

LOGIA

A JOURNAL OF LUTHERAN THEOLOGY

Te Deum laudamus

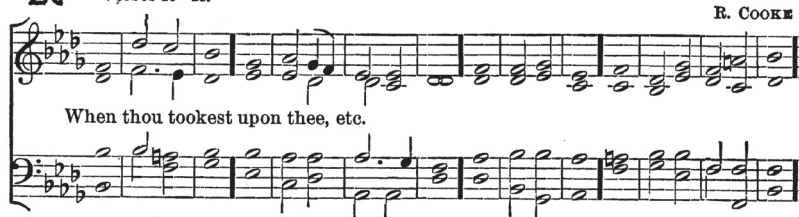
19 Verses 1-15 and 24-29.

H. LAWES



20 Verses 16-23.

R. COOKE



F **f** WE praise | thee O | God: we acknowledge | thee to | be the | Lord.
F 2 All the earth doth | worship | thee: the | Father | ever | lasting.
 3 To thee all Aⁿgels | cry a | loud: the Heavens, and | all the | Powers there | in;
 4 To thee Cherubim and | Sera | phim: con | tinual | ly do | cry,
 5 Holy | Holy | Holy: Lord | God of | Saba | oth;
 6 Heaven and earth are full of the | Majes | ty: of | thy * = | glo * = | ry.
mf 7 The glorious company | of the A | postles: praise | = * = | = * = | thee.
 8 The goodly fellowship | of the | Prophets: praise | = * = | = * = | thee.
 9 The noble | army * of | Martyrs: praise | = * = | = * = | thee.
f 10 The holy Church throughout | all the | world: doth ac | know * = | ledge * = | thee;
mf 11 The | Fa * = | ther: of an | infinite | Majes | ty;
 12 Thine ad | ora * ble | true: and | on * = | = * = | ly | Son;
 13 Aⁿisothe | Holy | Ghost: (p) the | Com * = | fort * = | er.
f 14 Thou art the | King of | Glory: O | = * = | = * = | Christ.
 15 Thou art the ever | lasting | Son: of | = * = | the | Fa * = | ther.
pp 16 When thou tookest upon thee to de | liver | man: thou didst humble thyself to be | boru * = | of a | Virgin.
 17 When thou hadst overcome the | sharpness * of | death: (cr) thou didst open the Kingdom of | Heaven to | all be | lievers.
f 18 Thou sittest at the right | hand of | God: in the | glory | of the | Father.
pp 19 We beleeve that | thou shalt | come: to be * = | our * = | Judge.
 20 We therefore pray thee | help thy | servants: whom thou hast redeemed | with thy | precious | blood.
mf 21 Make them to be numbered | with thy | Saints: in | glory | ever | lasting.
 22 O Lord, | save thy | people: and | bless thine | herit | age.
cr 23 Gov | = * = | ern | them: and | lift them | up for | ever.
F **f** 24 Day | by * = | day: we | magni | fy * = | thee;
F 25 And we | worship * thy | Name: ever | world with | out * = | end.
 26 Vouch | safe O | Lord: to keep us this | day with | out * = | sin.
 27 O Lord, have | mercy * up | on us: have | mercy * up | on * = | us.
 28 O Lord, let thy mercy | be up | on us: as our | trust * = | is in | thee.
f 29 O Lord, in thee | have I | trusted: let me | never | be con | founded.

LUTHERAN LECTIONARIES

HOLY TRINITY 2005

VOLUME XIV, NUMBER 3

εἰ' τις λαλεῖ,
ὡς λόγια Θεοῦ

LOGIA is a journal of Lutheran theology. As such it publishes articles on exegetical, historical, systematic, and liturgical theology that promote the orthodox theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. We cling to God's divinely instituted marks of the church: the gospel, preached purely in all its articles, and the sacraments, administered according to Christ's institution. This name expresses what this journal wants to be. In Greek, ΛΟΓΙΑ functions either as an adjective meaning "eloquent," "learned," or "cultured," or as a plural noun meaning "divine revelations," "words," or "messages." The word is found in 1 Peter 4:11, Acts 7:38, and Romans 3:2. Its compound forms include ὁμολογία (confession), ἀπολογία (defense), and ἀναλογία (right relationship). Each of these concepts and all of them together express the purpose and method of this journal. LOGIA considers itself a *free conference in print* and is committed to providing an independent theological forum normed by the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions. At the heart of our journal we want our readers to find a love for the sacred Scriptures as the very Word of God, not merely as rule and norm, but especially as Spirit, truth, and life which reveals Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life — Jesus Christ our Lord. Therefore, we confess the church, without apology and without rancor, only with a sincere and fervent love for the precious Bride of Christ, the holy Christian church, "the mother that begets and bears every Christian through the Word of God," as Martin Luther says in the Large Catechism (LC II, 42). We are animated by the conviction that the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession represents the true expression of the church which we confess as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.

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THE COVER ART is from the *Appendix to The Church Hymnal*, revised and enlarged (Boston: Parish Choir, 1906), for use in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Along with the music to the Gloria in Excelsis found in both the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book (CPH, 1912) and The Lutheran Hymnal (CPH, 1941), this setting of the Te Deum illustrates the kind of musical borrowing from surrounding churches that confessional Lutherans in America engaged in as they navigated a transition to the English language during this period.

Thanks to Prof. James Brauer, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis and Rev. Jon Vieker, Assistant Director LCMS Commission on Worship, St. Louis, for generously assisting in the selection of this issue's cover art.

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FREQUENTLY USED ABBREVIATIONS

AC [CA]	Augsburg Confession
AE	<i>Luther's Works</i> , American Edition
Ap	Apology of the Augsburg Confession
Ep	Epitome of the Formula of Concord
FC	Formula of Concord
LC	Large Catechism
LW	<i>Lutheran Worship</i>
SA	Smalcald Articles
SBH	<i>Service Book and Hymnal</i>
SC	Small Catechism
SD	Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord
SL	St. Louis Edition of Luther's Works
Tappert	<i>The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church</i> . Trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert
Triglotta	Concordia Triglotta
TLH	<i>The Lutheran Hymnal</i>
Tr	Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope
WA	<i>Luthers Werke</i> , Weimarer Ausgabe [Weimar Edition]
Kolb-Wengert	Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, eds., <i>The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church</i> (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

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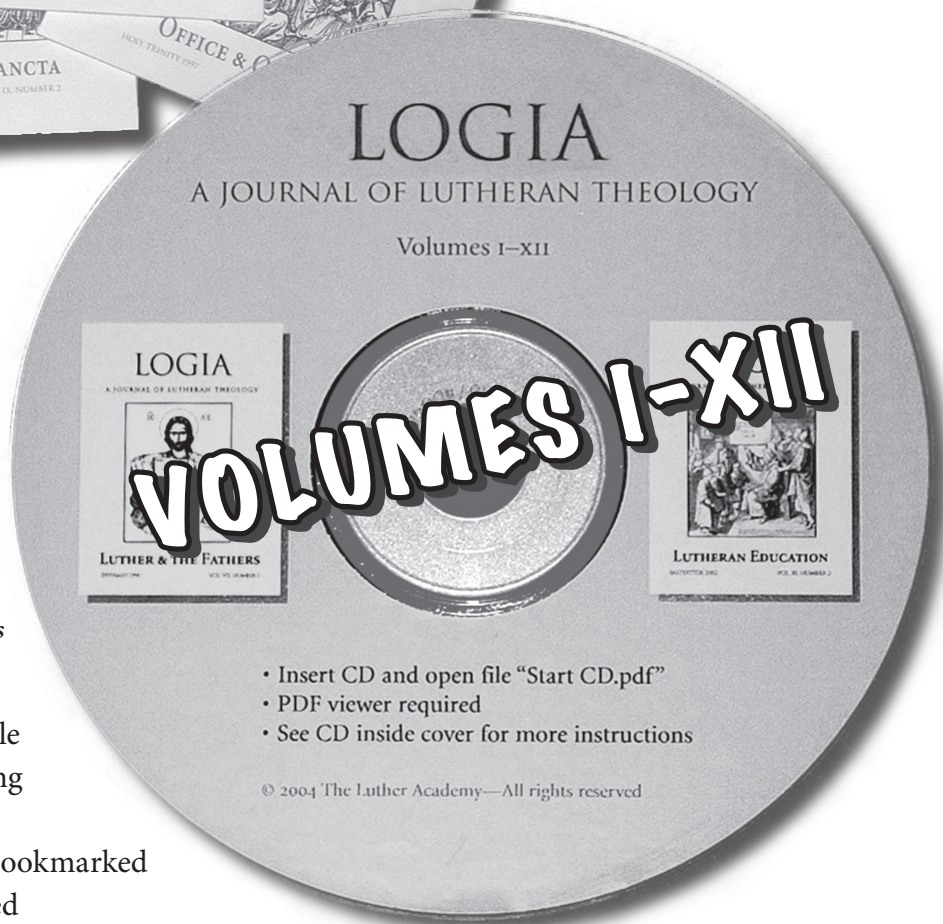
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CORRESPONDENCE



To the editors:

☞ Concerning “*Res and Verba* in Lutheran Exegesis” (Epiphany, 2005, p.33 ff.), far be it from me to further define *Res* and *Verba*. However, on page 41, I take issue:

1. To read the sermons of W. A. Maier is to remember that these are radio sermons. They are not the Sunday congregation variety. They are evangelism of the first order.

2. I say *first* because radio was just coming out of the crystal set time. Our synod, following the Detroit Lutheran Hour, on which my father preached many times, yielded to the larger effort to reach every radio in America by clear channel stations, such as WLW.

3. The usual professors at our seminaries do not preach, by and large. Not even teaching homiletics, but Hebrews, Dr. Maier found his other talent: preaching at festivals and special occasions throughout the land.

4. Students at the seminary were used to help answer the volume of letters that came from the field.

5. To say that the Assembly of God people did not convert to the Missouri Synod — it could also be said that the Adventists in Michigan were all the more enthusiastic than even some in Synod.

6. His distinctive “abrasive” voice added interest and instant recognition, almost to all parts of the radio world.

7. His book, *For Better: Not For Worse* on marriage, preceded the present maelstrom of moral degradation.

8. His leadership in editing the *Walther League Messenger* produced commentary on the passing secular scene.

9. His legacy of building theological students into pastors with the *Verba* of Genesis—the voluminous mimeographed class notes over an inch thick. He was an example of a dedicated professor and disciplined man of God—see his Nahum Commentary.

10. To say Grandpa did not preach baptism and Lord’s Supper in days gone by does not say that maybe he had confessional services (*Beichtgottesdienste*).

11. To say that “exegesis loses its respect for the real presence of Christ in the sacraments” has not tripped me to rationalism or dead orthodoxy. The fact is, my respect for sacramental depth has done just the opposite. See my essay, “The ‘And’ in ‘Word and Sacrament,’” as well as my letter in the *Reporter*: www.confessionallutherans.org/papers/hertwig.htm

12. Briefly said: without the *Verba* there could be no *Res*. The Lord of John 6 and Thursday evening is the same Lord who feeds the five-thousand. What he chooses to do with this and that element at different times and people needs the *Verba* before we get to the *Res*.

F. A. Hertwig
Lincoln, Missouri

LOGIA CORRESPONDENCE & COLLOQUIUM FRATRUM

We encourage our readers to respond to the material they find in LOGIA—whether it be in the articles, book reviews, or letters of other readers. While we cannot print everything that is sent, we hope that our Colloquium Fratrum section will allow for longer response/counter-response exchanges. Our Correspondence section is a place for shorter “Letters to the Editors.”

If you wish to respond to something in an issue of LOGIA, please do so soon after you receive an issue. Since LOGIA is a quarterly periodical, we are often meeting deadlines for the subsequent issue about the time you receive your current issue. Getting your responses in early will help keep them timely.

Send your Correspondence contributions to LOGIA Correspondence, 314 Pearl Street, Mankato, MN 56001,

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GOD'S SONG IN A NEW LAND

Taking a Closer Look



FOR THIS ISSUE WE HAVE UNABASHEDLY borrowed our title from Carl F. Schalk's *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (CPH, 1995). In this seminal work, as well as its companion volume, *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody* (CPH, 1996), Schalk provides a remarkable historical road map to the various streams of hymnals that have served Lutherans in the United States from the seventeenth century through the 1990s. As a road map to the past, Schalk's work describes the main features of each hymnal: when it was published and by whom, and where it was located in the general theological stream of American Lutheranism.

And yet, a road map by its very nature is a mere guide to what is on the ground, and cannot provide the sights and sounds that a closer and more detailed survey can offer. In this issue, we attempt to swoop down and take a closer look at but a sliver of Schalk's wonderful schema. The studies included in this issue focus primarily on twentieth-century developments, and, within that time frame, on the hymnals and worship life of the Synodical Conference Lutherans and their legacies.

From the beginning, each stream of Lutheranism in America eventually had to wrestle with a major paradigm shift: how best to make the transition from the language of the "old country"—German, Swedish, Norwegian, and so on—to the language of America. This presented a particular problem for hymnody, because what rhymed in German did not necessarily rhyme in English. Rendering Luther's "Ein feste Burg" in English involved more than translating the words from German to English. Each line had to be translated; it had to rhyme; and it had to have the right number of syllables with all of the accents in the right places—not a task for the timid at heart!

In addition, as Synodical Conference Lutherans in particular began to make the shift to English some fifty to a hundred years behind the older American Lutheran bodies, they discovered the brave new world of existing English hymnody. At the dawn of the twentieth century, they struggled with which of the hymns by Wesley and Watts, for instance, would be acceptable for their confessional Lutheran churches, as well as what, if any, could be imported from the recent hymn explosion of Victorian hymnody and American revivalism. These were the challenging questions of the day, and many of the difficult choices they made then are taken for granted today.

On the liturgical front, the "other Lutherans" not associated with the Synodical Conference published their Common Service materials in 1888 and began providing a wealth of liturgical scholarship to go along with them. The English-speaking Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod eventually adopted these English-language orders of service and then looked for suitable music to go with them, much from their own German tradition, but some from Anglican and other Protestant musical sources. Eventually, the best of all of these liturgical and hymnological materials came to full fruition for Synodical Conference Lutherans in their joint production of *The Lutheran Hymnal* (TLH) in 1941.

TLH began to age, however, and as its successor was being planned, the Synodical Conference gradually disintegrated as new ecumenical winds began to blow in Missouri. By 1966, Missouri had joined together with the "other Lutherans," at first to develop common worship materials, but eventually a common book. In 1978, the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship produced *Lutheran Book of Worship*, which Missouri, instead of adopting, adapted in the form of *Lutheran Worship* (1982). Not long after, the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod began to venture out on their own, producing *Christian Worship* (1993), and the "Little Norwegian Synod" (ELS) did the same with *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary* (1996).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, two additional Lutheran hymnal projects have appeared on the scene: Missouri's *Lutheran Service Book*, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America's *Renewing Worship* project (title of the book yet to be determined), both with target publication dates of fall 2006. These projects have undoubtedly wrestled with the same kinds of questions considered by hymnal projects before them: where do we continue from what we have received, what is new and usable from within our own tradition, and what is suitable for adaptation from surrounding Christian hymnody and liturgical traditions?

It has been ten years since Schalk first published *God's Song in a New Land*. With this issue of *LOGIA*, we hope that we have provided a closer look at where we have been, where we are today, and where the Lutheran enterprise of hymnals is headed in the near future.

Jon D. Vieker
St. Louis, Missouri
Guest editor for Holy Trinity 2005

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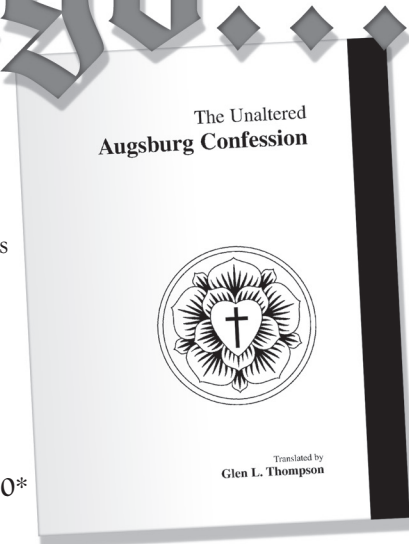
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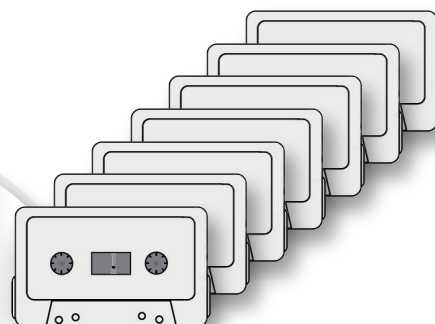
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“The Most Beautiful Hymns in the World”

The Hymns and Hymn Writers of Early LCMS English Hymnals

JON D. VIEKER



IN 1847, C. F. W. WALTHER ANNOUNCED the publication of what would eventually become the first and only German hymnal of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS). As this hymnal’s general editor, Walther listed the following criteria for hymn selection:

In the selection of the adopted hymns the chief consideration was that they be pure in doctrine; that they have almost universal acceptance within the orthodox German Lutheran Church and have thus received the almost unanimous testimony that they had come forth from the true spirit [of Lutheranism]; that they express not so much the changing circumstances of individual persons but rather contain the language of the whole church, because the book is to be used primarily in public worship; and finally that they, though bearing the imprint of Christian simplicity, be not merely rhymed prose but the creations of a truly Christian poetry.¹

Shortly after Walther’s death some forty years later, Missourians would find themselves facing with greater frequency what eventually became known as “The Language Question,” that is, how best to transmit orthodox, confessional Lutheranism into the English medium. Since the large, German-speaking Missouri Synod had its hands full ministering to German immigrants,² much of Missouri’s mission work to English speakers was left to the little English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States, or the “English Synod.”³ Hymnals in English quickly became a top priority for this small but gifted church body.

Their first hymnal was published in 1889 as the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book* (ELHB 1889). It was a text-only edition containing 400 hymns and various worship materials. When it was reprinted in 1893 (ELHB 1893), fifty additional hymns were added. Eventually, the various editions of this hymnal reached their culmination in the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* of 1912 (ELHB 1912),⁴ a collection containing 567 hymns that became the English Synod’s gift when it joined the German Missouri Synod in 1911 as the English District. But what kinds of hymns did the editors of these hymnals include as they sought to transmit the orthodox, confessional Lutheranism of their German forefathers into the English language?

One obvious solution was to translate as much as possible of their beloved German hymn corpus into English. Indeed, among the 590 hymn texts found in the hymnals examined in this study, 220 (39%) were attributed by their editors to be translations from existing German hymns. And yet, the task of hymn selection soon pushed them beyond the previous boundaries of German Lutheran hymnody to examine and explore what for them must have been a brave, new world of English-language hymnody. Their studies and explorations turned out to be most bounteous. As an English Synod writer from this period would declare:

God’s praise is worthy of man’s most perfect literary expression; and when Isaac Watts and Martin Luther and Wesley wrote *the most beautiful hymns in the world* [emphasis mine] they brought to the task all their literary skill and ability, their sentiment is lofty and inspiring, the music noble and uplifting.⁵

This study will briefly consider the writers of “the most beautiful hymns in the world”—those English-language hymn texts that first made their way into the Missouri Synod’s hymnody at the dawn of the twentieth century.⁶ Our study will focus especially on representative hymn writers from each period, placing them within the larger context of the historical and theological movements of their times. Our study will show that, within the doctrinal parameters of the Lutheran tradition, the early LCMS English hymnals employed an eclectic as well as catholic approach in selecting English-language hymns, with a preference for more recent nineteenth-century hymnody.

FROM WATTS TO WESLEY

Studies of early English hymnody (sixteenth through eighteenth centuries) are often divided into “before Watts” and “after Watts.” Indeed, Isaac Watts (1674–1748) is widely recognized as “the Father of English Hymnody,”⁷ and his influence on early LCMS English hymnody is equally significant.⁸

In accord with the liturgical principles of John Calvin, English hymnody prior to Watts consisted primarily of metrical psalmody—that is, hymn texts that carefully rendered the psalms of the Old Testament into rhymed, metrical English.⁹ The emphasis during this period was on accuracy of translation over creative paraphrase, and very few meters or rhyme schemes were employed. By the dawn of the eighteenth cen-

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ture, what had gradually become a monochromatic psalmody begged for some color. Isaac Watts was just the person to open the windows and let in the sunshine.

In their *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century*, Madeleine Forell Marshall and Janet Todd aptly summarize Watts's suitability for the task:

Ideally, the champion of [such new] hymns would belong to a denomination unbound by church hierarchy, with its need to be persuaded. He would be a man of irreproachable piety, who would speak with the authority of the devotional life. And he would be a competent poet, whose taste and opinions lay within the mainstream, eminently uncontroversial. . . . The father of the English hymn ought probably to be a clergyman or preacher, familiar with the experiences of his people and comfortable in his role as leader and educator. He had to be able to distinguish between his private fears and vision and the public requirements of his call. Finally, hymn singing was sufficiently revolutionary that the originator had to understand precisely what he was doing and why hymns mattered. Not surprisingly, Isaac Watts met all these requirements.¹⁰

As a nonconformist minister (that is, not a part of the Church of England), Watts was not subject to the pressures that bishops over him might apply. Thus, Watts was free to expand the vocabulary and topical range of the hymnody of his age beyond the narrow versification of biblical texts into the wider avenues of biblically-based Christian thought and expression. The results were plentiful and enduring.

Many of Watts's hymns have found continued usage in the LCMS through their introduction in its first English-language hymnals.¹¹ His most famous, "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross," was included in the 1889 and 1893 hymnals, complete with its original fourth stanza, a stanza "habitually omitted"¹² since the eighteenth century.

His dying crimson, like a robe,
Spreads o'er His body on the tree;
Then I am dead to all the globe,
And all the globe is dead to me.¹³

Taken in the context of its surrounding stanzas, the "sorrow and love" flowing down in stanza 3, are taken up in stanza 4 with the image of "His dying crimson, like a robe." From the perspective of the hymn singer who is surveying "the wondrous cross" (stanza 1), the meaning of Christ's robe of crimson (his death) is made contemporaneous with the spiritual state of the singer, who has been made dead with Christ through baptism into Christ's death (Rom 6:6–11), and is now dead to the world and its principalities and powers but alive to God in Christ Jesus (Col 2:20; Gal 2:19). Stanza 5, then, carries forward the "world" of stanza 4 with related imagery. Even were "the whole realm of nature" to belong to the singer, it would be nothing (Phil 2:8) compared with the surpassing glory of Christ the crucified.¹⁴

The colors that Watts introduced to English hymnody were to have a profound impact on those who followed him. Fellow

Calvinist nonconformists like Philip Doddridge (1702–51), Joseph Hoskins (1745–88), and even Baptist nonconformists like Anne Steele (1716–78), Samuel Medley (1738–99), and John Fawcett (1740–1817), all drew upon and expanded the sung legacy founded by Watts.¹⁵

Perhaps none expanded on the heritage of Watts further—and, indeed, created a legacy of his own—than Charles Wesley (1707–88), brother of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, and premier hymnist of the Evangelical Revival in Great Britain.¹⁶ While the vast majority of Charles Wesley's estimated 7000 hymns (fashioned mostly on the battlefield of outdoor revival preaching) never measured up to the literary quality of Isaac Watts, they did greatly expand the hymn writer's prerogative to appeal to human emotions through the imagery and rhetoric employed.¹⁷ In short, Wesley's hymns have been described as full of metaphorical "variety,"¹⁸ "carnal,"¹⁹ and simply "different."²⁰ Marshall provides some helpful guidance in reading the many and varied hymn texts of Charles Wesley:

1. Wesley's hymns belong to the phenomenon of the eighteenth-century evangelical revival This experience of charismatic spirituality naturally informs Wesleyan hymnody.
2. During the lives of the Wesley brothers, the revival took place, for the most part, outside the established church. The Methodist hymnbooks were one of the means for forming and shaping the common experience of the revival. To this extent they are dogmatic.
3. While we know many of them as congregational hymns, they were originally written to be sung outside of church services. . . . The congregational sense is thus usually absent.
4. The revival emphasis . . . directed Methodist hymnody, enlisting hymns in the conversion process.
5. Charles Wesley wrote easily and often. . . . This facility might be expected to mar much of his work.²¹

Except for hymns by Watts, Wesley's hymns number greater than those of any other single English hymn writer's included in early LCMS English hymnals.²² One of the best-known Wesley hymns in current LCMS usage is "Oh, For a Thousand Tongues to Sing." It aptly illustrates many of the factors described above by Marshall.

For instance, the Methodist emphasis on conversion is underscored by its original title as found in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1740): "For the Anniversary Day of One's Conversion."²³ Such a title also bespeaks the non-church service context originally intended for this hymn. Likewise, a number of Wesley's original eighteen stanzas also highlight Methodist notions of conversion:

On this glad day the glorious Sun
Of Righteousness arose;
On my benighted soul He shone,
And fill'd it with repose.

Sudden expired the legal strife;
 'Twas then I ceas'd to grieve.
 My second, real, living life
 I then began to live.

I found, and owned His promise true,
 Ascertained of my part;
 My pardon passed in heav'n, I knew,
 When written on my heart.²⁴

Of course, LCMS editors omitted these stanzas (as had many others before them), retaining seven out of the original eighteen. Those that remained explicate faithfully a variety of biblical images and themes. Finally, in the line “My second, real, living life,” one observes only seven instead of eight syllables, perhaps indicating the “easy and often” character of much of Wesley’s hymnody.

The theological emphases of the Evangelical Revival were carried forward by Anglican divines well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Other hymn writers of this period were influenced, to one degree or another, by the trends established in Wesley’s hymn writing. Edward Perronet (1726–92), who was a fiery and, at times, volatile minister of the Church of England heavily involved in the Wesleyan revivals, wrote “All Hail the Power of Jesus’ Name.”²⁵ Samson Occom (1732–92) was a Mohican Indian who was converted by George Whitefield and was eventually ordained a Presbyterian minister. Occom visited England where he preached often, finally returning to minister to his own people on Long Island.²⁶ All in all, the latter half of the eighteenth century would become a fertile period for English hymnody, as the legacy of Wesley and Watts was further expanded in the work of the English Evangelicals who followed.

THE LEGACY OF THE ENGLISH EVANGELICALS

The theological emphases of the Evangelical Revival—the atonement, personal conversion, and the authority of Scripture (in opposition to English Deism)²⁷—were carried forward by Anglican divines well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In particular, three hymn writers stand out within this stream toward the end of the eighteenth century: Newton, Cowper, and Toplady.

John Newton (1725–1807) was the product of both the best and the worst of his times. The son of a sea captain, he began sailing at the age of twelve. Within a decade of life on the sea, he had lost his faith and descended into the depths

of debauchery as well as the cruelty of the slave trade. It was as a slave ship captain that he eventually returned to the faith by reading Thomas à Kempis and narrowly escaping death by drowning. In 1754, he left the sea and studied with Whitefield, Wesley, and other nonconformists. In spite of his lack of a formal education, Newton eventually became a thoroughgoing Calvinist and was ordained in the Anglican Church as the curate of Olney in Buckinghamshire. The pastorate at Olney brought many challenges in ministering to the poor and illiterate of his congregation. The cares and joys of his people soon became the warp and woof of his song. Offering Sunday schools for children and weekly meetings for the adults, his *Olney Hymns* (1779) were written with these extra-liturgical occasions in mind.²⁸

Because of the didactic character of these weekly educational opportunities, one of the key characteristics of many of Newton’s hymns is a three-part “sermon hymn pattern”: (1) the text (whether a Bible story or simply a general truth); (2) an explanation of the relevance of the text to the lives of the singers; and (3) a prayer. “Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken” (*ELHB* 1893, 145), among Newton’s finest, exhibits this sermon hymn pattern. Based on Psalm 46, stanzas 1–3 paraphrase the biblical text, describing Zion as “the Rock on ages founded,” with “streams of living waters / Springing from eternal love.” At stanza 4, Newton explains the text’s relevance to his hearers:

Bless’d inhabitants of Zion,
 Wash’d in the Redeemer’s blood!
 Jesus, whom their souls rely on,
 Makes them kings and priests to God.
 ’Tis his love his people raises
 Over self to reign as kings,
 And as priests, his solemn praises
 Each for a thank-off’ring brings.²⁹

Newton is intent on bringing home the Christocentric nature and purpose of Psalm 46 to his hearers, evoking the additional imagery of Revelation 5:10 of a “kingdom of priests to our God.” Finally, in stanza 5, Newton and his hearers sing a prayer:

Saviour, if of Zion’s city
 I through grace a member am,
 Let the world deride or pity,
 I will glory in thy name.³⁰

The strict Calvinist emphasis on election is apparent in the first line, altered in *ELHB* 1893 (and many other non-Calvinist hymnals) to read: “Savior, *since* of Zion’s city . . .” Yet, the result is “a grand hymn, an exercise in the sublime.”³¹

John Cowper (1731–1800) was a parishioner at Newton’s Olney and contributed some sixty-seven texts to the *Olney Hymns*. Ranked by literary historians as a truly serious poet, his life was also deeply disturbed, mentally and spiritually.³² Although many of Cowper’s hymn texts are fairly tame, one may also occasionally encounter a kind of bold, “living on the edge” quality as, for instance, one sees in his most famous hymn in LCMS usage: “There Is a Fountain Filled with Blood” (*ELHB* 1893, 82):

There is a fountain filled with blood,
 Drawn from Immanuel's veins;
 And sinners, plunged beneath that flood,
 Lose all their guilty stains.³³

The language is rather shocking because, by inference, Cowper has expanded the picture of Revelation 7:14 to include an actual fountain filled with blood as the means by which those who have come out of the great tribulation “have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.” And yet, such graphic use of blood imagery is really not much beyond the tradition of Watt’s “dying crimson, like a robe” (see above, page 10). Cowper simply pushed it further, perhaps even a little over the edge.

Augustus Montague Toplady (1741–78) was another thoroughly Calvinist minister in the Church of England who used the same kind of graphic blood imagery in his hymns. “Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me” is the only one of his hymns to have been included in the early LCMS hymnals of our study, and yet it remains in common usage even today.

Rock of ages, cleft for me,
 Let me hide myself in Thee!
 Let the water and the blood,
 From Thy riven side which flowed
 Be of sin the double cure,
 Cleanse me from its guilt and power.

Drawing on St. John’s Passion Narrative (Jn 19:34–37; see also 1 Jn 5:6–8), Toplady brings home its meaning to the individual through the use of the first person. And yet, the “me” of the first line finds its rest only in the divine “Thee” of the second. The “double cure” of line five is the blood and water’s ability to cleanse from “guilt and power” in the final line.

The hymns of Toplady and other English evangelicals would lay the groundwork for congregational song during the nineteenth century. For although hymn singing since Watts had expanded beyond the monochromatic palette of metrical psalmody into the shades and hues of Wesley and Newton, it had not yet found a legitimate venue in the Church of England beyond the likes of the extra-liturgical gatherings of Whitefield’s revivals or the Sunday school meetings of Newton’s Olney. While nonconformist congregations—Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist—had been singing the newer hymns all along, what was actually being sung on Sunday morning in the established church remained for many parishes still in the “psalmody-only mode” even into the 1820s.³⁴ For although the Church of England had authorized Cranmer’s *Book of Common Prayer* to guide its liturgical life, it found itself at the beginning of the nineteenth century without any authorized hymn collections beyond various assortments of metrical psalmody. Ian Bradley succinctly describes what happened next:

Not surprisingly, it was the activities of an evangelical clergyman which led to the lifting of the Church of England’s prohibition on singing hymns in services. Thomas Cotterill, Vicar of St. Paul’s Church in Sheffield, produced a small

hymn-book for his congregation in 1810. Nine years later he expanded it to include 367 hymns. . . . A group within Cotterill’s congregation objected to their vicar’s innovation and took the matter to the York Consistory Court [a church court]. The dispute was referred to the Archbishop of York, who ruled in 1820 that Cotterill’s book must be withdrawn, but gave his blessing to a smaller collection of 146 hymns which he personally approved and paid for to be printed. “The Archbishop’s Selection,” as it came to be known, was taken up by a good number of churches in the North of England and went through twenty-nine editions. Thus in a classic piece of Anglican compromise, the practice of hymn-singing was officially authorized in the Church of England . . . and at the same time kept under strict Episcopal control.³⁵

Only a few years later, another important effort to reform the worship of the Church of England—the Oxford Movement—would intersect with this and other official authorizations for expanded hymn singing. The results would bestow upon the church catholic a flowering of English hymnody previously unknown.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN

The Oxford Movement in the Church of England is reckoned to have been launched in 1833 with a sermon by John Keble (1792–1866) titled *National Apostasy*.³⁶ Also known as “Tractarians” because of the numerous tracts they published, these Anglicans sought, among other things, to restore the high church ideals of previous eras in the face of encroaching liberalism and various church reforms being proposed at the time. Their chief purpose was to defend the divine institution of the Church of England on the basis of the doctrine of apostolic succession, and to defend the *Book of Common Prayer* as a rule of faith. Although a number of those associated with this movement eventually joined the Church of Rome (most famously John Cardinal Newman), many of the movement’s emphases were carried forward into the church’s life, especially in the flood of hymns flowing forth during this period.³⁷

At first glance, one would not expect that high church Anglicans in the 1830s would have been terribly interested in hymn singing, especially since it had been so closely associated with nonconformist congregations and their non-liturgical and certainly nonconformist propensities. Nevertheless, a wonderful marriage resulted when the Oxford Movement encountered evangelical hymn singing:

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 everything modern and reformed.³⁸

Although he died before Keble's famous sermon, Anglican Reginald Heber (1783–1826) prepared the way in 1820 when he assembled a collection of ninety-eight hymns for his parish at Hodnet in Shropshire. Fifty-seven were his own, and the rest were by other Anglicans with impeccable credentials, including Ken, Cowper, Newton, and Alexander Pope (1688–1744). In keeping with high Anglican ideals, the hymns were ordered according to the church year, with instructions as to how they might best be used with the readings appointed in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Nevertheless, the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury both refused to authorize Heber's collection. It was only after Heber's untimely death in 1826 that the collection was finally published.³⁹

Victorian hymns preferred the doctrinal and didactic, especially when compared to the hymns of the eighteenth century.

Heber brought a certain high literary quality to hymn writing and hymn collecting that was to become a hallmark for much of English hymnody that followed. Of the four Heber hymns included in early LCMS English hymnals, all have survived into common usage today: "Brightest and Best of the Sons of the Morning"; "God Who Madest Earth and Heaven" (modified by Richard Whately, ca. 1860); "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord, God Almighty!"; and "From Greenland's Icy Mountains."

An even greater contribution to early LCMS English hymnals (with sixteen hymns, third behind Watts and Wesley) was made by Heber's contemporary, the Romantic poet James Montgomery (1771–1854). These include "Angels from the Realms of Glory"; "Come to Calvary's Holy Mountain"; "Go to Dark Gethsemane"; "Hail to the Lord's Anointed"; and "Jerusalem, My Happy Home." A Moravian most of his life, Montgomery was a newspaper editor and poet who believed that a hymn should have a definite "beginning, middle, and end":

There should be a manifest gradation in the thoughts, and their mutual dependence should be so perceptible that they could not be transposed without injuring the unity of the piece.⁴⁰

His theory would stand him, and others who followed it, in good stead.

Perhaps the greatest influence that the Oxford Movement had on hymn singing in the Church of England was the impetus it gave to engage in hymnological research and the restoration

of ancient hymnody. One of the chief goals of the Tractarians was the recovery of pre-Reformation liturgy and hymnody. The Tractarian John Mason Neale (1818–66) became one of the nineteenth-century's leading hymn translators and *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) the century's chief English hymn book and vehicle for his translated hymnody.

Although Neale composed a number of his own hymns, he is chiefly known for his translations of Latin and Greek hymns into English, making widely available a hitherto previously unknown wealth of congregational song.⁴¹ Along with Richard Mant (1776–1848) and other like-minded translators, the Tractarians sought to reclaim the church's ancient office hymns for English speakers. From 1851 to 1862, Neale published no fewer than four major volumes of hymns in English, either translated from or based on ancient originals, creating what in his mind would be a solid foundation for Anglican hymnody that was orthodox, catholic, objective, and doctrinally sound.⁴²

In 1861 Neale's repristinationist ideals were combined with the best of recent English hymnody in the first truly "national" hymnal for the Church of England, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (A&M). Prior to A&M, myriad hymnals had been published as collections of parish favorites (much like one may observe in some LCMS pews today, often with a title like *Hymns We Like to Sing*). An anonymous letter in *The English Churchman* described the situation:

Every Clergyman now-a-days seems to pride himself on having "*his own*" selection of hymns, compiled probably by his wife and eldest daughter, and the music for it selected perhaps by some young "Tommie" [simpleton] who has just learned to play a double-chant, and sing boy-alto in his schoolchoir. No doubt it is well to let gentlemen have a vent for their genius, and perhaps a hymnbook is after all more harmless . . . than a volume of bad sermons printed "at the request" of personal admirers!⁴³

The above writer did not see much use for A&M either. And yet, A&M eventually did succeed precisely because it was *not* a private collection but rather a collection of the *best* of the various private collections, assembled by a committee rather than an individual. Poets, hymn writers, and scholars such as Christopher Wordsworth (1807–85), William W. How (1823–97), and John Ellerton (1826–93)⁴⁴ all made their unique contributions. The result was the beginning of a line of hymnals, published in successive editions, that has stretched into the twenty-first century.⁴⁵

THE FLOWERING OF VICTORIAN HYMNODY

In 1837, just four years after Keble launched the Oxford Movement, Victoria became Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, reigning until her death in 1901. As the latter half of the nineteenth century became known as the "Victorian Era," so also did just about everything else in Great Britain, including the flowering of its hymnody in A&M and elsewhere.

It can become problematic if one makes too many generalizations about such a vast and varied body of literature as Victorian

hymnody. However, Ian Bradley makes some helpful distinctions. First, he notes that Victorian hymns preferred the *doctrinal and didactic*, especially when compared to the hymns of the eighteenth century. In other words, Victorian hymnody tended to instruct people in the faith rather than to sing them to conversion. Second, he notes the *centrality of death* as a theme, as well as its sub-themes of heaven, hell, and judgment. Third, he notes that *pilgrimage, rather than progress*, was an ideal that gripped Victorian hymn writers. That is, the Christian's primary mission in this life was to make the pilgrimage to heaven, not to work for "progress" according to this-worldly definitions. Fourth, Victorian hymnody tended to focus on the incarnation more than the atonement. The *God of love*, enfleshed in the Bethlehem infant, was preferred over the God of wrath and might.⁴⁶

A plethora of Victorian-era hymn writers abound in the early LCMS English hymnals of our study, and it is not surprising that Victorian-era hymns would appeal to editors assembling a hymnal at the close of the Victorian era. Nor should it be surprising that the emphases identified by Bradley above would find a certain amount of resonance with orthodox Lutheran sensitivities.

Scottish Presbyterian, Horatius Bonar (1808–99), registers the greatest number of hymns from this period.⁴⁷ Bonar is followed by the Anglican divine Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847), whose "Abide with Me! Fast Falls the Eventide" exemplifies many of the themes identified by Bradley above. Published in *A&M* (1861) with five stanzas, *ELHB* 1893 chose to include three additional stanzas originally penned by Lyte (but perhaps not as helpful to the overall flow and shape of the hymn). Thus, the Victorian doctrinal-didactic character is typified by such lines as these:

Change and decay in all around I see;
O Thou who changest not, abide with me!

And,

Where is death's sting? Where, grave, thy victory?
I triumph still, if Thou abide with me!

The Victorian themes of death, heaven, hell, and judgment permeate the hymn, particularly seen here:

Swift to its close ebbs out life's little day;
Earth's joys grow dim, its glories pass away;

And,

Heaven's morning breaks, and earth's vain shadows flee;
In life, in death, O Lord, abide with me.

The Victorian theme of pilgrimage is also ubiquitous, as the hymn moves the singer from deathbed to heaven:

Who like Thyself my guide and stay can be?
Through cloud and sunshine, O abide with me!

And,

Hold Thou Thy cross before my closing eyes,
Shine through the gloom and point me to the skies;

And finally, the love of God in Christ Jesus is dwelt upon considerably:

Come not in terrors as the King of kings,
But kind and good, with healing in Thy wings;

And,

Not a brief glance I beg, a passing word,
But as Thou dwell'st with Thy disciples Lord:
Familiar, condescending, patient, free,
Come, not to sojourn, but abide with me.

Another significant aspect of Victorian hymnody is the prominence of women hymn writers. According to J. R. Watson:

They wrote hymns because it was a respectable and ladylike thing to do, along with teaching in the Sunday school or Bible class. Their great exemplar from the previous century was Anne Steele, who did not publish under her own name, but who called herself "Theodosia" to indicate her sex.⁴⁸

Hymns from a number of women hymn writers in the Victorian genre found their way into early LCMS English hymnals, including Frances Ridley Havergal (1836–79), Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871), Dorothy Frances Gurney (1858–1932); Eliza Sibbald Alderson (1818–89), Sarah Flower Adams (1805–48), Mary Fawler Maude (1819–1913), Genevieve Mary Irons (b. 1855), Jane Eliza Leeson (1807–82), Julia Anne Elliott (d. 1841), and Margaret Mackay (1802–87). Concerning these Victorian hymn writers, Bradley notes:

It is tempting to categorize Victorian women hymn-writers into two distinct types—the sickly spinster who pours her frustration into highly-charged verse of an intensely emotional and evangelical hue, and the robust and active wife and mother who writes with more objectivity and control.⁴⁹

Among the hymn writers listed above, Charlotte Elliott perhaps best resembles the "sickly spinster" variety. Her hymn, "Just as I Am, without One Plea," which was first published in her *Invalid's Hymn Book* (1836), breathes the aura of one who "though weak and feeble in body . . . possessed a strong imagination, and a well-cultured and intellectual mind."⁵⁰ On the other hand, Eliza Sibbald Alderson perhaps best resembles the "robust and active wife and mother" variety. Her "Lord of Glory, Thou Hast Bought Us," was first published in 1868 in a supplement to *A&M*, about which she writes concerning the inspiration for this hymn: "It was the very strong feeling that a tithe of our income was a solemn debt to God and His poor, which inspired it."⁵¹

THE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION

While the vast majority of English hymns included in early LCMS English hymnals came from the British Isles, a small percentage were of North American origin—a few from the eighteenth century, but most from the nineteenth. Perhaps best known in this grouping would be the Congregationalist min-

ister Ray Palmer (1808–87), who wrote “My Faith Looks up to Thee.” He wrote this hymn right after he graduated from Yale in 1830, giving the text to Lowell Mason, who then wrote the tune Olivet and published them together the following year.⁵² Tune and text have been wed inseparably ever since.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America was dominated by Puritan Calvinist understandings of conversion and divine sovereignty; the nineteenth century saw the rise and eventual domination of Arminian revivalism.

And yet, nineteenth-century America underwent a major shift from the religious views it had held in previous centuries. Whereas seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America was dominated by Puritan Calvinist understandings of conversion and divine sovereignty; the nineteenth century saw the rise and eventual domination of Arminian revivalism during the Second Great Awakening—often reckoned as beginning with the Cane Ridge Revival of 1801, peaking with the revivals of Charles Grandison Finney toward the middle of the century, and still running strong as revivalist models continued toward the end of the century with the work of Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey.⁵³ With Missouri’s strong stand during the 1850s against Samuel Simon Schmucker’s “New Measures” (which sought to refashion American Lutheranism according to the prevailing revivalist model),⁵⁴ it is not surprising that very little among American revivalist hymnody would find resonance with Missouri’s theological worldview toward the end of the century.

One minor but notable exception, of course, was the inclusion of “What a Friend We Have in Jesus.” It was included in the original *ELHB* of 1889 as well as the 1893 edition, the authorship designated with a simple “?”. By the time of *ELHB* 1905,⁵⁵ it was apparently discovered to have been written by Joseph Scriven (1820–86) and popularized by Ira Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs* (1875). In other words, a song from the revival movement that Missouri had so vehemently rejected, managed at least to get its camel’s nose through the back door of the tent, albeit unawares. However, it is important to note that although English-speaking American Protestantism contributed little to Missouri’s early English hymn corpus (25 hymns total), the contribution that English-speaking American *Lutherans* made (10 hymns total) was both statistically significant as well as qualitatively unique.

