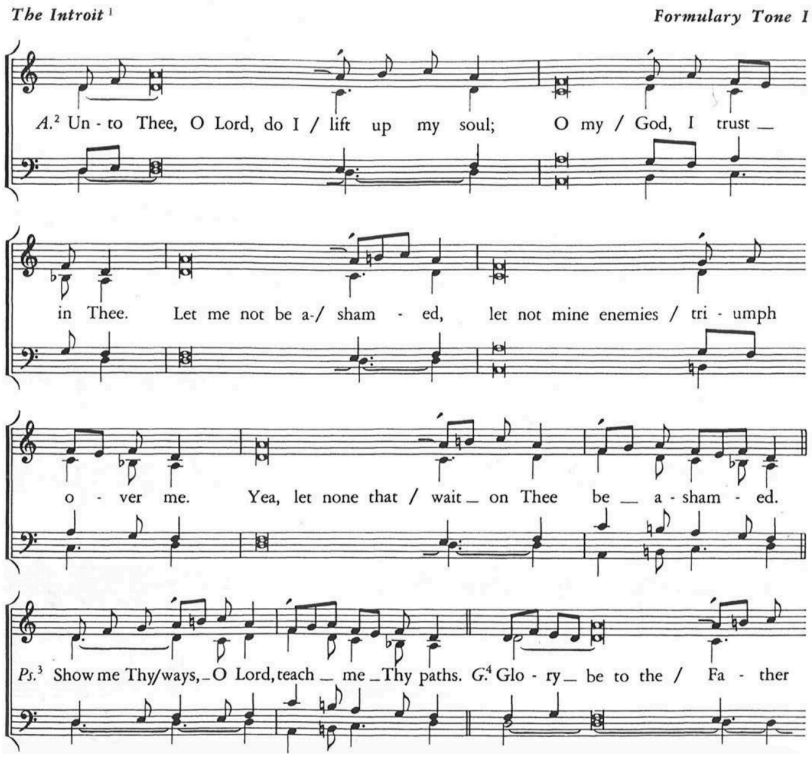


Figure 5.21. A facsimile of the first four systems of Paul Bunjes' setting of the Introit for Ad Te Levavi (The First Sunday in Advent), from his work, *The Service Propers Noted* (1967).[730]

Concluding Remarks on Liturgical Music in the Wake of *TLH*

The choral music produced for the conduct of the liturgical services of *TLH* demonstrated the development of the Synodical Conference tradition in the direction of plainsong and a chant style. Although the promotion of plainsong in many of these works was originally intended to provide historically appropriate variety and even condition congregations for greater appreciation of the Lutheran chorale, the paradigms that precipitated the use of Gregorian plainsong melodies were first fomented in the Anglo-Catholic sphere. The reliance upon Roman and Anglo-Catholic sources for ancient and novel compositions point to this reality. But the articulation of a musical paradigm in which liturgical music's primary role was background service to liturgical texts, even among the chorale's most ardent supporters, demonstrates that an Anglo-Catholic musical

[730] Bunjes, *The Service Propers Noted*, p. 1.

aesthetic had also taken root. The ultimate wedding of this Anglo-Catholic approach to plainsong with the experimental and chorale-based approach of the Lutheran tradition would shape the direction of musical development in American Lutheranism for the rest of the twentieth century.

The primary focus of this research has been the development of the liturgico-musical tradition represented by the authorized liturgical materials of the constituent bodies of the Synodical Conference. Unfortunately, this emphasis has left out an important element of historical Lutheran musical production represented by the use of extra-liturgical or "voluntary" choral and organ music for the transmission of that tradition. Several volumes of choral works were published in the decades following *TLH* that contained motets and anthems from sources outside of the Lutheran tradition. The interested reader will find volumes like *The Parish Choir Book* useful for further inquiry.[731] Because these volumes are only tangentially related to *TLH*, they will not be examined in this study. However, in the realm of organ music, there is a volume more directly related to *TLH*, and so it will be considered in the section that follows.

Organ Music after *TLH*

The work of the parish organist may seem tangential to the actual contents of Synodical liturgico-musical publications. After all, much of their music is voluntary and not officially prescribed. Of course, the chorale harmonizations contained in the various *Choralbuch* publications from the Synods analyzed in Chapter II were utilized by parish organists. At the same time, in many cases on the frontier there were no organs, let alone organists, to make use of. Congregations that could afford an organ in those earlier years tended to use the harmonium

[731] Edward W. Klammer, ed., *The Parish Choir Book* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956).

for its economic and practical effect in mission settings. It was not until later in the nineteenth century that pipe organs more suited to the Lutheran repertoire began to be installed.[732] What is more, many organists within the Lutheran tradition improvised their voluntary music for Service use. The mass publication of organ works for widespread dissemination and use was a later development. Even then, well into the late nineteenth century there were criticisms of the quality of organ performance within the Synodical Conference.[733]

Historically, the organ was an important element of the transmission of the Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition due to its intimate relationship to the chorale and the way that the organ was able to embody Luther's core philosophical contention regarding music's inherent power even absent text. At the same time, the Lutheran tradition considered the organ to be an extension of the human voice and the congregation's song. Of particular relevance in this vein is the development of the chorale prelude as a vehicle of transmitting this tradition.

> These chorale preludes have rightly been called tone poems; but they are really much more: they are a means of worship, instrumental confessions of our faith, proofs of the belief of our masters in the doctrine of the universal priesthood, for were they not written to create an atmosphere of worship, to guide the worshiper and prepare him for what was to follow? Let those who would dispute consider the *Alternatima-praxis* of the Lutheran

[732] For example, the Wisconsin Synod's John Koehler, one of the men with any musical acumen to serve in the WELS Seminary faculty, noted: "Congregational singing in the earliest days of Synod and outside of city churches proceeded without organ accompaniment, for the simple reason of the absence of the instrument….Organs came into more general use in the sixties. Ten years before the 'American organs* had been placed on the market and were known as melodeons or harmoniums. They represented an American improvement in size and form on the earlier German folding organs used for mission work, and were reasonably priced. To begin with, however, these reed organs were to be found only in the city congregations of Milwaukee, Racine and Kenosha, and possibly in the large country churches near Milwaukee. At Manitowoc the organ belonged to the pastor and Sundays had to be carried into the church by the deacons." John P. Koehler, *Faith Life*, Volume XII, No. 9 (1939), p. 9, as quoted in Lehmann, *The Music of the Lutheran Church*, p. 252.

[733] Consider the following summary of a critical article from 1871: "First of all the preludes were poorly performed. Oftentimes the organists showed very poor taste when they extemporized or improvised their preludes by either playing the melody in the right hand and letting the left hand and the pedal roam lustily at will (lustig spazieren), or by playing a line in unison and then improvising in fantasia style, losing all sense of thematic material. Another weakness often heard was the constant monotonous repetition of an extemporized phrase or line which appealed to the organist's ego. In other instances new materials were played on every beat thus losing any semblance of having a theme or motive." In Lehmann, "The Music of the Lutheran Church," p. 227.

> Church of the 17th century, where the congregation would sing one stanza, the choir the next, and the organist play the third without being joined either by congregation or choir. The organist would then play a variation or a brief fantasy based on that particular stanza, while the congregation would follow the texts in its hymnals. The chorale variations of Scheidt, Walther, Böhm, and others were frequently written for such use and were not mere exhibitions of the composer's contrapuntal skill, but an expression of his faith in the message of the hymn text. In this connection it is well to recall that a church organist is a royal priest, and when he serves as organist in a service, he is not to set himself apart as a virtuoso, a show-off, or, if you will, a kind of musical priest; neither, however, is he to cater to the bad tastes of those who would have him ignore churchly standards of worship. The good church organist is not a hireling. He is to carry out his work as a member of the royal priesthood; he is a part of the congregation with which he worships God; he is no more, but also no less.[734]

This understanding of and appreciation for the chorale prelude and the broader Lutheran organ tradition shaped the work of the Committee on Liturgics and Hymnology under Buszin's tenure. The neo-Baroque tradition provided a foil to the trends in the choral sphere of the Synodical Conference. The German influences of some of its most prominent composers, including Jan Bender and Paul Manz (1919–2009), certainly provided grounding in this regard.[735] Manz studied in Germany on a Fulbright scholarship, enjoying tutelage from the masters Floor Peeters (1903–1986) and Henry Walcha (1907–1991), whose works were also brought into the Synodical Conference consciousness—along with the older works of Michael Praetoroius, Samuel Scheidt, Heinrich Scheidemann, Johann Bachelbel, Dietrich Buxtehude, Johann Gottfried Walther, George Böhm, Friedrich Willhelm Zachow, and the Bach family—thanks to the efforts of Buszin.[736]

This veritable renaissance of Lutheran organ music and practice in the Synodical Conference may seem out of place in a discussion of Anglican influence. But in the first place,

---

[734]Walter E. Buszin, "The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood and Its Influence upon the Liturgies and Music of the Lutheran Church," in ed. Theodore Hoelty-Nickel, *The Musical Heritage of the Church*, *vol. II,* (Valporaiso, IN: Valparaiso University, 1946), pp. 26–27, https://ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/MusicalHeritageoftheChurchII.pdf. 640

[735] Incidentally, Manz played for Buszin's funeral and had great respect for the man.

[736] Kirioth, *Music of the Church*, p. 28.

one must consider the radical assertion from the preceding excerpt by Buszin that the chorale prelude represents a sort of liturgical element in its own right, through which the organist participates as priest in the liturgical Service. This is dramatically different from the Anglican view of music established in Chapter I, as well as some of the Anglo-Catholic views of liturgical music, specifically chant, as something merely functional to the performance of a given text.[737] While this view did not shift Buszin's understanding of the chorale prelude, the source material for chorale prelude collections did change with the introduction of Anglican melodies in *TLH*.

Although there had been a paucity of organ publications from the old German masters prior to Buszin's revival efforts, there were instances of chorale preludes published under the auspices of the Synodical Conference. For example, the *Anthologie von charakteriſtiſchen Vorſpielen zu den gebräuchlichſten Chorälen der lutheriſchen Kirche* (Anthology of characteristic Preludes to the most common Chorales of the Lutheran Church), originally published around the turn of the twentieth century and known by the later English re-publication as *The Church Organist Anthology*, was a compendium of some 690 chorale preludes, many in a then-contemporary Romantic style, authorized by a segment of the LCMS.[738] Comporting with the definition of chorale prelude presented above, the compilers of the preludes recognized that they "may be said to be of an ecclesiastical nature, since the spirit of edification is present in them; yet they are characteristic, because, with few exception, [*sic*] they contain the essence of the choral melody."[739] Every tune utilized in the collection was of a Lutheran chorale. This

[737] It is important to remember that the Anglo-Catholic moniker encompasses a wide variety of thought. There were some Anglo-Catholics who may have had parallel views to Luther, some likely without even realizing it.
[738] Chicago Teachers' Conference, *The Church Organist's Anthology,* Vols. 1–4 (Belle Plaine: The Lutheran Home, 1978), 4 vols.
[739] *Ibid,* unnumbered introductory page.

trajectory paralleled the use of the chorale in the hymnals of the Synodical Conference, which maintained exclusive Lutheran pedigree prior to the transition to English. The incorporation of non-Lutheran melodies after the widespread adoption of English and in tandem with the publication of *TLH* meant that organists who wanted to make use of chorale preludes based on the hymns used in a given Service suddenly found a huge void in the repertoire.

The publication of *The Parish Organist* by CPH in 1953 sought to rectify this problem. The editor of the initial volumes, Heinrich Fleischer (1912–2006), wanted to provide moderately to informally trained organists with chorale preludes for the most-used hymns in *TLH*.[740] The final product included 100 tunes in the initial 4-volume collection, which were selected by CPH's Editorial Committee as the result of a statistical survey they conducted among LCMS congregations "to determine the hymn tunes most frequently used."[741] Appendix 6 lists the 100 chorale preludes that were included in *The Parish Organist*, along with the composers of the tunes, the composers of the preludes, and the respective denomination in which the composers worked as a church musician, if applicable. Forty of the chorale preludes were modified from the old Lutheran masters, including Pachelbel, the Bachs, Praetorius, and Walther. The other 60 preludes were written by contemporary composers specifically for *The Parish Organist*. While only fourteen of the preludes were composed by non-Lutheran musicians, including five by Anglican composers Healey Willan and George Th. Miles, the more notable figure is the number of hymn tunes from a non-Lutheran provenance. Of the newly-composed preludes, 63.33% were

[740] Fleischer, originally from Germany, had compiled a similar anthology of 73 chorale preludes for fledgling German organists during his tenure in Leipzig. See Heinrich E. Fleischer, *73 leichte Choralvorspiele alter und neuer Meister nach Melodien des deutschen evangelischen Einheitsgesangbuches für den gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch* (Leipzig: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1941).
[741] Henrich E. Fleischer, "Introduction," *The Parish Organist* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), p. 1.

for non-Lutheran hymn tunes (38). Of these, nearly half were specifically of Anglican tunes (29). This figure is staggering considering that prior to this volume nearly all works would have been of Lutheran provenance. This demonstrates the significant influence of Anglican hymn tunes on the composition of organ music in this period as a direct result of *TLH*. Although Lutheran musicians still dominated the field, the incredible influx of non-Lutheran melodies meant a shift away from voluntary music based primarily on the chorale toward non-Lutheran, and predominantly Anglican, sources.

Perhaps ironically (or not), *The Parish Organist* also became popular with Episcopal organists. According to Marion J. Hatchett (1927–2009), who was the rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, "many of our Episcopal organists have been making use of *The Parish Organist*, but unfortunately some of the melodies which are most popular in the Episcopal Church are not represented in the series."[742] This prompted the editorial committee of CPH to publish two subsequent volumes, *The Parish Organist: Familiar Hymn Tunes*, with the intent that the "melodies treated in this collection are contained in *The Hymnal* (1940) of the Protestant Episcopal Church."[743] Although these volumes were not strictly based on *TLH* or even directly created for the Synodical Conference tradition, their production demonstrated the profound Anglican impact of *TLH* and *The Parish Organist*, which (at least in the organ sphere) resulted in a sort of reverse impact on the Episcopal Church. At the same time, the inclusion of these volumes meant that 31 original Anglican hymn tunes were introduced to

[742] Willem Mudde, ed., *The Parish Organist, Part 12: Familiar Hymn Tunes* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), p. 1.
[743] *Ibid*.

the Lutheran musical consciousness,[744] in addition to several folk and plainsong melodies that were arranged by composers of the Oxford and Anglo-Catholic Movements,[745] to say nothing of the fact that all of the melodies were those recommended due to their popularity in the Episcopal Church in the first place. While these supplemental melodies may not have been among the top 100 most-used hymns at the time of the original 1953 publication of the first four volumes of *The Parish Organist*, many became ubiquitous in the decades that followed.

Final Thoughts on the Musical Impact of *The Lutheran Hymnal*

The foregoing examination of the musical content of *The Lutheran Hymnal* and the subsequent publication of liturgico-musical materials to supplement the dramatic influx of new liturgical and hymn texts and melodies demonstrated a significant Anglican influence in several key areas. Perhaps most obvious was the introduction of a significant percentage of Anglican hymn tunes and hymn texts, which displaced the exclusive use of the chorale in the Lutheran tradition of the preceding centuries. In addition, the introduction of these new hymn tunes necessitated the composition of several new choral and organ works outside of the Lutheran tradition.

---

[744] Including: All Saints New, Angel's Story (Watermouth), Avon, Burford, Caithness, Christmas, Diademata, Down Ampney, Ewing, England's Lane, Hanover, Horsley, Hyfrydol, Lancashire, Lauda Anima, Malabar, Martyrdom, Morning Star, Rathbun, St. Bride, St. Cecilia, St. Dunstan's, St. James, St. Magnus, St. Stephen, St. Thomas, Tallis' Ordinal, Tidings, Truro, University College, and Windsor. See Appendix 7.

[745] Including: Adoro te devote, In Babilone, Innocents (Navarre), Lyons, Mannheim, Navarre, O Quanta Qualia, Pange Lingua, Picardy, Slane, St. Bernard, St. Columba, St. Denio, and St. Patrick's Breastplate. See Appendix 7.

In addition to the hymn corpus, the liturgical texts and music of *TLH* were significantly influenced by the *Book of Common Prayer* tradition and the use of Anglican chant. Less obviously, the philosophical approach to music that had a foothold in the Anglo-Catholic movement, specifically its favoring of plainchant, resonated with several men who worked on the hymnal project. This resulted in the publication of several supplemental resources after the publication of *TLH* set to plainsong melodies. While the motivation in some cases was to augment the use of the chorale, the ultimate effect was arguably the rejection of the chorale as the dominant liturgico-musical form in favor of chant-based compositions for the liturgical texts. In the end, the greatest effect of *TLH* was the displacement of the chorale, relegating its use to the singing of rubrically optional hymns in competition with a plethora of new non-Lutheran hymns and hymn tunes, a significant majority of which were from Anglican sources.

Finally, it is worth noting how precious little has been said about the Norwegians and Slovaks in this chapter. As Chapter IV made clear, almost no content from their respective traditions was utilized in the production of the hymnal, to the extent that the Norwegians even requested a special edition of *TLH* that featured more of their hymn and liturgical melodies. The pre-existence of a widely-used Norwegian-inspired English hymnal represented by *The Lutheran Hymnary* meant that some ELS congregations simply opted to forego *TLH* entirely. But for those who did not, the result was a significant alteration of their distinctive heritage of music in their hymnody and liturgy. The Slovaks, on the other hand, had so few resources and relied so heavily upon the LCMS that their materials were not equally preserved. In the end, the Slovak tradition faded into obscurity as their Synod was amalgamated into the LCMS. The relatively small size of both the ELS and the Slovak Synod is likely responsible for their underrepresentation in the final

product of *TLH*. Even with more representation, however, as the work of the liturgics subcommittee demonstrated, the final product likely would have remained the same due to the LCMS dominance of the project and desire to maintain continuity with the forms of their *ELHB*.

CONCLUSION

The music of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church was a creative and conforming force that transformed the religious landscape of Europe. When Martin Luther prepared his *Ninety-Five Theses*, it is unlikely that he imagined the far-reaching effects his work would have in countries far beyond Germany's borders. It is even less likely that he had any conception of how his reforms would foment the creation of distinct liturgico-musical identities around the world. Although the Anglican and Lutheran Churches can trace the development of their traditions to that decisive moment, their liturgico-musical identities ultimately developed along very different lines. In some ways, this was due to the happenstances of history, including political factors and alliances, as well as linguistic and theological differences. Nevertheless, radically different approaches to both worship and the role of music resulted from that context. For Lutherans, the musical development of the chorale became a powerful and unifying cultural force that carried the Reformation beyond the borders of Germany. In the Anglican Communion, the *Book of Common Prayer* tradition served that unifying function. Both had radically different views of the role and philosophy of music.

It is easy to think it inevitable that the reuniting of the Lutheran and Anglican traditions on the American continent necessitated that one emphasis would give way to the other. So, too, the preeminence of the Anglican perspective in a land where the English tongue is dominant may be unsurprising in the final analysis. But this thesis has demonstrated that the abrogation of a distinctively Lutheran liturgical and musical identity was not inevitable. The research questions

that shaped this analysis were crafted to investigate how the Anglican Church's liturgico-musical tradition influenced the distinctive Lutheran identities of the constituent bodies of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. Having established the dissonant natures of these two traditions, the central argument of this thesis was brought to bear in demonstrating how the Anglican paradigm of music supplanted Luther's classical view within the Evangelical-Lutheran Church. The findings of this research will be summarized in relation to each of the research questions below.

Research Question 1

What paradigms guided the creation of the Lutheran and Anglican liturgico-musical traditions? Were they compatible or distinct?

The historical background of the distinct liturgico-musical streams of the Lutheran and Anglican traditions was the basis of Chapter I. While many recognize the supremacy of the chorale as a central force in the Lutheran tradition, this thesis argued that Luther's development of the chorale was born from his philosophical understanding of music as the highest discipline next to theology itself. His fundamental belief in the transformative and divine power of music meant that it was much more than functional. Luther's desire for participatory, vernacular worship naturally resulted in his translation of the Scriptures into German. But he equally "translated" the Latin melodies of the medieval Church into the "vernacular" of a distinctly German musical idiom. This is what the chorale—or as he called the various chorales, "German Psalms"—was intended to be. Its function therefore transcended political borders and was

instantiated in other unique cultural traditions, including the Norwegian and Slovak traditions that are relevant to this research.

This thesis also uniquely contended that Luther's liturgical principles are best understood from examining his *Von Ordenung Gottis Dienst ynn der Gemeyne* (Order of Divine Service in the Congregation) rather than through the culturally idiomatic *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe*. This contention has already borne peer-reviewed fruit.[746] Where the past century-and-a-half of liturgical scholarship pitted Luther's Latin and German rites against each other as disparate liturgical traditions, this thesis argued that both rites were unique instantiations of the same Evangelical idiom expressed by the *Ordnung Gottis Dienst*, which sought to elevate the understanding of the Scriptures and the Sacrament as preeminently divine gifts rather than an anthropocentric sacrifice, while simultaneously maintaining the historic order and melodies of the Western Rite. The *Formula Missae* represented Luther's Evangelical idiom in a culturally Latin way, whereas the *Deutsche Messe* instantiated the Mass in a German cultural idiom through the vehicle of the chorale. In this way, the chorale-canticles that became endemic to the Lutheran tradition in the Saxon *Agende* that followed the *Deutsche Messe* were not understood as parochial paraphrases, but rather as German instantiations of the Biblical model of sacred Psalmody based on ancient ecclesiastical melodies. In other words, the chorale represented the paradigm that liturgico-musical expression should be culturally appropriate but historically and Biblically based, while the *Ordenung Gottis Dienst* was the basis for the Evangelical idiom. Combined, the Evangelical idiom of the rite and the cultural idiom afforded by the chorale formed a uniquely Lutheran liturgico-musical identity.

---

[746] Baker, "The False Dichotomy of *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe*."

In contrast, the Anglican liturgical tradition was premised on a distinctive textual rite represented by the *Book of Common Prayer (BCP)*. Although the 1549 *BCP* appeared very similar to the Roman rite, it was short-lived; subsequent reforms, in part affected more or less by Calvinistic or Reformed theology, substantially altered the rite. The predominance of textual forms meant that the music used in the liturgy was of much lesser concern, to the extent that music was not proffered in the *BCP*. There was not a tradition of developing a musical idiom or uniquely wedding text to melody in hymnody; in fact, there was rarely any hymn-use at all beyond metrical Psalmody. This would eventually change in the Victorian era, where English hymnody began to flourish in tandem with widespread evangelistic renewal in the Methodist movement and the liturgical renewal of the Oxford Movement.

Although some have drawn parallels between the Neo-Lutheran liturgical reform movements around the same time, this thesis demonstrated that the strand of Neo-Lutheranism championed by C. F. W. Walther and the Saxon immigrants in the United States can be contrasted with that of Wilhelm Löhe in the mid-nineteenth century. Walther sought to restore the Saxon *Agende* tradition that had been abrogated by political and theological pressures, while Löhe sought to replace the liturgical use of the chorale in Lutheran worship, which he considered to be parochial and embarrassing. Many have argued that Löhe's *Agende* of 1844 represented the *Formula Missae* tradition, while Walther's *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856 represented the *Deutsche Messe*. This thesis distinctively argued that Löhe eschewed part of the true spirit of Luther's liturgical reforms. Rather, his movement shared some characteristics with the spirit of liturgical reform that began in Oxford in 1833 and culminated in the ecclesiological wing of the Anglo-Catholic movement and its desired repristination of the Roman Missal and plainchant

(and, arguably the Second Vatican Council). In sum, the philosophically incompatible paradigms that shaped the Lutheran and Anglican traditions inspired distinct liturgical reform movements, which guided the early Synodical Conference and the Anglican Oxford Movement in different directions. The Neo-Lutherans of Walther's mold focused on reclaiming their own liturgico-musical tradition with centuries of continuity, while the Oxford Anglicans focused on mining the liturgical depths of their early and pre-Reformation history.

Research Question 2

Was the transition to English in nineteenth century America the sole catalyst for the Lutheran adoption of Anglican liturgico-musical forms or did other factors play a role?

After describing the historical obstacles faced by the Lutheran immigrants that constituted the various Synods of the Synodical Conference, including socio-economic pressures and religious turmoil, Chapter II of this thesis traced the official liturgical and hymn tradition of each Synod from their respective historical vernacular languages through their first forays into English liturgico-musical resources. The Synods specifically examined were those that are today known as The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS), the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS), the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (ELS), and the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church (SELC, today a District of the LCMS). While much research has been done into the LCMS tradition, comparatively little has been done into the liturgico-musical roots of the WELS, ELS, and SELC. The latter two in particular represent the Norwegian and Slovak cultural traditions, which further augment this thesis' contention that Luther's Evangelical idiom was meant to be expressed in musically sensitive cultural idioms.

This research established that the first official hymnals and agendas of each Synod were firmly rooted in the historic Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition, which ultimately can be traced back to Luther's reforms and the spirit of the Saxon *Agende* in one way or another. The conventional understanding of the WELS liturgico-musical history—that it was functionally a Pietist sect bereft of Lutheran orthopraxy before it was reined in by the guiding hand of the LCMS—must be reassessed based on these findings. The discovery of the WELS' first hymnal from 1870 as part of this research, copies of which had been assumed lost by other commentators, demonstrated the fact that the Synod's orthopraxy was much higher than conventionally believed. While its liturgical literacy may be suspect, it is beyond dispute that its first *Agende* was in the vein of Luther's Evangelical and chorale-based tradition and was formed by the WELS' experiences with other orthodox hymnals and *Agendae*. Likewise, the Norwegians in the ELS and the Slovaks in the SELC had even more settled and extensive liturgical pedigrees that were firmly rooted in centuries of use stemming from Luther's reforms.

In transitioning to English, the WELS and ELS maintained some form of their historic liturgy. Even the LCMS' English *Liturgy and Agenda* retained a form of the original Saxon rite that Walther had compiled. In answering this research question, the transition to English cannot be held responsible for the suppression, intentional or not, of the historical liturgical chorale forms in favor of the *BCP*-inspired forms of *The Common Service (TCS)*. In this way, perhaps the greatest catalyst that influenced the Synodical Conference to adopt Anglican forms was the LCMS' official adoption of *TCS* in its *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (*ELHB*) in 1912. It is not entirely clear why *TCS* was adopted once the switch to English was effected; perhaps the LCMS leaders adopted it simply because it was fashionable to imitate the larger East Coast, old-stock Lutheran Synods. It was not for lack of an option with more of a Lutheran pedigree, as

August Crull had translated their *Kirchen-Agende* into English in 1881, some seven years prior to the production of *TCS*.

As stated, the transition to English did not result in the abandonment of the traditional liturgical forms in any of the Synods' first English hymnals (with the exception of the Slovaks, who did not adopt an English hymnal prior to *The Lutheran Hymnal* [*TLH*] of 1941). The fact that the Saxon rite persisted even in the LCMS as late as 1921 attests to the power of the rite as part of a distinctively Lutheran identity. A more significant change prior to *TLH* was the adoption of non-Lutheran hymnody, which nearly supplanted the chorale where English was used. What is more, most of the translations of traditional Lutheran chorales were crafted by Anglican translators who were hardly concerned about conveying a Lutheran theological idiom. But Chapter II also showed that prior to the World Wars, the vast majority of German congregations had not transitioned to English. The Norwegians transitioned somewhat sooner, but made deliberate efforts to preserve their linguistic heritage even while being decidedly bi-lingual. For the Slovaks, their small size necessitated the transition to English through the LCMS seminary and training institutions. The statistical data analyzed in Chapter II regarding the use of English in the Synods demonstrated that the timing of the World Wars and political pressures resulting therefrom were at least partial catalysts for abandoning non-English forms. Ultimately, the publication of *The Lutheran Hymnal* would come to bear as a result of the sudden need for English-language resources and the (arguably questionable) dissatisfaction with existing options, including that of the Royal German Chapel tradition that had served English-speaking Lutherans for several centuries prior to *ELHB, TCS,* or *TLH*.[747]

[747] Recall the first Lutheran Liturgy in the United States was drawn from this tradition, as were the chorale translations used by the Pennsylvania Ministerium; see Jacobi, *Psalmodia Germanica*.

In addition to the broad analyses of the various liturgico-musical traditions of the Synodical Conference, this thesis analyzed the hymn data from all four member hymnals of the Synodical Conference prior to the publication of *TLH*. This analysis demonstrated that the official non-English hymnal content of the Synods was of 100% Evangelical provenance (though, admittedly, there was significant usage of unofficial, non-Lutheran materials). In addition, the extent to which the first English hymnals incorporated non-Lutheran hymnody broadly and Anglican hymnody specifically was considered, with special attention given to *ELHB* as the most significant predecessor hymnal to *TLH*. The data were then cross-referenced to elaborate how many hymns from a given tradition were included in *ELHB* and *TLH* (Appendices 3–4). The final result of this analysis demonstrated the inclusion of 401 (66.72%) hymns with some manner of Anglican influence in the LCMS' *ELHB*, which in turn affected the production of the WELS' *Book of Hymns* and, ultimately, the direction of the entire Synodical Conference in *TLH*, which had 406 (59.71%) hymns of Anglican provenance.

Research Question 3

Did pseudo-ecumenical Lutheran agents who sympathized with the liturgical repristination movements of the period (and the Oxford Movement specifically) also play a role in the adoption of Anglican forms?

Although not originating in the Synodical Conference, *The Common Service* of 1888 (*TCS*) had a profound influence on the Synodical Conference and represents one of the most significant sources of Anglican influence on the same. For this reason, Chapter III focused on the development of *TCS* and included an excursus on the Synodical bodies antecedent to the Synodical Conference that were responsible for shaping it. The sources examined suggested that the old stock Lutheran groups that had been in the United States since the Revolution resented

their treatment as second-class Protestants in relation to the Episcopal Church. As late as 1886, the Episcopal Bishops called for a Protestant unity under its "Historic Episcopate" to rectify "the sad divisions which affect the Christian Church" in America.[748] The architects of the Joint Committee that formed *TCS* almost seemed to operate as if *TCS* was a contrary declaration of Lutheran autonomy (or perhaps superiority). Although the "Rule" by which *TCS* was formed claimed to be the "consensus of pure Lutheran Liturgies" from the sixteenth century, its acknowledgment and subsequent ignoring of the Saxon *Agende* as preeminent demonstrated that the Committee was not intent on treating the Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition in a balanced way.

The paradigmatic approach of relying strictly upon sixteenth century ordos belied a spirit that was of a piece with the repristinatory efforts born out of the Oxford Movement, which similarly sought to repristinate its 1549 *BCP* in lieu of the tradition that developed thereafter. While modern liturgiologists often repeat the Joint Committee's claim that *TCS* is the purest iteration of Lutheran liturgy, this thesis contended that it is in fact not representative of the liturgies of Lutheran orthodoxy, which were firmly rooted in Luther's idiomatic approach to liturgy and based in the chorale. What is more, the Joint Committee claimed that it could use the 1549 *BCP* as one of these "pure Lutheran Liturgies" because it was, in fact, a Lutheran rite. The Joint Committee certainly made good on the claim by predominantly utilizing the liturgical texts and translations from the 1549 *BCP* in *TCS.* This also explained the extensive use of Anglican chant in their subsequent liturgical publications. These decisions would have significant ramifications for the Synodical Conference in the adoption of *TCS*, as well as in the arguments made for the use of *TCS* among its liturgical experts and musicians.

---

[748] House of Bishops, "Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral," http://anglicansonline.org/basics/Chicago_Lambeth.html.

Research Question 4

Did *The Lutheran Hymnal* (*TLH*) of 1941 rectify the abrogation of the Lutheran liturgico-musical paradigm in the English-language Synodical Conference hymnals that preceded it?

Research Question 4 is directly answered by Chapter IV of this thesis, which analyzed the formation of the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics that produced *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941. While many traditionalists today view *TLH* as sacrosanct and the epitome of Lutheran liturgy, this thesis argued that *TLH* failed to live up to its promise of creating a thoroughly Lutheran hymnal for the Synodical Conference. Research into the formation of the Intersynodical Committee showed that the impetus behind the creation of *TLH* began with dissatisfaction in the LCMS regarding its English hymnbook, the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*. Some members of the Synod believed that *ELHB* was too heavily influenced by non-Lutheran sources and did not effectively transmit the Lutheran chorale tradition. Memorials and resolutions to the 1929 LCMS Convention resulted in the commission of an internal Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, which was tasked with coordinating with representatives of the other constituent members of the Synodical Conference to produce a pan-Synodical hymnbook that was decisively Lutheran in character and rectified the flaws in *ELHB*.

The Intersynodical Committee formed several subcommittees that were tasked with aiding in its process. Thanks to a recommendation to review the WELS Archives' collection on Gervasius Fischer, this research discovered several uncatalogued files in that repository dealing with the liturgics subcommittee for *TLH*. These meeting minutes and personal correspondences demonstrated that, at nearly every turn, the liturgics subcommittee's efforts to produce a decidedly Lutheran liturgy for the hymnal were ignored by the plenary Intersynodical

Committee. Where the liturgics subcommittee wanted to allow the rubrical use of the traditional liturgical chorales, the Intersynodical Committee made no allowance. Where the liturgics subcommittee recommended moving away from less accurate *BCP* translations to allow for more Biblical texts, the Intersynodical Committee maintained the status quo. Where the liturgics subcommittee advocated against promoting any one musical rite to allow for multiple high-quality forms to be used, the Intersynodical Committee kept the same pastiche of music that was in *ELHB*, Anglican chant and all.

This thesis uniquely cited several personal correspondences between the liturgics subcommittee and the Intersynodical Committee that demonstrated the latter's awareness of the liturgics subcommittee's recommendations. The Intersynodical Committee declined to utilize nearly all of them, going so far as to report to the Synods that it had made no real investigation into changing liturgical forms at all. It is hard to conform the actions of the Intersynodical Committee with the charge they were given by the 1929 LCMS Convention to improve upon *ELHB*. By all accounts, they made *TLH* less Lutheran through the incorporation of more non-Lutheran hymnody, more Anglican chant, more Anglican translations, and no rubrical allowance for the historic liturgical chorale that were a bedrock of the Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition for centuries. These decisions also decidedly left the non-German Lutheran traditions in the dust, with chorale contributions from the Norwegian and Slovak Synods being statistically nil.

In the vein of Anglican influence, a document discovered in the Fischer files also demonstrated that the predominant hymnals referenced by the Intersynodical Committee in the creation of *TLH* were of Anglican origin, namely *Hymns Ancient and Modern, The English Hymnal*, and *The Hymnal* of the Episcopal Church. This research compared the hymn tunes and

texts from a sample of these hymnals with *TLH*, demonstrating their influence on the formation of the hymnal. The full data from this survey are contained in Appendix 5. In addition to the Intersynodical Committee's own words, this statistical analysis demonstrated the influence of Anglican sources on the hymnal project. In the final assessment, it is hard to see how this research question could be answered in the affirmative.

Research Question 5

To what extent was the Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition and the chorale in particular displaced by Anglican forms in *TLH* and related musical publications?

Perhaps the most profound displacement of the chorale manifest in *TLH* is the lack of allowance for the traditional liturgical chorales. Although the liturgics subcommittee advocated for the inclusion of this fundamental form of Lutheran liturgico-musical expression, the Intersynodical Committee did not include the liturgical chorales in the rubrics of *TLH*. Chapter V examined the extent to which Anglican texts, music, and paradigms displaced the chorale and more accurate translations of non-chorale texts in *TLH* and subsequent liturgical publications. In place of *Kyrie, Gott Vater* or the Greek *Kyrie, eleison,* which were recommended by the liturgics subcommittee, the *BCP's* translation of the Kyrie, "Lord, have mercy upon us," was used. Where the liturgics subcommittee advocated a return to the Biblical translation "Glory to God in the highest" or the singing of *Allein Gott*, *TLH* maintained the *BCP's* "Glory be to God on high" set to a Scottish chant. No music was provided at all for the Creeds, which were adapted almost verbatim from the 1662 *BCP* tradition and demonstrated that not only the ostensibly "pure Lutheran liturgy" of the 1549 version was utilized by the Committee. The lack of music also meant that singing the Creed was functionally removed, even if rubrically allowed, since music

was not provided. There was no allowance for the singing of "The Great Creed," Luther's *Wir glauben*.

In addition to the rubrical disallowance of the chorales in the ordinary parts of the liturgy, the *BCP* and the Roman Missal texts of the propers of the Introits, Graduals, and Alleluias were utilized, while the use of chorales in place of those texts was no longer permitted. Indeed, the liturgics subcommittee had advocated that at least a full Psalm might be allowed in place of the truncated Introits, as Luther had first recommended in the *Deutsche Messe*, but the rubrics of *TLH* made no such allowance. Although paradigmatically similar to the Anglo-Catholic desire to repristinate the Roman Missal, it is unlikely that this was intentional. Still, *TLH*'s adoption of these Missal propers went farther than even the original *TCS* had through the incorporation of the proper Graduals and Alleluias.

Rarely discussed in studies of the liturgical history of the Synodical Conference is the question of the Divine Office. Chapter V spent time considering the historical use of the Office in Luther's original vision, as well as his lesser known settings of the prose texts of the Canticles (as opposed to chorale settings) to simplified Gregorian Psalm tones. Although these tones could have been used for the Canticles in *TLH*, Anglican chant and plainsong were utilized instead. This may have been born from ignorance, but the result was still the use of certain Anglican forms and the disuse of Lutheran ones.

In addition to the Anglican liturgico-musical influences on *TLH*, the displacement of the chorale was most apparent in the hymn corpus of the hymnal. The preceding non-English hymnals of the Synodical Conference had a compositional pedigree entirely guided by the chorale tradition. In *TLH*, Anglican composers wrote 21.76% (148) of the hymn tunes. And that only deals with the music; 176 (25.9%) of the chorale translations in *TLH* were written by

Anglicans, to say nothing of the 171 (25.15%) Anglican hymn texts included in the hymnal. Walter Buszin, a member of the hymn tune subcommittee for *TLH*, lamented the inclusion of hymns by Barnby, Dykes, Mason, Monk, and other Anglican composers and authors. It appears that the hymn tune subcommittee was also ignored by the plenary Intersynodical Committee, as 406 (59.71%) of the hymns in the hymnal had some Anglican provenance.

Buszin, however, did eventually gain influence in the Intersynodical Committee after *TLH* was published. He was charged by the Committee to produce settings of the Introits and Graduals, which were not set to music in the hymnal and often resulted in their being spoken rather than sung. Buszin was tasked with using plainsong for the Introits and Anglican chant for the Graduals. The promotion of Anglican chant is an obvious musical influence. But the promotion of plainsong for the Introits also demonstrated the influence of the Anglo-Catholic philosophy of music that was prevalent at the time. Buszin was cognizant of these trends and cautioned against an over-reliance on Gregorian chant to the exclusion of the chorale tradition.

At the same time, this thesis argued that even Buszin was influenced by the underlying Anglican philosophy of music that viewed the melodies of the chants themselves as valuable only insofar as they serviced the text. The commissioning of Healey Willan, a renowned Anglican composer of the twentieth century, to produce original compositions of the Introits and Graduals, as well as an alternate setting of the Communion Liturgy, further demonstrated this paradigm shift. Willan explicitly expressed his belief in the superiority of plainsong precisely because it elevated text over tune. This proclivity for plainsong was a direct result of his Anglo-Catholic affiliations and was reflected in his compositions for the Synodical Conference. Ultimately, the work of Paul Bunjes represented a sort of synthesis between chorale melodies and plainsong. This final stage of chant development set the stage for the type of compositions

that would predominate in the hymnals that came after the dissolution of the Synodical Conference.

A final area of consideration in Chapter V was the realm of organ music. In particular, the chorale prelude had been an important feature of Lutheran liturgical expression, even though it was not a facet explicitly codified in hymnals or agendas. Prior to *TLH*, chorale prelude compendiums were exclusively based on the Lutheran chorale. The publication of *The Parish Organist* as a direct response to a statistical study of hymn usage in the LCMS resulted in the creation of 60 new chorale preludes for the top 100 hymns used from the hymnal. As part of this thesis research, all 100 chorale preludes included in the anthology were cataloged in Appendix 6, along with the denominational affiliation of both the original melody and the prelude composer. Although Anglicans only composed five of the 60 new chorale preludes, more than 63% of their hymn tunes were of Anglican provenance. Though Lutherans still predominated the discipline of organ composition, *TLH* resulted in a seismic shift in the melodies that these composers were working with out of necessity. The vast majority of the new tunes were of direct Anglican influence, the popularity of which among Episcopal musicians resulted in subsequent volumes of *The Parish Organist* being published with a focus on popular Anglican-adjacent tunes (Appendix 7). Although not explored in this research, this trend would also hold true in other areas of composition, including voluntary choral music anthologies.

The Unanswered Question

Although the preceding sections addressed each of the research questions that guided this thesis, there is a question that was only addressed with tangential speculation: Why did the Synodical Conference promulgate *TCS* and select Anglican forms in *TLH* instead of its

previously dominant chorale heritage? It is difficult to definitively answer this question, but informed conjecture is possible. As Chapter IV established, the impetus behind *TLH* had been to replace *ELHB* with a more Lutheran hymnal, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This thesis showed that *TLH*'s LCMS-dominated Intersynodical Committee did not significantly improve upon the most significant criticisms of *ELHB*. It seems likely to this researcher that the primary reason behind the abrogation of the historical liturgico-musical forms was simply that the LCMS contingent of the Intersynodical Committee felt it prudent to preserve the liturgical heritage of its predecessor hymnal, *ELHB*. Perhaps the fact that Polack's father worked on the tunes for *ELHB* made him nostalgic for the tome. Perhaps he had other personal convictions; such is impossible to know for certain. But the rationale may also have been a matter of prudence. That is to say, it may have made for a smoother transition to stick with what was familiar. Tradition can be established with relative ease, but undoing it, even if only 30 years old, can cause significant consternation, at least among those in the know; it is doubtful how impactful this would have been for the average layman.

Alternatively, the rationale may have been more deliberately against the use of the liturgical chorales in the vein of Löhe's 1844 *Agende*. Perhaps the Committee felt embarrassment of the perceived parochial nature of the liturgical chorales, which is certainly a sentiment that prevails today.[749] This option would be particularly ironic given the Intersynodical Committee's rejection of its liturgical subcommittee's suggested improvements that went unheeded. In a different vein, one must consider the Committee's statement of the ecumenical character of *TLH*'s contents. Perhaps the same spirit that guided the progenitors of *TCS*, which viewed it as

[749] For example, at the 2023 Gottesdienst Conference, "Liturgical Authority" (held at Redeemer Lutheran Church, Fort Wayne, IN, May 1–3, 2023), the plenary lecture pertained to the hegemony and supremacy of *The Common Service* in the LCMS. Redeemer's Pastor, David Petersen, referred to the chorale-canticle tradition as "sectarian" by comparison. Gottesdienst is a significant group dedicated to liturgical ("high church") tradition in the LCMS, analogous to the twentieth-century St. James Society.

an evangelistic overture to broader Protestantism and Christianity, was in the back of the minds of the Committee. Or, in more practical and political terms, maybe the Intersynodical Committee simply took the path of least resistance in their efforts to signal the Synodical Conference's full integration into broader American society (contrary to the specter of German heritage after WWII). While the motivation may be impossible to fully pin down, what is demonstrable is that the LCMS' dominance on the Intersynodical Committee is responsible for the final product of *TLH*.

On a related note, it must be stated that this thesis should not be construed as a moral judgment against the use of Anglican resources; rather, it is an argument against the claim that Anglican resources represent historical Lutheran usage. Indeed, this thesis has argued that the incorporation of these Anglican resources displaced and eventually extinguished certain traditional Lutheran forms and, arguably, beliefs regarding the role of music in the liturgy. *TCS* and *TLH* are the results of the significant influence of Anglican resources on the Lutheran liturgico-musical tradition rather than an expression of "pure Lutheran liturgies." It may well have been prudent for the Synodical Conference to utilize Anglican resources in the adoption of English resources. After all, the Anglican Communion represents the historic English expression of the Protestant faith, which is particularly relevant in an American context given the United States' decidedly British constitution at the time of its founding and the significance of British forms and the Church of England in particular among the original colonial elite. While calling the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* a "Lutheran liturgy" seems shocking, it certainly is true that the early Anglican divines were impacted by Luther's theology (if not his liturgico-musical persuasion). The argument of this thesis has been intent on dispelling myths and misstatements about the historical Lutheran liturgico-musical development. If the individuals that adopted and

continue to advocate for the *BCP* forms found them most prudent, that contention should be advocated on its own merits rather than through historically contestable claims.

