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### The Fathers' Faith, the Children's Song: Missouri Lutheranism Encounters American Evangelicalism in its Hymnals, Hymn Writers, and Hymns, 1889-1912

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THE FATHERS' FAITH, THE CHILDREN'S SONG:  
MISSOURI LUTHERANISM ENCOUNTERS AMERICAN EVANGELICALISM  
IN ITS HYMNALS, HYMN WRITERS, AND HYMNS, 1889-1912

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A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of  
Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Historical Theology  
in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

---

By  
Jon Dent Vieker  
May 2014

Approved by



Kent J. Burreson

Advisor



Erik H. Herrmann

Reader



William W. Schumacher

Reader

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To my mother and father, †Nancy and Robert (and Florence);  
to my wife, Kim;  
and to my children,  
Jonathan and his Sarah, and Rebecca.

*O blest the parents who give heed  
Unto their children's foremost need  
And weary not of care or cost!  
To them and heaven shall none be lost.  
ELHB 1912, no. 445, stanza 3*

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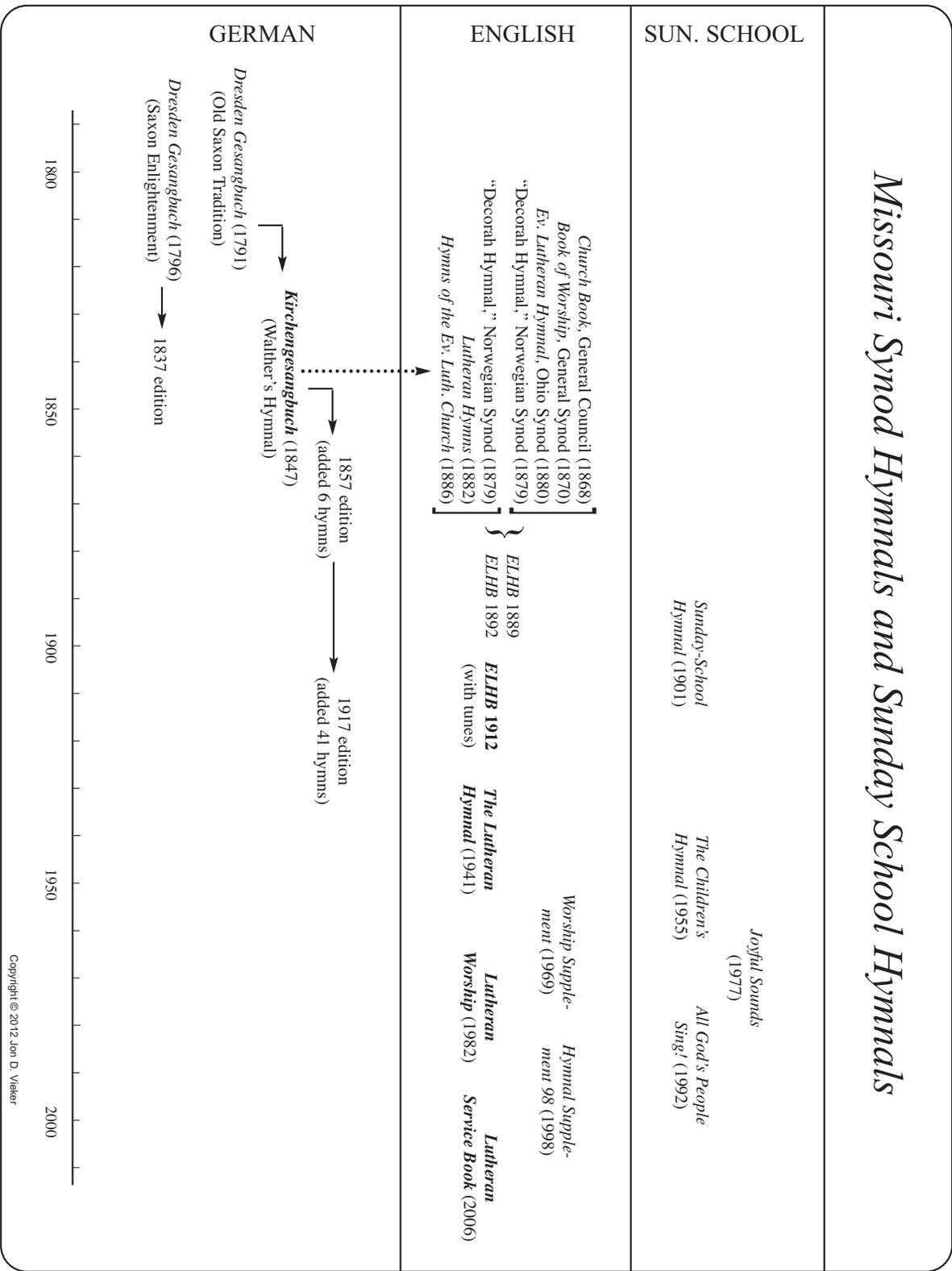
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## ABBREVIATIONS

AE	<i>Luther's Works</i> . American Edition.
BoW 1871	<i>Book of Worship</i> , General Synod, 1871.
BSLK	<i>Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche</i> . Göttingen, 1986.
CB 1868	<i>Church Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations</i> , General Council, 1868.
CHIQ	<i>Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly</i>
DH 1879	<i>Hymn Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations</i> [Decorah Hymnal], Norwegian Synod, 1879.
ELH 1880	<i>Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal</i> , Ohio Synod, 1880.
ELHB 1889	<i>Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book</i> , English Synod, 1889.
ELHB 1892	<i>Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book</i> , English Synod, 1892.
ELHB 1912	<i>Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book</i> , Missouri Synod, 1912.
Fischer and Tümpel	<i>Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des 17. Jahrhunderts</i> .
KELG 1847	<i>Kirchengesangbuch für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderten Augsburgischer Confession</i> , Missouri Synod, 1847.
Kolb-Wengert	<i>The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church</i> . Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, eds.
Logia	<i>Logia: A Journal of Lutheran Theology</i>
SSH 1901	<i>Sunday-School Hymnal</i> , English Synod, 1901.
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke</i> . Weimar Ausgabe.
WA Br	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke: Briefwechsel</i> . Weimar Ausgabe.

## CHRONOLOGY



## ABSTRACT

Jon D. Vieker, “The Fathers’ Faith, the Children’s Song: Missouri Lutheranism Encounters American Evangelicalism in Its Hymnals, Hymn Writers, and Hymns, 1889–1912.” Ph.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, 2014. 581 pp.

This dissertation offers an accounting of the hymnological sea change in the Missouri Synod as it transitioned from German into English toward the end of the nineteenth century. It explores how this immigrant, Lutheran church body brought a large portion of its German hymnody into English, while at the same time appropriating a substantial number of English-language hymns from the surrounding ecclesial culture of American Evangelicalism.

The dissertation is divided into three sections. The first section explores the formation histories and backgrounds of three principal hymnals during this period: the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1889, 1892); the *Sunday-School Hymnal* (1901); and the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912), the first, official, English-language hymnal of the Missouri Synod. It explores the role of August Crull and William Dallmann as they edited these hymnals and encountered the American Sunday School movement and the hymnody of American Evangelicalism.

The second section explores the background of representative German- and English-language hymn writers, as well as a number of hymn translators. Toward that end, it provides a chronological narrative of German hymnody from the Reformation, through German Pietism, and into the nineteenth-century. A second parallel study of English hymnody—from Watts and the Wesleys and into the flowering of Victorian hymnody—is also provided. An excursus into the background of Revivalism and the Gospel Song as well as Missouri Synod attitudes toward these movements concludes this section.

The third section provides a review and assessment of representative hymn texts according to a standard definition of Evangelicalism suggested by David W. Bebbington—the so-called “Bebbington Quadrilateral” (Bible, cross, conversion, and activism). These four loci and a variety of sub-themes are employed to explore the respective thematic emphases of the German- and English-language hymn corpuses. The ranked hymn lists of Stephen A. Marini are also employed to assist in identifying the most prominent hymns and themes of American Evangelicalism.

In just one generation, the hymnody of the Missouri Synod changed from an entirely German-language hymn corpus to a hymn corpus dominated by English-language hymnody. While the German-language core was renewed with great vitality in English translation, a theologically rich and eclectic collection of English-language hymns was incorporated alongside that would serve this branch of American Lutheranism well into the twentieth century and beyond.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Change and decay in all around I see;  
O Thou who changest not, abide with me!”<sup>1</sup>

This project offers an accounting of the hymnological sea change in the Missouri Synod as it transitioned—slowly and, at times, reluctantly—from German into English in and around the beginning of the twentieth century. In just one generation, nearly sixty percent of the Missouri Synod’s hymnody suddenly changed. Such a rapid and extensive shift in worship materials in a church body that professes constancy in its theological confession suggests a tension. This study explores the tension between the hymnological treasures of an immigrant German community and the new and unexplored hymnody of an English-speaking environment dominated by nineteenth-century American Evangelicalism. The motto of the *Lutheran Witness* during this period, “The Fathers’ Faith in the Children’s Language,” reflects the tension of this transition and has thus become an evocative departure-point for the title of this project: “The Fathers’ Faith, the Children’s *Song*.”

This project examines the Missouri Synod’s hymnals, hymn writers, and hymn texts from this period. They reveal a fascinating and multi-layered array of primary source documents. The personal correspondence of editors and key leaders involved in hymnal production also offer revealing reflections on matters hymnological. Finally, the official proceedings, theological journals, and a vast array of secondary literature are all brought to bear in weaving a compelling

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<sup>1</sup> From the hymn, “Abide with Me,” by Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847), *ELHB* 1912, no. 40, stanza 2.

narrative that explores the nexus of Missouri Synod Lutheranism encountering American Evangelicalism through its hymnals, hymn writers, and hymns. All of these data are interpreted within the context of Missouri Lutheranism and its wider ecclesial American environment.<sup>2</sup>

### **Missouri Lutheranism and Its American Environment**

In April 1847, the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States (“German Missouri”) was formally established at a conference in Chicago.<sup>3</sup> Because this new church body consisted, for the most part, of German immigrants fleeing the effects of Rationalism and the Prussian Union of 1817, it was marked from its very beginning by a thoroughgoing emphasis on orthodox, confessional Lutheranism.<sup>4</sup> However, because it was nearly completely German in language and culture, it was also marked by a thoroughgoing utilization of the German

---

<sup>2</sup> I have engaged this project from the perspective of a Lutheran Christian committed to the confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as a true exposition of Holy Scripture, which is the inspired Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and practice. Within this confessional commitment and as an ordained minister in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, my professional career has allowed me integral involvement as an editor of our synod’s most recent hymnal, *Lutheran Service Book* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006). This experience not only fueled my interest in this project’s topic but it also shaped my understanding and approach to interpreting the various historical complexities involved in editing and bringing a hymnal to publication. As such, I have engaged this project with the theological presuppositions of a creedal Christian, specifically, a confessional Lutheran, and with a methodology influenced by my experiences in a hymnal project.

<sup>3</sup> The official title in German: *Die Deutsche Evangelisch Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten*, as first published in “Synodalverfassung,” *Der Lutheraner* 3, no. 1 (1846): 2–4. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this dissertation are my own.

<sup>4</sup> E. Clifford Nelson, ed., *The Lutherans in North America*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 154–57, 178–81. Toward a definition of Lutheran “confessionalism” in the nineteenth century, Charles P. Arand, *Testing the Boundaries: Windows to Lutheran Identity*, Concordia Scholarship Today (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 24, suggests “four distinctive approaches and attitudes toward the Lutheran Confessions within the camps of American Lutherans and Confessional Lutherans [during the nineteenth century]. At the risk of overgeneralization, it may be said that Lutherans interpreted the Lutheran Confessions ecumenically, confessionally, historically, and doctrinally. In general, these attitudes reflected the positions of the General Synod, the General Council, the Iowa Synod, and the Missouri Synod respectively.” Arand continues: “Missouri [Lutheranism] embraced what might best be described as a ‘doctrinal approach’ to the Lutheran Confessions. This approach encompassed two important aspects. First, it was concerned with the formulation of pure doctrine. Secondly, it demonstrated an equally serious concern to apply that doctrine in the life of the church. They maintained that pure teaching was merely a means to an end, not an end itself. . . . For the Missourians, there was ‘no such thing in the Christian Church as mere teaching; all teaching is to be reduced to practice. . . . Doctrine is the basis for every activity of the Church’” (87).

language.<sup>5</sup> These two factors—a distinctly confessional Lutheranism and the use of the German language—were wed together, seemingly inseparably, in German Missouri’s theology, worship, and church life.

However, by the jubilee anniversary of the German Missouri Synod in 1897, mission work among English-speaking Americans was well underway. Indeed, this German church body had been living in America for over fifty years, and much had changed during that time. Foremost in German Missouri’s mission efforts among English-speaking Americans was the work of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (“English Missouri”), founded in 1872 and a sister synod and fellow member of the Synodical Conference.<sup>6</sup> Its chief periodical, the *Lutheran Witness*, carried the watchword and *raison d’être* of German Missouri’s English-speaking co-worker: “The Fathers’ Faith in the Children’s Language.”<sup>7</sup> English Missouri sought to transmit the vital, confessional Lutheranism of German Missouri to an English-speaking America. And yet, English Missouri’s mission congregations, English-language publications, and worship forms would, in turn, also become models for German Missouri as it sought to transition from German to English within a confessional, Lutheran framework. By 1911, German Missouri’s transition to English received a renewed impetus when English Missouri joined the German Missouri Synod as the English District, followed shortly thereafter by World War I and its dramatic Americanizing effects on this formerly immigrant church body.

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<sup>5</sup> Carl S. Meyer, *Moving Frontiers: Readings from the History of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 144–46, 150.

<sup>6</sup> 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. Originally the 1872 group was founded as “The English Lutheran Conference of Missouri” (12). In 1888 the name was changed to “The General Evangelical English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States” (18). In 1891 it became “The English Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States” (30). Because of the confusion of names during the period of this study, we refer to this group simply as “English Missouri” and the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States as “German Missouri.”

<sup>7</sup> August R. Suelflow, “The Fathers’ Faith—The Children’s Language,” *CHIQ* 30, no. 3 (1958): 131–41.

The larger scope of the late nineteenth-century American environment reveals at least three critical factors at work in the process of Americanization in the Missouri Synod. The first was a spirit of nativism and anti-German sentiment that took shape in several states through the overt political action of their legislatures. The most famous examples were the Bennett Law of Wisconsin and the Edwards Law of Illinois, both passed in 1889. These laws sought to restrict the use of the German language in both public and parochial schools, with the enforcement and supervision to be exercised by local boards of education. Both the Wisconsin Synod and the Missouri Synod fought these laws, vehemently arguing that the church and state must be separate and that public funds should, therefore, not be used in parochial education. Both laws were eventually repealed in the early 1890s.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, these laws show that there was among the American public much misunderstanding of the purpose of German Lutheran parochial education, and such misunderstanding was undoubtedly internalized among these German-speaking Lutherans as they sought to be “good citizens.”<sup>9</sup>

A second critical factor which played a role in the late nineteenth-century Americanization of the Missouri Synod was the large number of German immigrants received during that time. Cameron A. MacKenzie charts the immigration figures for the years 1880–1910 and notes that the decade of 1881–1890 showed the greatest increase in the German population both absolutely and as a percentage of the total population.<sup>10</sup> He also notes that it was during this decade that German Missouri showed its greatest numerical increase in the nineteenth century—from 122,627

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<sup>8</sup> Nelson, *The Lutherans*, 297.

<sup>9</sup> One observes this concern in the official 1890 statement submitted by the Missouri Synod to the U.S. Supreme Court, where it was noted “that we are willing to make good citizens of our children, to the utmost of our ability, and that we also endeavor to give them the best possible schooling in the use of the English language.” *Einundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten versammelt als Sechste Delegaten Synode zu Milwaukee, Wis., im Jahre 1890* (St. Louis: Lutherische Concordia-Verlag, 1890), 85.

<sup>10</sup> Cameron A. MacKenzie, “The Missouri Synod Accepts English,” Unpublished Manuscript, 1985, 4. Table 13, 48, indicates that the decade of 1881–1890 records 1,452,970 German immigrants—the highest ever.

baptized members in 1880 to 521,763 in 1890—an increase of 325.5%.<sup>11</sup> Thus, while the American public at large was exhibiting an anti-German temperament, hordes of Germans were flooding the American Midwest and, consequently, German Missouri.

In 1886 English Missouri petitioned to join German Missouri as a separate English District. It submitted its plan for union to German Missouri's convention of 1887; the plan was declined.<sup>12</sup> German Missouri advised that these English congregations form “their own Lutheran Synod of English tongue” and affiliate with the Synodical Conference.<sup>13</sup> This decision was a devastating blow to many in English Missouri. William Dallmann (1862–1952), who drafted the petition for union and who would eventually become a major player in English Missouri's hymnal projects, later described German Missouri's action as “a very serious blunder.”<sup>14</sup> In hindsight, however, it appears that, due to the flood of German immigration during the 1880s, German Missouri simply had its hands too full at the time to be able to take on English Missouri as a separate, English-speaking district. As MacKenzie notes:

[T]he 1887 decision of the German synod not to admit the English Conference was a pragmatic and not a theological one . . . In 1887 in the midst of enormous German immigration, the German synod was not prepared to make English an official language in its midst because its members and clergy were German and its work was hitherto almost exclusively in German . . . Not theology but the social context of the church led to the decision of 1887.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> MacKenzie, “Missouri Accepts English,” 6–7.

<sup>12</sup> Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 360–61.

<sup>13</sup> Eckhardt, *English District*, 16. The Synodical Conference was formed in 1872, somewhat in response to the formation of the General Council five years earlier. Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 260, notes: “. . . the Synodical Conference was a bond of fellowship for the synods within its orbit and a voice of Lutheran confessionalism. At the time of its organization the Ohio Synod, the Norwegian Synod, the Illinois Synod, the Minnesota Synod, the Wisconsin Synod, and the Missouri Synod became charter members. The Ohio Synod withdrew in 1881 because of differences with the Missouri Synod on the doctrine of election. The Norwegian Synod found it best to end its formal membership in 1883. It did maintain fraternal relations with the Synodical Conference, however.”

<sup>14</sup> William Dallmann, *My Life: Personal Recollections of a Lutheran Missionary, Pastor, Churchman, Lecturer, Author* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1945), 37.

<sup>15</sup> MacKenzie, “Missouri Accepts English,” 13.

MacKenzie argues that as the social context began to shift during the decades following, so did the attitude of the Missouri Synod toward ministering to English-speaking America.<sup>16</sup> By 1911, only a generation later, attitudes in German Missouri had sufficiently shifted so that the English Synod was finally admitted as the English District of the Missouri Synod.

A third critical factor in the late nineteenth-century Americanization of the Missouri Synod, however, was a theological concern: whether or not the theological freight of German, confessional Lutheranism could be transmitted into English in the midst of an American Evangelical environment. This concern became the so-called “Language Question.”

Although German Missouri had indicated at its 1887 convention a desire to remain decidedly German for the time being, there had been official recognition even as early as 1857 of the necessity of engaging the churchly task in the English language.<sup>17</sup> As F. W. Föhlinger writes in *Lehre und Wehre* just a few years later:

Since it is highly probable, judging from previous experience, that our German descendants will fall to the English language, therefore beyond all doubt the Lutheran Church has the sacred duty to see to it that the pure doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church is preserved in the English language for our descendants.<sup>18</sup>

The primary concern of any such transition was the transmission of orthodox, confessional Lutheranism into the English medium. If work was to be done in English, this was to be the chief criterion. And so, by 1890, the report of President H. C. Schwan (1819–1905) at German Missouri’s convention that year cogently clarified the issue and likewise warned of its attendant dangers:

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<sup>16</sup> MacKenzie, “Missouri Accepts English,” 13–14. The shifts in social context that MacKenzie notes include: 1) the precipitous decline of German immigration after 1892; 2) the consequent increase of first- and later-generation German-Americans and an overall decrease of German stock as a percentage of the total population; 3) the exposure of many German-Americans to an urban environment; and 4) the expectations of American society.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>18</sup> F. W. Föhlinger, “Referat: Bildung evang. luth. Gemeinden unter unsern english redenden Nachkommen,” *Lehre und Wehre* 11, no. 8 (1865): 236–42, as translated in Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 357.

It is not the English language in itself which contains the danger. The danger rests in something . . . very apt . . . to appear in the train of the English language. It is the American spirit, the now prevailing American sentiment, that shallow, slick indifferent, business-tainted spirit in which also spiritual matters are handled in this country; that sentiment which has no knowledge of the real essence of Christianity and therefore deems the maintenance of pure doctrine ridiculous, holds the fight for the one faith to be sheer blasphemy, but seeks the salvation in sweet sensations and in a much busied workery [*sic*] of all kinds.<sup>19</sup>

Here the concerns of German Missouri are honed to a razor-fine edge: the rejection of an American penchant for slick and sensational spiritual titillation and busy works-righteousness over and against the bedrock security of Christ and his righteousness, bestowed through Word and Sacraments.

By 1905, however, a sense of urgency had come to the fore in the Language Question. By this time a shift in emphasis occurred from “if” to “when.” In an article in *Der Lutheraner*, German Missouri’s President Franz Pieper (1852–1931) reacted strongly to a criticism from the General Council’s *Lutheran* that German Missouri “must do more toward resolving the Language Question than it has so far displayed.” He writes:

The Missouri Synod has done more for the “resolution of the Language Question” than have all the eastern synods combined. While some have merely spoken, Missouri has acted. She has her *day schools*, and through these day schools, the entire younger generation has become *bilingual*, that is, our children, understand, read and write not only German but also English . . . 98% of them are completely bilingual . . . The Missouri Synod is therefore completely prepared to make the shift to English—*wherever and as long as there are congregations which prefer this language*. At the present, this is the case with the great majority of our congregations. Furthermore, the *Lutheran*, is in great error when it says that the work of our church in English is confined to our association with the English Synod. The *German* Missouri Synod, too, works in hundreds of places through the medium of the English language. The work of the English Missouri Synod represents only a fraction of the English work of “Missouri.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> *Einundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten versammelt als Sechste Delegaten Synode zu Milwaukee, Wis., im Jahre 1890* (St. Louis: Lutherische Concordia-Verlag, 1890), 25–26. English translation from the *Lutheran Witness* 9, no. 3 (1890): 21. Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 356.

<sup>20</sup>F[rantz] P[ieper], “Die Missouri-Synode und das Englischwerden,” *Der Lutheraner* 61, no. 9 (1905): 135.

Clearly, by this time German Missouri did not wish to be perceived as dragging her heels on the Language Question. This is a shift from the stand taken at the 1887 convention. Whereas previously there had been plenty of time to deal with the issue in the future, now the future had arrived with an unprecedented urgency. In less than one generation, Americanization had hit Missouri full force. MacKenzie aptly summarizes:

Besides the question of which language to use for instruction of the young, American society presented several other issues that the German-Lutherans were forced to wrestle with. Among those that surfaced in our period were insurance, the stock market, labor unions, dancing, theater, church-state relations, Sunday Schools, women teachers, and temperance. With respect to all of these, the American experience was unsettling. German Lutherans sought to deal with them theologically but could not escape the social reality in which they found themselves. Hence, in spite of their German origins, they became American. Language was only one issue among many in which they experienced tension between what they were and what they would become; but there was no escaping the expectations of the majority culture in which they lived.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, we see German Missouri in rapid transition by the end of the nineteenth century. With the taste of the anti-German spirit of the late 1880s still lingering, the massive immigration of that decade now in steep decline, and the urgency of the Language Question therefore close at hand, the Missouri Synod found herself, in spite of herself, becoming less and less German and more and more American. And a major theological influence on Missouri's handling of the Language Question was that of American Evangelicalism, the dominant religious movement at the end of the nineteenth century.

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Emphasis original. German: "Die Missouri-Synode hat mehr zur 'Lösung der Sprachenfrage' gethan, als sämtliche östliche Synoden zusammengenommen. Während andere geredet haben, hat sie gehandelt. Sie hat ihre *Gemeindeschulen*, und durch die Gemeindeschulen ist die ganze jüngere Generation *zweisprachig* geworden das heißt, unsere Kinder verstehen, lesen und schreiben nicht nur das Deutsche, sondern auch das Englische . . . 98 Prozent derselben sind völlig zweisprachig . . . Die Missouri-Synode ist also für das Englischwerden, *woimmer es nöthig ist, völlig vorbereitet*. . . . Das Deutsche ist auch eine ganze anständige Kirchensprache . . . und wir halten es fest, woimmer und solange es Gemeinden gibt, die diese Sprache vorziehen. Das ist vorläufig noch bei der großen Majorität unserer Gemeinden der Fall. . . . Uebrigens ist der *Lutheran* auch sehr im Irrthum, wenn er meint, daß unsere kirchliche Arbeit in Englischen auf den Verband der *englischen* Missouri-Synod beschränkt sei. Auch die *deutsche* Missouri-Synode arbeitet an Hunderten von Orten durch das Medium der englischen Sprache. Die Arbeit der englischen Missouri-Synode stellt nur einen Bruchtheil der englischen Arbeit der 'Missourier' dar."

## Missouri Lutheranism and American Evangelicalism

The study of Evangelicalism as a worldwide religious movement has come into its own in recent decades through the research and writing of a number of historians, especially Mark A. Noll and David W. Bebbington. In 1989, Bebbington published his classic study *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*,<sup>22</sup> in which he first posited what has since been dubbed the “Bebbington Quadrilateral.”<sup>23</sup> More recently, he reaffirmed his four-point description of Evangelicalism in *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*.<sup>24</sup> Bebbington’s four descriptors consist of the following:

1. **Biblicism**—“The place of the Bible [was] always the supreme evangelical court of appeal . . . allegiance to the Bible was one of the deepest convictions of evangelical Christians of all stripes.”<sup>25</sup>
2. **Crucicentrism**—“The second descriptive aspect of the evangelicals was their attachment to the doctrine of the cross. The sacrifice of Christ on Calvary was the way in which the salvation described in the Bible was won for humanity.”<sup>26</sup>
3. **Conversionism**—“A third characteristic of the movement was that its members looked for conversions. . . . [N]early all would have agreed that the individual had to exercise repentance, or a deliberate turning away from sin, and faith, or trust in Christ as a Savior. . . . What was called ‘nominal Christianity’ was not enough: there must be personal conversion.”<sup>27</sup>
4. **Activism**—“The final mark of the evangelicals was an eagerness to be up and doing. This activism was in a sense a logical corollary of the awareness of having undergone conversion.”<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>MacKenzie, “Missouri Accepts English,” 24.

<sup>22</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London; Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

<sup>23</sup> See, for instance, W. R. Ward, “Evangelical Identity in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Donald M. Lewis (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004), 3.

<sup>24</sup> David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*, A History of Evangelicalism (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 23, 26.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 31–32.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

For many of the leading scholars studying Evangelicalism, Bebbington's four points have served as a useful paradigm for exploring their own sub-topics,<sup>29</sup> albeit with a variety of critiques and refinements throughout the academy.<sup>30</sup> Bebbington and others, however, are the first to admit that "evangelicalism is an extraordinarily complex phenomenon," which, since its origins in the mid-eighteenth century, has been "diverse, flexible, adaptable, and multiform."<sup>31</sup> George M. Marsden notes further: "Being a style as well as a set of Protestant beliefs about the Bible and Christ's saving work, evangelicalism touched virtually all American denominations. . . . Especially in its nineteenth-century heyday . . . evangelicalism was a very broad coalition, made up of many subgroups."<sup>32</sup> Missouri Lutheranism—both German and English—would find itself by the end of the nineteenth century experiencing more and more the "touch" of American Evangelicalism as it gradually became one of the "subgroups" to which Marsden refers.

To a large extent, the language barrier had insulated much of German Missouri from American religious influences. And yet, many of its German immigrants brought with them a greatly weakened, but still active, strain of continental Pietism. Such a predisposition manifested itself overtly in the Missouri Synod, for example, through public prohibitions of dancing and

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<sup>29</sup> For example, Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 5.

<sup>30</sup> A recent collection of essays in Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart, eds., *The Advent of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2008), explores the Bebbington Quadrilateral from a variety of perspectives, with a response from David Bebbington at the end of the collection. The initial essay by Timothy Larson, "The Reception Given *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* Since Its Publication in 1988," conducts a systematic review of the reviews of Bebbington's thesis over the last twenty years and notes: "The real story of the reception of Bebbington's quadrilateral, however, comes not with the reviewers, but when others have needed a working definition of evangelicalism in order to delineate the scope of their own studies. In this area, Bebbington has developed a near monopoly position. Even those dissatisfied with the quadrilateral who wish to see it replaced approach their work as if they have taken on the Herculean task of vanquishing a hydra whose ugly heads reappear as fast as you can cut them off (26). . . . Bebbington's four pillars of evangelicalism have no rival anywhere near as influential or popular and are unlikely to be replaced by an alternative structure anytime soon" (29).

<sup>31</sup> Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlks, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700–1990*, Religion in America Series, Harry S. Stout, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 6, 8.

<sup>32</sup> George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B.

visiting theaters,<sup>33</sup> but less obviously through the not insignificant number of pietist hymns found in Missouri’s German-language hymnal—hymns which eventually found their way into its English-language hymnals. (See Appendix One, “The Pietist Era.”) Missouri’s inclusion of certain pietist hymns, while doctrinally compatible with Missourian orthodoxy, generally exhibited a warmer, from-the-heart type of hymnic expression not found as commonly in the hymns from earlier Lutheranism. Such hymns also tended to focus on the themes of sanctification and the Christian life expressed in individual terms, rather than on those having to do with the Church Year or the life of Christ expressed corporately.

Remarkably, the same pietist sensitivities present in German Missouri found considerable congruence with much of late nineteenth-century American Evangelicalism. Not only were public prohibitions against dancing and visiting theaters held in common between Missourians and many of their evangelical neighbors,<sup>34</sup> but also Missourian ears, already tuned<sup>34</sup> to pietist hymnic expression, began to detect a resonant warmth in the predominant hymnody of American Evangelicalism. For much of the English-language hymnody dominant in American Evangelicalism at the end of the nineteenth century had been forged for over a century and a half on the anvil of American awakenings—from the Wesleys (who had first learned their hymnic craft from Moravian Pietists) to the Gospel Song of Moody and Sankey.

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Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 2–3.