The hymns of Matthias Loy (1828–1915) found the most usage in early LCMS English hymnals. His most famous hymn-duo,

“The Law of God Is Good and Wise” and “The Gospel Shows the Father’s Grace” have survived into common usage in the LCMS even today. Born in Pennsylvania, Loy was a second-generation German pastor of the Ohio Synod. An avid reader of C. F. W. Walther’s *Der Lutheraner* during his student days at the Columbus seminary, Loy joined Walther at the formation of the Synodical Conference in Gravelton, Missouri, in 1872, but eventually opposed him during the Election Controversy of the 1880s that divided the Ohio and Missouri synods.⁵⁶ However, a number of the Ohio Synod’s English-speaking pastors, who found themselves siding with Walther and Missouri in the Election Controversy, eventually left the Ohio Synod and became leaders of the English Synod (among them Frederick Kuegele, who served as its first president and assisted in the editing of *ELHB* 1889). Thus, it is most noteworthy that even though there must have been a significant amount of “bad blood” between the editors of *ELHB* and their former colleague, Matthias Loy, nevertheless, the English-speaking Missourians saw fit to include a number of his original English hymns in their hymnal, in addition to a greater number of his translations of German hymns.

The other noteworthy English-speaking Lutheran contribution to Missouri’s early English hymnals was the hymn by Henry Eyster Jacobs (1844–1932), “Nearer, My God, to Thee, Through Word and Sacrament.”⁵⁷ Jacobs was a professor at, and eventually president of, the General Council’s Gettysburg Seminary, as well as a church historian and translator of the 1882 edition of the *Book of Concord*. As such, his hymn was an obvious attempt to Lutheranize the somewhat means-of-graceless version written by the Unitarian Sarah Flower Adams (also included in *ELHB*). With seven stanzas, stanzas 1 and 6 of Jacobs’s hymn read:

Nearer, my God, to Thee!
Nearer to Thee!
Thro’ Word and Sacrament,
Thou com’st to me.
Thy grace is ever near,
Thy Spirit ever here,
Drawing to Thee.

By the Baptismal stream
Which made me Thine,
By the dear flesh and blood,
Thy love made mine,
Purge Thou all sin from me,
That I may nearer be,
Nearer to Thee!

For some reason, however, the text of Jacobs was written with one less line than that of Adams, so a new tune was assigned in *ELHB* 1912.

CONCLUSIONS

The panorama of English hymn writers and their hymns included in our early LCMS English hymnals is truly astonishing (see the appendix). When one considers the challenges that must

have presented themselves in combining English hymnody with German translations into a single, coherent tradition, it is amazing that such a variety of hymn writers and hymn genres were included—and with such felicitous and long-lasting results.

It is not surprising that the metrical psalmody “before Watts” exercised little influence. Much of it was in a language that had likely become archaic or obsolete, and all of it was set to tired meters and tunes that, for the most part, had run their course and were no longer widely commended in English hymn singing by the dawn of the twentieth century.

His nonconformist expansion of what was scripturally fair game for hymn writers only mirrored what Lutherans had already been writing hymns about.

Neither should it surprise us that the hymns of Watts should outnumber any other hymn writer. As the “father of English hymnody,” his nonconformist expansion of what was scripturally fair game for hymn writers only mirrored, in many ways, what Lutherans had already been writing hymns about for nearly two centuries before him. As such, his hymnody presented the “perfect fit” for Lutherans who wanted to sing in English.

Similarly, one may sense a resonance between the hymns of Wesley and the Moravian or Pietist hymnody that had become

such a significant part of German congregational song by the nineteenth century. Indeed, English-speaking German Lutherans who pondered the hymns of Wesley would likely see little difference between his more expressive elements concerning the atonement and its implications for the Christian life, and, say, those of Nicolaus Zinzendorf or even Paul Gerhardt. While it is interesting to observe the role that strict Calvinists like Newton, Cowper, and Toplady played, they too were products of the English Revival, with many of the same doctrinal emphases on atonement and conversion that the Wesleys and later Arminian Methodists would hold. In the tradition of Whitefield, they just went about revival in a Calvinist way.⁵⁸

The relative scarcity of nineteenth-century American hymn writers is also not surprising when one considers that America had basically gone to the Methodists and other Arminian revivalists, against whom the Missouri Synod had taken a stand for nearly half a century. If there were ever a dark side to the force of Christianity in America, from the Missourian perspective it would have been the likes of Finney, Moody, and, most notoriously, Schmucker.

And so one must ask the obvious question: why would a confessional Lutheran at the end of the nineteenth century consider for more than a minute including the contemporary gospel songs of Sankey and Moody when he had at his disposal all of the doctrinal richness of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and, indeed, much, much more from which to choose? The explosion of Victorian hymnody that had burst forth from the marriage of Evangelical and Tractarian purposes in the Church of England, found itself echoing loudly, even in such faraway places as the little English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States.

The enduring results have served the LCMS wonderfully for well over a century. “The most beautiful hymns in the world” have carried generations of Missourians from cradle to grave. They truly have become “the hymns our mothers sang.”⁵⁹

A CALL FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The editors of LOGIA hereby request manuscripts, book reviews, and forum material for the following issues and themes:

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APPENDIX

English-Language Hymn Writers in Early LCMS English Hymnals

* = hymnwriters mentioned in this study.

The numbers following each name indicate respectively how many of this writer's hymns: 1) were included in ELHB; 2) were included in TLH or LW; 3) are slated for inclusion in the forthcoming LCMS hymnal, Lutheran Service Book (LSB).

From Watts to Wesley

Before Watts—

*Tate and Brady—3/1/0

*Thomas Ken (1637–1711)—3/3/2

Joseph Hart (1712–68)—2/2/0

*Francis Rous (1579–1659)—1/1/1

*Richard Baxter (1615–1691)—1/1/0

Joseph Addison (1672–1719)—2/2/0

*Isaac Watts (1674–1748)—40/25/10

After Watts

*Anne Steele (1716–78)—8/5/0

*Samuel Medley (1738–99)—2/2/1

*John Fawcett (1740–1817)—4/3/1

*Philip Doddridge (1702–51)—8/5/1

Joseph Hoskins (1745–88)—1/1/0

Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1758–1804)—1/1/0

The Wesleys and the First Great Awakening

*Charles Wesley (1707–88)—26/12/5

Samuel Wesley (1662–1735)—1/1/0

*Alexander Pope (1688–1744)—1/1/0

*Edward Perronet (1726–92)—1/1/1

*Samson Occom (1732–92)—1/1/0

Joseph Humphreys (b. 1720)—1/1/0

William Hammond (1719–83)—1/1/0

Joseph Grigg (ca. 1728–68)—2/2/0

Benjamin Francis (1734–1799)—1/1/0

*The Legacy of the English Evangelicals**

John Newton (1725–1807)—10/9/3

*William Cowper (1731–1800)—4/3/1

*Augustus Montague Toplady (1741–78)—1/1/1

Thomas Haweis (1732–1820)—2/0/0

Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743–1825)—2/1/0

Basil Woodd (1760–1831)—1/1/1

Thomas Rawson Taylor (1807–35)—1/1/1

John Rippon (1751–1836)—1/1/1

George Heath (1745?–1822)—1/1/0

Edward Cooper (1770–1833)—1/1/0

Ambrose Serle (1742–1812)—1/1/0

Thomas Kelly (1769–1854)—7/6/2

William Bengo Collyer (1782–1854)—2/2/0

John Cawood (1775–1852)—2/2/1

Lawrence Tuttlett (1825–97)—1/1/0

William Shrubsole (1759–1829)—1/1/0

James Hamilton (1819–96)—1/1/0

Henry Downton (1818–85)—1/1/0

*Thomas Cotterill (1779–1823)—3/2/0

The Oxford Movement and Hymns Ancient and Modern
Oxford Movement

*John Keble (1792–1866)—3/2/0

*Matthew Bridges (1800–94)—2/2/1

*Henry John Pye (1825–1903)—1/1/1

Thomas Moore (1779–1852)—1/1/0

*Frederick W. Faber (1814–63)—2/0/0

*Edward Caswall (1814–78)—1/0/0

*James Montgomery (1771–1854)—16/14/5

*Reginald Heber (1783–1826)—4/4/3

Robert Grant (1779–1838)—1/1/1

Hymns Ancient and Modern

*Christopher Wordsworth (1807–85)—6/6/1

*William W. How (1823–97)—6/6/3

John S. B. Monsell (1811–75)—3/2/1

*John Ellerton (1826–93)—3/2/1

William Chatterton Dix (1837–98)—3/3/2

Henry Williams Baker (1821–77)—3/2/0

Godfrey Thring (1823–1903)—2/2/0

*John Mason Neale (1818–66)—2/1/0

Samuel John Stone (1839–1900)—1/1/1

Greville Phillimore (1821–84)—1/1/0

*Richard Mant (1776–1848)—1/1/0

Edward Arthur Dayman, (1807–90)—1/1/0

The Flowering of Victorian Hymnody

*Horatius Bonar (1808–99)—8/7/1

*Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847)—4/3/1

*Frances Ridley Havergal (1836–79)—3/2/0

*Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871)—3/2/1

Edward Osler (1798–1863)—2/2/0

James Edmeston (1791–1867)—1/1/0

John Bowring (1792–1872)—2/1/0

William Hiley Bathurst (1796–1877)—2/2/0

Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924)—1/1/0

Henry Alford (1810–71)—2/2/1

John Reynell Wreford (1800–81)—1/1/0

Adelaide Thrupp (ca. 1853)—1/1/0

Dorothy Frances Gurney (1858–1932)—1/1/0

Eliza Sibbald Alderson (1818–89)—1/1/1

*Sarah Flower Adams (1805–48)—1/1/0

*Mary Fowler Maude (1819–1913)—1/1/0

Genevieve Mary Irons (1855–1928)—1/1/1

Andrew Reed (1788–1862)—1/1/1

Edward Mote (1797–1874)—1/1/1

William McComb (1793–c. 1870)—1/1/1

*Jane Eliza Leeson (1807–82)—1/1/0

Cornelius Elven (1791–1873)—1/1/0

*Julia Anne Elliott (d. 1841)—1/1/0

Josiah Conder (1789–1855)—1/1/0

Bernard Barton (1784–1849)—1/1/0

Oswald Allen (1816–78)—1/1/1

*Margaret Mackay (1802–87)—1/1/0

The American Contribution

American Protestants

- *Ray Palmer (1800–87)—3/3/1
 Henry Harbaugh (1817–67)—2/1/0
 Henry Ustic Onderdonk (1789–1858)—2/1/0
 Timothy Dwight (1752–1817)—1/1/1
 George Washington Doane (1791–1859)—2/2/0
 Denis Wortman (1835–1922)—1/1/1
 William Bingham Tappan (1794–1835)—1/1/0
 Nathan Strong (1748–1816)—1/1/0
 Samuel Francis Smith (1808–95)—1/1/0
 *Joseph Scriven (1820–86)—1/1/1
 Charles Seymour Robinson (1829–99)—1/1/0
 Daniel March (1816–1909)—1/1/1
 Thomas Hastings (1784–1872)—2/2/0
 George Dufield, Jr. (1818–88)—1/1/1
 William Crosswell (1804–51)—1/1/0
 Arthur Cleveland Coxe (1818–96)—1/1/0
 William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878)—1/1/0
 Mary Maxwell (1814–c. 1890)—1/1/0
 Mary Cornelia Gates (1842–1905)—1/1/1
 John S. Dwight and Charles T. Brooks—1/1/1

English Speaking Lutherans in America

- *Matthias Loy (1828–1915)—5/4/2
 *William Augustus Muehlenberg (1796–1877)—2/2/0
 Emanuel Cronenwett (1841–1931)—2/2/0
 Henry Eyster Jacobs (1844–1932)—1/0/0

The following hymn writers were not included in this study because they were either unidentifiable or their hymns never survived into ELHB 1912.

- H. K. White (ca. 1806)—1/0/0
 John Stocker (ca. 1777)—1/0/0
 Thomas Scott (ca. 1773)—1/0/0
 Thomas Edward Powell (ca. 1864)—1/0/0
 John Morison (1749–98)—1/0/0
 John Leland (ca. 1792)—1/0/0
 Hayward—1/0/0
 Thomas H. Gill (ca. 1864)—1/0/0
 John Gambold (ca. 1754)—1/0/0
 Henry Cook (ca. 1868)—1/0/0
 Phebe Cary (ca. 1852)—1/0/0
 E. H. Bickersteth (ca. 1870)—1/0/0
 B. Beddome—1/0/0
 John Austin (ca. 1668)—1/0/0
 H. Auber (ca. 1833)—1/0/0
 Joseph Anstice (1808–36)—1/0/0
 Maria F. Anderson (ca. 1848)—1/0/0
 Cecil Frances Alexander (1823–95)—1/0/0
 Frank B. St. John (ca. 1878)—1/1/0

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NOTES

1. [C. F. W. Walther], *Der Lutheraner* 3 (1847), 84 as translated in Carl S. Meyer, *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 182. See also Jon D. Viek, “C. F. W. Walther: Editor of Missouri’s First and Only German Hymnal,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 65 (1992): 53–69.

2. Cameron A. MacKenzie, “The Missouri Synod Accepts English,” (unpublished paper, 1985).

3. H. P. Eckhardt, *The English District: A Historical Sketch*, (n.p.: The English District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1942), 11.

4. The following hymnals were examined in this study: *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book*, (Baltimore: Harry Lang, 1889); *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, (Baltimore: Lutheran Publication Board, 1893); *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book: With Music*, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912).

5. *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 5 (1901). Emphasis added.

6. This study includes 130 hymn writers and 280 English-language hymns contained in the hymnals between 1889–1912. English translations from German and other languages have not been included. This study also will not examine the historical background and context for the production of the hymnals themselves, nor their reception histories. Finally, this study will not include the backgrounds of various English-language translators, although the roles of such individuals as Catherine Winkworth, John Mason Neale, and August Crull were certainly significant. Profound thanks to Dr. Joseph Herl of Concordia University, Nebraska, for his guidance and encouragement in pursuing and shaping this study.

7. William J. Reynolds and Milburn Price, *A Joyful Sound: Christian Hymnody* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 43. English hymn writers prior to Watts exercise a minimal influence on the hymnals in our study, including: Nahum Tate (1652–1715) and Nicholas Brady (1659–1726); the much-beloved Anglican bishop Thomas Ken (1673–1711), including “Awake, my soul, and with the sun”; Joseph Hart (1712–68); Francis Rous (1579–1659); and Puritan poet and hymnal editor Richard Baxter (1615–1691).

8. Forty (14%) of the 280 hymn texts included in this study are by Isaac Watts—the single largest number of hymn texts attributed to any hymn writer.

9. “The Lord’s My Shepherd, I’ll Not Want” by Francis Rous is a classic example of this kind of early English hymnody.

10. Madeleine Forell Marshall and Janet Todd, *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1982), 28.

11. Of the 40 Watts hymns included in this study, the following have been retained in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941) or *Lutheran Worship* (1982): “Alas! and Did My Saviour Bleed,” “From All That Dwell Below the Skies,” “Jesus Shall Reign Where’er the Sun,” “Joy to the World, the Lord Is Come,” “Not All the Blood of Beasts,” “O Bless the Lord, My Soul,” “Our God, Our Help in Ages Past,” “The Man Is Ever Blest,” “This Is the Day the Lord Hath Made,” “When I Survey the Wondrous Cross,” “Before Jehovah’s Awful Throne,” “Behold the Sure Foundation—Stone,” “Blest Is the Man, Forever Blest,” “Father of Glory, to Thy Name,” “Great Is the Lord Our God,” “How Beauteous Are Their Feet,” “How Shall the Young Secure Their Hearts,” “Jesus, My Great High Priest,” “Lord of the Worlds Above,” “Lord, We Confess Our Numerous Faults,” “Oh That the Lord Would Guide My Ways,” “O Thou That Hear’st When Sinners Cry,” “The Lord My Shepherd Is,” “We Sing the Almighty Power of God,” and “Why Do We Mourn Departing Friends.”

12. Donald Davie, *The Eighteenth-Century Hymn in England*, ed. Howard Erskine-Hill and John Richetti, vol. 19, *Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Thought* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 40.

13. Unless otherwise noted, all hymn texts and titles cited will be as they appear in this ELHB 1893.

14. For various literary readings of this hymn, cf. Davie, *The Eighteenth-Century Hymn in England*, 35 ff., Marshall and Todd, *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century*. 44 ff., Madeleine Forell Marshall, *Common Hymnsense* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 1995), 39–44; and J. R. Watson, ed., *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 135 ff.

15. Among the hymns examined in this study, Doddridge has eight, including “Hark, the Glad Sound, the Saviour Comes”; Hoskins has one; Steele has eight; Samuel Medley has two; and John Fawcett has four, including “Blest Be the Tie That Binds.”

16. Williston Walker et al., *A History of the Christian Church*, fourth ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985), 598, notes: “But only with the emergence of its three great leaders. John and Charles Wesley and George

Whitefield, did the evangelical revival swell into a mighty tide. For four decades, it advanced in three identifiable but closely related strands, all related to the established Church of England: The Methodist societies under the Wesleys, the Calvinistic Methodists under Whitefield, and the Anglican Evangelicals, who operated along more traditional parish lines." This movement in Great Britain roughly paralleled the movements of Pietism in Germany and the First Great Awakening in America. It should also be noted that, although Charles Wesley was heavily involved in the founding of the Methodist movement, he remained a minister of the established church his entire life.

17. Marshall and Todd, *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century*, 20–23 also observes a connection between Wesley's hymns and German Pietist and Moravian hymnody of the period. It would be interesting to explore whether or not there may have been Pietist or Moravian texts in existing German LCMS hymnody that might have resonated with the editors as they selected hymns by Wesley in English.

18. J. R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 224, quoting James Montgomery's view: "... Christian experience furnishes him [Wesley] with everlasting and inexhaustible themes; and it must be confessed, that he has celebrated them with an affluence of diction, and a splendour of colouring, rarely surpassed."

19. Davie, *The Eighteenth-Century Hymn in England*, 57 ff.

20. Marshall, *Common Hymnsense*, 45–64.

21. *Ibid.*, 45–46.

22. Twenty-five hymns by Charles Wesley were included, among them: "Christ the Lord Is Risen Today," "Christ Whose Glory Fills the skies," "Come, Thou Almighty King," "Hark! the Herald Angels Sing," "I Know That My Redeemer Lives," and "Jesus, Lover of My Soul."

23. Watson, ed., *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns*, 167.

24. As quoted from W. G. Polack, *The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942), 257.

25. A. B. G. [rosart], "Peronet, Edward," in John Julian, ed., *A Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations*, 2nd Revised ed., 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 889 ff.

26. F. M. B. [ird] "Occom, Samson," in Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 855. Occam authored "Now the shades of night are gone" (TLH 538).

27. See "Evangelicalism," in F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 486.

28. Marshall and Todd, *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century*, 89–91. Ten of Newton's hymns were included in the hymnals of our study, including "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds," and "On What Has Now Been Sown." His most famous hymn, "Amazing Grace," was not included in LCMS hymnals until *Lutheran Worship* (1982).

29. *Ibid.*, 115. In keeping with many other hymnbooks, this stanza and one other were unfortunately omitted from *ELHB* 1893.

30. *Ibid.*, 115.

31. Watson, ed., *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns*, 218.

32. Marshall, *Common Hymnsense*, 93.

33. The first two lines of this hymn have been "sanitized" in *Lutheran Worship*, as in many other hymnals. Fred L. Precht, *Lutheran Worship: Hymnal Companion* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 512, notes: "Few hymns have evoked keener controversy, largely the result of the imagery of stanza 1... and few hymns have been so altered by hymnbook editors."

34. See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, ed. John Stevens and Peter le Huray, 2 vols., *Cambridge Studies in Music* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), vol. 1, chapters 5 and 6 for various descriptions of congregational song during this period.

35. Ian Bradley, *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 1997), 15–16.

36. Cross, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1019.

37. A number of hymn writers from this period whose hymns were included in early LCMS hymnals were among the Tractarians who left the Church of England for Roman Catholicism, including: Matthew Bridges (1800–1894), Henry John Pye (1825–1903), Frederick W. Faber (1814–1863) and Edward Caswall (1814–1878).

38. Bradley, *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, 22.

39. *Ibid.*, 20.

40. As quoted in Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study*, 305.

41. Nine of Neale's translations found their way into early LCMS hymnals, among them: "Draw Nigh and Take the Body of Your Lord"; "Jerusalem the Golden"; "Christ, Thou Art the Sure Foundation"; "A Great and Mighty Wonder"; and "Stars of the Morning, So Gloriously Bright."

42. Bradley, *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, 25.

43. As quoted in Susan Drain, *The Anglican Church in Nineteenth Century Britain: Hymns Ancient and Modern (1860–1875)*, vol. 40, *Text and Studies in Religion* (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 97.

44. A number of hymns from these writers found their way into early LCMS English hymnals, among them: Wordsworth, "Songs of Thankfulness and Praise"; How, "We Give Thee But Thine Own," "Jesus! Name of Wondrous Love!"; "O Word of God Incarnate"; and Ellerton, "Savior, Again to Thy Dear Name We Raise."

45. See the latest edition: *Common Praise: Hymns Ancient and Modern*, (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2000).

46. Bradley, *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, 110–23.

47. Eight of Bonar's hymns were included, the following still in common LCMS usage: "Glory Be to God the Father"; "All That I Was, My Sin, My Guilt"; "I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say"; "I Lay My Sins on Jesus"; "Not What These Hands Have Done"; "Thy Way, Not Mine, O Lord"; and "Thy Works, Not Mine, O Christ."

48. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study*, 422.

49. Bradley, *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, 91.

50. J. [ames] D. [avidson], "Elliott, Charlotte," in Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, 328.

51. *Ibid.*, 38.

52. *Ibid.*, 877.

53. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), *passim*.

54. E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*, revised ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 225 f. See also David Gustafson, *Lutherans in Crisis: The Question of Identity in the American Republic* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

55. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1905). Editions printed between 1895–1909 are simply reprints of *ELHB* 1893 with corrections.

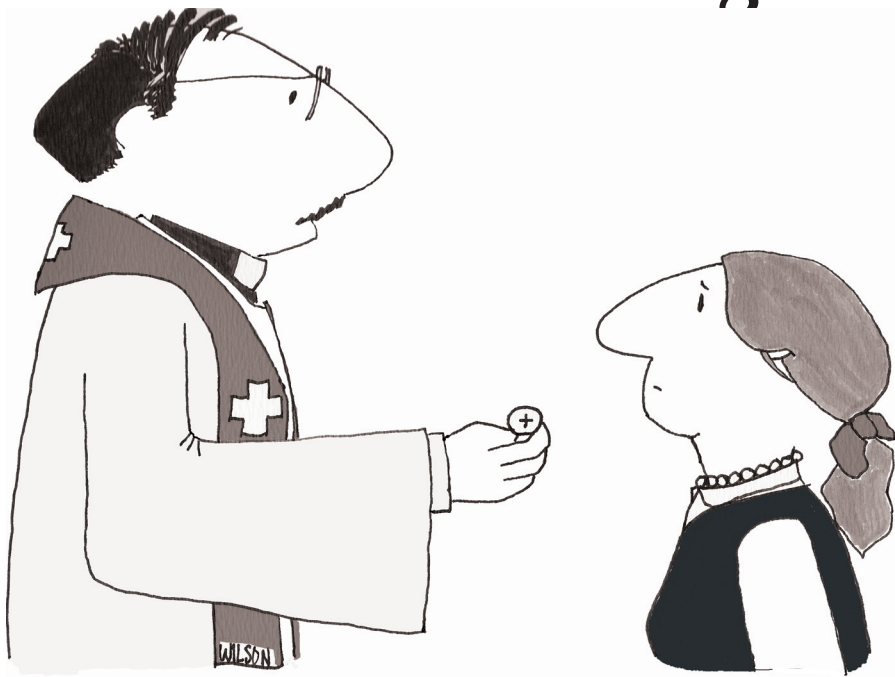
56. Precht, *Lutheran Worship: Hymnal Companion*, 682–83.

57. Jacobs's hymn does not appear until *ELHB* 1912. In addition to Sarah Flower Adams's version of "Nearer My God to Thee," *ELHB* 1893 contains a second version attributed to a certain "H.D. Ganse." Apparently, the Ganse version was eventually replaced with Jacobs's.

58. For a discussion of the various Calvinist and Arminian strains of Anglican Evangelicalism and their influence on congregational song, see Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 1: 205 ff.

59. *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 5 (1901).

Inklings



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Trusty Steed or Trojan Horse?

The Common Service in the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book

JAMES L. BRAUER



NEARLY A CENTURY AGO THE Common Service (1888) entered the congregational life of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS). It came by way of a district's hymnal and apparently without much scrutiny as it came into print in a “with tunes” edition, *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book with Tunes* (ELHB, 1912).¹ It has been a basis of liturgical form and music in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (TLH, 1941), *Lutheran Worship* (1982) and *Lutheran Service Book*. Indeed its liturgical form and its liturgical music served for a whole century in English-speaking congregations, and was often carried around the globe by missionaries. Is it not time to ask how fitting this liturgy and music of the Holy Communion service is for Lutheran use? More specifically, how did its originators defend it as a genuinely Lutheran liturgy? What resources contributed to the congregation's liturgical music for twentieth-century American congregations? This investigation will sketch the history of the Common Service as it came into LCMS hymnals in English, examine how the originators defended it as a truly Lutheran liturgy for Americans, and seek to identify probable sources of the music in the 1912 (pew) edition.

HISTORY

The LCMS began as a German church body, but the need to work also in English was apparent from the beginning.² The English Lutheran Conference of Missouri was organized in 1872. It attempted, without success, to join the Synodical Conference³ and eventually (in 1891) became the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States.⁴ The search for a hymnal that contained “pure” Lutheran doctrine with hymns translated from the German and from other Lutheran sources caused them in their 1877 convention to call for the use of the Joint Synod of Ohio's *English Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book* and *English Pocket Liturgy*.⁵ During the 1880s and 1890s various small hymnals and English language resources continued to appear.⁶ For example, in 1881 the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States had published various “sacred ministerial acts” and orders of service translated into English in a pocket-sized volume; it was one source for an order of Holy Communion, which began with

“Glory to God in the Highest,” continued with the Salutation, an Antiphon, the Collect, Epistle, and so forth.⁷ None of these resources contained the music for the service.

When August Crull (1845–1923), a professor at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, offered his manuscript of a hymnal to the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States, a committee was formed to examine and publish it. In 1889 the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book* appeared, but in a text-only edition.⁸ It was soon revised and expanded. Because the 1891 convention called for it, the Common Service, just completed in 1888, was to be included.⁹ It was William Dallmann who rode to Gettysburg to get permission from Prof. E. H. Wolf to use the Common Service¹⁰ so in the 1892 version of the book the “Common Service” became the Holy Communion liturgy. Because of the great expense, in 1893 the synod resolved to defer indefinitely a long held goal to have its hymnal in an edition that contained the music.¹¹ Further revisions were made and in 1905 it was ready for adoption, but there still were no funds to print it with the music.¹² This problem was solved when in 1911 the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States became the “English District” of the LCMS.

The hymnal was hurriedly brought into print in an edition that contained the music “and became the official English hymnal of Synod.”¹³ It contained an order for Holy Communion; orders for Matins and Vespers; introits and collects for the church year; invitatories, antiphons, responsories and versicles for the church year; collects and prayers; a selection of Psalms; 567 hymns, nine chants and sixteen doxologies; a table of festivals of the church year with Scripture lessons and Psalms appointed; a short form for Holy Baptism in cases of necessity; and various indices. The official character of the Common Service was further clarified when the 1917 *Liturgy and Agenda*, the first English agenda of the Missouri Synod, used the Common Service as the Order for Holy Communion.¹⁴

The origin of the Common Service has a history quite separate from the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States. It was already a vision of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711–87), who came from Germany in 1742 to labor among Lutherans scattered in Pennsylvania and elsewhere on the east coast, that all Lutherans in America would have the same resource for liturgy and hymns. In 1748 he prepared a liturgy for the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, drawing on the liturgy of the Savoy Church in London, which was based on the Antwerp Agenda (1567) and typical of “Lutheran orders of the

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purest type.” The six pastors in the ministerium resolved to use his *Agende* and no other forms. By 1786 there was a new liturgy and hymnbook.

By 1818 liturgical form had declined; for example, there was hardly a trace of a responsive service and the Kyrie had become an absolution. Some of the hymnal resources were being created for joint Lutheran and Reformed congregations.¹⁵ By 1842 an approved and more complete form was recommended by the General Synod, though it differed little from the 1818 version. In 1843 the General Synod took steps to prepare an English liturgy and it was available by 1847. “No responsive features were included, and there was no evidence of familiarity with the pure, restrained liturgical material of the Lutheran church of the sixteenth century. Cheap sentiment and bombastic phrases in the manner of the Rationalistic era abounded.”¹⁶

As German developments in liturgical and musical study became known in America, they contributed to a growing confessional consciousness.

As German developments in liturgical and musical study became known in America, they contributed to a growing confessional consciousness leading to greater efforts, especially among the English-speaking part of the church, toward resources that were clearly Lutheran and a responsive type of service. At the same time the Oxford Movement in England brought a new era in hymnology with greater respect for the hymnody of earlier ages and translations into English that made it possible to include them in congregational life. In 1878 a bold step was taken by the General Synod (later United Synod in the South) to invite the General Council and the General Synod North to cooperate in preparing a Service Book. And in 1879 the General Council

consented to co-operate 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 greatest weight.¹⁷

This rule of the common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century was the key provision. In 1882 the General Synod South authorized the work and in 1883 the General Synod North agreed to take the auspicious moment, as they said it, for securing

a “Common Service for all English-speaking Lutherans.” Believing such a Service to be feasible upon the generic

and well-defined basis of “the common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century,” we hereby declare our readiness to labor to this end.

A joint committee, supplied with several credentialed scholars—and despite some differing traditions and practices around a liturgy for Holy Communion—was created, and by April 1887 it had agreed on practically everything except the position of the Lord’s Prayer and the Verba. Apparently, the differing traditions and practices in America and the differing traditions in the sixteenth century put a common solution to this question of sequence out of reach. The result was that slightly different forms of the service were in the separate books of the church bodies from 1888 onward and yet there was one “Common Service.”¹⁸

According to Reed, the 1888 Common Service avoided the provincialism of Europe yet was fully representative of Lutheranism at its best. It also made provision for practical use, for example, through the flexibility provided within the rubrics. Those who worked in English and had allegiance to the Lutheran confessional tradition were proud of its “purity.” They also sought to make it entirely fitting to the English language. As Reed summarizes it, “The representative character of the Common Service is shown not only by its fidelity to history and its completeness, but also by its literary excellence.”¹⁹ Subsequent history shows that it was widely received among Lutherans and for many, many decades was a common form of worship in the language of the land.

As already mentioned, in 1893 the Common Service became part of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* even though no representatives of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States were involved in its creation. This group had recognized its worth, and had sought and received permission to use it, thereby broadening in several ways the original vision of its creators for liturgy that was in common with the Reformation era and among Lutherans in America.

DEFENSE OF PURITY

With the lack of unity in form and practice among Lutherans in the first half of the nineteenth century, and with the mixing of Lutherans and Reformed in some American congregations, a concern for confessional roots among the English-language pastors was not a given. Yet it is clear that making this connection to the sixteenth century was the goal of the Common Service project and it had to be defended along the way. We limit our examination of how this was done to a singular exchange of opinions between two “experts” in order that we may explore some of the argumentation about authenticity as Lutheran liturgy. In January 1890, a little more than a year after the Common Service was completed, Professor James William Richard (1843–1909) of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, published an attack on its claim of being thoroughly Lutheran. This generated a vigorous defense just a few months later in the same journal.²⁰ Richard was a teacher of liturgics at the General Synod’s seminary, whose library had a special collection of liturgical books. What concerns did he raise? What answers were provided to his objections?

Richard says that he wants to square the facts of history with the claim for the “common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century.” First, he points to Luther, emphasizing that Luther saw preaching the word of God as the chief thing in the service. Luther had said, “Therefore if the word of God be not preached, it were better neither to sing nor to read nor to assemble.” Not only did Luther put preaching and teaching as the central action in the service, he made an “almost *complete abolition* of the festivals of the Church.”²¹ Furthermore, Richard finds that a central principle for Luther is brevity and simplicity: “Times and circumstances must be allowed to modify the service, and there must be no law, nor arbitrary limitation; and yet everything tends to brevity and simplicity.”

Richard finds that a central principle for Luther is brevity and simplicity.

Any service at the altar, says Richard, “can have no higher office than to prepare the mind and heart of the worshiper for the reception of the word of truth.” When fixed forms of the divine service “are allowed the *chief* place in the divine service, then the gospel is silenced, and we have that ‘most wanton abuse’ of which Luther speaks.” This direction can be seen in Luther’s two masses. In his *Formula Missae* Luther argued that one must not make a law out of liberty. In the *Deutsche Messe* he showed even greater independence from the Roman Mass; it was simpler, more evangelical. Richard writes,

The German Mass is a fuller realization of the principles laid down in the *Order Of Divine Service in the Congregation*, and a clearer recognition of the great law of adaptation. Worship is for the edification of the people. Therefore it must be in the language of the people, and must be conducted with such forms as can be most easily apprehended by the people.

Richard says that Luther sees teaching and preaching as the center of it all, and he identifies four key points: (1) moderate conservatism, (2) preference for greater simplicity, (3) recognition of the law of adaptation, (4) subordination of the liturgy to teaching.²²

Second, Richard shows how these principles developed in the communion service. Here he quotes authorities who distinguish between those German churches (territories) that were more attached to Roman ritual and followed the *Formula Missae* and those that were more independent and followed the German Mass, as Richard says, letting the word of God have “free course.” The first group, closer in practice to the Roman

Catholic cultus, are in the north and central parts of Germany; the second group, closer to the Reformed cultus, are in the south and west of Germany. Some bridged the two, but all were within the confession and at one in doctrine, says Richard. A key to where each stands is evident in the use of the church year (with its festivals) and the frequency of the Lord’s Supper. He sees the “Evangelical Church-Year” employed in the south (Swabian Hall and Württemberg) as a third way, neither Romanizing nor Reformed; in these the sermon could be preached before or after the communion. He says,

This class of South German liturgies is distinguished especially by simplicity and flexibility. They plainly bear the characteristics of the German Mass on which they are based.²³

Third, he considers the rule:

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.

He points out that no one in the past had such a rule for construction of liturgies.²⁴ The problem with the Common Service is that its authors propose

to take the liturgy of the Lutheran Church of Germany, as it was three hundred years ago, and to transfer it *bodily* into America. It *ex professo* takes *no account* of changed times and different circumstances It says, practically, that the sixteenth century and the times prior thereto exhausted the *whole subject of worship*, and fixed *metes and bounds* thereto which we may not pass. This method of liturgical construction we pronounce *absolutely unhistorical*, as shown by the sketches given above of the great liturgies of the Church. Not the less is it *un-Lutheran*.

Also, the rule itself implies that there were

impure liturgies of the sixteenth century bearing the Lutheran name, which were to be excluded from participating in furnishing the desired “common consent.”

The committee members reject the south and west German liturgies because they are tainted with Reformed theology of the Lord’s Supper. Not all scholars take this view, he says; they might view them as “uniting.” The committee chooses the judgment of one authority, Kliefoth, and Kliefoth calls communion every Sunday the ideal, the “true” type of liturgy.²⁵ The Common Service “itself is not a *pure* liturgy” because it sets up a principle that the Holy Supper must be celebrated every Sunday.

This is not, Richard says, in keeping with the practice of the congregations in America who have communion every few months and are not accustomed to preaching a communion sermon on communion Sunday or regularly preaching on the pericopes. Such practice is declared outside the area of the “pure.” In addition, the Common Service is made too elaborate and extremely “responsive” in comparison with the pattern

found in the liturgies of Germany's south. These liturgies were created by men who were indeed Lutheran (Brenz, Schnepf, Blaurer, Osiander, Bucer), men who signed the Augsburg Confession. They were just more independent and were following Luther's German Mass.²⁶

Richard then examines the liturgies themselves. In summary he contrasts Kliefoth, who makes the north German type "true," with Alt, who calls them "Catholicizing." Other scholars simply class the south German type as "Lutheran Liturgies." Since it is the doctrine, not the "ceremonies and usages," that entitles "a church, a creed, a liturgy, to be called *Lutheran*," there is finally no difference in principle. Therefore, it comes down to asking, shall we follow the *Formula Missae* (retain Roman Catholic forms) or shall we follow the *Deutsche Messe* (the more mature Luther and simpler liturgy)? To put it another way, "Shall we have a long and elaborate liturgical service with many festal days, or shall we have a brief and simple one, with only the chief festivals of the Church?"²⁷

Thus, the Common Service can hardly be an "entire agreement," as the rule provided for the committee required.

Fourth, Richard continues with a minute examination of the Common Service. One example will demonstrate his method, namely, his discussion of the opening part of the service. He finds no Invocation in any north-German liturgies of the sixteenth century, nor does he find it in Löhe's *Agende* (1852 or 1883 editions). The "Our help is in the name of the Lord" comes from Calvin's Liturgy of 1543 by way of Mecklenburg to other church orders. The "I said, I will confess my transgressions" is found in the Cologne Reformation of 1543 but is little used elsewhere. How can these versicles claim "common consent"? They can, however, be found in Löhe. Likewise the Confession (double form) and Absolution can be found in Löhe. But how does the part said by the minister and the part by the congregation have "common consent" in the sixteenth century? All this responsive interaction makes it elaborate, not simple.²⁸

And fifth, Richard provides a discussion of the Lutheran *Hauptgottesdienst* form, providing a two-page chart of nine liturgies. One page lists the elements of the medieval mass, Löhe's *Agende* (1852), the *Church Book* (1868) and the Common Service (1888) side by side. The other lists the elements of the service in Luther's German mass and in the Brandenburg-Nuremberg (1533), Mecklenburg (1552, 1554), Saxon (1539), and Mark Brandenburg (1540) church orders. This layout helps make his point that Löhe's service is not a consensus, but when the Common Service follows Löhe it claims common consent. As Richard says,

The wide difference between Kliefoth's *Hauptgottesdienst*, drawn from "the common consent" of the rigid type of Lutheran Liturgies, and the *Hauptgottesdienst* of Löhe does not pretend to give a consensus. On the contrary he expressly states already in his first preface: "No old Liturgy would have presented the fullness which this presents. I sought to combine in it whatever from about two hundred old Liturgies seemed to me best." A learned liturgical author of the German Iowa Synod, who writes, "I have all the Lutheran *Kirchenordnungen*," and, "I have seen Löhe's library," says: "Löhe's Liturgy is not a mere compilation. He takes whatever is good, and now and then he goes to the old Roman and Greek liturgies, or even to the Book of Common Prayer, as he frankly owns. In fullness of parts he exceeds the (Consensus I dare not say, for there was none) Lutheran Liturgies and *Kirchenordnungen* of the sixteenth century." But the Common Service *does* claim to exhibit "The common consent of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century."²⁹

Richard's point is that not only does the Common Service claim a consensus that cannot be seen on the chart, the Common Service has parts in it that seem to be arbitrary and from outside the "pure Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century." He asks, was too great a deference paid to Löhe? Indeed, too much emphasis is put on the Holy Supper, as when Löhe's preface to the second edition reveals this strong position:

In the first preface I compared the entire order of service to a mountain with two peaks, and understood these two peaks to be the Sermon and the Lord's Supper as prominent points of the service. Although now I said at that time already that one peak was higher than the other, that for the liturgy the Holy Supper occupies the higher place, I would now, if I had to give another interpretation, assign to the Holy Supper a still higher place. For the liturgy of the morning service the Holy Supper remains the direct goal towards which all the single parts of the service point and move as towards the center. As there can be no Lutheran Church edifice, as all plans and structures must prove abortive so long as one does not admit that the *altar* rules the whole system; thus there is no Lutheran Liturgy so long as one does not recognize in the Holy Supper the sum total of all that is liturgical, and the perfected summit of all the life of public worship.

Thus, the Common Service can hardly be an "entire agreement," as the rule provided for the committee required. It strives for completeness and complexity beyond those models. And it seems a strange doctrine to give so much emphasis to the Lord's Supper; that must be seen as a Romanizing tendency. In the words of Richard, "It is because of preaching that the Lutheran Church has ever held that the Word of God is the chief means of grace."³⁰ The principles Löhe promotes are "utterly un-Lutheran."

Finally, the tables already referred to show just how close to the medieval mass the Common Service is, as the case of the Prayer Book of Edward VI shows when it had to be condemned

for being too close to Roman practice. So it is Richard's judgment that

beginning with the German Mass and taking all the liturgies of Northern and Central Germany, which can lay any *just* claim to the rank of being *standard*, we give it as our deliberate judgment that no fair and rational combination of anomalies and variations with fixed and common parts, will produce a liturgy exactly correspondent to the common service. . . . And we will say outright, Make the common service out of these eight, who *will*, or can or dare.³¹

We now examine the response from George Unangst Wenner (1844–1934), pastor of Christ Church, New York City.³² Wenner had worked on the joint committee that prepared the Common Service as a representative of the General Synod and his essay takes up Richard's arguments point by point.³³

Wenner makes clear that no one considered the Common Service to be the ultimate in liturgical excellence, but rather something that would be based on Lutheran principles and would meet the needs of the present time. On Luther's making preaching the chief thing in the service, Wenner says Richard seeks to prove that Luther was a genuine iconoclast (abandoning the medieval mass) but that is not so. Likewise Luther never makes the point that the German Mass is "more" evangelical; Richard has read that into Luther. On simplicity, Richard acts as though Luther cared nothing for a historical and orderly service; indeed both *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe* "conform to the catholic liturgy of all the ages." Furthermore, there seems to be no link between Luther's principles and the classification of church orders into a north-east and a south-west tradition. As for the rule under which the committee had to work, it was not of their making but was intended for the sake of creating greater uniformity

so that ministers even of adjacent churches should not be compelled when officiating for each other to ask, "Brother, how do you conduct your Services?" . . . Our people had indeed wandered far from the usages of our Church, and had declined even in the knowledge of what was her peculiar glory and inheritance. We borrowed freely from the denominations around us, and seemed to glory in being as unlike ourselves as possible.³⁴

Richard misapprehended the interpretation and application of the rule, as though it had no regard for the law of adaptation and could not distinguish between pure and impure liturgies. It was provided so that the work could be guided and could address all questions that would arise. It was a method for gaining "substantial unity" of practice where the three committees of the three church bodies could not agree. Slight variations could still provide an "Order of Service of the Lutheran Church." It was understood, according to preliminary principles drawn up by the joint committee, that

if at any time or place the use of the full Service is not desired, it is in entire conformity to use a simpler Service

in which only the principal parts in their order are contained.³⁵

Historically, Lutheran lands tended toward the historic service. "Variations, it is true, are met with everywhere, but the Normal Service is still the norm for all who call themselves Lutherans."³⁶

Wenner gives the most serious attention to Richard's claim that the south/west German liturgies were ignored. Wenner states that

Kliefoth is important, not only for the depth of his researches, and the mass of valuable material which he has collected, but especially for the masterly analysis which he gives of the *fundamental* difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed systems, of the *principles* which control their respective modes of worship.

Wenner makes clear that no one considered the Common Service to be the ultimate in liturgical excellence.

Richard should keep in mind that the Lutheran view of the service came in opposition to errors of the Romanists. Luther laid down the principle that the Mass is not an offering that man brings to God; the Apology properly distinguishes sacrament and sacrifice. Lutherans did not, as the Reformed did, "overthrow everything in order to make sure that she would make no mistake."³⁷

Instead, Lutherans held fast to the good, adjusted what was imperfect, and discarded what was wrong. Moreover, the Reformed could work in small communities while the Lutherans had to deal with vast territories and were therefore devoted to "revising, purifying and conserving." The participation of the congregation was a new thing and required a fixed order of service. It was done for the sake of the people, "that we may teach them and lead them, we must give up our freedom and continue in one way, especially in the churches of the same confession," as Luther said. A different principle guided the Reformed: "while in the Lutheran Church a primary object is to feed and teach the people, the Services of the Reformed have an excited, and awakening character." Wenner expands this with considerable historical detail. For example, liturgical revisions by Brenz in 1543 should be seen as steering a course back to Lutheran doctrine. The omissions in his work are "some of the reasons why this liturgy cannot be called pure Lutheran"³⁸ and such blemishes cannot commend it.