Implications for Future Research

The limitations of this research project meant that several discoveries and areas of inquiry could not be fully examined, but may have implications for future and inter-disciplinary research. One of the most pressing is the translation and study of liturgical resources and chorales that were lost when the Synodical Conference transitioned to English. A memorial to the 2023 WELS Convention enjoined the Synod to translate its 1872 hymnal and 1896 *Agende* into English for academic study and posterity.[750] Although the floor committee responsible for the Memorial commended it to the Convention, it was defeated on the floor. This example shows that there is much work to be done in communicating the importance of this area of musicological research to interested stakeholders. This need is even more pressing with respect to the Slovak Synod. The course of this research allowed only the briefest survey of the beautiful melodies and texts in *Cithara Sanctorum*, the Slovak hymnal. With the complete abrogation of the Slovak rite in the wake of *TLH* and the SELC's amalgamation into the LCMS, the numbers of direct stakeholders within the SELC tradition is dwindling. The academic inquiry into this area is negligible at best and warrants further pursuit.

Several future articles may be made from the chapters of this research. An article reassessing the perception of the WELS as liturgically inept prior to the LCMS' influence is forthcoming for submission to a peer-reviewed journal. The investigation of the false dichotomy

[750] David G. Moseley, "WELS' heritage of worship," Memorial (2023–05), Unprinted Memorial to the 2023 WELS Convention, Saginaw, Michigan. <https://wels2.blob.core.windows.net/synodconvention/2023%20Synod%20Convention/Unpublished%20Memorials/Memorial%202023%2005.pdf>

between the *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe* has already been published as the fruit of this thesis.[751] More intensive study on the specific influence of Wilhelm Löhe and his 1844 *Agende* on the development of the LCMS and *TCS* would be prudent. Stemming from Chapter V, the Anglican influences on later liturgical and organ publications, as well as the anthems and motets published for choirs, may be of interest for future research. A study of the influence of Anglican forms and stylistic trends on the output of organ, choral, and hymn tune composers would also be a logical extension of this research, as would the study of Lutheran hymn text writing post-*TLH*.

A unique aspect of this research was the examination of the uncatalogued records in the WELS Archives pertaining to Gervasius Fischer. Several documents were discovered as part of that research that are not cited in this study. An entire article could be written chronicling the interesting personal correspondences between Fischer and Adolph Wismar of the St. James Society. Given the WELS' historic low church stance, this unlikely connection would be of academic interest, in addition to broadening the historical understanding of the St. James Society itself. So, too, several documents in this file demonstrate Fischer's keen understanding of music and the liturgy. A biographical sketch of Fischer and his work would be of interest to WELS stakeholders, as might an edited publication of his liturgical writings.

In addition to these areas of inquiry, the effects of the influences discussed in this thesis on the liturgical and hymnal production of the constituent members of the now-defunct Synodical Conference after *TLH* would be worth investigating. This would include the most recent hymnal publications for each Synod, including *Christian Worship* (2021, WELS), *Lutheran Service Book* (2006, LCMS), and *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary* (1996, ELS), along with the through-composed liturgical canticles and chants contained in these volumes by Lutheran figures like Richard Hillert (LCMS), Alfred Fremder (LCMS), Ronald Nelson

[751] Baker, "The False Dichotomy…", *LOGIA,* pp. 7–17.

(LCMS), Kurt Eggert (WELS), and Kermit Moldenhaur (WELS). In a similar vein, it would be worth exploring how the Anglo-Catholic influence resulted in full adoption of the Catholic reforms of the Second Vatican Council, along with musical settings utilized by Catholic composers like Richard Proulx and Marty Haugen. Undoubtedly, there are several other branches of research that may occur to the reader. It is the earnest hope of the author that this research inspires others to investigate further into the realm of the liturgico-musical expression in Synodical Conference Lutheranism.

The Final Coda

Tracing the influence of the liturgy and music of the Anglican Church on the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference in North America from 1847–1960 has been a rewarding experience. These questions have personal significance for someone who was raised in the Synodical Conference tradition. But the implications of this study have ramifications beyond the parochial Synodical Conference experience. In an increasingly global world, disparate cultural traditions are coming into contact all the time. As the products of globalization, it is up to the individuals of the twenty-first century to find ways to meaningfully engage with those who are different while trying not to lose one's own identity. Meanwhile, pride in one's identity need not cast a moral aspersion on the identity of another. This analysis of the influence of the Anglican Church on the Synodical Conference should certainly dispel several myths regarding the pedigree of *The Common Service* and the Lutheran *bona fides* of *The Lutheran Hymnal*. But this should not be construed as a moral judgment against the Anglican tradition in its own right. Rather, it is a call to reassess preconceptions and to critically think about the past. To meaningfully engage with the world without becoming lost in it requires meaningful engagement

with one's own identity. For the Lutheran Church, it is a call to showcase its uniquely beautiful liturgical and hymnological identity, forged in a centuries-old tradition of musical excellence and epitomized by the chorale.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Christian. “Our Liturgy.” *Clergy Bulletin*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1957, pp. 9–15. *ELS.org*, https://els.org/wp-content/download/worship_committee/Anderson-Christian-Our-Liturgy.pdf.

Anttila, Miikka E. *Luther's Theology of Music: Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2013. *De Gruyter*, https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110310276

Archer, Harry G., and Luther D. Reed, editors. *The Psalter and Canticles Pointed for Chanting to The Gregorian Psalm Tones With a Plain Song Setting for the Order of Matins and Vespers, Accompanying Harmonies, and Tables of Proper Psalms for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations*. New York, The Christian Literature Co., 1897. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/psaltercanticles00arch/page/n3/mode/2up.

Aufdemberge, C. T. *Christian Worship: Handbook*. Northwestern Publishing House, 1997.

Baker, Daniel G. “The False Dichotomy of Formula Missae and Deutsche Messe.” *LOGIA: A Journal of Lutheran Theology: Formula Missae*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2023, pp. 7–17.

Baker, Daniel George. *Martin Luther and Music Education: The Impact of Luther's Philosophy on Lutheran Music Education Today*. MM thesis. 2020. *UF George A. Smathers Library*, University of Florida, https://original-ufdc.uflib.ufl.edu/AA00090669/00001.

Balle, Nicolai Edinger. *Evangelisk-christelig Psalmebog*. Christiana [Oslo], W. C. Fabritius, 1856. *Library of Congress*, https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig.evangeliskchrist00ball.

Barmann, Lawrence F. “The Liturgical Dimension of the Oxford Tracts, 1833–1841.” *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1968, pp. 92–113. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/175297.

Bente, Friedrich, editor. *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1921. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=vQtIZfctcRYC.

Bergen, Carl. *The Order of Holy Communion*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1967.

Best, Thomas F., and Dagmar Heller. *Worship Today: Understanding, Practice, Ecumenical Implications*. Geneva, WCC Publications, 2004. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/wccfops2.201.

Bidder, Henry J. *The Parish Church Chant Book*. London and New York, Novello, Ewar and Co., 1909. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=NYZNx_QccRwC.

Bluhm, Heinz. “The 'Douche' Sources of Coverdale's Translation of the Twenty-Third Psalm.” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1947, pp. 53–62. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27712837.

Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America. *An Explanation of The Common Service With Appendices on Christian Hymnody and Liturgical Colors and a Glossary of Liturgical Terms*. Second ed., Philadelphia, General Council Publication House, 1908. *Wolfmueller.co*, https://wolfmueller.co/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/ExplanComServ_cover.pdf.

Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America. *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States.* Philadelphia, Board of Publication of the General Council of the

Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1898). *Internet Archive,* https://ia801308.us.archive.org/30/items/documentaryhisto00evan/documentaryhisto00evan.pdf.

Brand, Eugene L. "Luther's Liturgical Surgery." *Interpreting Luther's Legacy: Essays in Honor of Edward C. Fendt*, Fred W. Meuser and Stanley D. Schneider, editors, Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1969, pp. 108-119.

Braun, Mark E. *Changes in the Wisconsin Synod*. PhD diss. 2000. *CSL Scholar*, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, https://scholar.csl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1051&context=phd.

Braun, Mark E. *A Tale of Two Synods: Events That Led to the Split between Wisconsin and Missouri*. Milwaukee, Northwestern Publishing House, 2003. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books/about/A_Tale_of_Two_Synods.html?id=uQLrAAAAMAAJ.

Budd, Samuel W. "Church Music." *The Lutheran Church Review*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1882, pp. 258–270. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=7UhQAQAAMAAJ.

Buenger, Theo. "Hymns in the Curriculum of Our Colleges." *The Lutheran Witness*, vol. 41, no. 5, 1922, p. 75.

Bunjes, Paul. *The Service Propers Noted*. Concordia Publishing House, 1960.

Buszin, Walter E. "The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood and Its Influence Upon the Liturgies and Music of the Lutheran Church." *The Musical Heritage of the Church, vol. II*, edited by Theodore Hoelty-Nickel, vol. 2, Valparaiso University, 1946, pp. 6–40. 7 vols. *Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne Media Resources*, https://ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/MusicalHeritageoftheChurchII.pdf.

Buszin, Walter E. *The Graduals for the Church Year*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1947.

Buszin, Walter E. *The Introits for the Church Year*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1942.

Buszin, Walter E., and Martin Luther. "Luther on Music." *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 1, 1946, pp. 80–97. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/739566.

Cage, Peter C. "Sacramental Hymnody in American Lutheran Hymnals During the Nineteenth Century." *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, vol. 66, no. 3, 2002, pp. 195–220. *Concordia Theological Seminary Fort Wayne*, http://www.ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/cagesacramentalhymnody.pdf.

Carver, Matthew. *Walther's Hymnal: Church Hymnbook for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 2012.

Chemnitz, Martin, and Jacob Andrea. *Church Order for Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel: How Doctrine, Ceremonies, and Other Church-Related Matters Shall (by God's Grace) Be Conducted Henceforth*. Edited by Jacob Corzine and Matthew Carver, translated by Jacob Corzine, et al., Kindle ed., St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 2015.

Chicago Teachers' Conference. *The Church Organist's Anthology*. Vols. 1–4, Belle Plaine, The Lutheran Home, 1978. 4 vols.

Church, Michael G. L. "The Rage of Caliban: The Common Service, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Catholic Revival." *Anglican and Episcopal History*, vol. 74, no. 3, 2005, pp. 357–383. *ProQuest*, https://www.proquest.com/docview/211065725?sourcetype=Scholarly%20Journals.

Church of England. "Article XXVIII, Of the Lord's Supper." *The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, or the Confession of Faith Put Forth by the Church of England, With Scripture*

Proofs, for the Use of Schools and Junior Students, by J. W., London/Winchester, Griffith & Farran/Warren & Son, 1877, pp. 170–182. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=mmy2G_vUY1cC.

Church of England. *The Book of Common Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of The Church of England: Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches*. Cambridge, John Baskerville, 1762. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=_sYUAAAAQAAJ.

Church of England. *Facsimile of the Original Manuscript of the Book of Common Prayer Signed by Convocation December 20th, 1661, and attached to the Act of Uniformity, 1662*. London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1891. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=twdPAAAAYAAJ.

Church of Sarum. *Missale ad vsum insignis ecclesie Sar[um]*. Rothomagi [Rouen, France], Officina magistri Peter violette, 1509. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/missaleadvsumins00cath.

Church of Scotland. "The Communion-Office for the Use of the Church of Scotland, as Far as Concerneth the Ministration of That Holy Sacrament." *Historical Account of Scottish & American Communion Offices. With Reprints*, R. Grant & Son, 1884, pp. 133–156. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/cu31924007588183.

City of Milwaukee Historic Preservation Committee. *Historic Designation Study Report: Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church*. 1982, Milwaukee. *City of Milwaukee*, https://city.milwaukee.gov/ImageLibrary/Groups/cityHPC/DesignatedReports/vticnf/SalemLutheranChurch.pdf.

Clarke, Martin. *Music and Theology in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. New York, Routledge, 2016. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=eCcHDAAAQBAJ.

Commission on Worship, Liturgics and Hymnology of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod. *The Order of Holy Communion: Musical Setting by Healey Willan*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1959.

Commission on Worship of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. *Lutheran Service Book*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 2006.

Coverdale, Myles. *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes drawen out of the holy Scripture: for the co[m]forte and consolacyon of soch as loue to reioyse in God and his Worde*. London, J. Rastell Publisher/Johan Gough, 1535. *Yale University Library*, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/17321610.

Cranmer, Thomas. *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556*. Edited by John Edmund Cox, Cambridge, The University Press, 1846.

Cranmer (att.), Thomas. *The book of common prayer and administration of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church after the use of the Churche of England*. Officina Edouardi Whitchurche. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/bookeofcommonpra00chur_1.

Dau, William Herman Theodore. "Our New English Hymn-Book." *Theological Quarterly*, vol. 16, no. 3, 1912, pp. 154–162. *Concordia Theological Seminary Fort Wayne*, http://www.ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/DauOurNewEnglishHymnBook.pdf.

Dearmer, Percy. *Songs of Praise With Music*. Edited by Ralph Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw, Oxford University Press, 1931. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/songsofpraisewit0000unse_t6i7.

Dearmer, Percy, et al. *The English Hymnal With Tunes*. Edited by Ralph Vaughan Williams, London, H. Frowde, 1906. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/englishhymnalwit0000unse_b6d2.

Dearmer, Percy, and Archibald Jacob. *Songs of Praise Discussed: A Handbook to the Best-Known Hymns and to Others Recently Introduced*. London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1952. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/songsofpraisedis0000perc/page/n7/mode/2up.

DeGarmeaux, Mark. *Sacramental Worship, Sacramental Preaching: Treasures of our Lutheran Church*. 1998. *Bethany Lutheran College*, Milwaukee, Evangelical Lutheran Confessional Forum of ELS and WELS, https://blc.edu/comm/gargy/gargy1/SacramentalWorship.html.

DeGarmeaux, Mark E. *"Appendices," O Come, Let Us Worship*. Conference paper for the 78th Annual Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod. 1995. *Bethany Lutheran College*, https://blc.edu/comm/gargy/gargy1/o_come.appendices.html.

Dinda, Joseph A., editor. "Anglické." *Svedok*, vol. 33, no. 20, 1939, p. 1.

Dowden, John. *Historical Account of Scottish & American Communion Offices. With Reprints*. London, R. Grant & Son, 1884. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/annotatedscottis00dowd.

Ducal Consistory of Mecklenberg. *Mecklenburgisches Kirchen-Gesang-Buch*. Rostock, M.J. Ebert, 1764.

Engebretson, Donald V. "Anglican and Lutheran Worship: Comparison and Contrasts". N.d. *Academia.edu*, https://www.academia.edu/12372673/Anglican_and_Lutheran_Worship_Comparison_and_Contrasts.

Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States. *Book of Hymns*. Milwaukee, Northwestern Publishing House, 1917.

Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States. *Ev.-luth. Gemeinde-Blatt: Organ der Allg. Ev.-Luth. Synode von Wisconsin*. Milwaukee, Northwestern Publishing House, 1916. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=ZUcRPSEUvt8C&pg=RA1-PA288.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod. *Handbook of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod*. Mankato, Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 2023. *ELS.org*, https://els.org/wp-content/files/synod-administration/handbook/handbook.pdf.

Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. *The Lutheran Hymnal*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1941.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Church Liturgy for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession.* St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1881.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1912.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Music*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1930. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/evangelicalluthe0000unse_q2e2.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Liturgy and Agenda*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1921. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=NZg1AQAAMAAJ.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Music for the Liturgy: In Conformity with the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1921. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/musicforliturgyi00evan.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Regular Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1932. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/1932LCMSConventionProceedings.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Regular Convention of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled as the Nineteenth Delegate Convention at River Forest, Illinois June 19–28, 1929*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1929. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/1929LCMSConventionProceedings.

Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1935. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/1935LCMSConventionProceedings/page/n1/mode/2up.

Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Kirchen-Agende für Evang.-Luth. Gemeinden ungcänderter Augsburgischer Confession*. St. Louis, Concordia

Publishing House, 1902. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/kirchenagendefurevang.luth.gemeinden1902.

Evang.-Luth. Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten. *Agende*. Milwaukee, Northwestern Publishing House, 1911.

Evang.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten. *Evang.-Lutherisches Gesangbuch*. Milwaukee, Georg Brumder, 1870.

Evang.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten. *Evang.-Lutherisches Gesangbuch*. Milwaukee, Georg Brumder, 1872.

Fenton, John W. "Wilhelm Löhe's Hauptgottesdienst (1844) as Critique of Luther's Deutsche Messe." *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, vol. 64, no. 2, 2000, pp. 127–148. *Concordia Theological Seminary Fort Wayne*, http://www.ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/fentonwilhelmloheshauptogottesdienst.pdf.

Ferkenstad, Craig A. *"A Table in the Wilderness: Our Legacy as the Spiritual Successors of the Norwegian Synod." Convention Essay*. 2003. *Minnesota Web Steps*, Evangelical Lutheran Synod, https://www.mnwebsteps.com/grover/pdf/2003-convention-essay.pdf.

Ferkenstad, Craig A. "The Continuation of the Synodical Conference 1918–1955." *Lutheran Synod Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 4, 2000, pp. 244–261. *Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary*.

Ffoulkes, Edmund Salusbury. "Consecration NOT Transubstantiation." *Oxford Tracts for English Churchmen*, Longmans, Green, & Co., 1881, 1–48 (lit. 25–72). *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=O8cHAAAAQAAJ.

Fienen, David. *Jan Bender: A Church Musician of the 20th Century*. Saint Peter, MN, Gustavus Adolphus College, n.d. *Center for Church Music*,

https://www.cuchicago.edu/contentassets/3fe7947ed6974559bb72509d11184447/early-life.pdf.

Filo, Julius. “The Liturgical Life of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Slovakia as a Witness to her struggles and visions.” Paul R. Hinlicky and Ellen I. Hinlicky, translators, *Seminary Ridge Review* 1, no. 4 (1999). *Angel Fire*, https://www.angelfire.com/ny4/djw/liturgicalslovakia.html

Fischer, Gervasius. “What Benefits may be Derived from more Emphasis on the Study of Liturgics.” *Theologische Quartalschrift*, vol. 36, no. 1, 1939, pp. 97–118. *WLS Essay File*, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/handle/123456789/7208.

Fischer, Gervasius, et al. “The Gervasius and William Fischer Collection.” *Uncatalogued Boxes 846, 847, 1011, 1021*, WELS Archive, Pewaukee, WI.

Fleischer, Heinrich. *73 leichte Choralvorspiele alter und neuer Meister nach Melodien des deutschen evangelischen Einheitsgesangbuches für den gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch*. Leipzig, F. E. C. Leuckart, 1941.

Fleischer, Heinrich E., et al., editors. *The Parish Organist*. Parts 1–12, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1953–1966. 12 vols.

Forester, Walter O. *Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri 1839–1841*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1953.

Freylinghausen, Johann Anastasius. *Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch: Den Kern Alter und Neuer Lieder, Wie auch die Noten der unbekannten Melodeyen Und dazu gehörige nützliche Register in sich haltend.* Halle, Waysenhaus, 1705. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=b84pdM75PN0C.

Fritz, Ronald H., and William B. Robinson. *Historical Dictionary of Late Medieval England, 1272–1485*. Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 2002.

Garrett, Christian Hallowell. *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism*. London, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America. *Church Book: For the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations*. Philadelphia, General Council Publication Board, 1893. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=N31KoOfAmhQC.

General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. *The Common Service for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations*. Philadelphia, Lutheran Publication Society, 1888. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=bnRIAAAAYAAJ.

General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. *The Common Service with Music. For the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations*. Philadelphia, Lutheran Publication Society, 1888. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=M5sUAAAAYAAJ.

General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America, et al. *The Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church*. Philadelphia, The Lutheran Publication Society, The General Council Publication Board, and The Lutheran Board of Publication, 1917. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=IWM5AQAAMAAJ.

The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. *Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession, darin des sel. Dr. Martin Luthers und anderer geistreichen Lehrer gebräuchlichste Kirchen-Lieder enthalten sind*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing

House, 1892. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/kirchengesangbuc0000unse_e8z5.

Gerlach, Bryan. *How High is Too High? How Low Can We Go? Acceptable range of worship practice in the WELS*. Conference presentation, Southeastern Michigan District Pastor Conference, 2021. *Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Essay File,* http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/bitstream/handle/123456789/4445/GerlachWorship.pdf.

Gjøre, Oscar o.s.v. *"Royal Ordinance concerning the Introduction of a new Service Book for the Norwegian Church [extracts]," Norsk Lovtidende. 2den Afdeling, 1889*. Dag Trygsland Hoelseth, 2012. *Hoelseth.org*, https://www.hoelseth.com/res/res18890214.html.

Graebner, Theodore. "Our Liturgical Chaos." *The Problem of Lutheran Union and Other Essays*, St. Louis, MO, Concordia Publishing House, 1935, pp. 135–166. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/GraebnerProblemLuthUnion/page/n1/mode/2up.

Grime, Paul J. "Dissension in the Making of The Lutheran Hymnal." *Concordia Theological Quarterly,* vol. 88, nos. 2–3 (2024), pp. 161–184. *Concordia Theological Seminary Fort Wayne*, https://ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/GrimeDissensioninthemakingofTheLutheranHymnal.pdf.

Grime, Paul J. "The Lutheran Hymnal after Seventy-Five Years: Its Role in the Shaping of Lutheran Service Book." *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, vol. 79, no. 3–4, 2015, pp. 179–195. *Concordia Theological Seminary Fort Wayne*, http://www.ctsfw.net/media/pdfs/GrimeLutheranHymnalAfterSeventy-FiveYears.pdf.

Grime, Paul J., editor. *Lutheran Service Book: Companion to the Services*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 2022.

Gullixon, Theodore G. “O Rejoice, Ye Christians, Loudly: The History of the Choral Union in the ELS.” *Lutheran Sentinel: A Publication of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod: 100 Years*, vol. 101, no. 3, 2018, pp. 26–27. *ELS.org*, https://els.org/wp-content/download/lutheran_sentinel/TLS_MayJune18.pdf.

Gunther, Karl. *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525–1590*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Gunther, Karl. *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525–1590*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Gurgel, Stephen Scott. *The War to End All Germans: Wisconsin Synod Lutherans and the First World War*. MA thesis. 2012. *UWM Digital Commons*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/52/.

Hamlin, Keith Allen. *The Plainsong Use*. “The Plainsong Use of Healey Willan: A Study of Dr. Willan's Role in the Restoration of Plainsong to the Worship of the Anglican Church." ThM thesis. 1979. *TSpace*, University of Toronto, https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/70942/3/HamlinThesiscombined.pdf.

Harboe, Ludvig, and Ove Høegh-Guldberg. *Psalme-Bog eller en Samling af gamle og nye Psalmer, til Guds Ære og hans Menigheds Opbyggelse*. Copenhagen, Kongelig Wansenhuuscr Bogtrvkkerie, 1778. *The Royal Library of Denmark*, https://www.kb.dk/e-mat/dod/11040802255A-bw.pdf.

Hartman, Robert C. “The Growth of the WELS through the Years.” *WELS Historical Institute Journal*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1990, pp. 31–49.

Hefling, Charles, and Cynthia Shattuck. *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2006.

Heidemann, Leonard Williams. *Acceptance of the English Language in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*. MS thesis. 1950. *Iowa State University, University Library*, Iowa State College, https://behost.lib.iastate.edu/DR/Heidemann_BX8061.M7-H362a.pdf.

Heiser, James D. *The Common Service: The English Liturgy of the Church of the Augsburg Confession*. Malone, TX, Repristination Press, 2022.

Herl, Joseph, et al, editors. *Lutheran Service Book: Companion to the Hymns*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 2019.

Herl, Joseph. *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation and Three Centuries of Conflict*. Revised edition. New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2008.

Herz, Gerhard. *Essays on J. S. Bach*. Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1985.

Hölter, Heinrich F. *Choralbuch: Eine Sammlung der gangbarsten Choräle der evang.-lutherischen Kirche, meist nach Dr. Fr. Layriz, nebst den wichtigsten liturgischen Gässen*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1902.

Hook, Wakter Farquhar. *Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, Volume 1: Manning As An Anglican*. vol. 1, London, Macmillan and Co., 1895. 2 vols. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=tzyRwcfZMUsC.

Horn, David. “Lining Out.” *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World, Volume 11: Performance and Production*, edited by John Shepherd, vol. 11, London, Continuum, 2003, pp. 145–146. 12 vols. *DOI*, https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472504289.

Horn, E. T. “German and Lutheran Development of Liturgies.” *The Universal Cyclopedædia: A New Edition*, edited by Charles Kendall Adams, vol. 7, D. Appleton and Company, a J.

Johnson Company, 1900, pp. 269–270. 12 vols. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=SyrmAAAAMAAJ.

Horn, Edward T. "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service." *The Lutheran Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1891, pp. 239–268. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=ABBIAQAAMAAJ.

Horn, Edward T. "Luther on the Principles and Order of Christian Worship." *The Lutheran Church Review*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1891, pp. 217–256. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=80pQAQAAMAAJ.

Horn, Edward T. "The Old Matin and Vesper Service of the Lutheran Church." *The Lutheran Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 14, 1885, pp. 514–525. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=qQxIAQAAMAAJ.

Horn, Edward T. "The Public Use of the Common Service." *The Lutheran Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1889, pp. 227–242. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=sgtIAQAAMAAJ.

House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America,. "The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral 1886, 1888." *Anglicans Online*, 09 May 2019, https://anglicansonline.org/basics/Chicago_Lambeth.html. Accessed 2023.

Institute of Liturgical Studies. "History." *Valparaiso University*, n.d., https://www.valpo.edu/institute-of-liturgical-studies/history. Accessed 22 April 2024.

Jacobi, John Christian, editor. *Psalmodia Germanica: or The German Psalmody.* London, G. Smith, in Princess-Street, Spittle Fields, 1732. https://ks15.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/2/2a/IMSLP249700-PMLP404715-psalmodia germani00jaco.pdf.

Jacobs, Henry Eyster. *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*. New York, The Christian Literature Co., 1893. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=mHIq08M_AdkC.

Jacobs, Henry Eyster. *The Lutheran Movement in England: During the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and Its Literary Monuments*. Philadelphia, G. W. Frederick, 1890. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=m4AwAQAAMAAJ.

Jacobs, Henry Eyster. *The Memoirs of Henry Eyster Jacobs: Notes on a Life of a Churchman*. Edited by Henry Eyster Horn, vol. 1–3, Huntingdon, PA, Church Management Service, 1974. 3 vols. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/memoirsonhenryey0001jaco, https://archive.org/details/memoirsonhenryey0002jaco, https://archive.org/details/memoirsonhenryey0003jaco.

Jacobs, Henry Eyster. "Recent Publications." *The Lutheran Church Review*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1889, pp. 151–157. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=zEpQAQAAMAAJ.

Jonas, Justus D., et al. *Agenda, das ist, Kirchenordnung, wie sich die Pfarrherrn vnd Seelsorger in jren Ampten vnd Diensten halten sollen für die Diener der Kirchen in Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachssen V.G.H. Fürstenthumb gestellet*. Leipzig, Nicolaus Wolrab, 1540. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=SaFUAAAAcAAJ.

Jones, Richard. *The Creative Development of Johann Sebastian Bach*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007.

Kartawidjaja, Yakub E. *Music in Martin Luther's Theology*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021.

Keble, John. *National Apostasy*. Sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, on July 14, 1833. Website, n.d. *Project Canterbury*, A. R. Mowbray & Co., https://anglicanhistory.org/keble/keble1.html.

Kelley, William Armond. *The Relationship of the Early Lutheran Hymns to Certain Features of Martin Luther's Theories of Religious Education*. PhD diss. Accession No. 5800653, 1957. *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global*, New York University.

Kelly, Peter, director. "Appointment With Music." Performances by Fletcher Markle and Healey Willan. *Telescope*, season 4, episode Christmas Special, 1966. *YouTube*, https://youtu.be/81WMhZXU6GU and https://youtu.be/4ZJS-M-HBl4.

Kerr, Ian. "The Father of Vatical II." *EWTN*, Eternal Word Television Network, 2009, https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/father-of-vatican-ii-5699. Accessed 2023.

Khamer, Louis. *The Common Service with Music*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1906. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/commonservicewit0000unse.

Kingo, Thomas, and Caspar Schøller. *Danmarks og Norges Kirke-ritual*. Copenhagen, Joachim Smedtgen, 1685. *Martin Luther og hans skrifter: Danmarks og Norges Kirke-ritual 1685*, http://www.lutherdansk.dk/web-kirke-ritualet%201685/web-kirke-ritualet%201685/index.htm.

Klammer, Edward W., editor. *The Parish Choir Book*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1956.

Koehler, John P. *Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin und anderen Staaten*. Milwaukee, Northwestern Publishing House, 1925.

Koehler, John Philipp. *The History of the Wisconsin Synod*. Edited by Leigh D. Jordahl, St. Cloud, MN, Faith-Life, 1970.

Koren, Ulrich Vilhelm, editor. *Psalmebog udgiven af Synoden for Den Norsk Evangelisk Lutherske Kirke I Amerika*. Decorah, IA, Synodens Forlag, 1877. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/psalmebog00amergoog.

Koriath, Kirby Lawrence. *Music for the Church: The Life and Work of Walter E. Buszin*. Fort Wayne, IN, Good Shepherd Institute, Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 2003. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/musicforchurchli0000kori.

Krauth, Charles Porterfield. *The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology: As Represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church,* Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1872. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=4kqtrrCfulcC.

Kucharik, Jozef. *Duchovná Cithara*. Leipzig, C. G. Röder, 1933.

L., W. "Bugenhagen, Johannes, called Pomeranus." *The Lutheran Cyclopedia*, edited by Henry Eyster Jacobs and John A. W. Haas, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999, pp. 66–67.

Landstad, Magnus Brostrup. *Kirkesalmebog: efter offentlig foranstaltning samlet*. Christiana [Oslo], Jacob Dybwad, 1873. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=3fVa_RdStm4C.

Lange, Alvin H. "The Common Service: A Study in the Adoption and Use of the Common Service between 1891 and 1941 in the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod and the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States." STM thesis. St. Louis, Concordia Seminary, 1972. *CSL Scholar*, https://scholar.csl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1522&context=stm.

Lawrence, Arthur. *Sir Arthur Sullivan: Life Story, Letters and Reminiscences*. Edited by B. W. Findon and Wilfrid Bendall, New York, Duffield & Company, 1907. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/sirarthursulliva00lawruoft.

Layriz, Friedrich Christoph Ludwig Eduard. *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Choralbuch fuer Kirche und Haus: Sammlung der gebraeuchlichsten Choraele der lutherischen Kirche*. St. Louis, Verlag von Rudolph Volkening, 1863.

Leaver, Robin. *Bach Studies: Liturgy, Hymnody, and Theology*. Abingdon, Routledge, 2021. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=vEEjEAAAQBAJ.

Leaver, Robin A. *"Goostly Psalmes and spirituall songes": English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535–1566*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987.

Leaver, Robin A. *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*. Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2007.

Leaver, Robin. *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther's Wittenberg*. Grand Rapids, MI, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2017.

Lee, James Ambrose, II. *Tracing Wittenberg's Liturgical Lineage: Mecklenburg's Reception of Luther's Reforms of the Mass*. New Haven, CT, Yale Divinity School, 2012.

Lehmann, Arnold O. "Wisconsin Synod Hymnals and Agendas 1850–1950." *WELS Historical Institute Journal*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1998, pp. 3–37. *WELS Historical Institute Journal Archive*, https://cs.welsrc.net/download-cs/wels-historical-institute-journal-archive/?wpdmdl=3474&refresh=668c5ba239ab41720474530&ind=1508772257861&filename=cs-whi-vol16-2.pdf.

Lehmann, Arnold Otto. *The Music of the Lutheran Church, Synodical Conference, Chiefly the Areas of Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin and Neighboring States, 1839–1941*. PhD diss. 1967. *Internet Archive*, Northwestern Reserve University, https://archive.org/details/bim_early-english-books-1641-1700_arnold-otto-lehmann_1967-01_ia40331301-26.

Liddon, Henry Parry. *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey: Doctor of Divinity Canon of Christ Church; Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford*. Edited by J. O. Johnston and Robert J. Wilson, third ed., vol. 2, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893. 4 vols. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=2TEem6HUkFAC.

Lindberg, Carter. *The European Reformation*. Chichester, WS, John Wiley & Sons, 2009. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=GKoS6pB_3RQC.

Lochner, Friedrich. *The Chief Divine Service*. Translated by Matthew Carver, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 2020.

Lochner, Friedrich. *The Chief Divine Service of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church: Explained, and Furnished with Historic Church Melodies for the Preservation of the Liturgical Heritage and for the Advancement of Liturgical Study in the American-Lutheran Church*. Edited by Jon D. Vieker, et al., translated by Matthew Carver, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 2020.

Löhe, Wilhelm. *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntinisses*. Nördlingen, C. H. Beck, 1844. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=S-BIAAAAcAAJ.

Löhe, Wilhelm. *Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus, über und für Nord-Amerika: ein Blatt für innere Mission*. Nördlingen, C. P. Beck'schen Buchhandlung, 1844. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=TDJCAAAAcAAJ.

Luther, Martin. *Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnu[n]g Gotes diensts, zů Wittemberg, fürgenom[m]en*. [Augsburg], [Henrich Steiner], 1526. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=MC5SAAAAcAAJ.

Luther, Martin. *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe) 30. Band Zweite Abteilung*. Weimar, Hermann Böhlaus Nachsolger, 1909. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=KPkoU76M_xYC.

Luther, Martin. *Ein Feste Burg*. Magdeburg, Johann Spangenburg, 1545. *Wikimedia Foundation*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ein_feste_Burg_ist_unser_Gott#/media/File:Ein_feste_Burg_1545.jpg.

Luther, Martin. *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensi*. Wittenberg, 1523. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/formula-missae-et-communionis-pro-ecclesia-wittembergensi.

Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works*. Edited by T. G. Tappert, vol. 1–55, Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1957–1966. 55 vols.

Luther, Martin. “Meine Seele erhebt.” Edited by Olorulus. *Ausgabe für die Landeskirchen Rheinland, Westfalen und Lippe, Nr. 555 Anfang des Magnificat (Lutherübersetzung) mit dem 9. Psalmton*, edited by Rabanus Flavus, Wikimedia Commons, 2010, 2017.

Marsh, Dana T. “Sacred Polyphony 'Not Understandid': Medieval Exegesis, Ritual Tradition and Henry VIII's Reformation.” *Early Music History*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2010, pp. 33–77. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261127910000069.

Marshall, Paul V. “William Augustus Muhlenberg's Quiet Defection from Liturgical Uniformity.” *Anglican and Episcopal History*, vol. 64, no. 2, 1995, pp. 148–172. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/42611695.

Marshall, Peter. "(Re)defining the English Reformation." *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 48, no. 3, 2009, pp. 564–586. https://doi.org/10.1086/600128.

Maxwell, William D. "The Lutheran Rites." *An Outline of Christian Worship: Its Development and Forms*, London, Faith, 1960, pp. 73-80, *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/outlineofchristi011849mbp.

May, John L. *Why Wasn't the 'Founding' Layman of the Wisconsin Synod Buried by a German Lutheran (Wisconsin Synod) Church? A Study of Ehrenfried Seebach from 1845–1897*. MDiv essay. 1976. *Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Essay File*, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/bitstream/handle/123456789/3244/MayBuried.pdf.

Mazak, S. G. *"A Brief History of the Slovak Lutheran Synod of the United States." BDiv thesis.* 1929. *CSL Scholar*, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, https://scholar.csl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi.

Merbecke, John. *The Book of Common Prayer Noted*. London, Richard Grafton, 1550. *Society of Archbishop Justus*, http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/Merbecke/Merbecke.pdf.

Miles, Russell H. *Johann Sebastian Bach: An Introduction to His Life and Works*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1962.

The Modern Medievalist. "The Sarum Low Mass: Mass of the Faithful." *Modern Medievalism*, Blogger, 13 October 2012, https://modernmedievalism.blogspot.com/2012/10/the-sarum-low-mass-mass-of-faithful.html. Accessed 2024.

Monk, William Henry, editor. *Hymns, Ancient and Modern, For Use in the Services of the Church, with Accompanying Tunes*. London, J. Alfred Novello, 1861. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/modeance00chur.

Monk, William Henry. *Hymns Ancient and Modern for Use in the Services of the Church, with Accompanying Tunes*. London, Novello and Co., 1861. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=YlCH9PMivzcC.

Moseley, David G. "WELS' heritage of worship," Memorial (2023–05), Unprinted Memorial. 2023. *WELS.net*, Saginaw, MI, WELS Convention, https://wels2.blob.core.windows.net/synodconvention/2023%20Synod%20Convention/Unpublished%20Memorials/Memorial%202023%2005.pdf.

Mundinger, Carl S. *Concordia Historical Series: Government in the Missouri Synod: The Genesis of Decentralized Government in the Missouri Synod*. Edited by W. G. Polack, vol. 4, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing Hosue, 1947. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/stream/in.ernet.dli.2015.89311/2015.89311.Government-In-The-Missouri-Synod_djvu.txt.

The Music of the Liturgy. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1949.

Naumann, Jonathan Charles. "The Eucharistic Theologies of Nineteenth Century Anglican and Lutheran Repristination Movements Compared." PhD diss. 1990. *CSL Scholar*, Concordia Seminary St. Louis, https://scholar.csl.edu/phd/87/.

Neale, John Mason. “Introduction.” *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, J. T. Hayes, 1862. *Bible Hub*, https://biblehub.com/library/neale/hymns_of_the_eastern_church/introduction.htm.

Neale, John Mason. *Medieval Hymns and Sequences*. London, Joseph Masters and Son, 1857. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/mediaevalhymnsse00neal.

Nelson, Clifford E. *The Lutherans in North America*. Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1980. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=q3xyPFA_8O0C.

Neuendorf, Christopher J. “The Psalter: The Canticles.” *The Free Lutheran Chorale-Book*, WordPress, 2013–2024, https://www.lutheranchoralebook.com/resources/psalter. Accessed 2023.

Neve, Jurgen Ludwig. *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*. Translated by Joseph Stump, Burlington, IA, German Literary Board, 1905. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=31hKAAAAYAAJ.

Newman, John Henry, et al. *Tracts for the Times*. vols. I–VI, London, J. G. & F. Rivington, 1833–1841. 6 vols. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=3OpHAQAAMAAJ; books.google.com/books?id=CDMuAAAAYAAJ; books.google.com/books?id=8uQUAAAAYAAJ; books.google.com/books?id=tVMJAAAAQAAJ; books.google.com/books?id=mQtAAAAAcAAJ; books.google.com/books?id=7FYJAAAAQAAJ.

Nicholson, Sydney Hugo. *Hymns Ancient and Modern: A Plainsong Hymnbook Musical Edition*. London, William Clowes and Sons, 1932.

Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church. *Altar Book of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church With Scripture Lessons and Collects: A Translation*. Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1915. *Internet Archive*, https://ia600504.us.archive.org/7/items/altarbookofnorwe00norw/altarbookofnorwe00norw.pdf.

Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod, et al. *The Lutheran Hymnary*. Augsburg Publishing House, 1913. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/lutheranhymnary00synogoog.

Osiander, Andreas. *Ordnu[n]g wie man Tauffet: bißher im Latein gehalten, verteütscht. Hierin ist, auß etlichen vrsachen, was die andern, als vberflüssig, veracht haben, nicht außgelassen*. Nürnburg, Gutknecht, 1524. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=YHU8AAAAcAAJ.

Osiander, Andreas, and Ottheinrich Pfalzgrafen. *Kirchenordnung des Fürstentums Pfalz-Neuburg*. [Nuremberg], Petreius, 1543. *bavarikon*, https://www.bavarikon.de/object/BSB-HSS-00000BSB00103360.

Pageau, Mathieu. *The Language of Creation: Cosmic Symbolism in Genesis: A Commentary*. North Charleston, SC, CreateSpace, 2018.

Polack, William Gustave. *The Handbook to The Lutheran Hymnal*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1942.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. *The Book of Common Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David*. Philadelphia, W. Young and J. Ormrod, 1795. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=KKYWWjGzVZcC.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. *The Hymnal As Authorized and Approved for Use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in the Year of Our Lord MCMXVI Together With the Canticles at Morning and Evening Prayer and Occasional Anthems*. New York, The Church Pension Fund, 1916. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/authoriz00epis/page/n3/mode/2up.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. *Hymns, Suited to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, and Other Occasions of Public Worship*. Philadelphia, Henry F. Anners, 1850. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=xscCAAAAQAAJ.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. *The Mission Hymnal*. Chicago and New York, Biglow & Main, 1914. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/missl00epis.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America Together with The Psalter or Psalms of David*. New York, The Church Pension Fund, 1928. *Society of Archbishop Justus*, http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1928/BCP1928.pdf.

Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. *The Hymnal 1982*. New York, Church Hymnal Corp., 1985.

Raddum, Jorunn. *"Variety is the Spice of Life? Forandring fryder? The Church of Norway 2011 liturgical reform: A study of the concept of contextuality in Nord-Gubrandsdal." MA thesis.* 2015. *MF Open*, MF Norwegian School of Theology, https://mfopen.mf.no/mf-xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/2373794/AVH8020-kand-nr-5073-masteravh-Raddum-navn.pdf.

Rainof, Rebecca. “Victorians in Purgatory: Newman's Poetics of Conciliation and the Afterlife of the Oxford Movement.” *Victorian Poetry*, vol. 51, no. 2, 2013, pp. 227–247. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43592651.

Reed, Luther D. “Historical Sketch of the Common Service.” *The Lutheran Church Review*, vol. 26, no. 5, 1917, pp. 501–519. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=JjtQAQAAMAAJ.

Reed, Luther D. *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Liturgy of the Lutheran Church in America*. Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1947. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/lutheranliturgys0000reed_m1j2.

Reichel, David D. *The W.E.L.S. Change from German to English: The When and Why*. Mequon, WI, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, 1986. *Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Essay Files*, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/handle/123456789/3972.

Reske, Peter C. “A Documentary History of LCMS Hymnals.” Noël Schalk Memorial Lecture presented at the Lectures in Church Music at the Center for Church Music of Concordia University Chicago, River Forest, IL, October 21, 2024.

Richter, E. J. “The Lord's Prayer in the Eucharistic Service.” *The Lutheran Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1885, pp. 418–448. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=QwxIAQAAMAAJ.

Ristow, L. “In The Beginning—A Layman.” *The Northwestern Lutheran*, vol. 62, no. 7, 1975, pp. 249–250. *Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Essay File*, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/handle/123456789/6527.

Routley, Erik, and Lionel Dakers. *A Short History of English Church Music*. London, Mowbray, 1997. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=jd3TAwAAQBAJ.

Scamman, Evan. “Calvinistic Corruptions.” *The Lutheran Missal*, 21 October 2012, https://lutheranmissal.home.blog/2022/10/21/calvinistic-corruptions. Accessed 2024.

Schafer, Newlin T. *The Missouri Synod Influence on Wisconsin Synod Worship in the Era of the Synodical Conference*. MDiv thesis. 2010. *Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Essay File*, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, http://essays.wisluthsem.org:8080/handle/123456789/2017.

Schaff, Philip. *The History of the Christian Church*. vol. 7, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910. 8 vols. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=DxFGAQAAMAAJ.

Schalk, Carl F. "A Brief History of LCMS Hymnals (before LSB)." *Worship Notes*, Spring 2017. *LCMS Worship Library*, https://files.lcms.org/wl/?id=2ptHOjSEOjgDTq4iaBHmJ0QY0X18hp8y.