<sup>33</sup> C. F. W. Walther, *Tanz und Theaterbesuch* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1885). Walther’s treatise was translated *in seriatim* in the *Lutheran Witness* beginning just before his death and for a year and half following. See C. F. W. Walther, “Lectures on Modern Dancing: Adapted for the ‘Witness,’” trans. F. R. in *Lutheran Witness* 5, no. 21 (1887): 166; 5, no. 22 (1887): 175–176; 6, no. 2 (1887): 14; 6, no. 3 (1887): 22; 6, no. 12 (1887): 47–48; 6, no. 8 (1887): 63; 6, no. 9 (1887): 68–69; 6, no. 10 (1887): 80; 6, no. 12 (1887): 96; 6, no. 13 (1887): 103; 6, no. 14 (1887): 111–112. This was followed by C. F. W. Walther “Lectures against the Theater: Adapted for the ‘Witness,’” trans. F. R. in *Lutheran Witness* 6, no. 16 (1888): 126; 6, no. 17 (1888): 135; 6, no. 18 (1888): 144; 6, no. 19 (1888): 152; 6, no. 20 (1888): 159; 6, no. 21 (1888): 167; 6, no. 22 (1888): 175–175; 6, no. 24 (1888): 187; 7, no. 1 (1888): 7; 7, no. 2 (1888): 15; 7, no. 3 (1888): 19; 7, no. 4 (1888): 27; 7, no. 5 (1888): 40; 7, no. 7 (1888): 55; 7, no. 8 (1888): 63; 7, no. 9 (1888): 71–72; 7, no. 10 (1888): 75.

<sup>34</sup> For a history of prohibitions against dance in the larger American context, see Ann Wagner, *Adversaries of Dance: From the Puritans to the Present* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

As German Missouri began to emerge from the language ghetto it had occupied for over half a century, English Missouri was there to show German Missouri the way to function as confessional Lutherans in an America dominated by Evangelicalism—to interpret and speak to contemporary events (publication of the *Lutheran Witness*); to conduct Sunday schools (publication of Sunday School curricula and a Sunday school hymnal); to train future pastors and teachers (ownership of Concordia College—Conover, North Carolina, and St. John’s College—Winfield, Kansas); and, most influentially, to sing the faith of the fathers each and every week in the language of the children (publication of hymnals).

While the four corners of the Bebbington Quadrilateral—Bible, cross, conversion, and activism—have become theological and thematic sign posts for historians today who study Evangelicalism, they can also provide a useful paradigm for examining the theological themes contained in a collection of hymns, such as a hymnal.<sup>35</sup> Bebbington’s foci are particularly appropriate for examining hymns written by Evangelicals, but they can also be useful in examining hymns written by Lutherans who predated the rise of Evangelicalism (e.g., Luther and Gerhardt) and whose hymns, nevertheless, contain evangelical themes.<sup>36</sup> As such, it is both instructive and revealing to compare and contrast pre-evangelical hymnody with evangelical hymnody and to determine whether, to what extent, and how these two genres contain and expound the themes of the Bebbington Quadrilateral. Of course, a core, theological convergence is to be expected between the song of the fathers and that of the children. Yet, it is from the

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<sup>35</sup> See, for example, Mark A. Noll, “The Defining Role of Hymns in Early Evangelicalism,” in Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, MI.: William B. Eerdmans, 2004), 8–11, where he examines a list of hymns in use among early evangelicals, identifying core themes and drawing conclusions. Although he does not explicitly mention the Bebbington Quadrilateral, the themes he identifies fall well within its parameters.

<sup>36</sup> See for example, Cameron A. MacKenzie, “The Evangelical Character of Martin Luther’s Faith,” in Haykin and Stewart, *The Advent of Evangelicalism*, 171–198, who compares, contrasts, and correlates the Bebbington Quadrilateral with five related points that he derives from Luther’s writings.

details around the edges—the nuances of imagery, the expansion or hypertrophy of various biblical expressions—that conclusions can be drawn and the case made for the theological influence of American evangelical song on the worship life of the Missouri Synod at the dawn of the twentieth century.

### Surveying the Hymnological Strata

During the period of this study (1889–1912), the English Synod produced three English-language hymnals as part of its mission work among English-speaking Americans: the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book* (1889, 1892),<sup>37</sup> the *Sunday-School Hymnal* (1901),<sup>38</sup> and the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912).<sup>39</sup> Its first hymnal, the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book* (*ELHB* 1889), was a text-only edition containing 400 hymns and various liturgical materials. When it was reprinted three years later (*ELHB* 1892), fifty additional hymns were added. In 1901, English Missouri published its *Sunday-School Hymnal* (*SSH* 1901) in both text-only and tune editions containing 468 hymns. This hymnal served a burgeoning Sunday school movement in the English Synod, but also functioned as a transitional volume toward the eventual publication of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* of 1912 (*ELHB* 1912), which contained 567 hymns. *ELHB* 1912, then, became the first, official, English-language hymnal of the Missouri Synod shortly after the English Synod joined the Missouri Synod as the English District in 1911.

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

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<sup>37</sup> *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book*, Published by Order of the General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States (Baltimore: Harry Lang, Printer, 1889) was the first printing of this hymnal. A second, revised edition was issued in 1892 with an additional 50 hymns: *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, By Authority of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Baltimore: Lutheran Publication Board, 1892).

<sup>38</sup> *Sunday-School Hymnal* (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1901).

<sup>39</sup> *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912).

obvious solution was to translate as many as possible of their beloved German Lutheran hymns into English. Indeed, among the 584 different hymn texts included in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912, 224 (38%) were translations from existing German hymns. And yet, the task of hymn selection soon pushed the editors beyond the previous boundaries of German Lutheran hymnody to examine and explore what for them must have been a whole new world of English-language hymnody. Their studies and explorations bequeathed a bountiful harvest. As an English Synod writer from this period would declare (citing Luther, Watts, and Wesley—all in one sentence):

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 they brought to the task all their literary skill and ability, their sentiment is lofty and inspiring, the music noble and uplifting.<sup>40</sup>

This period and its hymns and hymnals were profoundly formative for the ensuing history of Missouri Synod worship life, for during a single generation, nearly 60 percent of this church body's hymn corpus suddenly changed. This dissertation examines the history of these three seminal hymnals and their hymns within the wider theological, ecclesial, and cultural contexts of their day.<sup>41</sup>

Narrating a history of the Missouri Synod's hymnological transition from German to English, however, presents a complicated affair, compounded by the already complicated nature of hymnology itself.<sup>42</sup> Because there are a number of layers of data and meaning bound up in the

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<sup>40</sup> "Editorial," *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 5 (1901): 34.

<sup>41</sup> To limit the scope of this dissertation, this study concerns itself with only the hymns in these hymnals and not the liturgical materials. In its examination of the hymns, it is concerned with only the texts and not the tunes or settings.

<sup>42</sup> Paul A. Richardson describes this complexity: "Hymnology is a composite discipline. Hymns are, obviously, poetry and music. Each of these may be examined from a variety of perspectives. The musical component can be analyzed for melody, harmony, and form. The study of the poetic element may diverge into vocabulary, syntax, and structure. But before a hymn is text and tune, it is theology. The theology may be good or bad; it may be some mixture thereof; but each hymn presents some segment of the breadth of the faith. The study of hymnody, then, incorporates at the least these three subjects: theology, poetry, and music—each of which is quite complex within itself. . . . Beyond the study of the content of hymns are the contexts of their creation and use. There are intersections with biography, the history of doctrine, and the development within particular cultures of literature and music. There are the sociological

history of a hymnal and its hymns, it is important to examine several cross sections of data in order to compare and contrast the results and tease out the corresponding significance.<sup>43</sup> To uncover these layers of data, a “strip-mining” approach—beginning with the widest concentric circle, and then mining down into deeper layers of data—would seem to serve best. In this project, three strata of data suggest themselves.

### **Layer 1: hymnals**

A first layer of data to consider is the general formation and reception histories of the hymnals themselves. In the case of the hymnals in our study, the personnel involved in their formation are a significant consideration. There were both chief editors and oversight committees—in some cases, over a period of more than two decades. These editors and their committees brought certain skills as well as deficiencies to the production of their work. Some of them wrote about the work they were doing, as well as about their notions of what should be included in their hymnals. The interaction between editors and committee members meant that a certain give-and-take became a part of their working relationship, and some of the stresses and strains of that relationship are evident in their correspondence.

Within this first layer of data also falls the larger ecclesial context. The relationship between English Missouri and German Missouri and their missional impetus to produce English-language

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dimensions of the use of hymns in particular churches and communities. Hymnology is an ecumenical intersection. According to polls conducted in preparation for *The Baptist Hymnal*, the favorite hymn of Southern Baptists is ‘Amazing grace,’ the work of an Anglican priest. Hymnology is a historical intersection. It brings us into contact with faithful believers through the ages. Hymnology is a cultural intersection. Different styles of hymnic expression reflect not only different patterns of sound, but different patterns of thought, different world views, and different experiences of God.” “Hymnology: A Crucial Intersection,” *Review and Expositor* 91, no. 3 (1994): 422, 424.

<sup>43</sup> Marc Lâeopold Benjamin Bloch notes: “It would be sheer fantasy to imagine that for each historical problem there is a unique type of document with a specific sort of use. On the contrary, the deeper the research, the more the light of the evidence must converge from sources of many different kinds. What religious historian would be satisfied by examining a few theological tracts or hymnals. He knows full well that the painting and sculpture of sanctuary walls and the arrangement and furnishings of tombs have at least as much to tell him about dead beliefs and feelings as a thousand contemporary manuscripts.” *The Historian’s Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam (Manchester: Manchester

hymnals becomes crucial to understanding the “why” of these hymnal projects. Likewise, as those who were charged with developing these English-language resources began their work, the larger American Lutheran context also came into play, as the editors and their committees began to rely heavily on the hymnals of other Lutheran church bodies of the day (General Council, General Synod, Ohio Synod, and Norwegian Synod) for establishing the texts of their hymns.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, as the editors and their committees began to move beyond their familiar German hymn corpus, they soon found themselves examining and embracing the hymns and hymnals of a surrounding Protestant nation.<sup>45</sup> Assaying Missourian attitudes towards and understandings of surrounding Protestant movements—particularly American Evangelicalism and Revivalism—becomes a crucial move in exploring the wider ecclesial context in which these hymnals were formed.

## **Layer 2: hymn writers and translators**

A second, deeper, layer of data bound up in the history of a hymnal and its hymns includes the various histories of the hymn writers themselves and the wider historical circumstances in which they wrote their hymns. In the hymnals surveyed in this project, it is a significant datum that the editors went to great pains to show which hymns were of German origin—even providing separate indexes of hymns translated from the German.<sup>46</sup> In one sense, the fact that they included

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University Press, 1954), 67.

<sup>44</sup> For instance, in the “Index of First Lines,” the editors of *ELHB* 1889 (616–25) very transparently detailed in which of the following non-Missouri Lutheran hymnals each hymn in *ELHB* 1889 was also found (and frequently derived): 1) The Norwegian Synod’s *Hymn Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations* (*DH* 1879); 2) the General Council’s *Church Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (*CB* 1868); the General Synod’s *Book of Worship* (*BoW* 1870); and 4) the Ohio Synod’s *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal* (*ELH* 1880).

<sup>45</sup> For example, Appendix Four provides a summary of the wide variety of Protestant source hymnals used for *SSH* 1901, as printed in: [George A.] R[omoser], “The Sunday School Hymnal,” *Lutheran Witness* 18, no. 11 (1899): 82–85.

<sup>46</sup> See the index “Translations from the German” in *ELHB* 1892, 464–70; and the index “Translated Hymns” in *ELHB* 1912, 534–37.

such indexes would be a Layer 1 datum, but the existence of such a fact (i.e., that the editors themselves considered the origins of the German hymns they included to be an important matter) invites consideration of a second level—that is, the origins and backgrounds of the hymns and hymn writers themselves (Layer 2). The general lay of the data on this stratum, therefore, suggests a bipartite exploration of the backgrounds of: 1) hymns of German-language origin; and 2) hymns of English-language origin—that is, “The Fathers’ Faith (German hymns), the Children’s Song” (English hymns).<sup>47</sup>

As noted above, 224 hymns of German-language origin are found in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912. Two hundred and two of these German-language hymns were also included in the Missouri Synod’s German-language hymnal, *Kirchengesangbuch für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden* (*KELG* 1847/1857).<sup>48</sup> A survey of the backgrounds of the hymn writers of the German-language hymns included in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912 (Appendix One) demonstrates a heavy reliance on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century German Lutheran hymn writers (79%), a significant number of hymns from the period of Pietism (19%), but very few hymns from the period of Enlightenment and the nineteenth-century (3%).

A second consideration in Layer 2 would be those hymns of English-language origin. These 322 hymns account for 55% of the hymn corpus found in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912. A survey of the backgrounds of the hymn writers of these 322 English-language hymn texts (Appendix Two) demonstrates a sizeable sampling from the eighteenth-century hymns of Isaac

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<sup>47</sup> The fact that the editors of these early hymnals went to such great lengths to delineate the German-language hymns within the larger English-language hymn corpus may also suggest differing, but not necessarily completely divergent, criteria for how these two kinds of hymns were selected.

<sup>48</sup> This hymnal, edited by C. F. W. Walther, was first published in 1847 with 437 hymns. An “Anhang” of six hymns was added in the 1857 printing and a supplement of 41 additional hymns in 1917. See Carl F. Schalk, *God’s Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 129–30; and Jon D. Vieker, “C. F. W. Walther: Editor of Missouri’s First and Only German Hymnal,” *CHIQ* 65, no. 2 (1992): 53–69. In the interest of limiting its scope, this study focuses primarily (though not exclusively) on the hymns from *KELG* 1847/1857 that were brought forward into English.

Watts, the Wesleys, and their contemporaries (34%). Nevertheless, that the greatest number of these English-language hymns came from more recent nineteenth-century English Evangelical, Victorian, and American hymn texts (62%), reflects the English-language hymn explosion that occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century and demonstrates a profound awareness of the contemporary hymnological scene.<sup>49</sup>

With the legalization of hymnals and non-psalter-based hymnody for use in the Church of England beginning in the 1820's,<sup>50</sup> the remainder of the century witnessed a profusion of Victorian hymnody from all quarters, epitomized by the publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861. Thus, not only did hymnal editors have the older hymns of Watts and the Wesleys from which to draw, but they were also able to consider the numerous, more recent hymn texts of such nineteenth-century hymn writers as James Montgomery (1771–1854), Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847), Christopher Wordsworth (1807–85), Horatius Bonar (1808–99), and Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871).<sup>51</sup> As hymnologist J. R. Watson observes:

. . . hymnwriting at the beginning of the Victorian period became suddenly important to all Protestant churches. The number of hymn-books increased enormously, and their use in worship became widespread. . . . The new replaced the old, and into the new mode . . . came many elements from different traditions.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Robin A. Leaver notes: "It seems that English hymnody makes significant advances about every hundred years. In the second half of the eighteenth century there was an outburst of hymn-writing as a result of the evangelical revival in general and the rise of Methodism in particular. In the second half of the nineteenth century there was an even greater out-pouring of hymnody, the product of a combination of factors, among them, the rise of the Sunday school movement, the revivalism of the second half of the nineteenth century, the impact of the Oxford Movement, the discovery of the music of J. S. Bach and the German chorale, and the consolidation of denominational identity, as enshrined in the denominational hymnals produced in the final quarter of the century. In the second half of the twentieth century we have seen a more concentrated growth in contemporary hymnody, even more impressive than that of either the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. It is more significant not only in its greater extent, but also in its shorter timespan." "Renewal in Hymnody," *Lutheran Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (1992), 359.

<sup>50</sup> Ian Bradley, *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 1997), 15–27.

<sup>51</sup> For a survey of the English-language hymns and hymn writers included by Missouri Synod hymnals from this period, see Jon D. Vieker, "'The Most Beautiful Hymns in the World': The Hymns and Hymn Writers of Early LCMS English Hymnals," *Logia* 14, no. 3 (2005): 9–19.

<sup>52</sup> J. R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 338–39.

A third area of consideration in Layer 2 would be the origins of the hymns that were translated from languages other than German, as well as issues involved in hymn “translation” in general. Of the 584 hymn texts in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912, twenty-nine (5%) were translated from languages other than German, mostly from Latin and Greek.<sup>53</sup> All of these twenty-nine translations were produced during the nineteenth century, and nearly all of the 264 English translations in our study, including those from the German, were also made during the nineteenth century.

The rise of the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society in the 1830s–40s coincided with an increased appreciation for the worship forms of the past, including hymns in Greek, Latin, and German.<sup>54</sup> In 1833, Christian Carl Josias Bunsen (1781–1860), a German diplomat to England, published his *Versuch eines allgemeinen evangelischen Gesang- und Gebetbuchs* in Hamburg.<sup>55</sup> Robin Leaver notes that this collection of 934 hymns not only influenced a movement of hymn book reform in Germany, but also was seminally influential on a number of English hymn translators from this period.<sup>56</sup> For instance, Frances Elizabeth Cox (1812–97) published her *Sacred Hymns from the German* in 1841, basing her translations primarily on texts included in Bunsen’s anthology.<sup>57</sup> Richard Massie (1800–87) focused on the hymns of Luther in

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<sup>53</sup> The handful of Latin hymns first translated into German and then into English (e.g., Ambrose’s “Veni, Redemptor gentium” or Luther’s “Nun komm der Heiden Heiland”) have not been included here, but rather among the German hymn count.

<sup>54</sup> Michael Chandler notes: “It is impossible to estimate the influence of the Oxford Movement upon the whole Anglican Communion, and yet it is fair to say that the Cambridge Camden Society was more immediately concerned with practical matters, because its origin was rooted in the desire to understand and reassert the architectural insights and symbolism of a former age.” *The Life and Work of John Mason Neale, 1818–1866* (Leominster: Gracewing Books, 1995), 28. For Neale, such an interest in “practical matters” would eventually extend beyond architecture and church symbolism to a renaissance of Latin and Greek hymnody through his English translations.

<sup>55</sup> Watson, *The English Hymn*, 411.

<sup>56</sup> Robin A. Leaver, *Catherine Winkworth: The Influence of Her Translations on English Hymnody* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 26–28.

<sup>57</sup> Watson, *The English Hymn*, 411. See also Leaver, *Catherine Winkworth*, 27.

his *Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs* of 1854, but also consulted Bunsen's collection in his later translations of nineteenth-century German hymn writers.<sup>58</sup> Most significantly, in 1849, Catherine Winkworth (1827–78) received strong encouragement from Bunsen himself to begin translating German hymns, the beginning of a sustained and collaborative relationship.<sup>59</sup> Bunsen's encouragement eventually resulted in nearly 400 hymn translations by Winkworth in her two volumes of *Lyra Germanica* (1855, 1858) and her *Chorale Book for England* (1863). All told, by the waning decades of the nineteenth century there were at least 600 additional German hymns available in metrical, English translation than had been available at the beginning of the century. Some of these translations were of uneven literary and theological quality, but a great many of them became quite usable for confessional, English-speaking Lutherans in America.<sup>60</sup> In fact, one may observe that had Missouri Lutherans tried to produce an English-language hymnal fifty years before the period of our study—say, at the time of the synod's formation in 1847—there would have been almost no existing English-language hymn translations of German hymns from which to choose.

The significance of the backgrounds and histories of the various hymn translators becomes even more critical when one considers the task of hymn translating itself. In one sense, no metrical hymn translation can be considered a translation in the usual sense. A translation in the usual sense strives, as much as possible, for a communication of meaning from the source text to the target language.<sup>61</sup> A prose translation of a hymn text accomplishes this goal best, for example:

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<sup>58</sup> Leaver, *Catherine Winkworth*, 28.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>60</sup> Other notable translators of German hymns during this period included sisters Jane Borthwick (1813–97) and Sara Borthwick Findlater (1823–1907), George MacDonald (1824–1905), and John Kelly (1801–76).

<sup>61</sup> James W. Voelz notes: “Different words in different languages may convey many, if not most, of the same components of meaning, but their semantic characteristics are never completely the same. . . . What we have said here reminds us why translation is possible and yet why all translations tend to lead their readers somewhat astray.” *What*

Du Volck, das du getauffet bist  
Und deinen Gott erkennest  
Auch nach dem Namen Jesu Christ  
Dich und die deinen nennest:  
Nims wol in acht und dencke dran,  
Wie viel dir gutes sey gethan  
Am Tage deiner Tauffe.<sup>62</sup>

You people, who are baptized  
And know your God,  
[And who] also by the name of Jesus Christ  
You call yourself and those who are yours:  
Ponder it well and think on this  
How many blessings were done to you  
On the day of your baptism.

Yet, in order for a hymn text to be rendered into a metrical form (and therefore able to be sung by a congregation), the issues of rhyme and meter (i.e., the correct rhyme at the end of a line, consisting of the correct number of syllables, with all of the accents or “feet” of the line falling on the correct syllables in that line) come into tension with the issue of translational accuracy. A metrical translation of the German text above might result in the following solution:

All Christians who have been baptized,  
Who know the God of heaven,  
And in whose daily life is prized  
The name of Christ once given:  
Consider now what God has done,  
The gifts He gives to everyone  
Baptized into Christ Jesus!<sup>63</sup>

Such a metrical translation can result at times in a loss of accuracy in the communication of meaning from one language to the next or, in some cases, even a significant shift in meaning. This tension can never fully be resolved and for the hymn translator ultimately becomes a matter of settling somewhere on a sliding scale between translational accuracy and poetic beauty.

What this means for our study is that, in a very real sense, the backgrounds of the hymn translators will be considered on the same par as those of the hymn writers themselves. For, like

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*Does This Mean?: Principles of Biblical Interpretation in the Post-Modern World*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1997), 127–28. This is even more so the case with metrical translations.

<sup>62</sup> Paul Gerhard, “Du Volk, das du getaufet bist” (written ca. 1656). Original text established from Fischer and Tümpel, 3:445–46.

<sup>63</sup> “All Christians Who Have Been Baptized,” translated by Jon D. Vieker in *Lutheran Service Book* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006), no. 596.

the hymn writers, the translators, too, must enter into the creative task as they appropriate the meaning of the original hymn text, but then reshape the text (even at times discarding the original meaning by calling in imagery and concepts from outside of the semantic domain of the original) into felicitously poetic English. Finally, as with any theological translation, the religious backgrounds of the hymn translators may also influence their approach to the task and thus must also be given due consideration.

An overview of the hymn translations in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912 (Appendix Three) reveals that of the 195 known hymn translations,<sup>64</sup> 120 (62%) came from translators affiliated with the Anglican tradition, 47 (24%) were made by Lutherans, and the remainder by other Protestants and Roman Catholics. In terms of individual contributions, the greatest number of known translations were done by Anglicans Catherine Winkworth (73), Richard Massie (21), and John Mason Neale (9); and by American Lutherans August Crull (31) and Matthias Loy (7).

### **Layer 3: hymn texts**

A third and final stratum of data concerns the hymn texts themselves and their meaning. J. R. Watson notes:

Hymns themselves are hermeneutical acts, reinterpreting scripture in accordance with the needs of their time; and current readings of hymns are thus secondary hermeneutical acts, as informed or uninformed as we care to make them . . . A contemporary reading may well concentrate on the text, but the danger of this is that it will become a private reading or singing, an example of what Heidegger called the hermeneutical circle, in which the interpreter gets from the text what he or she brings to it. To counter this, it is necessary to attempt some kind of historicism, to set the hymn in the context of its original production, if only because this involves not individual response but understanding.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Appendix Three, “Other,” also notes a large number of “composite” translations—that is, hymn translations that represent a compilation of translations by more than one translator, or even by an editor or unnamed hymnal committee member. In many cases, it is almost impossible to determine which lines of which stanzas came from which translator, and so this study explores only the 120 known/attributioned translations.

<sup>65</sup> Watson, *The English Hymn*, 19.

Watson makes a helpful distinction here between the original composition of a hymn text as the hymn writer's hermeneutical move in interpreting Scripture, and the hermeneutical move of a community centuries later as it secondarily interprets the hymn writer's interpretation within its own ecclesial context.<sup>66</sup> He suggests that some sort of "historicism" is necessary to create a kind of bridge of understanding between the author's original meaning and present interpretations, as well as to serve as a kind of normative corrective to current uninformed or private interpretations.<sup>67</sup>

With such a diverse collection of hymns and hymn writers as this study surveys, it is important at Layer 3 to narrow the range of themes to be considered to those that are central to the question regarding the extent of the influence of American Evangelicalism on the hymn corpus of these early, English-language Missouri Synod hymnals. To that end, the four *loci* of the Bebbington Quadrilateral will provide a kind of framework for organizing and assaying the core theological emphases of the hymn texts included in these hymnals.

In exploring the three strata of the hymnological landscape (hymnals, hymn writers/translators, and hymn texts) within the wider contexts of Missouri Lutheranism as well as the larger American ecclesial environment, the following thesis emerges.

### **The Thesis**

This study examines and evaluates the hymnological sea change in Missouri Lutheranism as

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<sup>66</sup> One might also observe that, in the case of a translated hymn, the translation of the original becomes yet another "hermeneutical act" between the hymn writer's ecclesial context of and that of the worshipping community.

<sup>67</sup> Voelz, *What Does This Mean?*, 343–44, helpfully summarizes the interpretive model proposed by Hans-Georg Gadamer, noting: "For Gadamer, however, the process of interpretation is not abstracted from history. On the one hand, an interpreter is an historical person who is the heir of historical developments, including the 'historical effect' (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) of the documents he seeks to interpret . . . On the other hand, the text to be interpreted—which is itself part of an historical tradition—is distant from and in tension with the interpreter, for it has its own 'horizon.' . . . [Interpretation, then,] involves awareness of the distance of the two 'horizons' but then a 'fusion' (*Verschmelzung*) of the two 'horizons'—a dialog, as it were, between the perspective of the text and that of the interpreter of that text, a dialog in which understanding takes place, in particular, a broadening and modification of the interpreter's present understanding of himself."

it transitioned from German to English toward the end of the nineteenth century and first part of the twentieth century (1889–1912). This study suggests that the primary English-language Missouri Lutheran hymnals published during this period exhibit: 1) a sizeable commitment to carrying forward in English translation the German Lutheran hymnody of Missouri’s existing hymnic tradition as well as 2) a substantial incorporation of and dependence on the hymnody used by a majority of American Evangelicals and other nineteenth-century Protestants.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, by examining the hymn texts of these hymnals in light of the four corners of the Bebbington Quadrilateral, this study explores the nuances and shifts in theological expression between the German- and English-language hymn texts and thereby suggests the extent to which the core theological values of American Evangelicalism exerted influence on the hymnody of the Missouri Synod during this period of transition from German to English.<sup>69</sup>

Ecclesially, the hymns and hymnals selected as sources from this period demonstrate a broad and eclectic approach that stretched considerably the hymnological boundaries observed during Missouri’s period of German hymn selection. Culturally, the flowering of nineteenth-century Victorian hymnody and hymn singing, the rise of the “Gilded Age,” and English Missouri’s interaction with the American Sunday school movement and reaction to Revivalism and its Gospel Song—all suggest a Missouri Lutheranism engaged with and reacting to the American religious culture in which it lived and breathed.<sup>70</sup> Theologically, a latent spirit of Pietism, already present in a portion of Missouri’s German hymnody, provided a resonance with many of the English-language hymns of American Evangelicalism, thus creating an openness

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<sup>68</sup> See above, pages 16–22.

<sup>69</sup> See above, page 9. To clarify, the Bebbington Quadrilateral will be employed only as a tool for exploring the thematic emphases of selected hymn texts in Chapter Seven.

<sup>70</sup> See below, Chapters Three, Five, and Six.

toward their acceptance into Missouri's piety and worship life.<sup>71</sup> When viewed together, these hymnals and their hymns, within their various contexts, suggest a far-reaching transformation of Missouri Lutheran hymnody through a process of ecclesial Americanization via an incorporation of American evangelical hymnic expressions.

### **The Status of the Question in the Context of Current Scholarship**

Very little of Missouri Synod historiography has focused specifically on its worship life and forms.<sup>72</sup> Two studies from the 1960s examine the history of hymnals in the Missouri Synod. In his STM Thesis, James L. Brauer provides a survey of Missouri Synod hymnals from 1847 through 1941.<sup>73</sup> Brauer's study is concerned primarily with providing a descriptive narrative of the materials and individuals involved in the formation of these hymnals, but not in relation to the wider context of the hymns, hymnals, and theological movements of other Lutheran or Christian bodies in the United States. A second study, by Carl F. Schalk, concerns itself primarily with the period of German-language hymnals in the Missouri Synod.<sup>74</sup> Schalk's study highlights the

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<sup>71</sup> See above, pages 10–11; see below, Chapter Five.

<sup>72</sup> At the doctoral level, no studies specifically on hymnody or liturgy from our period were found. Other studies examined include: 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" (STM Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1972); Glen Kenneth Johnson, "August Crull's Contribution to the Missouri Synod" (STM Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1961); Mark C. Kufahl, "The Consensus of Pure Lutheran Liturgies: A Comparison and Analysis of the First German and First English Service Orders of Holy Communion in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod" (STM Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1995); David N. Emmrich, "The Transition from German to English in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod: A Study in Fear" (MA Thesis, St. Cloud State University, 1999); Robert Marvin Toepper, "'The Fathers' Faith—the Children's Language': The Transition of the Missouri Synod from German to English" (MA Thesis, Washington University, 1967); Leonard William Heidemann, "Acceptance of the English Language in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod" (MS Thesis, Iowa State College, 1950); and Warren Dean Steckelberg, *Lutheran Rites in North America: An Annotated Bibliography of the Hymnals, Altar Books, and Selected Manuals Produced by or for Lutherans in North America from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1990), microfiche.

<sup>73</sup> James L. Brauer, "The Hymnals of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod" (STM Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1967).

<sup>74</sup> Carl Schalk, *The Roots of Hymnody in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*, Church Music Pamphlet Series, no. 2 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965).

influence that Missouri's German hymnody had on the English-language hymnals that followed but deals with the transition from German to English hymnody in only a brief concluding chapter.

In the 1990s, Schalk provided a more comprehensive study of the most significant Lutheran hymnals in America from Henry Melchior Muehlenberg (1711–87) to 1993. Schalk's *God's Song in a New Land*<sup>75</sup> and its companion volume *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody*<sup>76</sup> briefly examine dozens of American Lutheran hymnals within the broader historical and theological context of American Lutheranism during each period. Schalk weaves a cogent and engaging narrative as he traces the contours of the "big picture" of Lutheran hymnals in America, comparing and contrasting each hymnal with those that came before and briefly exploring how each hymnal fits into the larger contours of its surrounding ecclesial environment.

Methodologically, one of the unique features of Schalk's study is that it employs a list of *Kernlieder* ("core hymns") from the Babst *Gesangbuch* of 1545<sup>77</sup> (the last Lutheran hymnal for which Luther wrote a preface) as a kind of plumb line for comparing the hymnals of different periods.<sup>78</sup> Schalk notes:

A comparison of a representative selection of hymns from the Babst hymnbook with their appearance or non-appearance in the various Lutheran hymnbooks used in America provides an interesting reflection of how this body of hymnody—considered to be normative for Lutheran congregational song in the 16<sup>th</sup> century—fared in the succeeding periods of American Lutheran history.<sup>79</sup>

The underlying assumption in making such a comparison is that the higher the concentration of

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<sup>75</sup> Carl F. Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995).