Regarding the liturgies themselves: the most important in Richard's list of sixteen "were *not* rejected by the committee." Richard's central point that Luther's German Mass was the

foundation of the south/west liturgies was not offered until the end of his section “*and there is absolutely no ground for such a statement*,” says Wenner.³⁹ Richard’s list of “Lutheran” authors for these liturgies is suspect, in part. Was not Bucer’s view on the Lord’s Supper clearly identified by Luther as poisonous?

Wenner then turns to Richard’s minute examination of the Common Service, especially his questioning of the inclusion of the Confession and Absolution. He should have seen that the rubrics make it optional. Also “for purposes of adaptation, that the churches might have something that reminded them of their old Services, the *Confiteor* was retained. It should not be thought of as strictly part of the service and be governed by the ‘common consent.’” Detailed directions like “Here endeth the Gospel” are useful in that they instruct the congregation to sing the response that follows. Wenner also provides a defense of the offertory texts and the close of the service.⁴⁰

Wenner, however, clarifies that by consensus was meant that if three different authorities had this arrangement of parts.

Regarding the committee’s depending on Löhe for the construction of the Common Service, Wenner says that though he was a “source of inspiration,” no modern author “was allowed to influence our judgment in the construction of the Normal Service.” After the Common Service was completed, however, it seemed desirable to add certain things from Löhe that would enrich the service, specifically “Glory Be to Thee, O Lord” and some offertory texts, but these are all optional. When it comes to finding a “consensus in Lutheran liturgies,” Richard said there was no such thing. Wenner, however, clarifies that “by consensus” meant that if three different authorities had this arrangement of parts, (A) “Introit, Kyrie, Gloria,” (B) “Hymn, Kyrie, Gloria,” and (C) “Introit, Prayer, Hymn,” then one could say “the *consensus* is in favor of Introit, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, because the majority indicate those parts and in that order.”⁴¹

Finally, as to the charge that the Common Service has a Romanizing character, Wenner writes,

When we consider the author’s misapprehension of the rule, the singular construction he puts upon the meaning of *consensus*, his application of a different standard of “parts,” and above all his utter failure to comprehend the internal structure and meaning of the Lutheran Service, we cannot wonder that he was unable to construct the Common Service out of the eight liturgies to which he refers.

Thus, Wenner concludes his response to the strong criticism of Richard point-by-point with this plea:

The true development and life of our church is so intimately connected with its doctrines and historical character that we cannot safely depart from them without imperiling our existence. And the sooner those who occupy positions of influence, where they can help to build up a truly Lutheran sentiment, recognize the signs of the times, and devote their strength and talent to the work which the Church has a right to require of them, the sooner will we be able to take possession of the goodly land that lies before us.⁴²

We see then that Richard’s attack on the Common Service worked from a notion that preaching and teaching was the primary activity of the service and that Luther’s later liturgy (German mass) was simpler. He argues that since the north German liturgies were more complex than the southern ones, the latter type had to be closer to the mature Luther. Furthermore, the complexities of form and the rubrical detail that the Common Service introduced went against this preferred simplicity and, since the chart of sixteenth-century liturgies shows no clear Lutheran consensus, how could the Common Service be truly Lutheran in principle and form? Wenner says Richard misunderstands. Both masses of Luther conform to the historical order; they cannot be treated as if they were two different traditions. The goal of the Common Service was to create substantial uniformity that could be adaptable (through its rubrical choices toward complexity or toward simplicity) and that it was based, not on models compromised by Reformed theology and practice, but on normal components of liturgies employing good Lutheran theology and practice. To this “consensus” the joint committee added options for its three church bodies that seemed participative and not too far from past practice in America. The Common Service, therefore, was a good tool for helping to restore Lutheran principle and character to the liturgy in America.



MUSIC FOR THE DIVINE SERVICE

Now let us examine the music that came with this Common Service as it entered the LCMS. As a servant of the liturgy, liturgical music both carries textual meaning and through its musical expression helps draw people into the liturgy. Ultimately, however, the musical goal is to serve that particular moment in the service and what it strives to accomplish before God. Beauty may reside in surface features or in good design or both. Cultural fit seems to occur mostly on the basis of a people’s preference for surface features; in this small study, assessment of the musical choices will focus on this.

For each musical portion of the service in the *ELHB*, we will ask what a possible source for the music is, and what advantage this choice has for American ears in the early twentieth century. Following are the dates of commonly referenced hymnals: *The Church Book with Music* (1884), *The Common Service with Music* (1888), *ELHB* (1912), and *TLH* (1941).

Amen to Invocation

Hanover.⁴³ This melody is associated more closely with the Salutation; see comments at *Salutation (response)* below.

Confession Versicles; Absolution Amen

Adapted from Layriz (1855). For comments on the melody see *Amen to Collect* below.

Gloria Patri for Introit

Arranged from the Gloria Patri section of a Nunc Dimittis in an 1851 liturgical music collection by Friderich Hommel (Erlangen, Germany); the same setting appears also in Lochner's *Der Hauptgottesdienst* (1895).⁴⁴ Schoeberlein also gives a version of this Nunc Dimittis melody with some rhythmic variation, attributing it to a sixteenth-century "Wolfgang Pfalzgraf bei Rhein" church order and a "Pommer'sche" church order. A similar melodic shape to Hommel's tune is given in *The Common Service* for the Gloria Patri where it is attributed to "'Pommer'sche Kirchenordnung' (1563) and 'Pfaelische Kirchenordnung' (1570)," and is the first of three melodic options. The *Church Book with Music* gives six options but not this melody.⁴⁵

This *ELHB* melody has a strong fit of text and tune, giving a forward drive and a sense of eager joy in praising the Triune God. The well-shaped phrases are strengthened in *TLH* by small rhythmic adjustments.

Kyrie

Luther's *German Mass* has this melody with a three-fold "Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison" (AE 53: 72). The melody is based on the First Psalm Tone, which Luther used for the German Psalm (Introit) that precedes the Kyrie. *The Common Service* does not have this tune as one of its four options for the Kyrie. However, it is the first option in Ludwig Schoeberlein's *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs* (1865). Lochner gives two options for making this tune antiphonal with a pastor (or cantor) and congregation or between two choirs.⁴⁶ *TLB* halves the note values.

It is a reverent, prayer-like melody with one note per syllable. Though it is not actually the mode (scale) of the original psalm tone, it is harmonized in major, ending on the dominant which makes an easy connection to the following Gloria in Excelsis.

Gloria in Excelsis

This is an "Old Scottish Chant."⁴⁷ In *The Common Service* it is labeled "Old Chant" and no other musical option is given there. The *Church Book with Music* gives it as the first of two options; the second is adapted from a Gregorian setting. The Scottish Chant was apparently widely known in the 1880s since it can also be found among the chants and responses in the *Church Hymnary* (1890) compiled by Edwin A. Bedell from "things new and old" and marketed to Congregational and Presbyterian churches; and among the canticles and chants in *The Church Hymnal* (1906) for use in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.⁴⁸

In this case the tradition on the east coast among the English-language liturgies that use the Gloria in Excelsis text seems to show a preference for chant that is from the British Isles and is in the major mode. The "Old Chant" is made up of three two-phrase units, using the first unit as the opening and closing

material. Because there is limited melodic material it is somewhat quickly learned. There are only seven pitches, and they are in a comfortable range. The tune evokes dignity and reverence and flows freely, allowing the singer to focus on the words. The middle section nicely fits the prayer for mercy. It clearly avoids German and ancient Gregorian designs, thus giving a sense of belonging to an English-speaking world and modern period.

Salutation (response)

The melody comes from Hanover (and elsewhere?) and the German pointing that is similar to the pointing of English in *ELHB* that Lochner labels "Traditionell."⁴⁹ *The Common Service* gives a different tune. Schoeberlein has this melody with a salutation.⁵⁰ Lochner adds a note that a frequent Roman Catholic tune uses the same melody, filling in with a minor third (E F# G). In Lochner the tune is harmonized as though it were a cadence in major: simply IV-I-VI-V-I or I-V-I. In *ELHB* its modal character is hinted at in the notation by using an accidental for the next-to-last pitch rather than making it part of the key signature, and using a chord sequence not found in Lochner.

Amen (to Collect)

Adapted from Layriz (1855). *The Common Service* gives two options: a single repeated pitch and a formula of five-rising pitches,⁵¹ but neither of these was chosen for *ELHB*. *ELHB* re-uses the Amen melody from the Confession and Absolution (see *Absolution Amen* above). In explaining how to chant a collect, Lochner gives this five-note melody (G A G F E) as a termination to his collect formula, his fifth example (of seven), and attributes it to "Layriz, *Kern des deutschen K.-G., IV. Abtheil., lit. Weisen enth., 1855.*" Lochner's eighth Amen melody, though an excellent fit to the collect chant, ends differently: G A G F# G—the phrase begins at the collect chant termination but the final two pitches are altered. The *ELHB* editors seem to depart from Lochner, if that was their source; their Amen melody is treated as a cadence in the Phrygian mode, ending on an E-major chord for finality. As an Amen to the Confession of Sins it ended on a C major chord (see *Absolution Amen* above); this version can be found in Schoeberlein with the versicle connected to the post-communion collect.⁵²

Hallelujah

ELHB gives three options, a single Hallelujah and two triple Hallelujahs. The single Hallelujah repeats the melody of the Amen to the collect, but harmonizes it differently, ending on a C major chord—an easier connection to the next musical event. The *Church Book with Music* provides eleven Hallelujah tunes, four for a single Hallelujah, and seven Hallelujahs with sentences for the season, none of which match Hallelujah tunes in *ELHB*. Similarly, *The Common Service* gives three melodies for triple Hallelujahs and eight options for Hallelujah and Sentence according to the season.⁵³ One option matches *ELHB*.

Triple Hallelujah in F

Lochner attributes this to "L. Lossius, 1553." Lucas Lossius (1508–82) was a teacher of musical theory and published a collection of Gregorian music arranged for Lutheran use, *Cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta* (1553).⁵⁴ Lochner's version, however, has four Hallelujahs⁵⁵ and the *ELHB* version with three was

created by eliminating two internal measures. This triple Hallelujah is syllabic except for the penultimate syllable in each repetition. The last one has three, not two, pitches to make a strong cadence. It is joyful and easy to learn because each phrase has essentially the same rhythmic pattern. Falling pitches end the first and second phrases; fortunately this pattern is not repeated in the final Hallelujah, thus avoiding banality.

Triple Hallelujah in D

From a Prussian Church Order, 1558. In Lochner this tune is appointed for festivals; the one in F is the first tune given and is designated for regular occasions. In *The Common Service* the Hallelujah in D is the first of three options and is attributed to Schoeberlein's *Schatz*. Indeed, Schoeberlein gives the identical melody and harmony except that note values are halved in *ELHB*. (The 1888 resource also gives seven additional options, a "Hallelujah and Sentence" for Advent, Epiphany, Passion, Easter, Whitsuntide, and two for the season From Trinity to Advent.)⁵⁶ The Prussian melody in D is festive and is more expressive and exuberant. In *ELHB* it is the only option; the melody spans an octave and descends quickly from its peak in the second phrase. In *TLH* the final pitch of the second Hallelujah is raised one step—making it a slightly stronger tune.

Glory be to Thee, O Lord

Hommel, 1851. This melody is adapted from the first half of Hommel's "Halleluja" for Sundays (which would follow the Epistle) and can also be found in Lochner for the usual Sunday service with a Hallelujah text.⁵⁷ *TLH* halves the note values.

Praise be to Thee, O Christ

No source found, but it can be observed that, except for the harmonization, it could be a repeat of *M* with a change only to the first three pitches, starting on the last pitch sung. *TLH* halves the note values.

The Offertory: Create in me, in G

In *ELHB* (1924 edition) it is attributed to "G. Winer, 1655." *The Common Service* gives two offertories, one arranged from Layriz and the other, "Create in me," harmonized by Friedrich Riegel (music editor for the Schoeberlein collection). The German text and music is found in Schoeberlein.⁵⁸ In *TLH* the setting in G was retained for the non-communion service and a setting in E^b was provided for The Order of Holy Communion.

Preface: And with thy spirit

We lift them up unto the Lord. It is meet and right so to do. Löhe, *Agende* (1884).⁵⁹ These three responses are carefully brought over from Löhe's *Agende* to serve the English with rhythmic adjustments to fit the accent of the new language. Lochner gives virtually the same music as Löhe, choosing it instead of the St. Louis *Agende* (1856) melodies.⁶⁰ Schoeberlein provides the same music and identifies its source as *Directorium chori* von Guidetti, Rome (1589, 1642).⁶¹ *The Common Service* provides three options; the second one comes close to the Löhe melodies but seems to be deliberately bending away from a Gregorian rhythm.⁶² *ELHB* seems to be influenced by these rhythmic adjustments but less by its pitch selection. The Gregorian source connects well with the chanted seasonal Prefaces

in the German sources. None of the English-language sources mentioned here provide a sung Preface; only a text is given.

Sanctus

"Traditional," according to *ELHB*. Löhe's resource gives no music for the Sanctus. *The Common Service* offers three settings: from Layriz, from Dimitri Bortniansky and from the Mecklenburg Cationale, 1650. Lochner gives five: from L. Lossius' *Psalmodia*, 1851 [sic], from L. Lossius, 1553, from Luther, from Braunschweig-Wolfenbuettel, 1543, and from an unknown source.⁶³ The "unknown" is used in *ELHB*. It has a festive quality employing solo voices in parts, a choir and the congregation for the "Blessed is He" section. (This use of choir is also found in Lochner where it is applied to the "Hosanna" portions as well as to "Blessed is He.") The wide variety of note values makes it unique among the liturgical settings. The seven-pitch range, while higher in the voice range, fits congregational singing well. The long notes in this setting emphasize important words; the short notes move the text along with energy. By the time this liturgical piece reaches *TLH* the solo and choral directions are gone and the whole melody is sung by the congregation, making it fit any circumstance. There is one special harmonic feature: it ends on the dominant chord, which makes it feel as though it could go on and on. It is a simple but strong melodic design and more exuberant than anything else in the service.

Lord's Prayer

For thine is the kingdom. "Bughenhagen'sche Weise. 1528." *The Common Service* provides no music since the rubrics read, "Then shall all say the Lord's Prayer." Löhe's *Agende* has the pastor chant the prayer and the congregation sing an Amen; his text has no doxological termination. The St. Louis *Kirchen-Agende* (1856) is the same as the tune in *ELHB*. Likewise Lochner's second of three options has the tune in *ELHB* and the melodic details and harmonization are virtually the same except for adjustments for an English text.⁶⁴ It is close enough in style to the simplified Gregorian of the Bughenhagen pastor's chant to give a dignified continuation and provide a suitable close to the prayer by the congregation.

Amen to Lord's Prayer

ELHB speaks the Amen that follows the Pax. In *TLH* it is sung.⁶⁵

Agnus Dei

"Braunschweig, 1528." According to Schoeberlein this melody is used frequently in the church orders of the sixteenth century.⁶⁶ *The Common Service* gives two harmonizations of this melody, one by Friedrich Layriz and one by Michael Praetorius. It is not surprising that this highly favored, ancient melody is chosen for *ELHB*. There are rhythmic adjustments to the tune to fit the English. The melody nicely expresses the reverence at Christ's presence in the sacrament, the pleading for mercy, and the peace that comes with faith in him.

Nunc Dimittis

"Pomeranian, 1535." *The Common Service* offers no Nunc Dimittis text or music and neither does the St. Louis *Kirchen-Agende* (1856). The melody in *ELHB* employs the Fifth Psalm

Tone, which can be found in various sixteenth-century church orders. Lochner positions it as a “*Schlussgesang*” (closing song) which can alternate with the hymn *Gott sei gelobet* (O Lord, We Praise You) after the Benediction. He attributes his version to Hommel⁶⁷ and notates it as a through-composed piece in common time; *ELHB* notates it as a chant.⁶⁸ This chant tone resembles the major mode enough that it easily fits with modern chord sequences. The rhythm in *ELHB* is notated as though it fit entirely in common time except for the reciting tones. These chords and rhythms provide good fit to modern ears both in scale and harmony, allowing easy focus on the text.

And his mercy endureth forever

Adapted from Layriz, 1855 or “H.C.,” Schoeberlein.⁶⁹ See comments in *Amen to Collect*.

Amen

See comments in *Amen to Collect*.

And with thy spirit

The *Church Book with Music* gives this melody with an Amen text. The first pitch is repeated to accommodate the longer text. It is also found in Schoeberlein as an Amen for a collect.⁷⁰

Thanks be to God

The *Church Book with Music* gives this melody with the text, “And with thy spirit.” Here it is pointed to a different set of words. It is also found in Schoeberlein with a Salutation.⁷¹

Amen to Benediction

See comments in *Amen to Collect*. *TLH* replaces this final single Amen with a triple Amen, perhaps for greater finality.

In the music selected in *ELHB* for the Common Service, “The Order of Morning Service or the Communion,” we can observe several patterns: (1) The tunes are all in the major mode, or they are harmonized as if they were (e.g., Kyrie and Agnus Dei).

(2) Not surprisingly, there is an overwhelming preference for melodies that come from German sources (the Gloria in Excelsis is a “Scottish” chant). (3) The century of origin ranges from medieval (Gregorian-derived melodies) to perhaps the nineteenth century (Sanctus), with a preponderance of tune selection coming from the sixteenth century. (4) More melodies can be traced to a north and west German liturgical source than to any other region. (5) Except for the Offertory and the Sanctus, there is general avoidance of more than two note values in a melody (an imitation of the dignity and sobriety of Gregorian melody?) and where there are exceptions they can be explained as a better fit to the rhythm of the text in English. (6) Longer melodies (Gloria Patri, Gloria in Excelsis, Offertory, Sanctus, Nunc Dimittis) are most often constructed in a chant design (repeated, adjustable melodic material, usually two or more phrases long) as opposed to a strophic (Agnus Dei) or through-composed (Kyrie) design. Such choices fit an English-speaking worshiper in America at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Thus, in the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* of 1912, the Common Service, built around a consensus of sixteenth-century Lutheran liturgies for Holy Communion, gets combined with liturgical music drawn mainly from the similar sixteenth-century Lutheran sources of north and west Germany. In both aspects the historic roots are not forgotten but thoughtfully selected and reassembled, at the same time allowing for a fullness and complexity and for a greater simplicity and brevity through the exercise of rubrical choices. These texts and their music become tools of Reformation principle and character with a new language, in a new place, and with new people. As a 1912 reviewer opined, the Common Service in the *ELHB* will “help to make our English services more beautiful, more impressive and more expressive of the Lutheran ideal of divine worship.”⁷² **LOGIA**

NOTES

1. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book with Tunes* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, [1912]). The original collection (without music) was the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book*, published by order of the General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States (Baltimore: Harry Lang, 1889).

2. H. B. Hemmeter, “Early English Mission Efforts in the Missouri Synod,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 11 (1938): 67–68. Note: the author thankfully acknowledges the work of his graduate research assistant Scott Schilbe in helping to track down the history of the Common Service.

3. C. L. Janzow, “The Beginning of Our English Work,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 21 (1948): 28–29.

4. D[allmann], “A Brief Historical Sketch of the English Synod of Missouri and Other States,” *The Lutheran Witness* 10 (March 21, 1892): 152.

5. Glen K. Johnson, “August Crull: His Contribution to the Missouri Synod” (S.T.M. thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1961), 42.

6. James L. Brauer, “The Hymnals of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod” (S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1967), 57–62.

7. *Church Liturgy for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession*, published by the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States, translated from the German (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1881); see “Morning Service on Sundays and Festivals with Communion,” 43ff.

8. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book*, published by order of the General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States (Baltimore: Harry Lang, Printer, 1889), hence the nickname the “Baltimore Hymnal.”

9. English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States, *Proceedings of the Second Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States*, 1891 (Baltimore: Harry Lang, Printer, 1891), 37.

10. Information based on a letter from William Dallmann to William Polack, quoted in 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 Other States” (S.T.M. thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1971), 14.

11. *Proceedings of the Third Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States* (Baltimore: Lutheran Publication Board, [1893]), 36.

12. Brauer, “The Hymnals,” 67–73.

13. William G. Polack, *The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), vi; see also Lange, “The Common Service,” 16–17.

14. Lange, “The Common Service,” 22.

15. Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, revised ed. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, [1959]), 164–71. The story is telescoped and without detail here; the reader is encouraged to review Reed’s account of it.

16. *Ibid.*, 172.

17. *Ibid.*, 172–74, 183.

18. *Ibid.*, 184–88. Luther D. Reed provides an accounting of all differences, large and small, in his article “The Standard Manuscript of the Common Service, and Variata Editions,” *Lutheran Church Review* 20 (1901): 459–73.

19. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 195.

20. J. W. Richard, “The Liturgical Question,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 20 (1890): 103–85. In April there were three responses: George U. Wenner, “An Answer to the ‘Liturgical Question,’” *Lutheran Quarterly* 20 (1890): 299–342; J. C. Koller, “A Practical Answer to the ‘Liturgical Question,’” *Lutheran Quarterly*

20 (1890): 342–62; A General Synod Pastor, “A Liturgical Riddle,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 20 (1890): 363–74. We report only on Wenner’s response since he takes up each of Richard’s main points.

21. Richard, “The Liturgical Question,” 104, 106.
22. *Ibid.*, 106–7, 111, 113.
23. *Ibid.*, 114–18, 119.
24. It is interesting that Richard commends the German Missouri Synod (p. 124) for having “recognized and acted on this principle of adaptation,” that is, greater simplicity, and Danish Lutherans for what they brought from Denmark—“it is very brief and simple.”
25. *Ibid.*, 124, 126, 131. This last is a reference to Theodor F. D. Kliefoth and his *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 8 vols. (Schwerin: Stiller, 1854–61) and *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienst-Ordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation*, 2. Aufl. (Schwerin: Stiller, 1859–61).
26. Richard, “The Liturgical Question,” 131, 133, 134, 138.
27. *Ibid.*, 148.
28. *Ibid.*, 149–53.
29. *Ibid.*, 182–83, 164–65.
30. *Ibid.*, 168, 169.
31. *Ibid.*, 172–73, 185.
32. Wenner, “An Answer,” 299–342.
33. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 191–92, says of Wenner, “He registered his opposition to the adoption of the *Common Service Book* then in preparation, objecting particularly to the Confiteor and the Introit, the insertion of definite rubrics, the relative position of the Lord’s Prayer and the Words of Institution, the use of the Nunc Dimittis after the Communion, etc.” Clearly, Wenner had worked through his own questions about it before he gave his defense of the *Common Service* project.
34. Wenner, “An Answer,” 303, 305–8, 309.
35. *Ibid.*, 311; quoted from the Harrisburg Minutes, *ibid.*, 312.
36. *Ibid.* Interestingly, Wenner provides a footnote outlining the Missouri service (from “*Church Liturgy*, Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, 1881”) and asks how this differs from the *Common Service*.
37. *Ibid.*, 315, 319.
38. *Ibid.*, 321, 322, 327.
39. *Ibid.*, 329, 330.
40. *Ibid.*, 332–35.
41. *Ibid.*, 336, 337.
42. *Ibid.*, 340–41.
43. This melody can be found in Harry G. Archer and Luther D. Reed, eds., *The Choral Service Book Containing the Authentic Plain Song Intonations and Responses . . . of the Common Service for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1901), 3. The preface gives notes on the sources for the melodies. Regarding this one, it says, “The invocation is set to a traditional melody, widely used (Schoeber[er]lein, End[lich], etc.,” p. xxiii.
44. See Friderich Hommel, *Liturgie lutherischer Gemeindegottesdienste* (Noerdlingen, Ch. H. Beck, 1851), 36; Friedrich Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895), 276–77. Interestingly, a copy of Hommel’s publication that was once part of Lochner’s library is in the collection of the library at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.
45. Ludwig Schoeberlein, *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs nebst den Altarweisen in der deutschen evangelischen Kirche*, 1. Theil, *Die allgemeinen Gesangstücke* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1865), 285, #188; *The Common Service with Music*, For the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations, By Authority of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1888), 3; *Church Book With Music*, arranged by Harriet Reynolds Krauth (Philadelphia: J. K. Shryock, 1884), 4–5.
46. *The Common Service*, 4–6; Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 104; Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 111–12.
47. *The Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1940 (New York: Church Pension Fund, 1940), #739.

48. *Church Book With Music*, 8; Bedell, Edwin A., comp., *Church Hymnary: A Collection of Hymns and Tunes for Public Worship* (New York: Charles E. Merrill, 1891), 497; *The Church Hymnal*, revised and enlarged (Boston: Parish Choir, 1906), #204.

49. Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 132–33. Lochner gives two pointings for this melody: the first aligns syllables so the final two syllables are on the final pitch and he labels this “Hannov. K.-O.”; the second pointing has all the syllables on a single pitch before “Geiste.” In fitting it to English *ELHB* follows this second pointing with the final three pitches on “Spirit.”

50. *The Common Service*, 7; Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 508.

51. *The Common Service*, 7. Note that the five-rising pitches pattern is the one provided for almost all congregational responses in *Kirchen-Agende für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Deutschen Ev.-Luth.Synode v. Missouri, O. u. a. St., 1856), see musical material following p. 176. This melody is also given as the second of two options for the collect in *The Common Service*, 7, where the third pitch is a dotted note.

52. Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 149; Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 457, #287.

53. *Church Book with Music*, 15–18; *The Common Service*, 8–12.

54. *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, ed. Julius Bodensieck (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), 2:1343–44.

55. Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 160; cf. Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 205, #122.

56. Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 160; *The Common Service*, 7; Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 206, #125; *The Common Service*, 8–12.

57. Hommel, *Liturgie*, 10. See Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 160.

58. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, 7–8; Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 317–18, #205b.

59. Archer and Reed, eds., *The Choral Service Book*, p. 21, gives virtually the same melody for the congregation’s opening line of the Preface. The notes (p. xxvi) say, “The historical PREFACE melody, like the Preface itself, has had the earliest and most general usage perhaps of any part of the Liturgy. The critical study of Palestrina and Guidetti undoubtedly gave us the purest form in D[irectorium] Ch[ori] (1582, 1889)]. With but few exceptions the numerous German Orders that give the local uses of their time and place, vary but slightly from the Latin original. Spg., Meck., Los., Pom., Saxony, Elizabeth, etc., etc., all have it. In all places and in every age this melody has made the most wonderful impression upon the Church. It is simplicity itself, containing, as it does, but four notes.”

60. Wilhelm Löhe, *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses*, 3. Auflage (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1884), 27; Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 208–9.

61. Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 332. Drawing on this Roman Catholic source implies a desire to retain a Gregorian melody for Lutheran use; cf. the Lossius effort in the sixteenth century.

62. *The Common Service*, 10–11. Note especially the use of a dotted note in the second phrase, second measure, in order to achieve a measure that has four beats.

63. *Ibid.*, 20–23; Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 223–24.

64. *The Common Service*, 25; Löhe, *Agende*, 35; *Kirchen-Agende*, 1856, [178]; Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 248.

65. *TLH*, 27. The Amen tune may be from “Branden.-Nürnb. 1533” as given in Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 260; note the second version with the raised penultimate pitch.

66. Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 396.

67. *Ibid.*, 693ff.; Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, 276–77; see Hommel, *Liturgie*, 35–36.

68. In *TLH*, 29–30, syllabification is adjusted in a few places.

69. It is likely that this melody used for various responses and Amens was derived from Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 457, #287; the 1855 Layriz source could not be verified. They could also have a common source.

70. *Church Book with Music*, 1—no other sources consulted seem to employ this series of pitches; Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 508.

71. *Church Book with Music*, 42—no other sources consulted seem to employ this set of pitches; Schoeberlein, *Schatz*, 508.

72. “Our New English Hymn-Book,” *Theological Quarterly* 16 (1912): 162.

The Formation and Flow of Worship Attitudes in the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod

JAMES P. TIEFEL



THERE IS NO OFFICIAL HISTORY of worship in the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS). Several authors have traced the formation of the various hymnals published by and for the synod. Arnold O. Lehmann's article "Wisconsin Synod Hymnals and Agendas 1850–1950"¹ is the best of these studies, especially because it includes information from early Wisconsin Synod convention proceedings and official church periodicals. Lehmann makes no claims about going beyond the record of the official documents, however, and there is a great deal of history beyond those documents. The official histories of the church body (for example, John Philipp Koehler's *History of the Wisconsin Synod* and Edward C. Fredrich's *The Wisconsin Synod Lutherans*) include references to worship but offer nothing of more detail than the publication of a new hymnal or how worship was involved in a congregational controversy. There is no history of WELS worship similar to the official history of WELS world missions.

There will be no official history of worship in the Wisconsin Synod even with the publication of this essay, for it does not intend to be an in-depth study. This essay is narrative and anecdotal. It repeats stories that are retold, in the main, without documentation. The essay is more about sights, sounds, and sense than about facts and figures. If an official history of worship in the Wisconsin Synod can be written, it will have to wait for another day. The intent of what follows is nothing more than to give the reader of this commemorative volume a better understanding of the worship attitudes that formed and framed the work of Kurt J. Eggert.

After graduating from Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, Eggert spent a year instructing high school students at Michigan Lutheran Seminary in Saginaw, Michigan, and then served a short pastorate in North Dakota. He spent the rest of his life in or next door to the two cities that hold center stage in the story of the Wisconsin Synod: Watertown, Wisconsin, and Milwaukee. He grew up in Watertown, where his father served the notable St. Mark's Lutheran Church. For eight years he attended Northwestern College and its preparatory department, located six blocks from the St. Mark's parsonage. His second pastorate

(after the Dakota experience) was Immanuel Lutheran Church in Farmington, eight miles south of Watertown. In Milwaukee he served at Gethsemane Lutheran Church, at Milwaukee Lutheran Teachers' College, at Atonement Lutheran Church, and as a member of the synodical administration, headquartered in Milwaukee. If it can be said that the general attitude of the Wisconsin Synod, for at least the first one hundred years of its history and probably for longer than that, was most often molded and most consistently modeled in Watertown and Milwaukee, then it can also be said that Kurt Eggert grew up, attended school, and carried out his ministry in the two places where he would be most acutely influenced by the general worship attitudes of the Wisconsin Synod.

What are the attitudes of the Wisconsin Synod toward worship? Without a doubt, the attitudes have changed over 150 years. But it will be impossible to gain a genuine perspective of Wisconsin Synod thinking without a look that goes farther back than the formation of the synod in 1849 and 1850.

GERMAN LUTHERANISM AT THE DAWN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Confessional Lutherans were not the only Germans attracted to America. Pietistic and rationalistic Lutherans came too. They did not come to gain religious freedom, however; in fact, many of them had been detached from active participation in church for years. They had little interest in church or its worship. They came seeking new opportunities in the New World. To their credit, many Pietists saw a need to serve these disattached Lutherans. Groups of Pietists joined with Calvinists to establish mission societies that gave basic training to men who were willing to go to America and gather Germans into congregations. One of these mission society pastors was a middle-aged baker by the name of Johannes Muehlhaeuser.

Arriving in Milwaukee in 1848, he soon established Grace Lutheran Church. Together with two other mission society graduates, Muehlhaeuser formed a new church body known today as the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. At about the same time, Friedrich Schmid, another mission society man, was working to gather Lutherans in Michigan and trying to found a synod of sorts. In Minnesota, Pastor J. F. C. Heyer, a product of the pietistic General Synod, was gathering like-minded pastors into the Minnesota Synod. With similar roots, these three groups were drawn to one another and united as a joint synod in 1892.

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FORMATION OF WORSHIP ATTITUDES IN THE WISCONSIN SYNOD

Within twenty-five years of their founding, the “old” Lutherans of the Missouri Synod and the “new” Lutherans from Wisconsin had established a doctrinal unity that found expression in the Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (1872). Primarily through the work of synod president Johannes Bading and seminary president Adolph Hoenecke, Wisconsin moved “to the right” of its pietistic doctrinal position and came to stand side by side with the confessional voices in Missouri.

Wisconsin’s move away from Pietism was neither smooth nor swift, however, and its halting steps often can be observed in its worship practices. The constitution of Muehlhaeuser’s Grace congregation in Milwaukee, for example, includes this paragraph:

Be it resolved that our congregation, founded on the ground of the apostles and prophets, whereon Jesus is the cornerstone, makes confession of the Augsburg Confession and Luther’s Small Catechism. However, 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.

The pastors and people who were attracted to the Wisconsin Synod tended to have similar attitudes about worship forms. Now and then convention speakers in the 1850s and 1860s asked the synod to adopt an order of service that was more Lutheran in its orientation and history, but no acceptable rite could be found or produced. Congregations continued to use the nonliturgical orders brought from their homeland. For many years after 1850, the most widely used hymnal in the Wisconsin Synod was the hymnal of the Pennsylvania Synod, recognized by more confessional Lutherans (and eventually also by Wisconsin) to include more than one hundred hymns of dubious Lutheran integrity. So weak was the synod’s early resolve in the matter of hymnody that its first official hymnal (1870) had to endure an immediate revision to cleanse it of nine hymns that should not have been included.

The pietistic worship practices in the Wisconsin Synod led to some serious skirmishes with Missouri Synod congregations located in the same vicinity. This was a battle that had begun in Germany, and the hard feelings and harsh words continued in America. The paragraph in the Grace constitution probably was aimed directly at Trinity Church, Missouri Synod’s congregation across the Milwaukee River, where the old Lutheran rite was firmly in place.

The leading theologian of the Missouri Synod and the president of its seminary, C.F.W. Walther, was the undisputed American champion of a confessional worship rite and hymnody. The use of historic Lutheran worship practices was Walther’s legacy from orthodox Lutheranism in Germany. To gain the freedom to use these forms without the interference of the German government was what led him to follow the immigration to St. Louis. Within ten years of their arrival in Perry County, the Missourians under Walther’s leadership had published a hymnal, *Kirchengesangbuch*, which had as its chief consideration that its hymns be

pure in doctrine; that they have found almost universal acceptance within the Orthodox German Lutheran Church, and have thus received the almost unanimous testimony; that they had come forth from the true spirit [of Lutheranism].²

Walther’s *Kirchen-Agenda*, containing the main Sunday order, arrived on the scene nine years later, in 1856. Visitors to the St. Louis congregations, where Walther served as senior pastor, would have experienced not only an elaborate liturgical rite based on Luther’s Reformation revisions, but chasubles, chanting, candles, and crucifixes as well. They might also have experienced the thrill of hearing Walther at the organ; it is said that regular churchgoers did not have to glance to the balcony to know when Walther was taking his turn on the bench. Walther stood behind the efforts of his former students to establish his worship perspective and rite in every Missouri Synod congregation. So powerful was Walther’s liturgical influence that even congregations in the synod that possessed their own confessional rites were led to abandon them for Walther’s. (In his history of Frankenmuth, Michigan, *Teach My People the Truth*, Herman Zehnder bemoans the fact that St. Lorenz congregation was “forced” by Walther’s contemporary Fuerbringer to give up its Wilhelm Löhe liturgy, thought by Zehnder to be far richer even than Walther’s.)

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The decided difference in worship practices in the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods is easily seen if one compares the following words of Walther with the paragraph Muehlhaeuser inserted into the Grace Church constitution:

We refuse to be guided by those who are offended by our church customs. We adhere to them all the more firmly when someone wants to cause us to have a guilty conscience on account of them . . . It is truly distressing that many of our fellow Christians find the differences between Lutheranism and papism in outward things. It is a pity and dreadful cowardice when one sacrifices the good and ancient customs to please the deluded American sects, lest they accuse us of being papistic.

Indeed! Am I to be afraid of a Methodist, who perverts the saving Word, or be ashamed in the matter of my good cause, and not rather rejoice that the sects can tell by our ceremonies that I do not belong to them?

We are not insisting that there be unity of perception or feelings or of taste among all believing Christians, neither dare anyone demand that all be minded as he. Neverthe-

less it remains true that the Lutheran liturgy distinguishes Lutheran worship from the worship of other churches to such an extent that the latter look like lecture halls in which the hearers are merely addressed or instructed, while our churches are in truth houses of prayer in which the Christians serve God publicly before the world.³

Walther's words about Christian liberty might have been included in his defense of the Lutheran liturgy for the sake of his Wisconsin Synod brothers. Despite the heartening move toward Lutheran confessionalism, Wisconsin was not ready to abandon the nonliturgical practices of Pietism. This was certainly true of its members, but especially true of its pastors. The move toward confessionalism, guided, of course, by the Holy Spirit, was an intellectual move, born out of study of the Scriptures and the Lutheran confessions. But Missouri's brand of liturgical worship and its tastes in hymnody ran counter to what Wisconsin's founders and early leaders had experienced from their youth. Wisconsin was ready for a confessional adjustment, but the assimilation of liturgy, ceremony, and objective hymns didn't feel right to many pastors and people born and bred in Pietism.

It might be supposed that Walther's liturgical leadership would have been powerful enough to have changed the prevailing attitude in the Wisconsin Synod, but this was not the case. Lehmann's article reveals that although Walther's hymnal and service order were available for its use, Wisconsin never formally adopted them or even considered adopting them. An 1874 resolution calling for the adoption of Walther's *Agende* specifically rejected Walther's order of service. It is difficult to document this, but one senses that early Wisconsin Synod pastors (perhaps more often than their leaders) saw in Walther a certain "pushiness" that they resented. It makes good sense that the very qualities that made Walther the premier confessional spokesman in America occasionally would have seemed overbearing to little pietistic Wisconsin. It is likely that Wisconsin—smaller, poorer, and generally less sophisticated than Missouri—compensated for a subtle inferiority complex by dismissing Missouri's ways as somewhat grandiose and ostentatious. The less lovely sister often deals with the lovelier sister's beauty by considering her vain. Anecdotal history leads one to sense that such a compensation occurred in Wisconsin more often than the official histories admit. One gets the impression that Wisconsin tended to look at Missouri's liturgical emphases from what eventually became a rather skeptical perspective. Join this phenomenon to the worship experiences of their pietistic past and it becomes easy to understand why Wisconsin pastors did not take to Missouri's worship rite, to say nothing of the "chasubles, chanting, candles, and crucifixes" that had been among Walther's practices.

Wisconsin had no liturgical champion of its own. There is no doubt that Adolph Hoenecke had as much theological influence in the Wisconsin Synod as Walther had in the Missouri Synod, but Hoenecke did not carry the dual mantle of synod and seminary president as Walther did and thus could not influence his synod in the same way that Walther influenced his. Hoenecke's practical theology field was homiletics, not litur-

gics, and although he served on several hymnal review committees, he does not seem to have had as much interest in music and the arts as Walther did. Not until J. P. Koehler (Walther's student in St. Louis) arrived at the seminary in 1900 was there an emphasis on teaching confessional hymnology at the seminary, and not until after Hoenecke's death in 1908 was there a course on liturgics.

Despite the heartening move toward Lutheran confessionalism, Wisconsin was not ready to abandon the nonliturgical practices of Pietism.

Roots in Pietism, few financial resources, resentment of Missouri's perceived overbearing leadership, and a resulting skepticism over practices considered show and ostentation—these combined to establish a generally negative attitude toward liturgical worship, ceremony, music, and art that lasted well into the second century of Wisconsin's history.

THE HISTORY OF TWO HYMNALS

One might have supposed that J. P. Koehler, seminary professor (1901–1930) and president (1920–1930), would have become a liturgical leader to match Walther, his teacher. Koehler had a deep interest in history (he authored the first synodical history), church music (he founded the seminary chorus), and ecclesiastical art (his paintings of biblical scenes hang in the seminary library and his influence led to the classic design of the present seminary campus). But Koehler's knowledge of history (and to a certain extent an observation of church life in his own era) led him to the conclusion that too often liturgy and ceremony were imposed on the church in a legalistic way and led, not to a faith-wrought liturgical life, but to one that was formalistic instead. This concern may have been so deep that he could not bring himself to become a champion for liturgical enrichment in his own synod. His writings on hymnody in the *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* run to several hundred pages; his lone article on the liturgy includes nothing more than the outline of his seminary liturgics course.

Some have deeper reservations about Koehler's liturgical thinking. In an article in the first issue of the *WELS Historical Institute Journal*, Victor Prange (who married Koehler's granddaughter) observed:

Koehler shows an appreciation for protestantism; one misses an equal appreciation for that which is catholic. Koehler speaks of how the life of the church so easily "becomes materialistic." One suspects that he might have been just a bit uncomfortable with some of Luther's writings on the Sacrament of the Altar. At times one gets the feeling

that Koehler would have felt right at home in a Zwinglian church building cleansed of all distractions so that in that plain and bare setting the Word alone could impact the soul. Koehler appreciated hymnody; I find little evidence that he cared much for the liturgy. The liturgy is catholic; hymnody is protestant.⁴

Brenner specifically stated, “I want a person on that committee who has both feet in the congregation so that we don’t get a monument to the musicians of the Missouri Synod.”

It is interesting to note that the first scholarly article on the history and value of the Lutheran liturgical service did not appear in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* (a predecessor of the *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly*) until 1938, thirty-four years after the publication’s first issue. Entitled “What Benefits May Be Derived from More Emphasis on the Study of Liturgics,” the article was written not by a seminary professor, but by a parish pastor, Gervasius Fischer, who also served on the liturgics subcommittee for *The Lutheran Hymnal* (TLH).⁵

The lack of liturgical leadership became obvious in the publication of Wisconsin Synod’s first English hymnal, the *Book of Hymns* (1917). Missouri had published a major English hymnal in 1912, the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book with Tunes*. Not surprisingly, that volume contained the 1888 Common Service, prepared by east-coast Lutherans and purportedly based on the best and most widely used liturgical orders of the Reformation Era. The Common Service was more than an order of service; it included translations of the introits, graduals, and collects for all the Sundays and festivals of the Christian year. The musical settings had been prepared by Luther Reed and Frederick Archer in 1901. *The Book of Hymns* borrowed a few of Reed’s and Archer’s settings from Missouri’s hymnal, but very little else. In fact, a May 1918 article in the *Northwestern Lutheran* included a determined defense of the rejection of portions of the Common Service. Despite the fact that the Agnus Dei had been attached to the Holy Communion service since at least the second century and was positioned in the Communion liturgy by Luther in both of his orders, the author concluded,

There is very good reason for singing . . . “O Christ, Thou Lamb of God” immediately after the Confession of Sin; hence we put it there, but omitted it later where it is often found.

He followed with another incredulous observation: “We believe the average churchgoer will thank us for not putting in more

than one Scripture lesson.” With the Agnus Dei (or the Kyrie in the alternate service) following the Confession of Sins and with only one Scripture lesson, the *Book of Hymns* had no need for either introits or graduals. Perhaps this is part of what Martin Albrecht, longtime liturgics professor at Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, noticed in his early ministry in the 1930s. Asked what he felt was the most significant change in WELS worship practices over his sixty years of service, he said, “When I first entered the ministry, our pastors had no sense of the Christian church year.” The liturgical rites in the *Book of Hymns* substantiate his observation.

Almost from its initial publication date, the *Book of Hymns* met with disappointment. Subsequent issues had to include numerous corrections. And there were pastors who were chagrined by the book’s liturgical and hymnological poverty. Already by 1925, WELS convention resolutions were looking for something better: an appendix to the *Book of Hymns* containing more and better hymns, or perhaps a completely new book, maybe even a joint effort with Missouri and the other synods of the Synodical Conference.