Schalk, Carl F. *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America*. Kindle ed., St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1995.

Schalk, Carl F. *The Roots of Hymnody in the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1965.

Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs nebst den Altarweisen in der deutschen evangelischen Kirche, Ludwig, editor. *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs nebst den Altarweisen in der deutschen evangelischen Kirche*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1865. *UR [University of Rochester] Research*, http://hdl.handle.net/1802/29654.

Schmelli, Georg Christian. *Musicalisches Gesang-Buch*. Leipzig, Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, Buchdr., 1736. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=pF9FAAAAcAAJ.

Senn, Frank. *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1997.

Senn, Frank C. “Martin Luther’s Revision of the Eucharistic Canon in the Formula Missae of 1523.” *Concordia Theological Monthly*, vol. 44, no. 3 (1973), pp. 100-118. *CSL Scholar*, https://scholar.csl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5012&context=ctm.

Shepherd, Massey Hamilton, Jr. *The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1950. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/oxfordamericanpr0000unse.

Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the United States of America. *Cithara Sanctorum. Písně Duchovní*. Pittsburg, Tiskem Slavia Printing Co., 1928. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/pisneduchovni0008cith.

Smith, R. Morris. “The Liturgical Development of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States.” *Lutheran Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 4, 1917, pp. 401–514. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=0EdQAQAAMAAJ.

Smothers, Edgar R. “The Coverdale Translation of Psalm LXXXIV.” *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 245–269. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1508229.

Soderberg, Gregory David. *As Often As You Eat This Bread: Communion Frequency in English, Scottish, and Early American Churches*. 2023 ed., Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=_JTkEAAAQBAJ.

Spaeth, Adolph. “The General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America.” *The Lutheran Church Review*, vol. 4, no. 14, 1885, pp. 81–126. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=lUpQAQAAMAA.

Spinks, Bryan. *Luther’s Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass.* Cambridge, Grove Books, 1982.

State of Wisconsin. *Private and Local Acts, and Charters of Incorporated Companies, Passed by the Legislature of Wisconsin, in the Year 1864*. Madison, WI, William J. Park, State Printer, 1864. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=7gIrAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA119.

Stiller, Gunther. *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig*. Edited by Robin Leaver, translated by Herbert J. A. Bouman, et al., St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1984.

Temperley, Nicholas. "Domestic Music in England 1800–1860." *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 85th Sess., 1958–1959, pp. 31–47. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/766225.

Temperley, Nicholas. *The Music of the English Parish Church*. vol. 1, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979. 2 vols.

Tiefel, James P. "The Contributions of Gervasius W. Fischer to the Liturgical Awareness of the Wisconsin Synod." Seminary paper. *The Fischer Files*, Pewaukee, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, 24 May 1975.

Tiefel, James P. "The Formation and Flow of Worship Attitudes in the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod." *LOGIA: A Journal of Lutheran Theology: Lutheran Lectionaries*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2005, pp. 31–39.

Trabert, Earnest Anton. "Luther's Liturgical Writings." *Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association, Volumes 1–4*, edited by Luther D. Reed, vol. 4, Pittsburgh, The Lutheran Liturgical Association, 1906, pp. 29–45. 4 vols. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=tcMGAAAAYAAJ.

Třanovský, Jiří. *Cithara Sanctorum: Písně Duchovní, Staré y Nowé*. W. Laubnê, 1728. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=XD8As8kVT7EC.

Třanovský, Jiří. *Cithara Sanctorum: Písně Duchovní, Staré y Nowé*. Lewocza, W. Brewer, 1626.

United Lutheran Church in America. *Common Service Book With Hymnal*. Philadelphia, Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1918.

United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South. *The Book of Worship. For the Use of the United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South*. Columbia, SC, W. J. Duffie, 1888. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=wI5UAAAAYAAJ.

U. S. Census Bureau, Population Division. *Resident Population--Estimates by Age, Sex, and Race: July 1, 1915 (Excludes Alaska and Hawaii)*. 2004. *The United States Census Bureau*, https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/tables/1900-1980/national/asrh/pe-11-1915.pdf.

U. S. Census Bureau, Population Division. *Resident Population--Estimates by Age, Sex, and Race: July 1, 1918 (Excludes Alaska and Hawaii)*. 2004. *United States Census Bureau*, https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/tables/1900-1980/national/asrh/pe-11-1918.xls.

Vieker, Jon D. *August Crull and the Story of the Evangelical Lut*. Minneapolis, Lutheran University Press, 2013.

Vieker, Jon D. *"The Fathers Faith, the Children's Song: Missouri Lutheranism Encounters American Evangelicalism in its Hymnals, Hymn Writers, and Hymns, 1889–1912." PhD diss.* 2014. *CSL Scholar*, Concordia Seminary St. Louis, https://scholar.csl.edu/phd/49/.

Vieker, Jon D. “'The Most Beautiful Hymns in the World' The Hymns and Hymn Writers of the Early LCMS English Hymnals.” *LOGIA: A Journal of Lutheran Theology: Lutheran Lectionaries*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2005, pp. 9–19.

Vopelius, Gottfried. *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch*. Leipzig, Gallus Riemann, 1682. *Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10592508.

Wabuda, Susan. *Thomas Cranmer (Routledge Historical Biographies)*. Abingdon-on-Thames, Routledge, 2017.

Walsh, Walter. *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1898. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=9Bg2AQAAMAAJ.

Walther, C. F. W. *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther an seine Freunde, Synodalgenossen und Familienglieder, Volume 1, 1841–1865*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1915. *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=vyQRAAAAIAAJ.

Watson, J. R. *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Watts, Isaac. *Hymns and Spiritual Songs. In Three Books. I. Collected from the Scriptures. II. Comos'd on Divine Subjects. III. Prepared for the Lord's Supper. With an Essay Towards the Improvement of Christian Psalmody*. London, J. Humfreys, 1707. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/bim_eighteenth-century_hymns-and-spiritual-song_watts-isaac_1707.

Weedon, William. “Church Bells,” *Weedon's Blog*, Blogger, 06 June 2007, https://weedon.blogspot.com/2007/06/church-bells.html.

Weedon, William. “The Forgotten Church Liturgy of 1881.” *Lutheran Forum,* vol. 34, no. 3, 2010, pp. 20-21.

Westermeyer, Paul. “The Ethnic Diversity of Catholicity in Chicago's Congregational Song.” *The Hymn*, vol. 33, no. 4, 1982, pp. 234–244. *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013611937.

Willan, Healey. *Introits and Graduals for the Church Year*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1967.

Williams, Norman Powell. "For the Present Distress: A Suggestion for an Interim Rite". 1928. *Anglican History*, Printed for Private Circulation, anglicanhistory.org/england/npwilliams/interim1928.html.

Williams, Peter F. “J. S. Bach and English Organ Music.” *Music & Letters*, vol. 44, no. 2, 1963, pp. 140–151. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/731102.

Williams, Peter. *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Wilson-Dickson, Andrew. “Neus Choralbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch.” *Geistliche Musik — Ihre großen Traditionen — Vom Psalmengesang zum Gospel*, Gießen. Brunnen Verlag, 1994, p. 63. *Wikimedia Foundation*, Foundation, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ein_feste_Burg_ist_unser_Gott#/media/File:Ein-feste-Burg-zwei-Fassungen.png.

Winkworth, Catherine. *Lyra Germanica: Hymns for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Christian Year*. New York, Thomas N. Stanford, 1957. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/lyragermanica01buns_0/page/n25/mode/2up.

Winkworth, Catherine, and Otto Goldschmidt. *The Chorale Book for England: A Complete Hymn-Book for Public and Private Worship, in Accordance with the Services and Festivals of the Church of England*. Edited by William Sterndale Bennett, London,

Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1863. *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/choralebookfore00winkgoog.

Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal*. Milwaukee, Northwestern Publishing House, 1993.

Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. *Christian Worship: Hymnal*. Milwaukee, Northwestern Publishing House, 2021.

Wolf, Richard C. *Documents of Lutheran Unity in America*. Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1966.

Wolff, Christoph, editor. *The World of the Bach Cantatas: Johann Sebastian Bach's Early Sacred Cantatas*. New York, W. W. Norton, 1997.

Woods, Rollo G. *Good Singing Still: A Handbook on West Gallery Music*. Ironbridge, UK, West Gallery Music Association, 1995.

Worship Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary*. St. Louis, MorningStar Publishing, 1996.

Worship Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary Handbook: Hymn Texts and Tunes*. Online Draft ed., Mankato, Bethany Lutheran College, n.d. *Bethany Lutheran College*, https://blc.edu/comm/gargy/gargy1/elh.hymn.info.mno.html.

Wyneken, F. “Aufruf an die lutherische Kirche Deutschlands zur Unterstützung der Glaubensbrüder in Nordamerika.” *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, vol. 5, 1843, pp. 124–170. *DigiZeitschriften*, https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?urn:nbn:de:bsz:21-dt-2774.

Zager, Daniel. *Lutheran Music and Meaning*. St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 2023.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Comparison of Liturgical Rites

The following table compares the liturgical flow of various liturgies relevant to this study. On the far left is the rite for city churches from the Saxon *Agende*, the pre-eminent rite that helped to shape the Evangelical tradition across various borders. Next is the *Kirchen-Agende* rite of the Missouri Synod, which propagated the Saxon rite in America. *The Common Service* in its *ELHB* iteration follows next, juxtaposed with the Tridentine Mass for comparison (note that the Tridentine Mass was the Roman codification of the Mass, which simplified and standardized various regional variants of the pre-Reformation forms, of which the Sarum rite of England discussed in Chapter I would have been an example). This juxtaposition demonstrates the repristinatory nature of *TCS* over and against the liturgical renewal of the *Kirchen-Agende*. Finally, the 1892 U.S. *Book of Common Prayer* and the 1549 *BCP* complete the table. The 1549 *BCP,* which itself is very similar to the Tridentine Mass, heavily influenced *TCS*, while the Episcopal tradition added unique flavor to American Lutheran practice for the several reasons explored in Chapters III–V. But the *BCP* in use after the 1549 conservative reforms was markedly different from the 1549 version, as the example from the 1892 version demonstrates.

Saxon *Agende* of 1539/1540	***Kirchen-Agende* of 1856**	***The Common Service (ELHB* of 1912 version)**	**Tridentine Mass (1570)**	**1892 U.S. *Book of Common Prayer***	**1549 *Book of Common Prayer***
		Invocation	Invocation		
			Psalm 43		
		Versicles	Versicles		
		Confiteor	Confiteor		

		Absolution	Absolution, Versicles, & Prayers	Lord's Prayer (without Doxology)	
♫ Introit		(♫) Introit	Introit	Collect for Grace	Collect for Grace
♫ *Kyrie, eleison*	♫ *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit*	♫ Luther's 3-fold Kyrie in English	9-fold Kyrie in Greek	The 10 Commandments OR 3-fold Kyrie in English	
♫ Gloria in Excelsis in Latin	♫ Gloria intonation (in German) and ♫ *Allein Gott in der Höh*	♫ Gloria in Excelsis in English	Gloria in Excelsis	(Gloria after Distribution)	Gloria in Excelsis
				General Collect	(After Collect of Day)
♫ Salutation	♫ Salutation	(♫) Salutation	Salutation		Salutation
	♫ Antiphon(s)				
♫ Collect of the Day	♫ Collect of the Day	Collect of the Day	Collect(s) of the Day	Collect(s) of the Day	Collect of the Day & King
Epistle	Epistle	Epistle		Epistle	Epistle
♫ *Hauptlied*	♫ *Hauptlied*	♫ Alleluia w/ optional verse	Gradual w/ Alleluia or Tract		
Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel
♫ Latin *Credo* and *Wir glauben all an einem Gott*	♫ *Wir glauben all an einem Gott*	Nicene or Apostolic Creed	Nicene Creed	Nicene or Apostolic Creed	Creed
		♫ Hymn of the Day			
Sermon	Pulpit Service & Sermon	Sermon			Sermon & Exhortation (moved in later editions to after offertory)
	(Offertory after Confession)	(Offertory after Confession)	Salutation & Offertory Verse	Offertory Verses & Hymn	Offertory Verse(s)
			Offertory Prayers	General Prayer	
	Bid to Confession			Exhortation to Confession	(Exhortation before Offertory)
	General Confession			General Confession	

	Absolution			Absolution and Scripture verses	
	General Prayer, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, Lord's Prayer				
	Pax Votum	Pax Votum			
	♫ *Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines herze*	(♫) Offertory Verses (two options from Psalm 51)			
		General Prayer			
			Secret Prayers		
♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda	♫ Salutation & Sursum Corda (German)	(♫) Salutation & Sursum Corda (English)	Salutation & Sursum Corda	Sursum Corda (English)	Sursum Corda (English)
♫ Preface & Proper Preface (Latin)	♫ Preface & Proper Preface	Preface & Proper Preface	Preface & Proper Preface	Preface & Proper Preface	Preface & Proper Preface
♫ Sanctus w/ Benedictus (Latin)	♫ Sanctus w/ Seasonal Benedictus	Sanctus w/ Benedictus	Sanctus w/ Benedictus	Sanctus w/ Glory be.	Sanctus
				Prayer of unworthiness	General Confess./Absolution/words/prayers.
		Exhortation to Communion	Eucharistic Prayer w/ oblation & Epiclesis	Eucharistic Prayer (oblation & Epiclesis after Words of Inst.)	Eucharistic Prayer
♫ Lord's Prayer	♫ Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer			
♫ Doxology	♫ Doxology	♫ Doxology			
♫ Words of Institution	♫ Words of Institution	Words of Institution	Words of Institution	Words of Institution, Oblation, Epiclesis	Words of Institution
			Anamnesis	Anamnesis	Anamnesis
			Lord's Prayer & Libera Nos		Lord's Prayer
		Pax Domini	Pax Domini		

♫ *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*	♫ *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*	♫ Christe, du Lamm Gottes (in English)	Agnus Dei & Prayers for fit reception		Agnus Dei (during Distribution
Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn	Distribution & ♫ Communion Hymn	Distribution	Distribution	Distribution	Distribution
				Lord's Prayer	
		♫ Nunc Dimittis			
♫ Antiphon	♫ Antiphon	♫ Antipon "O Give thanks…"	Communion Antiphon		22 Sentences provided
♫ Luther's Postcommunion Collect	♫ Luther's Postcommunion Collect	Luther's Postcommunion Collect	Salutation & Postcommunion Collect	Postcommunion Prayer	Postcommunion Prayer
				Gloria in Excelsis (In English)	
		♫ Salutation & Benedicamus	***P***láceat tibi, Salutation & Ite, Missa est		
♫ Aaronic Benediction	♫ Aaronic Benediction	Aaronic Benediction (optional ♫ Amen)	Blessing		Pax Votum
			St. John 1		

Appendix 2: Comparison of Translations of *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*

The following table compares Philip Nicolai's German text of *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* with the English translation from *The Lutheran Hymnal* (composited from Henry Harbaugh, a Reformed Calvinist) and the translation in *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (drawn from Catherine Winkworth, an Anglican), demonstrating that even where *TLH* reduced the Anglican influence from *ELHB*, this was not always for reasons of improving textual accuracy. Philipp Nicolai's original version is often given the moniker the "queen of chorales," due in part to its preeminence among the chorales, the stalwart and stately nature of its text and melody, and the mystical imagery of its subject matter. The chorale deals with the relationship between Christ the King and his queen bride, the Church. For somewhat obvious reasons, this hymn was typically used at Lutheran weddings. But the tenor of its blissful nuptial prose was mostly absent from the *TLH* translation. Gone were references to the bride and Bridegroom. The marital allusion to the Genesis narrative of Eve drawn from Adam's rib in stanza 3 was replaced with a sanitized vision of "the branch" that "is in the tree." The highly romantic language, evocative of the Song of Solomon (*e.g.*, "heartfelt pleasure" in the climatic stanza), was replaced with "O glorious grace!" It is unclear why the Intersynodical Committee chose to go with the Harbaugh translation over the *ELHB* translation, but this example demonstrates that textual fidelity and solidarity with the choices made in *ELHB* were not the only factors in the Committee's deliberation process.

Literal English Rendering of P. Nicolai's *Wie schön leuchtet*[752]	*TLH* (Henry Harbaugh) Translation	*ELHB* (Catherine Winkworth) Translation
3. Pour most deeply within my heart, Thou clear Jasper and Ruby, the flames of Thy love, and make me rejoice, that I may remain in Thy chosen body a living rib! I am after Thee, gracious Rose of heaven; sick and swooning my heart is wounded with love.	3 Now richly to my waiting heart, O Thou, my God, deign to impart The grace of love undying. In Thy blest body let me be, E'en as the branch is in the tree, Thy life my life supplying. Sighing, Crying, For the savor Of Thy favor; Resting never Till I rest in Thee forever.	3. Clear Jasper, Ruby fervent red, Deep, deep into my heart now shed Thy love's pure fire forever; Fill me with joy, grant me to be Thy member closely joined to Thee, Whom naught from Thee may sever; Toward Thee longing doth possess me: Come and bless me, For Thy gladness Eye and heart here pine in sadness.
5. LORD God Father, Mighty Hero, Thou hast from eternity, before the world In Thy Son loved me. Thy Son hath betrothed me to Himself, He is my Treasure, I am His bride, most greatly I rejoice in Him. Yes, yes. Heavenly life He will give me above. Eternally will my heart praise Him.	5 Thou, mighty Father, in Thy Son Didst love me ere Thou hadst begun This ancient world's foundation. Thy Son hath made a friend of me, And when in spirit Him I see, I joy in tribulation. What bliss is this! He that liveth To me giveth Life forever; Nothing me from Him can sever.	5. Lord God, my Father, mighty Shield, Thou in Thy Son art all revealed As Thou hast loved and known me: Thy Son hath me with Him betrothed, In His own whitest raiment clothed, He for His bride will own me. Hallelujah! Life in heaven Hath He given, With Him dwelling, Still shall I His praise be telling.
6. Strike the strings of the lyre and let the sweet music very joyfully resound: That I may be with dear Jesus, the wonderfully beautiful Bridegroom of mine, In constant love sojourning. Sing, spring, rejoice, triumph, Thank the Lord! Great is the King of Glory!	6. Lift up the voice and strike the string, Let all glad sounds of music ring In God's high praises blended. Christ will be with me all the way, Today, tomorrow, every day, Till traveling days be ended. Sing out, Ring out, Triumph glorious, O victorious, Chosen nation; Praise the God of your salvation.	6 Then touch the chords of harp and lute, Let no sweet music now be mute, But joyously resounding, Tell of the marriage-feast, the bride, The heavenly Bridegroom at her side, 'Mid love and joy abounding; Shout for triumph, loudly sing ye, Praises bring ye, Fall before Him, King of kings, let all adore Him!
7. How heartily glad I am That my Treasure is the Alpha and Omega The Beginning and the End: He will take me to His reward He will take me up into paradise I clap my hands at that. Amen. Amen. Come, Thou beautiful Crown of Joy, Do not delay I have waited for Thee with longing.	7. Oh, joy to know that Thou, my Friend, Art Lord, Beginning without end, The First and Last, eternal! And Thou at length--O glorious grace!-- Wilt take me to that holy place, The home of joys supernal. Amen, Amen! Come and meet me! Quickly greet me! With deep yearning, Lord, I look for Thy returning.	7. Here rests my heart, and holds it fast; The Lord I love is First and Last, The End and the Beginning! I welcome death, for I shall rise Through Him to His own Paradise Above all tears and sinning, Amen! Amen! Come, Lord Jesus, Soon release us! With deep yearning Lord, we look for Thy returning!

[752] Literal rendering prepared for this thesis.

Appendix 3: Data Pertaining to the Contents of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912)

The following information lists the hymn numbers of the hymns that were written, translated, and composed (at least in part) by Anglican or Lutheran sources in the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912), with statistical equations following each listing. These hymn numbers correspond to the *ELHB* index that is located at the end of this Appendix. Preceding the index is also an alphabetical listing of all 391 hymn tunes in *ELHB*. Finally, the index at the end of this Appendix contains all of the relevant hymn writer, translator, and composer data for each hymn and tune in the hymnal, along with the denominational affiliation of each and the listing of alternate tunes from *ELHB,* which were compiled as a part of this research.

3.1 Hymn writers.

Anglican:

6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 28, 29, 36, 36b, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 52, 56, 58, 66, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 85, 94, 96, 100, 104, 107, 108, 113, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 144, 154, 160, 163, 164, 166, 168, 175, 178, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 200, 208, 209, 211, 213, 219, 221, 223, 231, 232, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 250, 253, 254, 262, 263, 265, 269, 270, 281, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, 297, 301, 304, 318, 325, 328, 330, 332, 335, 336, 338, 339, 352, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 373, 376, 380, 386, 389, 399, 406, 407, 410, 411, 412, 423, 428, 442, 443, 444, 447, 450, 451, 461, 463, 464, 465, 466, 470, 474, 477, 482, 485, 487, 491, 492, 493, 497, 500, 504, 514, 518, 521, 522, 524, 536, 546, 548, 558, 561, 562, 567, 578, 580, 587, 593.

171 Anglican-influenced hymn texts / 601 total hymns = 28.45% of hymn writers.

Lutheran:

1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 97, 103, 106, 109, 110, 115, 116, 120, 130, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 161, 162, 169, 170, 171,

173, 174, 179, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 203, 205, 206, 215, 216, 217, 218, 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, 230, 233, 234, 236, 239, 246, 247, 248, 251, 252, 257, 260, 261, 264, 266, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 286, 292, 300, 301, 310, 311, 312, 314, 317, 323, 324, 327, 333, 334, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 394b, 350, 363, 365, 366, 372, 381, 383, 385, 387, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 396, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 408, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 421, 424, 425, 426, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 441, 445, 446, 449, 456, 460, 467, 475, 480, 481, 494, 495, 498, 499, 501, 503, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 511, 513, 515, 516, 517, 523, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 535, 539, 543, 544, 545, 547, 549, 552, 559, 565, 566.

225 Lutheran-influenced hymn texts / 601 total hymns = 37.44% of hymn writers.

3.2 Translators.

Anglican:

3, 5, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 59, 63, 64, 65, 67, 82, 83, 84, 90, 98, 103, 109, 110, 126, 130, 133, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 156, 159, 161, 162, 171, 173, 176, 177, 179, 190, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 203, 207, 210, 216, 217, 220, 222, 224, 225, 228, 233, 235, 236, 247, 252, 256, 260, 261, 266, 271, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 284, 285, 287, 301, 310, 312, 326, 346, 348, 349, 363, 365, 372, 381, 391, 392, 393, 396, 400, 401, 402, 405, 413, 415, 416, 420, 421, 422, 427, 431, 432, 433, 435, 441, 445, 446, 453, 454, 467, 475, 480, 481, 495, 498, 503, 505, 507, 508, 509, 511, 513, 515, 516, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 537, 538, 539, 543, 544, 545, 549, 551, 555, 556, 557, 566, 568, 569a, 569b, [570a], 570, 571, 572, 572b, 572c, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577a, 577b.

169 Anglican-influenced translations / 601 total hymns = 28.12% of hymn translators.

Lutheran:

1, 2, 9, 10, 20, 23, 30, 34, 35, 60, 80, 86, 89, 106, 134, 135, 140, 151, 157, 169, 170, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 206, 226, 227, 230, 234, 239, 246, 248, 251, 257, 264, 272, 273, 275, 286, 311, 314, 317, 323, 327, 333, 334, 343, 344, 345, 347, 350, 383, 385, 390, 394, 394b, 403, 408, 414, 417, 424, 425, 426, 430, 432, 434, 436, 441, 456, 460, 499, 517, 523, 552, 559, 565.

78 Lutheran-influenced translations / 601 total hymns = 12.98% of hymn translators.

3.3 Tune composers.

Anglican:

8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 29, 36, 36b, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 70, 72, 74, 75, 90, 94, 96, 99, 100, 102, 104, 105, 108, 117, 118, 119, 124, 127, 128, 139, 172, 178, 181, 184, 199, 213, 219, 221, 228, 237, 238, 240, 241, 244, 245, 256, 258, 263, 265, 268, 269, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 295, 299, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 319, 320, 321, 324, 326, 327, 329, 335, 336, 337, 341, 342, 343, 352, 353, 355, 357, 358, 360, 361, 362, 364, 367, 368, 370, 376, 378, 386, 389, 410, 412, 418, 422, 423, 427, 428, 430, 439, 440, 442, 443, 444, 447, 448, 452, 453, 454, 455, 457, 463, 465, 466, 467, 476, 477, 478, 479, 481, 485, 487, 493, 502, 503, 504, 510, 514, 521, 524, 531, 533, 534, 536, 546, 554, 556, 557, 558, 560, 561, 562, 563, 569a, 569b, [570a], 570, 571, 572a, 572b, 572c, 573, 575, 576, 577a, 580, 581, 587, 588, 592, 593, 594.

179 Anglican-influenced tunes / 601 total hymns = 29.78% of tune compositions.

Lutheran:

2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 47, 48, 49, 50, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 71, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 98, 103, 106, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 120, 121, 123, 125, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 179, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 211, 212, 215, 216, 217, 218, 220, 222, 224, 226, 227, 233, 234, 236, 239, 246, 247, 248, 249, 252, 254, 257, 260, 261, 264, 266, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 284, 290, 292, 293, 294, 296, 298, 300, 301, 310, 311, 312, 315, 316, 317, 322, 323, 331, 333, 334, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 394b, 350, 356, 363, 365, 366, 371, 377, 381, 383, 384, 385, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 396, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 405, 406, 407, 408, 414, 415, 416, 417, 420, 421, 426, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 438, 441, 445, 449, 461, 470, 475, 480, 482, 484, 494, 495, 498, 499, 500, 501, 505, 506, 507, 509, 513, 516, 517, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 537, 538, 539, 542, 544, 545, 547, 548, 549, 552, 553, 559, 565, 566, 568, 579, 583, 586.

267 Lutheran-influenced tunes / 601 total hymns = 44.42% of tune compositions.

3.4a Hymns with some Anglican (text, translation, or tune) provenance in *ELHB*.

6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 28, 29, 36, 36b, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 52, 56, 58, 66, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 85, 94, 96, 100, 104, 107, 108, 113, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 144, 154, 160, 163, 164, 166, 168, 175, 178, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 200, 208, 209, 211, 213, 219, 221, 223, 231, 232, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 250, 253, 254, 262, 263, 265, 269, 270, 281, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, 297, 301, 304, 318, 325, 328, 330, 332, 335, 336, 338, 339, 352, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 367, 368, 369,

370, 371, 373, 376, 380, 386, 389, 399, 406, 407, 410, 411, 412, 423, 428, 442, 443, 444, 447, 450, 451, 461, 463, 464, 465, 466, 470, 474, 477, 482, 485, 487, 491, 492, 493, 497, 500, 504, 514, 518, 521, 522, 524, 536, 546, 548, 558, 561, 562, 567, 578, 580, 587, 593, 3, 5, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 59, 63, 64, 65, 67, 82, 83, 84, 90, 98, 103, 109, 110, 126, 130, 133, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 156, 159, 161, 162, 171, 173, 176, 177, 179, 190, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 203, 207, 210, 216, 217, 220, 222, 224, 225, 228, 233, 235, 236, 247, 252, 256, 260, 261, 266, 271, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 284, 285, 287, 310, 312, 326, 346, 348, 349, 363, 365, 372, 381, 391, 392, 393, 396, 400, 401, 402, 405, 413, 415, 416, 420, 421, 422, 427, 431, 432, 433, 435, 441, 445, 446, 453, 454, 467, 475, 480, 481, 495, 498, 503, 505, 507, 508, 509, 511, 513, 515, 516, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 537, 538, 539, 543, 544, 545, 549, 551, 555, 556, 557, 566, 568, 569a, 569b, [570a], 570, 571, 572, 572b, 572c, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577a, 577b, 39, 46, 53, 54, 55, 57, 70, 99, 102, 105, 117, 118, 119, 139, 172, 199, 244, 258, 268, 286, 299, 302, 303, 305, 306, 319, 320, 321, 324, 327, 329, 337, 341, 342, 343, 353, 364, 378, 418, 430, 439, 440, 448, 452, 455, 457, 476, 478, 479, 502, 510, 531, 533, 534, 554, 560, 563, 572a, 581, 588, 592, 594.

401 Anglican-influenced hymns / 601 total hymns = 66.72% Anglican provenance.

3.4b Hymns with some Lutheran (text, translation, or tune) provenance in *ELHB*.

1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 97, 103, 106, 109, 110, 115, 116, 120, 130, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 161, 162, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 179, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 203, 205, 206, 215, 216, 217, 218, 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, 230, 233, 234, 236, 239, 246, 247, 248, 251, 252, 257, 260, 261, 264, 266, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 286, 292, 300, 301, 310, 311, 312, 314, 317, 323, 324, 327, 333, 334, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 394b, 350, 363, 365, 366, 372, 381, 383, 385, 387, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 396, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 408, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 421, 424, 425, 426, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 441, 445, 446, 449, 456, 460, 467, 475, 480, 481, 494, 495, 498, 499, 501, 503, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 511, 513, 515, 516, 517, 523, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 535, 539, 543, 544, 545, 547, 549, 552, 559, 565, 566, 6, 26, 27, 28, 47, 48, 49, 50, 58, 61, 66, 69, 71, 81, 98, 111, 112, 113, 121, 123, 125, 131, 132, 133, 154, 158, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 175, 176, 180, 182, 183, 186, 204, 207, 208, 211, 212, 220, 249, 254, 290, 293, 294, 296, 298, 315, 316, 322, 331, 356, 371, 377, 384, 398, 399, 406, 407, 420, 433, 461, 470, 482, 484, 500, 537, 538, 542, 548, 553, 568, 579, 583, 586.

303 Lutheran-influenced hymns / 601 total hymns = 50.42% Lutheran provenance.

3.5 *ELHB* index. (See below.)