<sup>76</sup> Carl F. Schalk, *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1996).

<sup>77</sup> *Geystliche Lieder. Mit Einer Newen Vorrhede, D. Mart. Luth. . . .* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1545).

<sup>78</sup> Schalk notes: "As to its hymnic content, the Babst hymnal reflected the most significant and representative consensus regarding a Reformation 'core' of evangelical hymnody (*Kernlieder*) that the 16<sup>th</sup> century produced and which was considered normative for Lutheran congregational song through the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century." *God's Song in a New Land*, 26.

German *Kernlieder* in a particular hymnal, the greater the confessional strength and vitality of that hymnal.

The problem with Schalk's *Kernlieder* comparison approach, however, is that it would appear to work best as a plumb line for German hymnody, but even then, not entirely. A hymnal could contain a high level of *Kernlieder* but still be theologically weak. For instance, Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen's *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* of 1741 contained just as many *Kernlieder* as C. F. W. Walther's *KELG* 1847/1857; yet Freylinghausen's hymnal was clearly a pietist hymnal, and Walther's was not. Thus, the level of *Kernlieder* in a Lutheran hymnal may tell only part of the story (in certain or even most cases) but may not tell enough of the story to provide an adequate picture. This may be even more the case when it comes to measuring the number of German *Kernlieder* in English-language hymnals, and it does not at all address the question of how to measure the theological vitality of the non-Lutheran, English-language hymnody included in American Lutheran hymnals.

In terms of its historical scope, Schalk's study is concerned with surveying the breadth of American Lutheran hymnody over a period of more than two centuries. Because of its broad, overarching scope, Schalk's study is not designed to provide a great amount of historical detail regarding any particular period or hymnal, nor much of an emphasis on close readings of hymn texts to inform the development of his narrative or conclusions. As such, Schalk devotes only a few pages of broadly descriptive narrative to the hymnals and period under consideration for this dissertation.

Regarding the Americanization of the Missouri Synod, very little has been written. Leland R. Stevens examines the process of Americanization in the Missouri Synod during the period of

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<sup>79</sup> Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land*, 188, n. 17.

1882–1949, as viewed through the pages of Missouri’s lay-periodical, the *Lutheran Witness*.

Taking a cue from sociologist Will Herberg’s *Protestant–Catholic–Jew*,<sup>80</sup> Stevens notes that:

The Americanizing process is linked with the strengthening of religious associations. One could be loyal to strong religious convictions, even so distinct that one would be separated from American religion in common, and still feel American—sharing in common American spirit and other values beyond the religious. The editors of the *Lutheran Witness* provide many reference points for a description of the Americanizing process as reflected within their magazine.<sup>81</sup>

The core of Stevens’s methodology involves a review of scores of volumes of the *Lutheran Witness*, from its inception in 1882 through World War II. As a presupposition, he suggests that the various *Witness* editors over the years played a significant role in the Americanization process of the Missouri Synod through the editorial choices they made. He then conducts a content analysis of a sizeable sampling of *Witness* volumes, measuring column inches according to topic and thereby determining statistically the editorial priorities of the editors. He uses these findings to provide the major themes and points of focus for the historical narrative that he then constructs.

Stevens’ study, however, exhibits a preference for viewing the process of the Americanization of the Missouri Synod primarily according to the social and political events referenced on the pages of the *Witness*. The central movements and events of American social and cultural history—“women’s suffrage,” “temperance and prohibition,” “labor, wages, and reform movements,” “The Great War”—predominate his narrative over against a more rigorous examination of the theological movements and discussions of the day. While Stevens’ approach is helpful in identifying some of the social and cultural factors at play in the Americanization of the Missouri Synod, his study was not designed primarily to shed light on the theological shifts and

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<sup>80</sup> Will Herberg, *Protestant–Catholic–Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955).

<sup>81</sup> Leland Robert Stevens, “The Americanization of the Missouri Synod as Reflected within the *Lutheran Witness*” (Ph.D. Dissertation, St. Louis University, 1986), 3.

discussions that occurred during this period.

The studies of Brauer and Schalk describe the larger picture of the history of hymnals in the Missouri Synod and American Lutheranism. Stevens' study examines the Americanization of the Missouri Synod in light of political and social events during its history. This dissertation, however, examines in far greater detail a much smaller portion of the larger periods covered by Schalk and Brauer, and it seeks to trace the development of the English-language hymnals during this shorter period within their larger ecclesial and theological contexts. In contrast to Stevens, this dissertation provides additional insight into the Americanization of the Missouri Synod by focusing on the marked change in hymnody during this period (as compared to social and political change) and the corresponding theological shifts in focus that are in evidence.

### **The Research Methodology**

The study, interpretation, and exposition of original texts and primary source documents is at the heart of the research methodology for this dissertation. First printings or very early printings of *ELHB* 1889, *ELHB* 1892, *SSH* 1901, and *ELHB* 1912 were located at either Concordia Historical Institute, Concordia Publishing House, or Concordia Seminary Library. These earliest editions were digitally scanned and reproduced for use in this project.

Concordia Historical Institute also contains a wealth of personal correspondence and other archival materials from many of the key figures in these early hymnal projects. Twenty-one boxes of material on William Dallmann and one box on August Crull (1845–1923) were carefully reviewed. As a result, a series of very early letters (1888–92) between Crull and Dallmann was isolated, transcribed from old German handwriting, and translated into English. They reveal a lively discussion related to the editorial responsibilities and roles of these two figures and others on the editorial committee in the development and publication of *ELHB* 1889 and *ELHB* 1892.

Various additional collections at Concordia Historical Institute were also explored, especially as their subjects were referenced in the Crull and Dallmann collections.

Other primary sources available included the convention proceedings of English Missouri from 1888–1911 and, where applicable, of German Missouri. These official documents were useful in developing a chronology, identifying key individuals involved in the development of these hymnals, and providing insight as to official rationales for the publication of these English-language worship resources.

The chief Missouri Lutheran periodicals of this period also served as primary source documents, including the *Lutheran Witness* (1882–1915), *Der Lutheraner* (1883–1915), *Lehre und Wehre* (1883–1915), and *Theological Quarterly* (1897–1915). The *Lutheran Witness*, in particular, provided a wealth of data regarding the formation histories of the hymnals under investigation, especially *SSH* 1901. In this case, for instance, it is remarkable just how forthcoming the editors were in making transparent the process of content selection. (See Appendix Four.) The German periodicals, *Der Lutheraner* and *Lehre und Wehre*, provided the perspective of German Missouri on the work of English Missouri, as well as descriptions of their own modest contributions in the area of English-language worship resources.

The use of secondary literature was important in exploring the backgrounds of the various hymn writers and translators. In addition to the usual hymnal commentaries, a number of specialized volumes on various periods of German and English hymnody, hymn writers, and hymn translators provided helpful thematic and historical commentary. Secondary literature was also important in examining the American Sunday School Movement, American Evangelicalism, Revivalism, the Gospel Song, and their connections to and influences on the hymnals and hymns in our study.

The use of hymnal and hymn databases was critical in assessing a number of areas where large amounts of disparate information (e.g., hymn titles, authors, hymnal sources, etc.) had to be tallied and accounted for. A specific database was developed for this project and became extremely useful in determining the number of hymns under investigation, their authorship and translation, occurrence in non-Missouri Lutheran hymnals, and for assessing various thematic emphases.<sup>82</sup> A second available database was the *Dictionary of North American Hymnology*, “a comprehensive master bibliography and index of hymn collections published in the United States and Canada from 1640 to 1978.”<sup>83</sup> This database was useful, for instance, in providing leads on the authorship for a number of the hymns in *SSH* 1901 (which does not provide attributed authorship for any of its hymns or tunes), as well as for assessing the publication history of specific hymns or of specific hymn writers associated with American Evangelicalism.

A third database, Stephen Marini’s American Protestant Hymns Database, includes the first lines of hymns from the indexes of more than 175 prominent evangelical hymnals published in the United States between 1737 and 1970. Although this database was not made directly available for this project, several ranked hymn lists derived by Marini and others from this database were useful in determining a list of the most popular hymns printed in evangelical hymnals during the nineteenth century.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> This database may be useful to others who are examining the hymns and hymnals of this period. See, for example, the recent translation of *KELG 1847: Walther’s Hymnal: Church Hymnbook for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession*, trans. Matthew Carver (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2012).

<sup>83</sup> Hymn Society of North America and Canada, “Dictionary of North American Hymnology: Overview and History,” <http://dnah.org/About01.html> [accessed March 19, 2009]. This database has since been updated and expanded and is available online at <http://www.hymnary.org> [accessed July 12, 2012].

<sup>84</sup> Stephen A. Marini, “American Protestant Hymns Project: A Ranked List of Most Frequently Printed Hymns, 1737–1960,” in *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, ed. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 251–64; Stephen A. Marini, “Hymnody and History: Early American Evangelical Hymns as Sacred Music,” in *Music in American Religious Experience*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith L. Blumhofer, and Maria M. Chow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 123–54; and Stephen Marini, “From Classical to Modern:

This study engages a wide variety of primary sources. The various letters, journal articles, and other writings from this period are examined according to established historiographical methods, utilizing a generally diachronic approach. A variety of approaches are used to explore representative hymn texts in this study, including literary, theological, and rhetorical analyses of their intertextual relationships. In this way, a broad and comprehensive analysis of the ideas and events behind something as complex as the formation and subject matter of a church body's hymnals, hymn writers, and hymns are presented.

One area in which the data from this project will not provide insight is that of actual hymn usage during this period—whether among American Evangelicals or among Missouri Lutherans. This lacunae is due in large part to the fact that data on congregational hymn usage during this period are scattered at best, and in most cases, nonexistent. Instead, this project has focused on assessing the formation histories of these hymnals, the backgrounds of their hymns and hymn writers, and the thematic content of their hymns—rather than on how the hymnals and their hymns were eventually used within specific communities. As a result, the data assessed in this project come primarily from the perspective of those in positions of leadership—the hymnal editors, periodical editors and writers, synodical leaders, etc., and the editorial and theological choices they made—rather than from the perspective of the congregations and their members who actually used these hymnals week after week. This judicious limitation in the scope of the project should be kept in mind when considering the results of this study.

### **The Plan of the Dissertation**

The dissertation consists of three main sections, each corresponding to the three strata of

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Hymnody and the Development of American Evangelicalism, 1737–1970,” in *Singing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Hymnody in the History of North American Protestantism*, ed. Edith L. Blumhofer and Mark A. Noll (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 1–38.

data articulated above. The first chapter of Part I examines the basic formation histories of *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912. It traces the seminal role of August Crull in proposing the publication of and selecting the hymns for *ELHB* 1889, as well as the role of William Dallmann and other committee members in the revisions of *ELHB* 1892. Special attention is also given to the non-Missouri Lutheran hymnals that were used as sources for *ELHB* 1889. The twenty-year struggle to update *ELHB* 1892 (especially to provide a tune edition) is then explored, as the work of various appointed committees, headed mostly by William Dallmann, slowly made progress toward the publication of *ELHB* 1912. The incorporation of the English Synod into the Missouri Synod in 1911 and the advent of *ELHB* 1912 a year later signaled a watershed moment for Missouri's hymnological history, as well as its transition from German to English. Initial reviews and reactions to the publication of *ELHB* 1912 provide at least a partial assessment of its reception history.

A second chapter in Part I examines the formation history of *SSH* 1901 and the almost single-handed editorship of William Dallmann. The influence of the American Sunday School Movement (and the English Synod's adaptation of it), the genre of the Sunday school hymnal, and the English Synod's stated purposes for producing a Sunday school hymnal are explored. Reviews and reactions to the publication of *SSH* 1901 provide at least an initial assessment of its reception history. A survey of the contents and sources used in compiling *SSH* 1901 reveal a broadly ecumenical approach to hymn selection, much more so than with *ELHB* 1889/1892.<sup>85</sup> Finally, the transitional role of *SSH* 1901 between *ELHB* 1892 and *ELHB* 1912 is also examined.

Part II of the dissertation consists of three chapters exploring the backgrounds of the hymn

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<sup>85</sup> 330 of the 468 hymns in *SSH* 1901 do not appear in either *ELHB* 1889/1892 or *ELHB* 1912. The texts as well as the hymn writer/translator backgrounds of these 330 extra hymns are therefore not included in this study because, by and large, they reflect the narrower Sunday school emphasis of this collection and would tend to skew the results of our study. There are, however, a handful of hymns from the American Evangelical Gospel Song tradition in *SSH* 1901,

writers and translators included in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912. The first of these three chapters provides a survey of those German-language hymn writers whose hymns were included in these hymnals and offers snapshots of representative hymn writers within an integrated historical narrative of German-language hymnody. Consideration of which hymns were carried over from German Missouri's *KELG* 1847/1857, as well as an analysis of overarching patterns and trends, is also provided.

A second chapter does much the same with the English-language hymn writers whose hymns were included in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912, providing snapshots of representative hymn writers and translators within an integrated historical narrative of English-language hymnody. This chapter also gives attention to the various translators, their place in the nineteenth-century hymn explosion, and their critical role in bringing Missouri's German hymnody into English.

A third chapter in Part II focuses on the influence of Revivalism and the Gospel Song on the hymns of *ELHB* 1889/1892, *SSH* 1901, and *ELHB* 1912. This chapter tries to answer the question as to why one of the most staunchly confessional Lutheran church bodies in America would find itself including in its hymnals some of the songs of the most prominent Evangelical revivalists of their day. Revivalism in its American context, the Revivalism and Gospel Song of Dwight L. Moody and Ira Sankey, and Missouri Lutheran attitudes toward Revivalism and the Gospel Song as articulated in its chief periodicals are all explored.

Part III of the dissertation consists of a single chapter that provides a close reading and theological analysis of representative hymn texts from *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912. The hymn samples used in this final chapter are derived from the German- and English-language

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which will receive due consideration in Chapter Three.

hymn corpuses isolated in Chapter Two. The most prominent hymns from Marini's ranked hymn lists are preferenced from the English-language hymn corpus. In order to explore the influence of American Evangelicalism on the theology of these hymnals, this chapter focuses in particular on the four theological *loci* of the "Bebbington Quadrilateral": 1) Bible; 2) cross; 3) conversion; and 4) activism. As these themes and subthemes are explored, this chapter also takes into account the "rubrics" or section headings under which the selected hymns were included, as well as appropriate historical background on the hymn or relevant commentary from Missouri periodicals of the day. In this way, the language of the German- and English-language hymns will be compared and contrasted in order to demonstrate in what ways the English-language hymnody converged with, diverged from, or was appropriated into the existing German Missouri hymn canon.

At a doctoral level, no specific study of Missouri Synod hymns and hymnals, during any period, exists to date. An initial "trail to the Pacific," as it were, has been blazed by Brauer and Schalk, yet a critical exploration and detailed map of the "great continental divide"—the transition from German to English hymnody in the Missouri Synod—remains to be charted. This dissertation provides at least one accounting of this watershed period in Missouri Synod hymnological history, viewed within the wider context of an American evangelical environment.

The examination of hymnals, hymn publication, and hymn usage as windows into various religious groups and periods has recently produced a number of valuable studies.<sup>86</sup> A variety of

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<sup>86</sup> Scott E. Erickson, "The Anatomy of Immigrant Hymnody: Faith Communicated in the Swedish Covenant Church," in *Singing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Hymnody in the History of North American Protestantism*, eds. Edith L. Blumhofer and Mark A. Noll, Religion and American Culture (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 122–39; Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, MI.: William B. Eerdmans, 2004); Mark A. Noll and Edith L. Blumhofer, eds., *Sing Them over Again to Me: Hymns and Hymnbooks in America*, Religion and American Culture (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006); David Rempel Smucker, "Lifting the Joists with Music: The Hymnological Transition from German to English for North American Mennonites, 1840–1940," in *Singing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Hymnody in the History of North American*

writers employ an eclectic range of approaches, perspectives, and sources in these studies. The study of hymns and hymnals in this dissertation seeks to open a window into the ecclesial Americanization of Missouri Lutheranism, as well as contribute to the broader academic conversation, through both its unique approach as well as its specific subject matter.

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*Protestantism*, eds. Edith L. Blumhofer and Mark A. Noll, Religion and American Culture (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 140–70; Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, “Congregational Song as Liturgical Ordo and Proper: The Case of English-Language Hymns and Hymnals,” *Studia Liturgica* 28, no. 1 (1997): 102–20. Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, “‘But Who Do You Say That I Am?’: Christology in Recent Protestant Hymnals,” in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology*, edited by Bryan D. Spinks (Collegeville, MN.: Liturgical Press, 2008), 327–41.

## CHAPTER TWO

### BACKGROUND AND FORMATION OF THE *EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN HYMN-BOOK (1889, 1892, 1912)*

In May 1911, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (English Missouri) met in convention for the last time at Redeemer Lutheran Church, St. Louis. Simultaneously, the Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (German Missouri) met in convention just a mile away at Holy Cross Lutheran Church, St. Louis. After twenty-three years of “separate, but equal,” the English Synod was about to become the English District of the Missouri Synod.

The union of these two synods was at the forefront of discussion for both conventions, and both bodies eventually approved the agreed-upon terms of union at their respective conventions. On Monday, May 15, at the close of the final English Synod Convention, the delegates solemnly marched *en masse* from Redeemer to Holy Cross where they were warmly greeted by German Missouri. Adolph H. A. Biewend (1845–1919) of German Missouri delivered a speech in English, to which President Henry P. Eckhardt (1866–1949) of the English District responded. Frederick G. Kuegele (1846–1916), the first president of the English Synod, then delivered a speech in German, to which newly elected President J. Friedrich Pfothauer (1859–1939) of the German Synod responded. The ceremony concluded with the singing of Luther’s German Te

Deum and the praying together of the Lord's Prayer.<sup>1</sup> The Proceedings of the English Synod record the import of this event:

The words spoken on that occasion will never be forgotten by those who were fortunate to be present on that memorable afternoon. The Spirit of God moved us deeply. We all felt the importance of what was transpiring.<sup>2</sup>

A year later, the union of English Missouri with German Missouri was blessed with the birth of a new, English-language hymnal: the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (*ELHB* 1912). This new hymnal, with tunes, was a completely revised and expanded edition of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book* (*ELHB* 1889), which had been presented and adopted nearly a quarter century earlier at the very first convention of the English Synod. As such, *ELHB* 1912 became the first English-language hymnal of the Missouri Synod and clearly pointed this predominantly German-speaking church body in worship and song toward its future in a twentieth-century, English-speaking America.

This chapter will explore the formation histories of these two English Synod hymnals—*ELHB* 1889 (and its revision in *ELHB* 1892), and the twenty-year journey that led toward the publication of *ELHB* 1912. To that end, this chapter will examine the source hymnals used by August Crull as editor and compiler of *ELHB* 1889 in selecting its core German hymns (“The Fathers’ Faith”). We will then examine the non-Missouri hymnals that Crull used as sources for selecting the English-language hymns of *ELHB* 1889 (“The Children’s Song”). Employing a chronological narrative, the chapter will explore the development of these English Synod hymnals—from the intricacies of Crull’s initial involvement in compiling *ELHB* 1889 to the long journey of the English Synod and its publication of *ELHB* 1912. This chapter will demonstrate

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<sup>1</sup> [George] L.[uecke], “The Convention of Synod,” *Lutheran Witness* 30, no. 11 (1911): 84–85. Since Luther’s Te Deum was sung in German, it seems most natural to conclude that the Lord’s Prayer was also spoken in German, although the accounts do not specifically mention this.

<sup>2</sup> “Proceedings of the Twelfth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in

that the editors of these hymnals drew almost exclusively from the German hymnal of the Missouri Synod for their German-language hymns as well as for the thematic organization of the hymns; and that they drew heavily from the hymnals of the older American Lutheran church bodies for their selection of English-language hymnody in use by American Protestant Evangelicals of the day.

### **The Broader Context of Predecessor Hymnals**

#### **C. F. W. Walther and the *Kirchengesangbuch für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden* (1847)**

The roots of the Missouri Synod's German-language hymnody may be traced back to the arrival of C. F. W. Walther and the Saxons in Missouri in 1838–39.<sup>3</sup> They brought with them the German-language hymnal they had used in their homeland—the *Dresdnisches Gesangbuch*, first published in 1796 under the oversight of Church Superintendent Karl Christian Tittmann (1744–1820).<sup>4</sup> Concerning this hymnal, hymnologist Christoph Albrecht notes:

In Dresden there appeared in 1796 a typical Enlightenment hymnal. In the national newspaper, there was an article that demonstrates the over-confidence typical of this period. It noted: “We should have no need of a new hymnal for centuries because Dr. Tittmann has provided the Dresden Hymnal with the greatest possible perfection, and the proper doctrine, as is here submitted in the selected songs, is exalted above all other improvements.” Ironically, the Enlightenment's hymnals were among the shortest-lived in hymn-book history.<sup>5</sup>

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St. Louis, 1911 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 73.

<sup>3</sup> See also Carl Schalk, *The Roots of Hymnody in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*, Church Music Pamphlet Series, no. 2 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965).

<sup>4</sup> The second edition was printed in 1798. See *Dresdnisches Gesangbuch auf höchsten Befehl herausgegeben* (Dresden: Churfürstl. Hofbuchdruckerey, 1798). See also Paul Tschackert, “Tittmann, Karl Christian,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1894), 387–88.

<sup>5</sup> Christoph Albrecht notes: “In Dresden erschien in Jahre 1796 ein typisches Aufklärungsgesangbuch. In der Nationalzeitung war darüber ein Aufsatz zu lesen, der von der Selbsteingenommenheit dieser Epoche in bezeichnender Weise Aufschluß gibt. Es heißt darin: ‘Bei uns kann das Bedürfnis eines neuen Gesangbuchs in Jahrhunderten nicht eintreten, denn es hat Dr. Tittmann dem Dresdnischen Gesangbuch die möglichste Vollkommenheit gegeben, und die rechte Lehre, wie sie hier in auserwählten Liedern vorgetragen wird, ist über alle Verbesserung erhaben.’ Ausgerechnet die Aufklärungsgesangbücher gehörten aber zu den kurzlebigsten in der Gesangbuchgeschichte.” *Einführung in die Hymnologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1973), 95.

Tittmann's hymnal, produced under the influence of German Rationalism, continued to be reprinted as late as 1837, just a year before Walther and the Saxons emigrated to Missouri.<sup>6</sup> This was therefore the hymnal that Walther and his young colleagues grew up with, that they and their compatriots brought with them to America, and which was consequently in use at Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, when Walther began service there as pastor in May 1841.<sup>7</sup>

The minutes of Trinity Congregation indicate that, for most of 1842, the congregation's attention was consumed with the details of constructing a new sanctuary. Shortly after the dedication of the sanctuary, however, the congregation resolved in February 1843 that in the public divine services only pure Lutheran hymns should be used.<sup>8</sup> Finally, in November 1845, the congregation resolved to publish a new hymnal to that end.<sup>9</sup>

Nineteenth months later, the *Kirchengesangbuch für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession* (KELG 1847) was printed in New York City under the auspices of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, and shipped to St. Louis for distribution.<sup>10</sup> It contained 437 hymns, as well as a selection of prayers, the Small Catechism, the Augsburg

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<sup>6</sup> *Dresdner Gesangbuch auf höchsten Befehl herausgegeben* (Dresden and Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1837).

<sup>7</sup> In a sermon dated Advent 1842, Walther makes the following reference to the Dresden Hymnal as being in common use at Trinity Congregation: "Lasset uns zuvor Gott im stillen Gebete um seinen Gnadenbeistand anrufen, wenn wir mit einander werden gesungen haben (Dresdner Gesangb.) 225, 9." ["Let us before God in silent prayer call upon his gracious assistance, as soon as we have sung with one another (Dresden Hymnal) 225:9."]. C. F. W. Walther, *Gnadenjahr: Predigten über die Evangelien des Kirchenjahrs von Dr. C. F. W. Walther. Aus seinem schriftlichen Nachlaß gesammelt* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1891), 31. Walther could not have so specifically referenced a hymn number and stanza had not that hymnal been readily available to the worshiper. The parenthetical reference appears to be an editorial insertion made decades later so as to not be confused with KELG 1847.

<sup>8</sup> "Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Missouri," Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri, February 3, 1843: "In dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste dürften nur reinlutherische Lieder und bei allen Amtshandlungen nur reinlutherische Formuläen gebraucht werden."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, November 17, 1845.

<sup>10</sup> Jon D. Vieker, "The Doctrine of Baptism as Confessed by C. F. W. Walther's *Gesangbuch* of 1847" (STM Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1990), 17. Much of KELG 1847 has recently been made available in English translation as: *Walther's Hymnal: Church Hymnbook for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession*, trans. Matthew Carver (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2012).

Confession, and other materials. In the 1857 printing, an appendix with six additional hymns was included; the 1917 edition added a second appendix with an additional 41 hymns.<sup>11</sup>

When one examines the Dresden hymnal that Walther and the Saxons brought with them and that was in use at Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, prior to 1847, one finds little correspondence with respect to the outline and organization of the hymns found in *KELG* 1847. However, when one examines the older generation of Dresden hymnals—specifically, the editions published prior to 1796<sup>12</sup>—the outline and organization of the hymns resemble very much the outline that Walther adopted for the hymnal of 1847.<sup>13</sup> Walther’s preference for the confessional Lutheran theology he found in such “old” German hymnals is further evidenced in an 1850 article in *Der Lutheraner*, where the writer notes:

[O]nly the *old* hymn books—which are also now and then in this land found among immigrant German Lutherans, such as the *old* Dresden, the *old* Marburg, the *old* Silesian, the Pomeranian, Prussian, Hamburger, Bayreuther, etc.—exhibit a sufficiently large stock of the *old* pure Lord’s Supper hymns containing the teachings of the Lutheran Church. And whoever has no such *old* hymnal in his possession, this alone should be enough to convince him to get the “St. Louis Lutheran Hymnal” [i.e., *KELG* 1847].<sup>14</sup>

For Walther, *KELG* 1847 represented a repudiation of the Rationalist hymnals of his day and a restoration of the “old,” pre-1796, Dresden line of hymnals, fine-tuned to engage German Lutherans in America as the first hymnal of the Missouri Synod.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See Chapter Four, pages 143–48, for more on the *KELG* 1917 revision project.

<sup>12</sup> For example, *Das Privilegirte Ordentliche und vermehrte Dresdnische Gesang-Buch* (Dresden and Leipzig: Verlegts D. Carl Christian Richter, 1791).

<sup>13</sup> Vieker, “Walther’s Gesangbuch of 1847,” 29–38.

<sup>14</sup> “Die Gesang-Bücher,” *Der Lutheraner* 7, no. 5 (1850): 35, emphasis not original: “[A]llein, die alten Gesangbücher, die auch noch hin und wieder hier zu Lande bei eingewanderten deutschen Lutheranern zu finden sind, als das alte Dresdner, das alte Marburger, das alte Schlesinger, das Pommersche, Preußische, Hamburger, Baireuther u. zeigen zur Genüge, daß ein großer Vorrath alter reiner Abendmahlslieder, welche die Lehre der Lutherischen Kirche enthalten, vorhanden sind; und wer etwa kein solches altes Gesangbuch im Besitz hätte, der könnte sich aus dem ‘Lutherischen St. Louis Gesangbuch’ genug davon überzeugen.” As editor-in-chief of *Der Lutheraner*, it is likely that Walther penned this article.

<sup>15</sup> Walther’s pattern of “reaching back” beyond the Rationalist worship materials of his day to older, orthodox

Walther's *KELG* became the first and only German hymnal the Missouri Synod would ever have, available for purchase from Concordia Publishing House even into the 1960s.<sup>16</sup> Edited by the synod's founding president and foremost theologian, *KELG* became for Missouri Lutherans a kind of hymnological icon of "The Fathers' Faith"—in effect, a theological plumb line against which all subsequent hymnals would be measured.

### ***KELG* 1847 and transitional English-language hymnals**

Over three decades later, the Lutheran Publishing House in Decorah, Iowa, published the *Hymn Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations*, a modest collection of 130 hymns in English.<sup>17</sup> Also called the "Decorah Hymnal" [DH 1879], this slender volume contained the translations and compilations of the young August Crull (1845–1923), who would later become the editor and compiler of *ELHB* 1889. Shortly after the publication of DH 1879, Walther wrote a glowing review in *Der Lutheraner*, in which he declared:

It is with great pleasure that we hasten to report to our readers the publication of a booklet with the above title. It is a pure, admittedly small, but complete, English-Lutheran school and church hymnal. . . . We call it a *pure* hymnal because it contains only those English hymns that not only contain no false doctrine, but also breathe a truly evangelical spirit. More than half of them (72), so far as we are able to judge, are in form and content admirably successful English translations of the best hymns of our German Evangelical-Lutheran Church.

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resources has also been observed in his editing of the baptismal order for his *Kirchen-Agende für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode v. Missouri, O. u. a. St., 1856). See Norman Nagel, "Holy Baptism and Pastor Walther," in *Light For Our World: Essays Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri*, ed. John W. Klotz (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1989), 61–82.

<sup>16</sup> James L. Brauer noted in 1967 that "the *Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden* may still be purchased from Concordia Publishing House. . . ." "The Hymnals of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod" (STM Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1967), 42. For more on the formation of *KELG* 1847, see Jon D. Vieker, "C. F. W. Walther: Editor of Missouri's First and Only German Hymnal," *CHIQ* 65, no. 2 (1992): 53–69.

<sup>17</sup> *Hymn Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations* (Decorah, IA: Lutheran Publishing House, 1879). This collection was published by the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, at that time in fellowship with the Missouri Synod through the Synodical Conference.

Walther argues that the Decorah Hymnal is doctrinally pure because, even though it is in English and includes hymns that were written by non-Lutherans, there is no false doctrine to be found among them. On the contrary, these hymns breathe a “truly evangelical spirit,” the great majority of them successful English translations of the best hymns from German Lutheranism.<sup>18</sup> In other words, these hymns proclaim the pure Gospel. Walther continues:

We call the book a *complete* hymnal, however, not because it is a comprehensive, English, let alone German-Lutheran, hymn treasury, but rather because it contains the requisite number of selections for the most relevant situations. Of course over time, the increasingly large flood of the number of hymns in our church hymnals has become more of a hindrance than a furtherance of the blessings that come with hymns. Originally, almost every Lutheran Christian could sing from memory all the hymns in use at church, and thus carried with him, by and by, an exceedingly rich, spiritual treasure. Even Caspar Neumann writes in his Silesian hymnal of 1737: “My people would be ashamed if they had to look down at their hymnals to sing.” When one is in the habit of looking to certain hymns for a particular doctrine or occasion, and then finding in not only a great many otherwise good hymnals certain, so to speak, made-to-order songs of little poetic value, it happens also that due to the sheer quantity of hymns as well as the resulting massive change [involved in using them], that the familiarity of Christians with their very best hymns becomes less and less.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> In fact, 81 of the hymn texts in the Decorah Hymnal appear to come from the German, 11 from either Latin, Danish, or Norwegian, and 38 originally composed in English.