Work on the former suggestion began but was never completed. The latter suggestion eventually led to the joint effort that produced *The Lutheran Hymnal*. The primary work was done over a period of twelve years, from 1929 to 1941. The Wisconsin Synod sent representatives to the meetings—among them seminary professors John Meyer and August Zich and Pastors Otto Hagedorn, Gervasius Fischer, William Schaefer, and Arthur Voss—and these men contributed. Fischer was especially active in the work of the liturgics subcommittee. Several hymn tunes by Fritz Reuter, the renowned Dr. Martin Luther College musician, were included: Reuter (TLH 283) and New Ulm (TLH 50). The book contained an original hymn text by WELS poet Anna Hoppe: “O’er Jerusalem Thou Weepest” (TLH 419). Several WELS members produced hymn translations. But in the main, *The Lutheran Hymnal* was Missouri’s book. The Order of the Holy Communion was essentially the order from the 1912 *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, and Wisconsin’s men could not prevail upon the Missourians to include some of the WELS favorite hymns, for example, “Jesus, Shepherd of the Sheep” from the *Book of Hymns*. The leadership of the synod sensed a new hymnal was necessary, but old prejudices died hard. When synod president John W. Brenner appointed William Schaefer to the joint committee, Brenner specifically stated, “I want a person on that committee who has both feet in the congregation so that we don’t get a monument to the musicians of the Missouri Synod.”

Whether or not Brenner’s concerns were realized with the publication of the new hymnal is difficult to know. What we do know is that Wisconsin Synod congregations purchased copies of *The Lutheran Hymnal* by the thousands. Northwestern Publishing House encouraged the purchase of the new book with an ingenious offer: During a fifteen-month window, WELS congregations could purchase the book for the special price of eighty-one cents on the mere declaration that an equivalent number of older books was being replaced. That was a mighty incentive for thrifty WELS members! Most congregations were willing to make the change for other reasons too. In articles throughout

the 1930s, the *Northwestern Lutheran* had done a good job preparing the people for the new hymnal. There were many new hymns, and some of them quickly became popular, for example, “God’s Word Is Our Great Heritage” and “For All the Saints.” There was enough interaction between WELS and LCMS congregations in those days that many Wisconsin Synod members knew Missouri’s Common Service (in fact, more than a few WELS congregations used Missouri’s 1912 hymnal). Where the service was less familiar, worshipers remained after services and practiced. While there are no official records to substantiate this, it can be safely said that *The Lutheran Hymnal* was being used in almost every WELS congregation by the end of World War II.

A significant number of WELS congregations, however, usually pastored by synodical veterans, still felt uncomfortable and put off by the new order of service. Martin Albrecht recounted an incident that took place in the fall of 1941 in the sacristy at Calvary, Thiensville, Wisconsin, where he was serving as pastor. He was preparing for the opening service of the Milwaukee pastoral conference and had posted “page 15” (The Order of the Holy Communion in *The Lutheran Hymnal*) on the hymn board. Just before the service, his district president and the chairman of the synod’s Board of Trustees arrived at the sacristy door and suggested that Albrecht not use “that high-church liturgy.” Albrecht was not deterred, but the Trustees chairman never did inaugurate the service in his congregation, First German in Manitowoc, Wisconsin. First German’s old Mecklenburger rite (in translation, of course) was used until he retired in 1966. Grace Lutheran Church in Yakima, Washington, never did adopt the Holy Communion rite in *The Lutheran Hymnal*; it moved straight from the liturgy in *Book of Hymns* to that of *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal*! Fifteen years after the publication of *The Lutheran Hymnal*, another district president, Pastor E. Arnold Sitz, was still criticizing the Holy Communion rite in a lengthy essay presented to his Arizona-California District brothers in the mid-1950s. Commenting on the conclusion of the Vesper service in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, he wrote: “This long post-sermon drag merits a short German epithet ‘*Sopf*’ (pigtail)! Not only good liturgical principle, but plain common sense dictates the shears for it.”

Younger pastors took to the new hymnal with more enthusiasm, perhaps more out of pragmatism than on principle. *The Lutheran Hymnal* had arrived on the WELS worship scene with auspicious timing. The years after World War II were good years in the synod. The war economy had allowed the synodical debt, so crippling during the 1930s, to be finally retired. Discussions about mission expansion, on both the home and world fronts, highlighted conferences and conventions. English was replacing German at the main Sunday service in most congregations. Elementary schools were growing, and their success soon encouraged the birth of a dozen or more Lutheran high schools. Wherever the Wisconsin Synod went, *The Lutheran Hymnal* went along. Converts, children, and even old-line Germans learned its hymns and liturgy, and various tracts and booklets helped make the hymnal’s contents understandable.

Encouraged by growth and a post-war economy, congregations and schools embarked on notable church and chapel projects. The formality of the liturgical rite in *The Lutheran Hymnal*

seemed to fit well with the neo-Gothic style, the style of choice for church architects and building committees in the 1940s and 1950s. Dozens of WELS congregations erected churches with high ceilings; long, narrow naves; deep chancels; and notable pulpits, lecterns, and altars. An individual gift enabled Northwestern College, the synod’s preseminary institution in Watertown, to erect a fine neo-Gothic chapel in 1955. Eventually that chapel housed a set of stained-glass windows given by Professor Ralph Gehrke in memory of his parents and a Schlicker pipe organ designed by Paul Bunjes, thought by many to be America’s leading expert on the classic north-German organ. In the 1950s, through the influence of growing liturgical thought, both an organ and an altar were added to the chapel at the seminary, which for many years had neither.

In the 1920s, Professor Koehler had begun encouraging the use of the great hymns of Lutheranism’s golden age, which until then were usually unknown by most WELS members.

Already in the 1920s, Professor Koehler had begun encouraging the use of the great hymns of Lutheranism’s golden age, which, until then were usually unknown by most WELS members. A weekly class period was devoted to singing and learning the Lutheran chorales (seminary students from the 1920s through the 1980s will recall this class being held in the fifth hour on Wednesday). Koehler encouraged the formation of a male chorus at the seminary and then created an opportunity for the seminary men to form a choir with young women from Lutheran High School in Milwaukee to take these hymns “on the road.” (There is evidence that this mixed choir eventually became the Lutheran A Cappella Choir, still active in Milwaukee today.) A similar effort was taking place at Dr. Martin Luther College (DMLC) in New Ulm, Minnesota. Frederick Reuter (d. 1924) had laid the foundation for a solid music education program and had encouraged the teachers he trained to carry out his principles in their congregations by using his own organ and choral compositions. Emil D. Backer (d. 1958) carried on Reuter’s work and helped create a musical atmosphere in which the great chorale-based music of classic Lutheranism could flourish. The music of Bach, Schuetz, and Scheidt, with its roots sunk deeply into the Lutheran liturgical rite, was a regular feature of DMLC concert programs and remains so to this day.

DIFFICULT DAYS

The musical scene in the synod’s pastor-training track was not as bright, although this was no fault of the man at the center of it, Professor Hilton C. Oswald. Oswald had been called to

Northwestern College in the 1930s to teach German and Latin. The fact that he later accepted the position as an editor of the American Edition of *Luther's Works* attests to the reality that the languages remained his first love and interest. Oswald also enjoyed music, however, and was persuaded (with some persistence) to accept the responsibility for Northwestern's band and choirs when Depression realities made it impossible to call a replacement for a departed music director. Oswald's task was formidable. Northwestern was a predominantly male school; actually, it was two schools, a preparatory school and a college. Many of his "boys" arrived on campus either as ninth graders or college freshmen with little inclination toward music and less training in it. Add to this that during his tenure, first Northwestern's basketball teams and then its football teams

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gained national recognition. From 1945 until 1960, Oswald also served as director of music at the seminary. He dutifully traveled to Thiensville (Mequon) every Tuesday and rehearsed the choir (at 9:00 P.M.) and taught the courses in hymnology on Wednesdays. Then he returned to Watertown. It is not surprising that musical interest lagged in the pastor track during those years, although this problem dare not be placed at Oswald's feet. Under the best of circumstances, a man would have found it difficult to maintain enthusiasm with students who had no other music teacher for twelve years of school!

If the musical scene at Northwestern College and Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary failed to move pastoral interest forward, unhappy developments in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod moved enthusiasm backward.

At first glance, Missouri's worship activities in the 1930s and 1940s hardly seem unhappy. With more innate interest, more financial resources, and more opportunities for scholarship, the Missourians stood at the forefront of efforts to reclaim the rich worship heritage left by the Lutheran reformers. I mentioned previously the reputation of Paul Bunjes in the pipe organ world. Bunjes's doctoral dissertation on the Praetorius organ set the standard and supplied much of the impetus for the *Orgelbewegung*, a worldwide movement that sought to re-establish the dominance of the organ that had been designed to accompany the hymns and music of Lutheran worship. Often working with organ builder Herman Schlicker, Bunjes designed organs for many of Missouri's schools and sensitized a whole generation of students in the Concordia system to the glories

of the classical Lutheran instrument. William Heyne, professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, directed the Seminary Male Chorus at the same time he led the St. Louis Bach Choir. Both ensembles regularly supplied the music for the *Lutheran Hour* and its nationwide audience. Heyne's colleague at Concordia, Walter Buszin, earned a solid reputation among Lutherans and non-Lutherans for his scholarly commentaries on Lutheran liturgy and hymnody. Carl Halter at Concordia College, River Forest, Illinois, was the first in a long line of capable and well-loved musical leaders who exerted enormous influence on future LCMS church musicians. Arthur Carl Piepkorn, another St. Louis professor, produced a meticulously researched monograph on the history and use of the liturgical vestments, which was and is recognized as the standard work on the subject.

By any gauge, these men from the Missouri Synod were giants in Lutheran liturgical studies. Most of them carried on their activities within the context of the Lutheran liturgical movement, however, and this is where their work was often compromised and came to be suspect among WELS pastors. Begun in the 1930s, the liturgical movement attracted pastors, teachers, church musicians, and laypeople from various Lutheran synods who were interested in the liturgical, musical, and artistic legacy of orthodox Lutheranism. Unfortunately, many of these individuals were also interested in Lutheran ecumenicity and arrived at conferences and symposiums not only for the study of worship but also to discover how the confessional walls that existed between Lutherans might be broken down. Among those quietly pushing for Lutheran unity were theologians who had begun to accept the conclusions of the historical-critical method of Bible interpretation. One can hardly blame Wisconsin Synod pastors, cautious and conservative by nature (and generally wary of ostentation anyway), for their disapproval of and distaste for the emphases of the Lutheran liturgical movement. Attending the sessions of the Valparaiso Liturgical Institute or subscribing to the publications of the Liturgical Society of St. James could put an ugly brand on a man during the 1940s and 1950s. The essay by Pastor E. Arnold Sitz (cited previously) included this paragraph:

It is our opinion that men like Dr. Luther Reed of the United Lutheran Church and Dr. Piepkorn of the Missouri Synod have done the Lutheran Church in America grave disservice in departing from the sober-minded and simple dress and ritual of the past century into the labyrinth of the high church movement. Fred Lindemann and many others are pressing so on this high church trend as to insist that the climax of the service can be nothing other than Holy Communion or, as they prefer to term it, the Eucharist, which in itself already gives a biased slant toward Roman Catholic terminology and toward Roman sacramentarianism, from which Luther set us free. Sad to say, they are losing sight of the position Luther rightly took that the Word is central; also of the stand of Luther that of the two sacraments, Baptism outranks Communion.

There is a story that somehow leaked out of a Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary call meeting that suggests that a certain board

member spoke against calling Kurt Eggert to the seminary because his wearing of the “high church” cassock and surplice rendered him doctrinally “unsafe.”

There were a few pastors and teachers in the synod who understood that there was much to learn from the Lutheran liturgical movement and that one need not buy into the ecumenical agenda to learn it. There were few opportunities, however, to share or put into practice what had been learned. The great debate with Missouri was waged during the 1950s, and that debate dominated the scene at conferences and conventions and in the synod’s schools and congregations. Hardly anyone in the Wisconsin Synod was left untouched by the battle. Countless families were divided, not only those with Missouri Synod ties but also those who experienced the defection of family members to the Church of the Lutheran Confession. Three of its largest and most historic congregations (Immanuel in Mankato, Minnesota; St. Martin in Winona, Minnesota; and St. John in West Bend, Wisconsin) and dozens of smaller ones left the synod, most to the Church of the Lutheran Confession but some to the Missouri Synod. The president of the seminary resigned. The Synodical Conference disbanded after 91 years of glittering history.

By the time the battle ended—Wisconsin ended its long fellowship with Missouri in 1961—the anti-Missouri spirit was high, and whatever good would come out of Missouri in the area of worship in the years following the break was more or less disregarded by the majority of WELS members. Besides, the synod was ready to go its own way and do its own thing in missions, benevolences, and worship.

NEW ATTITUDES

If pastors and teachers tend to exert more influence on worship practices than laypeople, then the role of the schools that train pastors and teachers is vital—and the four schools that prepared pastors and teachers in the 1960s witnessed the inauguration of new worship and music leaders. For the first time in its history, the seminary established a full-time liturgics chair in 1962 and called Dr. Martin Luther College’s music division head, Professor Martin Albrecht, to fill it. Albrecht reorganized the school’s liturgics and church-music curriculum, revitalized the Seminary Chorus, and kept students up-to-date on worship activities in the wider Lutheran world. Professor Meilahn Zahn succeeded Albrecht at Dr. Martin Luther College and presided over the expanding music program that was needed to serve a growing student body. Zahn guided the school’s choral activities to a new level of sophistication that enabled complete performances of Brahms’s *Requiem* and Bach’s *St. John Passion*. It was during Zahn’s tenure that the Memorial Organ was installed in the school’s auditorium, a three-manual Casavant organ designed by Paul Bunjes, perhaps the finest instrument in the Wisconsin Synod at the time. Arnold Lehmann, a Northwestern College graduate with a Ph.D. in liturgical history, arrived at his alma mater in 1962. Lehmann grabbed Northwestern’s musical reins with dogged determination, insisting on high standards for the school’s musical groups, refusing to excuse students from music rehearsals for sports activities (a new experience for this school), and insisting (he stood against the school’s most illustrious president on this issue) that a clas-

sically voiced pipe organ be placed in the chapel. The fourth of the synod’s worker-training schools, Milwaukee Lutheran Teachers’ College was born during this era. It began with the objective of supplying more teacher candidates for the synod’s overcrowded and understaffed elementary school system. Everything about the school was new and somewhat disorganized, and its first music director often found himself working in less than ideal circumstances. But from his position at the new college, located in the center of the synod’s constituency and in view of the synod’s administration, Kurt J. Eggert was able not only to serve the greater Milwaukee area, as he had already begun to do (see Professor Ralph Gehrke’s contribution to this commemorative volume), but also to influence the synod at large. These four men, and especially Albrecht and Eggert, were to have profound influence on the emerging worship attitudes in the Wisconsin Synod as they trained future pastors and teachers and as they carefully led the church body to new levels of liturgical appreciation.

If pastors and teachers tend to exert more influence on worship practices than laypeople, then the role of the schools that train pastors and teachers is vital.

Despite its break with the Missouri Synod, the Wisconsin Synod was still dependent on Concordia Publishing House for its hymnal and service books. When Missouri began to consider a revision or replacement of *The Lutheran Hymnal*, therefore, Wisconsin was invited to join the discussions. The 1963 synod convention, reacting to a memorial from the Conference of Presidents and recognizing the need for broad-based involvement in these discussions, authorized the formation of a standing committee on worship. The Commission on Liturgy, Hymnody, and Worship was born with Martin Albrecht (chairman), Kurt Eggert (secretary), and Meilahn Zahn among its original members. At the same time Missouri was moving toward the 1969 publication of *Worship Supplement* (that is, supplemental to *The Lutheran Hymnal*), it also became involved with the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship (ILCW), an organization that had as its stated objective the dream of the original Lutheran liturgical movement—a common hymnal for all of North America’s Lutherans. Although the Wisconsin Synod did not join the group officially, Albrecht and Eggert began attending the Chicago sessions of the ILCW in 1965.

After Martin Albrecht arrived at the seminary and as he began to chair the Commission on Worship, he and Kurt Eggert formed an interesting partnership. Their personal and social interests were not the same—Albrecht was Eggert’s senior by

fourteen years—but their individual abilities were complementary. Albrecht was the technician; Eggert was the artist. Eggert wrote the music, and Albrecht scribed it with his meticulous hand. Eggert philosophized, and Albrecht summarized. Eggert stood on the front lines encouraging the synod to reclaim its worship and musical legacy and to strive for catholicity in form and excellence in performance. To this effort Albrecht supplied his substantial reputation and thereby allowed a discussion of worship issues to be considered legitimate and prudent. Each man, in his own way, influenced a slow change in the worship attitudes of the Wisconsin Synod. Professor Albrecht, by his nineteen-year tenure at Dr. Martin Luther College (1943–1962) and his long association with the seminary, had personal contact with thousands of pastors and teachers. He was, in fact, a graduate of both schools. Because he edited music for church choirs and produced the very popular “Our Favorite Hymns” series (some three thousand cassette tapes were sold over thirty years), his name was well known to many who had never met him. Choir tours carried him to WELS congregations from Tacoma to Miami and from Tucson to Ottawa. Choir members sensed that someone knew him well at every church on the itinerary. Eggert’s sphere of personal influence was narrower but perhaps conceptually deeper. Those who came under his influence tended to attach themselves to him and his priorities with intense loyalty. He set high standards for those who followed him, and never being quite convinced that the best had been achieved, he encouraged them to strive for what was better. This quality was especially obvious in his work with the Lutheran Chorale of Milwaukee, a choir of WELS members from various churches that he directed for thirty-six years.

The *Worship Supplement* was published in 1969, and the Commission on Worship analyzed the book’s contents and shared its resources with the synod on the pages of its publication, *Focus on Worship*. The new supplement did not enjoy wide use. It was in the pews at the seminary and at the Wisconsin Lutheran Chapel in Madison and was used by the choirs at Dr. Martin Luther College, but it was not purchased by Northwestern College or by any congregation known to this author. It was not above suspicion, either; seminary students often referred to it as “the worthless supplement” (it was from Missouri, after all). Its influence was deep, however, deeper than anyone might have expected in 1969. It exposed future pastors and teachers to dozens of new hymns, among them the hymns of Martin and Werner Franzmann, and to many fine old hymns as well. The book’s service orders notated the liturgical chants for both the congregation and the pastor, something WELS members had not seen before, and a few pastors gained permission to copy these services for experimentation at pastor and teacher conferences. The book included prayers arranged for leader and congregation, another concept that seemed innovative in 1969. The *Worship Supplement*’s contemporary setting of the Matins was regularly used in the seminary chapel.

The *Worship Supplement* was never intended as a replacement for *The Lutheran Hymnal*, and it became obvious to the Commission on Worship that the final product of the ILCW probably would not be acceptable to the Wisconsin Synod. (As it turned out, *Lutheran Book of Worship*, completed in 1978, was

not acceptable to the Missouri Synod either.) The commission did analyze the ILCW’s revision of the Christian calendar and its proposed three-year lectionary. A committee chaired by Pastor Victor Prange advised the 1974 synod convention that nothing stood in the way of using the new calendar and lectionary. The convention agreed, and soon thereafter Northwestern Publishing House began printing the lessons from the three-year cycle on the back of its bulletin covers. The Commission on Worship determined that its wisest course of action was to prepare materials to supplement *The Lutheran Hymnal*. Contemporary translations of the historic collects and graduals were produced. The commission developed a new concept for the Introit (psalm sections were placed between hymn stanzas) and shared several sets of these with the synod. In 1971 the commission produced a booklet entitled *Service of the Word*, which contained a new rite for Holy Baptism and a set of responsive general prayers besides a worship order for services at which Holy Communion was not offered. Plans for a booklet offering new hymns were begun but never brought to completion.

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There was a certain urgency in the Commission on Worship’s work in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Mission expansion was occurring at a breakneck pace in the southern, northeastern, and southwestern regions of the United States, and evangelism efforts were attracting many people who were not Lutheran from birth. The synod was on the verge of going from nine districts to twelve. “In every state by ’78” was a quasi-official synodical motto. Old-line city congregations gave birth to daughter congregations in the suburbs as their members moved away from the central city. Congregations located in rural communities for their entire history became located in bedroom communities without changing their addresses. A hymnal that contained old English language, old English script, less than a dozen twentieth-century hymns, and no liturgical canticles newer than 1750 began to seem somewhat out of sync with the space age. Pastors began looking for something more relevant. They looked for hymns in a variety of resources, many decidedly non-Lutheran. Homemade orders of service proliferated. It seemed occasionally that the synod was living in the liturgical period of the judges, “where everyone did what was right in his own eyes.” The commission sensed that a new hymnal was vital if the synod was going to avoid a liturgical chaos it had experienced at the beginning of its history.

As the 1980s dawned, there was some hope that Missouri Synod's new hymnal, *Lutheran Worship*, could be adopted or at least adapted by the Wisconsin Synod. Pastoral conferences studied the new volume in earnest after its 1982 publication. But the book's thick liturgical section simply highlighted the long-standing differences between worship concepts and practices in the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods. Once again, Wisconsin might have been willing to accept Missouri's hymns but not its liturgies. Although the concern ran deep in many places that Wisconsin lacked the talent to produce its own hymnal and the necessary accompanying publications, the Commission on Worship recommended to the 1983 convention that the synod embark on the production of its own hymnal. As they say, the rest is history, and Victor Prange tells the story of *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal* elsewhere in this commemorative volume.

CONCLUSION

One wonders what Johannes Muehlhaeuser would think were he to visit his Grace Church 150 years after its founding. The worship rite used twice every month in the four weekend services with Holy Communion is *Christian Worship's* Service of Word and Sacrament, which purports itself to be "a version of the historic liturgy of the Christian Church." Grace's two pastors are vested in alb and stole and regularly chant the liturgy. The Psalm and Verse of the Day are sung by a cantor, a children's choir, or one of several adult choirs. The Hymn of the Day is always sung in its historic liturgical position, connected to the Gospel and Sermon. Processions with crucifix and candles begin worship on festival days. By any gauge, "the rite of the old Lutheran church" is in place at the congregation Muehlhaeuser founded. Although he died apparently convinced that his synod's move toward a more confessional position was the right move, we're guessing he would react to worship at Grace with a frown.

One wonders what Kurt Eggert would think were he to have attended either the 1996 or 1999 version of the National Conference on Worship, Music, and the Arts, sponsored by the Commission on Worship he served for so many years. He would

have witnessed many of the historic Christian and Lutheran rites he had endeavored to restore. He would have experienced rituals that, while new to his synod, he knew had edified countless Christians in many eras and many places. He would have listened to music that may finally have met the standards he had set in his mind but was not always able to achieve in his concerts. He would have noticed the chasubles, chanting, candles, and crucifixes! And he would have observed the joy that this worship elicited from several thousand Wisconsin Synod participants. By any standard, the attitude of the synod that Eggert served has changed over 150 years. How would he react? We're guessing he would react with an incredulous smile!

On the other hand, he might have expected the change. He might have supposed that an appreciation for a rich liturgical life would eventually flow from his synod's love of the Scriptures and its commitment to the doctrines of the Reformation and the Lutheran Confessions. He might have expected attitudes to change as the synod overcame the prejudices of its early history and began to do the work of worship on the basis of its own studies and perspectives. He might have sensed that *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal* would effect such changes. Such was the desire he had in the Introduction, which he wrote: "May [the hymnal's] use among us foster and strengthen appreciation of liturgical worship and enrich and enliven our relationship with God and each other." He might have longed to see the fruits of his labor, but the Lord took him to heaven, where the richest sort of worship is more than a dream; it's a reality. **LOGIA**

NOTES

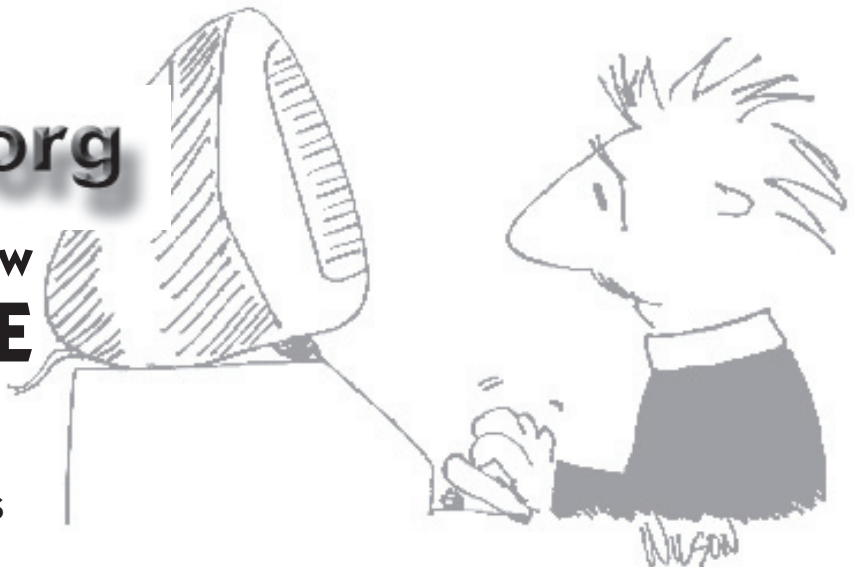
1. *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 16, no. 2 (October 1998): 3–37.
2. Quoted in *Lutheran Worship: History and Practice* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993), 89.
3. C.F.W. Walther, *Essays for the Church* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 1:194.
4. Victor Prange, "Review of J. P. Koehler's 'The History of the Wisconsin Synod,'" *WELS Historical Institute Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 40.
5. *Theologische Quartalschrift* 35 (1938): 109–130; and 36 (1939): 97–118.

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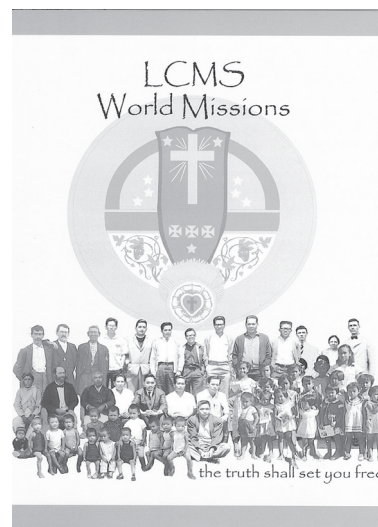
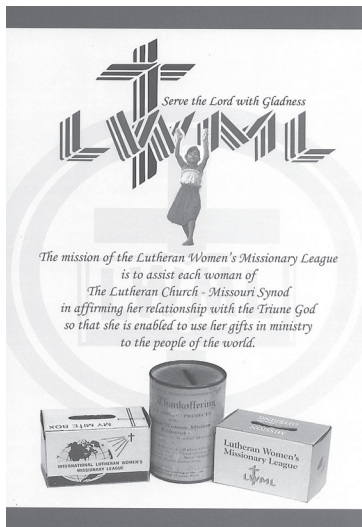
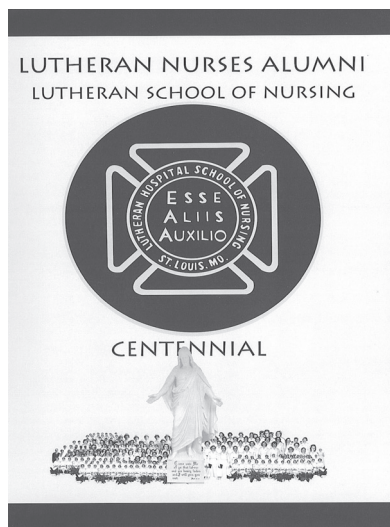
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A Tale of Frustrated Lutheran Hymnal Revision

D. RICHARD STUCKWISCH



WALTER BUSZIN WAS STILL a young man, but already a scholar, when he served on a subcommittee of the project that produced *The Lutheran Hymnal* (TLH) of 1941. As a participant in that effort, he made his contribution and was publicly supportive of the book when it was introduced to the church. Even so, he also had his share of frustrations with the bureaucratic process involved in the development of TLH, as well as certain disappointments with the end results: circumstances that would seem familiar to anyone who has ever participated in a Lutheran hymnal project. Given the role that Buszin would serve over the next several decades, as a member, then chairman, of the worship commission of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS), it is worth noting some of his misgivings.¹

In a pointed critique of TLH (circa 1944, obviously once attached to a letter now missing, the recipient unknown), Buszin expressed his regret that it neither encouraged nor provided for the occasional use of appropriate liturgical chorales in place of the ordinary (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo). He would also have preferred to see the suggestion of appropriate hymnody in place of the Gradual, at least as an option. In his view, the congregational singing of hymns, especially the chorales, was one of the distinctive hallmarks of Lutheran liturgical practice and theology. What he saw in TLH instead was an attempt to be “ecumenical” at the expense of a genuine Lutheran character. That did not surprise him, though, since the project had been marked by the leadership and decisions of men without adequate training in Lutheran music. Truth be told, there was not more than one member of the main committee “who had ever made a real study of church-music or hymnology under competent guidance.”

By contrast, “every member of [the] sub-committee [on which Buszin himself had served] had studied church music and hymnology with some authority.” That made it especially galling when, “on several occasions,” Buszin and his fellows “were told not to be so assertive and to remember ‘you are only the sub-committee.’” Apparently, much the same circumstances prevailed in the case of the liturgical work of the project as

well. Thus, in Buszin’s opinion, “the St. James group has just cause for laughing at the liturgical material in our Hymnal, not because it is not Gregorian, but because it shows no liturgical understanding.” Poor choices had been made in the musical settings of both the liturgy and many of the hymns, and several of the liturgical chants were pointed badly. The inclusion of “Carols and Spiritual Songs” was both unnecessary and unfortunate. And the overuse of “Amen,” at the conclusion of every hymn, demonstrated a lack of discernment.

Despite its shortcomings, and notwithstanding the usual sorts of grumbling that naturally accompany the introduction of any new hymnal, TLH was fairly well and readily received by the congregations of the LCMS. Its continued broad usage within the LCMS even now, more than sixty years after it was first published, testifies to its staying power. And it should not be thought that Walter Buszin and the commission he served were in a rush to replace TLH with something altogether new. On the contrary, as of 1953 they reported to the synod in convention that “it is as yet too early and likewise unwise and unnecessary to begin to agitate for a new hymnal.” Yet, they also noted, “the average American hymnal is in use for only about one generation, that is, for twenty-five or thirty years” (1953 *Convention Proceedings*, 602), which meant that TLH was approaching what might be called, in retrospect, something of a mid-life crisis.

Over the course of the 1950s, the LCMS Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics (as it was known until 1959) gravitated toward a “thorough revision” of TLH. In 1950, a pocket-sized text-tune edition had been proposed, but was not approved by the synod because “*The Lutheran Hymnal* is serving the worship of our Church satisfactorily” (1950 *Convention Proceedings*, 711).² Three years later, however, the LCMS convention resolved that the committee should be urged “to make the *Lutheran Hymnal* available in an edition of a smaller format which will include all the texts of said hymnal, together with the tunes of its hymns” (1953 *Convention Proceedings*, 605). It is clear that other future “editions” of TLH were also anticipated. For example, another resolution requested the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics to include “the texts and truths of Luther’s Small Catechism” and “the Passion Harmony according to the four Evangelists” in “all forthcoming editions of the *Lutheran Hymnal*” (1953 *Convention Proceedings*, 606).

As the committee began “the task of preparing the pocket-size tune-text edition of *The Lutheran Hymnal*,” the need for “a

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revised edition” of *TLH* was recognized, and “it was decided to prepare one manuscript for the publication of both, the pocket-size edition and the revised edition.” However, “after four months of much work” by the committee chairman (Buszin), “the plan had to be abandoned temporarily.” In addition to the unsatisfactory work that was being done by the engraver engaged for the purpose, “the supply of hymnals kept in stock at Concordia Publishing House was rapidly becoming so low that it became imperative to postpone the preparation of new plates for a thoroughly revised edition.” Furthermore, “it was found to be practically impossible for one person to do this work alone” (1956 *Convention Proceedings*, 610).

***It would be imperative that such work
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the field of hymnology and liturgics.***

The committee was of the opinion “that a revised edition should be prepared within the near future and that the pocket-size edition should be prepared simultaneously.” The “many letters” received by Chairman Buszin suggested “a revised and improved edition, not a new hymnal.” Some of the anticipated revisions would include the transposing of various hymns and parts of the liturgy “to lower and more convenient keys, where this will not deprive congregational singing of its vitality.” Easier accompaniments might be facilitated “for the less advanced church musician.” Size permitting, “another musical setting or two of one or the other of [the] liturgies, or of certain of their individual parts, may be added; the same applies to a few excellent hymn-texts and tunes found in other standard American hymnals today” (1956 *Convention Proceedings*, 610–11).

Since the revision of *TLH* had previously been entrusted to the chairman of the committee, it was suggested that “the task of continuing this work might be left in his hands with the provision that he be permitted to solicit help from those within Synod well qualified to supply such help.” It would be “imperative” that “such work be done by men who are at home in the field of hymnology and liturgics, chiefly because they will be inclined to apply practices which have stood the test of time and which will thus insure a longer life for our hymnal” (1956 *Convention Proceedings*, 611).

Although the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, on its own initiative, had already undertaken a revision of *TLH*, the synod in convention asked for “a thorough study of the problems arising from the present edition and connected with any possible revision of the *Lutheran Hymnal*, including a reasonable testing of results.” It was noted that “many different opinions exist in Synod regarding the revision of the *Hymnal*,” and “the possibility” of *TLH* revision would be “a project of far-reaching significance to the public and private worship of [the]

people” (1956 *Convention Proceedings*, 615). Reading between the lines, there appears to have been a difference of opinion, between the synod at large and the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, as to the prerogatives of the committee to undertake a revision of the synod’s service book and hymnal.

When the LCMS assembled for its 1959 convention in San Francisco, the committee reported the results of the study it had been assigned in 1956. It had learned that “an overwhelming percentage of [the] congregations desired that a thoroughly revised edition of *The Lutheran Hymnal* not be published at the present time” (emphasis mine). Though many criticized the hymnal, “in some cases very severely,” the majority seemed to “treasure it highly.” Nonetheless, insisting that the “musicological workmanship” in the hymnal was “obsolete,” the committee recommended that a “thoroughly revised edition” should appear in approximately ten to twelve years (1959 *Convention Reports*, 559). Evidently, the synod concurred. In accepting the committee’s report (1959 *Convention Proceedings*, 279), the prospect of *TLH* revision was also approved, for much of that report had dealt with specific expectations for such a project.

Additionally, the adoption of “Regulations for the Commission on Worship, Liturgics, and Hymnology” (a new name and designation for the former *committee*) entrusted the commission with responsibility “for preparing, revising, and making available official service books and hymnals of the Synod” (1959 *Convention Proceedings*, 281).³ In response to a memorial to modernize the “language in public prayers,” and to another memorial requesting “a simplification of parts of our liturgy,” the convention resolved that the Commission on Worship, Liturgics, and Hymnology (CWLH) “be encouraged to keep these matters in mind in the contemplated revision of *The Lutheran Hymnal* and the new revised *Agenda*” (1959 *Convention Proceedings*, 280).⁴

By the early 1960s, it was simply assumed and understood that *TLH* was being revised, and that a new edition would be available around 1970. In its report to the 1962 LCMS convention in Cleveland, the CWLH indicated that notable progress had been made toward the revision of both *TLH* and *The Lutheran Agenda*. The commission also reported that numerous suggestions from the field, in response to a “questionnaire study,” had been very supportive, encouraging, and helpful.⁵ The synod in convention, for its part, encouraged the CWLH to include “additional hymns which express the relationship of the church to contemporary society, such hymns being doctrinally sound and exalting our Lord Jesus Christ,” and “to continue as speedily as possible the work of hymnal revision” (1962 *Convention Proceedings*, 144).

Following the convention in 1962, work on the revision of *TLH* intensified and accelerated. At the meeting of the CWLH in October of that year, Buszin was appointed as the editor of the project. Several subcommittees were organized, and a chairman appointed for each: Herbert Lindemann for liturgics, Jaroslav Vajda for hymn texts, and Paul Bunjes for music.⁶ At the next synodical convention, in 1965, the commission presented an impressive progress report, in which it maintained the optimistic assumption that a thoroughly revised edition of *TLH* would be available by the turn of the decade. But no such

revision ever appeared. In fact, precious little evidence has been found of any work that was actually done on the project. So the question is, "What happened to those best laid plans?" Actually, a number of things conspired to frustrate the intended revision of *TLH*.

CHANGING DYNAMICS OF LUTHERANISM IN NORTH AMERICA

From the mid-1950s until the early 1960s, the LCMS cooperated with other American Lutherans in the development of a Spanish Lutheran service book and hymnal, published in 1964 as *Culto Cristiano*. It was a major undertaking and especially important as a successful joint effort between the LCMS and the churches that became the American Lutheran Church (ALC) and the Lutheran Church in America (LCA). The impetus for the entire project came from the LCMS Board for Mission Services, not the worship commission. It is noteworthy, however, that Walter Buszin was selected to head up the mission board's Spanish Hymnal Subcommittee. His participation in that effort brought him into personal contact and a working relationship with the worship leaders and other representatives of the other Lutheran churches in America. Those contacts and relationships laid the groundwork and helped pave the way for further cooperative efforts.

In addition to *Culto Cristiano*, two other important pan-Lutheran enterprises brought Walter Buszin and his fellow LCMS worship commissioners into contact with many other Lutherans from outside the LCMS and well beyond the Synodical Conference to which the LCMS belonged.⁷ One of those pan-Lutheran ventures was the Lutheran Society for Worship, Music, and the Arts (which began in the 1950s), for which Buszin served as the editor of its journal, *Response*, in the early-1960s. The other venture was the Institute for Liturgical Studies at Valparaiso University, in which Herbert Lindemann of the CWLH was a primary participant.

Not surprisingly, therefore, in 1961 the CWLH was considering the possibility of cooperating with other Lutheran churches in preparing a new and improved *Lutheran Agenda*. It was shortly thereafter, and perhaps in conjunction with such plans, that the CWLH and the LCMS Committee on Doctrinal Unity met in St. Louis with representatives of the Commission on the Liturgy and the Hymnal (CLH)—a joint commission of the ALC and the LCA, responsible for the *Service Book and Hymnal* (*SBH*, 1958). That meeting opened the door to "informal cooperation" between the two commissions. Accordingly, a mutual desire was expressed for members of the CWLH to sit with the CLH in its sessions, and vice versa.⁸

In general, the early 1960s witnessed an increasingly more vocal sentiment among Lutherans in North America, which held that the next step in liturgical reform ought to be a concerted effort on the part of all the Lutheran churches. There was a growing push in those years, from various quarters toward one official service book and one official hymnal that would be used by one and all. The desire for such common materials had grown as Lutherans moved away from their native European tongues in favor of English as the language of worship. For some Lutherans, especially outside of the LCMS, it was also

driven by a desire for Lutheran unity. The long-standing dream of "one book for one church" was associated with Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, an early American Lutheran pastor, who had written in a letter of 5 November 1783:

It would be a most delightful and advantageous thing if all the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in North America were united with one another, if they all used the same order of service.⁹

North American Lutheranism had already come a long way toward achieving Muhlenberg's dream with the publication of the *SBH* in 1958. "Officially prepared and authorized by eight churches," that then became two churches (the ALC and the LCA), "which together enroll more than two-thirds of all the Lutherans in the United States and Canada," the *SBH* was lauded for its contribution to church unity. That accomplishment encouraged various people to keep dreaming and to aim higher. In 1959, Luther Reed wrote: "Muhlenberg's ideal of 'one church, one book' must still be held aloft to inspire us to further united endeavor."¹⁰

There was a growing push in those years toward one official service book and one official hymnal that would be used by one and all.

Let it be said that Walter Buszin was not opposed to the idea of "one book for one church," but he did not believe that such a goal should be the starting point. Instead, the development of a shared theology of liturgy and hymnody must come first, and only then, on that common foundation, could shared resources for worship be developed and produced. Buszin was not reticent, but willing and eager to work toward those long-range goals. But he remained cautious about the way that hymnody in particular ought to be handled. As far as he was concerned, the LCMS could surely stand to learn something from the LCA, for example, in the area of liturgics. But just as surely did the ALC and LCA have much to learn musically from the Missouri Synod.

Buszin's counterpart in the CLH, Henry Horn, was among those who were most keen for the day when the Lutherans of North America could share a common liturgy and hymnal. Yet he was patient enough to work with others, one step at a time, toward that goal. The first step, as Horn saw it, was to engage the worship commissions in "informal discussions." To that end, representatives from the CWLH were invited to attend the April 1963 meeting of Horn's CLH in Chicago. That meeting established a "consultative relationship" between the two commissions, with the intention of sharing ideas, research, and

materials of mutual interest and benefit.¹¹ With such prospects in view, Horn and Buszin were to implement cooperative efforts between the CLH and CWLH. Arrangements were made for several representatives from the CLH to attend a meeting of the CWLH in January 1964. And so it continued for the next couple of years.

It may again be noted that Henry Horn considered the ultimate goal to be the publication of a common service book and hymnal. The sooner, the better, in his opinion. It is also helpful, however, to understand what was at the forefront of Horn's mind when relations with the LCMS were getting underway. As the chairman of the CLH, he found his commission tied up with differences between its ALC and LCA members. For one thing, there were marked differences in expertise, since the LCA tended to appoint liturgical scholars to the CLH, whereas the ALC followed a more bureaucratic approach in choosing its representatives. On top of that, the ALC members had taken to voting as a bloc on every item of business. Thus, a political impasse was created that hindered the CLH from accomplishing its work. Horn hoped that bringing the LCMS commission into the orbit of discussions would alleviate the problem.

As well-regarded as SBH was liturgically, its hymnody was a far cry from the standards and expectations of the LCMS musical tradition.

If there were political barriers between the ALC and LCA within the SBH commission, there were also cautions and concerns on the part of the LCMS in relating to the ALC and LCA. Martin Seltz, for example, a parish pastor, was especially concerned about doctrinal compromises that might become necessary in working with churches not in fellowship with the LCMS. Paul Bunjes, a musicologist, was reluctant to open up the LCMS and its work to outside pressures and influence. Across the board, there was an overriding concern for the character and quality of the hymnody that would result from a cooperative effort between the LCMS and the other Lutheran churches.

A desire for musicological improvements in TLH had already been the driving force behind the revision of that hymnal. By comparison, SBH was recognized as being even weaker and more problematic in that respect.¹² As well-regarded as SBH was liturgically, its hymnody was a far cry from the standards and expectations of the LCMS musical tradition. Consequently, it was feared that working with the churches that had produced and were using SBH, far from promoting or allowing advances in hymnody, would result in a watering down and compromising of the hymnal.

Taking into account the various concerns of those on all sides, the cooperation that developed between the CWLH and the

CLH involved the formation of joint study groups comprised of two or three scholars from each of the several churches represented. These study groups were intended to provide an ideal context for the pooling of resources and expertise, in order to derive a common theological perspective, and to work toward the eventual development of common rites and ceremonies. As of April 1965, joint study groups in liturgical texts and music had been established and were ready to begin working soon. By intention, due to LCMS scruples, there had not yet been any attempt to form a joint study group in hymnody (neither texts nor tunes).

ON THE LCMS HOMEFRONT: PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1965 CONVENTION

The formation of the joint study groups in 1965 was not supposed to be in conflict with TLH revision, but was viewed as a way of aiding and abetting that LCMS project. That arrangement did not satisfy everyone involved, but it was the understanding and position of the LCMS commission.