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
1	Lord Jesus Christ, to us attend	Willhelm II, Duke of Sachs	Lutheran	Louis Heyl	Lutheran	Herr Jesu Christ, Dich zu uns wend	Anon., Cantionale Germa	Lutheran	Erhalt, uns Herr	N/A
2	Lord, open Thou my heart to hear	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	(Erhalt uns, Herr)	(Martin Luther)	(Lutheran)	N/A	N/A
3	Blessed Jesus, at Thy Word	Tobias Clausnitzer	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier	John Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
4	Thy presence, gracious God, afford	John Fawcett	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Menden	Anon. German Folk Melo	German Folk Melo	Federal Street	N/A
5	Open now Thy gates of beauty	Benjamin Schmolck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Unser Herrscher	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed /	N/A	N/A
6	Lord, when we bend before Thy throne	Joseph D. Carlyle	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Liberation	German Melody, ad. By H	Lutheran	Laud	N/A
7	Lord, we come before Thee now	William Hammond	Moravian	N/A	N/A	Seymour	Carl Maria von Weber	Catholic	St. Bees	N/A
8	To Thy temple I repair	James Mongtomery	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Pruen	Fredrick Arthur Gore Ous	Anglican	Seymour	N/A
9	Abide, O dearest Jesus	Josua Stegmann	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Christus der ist mein Leben	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
10	Now our worship sweet is o'er	M. Hartmann Schneck	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier*	John Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
11	On what has now been sown	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Zebulon	Lowell Mason	Anglican	N/A	N/A
12	Sweet Savior, bless us ere we go	Frederick W. Faber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Melita	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
13	Almighty God, Thy Word is cast	John Cawood	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Dundee	Christopher Tye (arr. Thor	Anglican	St. Agnes	N/A
14	Savior, all my sins confessing	Thomas Haweis	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Merton	William Henry Monk	Anglican	Gott sei Dank	N/A
15	Now may He who from the dead	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Burkland	Leighton George Hayne	Anglican	N/A	N/A
16	Savior, again to Thy dear name we raise	Thomas Kelly	Anglican (Ireland)	N/A	N/A	Ellers	Edward John Hopkins	Anglican	Stoerl	N/A
17	Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing	John Fawcett	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Sirilian Hymn	Anon. Folksong Melody	Various	N/A	N/A
18	Lord of my life, whose tender care	Ω Chelsea (likely pseudon	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Wessex	Edward John Hopkins	Anglican	N/A	N/A
19	When streaming from the eastern skies	William Shrubsole	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Melita	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
20	O holy, blessed Trinity	Martin Behm	Lutheran	Conrad Herman Louis Sch	Lutheran	O heilige Dreifaltigkeit	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
21	While yet the morn is breaking	Johannes Mühlmann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Geduld die soll'n wie haben	Bartholomäus Gesius	Lutheran	Ich dank dir, lieb	N/A
22	My inmost heart now raises	Johann Mathesius (or Geo	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Aus meines Herzens Grunde	David Wolder	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
23	God, who madest earth and heaven	Heinrich Albert	Lutheran	John Christian Jacobi and	Lutheran and Ang	Gott des Himmels und der Erden	Heinrich Albert	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
24	How lovely now the morning star	Burkhard Wiesenmeyer	Lutheran	Frances Elizabeth Cox	Anglican	Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
25	We lift our hearts to Thee	Charles Wesley	Anglican*	N/A	N/A	Redhead	Richard Redhead	Anglican	N/A	N/A
26	Now the shades of night are gone	Samson Occum	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	Höchster Priester	Anon., Choral-Buch zu de	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
27	Lord of my life! O may Thy praise	Anne Steele	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Preservation (Nun Danket All und Br	Johann Georg Christian S	Lutheran	Nun danket all (i	Winchester Old
28	Every morning mercies new	Greville Phillimore	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
29	Awake my soul, and with the sun	Thomas Ken	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Morning Hymn	François Hippolyte Barthe	(Wrote for Anglican	Die helle Sonn	N/A
30	Since now the day has reached its close	Johann Friedrich Herzog	Lutheran	Composite (Ohio Lutheran	Unknown (Possibl	Nun sich der Tag geendet hat	Adam Krieger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
31	Sink not yet, my soul, to slumber	Johann Rist	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Werde munder mein Gemuethe	Johann Schop	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
32	The happy sunshine all now is gone	Nikolaus Hermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Spiritus Sancti gratia	Valentin Triller	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
33	Now rest beneath night's shadows	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O Welt, ich muss dich lassen	Heinrich Isaac (adapted fr	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
34	Christ, everlasting Source of light	Wolfgang Meusslin	Lutheran	Johann Christian Jacobi	Lutheran	Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht (C	Martin Luther (Anon. Greg	Lutheran (Pre-Refo	Herr Jesu Christ	N/A
35	Before Thy throne I now appear	Bodo von Hodenberg and	Lutheran	Johann Christian Jacobi	Lutheran	Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht (C	Martin Luther (Anon. Greg	Lutheran (Pre-Refo	N/A	N/A
36	Glory to Thee, my God, this night	Thomas Ken	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Evening Hymn	Charles F. Gonoud	Anglican	N/A	N/A
36b	Glory to Thee, my God, this night	Thomas Ken	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Tallis' Cannon	Thomas Tallis	Anglican	N/A	N/A
37	Savior, breathe an evening blessing	James Edmeston	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Evening Prayer	George C. Stebbins	Baptist	Batty	N/A
38	Now God be with us, for the night is clos	Petrus Herbert	Moravian	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Nightfall	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	Herzliebster Jes	N/A
39	Thus far the Lord has led me on	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Hebron	Lowell Mason	Anglican	N/A	N/A
40	Abide with me! fast falls the eventide	Henry Francis Lyte	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Eventide	William Henry Monk	Anglican	N/A	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
41	The day is past and gone	John Leland	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Schumann (Heath)	Att. Robert Schumann	Atheist* (Raised Cl	N/A	N/A
42	Sun of my soul, Thou Savior dear	John Keble	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Hursley	Peter Ritter (Arr. by Willian	Catholic (Anglican)	N/A	N/A
43	Through the day Thy love hath spared us	Thomas Kelly	Anglican (Ireland)	N/A	N/A	Through the Day	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	Gott des Himme	N/A
44	God who madest earth and heaven	Reginald Heber and Richa	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Temple	Edward John Hopkins	Anglican	N/A	N/A
45	Now the day is over	Sabine Baring-Gould	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Merrial	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
46	I heard the voice of Jesus say	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	Vox Dilecti	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
47	The Savior calls; let every ear	Anne Steele	English Baptist	N/A	N/A	Azmon	Carl Gotthelf Gläser (arr. b	Lutheran (Episcopa	N/A	N/A
48	Sinners, turn; why will ye die	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Heinlein (Aus der Tiefe)	Martin Heimlein	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
49	Come unto Me, ye weary	William Chatterton Dix	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Anthes	Friedrich K. Anthes (or J.	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
50	Today Thy mercy calls us	Oswald Allen	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Anthes	Friedrich K. Anthes (or J.	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
51	Behold a Stranger at the door!	Joseph Grigg	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	Zephyr	William Bachelder Bradbu	Baptist	Rivaulx	N/A
52	The Spirit, in our hearts	Henry Ustick Onderdonk	Anglican (Episco	N/A	N/A	Monsell (St. Andrew)	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
53	Let every ear attend	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Monsell (St. Andrew)	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
54	Return, O wanderer, return	William Bengo Collyer	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Abends	Herbert Stanley Oakeley	Anglican	Hebron	N/A
55	Hasten, O sinner, to be wise	Thomas Scott	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	Abends	Herbert Stanley Oakeley	Anglican	N/A	N/A
56	Come, my soul, thy suit prepare	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Brasted	Georg Peter Weimar	Catholic	N/A	N/A
57	Delay not, delay not, O sinner, draw near	Thomas Hastings	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	Delay Not (Hanover)	William Croft (att. also to	Anglican	N/A	N/A
58	Come, ye weary sinners, come	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Ach, wann werd ich dahin kommen	Anon., (att. Witt 1715 or L	Lutheran	Seymour	N/A
59	My Soul, now bless thy Maker!	Johann Polender (pseudor	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Nun lob, mein' seel'	Johann Kugelmann	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
60	To God, the Father of all love	Johann Jacob Schuetz	Pietist (Lutheran)	Att. August Crull	Lutheran	Lobet den Herrn, ihr Heiden all	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran	Nun freut euch li	N/A
61	Songs of immortal praise belong	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Nun danket all und bringet Ehr	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
62	O that I had a thousand voices!	Johann Menzer	Lutheran	Henry Mills	Presbyterian	O dass ich tausend Zungen	Cornelius Heinrich Dretze	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
63	Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen	Anon., Stralsund Gesanb	Lutheran (Pietist)	N/A	N/A
64	Now thank we all our God	Martin Rinkart	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Nun danket alle Gott	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
65	I will sing my Maker's praises	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Sollt' ich meinem Gott nicht singen	Johann Schop	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
66	Thee we adore, eternal Lord!	John Gambold and Thoma	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Gottlob es geht nunmehr zu Ende	Johann Sebastian Bach (p	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
67	Jehovah, let me now adore Thee	Bartholomäus Crasselius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Dir, dir, Jehovah	Johann Anastasius Freylir	Pietist (Lutheran)	N/A	N/A
68	Songs of praise the angels sang	James Mongtomery	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Innocents (Navarre)	Anon., French melody, 13	Folk Melody (Angli	Vienna	N/A
69	Lord, 'tis not that I did choose Thee	Josiah Conder	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	Horeb	Herman Adolph Polack	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
70	Give to our God immortal praise!	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Lasus (Norwich)	Arthur Henry Mann	Anglican	N/A	N/A
71	God of mercy, God of grace!	Henry Francis Lyte	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Fred til Bod (Hartman)	Johan Peter Emilius Hartr	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
72	When all Thy mercies, O my God	Joseph Addison	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Winchester Old	Att. George Kirbye, first fo	Anglican	Nun danket all u	Belmont
73	I'll praise my Maker whilst I've breath	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Siwss Tune (Dresden [Schmidlin])	Johannes Schmidlin	Reformed (Swiss)	N/A	N/A
74	To God be glory, peace on earth	Nahum Tate and Nicholas	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Oswin	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	Laud	N/A
75	Through all the changing scenes of life	Nahum Tate and Nicholas	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Oswin	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
76	O bless the Lord, my soul!	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Thomas	Aaron Williams	Church of Scotlan	Boylston	N/A
77	My soul, repeat His praise	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Thomas	Aaron Williams	Church of Scotlan	N/A	N/A
78	Before Jehovah's awful throne	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Old Hundredth	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from	Evangelical (Refor	Duke Street	N/A
79	From all that dwell below the skies	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Old Hundredth	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from	Evangelical (Refor	N/A	N/A
80	The Lord hath helped me hitherto	Emilie Juliane of Barby-Mü	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Allein Gott in der höh	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
81	Lamb of God, we fall before Thee	Joseph Hart	Calvinist	N/A	N/A	Trust	Felix Mendelssohn-Barth	Lutheran	N/A	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
82	Jesus, priceless Treasure	Johann Franck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Jesu, Meine Freude	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
83	One thing's needful! then, Lord Jesus	Johann Heinrich Schröder	Lutheran	Frances E. Cox	Anglican	Eins ist Not	Freidrich Layriz	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
84	Jesus, Thy boundless love to me	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Wesley	Anglican	St. Petersburg	Dimitri Stepanovitch Bort	Russian Orthodox	Vater Unser	N/A
85	The Lord my pasture shall prepare	Joseph Addison	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Petersburg	Dimitri Stepanovitch Bort	Russian Orthodox	N/A	N/A
86	Jesus, Jesus, Jesus only	Ludämilia Elisabeth	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Jesus, Jesus, nichts als Jesus	Anon., Vollkommenes Ch	Lutheran	Consolation	Gott des Him
87	I leave Thee not; Thou art my Jesus ever	Wolfgang Christoph Dessl	Lutheran*	James Waddel Alexander	Presbyterian	Ich lass dich nicht	Johann Friedrich Doles	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
88	My dear Jesus I'll not leave	Christian Keimann	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Meinen Jesum lass	Andreas Hammerschmidt	Lutheran	Meinen Jesum	N/A
89	Jesus, Thou my heart's delight	Johann Flittner	Lutheran	John Adam Rimbach	Lutheran	Jesu, meines Herzens Freud	Anon., apparently appear	Lutheran*	N/A	N/A
90	O Jesus, King most wonderful	attr. to St. Bernard of Clair	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	St. Agnes	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
91	Jesus! and shall it ever be	Joseph Grigg, alt. by Benj	Presbyterian, Ba	N/A	N/A	Federal Street	Henry Kemble Oliver	Congregationalist /	Morning Hymn	N/A
92	Awake, my soul, in joyful lays	Samuel Medley	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Federal Street	Henry Kemble Oliver	Congregationalist /	N/A	N/A
93	All hail the power of Jesus' name	Edward Perronet	Independent	N/A	N/A	Coronation	Oliver Holden	Baptist	Laud	N/A
94	Thou art the Way; to Thee alone	George Washington Doane	Episcopal	N/A	N/A	Dedham	William Gardiner	Anglican*	N/A	N/A
95	In the cross of Christ I glory	John Bowring	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	Rathbun	Ithamar Conkey	Baptist	Batty	N/A
96	How sweet the name of Jesus sounds	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Peter's, Oxford	Alexander Robert Reinagl	Anglican	Heber	N/A
97	Jesus, Thou art mine forever	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Rathbun	Ithamar Conkey	Baptist	N/A	N/A
98	Jesus, the very thought of Thee	attr. to St. Bernard of Clair	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	Clairvaux	Herman Adolph Polack	Lutheran	St. Agnes	Evan
99	Chief of sinners though I be	William McComb	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	St. Athanasius	Edward John Hopkins	Anglican	Toplady	N/A
100	Christ, whose glory fills the skies	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Athanasius	Edward John Hopkins	Anglican	Dix	N/A
101	To our Redeemer's glorious name	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Heber	George Kingsley	Congregationalist	N/A	N/A
102	Come let us join our cheerful songs	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Laud	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
103	O morning star, how fair and bright	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wie schön leuchtet	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
104	Crown Him with many crowns	Matthew Bridges	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Diademata	George Job Elvey	Anglican	N/A	N/A
105	I was a wandering sheep	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	Diademata	George Job Elvey	Anglican	N/A	N/A
106	Jesus, Savior, come to me!	Johann Scheffler (aka Ang	Lutheran (becam	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	Gott sei Dank	Anon., found in Geist-reic	Lutheran	Non komm der H	Solitude
107	Jesus, Lover of my soul	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Martyn	Simeon Butler Marsh	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
108	O for a thousand tongues to sing	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Beatitudo	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	Lobt Gott ihr	N/A
109	O Friend of souls, how blest am I	Wolfgang Christoph Dessl	Lutheran*	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wie wohl ist mir	Christian Friedrich Richte	Lutheran (Pietist)	N/A	N/A
110	Lord Jesus Christ, with us abide	Nikolaus Selnecker	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth*	Anglican	Ach bleib bei uns	Sethus Calvisius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
111	How precious is the Book divine	John Fawcett	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Walder	Johann J. Walder	Lutheran	Dundee	Beatitudo *or* S
112	How shall the young secure their hearts	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Walder	Johann J. Walder	Lutheran	N/A	NA
113	O Word of God Incarnate	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Munich	Anon., found in the Neuve	Lutheran	Aurelia	N/A
114	The heavens declare Thy glory, Lord	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Creation	arr. from Franz Joseph Ha	Catholic	Uxbridge	N/A
115	The Law of God is good and wise	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Germany	arr. from Ludwig van Beet	Catholic	Wo Gott zum	N/A
116	The Gospel shows the Father's grace	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Es kam die gnadenvolle	Johann Heinrich Egli	Lutheran*	N/A	N/A
117	Father of mercies, in Thy Word	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Bedford	William Wheall	Anglican	Nun danket all	N/A
118	When Israel through the desert passed	Benjamin Beddome	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Thanksgiving	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	Rivaulæ	N/A
119	Lamp of our feet, whereby we trace	Bernard Barton	Quaker	N/A	N/A	Nox Praecessit	John Baptiste Calkin	(Anglican) Church	Southwell	N/A
120	We have a sure prophetic Word	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Wer hier fuer Gott will sein	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
121	Christians, come, in sweetest measures	Adam of St. Victor	Pre-Reformation	Robert Campbell	Catholic	Alles ist an Gottes segen	Johann Löhner, arr. by Jo	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
122	In vain would boasting reason find	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Harmony Grove	Henry K. Oliver	Congregationalist/	Hursley	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
123	Father, who the light this day	Julia A. Elliott	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Fred til bod	Ludvig Mathias Lindeman	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
124	Welcome, delightful morn	Thomas Hayward	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Croft's 136th	William Croft	Anglican	Bevan	N/A
125	Safely through another week	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Morgenglanz der Ewigkeit	Johann Rudolph Ahle	Lutheran	Fred til Bod	Dix
126	On this day, the first of days	From the Breviary of the D	Catholic	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican	Solitude (Downes)	Lewis Thomas Downes	Episcopal	Jesu Komm (Go	N/A
127	This day at Thy creating word	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Waltham (Calkin)	John Baptiste Calkin	(Anglican) Church	N/A	N/A
128	With joy we hail the sacred day	Harriet Auber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Stephen (Jones)	William Jones	Anglican	N/A	N/A
129	This is the day the Lord hath made	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Colchester	Aaron Williams	Presbyterian	Amzon	Ich singe dir
130	Comfort, comfort ye my people	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Freu dich, sehr	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from	Evangelical (Reform	N/A	N/A
131	Jesus came, the heav'ns adoring	Godfrey Thring	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Sieh, hier bin ich	Anon., found in the *Geistr*	Lutheran	Her vil ties	N/A
132	Hail to the Lord's Anointed	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	Freut euch, ihr lieben	Leonhart Schröter	Lutheran	Webb	Valet will ich
133	Hark! a thrilling voice is sounding	Latin (c. 5th century)	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	O der alles	Johann Georg Stoerl	Lutheran	Batty	N/A
134	The Bridegroom soon will call us	Johann Walther	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	Ach Gott vom Himmelseiche	Anon., Musae Sioniae VII,	Lutheran	Ich dank dir lieber Herre	
135	Come, Thou precious Ransom, come!	Johann Gottfried Olearius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Meinen Jesum lass	Andreas Hammerschmidt	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
136	O Lord, how shall I meet Thee	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth, alt.,	Anglican	Wie soll ich dich	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	Valet will ich	NA
137	The Advent of our God	Charles Coffin	Catholic	John Chandler	Anglican	St. Helena	Benjamin Milgrove	Methodist	N/A	N/A
138	Lift up your heads, ye mighty gates	Georg Weissel	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Macht Hoch die tur	Att. Johann Stobaeus	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
139	Hark, the glad sound! the Savior comes	Philip Doddridge	Nonconformist	N/A	N/A	Chesterfield / Richmond (Haweis)	Thomas Haweis	Anglican	N/A	N/A
140	Again is come the new church-year	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	Frederik William Herzberg	Lutheran	Nun kommt das neue	Anon.; appears, apparent	Lutheran*	Erschienen ist	N/A
141	Savior of the heathen, come	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Nun komm, der heiden heiland	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
142	Arise, sons of the kingdom!	Johann Rist	Lutheran	Composite, inc. Catherine	Anglican	Aus meines Herzens Grunde	David Wolder	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
143	Once He came in blessing	Johann Roh	Moravian	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Gottes Sohn ist kommen	Michael Weiss, harm. by	Moravian	N/A	N/A
144	Jesus, Thy Church with longing eyes	William H. Bathurst	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Luton	George Burder	Nonconformist	Zephyr	N/A
145	All my heart this night rejoices	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
146	Let the earth now praise the Lord	Heinrich Held	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Nun komm, der heiden heiland	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
147	All praise to Jesus' hallowed name	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Gelobet seist du	Johann Walther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
148	Now praise we Christ, the Holy One	Martin Luther (based on La	Lutheran (Pre-Re	Richard Massie	Anglican	Christum wir sollen loben schon	Martin Luther (based on a	Lutheran (Pre-Refo	Vom himmel hoc	N/A
149	A great and mighty wonder	St. Germanus, d. 734	Orthodox	John Mason Neale	Anglican	Rejoicing	J. J. Wolder	Unknown	Christus, der ist mein	
150	From heaven above to earth I come	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Vom Himmel hoch	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
151	Rejoice, ye sons of men alway!	Cornelius Freund	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Vom Himmel hoch	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
152	O rejoice ye Christians loudly	Christian Keimann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Freuet euch, ihr Christen	Andreas Hammerschmidt	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
153	Let us all with gladsome voice	Anon., att. to Urban Langh	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Lasst uns alle	Anon., att. to Urban Lang	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
154	Hark! the herald-angels sing	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Mendelssohn	Felix Mendelssohn	Lutheran	Gott sei Dank	N/A
155	To us a child of hope is born	John Morison	Church of Scotla	N/A	N/A	Canann	Alfred S. Baker	Episcopal (Anglica	N/A	N/A
156	We Christians may	Caspar Füger	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O Jesu Christ, dein kripplein	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
157	Praise God the Lord, ye sons of men	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Lobt Gott, ihr Christen	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	Nun danket all	Chesterfield
158	Joy to the world! the Lord is come	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Lobt Gott, ihr Christen	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
159	Come hither, ye faithful, triumphantly sin	Anon., Latin, 17th cent., at	Bonaventura	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	Portugese hymn (Adeste Fideles)	John Francis Wade	Catholic	N/A	N/A
160	Hark! what mean those holy voices	John Cawood	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Lobt den herren, die Morgensonne	Anon.; appears in Johann	German Evangelica	Rathbun	N/A
161	Immanuel, we sing thy praise	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth, alt.*	Anglican	Erschienen ist der herrlich Tag	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
162	To shepherds, as they watched by night	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schaar	attr. to David Wolder	Lutheran	Vom Himmel hoc	N/A
163	While with ceaseless course the sun	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Wachet doch, erwacht	found in Johann Crüger's	Lutheran	Spanish Chant	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
164	Across the sky the shades of night	James Hamilton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Allein Gott in der höh	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
165	Thou who roll'st the year around	Ray Palmer	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	Heinlein (Aus der Tiefe)	Martin Heimlein	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
166	Father, let me dedicate	Lawrence Tuttiett	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Glorification (Tscherlitzky)	Johann Heinrich Tscherlit	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
167	Great God, we sing that mighty Hand	Philip Doddridge	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Melcombe	Samuel Webbe	Catholic	Mendon	Duke Street
168	For Thy mercy and Thy grace	Henry Downton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Heinlein (Aus der Tiefe)	Martin Heimlein	Lutheran	Vienna	N/A
169	The new-born Child this early morn	Cyriacus Schneegass	Lutheran	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	Christum wir sollen loben schon	Martin Luther (based on a	Lutheran (Pre-Refo	Vom Himmel ho	N/A
170	O Lord our Father, thanks to Thee	Cyriacus Schneegass	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Nun freut euch	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
171	Help me, O Lord! behold, we enter	Johann Rist	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Ich sterbe täglich	Anon., found in Emskirch	Lutheran	Wer nur	N/A
172	O God, our Help in ages past	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Anne	Attr. William Croft	Anglican	Evan	N/A
173	The old year now hath passed away	Johann Steuerlein	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Das alte Jahr ist nun dahin	Johann Heinrich Egli	Lutheran*	Herr Jesu Christ	N/A
174	Now let us come before Him	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	Nun lasst uns Gott, dem herren	attr. to Joachim von Burg	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
175	The year begins with Thee	John Keble	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Potsdam	Att. to Johann Sebastian	Lutheran	St. Michael	N/A
176	The ancient Law departs	Sebastien Besnault	Catholic	Composite, based on Hyn	Anglican	Potsdam	Att. to Johann Sebastian	Lutheran	Monsell (St. And	N/A
177	O sacred day, when first was poured	Sebastien Besnault	Catholic	John Chandler	Anglican	Angelus	Georg Joseph	Catholic	N/A	N/A
178	Jesus! Name of wondrous love!	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Bees	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
179	O Jesus, King of glory!	Martin Behm	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Valet will ich dir geben	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
180	The Star proclaims the King is here	Coelius Sedulius	Pre-Reformation	Catholic	John Mason Neal	Was fürchtest du, Feind Herodes	Melchior Frank	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
181	Brightest and best of the sons of the mo	Reginald Heber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Morning Star	John P. Harding	Anglican	N/A	N/A
182	Hail, Thou Source of every blessing	Basil Woodd	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O Durchbrecher	Att. Johann Anastasius Fr	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
183	As with gladness men of old	William Chatterton Dix	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Dix (Kocher)	Konrad Kocher	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
184	Songs of thankfulness and praise	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Edward	Charles Steggall	Anglican	N/A	N/A
185	In peace and joy I now depart	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Leonard W. Bacon	Presbyterian	Mit fried' und freud'	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
186	In His temple now behold Him	Henry J. Pye	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Bis wilkommen	Johann Christian Kittel	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
187	Angels, from the realms of glory	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	Regent Square	Henry Thomas Smart	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
188	O dearest Jesus, Thee I pray	Bartholomaüs Helder	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Dich bitt ich, trautes Jesulein	Bartholomaüs Helder	Lutheran	Herr Jesu Christ	N/A
189	Thank God my Jesus cleanseth me	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Es ist das heil	Anon., 15th century Germ	Pre-Refromation C	N/A	N/A
190	Light of the Gentile nations	Johann Franck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Valet will ich dir geben	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
191	A Lamb goes uncomplaining forth	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	An Wasserflüssen Babylon	Anon., first found in the S	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
192	Jesus, I will ponder now	Sigismund von Birken	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Jesu deine Passion	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
193	To Thee, Lord Jesus, thanks we give	Christoph Vischer	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Wir danken dir	Anon., found in the Collec	Lutheran	Nun lasst und de	N/A
194	Jesus, grant that balm and healing	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Composite, inc. Richard Massie	Anglican	Der am kreuz	Johann Balthasar König	Lutheran	Werde munter	Freu dich seh
195	Lord Jesus Christ, my Life, my Light	Martin Behm	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht	Anon, first found in the Nurnberg hymnal	Lutheran	Nun lasst uns de	N/A
196	Christ, the Life of all the living	Ernst Christoph Homburg	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Jesu, meines Lebens Leben	Attr. to Christoph Anton (	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
197	When o'er my sins I sorrow	Justus Gesenius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn	Anon., found in *German E*	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
198	Beloved Jesus, what law hast Thou brok	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verb	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
199	Go to dark Gethsemane	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	Gethsemane	Richard Redhead	Anglican	Toplady	N/A
200	There is a fountain filled with blood	William Cowper	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Cowper	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	Avon	N/A
201	O Bleeding Head, and wounded	Paul Gerhardt (based on B	Lutheran (Pre-Re	John Kelly	Presbyterian	Herzlich tut mich verlangen	Hans Leo Hassler	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
202	Enslaved by sin, and bound in chains	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten	Anon., first found in the G	Evangelical (Reform	Repose	N/A
203	O Lamb of God most holy	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
204	When I survey the wondrous cross	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Marburg	Adapted from Johann Cru	Lutheran	O Jesu Christ, m	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
205	See, world, thy Life assailèd	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben	Heinrich Friese	Lutheran	O Welt, ich muss	N/A
206	Thy soul, O Jesus, hallow me	Johann Scheffler (aka Ang	Lutheran (becam	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	Nun lasst uns den Leib	Anon., found in George R	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
207	Sev'n times our blessed Savior spoke	attr. to Johann Böschensta	Pre-Reformation	Frances E. Cox	Anglican	Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund	Anon., German melody, c. 1400; found in the	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
208	Glory be to Jesus	Edward Caswall	Catholic (convert	N/A	N/A	Caswall (Wem in Leidenstagen)	Friedrich Filitz	German Musicolog	N/A	N/A
209	Stricken, smitten and afflicted	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O mein Jesu, ich muss sterben	Anon., Geistliche Volkslie	German Sacred Fo	Autumn	N/A
210	Jesus, Refuge of the weary	Girolamo Savonarola	Pre-Reformation	Jane Francesca Agnes, La	Anglican (Church	O mein Jesu, ich muss sterben	Anon., Geistliche Volkslieder, Paderborn, 185		N/A	N/A
211	Behold the Savior of mankind	Samuel Wesley, Sr.	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Ach, wie sehnlich wart ich	attr. to Wolfgang Carl Brie	Lutheran	Dundee	N/A
212	Come to Calvary's holy mountain	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	Consolation	Ludvig M. Lindeman	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
213	Savior, when in dust to Thee	Robert Grant	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Spanish Chant	Anon., from an old 17th c	(Episcopalian [Ang	N/A	N/A
214	Alas! and did my Savior bleed	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Avon (Martyrdom)	Hugh Wilson	Presbyterian (Suce	N/A	N/A
215	O darkest woe!	vs. 1: Friedrich von Spee,	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	N/A	O Traurigkeit	Anon., found in the Wurzb	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
216	So rest, my Rest!	Salamo Franck	Lutheran	Att. Thomas Ken	Anglican	O Traurigkeit	Anon., found in the Wurzb	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
217	Lord Jesus, who, our souls to save	Georg Werner	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	Nun lasst uns de	N/A
218	Awake, my heart, with gladness	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	Auf, auf, mein herz	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
219	Father of Jesus Christ, my Lord	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Dedham	William Gardiner	Anglican*	N/A	N/A
220	Jesus Christ, my sure Defence	attr. to Electress Louise He	Evangelical (Refo	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Jesus, meine Zuversicht	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
221	"Christ, the Lord, is risen today"	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Redhead	RIchard Redhead	Anglican	Gud, var Gud	N/A
222	Jesus lives! no longer now	Christian Fürchtegott Gelle	Lutheran	Frances Elizabeth Cox	Anglican	Jesus, meine Zuversicht	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
223	Who is this that comes from Edom	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Halleluja! Gott zu loben	Johann Georg Bässler	Reformed	Consolation	N/A
224	In death's strong grasp the Savior lay	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Christ lag in Todesbanden	Martin Luther (based on V	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
225	Christ the Lord is risen again!	Michael Weisse	Moravian	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Christ ist erstanden	Variant of the Anon. Chris	Pre-Reformation C	N/A	N/A
226	I am content! My Jesus liveth still	Johann Joaichim Möller	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Es ist genug	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
227	Where wilt Thou go, since night draws n	Ernst Christoph Homburg	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Ach bleib bei uns	Sethus Calvisius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
228	Welcome, Thou Victor in the strife	Benjamin Schmolck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Gerontius	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	Nun danket all u	N/A
229	I know that my Redeemer lives!	Samuel Medley	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Duke Street	John Hatton	Presbyterian*	N/A	N/A
230	Lord Jesus Christ, strong Hero Thou	Barthold Helder	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Old Hundreth	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from	Evangelical (Reforr	N/A	N/A
231	See the Conqueror mounts in triumph	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Rex Gloriae	Henry Smart	Presbyterian*	N/A	N/A
232	Our Lord is risen from the dead	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Duke Street	John Hatton	Presbyterian*	Old Hundreth	N/A
233	Lo, God to heaven ascendeth!	Gottfried W. Sacer	Lutheran	Frances Elizabeth Cox	Anglican	Von Gott will ich nicht lassen	Anon., apparently a French folk song, "Une	Secular (Lutheran)	Aus meines Her	Zeuch ein
234	Draw us to Thee	Friedrich Funcke	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Ach Gott und Herr	Anon. alt. from German tu	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
235	A hymn of glory let us sing	The Venerable Bede, d. 73	Pre-Reformation	Elizabeth Rundle Charles	Anglican	Louvan	Virgil Corydon Taylor	Reformed (Bapitst)	Duke Street	N/A
236	Since Christ has gone to heaven, His ho	Josua Wegelin	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Nun freut euch	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
237	The Head that once was crowned with th	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Magnus	Jeremiah Clarke	Anglican	Bedford	N/A
238	Hark! ten thousand harps and voices	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Prescott	Robert Prescott Stewart	Anglican (Church c	Consolation	N/A
239	We thank Thee, Jesus, dearest Friend	Anon., attr. to Nikolaus Sel	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	Der heilge Geist herniederkam	Johann Heinrich Schein	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
240	Arise, my soul, arise	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Bevan	John Goss	Anglican	N/A	N/A
241	Th' atoning work is done	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Godric	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
242	Hail, Thou once despisèd Jesus!	John Bakewell, alt. by Aug	Methodist, Anglic	N/A	N/A	St. Hilary	Anon., appears in *Hymnal and Canticles of*	Episcopal (Anglican)*	Autumn	N/A
243	Hail the day that sees Him rise	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Horton	Franz Xaver Schnyder vo	Swiss Reformed*	Solitude	N/A
244	Jesus, my great High Priest	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Bevan	John Goss	Anglican	N/A	N/A
245	I know that my Redeemer lives	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Bradford	George Frideric Handel	Anglican	N/A	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
246	Come O come, Thou quickening Spirit	Heinrich Held	Lutheran	Emmanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	Komm, o komm, du Geist des Lebe	J. Christoph Bach	Lutheran	Gott des Himme	N/A
247	O Holy Spirit, enter in	Michael Schirmer	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wie schön leuchtet	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
248	Send, O God, a gentle shower	Mauritius Kramer	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Werde munter	Johann Schop	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
249	Come, God, Creator, Holy Ghost	Anon., attr. to Rhabanus M	Pre-Reformation	Leonard W. Bacon	Presbyterian	Komm, Gott Schöpfer	Ad. by Martin Luther, from	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
250	Spirit of mercy, truth, and love	Anon., found in *Foundling*	Anglican*	NA	N/A	Redemption	Maria Luigi Cherubini	Catholic*	Hursley	Melcombe
251	O Holy Ghost, eternal God	Barthold Helder	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Redemption	Maria Luigi Cherubini	Catholic*	Wenn wir in hoe	Federal Stree
252	O enter, Lord, Thy temple	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Zeuch ein	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	Aus meines Her	N/A
253	Gracious Spirit, Dove divine!	John Stocker	Anglican*	N/A	N/A	Schoenste Sonne	Heinrich Friedrich Enckha	Freemason	Mercy	N/A
254	Let songs of praises fill the sky	Thomas Cotterill	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Erfurt	Herman Ilse	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
255	Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Peterborough	Ralph Harrison	Non-Conformist	St. Agnes	Heber
256	Holy Spirit! hear us	Joseph Mohr	Catholic	Claudia Frances Hernama	Anglican	St. Constantine	William Henry Monk	Anglican	Caswall	N/A
257	Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord!	Martin Luther (based on La	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran*	Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
258	Come, Holy Spirit, come!	Joseph Hart	Calvinist	N/A	N/A	Mornington	Garret Colley Wellesley, E	Anglican (Church o	Boylston	N/A
259	Holy Ghost, with light divine	Andrew Reed	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	Merry	Louis M. Gottschalk, arr. I	Protestant	Solitude	N/A
260	Now do we pray God, the Holy Ghost	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Nun bitten wir	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
261	All glory be to God on high	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Allein Gott in der Höh	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
262	Come, Thou almighty King	Anon., attr. to Charles Wes	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Italian Hymn	Felice de Giardini	Catholic	N/A	N/A
263	Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty!	Reginald Heber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Nicaea	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
264	The mystery hidden from the eyes	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite*	Lutheran*	Es woll uns Gott genädig	Anon., *Der Lxvj. Deus Mis*	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
265	God of my life, Thy boundless grace	Charlotte Elliott	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Clinging	George William Torrance	Anglican	N/A	N/A
266	Thou who art Three in unity	St. Ambrose, ad. into Gerr	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Die helle Sonn leuchtet jetzt	Att. Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
267	Father of glory, to Thy name	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Sursum Corda	Alfred Morton Smith	Episcopal (Anglica	Dedham	N/A
268	Glory be to God the Father	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	Worchester	Walter Grenville Whinfield	Anglican	N/A	N/A
269	Father of heav'n, whose love profound	Edward Cooper	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Rivaulx	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
270	Father, in whom we live	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Dover	Aaron Williams	Scottish Church	N/A	N/A
271	God the Father, be our Stay	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Gott der Vater wohn	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
272	The Lord my God be praised	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Nun danket alle Gott	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
273	A mighty fortress is our God	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Composite (prepared for t	Lutheran; Non-Ch	Ein feste burg	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
274	Lord, keep us in Thy Word and work	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Erhalt uns, Herr	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
275	Thine honor rescue, Christ our Lord!	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	Erhalt uns, Herr	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
276	Fear not, O little flock, the Foe	Johann Michael Altenburg	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Kommt her zu mir	Anon., Contrafactum att.	Secular (Lutheran)	Meribah	N/A
277	The mouth of fools doth God confess	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Es spricht der Unweisen Mund	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
278	O God, from heaven look down and see	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Ach Gott, vom Himmel	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Es ist gewisslich	N/A
279	Christ, Thou the Champion of the band v	Matthäus Appeles von Lö	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Herzliebster Jesu	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
280	Ah! Lord our God, let them not be confou	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Herzliebster Jesu	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
281	No change of time shall ever shock	Nahum Tate	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Blendon	Felice de Giardini	Catholic	N/A	N/A
282	Had God not come, may Israel say	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Nun freut euch	N/A
283	When Rome had shrouded earth in night	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Blendon	Felice de Giardini	Catholic	Rockingham	N/A
284	If God were not upon our side	Justus Jonas	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält	Anon., first appeared in Klug's *Geistliche Lieder*	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
285	Stars of the morning, so gloriously bright	St. Joseph the Hymnograp	Orthodox	John Mason Neale	Anglican	Trisagion	Henry Thomas Smart	Anglican	N/A	N/A
286	Lord God, we all to Thee give praise	Philipp Melanchthon (Latin	Lutheran	Emmanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	Angels	Orlando Gibbons	Anglican	N/A	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
287	Jesus, brightness of the Father	attr. to Rhabanus Maurus,	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	Irby	Henry John Gauntlett	Anglican	Gott des Himme	N/A
288	Ten thousand times ten thousand	Henry Alford	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Alford	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
289	For all Thy saints, O Lord	Richard Mant	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Carlisle	Charles Lockhart	Anglican*	N/A	N/A
290	Hark! the sound of holy voices	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Mittler, schau auf sie hernieder	Johann Gottfried Schicht	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
291	O Lord, whose bounteous hand again	Arthur Tozer Russell	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Werburgh	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	Vater unser im	NA
292	O Lord, I sing with lips and heart	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	Ich singe dir mit Herz	Att. Johann Balthasar Kön	Lutheran	Lobt Gott, ihr Ch	Sursum Cord
293	We sing th' almighty power of God	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Ich singe dir mit Herz	Att. Johann Balthasar Kön	Lutheran	Azmon	Nun danket a
294	To Thee, O Lord, our hearts we raise	William Chatterton Dix	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O Herre Gott, dein	Anon., first found in the E	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
295	Come, ye thankful people, come	Henry Alford	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. George	George J. Elvey	Anglican	Ebeling	N/A
296	Christ, by heav'nly hosts ador'd	Henry Harbaugh	Reformed (Penns	N/A	N/A	Ebeling	Johann G. Ebeling, adapt	Lutheran*	N/A	N/A
297	Praise, O praise our God and King!	Henry Williams Baker, bas	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Monkland	John Antes, arr. by John F	Moravian	N/A	N/A
298	Praise to God, immortal praise	Anna L. Barbauld	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	Dix	Konrad Kocher	Lutheran	Coburg	Fred til Bod
299	Swell the anthem, raise the song	Nathan Strong	Reformed	N/A	N/A	Thanksgiving	Walter Bond Gilbert	Anglican	N/A	N/A
300	O bless, Thou heavenly Potentate	Anonymous (First appears	Unknown (Luther	Unknown or N/A	Unknown or N/A	Das walt' Gott Vater	Daniel Vetter	Lutheran	Louvan	N/A
301	What our Father does is well	Benjamin Schmolk (origina	Lutheran (Anglica	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican	Coburg	Heinrich Friedrich Enckha	Lutheran* (Freema	Dix	N/A
302	Lord, while for all mankind we pray	John Reynell Wreford	Unitarian (English	N/A	N/A	Nox Praecessit	John Baptiste Calkin	Anglican	Nun sich der Tag	N/A
303	Almighty Lord, before Thy throne	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Burford	attr. to Henry Purcell	Anglican	N/A	N/A
304	To Thee our God we fly	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Belsize	James WIlliam Elliot	Anglican	N/A	N/A
305	God bless our native land!	Charles T. Brooks, recast b	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	America	Att. to Henry Carey or Joh	Anglican*	N/A	N/A
306	My hope is built on nothing less	Edward Mote	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Magdalen	John Stainer	Anglican	N/A	N/A
307	Lord, we confess our numerous faults	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Palestrina	Giovanni Pierluigi da Pale	Pre-Reformation C	N/A	N/A
308	All that I was, my sin, my guilt	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	Palestrina	Giovanni Pierluigi da Pale	Pre-Reformation C	Dundee	Evan
309	Blest is the man, forever blest	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Rockingham	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	Federal Street	N/A
310	Dear Christians, one and all rejoice	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Nun freut euch lieben	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
311	By grace I'm saved, grace free and boun	Christian Ludwig Scheidt	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	O dass ich tausend (König)	Johann Balthasar König	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
312	Now I have found the sure foundation	Johann Andreas Rothe	Lutheran	John Wesley	Anglican	O dass ich tausend (König)	Johann Balthasar König	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
313	Who shall the Lord's elect condemn?	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Rockingham	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
314	Salvation unto us has come	Paul Speratus	Lutheran	Comp. tr. 1910	Lutheran*	Es ist das Heil nuns kommen her	Anon., 15th century Germ	Pre-Refromation C	N/A	N/A
315	Blessed are the sons of God	Joseph Humphreys	Moravian	N/A	N/A	Voller Wunder	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran	Dix	N/A
316	I do not come because my soul	Frank B. St. John (First pu	Unknown (Presby	N/A	N/A	Wittenberg	[Ludwig?] Herman Ilse	Lutheran	Meribah	N/A
317	O how great is Thy compassion	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen	Johann Flittner	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
318	Just as I am, without one plea	Charlotte Elliott	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Woodworth	William Batchelder Bradb	Baptist	N/A	N/A
319	Not all the blood of beasts	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Ben Rhydding	Alexander Robert Reinagl	Anglican	N/A	N/A
320	Not what these hands have done	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	Ben Rhydding	Alexander Robert Reinagl	Anglican	Monsell (St. And	N/A
321	Drawn to the cross, which Thou hast ble	Genevieve Mary Irons	Catholic	N/A	N/A	Dunstan	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
322	I lay my sins on Jesus	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	In Morgenrot gekleidet	Johann G. Nageli	Lutheran*	Aurelic	N/A
323	Through Jesus' bloody merit	Simon Dach	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Ich dank' dir, lieber Herre	Anon., found in *Musika Te*	Lutheran	Valet will ich dir	N/A
324	Nearer, my God, to Thee	Henry Eyster Jacobs (base	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Horbury	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
325	Rock of ages, cleft for me	Augustus Montague Topla	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Toplady	Thomas Hastings	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
326	Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness	Nicolaus Ludwig, Graf von	Moravian	John Wesley	Anglican	St. Crispin	George J. Elvey	Anglican	Herr Jesu Christ	N/A
327	Our God so loved the world that He	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	St. Crispin	George J. Elvey	Anglican	Herr Jesu Christ	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
328	Grace! 'tis a charming sound	vv. 1, 2, 4, 6: Philip Doddri	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Silver Street	attr. to Isaac Smith	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A
329	Thy works, not mine, O Christ	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	St. John	William Henry Havergal	Anglican	Belsize	St. Godric
330	O mystery of love Divine	Thomas Hornblower Gill	Anglican (Puritan	N/A	N/A	Albano	Vincent Novello	Catholic	N/A	N/A
331	Jesus, still lead on	Nicolaus Ludwig, Graf von	Moravian	Jane Borthwick	Presbyterian	Seelenbräutigam	Adam Drese	Lutheran (Pietist)	N/A	N/A
332	God of my life, whose gracious power	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Larghetto (Bonn) [Alsace]	Ludwig van Beethoven	Catholic*	Grace Church	N/A
333	Let us ever walk with Jesus	Sigismund von Birken	Lutheran	John Adam Rimbach	Lutheran	Lasset uns mit Jesu ziehen	Georg Gottfried (or Gabrie	Lutheran	Sollt' ich meinen	N/A
334	Come, follow me, the Savior spake	Johann Scheffler (aka Ang	Lutheran (becam	Charles William Schaeffer	Lutheran	Mach's mit mir, Gott, nach deiner G	Johann Hermann Schein	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
335	Jesus, I my cross have taken	Henry Francis Lyte	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Autumn	François Hippolyte Barthe	Anglican	N/A	N/A
336	Holy Father! Thou hast taught me	John Mason Neale	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Autumn	François Hippolyte Barthe	Anglican	N/A	N/A
337	Savior! I follow on	Charles S. Robinson	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	Monroe Place	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	Winterton	Bethany
338	O Thou who wouldst not have	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Goudimel	Att. Claude Goudimel; ad	Evangelical (Reforr	N/A	N/A
339	May we Thy precepts, Lord, fulfill	Edward Osler	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Meribah	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
340	Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah	William Williams	Methodist	Peter Williams	Methodist	Guide Me	George William Warren	Episcopal (Anglica	Regent Square	N/A
341	The man is ever blest	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Thatcher	George Frideric Handel	Anglican	N/A	N/A
342	O that the Lord would guide my ways	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Evan	William Henry Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A
343	God, from all eternity	Caspar Neumann	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier	John Rudolf Ahle	Anglican	N/A	N/A
344	How can I thank Thee, Lord	vv. 1-6, 8: att. to David De	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	O Gott, du frommer	Anon., found in *Neu Orde*	Lutheran	Nun danket alle	N/A
345	Soul, what return has God thy Savior	Karl Friedrich Lochner	Lutheran	Compilation	(Lutheran*)	O dass ich tausend Zungen hätte	Kornelius Heinrich Dretze	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
346	O God, Thou faithful God	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O Gott, du frommer Gott (II)	Anon., possibly as early a	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
347	O God, forsake me not!	Salomo Franck	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	O Gott, du frommer Gott (II)	Anon., possibly as early a	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
348	O Love, who formedst me to wear	Johann Scheffler (aka Ang	Lutheran (becam	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Heut triumphieret Gottes Sohn	Bartholomäus Gesius	Lutheran	Vater unser im	St. Petersbur
349	Thee will I love, my Strength, my Tower	Johann Scheffler (aka Ang	Lutheran (becam	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Ich will dich lieben, meine Stärke	Anon., first appears in Kö	Lutheran	NA	N/A
350	Renew me, O eternal Light	Johann Friedrich Ruopp	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Herr Jesu Christ, meins Lebens (Bre	Anon., first appears as a	Lutheran (Pre-Refo	N/A	N/A
351	My faith looks up to Thee	Ray Palmer	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	Olivet	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
352	Thy life was giv'n for me	Frances Ridley Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Olave	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
353	Savior! Thy dying love	Sylvanus Dryden Phelps	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Winterton	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
354	O for a faith that will not shrink	William Hiley Bathurst	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Mear	Aaron Williams	Church of Scotlan	St. Agnes	Beatitudo
355	Take my life, and let it be	Frances Ridley Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Patmos	William Henry Havergal	Anglican	Holley	N/A
356	Jesus, Shepherd of the sheep	Henry Cook	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	Capetown	Friedrich Filitz	German Musicolog	N/A	N/A
357	O Lord of heaven, and earth, and sea	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Almsgiving	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
358	Lord of glory, Thou hast bought us	Eliza Sibbald Alderson	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Deerhurst	James Langran	Anglican	N/A	N/A
359	Lord, lead the way the Savior went	William Croswell	Anglican (Episco	N/A	N/A	Dalehurst	Arthur Cottman	Unknown (English)	N/A	N/A
360	Almighty Father, heav'n and earth	Edward Arthur Dayman	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Keble	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	Hebron	N/A
361	We give Thee but Thine own	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Energy	William Henry Monk	Anglican	N/A	N/A
362	O God of mercy, God of might	Godfrey Thring	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Dunstan (Just as I am)	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
363	All depends on our possessing	Anon., c. 1673 (Nuremberg	(Lutheran)	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Alles ist an Gottes Segen	Johann Löhner	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
364	O God of Jacob, by whose hand	Philip Doddridge	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Savior	Frederick George Baker	Anglican	Shepherd	Dundee
365	Lord, hear the voice of my complaint	Johann Agricola	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ	J. Klug, *Geistliche Lieder,*	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
366	O Lord, I love Thee from my heart	Martin Schalling	Lutheran	Philip Schaff*	Reformed	Herzlich lieb hab' ich dich, o herr	Matthias Gastritz	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
367	The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want	Francis Rous	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Belmont (Vigils)	William Gardiner	Anglican	Bedford	N/A
368	When I can read my title clear	Isaac Watts	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Marlow	John Chetham	Anglican	N/A	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
369	My spirit on Thy care	Henry Francis Lyte	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Cleveland	Uzziah Christopher Burna	Reformed	N/A	N/A
370	I am trusting Thee, Lord Jesus	Frances Ridley Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Stephanos	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican	N/A	N/A
371	To Thee, O dear, dear Savior!	John Samuel Bewley Mon	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Herzlich tut mich erfreuen	Johann Walter	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
372	Where'er I go, whate'er my task	Paul Flemming	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Meribah	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	Kommt her zu m	N/A
373	Jesus, my Truth, my Way	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Swabia	Johann Martin Spiess	Swiss Reformed	Cleveland	N/A
374	The Lord my Shepherd is	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Swabia	Johann Martin Spiess	Swiss Reformed	N/A	N/A
375	How firm a foundation, ye saints of the L	Att. Richard Keen	Baptist (English)	N/A	N/A	Portugese hymn (Adeste Fideles)	John Francis Wade	Catholic	N/A	N/A
376	Fight the good fight	John Samuel Bewley Mon	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Samson	George Frideric Handel	Anglican	N/A	N/A
377	Stand up!--stand up for Jesus!	George Duffield	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	Jeg vil mig Herren love	Hardenack Otto Conrad Z	Lutheran	Webb	Greenland
378	Am I a soldier of the cross	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Christmas	George Frideric Handel	Anglican	Marlow	N/A
379	My soul, be on thy guard	George Heath	Presbyterian (Eng	N/A	N/A	Laban	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	Schumann (Hea	N/A
380	Soldiers of Christ, arise	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Laban	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	Silver Street	St. Thomas
381	Rise, my soul, to watch and pray	Johann Burchard Freystein	Pietist (Lutheran)	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Straf mich nicht in deinem Zorn (Wü	Att. Johann Rosenmüller	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
382	Ye servants of the Lord	Phillip Doddridge	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Glory	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	St. Michael	N/A
383	Lord, as Thou wilt, deal Thou with me	Caspar Melissander	Lutheran	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	Herr, wie du willst, so schick's mit m	Matthäus Greitter	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
384	Thy way, not mine, O Lord	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	Mein Schöpfer, steh mir bei	Franz Heinrich Christoph	Lutheran*	Weber	N/A
385	What is the world to me	Georg Michael Pfefferkorn	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Was frag' ich nach der Welt	Ahasverus Fritsch	Lutheran	O Gott, du from	N/A
386	My God, my Father, while I stray	Charlotte Elliott	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Southport	George Lomas	Anglican	N/A	N/A
387	My Jesus, as Thou wilt!	Benjamin Schmolck	Lutheran	Jane Borthwick	Presbyterian	Weber (Jewett)	Carl Maria von Weber	Catholic	St. Bees	N/A
388	Blest be Thy love, dear Lord	John Austin	Catholic	N/A	N/A	Moravia	Lewis Renatus West	Moravian	Monsell	N/A
389	O Lord, my best desire fulfil	William Cowper	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Elvet	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
390	Lord, grant that we e'er pure retain	Ludwig Helmbold	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	Herr Jesu Christ, meins	Anon., first appears as a	Lutheran	Erhalt, uns Herr	N/A
391	Have mercy, Lord	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
392	Wilt thou, O man, live happily	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Mensch, willt du leben seliglich	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Dies sind die	N/A
393	We all believe in one true God	Tobias Clausnitzer	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wir glauben all an einen Gott	Anon., from the *Kirchenge*	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
394	We all believe in one true God	Martin Luther	Lutheran	H. Bruecker	Lutheran*	Wir glauben all an einen Gott	Martin Luther (based on 1	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
394b	We all believe in one true God	Martin Luther	Lutheran	H. Bruecker	Lutheran*	Pomerania	Johann Christian Kittel	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
395	What a Friend we have in Jesus	Joseph Medlicott Scriven	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Friend	Charles C. Converse	Congregationalist*	N/A	N/A
396	Our Father, Thou in heaven above	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Vater unser in Himmelreich	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
397	Our heavenly Father, hear	James Montgomery	Moravian (English	N/A	N/A	Boylston	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	Cleveland	N/A
398	Prayer is the soul's sincere desire	James Montgomery	Moravian (English	N/A	N/A	Spohr	Louis Spohr	Lutheran* (Freema	St. Agnes	N/A
399	Approach, my soul, the mercy seat	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Spohr	Louis Spohr	Lutheran* (Freema	Avon	N/A
400	Baptized into Thy name most holy	Johann Jacob Rambach	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Doles	John Friedrich Doles	Lutheran (Pietist*)	O dass ich tause	N/A
401	To Jordan came our Lord, the Christ	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Es woll uns Gott	N/A
402	Blessed Jesus, here we stand	Benjamin Schmolck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth*	Anglican	Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
403	Now Christ, the very Son of God	Nicolaus Selneccer	Lutheran	Conrad Herman Louis Sch	Lutheran	Axbridge	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
404	This child we dedicate to Thee	Christoph Friedrich Neand	Lutheran (Rationa	Samuel Gilman	Unitarian	Axbridge	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	Hursley	N/A
405	Father of Heaven, who hast created all	Albert Knapp	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Apolutrosis (Wie gross ist des Allma	Carl Philipp Emanuel Bac	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
406	The Savior kindly calls	Henry Ustick Onderdonk	Episcopalian (An	N/A	N/A	Franconia	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
407	Stand, soldier of the cross	Edward Henry Bickersteth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Franconia	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran	Silver St.	N/A
408	Let me be Thine forever	Nikolaus Selnecker (vv. 2-3	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	Ich dank' dir, lieber Herre	Anon., found in Musika Te	Lutheran	N/A	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
409	In the hour of trial	James Montgomery	Moravian (Englis	N/A	N/A	Penitence	Spencer Lane	Episcopal (Anglica	N/A	N/A
410	Arm these Thy soldiers, mighty Lord	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Valete	Arthur Seymour Sullivan	Anglican	N/A	N/A
411	Thine forever! God of love	Mary F. Maude	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Holley	George Hews	Congregationalist	Seymour	N/A
412	My God, accept my heart this day	Matthew Bridges	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Remembrance	R. H. McCartney	Anglican	Beatitudo	N/A
413	Lord Jesus Christ, in Thee alone	John Schneesing	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Allein zu dir	Anon., Broadsheet, Witten	berg, c. 1541	N/A	N/A
414	"Jesus sinners doth receive!"	Erdmann Neumeister	Lutheran	Fredrick William Herzberg	Lutheran	Meinen Jesum lass ist nicht	Att. Christian Friedrich Wi	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
415	Out of the depths I cry to Thee	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Herr, wie du willt	N/A
416	Lord, to Thee I make confession	Johann Franck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Herr, ich habe missgehandelt	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
417	O Jesus, Lamb of God, who art	Bartholomäus Helder	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Weimar	Carl Philip Emanuel Bach	Lutheran	Wenn wir in höc	N/A
418	With broken heart, and contrite sigh	Cornelius Elven	Baptist	N/A	N/A	St. Luke	Jeremiah Clarke	Anglican	N/A	N/A
419	O Thou that hear'st when sinners cry	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Penitence	Cornelius Elven	Baptist	N/A	N/A
420	Th' abyss of many a former sin	Joseph of the Stadium	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	O dass ich tausend	Anon., attributed to the G	Lutheran* (Pietist)	N/A	N/A
421	Alas, my God! my sins are great	Martin Rutilius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Ach Gott und Herr	Anon., altered from Germ	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
422	And wilt Thou pardon, Lord	Joseph of the Stadium	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	St. Bride	Samuel Howard	Anglican	N/A	N/A
423	Out of the deep I call	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Bride	Samuel Howard	Anglican	Aberystwyth	N/A
424	O God, Thou righteous, faithful Lord	Bartholomäus Ringwaldt	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten	Anon., first found in the G	Evangelical (Reforr	Repose	N/A
425	O faithful God, we worship Thee	Nikolaus Selnecker	Lutheran	Anon. (poss. August Crull;	Lutheran*	Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten	Anon., first found in the *Genevan Psalter*, 154		O Jesus Christ r	N/A
426	Yea, as I live, Jehovah saith	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	So wahr ich leb, spricht Gott der He	Johann Georg Schott	Lutheran	Wenn wir in höc	N/A
427	Draw nigh and take the body of the Lord	Anon., Latin text.	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	Pax Dei	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	Eventide	N/A
428	O Jesus, bruised and wounded more	Cecil Frances Alexander	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Truro	Att. Charles Burney; alt. a	Anglican	Federal St.	N/A
429	My God, and is Thy table spread	Philip Doddridge	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Truro	Att. Charles Burney; alt. att. to an appearanc		Rockingham	N/A
430	Thy table I approach	Gerhard Walther Molanus	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	St. George	Henry John Gauntlett	Anglican	N/A	N/A
431	May God be praised henceforth and bles	Martin Luther (stz. 1 based	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
432	Deck thyself, my soul, with gladness	Johann Franck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth (pos	Anglican (poss. Lu	Schmüch dich, o liebe Seele	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
433	Lo, upon the altar lies	Thomas Aquinas	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (previous	Vienna	Justin Heinrich Knecht	Lutheran	Solitude	N/A
434	The death of Jesus Christ, our Lord	Haquin Spegel	Lutheran (Swedis	Olof Olsson	Lutheran	Mein Seel, o Gott, muss loben dich	Bartholomäus Gesius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
435	O living Bread from heaven	Johann Rist	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	St. Hilda	Justin Heinrich Knecht	Lutheran	Herzlich tut	Aurelia
436	Lord Jesus, Thou art truly good!	Samuel Kinner	Lutheran	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	Herr Jesu Christ, du hast bereit (Du	Peter Sohren	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
437	An awful mystery is here	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Repose	Francis Reginald Statham	English Christian (I	St. Crispin	Rest
438	Invited, Lord, by boundless grace	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Vetters (Das Walt' Gott Vater)	Daniel Vetter	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
439	'Twas on that dark, that doleful night	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Cross	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
440	At Thy command, our dearest Lord	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Cross	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
441	Jesus Christ, our blessed Savior	Martin Luther (based on Ja	Lutheran	Composite, based on Rich	Lutheran / Anglica	Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
442	The voice that breathed o'er Eden	John Keble	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Alphege	Henry John Gauntlett	Anglican	N/A	N/A
443	Lord, who at Cana's wedding feast	Stzs. 1 and 3, Godfrey Thr	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Stuyvesant	Walter Bond Gilbert	Anglican	N/A	N/A
444	O perfect Love, all human thought transc	Dorothy Frances Gurney	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O Perfect Love	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
445	O blest the house, whate'er befall	Christoph Carl Ludwig von	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt	Anon., found in J. Klug's (	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
446	Happy the man who feareth God	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt	Anon., found in J. Klug's *Geistliche Lieder*, W		N/A	N/A
447	Gracious Savior, gentle Shepherd	Att. Jane Eliza[beth] Leesc	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Spes Anira	Att. [Edwin?] Cooper Perr	Anglican*	N/A	N/A
448	Shepherd of tender youth	St. Clement of Alexandria	Pre-Reformation	Henry Martyn Dexter	Congregationalist	St. Ambrose	William Henry Monk	Anglican	N/A	N/A
449	Savior, who Thy flock art feeding	William Augustus Mühlenberg	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Batty (Ringerecht)	Anon., first appears in Jol	Reformed (Luthera	N/A	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
450	O Lord of hosts, whose glory fills	John Mason Neale	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Bowen (Otterbourne)	Fran Joseph Haydn	Catholic	N/A	N/A
451	In the Name which earth and heaven	John Ellerton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Harwell	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	Deerhurst	N/A
452	Behold the sure Foundation-stone	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Bradfield	John Baptiste Calkin	Anglican	N/A	N/A
453	Christ is our Corner-stone	Anon. Latin hymn, c. 8th c	Pre-Reformation	John Chandler	Anglican	Harewood	Samuel Sebastian Wesley	Anglican	St. Godric	N/A
454	Christ, Thou art the sure Foundation	Anon. Latin hymn, c. 8th c	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	Regent Square	Henry Thomas Smart	Anglican	N/A	N/A
455	Come, Jesus, from the sapphire throne	Ray Palmer	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	Leigh	Alexander Robert Reinagl	Anglican	Grace Church	N/A
456	Eternal Son of God, O Thou	Johann Jakob Rambach (t	Lutheran (Pre-Re	Anon. (First appears in the	(Lutheran*)	Hursley	Anon., adapted from "Gro	Catholic	N/A	N/A
457	In loud exalted strains	Benjamin Francis	Baptist (Welsh)	N/A	N/A	Darwall['s 148th]	John Darwall	Anglican	N/A	N/A
458	Great is the Lord our God	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	State Street	Jonathan Call Woodman	Presbyterian	St. Thomas	N/A
459	Here, in Thy name, eternal God	James Montgomery	Moravian (Englis	N/A	N/A	Mendon	Anon. German tune, arr. b	Baptist (English / A	Federal St.	Duke St.
460	There is within this heart of mine	Barnhard von Derschau ("t	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Desire	Isaac Baker Woodbury	Presbyterian	Wo Gott zum Ha	N/A
461	Lord, in Thy kingdom there shall be	Joseph Anstice	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Gott ist mein Hort	Johann Heinrich Egli	Lutheran*	N/A	N/A
462	Blest be the tie that binds	John Fawcett	Baptist (English)	N/A	N/A	Bolyston (Mixolydian)	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
463	The saints of earth and those above	Stz. 1, Isaac Watts, alt.; st	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Flavian	Anon., first published in J	Anglican	N/A	N/A
464	Glorious things of Thee are spoken	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Silcher	Friedrich Silcher, ad.	German Folk Com	Autumn	Harwell
465	Zion stands with hills surrounded	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Zion (Holborn)	Thomas Morley	Anglican	Her vil ties	N/A
466	The Church's one foundation	Samuel John Stone	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Aurelia	Samuel Sebastian Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A
467	Hark! the Church proclaims her honor	Paul Flemming	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	St. Mabyn	Arthur Henry Brown	Anglican	Rathbun	N/A
468	I love Thy Zion, Lord	Timothy Dwight	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	St. Thomas	Aaron Williams	Church of Scottlan	N/A	N/A
469	Lord of the worlds above	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Earlham	Josiah Booth	Methodist	Darwall	N/A
470	Saints of God! the dawn is bright'ning	Mary E. Hamlin Maxwell	Anglican (Episco	N/A	N/A	Her vil ties, her vil hies	Ludvig Mathias Lindeman	Lutheran (Norwegi	Regent Square	N/A
471	The morning light is breaking	Samuel Francis Smith	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Webb	George James Webb	Congregationalist	N/A	N/A
472	Our country's voice is pleading	Maria Frances (née Hill) An	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Webb	George James Webb	Congregationalist	Jeg vil mig Herre	N/A
473	O Spirit of the living God	James Montgomery	Moravian (Englis	N/A	N/A	Melcombe	Samuel Webbe	Catholic	N/A	N/A
474	From Greenland's icy mountains	Reginald Heber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Missionary Hymn	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
475	O Christ, our true and only Light	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O Jesu Christ, mein's	Anon, first found in the Nu	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
476	Hark! the voice of Jesus crying	Daniel March (stz. 3 unkno	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	Galilean	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
477	Savior, sprinkle many nations	Arthur Cleveland Coxe	Anglican (Episco	N/A	N/A	Galilean	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	Autumn	O mein Jesu
478	Rise, crowned with light, imperial Salem,	Alexander Pope	Catholic	N/A	N/A	Ellers	Edward John Hopkins	Anglican	N/A	N/A
479	Look from Thy sphere of endless day	William Cullen Bryant	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	Quebec (Hesperus)	Henry Baker	Anglican	N/A	N/A
480	May God bestow on us His grace	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Es wollt uns Gott genädig	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
481	Awake, Thou Spirit, who didst fire	Carl Heinrich von Bogatzk	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Saints of God	Arthur Seymour Sullivan	Anglican	N/A	N/A
482	Soldiers of the cross, arise	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Torgau (Mit dem Herrn fang alles an)	Karl Julius Hermann Grob	Lutheran	Redhead	Innocents
483	Jesus shall reign where'er the sun	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Duke Street	John Hatton	Presbyterian*	N/A	N/A
484	Send Thou, O Lord, to every place	Mary Cornelia, née Bishop	Dutch Reformed	N/A	N/A	Elmhurst	Edwin D. Drewett	Congregationalist/	Dunstant	N/A
485	Lord of the Church, we humbly pray	Edward Osler	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Purleigh	Arthur Henry Brown	Anglican	N/A	N/A
486	God of the prophets! bless the prophets'	Denis Wortman	Reformed (Calvir	N/A	N/A	Toulon (Old 124th)	Attr. Louis Bourgeois (pos	Evangelical (Reform	N/A	N/A
487	Lord, when at Thy command	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Leominster	George William Martin	Anglican	Dulce Domum	N/A
488	Lord, pour Thy Spirit from on high	James Montgomery	Moravian (Englis	N/A	N/A	Grace Church	Ignaz Joseph Pleyel	Catholic	Federal St.	N/A
489	We bid thee welcome, in the name	James Montgomery	Moravian (Englis	N/A	N/A	Grace Church	Ignaz Joseph Pleyel	Catholic	N/A	N/A
490	How beauteous are their feet	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Michael	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from	Evangelical (Reform	Thatcher	St. Thomas