<sup>19</sup> C. F. W. Walther, “Review of *Hymn Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations*,” *Der Lutheraner* 35, no. 13 (1879): 104: “Mit großer Freude beeilen wir uns, unseren Lesern das Erschienen eines Büchleins mit vorstehendem Titel zu melden. Es ist dasselbe ein reines, zwar kleines, aber vollständiges englisch-lutherisches Schul- und Kirchengesangbuch. . . . Wir nennen es ein reines Gesangbuch, weil sich darin nur solche englische Kirchenlieder befinden, welche nichts nur keine falsche Lehre enthalten, sondern auch einen wahrhaft evangelischen Geist athmen. Mehr als die Hälfte derselben (72) sind, so weit wir dies zu beurtheilen vermögen, nach Form und Inhalt vortrefflich gelungene englisch Uebersetzungen der besten deutschem Lieder unserer ev.-lutherischen Kirche. Ein vollständiges Gesangbuch nennen wir das Büchlein allerdings nicht darum, weil dasselbe den ganzen englisch-, geschweige deutsch-lutherischen Liederschatz, sondern weil es für alle betreffenden Fälle die nöthige Auswahl enthält. Ist doch die im Laufe der Zeit immer größer gewordenen Anschwellung der Zahl der Lieder in unseren Kirchengesangbüchern eher eine Hinderung, als eine Förderung des Liedersegens geworden. Fast jeder lutherische Christ konnte anfänglich alle in der Kirche im Gebrauch befindlichen Lieder auswendig und trug damit einen überaus köstlichen geistlichen Schatz fort und fort bei sich. Noch Caspar Neumann schreibt in seinem schlesischen Gesangbuch von Jahre 1737: ‘Meine Leute würden sich schämen, wenn sie unter dem Singen in das Buch sehen sollten.’ Nachdem man darauf bedacht gewesen ist, für jede Lehre und Gelegenheit eigene Lieder zu suchen, finden sich nicht nur selbst in sonst guten Gesangbüchern gar manche, so zu sagen, auf Bestellung gemachte Lieder namentlich von wenig poetischem Werte, es ist auch durch die Menge und den durch dieselbe veranlaßten großen Wechsel die Bekanntschaft der Christen mit ihren besten Kirchenliedern eine immer geringere geworden.” Emphasis original. Walther’s review was later translated into Norwegian and adapted for the Norwegian Church’s periodical, *Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende* 6, no. 37 (September 12, 1879): 591–92. It should also be noted here that Walther uses the word “evangelisch” in the older, sixteenth-century sense of the word (i.e., proclaiming the *evangel*, or Gospel), not in the sense of identifying nineteenth-century “Evangelicals.”

Walther suggests that bigger and newer are not necessarily better. He laments the many “made-to-order songs of little poetic value” that are found even in “a great many otherwise good hymnals.” The unfortunate result has been an “increasingly large flood” of hymn texts, which, Walther suggests, has actually hindered the blessings of knowing hymns by heart, as well as where to look in the hymnal for a hymn with a particular doctrinal emphasis or occasion. As a result, the small but select number of core hymns in DH 1879 could actually be considered a virtue in Walther’s estimation.

Two even smaller English-language hymn collections appeared during the decade following. In 1882, *Lutheran Hymns. For the Use of English Lutheran Missions*, a collection of eighteen German hymn translations by Martin Guenther (1831–93) and Carl Janzow (1847–1911), was published by Concordia Publishing House.<sup>20</sup> Concerning this collection, Guenther, who was also editor of *Der Lutheraner* at the time, commented:

The English-language missionary does not everywhere find orthodox English hymnals. In order that he can now have orthodox hymns sung in his church services, it has seemed necessary to have a number of them printed. The above collection contains 16 [18] hymns and some verses . . . [Here follow the titles of 13 of the hymns.] . . . The English is connected *as closely as possible* to the German text. The hymns are included with 15 melodies. Perhaps many German congregations will also be served by this collection, which, if they occasionally hold English services (for example, for church dedications, New Year’s festivals, etc.) sometimes find themselves in a bit of a dilemma because of the hymns.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Lutheran Hymns. For the Use of English Lutheran Missions* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1882). See also Carl F. Schalk, *God’s Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 151.

<sup>21</sup> Martin Guenther, “Review of *Lutheran Hymns. For the Use of English Lutheran Missions*,” *Der Lutheraner* 38, no. 7 (1882): 56: “Unser englischer Missionar findet nicht überall rechtgläubige englische Gesangbücher. Damit er nun rechtgläubige Lieder in den Gottesdiensten singen lassen könne, hat man für nötig erachtet, eine Anzahl drucken zu lassen. Die obigen Sammlung enthält 16 Lieder und einige Verse; darunter . . . Dies Englisch schließt sich *so genau als möglich* an den deutschen Text an. Den Liedern sind 15 Melodien beigegeben. Vielleicht ist mit dieser Sammlung auch mancher deutschen Gemeinde gedient, die, wenn sie gelegentlich z. B. bei Kirchweihen, Neujahrsfesten u., einen englischen Gottesdienst halten, wegen der Lieder in Verlegenheit kommen.” Emphasis original. Guenther later wrote the first biography of C. F. W. Walther, titled: *C. F. W. Walther: Lebensbild* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1890).

Guenther's comments reflect some of the challenges facing German Missouri's pastors and congregations in reaching out to an English-speaking America in the 1880s. Like Walther, Guenther's concern was to find orthodox, Lutheran hymns for use in English; and that happened best, in his estimation, by translating the core German hymns of the Lutheran Church into good, idiomatic English.

A second, more substantial collection appeared just four years later under the editorship of August Crull. With a title very similar to the Guenther collection, *Hymns of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. For the Use of English Lutheran Missions*, Crull's collection contained 33 hymns with their melodies.<sup>22</sup> Only a year before his death, Walther reviewed this collection in *Der Lutheraner* and noted:

A review copy of this new collection of Lutheran hymns in the English language has just now come into our hands. We are happy to make our readers acquainted with the appearance of this volume. The selection of songs seems to us to be quite excellent. The book actually contains the core of Lutheran hymnody in English translation, and as far as we can judge, faithfully provides translations of the German originals into idiomatic English. There are 33 songs appearing under six headings [*Rubriken*].<sup>23</sup>

As with *KELG* 1847 and its Dresden predecessors, the outline and arrangement of hymns was an important consideration for Walther, and he lists the six general headings or "rubrics" [*Rubriken*] under which the various hymns were placed:

1. General Hymns for the Divine Service [*Allgemeine Gottesdienst-Lieder*]
2. Church Year [*Kirchenjahr*]
3. Means of Grace [*Gnadenmittel*]
4. Order of Salvation [*Heilsordnung*]

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<sup>22</sup> August Crull, ed. *Hymns of the Evangelical Lutheran Church for the Use of English Lutheran Missions* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1886).

<sup>23</sup> Walther then provides a listing of headings and hymns. C. F. W. Walther, "Review of *Hymns of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*," *Der Lutheraner* 42, no. 7 (1886): 56: "Soeben kommt diese neue Sammlung lutherischer Kirchenlieder in englischer Sprache zum Zweck einer Anzeige derselben in unsere Hände. Mit Freuden machen wir unsere Leser mit dem Erscheinen derselben hierdurch bekannt. Die getroffene Auswahl der Lieder scheint uns eine ganz vortreffliche zu sein. Das Büchlein enthält wirklich den Kern der Lutherischen Kirchenlieder in englischer Uebersetzung, und soweit wir es beurtheilen können, gibt die Uebersetzung die deutschen Originale ebenso treu, als in echtem Englisch wieder. Die Zahl der Lieder ist 33. Sie ist unter sechs Rubriken gebracht."

5. Christian Life [*Christliche Leben*]
6. Death and Eternity [*Tod und Ewigkeit*]

An aggregate compilation of the German-language hymns found in the three English-language hymn collections that appeared during the decade prior to *ELHB* 1889 shows that there were only five hymns in *ELHB* 1889 that never appeared in *KELG* 1847.<sup>24</sup> From the other side, it also shows that there were only five German-language hymns from the predecessor volumes that never made it into *ELHB* 1889, and four of those were the same hymns that never appeared in *KELG* 1847.<sup>25</sup>

The German-language hymns included in the three predecessor hymn collections suggest a kind of corpus of *Kernlieder* from German Missouri's perspective. In other words, these could be considered the core German hymn texts, distilled from *KELG* 1847, that were viewed as most critical to be transmitted into English. Secondly, other than the few exceptions mentioned above, nearly all of the German hymns found in English translation in the three predecessor hymn collections were eventually included in *ELHB* 1889. Thus, these three predecessor collections appear to have served as a means of vetting various translations during the decade prior to *ELHB* 1889.<sup>26</sup> Above all, these German-language hymns demonstrate the profound dependence of *ELHB* 1889 on *KELG* as the primary source for its German hymnody,<sup>27</sup> thereby underscoring the role that *KELG* played as hymnological plumb line for "The Fathers' Faith."

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<sup>24</sup> See Appendix Five.

<sup>25</sup> Two of these hymns were eventually included in a later edition of *ELHB*: "Lord, to Thee I Make Confession" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 416) and "Tender Shepherd, Thou Hast Stilled" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 537).

<sup>26</sup> Thirteen (16%) of the eighty hymns included in Appendix Five appeared in more than one translation in the three predecessor collections.

<sup>27</sup> Crull's extensive familiarity with the German-language hymnody in *KELG* 1847 was widely recognized by German Missouri when, in 1908, he was appointed to head a committee to produce the final revision of *KELG*, which was eventually published for the quadricentennial celebration of the Reformation in 1917. See below, Chapter Four, for more on the extensive hymnological research that went into this revision headed up by Crull.

## ***ELHB 1889* and hymnals from other Lutheran churches**

As *KELG* became the primary source for the German-language hymnody that was brought into *ELHB 1889* (“The Fathers’ Faith”), so also were the hymnals of the older Lutheran church bodies in America the primary sources for the English-language hymnody that was included in *ELHB 1889* (“The Children’s Song”). Yet, this marriage of old and new, German and English hymnody did not come about without some tensions for Missouri Synod Lutherans.

One example of such tension is apparent in 1883 when Walther was asked his opinion as to “whether it is advisable to introduce the singing of Methodist songs in a Lutheran Sunday School.”<sup>28</sup> Walther’s response was, in short, “No, this is not advisable, rather very incorrect and pernicious.” Walther then went on to offer six reasons for his firmly negative response, summarized as follows:

1. Because our church already has such a rich hymnody, introducing Methodist hymns would be like “carrying coals to Newcastle.” Thirty or forty years ago this might have been understandable, with the scarcity of songbooks for Lutheran children, but today the church has everything it needs in this regard.
2. Preachers have the holy duty to provide only “pure spiritual food” to those entrusted to their care, and it would be “soul-murder” [*Seelenmord*] to set before children such poisonous food. Even if the preacher claims that he is allowing only “correct” hymns, there is no excuse since:
  - a) the true Lutheran spirit is found in none of them;
  - b) our Lutheran hymns are more powerful, substantive, and sober-minded [*nüchterner*];
  - c) any Methodist hymns dealing with the sacraments are completely in error; and
  - d) these hymnals will cause our little ones to read and sing also the noticeably false hymns that are found in them.
3. Any preacher who openly introduces Methodist hymns, let alone hymnals, raises the suspicion that he is “no true Lutheran at heart,” but rather a “unionistic man”

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<sup>28</sup> C. F. W. Walther, “Letter to L. H. Lorentz, January 23, 1883,” Wadewitz Transcriptions, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO. English translation in C. F. W. Walther, “Methodist Hymns in a Lutheran Sunday School: Theological Opinion by C. F. W. Walther,” in *At Home in the House of My Fathers: Presidential Sermons, Essays, Letters, and Addresses from the Missouri Synod’s Great Era of Unity and Growth*, ed. Matthew C. Harrison (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2011), 331–32.

... “a mingler of religions and churches” [*ein Religionsmenger und Kirchenmischer*].

4. As a result, such practice also leads our children to hold a similar “unionistic sentiment,” to grow up and eventually leave the Lutheran Church and join the Methodists.
5. By purchasing Methodist hymnals, he is subsidizing “Methodist fanatics in their horrible errors,” such that the Methodists will even come to believe that we Lutherans must think Methodism to be better than Lutheranism.
6. The entire Lutheran congregation is given offense and even led to believe that Methodists have a better faith than Lutherans.

Walther’s argument revolves around three basic elements. The first is an appeal to the already rich treasury of “powerful, substantive, and sober-minded” Lutheran hymns; therefore, it would make no sense to introduce Methodist hymns into a Lutheran congregation. A second element is doctrinal and pastoral: Methodist hymns would purvey false doctrine into a Lutheran congregation, like feeding a spiritual poison to little children. Without any appeal to the specific, Walther asserts that the “true Lutheran spirit” is found in none of these hymns, and that, were any to deal with the sacraments, they would certainly be completely in error.

A third element of Walther’s argument, however, appears to reflect a Missouri Synod constitutional concern with introducing a heterodox, Methodist hymnal into a Lutheran congregation. Walther suggests that to do so would not only subsidize Methodists and thereby affirm them in their error, but it would also give the impression that such a pastor is unionistic, “a mingler of religions and churches” [*Religionsmenger und Kirchenmischer*].<sup>29</sup> Walther’s vocabulary here is reminiscent of the conditions for membership outlined in the Missouri Synod’s constitution of 1847, which required “separation from all commixture of Church or faith [*Kirchen- und Glaubensmengerei*], as, for example, serving of mixed congregations by a servant

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<sup>29</sup> Walther, “Letter to L. H. Lorentz, January 23, 1883,” “daß er also ein Unionsmann, ein Religionsmenger und Kirchenmischer ist.”

of the Church; taking part in the service and Sacraments of heretical or mixed congregations; taking part in any tract distribution and mission projects, etc.”<sup>30</sup> The constitution continues with a further condition for membership:

The exclusive use of doctrinally pure church books and schoolbooks. (Agenda, hymnals, readers, etc.) If it is impossible in some congregations to replace immediately the unorthodox hymnals and the like with orthodox ones, then the pastor of such a congregation can become a member of Synod only if he promises to use the unorthodox hymnal only under open protest and to strive in all seriousness for the introduction of an orthodox hymnal.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, the force of Walther’s argument is focused against the introduction of a Methodist *hymnal* into a Lutheran congregation. His argument does not directly engage the question as to whether it would be appropriate to sing *hymns* written by Methodists or whether some hymns used by Methodists might also be theologically appropriate for Lutherans to use. For Walther, the central issue revolved around the use of a Methodist *hymnal* in a Missouri Synod congregation. Introducing a Methodist hymnal into a Missouri Synod congregation constituted a violation of the conditions of membership in the synod. Since it was self-evident that a Methodist hymnal would contain false doctrine (especially with regard to the sacraments), that fact alone disqualified it for use in Missouri Synod congregations, which had agreed to the “exclusive use of doctrinally pure church books and schoolbooks. (Agenda, hymnals, readers, etc.)” Walther further suggests that, in using a Methodist hymnal, Lutheran children and congregation members would surely read and sing some of the hymns that contain false doctrine. In doing so, they were at risk of becoming indifferent to the theological differences between Lutherans and Methodists,

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<sup>30</sup> *Die Verfassung der deutschen evangelisch- lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten* (St. Louis: Weber & Olshausen, 1846), 5: “Lossagung von aller Kirchen- und Glaubensmengerei, als da ist: Das Bedienen gemischter Gemeinden, als solcher, von Seiten der Diener der Kirche; Theilnahme an dem Gottesdienst und den Sacramentshandlungen falschgläubiger und gemischter Gemeinden, Theilnahme an allem falschgläubigen Traktaten- und Missionswesen, u.s.w.” English translation from W. G. Polack, “Our First Synodical Constitution,” *CHIQ* 16, no. 1 (1943): 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* English translation from, Polack, “Our First Synodical Constitution,” 3.

with the result that they may even someday leave the Lutheran Church and join the Methodist Church instead.

Although Walther was opposed in principle to the use of Methodist hymnals in a Lutheran congregation, he was not beyond examining the specifics and giving his blessing to a Lutheran hymnal that contained hymns written by Methodists and other Protestants. Just a few years earlier, Walther had described DH 1879 as “a *pure* hymnal because it contains only those English hymns that not only contain no false doctrine, but also breathe a truly evangelical spirit.”<sup>32</sup> (See above, page 42.) Thus, when August Crull began compiling the hymns for *ELHB* 1889, his previous work in compiling DH 1879 a decade earlier and Walther’s hermeneutic (selecting only those hymns that “contain no false doctrine” and “breathe a truly evangelical spirit”) became foundational to his selection of English-language hymn texts. The specific sources Crull used to locate such hymns can be determined by an examination of the indexes included in *ELHB* 1889.

There are two indexes included in the back of *ELHB* 1889. The second index is titled “Translations from the German” and provides the German title of the hymns that originated in German, along with an attributed author and the hymn number. This index makes it easy for someone who knows the German title of a hymn to locate its English version in *ELHB* 1889. The inclusion of such an index suggests the editor’s concern with demonstrating to its users that “The Fathers’ Faith” (i.e., the familiar, German hymns from *KELG* 1847) were amply included in *ELHB* 1889—a concern that was carried forward by the inclusion of a similar index in every subsequent edition of *ELHB*, even through the 1931 printing of *ELHB* 1912.

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<sup>32</sup> Walther, “Review of *Hymn Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations*,” 104.

The first index in *ELHB*

1889, however, is even more unique. (See Figure 1.) It is titled “Index of First Lines” and provides an alphabetical listing of the first line of every hymn, as well as its hymn number. This, in itself, is not remarkable. However, this index also provides additional information, depending on whether the hymn’s language of origin is German or English. For the hymns of German origin, it

(1 Decorah H. B. 2-Church Book. 3-Book of Worship.  
4-Ohio Hymnal.)

INDEX OF FIRST LINES. \*

	NO.
2 4 <b>A</b> great and mighty wonder - - - - -	16
<i>Anatolius—J. M. Neale, Tr.</i>	99
2 4 A hymn of glory let us sing - <i>Beda—E. R. Charles, Tr.</i>	58
— A Lamb goes uncomplaining forth - - - - - <i>Composite.</i>	135
— A mighty Fortress is our God - <i>Church Book, Tr. a.</i>	2
— Abide, O dearest Jesus - - - - - <i>A. Crull, Tr.</i>	368
1 2 3 4 Abide with me ! fast falls the eventide - <i>H. F. Lyte.</i>	15
— Again is come the new church-year - - - - - <i>Comp.</i>	335
— Ah God, my days are dark indeed - - - - - <i>Comp.</i>	336
— Ah Lord our God, let them not be confounded - - - - - <i>C. Winkworth, Tr. a.</i>	59
1 2 3 4 Alas ! and did my Saviour bleed - - - - - <i>I. Watts.</i>	187
— Alas, my God ! my sins are great - <i>C. Winkworth, Tr. a.</i>	1
— All glory be to God on high - <i>C. Winkworth, Tr. a.</i>	222
2 3 All hail the power of Jesus' name - - - - - <i>From E. Perronet, a</i>	17
— All my heart this night rejoices - - - - - <i>Comp.</i>	19
— All praise to Jesus' hallowed name - <i>R. Massie, Tr. a.</i>	204
2 3 All that I was, my sin, my guilt - - - - - <i>H. Bonar, ?</i>	243
— All things hang on our possessing - - - - - <i>C. Winkworth, Tr. a.</i>	3
1 2 3 4 Almighty God, Thy Word is cast - <i>From J. Caswood</i>	244
2 3 4 Am I a soldier of the Cross - - - - - <i>I. Watts, a</i>	337
2 3 And let this feeble body fail - - - - - <i>C. Wesley, a</i>	369
2 3 4 And must this body die - - - - - <i>I. Watts, a</i>	387
3 4 And will the Judge descend - - - - - <i>P. Doddridge</i>	188
2 4 And wilt Thou pardon, Lord - - - - - <i>Jos.-of the Studium—J. M. Neale, Tr.</i>	53
3 4 Angels from the realms of glory - - - - - <i>A. Steele.</i>	205
2 3 Approach, my soul, the mercy seat - - - - - <i>J. Newton.</i>	206
2 3 Arise, my soul, arise - - - - - <i>C. Wesley, a.</i>	19
— Arise, sons of the Kingdom - - - - - <i>Comp.</i>	370
1 2 3 4 Asleep in Jesus ! blessed sleep - - - - - <i>M. Mackay.</i>	50
2 4 As with gladness men of old - - - - - <i>W. C. Dix</i>	88
— Awake, my heart, with gladness - <i>J. Kelly, Tr. a.</i>	286
1 2 3 4 Awake, my soul, and with the sun - - - - - <i>Th. Ken, a.</i>	310
3 4 Awake, my soul, in joyful lays - - - - - <i>S. Medley, a.</i>	

Figure 1: Excerpt from “Index of First Lines” from *ELHB* 1889.

gives the name of the translator since the author’s name is already noted in the second index. For the English-language hymns, however, it gives the name of the author of the hymn; or, if it is a translation from Latin or another language other than German, it provides the name of both the author and the translator. Most remarkable, however, is that for every hymn of non-German origin, it indicates in which of four contemporary, English-language Lutheran hymnals that hymn is found: 1) DH 1879; 2) *Church Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (*CB* 1868), the English-language hymnal of the General Council;<sup>33</sup> 3) *Book of Worship* (*BoW*

<sup>33</sup> Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship* (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1915), 560, notes that work on *CB* 1868 began in 1862 as a project of the Pennsylvania Ministerium under the guidance of Beale M. Schmucker (1827–88) and Frederick M. Bird (1838–1908). With the formation of the General Council in 1867, this collection was published a year later under the authority of the council. Of the 588 hymns in *CB* 1868, 167 are from the German, and 53 from either Latin or Greek. The remainder are English-language in origin, with prominence given to the hymnody of Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley. Schalk observes that “the importance of this hymnbook as representative of a specifically Lutheran hymnody . . . is

1871), the English-language hymnal of the General Synod;<sup>34</sup> and the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal* (*ELH* 1880), the English-language hymnal of the Ohio Synod.<sup>35</sup> Remarkably, this first-line index does not indicate which hymns of German origin are found in the four other non-Missouri hymnals, but only those hymns that came from English.

This “Index of First Lines” in *ELHB* 1889 suggests a number of significant considerations. First, it indicates that Crull was exceedingly conscientious in providing the user with information as to which hymns were of German origin and which were from English or other languages. Thus, the first index is geared toward providing information as to where the English-language hymns came from (either via English translation or as English-language originals), and the second index is geared toward providing information on the hymns of German origin. Indeed, the proper balance between the core German hymnody from *KELG* 1847 and the “new” English-language hymnody from the other hymnals appears to have been a critical consideration—so much so that elsewhere in *ELHB* 1889, on a page titled “Arrangement of Hymns,” Crull even

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somewhat mitigated by the fact that less than one-sixth of the total contents could in any way be described as specifically Lutheran [in origin].” *God’s Song in a New Land*, 146.

<sup>34</sup> Benson, *The English Hymn*, 561, notes that there were actually two Lutheran hymnals during this period with the title *Book of Worship*. After the Civil War, the General Synod of the South remained apart from the General Synod and published *Book of Worship* (Columbia, SC, 1867). The General Synod later revised its hymnal, *Hymns Selected and Original: for Public and Private Worship* (Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1852) and published the revision as *Book of Worship* (Philadelphia: Board of Publication, 1871). This latter hymnal was the source used for *ELHB* 1889. Benson, *The English Hymn*, 561, also describes *BoW* 1871 as “simply a hymn book, preceded by an order of worship covering some eight pages . . . The hymns, both by omissions and additions, show growth in discrimination [from the 1852 predecessor], but none toward churchliness.” Concerning the scope of hymnody in the General Synod during this period, Benson concludes: “The Hymnody itself is not Lutheran, but is drawn from outside; it may rather be described as well within the lines of the Evangelical Hymnody, though somewhat heightened in color through revivalistic influences” (419).

<sup>35</sup> Schalk notes that the Ohio Synod’s *ELH* 1880 represented “a vigorous return to the hymnody of the Lutheran Reformation. Of the 468 hymns it contained, 181, or almost 40 percent were translations from the German . . . Although the early English hymnody of the Ohio Synod reflected the influences of the unionism and rationalism of those days, its contacts with the Missouri Synod in the ‘Free Conferences’ of the 1850s and its membership in the Synodical Conference, organized in 1872, moved to strengthen and reinforce its inherent confessionalism. In its *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal* of 1880 it went far beyond the General Council’s *Church Book* of 1868 in appropriating for English-speaking Lutherans the historic heritage of Reformation hymnody.” *God’s Song in a New Land*, 141.

tallies up the number of hymns from each heading in the hymnal to show that, according to his reckoning, a total of 203 hymns came from the German and 197 from the English.<sup>36</sup>

The most critical factor that the first-line index in *ELHB* 1889 raises for consideration, however, is the provenance of the sources that Crull used to assemble the English-language hymnody. In summary, this unique index suggests that Crull essentially culled through the already established English-language hymnals of non-Synodical Conference Lutherans—in particular, the General Council, the General Synod, the Ohio Synod, and the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Although two of these church bodies (the Ohio Synod and the Norwegians) had been members of the Synodical Conference prior to the Predestinarian Controversy of the 1880s, it is remarkable to see the great number of hymns attributed also to the English-language hymnals of the General Council and especially the General Synod.<sup>37</sup>

This is borne out by a statistical analysis of the hymns found in *DH* 1879, *CB* 1868, *BoW* 1871, and *ELH* 1880.<sup>38</sup> Among the 52 hymns found in three out of four of these hymnals, the greatest number are found in *CB* 1868 and then *BoW* 1884. And among the 105 hymns listed in two out of four of these hymnals, the greatest number of hymns are found in *BoW* 1884 and then *CB* 1868. Thus, statistically, the role of these two non-Synodical conference hymnals is

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<sup>36</sup> *ELHB* 1889, xvii.

<sup>37</sup> It is remarkable because this period (ca. 1880–1915) is considered by some to be one of the most polemical between the Missouri Synod and other, non-Synodical Conference Lutherans. Fred W. Meuser notes about this period: “Predestination, grace, and man’s role in conversion were still the controversial issues. The decade of journalistic warfare in the 1890s, untempered by any personal contacts, had made each side . . . more confident of its position. Even more than the others, the Missouri Synod had boundless confidence that it represented the only real Lutheranism in America. . . . Friedrich Bente’s editorial on the fiftieth anniversary of *Lehre und Wehre* [1904] illustrates this total confidence that Missourians had nothing to learn from Lutherans of other synods. . . . Almost every issue of *Lehre und Wehre* and *Der Lutheraner* pointed out weaknesses and deviations from the truth on the part of other Lutherans.” “Facing the Twentieth Century,” in *The Lutherans in North America*, ed. E. Clifford Nelson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 377–78.

<sup>38</sup> Appendix Six shows how many of the English-language hymns are found in four of the four hymnals, three of the four, two of the four, and in one of the four.

significant, indicating that Crull relied on them heavily as he went about compiling the 197 English-language hymns included in *ELHB* 1889.<sup>39</sup>

In summary, August Crull used *KELG* 1847 as the primary source for his German-language hymnody, and he used the hymnals of non-Synodical Conference Lutherans as the primary sources for his English-language hymnody in his compiling of *ELHB* 1889. And yet, “The Children’s Song” (English-language hymnody) still lived within the household of “The Fathers’ Faith” (German-language hymnody)—that is, all of the hymns, whether English or German in origin, were ordered within the thematic structure provided by Walther’s *KELG* 1847. A comparison of the thematic outlines of *KELG* 1847 and *ELHB* 1889 demonstrates just how closely Crull followed Walther’s thematic outline.<sup>40</sup> In fact, as one surveys the life and times of August Crull, Walther’s direct interaction with and profound influence on the editor of *ELHB* 1889 become apparent.

### **The Life and Times of August Crull<sup>41</sup>**

August Crull was born in Rostock, Germany in 1845, the son of a prominent lawyer. Shortly after his father’s untimely death, Crull’s mother was remarried to Albert Friedrich Hoppe (1828–1911), a Lutheran pastor, and they emigrated to St. Louis in the fall of 1855.<sup>42</sup> Crull was

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<sup>39</sup> Benson notes: “The course of Lutheran Hymnody, as we have followed it, makes plain why that Church has done so little in the way of acclimating the old Lutheran hymns and chorals [*sic*] in other denominations. The English-speaking congregations wished to use the hymns of their American neighbors, and even in adopting for church use the versions of German hymns by Miss Winkworth, Mills, Massie, and others, they have been followers rather than leaders. American Lutheranism presents a curious case of an immigrant Church merging its inheritance and traditions in its new surroundings until spurred by the pressure of new immigrations to recover what it had lost.” *The English Hymn*, 562–63.

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix Seven for such a comparison.

<sup>41</sup> For more on the life of August Crull, see: Glen Kenneth Johnson, “August Crull’s Contribution to the Missouri Synod” (STM Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1961); and Jon D. Vieker, “August Crull and His Legacy as Lutheran Hymnal Editor and Translator,” *CrossAccent: The Journal of the Association of Lutheran Church Musicians* 16, no. 3 (2008): 39–51.

<sup>42</sup> Ludwig Fuerbringer, “Albert Friedrich Hoppe,” *Der Lutheraner* 67, no. 12 (1911): 190–91. In this “last will

soon enrolled at Concordia College, a pre-seminary, preparatory school in St. Louis; and the following spring, when Crull was only eleven, his mother and step-father left him in St. Louis to serve a Missouri Synod parish in New Orleans. At age 14, Crull was confirmed at Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, St. Louis, where Walther was his pastor.<sup>43</sup>

Throughout his education, Crull excelled at his studies, particularly in languages, and he held a special fascination for all things English.<sup>44</sup> With a few others, he founded the first student-led group on campus called the “Germania” society, and later also the “Polyhymnia” society.<sup>45</sup> He eventually enrolled in the seminary’s preparatory high school in St. Louis, which was moved a few years later to Fort Wayne during the Civil War. He returned to St. Louis in 1862 to begin his seminary training and graduated in the summer of 1865, immediately following the cessation of hostilities between North and South.<sup>46</sup>

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and testament,” Hoppe indicates that he came to St. Louis with the personal commendation from Theodor Kliefoth (1810–95)—confessional, German, “Neo Lutheran” and church Superintendent of Mecklenburg—to C. F. W. Walther. Later in life, Hoppe became the chief editor of the 23-volume “St. Louis Edition” (Walch, 2nd Edition) of Luther’s writings in German.