Two years earlier, Herbert Lindemann and his subcommittee on liturgics had been thinking out loud about a pan-Lutheran book—and advocating action toward that end. They had recommended that the CWLH take the necessary steps

to formulate a memorial to the next Synodical Convention directing the Administration of Synod to appoint and authorize a committee to work for a common hymnal and to approach other synods to appoint similar committees for the development of such a hymnal for publication in 1980 on the anniversary of the *Book of Concord*.¹³

A “policy resolution” adopted thereafter by the CWLH did not follow the recommendation of the liturgics subcommittee, but it did betray competing interests at work. Regarding “future plans and activity” of the commission, it was noted that synodical instructions were for a revision of TLH; that such a revision was necessary after more than twenty years; and that the CWLH “has been operating on this basis for the past six years and has progressed in the work to the point where the goal is in sight.” Therefore, the commissioners resolved to “complete the preparation of the worship books of the church.” Of course, the CWLH could “use whatever resources it feels necessary to do this, including consultations with related commissions of other church bodies.” It was also resolved that the CWLH “together with members of related commissions of other Lutheran bodies lay the ground work for cooperation in the preparation of worship materials.”¹⁴

When the idea of the joint study groups was first being considered, members of the CWLH expressed “the extreme importance of a clear and impressive statement regarding the activities and plans of the commission in the 1965 Synodical Report.”¹⁵ In the fall of 1964, each of the committee chairmen was asked to prepare a report of his committee's activities, including “a statement of the general framework of the committee's function, plus a progress report on the work that has been done in preparation for the new hymnal.” Also, “it was felt that a strong statement should be included in the synodical report answering

the question: *Why a hymnal of our own at this time?*” The committee chairmen and Buszin would collectively

prepare statements in answer to this question and with regard to the suggestion by some groups within the Synod that a “Pan-Lutheran Hymnal” be prepared jointly by the various Lutheran Synods in America by the year 1980.¹⁶

Within a couple months, “Some Arguments for the Revision of the Lutheran Hymnal” were considered and approved by the CWLH.¹⁷ Significantly, around that same time, LCMS President Oliver Harms conveyed to Walter Buszin that the work on the revision of *TLH* “must go on.” There was “no doubt in his mind.” Harms saw no reason to assume that the LCMS would necessarily join with the other Lutheran churches in a common project. Yet, if that prospect were to happen, the LCMS should make its own work “so good that much of it can be taken over at that time.”¹⁸

As members of the CWLH had desired, its official report to the synodical convention included a full and positive description of progress on *TLH* revision. A detailed summary of what had already been accomplished, along with future plans and prospects, was clearly an attempt to “sell” the project. The commission reported that “first drafts of some 35 percent of the revised hymn section, about two-hundred hymns,” had been completed, as well as “numerous liturgical portions” (1965 *Convention Workbook*, 389).¹⁹ An eight-point rationale for continuing the revision of *TLH* was spelled out. It was noted that “the life of a hymnal is ordinarily about 25 years.” Since *TLH* had been published in 1941, and especially given “developments in our rapidly changing culture,” it would not be wise to wait out the publication of a pan-Lutheran hymnal. Besides, “a great portion of the work” on the revision of *TLH* had already been completed; to set all of that aside “would seem to be disruptive and detrimental to the work.” It was further argued that “the publication of our own books at this time will neither harm nor disrupt the working arrangements” with other Lutheran churches “in the development of hymnological and worship materials” (1965 *Convention Workbook*, 390).

Of special importance in the CWLH report are comments on hymnody, in contrast to liturgical materials. The “publications of other groups in recent years,” no doubt including *SBH*, “demonstrate clearly that if a basic core of Lutheran hymnody is to be retained,” the LCMS “will have to accept primary responsibility for preserving that heritage.” Otherwise, “uniformity in the selection of hymns by and for people of widely varying ethnic backgrounds is not necessarily desirable.” It would be worthwhile to aim for “uniformly high musical standards,” but “the *sine qua non* of common worship materials” is “doctrinal unity,” which is “more directly expressed in uniform liturgical texts.” As such, the “proponents of a common hymnal should keep in mind that uniformity in the *liturgical* portion is the feature of commonality for which groups should strive” (1965 *Convention Workbook*, 390).

Liturgical uniformity—as an expression of doctrinal unity—was identified as a goal of the CWLH, not in spite of *TLH* revision, but in conjunction with that revision project by means

of the joint study groups being formed with the CLH. Unity of theology and practice, stated the CWLH,

can and should be the goal of editors of worship materials within all groups of Lutheran churches. It can and should be the aim of the commission to continue to work toward this end in the production of the revised hymnal by continuing the cooperative study and contacts with the commission responsible for the *Service Book and Hymnal* (1965 *Convention Workbook*, 390).

Una Sancta and the American Lutheran lobbied hard against TLH revision and for a cooperative effort on the part of the several Lutheran churches.

As intended, the CWLH report presented an optimistic picture of where things stood and where they were going. For all the good intentions, however, the project of the *TLH* revision was not proceeding as it should have. For one, the hymnody committees were very much pushing for more extravagant improvements and developments than a “revision” would normally imply. Paul Bunjes in particular, the chairman of the hymn tunes subcommittee, was determined to advance an elaborate, multi-volume enterprise, involving a variety of hymnal editions for a variety of diverse purposes (such as, for organ, for piano or keyboard, and for choir, in addition to a congregational pew edition). In fact, Bunjes pursued those plans in resistance to the more straightforward efforts of his chairman, Walter Buszin.

Ironically, despite such grandiose plans for *TLH* revision, the actual work that needed to be done was happening far too slowly, or not at all. What had originated in the 1950s as a one-man job, had grown into quite an ambitious endeavor, which existed more in the minds of its architects than was ever produced with paper and ink. To further hinder the project, the members of the commission did not all possess the necessary knowledge or expertise to do the job well. By all of these factors, Buszin was driven to frustration and, eventually, compelled to seek alternative approaches to the work of the CWLH.

Quite apart from the internal difficulties within the LCMS commission, there were ever-increasing external pressures from all sides for a “pan-Lutheran” effort. Even the positive steps taken with the formation of the joint study groups were not enough to satisfy those intent on “one book for one church.” The worship executives of the ALC and LCA commissions, Mandus Egge and Edgar Brown, were agitating for a more comprehensive effort to achieve the Muhlenberg dream. On

both a personal and professional level, Brown and Egge promoted the possibility of more extensive cooperation than the comparatively modest aspirations of the study groups. These men worked especially hard to encourage Walter Buszin and Herbert Lindemann of the LCMS to help bring a complete halt to the revision of *TLH*, and to advocate a fully inter-Lutheran hymnal project.

This Stammausgabe approach was basically that of the various German territorial churches.

On a much larger scale, too, there were factors contributing to the push for a pan-Lutheran project. Two publications, *Una Sancta* and the *American Lutheran*, lobbied hard against *TLH* revision and for cooperative effort of the several Lutheran churches. Propaganda of this sort no doubt contributed to the twenty or so overtures submitted in preparation for the 1965 LCMS convention calling for the same or similar actions: abandon the unilateral LCMS project and resolve to work with other Lutherans in common cause.

With all of these circumstances on the playing field, Walter Buszin found himself caught in the middle of competing interests and concerns, struggling to negotiate a veritable tug-of-war and to navigate his commission on a steady course of service to the church. A new idea was needed to provide an answer to his dilemma.

THE STAMMAUSGABE (“CORE HYMNAL”) SOLUTION

It would appear that some kind of light bulb came on for Buszin, just a few months prior to the convention, at a meeting of the CLH in April 1965. He, Herbert Lindemann, and several other members of the LCMS commission were again received as guests for a portion of the meeting, as in previous years. Comments from the LCMS visitors reflect familiar tensions. Concerning the prospect of a “joint hymnal,” Buszin pointed out the “serious differences” between *TLH* and *SBH*. Jaroslav Vajda “expressed the opinion that uniformity in a liturgy seemed more feasible than a common hymnal.” Lindemann spoke of the revised *TLH*, “now in the making and probably to be published,” which he described “as a provisional book, an interim book leading the way to a common book for all the Lutherans in America.”²⁰

Following the meeting of the CLH, in correspondence with Buszin, Lindemann expressed his belief that it would be feasible to develop a common core of hymns (by “the setting up of a third study group of hymns”), and to work from there for the future.²¹ That suggestion may have contributed to Buszin’s decision to advocate a “core-hymnal” approach to a common Lu-

theran hymnal. It was from that point, in any event, that Buszin really began to think of developing a *Stammausgabe* (core hymnal) with the other Lutheran churches. Together, they would reach agreement on common texts and tunes for a core number of hymns, perhaps two- to three-hundred, so that all the North American Lutherans would be able to sing their own hymnody with one voice, as it were.

In addition to this common core, each of the churches would also have its own particular collection of hymns, reflecting its own heritage and ideals. In this way, the LCMS could preserve and protect, and continue to sing, its German-Lutheran chorales, while the ALC and LCA could preserve their own respective traditions of Scandinavian hymns and American folk-hymnody. This *Stammausgabe* approach was basically that of the various German territorial churches. As far as Buszin was concerned, it offered an ideal solution. Thus, he seems to have had in mind the formation of another joint study group—one that would deal with hymnody—so that the CWLH and CLH would then be engaged in common cause on all aspects of worship, both liturgical and hymnological, in anticipation of common materials that might eventually be published in a “pan-Lutheran” book. Yet, the “core-hymnal” concept assumed that each church would have its own hymnal edition, including its own collection of additional hymns.

To make a long and complicated story short and simple, the pertinent floor committee (#13) of the LCMS convention decided to follow Buszin’s suggestion “and adopted the *Stammausgabe* of the hymnal.” Or so Buszin understood the decision. He took it to mean “that we will try to prepare a hymnal with [the ALC and LCA] if Synod follows the suggestion.”²² Given the context and other indications, “a hymnal” should here be understood in contrast to the liturgy (and specifically as a core collection of Lutheran hymns, held in common with the same texts, tunes, and settings). Of course, history knows that the LCMS in convention that week adopted the resolution from Floor Committee 13: “To accept reports of Commission on Worship, Liturgics, and Hymnology and to set guidelines for production of a hymnal” (Resolution 13-01; 1965 *Convention Proceedings*, 185–86).

The first thing that Resolution 13-01 did was “to accept the reports” of the CWLH and “express our gratitude for its excellent work and our confidence that such excellence will continue.” Since the reports were accepted (including those of the revision project subcommittees), and the work was commended, and the excellence of the work was expected to continue, there was no reason to suppose that everything would come to a complete halt. A reasonable interpretation is that the work of the CWLH would continue, but that it would broaden to include the contributions of other Lutheran churches, in the hopes of greater uniformity.

The second resolution is the crux of the matter:

We authorize the President in conjunction with the Vice-Presidents to appoint representatives to pursue a cooperative venture with other Lutheran bodies as soon as possible in working toward, under a single cover: a) a common liturgical section in rite, rubric, and music; b) a common

core of hymn texts and musical settings; and c) a variant selection of hymns if necessary.

The new thing that was thereby called for was the inclusion of “a common core of hymn texts and musical settings.” The CWLH had resisted the formation of joint study groups in hymnology, but the “core-hymnal” approach offered the possibility of working with the other churches without having to sacrifice or dilute the musical and theological integrity of LCMS hymnody. Hence, also, it offered the provision for a “variant selection of hymns,” in which the LCMS could preserve more of the rich heritage of Lutheran chorales.

In accordance with the synodical resolution, LCMS President Oliver Harms issued formal invitations to the respective presidents of the other Lutheran churches, asking them to join the Missouri Synod in the development of common resources for worship. In a letter “to the committees on Worship in other Lutheran Churches,” Harms stated that the CWLH “would negotiate a meeting.” As of early August, he had received letters from LCA President Fry and ALC President Schiotz “indicating their willingness to cooperate and to send representatives to a meeting which will consider the matter relating to a common hymnal.”²³ It was planned that the presidents and other representatives of the churches that accepted the invitation would then be invited to attend a meeting in St. Louis. Rules and organization of the new cooperative venture would follow from there.²⁴

Preparations for the initial meeting of representatives from the various churches were the responsibility of the CWLH. Such plans were a major subject of discussion at the meeting of the commission in November 1965. Harms was in attendance, and he “explained that he envisioned the worship commissions of the several Lutheran bodies as meeting *in toto*, with special areas to be prepared by respective subcommittees.” To that end, he therewith appointed the entire CWLH “as representatives of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod for inter-Lutheran meetings.” It was resolved that “the first joint meeting of Lutheran worship commissions” would take place on 10–12 February 1966, at the Palmer House in Chicago. The LCMS President would extend the invitations.²⁵

In approaching a proposed agenda for the February meeting, various ideas and suggestions were considered and discussed. Concerning “a definition of the task,” there was a focus upon the core-hymnal approach.

A summarized quote: “While we appreciate the values in a completely common hymnal, we recognize the limitations and practical problems involved, and therefore envision a *common core* of hymnody, followed by variant sections.”

Earlier in the meeting, President Harms had expressed a similar expectation as an example of the sort of work that would be done by subcommittees. He envisioned “the commissions as working toward a *common core* of ‘this and that particular hymn’ with ‘this tune’ and ‘that text.’”²⁶

It is clear that inter-Lutheran work was expected to develop common materials for worship, including a common *core* of

hymnody that would be used by each of the churches in its own publications. So, for example, commissioner Fred Precht commented: “Let our subcommittees continue their work in their respective areas, and invite other groups to appoint subcommittees to work with ours.”²⁷ This approach would have been a continuation and broadening of the work that was already underway on *TLH* revision.

THE INTER-LUTHERAN CONSULTATION ON WORSHIP (FEBRUARY 1966)

The organizational meeting, dubbed the “Inter-Lutheran Consultation on Worship,” took place in Chicago on 10–11 February 1966. Representatives and observers from six Lutheran churches participated in the meeting. Convened by President Harms, the consultation included presentations by selected representatives of the ALC, LCA, and LCMS. Representatives from the Wisconsin Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod attended, but neither of those churches participated in the joint work that developed. The various presenters shared their perspective on the past and their assessment of the present, with a view toward the future and the proposed cooperative venture.²⁸

Vajda asserted, “If a hymnal is to be Lutheran, the confessional element in the texts must be unmistakable.”

Although the LCMS convention had resolved to seek cooperation with the other churches, every indication is that the CWLH still fully intended to continue its revision of *TLH*. Perspectives on that project differed among the members of the commission, but it was apparently assumed that LCMS work on *TLH* revision would benefit from, and contribute in some way to, the work enjoined with the other Lutheran churches. Thus, at the inter-Lutheran consultation, the chairmen of the CWLH subcommittees presented progress reports on the work that had been done.

In his report on the work of the music committee, Paul Bunjes laid out the elaborate multi-volume plan that had developed. A number of resources were projected: “The Hymnic Resource” (hymnal), “The Liturgical Resource” (service book), “The Scriptural Resource” (lectionary), and the “Occasional Rites and Orders” (agenda). Concerning the hymnal, Bunjes reported that, given “the conditions and situations which the hymnic resource is expected to serve in the life of the church,” rather than trying “to serve too many purposes, serving none well, and all imperfectly,” this resource would be issued in several “distinct but closely related volumes,” as follows: “The Basic Edition,” intended to be “eminently *useful* for the parishioner in the pew,” and the “Supporting Editions,” namely, the “Organ Edition,” the “Choir Edition,” and the “Keyboard Edition.” Bunjes also indicated that “similar principles prevail in

the preparation of the liturgical resource as spelled out for the hymnic resource.”²⁹

Jaroslav Vajda reported the work of his Committee on Hymn Texts. He noted that, prior to the 1965 LCMS convention, this subcommittee had “worked assiduously and produced a massive amount of material for the proposed new Lutheran hymnal,” that is, for the revision of *TLH*. “In accordance with earlier synodical resolutions,” from 1956, 1959, and 1962, “the Text Committee geared its efforts in the direction of a thorough hymnal revision,” which involved “a detailed study of every hymn in *The Lutheran Hymnal*.” Vajda understood LCMS Resolution 13-01 as a decision “to broaden the scope of its hymnal project” and “to pursue the cooperative venture of a common-core Lutheran hymnal as soon as possible.”

The work of the subcommittee was expected to contribute directly to this goal, since there had always been “a conscious striving for a true cross-section of Christian hymnody which retains a Lutheran genius.” On that note, Vajda asserted, “If a hymnal is to be Lutheran, the confessional element in the texts must be unmistakable.” In addition, “conscious also of the liturgical elements in hymnody, the committee sought hymns of the week to fit the church year and set as its foundation, as the *Service Book and Hymnal* did, the church year.” Furthermore, research had already identified “considerable areas in common” between *TLH* and *SBH*: “Two-hundred-seventy-two hymns are shared by both hymnals . . . although there are enough other hymns in each hymnal to constitute a separate hymnal.”³⁰

Though he was not a subcommittee chairman, LCMS commissioner Martin Seltz explored the “common-core” hymnal approach, and his comments coincided neatly with those of Vajda. He noted, for example, “how closely our committee has been working during these years with the *Service Book and Hymnal* at hand and with the common core concept in mind.” He also indicated, “some thirty pages of research” were available, “comparing our two hymnals with reference to hymn texts and tunes.” On the basis of that work and research, Seltz expressed his opinion

that a reasonable goal of hymn commonality, in texts and in tunes, is achievable . . . within the framework of the “as soon as possible” provision of our Detroit resolution, that is, within a few years.

Nevertheless, “by directive of our Synod president,” the subcommittees dealing with hymns were “going right ahead with our intensive work on texts and tune.” Thus, Seltz envisioned the continuation of LCMS work, and (like Vajda) he described the pan-Lutheran project as an occasion for

broadening our scope and working jointly toward a choice common core which, please God, will be a blessing to American Lutheranism and a real contribution beyond our geographical and denominational borders.³¹

Each of these reports—from Bunjes, Vajda, and Seltz—assumed that *TLH* revision would continue, and that cooperative efforts with other Lutherans would in some sense grow out of that Mis-

souri Synod project, while at the same time contributing to it and broadening its scope. The same was true, to some extent, in Herbert Lindemann’s progress report on the work of his Committee on Liturgical Texts. Lindemann, however, had clearly set his sights beyond any revision of *TLH* to an anticipated pan-Lutheran book of worship. One might say that for Lindemann it was not so much an LCMS project that was broadening, as it was being subsumed under something larger.³²

What emerged from the Inter-Lutheran Consultation on Worship, over the course of the next year, really opened the door to something well beyond the LCMS revision project.

Lindemann described the assignment of his subcommittee as two-fold: “a thorough revision of the *Lutheran Agenda*,” and a revision of “the liturgical materials in *The Lutheran Hymnal*.” To expedite those tasks, “various individuals and groups throughout the country” had been requested “to make special studies and to report to the committee when these studies had been concluded.” Mixed responses to those requests had produced “somewhat ragged” results. “One of the earliest pieces of work,” already completed and on file, “was done by the Rev. Dr. Arthur Carl Piepkorn, who undertook to up-date and harmonize the rubrics” in *TLH* and other publications. Among its other developments, the subcommittee was polishing the Eucharistic Rite. In conjunction with that work, Lindemann reported that eucharistic prayer (in the classic sense) had been approved in principle by the CWLH; four such prayers had already been developed and approved by the subcommittee, and others were “in the process of preparation.” Lindemann expressed the hope that “any subsequent Order of the Holy Communion” would include a classical eucharistic prayer.³³

Lindemann identified the foremost unresolved problems to be the language and the music of the liturgy. “A tentative solution” in the matter of language had been reached “when it was decided to use the language of the RSV in all liturgical elements that were taken from Holy Scripture.” On the matter of music for the liturgy, it had been “the intention of the Commission to appoint a special committee on Liturgical Music,” but “this was never done, and probably will not be done, in view of the action of our Detroit Convention urging the production of a common *Service Book and Hymnal*.” The subcommittee “also felt that the Propers of the Church Year, particularly the Introits and Graduals,” needed to be reviewed and reworked, preferably “in concert with other churches who use these same propers.” Lindemann suggested that this work on the propers “should be given to the new inter-synodical committee on liturgics.”³⁴

Such a “committee,” though not yet formed, nor even approved at that point, was already anticipated by those assembled at the inter-Lutheran consultation.

Irrespective of anyone’s hopes, expectations or intentions, what emerged from the Inter-Lutheran Consultation on Worship, over the course of the next year, really opened the door to something well beyond the LCMS revision project. The consultation concluded by adopting resolutions “as presented by the findings committee, revised and adopted by the plenary group on Friday afternoon, February 11, 1966.” It was thereby recommended that preparation of “common worship materials” be approved by the churches and implemented by the establishment of “an *Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship* (ILCW); that “working committees be established (such as hymn texts, hymn tunes, liturgy, liturgical music); and “that the participating churches underwrite the cost of this project.”³⁵ In this, neither the existing LCMS subcommittees, nor the joint study groups, served as the foundation. Rather, a wholly new structure was to be formed and put to work.

What was conceived in February 1966 was born nine months later, 29–30 November, when formal organization of the ILCW took place in Chicago. “The ‘Proposed Rules of Organization and Procedure’ were carefully restudied and revised according to the resolutions of all the synods involved.” Herbert Lindemann of the CWLH was elected as the first chairman. The next meeting was held in Columbus, Ohio, 6–7 February 1967. At that point, the four standing committees—for liturgical texts, liturgical music, hymnal texts, and hymnal music—were “fully organized as consisting of nine members each on the basis of a representation of three from each of the major divisions of Lutheranism.” These committees soon began to chart and plan their work. Nevertheless, the “general feeling” at that time was “that any publication was still many years in the future.” Although the ALC had “set a target date of 1976,” it was “quite evident that divergent approaches and traditions” might push the actual date beyond that (1967 *Convention Workbook*, 53).

Such were the origins of the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship (ILCW) in the form that it took. The bottom line is

that the creation of the ILCW, as a political entity in its own right, took the ball out of Missouri’s court and left things to develop as they would. Although the work of the LCMS worship commission continued, the nature and direction of that work was ultimately changed in light of the inter-Lutheran project and its long-term goals.

One can readily imagine the broad dynamics of what happened. The leaders of the previous generation, such as Walter Buszin and Henry Horn, were nearing the end of their years of active service. Others in the LCMS were disillusioned by the changes in the air, and many of them quietly went their own way in other pursuits. Still others, such as Herbert Lindemann, were eager for the promise of the future, and for the prospects of the ILCW. Under his leadership, *TLH* revision evolved into a *TLH supplement* project, published as the *Worship Supplement* in 1969. That book was clearly and intentionally an *experimental* volume that anticipated (and coincided with) some of the innovations that would emerge in the work of the inter-Lutheran commission.

Regrettably, for all the reasons that the revision project went the way it did, many of those original disappointments with *TLH* were never addressed or resolved. In replacing so much of the old with the new, needed repairs were neglected, and much that could have been salvaged for useful service to the church was temporarily lost. The *Lutheran Book of Worship*, produced by the ILCW and published in 1978, introduced its own set of problems and misgivings, as did the publication of *Lutheran Worship* by the LCMS in 1982. In making that observation, it hardly needs to be pointed out that the dream of “one book for one church” was no more achieved than was the revision of *The Lutheran Hymnal*. It is the nature of such projects that they rarely progress or conclude as originally intended. For good or ill, they are political processes that take on a life of their own and go where their participants are guided, or driven, by a host of factors, both friendly and foreign. The church may yet hope and trust that even the frustrations involved in such endeavors are among the crosses wherewith the Lord ever blesses his own, despite the best laid plans of mice and men. **LOGIA**

NOTES

1. Buszin was a member of the commission from 1940, and chairman from 1949 until 1967 (at which time he was made honorary chairman). During that same time period, he was also Professor of Liturgics, Hymnology, and Church Music at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri (1947–66). For a comprehensive description of Buszin’s many contributions to the worship life and theology of the Lutheran Church, see Kirby Koriath, *Music for the Church: The Life and Work of Walter E. Buszin* (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 2003).

2. Interestingly, the Parish Education Report to the same synodical convention included a recommendation for “a Sunday school hymnal containing a judicious selection of hymns and tunes taken from the Lutheran Hymnal,” along with “a limited number of simple hymns not found in the Lutheran Hymnal, and prayers and devotions for the Sunday school” (1950 *Convention Proceedings*, 354). The Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, in its request for permission to publish a pocket-sized edition of *TLH*, similarly suggested that “a selection of simple hymns suitable for children could be included in such an edition” (1950 *Convention Proceedings*, 710). Although that proposed

pocket edition was declined by the synod in convention, a children’s hymnal was approved, and the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics cooperated with the Board for Parish Education in preparing such a book over the course of the next triennium (1953 *Convention Proceedings*, 601).

3. Among the other “Functions and Duties of the Commission,” it is worth noting that “the commission shall represent the Synod in the preparation of service books and hymnals that the Synod sees fit to make available jointly with other synods” (1959 *Convention Proceedings*, 281–82).

4. “Numerous requests and reports from our pastors” had indicated “that a thoroughly revised, improved, and augmented edition of *The Lutheran Agenda*” was needed. The committee had “therefore decided in the spring of 1958 to prepare a new *Agenda*” (1959 *Convention Reports*, 560–61).

5. “Immediately after the last meeting of the Synod the commission instituted a questionnaire study in which it invited every pastor, teacher, and church musician to offer suggestions for and criticism of the [sic] Lutheran Hymnal and Agenda. Through the pages of the Lutheran

Witness lay people also were encouraged to express their comments. More than Seventeen hundred responses were received. People were wholehearted in offering suggestions as to how to deepen our worship through the inclusion of new rites, better hymn translations, clearer wording within given prayers, and the like. A number of conferences, circuits, and liturgical study groups explored areas of concern and reported these to the commission" (1962 *Convention Reports*, 304–305).

6. See CWLH, Minutes of 18–20 Oct. 1962.

7. Organized in 1872 as the Evangelisch-lutherische Synodal-Conferenz, the Synodical Conference was an advisory body intended to facilitate the consolidation of all Lutheran churches in America into one orthodox Lutheran Church. Member churches included the LCMS, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (ELS), the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church (SELC), and the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS). Charges against the LCMS of growing doctrinal laxity and improper relations with other Lutheran churches (for example, the ALC and LCA) led to the withdrawal of the WELS and the ELS in 1963. The Synodical Conference became inactive in 1966 and was dissolved in 1967. The SELC subsequently became a part of the LCMS.

8. See CLH, Minutes of 6 Apr. 1961. Perhaps by way of contrast, the 1962 LCMS convention encouraged the CWLH to continue "its mutually profitable and edifying contacts with representatives of the other Synods of the Synodical Conference" (1962 *Convention Proceedings*, 144). Future cooperation would be with the ALC and LCA.

9. Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Liturgy of the Lutheran Church in America*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1959), 182.

10. Reed, *Lutheran Liturgy*, 113.

11. "Be it resolved, that we favor a consultative relationship between the Commission on the Liturgy and Hymnal and the Commission on Worship, Liturgics, and Hymnology of the Churches of the Synodical Conference for the purpose of study of matters of mutual concern and interest, it being understood that the persons signing this memorandum [Horn and Buszin] (or their successors) be responsible for implementing this resolution" (CLH, *Minutes of 25–26 Apr. 1963*, 10).

12. Consider the following comments from Walter Buszin: "While you will hardly be satisfied with the liturgical music of [TLH] and while many of the harmonizations will hardly meet with your favor, the book does include many more chorales than any other English hymnal published in America. The book is being revised thoroughly at present; however, the revised edition will likely not be published before 1970, due to the fact that we have much work to do. The same applies to many of the texts. Many are of the opinion that we should adopt the Service Book and Hymnal. Many features of this volume compel us to disagree and not a few among those who use SBH advise too that we do not use this book. Many of our basic hymns are not to be found in it; more importance was attached to its liturgical section and too little importance was attached to its hymns, both texts and music" (Walter Buszin, *Letter to Father Schmitt of Father Flanagan's Boys' Town*, 12 Sept. 1964).

13. CWLH Subcommittee on Liturgics, Minutes of 26–27 Sept. 1963, 1.

14. CWLH, Minutes of 24–26 Oct. 1963, sec. 29.

15. CWLH, Minutes of 14–16 May 1964, sec. 15.

16. CWLH, Minutes of 2 Sept. 1964, sec. 5.

17. CWLH, Minutes of 22–24 Oct. 1964, sec. 9.

18. Buszin, Letter to Garske, 22 Nov. 1964.

19. Other indications are that progress on TLH revision was way behind schedule, and that the 1970 target date was unrealistically optimistic. Lindemann, for example, assessed the situation as follows: "The report errs on the side of optimism when it says that 'the target date of 1970 appears to be an attainable goal for the completion of the task.' A little arithmetic will demonstrate this date to be out of the question. . . . At the very earliest, the book could not be for sale before 1973, even under the most efficient management. . . . The work of the Committee on Liturgical texts, of which I am chairman, has made the slowest progress of all. Only one rite has so far seen the light of day: Dr. Repp's Confirmation rite. At this rate of speed, it would be utterly impossible for our Commission to complete its work by 1968, before a publication date of 1970" (Herbert Lindemann, Letter to Alfred Buls, June 1965).

20. CLH, Minutes of 22–23 Apr. 1965, 7.

21. Lindemann, Letter to Buszin, 26 Apr. 1965.

22. Walter Buszin, Letter to Margaret Buszin, 21 June 1965.

23. Oliver Harms, Letter to Herbert Lindemann, 12 Aug. 1965.

24. See Henry Horn, Letter to William Seaman, 23 Sept. 1965.

25. CWLH, Minutes of 4 Nov. 1965, 2.

26. *Ibid.*, 4; 2; 5.

27. *Ibid.*, 4.

28. The presentations were published in *Liturgical Reconnaissance: Papers Presented at the Inter-Lutheran Consultation on Worship*, ed. Edgar Brown (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968).

29. Paul Bunjes, "Progress Report: Committee on Music," in *Liturgical Reconnaissance*, 118–20.

30. Jaroslav Vajda, "Progress Report: Committee on Hymn Texts," in *Liturgical Reconnaissance*, 122–24.

31. Martin Seltz, "Exploring the Core Concept for The Lutheran Hymnal and the Service Book and Hymnal," in *Liturgical Reconnaissance*, 127–28.

32. Lindemann commented as follows: "The thinking of our committee and of the Commission seems to be that we would like to publish the results of our work and submit these to the church as tentative suggestions for the changes that might be made. . . . It would be plainly stated in the preface of the book, and perhaps indicated by the very binding in which it was issued, that this was an interim publication and would be replaced by other rites as these came to be agreed upon by the Lutheran churches in this country. . . . In every case, it would be made known that we are suggesting these in a tentative, experimental way, and intend to review the reactions and criticism that we get from the field, and to continue working with representatives of other Lutheran churches before composing anything of a more permanent nature" (Herbert Lindemann, "Progress Report: Committee on Liturgical Texts," in *Liturgical Reconnaissance*, 127).

33. Herbert Lindemann, "Progress Report: Committee on Liturgical Texts," in *Liturgical Reconnaissance*, 125f.

34. Lindemann, "Progress Report," in *Liturgical Reconnaissance*, 126.

35. "Findings Committee Resolutions Adopted," in *Liturgical Reconnaissance*, 134.

The Role of Music in Worship

An Evaluation of Two Twentieth-Century Developments

BRYAN GERLACH



THIS ISSUE OF *LOGIA* REVIEWS HISTORIC, recent, and forthcoming Lutheran worship publications. But in many Lutheran churches, the worship topics attracting the most attention revolve not around hymnals and official denominational resources but around various forms of contemporary worship. In some cases the desire for contemporary music springs, not from different tastes in music, but rather from different roles intended for music in worship. So it is helpful to understand why different theologies use different forms of worship and styles of music. With this knowledge, Lutherans will be in a better position to make beneficial decisions about worship.

This article traces some Roman Catholic and evangelical-charismatic concepts with special focus on efforts to enable people's participation in worship and on views that make music a means of grace. Readers will see how different are the goals that some have for music in worship so that Lutherans are encouraged to use music primarily for proclamation and for enabling participation. In pursuing goals of proclamation and participation, Lutherans need neither cling only to the latest published hymnal nor jettison liturgical worship to be fresh and meaningful.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, a revolution has been occurring in Roman Catholic worship music. While codified and accelerated by Vatican II in the 1960s, this revolution began before Vatican II. American Roman Catholics are encouraged to take a more active role of singing in worship. During this same time, singing has declined in our culture and probably also in Lutheran churches. (This is not to say that Roman Catholics are singing better than Lutherans.) Some Lutherans repeat the old adage, "We are the singing church." The title of a 1959 book by Lutheran Edwin Liemohn was *The Singing Church*.¹ But look around our Sunday services. What presiding minister has not felt at least some dismay at the lack of participation sometimes evident—blank stares during a communion distribution hymn, mumbled Amens after God's awesome gift in the absolution, people who do not show outwardly that they are focused on the Lamb of St. John's Revelation?

Participation in worship—spoken, let alone sung—is countercultural not only because our culture prefers to be a passive consumer at worship; it's also countercultural because singing

has declined in our secular culture. And yet we have something incredible to sing about: redemption through the blood of Jesus, God's gifts showered on us in word and sacrament. In the worship categories of proclamation and response we have so much to sing about.

While Roman Catholics have been learning to sing, another revolution has been taking place. The evangelical-charismatic world has brought to mainstream, middle class America a use of music with roots in revivalism. As revivalism is not orthodox worship, so an evangelical-charismatic use of music is different from a Lutheran use.

Lutherans can learn much from these two recent worship revolutions. As Lutheran worship adapts and changes in the twenty-first century, we will do well to avoid some aspects of the evangelical-charismatic use of music. And we will benefit from exploring how Roman Catholic scholars and musicians encourage and enable participation in worship. This short article cannot expose and review all the distortions in Roman Catholic or charismatic worship. The focus is rather narrow: to sound a caution against a methodology or ethos that springs from a distorted theology of the means of grace and to highlight possibilities that spring from a theology that includes a sacramental focus in its worship.

A focus on proclamation and participation in Lutheran worship has less to do with musical style than with a theology of music in worship. This focus has little to do with "high church" aesthetics or with using historic Lutheran musical compositions, although an appropriate ceremonial or ritual of worship and an imaginative use of Lutheran tradition can serve people well. But a group of sixty gathered around piano, guitar, and hand drum, worshiping "fully, consciously, and actively" as they rejoice in word and sacrament, is better than a group of two hundred passive consumers led by a grand pipe organ.

A cautious stance regarding the evangelical-charismatic use of music is supported by James Tiefel's reminder.

History tells us . . . that there are many more potholes in the non-liturgical worship trail blazed by Pietism/Evangelicalism than there are on the liturgical road Lutherans have traveled for centuries.

Before making this observation he wrote,

As pastors, church musicians, and congregations in the WELS struggle to attract both members and non-mem-

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bers to worship, they need to study the concepts and principles of Lutheran worship carefully and thoroughly. The direction of worship in Christian America (among both Lutherans and Evangelicals) is not toward these concepts and principles, but away from them.²

Perhaps Lutherans eager for worship innovation have heard such observations as defending a tradition that is not broad enough or diverse enough. And yet it is worth asking if Lutheran parishes regularly make use of the musical variety and vitality that springs most naturally from our theology and heritage rather than from an alien theology and heritage.³

ROMAN CATHOLIC EVOLUTION

Worshippers using *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal* have come to appreciate Michael Joncas's hymn "On Eagles' Wings."⁴ Those who know his gentle ballad style might not imagine that Joncas is a scholar and historian. *Christian Worship: Handbook* mentions his academic credentials: master of arts in liturgical studies from Notre Dame and a doctoral degree from the Pontificio Instituto Litúrgico, Collegio Sant' Anselmo, Rome.⁵ Joncas has written more than one-hundred articles on church music and is assistant professor of theology at the University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota.

A focus on proclamation and participation in Lutheran worship has less to do with musical style than with a theology of music in worship.

His book *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music* bears the subtitle "Twentieth-Century Understandings of Roman Catholic Worship Music."⁶ It is a fascinating record of the evolution of Roman Catholic thinking. After situating nine documents spanning the years 1903 to 1995 in their historical and theological contexts, he asks five questions in five chapters:

What is Roman Catholic worship music? What is the purpose of Roman Catholic worship music? What qualities should Roman Catholic worship music exhibit? What people are to make Roman Catholic worship music? What instruments are to make Roman Catholic worship music?

The subtitle of Joncas's book speaks volumes. Is music in worship primarily something holy in and of itself (sacred song) or something to create a holy ambiance? Or is music in worship primarily to enable the participation of the people in the liturgy (ritual music)?

Joncas's record of Roman Catholic evolution begins with *Tra le sollecitudini*, a 1903 instruction by Pope Pius x having

the "force of law as a canonical code concerning sacred music." Here are some excerpts.

TLS 3: Gregorian chant . . . is . . . the proper chant of the Roman Church, the only chant which she has inherited from the ancient Fathers, which she has jealously kept for so many centuries in her liturgical books, which she offers to the faithful as her own music, which she insists on being used exclusively in some parts of her liturgy.

TLS 4: Music of the classical school, especially that of the Roman school, which reached its greatest perfection in . . . Palestrina . . . agrees very well with the highest model of all sacred music, namely Gregorian chant.

TLS 5: [More modern music may also be used as long as great care is taken to avoid anything profane.]

TLS 7: The language of the Roman Church is Latin. It is therefore forbidden to sing anything in the vulgar tongue during solemn liturgical functions, and much more is it forbidden to sing in the vulgar tongue the parts, either the proper or common, of the Mass and the Office.

TLS 8: It is not lawful to change either the words or their order, nor to substitute another text, nor to leave anything out, either entirely or in part.⁷

With such a focus on Gregorian chant, classical polyphony, and Latin, who makes the music in such worship?

TLS 12: Except the chant of the celebrant and the sacred ministers at the altar, which must always be sung in Gregorian chant without accompaniment, the rest of the liturgical singing belongs properly to the choir of clerics; wherefore singers in the church, if they are laymen, are the substitutes of the ecclesiastical choir. Hence their music . . . must keep the nature of choir music.⁸

TLS 13: [If the choir performs a priestly function,] "It follows . . . that the singers in church have a real liturgical office, and that women, therefore, being incapable of such an office, cannot be admitted to the choir."⁹

The current practice of women serving not only in choirs but even as cantors comes from repudiating the idea that the choir is priestly. The cantor is not acting in a priestly role but in a priesthood of all believers role, as "animator of the assembly's musical prayer."¹⁰

Vatican II brought (or codified) a revolution not only in the language of worship—no longer Latin—but also many other foundational concepts of worship. Compare TLS 12 above with a statement from *Musicam Sacram*, a 1967 document that amplified the 1963 Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) of Vatican II. "The practice of assigning the singing of the entire Proper and Ordinary of the Mass to the choir alone without the rest of the congregation is not to be permitted."¹¹

Part Two of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy bears the title "The Promotion of Liturgical Instruction and Active Participation."¹² Note how the opening paragraphs, central to the revolution in Roman Catholic worship concepts, sound like Lutheran ideas from Wittenberg over four-hundred years earlier.

14. Mother Church earnestly desires that all the faithful should be led to that full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy. Such participation by the Christian people as “a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people” (1 Pet 2:9, cf. 2:4–5), is their right and duty by reason of their baptism.

In the restoration and promotion of the sacred liturgy, this full and active participation by all the people is the aim to be considered before all else; for it is the primary and indispensable source from which the faithful are to derive the true Christian spirit. Therefore, through the needed program of instruction, pastors of souls must zealously strive to achieve it in all their pastoral work.

Yet it would be futile to entertain any hope of realizing this goal unless pastors themselves, to begin with, become thoroughly penetrated with the spirit and power of the liturgy, and become masters of it. It is vitally necessary, therefore, that attention be directed, above all, to the liturgical instruction of the clergy. Therefore this most sacred Council has decided to enact as follows:

15. Professors who are appointed to teach liturgy in seminaries, religious houses of studies, and theological faculties, must be properly trained for their work in institutes which specialize in this subject.

16. The study of sacred liturgy is to be ranked among the compulsory and major courses in seminaries and religious houses of studies.¹³ In theological faculties it is to rank among the principal courses. . . .

18. Religious singing by the faithful is to be skillfully fostered, so that in devotions and sacred exercises, as also during liturgical services, the voices of the faithful may ring out according to the norms and requirements of the rubrics.¹⁴

VATICAN II CATCHES UP WITH LUTHER?

The depth of change in Roman Catholic thinking in the twentieth century is quite remarkable: from docile observation at Mass to full, conscious, active participation, or at least a goal of such participation. Contemporary Roman Catholic worship scholars repudiate previous Roman Catholic teaching. Lucien Deiss writes:

The participation affirmed by Vatican II was a magnificent victory over a certain type of theology that reigned in the nineteenth century and in the spirit of Vatican I. . . . Pius X, who was indeed a holy pope, made the following almost unbelievable assertions in his 1906 encyclical *Veheementer Nos*. “The church is an unequal society, including two categories of persons: the pastors and the flock, those who belong to the hierarchy and the multitude of the faithful. These two categories are distinct. In the pastors alone abides the right and the necessary authority to promote and lead the members toward the aim of the society. As to the multitude [of the faithful] the only right they have is to let themselves be led and to follow the pastors as a docile (submitted) flock.” In this hierarchy, the people

(“submitted flock”) are invited to attend, to watch, to admire what the priests are celebrating. It is exactly against this kind of liturgy that Vatican II, in 1963, affirmed that the faithful should participate “fully, consciously, and actively.”¹⁵

Comments by Lutheran Reformation scholar Jaroslav Pelikan are included in one edition of *The Documents of Vatican II*. Pelikan wrote,

There is much in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy for which Christians who stand in the heritage of the Reformation ought to be grateful. In fact, several of its fundamental principles represent the acceptance, however belated, of the liturgical program set forth by the Reformers: the priesthood of all believers (14); the requirement “that the faithful take part knowingly, actively, and fruitfully” (11).¹⁶

Roman Catholics have articulated a fairly good rationale for the role of music in worship, but they are struggling to implement their ideas. They are trying to reclaim singing and participation in worship at a time when passivity is more common in our culture. Near the end of his book, Joncas writes,

When Roman Rite worship music prizes communal music-making rather than music consumption, and when it calls for a submission of individual taste preferences to the common act of liturgical music-making, it takes a fiercely countercultural stance.”¹⁷

Whatever its numerous heresies may be, it seems that Pelikan is correct about Vatican II catching up with the Reformation, or even with the early church. St. Augustine wrote about musical participation: Apart from the reading of Scripture, the sermon, and the prayers, “is there any time when the faithful assembled in the church are not singing? Truly I see nothing better, more useful, or more holy that they could do.”¹⁸

MUSIC AS MEANS OF GRACE

In contrast to an emphasis on enabling participation, many successful Protestant mega-churches see a more passive role for those present at worship. Others see music more as a tool for effective group dynamics rather than as a means for enabling participatory worship. Still others see a central and essential role for music that borders on making music into a new means of grace.

Some “Praise and Worship” workshop leaders urge at least twenty minutes of a certain kind of singing to get people into the presence of God. They have a highly structured approach that starts at the “gate” of the temple, with certain kinds of songs. It progresses into the Holy Place and finally the Holy of Holies, where one is truly “in the presence of God.” This approach is probably one of the most influential worship trends in America today.

In a 1992 book, *Signs of Wonder*, Robert Webber describes this approach.

As the music minister continued to lead the various choruses and hymns, I experienced the reality of the comment I had heard from nearly every praise and worship tradition person I had met: God inhabits the praise of his people. It really did seem as though the glory of God came upon that congregation as they became lost in praise and wonder.¹⁹

“Praise and Worship” charismatics make much of an expression from Psalm 22:3 (KJV): “God inhabits the praises of his people.” Other translations do not render this with the sense of the KJV; rather, “God is enthroned on the praises of Israel” (RSV). The NIV reads, “Yet you are enthroned as the Holy One; you are the praise of Israel.” The charismatic interpretation of this verse makes music into a means of grace, not music as carrier of the word, the old Lutheran concept of *viva vox evangelii*, but rather the musical-emotional experience of singing together.²⁰

Webber recommends this charismatic approach to the role of music in worship. The subtitle of Webber’s 1992 book is “The Phenomenon of Convergence in Modern Liturgical and Charismatic Churches.” He seems equally interested in ecumenical “convergence” as in worship, so he recommends charismatic approaches to liturgical churches and liturgy to charismatics. He writes:

God seems to be doing a new work in our time, a work of breaking down prejudices, bringing his people together, and uniting us to the common history of the church. And the place where this is happening is in worship—in a worship that crosses traditions, joins them in one seamless robe, and allows the people of these various traditions to worship not as separate entities, but as one church. . . . The convergence of worship traditions will break down the barriers we have built against other Christians.²¹

Webber’s book, *Signs of Wonder*, distinguishes between “worshipping” churches and other kinds of churches. While churches can be seduced into substitutes for true worship, it is dangerous and misleading to suggest that a certain kind of experience or music is necessary to “enter into God’s presence.” God graciously and objectively bestows his presence in word and sacrament.

HIGH ENERGY GOSPEL STYLE

A similar reliance on music as music (instead of message) and confusion about the means of grace is found in some theories about “gospel” music. There is not one gospel style, but many. While this multifaceted music has general roots among Black Christians, a high energy style has roots in Pentecostalism. In a BBC history of gospel music, the narration makes explicit the connection between high energy gospel music and Pentecostal or Holiness groups, “experiential religion,” and baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Amiri Baraka, an advocate and practitioner of the high energy gospel style, says:

These songs were for shouting. With this new kind of speaking in tongues, they needed something joyous. . . .