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
491	Lord of the harvest, hear	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Michael	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from	Evangelical (Reform	Mornington	N/A
492	Thou Who the night in prayer didst spen	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Wavertree	William Shore	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A
493	Bow down Thine ear, almighty Lord	Thomas Edward Powell	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Quebec (Hesperus)	Henry Baker	Anglican	N/A	N/A
494	Whate'er God will, let that be done	Albrecht II Alcibiades	Evangelical (Luth	Nathaniel Langdon Frothir	Unitarian	O Herre Gott, dein gottlich Wort	Anon., first appears as a (	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
495	In Thee, Lord, have I put my trust	Adam Reissner	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	In dich hab ich gehoffet	Sunderreiter's *Himmlisch*	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
496	Lord, it belongs not to my care	Richard Baxter	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Bernard	Att. to John Richardson, 7	Catholic	St. Agnes	N/A
497	O Thou, from whom all goodness flows	Thomas Haweis (also att. t	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Bernard	Att. to John Richardson, 7	Catholic	Winchester Old	N/A
498	If Thou but suffer God to guide thee	Georg Neumark	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wer nur den lieben Gott laesst	Georg Neumark	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
499	I leave all things to God's direction	Salomo Franck	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Wer nur den lieben Gott laesst	Georg Neumark	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
500	Oft in sorrow, oft in woe	Henry Kirke White	Anglican*	N/A	N/A	Gud, var gud, för världen all	J. F. Lagergren	Lutheran*	Solitude	N/A
501	Why should sorrow ever grieve me	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	Warum sollt ich mich denn graemen	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
502	Dear Refuge of my weary soul	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Windsor	Christopher Tye (att. G. K	Anglican	Avon	N/A
503	O God, my days are dark indeed	Conrad Hojer	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Gibbons	Orlando Gibbons	Anglican	Herr Jesu Christ	N/A
504	In weariness and pain	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Bethlehem	Samuel Wesley	Anglican	Franconia	Greenwood
505	Zion mourns in fear and anguish	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Zion klagt mit Angst und Schmerzen	J. Hermann Schein	Lutheran	Freu dich sehr, O	N/A
506	Let not such a thought e'er pain thee	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	Zion klagt mit Angst und Schmerzen	J. Hermann Schein	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
507	Whatever God ordains is good!	Samuel Rodigan	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan	Severus Gastorius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
508	In God, my faithful God	Sigismund Weingärtner	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Auf meinen lieben Gott	Jacob Regnart	Catholic	N/A	N/A
509	From God shall naught divide me	Ludwig Helmbold	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Von Gott will ich nicht lassen	Anon., apparently a Frenc	Secular (Lutheran)	N/A	N/A
510	God is love; His mercy brightens	John Bowring	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	Keston (Oxford) [All for Jesus]	John Stainer	Anglican	Rathbun	N/A
511	Who puts his trust In God most just	Joachim Magdeburg	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh'	Att. Claudin de Sermisy	(Pre-Reformation)	O Herre Gott	N/A
512	Come, ye disconsolate, where'er ye lang	Thomas Moore (stzs. 1-2);	Catholic; Presbyt	N/A	N/A	Consolator (Alma [Redemptoris Mat	Samuel Webbe	Catholic	N/A	N/A
513	God liveth still!	Johann Friedrich Zihn	Lutheran	Frances E. Coxe	Anglican	Gott lebet noch	Friedrich Layriz	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
514	Thy ways, O Lord! with wise design	Ambrose Searle	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Saxby	Timothy Richard Matthew	Anglican	N/A	N/A
515	When in the hour of utmost need	Paul Eber	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein	Anon., first found in the G	Evangelical (Reform	N/A	N/A
516	Seems it in my anguish lone	Christoph Tidus	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Sollt es gleich bisweilen scheinen	Ahasuer Fritsch	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
517	Lord God, who art my Father dear	Johann Mathesius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	Erhalt uns, Herr, bei	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
518	Beloved, "It is well!"	George Washington Doane	Episcopalian (An	N/A	N/A	Cambridge	Ralph Harrison	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A
519	My Father! cheering name!	Att. Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	Cambridge	Ralph Harrison	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A
520	Nearer, my God, to Thee	Sarah Flower Adams (stzs	Unitarian; Dutch	N/A	N/A	Bethany	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
521	And let this feeble body fail	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Old 137th	Anglo-Genevan Psalter, C	Anglo-Genevan Ch	N/A	N/A
522	God of my life, to Thee I call	William Cowper (anon. stz.	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Nazareth	Samuel Webbe	Catholic	Wenn wir in höch	Angelus
523	Help me, O Lord, in fear and need	Martin Moller	Lutheran	Emmanuel Cronenwett, al	Lutheran	Nazareth	Samuel Webbe	Catholic	Erhalt, uns Herr,	N/A
524	God moves in a mysterious way	William Cowper	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Farrant	Richard Farrant	Anglican	N/A	N/A
525	Commit whatever grieves thee	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Befiehl	Hans Leo Hassler	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
526	If God Himself be for me	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Befiehl	Hans Leo Hassler	Lutheran	Valet will	N/A
527	Lord Jesus Christ, true man and God	Paul Eber	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Herr Jesu Christ, wahr'r Mensch un	Johann Eccard	Lutheran	Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten	
528	When my last hour is close at hand	Nikolaus Hermann (anon. s	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wenn mein Stuendlein	Anon., appears in *Kircher*	Lutheran	Herr, wie du willt	N/A
529	For me to live is Jesus	Att. to Anna von Stolberg,	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Christus, der ist mein Leben	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
530	Hark! a voice saith, All are mortal	Johann Georg Albinus	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth (ano	Anglican	Alle Menschen müssen sterben	Jakob Hintze	Lutheran	Jesu, meines Le	N/A
531	One sweetly solemn thought	Phoebe Cary	Unitarian*	N/A	N/A	Dolce Domum	Robert Steele Ambrose	Anglican	Leominster	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
532	Farewell! I say with gladness	Valerius Herberger	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Valet will ich dir geben	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
533	It is not death to die	Henri Abraham Cesar Mal	Unitarian	George Washington Beth	Dutch Reformed	Aberystwyth	F. A. G. Ousley	Anglican	N/A	N/A
534	And must this body die	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Aberystwyth	F. A. G. Ousley	Anglican	N/A	N/A
535	I would not live alway; I ask not to stay	William Augustus Mühlenberg	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	Frederick	George Kingsley	Congregationalist	N/A	N/A
536	Hark! a voice divides the sky	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Culbach	George Washington Doan	Anglican	N/A	N/A
537	Gentle Shepherd, Thou hast stilled	Johann Wilhelm Meinhold	Catholic	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Meinen Jesum	Andreas Hammerschmidt	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
538	Now lay we calmly in the grave	Michael Weisse, (anon. stz	Moravian	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Nun lasst uns den Leib	Anon., found in George R	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
539	Now hush your cries and shed no tear	Nikolaus Hermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Nun lasst uns den Leib	Anon., found in George R	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
540	Asleep in Jesus! blessed sleep	Margaret Mackay	Church of Scotla	N/A	N/A	Rest	William Batchelder Bradb	Baptist	St. Crispin	Repose
541	Jesus! I live to Thee	Henry Harbaugh	Dutch Reformed	N/A	N/A	Greenwood	Joseph E. Sweetser	Protestant*	N/A	N/A
542	Why do we mourn departing friends	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Domine Clamaut	Justin H. Knecht	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
543	O Lord my God, I cry to Thee	Nikolaus Selnecker	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O Herre Gott, in meiner Not	[J. B.?] Reimann	Moravian*	N/A	N/A
544	Who knows how near my end may be	Emilie Juliane, Countess o	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende	C. Moeck	(Presumably Luthe	N/A	N/A
545	I fall asleep in Jesus' wounds	Paul Eber	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende	C. Moeck	(Presumably Luthe	N/A	N/A
546	When the day of toil is done	John Ellerton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Vesperi Lux	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
547	O how blest are ye whose toils are ende	Simon Dach	Lutheran	Henry W. Longfellow	Unitarian	O wie selig seid ihr	Att. [Gottfried Heinrich?] S	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
548	O'er the distant mountains breaking	John Samuel Bewley Mons	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O Jerusalem, du schöne	Johann Georg Christian S	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
549	Wake, awake, for night is flying	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
550	Let thoughtless thousands choose the ro	Joseph Hoskins	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Ambrose	Anon. Latin Melody (harm	Pre-Reformation C	Mendon	N/A
551	That day of wrath, that dreadful day	Based on Dies Irae, att. Th	Pre-Reformation	Walter Scott	Church of Scotlan	Windham	Daniel Read	Protestant (likely Congregationalist or Baptist)		
552	The day is surely drawing near	Bartholomäus Ringwald	Lutheran	Philip Adam Peter	Lutheran	Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit	Att. Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
553	Great God, what do I see and hear?	William Bengo Coliyer (And	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit	Att. Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
554	And will the Judge descend?	Phillip Doddridge	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Southwell	William Daman	Anglican*	N/A	N/A
555	Day of wrath, that day of mourning!	Based on Dies Irae, att. Th	Pre-Reformation	William Josiah Irons	Anglican	Dies Irae	Anon., 13th Century Latin	Pre-Reformation Catholic*		
556	Jerusalem the golden	St. Bernard of Cluny	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	Ewing	Alexander Ewing	Anglican	N/A	N/A
557	Brief life is here our portion	St. Bernard of Cluny	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	Ewing	Alexander Ewing	Anglican	N/A	N/A
558	Jerusalem, my happy home	Att. to F. B. P. (alt. by Jose	Catholic (Anglica	N/A	N/A	Southwell	William Daman	Anglican*	N/A	N/A
559	Jerusalem, thou city fair and high	Johannes Matthäus Meyfa	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Lutheran	Jerusalem, du hochgebuate stadt	Melchior Franck	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
560	There is a land of pure delight	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Shepherd	Arthur Seymour Sullivan	Anglican	Heber	N/A
561	O Paradise! O Paradise!	Frederick William Faber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Paradise	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
562	The Homeland! O the Homeland!	Hugh Reginald Haweis	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Homeland	Arthur Seymour Sullivan	Anglican	N/A	N/A
563	I'm but a stranger here	Thomas Rawson Taylor	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	St. Edmund (Heaven is my home)	Arthur Seymour Sullivan	Anglican	N/A	N/A
564	There is an hour of peaceful rest	William Bingham Tappan	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	Elton	Frederick C. Maker	Methodist / Congr	N/A	N/A
565	A slumber I know, in Jesus' name	Magnus Brostrup Landsta	Lutheran	Possibly: K.A. Kasberg, O	Lutheran	Den signede Dag, som vi un se	Christoph Ernst Friedrich	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
566	Yes, there remaineth still a rest!	Johann Sigismund Kunth	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	Wie wohl ist mir, o Freund der Seele	Christian Friedrich Richte	Lutheran (Pietist)	N/A	N/A
567	"Forever with the Lord!"	James Montgomery	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Schumann (Heath)	Att. Robert Schumann	Atheist* (Raised Cl	N/A	N/A
568	Gloria In Excelsis	St. Luke 2:14; St. John 1:2	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	Gloria In Excelsis	Att. Johann Spangenberg	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
569a	Levavi Oculos	Psalm 121	Pre-Reformation	Myles Coverdale, *Coverda*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	John Freckleton Burrowes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
569b	Levavi Oculos	Psalm 121	Pre-Reformation	Myles Coverdale, *Coverda*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	Edward John Hopkins	Anglican	N/A	N/A
	Benedictus	St. Luke 1:68-79	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	Thomas Norris	Anglican	N/A	N/A
570	Benedictus	St. Luke 1:68-79	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	Trent	Sydney Bevan	Anglican	N/A	N/A

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translator(s)	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).	Alt. Tune	2nd/3rd Alt.
571	Te Deum Laudamus	Att. St. Ambrose	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chants]	Henry Lawes and Robert	Anglican	N/A	N/A
572a	Magnificat	St. Luke 146-55	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	George Alexander Macfar	Anglican	N/A	N/A
572b	Magnificat	St. Luke 146-55	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
572c	Magnificat	St. Luke 146-55	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	Henry Smart	Anglican	N/A	N/A
573	Dominus Regit Me	Psalm 23	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	Anon.	Anglican*	N/A	N/A
574	De Profundis	Psalm 130	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Simple plain chant]	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A
575	Venite Exultemus	Psalm 95	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	Att. Georg Fredric Handel	Anglican	N/A	N/A
576	The Lord's Prayer	St. Matthew 6:9-13; St. Lu	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	John Blow	Anglican	N/A	N/A
577a	The Beatitudes	St. Matthew 5:3-12	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	James Turle	Anglican	N/A	N/A
577b	The Beatitudes	St. Matthew 5:3-12	Pre-Reformation	Thomas Cranmer, *Book of*	Anglican	[Anglican Chant]	Samuel Prowse Warren	Unitarian / Episcop	N/A	N/A
578	Praise God, from whom all blessings flov	Thomas Ken	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Old Hundredth	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from	Evangelical (Refor	N/A	N/A
579	To God the Father, God the Son	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	Vater unser in Himmelreich	Martin Luther	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
580	To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost	*Tate and Brady*	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Remembrance	R. H. McCartney	Anglican	N/A	N/A
581	Father, Son, and Spirit	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Merrial	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A
582	To Father, Son, and Spirit	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Rejoicing	J. J. Wolder	Unknown	N/A	N/A
583	Glory be to God Most High	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Lasst uns alle	Anon., att. to Urban Lang	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
584	O Might God and Holy	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Missionary Hymn	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A
585	Thee, Eternal God Most High	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Seymour	Carl Maria von Weber	Catholic	N/A	N/A
586	Holy Father, holy Son	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Vienna	Justin Heinrich Knecht	Lutheran	N/A	N/A
587	To God the Father, Son	Att. John Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	St. Oswin	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican	N/A	N/A
588	O Blessed, Holy One!	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	St. John	William Henry Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A
589	Eternal, Holy Lord!	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Schumann (Heath)	Att. Robert Schumann	Atheist* (Raised Cl	St. Thomas	N/A
590	Praise the Father, earth and heaven	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Evening Prayer	George C. Stebbins	Baptist	N/A	N/A
591	Praise and honor to the Father	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Sirilian Hymn	Anon. Folksong Melody	Various	N/A	N/A
592	Glory be to God the Father	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	Worchester	Walter Grenville Whinfield	Anglican	N/A	N/A
593	Great Jehovah, we adore Thee	William Goode	Anglican	N/A	N/A	Worchester	Walter Grenville Whinfield	Anglican	Guide Me	N/A
594	Glory be to God the Father	Anon.	Unknown	N/A	N/A	Through the Day	Joseph Barnby	Anglican	N/A	N/A

Appendix 4: Data Pertaining to the Content of *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941)

The following information lists the hymn numbers of the hymns that were written, translated, and composed (at least in part; this accounts for some overlap) by Anglican or Lutheran sources in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941), with statistical equations following each listing. These hymn numbers correspond to the index of *TLH* that is located at the end of this Appendix. This index contains all of the relevant hymn writer, translator, and composer data for each hymn and tune in the hymnal, along with the denominational affiliation of each and the listing of alternate tunes from *ELHB,* which were compiled as a critical part of this research.

4.1 Hymn writers.

Anglican:

6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 28, 29, 36, 36b, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 52, 56, 58, 66, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 85, 94, 96, 100, 104, 107, 108, 113, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 144, 154, 160, 163, 164, 166, 168, 175, 178, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 200, 208, 209, 211, 213, 219, 221, 223, 231, 232, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 250, 253, 254, 262, 263, 265, 269, 270, 281, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, 297, 301, 304, 318, 325, 328, 330, 332, 335, 336, 338, 339, 352, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 373, 376, 380, 386, 389, 399, 406, 407, 410, 411, 412, 423, 428, 442, 443, 444, 447, 450, 451, 461, 463, 464, 465, 466, 470, 474, 477, 482, 485, 487, 491, 492, 493, 497, 500, 504, 514, 518, 521, 522, 524, 536, 546, 548, 558, 561, 562, 567, 578, 580, 587, 593.

171 Anglican-influenced hymn texts / 680 total hymns = 25.15% of hymn writers.

Lutheran:

1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 97, 103, 106, 109, 110, 115, 116, 120, 130, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 161, 162, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 179, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 203, 205,

206, 215, 216, 217, 218, 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, 230, 233, 234, 236, 239, 246, 247, 248, 251, 252, 257, 260, 261, 264, 266, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 286, 292, 300, 301, 310, 311, 312, 314, 317, 323, 324, 327, 333, 334, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 363, 365, 366, 372, 381, 383, 385, 387, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 394b, 396, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 408, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 421, 424, 425, 426, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 441, 445, 446, 449, 456, 460, 467, 475, 480, 481, 494, 495, 498, 499, 501, 503, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 511, 513, 515, 516, 517, 523, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 535, 539, 543, 544, 545, 547, 549, 552, 559, 565, 566.

225 Lutheran-influenced hymn texts / 680 total hymns = 33.1% of hymn writers.

4.2 Translators.

Anglican:

1, 3, 16, 19, 21, 25, 28, 30, 34, 36, 39, 58a , 58b, 60, 61, 62, 63, 68, 69, 73a, 73b, 73c, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 85, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 108, 115, 116, 117, 120, 125, 130, 131, 138, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 151, 152, 160, 167, 168, 177, 190, 191, 195, 199, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, 224, 228, 229, 233, 235, 237, 247, 252, 255, 257, 258, 261, 263, 268, 269, 273, 287, 292, 298, 300, 305, 307, 309, 311, 312, 316, 317, 319, 320, 322, 326, 329, 347, 349, 350, 361, 366, 371, 387, 393, 395, 397, 399, 407, 425, 429, 437, 446, 448, 453, 458, 461, 465, 466, 472, 481, 494, 500, 507, 512, 518, 520, 521, 522, 524, 526, 528, 539, 544, 546, 548, 549, 550, 554, 555, 556, 559, 563, 564, 571, 594, 595, 597, 600, 601, 605, 607, 609, 612, 613, 614, 615, 619, 625, 646, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668.

176 Anglican-influenced translations / 680 total hymns = 25.9% of hymn translators.

Lutheran:

5, 6, 7, 26, 33, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 53, 55, 57, 65, 67, 78, 79, 82, 86, 88, 89, 90, 93, 99, 105, 112, 124, 126, 140, 142, 150, 163, 169, 172, 173, 179, 187, 189, 194, 196, 197, 198, 207, 211, 215, 216, 217, 223, 226, 230, 231, 238, 245, 249, 251a, 251b, 253, 254, 260, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267, 272, 275, 283, 288, 293, 296, 299, 301, 305, 306, 310, 311, 313, 315, 318, 321, 324, 328, 330, 331, 334, 337, 348, 353, 356, 362, 365, 369, 372, 373, 375, 377, 381, 383, 384, 385, 386, 398, 401, 402, 404, 406, 408, 409, 411, 413, 415, 417, 421, 430, 432, 467, 470, 477, 479, 485, 491, 498, 509, 510, 517, 529, 540, 541, 542, 545, 547, 560, 561, 581, 585, 590, 592, 596, 598, 599, 602, 603, 611, 624, 630, 645, 655, 656, 657, 659, 661.

152 Lutheran-influenced translations / 680 total hymns = 22.35% of hymn translators.

4.3 Tune composers.

Anglican:

17, 22, 31, 35, 46, 47, 49, 51, 54, 66, 71, 84, 87, 123, 128, 134, 156, 157a, 159, 164, 166, 168, 170, 174, 175b, 176, 191, 199, 203, 210, 219, 220, 222, 234, 244, 245, 246, 277, 280, 284, 286, 291, 304, 320, 322, 323, 327, 331, 336, 341, 342, 352, 355, 360, 361, 363, 364, 368, 370, 371, 374, 380, 382, 388a, 389, 390, 396, 400, 403, 405, 416, 422, 423, 428, 434, 436, 439, 440, 441, 442, 445, 448, 450, 452, 453, 455, 460, 463, 465, 466, 468, 469, 473, 474, 476, 478, 480, 486, 488, 492, 496, 499, 502, 505, 506, 513, 514, 516, 530, 536, 552, 555, 558a, 566, 574, 575, 577, 578, 579, 580, 583, 584, 591, 602, 605, 608, 610, 613, 618, 623, 634, 638, 640, 641, 642, 643, 647, 652, 654, 658, 660, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668.

148 Anglican-influenced tunes / 680 total hymns = 21.76% of tune compositions.

Lutheran:

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50b, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58a , 58b, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73a, 73b, 73c, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 120, 122, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 158, 160, 162, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171a, 172, 173, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 202, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 214, 215, 216, 217, 221, 223, 224, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 243, 247, 248, 249, 251a, 251b, 252, 256, 257, 258, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 279, 281, 282, 283, 285, 287, 288, 290, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 305, 306, 308, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 324, 326, 328, 329, 332, 334, 335, 337, 338, 340, 343, 344, 347, 348, 349, 350, 353, 356, 357, 358, 359, 362, 365, 366, 367, 372, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 391, 392, 393, 395, 397, 398, 399, 402, 404, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 413, 415, 417, 418, 421, 424, 425, 426, 427, 429, 430, 431, 432, 435, 438, 443, 444, 446, 456, 458, 459, 461, 467, 471, 472, 477, 479, 481, 482, 484, 485, 489, 490, 491, 494, 500, 501, 509, 512, 518, 520, 521, 523, 524, 525, 528, 529, 532, 535, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 553, 556, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565a, 567, 568, 569, 571, 572, 576, 581, 582, 585, 586, 589, 590, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 603, 604, 606, 609, 611, 615, 619, 620, 624, 625, 626, 627, 629, 630, 631, 633, 639, 645, 651, 653, 655, 656, 659, 661.

399 Lutheran-influenced tunes / 680 total hymns = 58.68% of tune compositions.

4.4a Hymns with some Anglican (text, translation, or tune) provenance in *TLH*.

6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 28, 29, 36, 36b, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 52, 56, 58, 66, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 85, 94, 96, 100, 104, 107, 108, 113, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 144, 154, 160, 163, 164, 166, 168, 175, 178, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 200, 208, 209, 211, 213, 219, 221, 223, 231, 232, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 250, 253, 254, 262, 263, 265, 269, 270, 281, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, 297, 301, 304, 318, 325, 328, 330, 332, 335, 336, 338, 339, 352, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 373, 376, 380, 386, 389, 399, 406, 407, 410, 411, 412, 423, 428, 442, 443, 444, 447, 450, 451, 461, 463, 464, 465, 466, 470, 474, 477, 482, 485, 487, 491, 492, 493, 497, 500, 504, 514, 518, 521, 522, 524, 536, 546, 548, 558, 561, 562, 567, 578, 580, 587, 593, 1, 3, 21, 30, 34, 39, 58a , 58b, 60, 61, 62, 63, 69, 73a, 73b, 73c, 76, 77, 81, 91, 92, 95, 97, 98, 101, 102, 103, 115, 116, 117, 120, 130, 138, 143, 145, 146, 148, 151, 152, 167, 177, 190, 191, 195, 199, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 210, 212, 214, 224, 228, 229, 233, 235, 247, 252, 255, 257, 258, 261, 268, 273, 287, 292, 298, 300, 305, 307, 309, 311, 312, 316, 317, 319, 320, 322, 326, 329, 347, 349, 350, 366, 387, 393, 395, 397, 425, 429, 437, 446, 448, 453, 458, 472, 481, 494, 507, 512, 520, 526, 528, 539, 544, 549, 550, 554, 555, 556, 559, 563, 564, 571, 594, 595, 597, 600, 601, 605, 607, 609, 612, 613, 614, 615, 619, 625, 646, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 17, 22, 31, 35, 46, 47, 51, 54, 84, 87, 134, 156, 157a, 159, 170, 174, 175b, 176, 203, 220, 222, 234, 244, 246, 277, 280, 284, 286, 323, 327, 331, 341, 342, 363, 364, 374, 382, 388a, 390, 396, 400, 403, 405, 416, 422, 434, 436, 439, 440, 441, 445, 452, 455, 460, 468, 469, 473, 476, 478, 480, 486, 488, 496, 499, 502, 505, 506, 513, 516, 530, 552, 558a, 566, 574, 575, 577, 579, 583, 584, 591, 602, 608, 610, 618, 623, 634, 638, 640, 641, 642, 643, 647, 652, 654, 658, 660.

406 Anglican-influenced hymns / 680 total hymns = 59.71% Anglican provenance.

4.4b Hymns with some Lutheran (text, translation, or tune) provenance in *TLH*.

1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 97, 103, 106, 109, 110, 115, 116, 120, 130, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 161, 162, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 179, 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 203, 205, 206, 215, 216, 217, 218, 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, 230, 233, 234, 236, 239, 246, 247, 248, 251, 252, 257, 260, 261, 264, 266, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 286, 292, 300, 301, 310, 311, 312, 314, 317, 323, 324, 327, 333, 334, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 363, 365, 366, 372, 381, 383, 385, 387, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 394b, 396, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 408, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 421, 424, 425, 426, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 441, 445, 446, 449, 456, 460, 467, 475, 480, 481, 494, 495, 498, 499, 501, 503, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 511, 513, 515, 516, 517,

523, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 535, 539, 543, 544, 545, 547, 549, 552, 559, 565, 566, 6, 7, 26, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 53, 55, 57, 78, 79, 90, 93, 99, 105, 112, 124, 126, 163, 172, 187, 207, 211, 223, 231, 238, 245, 249, 251a, 251b, 253, 254, 262, 265, 267, 288, 293, 296, 299, 305, 306, 313, 315, 318, 321, 328, 330, 331, 337, 353, 356, 362, 369, 373, 375, 377, 384, 386, 398, 406, 409, 411, 470, 477, 479, 485, 491, 510, 540, 541, 542, 560, 561, 581, 585, 590, 592, 596, 598, 599, 602, 603, 611, 624, 630, 645, 655, 656, 657, 659, 661, 4, 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 25, 28, 29, 36, 39, 43, 50b, 56, 58a , 58b, 69, 70, 72, 73a, 73b, 73c, 75, 76, 77, 81, 85, 91, 94, 95, 96, 98, 104, 107, 108, 111, 113, 114, 117, 118, 122, 125, 127, 129, 131, 132, 133, 137, 139, 143, 144, 149, 155, 158, 160, 165, 167, 171a, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 202, 204, 208, 209, 214, 221, 229, 232, 235, 237, 240, 243, 256, 258, 263, 268, 269, 270, 281, 285, 287, 290, 294, 295, 297, 298, 302, 308, 316, 319, 326, 329, 332, 335, 338, 340, 357, 358, 359, 367, 379, 395, 397, 399, 407, 410, 418, 427, 429, 443, 444, 458, 459, 461, 471, 472, 482, 484, 489, 490, 500, 512, 518, 520, 521, 524, 537, 538, 546, 548, 550, 553, 556, 562, 563, 564, 565a, 567, 568, 569, 571, 572, 576, 582, 586, 589, 593, 594, 595, 597, 600, 601, 604, 606, 609, 615, 619, 620, 625, 626, 627, 629, 631, 633, 639, 651, 653.

493 Lutheran-influenced hymns / 680 total hymns = 72.5% Lutheran provenance.

4.5 The 391 unique hymn tunes and chant melodies in *TLH*.

ABENDS, ACH BLEIB BEI UNS, ACH GOTT UND HERR, ACH GOTT VOM HIMMEL, ACH GOTT VOM HIMMELSEICHE, ACH, WAS SOLL ICH SÜNDER MACHEN, ADESTE FIDELES, ALFORD, ALL EHR' UND LOB, ALL SAINTS NEW, ALLE MENSCHEN MÜSSEN STERBEN, ALLEIN GOTT IN DER HÖH', ALLEIN ZU DIR, ALLES IST AN GOTTES SEGEN, ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER, AMERICA, AN WASSERFLÜSSEN BABYLON, ANGEL'S STORY, ANGELUS, ANTHES, ANTIOCH, AUF MEINEN LIEBEN GOTT, AUF, AUF, MEIN HERZ, AURELIA, AUS DER TIEFE, AUS MEINES HERZENS GRUNDE, AUS TIEFER NOT, AYNHOE, AZMON, BALTIMORE, BEATITUDO, BEDFORD, BELMONT, BETHANY, BETHLEHEM, BEVAN, BIS WILLKOMMEN, BONA PATRIA, BOYLSTON, BUCKLAND, BURFORD, CAMBRIDGE, CARITAS PERFECTA, CHESTERFIELD/ RICHMOND (Haweis), CHRIST IST ERSTANDEN, CHRIST LAG IN TODESBANDEN, CHRISTE, DER DU BIST TAG UND LICHT, CHRISTE, DU LAMM GOTTES, CHRISTE, WAHRES SEELENLICHT, CHRISTUM WIR SOLLEN LOBEN SCHON, CHRISTUS IST ERSTANDEN, CHRISTUS, DER IST MEIN, CLAIRVAUX, CONSOLATION, CORDIS DONUM, CORONAE, CORONATION, COWPER, CROFT'S 136TH, CULBACH, DA JESUS AN DES KREUZES, DARWALL'S 148TH, DAS WALT' GOTT VATER, DEN SIGNEDE DAG, DENBY, DER AM KREUZ, DER LIEBEN SONNE LICHT UND PRACHT, DER MANGE SKAL KOMME (STOCKHOLM), DER TAG, DER IST, DIADEMATA, DIE HELLE SONN' LEUCHT"T, DIE NACHT IST KOMMEN, DIES IRAE, DIES SIND DIE HEIL'GENS, DIR, DIR, JEHOVA, DIVINUM MYSTERIUM, DIX, DOMINE, CLAMAVI, DOVER, DUKE STREET, DUNDEE, DUNSTAN, EASTER HYMN,

ECCE AGNUS, EDEN, EIN' FESTE BURG, EINS IST NOT, EIRENE, ELLACOMBE, ELLERS, ENERGY, ERFURT, ERHALT UNS, HERR, ERSCHIENEN IST, ES IST DAS HEIL, ES IST EIN' ROS', ES IST GENUG, ES IST GEWISSLICH, ES IST KEIN TAG, ES WOLL' UNS GOTT GENÄDIG SEIN, EUDOXIA, EVAN, EVENING HYMN, EVENING PRAYER, EVENTIDE, EWING, FAHRE FORT, FANG DEIN WERK, FARRANT, FEDERAL STREET, FINLANDIA, FIRM FOUNDATION, FRANCONIA, FRED TIL BOD, FREU DICH, SEHR, FREUET EUCH, IHR CHRISTEN, FREUT EUCH, IHR LIEBEN, FRIEND, FRÖHLICH SOLL MEIN HERZE, GALILEAN, GEDULD, DIE SOLL'N WIR HABEN, GELOBET SEIST DU, JESU, GELOBT SEI GOTT, GETHSEMANE, GLADNESS (ČAS RADOSTI), GLORIFICATION (Tscherlitzky), GOTT DER VATER WOHN', GOTT DES HIMMELS, GOTT SEI DANK, GOTT SEI GELOBET, GOTTES SOHN IST KOMMEN, GOTTLOB, ES GEHT NUNMEHR ZU ENDE, GREAT WHITE HOST, GROSSER GOTT, GUDS MENIGHED, SYNG, GUIDE ME, HAMBURG, HANOVER, HARVEST HYMN, HEAVEN IS MY HOME, HELFT MIR GOTT'S GÜTE, HERR JESU CHRIST, DICH, HERR JESU CHRIST, DU HAST BEREIT'T, HERR JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S, HERR, ICH HABE MISSGEHANDELT, HERR, WIE DU WILLST, HERRE JESU KRIST, HERZLICH LIEB HAB' ICH DICH, O HERR, HERZLICH TUT MICH, HERZLIEBSTER JESU, HEUT' TRIUMPHIERET GOTTES SOHN, HÖCHSTER PRIESTER, HURSLEY, HYFRYDOL, ICH DANK' DIR SCHON, ICH DANK' DIR, LIEBER HERRE, ICH HALTE TREULICH STILL, ICH SINGE DIR, ICH STERBE TÄGLICH, ICH WILL DICH LIEBEN, IN DICH HAB' ICH GEHOFFET, IN DULCI JUBILO, INNOCENTS (Parish Choir), ISLEWORTH, ITALIAN HYMN, JEG VIL MIG HERREN LOVE, JERUSALEM, DU HOCHGEBUATE STADT, JESAIA, DEM PROPHETEN, JESU KREUZ, LEIDEN UND PEIN, JESU, MEINE FREUDE, JESU, MEINES LEBENS LEBEN, JESUS CHRISTUS, UNSER HEILAND, JESUS, JESUS, NICHTS ALS JESUS, JESUS, MEINE ZUVERSICHT, JUDAH'S LION, KIRKEN DEN ER ET, KOMM, GOTT SCHÖPFER, KOMM, HEILIGER GEIST, HERRE GOTT, KOMM, O KOMM, DU GEIST DES LEBENS, KOMMT HER ZU MIR, KREMSER, KYRIE, GOTT VATER, LANCASHIRE, LASSET UNS MIT JESU ZIEHEN, LASST UNS ALLE, LASST UNS ERFREUEN, LIEBSTER IMMANUEL, LIEBSTER JESU, LIGHT DIVINE, LLANFAIR, LOBE DEN HERREN, DEN, LOBE DEN HERREN, O MEINE, LOBT DEN HERRN, DIE MORGENSONNE, LOBT DEN HERRN, IHR, LOBT GOTT, IHR CHRISTEN, LÖWEN, LASST EUCH WIEDERFINDEN, MACH'S MIT MIR, GOTT, MACHT HOCH DIE TÜR, MACHT HOCH DIE TÜR, MACHT HOCH DIE TÜR (MILWAUKEE), MAGDALEN, MALDWYN, MARTYN, MARTYRDOM, MEIN HEILAND, MEIN SCHÖPFER, STEH MIR BEI, MEINEN JESUM LASS' ICH NICHT, MELCOMBE, MENDELSSOHN, MENDON, MERIBAH, MIN SJÄL OG AAND, MISSIONARY HYMN, MIT FRIED' UND FREUD', MITTEN WIR IM LEBEN SIND, MONKLAND, MORGENGLANZ DER EWIGHEIT , MORNING HYMN, MORNING STAR, MÜDE BIN ICH, MUNICH, NAVARRE, NEANDER, NEW ULM, NICAEA, NORRLAND (I HOPPET SIG MIN FRÄLSTA SJÄL FÖRNÖJER), NU RINDER SOLEN OP, NUN BITTEN WIR, NUN DANKET ALL', NUN DANKET ALLE GOTT, NUN FREUT EUCH, NUN KOMM, DER HEIDEN HEILAND, NUN LASST UNS DEN LEIB, NUN LASST UNS GOTT, DEM HERREN, NUN LOB, MEIN' SEEL',

NUN PREISET ALLE, NUN SICH DER TAG GEENDET HAT, NUNC DIMITTIS, O DASS ICH TAUSEND, O DASS ICH TAUSEND, O DASS ICH TAUSEND, O DER ALLES, O DU LIEBE, O DURCHBRECHER, O GOTT, DU FROMMER GOTT (II), O GROSSER GOTT, O HEILIGE DREIFALTIGKEIT, O HERRE GOTT, O JERUSALEM, DU SCHÖNE, O JESU, O JESU CHRIST, DEIN KRIPPLEIN, O JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S, O LAMM GOTTES, UNSCHULDIG, O MEIN JESU, ICH MUSS STERBEN, O QUANTA QUALIA, O SELIG HAUS, O TRAURIGKEIT, O WELT, ICH MUSS DICH LASSEN, O WELT, SIEH HIER, O WIE SELIG, OLD 120TH, OLD 124TH, OLD 137TH, OLD HUNDREDTH, OLIVET, ORIENTIS PARTIBUS, PALESTRINA, PATMOS, PAX CELESTE, PILOT, POTSDAM, PUER NOBIS NASCITUR, QUEM PASTORES, RATHBUN, RATISBON, REGENT SQUARE, REST, RESURGENTI NAZARENO, RESURRECTION, REUTER, REX GLORIAE, RINGE RECHT, ROCKINGHAM OLD, SALVATOR NATUS (NARODIL SE KRISTUS PÁN), SCHMÜCKE DICH, SCHÖNSTER HERR JESU, SCHUMANN, SCHWING DICH AUF, SEELENBRÄUTIGAM, SEI DU MIR GEGRÜSSET, SEPTEM VERBA, SIEH, HIER BIN ICH, SINE NOMINE, SO GEHST DU NUN, SOLLT' ICH MEINEM GOTT, SOUTHWELL, SPANISH CHANT, SPOHR, ST, GEORGE, ST. AGNES, ST. ANATOLIUS, ST. ANNE, ST. BERNARD, ST. BRIDE, ST. CRISPIN, ST. CROSS, ST. FLAVIAN, ST. GEORGE, ST. GERTRUDE, ST. HILARY, ST. JOHN, ST. LOUIS, ST. LUKE, ST. MAGNUS, ST. MARY MAGDALENE, ST. MICHAEL, ST. PETER, ST. PETERSBURG, ST. SAVIOR, ST. THOMAS, STEPHANOS, STILLE NACHT, STRAF MICH NICHT, STUTTGART, SUCH', WER DA WILL, SURREY, SWABIA, TALLIS' CANON, TENBURY, TESHINIENS, TOPLADY, UXBRIDGE, VALET WILL ICH DIR GEBEN, VATER UNSER, VENI, EMMANEUL, VEXILLA REGIS, VIENNA, VOLLER WUNDER, VOM HIMMEL HOCH, VON GOTT WILL ICH NICHT LASSEN, VOX DILECTI, WACHET AUF, WALDER, WALTHER, WÄR' GOTT NICHT MIT UNS, WAREHAM, WARUM SOLLT' ICH MICH DENN GRÄMEN, WAS FRAG' ICH NACH DER WELT, WAS GOTT TUT, WAS MEIN GOTT WILL, WEBB, WEIL ICH JESU SCHÄFLEIN BIN, WEIMAR, WEM IN LEIDENSTAGEN, WENN MEIN STÜNDLEIN, WENN MEINE SÜND', WENN WIR IN HÖCHSTEN NÖTEN, WER NUR DEN LIEBEN GOTT, WER WEISS, WIE NAHE, WERDE MUNTER, WIE SCHÖN LEUCHTET, WIE SOLL ICH DICH, WIE WOHL IST MIR, WIE WOHL IST MIR, WINCHESTER NEW, WINCHESTER OLD, WINDHAM, WINDSOR, WINTERTON, WIR DANKEN DIR, WIR GLAUBEN ALL' AN EINEN GOTT, WIR GLAUBEN ALL' AN EINEN GOTT, WIR GLAUBEN ALL' AN EINEN GOTT (POMERANIA), WO GOTT ZUM HAUS, WO SOLL ICH FLIEHEN HIN, WOODWORTH, WORCESTER, WUNDERBARER KÖNIG, YIGDAL (Leoni), YORKSHIRE, ZEUCH EIN, ZION, ZION KLAGT, [Blessed are the poor in spirit], [I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills], [It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord], [Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all ye lands], [O Lord, Have mercy upon us], [Oh, sing unto the Lord a new song], [Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, O Lord], [The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want].