<sup>43</sup> “August Crull Confirmation Certificate, April 17, 1859,” August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. This document provides the most conclusive evidence of Crull’s birth date (January 27, 1845), which was incorrectly noted in some of his obituaries and subsequently in some hymnals and hymnal commentaries, including: the commentary to *The Lutheran Hymnal* by W. G. Polack (1942); *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary* (1996); the commentary to *Christian Worship: A Lutheran Hymnal* by C. T. Aufdemberge (1997); and *Evangelical Lutheran Worship* (2006) and *Hymnal Companion to Evangelical Lutheran Worship* (2010). The certificate indicates that Crull was confirmed on April 17, 1859. It is signed by Theodor J. Brohm (1808–81), and his confirmation verse was 1 Peter 1:18–19.

<sup>44</sup> “Personal Notebook of August Crull,” August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. This notebook contains a number of handwritten comments in German and Latin, as well as several poems in English.

<sup>45</sup> Otto F. Hattstaedt, “The First Literary Society in the Institutions of the Missouri Synod,” *CHIQ* 17, no. 1 (1944): 11–14. The “Polyhymnia” society eventually became a kind of German Lutheran version of a “glee club.” Music was meticulously hand copied by each member (only the part that one needed to sing) into a notebook. For an example, see Ludwig Fuerbringer, “Music Notebook 3,” 1882, Ludwig Fuerbringer Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri.

<sup>46</sup> August Crull, “Spruch, Delivered July 4th ‘65,” August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. This is a lengthy speech in English that Crull delivered on the July 4<sup>th</sup> after the end of the war. It is full of flowery language, typical of that era, but was written with impeccable English and in Crull’s meticulous handwriting. It is unclear as to where it was delivered.

Crull's first call was to Trinity Lutheran Church, Milwaukee, where he served as assistant pastor to Friedrich Lochner (1822–1911).<sup>47</sup> After a year, however, he resigned his call because of a chronic throat ailment and traveled to Germany to recover.<sup>48</sup> During his stay in Germany, Walther wrote Crull a letter, showing concern for his well-being. Walther urged him to return to the United States for the sake of the Missouri Synod's mission to English-speaking America. In the wake of the Civil War, Walther wrote:

It is especially apparent to me that you, with your particular knowledge of the English language, are so capable. God has so clearly given us now a wide open door to the English public. At the same time, he is himself now preparing something great to happen—both in the South as well as in the North.

How glorious it would be, therefore, if you would return home . . . It is certainly something great—yes, even the greatest thing—when God can use a poor, dying man, when he fashions such a one into his tool and intervenes, not only for the development of the history of the world, but in the history of eternity.

Walther clearly saw Crull as a key player in the Missouri Synod's future work among English-speaking America. Walther then makes clear that he has something specific in mind:

As little as I understand of English, I have heard not only of how highly your translations of our hymns into English are touted by the experts, but I myself also realize something of their high worth, for they, with flowing beauty, so truly mirror the original.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Friedrich Johann Carl Lochner was one of the "Sendlinge" sent by J. K. W. Löhe in the 1840s to engage in mission work in the United States. Lochner eventually became the Missouri Synod's first liturgiologist, his most significant work being *Der Hauptgottesdienst der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895).

<sup>48</sup> C. F. W. Walther, "To His Daughter Julie," January 8, 1866, in *Selected Letters* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), 38.

<sup>49</sup> C. F. W. Walther, "C. F. W. Walther to August Crull, March 4, 1867," in *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther an seine Freunde, Synodalgenossen und Familienglieder*, ed. Ludwig Fuerbringer, 2 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1915–16), 1:80–82: "Besonders wichtig ist mir, daß Sie bei Ihren sonstigen Kenntnissen der englischen Sprache so mächtig sind. Gott hat nämlich offenbar uns jetzt ein weites Tor zu den englischen Publikum aufgetan. Unter demselben bereitet sich jetzt sichtlich ein großes Werk vor, ebenso in Süden wie im Norden . . . Wie herrlich wäre es daher, wenn Sie heimkehrten . . . Es ist ja etwas Großes, ja das Größte, wozu Gott einen armen Sterblichen gebrauchen kann, wenn er ihn zu einem Werkzeuge macht, das nicht nur in die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Welt, sondern in die Geschichte der Ewigkeit eingreift. . . . So wenig ich vom Englischen verstehe, so höre ich doch nicht nur, wie hoch Ihre übersetzung unserer Lieder in das Englische von Sachverständigen angeschlagen werden, ich merke auch selbst etwas von ihrem hohen Werte, da sie bei schönem Fluß das Original so treu wiedergeben." This is early evidence of Crull translating German hymns into English. It is possible that Walther may

Clearly, Walther held Crull's work as a hymn translator in high esteem, and, if for no other reason, encouraged Crull to return to the United States.

Crull soon returned to St. Louis and worked for a few months as an editor for a local German newspaper.<sup>50</sup> Eventually, he was called back to Milwaukee to serve as director of a fledgling high school. Within a couple of years, however, the high school effort failed; and in 1871, Crull was called to Immanuel Lutheran Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan, where he served as the pastor of a large and fast-growing congregation.<sup>51</sup>

In 1873, Crull was finally called to his alma mater, Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Indiana, where he served the remainder of his career as a professor of German and French. It was from his position as college professor that Crull was able to produce a number of scholarly and literary works in German as well as English.

In German, Crull produced two published collections of devotional poetry.<sup>52</sup> He also published a small pamphlet to guide high school students in proper social etiquette—a kind of

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have learned about Crull's translations during his seminary years under Walther (1862–65); or it is possible that Walther learned about them later from Crull's senior pastor, Friedrich Lochner, who was also Walther's brother-in-law.

<sup>50</sup> W. F. Kruse, "Professor August Crull," *Der Concordianer, Zeitschrift der Alumni Vereins des Concordia College zu Ft. Wayne, Ind.*, no. 15 (1923): 10.

<sup>51</sup> It was during this period that Crull likely preached the following sermon in English: August Crull, "Sermon Preached for the Dedication of the Ev. Luth. Church at Manistee, Mich., Psalm 84.1," n.d., August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. Most of the sermons in the August Crull Collection at Concordia Historical Institute are also from this earlier period.

<sup>52</sup> The first was August Crull, *Gott tröste dich! Eine Sammlung von Trostliedern der neueren geistlichen Dichtung*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Dr. Martin Luther Waisenhaus, 1894). First published in 1889, this volume contains 240 poems by nineteenth-century German poets such as Karl Gerok (1815–90), Carl Johann Phillip Spitta (1801–59), and Julius Sturm (1816–96). Nine poems in this collection are attributed to August Crull. As the title suggests, this volume was compiled to comfort those who suffer under the cross in a variety of circumstances, and the detailed table of contents reflects that purpose.

The second volume was August Crull, *Gott segne dich!: Eine Auswahl von Stammbuchversen, Neujahrs-, Geburtstags-, Paten-, Hochzeits- und sonstigen Segenswünschen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894). First printed in 1884, the poetry in this volume is also primarily from nineteenth-century German writers, but some texts from Martin Luther and Paul Gerhardt are also included. Only two poems in this collection are attributed to August Crull. In the days before "Hallmark Cards," this book provided a collection of "best wishes" that one could write to friends and loved ones for a variety of occasions—mostly in German, but also with some twelve pages in

“Emily Post” for German-American teens.<sup>53</sup> In 1893 he was commissioned by Concordia Publishing House to put into print what he had been teaching for nearly two decades, namely, a German grammar for high schoolers.<sup>54</sup> And shortly after Walther’s death in 1887, Crull edited a monumental compilation of daily devotions in German, excerpted from the nearly half dozen volumes of Walther’s published sermons.<sup>55</sup>

In English, it appears that Crull was the trusted translator of Walther and, at times, of official Missouri Synod documents. For instance, as early as 1874, Crull translated a sermon by Walther on Holy Absolution, which was published in the *Lutheran Standard* and later as an offprint.<sup>56</sup> As the Predestinarian Controversy raged through American Lutheranism during the 1880s, Crull was Walther’s chief translator of key documents and rebuttals.<sup>57</sup> And when the Missouri Synod prevailed in the United States Supreme Court during the early 1890s against the Bennett Law of Wisconsin and other such nativist, anti-parochial school legislation (see above, Chapter One, page 4), Crull was involved in translating relevant documents into English.<sup>58</sup> August Crull’s greatest contribution, however, was as the editor of *ELHB* 1889.

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English from which to choose.

<sup>53</sup> August Crull, *Kurze Gestenlehre: Ein Lehrbuch für höhere Schulen und zum Selbstunterricht* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1880).

<sup>54</sup> August Crull, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Sprache für die unteren und mittleren Klassen höherer Schulen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1896). This grammar was reprinted and used by Missouri Synod institutions well into the 1920s.

<sup>55</sup> C. F. W. Walther, *Das Walte Gott!: Ein Handbuch zur täglichen Hausandacht aus dem Predigten des seligen C. F. W. Walther*, ed. August Crull (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893). This volume has been recently translated into English and republished as: C. F. W. Walther, *God Grant It: Daily Devotions from C. F. W. Walther*, trans. Gerhard P. Grabenhofer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006).

<sup>56</sup> C. F. W. Walther, *Absolution: A Sermon on John 20:19–31*, trans. August Crull (Philadelphia: Lutheran Bookstore, 1874).

<sup>57</sup> C. F. W. Walther, *The Controversy Concerning Predestination* (St. Louis, 1881). See also, C. F. W. Walther, *Review of Prof. Stellhorn’s Tract on the Controversy Concerning Predestination*, trans. August Crull (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1881); and C. F. W. Walther, *Sermon on Predestination by C.F.W. Walther*, trans. August Crull (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1883).

<sup>58</sup> “Erklärung der Synode über die Schulfrage,” in *Synodal-Bericht. Verhandlungen der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten* (Milwaukee, Wis., 25 June–3 July 1890), 83–86.

### August Crull as Editor of *ELHB* 1889

The genesis of the *ELHB* 1889 project is relatively obscure; no minutes or notes have survived. What has survived, however, is an intriguing series of letters between August Crull and William Dallmann, who at this time was serving an English Synod congregation in Baltimore.<sup>59</sup> Since Dallmann was in the habit of retaining his correspondence, all of the surviving letters are from Crull, and they provide a number of helpful insights into the critical role that he played in the formation of this hymnal, as well as revealing his personal frustrations in seeing his work brought to completion by others.

In the first letter, dated May 1, 1888, Crull notes that a year earlier he had sent his initial selection of 200 “of our most familiar and best German hymns, all of them unabridged and in the meter of the original,” to the faculty at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, “for the necessary examination.”<sup>60</sup> It wasn’t until several months later that Crull finally received some feedback, but then only a minimal response.

A month later, Crull again writes Dallmann and indicates that he had just received word that the 200 German hymn translations have “fortunately passed and are approved by a higher place” (presumably the St. Louis faculty) and that he has subsequently sent the faculty a list of

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<sup>59</sup> Twelve letters, in original manuscript, were examined, transcribed, and translated from German for this project. Most of the letters were written in old German handwriting, a few were in English cursive, and a couple were typewritten.

<sup>60</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, May 1, 1888, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. “Leider bin ich nicht imstande, Ihnen auf Ihre Anfrage betreffs des Erscheinens des neuen engl. luth. Gesangbuches die gewünschte Antwort zu geben. Der größte und schwerste Teil der vorbereitenden Arbeit ist allerdings gethan. Zweihundert Übersetzungen unsrer bekanntesten und besten deutschen Kirchenlieder, sämtlich unverkürzt und im Versmaße des Originals, sind von mir gesammelt worden, und schon im Juli des vergangenen Jahres sandte ich dieselben der St. Louiser Fakultät behufs der nötigen Durchsicht zu. Erst nach wiederholtem Dringen erhielt ich im Anfange dieses Jahres meine Arbeit mit einigen wenigen sie begleitenden Notizen zurück. Ich ersehe daraus, daß man es mit der Publikation dieses Buches jedenfalls nicht eilig hat, und somit habe auch ich mir vorgenommen, nicht mehr die halben Nächte auf dieser Arbeit zu verwenden, damit das Buch bald- möglichst erscheinen könne, sondern die Ferienzeit zur Vollendung desselben abzuwarten. Hiernach kann das Buch jedenfalls nicht vor Neujahr 1889 im Drucke erscheinen; ob aber dann, hängt zum größten Teil von den Herren Professoren in St. Louis ab.” During this period, the role of “doctrinal review” in the Missouri Synod was performed by the seminary faculties.

171 English-language hymns for review. He hopes to hear back from them soon, in time to use his approaching summer vacation “for a critical establishing of the text.”<sup>61</sup> By the middle of July, however, Crull writes from his summer residence in Rome City, Indiana, and is distressed that he has not yet heard back from the St. Louis faculty. As an alternative, Crull affirms the idea (presumably offered by Dallmann) that, instead of submitting the English language hymns to the St. Louis faculty, they be submitted directly to the English Synod pastors for approval at their upcoming conference the following October. “They surely know the needs of the English congregations,” he reasons, “much better than the gentlemen in St. Louis, or than I . . .”<sup>62</sup>

The October 1888 conference became the first convention of what would later be called the “English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” and in their newly-proposed constitution, it was noted that one of the purposes for establishing this organization would be for “providing or recommending books, writings, papers, etc., such as liturgies, postils, *hymn-books*, catechisms, etc.”<sup>63</sup> The hymnal about which Crull and Dallmann had already been corresponding was then presented to the conference, which accepted this “valuable gift” and

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<sup>61</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, June 11, 1888, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. “Die 200 Übersetzungen sind glücklich absolviert und höheren Ortes approbiert. Gestern sandte ich dem Revisionscommittee in St. Louis die Titel vor 171 engl. Originalliedern zu, mit der Bitte, dieselben so bald als möglich zu prüfen, damit ich die Ferien zur kritischen Feststellung des Textes benutzen könne. Was sollte wohl sonst noch ins Gesangbuch aufgenommen werden?”

<sup>62</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, July 15, 1888, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. “Ihr freundl. Schreiben vom 9. dss ist mir von F.W. aus hierher in meine ‘Sommerresidenz’ nachgeschickt worden, und ich beeile mich, Ihnen mit wenigen Zeilen zu antworten. Mit dem Erscheinen des engl. Gesangbuchs hat es jedenfalls noch gute Weile, denn die Herren in St. Louis lassen sich nicht zur Eile antreiben. Vor etwa 4 Wochen sandte ich ihnen das Register der aufzunehmenden engl. Originallieder, mit der Bitte, mir ihr Urteil baldigst zuzuschicken, damit ich die Sommerferien (die einzige Zeit, die ich zu größeren Arbeiten habe) auf die Herstellung des Textes verwenden könne. Allein bis jetzt habe ich vergeblich auf Antwort gewartet. Somit werde ich wohl Ihrer Konferenz im Oktober meine Arbeit einhändigen, mit der Bitte, dieselbe zu vollenden. Denn, offen gestanden, mir vergeht die Lust, an einem Werke zu arbeiten, das beständig so gehindert wird wie dieses. Der Gedanke, das Urteil der „englischen“ Pastoren einzuholen, ist übrigens sehr gut. Sie kennen das Bedürfnis der englischen Gemeinden jedenfalls viel besser als die Herren in St. L. und als ich, die wir nur nach Hörensagen urteilen können, und eine Gottesdienstordnung könnte auch wohl am besten von einer solchen Konferenz festgesetzt werden. Hinsichtlich der Originallieder stimmt Ihr Urteil vollständig mit demjenigen P. Spannaths überein, der vor einiger Zeit in dieser Angelegenheit an mich schrieb.”

<sup>63</sup> “Proceedings of the First Convention of the General English Ev. Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other

appointed a hymnal committee consisting of Crull, Dallmann, Rev. Luther M. Wagner (1851–1930), Prof. August L. Graebner (1849–1904) of Concordia Seminary, and Rev. Frederick G. Kuegele, president of the English Synod. This committee was also charged with providing appropriate orders of worship for the hymnal.<sup>64</sup>

A month later, Crull wrote Dallmann, responding to a draft for an order of service that Dallmann had drawn up for the hymnal: “From now on, it appears to me that work prepared by you will not exactly be a happy occasion. (Please forgive me, that I so candidly and directly say what I mean!).” Crull chided the younger Dallmann for having “prepared an order of service according to none of the existing agendas . . .” and strongly urged “that one of the available good orders of service, as for example, the ‘Common Service’ or the one in the ‘Church Book,’ by and large, be retained.”<sup>65</sup> *ELHB* 1889 eventually included Dallmann’s mix-and-match ordo, about which Dallmann would decades later admit to Walter Buszin that he was “goaded to it by ‘friends.’ It was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, nor Truman’s good red herring.”<sup>66</sup> However, the second edition of *ELHB* in 1892 would eventually replace Dallmann’s ordo with orders of

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States” (St. Louis, October 19–23, 1888), 14. Emphasis not original.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 16–17. A.[ugust L.] G.[raebner] also noted: “Ein anderes werthvolles Geschenk, das ihr von Professor A. Crull in Fort Wayne verehrt worden ist, das Manuscript eines englischen Kirchengesangbuchs, wurde einer Committee überweisen, die zunächst eine Probedruck veranstalten soll. Auch ein Gottesdienstordnung soll dem Gesangbuch einverleibt werden.” “Die Allgemeine english-lutherisch Conferenz von Missouri und anderen Staaten,” *Lehre und Wehre* 34, no. 11–12 (1888): 370.

<sup>65</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, November 19, 1888, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. “Sodann scheint mir die von Ihnen gefertigte Arbeit nicht gerade eine glückliche zu sein. (Verzeihen Sie mir gütigst, daß ich offen und gerade heraus sage, was ich meine!) Sie haben sich nämlich, wenn ich nicht sehr irre, nach keiner der vorhandenen Agenden genau gerichtet, sondern zu den bereits vorhandenen Ordnungen noch eine neue hinzugefügt: doch ist die Ordnung für ‘Morning Service’ allerdings fast ganz nach unser deutschen Mo. Agende eingerichtet. Auch in diesem Punkte stimme ich mehr mit P. Bartholomew als mit Ihnen. Ich würde, falls ich der Recht hätte, meine Meinung Ausdruck zu geben, ganz entschieden raten, eine der vorhandenen guten Ordnungen, wie z. B. die des ‘Common Service,’ oder die des ‘Church Book,’ im großen und ganzen beizubehalten und nur einzelne Stücke, wie etwa ‘Absolution’ und ‘Spendeformel,’ vielleicht auch etwas unnötiges und überflüssiges Zubehör abändern. Ich denke mir, das würde auch wohl Dr. Luther in einem ähnlichen Falle gethan haben, wenigstens läßt mich sein sonst so *konservatives* Verhalten das vermuten.” Emphasis original.

<sup>66</sup> William Dallmann to Walter E. Buszin, December 13, 1948, Walter E. Buszin Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri.

service from the Common Service project prepared by the General Council, General Synod, and United Synod of the South.<sup>67</sup>

By the end of November 1888, Crull reports that, “after a tremendous amount of work,” he has finally forwarded “the manuscript of the English Hymnal ‘cut and dried’” to Pastor Wagner, the second member of the committee, for review.<sup>68</sup> The following February, however, Crull reports to Dallmann via postcard that “My manuscript has lain for four weeks in the study of Prof. G.[raebner, the next member on the committee to review it], who, in spite of all requests to hurry himself up, appears to be deaf. I wash my hands in innocence.”<sup>69</sup>

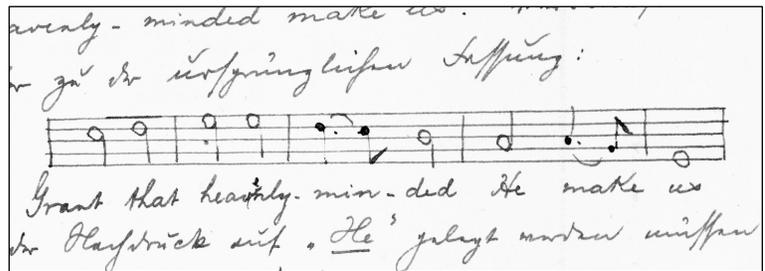


Figure 2: Crull’s new word order for “Gott sei gelobet.”

By March 1889, the manuscript seems to have made its way out of Graebner’s study and into the hands of Pastor Kuegele, the final member of the committee, who is reported by Crull to have recommended several untenable textual changes to the manuscript. The first involves Richard Massie’s translation of “Gott sei gelobet,” where Kuegele desires a different word order

<sup>67</sup> The story of the development of the Common Service materials of 1888 is told in Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Liturgy of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959). The English Synod’s adoption of the Common Service materials would eventually provide the Missouri Synod with English-language liturgical texts and orders of service in common with the majority of North American Lutheranism in the early twentieth century. For a study of sources of music used with these texts in the Missouri tradition, see James L. Brauer, “Trusty Steed or Trojan Horse? The Common Service in the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*,” *Logia* 14, no. 3 (Holy Trinity 2005): 21–30.

<sup>68</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, November 28, 1888, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. “Habe nun heute endlich, nach allerdings riesiger Arbeit, das Ms. des engl. Gsgbchs fix u. fertig (cut and dried) Hr. P. Wagner als dem *zweiten* Glied des Komitees zur Durchsicht übersandt. *Mich* trifft also in Zukunft der Vorwurf der Verzögerung *nicht*. Auch Ihren Entwurf (Order of D. S.) habe ich an genannten Herrn geschickt, mit der Bemerkung, daß ich persönlich die Benutzung der Ordnung des Council u. der Gen. Syn., mit geringen Abänderungen, befürworten würde.” Emphasis original.

<sup>69</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, February 11, 1889, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. “Mein Ms. liegt nun seit ca. 4 Wochen im Studierzimmer des Hr. Prof. G., der gegen

for one line. Crull points out that Kuegele's suggestion would be contrary to the meter (i.e., the way the words fall in relation to the music), and then Crull even sketches in the line of music to show what he means. (See Figure 2.) On another hymn, Massie's translation of Luther's "Vom Himmel hoch," Kuegele, a native English speaker serving as pastor in Virginia, remarks that "The word 'ass' is always embarrassing, even when it occurs in the Bible." While Crull doesn't necessarily agree with Kuegele's observations, he suggests a skilled modification of a Winkworth translation to resolve the issue:

*Massie's Translation:*

That Thou must lie on course dry grass,  
The food of humble ox and ass.

*Winkworth's Translation:*

That Thou must choose Thy infant bed  
Where ass and ox but lately fed!

*Crull's Solution:*

That Thou must choose Thy infant bed,  
Where humble cattle lately fed.

Crull humorously concludes: "You can see where I have lightly altered the translation by 'W.' [Winkworth] . . . and have thereby gotten rid of the nefarious 'ass.'" Finally, Crull suggests a solution of his own to a minor issue Kuegele raises with a Massie translation of "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ."<sup>70</sup>

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alle Aufforderungen, sich zu beeilen, taub zu sein scheint. Ich wasche meine Hände in Unschuld."

<sup>70</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, 29 March 1889, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. "Da Hr. P. Kuegele mich aufgefordert hat, hinsichtlich einiger Änderungen des Gesangbuch-Ms. an Sie zu berichten, erlaube ich mir, Ihnen folgende Mitteilungen zu machen.

1) Die von P. Kuegele gemachte Änderung in No. 186. III 6 muß getilgt werden, da sie unrichtig ist. Er hat offenbar ein ganz anderes Versmaß vorausgesetzt, als er änderte: Grant that He heavenly-minded make us! Versmaß und Melodie nötigen aber zu der ursprünglichen Fassung: [see Figure 2 for musical passage.] Sonst würde der Nachdruck auf 'He' gelegt werden müssen, während er doch auf 'heavenly-minded' liegt.

2) In No. 22 IX 3.4 wünscht P. K. eine Änderung. Er behauptet: 'The word "ass" is always embarrassing, even when it occurs in the Bible.' Obgleich ich nun diese Ansicht nicht teile, will ich doch den Druck nicht aufhalten und bitte Sie deshalb, statt der Übersetzung von Massie: 'that Thou must lie on coarse dry grass, The food of humble ox and ass,' die folgende, leise geänderte Übersetzung der Miss Winkworth zu setzen, die sich auch im Ohio Hymnal

From March to July 1889, no letters have survived, and the first edition of *ELHB* 1889 went to the printer in Baltimore during this time.<sup>71</sup> All of the work that Crull had poured into the compilation of some 200 German translations and 200 original English-language hymn texts was finally put into print. Fortunately, there is a letter from Crull to Dallmann upon Crull's receipt of a copy of the first printing:

Yesterday, I received from Mr. Treide a sample of the new English hymnal and was nearly scared to death as I began to examine it. Such shoddy workmanship I haven't seen in my entire life. The printer didn't use a consistent type throughout, but rather at one point used Brevier, at another Long Primer, and both seeded throughout each other. The proofreader, on the other hand (if there even was one), didn't understand his work at all. The most obvious and annoying errors still stand, as, for example, "Man of *Margareth*" in the place of "Nazareth," etc. The book positively swarms with such errors. On some fifty pages I found no fewer than 200 typos. In short, I, for one, would feel justified, with all seriousness, in protesting against the sale and distribution of such shoddy workmanship. Since this is not first-class, as the contract stipulated, the job should not be accepted—although I do pity the poor printer. At least we should make it impossible for such tripe to become laughable before all the world. The well-being of our congregations and the honor of our church must stand for us higher than the well-being (that is, the money bags) of certain parishioners. Therefore, I would not accept the job, but rather refuse it.

This turn of events pains me to no end—that my work has been so badly mutilated; and even worse, that the congregations of our Synod should have to wait now even longer for a hymnal. At the least, there can be no other way, since we may not so outrageously proffer such garbage to them.<sup>72</sup>

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findet: 'That Thou must choose thy infant bed Where humble cattle lately fed.'

Sie sehen, so habe ich die Übersetzung der W. 'Where ox and ass but lately fed' leise geändert in: 'humble cattle' und bin somit den hinterstelligen 'ass' los geworden. Endlich 3) wünscht P. K. eine Änderung in No. 18. III 1.2. Er sagt nicht, weshalb, doch glaube ich, mißfällt ihm Massie's Ausdruck 'inwrap.' Auch hier sehe ich freilich keinen triftigen Grund zu feilen, allein ich will die Sache nicht aufhalten und bitte Sie deshalb zu setzen:

'He whom the world could not inclose  
Doth in Mary's lap repose.'

Hoffentlich ist's nun des Änderns genug!"

<sup>71</sup> In June 1889, Frederick Kuegele wrote: "We take pleasure in making the announcement that our new hymn book will be ready for distribution by the end of June. The price has been fixed at 75 cents per copy or \$8.00 per dozen. . . . We trust the brethren will use their best endeavors to give the book a wide distribution." "Notice," *Lutheran Witness* 8, no. 2 (1889): 16.

<sup>72</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, August 13, 1889, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. "Gestern erhielt ich durch Hrn. Treide ein Exemplar des neuen engl. Gesangbuchs und erschrak fast zum Tode, als ich es einigermassen prüfte. Ein so hundsmiserables Machwerk habe ich in meinem ganzen Leben

An examination of the first printing of the *ELHB* would suggest that Crull's observations with regard to the printing problems appear to be justified.<sup>73</sup> In October of that year, President Kuegele wrote in *Der Lutheraner* regarding the first printing:

The printing mistakes which one finds should not in any way hinder the examination of this book. They are to be eliminated in the thousand copies which are still unbound.<sup>74</sup>

It appears that these printing mistakes were eventually "eliminated" in the remaining thousand copies by the inclusion of a sheet titled "Corrections" that was pasted inside the front cover.<sup>75</sup>

At the May 1891 convention of the English Synod, a report on "Business Matters" acknowledged: "The Hymn Book has produced a rather mixed impression."<sup>76</sup> President Kuegele also noted in his report:

An edition of 2000 copies of our Hymnbook was published, and the entire edition has been sold. It is therefore incumbent on Conference to make provision for the publishing of a second edition. In this connection I would remark that the thanks of

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noch nicht gesehen. Der Drucker hat ja nicht einmal reine Typen gebraucht, sondern bald Brevier, bald Long Primer, bald beides brut durcheinander. Der Korrektor aber, wenn ein solcher überhaupt thätig war, hat seine Arbeit gar nicht verstanden: die grössten, sinnstörendsten Fehler sind stehen geblieben, wie z. B. Man of *Margareth* statt Nazareth etc. Das Buch wimmelt förmlich von solchen Fehlern; auf ca. 50 Seiten habe ich wenigstens 200 Druckfehler gefunden. Kurz, ich für meinen Person glaube mich berechtigt, allen Ernstes gegen den Verkauf und die Verbreitung eines solchen Schund-Machwerks zu protestieren. Der Job, weil nicht first class, wie der Kontrakt es fordert, sollte nicht acceptiert werden, obwohl der arme Drucker mich dauert; allein wir dürfen uns unmöglich mit einem solchen Schund vor der ganzen Welt lächerlich machen. Das Wohl unsrer Gemeinden und die Ehre unsrer Kirche muß uns höher stehen als das Wohl (d.i. der Geldsack) eines Gemeindeglieds. Darum würde ich den Job nicht annehmen, sondern refüsieren. Unendlich leid thut mir dies Schicksal, das meine Arbeit getroffen hat; noch mehr leid aber, daß die Gemeinden unseres Verbandes noch länger auf ein Gesangbuch warten sollen; allein es geht doch nicht anders, denn solchen Schund dürfen wir ihnen unmöglich bieten." Emphasis original.

<sup>73</sup> An announcement in the *Lutheran Witness* of recent publications made no mention of the printing problems, noting instead that ". . . this book contains the very cream of our German church-songs and the very marrow of what constitutes [English-language] hymnals of American Churches." "Review of *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book*," *Lutheran Witness* 8, no. 6 (1889): 48.

<sup>74</sup> F.[rederick] Kuegele, "Englisches Gesangbuch," *Der Lutheraner* 45, no. 21 (1889): 166; as translated in Carl Schalk, *The Roots of Hymnody in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*, vol. No. 2, Church Music Pamphlet Series (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), 42.

<sup>75</sup> One of two surviving copies of the 1889 *ELHB* at Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, contains such a pasted list of corrections on the inside front cover of what appears to be its original binding.