The preacher, the congregation, the music, and finally the frenzy—that is “getting happy,” getting emotionally removed from one’s normal self—that’s part of the religion. The majority of people knew they couldn’t embrace a God—you couldn’t embrace the Creator—unless you actually got in it. And the music was the way you raised the intensity. Today you still gotta see those Africanisms: emotionalism, dancing, drums.²²

Wyatt Tee Walker, a famous gospel musician, says:

It is the music and the drumming which induces the possession of the Spirit, and so in a much milder way, a more limited way that happens when we shout or “get happy” in our worship services. And the genius of black people is that we have never let the influence of the West rob us of our enthusiasm in our worship. What has made white Christianity so sterile is that somehow they have bought into the business that to be emotional is to be unintellectual.²³

While granting that Lutheran worship will often benefit from greater variety and vitality, Lutherans need to be careful in borrowing styles intended to induce possession of the Spirit. Here a subjective emotional intensity replaces an objective certainty about the presence of God.

BARRY LIESCH

Some “Praise and Worship” leaders recommend a lengthy time of singing to get people “into the presence of God.” Barry Liesch clearly articulates this role for music in *The New Worship: Straight Talk on Music and the Church*.²⁴ James Brauer, worship professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, has presented an analysis of this book’s view of music.

Many of us are aware of the popular culture element in the Willow Creek type “seeker service.” In this model the music creates an environment that makes the seeker comfortable (that is it keeps defense mechanisms low), the music impresses the seeker by a polished and professional performance, the music helps establish a theme by connecting to something that is familiar and provides a way for musicians to give a personal testimony about the impact of Christian faith. When this way of using music is combined with the worship of members of a Christian congregation and is placed under a banner like a “Praise and Worship” service to distinguish it from a traditional liturgy, few seem to be aware of the contributions from the Pentecostal movement to this blending of event for believer and unbeliever. It seems that too few notice the doctrine about the Holy Spirit that drives the decisions toward effective methods.²⁵

Brauer points out that Liesch’s book clearly demonstrates the frontier (revival) and pentecostal roots of “Praise and Worship” methodology. For a book that is eager to recommend this methodology it is quite surprising that the preface by Donald Hustad, a leading voice in evangelical worship, urges evangelicals to avoid charismatic-rooted methodology. Hustad writes:

Liesch presents Praise and Worship music in the context of “Free-Flowing Praise” (the prolonged service of chorus-song in the first part of contemporary services) and “Journey into the Holy of Holies.” P and W music itself originated with the Charismatic Renewal Movement; all of the approaches identified in these chapters (as described by Wimber, Cornwall, and Wohlgemuth) are carefully devised according to charismatic theology and Scripture interpretation and are expected to lead to characteristic pentecostal experiences. However, this origin, association, and expectation are not clearly stated in these pages. I believe that much of today’s confusion in noncharismatic churches arises from a failure to make these distinctions. Charismatic believers have a right to develop their own worship to match their own theology and exegesis, and they have done this well. Noncharismatics should not thoughtlessly copy or imitate their worship formulae, unless they expect to enter the same “Holy of Holies” in the same way. Instead, they should develop their worship rationale based on their scriptural understanding, and then sing up to their own theology!²⁶

What is “Free-Flowing Praise”? Liesch describes the “Wimber Five-Phase Model.”

Eddie Espinosa of the Vineyard in Anaheim Hills, California, where John Wimber is pastor, likens it to a physical workout. He says that just as sustained periods of exercise are good for the cardiovascular system, so sustained singing for fifteen to forty minutes is good for worshipers’ spiritual systems. Long, uninterrupted sections of worship allow people time to offer their whole selves (mind, will, and emotions) to the Lord without distraction. He also likens free-flowing praise to sitting down to a leisurely meal, lingering and enjoying fellowship one with another around the family table. Accordingly, this Five-Phase model contains adoration and intimacy phases that allow us to linger in God’s presence. Hopefully, the weekly modeling of worship at church will trickle down into our private worship. When caught in a traffic jam or washing the dishes, we might be more inclined to shut off the radio and worship before the Lord alone or with a worship cassette.²⁷

Liesch believes that the Five-Phase model is based on good psychology, although he warns, “Its psychological pattern, though powerful, need not be excessively manipulative.”²⁸

James Brauer offers the following summary of the Five-Phase model and an assessment of it.

The invitation accepts people where they are and draws them into worship. It is celebratory, upbeat and praise-oriented. The lyrics are directed toward the worshipers, not God, and tell them what to do. The engagement phase employs a lyric that addresses God, not worshipers. These texts are attentive, serious and engaged. In the exaltation phase the people sing out to the Lord with power. The texts focus on the transcendence of God. The pitch span is wid-

er. People stand. The adoration phase gradually subsides in dynamics. People are seated. The melodies have a smaller range. The key words of texts may be addressed to God (you, Jesus). There is both transcendence and closeness. The final phase is intimacy. The music is quiet, personal, addressed to God (Abba, Daddy). The lyrics use the personal “I.” An acoustic guitar works well in this phase. The whole procedure ends with a closeout chorus to bridge to the next part of the service.

Here we have an insider’s description of how to organize praise choruses in order to be “effective” in creating a sense of closeness to God—to feel the presence of the Spirit. The key is not so much in the texts of the individual songs, though they are useful as his description defines useful. The key is creating the experience of feeling close to God, to each other, to feeling spiritual. This illustration reveals that the feeling close to God is the measure of it. It reveals the primary test, namely, creating an experience of God. That is how it is to be measured for “effectiveness.”

Liturgy creations that are labeled “seeker-sensitive” or labeled more generically “contemporary worship” may consciously or unconsciously employ practices that support and express a doctrine of the Holy Spirit that centers on making an experience of the presence of God which is dependent more on the exercise than on the gospel. Music is the primary tool of the exercise, any gospel is secondary or maybe of no importance.²⁹

While there is much to criticize in Liesch’s book, there is also much good. But that is for another day.

MICHAEL HORTON

Another perceptive analysis of the role of music in contemporary worship and confusion about the Holy Spirit or means of grace comes from Michael Horton. Horton is president of Christians United for Reformation, and in the November 1996 issue of *Christianity Today* was called one of the fifty most influential leaders for the future of evangelicalism. The thesis he explores in one of his books is that gnosticism has infiltrated both liberal and “conservative” evangelical versions of Christianity. Our “whole culture is awash in a sea of romanticism.”³⁰ “Narcissistic preoccupation with self corrupts all areas of life.”³¹ Theology of glory is gnostic; theology of the cross is biblical and true to the Reformation.

After discussing God’s promise to act through word and sacrament, Horton states, “If we do not accept or sufficiently appreciate God’s chosen way of coming near to us, we set up scores of other ‘means of grace.’” Horton points out that Karl Barth criticized German liberals for raising high culture to a sacramental level and then is bold to say,

We might just as easily charge evangelicals today with raising popular culture to a means of grace. An evangelical missions professor and popular author writes that organ music poses “a theological problem. God has chosen to come close. It is we who choose to push him away—with music, with pulpits, with stilted translations of Scripture,

with preaching styles. Somehow, worship with guitars seems to bring him close again.”

Horton continues:

Imagine replacing “guitars” with “word and sacraments,” in that sentence: “Somehow, worship with word and sacraments seems to bring him close again.” Many evangelicals would consider this a practically Roman Catholic view, but they have no difficulty embracing other activities that have no command in Scripture as “means of grace.” . . . It is interesting the extent to which many contemporary churches regard music as a means of grace, and not only one sacramental ordinance, but the chief one. In fact, one leader of the church growth movement [Lyle Schaller] states, “Music is how to convert a collection of people into a community. It is the most powerful thing we do.”

Where in Acts 2 do we read that “music is how to convert a collection of people into a community”? We see word and sacrament, but where is the sacramental efficacy of music? Yet the contemporary worship style, in which music plays an important part, is now viewed by many as the only means of grace. It is seen as the only way of reaching the lost and creating community. In other words, we create this community by our style, rather than by seeing God create it by his grace, working through his ordained means.³²

MEANS OF GRACE OR CRITICAL GROUP DYNAMIC?

Some authors may not speak of music as if it were the Holy Spirit’s chief tool, but still as only slightly less than a means of grace. Lyle Schaller writes:

A common pattern is the first twenty-five to thirty minutes may be required to create a worshipping community out of that collection of nine-hundred pilgrims, new believers, third generation Christians, first-time visitors, and long-time members. *Music, of course, is the most powerful single factor in community building.*³³

Schaller’s two-sided newsletter always features a cartoon with Friar Tuck. The cartoon repeats the comment above. Friar Tuck holds a drawing of a treble clef labeled “architectural sketch” and says, “Admittedly, it’s an unusual design for a foundation.” Right! Horton would say a heretical foundation, because the foundation is first of all Christ and secondly the means of grace.

Recall Luther’s words, treasured by Lutheran musicians and pastors alike: “Next to the word of God, music deserves the highest praise.” But the jump from first place to second is an enormous quantum leap. Music is important and wonderful, but it is nothing—it is trivial—compared to the means of grace. This is why I wrote in *Lutheran Leader*:

Music is not a means of grace, a direct channel for God’s undeserved love to flood into my life. (But the text sung to the music might be.) The preacher’s winning personality is not a means of grace, nor is his style and skill in the pulpit.

The ambiance created by the sacred space of church architecture is not a means of grace, nor is the friendliness of the assembled worshippers.

Of course, these matters are important. We want to do our best with them for the glory of God and for the edification of his people. But they are not the holy basics. We cannot let attention to them detract from reliance on God’s glorious means of grace, the gospel in word and sacrament. New hymnals, worship conferences, and skill enhancement are most valuable with a focus on how the gospel works.

Every Sunday we can rejoice in the certainty that God’s people are being fed. This happens not because the preacher has blended just the right ingredients of Bible text, humor, personal insight, and rhetorical flair. It happens because God promises, “My word will not return to me empty” (Is 55:11). It happens because the preacher handles the dynamite of God, the gospel, which is “the power of God” (Rom 1:16). The Lord himself promises an unending supply of real spiritual food every time his baptized saints receive his body and blood. What confident joy we can have in God’s promises connected to his means of grace!³⁴

INDIGENOUS TO THE LITURGY

One key to understanding different approaches to worship and the desired outcome of worship is to contrast presentation and participation. Worship, understood biblically and historically, involves both presentation and participation. The word is read and preached and echoed by hymns and choirs. The worshippers respond with hearts, words, songs, and lives. In our time it is interesting to see Roman Catholics trying to recover participation while some Protestants are diminishing participation in favor of more presentation. Other churches that value participation admit a risk of manipulation, and the caution is sounded not only by confessional Lutherans but also by an advocate of this approach, Barry Liesch.

Thomas Schattauer, worship professor at Wartburg Seminary in Dubuque, discussed these issues in a keynote address at the thirty-third annual “Lectures in Church Music,” a tradition founded by Carl Schalk at Concordia University, River Forest.

From the perspective of church growth, worship is principally a means for communicating the Christian message, and therefore, the current task of reform is to accommodate Christian worship to the forms and practices of mass communication and popular culture. The sacred liturgical space becomes an auditorium dominated by a stage surrounded by theater-style seating with few if any historic markers of Christian identity; the sound of choir and organ are replaced by the electronic acoustic of a rock band and miked singers; and the minister or worship leader takes a role akin to the talk-show host and entertainer with the cordless microphone as the principal symbol of authority. . . .

The contemporary worship movement is about finding the most effective means available for communicating the

gospel message. The gospel message here incarnates itself in the forms of contemporary culture. Those who advocate this approach have, to their credit, recognized and made others take note of the new mission situation of the church in North America. They are acting on the pressing need to engage this cultural moment with the Christian message. What is missing from this picture, however, is a deeply theological appreciation of the church as a historical community, with its own distinctive patterns of life and ways of worship, some of which are functions of the gospel in the church and not merely the forms of a passing cultural inheritance.³⁵

The full, active, conscious participation of worshipers is certainly one element of worship that is a function of the gospel and not just culture. Schattauer goes on to talk about elements of worship that are “indigenous to the liturgy.” That is an interesting expression. When the word indigenous appears with worship, it usually describes how worship will change within different cultures. Worship will evolve to be indigenous within a culture. But Schattauer’s insight is equally important—that some elements of worship are indigenous to worship, that people coming from any culture will be changed by the gospel and adapt themselves to Christian worship.

What does he include as elements that are “indigenous to the liturgy”? He mentions the patterns of assembly, language, order, and song. To illustrate assembly Schattauer quotes Justin Martyr from the middle of the second century.

And on the day called Sunday an assembly is held in one place of all who live in town or country. . . . And we all assemble together on Sunday, because it is the first day, on which God transformed darkness and matter, and made the world and Jesus Christ our Savior rose from the dead on that day.³⁶

The Christian assembly was for all the people. It “ignored the markers of human identity”; it “transcended not only social but also natural division.”³⁷

Regarding language Schattauer comments on “the trinitarian language of liturgical prayer” that is offered “to God through

Christ in the Spirit.” Such prayer and worship is “possibly only for an assembly of the baptized,” not for seekers.³⁸

Concerning the order of Christian worship Schattauer states:

When we look at the liturgy not so much as a sequence of texts, but rather as a pattern of action, what becomes evident is the common structure exhibited by Christian liturgies of different times and places.³⁹

The pattern of word and sacrament is a pattern “distinctive to the culture of churchly life.”⁴⁰ While this pattern can be enacted “in diverse forms of cultural expression,” it will not be similar to a secular event led by a talk show host.

The role of music in Christian worship is different from the role of music in other contexts. Schattauer discusses “the priority of song” over music in general, “most especially the song of a singing congregation.”⁴¹ The participation of the worshipers is indigenous to the cultural pattern of Christian worship. Compare the Psalms (“Sing to the Lord”) and St. Paul (Ephesians 5, Colossians 3) and the vision of worship in Revelation.

CONCLUSION: DIRECTION FOR THE FUTURE

The three largest Lutheran bodies in America are all preparing new worship resources. In Lutheran parishes there is a broad range of worship practices: “business as usual” use of only the official hymnal, avoidance of any hymnal and abandonment of Lutheran worship patterns, creative adaptation within Lutheran worship forms. In some parishes the mood is positive. Other parishes have helped the term “worship wars” to become familiar even in the secular press. The wars often revolve around matters of personal taste and preference. Lutheran leaders, musicians, and worshipers would be well served by studying deeper issues, including the different roles intended for music in worship.

Exploring deeper issues will help Lutherans to make beneficial decisions about worship so that God is glorified, his people served, and a powerful witness given to the world. With a solid theological foundation and an equally solid grasp of cultural issues, Lutherans will be in a discerning position to use our worship heritage and to borrow or adapt new elements that best fit the patterns of worship. **LOGIA**

NOTES

1. Edwin Liehmon, *The Singing Church* (Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1959).
2. James Tiefel, “A New Direction for Worship in the WELS?” *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 94 (1997): 140.
3. This essay originated as a pastor conference presentation in Mission Viejo, CA, in 1998. It made use of numerous audio and video examples to illustrate concepts. Such examples helped to avoid giving an impression of merely defending the status quo while also serving the practical purpose of providing ideas for creative variety in Lutheran parishes. Good ideas for worship are often best caught through experience and examples. Some examples encouraged use of the immense diversity possible within liturgical worship. Other examples highlighted the pitfalls that may come with borrowing forms and styles that originate in a different theology. In conjunction with LOGIA’s publication of this essay, some of the audio examples are available online: www.wels.net/worship.
4. *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal* (Milwaukee: North-

western Publishing House, 1993), #440.

5. C. T. Aufdemberge, *Christian Worship: Handbook* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1997), 754.

6. Michael Joncas, *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1997).

7. Pope Pius x, *Tra le sollecitudini*, Encyclical on Sacred Music (22 November 1903); quoted in Joncas, *From Sacred Song*, 13–15.

8. Joncas, *From Sacred Song*, 73.

9. *Ibid.*, 74.

10. *Ibid.*, 86.

11. *Ibid.*, 85.

12. Jaroslav Pelikan, ed., *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: The America Press, 1966), 144, 172. The print and online translations are not identical.

13. A study in the late 1980s by the Association of Lutheran Church Musicians revealed that few American Lutheran seminaries have a required course in worship.

14. *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* (1963). Online: <http://list-serv.american.edu/Roman Catholic/church/vaticanii/liturgy.asc>
15. Lucien Deiss, "Participation: Is It Worth the Effort?" in *The Singing Assembly* (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1991), 41–42.
16. Pelikan, *Vatican II*, 181.
17. Joncas, *From Sacred Song*, 114.
18. St. Augustine, *Ep.* 55. 18–19; quoted in Deiss, "Participation," vi.
19. Robert Webber, *Signs of Wonder* (Nashville: Star Song/Abbott Martyn, 1992), 9.
20. Note the remarkably frequent use of this faulty exegesis in material from Integrity Inc., especially videotapes in the *Hosanna! Music* series. On the 1998 video *Worship with Don Moen: God Is Good*, both Moen and Integrity president, Michael Coleman, quote Psalm 22 in the video's early minutes. The video box echoes the peculiar exegesis: "As you watch, listen and sing these songs, our desire is that you will enter God's presence as never before" and "Our commitment is to help people worldwide experience the manifest presence of God." A student interviewed on the video says about Wednesday night worship: "It's just anointed by God and you can just feel his presence." The weak translation of Psalm 22 (or rather the improper spin put on the KJV) shows up in a popular song, "Let There Be Praise" by Dick and Melodie Tunney. The first verse begins, "He inhabits the praise of his people / And dwells deep within." The original pastoral conference presentation of this article included excerpts from Integrity videos. It is quite revealing to see the emotional intensity *intended and resulting* from this view of the *role of music* in worship, in contrast to some Lutheran attempts to use the same songs in Lutheran contemporary worship or as praise songs within the liturgy. See also a Peter Jennings ABC News special report, "In the Name of God." This 1997 special highlighted worship practices at The Vineyard, Willow Creek, and the Toronto-based "holy laughter" movement. See also comments by Mark Bitter, chairman of the WELS Commission on Worship, in *Worship the Lord* 3 (August 2003). Bitter critiques a survey by George Barna in which people who regularly attend church were asked how long it had been since they "experienced the presence of God in worship." This same issue of *Worship the Lord* includes a critique of Rick Warren's apparent theology of worship. Back issues of *Worship the Lord* are available at <http://www.wels.net/cgi-bin/site.pl?2601&collectionID=904>
21. Webber, *Signs of Wonder*, 11.
22. *The Story of Gospel Music*, series editor Nigel Williams, BBC

Television, 1996.

23. Ibid.
24. Barry Liesch, *The New Worship: Straight Talk on Music and the Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996).
25. James Brauer, "Essay delivered at Opus Dei Forum," [18 March 1997] Concordia Seminary, 4.
26. Liesch, *The New Worship*, 10.
27. Ibid., 47.
28. Ibid., 48.
29. Brauer, "Essay delivered at Opus Dei Forum," 5. Numerous writers have warned about an over-reliance on music in worship—music as means of grace. One of the most succinct warnings comes from Robert Webber. A friend says to him, "Face it, Bob, the new sacrament is music." Robert Webber, "Worship Knowledge: Is it Relevant?" *Creator Magazine* (1 April 1998). Online: <http://creatormagazine.com/articles/>
30. Michael Horton, *In the Face of God: The Dangers and Delights of Spiritual Intimacy* (Waco: Word, 1996), 120. Horton has written a more comprehensive treatment of worship, *A Better Way* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002). His Calvinistic view of the sacraments will not help Lutherans, but many of his categories for analyzing worship matters are useful, such as these chapters: "Is Style Neutral?" "Reaching the Lost without Losing the Reached."
31. Horton, *In the Face of God*, 48.
32. Ibid., 143–44.
33. Lyle Schaller, *The Parish Paper* (January 1998).
34. Bryan Gerlach, "Confident Joy in the Basics," *Lutheran Leader* 5 (Spring 1997): 7. Online: www.wels.net/worship
35. Thomas Schattauer, "The Cultural Pattern of Christian Worship: Language, Order, Song," in Ralph R. Van Loon, ed., *Encountering God: The Legacy of Lutheran Book of Worship for the 21st Century* (Minneapolis: Kirk House, 1998), 166.
36. Justin Martyr, *The First Apology*, eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1885), 1:186; quoted in Schattauer, "The Cultural Pattern," 169–70.
37. Schattauer, "The Cultural Pattern," 170.
38. Ibid., 170–71.
39. Ibid., 173.
40. Ibid., 172.
41. Ibid., 174.

An Annotated Bibliography of Resources for the Historic One-Year Lectionary

BRIAN HAMER



SINCE THE ADVENT OF VATICAN II-three-year lectionaries, the preponderance of Lutheran preaching and service planning has revolved around Lutheran spin-offs of one- and three-year lectionaries in post-Vatican II Lutheran hymnals. Subsequently, Lutheran lectionary resources to assist in service and sermon planning have also followed the post-Vatican II lections, allowing many historic one-year series resources to fall under the dreaded rubric of being “out of print.”

However, some of us who were ordained into the alphabet soup of years A, B, and C have been perplexed at the logic of the rotation of years A, B, and C. We have secretly longed for the return of the historic one-year series, a treasure that seemed nearly non-extant after the introduction of the first round of post-Vatican II hymnals. Truth be told, some preachers never budged from the historic one-year lectionary! Therefore, it was with great joy that those persons loyal to the historic one-year lectionary received the news that the forthcoming *Lutheran Service Book* (to be released 2006; hereafter *LSB*) would include a revised form of the historic one-year series, retaining the historic Epistles and Gospels, but with slightly revised propers, such as expanded introits and a new set of Old Testament lessons.¹

History has demonstrated that the introduction of anything new requires time to prepare the church. The liturgical imagination of pastors runs miles ahead of the time and patience required to introduce—or, in this case, re-introduce—a historic lectionary. In an effort to smooth this transition and to encourage preaching on the historic one-year series, this brief essay will offer an annotated, select bibliography of English-speaking resources, arranged topically, for writing sermons, planning services, and shaping one’s devotional life according to the historic one-year lectionary. This article will not address resources only available on the Internet or in foreign languages.

RESOURCES FOR SERMONS

Toal, M. F., ed. *The Sunday Sermons of the Great Fathers: A Manual of Preaching, Spiritual Reading, and Meditation*. 4 vols. San Francisco: Igantius Press, 2000.²

This handsome four-volume set places a wealth of patristic wisdom in the hands of the modern preacher. Arranged chronologically according to the major divisions of the church year,

Toal has provided the following homiletical resources for each Sunday of the pre-Vatican II church year: the printed text of the Gospel for each Sunday, including synoptic parallels; the *Catena Aurea* (“Golden Chain”) of St. Thomas Aquinas, a composite commentary from the Fathers, reminiscent of the style of *Ancient Christian Commentary*; and a handful of patristic sermons on the Gospel lesson or the synoptic parallel.

Toal’s overview of the resources for Advent I will whet the preacher’s appetite. After printing the Gospel lesson with synoptic parallels, the *Catena Aurea* provides six full pages of verse-by-verse patristic glosses from Eusebius, Theophylactus, Gregory, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, and others. Five complete sermons in idiomatic English are printed for Advent I from the following fathers: Ambrose, Ephraem, Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and Bernard. Some of the sermons are either based on the synoptic parallel(s) or a portion of the Gospel lesson, or sometimes are even an excursus based on one theme in the Gospel lesson. The Roman Catholic pre-Vatican II lectionary does not perfectly coordinate with the historic one-year series in *Lutheran Service Book*. This inconsistency is easily overcome by the biblical index in the back of each volume. These quibbles aside, *Sunday Sermons* is a treasure trove of patristic wisdom. Its subtitle, “A Manual of Preaching, Spiritual Reading, and Meditation,” is exactly what it provides—the wisdom of the earliest preachers to enrich our own journey of *oratio, tentatio, and meditatio*.

The editors of *Sunday Sermons* were no doubt correct in the following claim on the masthead of volume one of this *sine qua non* of patristic homilies:

[The Fathers’] homilies on the liturgical Gospels for Sundays and the greater feasts and fasts cannot fail to add clarity and depth to any reader’s understanding of these key passages from the holy scripture; and this treasury of their commentaries will, above all, be of constant help to priests whose office it is to preach and expound the Gospel in the continuance of the tradition.

Klug, Eugene F., ed. *Sermons of Martin Luther: The House Postils*. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996.

Several English editions of the sermons of Martin Luther are readily available to the modern preacher. This essay will focus on *The House Postils* because it is probably the most accessible and pastoral edition of Luther’s sermons in English. The trans-

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lations are idiomatic, avoiding the linguistic speed bumps inherent in Elizabethan English. The selection of sermons from Luther's home, delivered to a small circle of family and friends, reflects Luther's pastoral heart, both in their relative brevity and their simplicity. Unlike many of Luther's sermons, which were conceived as models for other preachers, the house sermons were actually preached, mostly from 1531 to 1535, then transcribed by two careful scribes in the Luther home.

The House Postils, in addition to avoiding overlap with the American Edition of *Luther's Works*, follows the Gospels of the historic one-year series as Luther knew them. This is the same one-year lectionary in *TLH* and *LSB*, with a few exceptions. The editors of *The House Postils* generally chose to include multiple Luther sermons for each Sunday of the church year: three for Advent I (1523, 1533, and 1534); three for Advent II (1532, 1533, and 1534); two for Advent III (1532 and 1533); three for Advent IV (1532, 1533, and one undated); and so forth. Sermons are also included for minor festivals (for example, The Day of the Purification of Mary) and other occasions not always celebrated today (for example, sermons for every day in Holy Week).

The following excerpt from Luther's house sermon for Advent I (1523) is generally indicative of the rich pastoral theology that permeates Luther's sermons:

This is the point of this Gospel [Mt 21:1–9], that we should receive and hold to this King whose name we bear, after whom we are called Christians. True, death also comes to John, Peter, Paul, but a Christian does not die. John, Peter, Paul are also buried, but a Christian neither dies, nor is buried, but lives. It does not matter that I, Peter, or Paul die. Because I am a Christian, like Peter and Paul, I will come out of the grave resurrected. For Christ, from whom I have my name, promised this to all Christians, in order that we may learn to believe what this King gives us: deliverance from sin, death, and hell.³

Gerhard, Johann. *Postilla: An Explanation of the Sunday and Most Important Festival Gospels of the Whole Year, Volume 1*. Translated by Elmer M. Hohle. Malone, Texas: The Center for the Study of Lutheran Orthodoxy, 2003.

This most recent treasure from the Center for the Study of Lutheran Orthodoxy is the first of what the editors hope will become a three-volume series of the sermons of Johann Gerhard: sermons on the Gospels for the festival half of the church year, sermons for the non-festival half of the church year, and sermons for minor festivals and other occasions. This beautifully bound, handsome volume in black cloth with gold engraving includes nearly fifty sermons and a comprehensive index to all Scripture citations throughout the text of Gerhard's sermons. There is one sermon for each Sunday in modern English, almost always following the Gospel lesson in the historic one-year series, except for a few sermons on selected Epistle texts. The simple, straightforward content for each Sunday of the church year is the heading for the Sunday, for example, "Advent I," the printed Gospel lesson, and the text of the Gerhard sermon.

Anyone who appreciated Gerhard's *Explanation of the History of the Suffering and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ* will be

equally impressed with *Postilla 1*. Gerhard's *Explanation* has endeared itself to many Lutheran pastors and laity for its rich Christology, its concrete language, and its pastoral view of the passion of Christ as an event for us and for our salvation, rather than an annual appeal for sympathy for Jesus. These traits and more are also evident in *Postilla 1*: Advent is the season to highlight Jesus' threefold coming, rather than Advent as just pre-Christmas; Christmas is a time to celebrate the presence of Christ as God with us in the flesh and in the means of grace, rather than just an annual good feeling about the Madonna and child; Epiphany is the revelation of God in Christ, rather than just an attempt to keep the Christmas spirit alive through the new year. Gerhard is a model of seventeenth-century Lutheran orthodoxy. His sermons will benefit today's pastors who are willing to drink from this rich spring of life-giving water.

RESOURCES FOR SERVICE PLANNING

Gehrke, Ralph. *Planning the Service: A Workbook for Pastors, Organists, and Choirmasters*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1961.⁴

This volume, though geared specifically to *TLH* (1941), will retain and renew its worth for use with the one-year lectionary in *LSB*. Before describing the offerings of this volume for each Sunday of the church year, it is worth noting that the prefatory material alone is worth the price of the book. Gehrke provides short essays on the rationale for careful service planning, the content and context of the liturgy, the role of the choir and organ in the service, and multiple essays on hymns, including tactical approaches for teaching hymns. Gehrke also provides Epistle and Gospel references listed in canonical order.

The book provides a one-page overview of each season of the church year and a one-page planner for each Sunday in the church year, without minor festivals. His overview of the season of Advent describes the meaning and purpose of Advent as a season of Jesus' threefold coming in the flesh, in the means of grace, and at the end of time. Gehrke also includes liturgical customs in this seasonal introduction. He explains, for instance, the rationale for violet as the color of Advent and the cessation of the *Gloria* in that period. Following this introduction, Gehrke provides a single-page planner that includes the title of the Sunday, the theme of the day, and an appropriate theme verse. This is an example of his format:

The First Sunday in Advent

The Lord Who Comes

"Behold, thy King cometh unto thee; He is just and having salvation."—Zech. 9:9

Gehrke then provides the complete text of the Introit, Collect, Epistle, Intervening Chant, Gospel, and Proper Preface. While this information is available in *TLH*, having it printed on one page is a big time saver and helps to compensate for the lack of companion volumes to *TLH*. Gehrke also offers a suggested hymn of the week, for example, "Savior of the Nations, Come" for Advent I, and other suggested hymns.

Is it worth buying a volume dated over forty years ago and catered to a 1941 hymnal? In a word, yes! The value of this volume will be somewhat limited by the revised propers in *LSB*, but the

majority of the volume will retain its salutary use because of its coherence with the seasons and lessons. Too often the tendency of pastors and church musicians is to plan services with nothing but their congregation's pew hymnal in front of them. The concept of an appointed hymn of the day is alien to them, the repertoire of congregational hymns is very limited, and many of the good customs of the church year are not utilized. One Lutheran church replaced the four Sundays of Advent with four stewardship Sundays, albeit with purple paraments! *Planning the Service* will help overcome these weaknesses by placing the propers and customs of the church year in front of the pastor and church musician along with salutary suggestions on making the church year live. If used properly, *Planning the Service* will help us retain the lively legacy of the one-year lectionary in ritual and tradition in 2006 and beyond.

Lindemann, Herbert. *The Sermon and the Propers.* 4 vols. St. Louis: Concordia, 1958/1960.⁵

Lindemann notes in his introduction that "the purpose of these volumes is to encourage preaching according to the Church Year and in harmony with the appointed Propers." Lindemann's lament about non- and anti-lectionary preaching has only grown in relevance during the past few decades: "An increasing number of preachers disregard the ancient system of texts and subjects and follow no order or plan in presenting the truths of salvation. The Propers may still be used, but the dominant thought presented and developed is ignored."

Lindemann attempts to solve this problem by providing an overview of the historical development of the propers and defending their salutary use within the context of Lutheran worship. The introductory section to volume one includes short essays entitled "Sacramental and Historical Church Year," "The Christmas Cycle in the Sacramental Year," "The Historical Year," "What is Liturgy?," "Worship Should Reflect God," and many more.

Lindemann subsequently provides a narrative commentary on the propers for each Sunday of the church year and most minor festivals. If he does not comment on the theological content of the propers, he at least prints the entire text of all the propers. He also includes fleshed-out sermon outlines for the Epistle and Gospel texts, and occasionally a sermon from Johann Gerhard. A final section on Holy Communion in the context of that Sunday or minor festival provides excellent homiletical material for inviting the baptized to the Lord's table within the images and metaphors of the propers of the day.

Some might argue that Lindemann is somewhat dated, that he borrowed too much from Pius Parsch, and that he forces too many texts into Aristotelian three-part sermon outlines. These criticisms are fair enough. However, two strengths of the volumes make this writer proud to endorse its enduring relevance for the pastor's library. First, Lindemann sees the sermon as addressing not just the Gospel lesson in isolation, but as the summation of all the propers. Lindemann draws the entire propers together under one theme, allowing all of the propers to permeate and shape the sermon. Lindemann suggests, for instance, that a sermon disjointed from the propers is actually an intrusion into the service. Second, Lindemann's understanding of the

Lord's Supper for the Lord's Day is refreshing, especially since he was writing during the heyday of *TLH*. In those days, many congregations were celebrating the Lord's Supper on the first and third Sundays of the month, arguably making the Lord's Supper seem like an intrusion into the Lord's Day! Lindemann assumes every-Sunday Communion. Perhaps some credit is due to his *Sermon and the Propers* that every-Sunday Communion seems to be the norm today in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS), rather than the exception.

Gottesdienst: A Quarterly Journal of the Evangelical-Lutheran Liturgy. Lansing, Mich.: Evangelical-Lutheran Liturgical Press. ISSN 1528-6770.

Do not be fooled by the slim appearance and economical modesty of this quarterly publication. Edited by a handful of LCMS clergymen, *Gottesdienst* provides a comprehensive yet contemporary panoply of resources for the historic one-year lectionary. A survey of the contents of the Michaelmass 2004 issue will suffice to demonstrate the depth and breadth of this journal. The complete texts of two sermons are included for Trinity 20 and the birthday of Martin Luther. A section called "Liturgical Observer" recommends or reprimands current trends in liturgy and theology. A section entitled "Seeing Red" provides an ongoing review of the rubrics of Christian worship. The "Hymns" column offers theological commentary on selected hymn texts and reviews of current trends in church music. A column called "Why?" helps to lend meaning to form in Christian worship, by answering questions such as "Why is the sacrament something we eat and drink?" and "Why is Christian worship liturgical?" Letters from readers are frequently included and responded to. A brief back-page column entitled "Musing on the Mysteries" offers a brief commentary on some aspect of evangelical-Lutheran liturgy.

In addition to being firmly rooted in the incarnational, sacramental, and liturgical foundations of Lutheran theology, *Gottesdienst* is also quite practical. The "Why?" column is designed as a camera-ready bulletin insert, with permission and instructions for its reproduction. The aforementioned Michaelmass issue includes a reproducible set of historic vesting prayers for the pastors to copy and post in his vestry. Even the carefully chosen artwork on the cover of each issue is a *tour de force* of Christian visual arts.

Perhaps the slogan of *Gottesdienst*, prominently printed on the cover of every issue, best summarizes its theology: *Leiturgia Divina adiaphora non est* (Divine worship is not a non-essential). To take a lead from this dictum, a subscription to *Gottesdienst* is not a non-essential (*adiaphora non est*) for those who wish to do justice to the theological riches of the one-year lectionary.

RESOURCES FOR LITURGICAL LIFE AT HOME

Eckardt, Burnell F., Jr. *Every Day Will I Bless Thee: Meditations for the Daily Office.* Sussex, Wisconsin: Concordia Catechetical Academy, 1998/2002.

Written by the editor of *Gottesdienst*, this daily devotional provides daily meditations for the New Testament lessons in the daily lectionary in *TLH*, including weekdays and minor fes-

tivals. Though not evident from the title or the table of contents, the reader must be aware of three basic divisions of the book: 1) the Order of Daily Prayer, which is suitable for any time of day, and the church year calendar; 2) the extensive series of daily Scripture lessons and meditations; and 3) the collects of the day from *TLH*.

The result is arguably the richest modern Lutheran devotion-al in English. In one volume, the user has everything he needs for praying the daily office, save the need for a Psalter. To cite one example, the devotion for Advent 1 includes the Latin title “*Ad Te Levavi*” and the English designation “The First Sunday in Advent.” The suggested Psalm is Psalm 25, though the Psalm text is not printed. The Gospel for the day, Matthew 21:1–9, is printed from the New King James Version of the Bible. A single-paragraph meditation is printed beneath the Scripture lesson. The following snippet from the meditation for Advent 1 is indicative of the author’s ability to deliver rich gifts in a tightly-written format:

[The church] celebrates His advent whenever He comes, through this preaching, and especially in the Holy Sacrament, when she, the new Jerusalem, cries out saying, *Hosanna!* Which, according to the psalmist, was for royal inauguration, *Save now!* or rather, *God save the King!* For He was to be crowned at His crucifixion.⁶

Every Day is also handy as a pastor’s companion for individual pastoral care. It can be used for communing shut-ins because it provides exactly what the preacher needs to flesh out his hymnal or agenda when he is on the road: the Gospel lesson from the previous Sunday, a palatable meditation appropriate for shut-in visits, and the collect for the day. No doubt there are other practical uses as well.

But above all else, *Every Day* is a complete *loci* of Lutheran theology in devotional form. The meditations are devotional in length, rather than sermonic. Yet the sum total of the meditations includes everything the preacher should preach in one church year: revelation and Scripture, law and gospel, grace and sacraments, the church and Christian hope, and much more that always leads the hearers to the cruciform mystery. Larry Rast was certainly correct in saying that “above all its strengths, which are numerous, is its theological character—it is summarily christocentric.”⁷

Link, George, comp. *Martin Luther’s Family Devotions for Every Day in the Church Year*. Translated by Joel R. Baseley. Dearborn, Michigan: Mark V Publications, 1996.

In the general scheme of things, a compendium of readings from Luther is by no means *sui generis*. *Luther’s Family Devotions*, however, is unique enough to stand head and shoulders above most of its parallels. Compiled by George Link and translated by Joel Baseley, this volume roughly follows the daily lectionary in *TLH*, with some modifications. Although the daily lectionary was obviously the starting point, the editors had to adjust the contents according to the availability of palatable excerpts from Luther’s writing. For example, the devotion for Advent 1 is based on one verse of the gospel lesson, Matthew

21:5 instead of 21:1–9, excerpted from the Erlangen edition of Luther’s sermons. The devotions end with one carefully chosen hymn stanza from *TLH*, usually one stanza, but sometimes two or three. The result is not a perfect, verse-by-verse, fit to the historic one-year lessons, but rather a more thematic and general companion to the daily office with Luther as the guide.

The value of this volume is the length and content of the Luther meditations. Luther does not excerpt easily, and George Link was wise not to limit himself to the usual one-page snippets found in most Luther devotionals. Link included lengthier and—as the dust jacket claims—meatier excerpts from Luther, taken usually from his sermons. This allows the reader to glimpse more of Luther’s insights into the ebb and flow of the historic lectionary than other Luther resources. Those who have tried to excerpt Luther for sermons, devotions, or newsletters have discovered how difficult the task is. One must find segments of Luther that will stand on their own and still give a fair reading of Luther when divorced from their original context. Link has succeeded in this difficult task and Baseley should be commended for making these gifts available to English-speaking Lutherans. If you are looking for a guided tour through the entire one-year lectionary with Luther as the tour guide *par excellence*, then *Luther’s Family Devotions* is for you.

Unger, Melvin P. *Handbook to Bach’s Sacred Cantata Texts*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1996.⁸

It is fair enough to assume that Melvin P. Unger painstakingly compiled this volume as a musicological project, with no thought of making a contribution to the historic one-year lectionary. Yet Unger has inadvertently provided a gold mine of theological treasures that square perfectly with the historic one-year lectionary.

J. S. Bach’s sacred cantatas were intended to accompany the sermon, based largely on the content of the Gospels and, to a lesser extent, the Epistles. They often used the appointed hymn of the day and they always used appropriate poetry to expound the lessons and theme of the day. Though Bach did not write the texts himself, he was always involved in the selection and approval of the texts, not to mention his devotional dialogue with the text as a necessary prerequisite to setting the text to music.

Unger has provided the German text of every extant sacred cantata text, along with interlinear English translation and the Bible verses on which the cantata text is based. The provision of the German texts is nothing new. However, the inclusion of the interlinear English translation and the accompanying Bible verses is unique. For example, Unger’s index to the cantatas in liturgical order lists the cantata number for each Sunday. Advent 1 coordinates with cantatas 61, 62, and 36, performed in different years and sometimes repeated. If, for instance, the preacher or church musician looks up cantata 61, he will find the following information from Unger:

- The catalog number with German title
- The reference for the musicological source
- Parallel cantata texts for that Sunday, for example, cantatas 61, 62, and 36 for Advent 1
- The listing of the Gospel and Epistle texts, along with

a brief summary of their content: Mt. 21:1–9, that is, Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem

- The name of the librettist, if known
- A brief summary of the contents of each movement
- The German text and English interlinear translation printed in the left column
- The Biblical texts on which the cantata is based printed in the right column

Most of our congregations will not succeed in arranging and financing a performance of a Bach cantata every Sunday, if at all. However, one Lutheran church in New York City and one Episcopal church in Boston are close to achieving this goal. The preacher's devotional use of this massive, 776-page tome might go as follows: Locate one cantata text for the coming Sunday via the liturgical index; study the text along with its accompanying Bible verses as one would study any other sacred text.

You may be surprised how rich the treasures are, from the simple hymn texts to the narrative recitatives, from the elaborate arias to the love duets between Christ and his church. Even if the text or its excerpt is not sung in your congregation, you might quote the text in your sermon, print a portion of it in the bulletin, or even follow the structure and content of the cantata to shape the structure and content of the sermon. Who could resist making some use of the following gem from cantata 61 for Advent 1: "Come, Jesus, come to thy church / And grant a blessed new year. Advance thy name's honor, Preserve the sound teaching / And bless pulpit and altar."⁹ It works as a sacristy prayer, as a prayer for the new church year, and even as a prayer for the lively legacy of the historic one-year lectionary.

CONCLUSION

As with any annotated bibliography for sermons and services, a few caveats are in order. First, none of these resources should replace the preacher's own devotional dialogue with the text, his discretion in selecting a hymn of the day, or his interpretation of the daily lection in his liturgical life at home. The pastor's own *meditatio* on exegetical, systematic, historical, and pastoral theology is primary. The books listed here are secondary. Second, the preacher should not try to fathom every word of these rich resources in one year's time, nor should he expect to deliver all these gifts to his hearers in one sermon. It is called a "one-year" lectionary, not because it is exhausted in one year, but because it uses the same lection through each church year. A more effective tactic is to approach each Sunday as if it is your first time to stand at the threshold of the sacred text, asking yourself two questions: (1) What are the gifts of the gospel in this text? (2) What is the best way to deliver those gifts in sermon and service?¹⁰ In time you will discover that this ancient series will do for the modern preacher just what it did for Luther and Bach. It will bring out of our storehouse treasures old and new, to beckon us continually back to the rock where we were hewn, and to drink yet again from the rivers of life-giving water. As the hymn puts it, "Who can faint while such a river / Ever will their thirst assuage / Grace which, like the Lord, the giver, / Never fails from age to age?" (LW 294:2). **LOGIA**

NOTES

1. Information on the guiding principles and plans for the reprinting of the one-year lectionary is available online at <http://old.worship.lcms.org/LHP/OneYear.htm> or <http://www.lcms.org/pages/internal.asp?NavID=871>. The website lists three reasons for the return of the one-year lectionary: (1) We are an historic church that acknowledges the value of what has been handed down to us; (2) It is important to recognize the value of repetition. Given the increasing lack of biblical literacy within our society and even within the church, there may be a need in the future for a one-year lectionary, with its yearly repetition of key biblical texts; (3) The one-year lectionary is unique in that there are a number of older resources that support it, including hymnody and sermons by Luther and others.

2. One earlier edition (Chicago: Henry Regener Company, 1954/1957) is available on the used-book market, but the potential buyer should know that the print is prohibitively small.

3. Klug, ed., *Sermons*, 1:18. Another popular English edition of Luther's sermons that follows the historic one-year lectionary is John Nicholas Lenker, ed., *Sermons of Martin Luther: The Church Postils*, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1983/1995). The church and house postils are available as a seven-volume set entitled *The Sermons of Martin Luther* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000). The church postils are not receiving extensive attention in this manuscript because they are somewhat lengthy and repetitive, artificially outlined by the editor, and generally more academic than pastoral in nature. Even the electronically reproduced typeface is what editors call a "quick and dirty" reprint.

4. Though the 1961 edition is out of print, *Planning the Service* is available as a reprint through Concordia Theological Seminary Press, Ft. Wayne, IN.