4.6 *TLH* Index. (See below.)

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
1	Open Now Thy Gates of Beauty	Benjamin Schmolck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	NEANDER	Joachim Neander	Reformed (Calvinist
2	To Thy Temple I Repair	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	GOTT SEI DANK	Anon., found in *Geist-reiches* (	Lutheran
3	Lord Jesus Christ, Be Present Now	Wilhelm (II. or IV.), Duke of Sachse	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	HERR JESU CHIRST, DICH	Anon, *Cantionale Germanicum*	Lutheran
4	God Himself is Present	Gerhard Tersteegen	Pietist (Reformed	Frederick William Foster	Moravian	WUNDERBARER KÖNIG	Joachim Neander	Reformed (Calvinist
5	Lord Jesus Christ, with Us Abide	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	ERHALT UNS, HERR	Martin Luther	Lutheran
6	Kyrie, God Father in Heaven Above	Anon, Latin, c. 1100, German auth	Lutheran	W. Gustave Polack	Lutheran	KYRIE, GOTT VATER	Anon, adapted c. 1541 from th	Lutheran
7	As We Begin Another Week	Martin Wandersleben	Lutheran*	W. Gustave Polack	Lutheran	HERR JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon., first appears as a chora	Lutheran (Pre-Refor
8	Father, Who the Light This Day	Julia A. Elliott	Anglican	N/A	N/A	FRED TIL BOD	Ludvig Mathias Lindeman	Lutheran
9	O Day of Rest and Gladness	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ELLACOMBE	Anon, *Gesangbuch der Herzog*	Catholic
10	This Is the Day the Lord Hath Made	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	NUN DANKET ALL'	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
11	Safely Through Another Week	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	VOLLER WUNDER	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran
12	This Day at Thy Creating Word	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	WINCHESTER NEW	Anon., found in *Musikalisches*	Lutheran
13	Before Jehovah's Awe-full Throne	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	OLD HUNDREDTH	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
14	All People that on Earth do Dwell	William Kethe	Anglican	William Kethe	N/A	OLD HUNDREDTH	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
15	From All that Dwell below the Skies	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	LASST UNS ERFREUEN	Anon., found in *Auserlesene,* (	Catholic
16	Blessed Jesus, at Thy Word	Tobias Clausnitzer	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	LIEBSTER JESU	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran
17	Oh, Worship the King	Robert Grant	Anglican	N/A	N/A	HANOVER	William Croft	Anglican
18	Lord, We Come Before Thee Now	William Hammond (redacted by M	Moravian (Anglican)	N/A	N/A	VIENNA	Justin Heinrich Knecht	Lutheran
19	All Praise to God, Who Reigns Above	Johann J. Schütz	Pietist (Lutheran)	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	LOBT DEN HERRN, IHR	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran
20	God of Mercy, God of Grace	Henry F. Lyte	Anglican	N/A	N/A	RATISBON	Johann Gottlob Werner	Lutheran
21	Jehovah, Let Me Now Adore Thee	Bartholomäus Crasselius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	DIR, DIR, JEHOVA	Johann Anastasius Freylingha	Pietist (Lutheran)
22	Lord, When We Bend Before Thy Throne	Joseph Dacre Carlyle	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. FLAVIAN	Anon., first published in John	Anglican
23	Hallelujah! Let Praises Ring	Martin Rinkart	Lutheran	Composite	Unknown	WIE SCHÖN LEUCHTET	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran
24	Lord of My Life, Whose Tender Care	Anon, *Church of England Magazin*	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O JESU	Johann Bathazar Reimann	Lutheran
25	I Will Sing My Maker's Praises	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite (Richard Massie)	(Anglican)	SOLLT' ICH MEINEM GOTT	Johann Schop	Lutheran
26	Praise the Almighty, My Soul, Adore Him	Johann Daniel Herrnschmidt	Pietist (Lutheran)	Alfred Brauer	Lutheran	LOBE DEN HERREN, O MEINE	Anon, first found in *Anhang de*	Lutheran
27	Oh, Bless the Lord, My Soul	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. THOMAS	Aaron Williams	Church of Scotland
28	Now Let All Loudly Sing Praise	Matthäus Apelles von Löwenstern	Lutheran*	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	NUN PREISET ALLE	Matthäus Apelles von Löwens	Lutheran*
29	Through All the Changing Scenes of Life	Nicholas Brady; Nahum Tate	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ICH SINGE DIR	Att. Johann Balthasar König (I	Lutheran
30	Oh, that I had a Thousand Voices	Johann Mentzer	Lutheran	Henry Mills, Catherine Winkwort	Presbyterian, Angl	O DASS ICH TAUSEND	Johann Balthasar König	Lutheran
31	When All Thy Mercies, O My God	Joseph Addison	Anglican	N/A	N/A	WINCHESTER OLD	Att. George Kirbye, first found	Anglican
32	Redeemed, Restored, Forgiven	Henry W. Baker	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ICH DANK' DIR, LIEBER HERRE	Anon., published in Valentin S	Lutheran*
33	The Lord hath Helped Me Hitherto	Ämelie Juliane	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	ALLEIN GOTT IN DER HÖH'	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran
34	My Soul, Now Bless thy Maker	Johann Gramann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	NUN LOB, MEIN' SEEL'	Johann Kugelmann	Lutheran
35	Songs of Praise the Angels Sang	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	INNOCENTS (Parish Choir)	Anon, French melody, 13th ce	French melody (Ang
36	Now Thank We All Our God	Martin Rinckart	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	NUN DANKET ALLE GOTT	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
37	Lord, 'Tis Not that I did Choose Thee	Josiah Conder	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	O DU LIEBE	Johannes Thommen	Pietist (Swiss Refor
38	The Lord, My God, be Praised	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	NUN DANKET ALLE GOTT	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
39	Praise to the Lord, the Almighty	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	LOBE DEN HERREN, DEN	Anon, first found in *Ander The*	Pietist (Reformed/ L

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
40	The God of Abraham praise	Thomas Olivers	Methodist	N/A	N/A	YIGDAL (Leoni)	Anon, synogogue melody, arr.	Jewish
41	Wondrous King, All-Glorious	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed	William O. Schaefer	Lutheran	WUNDERBARER KÖNIG	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed/ L
42	O Thou Love Unbounded	Johann Jacob Rambach	Lutheran	W. Gustave Polack	Lutheran	WUNDERBARER KÖNIG	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed/ L
43	We Sing the Almighty Power of God	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ICH SINGE DIR	Att. Johann Balthasar König (A	Lutheran
44	Ye Lands, to the Lord Make a Jubilant Noi	Ulrik Vilhelm Koren	Lutheran (Norwe	Harriet R. Spaeth	Lutheran	GUDS MENIGHED, SYNG	Erik Christian Hoff	Lutheran
45	Now the Hour of Worship O'er	Hartman Schenck	Lutheran	Oscar Martin Kaiser	Lutheran	LIEBSTER JESU	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran
46	On What has Now been Sown	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	DARWALL'S 148TH	John Darwall	Anglican
47	Savior, Again to Thy Dear Name We Raise	John Ellerton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ELLERS	Edward J. Hopkins	Anglican
48	How Blest Are They Who Hear God's Wor	Johan N. Brun	Lutheran (Norwe	Oluf H. Smeby	Lutheran	MIN SJÄL OG AAND	Anon, first found in Hans Thor	Lutheran
50a	Lord, Dismiss Us with Thy Blessing	attr. to John Fawcett	Baptist	N/A	N/A	REGENT SQUARE	Henry Thomas Smart	Presbyterian
50b	Lord, Dismiss Us with Thy Blessing	attr. to John Fawcett	Baptist	N/A	N/A	NEW ULM	Fritz Reuter	Lutheran
49	Almighty God, Thy Word is Cast	John Cawood	Anglican	N/A	N/A	DUNDEE	Anon, first found in the *Scottis*	Anglican
51	Now May He Who from the Dead	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	BUCKLAND	Leighton G. Hayne	Anglican
52	Almighty Father, Bless the Word	Anon. (First appeared in William A	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	OLD HUNDREDTH	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
53	Abide, O Dearest Jesus	Josua Stegmann	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	CHRISTUS, DER IST MEIN	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran
54	Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah	William Williams	Methodist	Peter Williams	Methodist	GUIDE ME	George William Warren	Episcopal (Anglican
55	Come, Thou Precious Ransom, Come	Johann Gottfried Olearius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	MEINEN JESUM LASS' ICH NICHT	Anon, found in the Darmstadt	Lutheran
56	Jesus Came, the Heavens Adoring	Godfrey Thring	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SIEH, HIER BIN ICH	Anon, found in *Geistriches Ge*	Lutheran
57	O Bride of Christ, Rejoice	Anon, Danish text c. 1600 (att. to	Lutheran	Victor O. Peterson	Lutheran	WO SOLL ICH FLIEHEN HIN	Anon, *Der bussfertige Sunder*	Lutheran
58a	O Lord, How Shall I Meet Thee	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite, based on Catherine	Anglican	VALET WILL ICH DIR GEBEN	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran
58b	O Lord, How Shall I Meet Thee	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite, based on Catherine	Anglican	WIE SOLL ICH DICH	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
59	Hail to the Lord's Anointed	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	FREUT EUCH, IHR LIEBEN	Leonhart Schröter	Lutheran
60	Hark, a Thrilling Voice is Sounding	Anon, Latin hymn	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	O DER ALLES	Johann Georg Stoerl	Lutheran
61	Comfort, Comfort, Ye My People	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	FREU DICH, SEHR	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
62	Oh, Come, Oh, Come, Emmanuel	Anon, Latin hymn (circa. 9th or 12	Catholic	John Mason Neale	Anglican	VENI, EMMANEUL	Anon, 15th century French pla	Catholic
63	On Jordan's Bank the Baptist's Cry	Charles Coffin	Catholic	John Chandler vs 1-3, anon. vs	Anglican	PUER NOBIS, NASCITUR	Anon., arr. by Michael Praetori	Lutheran
64	Jesus, Thy Church with Longing Eyes	William H. Bathurst	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon, first found in the Nurnb	Lutheran
65	When Sinners See Their Lost Condition	Magnus B. Landstad	Lutheran (Norwe	Oluf H. Smeby	Lutheran	WER WEISS, WIE NAHE	Johann David Meyer, arr. by C	Lutheran
66	Hark the Glad sound! The Savior Comes	Philip Doddridge	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	CHESTERFIELD/ RICHMOND (Haweis)	Thomas Haweis	Anglican
67	The Bridegroom Soon Will Call Us	Johann Walther	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	ACH GOTT VOM HIMMELSEICHE	Anon., Musae Sioniae VII, Wol	Lutheran
68	The Advent of Our King	Charles Coffin	Catholic	John Chandler	Anglican	ST. THOMAS (Williams)	Aaron Williams	Church of Scotland
69	Arise, Sons of the Kingdom	Johann Rist	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	AUS MEINES HERZENS GRUNDE	David Wolder	Lutheran
70	Hosanna to the Living Lord	Reginald Heber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	VOM HIMMEL HOCH	Martin Luther	Lutheran
71	Watchman, Tell Us of the Night	John Bowring	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	ST. GEORGE	George J. Elvey	Anglican
72	Rejoice, Rejoice, Believers	Laurentius Laurenti	Pietist (Lutheran)	Sarah Findlater	Presbyterian (Free	VALET WILL ICH DIR GEBEN	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran
73a	Lift Up Your Heads, Ye Mighty Gates	Georg Weissel	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	MACHT HOCH DIE TÜR	Att. Johann Stobaeus	Lutheran
73b	Lift Up Your Heads, Ye Mighty Gates	Georg Weissel	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	MACHT HOCH DIE TÜR	Johann Augustus Freylinghaus	Pietist (Lutheran)
73c	Lift Up Your Heads, Ye Mighty Gates	Georg Weissel	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	MACHT HOCH DIE TÜR (MILWAUKEE)	August Lemke	Lutheran
74	One He Came in Blessing	Johann Roh	Moravian	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	GOTTES SOHN IST KOMMEN	Michael Weisse	Moravian

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
75	Ye Sons of Men, Oh, Hearken	Valentin Thilo, Jr.	Lutheran	Arthur T. Russell	Anglican	AUS MEINES HERZENS GRUNDE	David Wolder	Lutheran
76	A Great and Mighty Wonder	St. Germanus, d. 734	Orthodox	John Mason Neale	Anglican	ES IST EIN' ROS'	Anon., first record in *Alte Cath*	Pre-Reformation Ca
77	All My Heart This Night Rejoices	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	FRÖHLICH SOLL MEIN HERZE	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
78	Hail the Day So Rich in Cheer	Martin Luther (based on 15th cent	Lutheran	W. Gustave Polack	Lutheran	DER TAG, DER IST	Martin Luther (based on 15th (	Lutheran
79	Rejoice, Rejoice, This Happy Morn	Birgitte Boye	Lutheran	C. Döving	Lutheran	WIE SCHÖN LEUCHTET	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran
80	All Praise to Thee, Eternal God	vs. 1: Anon; vs. 2-5: Martin Luther	Lutheran	Anon., *Sabbath Hymn Book,* 18	Baptist	GELOBET SEIST DU, JESU	Martin Luther (Johann Walther	Lutheran
81	O Jesus Christ, Thy Manger Is	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite (Alice Manington)	(Anglican)	O JESU CHRIST, DEIN KRIPPLEIN	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
82	Come Rejoicing, Praises Voicing	Juraj Tranovský (based on Anon. I	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran*	GLADNESS (ČAS RADOSTI)	Anon, 12th Century Bohemian	Pre-Reformation Ca
83	Hark! What Mean Those Holy Voices	John Cawood	Anglican	N/A	N/A	STUTTGART	Anon., att. to Christian Friedric	Lutheran
84	Christians, Awake, Salute the Happy Morn	John Byrom	Anglican	N/A	N/A	YORKSHIRE	John Wainwright	Anglican
85	From Heaven Above to Earth I Come	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	VOM HIMMEL HOCH	Martin Luther	Lutheran
86	Christ the Lord to Us is Born	Anon, arr. by Juraj Tranovsky	Lutheran (Slovak)	vs. 1-4: Vincent Pisek; vs. 5-6: J	Moravian; Luthera	SALVATOR NATUS (NARODIL SE KRIS	Anon, 15th century tune	Pre-Reformation (Lu
87	Joy to the World, the Lord is come	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ANTIOCH	Georg F. Händel	Anglican
88	This Night a Wondrous Revelation	Caspar F. Nachtenhöfer	Lutheran	Anna Hoppe	Lutheran	O DASS ICH TAUSEND	Johann Balthasar König	Lutheran
89	To Thee My Heart I Offer	Anon, 17th century German hymn	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	CORDIS DONUM	Anon, German tune, fist found	Lutheran
90	Come, Your Hearts and Voices Raising	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	QUEM PASTORES	Anon. Melody, 14th century G	Pre-Reformation Ca
91	Let the Earth Now Praise the Lord	Heinrich Held	Lutheran	vs 1-6, 8-9: Catherine Winkwort	Anglican	NUN KOMM, DER HEIDEN HEILAND	Martin Luther	Lutheran
92	Now Sing We, Now Rejoice	14th century Latin/German macro	Pre-Reformation	Arthur T. Russell	Anglican	IN DULCI JUBILO	Anon, c. 14th century tune (pc	Pre-Reformation Ca
93	O Lord, We Welcome Thee	Caspar Ziegler	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	NUN DANKET ALLE GOTT	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
94	Hark! The Herald Angels Sing	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MENDELSSOHN	Felix Mendelssohn	Lutheran
95	Savior of the Nations, Come	St. Ambrose, d. 397; Martin Luthe	Pre Reformation	William M. Reynolds	Episcopalian	NUN KOMM, DER HEIDEN HEILAND	Martin Luther	Lutheran
96	Oh, Rejoice, Ye Christians, Loudly	Christian Keimann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	FREUET EUCH, IHR CHRISTEN	Andreas Hammerschmidt	Lutheran
97	Let Us All with Gladsome Voice	Anon., att. to Urban Langhans	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	LASST UNS ALLE	Anon., att. to Urban Langhans	Lutheran
98	Of the Father's Love Begotten	Aurelius C. Prudentius	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale, Henry W. Ba	Anglican	DIVINUM MYSTERIUM	12th century tune (first printed	Pre-Reformation Ca
99	Now Are the Days fulfilled	Anon., found in the *Rochlitzer Ges*	Lutheran	Frederick W. Herzberger	Lutheran	WAS FRAG' ICH NACH DER WELT	Ahasverus Fritsch	Lutheran
100	Christians, Sing Out with Exultation	Benedict Pictet	Reformed (Frenc	Henry L. Jenner	Anglican	NAVARRE	Louis Bourgeois	Evangelical (Reform
101	O Gladsome Light, O Grace	Anon., att. to St. Clement of Alexa	Pre-Reformation	Robert Bridges	Anglican	NUNC DIMITTIS	Louis Bourgeois	Evangelical (Reform
102	Oh, Come, All Ye Faithful	Anon, Latin hymn att. to John Fra	Catholic	Edward Caswall, Philip Schaff	Catholic (converte	ADESTE FIDELES	Anon., att. to John Francis Wa	Catholic
103	To Shepherds as They Watched by Night	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	PUER NOBIS NASCITUR	Anon., arr. by Michael Praetori	Lutheran
104	Now Praise We Christ, the Holy One	Martin Luther (based on Latin poe	Lutheran (Pre-Re	Richard Massie	Anglican	CHRISTUM WIR SOLLEN LOBEN SCH	Martin Luther (based on anon.	Lutheran (Pre-Refor
105	Praise God the Lord, Ye Sons of Men	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	LOBT GOTT, IHR CHRISTEN	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
106	The People That in Darkness Sat	John Morison	Church of Scotla	N/A	N/A	LOBT GOTT, IHR CHRISTEN	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
107	We Christians May Rejoice Today	Caspar Füger	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O JESU CHRIST, DEIN KRIPPLEIN	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
108	We Sing, Immanuel, Thy Praise	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite, based on Catherine	Anglican	ERSCHIENEN IST	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
109	While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks by	Nahum Tate	Anglican	N/A	N/A	BETHLEHEM	Gottfried Wilhelm Fink	Lutheran* (19th Cer
110	Across the Sky the Shades of Night	James Hamilton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ALLEIN GOTT IN DER HÖH'	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran
111	Thou Who Roll'st the Year Around	Ray Palmer	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	AUS DER TIEFE	attr. Martin Herbst	Lutheran
112	To God the Anthem Raising	Paul Eber	Lutheran	Carl Döving	Lutheran	HELFT MIR GOTT'S GÜTE	Wolfgang Figulus	Lutheran
113	While With Ceaseless Course the Sun	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	CHRISTE, WAHRES SEELENLICHT	Anon., found in Geist-reiches (	Pietist (Lutheran)

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
114	Jesus! Name of Wondrous Love	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	GOTT SEI DANK	Anon., found in Geist-reiches	Pietist (Lutheran)
115	O Blessed Day When First was Poured	Sabastien Besnault	Catholic	John Chandler	Anglican	ANGELUS	Georg Joseph	Catholic
116	To the Name of Our Salvation	Anon., Latin text first found in bre	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	SIEH, HIER BIN ICH	Anon., found in *Geistriches Ge*	Lutheran
117	The Ancient Law Departs	Sebastien Besnault	Catholic	Compilers of *Hymns Ancient an*	Anglican	POTSDAM	Att. to Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
118	Father, Let Me Dedicate	Lawrence Tuttiett	Anglican	N/A	N/A	GLORIFICATION (Tscherlitzky)	Johann Heinrich Tscherlitzky	Lutheran
119	Great God, We Sing That Mighty Hand	Philip Doddridge	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	MENDON	Anon. German tune, arr. by Sa	Baptist (English / A
120	Help Us, O Lord! Behold, We Enter	Johann Rist	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	ICH STERBE TÄGLICH	Anon., found in *Emskirchner C*	Lutheran
121	For Thy Mercy and Thy Grace	Henry Downton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	CULBACH	Anon., adapted from German	Catholic
122	Now Let Us Come Before Him	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	NUN LASST UNS GOTT, DEM HERRE	attr. to Joachim von Burgk	Lutheran
123	Our God, Our Help in Ages Past	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. ANNE	Attr. William Croft	Anglican
124	O Lord, Our Father, Thanks to Thee	Cyriacus Schneegass	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	NUN FREUT EUCH	Martin Luther	Lutheran
125	The Old Year Now hath Passed Away	Johann Steuerlein	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	HERR JESU CHRIST, DICH	Anon., *Cantionale Germanicur*	Lutheran
126	Arise and Shine in Splendor	Martin Opitz	Catholic	Gerhard Gieschen	Lutheran	O WELT, ICH MUSS DICH LASSEN	Heinrich Isaak	Pre-Reformation Ca
127	As with Gladness Men of Old	William Chatterton Dix	Anglican	N/A	N/A	DIX	Konrad Kocher	Lutheran
128	Brightest and Best of the Sons of the Mor	Reginald Heber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MORNING STAR	John P. Harding	Anglican
129	Hail, Thou Source of Every Blessing	Basil Woodd	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O DURCHBRECHER	Att. Johann Anastasius Freylin	Lutheran
130	O Jesus, King of Glory	Martin Behm	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	VALET WILL ICH DIR GEBEN	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran
131	The Star Proclaims the King Is Here	Coelius Sedulius	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	WO GOTT ZUM HAUS	Anon., found in J. Klug's *Geis*	Lutheran
132	O God of God, O Light of Light	John Julian	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O GROSSER GOTT	Anon., found in ed. Johann Ge	Lutheran
133	Within the Father's House	James R. Woodford	Anglican	N/A	N/A	FRANCONIA	Anon., found in *Harmonischer*	Lutheran
134	Songs of Thankfulness and Praise	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. GEORGE	George J. Elvey	Anglican
135	'Tis Good, Lord, to Be Here	Joseph A. Robinson	Anglican	N/A	N/A	POTSDAM	Att. to Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
136	Angels from the Realms of Glory	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	REGENT SQUARE	Henry Thomas Smart	Presbyterian
137	In Peace and Joy I Now Depart	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Leonard W. Bacon	Presbyterian	MIT FRIED' UND FREUD'	Martin Luther	Lutheran
138	Thou Light of Gentile Nations	Johann Franck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	VALET WILL ICH DIR GEBEN	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran
139	In His Temple Now Behold Him	vs. 1-3: Henry J. Pye and vs. 4: W	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SIEH, HIER BEN ICH	Anon., found in *Geistriches Ge*	Lutheran
140	Jesus, I Will Ponder Now	Sigismund von Birken	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	JESU KREUZ, LEIDEN UND PEIN	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran
141	Enslaved by Sin and Bound in Chains	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	WENN WIR IN HÖCHSTEN NÖTEN	Anon., first found in the *Genev*	Evangelical (Reform
142	A Lamb Goes Uncomplaining Forth	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	AN WASSERFLÜSSEN BABYLON	Anon., first found in the Strass	Lutheran
143	O Dearest Jesus, What Law Hast Thou Br	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	HERZLIEBSTER JESU	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
144	Jesus, Grant that Balm and Healing	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Composite, inc. Richard Massie	Anglican	DER AM KREUZ	Johann Balthasar König	Lutheran
145	Jesus, Refuge of the Weary	Girolamo Savonarola	Pre-Reformation	Jane Francesca Agnes, Lady W	Anglican (Church (	O DU LIEBE	Johannes Thommen	Pietist (Swiss Refor
146	Lamb of God, Pure and Holy	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran	Composite, inc. Catherine Wink	Anglican	O LAMM GOTTES, UNSCHULDIG	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran
147	O Christ, Thou Lamb of God	Martin Luther, (based on *Agnus D*	Lutheran	Anon.	N/A	CHRISTE, DU LAMM GOTTES	Martin Luther (based on Kyrie	Lutheran
148	Lord Jesus Christ, My Life, My Light	Martin Behm	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon, first found in the Nurnb	Lutheran
149	Come to Calvary's Holy Mountain	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	CONSOLATION	Ludvig M. Lindeman	Lutheran
150	Lord Jesus, Thou art Going Forth	vs 1-3, 5-6: Kaspar F. Nachtenhöf	Lutheran	W. Gustave Polack	Lutheran	SO GEHST DU NUN	Anon., first found in *Geistreich*	Lutheran*
151	Christ, the Life of All the Living	Ernst Christoph Homburg	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	JESU, MEINES LEBENS LEBEN	Anon., found in *Kirchengesang*	Lutheran
152	When O'er My Sins I Sorrow	Justus Gesenius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	WENN MEINE SÜND'	Michael Prätorious	Lutheran

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
153	Stricken, Smitten, and Afflicted	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O MEIN JESU, ICH MUSS STERBEN	Anon., *Geistliche Volkslieder,*	German Sacred Fol
154	Alas! and did my Savior bleed	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	MARTYRDOM	Hugh Wilson	Presbyterian (Suces
155	Sweet the Moments, Rich in Blessing	Walter Shirley	Anglican (Methoc	N/A	N/A	RINGE RECHT	Anon., first appears in Johann	Reformed (Lutheran
156	Not All the Blood of Beasts	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	SOUTHWELL	William Daman	Anglican
157a	There Is a Fountain Filled with Blood	William Cowper	Anglican	N/A	N/A	HORSLEY	William Horsley	Anglican
157b	There Is a Fountain Filled with Blood	William Cowper	Anglican	N/A	N/A	COWPER	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
158	Glory Be to Jesus	Edward Caswall	Catholic (convert	N/A	N/A	WEM IN LEIDENSTAGEN	Friedrich Filitz	German Musicologi
159	Go to Dark Gethsemane	James Montgomery	Moravian	N/A	N/A	GETHSEMANE	Richard Redhead	Anglican
160	All Glory, Laud, and Honor	St. Theodulph of Orleans	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	VALET WILL ICH DIR GEBEN	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran
161	Hosanna, Laud Hosanna	Jeannette Threlfall	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ELLACOMBE	Anon, *Gesangbuch der Herzo*	Catholic
162	Ride On, Ride On, in Majesty	Henry H. Milman	Anglican	N/A	N/A	WINCHESTER NEW	Anon., found in *Musikalisches*	Lutheran
163	The Death of Jesus Christ, Our Lord	Haquin Spegel	Lutheran (Sweed	Olof Olsson	Lutheran	GOTTLOB, ES GEHT NUNMEHR ZU E	Johann Gottlieb Wagner	Lutheran
164	'Twas on That Dark, That Doleful Night	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. CROSS	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican
165	Behold the Lamb of God!	Matthew Bridges	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ECCE AGNUS	Anon., adapted from "Wie Chr	Lutheran
166	Savior, When in Dust to Thee	Robert Grant	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SPANISH CHANT	Anon., from an old 17th centu	(Episcopalian [Angli
167	O Darkest Woe	vs. 1: Friedrich von Spee, v. 2-7: J	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O TRAURIGKEIT	Anon., found in the Wurzburg	Lutheran
168	The Royal Banners Forward Go	Venantius Fortunatus	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	VEXILLA REGIS	John Hampton	Anglican
169	Jesus Christ, Our Lord Most Holy	Michal Grodzki	Lutheran	John Bajus	Lutheran	TESHINIENS	Polish melody, c. 1500;1559,	Lutheran
170	O Perfect Life of Love!	Henry W. Baker	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SOUTHWELL	William Daman	Anglican
171a	Upon the Cross Extended	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	O WELT, SIEH HIER	Heinrich Friese	Lutheran
171b	Upon the Cross Extended	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	O WELT, ICH MUSS DICH LASSEN	Heinrich Isaak	Pre-Reformation Ca
172	O Sacred Head, Now Wounded	Paul Gerhardt (based on Bernard	Lutheran (Pre-Re	Composite	Lutheran	HERZLICH TUT MICH	Hans Leo Hassler	Lutheran
173	Lord Jesus, We Give Thanks to Thee	Christoph Fischer	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	WIR DANKEN DIR	Anon., found in the Collection	Lutheran
174	Throned upon the Awe-full Tree	John Ellerton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	GETHSEMANE	Richard Redhead	Anglican
175a	When I Survey the Wondrous Cross	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	HAMBURG	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
175b	When I Survey the Wondrous Cross	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ROCKINGHAM OLD	Edward Miller	Anglican
176	Behold the Savior of Mankind	Samuel Wesley, Sr.	Anglican	N/A	N/A	WINDSOR	Christopher Tye	Anglican
177	Our Blessed Savior Seven Times spoke	attr. to Johann Böschenstain, 151	Pre-Reformation	Frances E. Cox	Anglican	DA JESUS AN DES KREUZES	Anon., German melody, c. 140	Lutheran
178	We Sing the Praise of Him Who Died	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon, first found in the Nurnb	Lutheran
179	On My Heart Imprint Thine Image	Thomas H. Kingo	Lutheran	Peer O. Strömme	Lutheran	DER AM KREUZ	Johann Balthasar König	Lutheran
180	The Seven Words on the Cross: I Jesus, ir	Thomas Benson Pollock	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SEPTEM VERBA	Bernhard Schumacher	Lutheran
181	The Seven Words on the Cross: II Jesus, p	Thomas Benson Pollock	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SEPTEM VERBA	Bernhard Schumacher	Lutheran
182	The Seven Words on the Cross: III Jesus,	Thomas Benson Pollock	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SEPTEM VERBA	Bernhard Schumacher	Lutheran
183	The Seven Words on the Cross: IV Jesus,	Thomas Benson Pollock	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SEPTEM VERBA	Bernhard Schumacher	Lutheran
184	The Seven Words on the Cross: V Jesus, i	Thomas Benson Pollock	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SEPTEM VERBA	Bernhard Schumacher	Lutheran
185	The Seven Words on the Cross: VI Jesus,	Thomas Benson Pollock	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SEPTEM VERBA	Bernhard Schumacher	Lutheran
186	The Seven Words on the Cross: VII Jesus,	Thomas Benson Pollock	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SEPTEM VERBA	Bernhard Schumacher	Lutheran
187	Christ is Arisen	Anon. 12th century German text,	Pre-Reformation	William Gustave Polack	Lutheran	CHRIST IST ERSTANDEN	Anon., 12th Century German M	Pre-Reformation Ca
188	Halleluhah! Jesus Lives!	Carl Bernhard Garve	Moravian	Jane Borthwick	Presbyterian (Free	FRED TIL BOD	Ludvig Mathias Lindeman	Lutheran

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
189	He is Arisen! Glorious Word!	Birgitte K. Boye	Lutheran (Danish	George Alfred Taylor Rygh	Lutheran	WIE SCHÖN LEUCHTET	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran
190	Christ the Lord is Risen Again	Michael Weisse	Moravian	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	CHRISTUS IST ERSTANDEN	Variant of the Anon. Christ ist	Pre-Reformation Ca
191	Christ the Lord is Risen Today; Alleluia!	Anon. 11th or 12th Century Latin t	Pre-Reformation	Jane Eliza Leeson	Anglican	LLANFAIR	Robert Williams	Anglican
192	Awake, My Heart, with Gladness	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presybertian (Engl	AUF, AUF, MEIN HERZ	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
193	Christ the Lord is Risen Today	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ORIENTIS PARTIBUS	Pierre, de Corbeil	Pre-Reformation Ca
194	Abide With Us, the Day is Waning	Kaspar Johannes Boye	Lutheran (Norwe	Oluf Hanson Smeby	Lutheran	WER NUR DEN LIEBEN GOTT	Georg Neumark	Lutheran
195	Christ Jesus lay in Death's Strong Bands	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	CHRIST LAG IN TODESBANDEN	Martin Luther (based on *Victin*	Lutheran
196	I Am content! My Jesus Liveth Still	Johann Joaichim Möller	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	ES IST GENUG	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran
197	Where Wilt Thou Go Since Night Draws N	Ernst Christoph Homburg	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	ACH BLEIB BEI UNS	Sethus Calvisius	Lutheran
198	He's Risen, He's Risen, Christ Jesus, the I	Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther	Lutheran	Anna Magdalena Plehn Meyer	Lutheran	WALTHER	Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walth	Lutheran
199	Jesus Christ is Risen Today, Alleuia!	Stz. 1-3 Anon., c. 14th century Bo	Pre-Reformation	Att. John Baptist Walsh (Lyra Davidica, 1708)	Anglican	EASTER HYMN	Att. John Baptist Walsh (*Lyra L*	Anglican
200	I Know that My Redeemer Lives	Samuel Medley	Baptist	N/A	N/A	DUKE STREET	John Hatton	Presbyterian*
201	Jesus Lives! The Victory's Won	Christian F. Gellert	Lutheran	Frances E. Cox	Anglican	JESUS, MEINE ZUVERSICHT	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
202	Welcome, Happy Morning!	Venantius Fortunatus	Pre-Reformation	John Ellerton	Anglican	SEI DU MIR GEGRÜSSET	Anon., found in *Enchiridion Ge*	Lutheran*
203	Morning Breaks upon the Tomb	William B. Collyer	Congregationalist	N/A	N/A	INNOCENTS (Parish Choir)	Anon, French melody, 13th ce	French melody (Ang
204	Come, Ye Faithful, Raise the Strain	John of Damascus	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	SCHWING DICH AUF	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran
205	The Day of Resurrection	John of Damascus	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	LANCASHIRE	Henry Smart	Presbyterian
206	Jesus Christ, My Sure Defense	attr. to Electress Louise Henriette	Evangelical (Refo	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	JESUS, MEINE ZUVERSICHT	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
207	Like the Golden Sun Ascending	Thomas Kingo	Lutheran (Danish	George T. Rygh	Lutheran	WERDE MUNTER	Johann Schop	Lutheran
208	Ye Sons and Daughters of the King	Anon., attr. to Jean Tisserand	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	GELOBT SEI GOTT	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran
209	Who Is This that Comes from Edom	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	NEANDER	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed/ L
210	The Strife Is O'er, the Battle Done	Anon., found in the Jesuit *Sympho*	Catholic*	Francis Pott	Anglican	PALESTRINA	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrin	Pre-Reformation Ca
211	Lo, Judah's Lion Wins the Strife	Anon., from the Slovak, att. to a B	Lutheran (Slovak)	John Bajus	Lutheran	JUDAH'S LION	Anon., from the Slovak, att. to	Lutheran (Slovak)*
212	A Hymn of Glory Let Us Sing	The Venerable Bede, d. 735	Pre-Reformation	Benjamin Webb	Anglican	LASST UNS ERFREUEN	Anon., found in *Auserlesene, C*	Catholic
213	Hail the Day that Sees Him Rise	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ORIENTIS PARTIBUS	Pierre, de Corbeil	Pre-Reformation Ca
214	Lo, God to Heaven Ascendeth	Gottfried W. Sacer	Lutheran	Frances E. Cox	Anglican	AUS MEINES HERZENS GRUNDE	David Wolder	Lutheran
215	Draw Us to Thee	Friedrich Funcke	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	ACH GOTT UND HERR	Anon. alt. from German tune, f	Lutheran
216	On Christ's Ascension I Now Build	Josua Wagelin	Lutheran	William M. Czamanske	Lutheran	NUN FREUT EUCH	Martin Luther	Lutheran
217	Oh, Sing with Exultation	Anders C. Arrebo	Lutheran (Danish	Carl Döving	Lutheran	AUS MEINES HERZENS GRUNDE	David Wolder	Lutheran
218	See, the Conqueror Mounts in Triumph	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	REX GLORIAE	Henry Smart	Presbyterian
219	The Head that Once was Crowned with Th	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. MAGNUS	Jeremiah Clarke	Anglican
220	Jesus, My Great High Priest	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	BEVAN	John Goss	Anglican
221	Hark! Ten Thousand Harps and Voices	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	NEANDER	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed/ L
222	Look, Ye Saints, the Sight Is Glorious	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	CORONAE	William Henry Monk	Anglican
223	We Thank Thee, Jesus, Dearest Friend	Anon., attr. to Nikolaus Selnecker	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	ERSCHIENEN IST	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
224	Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord!	Martin Luther (based on Latin anti	Lutheran	Composite, based on Catherine	Anglican	KOMM, HEILIGER GEIST, HERRE GOT	Martin Luther	Lutheran
225	Come, Holy Spirit, Come	Joseph Hart	Calvinist	N/A	N/A	BOYLSTON	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
226	Come, Oh, Come, Thou Quickening Spirit	Heinrich Held	Lutheran	Charles W. Schaeffer	Lutheran	KOMM, O KOMM, DU GEIST DES LEB	J. Christoph Bach	Lutheran
227	Come, Holy Ghost in Love	Anon., attr. to Robert the Second,	Pre-Reformation	Ray Palmer	Congregationalist	ITALIAN HYMN	Felice de Giardini	Catholic

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
228	Oh, Enter, Lord, Thy Temple	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	ZEUCH EIN	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
229	Holy Spirit, Hear Us	Joseph Mohr	Catholic	Claudia Frances Hernaman	Anglican	WEM IN LEIDENSTAGEN	Friedrich Filitz	German Musicologi
230	Holy Spirit, God of Love	Birgitte K. Boye	Lutheran (Danish)	George T. Rygh	Lutheran	DER TAG, DER IST	Martin Luther (based on 15th (	Lutheran
231	We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	NUN BITTEN WIR	Martin Luther	Lutheran
232	Let Songs of Praises Fill the Sky	Thomas Cotterill	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ERFURT	Herman Ilse	Lutheran
233	Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest	Anon., attr. to Rhabanus Maurus,	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	KOMM, GOTT SCHÖPFER	Ad. by Martin Luther, from Old	Lutheran
234	Holy Ghost, with Light Divine	Andrew Reed	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	LIGHT DIVINE	Orlando Gibbons	Anglican
235	O Holy Spirit, Enter In	Michael Schirmer	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	WIE SCHÖN LEUCHTET	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran
236	Creator Spirit, by Whose Aid	attr. to Rhabanus Maurus	Pre-Reformation	John Dryden	Catholic	ALL' EHR' UND LOB	Anon., found in *Kirchengesang*	Lutheran
237	All Glory Be to God on High	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	ALLEIN GOTT IN DER HÖH'	Nikolaus Decius	Lutheran
238	All Glory Be to God Alone	Martin Luther	Lutheran	W. Gustave Polack	Lutheran	ALL' EHR' UND LOB	Anon., found in *Kirchengesang*	Lutheran
239	Come, Thou Almighty King	Anon., attr. to Charles Wesley, firs	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ITALIAN HYMN	Felice de Giardini	Catholic
240	Father Most Holy, Merciful, and Tender	Percy Dearmer	Anglican	N/A	N/A	HERZLIEBSTER JESU	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
241	Father, in Whom We Live	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	DOVER	Aaron Williams	Scottish Church
242	Father of Heaven, Whose Love Profound	Edward Cooper	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ANGELUS	Georg Joseph	Catholic
243	Oh, that I had a Thousand Voices	Johann Mentzer	Lutheran	Composite, based on Henry Mil	Presbyterian	O DASS ICH TAUSEND	Kornelius Heinrich Dretzel	Lutheran
244	Glory Be to God the Father	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	WORCESTER	Walter Grenville Whinfield	Anglican
245	God Loved the World So that He Gave	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	ST. CRISPIN	George Job Elvey	Anglican
246	Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty	Reginald Heber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	NICAEA	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican
247	God, the Father, Be Our Stay	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	GOTT DER VATER WOHN'	Anon., Pre-Reformation pilgrin	Pre-Reformation ad
248	Father of Glory, to Thy Name	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	NUN DANKET ALL'	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
249	Isaiah, Mighty Seer, in Days of Old	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	JESAIA, DEM PROPHETEN	Martin Luther	Lutheran
250	Holy God, We Praise Thy Name	Anon., attr. to Ignace Franz	Catholic	Clarence A. Walworth	Catholic	GROSSER GOTT	Anon., found in *Allgemeines K*	Catholic
251a	We All Believe in One True God	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Composite, based on H. Brueck	Lutheran	WIR GLAUBEN ALL' AN EINEN GOTT	Att. Johann Christian Kittel; fo	Lutheran
251b	We All Believe in One True God	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Composite, based on H. Brueck	Lutheran	WIR GLAUBEN ALL' AN EINEN GOTT	Martin Luther (based on 14th (	Lutheran
252	We All Believe in One True God	Tobias Clausnitzer	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	WIR GLAUBEN ALL' AN EINEN GOTT	Anon., from the *Kirchengensa*	Lutheran
253	In One True God We All Believe	Juraj Tranovský	Lutheran (Slovak)	Composite	Lutheran	RESURGENTI NAZARENO	Anon. Bohemian melody, 150	Pre-Reformation Sl
254	Lord God, We All to Thee Give Praise	Philipp Melanchthon (Latin); Paul	Lutheran	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	OLD HUNDREDTH	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
255	Stars of the Morning, so Gloriously Bright	St. Joseph the Hymnographer. d.	Orthodox	John Mason Neale	Anglican	O QUANTA QUALIA	Anon., found in *La Feillée's Me*	Catholic
256	Around the Throne of God a Band	John Mason Neale	Anglican	N/A	N/A	WINCHESTER NEW	Anon., found in *Musikalisches*	Lutheran
257	Jesus, Brightness of the Father	attr. to Rhabanus Maurus, d. 856	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	NEANDER	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed/ L
258	Lord of Our Life and God of Our Salvation	Matthäus Apelles von Löwenstern	Lutheran*	Philip Pusey	Anglican	HERZLIEBSTER JESU	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
259	Flung to the Heedless Winds	Martin Luther, adaptation attr. to J	Lutheran	attr. to William Johnson Fox	Unitarian	DENBY	Charles James Dale	Methodist
260	O Lord, Look Down from Heaven, Behold	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	ACH GOTT VOM HIMMEL	Martin Luther	Lutheran
261	Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	ERHALT UNS, HERR	Martin Luther	Lutheran
262	A Mighty Fortress Is Our God	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Composite (prepared for the Pe	Lutheran; Non-Ch	EIN' FESTE BURG	Martin Luther	Lutheran
263	O Little Flock, Fear Not the Foe	Johann Michael Altenburg	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	KOMMT HER ZU MIR	Anon., Contrafactum att. to Li	Secular (Lutheran)
264	Preserve Thy Word, O Savior	Andreas Gryphius	Lutheran	William John Schaefer	Lutheran	HERZLICH TUT MICH	Hans L. Hassler	Lutheran
265	Then Honor Save, O Christ, Our Lord	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	ERHALT UNS, HERR	Martin Luther	Lutheran