<sup>76</sup> "Proceedings of the Second Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States" (St. Louis, May 20–26, 1891), 35.

Conference are due to various gentlemen who contributed funds, as also to Prof. A. Crull of Fort Wayne, for assistance rendered in the publishing of the book.<sup>77</sup>

When it came time for action, however, the Synod resolved to appoint a new committee of four, with only two from the previous committee—Dallmann and Kuegele (by default as President of Synod). In other words, Crull was *not* reappointed. The new committee was charged

to consult with others and their work defined thus,—to correct defective translations that are wanting in meter or in wording, to drop those that never will be sung and replace them by others, and to add good new hymns which had been overlooked in the first edition.

Provisions were also made to inquire with the General Council and the United Synod of the South regarding the possibility of inserting the “Common Service for Morning and Evening without mattings [*sic*, i.e., Matins].”<sup>78</sup>

Three months after the convention, it appears that Dallmann exercised the provision to “consult with others” in the work of the committee by asking Crull for his assistance. Crull’s response from Manitou Springs, Colorado, however, demonstrates the emotional toll this project had taken on him:

Yesterday I finally received your lines from the 6th which were forwarded to me here where, at the advice of the doctors on account of my shattered health, I am taking a break. Shortly after I last saw you, I had a breakdown; the doctor called the affliction “nervous prostration,” compounded with a persistent throat ailment. I’ve been here now for fourteen days without feeling any real improvement. Under these circumstances you will find it understandable as to why I haven’t been able yet to do anything with the English hymnal, and so leave any changes to the text or contents to your discretion. I certainly don’t have any authority, yet alone any say so, and therefore no further responsibility. I am very happy that you were successful in acquiring the Common Service. At least this part of the hymnal will be good, in spite of the many defects that stand out in the part that I prepared.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> “1891 English Synod Proceedings,” 8–9.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>79</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, August 24, 1891, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. “Gestern endlich erhielt ich Ihre Zeilen vom 6. dss, welche mir hierher nachgeschickt wurden, wo ich mich auf Rat der Ärzte wegen meiner zerrütteten Gesundheit eine Zeitlang aufhalten soll. Bald nachdem ich Sie

Crull's "breakdown" and the diagnosis of "nervous prostration"<sup>80</sup> notwithstanding, at this point he appears to have wanted little or nothing to do with the new committee's work on *ELHB* 1892, and there is no evidence to suggest that he ever did. Thus, the committee went on without him: 1) retaining the original 400 hymns of *ELHB* 1889 (with the same assigned hymn numbers); 2) swapping in a few alternate translations for a handful of the German hymns; 3) adding an additional fifty hymns in an appendix (hymns 401–450); and 4) swapping in the Common Service orders for the poorly-received Dallmann creation.<sup>81</sup>

In March 1892, Crull writes Dallmann, thanking him for a copy of the second edition and declining, yet again, an invitation to review the hymnal. However, this time, Crull cannot entirely restrain himself and continues:

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zuletzt gesehen hatte, brach ich zusammen; die Arzt nennt das Leiden nervous prostration, verbunden mit einer hartnäckigen Halsaffection. Ich bin nun 14 Tage lang hier, ohne bisher wesentliche Besserung zu spüren. Unter diesen Umständen werden Sie es erklärlich finden, wenn ich für das engl. Gesangbuch nichts gethan habe noch thun kann, sondern jedweder Veränderung des Textes, sowie des Inhalts Ihrem Ermessen anheimstelle. Ich habe ja auch keinerlei Recht, fernerhin ein Wörtchen drein zu reden, und somit dann auch keinerlei Verantwortlichkeit mehr. — Herzlich freut mich, daß es Ihnen gelungen ist, das Common Service zu erlangen. Dieser Teil des Gesangbuches wird wenigstens gut sein, soviel Mängel auf dem von mir ausgearbeiteten Teil desselben ankleben mögen."

<sup>80</sup> John F. McDermott notes concerning the diagnosis of "nervous prostration" toward the end of the nineteenth century: "It included many symptoms, such as profound exhaustion, insomnia, pressure and heaviness in the head, palpitation of the heart, trembling of the muscles, as well as multiple fears, including fears 'of open places or closed places, fear of society, fear of being alone . . .'" "Emily Dickinson's 'Nervous Prostration' and Its Possible Relationship to Her Work," *The Emily Dickinson Journal* 9, no. 1 (2000): 72. At least in the case of Emily Dickinson, it appears to have included bouts with acute anxiety and severe depression.

It appears that Crull may have struggled with some form of severe depression or disorder at other points in his life as well. In addition to his German sabbatical in 1866 and his "breakdown" in 1891, there is also a letter from June 8, 1881, from C. F. W. Walther to a member of the Board of Regents for Concordia College, Fort Wayne, where Crull served as professor, noting that "Prof. Crull, for his part, instead of being able to recover and recuperate here [at Walther's home], rather became more run down than he was when he arrived. . . ." Walther pleads that the Board of Regents not insist that Crull continue to function during the remaining weeks of the semester. See C. F. W. Walther, *Selected Letters* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), 164–65. In 1915, Crull resigned from his service at Concordia College due to health reasons and was later committed to a sanitarium by his family. There is a lengthy, first-hand account by Professor Otto F. Hattstaedt, the only pastor who was allowed to visit him while he was in the hospital, and it indicates that, during those dark days, Crull believed he had lost his faith and that he was therefore abandoned by God. See Otto F. Hattstaedt, "The Distress of the Sainted Prof. August Crull," n.d., August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri.

<sup>81</sup> William Dallmann, "The New Hymn Book Contains," *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 19 (1892): 149. In addition, Dallmann notes: "The characteristic feature that makes this book superior to all other English Lutheran hymn books is the large number—over two hundred—of the beautiful German Lutheran chorals [*sic*] given in it in translations according to the original meter and without mutilation by arbitrary abbreviation." (149).

A quick browse through the book drew my attention to several of what I take to be obvious blunders . . .

2) [John] Kelly's version of the [Gerhardt] hymn, "O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben." How you could have included such a dismal production, which in grammatical as well as metrical respects exhibits so many obvious blunders, is absolutely inexplicable to me. The mere agreement of the meter with the original does not justify the inclusion of such incompetence. For example, "und das betübte *Marterheer*," ["and the afflicted host of agonies"] Kelly fouls up with: "And the afflicted *martyr host*"! . . .

Furthermore, 3) So many hymns in the Appendix, which were not written to the tunes of church hymns, therefore do not belong in a church hymnal, e.g., "I Am Jesus' Little Lamb," "Jesus, Lead Thou On," and others. And the most displeasing to me in this section is the burial hymn, "Why Do We Mourn" [by Isaac Watts] with the colossal absurdity, "Where should the dying members rest but with the *dying Head*?" You must certainly have included this hymn only to please your learned co-worker [Pastor] Wagner, who earlier pestered me with this and other similar foolishness.

Well, "facta infecta fieri non possunt" ["What's done cannot be undone"], so I'll just shut up, especially since it won't get any better as the result of any arguments I might make.<sup>82</sup>

The bitter pill of the printing errors in the first edition, along with his official exclusion from the committee for the second edition, appear to have shaped the rhetoric that Crull employs and color his criticisms of the new committee's work from this point onward. In two remaining letters, written just over a week apart toward the end of November 1892, Crull continues his criticism of the second edition of *ELHB*, picking up where he had left off several months earlier:

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<sup>82</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, March 21, 1892, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. "Ein flüchtiges Durchblättern des Buches hat mich freilich mancherlei sehen lassen, was ich für offenbare Missgriffe halte. . . . Dahin gehört 2) die Kelly'sche Version des Liedes: 'O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben.' Wie Sie ein so trauriges Produkt, das in sprachlicher wie in metrischer Hinsicht so viele grobe Schnitzer aufweist, haben auf[weise]nehmen können, ist mir schlechterdings unerklärlich. Denn die blosse Uebereinstimmung des Metrums mit dem Original [be]recht[fer]tigt die Aufnahme einer solchen Stümperei doch sicherlich nicht. Z.B. 'und das betübte *Marterheer*' verhunzt Kelly in: 'And the afflicted *martyr host*'! . . . Dahin gehören 3) so manch Lieder im Appendix, die nicht Tone des Kirchenliedes gedichtet sind und deshalb auch nicht in ein Kirchengesangbuch gehören, z.B. 'Weil ich Jesu Schäfflein bin'; 'Jesu, geh voran' u.a. Am meisten misfällt mir unter diesen freilich das Grablied 'Why do we mourn' mit dem kolossalen Unsinn: 'Where should the dying members rest, but with the *dying Head*?' Doch dieses Lied mussten Sie jedenfalls Ihrem gelehrten Mitarbeiter Wagner zuliebe aufnehmen, der mich früher mit diese[n]r und ähnlichen Albernheiten drangsalierte. Nun 'facta infecta fieri non possunt:' ergo will ich das Maul halten, zumal da ja doch nichts mit dem Räsionieren gebessert wird." Emphasis original.

1) No. 77, the truly *scandalous* blunder of the hymn “O Welt, sieh hier, etc.,” which J.[ohn] Kelly has brought to ruin. I will remain silent about “the afflicted martyr host” (“der betrübten Marterheer”) and only point you to the pseudo-English, which, “like a golden strand,” runs throughout the entire so-called translation . . . If this isn’t “murdering the King’s English,” then I give up!<sup>83</sup>

A week later, Crull writes his final exchange with Dallmann, apparently responding to a number of issues from a previous letter that no longer survives:

To my sorrow, I feel compelled to go on the defensive. As you will recall, you asked me, for the purpose of printing a new edition of the hymnal, to be attentive to any defects that may have arisen, and after having done this with my usual candor, I see that I have entangled myself in a controversy. Right now, though, quite frankly, I’m just about out of not only passion, but also of time and energy, to engage in such a task, since I also have a ton of work to do on an assignment from Synod to develop the draft of a grammar for high school students. But since I have already said “A,” I must now also say “B”—as briefly and succinctly as possible.

If I was not entirely successful in stating the problem with Kelly’s translation of the two hymns, then I wouldn’t waste another word on this matter. There are, of course, various other translations that are not entirely successful—for example, those prepared by myself, as *I* am most acutely aware. However, I must characterize the existing translations, in spoken language, to be downright bad, and neither grammatically nor poetically justifiable. I do not believe it is too much to claim when I dubbed the broken English in these hymns to be downright “scandalous.” Had *I* been in your place, if I could not have dispensed with the synodical resolution in this case, or not been able myself to provide an improved translation, I would have scrapped the two hymns rather than spoil the hymnal with such caricatures. Just consider “the afflicted *martyr host*”! That is just about as bad as “the man of Margareth”! I already have a literal “translation” of the hymn “O welt, sieh hier etc.” by Jacobi,<sup>84</sup> but it is quite possibly even worse than the one by Kelly. Therefore, there doesn’t remain anything else to do but to prepare a new one. For *me* alone the assignment is too difficult; I could, with the best stretch of the imagination, bring it off if I had the necessary time and passion. But this also fails me until the current circumstances are completely concluded. . . .

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<sup>83</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, November 22, 1892, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. “1). No. 77. die wahrhaft *himmelschreiende* Verhuzung des Liedes: ‘O Welt, sieh hier etc,’ die sich J. Kelly hat zu Schulden kommen lassen. Ich will schweigen von ‘the afflicted martyr host’ (der betrübten Marter-heer) und Sie nur hinweisen auf die [uncertain]englische Sprache, die sich ‘wie ein goldener (!) Faden’ durch die ganze sog. Übersetzung hindurchsicht . . . Wenn das nicht “murdering the King’s English” ist, dann verzichte ich auf jegliches Urteil.” Emphasis original.

<sup>84</sup> As keeper of the Royal German Chapel in St. James’ Palace, London, John Christian Jacobi (1670–1750) translated a number of German hymns for eighteenth-century British royalty. See Raymond F. Glover, ed., *The Hymnal 1982 Companion*, 3 vols. in 4 (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1994), 2:487–88.

4) I'm not budging in reference to stanza 4 of No. 449 ["Why Do We Mourn Departing Friends" by Isaac Watts]. The other hymnals you cite will also not pacify me on this point . . . For once, I would just like to see the pertinent words translated [into German]. After the poet has very nicely said that the Lord, through his lying in the grave, has sanctified and blessed the graves of his saints, he continues [here Crull translates Watts' English into German]: "Where else should the dying members rest than with the dying Head?" He apparently wants to say that the members of Christ (that is, his Christians) after death should rest there where once also his head (that is, Christ's head) rested after his death—namely, in the grave. However, unfortunately, he does not say that. He speaks of the *dying* head; that, however, gives us nothing more. Christ *was* dead, but now he is living. The dying Head hung on the *cross*. Is that where the dying members should rest? In short, the thoughts of the poet are much too pale and indefinite—so much so that I by no such authority can determine to call it beautiful or edifying, or to commend it to Lutheran Christians to sing.

So now, I probably should and certainly do want to conclude. I'm happy that *I* don't have any culpability with regard to this matter and am not bound through any such "synodical resolution" as you are. Above all, I am reminded of your current place between Scylla and Charybdis. I am truly sorry that I can do nothing to free you from them.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> August Crull to William Dallmann, December 1, 1892, August Crull Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri. "Zu meinem Bedauern sehe ich mich genötigt, die Defensive zu ergreifen. Wie sie sich erinnern werden, hatten Sie mich gebeten, Sie behufs einer neuen Auflage des Gesangbuchs auf etwaige Mängel aufmerksam zu machen, und nachdem ich dies mit gewohnter Offenherzigkeit gethan habe, sehe ich mich in eine Kontroverse verwickelt. Dazu fehlt es mir aber, offen gestanden, nicht nur an Lust, sondern auch an Zeit und Kraft in Anspruch nimmt, auch an der mir von der Synode aufgetragenen Ausarbeitung einer Grammatik für höhere Schulen überreichlich zu tun habe. Doch da ich A gesagt, muss ich nun auch B sagen, aber so kurz und bündig als möglich.

Wenn ich mit Ihnen Kelly's Übersetzung der beiden Lieder nur '*nicht ganz gelungen*' nenne könnte, so würde ich kein Wort weiter in dieser Sache verlieren. Sind doch auch noch mehrere der Übersetzungen nicht ganz gelungen, z.B. die von mir selbst angefertigten, wie *ich* das wohl am lebhaftesten fühle. Aber ich muss die in Rede stehenden Übersetzungen als geradezu *schlecht* bezeichnen, da sie weder sprachlich noch prosodisch zu rechtfertigen sind. Ich glaube nicht zu viel zu behaupten, wenn ich das Englisch, das in diesen Liedern verbrochen wird, geradezu '*himmelschreiend*' nenne. An Ihrer Stelle hätte *ich* deshalb, wenn ich mich von dem Synodalbeschluss in diesem Falle nicht hätte dispensieren, oder nicht selbst eine bessere Uebersetzung hätte liefern können, die beiden Lieder lieber geopfert, als dass ich das Gesangbuch mit solchen Karrikaturen verunziert hätte. Denken Sie nur an 'the afflicted *martyr host*'! Das ist beinahe ebenso schlimm wie '*the Man of Margaret*'! – Ich habe noch eine wortgetreue 'Uebersetzung' des Liedes: 'O Welt, sieh hier u.s.w.' von Jacobi, aber dies ist womöglich noch schlechter als die von Kelly. Somit bleibe wohl nichts anderes übrig al seine neue anzufertigen. Allein *mir* ist die Aufgabe zu schwer; ich könnte es beim besten Willen nicht zustande bringen, selbst wenn ich die nötige Zeit und Lust dazu hätte, und auch daran fehlt es mir unter den jetzigen Umständen ganz entschieden. . . .

4. Gerade so stehe ich in betreff der 4. Str. in No. 449. Auch die anderen Gesangbücher können mich über diesen Punkt nicht beruhigen . . . Wir wollen die betreffenden Worte einmal übersetzen. Nachdem der Dichter schön gesagt hat, dass der Herr durch sein Liegen in Grabe der Gräber seiner Heiligen geheiligt und gesegnet habe, fährt er fort: 'Wo sonst sollten die sterbenden Glieder ruhen als bei dem sterbenden Haupt?' Er will offenbar sagen, dass die Glieder des Herrn, seine Christen, nach dem Tode da ruhen sollen, wo einst auch ihr Haupt, Christus, nach seinem Tode geruht hat, nämlich im Grabe; aber leider sagt er das nicht. Er redet von dem *sterbenden* Haupt; das aber giebt es nicht mehr. Es *war* tod, aber ist lebendig. Das *sterbende* Haupt hat aber nicht im *Grabe* gelegen, sondern das *tote* Haupt. Das sterbende Haupt hing am *Kreuze*. Da sollen die sterbenden Glieder doch nicht ruhen? Kurz, der Gedanke

Crull was bitterly unhappy with where others had taken his work. Although he carefully explained the reasoning behind his objections to the translation by John Kelly and the hymn by Isaac Watts, his solution—to scrap the two hymns completely—was apparently not a viable option for Dallmann and his committee, especially since the second edition had already been printed and the committee had therefore executed its mandate. It is interesting, however, that when the *ELHB* underwent its final revision in the form of *ELHB* 1912, Kelly’s mistranslation of Gerhardt’s “der betrübten Marterheer” was, indeed, corrected to: “And with afflictions’ scourging host.”<sup>86</sup> Watts’ burial hymn, however, was retained—complete with “Where should the dying members rest / But with their dying Head?”<sup>87</sup>

Although August Crull was the singular architect and visionary for the hymnody in *ELHB* 1889, the precise implementation of his vision was left in the hands of others. His “valuable gift” of *ELHB* 1889 to the English Synod was gratefully received, but it consequently became the property of revision committees, synodical conventions, and the larger church. Nevertheless, the hymnal he provided would serve a generation of English-speaking Missourians and would ultimately form the foundation for all Missouri Synod hymnals to follow.

### **The Journey toward *ELHB* 1912**

The twenty-year journey from *ELHB* 1892 to its final revision in *ELHB* 1912 was long and tortuous, with a number of starts and stops along the way. It began already at the 1891

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des Dichters ist mir viel zu blass und unbestimmt, als dass ich mich durch irgend welche Autoritäten bestimmen lassen könnte, ihn schön oder erbaulich zu nennen und ihn den lutherischen Christen zu Singen zu empfehlen.

Doch nun muss und will ich schließen. Ich freue mich, dass *ich* in dieser Angelegenheit keine Verantwortlichkeit habe und nicht durch einen ‘*Synodalbeschluss*’ gebunden bin wie Sie. Denn allerdings erinnert Ihre jetzige Lage an Scylla und Charybdis. Es thut mir darum herzlich leid, dass ich Sie nicht aus derselben befreien kann.” Emphasis original.

<sup>86</sup> *ELHB* 1912, no. 205. Apparently, a blatant mistranslation was one thing, poetic license quite another.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 542.

convention of the English Synod when a motion was made to insert the tunes of the hymns in the forthcoming *ELHB* 1892. The synod chose not to go in this direction but rather to appoint a committee to deliberate the publication of a separate “Tune Book.”<sup>88</sup> Thus, the journey toward *ELHB* 1912 began as a quest for a tune book to be used in concert with *ELHB* 1892.<sup>89</sup>

At the 1893 convention of the English Synod, the Tune Book Committee recommended that the synod defer indefinitely the publication of its own tune book. “It was stated that Layriz’s Choralbuch,<sup>90</sup> ‘Church Song,’<sup>91</sup> [and] The Common Service by Mrs. H. Krauth,<sup>92</sup> were sufficient to find the tunes for all the hymns contained in our hymnal.”<sup>93</sup> This recommendation was accepted by the convention, but the call for a comprehensive tune book for *ELHB* 1892 did not go away. Four years later, the English Synod received another request to produce a tune book for *ELHB* 1892 and resolved to consider that possibility in light of a potential revision of their

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<sup>88</sup> “Proceedings of the Second Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in St. Louis, 1891 (Baltimore: Harry Lang), 37. Tune Book Committee members appointed were “Revs. O. M. Kaiser, Th. Huegli, and A. S. Bartholomew.”

<sup>89</sup> The publication of separate text and tune editions was in keeping with the practice of German Missouri, where *KELG* 1847 and its successive editions were printed as text-only for congregational use. The organist, then, had the responsibility of locating an appropriate accompaniment in other published sources. For more on the various tune editions available to organists during this period, see Schalk, *God’s Song in a New Land*, 131–32.

<sup>90</sup> Most likely this would have been one of the later editions of Layriz’s harmonizations published to go with *KELG*, either H. F. Hoelter, ed. *Choralbuch: Eine Sammlung der gangbarsten Choräle der evang.-lutherischen Kirche, meist Dr. Fr. Layriz nebst den wichtigsten Sätzen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1886); or, Karl Brauer, ed. *Mehrstimmiges Choralbuch zu dem “Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden Ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession”* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1888).

<sup>91</sup> Joseph Augustus Seiss and Charles Pilling Engelmann, eds., *Church Song* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 1875).

<sup>92</sup> Harriet Reynolds Krauth, ed. *Church Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Philadelphia: J. K. Shryock, 1893). First published in 1891, this volume was a revision of the tune edition to all the hymns of the General Council’s *CB* 1868, with the addition of the music for the Common Service. See Schalk, *God’s Song in a New Land*, 145.

<sup>93</sup> “Proceedings of the Third Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in Chicago, 1893 (Baltimore: Lutheran Publication Board), 36.

hymnal. The Revision Committee was given the task to assess the need and report to the next convention.<sup>94</sup>

At the 1899 convention, the American Lutheran Publication Board (the publishing arm of the English Synod) reported that the printings of *ELHB* continued to experience “a regular sale”—so much so that the board “begs leave herewith to inform the honorable Synod of the wearing of the plates of our Hymn Book.” Yet, in light of pending revisions to the hymnal, the board urged that any revisions to be included be determined *before* new plates were ordered.<sup>95</sup> The floor committee receiving this report therefore recommended that “a Committee be appointed to thoroughly revise the Hymn Book both as to contents and form, said Committee to report to the next convention.”<sup>96</sup>

On a second parallel track, the Revision Committee noted that “the revision of the Hymn Book has also been completed and the corrections and improvements suggested by us are herewith submitted to the judgment of Synod.”<sup>97</sup> Yet, the floor committee that received this report recommended that “the old Revision Committee be appointed a special Committee for revising the Hymn Book, that this new Committee call for suggestions by publishing the plan

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<sup>94</sup> “Proceedings of the Fifth Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in Baltimore, 1897 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 39–40. Members of the Revision Committee at this time were William Dallmann, Adolf W. Meyer (1860–1937), and Frederick Kuegele. The Revision Committee was generally responsible for making recommendations to the Publication Board regarding new publications and revisions of existing publications. It also appears that the Revision Committee was responsible for doctrinal review of all published materials. A. W. Meyer, “Our Synod,” *Lutheran Witness* 21, no. 7 (1902): 53, notes: “[O]ur Synod jealously guards doctrinal purity, having created a Board of Revision, that is to examine all manuscripts, not otherwise provided for editorially by Synod. Our Synod considers it a duty to provide books and periodicals of an irreproachable character for her congregations.”

<sup>95</sup> “Proceedings of the Sixth Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in 1899 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 44.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 46. This action was tabled, however, pending the report of the Hymn Book Revision Committee.

<sup>97</sup> “1899 English Synod Proceedings,” 47.

thus far agreed on, in the *Lutheran Witness*, and that it give for suggestions 60 days' time, and that at the expiration of this term the Committee proceed at once to publish this work."<sup>98</sup>

Finally, on a third parallel track, the Tune Book Committee reported that "the list of tunes had been prepared, but advised Synod not to take further action until the revision of the Hymn Book had been completed." Their report was adopted, and it was furthermore resolved that the committee submit the manuscript to the Publication Board following a thirty-day vetting period in the *Lutheran Witness*.<sup>99</sup>

The confusion of parallel committees and their overlapping and even contradictory mandates came to a head at the 1901 convention when the standing committee on Revision of the Hymn-Book reported:

1. Owing to the fact that there was a good deal of unclearness as to what kind of a revision was desired, the committee did not think it wise to take any steps towards publishing a new edition of the hymn-book, until Synod shall have defined more definitely what kind of revision it desired.
2. Since the publishing of a tune book will necessitate the rearranging of the hymns of the present hymn-book and since, moreover, some of the hymns contained in it are unusable and some that are very desirable are missing, we commend a thorough revision, both as to form and contents.
3. We recommend that this present committee be dissolved and a new one be appointed that will be in a better position to do the work, and that this committee be instructed to present its manuscript at the next convention of Synod.
4. We recommend that, pending this thorough revision of the hymn-book, the Revision Committee be instructed to correct the printer's mistakes in the present edition and that these be then eliminated on the plates as far as practicable.

Synod adopted the recommendations of this report and combined the Revision of Hymn Book Committee and Committee on Tune Books into a single committee.<sup>100</sup> Prof. Louis Kahmer

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<sup>98</sup> "1899 English Synod Proceedings," 48.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 48–49.

<sup>100</sup> "Proceedings of the Seventh Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States," in Buffalo, 1901 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 137–38. Members appointed to the new

(1877–1963) of Peabody Conservatory, Baltimore, had previously been appointed to work on harmonizations for the hymnal,<sup>101</sup> and only the musical settings for the various services remained. A committee to gather funds for the publication of the new hymnal was also created.<sup>102</sup>

Lack of funding for the new hymnal appears to have further hampered progress during 1901 to 1903. At the 1903 Convention, the Publication Board reported that the expense of debuting the English Synod’s *SSH* 1901 (see Chapter Three), as well as other capital outlays, made it impossible to move forward with publication of a revision to *ELHB* 1892.<sup>103</sup> Thus, the Publication Board recommended that in the future “Synod should devise some means of financing these expensive undertakings in such a manner as to avoid crippling the Publication Board in its office of financially aiding synod’s treasury.”<sup>104</sup>

At the 1905 Convention, the “Hymn-Book Revision and Tune-Book Committee” that had been appointed at the 1901 Convention provided a full report of their activities thus far. Most significantly, they reported that just one month prior to the convention, they had published in the *Lutheran Witness* “the list of tunes and hymns selected” for the revision of *ELHB* 1892.<sup>105</sup> The synod accepted their report and “adopted the new Hymn-book proposed by the committee with

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committee were: “Revs. Dallmann, Morhart, Hemmeter, Kaiser, Sachs, Detzer.”

<sup>101</sup> “1901 English Synod Proceedings,” 14–15. Eventually Kahmer’s musical settings to the orders of service were published in: Louis Kahmer, ed. *The Common Service with Music* (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1906).

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>103</sup> “Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in Pittsburgh, 1903 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 57–58, notes that 11,200 copies of *ELHB* were printed, and that 12,000 copies of *SSH* 1901 were printed during the 1901–1903 biennium. Regarding the capital outlay to produce *SSH* 1901, “1901 English Synod Proceedings,” 131, notes that the initial printing of *SSH* 1901 was 5,000 copies of the text-only edition, and 5,000 copies of the tune edition, and that: “The vast amount of labor such a publication entails will never be known by those who have escaped the experience. Nor will the cost. The determination to present to Synod at this session this book complete, was the cause of the concentration of all our energies, financial and others, upon this, in every way, expensive publication.”

<sup>104</sup> “1903 English Synod Proceedings,” 58.

<sup>105</sup> “Proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in St. Louis, 1905 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 66.

the provision that suggestions may be sent in; the committee, however, having full power to accept or reject them.”<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, to avoid a financial crunch similar to the one experienced earlier with the publication of *SSH* 1901, the Hymn-Book Committee was also “made a committee of ways and means for the publication of the hymn-book.” The convention resolved, therefore, “that the Committee go ahead with publishing the hymn-book only under the condition that it place no financial burden upon Synod.”<sup>107</sup>

The list of hymn titles and assigned tunes published in the *Lutheran Witness* in June 1905 is most instructive. The article begins:

The Hymn Book Committee presents for revision the following list of tunes and additional hymns for the proposed new edition of the hymn book. The numbers preceding the name of a tune refer to hymns in the present hymnal. The new hymns are given in first lines with tune. All suggestions should be addressed to the Secretary, p. t., C. C. Morhart, 228 Morgan Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.<sup>108</sup>

The article then lists 634 hymns—either by hymn number from *ELHB* 1892 or by title, if not already in *ELHB* 1892. Of the 634 hymns listed, 66 (10%) were never included in *ELHB* 1912.<sup>109</sup> The fact that the vast majority of hymns in the list were eventually included demonstrates that, as early as 1905, the committee had already settled on some nine out of ten hymns to be included in the revision of their hymnal. This early dating of the committee’s work is reinforced when one considers an additional feature of this article: the listing of hymn titles and tunes according to the thematic headings envisioned for the organization of the hymns in *ELHB* 1912.

Appendix Eight shows a comparison of the thematic headings found in *ELHB* 1892 and *ELHB* 1912. Significantly, the headings included in *ELHB* 1912 were already established by the

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<sup>106</sup> “1905 English Synod Proceedings,” 67.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> C. C. Morhart, “Hymns and Tunes for a New Hymnal,” *Lutheran Witness* 24, no. 12 (1905): 91–93.

<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, 26 hymns that had not been proposed in the 1905 article were eventually included among the 567 hymns that comprised *ELHB* 1912.

time of the 1905 article, with three exceptions (indicated in brackets). In the 1905 article, “Praise” was listed as “Worship”; “National” was listed as “National and Day of Humiliation”; and an additional category, “Fruits of the Spirit,” was included under “Sanctification.” Other than these three minor differences, the thematic headings proposed in the 1905 article were identical to what was eventually included in *ELHB* 1912.

Yet, the similarities and differences in thematic headings between *ELHB* 1892 and *ELHB* 1912 are instructive. (See Appendix Eight.) In terms of similarities, the central role of the Church Year in *ELHB* 1912 is still strongly present in the first half of the hymnal as it was in *ELHB* 1892; a few elaborations (e.g., “Circumcision,” “All Saints,” etc.) were added. The “Catechism” section also has pride of place in both hymnals as key doctrinal *loci* organized around the six chief parts of the Small Catechism; again, *ELHB* 1912 adds a couple of elaborations (e.g., “Confirmation,” and “Marriage, Family, Children”). And finally, both collections conclude with the same basic eschatological themes of “Cross and Comfort,” “Death and Burial,” and “Eternity” (1892)/“Heaven” (1912).