5. Lindemann is sometimes mentioned alongside Pius Parsch, *The Church's Year of Grace*, 4 vols. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1957). Both sets follow the same basic pattern of introductions to the liturgy, followed by extended commentary on the propers and customs of each Sunday. Lindemann appears to lean somewhat heavily on Parsch. The latter is not receiving plenteous attention in this manuscript because it includes extensive commentary on specifically Roman Catholic propers, follows the pre-Vatican II Roman Catholic lectionary, and is written from the perspective of Roman Catholic theology. However, it may be of some use for its overall description of the church year for those who are unable to locate a copy of Lindemann.

6. Eckardt, *Every Day*, 3.

7. *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 66 (2002): 90.

8. Unger's volume is parallel to Ulirhc Meyer, *Biblical Quotation and Allusion in the Cantata Libretti of Johann Sebastian Bach* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1997), a replacement of Philip Z. Ambrose, *The Texts to Johann Sebastian Bach's Church Cantatas* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1984), and somewhat parallel to Charles S. Terry, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Cantata Texts Sacred and Secular: with a Reconstruction of the Leipzig Liturgy of His Period* (London: Holland Press, 1964). Meyer provides key words in German and assumes the reader has the complete cantata text and a knowledge of German. Ambrose provides German and English texts in parallel columns. Terry's tome is somewhat dated, but his attention to the liturgical context is helpful. Also of note in this regard is Robin Leaver, "Bach's Understanding and Use of the Epistles and Gospels of the Church Year," *Bach* 5, no. 4 (October 1975): 4–13. Leaver offers theological commentary on the relationship between the lessons and the cantata, which is the same relationship between the Gospel lesson and the sermon. Even those who are using a three-year lectionary can make use of all these resources by utilizing Leaver's biblical index to the Epistles and Gospels of the one-year series.

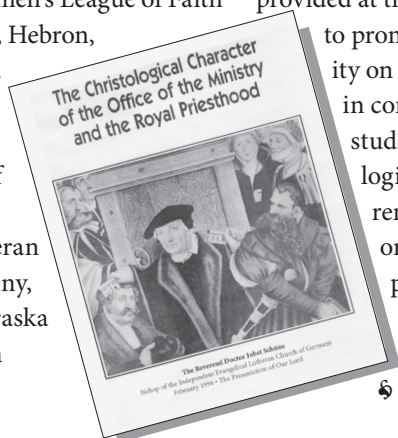
9. Unger, *Handbook*, 207–208.

10. I am indebted here to Richard Resch.

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Christian Worship in Retrospect

CHARLES L. CORTRIGHT



THE “NEW HYMNAL” OF THE Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS), *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal*, made its official debut on 7 August 1993 at the synod’s convention in Saginaw, Michigan. Rev. Victor Prange, the chairman of the Joint Hymnal Committee (JHC) responsible for the hymnal’s production, presented a finished copy to WELS president Rev. Carl H. Mischke with the prayer that “our gracious God will bless its use in the worship of his people for many years to come.”¹

It would appear that this prayer has been answered in the affirmative. Since its introduction more than a decade ago, *Christian Worship* has become the hymnal for the WELS. Nearly every WELS congregation today has *Christian Worship* in its pew racks—an outcome that commendably fulfills the original intent and desire of the synod’s authorizing resolution made in 1983, namely, that the WELS produce a “new/revised hymnal of its own, one that under the blessings of God will be . . . welcomed and judged to be highly satisfactory . . . by a majority of our members.”²

The road to *Christian Worship*’s debut was long, and traveled unfamiliar ground. As the preface to *Christian Worship* notes, preliminary deliberations for a new hymnal went back to the 1950s when the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) invited the WELS to participate in a revision of *The Lutheran Hymnal*. But the revision project was dropped in the mid-1960s by the LCMS in favor of an effort that eventually produced *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978) and *Lutheran Worship* (1982). The WELS Commission on Worship carefully studied both *Lutheran Book of Worship* and *Lutheran Worship* as possible replacements for *The Lutheran Hymnal*, but found both unsuited to the worship situation of the WELS. As a result, the Commission on Worship recommended that the synod produce its own “new/revised hymnal,” a recommendation that was adopted by the synod’s convention in 1983.

At the time of the decision, there was skepticism about what the WELS could and would produce. Much of the early work on the hymnal project was expended on defining the structure of the hymnal’s taskforce and the process it would follow in accomplishing its goal. It is interesting to note that at this time the synod did not have any administrative personnel serving the

worship needs of the synod in a full-time capacity. Proportionate to the size of the WELS, there was a cadre of individuals in the synod—pastors, teachers, professors, and musicians—with interest and the needed skills, but not necessarily the time to devote to such a project. So a key element to the project’s success became the calling of Rev. Kurt Eggert to serve as full-time project director. Eggert first helped form and then worked with the JHC on the hymnal. He also oversaw the establishment of a process to inform and prepare the synod’s congregations for the new hymnal. In view of Eggert’s contributions to the project, one of the more poignant stories from the creation of the hymnal was how the first finished copy of *Christian Worship* was presented to him at his hospital bed shortly before his death in June 1993.

Concurrent with the publication of *Christian Worship* in 1993 was *Christian Worship: Manual*. This auxiliary volume contains the propers for the church year along with instructional and practical material for planning worship and for celebrating the various orders of service and rites in the hymnal. Since 1993 separate committees have produced *Christian Worship: Altar Book* (1999), *Christian Worship: Occasional Services* (2004), and *Christian Worship: Pastor’s Companion* (2004). With these volumes, the full range of hymnal and liturgical resources desired by the synod as replacements for *The Lutheran Hymnal* and its auxiliary books is complete.

At the time of the publication of *Christian Worship*, there were various criticisms and misgivings about the book. Victor Prange of the JHC recalls that within the WELS,

Pastors heard complaints from congregation members; letters were fired off to members of the JHC and synod officials. Most often *Christian Worship* was compared unfavorably with *The Lutheran Hymnal*. Some faulted revision of the texts; others weren’t happy with things musical; a few didn’t like much of anything in the new book.”³

Other Lutherans also gave the book initial mixed reviews. However, the track record of *Christian Worship* established by the high congregational adoption rate and numbers of copies purchased over the last decade suggests general acceptance and satisfaction within the WELS. Voices beyond the Wisconsin Synod have also since favorably commented on the book noting especially its ease of use and its format for singing the psalms.

CHARLES CORTRIGHT, a *LOGIA* editor, teaches religion at Wisconsin Lutheran College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

It is the psalms of *Christian Worship* that have proven to be one of the book's most surprising successes. Before the introduction of *Christian Worship*, Wisconsin Synod congregations rarely used the psalms in worship beyond the introits of *The Lutheran Hymnal* and a responsively read psalm at mid-week evening Lenten services. Chanting the psalms was virtually unheard of and rejected as being "too high church." Yet over the last decade, *Christian Worship* has restored the psalms to regular usage in the synod's worship and has paved the way for widespread singing of the psalms by WELS congregations. This, in turn, has helped overcome the long-standing bias in the WELS against chanting in general and chanting by the pastor in particular.

The WELS has grown in its worship life from the experience of creating a new hymnal and from the hymnal it has created. For instance, the experience has led to changes within the synod's Board of Parish Services. Today a full-time worship administrator and staff serve the WELS through the Commission on Worship and a network of worship coordinators in the synod's districts. Revitalized interest in the theology and practice of worship has led to several national conferences for pastors, teachers, musicians, and interested laymen. Worship topics generated by the experience of the hymnal's creation are often heard at pastoral conferences. The use of *Christian Worship* and its various rites and services has decidedly broadened the overall worship life of the synod. This stands in bold contrast with the practice of much of the synod during the time of *The Lutheran Hymnal*. The liturgical practice of the WELS was originally formed in pietism: *The Lutheran Hymnal* (after its own difficult introduction) was used in a decidedly idiosyncratic Wisconsin Synod manner so that much of the richness of that book remained unused or ignored. *Christian Worship* has served in the past decade to open up much of the WELS to better, more authentic liturgical practice and usage than was accomplished under *The Lutheran Hymnal*.

The auxiliary books are also noteworthy in this connection. *Christian Worship: Altar Book* and the instruction afforded in *Christian Worship: Manual* provide solid direction in sound Lutheran liturgical worship practice. The recently published *Christian Worship: Occasional Services* includes a liturgical section offering the synod such rites as the imposition of ashes, the complete liturgies of the *Triduum*, and fresh settings of Compline (Prayer at the Close of Day). These additions have the potential of growing the synod's worship life even further.

The hymns of *Christian Worship* have also expanded the synod's hymnody to include a wider range of "new" hymns. Following the principle enunciated by Eggert as "pressing on to

the future while holding on to [the] past," the book contains 623 hymns that range across a spectrum of styles, eras, and emphases. Imbalances or omitted emphases in *The Lutheran Hymnal* have been corrected (such as the overly large number of New Year's hymns); seasonal hymn offerings have been enlarged.

The WELS has grown in its worship life from the experience of creating a new hymnal and from the hymnal it has created.

The experience of the last decade has revealed the need for some revisions and additions. The success of the psalms has highlighted the need to expand the somewhat limited numbers of psalms included in *Christian Worship* and to offer more varied and complex chant lines. The alternate baptism rite in *Christian Worship: Occasional Services* was crafted to provide a more traditional form than that included in the hymnal. New settings of the Common Service using the standard English texts for the liturgy have been written to further "round out" the worship resources of the book.

The need for revision and change will be met through one of the greatest benefits derived from the experience of creating *Christian Worship*, namely, the experience itself. Along with a raised worship consciousness created by the book, the WELS today is the beneficiary of expertise and talent developed in connection with the creation of *Christian Worship*. The wisdom gained from creating *Christian Worship* will do much to shape the eventual revision and updating of the hymnal and may be counted on to continue to move the WELS forward in Lutheran liturgical worship in the future. **LOGIA**

NOTES

1. Victor H. Prange, "The Shaping of *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal*," *Not Unto Us: A Celebration of the Ministry of Kurt J. Eggert* (Milwaukee: Northwestern, 2001), 245. For the interested reader, this article presents the most comprehensive published recollection of the writing of *Christian Worship* by one of the members of the JHC.
2. WELS Forty-Seventh Biennial Convention *Proceedings*, 90.
3. Prange, 251.

The Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary

Looking Back

THOMAS RANK



THE OLD BOOKS HAD SERVED WELL, but many had been rebound too often; nothing more could be done. Others were beyond repair for other reasons. The pages were yellowed from time and use for seven decades or three generations. No new printing could be made from the old, worn plates. *The Lutheran Hymnary* (LHy), published in 1913 by a joint committee of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church, the Norwegian Lutheran Synod, and the Hauge Lutheran Synod, had served well—despite its use as a merger document for Norwegian Lutherans. Witness the words of the committee:

It is the prayer of the committee, that *The Lutheran Hymnary* may prove no small factor in the efforts made to unify the various Norwegian Lutheran Church bodies of our land. (LHy, 4)

It had brought English translations of the rich German and Scandinavian Lutheran hymnody into the congregations and homes of its users. By doing so, *The Lutheran Hymnary* had been helpful in the transmission to succeeding generations of the teachings of God's word and the Lutheran confessions.

In the 1990s, about one-third of the congregations of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (ELS) still used LHy as the main service book each Sunday. By then a new hymnary was desired by many in the synod, for several reasons. The existing stock of hymnals in congregations was beyond repair. Parents wanted to give a hymnary as a confirmation gift but could not, since LHy was out of print. Hymn books recently published by other Lutheran church bodies were considered. *The Lutheran Hymnal* was already being superseded, and it did not include the strong Scandinavian hymns of LHy. *Lutheran Book of Worship* was not a serious consideration. *Lutheran Worship* (LW) and *Christian Worship* (CW), while useful for their constituents, did not fill the needs expressed by those who desired an updated LHy. The Bugenhagen order of service, that is, the Danish Ritual of 1685 following Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, which was the liturgy most familiar to many in the ELS, was not available in any new hymn book. As noted above regarding TLH, neither LW nor CW included enough of the hymn tradition of the Scandinavian Lutheran churches. The Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod

(WELS) generously offered to include ELS representatives during the process of developing CW. So began the process that resulted in the publication of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary* (ELH) in time for Advent 1996.

The Worship Committee of the ELS compilers and editors of the ELH consisted of three men from diverse backgrounds, but with a common love for the teachings of the Lutheran church as expressed in liturgy and hymn. With the names Bartels, DeGarmeaux, and Marzolf, one might not expect a group dedicated to Scandinavian hymnody. Yet the ELH provides what is arguably the strongest collection of Scandinavian Lutheran hymnody available today in the English language. Thomas Kingo, Magnus Landstad, and Hans Brorson together have thirty-three hymns in the ELH, and other Scandinavian authors are represented as well.

The German Lutheran hymns are well represented. Martin Luther has twenty-eight hymns and Paul Gerhardt has twenty-three hymns. These master hymnists, in addition to many others, still speak to us today in the strong confessional hymns and music of previous centuries. Lest one think the ELH is only bi-cultural, the hymns of other continents and countries are found throughout, not to fulfill some quota for multi-culturalism, but to highlight the blessings of hymns found in many places and times of the Christian Church.

The congregations of the ELS making the transition from LHy and TLH to ELH found many familiar elements. There are about two hundred hymns from each of the predecessor hymnals in the ELH. Rite One of the ELH is the Bugenhagen-Danish order. Rite Two is the Common Order. Neither requires much effort by the congregation to follow along.

One of the first reactions to the ELH in the congregations I serve in north Iowa was how brilliantly white the pages were. After decades of yellowed pages and well-worn print, it was as if the hymnbook was transfigured before us, and we had to avert our eyes from the glorious light! Well, not really. But what shines forth in the congregations that use the ELH is the confession of Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior, the Son of God who became flesh for us, died, rose, and ascended for us. It was this very confession that had led to the formation of the ELS in the first place. It was to guard and keep the faith "which was once for all delivered to the saints" that the early fathers of the ELS left the compromised merger negotiations of the Norwegian Lutherans in North America to begin the "little Norwegian Synod" in 1918. They left behind a beautiful college and semi-

THOMAS RANK is Pastor of Synod Lutheran Church and Center Lutheran Church at Scarville, Iowa. Pastor Rank is also an Associate Editor of *LOGIA*.

nary at Decorah and St. Paul, respectively, as well as a synod numerically in the hundreds of thousands, and began anew.

In Advent 1996 and the following seasons, the transition to the new hymnbook, the *ELH*, was not always easy. Some hymns were familiar, but with just enough changes in the text to force those who had the old text memorized to learn again the words of the hymn. An example is “Lord Jesus Christ, You Have Bestowed,” #320. There is still a bit of a struggle to sing hymns that alternate with each verse between two different melodies or arrangements. Examples are “Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior,” #316 and #317, and “For All the Saints,” #554. But with some advanced warning, encouragement, competent organists, and pastoral attentiveness, these struggles remain minor.

***This hymn arrangement helps
to shape the thinking of pastor,
organist, choirs, and congregation
toward a thematic approach
to each Sunday of the year.
It serves as a reminder that the
whole counsel of God is taught.***

After eight years, the binding on the books remains firm. I especially notice here that the same hymnbook used at the altar these past eight years remains in good shape. The only books that show major “wear and tear” in the parish I serve are the twenty copies used daily in our Lutheran school. However, they have been handled the equivalent of twenty years of Sundays by well-intentioned, but occasionally inattentive, young Lutherans with hands too small for big books. Books also wear out faster when they are dropped once a week.

Pastorally, the *ELH* has proven to be a wonderful resource for teaching the faith. It includes Luther’s catechetical hymns as hymns #38, 247, 316 or 317, 327, 383, 452, and 490. These are a true blessing for the ongoing instruction of the youth and older folks of the congregation. Its arrangement of hymns according to the church year allows the pastor to choose appropriate hymns for the season easily and confidently. This hymn arrangement helps

to shape the thinking of pastor, organist, choirs, and congregation toward a thematic approach to each Sunday of the year. It serves as a reminder that the whole counsel of God is taught in the course of the Christian church year.

The daily offices supplement the four orders of the divine service. Rite One, Rite Two, Rite Three include neo-classicist compositions for the Ordinary by Alfred Fremder. Rite Four offers the Lutheran Chorale Service in a comprehensive way. Starting the day at Scarville Lutheran School with the offices of Prime or Matins, or using the Suffrages as a separate Office of Prayer (as noted in the rubrics on p. 140), allows for the learning of wonderful texts of Holy Scripture through simple repetition. This in turn feeds the life of prayer, which proceeds from God to us, and then returns back again, as we hear and respond to his life-giving word. Of course, these offices are not at all unique to the *ELH*, but their inclusion in the hymnbook in an easy-to-use format promotes the use of these often-neglected offices in the average Lutheran congregation. This results in churchly variety without resorting to “cut and paste” or, worse, to “contemporary worship” materials.

In the early 1990s, at the initial stage of the ELS discussion about its own hymnbook, there were concerns about the monetary resources required to print ten thousand books in a synod with only twenty thousand members. There were also comments about the need for such a book. After all, the WELS had only recently published *CW* in 1993. However the final product of the ELS Worship Committee more than met the concerns. Within a half-year of its publication, 90% of the initial printing had been sold out. A second printing was completed a few years ago, and already a third printing is becoming necessary. While *CW* has served the intentions of the WELS admirably, it was never intended to be a replacement for the hymns and services of a church body thankful for the heritage of beautiful music and Christian poetry handed down from the Scandinavian Lutheran churches.

As the *ELH* enters a ninth year of congregational use, it is fair to say that it has provided a real treasure of liturgical and hymn resources for the confessional Lutheran congregation. The tunes and settings, both ancient and modern, remain fresh. The poetic texts retain their vigor and proclaim the gospel in fitting words. In summary, I echo the resolution of the 1996 annual convention of the ELS:

The synod expresses its joyful and heartfelt thanksgiving to our Lord for using the talents of our brethren and for this precious gift to our synod, and potentially, to His Church. (79th Report, Regular Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 1996) **LOGIA**

Parting Ways

New Lutheran Hymnals at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century

HOLGER SONNTAG



IN THE PAST YEARS, BOTH THE Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) and the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) have been working on new hymnals and accompanying volumes to replace their current main worship resources.¹ Both projects have reached (LCMS), or are about to reach (ELCA), completion. This is a good time to look and see, to compare and evaluate. And without any further ado, we turn to key components of the new projects.

WHAT IS WORSHIP?

When talking about hymnals and orders of service, one of the more basic questions is this: What is worship? According to a site with frequently asked questions (FAQs) related to the new ELCA hymnal, “worship both belongs to and is the work of all the people.” This certainly has both an egalitarian appeal and a broad ecumenical background. But what does it really mean? It does not mean that here people merely talk about themselves to themselves. The ELCA’s 1997 guidelines, *The Use of the Means of Grace* (UMG), make it very clear that it is the triune God who presently speaks and acts in his word and sacrament and thereby creates and sustains his holy church. One would therefore expect a definition of worship such as “central in worship is the work of God among his people through his means of grace.” This certainly would be consistent with the *Apology*’s definition of liturgy as a “public service,” meaning in the church a service, not *by* the public, but *for* the public, namely through word and sacrament by “the one minister” standing in the stead of Christ (Ap xxiv, 80; vii/viii, 28). This is echoed by the definition of “liturgy” as “public service” offered by the LCMS’s Commission of Worship: “the proclamation of the gospel and administration of the sacraments is God’s service done on behalf of his people.” But this is not where the ELCA is headed.

No doubt, ELCA’s emphasis on the “work of the people” explains the use of the word “celebration” in connection with God’s word and sacrament and the call for “lay participation” beyond hymns and prayer responses. The ordained pastor is the “presider” among all who are to be *actively* partaking in proclamation and administration of sacraments, as assistant ministers or otherwise. One wonders, though, whether this, despite all the laudable and clear emphasis on God’s activity in his means,

does not turn undue attention to the people doing it in God’s stead (see LC iv, 10, 19, 36). Especially in a religious landscape that highlights man’s activity (in worship), Lutherans should be the ones who contribute to the ecumenical conversation that men *primarily* “participate” in God’s works, not by *actively* doing them, but by *passively* receiving them by faith, as they are presented to them in the external word of promise, which is at times connected to visible elements (see Ap iv, 49).

How does this difference—God’s work or the people’s work—play itself out in the orders of service? We highlight just one area, the liturgy of the sacrament. Historically, this part has been a focal point of contention between Protestants (Lutherans included) and Roman Catholics because here the Roman understanding of the mass as a meritorious “work of the people,” even for the dead (see *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, #1414; Ap xxiv, 89), seemed to be most clearly expressed. In recent years, the question of the reintroduction of “eucharistic prayers” in American Lutheran orders of service has caused some debate.² The main objection to such prayers is that they muddle the crucial difference between God’s work (*sacramentum*) and our works (*sacrificia*).

Already *LBW* has, in its main rubric, a prayer that does not clearly distinguish between our praying and thanking and the Lord’s speaking and saving in the consecratory and proclamatory *verba testamenti* [words of institution]. This was one of the concerns that led the LCMS not to adopt *LBW* at the time. Two alternatives, however, were offered where this was done more clearly, with all three speaking of the “new covenant” in the *verba*. In *With One Voice* (1995, *WOV*) this trend was continued by adding an epiclesis on people and gifts *after* the *verba*; and also the new proposal offers no reversal here, making it ever more difficult to distinguish between God’s word and man’s works (including prayer). This is reflective of the view set forth in *UMG*, according to which “Holy Communion is consecrated by the word of God and prayer,” thus offering a remarkable fusion of East and West, God and man.

LCMS’s *Lutheran Service Book* (*LSB*) expands moderately on the post-sanctus prayer found already in *LW*, the main rubric adding a brief *anamnesis* after the *verba*. However, the individual elements of this part of the service are not combined under one single general rubric, such as “great thanksgiving.” This assures that the words of our Lord, “along with the bodily eating and drinking,” stand out as “the main thing in the sacrament” (*Small Catechism*), while the other elements, quite ap-

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propriately, express our thanks for the salvation Christ gives in his sacrament (see AE 38:120). However, while well-crafted, the *anamnesis* does add another element that separates the consecration from the communion even more. Does this, despite the formula of distribution (the first version of which is, of course, the stronger one!) still keep the “two main things” closely enough together, so that it remains evident that the body and blood seal what the words promise (see Luther’s proposal in AE 53:81)?

THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS

Lutherans confess that the forgiveness of sins is at the core of everything happening in the Christian church (LC 11, 55). How does this key article fare in the orders of service that provide the weekly framework for God’s liturgy in word and sacrament? To answer this question we want to focus on the beginning of the service, confession and absolution, in connection with baptism.

Beginning at the beginning, we note with thankfulness that the first part of the service in *LSB* is now consistently called “Confession and Absolution.” The corresponding part in *LW*’s Divine Service I was entitled “The Preparation.” While the older title certainly made some sense in the general flow of the order, one could wonder whether the forgiveness that was bestowed at the end of this part was somehow inferior to the one bestowed in word and sacrament during the remainder of the service. The rite itself remained virtually unchanged compared to *LW*. While *LBW* offered confession and absolution as an option at the beginning of the communion service, the new ELCA proposal incorporates two forms of baptismal remembrance in its place, one focusing on confession and absolution, the other designed as a thanksgiving for baptism. Both forms obviously take their cues from Luther’s double insight that (a) repentance is nothing else than a return to one’s baptism, because (b) “baptism remains forever” (see LC 1V, 74, 77). This reference to baptism is therefore very laudable.

But how well is it executed? The first question arises at the invocation that is either included in a longer prayer or omitted. If it is omitted, in whose name does the assembly gather—in its own (see the definition of worship above)? The next question arises at the confession of sins: what sins are actually confessed? Sins known and unknown; sins of commission and omission; sins of thought, word, and deed—in a word, actual sins, but not our sinful being, original sin (see FC 1, 6)! *LBW*’s and *WOV*’s rites still had it in there (“we *are* in bondage to sin”). If one is mindful of Luther’s battles against the Roman denial of original sin *as sin* in the baptized and of the widespread denial of original sin in American Christendom, then one realizes that at this point much, if not everything, is at stake. The modern folk wisdom that God hates only sin, not the sinner, is Manichaeism in a modern dress (see FC 1, 30).

The final question has to do with the bestowal of the forgiveness of sins. As already in *LBW* and *WOV*, in the new proposal ELCA ministers are instructed to “declare” God’s forgiveness to their people, interestingly primarily in corporate settings. LCMS ministers, on the other hand forgive the sins of those present (“indicative-operative” form of absolution).

Is this simply a matter of wording or of liturgical history? Perhaps it is. The *Small Catechism*, at any rate, shows that Luther preferred the latter form (SC 1V, 16, 28). Why? As early as 1518, he contended that the declarative absolution (which merely discloses a previous direct, inner bestowal of grace by God) is “too modest a statement” (see AE 31:102, 191). As Oswald Bayer has pointed out,³ Luther’s turn from the declarative to the indicative formula of absolution marks his turn from Augustine’s sign-hermeneutic to a biblical promise-hermeneutic. In other words, here Luther rediscovers the word as an actual means of grace. The word does and gives what it says, in absolution (“I forgive you . . .”) as well as in baptism (“I baptize you . . .”). This means that, in confession and absolution, the new ELCA proposal could have been stronger in law as well as in gospel, thus more Lutheran, and, in short, more baptismal.

The modern folk wisdom that God hates only sin, not the sinner, is Manichaeism in a modern dress.

ELCA’s rite of baptism itself is closely reflective of the one of confession and absolution. It too is quite light on original sin, in comparison to the *LSB* rite. To be sure, the doctrine of original sin has always required “explanation” (see AC 11 and Ap 11), but it also requires proclamation so that proud hearts may be humbled. Liturgical forms can be very helpful and emboldening, especially when it comes to doctrines that are clearly not popular. If the church’s liturgy does not dare proclaim it clearly, will the individual preacher? In the *LSB* as well as in the ELCA rites one would have wished that the catechism’s list of baptismal benefits (SC 1V, 6) had been more clearly present, ideally in connection with highlighting the importance of baptism’s word of promise as vehicle of the Holy Spirit confessed by Luther (SC 11, 6; 1V, 2, 6, 10). For both rites it is furthermore obvious that the ritual adornment of the sacramental act of Christ threatens to suffocate the main thing in this sacrament. Since the baptismal formula consists only in one simple line (that’s where the actual baptism happens), this danger is even greater here than in the case of the Lord’s Supper.

MARRIAGE

One of the flashpoints of recent debates in church and state has been marriage. This is true for all Western societies. While some advocate an elastic, evolutionary view of this estate to the point of allowing for same-sex unions or marriages, others have reasserted the character of marriage as one element of God’s unchanging ordering of his creation. The order for marriage in the *Renewing Worship* project of the ELCA is presented under the title of “life passages,” which also covers “healing” and funerals. If marriage thus becomes a “passage rite” and ceases

to be a church service, then many things are possible. The two people desiring God's blessing become "the primary ministers." Clergy (and the God whom they represent?) become "witnesses" and liturgical technicians (that is, they "preside during the liturgical celebration"); their "roles" of teachers and shepherds are not needed anymore. No surprise then that people attending are said to be "gathered around two people and their union as one flesh," not, for example, around God's word. Here we then have a versatile wrapper for a whole host of views on marriage, filled by the "primary ministers" to meet their needs, without, however, God's unchanging, concrete word *on marriage* being built in as the defining reality. (Interestingly, for the rites of healing and funeral a list of suggested readings is given; not so for marriage—why not?)

To be sure, bride and groom are exhorted to "fulfill God's purpose for the whole of their lives" (why not "for their life as a married couple"?). But how can they do that if they have not heard what God's purpose for them is in their new vocations of husband and wife? Sure, it could have been known by them already from their parents or from premarital catechesis, but why not use the rite of marriage as an opportunity to confess to "people who bring a variety of religious beliefs and spiritual practices" to the rite what the Christian church teaches and believes concerning marriage according to God's word? This teaching certainly is not common knowledge anymore, not even among those who wish to be known as Christians.

The *LSB* rite for marriage is a slightly altered version of *LW*, the main change being its default setting within another service or office, which was merely optional in *LW*. The nature and purposes of marriage are clearly enunciated from God's word (key pertinent readings are suggested as principal propers).

Bride and bridegroom are addressed in their distinct vocations within their common estate, established by God himself for our good.

SUMMARY

Less than thirty years ago, the LCMS and the predecessor bodies of the ELCA almost agreed on a joint hymnal, *LBW*. In the three areas we sampled, deep differences in doctrine and, consequently, practice surfaced. Comparing the hymns selected would probably have led to the same result.⁴ To be sure, in one way or another, every hymnal will reflect the beliefs of the organization that published it. Yet in the church of Christ the ultimate question is not whether such works faithfully represent "groupthink," but whether they faithfully restate the teachings of the Bible in our generation and in this way become recognizable banners of the church of all ages and places. Both ELCA and LCMS pledge themselves to the Scriptures and, to varying extent, to the confessions contained in the *Book of Concord* of 1580. The reader can judge for himself. **LOGIA**

NOTES

1. Significant portions of both are currently still available online (www.renewingworship.org for the ELCA and <http://www.lcms.org/pages/internal.asp?NavID=603> for the LCMS). Further information (ordering, etc.) is also published there.
2. See Arnold J. Boehme, "Does It or Doesn't It? Apology xxiv and Eucharistic Prayers," *LOGIA* 13, no. 3 (Holy Trinity, 2004): 17.
3. Oswald Bayer, *Promissio: Geschichte der reformatorischen Wende in Luthers Theologie*, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 164.
4. See Holger Sonntag, review of *Renewing Worship Songbook*, by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, *LOGIA* 13, no. 2 (Eastertide 2004): 44.

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REVIEWS

"It is not many books that make men learned . . . but it is a good book frequently read."

Martin Luther



Review Essay

The Law in Holy Scripture. Edited by Charles A. Gieschen. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Academic Press, 2004.

✪ The ten essays that comprise this volume are from the 2001 Concordia Theological Seminary Symposium on Exegetical Theology. They have been carefully selected and integrated to form a sustained critique of antinomianism, the view that would disavow law in the Christian life. Particularly addressed to Lutherans, the essays seek to affirm that the law not only accuses, but also guides and informs behavior. The essayists see the importance of accentuating the "third use" of the law for Christians in a culture that seems to be excessively permissive and narcissistic.

In sum, these essays seek to interpret the importance of "law" nomenclature in its immediate scriptural context as well as the broader "grace" context within the narrative of salvation history. Jesus Christ's fulfillment of the law is central for properly understanding law, including law seen in the comprehensive Hebraic sense as torah, or path of life. In that light, law should not be reduced to moralism. These essays affirm the ongoing relevance of the law in Christian life, not only because of its accusatory function for sinners but also because of its guidance as providing a narrative identity for the Christian community seeking growth in love both to God and neighbor. Quoting Irenaeus, Charles Gieschen sees these essays as retrieving the ancient catholic theme that "to believe in Him [Christ] is to do His will" (18).

The three essays dealing with the Old Testament emphasize the rich Hebrew conception of torah, which is misconstrued if limited to the conceptual framework of legality. Instead, torah can also mean instruction or even revelation. Dean Wenthe stresses the importance of not divorcing torah from the wider narrative of the Old Testament's chronology of God's gracious acts. He is concerned that Christians establish their identities on God's word in contrast to the pervasive permissiveness of current culture that affirms that the self is to define itself free of any constraints (24). In the quest for Christian narrative identity, we can look to the concept of torah as guidance, instruction, discipline, and only in its most narrow sense, "law" (28). With Luther, we can meditate on the law, "frolic freely" in its implica-

tions for life (29). Wenthe notes that our Christian identity is "graciously given in the waters of Baptism, but it then forms and shapes a habit of being that is 'in Christ.' This habit of being is always imperfect and frequently hidden in our fallen estate, but it is nonetheless real" (34). Torah and biblical narrative identity are inseparable, and contemporary Christianity finds an answer to antinomianism in this fact.

Paul Raabe emphasizes the role of the law in sanctification. Israel was called to delight in a pattern of life distinct from the pagan nations that surrounded her. Raabe emphasizes that "life of freedom in service to God has a definite, describable shape to it, and that shape is given in the pentateuchal laws" (61). The law sets boundaries against the false practices of those outside the covenant (63). Hence, the law of God should not be demonized (68). One hungers to see him in the future connect this work with his earlier memorable "Two Faces of Yahweh" essay. Daniel Gard sees the torah as the reflection of God's character in his people because the law is derived from God's own attributes and essence. Even as God is holy, just, and powerful, Israel is to be holy, just, and trusting of God's power. The law helps serve by valuing the dignity of the individual; by protecting women, children, and marriage; as well as by standing with the oppressed. Indeed, the law identifies who we are in Christ.

Of the five essays on law in the New Testament, two deal with Jesus and three with Paul. Dale Allison seeks to find harmony within two different portraits of Jesus in the Gospels, one as a law-observant Jesus, who teaches the Decalogue and upholds the torah in its entirety. In the other is a Jesus who plays fast and loose with the commandment to honor one's parents, finds multiple occasions on which to depart from Sabbath law, and uses a formula that starkly contrasts his own words with those of Moses, and he disallows oath-taking and divorce (87). Allison concludes that "according to Jesus, the kingdom of God has come and the Law must be effective even within one's heart" (93). He also points out that "when he broke the torah, he did so without abolishing it. Instead, it was a question of deciding between two legitimate imperatives, not between a good commandment and a bad commandment" (95).

Peter Scaer is more focused on Luke's theological portrait of Jesus and the apostles in Luke-Acts. He notes that Jesus challenges the law, even appears to bend the law, but he never breaks it (103). Charles Gieschen provides the uninitiated reader with a critical introduction to recent scholarship on this issue, with some attention to how the perspective on Paul and the law that

was promulgated by Luther has been set aside by many adherents of the “new perspective.” He helpfully challenges E. P. Sanders’s influential interpretation of Paul: “the Law brings the knowledge of sin constantly to light so sinners see their utter and constant dependence on the grace of God both for entering and for staying in a righteous status before God to the eschaton” (129). Andrew Das continues and deepens the critique of Sanders’s new perspective by picking up on one issue introduced by Gieschen, namely, evidence for the “perfect obedience” demanded by the law. “Paul discovered that the Law was not God’s provision for sin: ‘If the sacrifices and atonement of the Law were of no avail in and of themselves, then the Law was reduced to the realm of human achievement and doing’” (171). Arthur Just provides a discussion about law in light of Christ on the basis of Galatians.

David Scaer interprets all these essays and puts them into context in the conflict in the LCMS in the early 1970s, which among other things, included “gospel-reductionism,” the view that all of Scripture only points to the gospel as promise such that all other parts of Scripture are obviated once that gospel is established. According to Scaer, gospel reductionism would feed contemporary antinomianism. Of Elert, a perceived friend of the gospel reductionists, Scaer helpfully writes, “Elert must be understood in the context of his times. In the face of Barth’s redefinition of the gospel as ultimately an imperative, which Elert rightly saw as a confusion of Law and Gospel, Elert determined to maintain the traditional definition that required their separation, and that separation was at the heart of Lutheran theology. Elert’s approach, however, allowed others to take the next step and deny a positive understanding of the Law in life” (197).

Piotr Malysz emphasizes the restoration of creation in Christ. For this reviewer, his is the most original and brilliant of all the essays, and it deserves wide attention among Lutherans and in ecumenical circles. Malysz sees the third use of the law as the first use from the perspective of redemption, a notion shared by this reviewer. “The third use of the Law is none other than the first use without the latter’s plaguing vagueness and hostile undercurrents, without its alien character. It is a return to creation in its primeval beauty, with order being maintained not merely externally but also internally through the bond of love and trust between a self-giving God and a reciprocating and socially and vocationally self-giving man. This radical change has been made possible by the reality of redemption” (234).

The issue of the third use of the law is thorny with a lot of history. The essays here tend to perceive contemporary culture as antinomian. Although this is true, the ethical terrain is more complex. We are antinomian because we have no other criteria by which to adjudicate our quest for self-authenticity other than the standards that we personally generate and legitimate. However, contemporary culture is nomian in that humanity, in the “developed” societies, has never been more under the gun to produce worth than is the modern. No wonder the modern human never grows more secure in this requirement to create and define the self.

The fact that we impose such an inhuman standard of self-legitimizing and self-creation upon ourselves (especially apart from God’s revealed law) indicates the relentlessness of this no-

mianism. Admittedly, in today’s world, we are not seeking to conform to God’s law *per se*. Indeed, much of the American Religious Right, as well as Protestant liberals, seek that God’s law conform to their agendas. We stand under God’s condemning judgment today just as Paul says in Romans 1–3.

The third use of the law can help us affirm the role of Christians in providing and sustaining healthy community and personal identity in the midst of social confusion. There is no doubt that as long as the Christian contends with the old being, law must be preached as a goad and guide. However, nothing is more radical in this world than the proclamation of the gospel by which God delivers his promise as the resurrected Jesus Christ, who is, for the new person that God creates (but for this new person alone) the end of the law as both *telos* (goal) and *finis* (end). The most important task of preaching law is what it has always been: to slay the old sinner so that faith alone in Jesus Christ can free the conscience.

The pastoral tightrope of proclaiming the good news and providing healthy community for responsible Christian identity are both tasks that the church needs to be vigilant about today. The quest, with the affirmation of the third use, to delight in God’s paths and to seek healthy community in contrast to current manifestations of wickedness in culture, is salutary. These essays help with those tasks and we can be grateful for their contributions.

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Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict. By Joseph Herl. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. xii, 354 pages.

✪ Joseph Herl, building on work done by fellow historians of church music, provides a detailed dismantling of a theological legend, namely, that the typical Lutheran congregation was, from its inception in the sixteenth century, a “singing church.” Based in part on church orders, but mostly on visitation records and other contemporary sources that reveal, not how the liturgy was supposed to be, but how it actually was carried out, the author reconstructs a gradual development from the choral liturgy (liturgy by the choir for the people) of the sixteenth century to the congregational liturgy (liturgy of the people) of the eighteenth century, Luther fitting nicely into this general movement. In other words, it took more than two centuries before the typical Lutheran congregation participated in the liturgy, not chiefly *mere passive*, but also actively, namely, by singing hymns and liturgical parts. Understandably, this development did not take place without conflicts; hence the title of Herl’s book. A balanced coexistence of both forms was achieved only rarely.

Conflicts between choral and congregational singing took place in basically two stages during the period under investigation. The first stage saw debates between Lutherans on the one side and other Protestants on the other side. This stage is usually quite well known among Lutherans. Viewed from a musi-

cal historical perspective, it is important to see that Luther and his followers advocated the use of musical genres in church that in the sixteenth century were quite new, namely, choral polyphony and instrumental music. Luther, for one, praised the music of Josquin de Prez (d. 1521) very highly and saw in it a clear reflection of the joy of the gospel (see AE 54: 130). On the other hand, other Protestants, following St. Augustine's judgment, viewed church music that was too complex as distracting from the word. Therefore they preferred the unaccompanied singing of plain biblical psalms in the vernacular; instrumental music they discarded due to its worldly associations.

This constellation of arguments makes the second stage of the controversy of choir versus congregation all the more interesting. For then, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Lutheran camp began to divide. There are those who embraced the new, Italian style wholeheartedly, albeit with ecclesial moderation, whereas others rejected it as theatrical and too shallow. Those who rejected this style were by no means only writers associated with Lutheran Pietism; certain Orthodox theologians raised their protests as well.

Why did certain segments of the Lutheran church refuse to embrace "the next big thing" in music that was skillfully and, let's assume, tastefully composed by men like H. Schütz and J. S. Bach? Was it because by this time congregations had become self-confident enough to demand broader participation in the liturgy? Herl seems to suggest this as one, if not the main, factor. However, he only cites one instance of such congregational protest without providing further details (117).

Learned opponents to church music Italian-style were more concerned about the performance mentality among the musicians (the choir, for example, was no longer seen as a primarily liturgical ensemble) and about the fact that the new music often overwhelmed the biblical texts, which then resulted in a disengagement of the congregations: They become "audiences," forced to endure what they could not understand. The defenders of contemporary church music claimed that art is a spiritual gift; it is beneficial for the soul as such, regardless of whether the words are understood or not. OT precedent was claimed for a more independent kind of (instrumental) church music. And the "Italians" pointed to the emotional value of music: the more emotion music could generate in the listeners, the more suitable it was seen by the proponents of the new style. Some defenders of Italian-style church music therefore arrived at the conclusion that church music was simply a more moderate form of secular theater music.

In summary, Herl's work provides a wealth of details concerning musical practice in Lutheran churches between 1520 and 1750. However, when it comes to the core of his presentation, one wishes a more thorough analysis of the context of the debates, especially of their second, inner-Lutheran stage. For example, is there an inherent difference between Josquin's music and the Italian style? Can theological judgments concerning one style of music easily be applied to a completely different style? How did society change in the more than two hundred years covered by Herl's study (emergence of opera, increased secularization of music, changed role of bourgeoisie, etc.)? How did the general view of God, world, and man change dur-

ing this time? (See, e.g., Q. Faulkner, *Wiser Than Despair: The Evolution of Ideas in the Relationship of Music and the Christian Church* [Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996], esp. pp. 161 ff., 225 ff., about the transition from a world-conscious culture to a self-conscious one during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the corresponding change in performance practice.) Exploring these and other questions would have significantly increased the value of Herl's book for today's discussions.

One final observation: Herl seems to think that liturgy, in order to be good, ought to be "congregational" or "of" and "by the people." To be sure, this judgment does not prevent him, unlike P. Graff and W. Buszin, from acknowledging the limited scope and conservative nature of Luther's liturgical reforms also in this area. However, while the older choral liturgy certainly was not as "participatory" or "egalitarian" as one might wish based on a certain understanding of the "priesthood of all believers," and while it certainly saw many abuses in its latter stages, this old liturgical form can nonetheless beautifully highlight that the congregation primarily comes to church, not to *participate actively* "in the work of ministry," even "in the service" (see Herl, p. 126), but to *participate passively*, by faith receiving the benefits of the ministry of the Great High Priest, Jesus Christ. After all, the liturgy is first and foremost not the work of the people or *by* the people, but the work *for* the people, "performed" by God through the called minister (see Ap xxiv, 78–83; Ap vii/viii, 28). Being served is not necessarily the same as being entertained in a certain shallow sense of the word.

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Understanding Paul: The Early Christian Worldview of the Letter to the Romans. By Stephen Westerholm. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004. 166 pages.

✦ For many of us who teach New Testament, there is a temptation to talk over the heads of our students, and to speak in theological jargon. Or else, we answer questions that people are not really asking. In response to any lecture on a biblical topic or person, the student might very well ask, "So what? That was then, and this is now." It is to such a student that Westerholm addresses *Understanding Paul*, a winsome introduction to the apostle's Letter to the Romans. Westerholm attempts to engage the modern student by tapping into the human imagination, and recapturing what it was about Paul that influenced so many people of his time, and in fact changed the course of human history. His work is not about history, though. Westerholm ultimately aims to win over his readers, so that they can see that Paul's vision "has the cogency and depth to intrigue moderns as well" (13).

In his first chapter, "The Commission and Its Context," Westerholm introduces us to Paul and his self-understanding. Why is it that Paul can write so authoritatively to a congregation of people he does not even personally know? Westerholm then proceeds to show how Paul's vision of the risen Christ moved

him to “a passion and single-mindedness” (18). He was convinced that he had come to an understanding of how the world really works, and now had the answers to life’s big questions. He was further convinced that he had been commissioned by God to share this vision with the world.

In his second chapter, Westerholm proceeds to lay out Paul’s worldview, beginning with a discussion of God’s goodness. His aim is to show that the world is not a “chance assembly of particles” (29), but that God has indeed created it and imbued it with an essential goodness that has subsequently been marred by sin. Here, he takes up the technique that he uses throughout the book; of using modern-day parables, or imaginative scenarios, through which to make his point. Here, he speaks of a couple, named Barb and Bob, who meet and fall in love. For them, their love seems like a discovery, and their relationship seems a creation of their own making. However, from another point of view they are simply experiencing something that is a type of universal pattern of boy-meets-girl. To fall in love, according to this view, is to take part in the goodness of creation, and to experience life in the way that God has designed it. When a man and a woman fall in love, Westerholm contends, they are not “shaping an unstructured world to their liking,” but, by their love, they “grasp, affirm, and celebrate the already-existing goodness of the created order” (30). Bob and Barb find happiness in love, because God created them, and the relationship between man and woman, for their mutual joy. Thus, for Paul, and for Westerholm, God is the creator of a good creation, and through Christ, aims to restore the goodness of the created order.