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
266	O God, Our Lord, Thy Holy Word	Anarg von Wildenfels	Lutheran	William Gustave Polack	Lutheran	O HERRE GOTT	Anon., first found in the Erfurt	Lutheran
267	If God Had Not Been on Our Side	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	WÄR' GOTT NICHT MIT UNS	Martin Luther	Lutheran
268	Zion Mourns in Fear and Anguish	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	ZION KLAGT	J. Hermann Schein	Lutheran
269	O Lord, Our Father, shall We be Confound	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	HERZLIEBSTER JESU	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
270	Jesus Calls Us; o'er the Tumult	Cecil Frances Alexander	Anglican	N/A	N/A	STUTTGART	Anon., att. to Christian Friedric	Lutheran
271	Word Supreme, Before Creation	John Keble	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SIEH, HIER BIN ICH	Anon., found in *Geistriches Ge*	Lutheran
272	When All the World was Cursed	Johann Gottfried Olearius	Lutheran	Paul E. Kretzmann	Lutheran	WAS FRAG' ICH NACH DER WELT	Ahasverus Fritsch	Lutheran
273	Sweet Flowerets of the Martyr Band	Aurelius C. Prudentius, d. 413	Pre-Reformation	Henry W. Baker	Anglican	DAS WALT' GOTT VATER	Daniel Vetter	Lutheran
274	Praise We the Lord This Day	Anon., found in *Hymns for the Fes*	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SWABIA	Johann Martin Spiess	Lutheran
275	My Soul doth Magnify the Lord	Hermann Bonnus	Lutheran	John Theodore Mueller	Lutheran	WO GOTT ZUM HAUS	Anon., found in J. Klug's Geis	Lutheran
276	Come unto Me, Ye Weary	William Chatterton Dix	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ANTHES	Friedrich Konrad Anthes	Lutheran
277	I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say	Presbyterian (Free Church of Scot	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	VOX DILECTI	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican
278	Delay Not, Delay Not, O Sinner, Draw Nea	Thomas Hastings	Presbyterian	Thomas Hastings	N/A	MALDWYN	Anon., Welsh Melody, c. 1600,	(Church of Scotland
279	Today Thy Mercy Calls Us	Oswald Allen	Anglican (later wa	N/A	N/A	ANTHES	Friedrich Konrad Anthes	Lutheran
280	Return, O Wanderer, Return	William B. Collyer	Congregational	N/A	N/A	ABENDS	Herbert S. Oakeley	Anglican
281	The Savior Calls; Let Every Ear	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	AZMON	Carl G. Gläser, d. 1829, adapt	Lutheran (Presbyter
282	Christians, Come, in Sweetest Measures	Adam of St. Victor	Pre-Reformation	Robert Campbell	Catholic	ALLES IST AN GOTTES SEGEN	Johann Löhner	Lutheran
283	God's Word Is Our Great Heritage	Nikolai F. S. Grundtvig	Lutheran (Danish	Ole G. Belsheim	Lutheran	REUTER	Fritz Reuter	Lutheran
284	Father of Mercies, in Thy Word	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	BEDFORD	William Wheall	Anglican
285	How Precious Is the Book Divine	John Fawcett	Baptist	N/A	N/A	WALDER	Johann J. Walder	Lutheran
286	How Shall the Young Secure Their Hearts	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. PETER	Alexander Robert Reinagle	Anglican
287	That Man a Godly Life Might Live	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	DIES SIND DIE HEIL'GENS	Martin Luther (based on 12th (	Lutheran
288	Lord, Help Us Ever to Retain	Ludwig Helmbold	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	HERR JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon., first appears as a chora	Lutheran (Pre-Refor
289	The Law Commands and Makes Us Know	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	OLD HUNDREDTH	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
290	We Have a Sure Prophetic Word	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	WO GOTT ZUM HAUS	Anon., found in J. Klug's Geis	Lutheran
291	Lamp of Our Feet Whereby We Trace	Bernard Barton	Quaker	N/A	N/A	ST. ANNE	Attr. William Croft	Anglican
292	Lord Jesus Christ, with Us Abide	Nikolaus Selnecker	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth, alt.* (poss	Anglican	ACH BLEIB BEI UNS	Sethus Calvisius	Lutheran
293	O Holy Spirit, Grant Us Grace	Bartholomäus Ringwaldt	Lutheran	Oluf H. Smeby	Lutheran	ES IST GEWISSLICH	Att. Martin Luther	Lutheran
294	O Word of God Incarnate	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MUNICH	Anon., found in the *Neuverme*	Lutheran
295	The Law of God Is Good and Wise	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	ERHALT UNS, HERR	Martin Luther	Lutheran
296	Speak, O Lord, Thy Servant Heareth	Anna Sophia of Hesse-Darmstadt	Lutheran	George T. Rygh	Lutheran	WERDE MUNTER	Johann Schop	Lutheran
297	The Gospel Shows the Father's Grace	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	HERR JESU CHRIST, DICH	Anon., *Cantionale Germanicur*	Lutheran
298	Baptized into Thy Name Most Holy	Johann J. Rambach	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O DASS ICH TAUSEND	Kornelius Heinrich Dretzel	Lutheran
299	Dear Father, Who hast Made Us All	Albert Knapp	Lutheran	William Czamanske	Lutheran	HERR JESU CHRIST, DICH	Anon., *Cantionale Germanicur*	Lutheran
300	Dearest Jesus, We Are Here	Benjamin Schmolck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	LIEBSTER JESU	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran
301	He that Believes and is Baptized	Thomas Kingo	Lutheran (Danish	George T. Rygh	Lutheran	ES IST DAS HEIL	Anon., 15th century German h	Pre-Refromation Ca
302	The Savior Kindly Calls	Philip Doddridge, adapted by Her	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	FRANCONIA	Anon., found in *Harmonischer*	Lutheran
303	This Child We Dedicate to Thee	attr. to Christoph Friedrich Neand	Lutheran (Rationa	Samuel Gilman	Unitarian	UXBRIDGE	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
304	An Awe-full Mystery Is Here	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	ST. CRISPIN	George J. Elvey	Anglican

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
305	Soul, Adorn Thyself with Gladness	Johann Franck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth, alt. (poss.	Anglican (Lutheran	SCHMÜCKE DICH	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
306	Lord Jesus Christ, Thou hast Prepared	Samuel Kinner	Lutheran	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	HERR JESU CHRIST, DU HAST BEREI	Peter Sohren	Lutheran
307	Draw Nigh and Take the Body of the Lord	Anon., Latin Irish hymn c. 680	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	OLD 124TH	Attr. Louis Bourgeois (possibly	Evangelical (Reform
308	Invited, Lord, by Boundless Grace	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	DAS WALT' GOTT VATER	Daniel Vetter	Lutheran
309	O Jesus, Blessed Lord, to Thee	Thomas Kingo	Lutheran (Danish	Arthur J. Mason	Anglican	OLD HUNDREDTH	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
310	Thy Table I Approach	Gerhard Walther Molanus	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	ST. MICHAEL	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
311	Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior	Martin Luther (based on Jan Huss	Lutheran	Composite (based in part on Ric	Unknown (Anglica	JESUS CHRISTUS, UNSER HEILAND	Martin Luther	Lutheran
312	Lord Jesus Christ, Thou Living Bread	Johann Rist	Lutheran	Arthur Tozer Russell	Anglican	HERR, WIE DU WILLST	Matthäus Greitter	Lutheran
313	O Lord, We Praise Thee	Martin Luther (vs. 1 15th century p	Lutheran (Pre-Re	Composite	Lutheran	GOTT SEI GELOBET	Martin Luther (based on pre-R	Lutheran
314	Lord Jesus Christ, We Humbly Pray	Henry Eyster Jacobs	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	HERR JESU CHRIST, DICH	Anon., *Cantionale Germanicur*	Lutheran
315	I Come, O Savior, to Thy Table	Friedrich C. Heyder	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	ICH STERBE TÄGLICH	Anon., found in *Emskirchner C*	Lutheran
316	O Living Bread from Heaven	Johann Rist	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	NUN LOB, MEIN' SEEL'	Johann Kugelmann	Lutheran
317	Alas, My God, My Sins Are Great	Martin Rutilius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	ACH GOTT UND HERR	*Anon.,* altered from German tu	Lutheran
318	Before Thee, God, Who Knowest All	Magnus B. Landstad	Lutheran	Carl Döving	Lutheran	VATER UNSER	Martin Luther	Lutheran
319	In Thee Alone, O Christ, My Lord	Johannes Schneesing	Lutheran	Arthur T. Russell	Anglican	ALLEIN ZU DIR	Anon., Broadsheet, Wittenber	Lutheran
320	Lord Jesus, Think on Me	Synesius of Cyrene, d. 480	Pre-Schism Orth	Allen W. Chatfield	Anglican	SOUTHWELL	William Daman	Anglican
321	O Faithful God, Thanks Be to Thee	Nikolaus Selnecker	Lutheran	Conrad Herman Louis Schuette	Lutheran	WENN WIR IN HÖCHSTEN NÖTEN	Anon., first found in the *Genev*	Evangelical (Reform
322	And Wilt Thou Pardon, Lord	Joseph the Hymnographer	Orthodox	John Mason Neale	Anglican	ST. BRIDE	Samuel Howard	Anglican
323	With Broken Heart and Contrite Sigh	Cornelius Elven	Baptist	N/A	N/A	ST. LUKE	Jeremiah Clarke	Anglican
324	Jesus Sinners Doth Receive	Erdmann Neumeister	Lutheran	Fredrick William Herzberger	Lutheran	MEINEN JESUM LASS' ICH NICHT	Att. Christian Friedrich Witt; fo	Lutheran
325	O thou that Hear'st when Sinners Cry	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	HAMBURG	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
326	Lord, to Thee I Make Confession	Johann Franck	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	HERR, ICH HABE MISSGEHANDELT	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
327	Out of the Deep I Call	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SOUTHWELL	William Daman	Anglican
328	O Jesus, Lamb of God, Thou Art	Bartholomäus Helder	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	WEIMAR	C. P. Emmanuel Bach	Lutheran
329	From Depths of Woe I Cry to Thee	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	AUS TIEFER NOT	Martin Luther	Lutheran
330	I Come to Thee, O Blessed Lord	Magnus B. Landstad	Lutheran	Carl Döving	Lutheran	WENN WIR IN HÖCHSTEN NÖTEN	Anon., first found in the *Genev*	Evangelical (Reform
331	Yea, as I Live, Jehovah Saith	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	ST. LUKE	Jeremiah Clarke	Anglican
332	Arm These Thy Soldiers, Mighty Lord	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ERHALT UNS, HERR	Martin Luther	Lutheran
333	Blessed Savior, Who hast Taught Me	John Mason Neale	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O DU LIEBE	Johannes Thommen	Pietist (Swiss Refor
334	Let Me Be Thine Forever	Nikolaus Selnecker	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	ICH DANK' DIR, LIEBER HERRE	Anon., published in Valentin S	Lutheran*
335	My Maker, Be Thou Nigh	Johann Jacob Rambach	Lutheran	Rebekah Hope, nèe Morley, Tay	Nonconformist	MEIN SCHÖPFER, STEH MIR BEI	Franz Heinrich Christoph Mey	Lutheran*
336	My God, Accept My Heart This Day	Matthew Bridges	Anglican	N/A	N/A	WINCHESTER OLD	Att. George Kirbye, first found	Anglican
337	Our Lord and God, Oh, Bless This Day	Johan N. Brun	Lutheran	George T. Rygh; Carl Döving	Lutheran	REUTER	Fritz Reuter	Lutheran
338	Thine Forever, God of Love	Mary F. Maude	Anglican	N/A	N/A	VIENNA	Justin Heinrich Knecht	Lutheran
339	All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name	Edward Perronet	Independent	N/A	N/A	CORONATION	Oliver Holden	Baptist
340	Awake, My Soul, to Joyful Lays	Samuel Medley	Baptist	N/A	N/A	O HEILIGE DREIFALTIGKEIT	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
341	Crown Him with Many Crowns	Matthew Bridges	Anglican	N/A	N/A	DIADEMATA	George Job Elvey	Anglican
342	Chief of Sinners Though I Be	William McComb	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	GETHSEMANE	Richard Redhead	Anglican
343	How Lovely Shines the Morning Star	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	Henry Harbaugh ("Composite")	Reformed (Calvini	WIE SCHÖN LEUCHTET	Phillip Nicolai	Lutheran

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
344	Come Let Us Join Our Cheerful Songs	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	NUN DANKET ALL'	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
345	Jesus, Lover of My Soul	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MARTYN	Simeon Butler Marsh	Presbyterian
346	Jesus! and Shall It Ever Be	Joseph Grigg, alt. by Benjamin Fr	Presbyterian, Bap	N/A	N/A	FEDERAL STREET	Henry Kemble Oliver	Congregationalist /
347	Jesus, Priceless Treasure	Johann Franck	Lutheran	Composite, based on Catherine	Anglican	JESU, MEINE FREUDE	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
348	Jesus, Jesus, Only Jesus	Ludämilia Elisabeth	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	JESUS, JESUS, NICHTS ALS JESUS	Anon., *Vollkommenes Choralb*	Lutheran
349	Jesus, Thy Boundless Love to Me	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Wesley	Anglican	VATER UNSER	Martin Luther	Lutheran
350	Jesus, the Very Thought of Thee	attr. to St. Bernard of Clairvaux	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	CLAIRVAUX	Herman Adolph Polack	Lutheran
351	Love Divine, All Love Excelling	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O DU LIEBE	Johannes Thommen	Pietist (Swiss Refor
352	O Savior, Precious Savior	Frances R. Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ANGEL'S STORY	Arthur H. Mann	Anglican
353	Lord Jesus Christ, My Savior Blest	Hans C. Sthen	Lutheran	Harriet R. Spaeth	Lutheran	HERRE JESU KRIST	Ludvig M. Lindeman	Lutheran
354	In the Cross of Christ I Glory	John Bowring	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	RATHBUN	Ithamar Conkey	Baptist
355	Thou Art the Way; to Thee Alone	George Washington Doane	Episcopalian (An	N/A	N/A	DUNDEE	Anon, first found in the *Scottis*	Anglican
356	Jesus, Savior, Come to Me	Johann Scheffler (aka Angelus Sil	Lutheran (becam	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	GOTT SEI DANK	Anon., found in *Geist-reiches* (	Lutheran
357	Jesus, Thou Art Mine Forever	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	STUTTGART	Anon., att. to Christian Friedric	Lutheran
358	Lamb of God, We Fall before Thee	Joseph Hart	Calvinist	N/A	N/A	RINGE RECHT	Anon., first appears in Johann	Reformed (Lutheran
359	Christ, Whose Glory Fills the Skies	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	RATISBON	Johann Gottlob Werner	Lutheran
360	Oh, for a Thousand Tongues to Sing	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	BEATITUDO	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican
361	O Jesus, King Most Wonderful	attr. to St. Bernard of Clairvaux	Pre-Reformation	Edward Caswall	Catholic (converte	ST. AGNES	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican
362	My Soul's Best Friend, What Joy and Bles	Wolfgang Christoph Dessler	Lutheran*	Composite	Lutheran	WIE WOHL IST MIR	Attr. to Christian Friedrich Rich	Lutheran (Pietist)
363	To Our Redeemer's Glorious Name	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	BEDFORD	William Wheall	Anglican
364	How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. PETER	Alexander Robert Reinagle	Anglican
365	Jesus, I Will Never Leave	Christian Keimann	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran*	MEINEN JESUM LASS' ICH NICHT	Anon, found in the Darmstadt	Lutheran
366	One Thing's Needful; Lord, This Treasure	Johann Heinrich Schröder	Lutheran	Frances E. Cox	Anglican	EINS IST NOT	Freidrich Layriz	Lutheran
367	Hail, Thou Once Despised Jesus	John Bakewell, alt. by Augustus M	Methodist, Anglic	N/A	N/A	O DURCHBRECHER	Att. Johann Anastasius Freylin	Lutheran
368	The Lord My Pasture Shall Prepare	Joseph Addison	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SURREY	Henry Carey	Anglican
369	All Mankind Fell in Adam's Fall	Loosely Based on Lazarus Speng	Lutheran	Matthias Loy*	Lutheran	WENN WIR IN HÖCHSTEN NÖTEN	Anon., first found in the *Genev*	Evangelical (Reform
370	My Hope is Built on Nothing Less	Edward Mote	Baptist	N/A	N/A	MAGDALEN	John Stainer	Anglican
371	Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness	Nicolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzen	Moravian	John Wesley	Anglican	ST. CRISPIN	George J. Elvey	Anglican
372	Through Jesus' Blood and Merit	Simon Dach	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	ICH DANK' DIR, LIEBER HERRE	Anon., published in Valentin S	Lutheran*
373	By Grace I'm Saved, Grace Free and Bour	Christian Ludwig Scheidt	Lutheran	Matthias Loy	Lutheran	O DASS ICH TAUSEND (Dretzel)	Kornelius Heinrich Dretzel	Lutheran
374	Grace! 'Tis a Charming Sound	vv. 1, 2. 4. 6: Philip Doddridge and	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ENERGY	William Henry Monk	Anglican
375	If Thy Beloved Son, O God	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Composite, inc. Anna Hoppe	Lutheran	NUN FREUT EUCH	Martin Luther	Lutheran
376	Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me	Augustus Montague Toplady	Anglican	N/A	N/A	TOPLADY	Thomas Hastings	Presbyterian
377	Salvation unto Us has Come	Paul Speratus	Lutheran	John Theodore Mueller	Lutheran	ES IST DAS HEIL	Anon., 15th century German h	Pre-Reformation Ca
378	All that I Was, My Sin, My Guilt	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	ST. BERNARD	Att. John Richardson, *Tochter*	Catholic
379	I Do Not Come Because My Soul	Frank B. St. John (First published	Unknown (Presby	N/A	N/A	KOMMT HER ZU MIR	Anon., Contrafactum att. to Li	Secular (Lutheran)
380	Thy Works, Not Mine, O Christ	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	ST. JOHN	William Henry Havergal	Anglican
381	I Know My Faith is Founded	Erdmann Neumeister	Lutheran	Composite (First appears in *TLH*	Unknown (Luthera	NUN LOB, MEIN' SEEL'	Johann Kugelmann	Lutheran
382	Lord, We Confess Our Numerous Faults	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. FLAVIAN	Anon., first published in John	Anglican

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
383	Seek Where Ye May to Find a Way	Georg Weissel	Lutheran	Arthur Paul Voss	Lutheran	SUCH', WER DA WILL	Johann Stobäus	Lutheran
384	Oh, How Great Is Thy Compassion	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	ACH, WAS SOLL ICH SÜNDER MACH	Johann Flittner	Lutheran
385	Now I have Found the Firm Foundation	Johann Andreas Rothe	Lutheran	Gottlob Frederick Krotel	Lutheran	O DASS ICH TAUSEND	Johann Balthasar König	Lutheran
386	My Savior Sinners Doth Receive	Leopold Franz Friedrich Lehr	Lutheran	Anna Hoppe	Lutheran	MEIN HEILAND	Anon., *Musikalischer Christens*	Lutheran
387	Dear Christians, One and All, Rejoice	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	NUN FREUT EUCH	Martin Luther	Lutheran
388a	Just as I Am, without One Plea	Charlotte Elliott	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. CRISPIN	George J. Elvey	Anglican
388b	Just as I Am, without One Plea	Charlotte Elliott	Anglican	N/A	N/A	WOODWORTH	William Batchelder Bradbury	Baptist
389	Not What These Hands have Done	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	ST. BRIDE	Samuel Howard	Anglican
390	Drawn to the Cross, which Thou hast Bles	Genevieve Mary Irons	Catholic	N/A	N/A	DUNSTAN	Joseph Barnby	Anglican
391	Blessed Are the Sons of God	Joseph Humphreys	Moravian	N/A	N/A	VOLLER WUNDER	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran
392	Blest is the Man, Forever Blest	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	O JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon, first found in the Nurnb	Lutheran
393	From God Shall Naught Divide Me	Ludwig Helmbold	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	VON GOTT WILL ICH NICHT LASSEN	Anon., apparently a French fol	Secular (Lutheran)
394	My Faith Looks Up to Thee	Ray Palmer	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	OLIVET	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
395	O God, Thou Faithful God	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth, alt.	Anglican	O GOTT, DU FROMMER GOTT (II)	Anon., possibly as early as 16	Lutheran
396	Oh, for a Faith That Will Not Shrink	William Hiley Bathurst	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. PETER	Alexander Robert Reinagle	Anglican
397	O Love, Who Madest Me to Wear	Johann Scheffler (aka Angelus Sil	Lutheran (becam	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	HEUT' TRIUMPHIERET GOTTES SOH	Bartholomäus Gesius	Lutheran
398	Renew Me, O Eternal Light	Johann Friedrich Ruopp	Lutheran	August Crull, d. 1923; Johann F	Lutheran	HERR JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon., first appears as a chora	Lutheran (Pre-Refo
399	Thee Will I Love, My Strength, My Tower	Johann Scheffler (aka Angelus Sil	Lutheran (becam	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	ICH WILL DICH LIEBEN	Anon., first appears in König's	Lutheran
400	Take My Life and Let It Be	Frances Ridley Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A	PATMOS	William Henry Havergal	Anglican
401	Praise to Thee and Adoration	Thomas Kingo	Lutheran (Danish	Kristen Kvamme	Lutheran	FREU DICH SEHR	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
402	O God, Forsake Me Not	Salomo Franck	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	O GOTT, DU FROMMER GOTT (II)	Anon., possibly as early as 16	Lutheran
403	Savior, Thy Dying Love	Sylvanus Dryden Phelps	Baptist	N/A	N/A	WINTERTON	Joseph Barnby	Anglican
404	Soul, What Return Has God, Thy Savior	Karl Friedrich Lochner	Lutheran	Compilation	(Lutheran*)	O DASS ICH TAUSEND	Kornelius Heinrich Dretzel	Lutheran
405	I Gave My Life for Thee	Frances Ridley Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A	OLD 120TH	Anon., *The Whole Book of Psa*	Anglican
406	Lord, as Thou Wilt, Deal Thou with Me	Kaspar Bienemann	Lutheran	Emanuel Cronenwett	Lutheran	HERR, WIE DU WILLST	Matthäus Greitter	Lutheran
407	Farewell I Gladly Bid Thee	Valerius Herberger	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	VALET WILL ICH DIR GEBEN	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran
408	Jesus Christ, My Pride and Glory	Johann Olearius	Lutheran	Paul E. Kretzmann	Lutheran	ACH, WAS SOLL ICH SÜNDER MACH	Johann Flittner	Lutheran
409	Let Us Ever Walk with Jesus	Sigismund von Birken	Lutheran	John Adam Rimbach	Lutheran	LASSET UNS MIT JESU ZIEHEN	Georg Gottfried (or Gabriel Gc	Lutheran
410	Jesus, Lead Thou On	Nicolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzen	Moravian	Jane Borthwick	Presbyterian	SEELENBRÄUTIGAM	Adam Drese	Lutheran (Pietist)
411	From Eternity, O God	Caspar Neumann	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	LIEBSTER JESU	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran
412	May We Thy Precepts, Lord, Fulfil	Edward Osler	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MERIBAH	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
413	I Walk in Danger All the Way	Hans Adolph Brorson	Lutheran (Pietist)	Ditlef Georgson Ristad	Lutheran	DER LIEBEN SONNE LICHT UND PRA	Att. Christian Scriver (first app	Lutheran (Pietist)
414	The Man Is Ever Blest	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. MICHAEL	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
415	Lo, Many Shall Come from the East and th	Magnus Brostrup Landstad	Lutheran	Peer O. Strömme	Lutheran	DER MANGE SKAL KOMME (STOCKH	Anon., *Swenska Psalm-Boken*	Lutheran
416	Oh, that the Lord Would Guide My Ways	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	EVAN	William Henry Havergal	Anglican
417	How Can I Thank Thee, Lord	vv. 1-5, 7: att. to David Denicke; v	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	O GOTT, DU FROMMER GOTT (II)	Anon., possibly as early as 16	Lutheran
418	My God, My Father, While I Stray	Charlotte Elliott	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ES IST KEIN TAG	Johann David Meyer (*Geistlich*	Lutheran*
419	O'er Jerusalem thou Weepest	Anna Hoppe	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	FREU DICH SEHR	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
420	My Jesus, as Thou Wilt	Benjamin Schmolck	Lutheran	Jane Borthwick	Presbyterian	DENBY	Charles James Dale	Methodist

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
421	Come, Follow Me, the Savior Spake	Johann Scheffler (aka Angelus Sil	Lutheran (becam	Charles William Schaeffer	Lutheran	MACH'S MIT MIR, GOTT	Johann Hermann Schein	Lutheran
422	Savior, I Follow On	Charles S. Robinson	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	WINTERTON	Joseph Barnby	Anglican
423	Jesus, I My Cross have Taken	Henry Francis Lyte	Anglican	N/A	N/A	HYFRYDOL	Rowland Hugh Prichard	Anglican
424	My God, My Father, Make Me Strong	Frederick Mann (first Appears in S	(Anglican)	N/A	N/A	ES IST KEIN TAG	Johann David Meyer (*Geistlich*	Lutheran*
425	All Depends On Our Possessing	Anon., c. 1673 (Nuremberg Hymn	(Lutheran)	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	ALLES IST AN GOTTES SEGEN	Johann Löhner	Lutheran
426	The Lord My Shepherd Is	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	POTSDAM	Att. to Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
427	How Firm a Foundation, Ye Saints of the L	Att. Richard Keen	Baptist (English)	N/A	N/A	FIRM FOUNDATION	Bernhard Schumacher	Lutheran
428	I am Trusting Thee, Lord Jesus	Frances Ridley Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A	STEPHANOS	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican
429	Lord, Thee I Love with All My Heart	Martin Schalling	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	HERZLICH LIEB HAB' ICH DICH, O HE	Matthias Gastritz	Lutheran
430	What Is the World to Me	Georg Michael Pfefferkorn	Lutheran	August Crull, alt.	Lutheran	WAS FRAG' ICH NACH DER WELT	Ahasverus Fritsch	Lutheran
431	The King of Love My Shepherd Is	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ICH DANK' DIR SCHON	Michael Prätorius	Lutheran
432	In Hope My soul, Redeemed to Bliss Uner	Elle Andersdatter	Lutheran	George Henry Trabert	Lutheran	NORRLAND (I HOPPET SIG MIN FRÄL	Anon., northern melody, 16th (	Lutheran
433	Jesus, My Truth, My Way	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SWABIA	Johann Martin Spiess	Swiss Reformed
434	O God of Jacob, by Whose Hand	Stzs. 1-4, Philip Doddridge; recas	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. SAVIOR	Frederick George Baker	Anglican
435	My Spirit on Thy Care	Henry Francis Lyte	Anglican	N/A	N/A	POTSDAM	Att. to Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
436	The Lord's My Shepherd, I'll Not Want	Francis Rous	Anglican	N/A	N/A	BELMONT	William Gardiner	Anglican*
437	Who Trusts in God, a Strong Abode	Stz. 1, Joachim Magdeburg; Stz. 2	Lutheran	Benjamin Hall Kennedy	Anglican	WAS MEIN GOTT WILL	Att. Claudin de Sermisy	(Pre-Reformation) C
438	Almighty Father, Heaven and Earth	Edward Arthur Dayman	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O HEILIGE DREFALTIGKEIT	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
439	O God of Mercy, God of Might	Godfrey Thring	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ISLEWORTH	Samuel Howard	Anglican
440	Lord, Lead the Way the Savior Went	William Croswell	Anglican (Episcop	N/A	N/A	FARRANT	Richard Farrant	Anglican
441	We Give Thee But Thine Own	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ENERGY	William Henry Monk	Anglican
442	Lord of Glory, Who hast Bought Us	Eliza Sibbald Alderson	Anglican	N/A	N/A	HYFRYDOL	Rowland Hugh Prichard	Anglican
443	O Lord of Heaven and Earth and Sea	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ES IST KEIN TAG	Johann David Meyer (*Geistlich*	Lutheran*
444	Rise! To Arms! With Prayer Employ You	Wilhelm Erasmus Arends	Lutheran	John Morrison Sloan	Presbyterian (Free	WACHET AUF	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran
445	Am I a Soldier of the Cross	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	WINCHESTER OLD	Att. George Kirbye, first found	Anglican
446	Rise, My Soul, to Watch and Pray	Johann Burchard Freystein	Pietist (Lutheran)	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	STRAF MICH NICHT	Att. Johann Rosenmüller, appe	Lutheran
447	Fight the Good Fight with All Thy Might	John Samuel Bewley Monsell	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MENDON	Anon. German tune, arr. by Sa	Baptist (English / A
448	Brief Life Is Here Our Portion	St. Bernard of Cluny	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	EWING	Alexander Ewing	Anglican
449	My Soul, Be on Thy Guard	George Heath	Presbyterian (Eng	N/A	N/A	SCHUMANN	Att. Robert Schumann	Atheist (Raised Chr
450	Soldiers of Christ, Arise	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	AYNHOE	James Nares	Anglican
451	Stand Up! - Stand Up for Jesus	George Duffield	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	WEBB	George James Webb	Congregationalist
452	The Son of God Goes Forth to War	Reginald Heber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ALL SAINTS NEW	Henry Stephen Cutler	Anglican
453	We Are the Lord's; His All-Sufficient Merit	Karl Johann Johann Philipp Spitta	Pietist (Lutheran)	Charles Tamberlane Astley	Anglican* (apparer	EIRENE	Frances Ridley Havergal	Anglican
454	Prayer Is the Soul's Sincere Desire	James Montgomery	Moravian (English	N/A	N/A	BURFORD	Leonard Burford	Church of Christ (C
455	Our Heavenly Father, Hear	James Montgomery	Moravian (English	N/A	N/A	ST. BRIDE	Samuel Howard	Anglican
456	Approach, My Soul, the Mercy Seat	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SPOHR	Louis Spohr	Lutheran* (Freemas
457	What a Friend We Have in Jesus	Joseph Medlicott Scriven	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	FRIEND	Charles C. Converse	Congregationalist*
458	Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	VATER UNSER	Martin Luther	Lutheran
459	Come, My soul, Thy Suit Prepare	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	VIENNA	Justin Heinrich Knecht	Lutheran

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
460	Behold the sure Foundation-Stone	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. ANNE	Attr. William Croft	Anglican
461	Hark! the Church Proclaims her Honor	Johann Samuel Preiswerk	Reformed (Germa	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	LOBT DEN HERRN, DIE MORGENSON	Anon., *Evangelisches Gelische*	Lutheran (poss. Pie
462	I Love Thy Kingdom, Lord	Timothy Dwight	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	ST. THOMAS	Aaron Williams	Church of Scotland
463	For All the Saints Who From Their Labors	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SINE NOMINE	Ralph Vaughan Williams	Anglican*
464	Blest Be the Tie That Binds	John Fawcett	Bapstist (English)	N/A	N/A	BOYLSTON	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
465	Christ Is Our Corner-Stone	Anon. Latin hymn, c. 8th century,	Pre-Reformation	John Chandler	Anglican	DARWALL'S 148TH	John Darwall	Anglican
466	Christ, Thou Art the Sure Foundation	Anon. Latin hymn, c. 8th century,	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	REGENT SQUARE	Henry Thomas Smart	Anglican
467	Built on the Rock the Church doth Stand	Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig	Lutheran	Carl Döving	Lutheran	KIRKEN DEN ER ET	Ludvig Mathias Lindeman	Lutheran
468	For All Thy Saints, O Lord	Richard Mant	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ENERGY	William Henry Monk	Anglican
469	Glorious Things of Thee are Spoken	John Newton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	GALILEAN	Joseph Barnby	Anglican
470	Rise Again, Ye Lion-Hearted	Att. Gottfried Arnold (appears as A	Lutheran	Martin Franzmann	Lutheran	LÖWEN, LASST EUCH WIEDERFINDE	Bernhard Joseph Klein	Catholic
471	Hark! the Sound of Holy Voices	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O DURCHBRECHER	Att. Johann Anastasius Freylin	Lutheran
472	Rise, Ye Children of Salvation	Justus Falckner	Lutheran	Emma Frances Bevan	Anglican	NEANDER	Joachim Neander	Pietist (Reformed/ L
473	The Church's One Foundation	Samuel John Stone	Anglican	N/A	N/A	AURELIA	Samuel Sebastian Wesley	Anglican
474	Zion Stands by Hills Surrounded	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ZION	Thomas Morely	Anglican
475	Ye Watchers and Ye Holy Ones	John Athelstan Laurie Riley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	LASST UNS ERFREUEN	Anon., found in *Auserlesene,* (	Catholic
476	Ten Thousand Times Ten Thousand	Henry Alford	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ALFORD	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican
477	Lord Jesus, Thou the Church's Head	Johann Mentzer	Lutheran	William John Schaefer	Lutheran	REUTER	Fritz Reuter	Lutheran
478	The Saints on Earth and Those Above	Stz. 1, Isaac Watts, alt.; stzs. 2-5,	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. FLAVIAN	Anon., first published in John	Anglican
479	Zion, Rise, Zion, Rise	Johann Eusebius Schmidt	Lutheran	William Martin Czamanske	Lutheran	FAHRE FORT	Att. Johann Anastasius Freylin	Lutheran
480	Lord of the Worlds Above	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	DARWALL'S 148TH	John Darwall	Anglican
481	Through the Night of Doubt and Sorrow	Bernhardt Severin Ingemann	Lutheran*	Sabine Baring-Gould	Anglican	BALTIMORE	Bernhard Schumacher	Lutheran
482	Dear Lord, to Thy True Servants Give	William Gustave Polack	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	VATER UNSER	Martin Luther	Lutheran
483	God of the Prophets, Bless the Prophet's	Denis Wortman	Reformed (Calvin	N/A	N/A	OLD 124TH	Attr. Louis Bourgeois (possibly from a popular	Evangelical (Reform
484	We Bid Thee Welcome in the Name	James Montgomery	Moravian (Englis	N/A	N/A	HERR JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon., first appears as a chora	Lutheran (Pre-Refo
485	Lord Jesus, Who Art come	Eberhard Ludwig Fischer	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran*	O GOTT, DU FROMMER GOTT (II)	Anon., possibly as early as 16	Lutheran
486	O Thou Whose Feet have Climbed Life's H	Louis FitzGerald Benson	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	DUNDEE	Anon, first found in the *Scottis*	Anglican
487	How Beauteous Are Their Feet	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ST. MICHAEL	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
488	Lord of the Harvest, Hear	Charles Wesley	Anglican	N/A	N/A	AYNHOE	James Nares	Anglican
489	Lord of the Church, We Humbly Pray	Edward Osler	Anglican	N/A	N/A	KOMMT HER ZU MIR	Anon., Contrafactum att. to Li	Secular (Lutheran)
490	Pour Out Thy Spirit from On High	James Montgomery	Moravian (Englis	N/A	N/A	O JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon, first found in the Nurnb	Lutheran
491	Send, O Lord, Thy Holy Spirit	Anon. (found in *Lieder-Perlen*, 189	(Lutheran)	Frederick W. Herzberger	Lutheran	WERDE MUNTER	Johann Schop	Lutheran
492	Lord of the Living Harvest	John Samuel Bewley Monsell	Anglican	N/A	N/A	AURELIA	Samuel Sebastian Wesley	Anglican
493	Thou Who the Night in Prayer Didst Spend	Christopher Wordsworth	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. PETERSBURG	Dimitri Stepanovitch Bortnians	Russian Orthodox
494	Awake, Thou Spirit, Who Didst Fire	Carl Heinrich von Bogatzky	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	ALL EHR' UND LOB	Anon., found in *Kirchengesang*	Lutheran
495	From Greenland's Icy Mountains	Reginald Heber	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MISSIONARY HYMN	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
496	Hark! the Voice of Jesus Crying	Daniel March (stz. 3 unknown)	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	GALILEAN	Joseph Barnby	Anglican
497	The Morning Light is Breaking	Samuel Francis Smith	Baptist	N/A	N/A	WEBB	George James Webb	Congregationalist
498	Rise, Thou Light of Gentile Nations	Hermann Fick	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran*	O DU LIEBE	Johannes Thommen	Pietist (Swiss Refor

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
499	Look from Thy Sphere of Endless Day	William Cullen Bryant	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	ST. CRISPIN	George J. Elvey	Anglican
500	May God Bestow on Us His Grace	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	ES WOLL' UNS GOTT GENÄDIG SEIN	Martin Luther	Lutheran
501	Soldiers of the Cross, Arise	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	GOTT SEE DANK	Anon., found in *Geist-reiches*	Lutheran
502	Saints of God, the Dawn is Brightening	Mary E. Hamlin Maxwell	Anglican (Episcop	N/A	N/A	REGENT SQUARE	Henry Thomas Smart	Anglican
503	Rise, Crowned with Light, Imperial Salem,	Alexander Pope	Catholic	N/A	N/A	OLD 124TH	Attr. Louis Bourgeois (possibly	Evangelical (Reform
504	O Spirit of the Living God	James Montgomery	Moravian (English	N/A	N/A	MELCOMBE	Samuel Webbe	Catholic
505	O'er the Gloomy Hills of Darkness	William Williams	Methodist (Welsh	N/A	N/A	GUIDE ME	George William Warren	Episcopal (Anglican
506	Send Thou, O Lord, to Every Place	Mary C. Gates	Refromed Church	N/A	N/A	ISLEWORTH	Samuel Howard	Anglican
507	Spread, Oh, Spread, Thou Mighty Word	Jonathan Friedrich Bahnmaier	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	HÖCHSTER PRIESTER	Anon., found in the *Choral-Bu*	Moravian*
508	Thou Whose Almighty Word	John Marriott	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ITALIAN HYMN	Felice de Giardini	Catholic
509	There Still Is Room	Anon., c. 1673 (Nuremberg Hymn	Lutheran	William M. Czamanske	Lutheran	ES IST GENUG	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran
510	Savior, Sprinkle Many Nations	Arthur Cleveland Coxe	Anglican (Episcop	W. Gustave Polack	Lutheran	O DU LIEBE	Johannes Thommen	Pietist (Swiss Refor
511	Jesus Shall Reign Where'er the Sun	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	DUKE STREET	John Hatton	Presbyterian*
512	O Christ, Our True and Only Light	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	O JESU CHRIST, MEIN'S	Anon, first found in the Nurnb	Lutheran
513	Art Thou Weary, Art Thou Troubled	John Mason Neale	Anglican	N/A	N/A	STEPHANOS	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican
514	God Moves in a Mysterious Way	William Cowper	Anglican	N/A	N/A	DUNDEE	Anon, first found in the *Scottis*	Anglican
515	O Thou from whom All Goodness Flows	Thomas Haweis	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. BERNARD	Att. to John Richardson, *Tochi*	Catholic
516	In the Hour of Trial	James Montgomery	Moravian (English	N/A	N/A	ST. MARY MAGDALENE	John Bacchus Dykes	Anglican
517	The Will of God Is Always Best	Albrecht II Alcibiades	Evangelical (Luth	Composite	Lutheran*	WAS MEIN GOTT WILL	Att. Claudin de Sermisy	(Pre-Reformation) C
518	If Thou But Suffer God to Guide Thee	Georg Neumark	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	WER NUR DEN LIEBEN GOTT	Georg Neumark	Lutheran
519	Beloved, "It Is Well!"	George Washington Doane	Episcopal	N/A	N/A	CAMBRIDGE	Ralph Harrison	Nonconformist
520	Commit Whatever Grieves Thee	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite, inc. John Kelly	Presbyterian (Angl	HERZLICH TUT MICH	Hans L. Hassler	Lutheran
521	What God Ordains Is Always Good	Samuel Rodigast	Lutheran	Composite, inc. Catherine Wink	Anglican	WAS GOTT TUT	Severus Gastorius	Lutheran
522	When in the Hour of Utmost Need	Paul Eber	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	WENN WIR IN HÖCHSTEN NÖTEN	Anon., first found in the *Genev*	Evangelical (Reform
523	Why Should Cross and Trial Grieve Me	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	WARUM SOLLT' ICH MICH DENN GRÄ	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran
524	In Thee, Lord, have I Put My Trust	Adam Reissner	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	IN DICH HAB' ICH GEHOFFET	Sunderreiter's *Himmlische har*	Lutheran
525	As Pants the Hart for Cooling Streams	Anon., from *Tate and Brady's New*	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SPOHR	Louis Spohr	Lutheran* (Freemas
526	In God, My Faithful God	Sigismund Weingärtner	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	AUF MEINEN LIEBEN GOTT	Jacob Regnart	Catholic
527	Lord, It Belongs Not to My Care	Richard Baxter	Non-Conformist	N/A	N/A	ST. BERNARD	Att. to John Richardson, *Tochi*	Catholic
528	If God Himself Be For Me	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Richard Massie	Anglican	VALET WILL ICH DIR GEBEN	Melchior Teschner	Lutheran
529	I Leave All Things to God's Direction	Salomo Franck	Lutheran	August Crull	Lutheran	WER NUR DEN LIEBEN GOTT	Georg Neumark	Lutheran
530	Thy Ways, O Lord, with Wise Design	Ambrose Searle	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. LUKE	Jeremiah Clarke	Anglican
531	Come, Ye Disconsolate	Thomas Moore (stzs. 1-2); Thoma	Catholic, Presbyt	N/A	N/A	ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER	Samuel Webbe	Catholic
532	Thy Way, Not Mine, O Lord	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	ICH HALTE TREULICH STILL	attr. to Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
533	Nearer, My God, to Thee	Sarah Flower Adams (stzs. 1-2); H	Unitarian; Dutch	N/A	N/A	BETHANY	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
534	God of My Life, to Thee I Call	William Cowper; (anon. stz. 6)	Anglican	N/A	N/A	WENN WIR IN HÖCHSTEN NÖTEN	Anon., first found in the *Genev*	Evangelical (Reform
535	Rejoice, My heart, Be Glad and Sing	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	ICH SINGE DIR	Att. Johann Balthasar König (H	Lutheran
536	Awake, My Soul, and with the Sun	Thomas Ken	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MORNING HYMN	François-Hippolyte Barthélém	Anglican
537	Every Morning Mercies New	Greville Phillimore	Anglican	N/A	N/A	VOLLER WUNDER	Johann Georg Ebeling	Lutheran