The dissimilarities between the two hymnals have more to do with rearranging than with adding anything new to *ELHB* 1912. For instance, *ELHB* 1912 includes 130 hymns before it ever gets to “Advent” and the beginning of the Church Year (as compared to only 14 hymns in *ELHB* 1892). Yet, almost all of the preliminary headings prior to “Advent” in *ELHB* 1912 were already found elsewhere in *ELHB* 1892.<sup>110</sup> Another significant change is the renaming of the section “The Word and the Church” in *ELHB* 1892 to simply “Church” in *ELHB* 1912. In *ELHB* 1892, this section precedes the section on “Catechism”; in *ELHB* 1912, it follows it. Finally, the section

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<sup>110</sup> In Appendix Eight, for example, “Morning,” “Evening,” “Invitation,” “Praise,” “The Redeemer,” and “God’s Word” in *ELHB* 1912 all appear in different locations in *ELHB* 1892. Only “The Lord’s Day” from *ELHB* 1912 is not found in *ELHB* 1892.

on “The Christian Life” in *ELHB* 1892 is renamed as “Sanctification” in *ELHB* 1912 and significantly reshaped in the titles of its subcategories.

When one looks at the larger picture and compares the outlines of thematic headings between *KELG* 1847, *ELHB* 1889, *ELHB* 1892, and *ELHB* 1912 as provided in Appendix Seven and Appendix Eight, an overall pattern emerges. First of all, Crull’s *ELHB* 1889 sought to emulate Walther’s *KELG* 1847 closely in its thematic headings. Although the exact wording of the headings in *ELHB* 1889 is not as elaborate as *KELG* 1847, the order in which the categories appear is identical between the two. Nothing is rearranged, though some lesser categories in *KELG* 1847 are omitted from *ELHB* 1889 (e.g., “Table Hymns” and “Hymns on One’s Station and Calling”). In other words, Crull’s *ELHB* 1889 is clearly intended to be ordered according to the hymnal of “The Fathers’ Faith” (*KELG* 1847).

The addition of sub-categories in *ELHB* 1892 suggests a pragmatic elaboration of the bare-bones outline provided in *ELHB* 1889. The elaborations were pragmatic in that they provided a kind of index for the pastor to find hymns by specific topic. With the addition of fifty new hymns at the back of *ELHB* 1892, this index became even more critical, since these hymns were also, within their own section (titled “Additional Hymns”), ordered according to the outline for the rest of the hymnal. Thus, for example, with the *ELHB* 1892 addition of the sub-category of

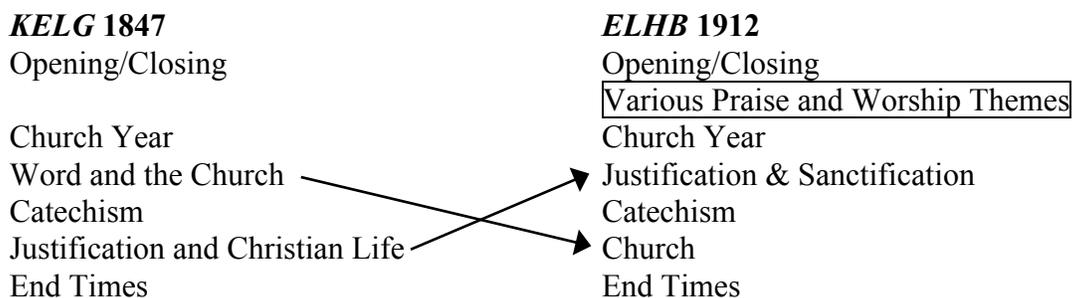
**ARRANGEMENT OF HYMNS.**

I	Sunday	- - -	1- 14
	1 Opening	1.4.6.7.8.13.14.	
	2 Closing	2.3.5.9.10.11.12.	
II	Advent and Christmas	- - -	15- 40
III	New Year	- - - -	41- 49
IV	Epiphany	- - - -	50- 52
V	Presentation	- - - -	53- 57
VI	Passion	- - - -	58- 87
VII	Easter	- - - -	88- 98
VIII	Ascension	- - - -	99-108
IX	Pentecost	- - - -	109-122
X	Trinity	- - - -	123-131
XI	Michaelmas	- - - -	132-134
XII	Reformation	- - - -	135-138
III	The Word and the Church	- - - -	139-170
	1 Glory of the Word	142.148.149.150.154.	
	2 Power	163.169.	
	3 Invitation	155.166.167.	
	4 Cornerstone Laying	139.140.	
	5 Dedication	146.147.159.	
	6 Protection of 14.	143.145.152.165.168.1.0.412.	
	7 Loyalty to 151.	156.158.160.161.409.410.	
	8 Communion of Saints	157.411.	
	9 Mission	144.154.162. 64.405.406.407.408.	
XIV	Catechism	- - - -	171-186
	1 Ten Commandments	172.173.	
	2 Creed	1.4.175.	
	3 Prayer	176.413.	
	4 Baptism	17.-179.414-417.	
	5 Absolution	180.181.	
	6 Lord's Supper	182-186.418-426.	
XV	Repentance	- - - -	187-203
XVI	Faith and Justification	- - - -	204-221

Figure 3: Excerpt from “Arrangement of Hymns,” *ELHB* 1892.

“Prayer” under the heading “Catechism,” the user could easily see that hymns 176 (“Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above”) and 413 (“Our Heavenly Father, Hear”) would both pertain. (See Figure 3.) More than pragmatic, however, this feature also reflects a pastoral and doctrinal concern articulated by Walther and “The Fathers’ Faith,” in that, with a hymnal containing a flood of so many new hymns, one needed to become familiar with where the principal hymns on a given doctrine were located. (See above, pages 43–44.)

The advent of *ELHB* 1912, however, signaled a shift in approach. Beginning already with the proposed headings in the 1905 article in the *Lutheran Witness*, the move toward *ELHB* 1912 brought with it a greater flexibility in how the hymns in the hymnal were organized. The editors felt free to modify and adapt the tradition they had received from “The Fathers’ Faith.” Although they were careful not to drop any of the main categories from *ELHB* 1892, they did rearrange and occasionally modify the titles of some of the categories. The following summary illustrates the big-picture changes in hymn organization between the “The Fathers’ Faith” (*KELG* 1847) and “The Children’s Song” (*ELHB* 1912):



The most significant thematic shift was the insertion of over a hundred hymns related to various praise and worship themes at the beginning of the hymn section, ahead of the Church Year. All of these themes were found elsewhere in *KELG* 1847 and moved to the front of *ELHB* 1912. A second major thematic shift is the exchanging of places between “Justification and Sanctification/Christian Life” and “Word/Church” sections. Since no minutes or records have

survived from the *ELHB* 1912 committee, it is impossible to know precisely the reasons for these changes. Whatever the case, the changes in hymn heading organization do reflect a willingness on the part of the editors of *ELHB* 1912 to adapt and rearrange the categories of “The Fathers’ Faith” into the service of “The Children’s Song.”

### **The Sluggish Arrival of *ELHB* 1912**

With the outline and hymns proposed and adopted at the 1905 Convention, it seemed that the publication of a revision of *ELHB* 1892 would be imminent. However, at the 1907 Convention the Hymn Book Committee reported:

According to the proceedings of the last session of Synod, p. 67, Synod resolved “That the committee go ahead with publishing the hymn book only under the condition that it place no financial burden upon Synod.”

The committee found no ways and means of publishing the book without placing any financial burden on Synod, and the book was not published. But your committee used the time to make improvements on the hymnal. The musical setting of the common service was published, also the morning, evening and communion service in separate form for congregational use.

Your committee now requests the Synod to instruct the Publication Board to publish the work in conjunction with the hymn book committee, removing the restriction imposed by Synod on your committee at the last session . . .<sup>111</sup>

The synod adopted the committee’s report and “voted to remove the restrictions of [the] last convention in regard to the publishing of the new hymn-book . . .”<sup>112</sup> Yet, by the 1909 Convention, the committee was still hindered in bringing the revision to publication, reporting “that the new hymn-book with tunes was not published, because they [the committee] had not been able to secure the necessary funds for this purpose.”<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> “Proceedings of the Tenth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in Milwaukee, 1907 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 66.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>113</sup> “Proceedings of the Eleventh Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in Cleveland, 1909 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 79.

The widespread frustration with delays was apparent in a March 1908 report from the American Lutheran Publication Board, the publishing arm of the English Synod.

The appearance of the Church Hymnal is still the subject of inquiry, wonder, and perhaps anxiety, among us. The correspondence incumbent upon the Publication Board throughout the years that this publication has been the object of hope, has very probably entailed an amount of labor equivalent to the amount necessary to produce the book. As it is, the manuscript is still in the hands of the committee entrusted with the work of its preparation and this Board is still faithfully engaged in the attempt of quieting impatient enquirers and of appeasing its own resentment in case it is blamed for the delay.<sup>114</sup>

The article continues by noting the additional problem for the Publication Board of living in a state of limbo between hymnals. Because the new hymnal appeared to be on the horizon, demand for the old hymnal was decreasing, as many congregations preferred to wait for the new edition. “How much the sale of our present book has been hindered by the protracted expectation of the new book, is not readily appreciated.”<sup>115</sup>

And yet, sales of *ELHB* 1889/1892 appear to have been steady and healthy, overall.

Theodore J. A. Huegli (1861–1933), who had earlier prepared an index of the official Proceedings of the English Synod from 1888–1907,<sup>116</sup> wrote a follow-up series of articles in the *Lutheran Witness* titled “The History of Synod.” Perhaps in response to the somewhat negative report of the Publication Board a month earlier, Huegli took up the topic of “The Hymn Book” in April 1908, outlining a history of *ELHB* 1889/1892 and its various editions according to the proceedings he had recently indexed. Toward the conclusion of his article, he notes: “So then we have now four kinds of Hymnals. 1. The unabridged.<sup>117</sup> 2. The abridged.<sup>118</sup> 3. The Hymn

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<sup>114</sup> “Report of the American Lutheran Publication Board,” *Lutheran Witness* 27, no. 6 (1908), 43.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> This index was published in the back of “1907 English Synod Proceedings,” 90–112.

<sup>117</sup> *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (Baltimore: Lutheran Publication Board, 1892). This edition appears to be the most complete edition published prior to *ELHB* 1912. It contained the Common Service materials of 1888 (first added in this edition), including: tables on the festivals of the Church Year, the Epistles and Gospels, Scripture

Pamphlet.<sup>119</sup> 4. One hundred hymns with music.”<sup>120</sup> He continues: “The Hymnbook was seemingly a good seller. Let us see.”

It was copyrighted in 1892. Seven years later [1899] the report says: “The Hymn Book experiences a regular sale.” Nine years later [1901] the report says: “The Hymn Book has been repeatedly issued in increased editions, due largely to the introductory rate that was granted.” Two years later [1903] the report says: “New Editions, Hymn Book, 11,200 copies,” and “Hymn Pamphlet 5,000 copies.” One year later [1905] the report says: “New Edition Hymn Book 11,000 copies, including 5,000 of the abbreviated ones, and “Hymn Pamphlet 5,000 copies.” Two years later [1907] the report says: “New Edition Full Hymnal 8,000 copies. Abridged Hymnal 4,000 copies. One Hundred Hymns with music 10,000 copies.”<sup>121</sup>

Although records of the various printings of *ELHB* from 1889 onward are incomplete in the English Synod’s Proceedings, a conservative estimate would suggest that at least 60,000 copies of the “abridged” and “unabridged” versions of *ELHB* were printed over the two decades between 1889 and 1909.

At the 1909 Convention, the Hymn Book Committee once again reported that “the new hymn-book with tunes was not published, because they had not been able to secure the necessary

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lessons for Sundays and festivals, and daily readings for morning and evening; orders of service for Holy Communion, Vespers, and Matins; Introits and Collects for the Church Year; Invitatories, Antiphons, Responsories and Versicles for the Church Year; a section of collects and prayers, as well as longer corporate prayers such as the Litany, Suffrages, and the Bidding Prayer; the Psalms (selected); 450 hymns; and indexes.

<sup>118</sup> *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, abbreviated ed. (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1905). According to the “Catalogue of the American Lutheran Publication Board,” printed at the back of “1905 English Synod Proceedings,” this edition appears to have been first published in 1905. It contained only the Order of Morning and Evening Service and 450 hymns. “This cheap and abbreviated edition may prove very useful to the needs of poor mission churches.”

<sup>119</sup> These inexpensive offprints of various hymns in *ELHB* 1892 appear to have been first published around 1899. The “Catalogue of the American Lutheran Publication Board,” printed at the back of “1905 English Synod Proceedings,” describes three different types of “Hymn Pamphlets” published by 1905: “Hymn Booklet” (35 hymns, morning and evening services, “For Mission Congregations and Travelling Missionaries”); “Passion Hymns” (ten hymns); and “Hymn Sheet” (nine hymns, “suitable for Mission Festivals, Dedication, Cornerstone Laying, Reformation Festivals, Installation, and similar occasions.”

<sup>120</sup> *One Hundred Hymns with Music: For Mission Congregations and Sunday Schools* (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1901). This edition appears to have been first published around 1901 as an inexpensive offprint of selected hymns from *ELHB* 1892.

<sup>121</sup> Theodore J. A. Huegli, “The History of Synod: The Hymn Book,” *Lutheran Witness* 27, no. 7 (1908), 54.

funds for this purpose.” The synod then appointed a committee of three laymen to secure funds for publishing the new hymnal.<sup>122</sup>

The question of hymnal publication at the 1909 Convention, however, took a back seat to the much larger issue of the so-called “Union Question”—that is, whether and how the English Synod might join the German Missouri Synod as the English District. German Missouri had appointed a committee to meet with representatives of the English Synod on the day prior to the opening of the 1909 Convention. Together they agreed on a report that was presented to the convention for consideration. The convention adopted seven points, the very first of which was:

1. That we turn our publication affairs over to the German Synod, but that a committee, the majority of which are members of the English district, be elected to get out such literature as our peculiar needs demand such as the Hymnbook, Sunday-school literature, Pamphlets, etc.<sup>123</sup>

Following the 1909 Convention, the Hymn Book Committee continued its work on preparing a manuscript for publication. In February 1910, the Publication Board reported:

Efforts are being made by a Committee appointed for the purpose and by the President and Officers of Synod to place the new Hymnal with music into the hands of our people. We have good reason to hope that any further delay will be shortly overcome . . .<sup>124</sup>

In December of the same year, a notice in the *Lutheran Witness* reported concerning the new hymnal: “The plates are now being made. The printer promises three or four pages every day.”<sup>125</sup>

Problems with the printer appear to have plagued the project from then on out. In March 1911, the Publication Board reported:

The New Hymn book is being published in both a Music and a Word edition[.] With reference to the repeated change in date set for its prospective appearance, which has

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<sup>122</sup> “1901 English Synod Proceedings,” 79.

<sup>123</sup> [Carl A.] W.[eiss], “Convention of Synod,” *Lutheran Witness* 28, no. 15 (1909), 323.

<sup>124</sup> William H. Dale, “Report of the American Lutheran Publication Board,” *Lutheran Witness* 29, no. 4 (1910): 30.

<sup>125</sup> “Coming,” *Lutheran Witness* 29, no. 25 (1910): 200.

been a source of disappointment to many, we wish to have the brethren bear in mind that the Board has been entirely dependent for information of this kind on advices [*sic*] received from the printer.<sup>126</sup>

Two months later, at the final convention of the English Synod, the report from the March issue of the *Lutheran Witness* was included in the Proceedings.<sup>127</sup> At the German Missouri Synod Convention, each of the proposed seven points of union was considered separately, to which the German convention then added their own clarifications as to how they understood each of the seven points. Regarding the first point having to do with publications, the German Synod added the following clarification:

1. The publications in question are subject to revision by the Theological Faculty at St. Louis, and the English District is to assume the financial responsibility for such publications in the same manner as is now done in similar instances by our German Districts.

In effect, it appears that the German Synod desired to exercise doctrinal oversight over future English District publications, but not to invest any of its financial resources toward their publication. Yet, in the English Synod's consideration of the German Synod's clarification, it was resolved that President Eckhardt of the English Synod be added to the Preliminary Committee<sup>128</sup> and that this committee be empowered "to act in all matters to be adjusted between our District Synod and the Delegate Synod."<sup>129</sup> It was also resolved that "the Hymn-Book

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<sup>126</sup> William H. Dale, "Publication Matters: Report of American Lutheran Publication Board," *Lutheran Witness* 30, no. 7 (1911), 52.

<sup>127</sup> "1911 English Synod Proceedings," 66.

<sup>128</sup> The Preliminary Committee had been appointed at the 1909 Convention to work out matters of the union with the German Missouri Synod. See "1901 English Synod Proceedings," 47. That committee was authorized to continue its work following the 1911 union. See "1911 English Synod Proceedings," 45: "*Executive Preliminary Committee*, authorized to adjust matters with German Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, and to make necessary transfers of properties, etc.: Rev. H. P. Eckhardt; Prof. Geo. Romoser; Rev. W. Dallmann; Messrs. J. M. Schuermann, E. Stuerken."

<sup>129</sup> "1911 English Synod Proceedings," 72.

Committee, the Hymn-Book Finance Committee, were continued until they have wound up their affairs.”<sup>130</sup>

The publication of the new hymnal would take nearly another year to materialize. By February 1912, it appears that the project had already been put into the hands of Concordia Publishing House for publication. A notice from the publisher appeared in the *Lutheran Witness* expressing regret that a precise publication date could not yet be announced. This was due mainly to the contract that the American Lutheran Publication Board had previously made with the printer, which left Concordia “without effective means to force more rapid progress.” More than half of the hymnal was now printed, and Concordia hoped to see the complete book (with tunes) available for distribution sometime in the early spring. Yet, “This announcement,” Concordia concluded, “is no promise on our part. We cannot make promises in this matter because our frequent disappointments in this deal have taught us the folly of essaying a promise without having reasonable control over the conditions attending the execution of such promise.”<sup>131</sup>

Finally, in April 1912, Concordia Publishing House was pleased to announce in the *Lutheran Witness* “the completion of the new hymnal [tune edition only], which has so long and so eagerly been expected.” Those who had placed advanced orders with the English District at a special price would receive their copies first. A second printing would commence as soon as the plates arrived at Concordia.<sup>132</sup> The word edition was not yet ready, though the plates were in process.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> “1911 English Synod Proceedings,” 46.

<sup>131</sup> “The New English Hymnal,” *Lutheran Witness* 31, no. 5 (1912): 40.

<sup>132</sup> An article published in 1912 notes that: “At its final convention in St. Louis the Synod’s Hymn-Book Committee reported that it had finished its work, and ‘that the Hymnal is in the hands of the printer.’ With this committee another, the Hymn-Book Finance Committee, had been cooperating, and this committee reported that it had received 4,802 advance subscriptions for the new hymnal—enough to almost exhaust the first edition; that it had

Three weeks later, the *Lutheran Witness* published a review of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal* [sic, i.e., *Hymn-Book*], which consisted mostly of excerpts from correspondence received from the publisher:

At last we are able to announce the completion of this book which has been so long in preparation, long in the hands of the editorial committee, which has exercised the most scrupulous care in the selection of text and melody; long in the hands of the committee of revision; long in the hands of the executive committee and—be it confessed—long in the hands of the printers. It is sincerely hoped by the publishers that all this painstaking care will have resulted in giving the Missouri-Lutheran congregations a hymnal that shall be not only orthodox to a nicety, but also both comprehensive as to text selection and complete and practical as to its musical settings.<sup>134</sup>

Understandably, the publisher clearly wanted to distance itself from the delay experienced as a result of committees and, in particular, the printer.

Two brief reviews appeared in the publications of German Missouri to announce the advent of the tune edition of *ELHB* 1912. *Lehre und Wehre* noted that the collection should be welcomed with joy not only by organists, but also by families in their homes, with the hope that its hymns might displace some of the songs that are unworthy to be sung by Christian families.<sup>135</sup>

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received \$3,224.65, had expended \$1,821.50, had outstanding accounts for unpaid subscriptions to the amount of \$728.75—all of which showed that the financial side of the enterprise had been sufficiently safe-guarded.” “Our New English Hymn-Book,” *Theological Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1912): 155. By July 1912, the publisher announced that the first printing had sold out. See “At Home,” *Lutheran Witness* 31, no. 14 (1912): 109. Nearly two months later, the publisher announced that the second printing had arrived and was now available for purchase. See “The New Hymn-Book,” *Lutheran Witness* 31, no. 18 (1912): 144.

<sup>133</sup> “The Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book,” *Lutheran Witness* 31, no. 10 (1912): 72. The production of the word edition appears to have been a Concordia Publishing House project. It was not available for sale until December 1912. See [George A.] R[omoser], “Review of *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, Word Edition,” *Lutheran Witness* 32, no. 2 (1913): 15.

<sup>134</sup> [George A.] R[omoser], “Review of *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal* [sic],” *Lutheran Witness* 31, no. 10 (1912): 80.

<sup>135</sup> F.[riedrich] B.[ente], “Review of *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, With Tunes,” *Lehre und Wehre* 58, no. 5 (1912): 218: “Unser Englischer Distrikt kann sich glücklich schätzen, daß er in den Besitz dieses Buches gelangt ist, welches Kirchenlieder und Melodien miteinander verbindet. Nicht bloß Organisten werden es mit Freuden begrüßen, sondern auch in christliche Familien sollte es seinen Eingang halten und mit dazu beitragen, daß unsere Kirchenlieder nicht nur in den Gottesdiensten, sondern auch in den Häusern fleißig gesungen und unwürdige Lieder aus christlichen Familien verdrängt werden. Wer eine Orgel oder eine Piano im Hause hat, sollte sich unverzüglich dies Hymn-Book with Tunes kommen lassen. Und Pastoren tun insonderheit englischen Gemeindegliedern einen Dienst, wenn sie

*Der Lutheraner* provided a glowing description of the contents of *ELHB* 1912, noting that a large number of the hymns included were “translations of our old German Lutheran hymns,” that the remainder of the hymns were “chosen with care,” and that the hymns were arranged according to the Church Year, chief doctrinal *loci*, and various occasions.<sup>136</sup>

The most thorough and substantive review of *ELHB* 1912 appeared in the October 1912 issue of *Theological Quarterly*:

While the English Synod of Missouri was discussing the advisability and feasibility of organic union with the German Missouri Synod, a great work was quietly being done for it which was destined to affect, in a perceptible manner, the public worship and private devotions of its members. At its final convention in St. Louis the Synod’s Hymn-Book Committee reported that it had finished its work, and ‘that the Hymnal is in the hands of the printer.’ . . . In the mean time [*sic*], the contemplated union with the German Synod was effected . . . The new hymnal therefore, by the logic of events becomes the hymnal of the entire Missouri Synod.<sup>137</sup>

The reviewer continues by first noting the magnitude of change from *ELHB* 1892 to *ELHB* 1912. He calculates that *ELHB* 1912 contains an additional 135 new hymns and then provides lists, first of the English-language hymns that were omitted and then of the German-language hymns. Yet, he notes the “ample compensation provided” by the inclusion of additional translations of German hymns, remarking in particular that the fine translation of Speratus’ “Es ist das Heil uns kommen her” “balances the loss of many of the discarded hymns.” The writer estimates that “the new hymn-book contains 219 translations of standard German hymns, to 210 translations

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dieselben auf obiges Buch aufmerksam machen.”

<sup>136</sup> E.[dward] P.[ardieck], “Review of *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*,” *Der Lutheraner* 68, no. 10 (1912): 159: “Ein schöner, stattlicher Band von 538 Seiten, das Gesangbuch für unsere englischen Gemeinden, an das ein Komitee unserer englischen Brüder viel Arbeit und Mühe gewandt hat. Es enthält eine volle Gottesdienstordnung für den Hauptgottesdienst, für Abend- und Frühgottesdienst, Antiphonen, Kollekten und Gebete und eine große Auswahl von Psalmen. Dann folgen die 594 Lieder mit Noten, zum sehr großen Teil Übersetzungen unserer alten deutschen lutherischen Lieder. Die übrigen sind mit Vorsicht ausgewählt. Die Lieder sind geordnet nach den Zeiten des Kirchenjahres, nach Hauptstücken der Lehre und nach Gelegenheiten. Den Schluß bilden Angaben der beweglichen und unbeweglichen Feste, die Daten des Osterfestes bis zum Jahre 2000 und mehrere Verzeichnisse.”

<sup>137</sup> “Our New English Hymn-Book,” 155.

contained in the old book. About 39 percent of the entire contents of the new book is from standard Lutheran hymn-writers.”<sup>138</sup>

The writer then reckons that the most striking change from “old to new” appears in the topical rearrangement of the hymns. “Here a *veritable revolution* has taken place . . . Everything appears differently grouped and differently placed.” The writer suggests that

when all this is considered, one anticipates a shock among the users of the old book when they begin to use the new. It was a heroic committee that attempted this thoroughgoing change; and the question can only be, Was the committee’s courage balanced by wisdom?<sup>139</sup>

The writer observes that this massive change runs along two lines. First, a great many hymns that appeared under one heading in *ELHB* 1892 were reclassified and now appear under a different heading in *ELHB* 1912. For some hymns, this has actually been a helpful move. Secondly, however, the writer notes that “the sequence of the topical divisions has been changed . . .” The logic of the new arrangement is apparent to the writer in that “it follows a natural line of thought, and thus will facilitate our mental readjustment of the new order of things.”<sup>140</sup> The writer finishes his review by noting a number of additional positive features of *ELHB* 1912 and concludes that “in our judgment the book will help to make our English services more beautiful, more impressive, and more expressive of the Lutheran ideal of divine worship . . .”<sup>141</sup>

### **Conclusions**

The trajectory from *KELG* 1847 to *ELHB* 1889/1892 to *ELHB* 1912 demonstrates both a strong continuity with “The Fathers’ Faith,” as well as a willingness to adapt the received

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<sup>138</sup> “Our New English Hymn-Book,” 157–58.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 159. Emphasis not original.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 160–61.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

tradition in a way that would best serve the “The Children’s Song” in an increasingly English-speaking, American context. Walther’s *KELG* 1847 represented a repudiation of the Rationalist hymnals of his day and a restoration of the older, orthodox Dresden line of hymnals. Crull sought to carry forward the substance of Walther’s restorational move, both in the transitional hymnals he edited, as well as in the German hymn corpus and outline of hymns in *ELHB* 1889. Nearly all of the German hymns in *ELHB* 1889 came from *KELG* 1847; the structural outline of hymns in *ELHB* 1889 closely mirrored *KELG* 1847. Crull had grown up in Walther’s congregation and later became Walther’s “go-to guy” for hymn translations and translations into English in general. Clearly, Crull’s singular vision and editorship of *ELHB* 1889 were firmly grounded in “The Fathers’ Faith.”

And yet, when it came to selecting a corpus of English-language hymns for *ELHB* 1889, Crull turned to the hymnals of older, non-Synodical Conference Lutheran church bodies (i.e., the General Synod and the General Council), with whom Missouri had been engaged in polemical discourse for decades. Indeed, the theological tensions between the more Americanized Lutherans and the Missouri Synod appear to have taken a back seat when English-speaking Missourians began to search for a roadmap to English-language hymnody. They found that roadmap by culling through the hymnals of these older Lutheran church bodies, who generations earlier had already travelled the road from German into English hymnody.

Crull sought to bring the two worlds together in *ELHB* 1889—German and English hymnody, on a nearly equal, fifty-fifty basis. Yet, almost immediately upon completion of his manuscript, Crull’s single-minded vision was compromised, at least from his perspective. The many typographical errors in *ELHB* 1889 were but the tip of the iceberg for the loss of control and transformation that would ultimately come to his creation, as a new committee quickly

added an additional fifty hymns and as the English Synod began almost immediately the long and tortuous journey toward a tune book and the eventual wholesale revision that resulted in *ELHB* 1912.

The long road to *ELHB* 1912 was full of potholes. From the initial confusion of committees and their overlapping and contradictory purviews, to the underfunded mandate to produce a new hymnal; from the early completion of hymn lists and outline, to the rise of the all-consuming “Union Question”; from congregational frustration with seemingly interminable delays, to the publisher’s irritation with a poorly executed printing contract—the long road from *ELHB* 1889 to the Missouri Synod’s first, official, English-language hymnal in *ELHB* 1912 was fraught with challenges. And yet, this lengthy period also allowed those who worked on this project significant opportunity for reflection. Unlike *ELHB* 1889, which was almost entirely the work of one individual and a small committee of reviewers, the committee that produced *ELHB* 1912 benefited from the requested input of any and all interested parties in the English Synod, as well as from many years of using *ELHB* 1889/1892, learning from its strong points and shortcomings. Such a broadened base of input, as well as significant time to reflect, contributed significantly to the work of the *ELHB* 1912 committee and the decisions that it made.

In their restructuring of the hymns, the *ELHB* 1912 committee retained almost all of the chief categories from *ELHB* 1892, but with significant adaptations in the ordering of these categories. On the one hand, this shift in structure represented a “veritable revolution” to the end-user who was used to the way the hymns had been organized in *ELHB* 1892, and even *KELG* 1847. On the other hand, such a flexibility in rethinking old categories in new ways also represented a forward-looking willingness to adapt this structural component of “The Fathers’ Faith” in a way that would best serve “The Children’s Song” in a twentieth-century context.

As we will see in the next chapter, this adaptive principle extended beyond mere structural adaptations and the consideration of other Lutheran roadmaps. Rather, William Dallman's editorship of the *Sunday-School Hymnal* of 1901 considerably broadened the boundaries of source hymnals and hymn selection as he sought to carry forward "The Fathers' Faith" into "The Children's Song."

## CHAPTER THREE

### BACKGROUND AND FORMATION OF THE *SUNDAY-SCHOOL HYMNAL* (1901)

In the formation of *ELHB* 1889, August Crull combined the outline and core hymnody of Walther's *KELG* 1847 with a sizeable corpus of mainstream, Protestant, English-language hymnody derived from the older American Lutheran source hymnals. In the *Sunday-School Hymnal* of 1901, William Dallmann expanded the corpus of acceptable source hymnals well beyond Lutheran sources and introduced Missouri Synod Lutheranism to the genre of the Sunday school hymnal.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, as Missouri Lutheranism began to make the difficult transition from German to English during the waning decades of the nineteenth century, Sunday schools became part and parcel of church life in the English Synod. Desiring to offer an alternative to the heterodox Sunday schools of the surrounding Protestants, English Missouri's congregations began to organize Lutheran counterparts. A lack of orthodox teaching materials in English became immediately evident, providing incentive in English Missouri to produce not only instructional materials in English, but also a Sunday school hymnal to assist in the task of establishing orthodox, Lutheran Sunday schools in an American, evangelical environment.

This chapter will explore the formation history of *SSH* 1901 within the context of Missouri Lutheranism's encounter with the American Sunday school movement, the genre of evangelical Sunday school hymnals, and the role of William Dallmann as its chief editor and compiler. We will examine the Lutheran and non-Lutheran source hymnals used to compile *SSH* 1901, as well

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<sup>1</sup> *SSH* 1901 was used for over a half a century in the Missouri Synod until it was succeeded by *The Children's*

as its outline of hymns. This chapter will demonstrate that *SSH* 1901 drew heavily from a broad array of surrounding American evangelical Sunday school hymnals, and only minimally from Missouri Lutheranism's German-language hymnody. *SSH* 1901 also served a number of valuable transitional roles between the publication of *ELHB* 1892 and *ELHB* 1912.