In a sparkling third chapter, Westerholm then summarizes Romans 1:18–32 as an account of mankind’s “War against Goodness.” The author begins by noting that Paul has been roundly criticized for his notion of sin, as well as for his emphasis on homosexuality as an archetypal example of transgression. Again using parables, Westerholm shows that there is a kind of continuum between what most would acknowledge as “inappropriate behavior” and sin. He persuasively shows that a root of sin is the inability and unwillingness to acknowledge the goodness of what God has intended. For sake of example, here is one parable: “Ashley and Chrystal are taken by their hosts to the Swiss Alps. At the Matterhorn, at Lake Geneva, at countless other sites of breathtaking beauty, the breath of Ashley and Chrystal is devoted to non-stop trivial conversation. To their credit, they do remember later that there were a ‘whole lot of mountains’ in Switzerland, though they are decidedly of the opinion that, if you have seen one mountain, you have seen them all” (42). At the root of Ashley and Chrystal’s inappropriate behavior is not “evil” as we would commonly think of it, but a lack of gratitude and appreciation, a type of self-absorption that indicates that all is not right. From such a seemingly innocent example, he proceeds to show how homosexuality is a sign of man’s lack of appreciation for the goodness of God, and the way that he has created the world for our joy. Such love cannot “work,” for it goes against the intention of God’s creation. The created order is not a straight-jacket but a gift from a God who wants the best for us. In the succeeding chapter, Westerholm continues his strategy of engagement, and shows how God has begun to make things right in Christ Jesus. Throughout,

Westerholm remains provocative and engaging, challenging and winsome.

In sum, the book would prove a wonderful addition to a pastor’s library, and could be used readily in an adult Bible study, or as an evangelism tool to reach out to serious-minded individuals. Even if one does not use it as a textbook, it would still be helpful in shaping the way we present the Christian faith to those who do not share our worldview. Westerholm’s genius is that he helps us to think about what we have from a new angle, to recognize the treasure that is the gospel. Not that the book is without its weaknesses: his discussion, or lack of it, on Paul’s baptismal theology leaves much to be desired. That being said, this book is a minor gem, and should provide much food for thought. Read and enjoy.

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Vulgarians at the Gate: Trash TV and Raunch Radio: Raising the Standards of Popular Culture. By Steve Allen. Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2001. 419 pages. \$28.00.

☛ Most individuals think of Steve Allen simply as an entertainer. He was truly that, but he was also much more, including being the author of over fifty books.

This, his last book before his untimely death, was written with some trial of soul. Allen notes that though it is “troublesome” to oppose the “coursing of our entire culture,” it is a necessary thing to do because “the consequences of rearing millions of initially innocent children in a social atmosphere characterized by vulgarity, violence, brutish manners, the collapse of the family, and general disrespect for traditional codes of conduct is to chill the blood of even the most tolerant of observers” (13). Allen writes his book “to provide responsible adults with the ammunition they need to wage a successful cultural war for the attentive consciousness of America’s children” (29).

Allen catalogs instance after instance of the problematic nature of television “entertainment” today—from MTV, to Madonna, to Howard Stern, to Jerry Springer, to South Park, to 2 Live Crew, to Tupac Shakur, to Eminem. He notes the denial of responsibility by TV executives and entertainers, which flies in the face of study after study that show that exposure to violence, vulgarity, disrespect for authority, illicit sex, illicit drug use, and raunch has terrible consequences for impressionable young minds and hearts.

In discussing the problem, Allen invokes the word *sin*. “More and more in recent years I find myself thinking of an ancient theological concept, the occasion for sin. In today’s culture it sometimes seems that our entire society has become one massive occasion for sin.” Our technology has advanced so that in films, on TV, radio, records, and other media it becomes “almost impossible to escape encouragement to act in ways that have traditionally been the province of the libertine, the thugish, and the depraved” (107). Though Allen might not recognize it, this is how the world has been since the fall: broken and sinful. Yet it seems that evil is more readily available today.

The result? We now have twelve-year-old school children walking down the street blithely singing lyrics that advocate the rape and violent abuse of women, the killing of police officers, and other forms of social madness. “These same kids watch sexually explicit television programs, are told casual sex is acceptable, are encouraged by the entertainment media to recreational drug use, and listen to verbal crudities on the radio. And sadly this has now all become ‘mainstream’” (107–108).

Allen notes that people “all across the political spectrum are appalled by what passes for entertainment these days.” And he notes that these warning cries cannot be dismissed by saying that they come only from “the exaggerations of conservative spoil-sports or fundamentalist preachers. Even people who fall far short of a state of personal sanctity—myself included—are revolted” (109).

One of the most familiar arguments used to protect vulgar, violent, crude, sexually explicit material is that it is protected by the First Amendment, and to suppress any of it is “censorship.” Allen—an individual involved in the freedom of artistic expression for many, many years—has some interesting words to say on this subject.

The Founding Fathers and later wise jurists lived in times when there were no such things as television, radio, or the Internet. This leads immediately to the question: Is it reasonable to assume that laws established to preserve freedom of speech in the press also apply perfectly to the newer and long undreamed-of methods of communication?

I have never argued that there should be censorship of the written word. But there is an important distinction between freedom of the press and freedom as it applies to the electronic media. No book or pamphlet has ever forced its way into our homes. On the other hand, if by turning on a radio or television set in the hope of hearing the morning news, a weather report, information of civic importance, or even casual entertainment, we and our children may be exposed to material for which there can be no moral and rational justification, then we should rethink the matter.

Again, making such observations by no means settles the issue; I am concerned here only to point out that a law that may reasonably apply to the printed word may not automatically be invoked to permit the broadcasting of pornography to children (321–322).

With these words Allen is challenging the politically correct orthodoxy of today which decries anything labeled censorship as anti-democratic, un-American, hate speech, totalitarian, or fascist, and completely unacceptable. For those advocating this position, freedom means no boundaries or restrictions on one’s freedom of expression, no matter how crude, vulgar, obscene, sexually explicit, and demeaning it might be. It is art and cannot be suppressed.

Allen understands the truth expressed in the Bible that for freedom to exist there must be boundaries and restrictions. Where there are no boundaries, where nothing is off limits, where nothing is evil or bad, there is license, but there is no

real freedom—except perhaps for those who express religious standards and absolutes. The laws of God and man here agree: there are things that are sinful, vulgar, obscene, and hence unacceptable. Our secular world however no longer recognizes these things.

Allen not only catalogs the problems with the TV media, but he also offers constructive means for effecting change and solutions. These are included in his final chapter. The suggestions include the Pax Network, and the parental responsibility to watch, monitor, and interdict. Allen notes that ethical humanists and atheists as well as religious people need to band together to change what is happening and to reshape thinking about the raunchy things that now have become acceptable as “entertainment.” He encourages letter writing, the use of modified videos that come from the Dove Foundation, pickets, boycotts, the accumulation of files of improper materials that can be sent to places like the FCC, the distribution of literature, and active involvement in organizations like the Parents Television Council, a group formerly headed by Mr. Allen. Appendices contain information on helpful organizations and the addresses of media offices to which one may send one’s concerns.

This is a book that every Christian should read. Here are issues that moral and ethical people—Muslims, Jews, Christians, atheists, humanists, and so forth—are able to band together to deal with for the benefit of our culture and our children.

Christ encouraged Christians to be light and leaven, and the salty preservatives for a broken and sinful world (Mt 5:13–16; Lk 13:20–21). The early Christians turned the world of their day “upside down” (Acts 17:6). Often today the world is turning Christians upside down on such issues as homosexuality, sexual immorality, drug abuse, and marriage. Allen’s book reminds Christians that they are not alone in their opposition to the social evils of our day. There are others—even non-religious people—who share their concerns about the moral and social evils of the day. Christians need to link arms and hands with these people, not to create heaven here on earth, nor to create a Christian society, but simply to be who God called us to be—Christ’s servants to a broken and sinful world, who are to live differently than the world around us (Rom 12:1–21).

Christians have not been called by God to live in religious ghettos populated only by other Christians. God has called them to live in the world, but not to be a part of the world. Christians are called to live differently than the sinful world, in a culture of life, not as part of the culture of sin and death. Christians are truly countercultural people in this sinful and broken world. As Christians share their faith in word and deed, they are also effecting positive change in our sinful world, change that can, like the early Christian’s witness, modify the existing moral climate of cultures and nations and can turn the world upside down.

As Christians work with others, they have the opportunity to share the light of Christ and his gospel, so that others, who are also appalled by the moral evils of our world but do not share the faith, would have the opportunity to walk in Christ’s light by faith and in the forgiveness of their sins.

To all those people concerned about the moral and social evils he speaks against in his book, Steve Allen writes, “For the

sake of our children and grandchildren, and the society they will inherit and pass on to the next generations, I implore you to let your own voice be heard on this important subject" (382). His voice has now been silenced by death. Will yours now be raised? May God's grace enable his people to speak clearly and in love with all others whose voices are also raised.

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Apostolicity Then and Now: An Ecumenical Church in a Post-modern World. By John J. Burkhard. Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2004. 250 pages. Paperback.

☛ Describing one of several characteristics of postmodernism, this book's author states, "Postmodern thinkers developed a hermeneutics of suspicion, a hermeneutics that aimed to unmask the covert prejudices and manipulations of the grand narrative" (134). Such postmodern thinking is advised when reading this book.

Patrick Granfield from the Catholic University of America provides a succinct foreword to this book in which he summarizes its stronger points. The author's preface explains the impetus for the book's composition and expresses the hope that postmodernism might help churches "understand the divisive issue of apostolic succession" (xiv). The body itself comprises eight chapters in which the author walks one briskly through twenty centuries of church history, pausing in the middle chapters for methodological reflection.

Citing Paul, Luke, the Pastoral Epistles, and the *Didache*, the first chapter addresses historic and symbolic issues regarding the original apostles as portrayed in the New Testament era. The author seems keen to discuss history fairly and to allow for historical uncertainties. From a Roman Catholic scholar, this is encouraging.

The second chapter addresses apostolicity in the early churches, with the emphasis placed on churches in the plural. Familiar themes relating to the desire for fidelity to *kerygma* and the churches' struggles with Gnosticism are offered. Referring to *1 Clement*, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and reform-minded monastic orders, chapter three discusses developments in apostolicity through medieval times up to the Reformation, which the author describes consistently as "the Reform" or "magisterial Reform." The author is careful not to project monarchical episcopacy into ancient times and translates *episkopos* as "presbyter-bishop." Succession at this point was "functional" rather than "sacramental" and included the "succession" (not yet apostolic) of *traditio*, of presbyters, which he asserts was employed by the Reformers, and of bishops. These chapters lay the groundwork for latter propositions.

In chapter four the author discusses theologians (Y. Congar, H. Küng, W. Pannenberg, M. Volf, and J. Zizioulas) representing several traditions in his effort to advocate apostolicity understood as a whole church phenomenon rather than as an episcopally dominated, mechanically perpetuated chain of

ordinations. It is not likely that the Vatican would designate Hans Küng for such a role. When discussing the Reformers (Luther and Calvin) and the Lutheran Confessions, the author draws on Heinz Schütte, a Roman Catholic, through whom he explains that mutual misunderstandings have hindered the cognition that Lutherans are, by and large, crypto-Catholics (reviewer's term).

Chapter five ("Apostolicity and the Classical and Modern Worldviews") and chapter six ("Apostolicity in a Postmodern World") develop the conceptual framework for the remainder of the author's argument. Here the author explicates the useful application of worldviews, paradigms, and models to account for a variety of valid ecclesiologies. His presentation of the use of the fourfold interpretation of Scripture and the departure therefrom by the Reformers is refreshing. The author uses his understanding of pre-modern, modern, and postmodern worldviews to interpret the conceptual and ecclesiological restrictions that have overshadowed Roman Catholicism until Vatican II. His survey of modern philosophical thought would be helpful to students. He offers five characteristics of postmodernism that he later employs to promote renewed efforts at ecumenical *rapprochement*.

With chapters seven and eight the book plummets dramatically. Chapter seven reviews elements of various ecumenical dialogues seeking wherever possible to stress the apostolicity of the whole church over against hierarchy, even when this is not a central theme of the dialogues themselves. A lack of critical reflection regarding the methodology, ecclesial reception (or lack thereof), and applicability of ecumenical dialogues contrasts sharply with the author's careful work in preceding chapters. His presentation of "apostolic succession" in Lutheranism relies on secondary literature from Avery Dulles (Roman Catholic) and George A. Lindbeck (Lutheran), rather than from source material from the Lutheran Confessions or the Reformers. The book draws to a close with a less-than-convincing discussion on validity and recognition of ministries and concludes by reaffirming the book's frequent assertion that the church understood both as *communio* and as "fundamental sacrament," aided by a postmodern worldview, offers the greatest hope for a proper post-Vatican II interpretation of the Roman Church and for the future of the ecumenical movement.

In all, the author's exuberance for his thesis diminishes his scholarly credibility. In relation to Lutheranism, he perpetuates the fallacy that the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification (JDDJ)* was signed in Germany on October 31, 1999. In actuality it was the "Official Common Statement" (OCS) that was signed on that date. The OCS confirms the *JDDJ* but is a very different document (see this reviewer's essay in *LOGIA* 13, no. 2 [Eastertide 2004]: 23–32). His interpretation of this "signing" as an "ecumenical event of singular importance" (23) and his assertion that *JDDJ* "represents the closing of a painful chapter of repeated misunderstandings between two churches" (178) overlooks (ecumenical *episkopé*?) the demolition of *JDDJ* by scores of Germany's most highly regarded Protestant theologians. Further, throughout the book the author cites "Lutheran" theologians, such as T. Dieter, J. Reumann, G. Lindbeck, M. Root, R. Jenson, and G. Wenz, who are inclined, meta-

phorically speaking, to don their confessional negligees when being measured for Roman Catholic vestments. Basically, his portrayal of the Lutheran Reformation leaves one wondering why the Reformation happened.

In relation to the Roman Church, the author is selective in his citation and interpretation of Vatican documents. For example, that the bishops at Vatican II “appear only to have wanted to refer” to Protestant churches as “Christian communities” as a means to describe them “as respectfully and as comprehensively as possible” (231–232) ignores the umbrage taken by many Protestant churches at the Vatican’s exclusive definition of this term in its *Note on Sister Churches* (issued 30 June 2000). Also, in light of the Roman Catholic bishops’ citadel-like handling of the church’s sex-abuse scandals, it needs to be asked if talk of the whole church as “apostolic” meaningfully includes the laity. Finally, the book’s references to the papacy are so tangential as to leave the impression that the papacy plays only an ancillary role both in the Roman Church and in ecumenical dialogues.

In conclusion, the author’s debatable description of the church as a “mystery” (*mysterion*) elicits a sense of suspicion, and unfortunately, the author’s envisaged postmodern, ecumenical church only exacerbates that sensation.

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The Great Divide: The Failure of Islam and the Triumph of the West. By Alvin J. Schmidt. Boston, Massachusetts: Regina Orthodox Press Inc., 2004. 332 pages. Paperback.

☛ In this perceptive and sensitive study, Dr. Alvin Schmidt refutes the claims that Islam is a religion of peace. He demonstrates with documentation and historical sources that the teachings of Jesus Christ are that of love and peace and those of Islam are of violence and hatred. In a straightforward and convincing way, he compares point-by-point the teachings and achievements of Christianity to the teachings of Islam.

Schmidt shows that Islam is not just a different religion, but interwoven with it is also a very different culture. Compared to the Judeo-Christian influence and especially Christianity’s impact on the West, the culture and religion of Islam are on the other side of a great divide. It is this great divide that is documented and analyzed.

Jesus Christ, the founder of Christianity, and Muhammad, the founder of Islam, were on opposite sides of the great divide regarding the most basic ethical issues of life, love, violence, women, and marriage. Schmidt compares the life and acts of Jesus Christ with those of Muhammad and shows them to be poles apart. No two men could differ more.

Christianity in the first three centuries grew without resorting to violence as opposed to Islam, which from its beginning grew and expanded by the use of force. However, the author is fair to point out that some nominal or pseudo-Christians tried to expand Christianity’s numbers by involuntary, anti-Christ-

tian methods. These leaders, of course, were no better than the Muslim caliphs who forced people to become Muslims. Those leaders who forced non-Christians to convert to Christianity either did not know or did not care that forced conversion to Christianity is an oxymoron (41).

The great divide between Christianity and Islam is also seen in the freedom and dignity accorded to women in the West as opposed to the Islamic world’s practice of veiling and restricting the freedom of women.

Noting that it is professionally hazardous to write scholarly articles or books about Muslim slavery, the author asks, “Would these same reluctant university professors also find it professionally hazardous to write about slavery if it were practiced by countries that identified with Christianity? While some Muslim countries have outlawed slavery, largely as a result of Western pressures, no Muslim country’s government or its conservative Islamic imams have ever explicitly condemned it. Neither the Koran nor the Hadith condemns slavery” (121).

Schmidt points out that slavery flourished in a number of Muslim countries for more than a hundred years after it was outlawed in the British Empire and in the United States. Ethiopia had slavery until 1942; Saudi Arabia, until 1962; Peru, until 1964; and India, until 1976. Slavery still exists to this day in the Islamic countries of Mauritania, Senegal, Sudan, countries closely associated with the Islamic religion (100).

Schmidt correctly explains how St. Paul in his Letter to Philemon, and to the Galatians (3:28), Corinthians (1 Cor 12:13) and Colossians (3:11) laid the foundation for the abolition of slavery. Schmidt makes clear that pro-slavery advocates in American church denominations engaged in faulty exegesis, giving descriptive passages in the Bible prescriptive meaning, while the abolitionist movement was firmly rooted in the teachings of Christ (106).

Chapter six tells the rest of the story in regard to the Crusades of the Middle Ages. There is another side to the Crusades that has not been told in today’s school textbooks. The Crusades, it is documented, were largely defensive wars fought against the expansion of militant Islam.

Experimental science, the author asserts, arose in the West largely as the result of Christian thinkers who saw God as a rational being whose world could be rationally studied. Although Islam had some prominent philosophers, they discovered no scientific laws. A twenty-page appendix lists the names of leading scientists in the fields of biology, physiology, astronomy, physics, mathematics, chemistry, and medicine who were greatly influenced by Christian beliefs and values.

The great divide is also seen in the principle of the separation of church and state in the West, a practice that stems from the words that Jesus Christ spoke about Caesar and God (Mt 22:21). Islamic countries are either theocracies or dictatorships.

Schmidt contends “that in reality, Islamic jihads (holy wars) have been on going since Muhammad himself launched his numerous jihads in the seventh century” (147). What we are up against after September 11, 2001, is a satanic religion set upon destroying by any means Western civilization, Christianity, and Christian values and morals. Islam is not a peaceful religion, as all too many politicians and church leaders are saying.

The fact is that Islam is the most violent religion the world has ever known.

In chapter 10, "Islam: A Religion of Peace?" Schmidt writes:

In spite of the shocking events on September 11, 2001, Americans and other Westerners are being told that "Islam is a religion of peace." A corollary to this statement tells the public that these Muslim terrorists "hijacked Islam." But the public never hears whether the teachings of Islam might have hijacked the terrorists (217).

In regard to Islam being a religion of peace and that only a few radical Muslims are the problems, Schmidt quotes Don Feder, who has recently written a telling statement, one that every governmental leader in the West needs to ponder:

Imagine in 1940, Winston Churchill taking to the airwaves to announce that Nazism was an ideology of peace which regrettably, had been perverted by a few fanatics like Hitler and Goebbels. But most storm troopers and SS men are fine fellows, your friends and neighbors (231).

In the final chapter Schmidt deals with the phenomenon of political correctness and apologists for Islam. He shows that together they are Islam's best friends. In Western schools and colleges it is never politically correct to criticize Muhammad, but Jesus Christ is freely deconstructed and contextualized (239). The American Civil Liberties Union frequently challenges displays of Christmas crèches, Christian crosses, and the Ten Commandments, but with Islam it has found a religion it can tolerate and can even defend the reading of the Koran in public schools.

Dr. Alvin Schmidt, the author of *The Menace of Multiculturalism: The Trojan Horse in America* and *Under the Influence: How Christianity Transformed Civilization*, once again deals with a controversial topic. But with convincing evidence, he again proves his arguments and defends his themes.

In the foreword, Marvin Olasky, editor of *World*, sets the tone for the book with the question: "Would you rather have your Allah who tells you to kill me in order to go to Heaven or my Jesus who tells me to love you because I am going to Heaven and He wants you to be with me?" (xiv).

It would be helpful if a chart listing the full titles for the abbreviations of the numerous works cited throughout the book had been included. When first cited the footnote gives the complete title of the work, but afterwards in the text of the book only the abbreviation is given. Unless familiar with the many books written on Islam, one must continuously go back to the footnotes and search for the full name.

On page 171 the author writes, "And when sinful individuals place their faith in God's Son, they acquire spiritual equality, as Paul assured the Christians in Galatia." It would have been better to state, "When sinful individuals come to faith in God's Son Jesus Christ, they receive, by grace alone, spiritual equality." Since we all are by nature spiritually blind and dead, the act of conversion is always completely passive on our part. As Luther states in the Third Article of the Creed, "I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ or

come to him; but the Holy Spirit has called me by the Gospel."

In order that the readers might gain a better understanding of the fact that jihad (holy war) does indeed refer to physical, warlike behavior, an appendix containing 35 jihad passages from the Koran is included.

This is a timely book, written with a scholarly concern for accuracy and research and truth on a subject every American and Christian needs to know and understand. *The Great Divide* delineates the differences between the Christian and Muslim worldviews. One cannot remain ignorant about the spiritual and physical threats that Islam presents to our nation and the nations of the world. It is essential reading for all who want to be informed.

Mark F. Bartling
Immanuel Lutheran Church
LaCrosse, Wisconsin

BRIEFLY NOTED

Exploring and Proclaiming the Apostles' Creed. Edited by Roger E. Van Harn. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.

✠ This book seeks to stimulate doctrinal preaching by providing a historical-systematic treatment of each phrase in the Apostles' Creed with a corresponding sermon. The cast of writers includes several well-known biblical scholars and homileticians such as the late Colin Gunton (sermon on "I believe in God, the Father Almighty"), Duke's Richard Hays (essay on "The Resurrection of the Body"), and patristic scholar Robert Louis Wilken (Christmas sermon on "Conceived by the Holy Spirit, Born of the Virgin Mary"). The results are mixed. One particularly superb essay is that by Luther Seminary's Steven Paulson on "The Forgiveness of Sins."

Rediscovering the Triune God: The Trinity in Contemporary Theology. By Stanley J. Grenz. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2004.

✠ Stanley Grenz is one of the most prolific of current neo-evangelical theologians. In this volume Grenz surveys the place of the doctrine of the Trinity in current theological scholarship. He provides a readable and fairly comprehensive guide to contemporary exponents of Trinitarian theology with treatments of Barth, Rahner, Moltmann, Pannenberg, Jenson, Boff, Zizioulas, LaCugna, Johnson, von Balthasar, and Torrance. Strangely missing from significant coverage is the work of Eberhard Jüngel and the late Colin Gunton. Attention to the work of Oswald Bayer would enrich Grenz's brief treatment of Luther on the Trinity. Grenz relies heavily on the work of Ted Peters (*God as Trinity: Relationality and Temporality in Divine Life*). Readers seeking a general introduction to this area of theological reflection will be well served by *Rediscovering the Triune God: The Trinity in Contemporary Theology*.

Trinity, Time, and Church: A Response to the Theology of Robert W. Jenson. Edited by Colin E. Gunton. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000.

☛ This *festschrift* engages central themes in Robert W. Jenson's thought. Carl Braaten opens with a biography of his colleague's theological career, tracing his journey from their days together as students of Herman Preus at Luther Seminary to their current collaboration as co-founders of the Center for Catholic and Evangelical Theology and co-editors of *Pro Ecclesia*. James J. Buckley and Colin Gunton look at the character and method of Jenson's theological thought, while David Novak probes the mutuality of philosophy and theology in his writings. Gerhard Forde, Gabriel Fackre, Tuomo Mannermaa, and David Yeago tease out Lutheran characteristics of Jenson's theology. Wolfhart Pannenberg, Jeremy Ive, Carl Braaten, and Douglas Knight react to Jenson's understanding of time and eschatology. Ethical and cultural dimensions of Jenson's work are engaged by Gilbert Meilander, Christoph Schwoebel, Stanley Hauerwas, and Richard John Neuhaus. Liturgical and sacramental themes are taken up by Robert Louis Wilken and George Wainwright. Susan Wood provides a Roman Catholic perspective on Jenson's ecclesiology. Christopher Seitz reflects on the divine name that Jenson has sought to defend against the corrosive neo-paganism of feminist theology.

In Christ: The Collected Works of David P. Scaer, Lutheran Confessor (Volume I: Sermons). Edited by Peter C. Bender, Susan E. Gehlbach, Lawrence R. Rast, and Ralph G. Tausz. Sussex, Wisconsin: Concordia Catechetical Academy, 2004.

☛ First at Concordia Theological Seminary in Springfield, Illinois, and then in Fort Wayne, Indiana, Dr. David P. Scaer has taught dogmatics and New Testament to hundreds of future pastors since 1966. His teaching is not limited to the classroom, but extends into the pulpit, as demonstrated by the sermons contained in this volume. The sermons represent a cross-section of Scaer's preaching both in the seminary chapel and in congregations in North America and England. All are dated after 1980. Sermons are arranged according to the church year and special occasions (ordinations, installations, memorial services, etc.). The truth that theology serves proclamation is abundantly demonstrated in these sermons.

Like Luther, Scaer is at his best in the Christmas sermons. There is a tradition at Concordia Theological Seminary that assigns the final chapel sermon before Christmas break to Dr. Scaer. Several of those homilies are included in this book. "Four Ways to Celebrate Christmas," preached on December 16, 1983, stands out as a particularly striking example of Scaer's ability to preach the theology of the cross at Christmas. Several of the sermons, such as the sermons preached at the memorial services for Robert Preus and Henry Hamann, are marvelous testimonies to Scaer's ability as a pastoral preacher.

Pastor Peter Bender and the Concordia Catechetical Academy are to be thanked for making Dr. Scaer's sermons available

to a larger audience. Not only are these sermons models of good Lutheran preaching but they are living words of encouragement and consolation to all who endeavor faithfully to preach Christ crucified. Former students will be reminded of Dr. Scaer's wit and theological acumen as they read these sermons. Those who have not had the privilege of studying with Dr. Scaer will find in this volume a good introduction to this thought. All will benefit from his Christ-centered preaching preserved here in literary form as material worthy of meditation and emulation.

Appealing to Scripture in Moral Debate: Five Hermeneutical Rules. By Charles H. Cosgrove. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002.

☛ The subtitle of this book should cause one to pause, as "hermeneutical rules" can be imposed on the text, to fence the Scriptures in and to protect us from hearing the judgment and grace that they deliver. Cosgrove, a professor at Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Lombard, Illinois, offers five rules: (1) the rule of purpose, (2) the rule of analogy, (3) the rule of countercultural witness, (4) the rule of nonscientific scope, and (5) the rule of moral-theological adjudication. Rather than opening the Scriptures, the hermeneutic herein offered tends to constrict the place of Scripture so that the law finds its *telos* not in Christ but in a methodology of limitation or disqualification.

Don't Tell Me That! From Martin Luther's Antinomian Theses. Translated and Adapted by Paul Strawn. Minneapolis: Lutheran Press, 2004.

☛ Luther identifies the problem with antinomianism: "Those who want to remove the Law from the Church are totally inexperienced people and deceivers of souls. For such a thing is not only foolish and godless, but also completely impossible. For if you want to take away the Law, you must at the same time take away sin and death" (56). Antinomianism and legalism are twin threats to the right distinction of God's law from his gospel. Luther recognized antinomianism as an attack not only on the law but also on the gospel, for this heresy undermines the need for the gospel. While the law works to uncover sin, antinomianism ends up hiding sin, leaving the sinner in denial of the reality of his condition. Pastor Paul Strawn mused over why it is that Christians are put off by the penitential nature of Christian liturgy and hymnody, of the necessity to name sin and declare guilt in preaching. His pondering led him to Luther's Antinomian Theses. Translating and adapting these Reformation treasures for North American ears and adding thoughtful questions to each chapter, Pastor Strawn has produced a short book that would serve well for an adult Bible class. Copies may be ordered from www.lutheranpress.com

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STERILITY

Now, the prophet still continues with the consolation that the Gospel is a consolation of peace and that we should patiently bear the cross to attain that inner peace. There must always be comforts so that through them faith may be built up. The prophet brings in the example of Abraham and Sarah to show that just as the Lord comforted and helped them, so He can also promote and expand the church, no matter how sterile and forsaken and lonely it may be, even in the depths of despair.

Luther, 1529
Lectures on Isaiah 51:1
AE 17:197

PUBLIC CONDEMNATION OF SIN

A person must advise and support peace while he can and keep quiet as long as possible. But when the sin is evident and becomes too widespread or does public damage, as the pope's teaching has, then here is no longer time to be quiet but only to defend and attack, especially for me and others in public office whose task it is to teach and to warn everyone. I have the commission and charge, as a preacher and a doctor, to see to it that no one is misled, so that I may give account of it at the Last Judgment (Heb. 13:17). So St. Paul (Acts 20:28) commands the preachers to watch and guard their whole flock against the wolves that were to appear among them. Thus it is my duty to chastise public sinners so that they may improve, just as a judge must publicly condemn and punish evildoers in the performance of his office.

Luther, 1532
Sermon on the Mount, Matt. 5:9
AE 21:44

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EXCERPTS ON THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

Philipp Melanchthon does not always have the most positive press among Lutherans. But Lutherans owe Melanchthon a large and genuine debt of appreciation for helping preserve the Reformation and the doctrine of justification at a critical point during the Interims. That point had to do with liturgical matters that many consider indifferently as though all were adiaphora. But as the following excerpt indicates, they are not.

One hears much about problems with contemporary worship, but very little about the dangers found in liturgical worship. Melanchthon often wrote about the "godless worship of the papists" that attacked justification (AC xxiv, 10–33; Ap xxiv, 46–47, 97–99; Tr 38–40, 51, 57, 72, 79). His words were directed against eucharistic liturgies that contained either the canon of the mass or eucharistic prayers. The inclusion of a eucharistic prayer (that is, enclosing the Words of Institution in a prayer context with prayers before and after, with the Lord's Prayer following the Verba) attacks justification by reversing the direction of worship. Such prayers make the Sacrament of the Altar our prayer offering to God rather than God's gift of justifying grace to lost sinners. This proper emphasis on God's gift of justification in the Sacrament of the Altar is preserved when Lutheran liturgies avoid eucharistic prayers.

The following excerpts are from a lecture given by Oliver K. Olson ("Philipp Melanchthon, the Second Reformer," Lecture Three: "Philipp Melanchthon, Liturgical Authority,") at Bethany Lutheran College in 1997 for "The Thirtieth Annual Reformation Lectures": Lutheran Synod Quarterly 38 (1998): 33–37.

The ceremonies required by the Interim, Joachim continued, were provided for the sake of order and discipline. Since man was "not only spirit, but also flesh and blood," he authorized an elaborate liturgical order. "Whoever does not accept the Interim," echoed his chaplain, Johann Agricola, "is not a Christian, because in two years all of Europe will come to the gospel; it will be effective in France, Poland, and the whole world." To influence Saxony, he sent ahead a formal positive *Opinion* on the law.

Its main feature was a eucharistic prayer, re-written to exclude invocation of saints. The eucharistic prayer should be accepted, he argued, on the basis of tradition. “Many pious ancient Christians and martyrs, some of whom shed their blood for the sake of the Christian faith, made use of this hundreds of years ago and never charged that it was an outrage, as do these hair-splitting fellows.”

Joachim was seconded once more by his chaplain, who maintained that the prayer could be used when edited to remove offensive doctrinal statements. “If Luther were alive now,” Agricola burred, “and heard that the mass . . . was only a commemorative and eucharistic sacrifice, he would live ten years longer for joy. . . .” He had accepted the interpretation—a novelty at the time and a prefiguration of the interpretation of Odo Casel—that, rather than of transmutation, the mass canon was basically a prayer of thanksgiving.

The case for the eucharistic prayer was most forcefully presented in a meeting between Joachim and Maurice at the Jüterbog castle, located between their two territories, December 16 and 17, 1548. Joachim had also invited Prince George of Anhalt, still Lutheran Bishop of Merseberg, Roman Catholic Bishop Pflug of Naumburg, Melanchthon, Johann Pfeffinger, Joachim Camerarius, and Daniel Greser. . . .

Melanchthon warned that the meeting would be a sham; it was planned to restore the papistic mass and the papacy. On December eleventh he wrote that he suspected that Maurice had received a copy of the edited eucharistic prayer. He worried that Agricola would press for it—a prayer, he wrote, that could not be received without impiety. . . .

Just before the conference, his colleague at Wittenberg, Matthias Flacius, pleaded with Melanchthon to oppose the prayer. Thinking that he might not have been eloquent enough, he sent Melanchthon a memorandum and appended a collection [*silva*] of sources on the history of the liturgy. In his view, the threat that the eucharistic prayer would be thrust on the church was the kernel of the Interim crisis and a matter of staggering importance. Imbedding the Words of Institution in a framework of prayer necessarily implies the initiative to the church, and transforms the liturgy into something the church does, rather—so Luther—than something God does. “To achieve conciliation with the papists in ceremonies is not possible,” Flacius wrote, “unless they first agree with us in doctrine.” “The whole papacy,” he warned, “is in the canon.”

At the Jüterbog conference it was agreed that liturgical matters should be guided by tradition: “In the adiaphora everything should be maintained that the holy fathers have maintained.” It was an idea, Flacius commented, that in itself was enough to bring back the papacy. Prince George opposed the restoration of the eucharistic prayer, and reminded Agricola that twenty years earlier, at the 1526 Diet of Speyer, he had preached a sermon against the prayer.

If the papists are now on the proper path, it follows that they themselves either have to abolish or reform their canon. But if they want to allow it to remain unchanged, they prove that they have not changed its meaning, and you have not acted uprightly by vexing the congregation

of God and assisting in the decline of right doctrine. If the canon was godless twenty years ago, as you wrote against it, then it is no better now; it is and remains the canon. . . .

For the conferees, Melanchthon read a paper on the subject, “Refutation and Explication of Recent Sophisms, by which the Blasphemies of Private Masses and the Canon are Depicted Idolatrously,” in which he defended the Lutherans’ liturgical practice. In the evangelical liturgical orders [which contained no eucharistic prayer] he insisted, all essential parts of the mass were retained: consecration, distribution, reception, prayer for forgiveness, and thanksgiving.

In the Adiaphora Controversy that followed, a distinction was made by the Lutherans among those ceremonies commanded by God (*mandata*), those that had to be rejected (*damnabilia*), and those that were neither commanded nor forbidden (*adiaphora*). At Jüterbog, Melanchthon and George of Anhalt added their voice to that of Luther, making unanimous the Reformation rejection of the eucharistic prayer. There was a clear consensus that it belongs to the second, not the third category. It was an assertion that the initiator of the sacrament is not the church, but God himself.

After the conference, Agricola spread a false rumor that Saxony and Brandenburg had accepted both the Interim and the eucharistic prayer. Melanchthon and George of Anhalt had, in fact, prevented the prayers’ adoption. “Although we could make no decision about the canon,” reads the official report approved by the two electors, “we will continue to confer.” “The controversies about the canon,” Melanchthon wrote, “were of the highest importance to me, and I thank God, if I succeed in preventing that these impieties are forced on the pastors.” . . . Melanchthon was convinced that by preventing the use of the eucharistic prayer he had saved the Reformation.

ADAPTED TRANSLATION OF BO GIERTZ’S HOLY WEEK HOMILIES

These two homilies are from Eric R. Andrae, Campus Pastor at First Trinity Lutheran Church in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Holy Monday 2003

John 12:1–23

In the name of † Jesus.

Holy Week has begun: We are gathered around the Master in Bethany, with a heavy sense of departure and dismissal.

Mary was the one who best understood this. In her love for the Master she gave the best of what she had: she wiped his feet with *very* costly oil spikenard, the evangelist tells us, and the whole blessed house was filled with its fragrance.

Now, let’s face it: This was wastefulness—but there is a type of “wastefulness” that God loves! It flows from a heart that

wants to do *all* for him. That love is greater than all calculating wisdom, which first and foremost thinks about the benefits and advantages. It was Judas who spoke reasonably here. He gave an argument that many good Christians have used: the oil could have been sold, the money given to the poor. But Jesus confirmed Mary in her deed. There is a wastefulness of love, a joyful extravagance that gives its best to Jesus. We have a right to “squander” our time, if you will, when it comes to listening to Jesus, as Mary did when she sat at the feet of Jesus and listened to his word, even though there was so much to do in the home. We have a right to “waste” our gifts on him. When the soldiers divided the clothes of Jesus at Golgotha, they were surprised to find that the poor prophet had an expensive garment, sown as one piece. Surely this was a gift from someone who wanted to give him the best there was. This gift he did not reject, but accepted. Such gifts can also be given today. It is completely legitimate that we richly adorn our sanctuaries, chancels, and naves, if it is due to an honest love of Jesus and the desire to honor him, and to allow people to feel something of the heavenly joy of the divine service.

But the poor we always have with us, said Jesus. The love for him must ultimately always be a love for those who suffer in this world. And even here there is a place for this blessed “wastefulness,” that gives without counting and without always craving guarantees that it is to our advantage to help.

Jesus accepted Mary’s gift as a preparation for his burial, for his death. None of the others seemed to suspect how near it was: the disciples did not understand these things at first. And Jesus set out for Jerusalem, setting his face like flint, knowing that his time was near, the time of his departure, of his death.

Today, we who follow him know better than his first disciples did at that point; we know the whole story. This Holy Week, therefore, this week of our Lord’s passion and death, we do not find it so easy to cry out with the multitudes who met his entry with palm branches and happy shouts. But we understand Mary, she who gave the best she had for him . . . , for him who would give *his* best for *her*, his *life* for *her* . . . and for us all . . . ; “He who himself bore our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, having died to sins, might live for righteousness—by whose stripes you were healed.” Amen.

Holy Tuesday 2003

Mark 15:34

In the name of † Jesus.

“My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?”

That loud cry must have been burned into the memory of the disciples. Therefore it has been retained in the Scriptures in its original form, as it passed across the lips of Jesus, in the Aramaic language. It was a citation from the Psalter, for so begins the Twenty-second Psalm.

A pious Jew of Christ’s time knew most of the Psalter by heart. There were, of course, no hymnals. Already as a child, one was taught to sing, to chant along with the Psalms in the synagogue. They were used every Sabbath and in all the daily devotions in the home. Therefore, one knew them so well that it was sufficient to cite a single verse in order to call to mind

the content of the entire psalm. This was especially true of the first verse.

We must remember this when we hear this cry of Jesus from the cross. He was truly forsaken by God. He bore in his heart all the sin and evil that can never be one with God or even abide in his presence. The darkness that came upon the land was but a small symbol of the utter darkness that evil calls home and where it finally must be shut in, forever separated from God. It was in this darkness that Jesus hung upon the cross, alone. He experienced what it is to be completely separated from God and from all the good with which God in this world surrounds even those who deny and mock him. None of us can truly imagine how the Savior suffered then. He was, he is, the Son of God. As God, he could experience, in the blink of an eye, all eternity. And here he was now separated from all the good, all the comfort, all the fellowship with God that *we* can have even in the most difficult of suffering. He was alone with the evil and the darkness.

Nonetheless, this prayer was not a cry of despair, not a complaint against God. It was not a cry of disappointment that the help, upon which he had hoped, in the end had not come. We understand this right away when we read the Twenty-second Psalm and see that of which it speaks. First and foremost, we notice that here speaks a tortured person in his uttermost distress, a distress that strikingly reminds us of that which happened with Jesus, of course. The one who here speaks is mocked, ridiculed by the people: They shoot out the lip, they shake the head, saying, “He trusted in the LORD, let him rescue him; let him deliver him, since he delights in him!” He has become a reproach of men, and despised by the people. He is surrounded by his enemies. They have pierced his hands and his feet; they divide his garments among them. His strength is dried up, and his tongue clings to his jaws. But in the midst of this distress, he can nevertheless confess that God is God, saying: “But you are holy, enthroned in the praises of Israel.”

And God will not despise nor abhor the affliction of the afflicted, it is written. He is going to do something that the ends of the world will consider.

In other words, we do not hear a cry of despair here, from someone who has lost his faith. This is, rather, a prayer that is indeed born of faith. At the same time as Jesus lets us understand that he truly is forsaken of God and tasted of the utter and most awful consequences of our fall from God, at the same time he shows that he does this in obedience to God’s will, in faith in God. Therefore this cry, this word from the cross, belongs together well with the other words of Jesus from the cross. When he says, “It is finished,” he means precisely that work that his Father gave him to do, that work that in every point kept the law that we had broken, and to the last drop tasted the consequences of all that we have neglected and done wrong. And when he says, “Father, into your hands I commit my spirit”—also a psalm citation—it entails the same obedience and the same faith. He was obedient unto death, says Paul—“yes, even the death of the cross.”

In all this, we can know that we never will be forsaken by God, because Jesus, our Savior and Atoner, has once and for all hung forsaken on Golgotha, for us, in our place. Even if we

never complete that which we want and ought to do, in thankfulness and love for what Jesus has done for us, we can nonetheless know that he has fulfilled and completed all things, even that which we ought to have done. He took upon himself all the guilt that was ours, all that we had broken and ought to have answered for. He alone bore the guilt when it met God and had to be consumed by the live coals of his zeal and his holy fire. We know that we can never thank him enough. But since he did it out of love for us sinners and wants us to receive it freely, we, by the Spirit and in faith, stretch out our hands to the cross and clutch it, and pray and trust that we

also may stand under its blessed arms, now and always receiving the forgiving and life-giving body and blood thereof. Amen.

ABC+

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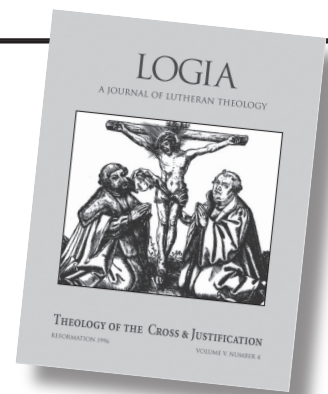
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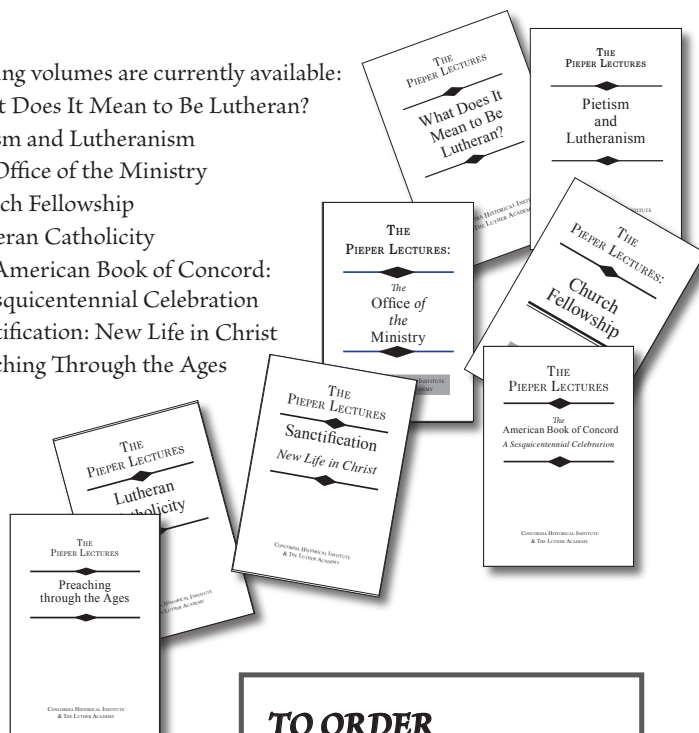
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