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
538	Now the Shades of Night are Gone	Samson Occum	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	VIENNA	Justin Heinrich Knecht	Lutheran
539	Come, Thou Bright and Morning Star	Christian Knorr von Rosenroth	Lutheran* (Christ	Richard Massie	Anglican	MORGENGLANZ DER EWIGHEIT	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran
540	With the Lord Begin Thy Task	Anon., found in *Morgen-und Aber*	Lutheran	W. Gustave Polack	Lutheran	FANG DEIN WERK	Peter Frank	Lutheran
541	O Blessed Holy Trinity	Martin Behm	Lutheran	Conrad H. L. Schuette	Lutheran	O HEILIGE DREIFALTIGKEIT	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
542	The Sun Arises Now	Thomas Kingo	Lutheran (Danish	P. C. Paulsen	Lutheran	NU RINDER SOLEN OP	Hartnack O. K. Zinck	Lutheran
543	When, Streaming from the Easter Skies	William Shrubsole	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	ALL EHR' UND LOB	Anon., found in *Kirchengesan*	Lutheran
544	While Yet the Morn is Breaking	Johann Mühlmann	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	GEDULD, DIE SOLL'N WIR HABEN	Anon., first found in *Geistliche*	Lutheran
545	The Morning Sun is Brightly Beaming	Anon., found in the *Finnish Hymna*	Lutheran	Gustaf A. Aho	Lutheran	O DASS ICH TAUSEND	Kornelius Heinrich Dretzel	Lutheran
546	How Lovely Shines the Morning Star	Burkhard Wiesenmeyer, recast of	Lutheran	Frances E. Cox	Anglican	WIE SCHÖN LEUCHTET	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran
547	The Radiant Sun Shines in the Skies	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran*	DIE HELLE SONN' LEUCHT''T	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran
548	My Inmost Heart Now Raises	Georg Nigidius	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	AUS MEINES HERZENS GRUNDE	David Wolder	Lutheran
549	God, Who Madest Earth and Heaven	Heinrich Albert	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	GOTT DES HIMMELS	Heinrich Albert	Lutheran
550	O Splendor of God's Glory Bright	St. Ambrose, d. 307	Pre-Reformation	Robert Seymour Bridges	Anglican	O HEILIGE DREIFALTIGKEIT	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
551	Sun of My Soul, Thou Savior Dear	John Keble	Anglican	N/A	N/A	HURSLEY	Anon., adapted from "Grosser	Catholic
552	Abide with Me! Fast Falls the Eventide	Henry F. Lyte	Anglican	N/A	N/A	EVENTIDE	William Henry Monk	Anglican
553	Through the Day thy Love hath Spared Us	Thomas Kelly	Anglican	N/A	N/A	KOMM, O KOMM, DU GEIST DES LEB	J. Christoph Bach	Lutheran
554	Now Rest Beneath Night's Shadow	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Composite, based on Catherine	Anglican	O WELT, ICH MUSS DICH LASSEN	Heinrich Isaak	Pre-Reformation Ca
555	The Day Is Past and Over	attr. to St. Anatolius of Constantin	Orthodox	John Mason Neale	Anglican	ST. ANATOLIUS	Arthur H. Brown	Anglican
556	O God, Be with Us	Petrus Herbert	Moravian	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	DIE NACHT IST KOMMEN	Petrus Nigidius	Lutheran
557	At Even, When the Sun Did Set	Henry Twells	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ANGELUS	Georg Joseph	Catholic
558a	All Praise to Thee, My God, This Night	Thomas Ken	Anglican	N/A	N/A	TALLIS' CANON	Thomas Tallis	Anglican
558b	All Praise to Thee, My God, This Night	Thomas Ken	Anglican	N/A	N/A	EVENING HYMN	Charles-François Gounod	Catholic
559	O Christ, Who Art the Light and Day	Wolfgang Meusel, based on pre-F	Lutheran	William J. Copeland	Anglican	CHRISTE, DER DU BIST TAG UND LIC	Anon. Latin melody, c .600; fo	Lutheran
560	Gracious God, Again is Ended	Caspar Neumann	Lutheran	John T. Mueller	Lutheran	WERDE MUNTER	Johann Schop	Lutheran
561	Now that the day hath Reached Its Close	Johann F. Hertzog	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran*	NUN SICH DER TAG GEENDET HAT	Adam Krieger	Lutheran
562	Round Me Falls the Night	William Romanis	Anglican	N/A	N/A	SEELENBRÄUTIGAM	Adam Drese	Pietist (Lutheran)
563	The Sun's Last Beam of Light is Gone	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	tr. based on Catherine Winkwort	Anglican	WO GOTT ZUM HAUS	Anon., found in J. Klug's Geis	Lutheran
564	O Trinity, Most Blessed Light	St. Ambrose, d. 397	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	O HEILIGE DREIFALTIGKEIT	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
565a	Savior, Breathe an Evening Blessing	James Edmeston	Anglican	N/A	N/A	RINGE RECHT	Anon., first appears in Johann	Reformed (Lutheran
565b	Savior, Breathe an Evening Blessing	James Edmeston	Anglican	N/A	N/A	EVENING PRAYER	George Coles Stebbins	Baptist
566	Christ By Heavenly Hosts Adored	Henry Harbaugh	Reformed (Penns	N/A	N/A	ST. GEORGE	George J. Elvey	Anglican
567	O Lord, Whose Bounteous Hand Again	Arthur Tozer Russell	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ALL EHR' UND LOB	Anon., found in *Kirchengesan*	Lutheran
568	We Praise Thee, O God, Our Redeemer, C	Anon., Dutch text first found in Ad	Lutheran	Julia B. Cady Cory	Presbyterian	KREMSER	Anon., first found in Adrian Va	Lutheran
569	O Lord, I Sing with Lips and Heart	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	John Kelly	Presbyterian	ICH SINGE DIR	Att. Johann Balthasar König (I	Lutheran
570	Praise, Oh, Praise, Our God and King	Henry Williams Baker, based on J	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MONKLAND	John Antes, arr. by John B. W	Moravian
571	What Our Father Does Is Well	Benjamin Schmolck (original doxo	Lutheran (Anglica	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican	RATISBON	Johann Gottlob Werner	Lutheran
572	Praise to God, Immortal Praise	Anna L. Barbauld	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	DIX	Konrad Kocher	Lutheran
573	To Thee, O Lord, Our Hearts We Raise	William Chatterton Dix	Anglican	N/A	N/A	HARVEST HYMN	Anon., ad. from a tune in *Kath*	Catholic
574	Come, Ye Thankful People, Come	Henry Alford	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. GEORGE	George J. Elvey	Anglican

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
575	Before the Lord We Bow	Francis S. Key	Episcopalian	N/A	N/A	DARWALL'S 148TH	John Darwall	Anglican
576	Judge Eternal, Throned in Splendor	Henry S. Holland	Anglican	N/A	N/A	BIS WILLKOMMEN	Johann Christian Kittel	Lutheran
577	God Bless Our Native Land	Charles T. Brooks, recast by John	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	AMERICA	attr. to Henry Carey, appeared	Anglican
578	Lord, While for All Mankind We Pray	John Reynell Wreford	Unitarian	N/A	N/A	ST. FLAVIAN	Anon., first published in John	Anglican
579	Almighty Lord, before Thy Throne	Anne Steele	Baptist	N/A	N/A	BURFORD	Att. Henry Purcell	Anglican
580	To Thee, Our God, We Fly	William Walsham How	Anglican	N/A	N/A	CROFT'S 136TH	William Croft	Anglican
581	All Ye Who on This Earth do Dwell	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Alfred Patterson Ramsey	Lutheran	NUN DANKET ALL'	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
582	God, Lord of Sabaoth, Thou Who Ordaine	Henry Fothergill Chorley	Quaker	N/A	N/A	LIEBSTER IMMANUEL	Anon., found in Ahasverus Frit	Lutheran
583	Great King of Nations, Hear Our Prayer	John H. Gurney	Anglican	N/A	N/A	OLD 137TH	Anglo-Genevan Psalter, *One a*	Anglo-Genevan Ch
584	Swell the Anthem, Raise the Song	Nathan Strong	Reformed	N/A	N/A	ST, GEORGE	George J. Elvey	Anglican
585	I Fall Asleep in Jesus' Wounds	Paul Eber	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Lutheran	VATER UNSER	Martin Luther	Lutheran
586	A Pilgrim and a Stranger	Paul Gerhardt	Lutheran	Jane Borthwick	Presbyterian	HERZLICH TUT MICH	Hans L. Hassler	Lutheran
587	Asleep in Jesus! Blessed Sleep	Margaret Mackay	Church of Scotla	N/A	N/A	REST	William Batchelder Bradbury	Baptist
588	I Would Not Live Alway; I Ask Not to Stay	William Augustus Mühlenberg	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	MALDWYN	Anon., Welsh Melody, c. 1600,	(Church of Scotland
589	Oh, How Blest Are Ye Whose Tolls are End	Simon Dach	Lutheran	Henry W. Longfellow	Unitarian	O WIE SELIG	Anon., written for this text, firs	Lutheran
590	In the Midst of Earthly Life	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	MITTEN WIR IM LEBEN SIND	Martin Luther	Lutheran
591	Jesus, I Live to Thee	Henry Harbaugh	Reformed (Penns	N/A	N/A	TENBURY	Frederick Arthur Gore Ousely	Anglican
592	I Know of a Sleep in Jesus' Name	Magnus B. Landstad	Lutheran	Composite: K.A. Kasberg, O.H.	Lutheran	DEN SIGNEDE DAG	Christoph E. F. Weyse	Lutheran
593	Why Do We Mourn Departing Friends	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	DOMINE, CLAMAVI	Justin H. Knecht	Lutheran
594	When My Last Hour Is Close at Hand	Nikolaus Herman; stanzas added	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	WENN MEIN STÜNDLEIN	Anon., found in Johann Wolff's	Lutheran
595	Tender Shepherd, Thou hast Stilled	Johann Wilhelm Meinhold	Catholic	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	MEINEN JESUM LASS' ICH NICHT	Anon, found in the Darmstadt	Lutheran
596	This Body in the Grave We Lay	Michael Weisse, (anon. stz. 8, att.	Moravian	William M. Czmanske	Lutheran	NUN LASST UNS DEN LEIB	Anon., found in George Rhaw'	Lutheran
597	For Me to Live Is Jesus	Att. to Anna von Stolberg, found i	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	CHRISTUS, DER IST MEIN	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran
598	Who Knows when Death May Overtake M	Ämilie Juliane	Lutheran	Composite	Lutheran	WER WEISS, WIE NAHE	Johann David Meyer, arr. by C	Lutheran
599	My course is Run, Praise God, My Course	Andreas Gryphius	Lutheran	August F. W. Zich	Lutheran	ES IST GENUG	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran
600	O Lord, My God, I Cry to Thee	Nikolaus Selnecker	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	VATER UNSER	Martin Luther	Lutheran
601	All men Living Are But Mortal	Johann Georg Albinus	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth (Unknown	Anglican	ALLE MENSCHEN MÜSSEN STERBEN	Jakob Hintze	Lutheran
602	It Is Not Death to Die	Henri Abraham César Malan	Reformed (Frenc	George Washington Bethune (fr	Dutch Reformed (I	TENBURY	Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley	Anglican
603	In the Resurrection	Anon., contained in ed. Jiří Třanov	Lutheran	John Bajus	Lutheran	RESURRECTION	Anon. Slovak Melody, c. 1600	Lutheran*
604	Great God, What do I See and Hear?	William Bengo Collyer (Anon. stz.	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	ES IST GEWISSLICH	Att. Martin Luther	Lutheran
605	The World Is Very Evil	St. Bernard of Cluny	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	EWING	Alexander Ewing	Anglican
606	O'er the Distant Mountains Breaking	John Samuel Bewley Monsell	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O JERUSALEM, DU SCHÖNE	Johann Georg Christian Störl	Lutheran
607	Day of Wrath, O Day of Mourning	Based on *Dies Irae*, att. Thomas d	Pre-Reformation	William Josiah Irons	Anglican	DIES IRAE	Anon., 13th Century Latin Mel	Pre-Reformation Ca
608	Let Thoughtless Thousands Choose the R	Joseph Hoskins	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	WAREHAM	William Knapp	Anglican
609	Wake, Awake, for Night is Flying	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	WACHET AUF	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran
610	And Will the Judge Descend	Phillip Doddridge	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	SOUTHWELL	William Daman	Anglican*
611	The Day is Surely Drawing Near	Bartholomäus Ringwald	Lutheran	Philip Adam Peter	Lutheran	ES IST GEWISSLICH	Att. Martin Luther	Lutheran
612	That Day of Wrath, That Dreadful Day	Based on Dies Irae, att. Thomas de Celano (but could date to	Pre-Reformation	Walter Scott	Church of Scotlan	WINDHAM	Daniel Read	Protestant (likely Co
613	Jerusalem the Golden	St. Bernard of Cluny	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	EWING	Alexander Ewing	Anglican

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
614	For Thee, O Dear, Dear Country	St. Bernard of Cluny	Pre-Reformation	John Mason Neale	Anglican	BONA PATRIA	Anon., first appearance att. to	Unknown, likely Pro
615	A Rest Remaineth for the Weary	Johann Sigismund Kunth	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	WIE WOHL IST MIR	Attr. Christian Friedrich Richte	Lutheran (Pietist)
616	Forever with the Lord	James Montgomery	Moravian (English	N/A	N/A	SCHUMANN	Att. Robert Schumann	Atheist (Raised Chr
617	There Is an Hour of Peaceful Rest	William Bingham Tappan	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	PAX CELESTE	Anon., first appearance att. to	Unknown, likely Pro
618	Jerusalem, My Happy Home	Att. to F. B. P. (alt. by Joseph Bron	Catholic (Anglica	N/A	N/A	ST. PETER	Alexander Robert Reinagle	Anglican
619	Jerusalem, Thou City Fair and High	Johannes Matthäus Meyfart	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	JERUSALEM, DU HOCHGEBUATE STA	Melchior Franck	Lutheran
620	Lord, Who at Cana's Wedding-Feast	Stzs. 1 and 3, Godfrey Thring; Stz	Anglican	N/A	N/A	BETHLEHEM	Gottfried Wilhelm Fink	Lutheran*
621	O Father, All Creating	John Ellerton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	EDEN	Anon., first appearance att. to	Unknown, likely Pro
622	The Voice that Breathed o'er Eden	John Keble	Anglican	N/A	N/A	EDEN	Anon., first appearance att. to	Unknown, likely Pro
623	O Perfect Love	Dorothy Frances Gurney	Anglican	N/A	N/A	CARITAS PERFECTA	Frederick Cook Atkinson	Anglican
624	O Blessed Home Where Man and Wife	Magnus Brostrup Landstad	Lutheran (Norwe	Ole Tollefsen Arneson	Lutheran	KOMMT HER ZU MIR	Anon., Contrafactum att. to Li	Secular (Lutheran)
625	Oh, Blest the House, Whate'er Befall	Christoph Carl Ludwig von Pfeil (S	Lutheran	Catherine Winkworth	Anglican	WO GOTT ZUM HAUS	Anon., found in J. Klug's Geis	Lutheran
626	O Happy Home Where Thou art Loved Mo	Karl Johann Philipp Spitta	Lutheran	Sarah Laurie Borthwick Findlate	Presbyterian (Free	O SELIG HAUS	Eduard Niemeyer	Lutheran*
627	Gracious Savior, Gentle Shepherd	Jane Eliza Leeson (alt. by Jonatha	Anglican (Baptist	N/A	N/A	SIEH, HIER BIN ICH	Anon, found in *Geistriches Ge*	Lutheran
628	Shepherd of Tender Youth	Clement of Alexandria	Pre-Reformation	Henry Martyn Dexter	Congregationalist	OLIVET	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
629	Let Children Hear the Mighty Deeds	Stzs. 1-3, 5, Isaac Watts; stz. 4, B	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	NUN DANKET ALL'	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
630	Ye Parents, Hear What Jesus Taught	Ludwig Helmbold	Lutheran	William Martin Czamanske	Lutheran	HERR JESU CHRIST, DICH	Anon., *Cantionale Germanicur*	Lutheran
631	Savior, Who Thy Flock art Feeding	William Augustus Mühlenberg	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	RINGE RECHT	Anon., first appears in Johann	Reformed (Lutheran
632	In the Name which Earth and Heaven	John Ellerton	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O DU LIEBE	Johannes Thommen	Pietist (Swiss Refor
633	O Lord of Hosts, Whose Glory Fills	John Mason Neale	Anglican	N/A	N/A	O HEILIGE DREIFALTIGKEIT	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran
634	Come, Jesus, from the Sapphire Throne	Ray Palmer	Congregationalis	N/A	N/A	WAREHAM	William Knapp	Anglican
635	Here in Thy Name, Eternal God	James Montgomery	Moravian (English	N/A	N/A	MENDON	Anon. German tune, arr. by Sa	Baptist (English / Ar
636	Great Is the Lord, Our God	Isaac Watts	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	SCHUMANN	Att. Robert Schumann	Atheist (Raised Chr
637	Founded on Thee, Our Only Lord	Samuel Francis Smith	Baptist	N/A	N/A	MENDON	Anon. German tune, arr. by Sa	Baptist (English / Ar
638	In Loud, Exalted Strains	Benjamin Francis	Baptist (Welsh)	N/A	N/A	DARWALL'S 148TH	John Darwall	Anglican
639	For Many Years, O God of Grace	William Martin Czamanske	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	WIE SCHÖN LEUCHTET	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran
640	God the Father, Son, and Spirit	William Gustave Polack	Lutheran	N/A	N/A	ST. HILARY	Anon., appears in *Hymnal and*	Episcopal (Anglican
641	One Thy Light, the Temple Filling	John Keble	Anglican	N/A	N/A	REGENT SQUARE	Henry Thomas Smart	Anglican
642	Arise, O God, and Shine	William Hurn	Anglican (later Nc	N/A	N/A	DARWALL'S 148TH	John Darwall	Anglican
643	Holy Father, in Thy Mercy	Isabella Stephana Stevenson	Anglican*	N/A	N/A	STEPHANOS	Henry Williams Baker	Anglican
644	Praise God, from Whom All Blessings Flov	Thomas Ken	Anglican	N/A	N/A	OLD HUNDREDTH	Att. Louis Bourgeois, from the	Evangelical (Reform
645	Behold, a Branch is Growing	Stzs. 1-3, Anon. German Carol, c.	Pre-Reformation	Stzs. 1-2, 4-5, Harriet Reynolds	Lutheran	ES IST EIN' ROS'	Anon., first record in *Alte Cath*	Pre-Reformation Ca
646	Silent Night! Holy Night!	Joseph Mohr	Catholic	John Freeman Young	Episcopal (Anglica	STILLE NACHT	Franz Xaver Gruger	Catholic
647	O Little Town of Bethlehem	Phillips Brooks	Episcopal (Anglic	N/A	N/A	ST. LOUIS	Lewis Henry Redner	Episcopal (Anglican
648	I Am Jesus' Little Lamb	Henriette Louise von Hayn	Moravian	William Fleming Stevenson	Presbyterian (Irish	WEIL ICH JESU SCHÄFLEIN BIN	Anon., appears in *Bruder Cho*	Moravian*
649	Jesus, Savior, Pilot Me	Edward Hopper	Presbyterian	N/A	N/A	PILOT	John Edgar Gould	Baptist*
650	Behold a Stranger at the Door	Joseph Grigg	Presbyterian (Eng	N/A	N/A	HAMBURG	Lowell Mason	Presbyterian
651	Be Still, My soul	Catherina von Schlegel	Lutheran	Jane Borthwick	Presbyterian (Free Church of	FINLANDIA	Jean Sibelius	Patriotic Hymn (Lut
652	I Lay My Sins on Jesus	Horatius Bonar	Presbyterian (Fre	N/A	N/A	AURELIA	Samuel Sebastian Wesley	Anglican

Number	Hymn Title/First Line	Author(s)	Auth. Denom(s).	Translators	Trans. Denom(s).	Hymn Tune	Composer(s)	Comp. Denom(s).
653	Now the Light has Gone Away	Frances Ridley Havergal	Anglican	N/A	N/A	MÜDE BIN ICH	Johann Georg Witthauer	Lutheran*
654	Now the Day Is Over	Sabine Baring-Gould	Anglican	N/A	N/A	EUDOXIA	Sabine Baring-Gould	Anglican
655	I Pray Thee, Dear Lord Jesus	Thomas Kingo	Lutheran	Norman Arthur Madson	Lutheran	JEG VIL MIG HERREN LOVE	Att. Hardenack Otto Conrad Z	Lutheran
656	Behold a Host, Arrayed in White	Hans Adolph Brorson	Lutheran	Carl Døving	Lutheran	GREAT WHITE HOST	Edvard Hagerup Grieg	Lutheran*
657	Beautiful Savior	Anon., Münster Gesangbuch of 16	Catholic (att. to P	Joseph Augustus Seiss, alt.	Lutheran	SCHÖNSTER HERR JESU	Anon., Silesian Folk Melody, fi	Folk Melody
658	Onward, Christian Soldiers	Sabine Baring-Gould	Anglican	N/A	N/A	ST. GERTRUDE	Arthur Seymour Sullivan	Anglican
659	Feed Thy Children, God Most Holy	Johann Heermann	Lutheran	Anon., att. to *Australian Luthera*	Lutheran	SCHMÜCKE DICH	Johann Crüger	Lutheran
660	I'm But a Stranger Here	Thomas Rawson Taylor	Non-Conformist (	N/A	N/A	HEAVEN IS MY HOME	Arthur Seymour Sullivan	Anglican
661	The Litany	Adp. by Martin Luther from the Lit	Lutheran	Anon., based in part on Thomas	Lutheran / Anglica	[O Lord, Have mercy upon us]	Johann Spangenberg	Lutheran
662	Dominus Regit Me	Psalm 23	Pre-Reformation	King James Version	Anglican	[The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not w	Anon. Anglican Chant	Anglican*
663	Bonum Est confiteri	Psalm 92	Pre-Reformation	King James Version	Anglican	[It is a good thing to give thanks unto tl	George Alexander MacFarren	Anglican
664	De Profundis	Psalm 130	Pre-Reformation	King James Version	Anglican	[Out of the depths have I cried unto Th	Anon. Anglican Chant	Anglican*
665	Levavi Oculos	Psalm 121	Pre-Reformation	King James Version	Anglican	[I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills]	John Freckleton Burrowes	Anglican
666	Jubilate Deo	Psalm 100	Pre-Reformation	King James Version	Anglican	[Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all y	Thomas Kelway	Anglican
667	Cantate Domino	Psalm 98	Pre-Reformation	King James Version	Anglican	[Oh, sing unto the Lord a new song]	James Turle	Anglican
668	Beati Pauperes	The Beatitudes, St. Matthew 5:3-1	Pre-Reformation	King James Version	Anglican	[Blessed are the poor in spirit]	James Turle	Anglican

Appendix 5: Texts and Tunes in *The English Hymnal* (1906) and *The Hymnal* (1916) of the Episcopal Church that are Contained in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941)

This Appendix contains the hymn numbers from *The English Hymnal* (1906) and *The Hymnal* (1916) of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, demonstrating which hymn texts and tunes from each hymnal are also contained in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941). These hymnals were listed by the Intersynodical Committee that formed *TLH* as being ones that shaped their work in compiling the hymnal. These listings demonstrate the significant overlap between these Anglican tomes and the contents of *TLH*.

5.1. *The English Hymnal (*1906)

Hymn texts that are also in *TLH*:

> 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 19, 23, 24, 28, 30, 33, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 52, 70, 77, 79, 85, 87, 94, 99, 100, 102, 105, 107, 116, 129, 131, 133, 137, 143, 145, 147, 154, 156, 160, 162, 164, 167, 196, 198, 202, 205, 236, 238, 243, 245, 257, 258, 269, 272, 273, 274, 276, 281, 284, 286, 292, 306, 307, 316, 332, 341, 344, 345, 346, 348, 351, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 371, 376, 377, 378, 381, 387, 389, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 397, 405, 409, 412, 414, 419 420, 433, 435, 437, 439, 440, 444, 446, 447, 448, 450, 460, 466, 474, 477, 479, 481, 486, 489, 490, 491, 495, 502, 503, 505, 510, 511, 519, 520, 521, 522, 533, 536, 547, 551, 552, 553, 561, 574, 575, 581, 582, 603, 614, 616, 620, 622, 625, 626, 638, 641, 643, 646.
>
> 151 texts / 656 total hymn texts = 23.02%.

Hymn tunes that are also in *TLH*:

> 8, 9, 11, 12, 14b, 17b, 21, 27, 38, 30, 31b, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 52b, 53b, 54b, 55b, 56b, 57b, 68b, 70, 71, 77, 83, 103, 106, 110, 112, 114, 126, 129, 133, 134a, 138, 143, 148, 158, 162, 168, 173, 179, 183b, 187, 202, 206, 209, 222, 232, 233b, 241b, 246, 256, 257, 260, 265, 266, 267, 269, 272, 273, 274b, 276, 286, 289, 301, 315a, 315b, 323, 329, 332, 336, 339, 347, 351, 352, 360, 362, 363, 365, 367, 370, 373, 374, 380, 404, 405, 406, 412, 418, 419, 421, 428, 431, 439, 447, 450, 461, 464, 466, 475, 478, 480, 481, 489, 491, 497,

500, 516, 517, 519, 521, 532, 533, 537, 539, 543, 552, 556, 557, 563, 565, 569, 577, 598, 603, 613, 614, 620, 629, 631, 643b, 644,

135 tunes / 736 total tunes = 18.34%.

5.2 The Hymnal (1916) of the Protestant Episcopal Church (U.S.).

Hymn texts that are also in *TLH*:

2, 4, 11, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 42, 43, 46, 50, 51, 53, 54, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 78, 80, 81, 82, 85, 90, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 106, 113, 116, 118, 124, 130, 133, 136, 139, 144, 145, 147, 148, 151, 152, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 162, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 176, 182, 185, 186, 188, 190, 191, 198, 205, 206, 209, 211, 212, 213, 216, 217, 218, 222, 223, 225, 226, 229, 232, 237, 242, 249, 250, 251, 253, 255, 256, 266, 268, 273, 276, 279, 282, 289, 291, 293, 295, 297, 303, 304, 309, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 319, 326, 330, 343, 346, 364, 365, 370, 372, 375, 378, 381, 382, 383, 386, 387, 388, 391, 392, 394, 395, 399, 401, 413, 420, 421, 422, 426, 428, 431, 432, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 451, 458, 464, 468, 469, 475, 476, 478, 479, 480, 488, 489, 511, 514, 516, 526, 530, 538, 539, 541, 545, 546, 552,

177 hymn texts / 561 total hymn texts = 31.55%.

Tunes that are also in *TLH*:

1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 18, 20, 23, 25, 30b, 32a, 33, 35, 45, 50, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 65a, 65b, 66, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 78, 80, 84, 85c, 88a, 88b, 91, 93, 94, 95b, 99b, 101, 109, 115, 120b, 124a, 124b, 125, 130a, 134, 135, 138, 139a, 144a, 144b, 145b, 148, 152b, 153, 154, 155a, 156, 159a, 166, 175, 177, 179, 185a, 186, 188, 190, 192a, 194, 197a, 200, 201, 205, 210, 211, 212a, 213, 214, 217b, 221, 223b, 225b, 232, 234, 239, 242, 246, 249, 250, 255, 256, 260, 263, 269, 271, 274, 276, 277, 282, 291, 293a, 299, 301, 303, 305, 309, 311, 314b, 315, 316a, 318, 319, 320, 322, 324, 328a, 338b, 343, 348, 360b, 365, 375b, 381, 385b, 386, 388, 393, 395, 399, 400, 413a, 420, 421, 427, 428, 445, 446, 450, 452, 456, 457, 463, 464, 471, 472, 475, 476, 477, 479, 480b, 489, 499, 506, 507, 511, 514, 522a, 530, 534, 538, 542a, 549, 556a.

166 tunes / 669 total tunes = 24.81%.

Appendix 6: *The Parish Organist* (Parts 1–4) Tunes, Preludes, Tune Composers, Prelude Composers, and Their Denominations

This index lists data relevant to parts one, two, three, and four of *The Parish Organist* (1953). Listed first are the tunes upon which the organ preludes are based, followed by their composers and their composers' Christian denominational affiliations. Then, the prelude composers and their denominations are listed. These data demonstrate Anglican influences on the organ music of the Synodical Conference and are relevant to the last section of Chapter V of this thesis.

NO.	Tune	Tune Composer	Tune Composer Denominatio	Prelude Composer	Prelude Composer Denomination
1	Allein Gott in der Hoeh'	Nicolaus Decius	Lutheran	Johann Pachelbel	Lutheran
2	Ach Gott und Herr	Anonymous (As hymnodus s	Lutheran	Johann Gottfried Walther	Lutheran
3	Adeste, fideles	John Francis Wade	Catholic	Sigvart Hofland	Lutheran
4	All' Her' und Lob	Anonymous, based on Luthe	Lutheran	George Th. Miles	Anglican
5	Anthes	Friedrich K. Anthes (or J. A. A	Lutheran	Victor Hildner	Lutheran
6	Antioch	George Frideric Handel	Anglican	Hugo Gehrke	Lutheran
7	Auf, auf, mein Herz	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	Rudolf Moser	Reformed Protestant*
8	Aurelia	Samuel Sebastian Wesley	Anglican	Paul Bunjes	Lutheran
9	Aus meines Herzens Grunde	David Wolder	Lutheran	Johann Cristoph Bach	Lutheran
10	Boylston	Lowell Mason	Anglican	Ludwig Lenel	Lutheran*
11	Christ ist erstanden	Latin Melody; Adapted by Lu	Lutheran	Samuel Scheidt	Lutheran
12	Coronation	Oliver Holden	Baptist	Heinrich Fleischer	Lutheran
13	Darwall's 148th	John Darwall	Anglican	George Th. Miles	Anglican
14	Dir, dir, Jehovah/Winchester N	C. A. Roberts/Adapted from	Lutheran/Lutheran(Anglican a	Hans Arnold Metzger	Lutheran
15	Dix	Conrad Kocher	Lutheran	Henry J. Markworth	Lutheran
16	Duke Street	John Warrington Hatton	Presybterian*	Richard Wienhorst	Lutheran
17	Dundee	Thomas Ravencroft	Anglican	Rolf Unkel	Unknown (Possibly Lutheran)
18	Easter Hymn	Anon., Lyra Davidica (pub. J	Anglican*	Heinrich Fleischer	Lutheran
19	Christus, der ist mein	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran	Johann Pachelbel	Lutheran
20	Ein' feste Burg	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Samuel Scheidt	Lutheran
21	Est ist ein' Ros'	Latin, adapted by Michael P	Lutheran	Gottfried Mueller	Lutheran
22	Est ist gewisslich	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Michael Praetorius	Lutheran
23	Erhalt uns, Herr	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Michael Praetorius	Lutheran
24	Eventide	William H. Monk	Anglican	Sigvart Hofland	Lutheran
25	Galilean	Josephy Barnby	Anglican	Sigvart Hofland	Lutheran
26	Gott sei Dank	Anon., Geist-reiches Gesan	Lutheran	Ludwig Lenel	Lutheran*
27	Gethsemane	Christopher Tye	Anglican	Newman W. Powell	Lutheran
28	Grosser Gott/Hursley	Anon., Allgemeines Katholis	Catholic	Heinrich Fleischer	Lutheran
29	Herr Jesus Christ, dich	Cantionale Germanicum, G	Lutheran	Johann Gottfried Walther	Lutheran
30	Guide Me	George W. Warren	Episcopal (Anglican)	Theodore Hoelty-Nickel	Lutheran
31	Hamburg	Lowell Mason	Anglican	Paul Bunjes	Lutheran
32	Herzliebster Jesu	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	Johann Cristoph Oley	Lutheran
33	Herr Jesu Christ, mein's	Anon., Gesangbuch, Nurnbe	Lutheran	Johann Gottfried Walther	Lutheran
34	Herzlich tut mich	Hans Leo Hassler	Lutheran	Johann Pachelbel	Lutheran
35	Ich dank' dir, lieber Herre	Musika Teutsch, Nürnberg,	Lutheran	Johann Cristoph Bach	Lutheran
36	Ich sterbe taeglich	Anon., Emskirchner Choralb	Lutheran	Paul Kretzchmar	Lutheran
37	Italian Hymn	Felice de Giardini	Anglican* (likely Catholic-bor	Martin Stellhorn	Lutheran
38	Jesu Kreuz, Leiden und Pein	Melchior Vulpius	Lutheran	Johann Gottfried Walther	Lutheran

39	Jesu, meines Lebens Leben	Christoph Anton	Lutheran	Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
40	Jesus, meine Zuversicht	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
41	Kirken den er et	Ludvig Mathias Lindeman	Lutheran	Theodore Hoelty-Nickel	Lutheran
42	Ich singe dir	Anon., Harmonisher Lieder-	Lutheran	Sigvart Hofland	Lutheran
43	Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre G	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Georg Philipp Telemann	Lutheran
44	Kremser	Eduard Kremser	Protestant	Healey Willan	Anglican
45	Lasset uns mit Jesu ziehen	Georg G. Boltze	Lutheran	Paul Kretzchmar	Lutheran
46	Lasst uns erfreuen	Geistliche Kirchengesang C	Catholic	Rudolf Moser	Reformed Protestant*
47	Lobt Gott, ihr Christen	Nicolaus Herman	Lutheran	Johann Gottfried Walther	Lutheran
48	Magdalen	John Stainer	Anglican	Camil van Hulse	Catholic
49	Meinen Jesum lass' ich nicht	Johann Ulich	Lutheran	Ludwig Lenel	Lutheran*
50	Mendelssohn	Felix Mendelssohn	Lutheran	Hugo Gehrke	Lutheran
51	Liebster Jesu	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran	Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
52	Missionary Hymn	Lowell Mason	Anglican	Theodore Stelzer	Lutheran
53	Munich	Felix Mendelssohn	Lutheran	Heinrich Fleischer	Lutheran
54	Neander	Joachim Neander	Reformed / Lutheran	Thomas Canning	Methodist*
55	Nicea	John B. Dykes	Anglican	Friedrich Hark	Lutheran
56	Nun danket all'	Johann Georg Christian Stô	Lutheran	Georg Friedrich Kaufmann	Lutheran
57	Nun danket alle Gott	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	Michael Praetorius	Lutheran
58	Non lob, mein' Seel'	Hans Kugelmann	Lutheran	Johann Cristoph Bach	Lutheran
59	Nun komm, der Heiden Heilan	Martin Luther (based on St.	Lutheran	Johann Heinrich Buttstedt	Lutheran
60	O dass ich tausend (Dretzel)	Cornelius Heinrich Dretzel	Lutheran	Hans Arnold Metzger	Lutheran
61	O dass Ich tausent (Koenig)	Johann Balthasar König	Moravian (Lutheran)	Max Reger	Lutheran*(Excommunicated Catholic)
62	O du Liebe	Johannes Thommen	Lutheran* (Pietist)	Hans Klotz	Lutheran
63	O Gott, du frommer Gott	Anon., "Neuvermehrtes Ges	Lutheran	Johann Gottfried Walther	Lutheran
64	St. Michael	Louis Bourgeois	Reformed	Jan Bender	Lutheran
65	O heilige Dreifaltigkeit	Nikolaus Herman	Lutheran	Jan Bender	Lutheran
66	O Jesu Christ, mein's	Anon., Gesangbuch, Nurnbe	Lutheran	Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
67	O Welt, ich muss dich lessen	Heinrich Isaac	Lutheran	Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
68	Old 124th	Louis Bourgeois	Reformed	Rudolf Moser	Reformed Protestant*
69	Olivet	Lowell Mason & W. W. Rous	Anglican	Yury Arbatsky	Lutheran
70	Orientis partibus	Pierre, de Corbeil	Catholic	Henry J. Markworth	Lutheran
71	Patmos	William H. Havergal	Anglican	Camil van Hulse	Catholic
72	Regent Square	Henry T. Smart	Anglican	Rolf Unkel	Unknown (Possibly Lutheran)
73	Ringe richt	Johann Balthasar König	Moravian (Lutheran)	Henry J. Markworth	Lutheran
74	St. Anne	William Croft	Anglican	George Th. Miles	Anglican
75	St. Crispin	George J. Elvey	Anglican	Paul Bouman	Lutheran
76	St. George	Henry J. Gauntlett	Anglican	Hugo Gehrke	Lutheran
77	St. Peter	Alexander Robert Reinagle	Anglican	Paul Bouman	Lutheran

78	St. Thomas	Aaron Williams	Anglican	Healey Willan	Anglican
79	Schoenster Herr Jesu	Anon., Silesian Folk melody;	Pietist (Lutheran)	Yury Arbatsky	Lutheran
80	Schmuecke dich	Johann Crüger	Lutheran	Johannes Brahms	Lutheran*(Humanist)
81	Seelenbraeutigam	Adam Dreese	Lutheran	Johann Sebastian Bach	Lutheran
82	Spanish Chant	Benjamin Carr	Catholic / Episcopalian (Angli	Paul Bunjes	Lutheran
83	Southwell	William Daman	Anglican	Thomas Canning	Methodist*
84	Stephanos	Henry William Baker	Anglican	Ludwig Lenel	Lutheran*
85	Valet will ich dir geben	Melchior Tescher	Lutheran	Georg Friedrich Kaufmann	Lutheran
86	Vater unser	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Michael Praetorius	Lutheran
87	Veni, Emmanuel	Anon., French processional,	Catholic (Anglican)	Rudolf Moser	Reformed Protestant*
88	Voller Wunder	Johann G. Ebeling	Lutheran	Rolf Unkel	Unknown (Possibly Lutheran)
89	Vom Himmel hoch	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Johann Gottfried Walther	Lutheran
90	Wachet auf	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	Johann Gottfried Walther	Lutheran
91	Vienna	Justin Heinrich Knecht	Catholic	Thomas Canning	Methodist*
92	Webb	George J. Webb	Congregationalist	Yury Arbatsky	Lutheran
93	Wenn wir in hoechstren Noete	Louis Bourgeois (att.)	Reformed / Lutheran	Johann Michael Bach	Lutheran
94	Wer nur den lieben Gott	Georg Neumark	Lutheran	Johann Gottfried Walther	Lutheran
95	Wem in Leidenstagen	Friedrich Filitz	Lutheran	Newman W. Powell	Lutheran
96	Werde munter	Johann Schop	Lutheran	Johann Pachelbel	Lutheran
97	Wie schoen leuchtet	Philipp Nicolai	Lutheran	Michael Praetorius	Lutheran
98	Wo Gott zum Haus	Martin Luther	Lutheran	Johann Cristoph Bach	Lutheran
99	Wunderbarer Koenig	Joachim Neander	Reformed / Lutheran	Hans Arnold Metzger	Lutheran
100	Winchester Old	George Kirbye	Anglican	M. Alfred Bichsel	Lutheran

Appendix 7: *The Parish Organist* (Parts 11–12) Tunes, Tune Composers, and Their Denominations

This index lists the hymn tunes utilized in parts eleven and twelve of *The Parish Organist*. In addition to the tunes, the composers and their denominational affiliations are listed. These data are relevant to Chapter V of this thesis and show an inverse relationship stemming from the Anglican influence on the Synodical Conference, such that Episcopalian musicians were interested in using *The Parish Organist* series created for *The Lutheran Hymnal* because of its relevance to their tradition.

Tune Name	Composer(s)	Composer(s) Denomination(s)
Adoro te devote	Anon., Benedictine plainsong, Mode V, 13th century (Pusey)	Pre-Reformation Catholic (Plainsong)
All Saints New	Henry S. Cutler	Anglican (Episcopalian)
Alle menschen müssen sterben	Johann Georg Albinus	Lutheran
Angelic Songs	Asa Brooks Everett	Methodist
Angel's Story (Watermouth)	Arthur Henry Mann	Anglican
Aus der tiefe (Heinlein)	Martin Herbst	Lutheran
Avon	Hugh Wilson	Anglican (Scottish)
Bohemian Brethren	Anon., Bohemian Brethren, 1586	Moravian
Burford	Henry Purcell	Anglican
Caithness	Anon., Scottish Psalter, 1635	Anglican (Scottish)
Christmas	Georg Friedrich Handel	Anglican
Da Christus geboren war	Johann Friedrich Doles	Lutheran
Deus tuorum militum	Anon., Grenoble Antiphoner, 1753 (Arr. Basil Harwood/Ralph Vaughan Williams)	Catholic (Anglican)
Diademata	George J. Elvey	Anglican
Down Ampney	Ralph Vaughan Williams	Anglican
Du Lebensbrot	Peter Sohren	Lutheran
Dulce Carmen	Johann Michael Haydn	Catholic
Elbing	Peter Sohren	Lutheran
Ewing	Alexander C (Rex) Ewing	Anglican
England's Lane	Geoffrey T. Shaw	Anglican
Franconia	Johann Balthasar König	Lutheran
Hanover	William Croft	Anglican
Herr Jesu Christ	Anon., Cantionale Germanicum, Gochsheim, 1628 (Arr. J. S. Bach)	Lutheran
Horsley	William Horsley	Anglican
Höchster priester	Choral-Buch zu der Orgel in Herrnhaag gehörig, c. 1735	Lutheran
Hyfrydol	Charles Wesley	Anglican* (Methodist)
In Babilone	Anon., Dutch Traditional Melody, 1710 (Arr. By R. V. Williams)	Folk Melody (Anglican)
Innocents (Navarre)	Anon., French melody, 13th cent.; Arr. In the Parish Choir, 1850	Folk Melody (Anglican)
Lancashire	Henry Thomas Smart	Anglican
Lauda Anima	John Goss	Anglican
Lobe den herren	Anon., Praxis Pietatis Melica, 1668	Lutheran
Lyons	Franz Joseph Haydn	Catholic (Anglican)
Malabar	David McKinley Williams	Anglican
Mannheim	Friedrich Filitz (harm. Lowell Mason)	Lutheran* (Anglican)
Martyrdom	Hugh Wilson	Anglican (Scottish)
Meinen Jesum lass' ich nicht (Darr	Anon., Neuverfertigtes Darmstädtisches Gesang-Buch, Darmstadt, 1699	Lutheran
Melcombe	Samuel Webbe	Catholic (English)

Mendon	Anon. German Melody, arrl Samuel Dyer	Folk Melody (Congregationalist)
Mit freuden zart	Bohemian Brethren's Kirchengesänge, 1566	Moravian
Morgenglanz der Ewigkeit	Johann Rudolf Ahle	Lutheran
Morning Star	John P. Harding	Anglican
Navarre	Adapted from L. v. Beethoven, “Bußlied,” Op. 48 (Gellert Lieder), No. 6 (mm. 55f [“Fr	Catholic* (Episcopalian/Anglican)
Nottingham	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Catholic
O Quanta Qualia	Anon., Antiphoner, Paris, 1681; La Feillée's Méthode du plain-chant, 1808	Plainsong Melody (Catholic)
Pange Lingua	Anon., Ancient Gregorian Melody	Pre-Reformation Catholic (Plainsong)
Picardy	Anon., French carol, 17th cent. (Arr. R. V. Williams)	French Melody (Anglican)
Rathbun	Ithamar Conkey	Anglican (Episcopalian)
Ratisbon	Johann Gottlob Werner	Lutheran
Rendez À Dieu	Louis Bourgeois or Guillaume Franc	Reformed (Calvinist)
Slane	Trad. Irish Melody	Folk Melody (Anglican)
St. Bernard	Tochter Sion (Köln, Germany: 1741)	Catholic*
St. Bride	Samuel Howard	Anglican*
St. Cecilia	L. G. Hayne	Anglican
St. Columba	Anon., Gaelic; Ancient Irish melody	Folk Melody (Anglican)
St. Denio	Anon., French melody, 13th cent.; Arr. In the Parish Choir, 1850	Folk Melody (Anglican)
St. Dunstan's	Winfred Douglas	Anglican (Episcopalian)
St. Flavian	Anon., Day's Psalter, 1562. Music edited by R. L. M. & C. A. R.	Reformed (Calvinist)
St. James	Raphael Courteville	Anglican
St. Magnus	Jeremiah Clarke	Anglican
St. Patrick's Breastplate	Anon., Ancient Irish hymn melody (arr. R. V. Williams)	Folkd Melody (Anglican)
St. Petersburg	Dmitri Stepanovich Bortnianski	Russian Orthodox
St. Stephen	William Jones	Anglican
St. Thomas	Aaron Williams	Anglican (Scottish)
St. Thomas (Wade)	John Wade	Catholic (English)
Stuttgart	Christian Friedrich Witt	Lutheran
Tallis' Ordinal	Thomas Tallis	Anglican
Tidings	James Walch	Anglican
Truro	Charles Burney	Anglican
Tysk	Anon., German Melody, from a chorale sung at Stockholm, 1718	Lutheran*
University College	Henry J. Gauntlett	Anglican
Was frag ich nach der Welt	Ahasuer Fritsch	Lutheran
Windsor	Christoher Tye	Anglican
Woodbird	Traditional German melody	Lutheran*
Yigdal	Hebrew Melody	Jewish