### **Missouri Synod Lutheranism and the American Sunday School**

The American Sunday school movement originated in eighteenth-century England when Robert Raikes (1736–1811) and other British divines pioneered a model consisting of two long Sunday sessions, during which they provided basic educational instruction to the poor working children of the day.<sup>2</sup> Although this model was used with some success in America, it was soon adapted by John Wesley (1703–91) and other Methodists toward a goal of one hour of purely religious instruction and, ultimately, of conversion.<sup>3</sup> From the founding of the American Sunday School Union in 1824 onward, this new form of the Sunday school exploded on the American ecclesiastical scene to become an embedded and enduring institution.<sup>4</sup>

Among American Lutherans, reception of the Sunday school was early and pronounced. By 1830, the General Synod had established a Lutheran Sunday School Union with ample support from such prominent Lutheran leaders of the time as Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799–1873), Joseph A. Seiss (1823–1904), and Benjamin Kurtz (1795–1865). The Sunday school materials

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*Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955).

<sup>2</sup> Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790–1880* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 6.

<sup>3</sup> Martin A. Haendschke, *The Sunday School Story: The History of the Sunday School in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*, Twentieth Yearbook of the Lutheran Education Association (River Forest, IL: Lutheran Education Association, 1963), 5.

<sup>4</sup> Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 229–30. Noll notes that some 70,000 Sunday Schools had been founded by the end of the nineteenth century.

they developed consequently reflected their theological proclivities and confessional deficiencies.<sup>5</sup>

In the Missouri Synod, however, things were on a different timetable. While the Sunday school was flourishing in the rest of American Lutheranism, Missouri was just stepping off the boat in St. Louis. With them they brought a strong tradition of *Christenlehre*—that is, catechetical instruction of the youth on the basis of the Small Catechism. Often *Christenlehre* was conducted on Sunday afternoons during a special session, but in other places, out of pragmatic concerns, it was included as part of the Sunday morning Divine Service.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the German immigrants brought with them their own catechetical version of the Sunday school.<sup>7</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, the process of Americanization began to have its effect on German Missouri, and the institution of the American Sunday school came with it. Controversy was the immediate result. Martin A. Haendschke identifies representative leaders of those who were pro and con in the debate.<sup>8</sup> Among those against establishing Sunday schools in Missouri were Christian August Thomas Selle (1819–98) who wrote as early as 1876:

One should not suggest that the future of Christian elementary schools can be replaced by the so-called Sunday schools to which some parents who are mildly inclined toward Christianity send their children . . . The Sunday schools effect nothing but harm. The blame for this is partly . . . the large number of instructional books permeated with destructive Pelagianism, from which children learn terrible and pharisaic self-righteousness . . . In larger cities the sects fondly planned to lure our Lutheran school youth to the ways of the Sunday school in their Sunday school.

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<sup>5</sup> Haendschke, *Sunday School Story*, 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>7</sup> In addition to the practice of *Christenlehre*, the Missouri Synod also established a sizeable system of parochial schools, which were viewed “as essential to the preservation and inculcation of sound doctrine. . . . In the late nineteenth century Missouri promoted parochial schools vigorously in response to indifference within the synod and to hostility from without. In advocating congregational schools the chief argument continued to be that they were superior to public schools because all instruction could center in the Word of God whereas public schools could not include religious instruction.” E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 295–96.

<sup>8</sup> Haendschke, *Sunday School Story*, 19–24.

Already many have been estranged and torn away from us in this manner. They were viewed by the sects as their property and were confirmed by some of them, namely, the Episcopal, Reformed and United.<sup>9</sup>

Here we see two pronounced theological concerns. The first was that there were no doctrinally suitable materials available for orthodox, Lutheran congregations to use in establishing Lutheran Sunday schools. All that was available was that of the surrounding “sects” or the almost equally-unsuitable materials from the more Americanized Lutheran bodies. This concern for orthodox Sunday school materials would become a significant impetus toward the publication of *SSH* 1901.

The second concern Selle reflects is that the youth of the church were being sent to non-Lutheran Sunday schools with the result that many eventually deserted the Lutheran Church altogether. As English increasingly became the mother tongue of second- and third-generation Missouri Lutherans, the English-speaking Sunday schools of the Reformed churches began to have a certain appeal for their children. By the turn of the century, this had become a significant problem, as witnessed in an article in *Der Lutheraner*, the lay-periodical of German Missouri:

It is a matter not merely of whether God’s Word is being taught, but much more of whether it is being taught to us purely and clearly. For that reason, if a child attends a church or a school, then its parents should, therefore, see to it that such a church or school be *orthodox*. Parents should not let their children attend a church about which this cannot be truly said . . . And we find false doctrine among all the sects.

The article then gives examples of how the Baptists, the Reformed, the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Union churches all teach falsely in their Sunday schools, and concludes by quoting C. F. W. Walther, founding father of German Missouri:

[Quoting Walther] “Just as each doctrine from the Word of God is a heavenly seed of rebirth unto eternal life, so, on the other hand, every man-made doctrine of salvation is a hellish seed of satanic-birth unto eternal death. Oh, how many a soul has indeed

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<sup>9</sup> Haendschke, *Sunday School Story*, 20–21, quoting C.[hristian] A.[ugust Thomas] Selle, “Die Ursache des Verfalls des früher allgemein herrschenden Parochialschulwesens in unserem Lande,” *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt* 7, no. 1 (1872): 16–17.

gone from a single false doctrine to an ever falser hope of salvation—indeed, from a single false threat, warning, or punishment to an ever falser fear, and even to a complete denial [of the faith] and so ultimately of soul and salvation!” False doctrine is a perilous poison. Just as if at a grand dinner party, arsenic were mixed in with the drinks, everyone would drink to their own bodily and temporal death, so also can a grand fellowship of believers, if the poison of false doctrine is mixed into the sermon, receive spiritual and eternal death.<sup>10</sup>

This is strong language as it describes the “poison” of false doctrine in a Lutheran congregation and, particularly, among little children. The American Sunday school was seen as a purveyor of such toxins, and therefore to be avoided at all costs by German Missouri.

In English Missouri, however, there was a strong desire to *adapt* the Sunday school toward orthodox, Lutheran ends. Already at its convention in 1886, Andrew Rader (1830–97), then President of English Missouri, recommended: “Each congregation should have Sunday-School on all Sundays in which there is no preaching. In this matter Conference should give advice and encouragement.” And indeed they did: “Concerning Sunday Schools the President’s suggestion was heartily indorsed [*sic*], viz. that the pastors endeavor to establish the same in their respective congregations and that truly Lutheran books only be used.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> W. C. R., “Warum sollen christliche Eltern ihre Kinder nicht in die Sonntagsschulen der Secten gehen lassen?”, *Der Lutheraner* 56, no. 11 (1900): 168–69. Emphasis original. “Es kommt nicht sowohl darauf an, daß uns Gottes Wort gelehrt wird, als vielmehr darauf, daß es uns *rein* und *lauter* gelehrt wird. Wenn daher Kinder in eine Kirche oder Schule gehen, so sollen die Eltern darauf achten, daß es eine *rechtgläubige* ist. In eine Kirche, von welcher dies nicht mit Recht gesagt werden kann, sollten Eltern ihre Kinder nicht gehen lassen . . . So finden wir bei allen Secten falsche Lehren. . . .”

“Wie jede Lehre des Wortes Gottes ein himmlischer Same der Wiedergeburt zum ewigen Leben ist, so ist hingegen jede Menschenlehre in Sachen der Seligkeit ein höllischer Same der Satansgeburt zum ewigen Tode. Ach, wie manche Seele hat schon eine einzige falsche Lehre für immer zu falscher Seligkeitshoffnung, schon eine einzige falsche Drohung, Warnung und Strafe für immer zu falscher Furcht und zu gänzlicher Versagung und so endlich um Seel und Seligkeit gebracht’ (*Brosamen*, s. 473) . . . Die falsche Lehre ist ein gefährliches Seelengift. Wie nun eine ganze große Tischgesellschaft, wenn in die Becher Arsenik gemischt ist, sich den leiblichen und zeitlichen Tod trinken kann, so kann auch eine große Zuhörerschaft, wenn der Predigt das Gift der falschen Lehren beigemischt ist, sich den geistlichen und ewigen Tod holen.”

<sup>11</sup> “Proceedings of the 13th Convention of the English Lutheran Conference of Missouri . . . 1886” (St. Louis, Missouri: n.p. 1887), 6. It is unclear what is meant by the phrase “all Sundays in which there is no preaching.” It seems likely that English-speaking pastors were spread so thinly during this period that they could not be present to preach every Sunday at every congregation they served.

This ongoing concern for the development of orthodox, Lutheran Sunday school materials in English is evident in the Proceedings from English Missouri conventions held throughout the 1890s, so that at the 1901 English Synod Convention, President William Dallmann would recommend:

That Synod . . . a) Treat all the doctrines of the Bible in the order of their importance; b) Treat all the characters in the Bible in the order of their importance; c) Treat the parables of Christ; d) Treat the miracles of Christ; e) Treat the names of Christ; f) Treat the titles of the Christians; g) Treat the books of the Bible in the order of their importance. This is a large order, but it is not a rush order. Systematize the work and apportion it among our conferences and friends and slowly, but surely, we shall have a good English Lutheran literature, so that our children may possess and enjoy the inheritance of their fathers. The material is there in rich abundance; bring it down to date. “Blessed is the man that maketh two blades of grass to grow where but one had grown before.” Per contra, blessed is the man that sayeth on one page what another took two pages to say, and again, Blessed is the man that will translate the language of the pundits into the language of the people. Shorten and sharpen to strike and stick.<sup>12</sup>

Here we see the visionary thinking not only of the president of English Missouri, but also of the man who had been the chief theological editor for the *SSH* 1901 published earlier that year. Indeed, Dallmann called for nothing less than the comprehensive transmission of orthodox, German Lutheranism into English, and in such a way as to engage not just English-speaking Americans of German descent, but the rest of America as well—“Shorten and sharpen to strike and stick.” The publication board concurred:

The *Elim Lesson Quarterly* was continued successfully during the years 1899 and 1900, when, after protracted deliberation, also with a number of pastors, it was decided to make a change in our general scheme, with the view of ultimately arriving at some permanent basis both in the matter and in the form of our Sunday School literature. . . . Your Board, therefore submits, whether it would not now be time to constitute a committee which would at once proceed to compile both for booklet and pamphlet form, a *Life of Christ* series, or in other words, a *New Testament Bible*

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<sup>12</sup> “Proceedings of the Seventh Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in *Buffalo*, 1901 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 17.

History, covering the Life of Christ, arranged for a one year's course, in the Sunday School. We advise this.<sup>13</sup>

And synod responded: "Recommendations . . . of President's Report were referred to Publications Board. The Sunday-school Literature Committee were made editors of the 'Guide.'"<sup>14</sup> This historic shift in publication policy signaled the beginning of a focused and ongoing publication of Sunday school materials for English Missouri, and, after World War I, for the entire Missouri Synod. And the publication of *SSH* 1901 led the way.

### **The Formation of *SSH* 1901**

An exploration of the formation of *SSH* 1901 will proceed along the following lines. Beginning with a broad survey of the origins of the Sunday school movement and the genre of the Sunday school hymnal in general, the narrative will move to a more specific examination of the formation history of *SSH* 1901 and the background and role of William Dallmann as theological editor. An examination of the stated purposes for *SSH* 1901 in the *Lutheran Witness* will follow, including a significant review by *SSH* 1901 committee member Dietrich Henry Steffens (1866–1944). This section will conclude with an examination of other reviews and reactions to *SSH* 1901, as well as publication figures and the general impact of *SSH* 1901 on English Missouri.

### **The genre of the Sunday school hymnal**

Narrating an historical background for *SSH* 1901 begins suitably with the history of Sunday school hymnals in general. Samuel J. Rogal, in his extensive bibliographic survey of British and American Sunday school hymnals, briefly traces the history of such publications and notes:

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<sup>13</sup> "1901 Missouri Synod Proceedings," 129–30.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

The serious student of divine verse can declare, with the utmost confidence, that not until the publication of Isaac Watt's *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children* [London, 1715] . . . does anything resembling legitimate hymnody in Britain (or in the English language, for that matter) emerge and then prepare the path for the periods to follow.<sup>15</sup>

After Watts, Rogal finds the next major milestone in Charles Wesley's (1707–88) publication of *Hymns for Children* in 1763. In the 1790 edition, his brother, John Wesley, the founder of British Methodism, noted a significant contrast between the work of Charles Wesley and that of Isaac Watts that preceded him:

To the Reader: There are two ways of writing or speaking to children: the one is, to let ourselves down to them; the other, to lift them up to us. Dr. Watts has wrote [*sic*] on the former way, and has succeeded admirably well, speaking to children as children, and leaving them as he found them. The following Hymns are written on the other plan: they contain strong and manly sense, yet expressed in such plain and easy language as even children may understand. But when they do understand them, they will be children no longer, only in years and in stature.<sup>16</sup>

In effect, John Wesley considered children to be miniature versions of adults, merely awaiting spiritual maturity at adulthood. The task of children's hymnody, then, was to enable the child to function as a miniature adult in an adult world and from an adult's point of view.

In 1787, Robert Hawker (1753–1827) published in Great Britain what was to become the first of a long line of full-fledged Sunday school hymnals, thereby instituting a new genre. It was titled: *Psalms and Hymns Sung by the Children of the Sunday School, in the Parish Church of*

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<sup>15</sup> Samuel J. Rogal, *The Children's Jubilee: A Bibliographical Survey of Hymnals for Infants, Youth, and Sunday Schools Published in Britain and America, 1655–1900* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), xi.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii. Rogal continues: "Only a brief glimpse at *Hymns for Children* is necessary to substantiate John Wesley's pronouncement that children need be treated only as smaller versions of their parents. For his younger brother, childhood existed as a spiritual anteroom where in one bided time before stepping into full majority." Rogal concludes: ". . . Charles Wesley [in his children's hymnody] manipulates children as almost formless miniatures of adults—as though they were merely diminutive creatures functioning within an adult world and following adult values: . . ." (xviii).

*Charles, Plymouth, at the Sabbath Evening Lecture*.<sup>17</sup> Unlike previous collections of children's hymns, this work was a collection of many writers and not just the verse of an individual.

With the advent of the Second Great Awakening, the form of the Sunday school hymnal became a favorite for evangelists and publishers alike all across America—from the camp meetings songs of the South and Midwest and later to the Gospel Songs of such writers as Dwight Lyman Moody (1837–99), Ira David Sankey (1840–1908), and Mrs. Frances Jane Crosby Van Alstyne (1820–1915), known informally as Fannie Crosby.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, entrepreneurial publishers and organizations saw in the Sunday school hymnal an opportunity to spread their influence far and wide. Rogal describes the general tenor of such publications:

The formula for success rests with the triteness (even for the nineteenth century) of the universal imagery . . . and the emotion of the melody and the obvious rhythm, certainly not the sense and the substance of the lyrics, will convey the youthful singer's spirits heavenward.<sup>19</sup>

Rogal summarizes by outlining three distinct periods of development in the genre of Sunday-school hymnals, as well as the number of hymnals surveyed during each period:

1. The age of Watts and the Wesleys: 1729–1824—15 children's hymn books.
2. The beginning of evangelical hymnody and Gospel Songs: 1825–1850—36 children's hymn books.
3. The expansion and solidification of the Sunday school and revival movements: 1851–1900—256 children's hymn books.<sup>20</sup>

It was this third period that saw an explosion of Sunday school hymnals onto the American scene, and it was from this fertile environment that English Missouri's *SSH* 1901 was born.

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<sup>17</sup> Rogal, *The Children's Jubilee*, xix.

<sup>18</sup> For a recent biography of Fannie Crosby, see: Edith Waldvogel Blumhofer, *Her Heart Can See: The Life and Hymns of Fanny J. Crosby*, Library of Religious Biography (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2005).

<sup>19</sup> Rogal, *The Children's Jubilee*, xxviii. See Chapter Six below for a more complete treatment of Revivalism and the Gospel Song genre.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvii–xxxviii.

## **A Sunday school hymnal for English Missouri**

At the 1895 English Synod convention in Fort Wayne, Indiana, the idea of a Sunday school hymnal was first proposed. The Proceedings in full describe it well:

The Rev. O. E. Brandt, of Chicago, had appeared as a delegate to the synod from the Norwegian Pastoral Conference, presenting in their behalf the matter of a new Sunday-school Hymnal. He stated that their synod saw the growing need of English work in their congregations, and they desired a hymn-book for the Sunday-schools; not necessarily large, but one that should contain the choicest gems of Scandinavian and German tunes, as well as other standard churchly hymns. This book should contain not only the words, but also the tunes, and if matters could be satisfactorily arranged between our synods, the book would find a large, ready and constant sale among their people.

The Norwegian brother was warmly welcomed by the synod, and the President assured him of the interest taken in this matter by our synod. The Revision Committee was directed to co-operate with a committee of the Norwegian brethren with the view of publishing a Sunday-school Hymnal with tunes. It was furthermore resolved to invite other committees of synods in the Synodical Conference, who may be interested in this work, and our committee was authorized to act in behalf of the synod in this matter.

It was resolved that the selecting of a list of tunes most used and the order of worship, should be given into the hands of a committee, which, in short, is to do the preliminary work by selecting and sifting the matter for the friendly criticism and inspection of the members of synod; and as the Eastern Conference of this synod already had such a committee, which had already taken the matter in hand, this committee was elected as Synod Committee. The Chairman is Prof. A. W. Meyer, of Winfield, Kan. The subject of publishing the book was referred to our Revision Committee and Publication Board.<sup>21</sup>

The idea of publishing a Sunday school hymnal came originally from the Norwegian Synod, a sister synod of both English and German Missouri and fellow member of the Synodical Conference prior to the Predestinarian Controversy.<sup>22</sup> English Missouri, therefore, appointed its Revision Committee to work with a committee of the Norwegians and to invite corresponding committees from the other members of the Synodical Conference, including, one would

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<sup>21</sup> "Proceedings of the Fourth Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States," in Fort Wayne, Ind., 1895 (Chicago: American Lutheran Publication Board), 44.

<sup>22</sup> Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*, 251.

presume, German Missouri. Thus, the Sunday school hymnal project was originally intended to be a Synodical Conference publication.

Most significant about the above resolution, however, is the fact that after the preliminary work was to be done, “the friendly criticism and inspection of the members of synod” was to be invited. This may suggest a degree of wariness about such a venture, since the debate over the suitability of the Sunday school in general was still raging in German Missouri. The solution for such concerns was to have everything out in the open and to take any and all criticisms under advisement.

Two years later, in 1897, English Missouri held its next convention in Baltimore. This was at Emmanuel Church where William Dallmann was pastor. Two significant notes regarding the music of this convention occur in its Proceedings. The first states: “On Monday evening, August 2, at Martini Church, the Rev. Henry Sieck preached the pastoral sermon from Rev. 2:10. *The beauty of these services was much enhanced by appropriate singing.*”<sup>23</sup> The second comes at the end of the Proceedings: “A vote of thanks was extended to *Organist Fred. Miller for his services during the convention*, and also, through Pastor Dallmann, to Emmanuel congregation and to all who had contributed toward entertaining Synod.”<sup>24</sup> One does not find in previous convention Proceedings such special thanks extended for the musical and worship offerings of the convention. It appears that the music and worship life of Emmanuel Baltimore under Pastor Dallmann and Organist Miller inspired the brethren, and so the brethren responded appropriately when it came time to appoint a second “Sunday School Hymnal Committee.”

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<sup>23</sup> “Proceedings of the Fifth Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in Baltimore, 1897 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 8. Emphasis not original.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 47. Emphasis not original.

The original committee, which had been assigned to work with the Norwegians and other Synodical Conference committees, reported the following at that convention:

The committee on Sunday-school book with tunes reported orally, that for various reasons, it had been unable to undertake the compiling of the book and that the Norwegian brethren had proceeded to publish their Sunday-school hymnal without awaiting our co-operation.

This report was received and committee discharged with thanks. Synod recognizing the importance of this matter, a new committee, located at Baltimore, was elected, as already noted. Pastor Dallmann is to have oversight over the matter from the doctrinal side; Dr. C. W. Emil Miller, from the literary side; and Organist Fred Miller, from the musical side.<sup>25</sup>

It appears that the 1895 committee simply failed to get off the ground, the Norwegians went ahead without them,<sup>26</sup> and the dynamic Dallmann/Miller team and a certain “Dr. C. W. Emil Miller” were appointed their respective duties. Clearly, English Missouri wanted to see this project through with some amount of celerity, and so they appointed the closest and most memorable pastor/organist team at hand.

Little is known about the actual work of the *SSH* 1901 committee; no minutes have survived. However, decades later, in his autobiography, Dallmann provides a glimpse into how the committee may have functioned:

In 1897 Synod in my church made me chairman of a committee to get out a music edition of the Hymnal and also chairman of a committee to get out a Sunday school hymnal, word edition and music edition. Spurgeon liked a committee of three—with one abed and the other out of town.<sup>27</sup>

It would appear that the work of the *SSH* 1901 committee was hampered by a number of factors. First, in February 1898, Dallmann accepted a call to another city, thus separating himself

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<sup>25</sup> “1897 English Synod Proceedings,” 40.

<sup>26</sup> The result was *Christian Hymns for Church, School, and Home* (Decorah, IA: Lutheran Publishing House, 1898). This hymnal does not appear as a source for *SSH* 1901, perhaps because of its late publication date.

<sup>27</sup> Dallmann, *My Life*, 62.

logistically from his organist, Fred Miller.<sup>28</sup> Second, the Proceedings from 1901 indicate “that the vacancies on ‘Committee on Hymn Book with Tunes,’ caused by the resignation of Mr. Fred Miller and by Dr. E. Miller’s severing his connection with the Lutheran Church, be filled by Synod.”<sup>29</sup> Although the “Committee of Hymn Book with Tunes” was a different committee than the *SSH* 1901 committee,<sup>30</sup> it appears that the “literary editor” for *SSH* 1901 had left the Lutheran Church and therefore was not a contributor to the work of the *SSH* 1901 committee. Finally, Dallmann recounts in his autobiography, “During the very hot summer I often kept cool in the bathtub while examining about 3,000 hymns for a suitable collection, and then the tunes were tried out on my S. S. pupils.”<sup>31</sup> Thus, it appears that the vast majority of the work of selecting the hymn texts for the *SSH* 1901, as both literary and theological editor, fell to William Dallmann.

### **William Dallmann, theological editor**

Charles Frederick William Dallmann was born December 22, 1862 in Pomerania and emigrated to the United States with his family at a young age.<sup>32</sup> A voracious reader in both English and German, Dallmann was encouraged by his pastor to study for the ministry and so entered Concordia College in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1877. The first Saturday there, Dallmann was auditioned for a quartet that was to sing on Saturday nights. The campus musician was not

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<sup>28</sup> “Proceedings of the Sixth Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in 1899 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 49, also confirm that: “The work was hindered to no little extent by the removal of one member of the Committee to another city . . . .” That member would have been Dallmann, who accepted a call to serve as pastor at Redeemer, New York in February 1898.

<sup>29</sup> “1901 English Synod Proceedings,” 118.

<sup>30</sup> The 1899 Convention had appointed several committees with confusing and overlapping mandates, and the confusion was resolved at the 1901 Convention by consolidating the committees. See above, Chapter Two, page 74.

<sup>31</sup> Dallmann, *My Life*, 63.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–4.

impressed, and we hear nothing more of Dallmann's musical inclinations.<sup>33</sup> It appears that he did not consider himself to be of even amateur ability.

From Fort Wayne, Dallmann went to Concordia, St. Louis, in 1883, where he studied under C. F. W. Walther and Francis Pieper, undoubtedly attending Walther's famous "Law and Gospel" *Lutherstunden* lectures. Upon graduation in 1886, Dallmann was designated to do mission work among the English-speaking, and so was called to minister to the Lutheran diaspora in the Ozarks. In the spring of 1887, he visited Dr. Walther on his deathbed, at which Walther prophetically declared upon his approach: "Ach, da kommt auch unser lieber Englischer!"<sup>34</sup>

In 1888, Dallmann was called to English Emmanuel's mission at St. Martini, Baltimore, and subsequently became an observer in the Common Service Committee's continuing work on a common translation of the Small Catechism being developed by the General Council, General Synod, General Synod of the South, and the Ohio Synod.<sup>35</sup> Dallmann was editor of the *Lutheran Witness* from 1892 to 1896, President of the English Synod from 1899 to 1901, an active church-planter,<sup>36</sup> and most of all, a prolific author dedicated to the task of providing orthodox, Lutheran materials in the English language. Clearly, Dallmann represented a new breed of Missouri

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<sup>33</sup> Dallmann, *My Life*, 12.

<sup>34</sup> "Ah, there comes also our dear Englishman!" William Dallmann, "Memories, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis 1883–1886," *CHIQ* 12, no. 2 (1939): 45.

<sup>35</sup> Dallmann humorously notes: "The Joint Committee was composed of Dr. H. E. Jacobs of the General Council, Dr. E. J. Wolf of the General Synod, Dr. Horn of the United Synod of the South, and the Washington Tressel [*sic*] of the Ohio Synod. After finishing the Common Service they worked on a common version in English of Luther's Small Catechism. I could get no credentials for this purely literary work—unionism? The Committee, however, let me sit in for two summers in Wernersville, Pa., and treated the youngster with the utmost kindness as if he were a full-fledged member. Dr. Horn from the deep South had never seen a Missourian in the flesh, and so he looked me over and asked dubiously: 'Are you really a Missourian?' I owned 'the soft impeachment.' Still wonderingly: 'Then where are your horns and cloven hoof?' Sometimes it is good to get acquainted. At the end Professor Wolf said: 'We might as well say it before you're dead: we are glad to have had you with us.'" *My Life*, 57.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 87 quotes Francis Pieper saying of Dallmann: "If he doesn't start a mission every year, he is unhappy."

clergymen—one which endeavored to speak the faith of the fathers in the language of the children. As Dallmann himself wrote during his years as editor of the *Witness*:

We purpose to explain, prove, defend, and apply to our times the eternal truths of the Bible, as understood by the true Lutheran Church. The distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran Church, for which she was hated and persecuted by Rationalists and Enthusiasts, shall find a place of prominence . . . In the German Missouri Synod, in the Minnesota, Wisconsin, Norwegian, and in many other quarters many young people feel the want of a genuine English Lutheran church paper. As time wings its flight along, the number of these people will increase. Into the homes of these people, whoever they may be, wherever they may be, the *Lutheran Witness* would fain be received as a welcome visitor and become a bond of union and means of communication between all stalwart Lutherans throughout this God-favored land of ours.<sup>37</sup>

Dallmann describes the task at hand as one of proclaiming unabashedly “the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran Church”—yet in the English language.

A few years later, as President of English Missouri, Dallmann spoke in the same spirit concerning the role of the Sunday school in English Missouri:

A Sunday school for small children should be introduced with every new mission enterprise, and it should be carefully fostered. But two evils connected with the Sunday school are to be avoided. The one is the appointing of incompetent teachers . . . Another evil to be avoided is, that the children become accustomed to regard the Sunday school as their worship and do not attend the regular worship of the congregation.<sup>38</sup>

Dallmann saw the Sunday school as part and parcel of establishing English-speaking Lutheran congregations, although purged from the dangers that went with the existing American version. The Sunday school was to be adapted to Lutheran doctrine, and not the other way around.

Dallmann’s significant role during this critical period of Missouri’s history is best summarized by the obituary that appeared in the *Lutheran Witness* shortly after his death in 1952:

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<sup>37</sup> William Dallmann, “Salutatory,” *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 2 (1891): 12.

<sup>38</sup> “1899 English Synod Proceedings” 12.

When we view the transition of the Missouri Synod from the German to the English language, we readily recognize that many other men made their contribution toward keeping Synod in the channels of the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions. However, it was William Dallmann whom the Lord of the church evidently called to the place of leadership. In his staunch adherence to the sacred Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions, and in his heroic stand for the truth as it is in Christ, Dr. Dallmann proved himself a worthy disciple of both Luther and Walther. It is my well-considered opinion that next to God we owe it to William Dallmann more than to any other man that we have in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod an English Lutheranism that is as Scripturally sound, as confessionally loyal, as pure and virile as it is today. His motto throughout his ministry was “The faith of the fathers in the language of the children.”<sup>39</sup>

### **Stated purposes for SSH 1901**

In SSH 1901, William Dallmann and English Missouri sought to sing the faith of the fathers in the song of the children. And so, at the Detroit convention of 1899, the “Committee on the Sunday-school Hymnal” had good news to report:

Four hundred and fifty hymns have been selected, and also the same number of tunes. The List of the hymns and the tunes can be given, and also the source whence they have been taken. Eighty-eight hymns have been taken from our Church Hymnal, mainly the old Lutheran hymns. . . . A number of the most used chants for the opening and closing exercise has been selected . . . More than thirty volumes have been searched for hymns and tunes. The hymns have been carefully weighed as to contents and form, and the tunes have been repeatedly gone over before acceptance. Still some of the latter need another revision as to harmony, which can be done at an early date. Some hymns and tunes have been inserted upon special request of some pastors.<sup>40</sup>

In just two short years, the new “committee” (mostly Dallmann in the bathtub), had accomplished a tremendous amount. From over thirty sources, he had collected some 450 hymns. The list of hymns and their sources was available to any who cared to review it, and indeed, the convention did care to do so, as the following action reveals:

*Action:* This report was adopted and it was resolved that a list of hymns and tunes together with a notice of the sources from which the tunes were taken, be printed in the *Witness*; that a limit of thirty days after the date of such publication be fixed, after

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<sup>39</sup> Martin Walker, “In Memoriam: William Dallmann, D.D.,” *Lutheran Witness* 71, no. 5 (1952), 13.

<sup>40</sup> “1899 English Synod Proceedings,” 49.

which the Committee is to decide on these suggestions and get out the book and that the Publication Board be instructed to print this hymnal on the order of the Committee.<sup>41</sup>

Within three months of the 1899 convention, a brief article and three-page listing of the hymns and their sources appeared in the *Lutheran Witness*. The article began:

This issue of the “Witness” brings home an important duty to every member of Synod. The publishing of the list of hymns and tunes for the Sunday school hymnal, in accordance with the resolution of Synod, *makes every member of Synod a member of the committee*. . . . so diligently and faithfully let each one do his part towards making this hymnal a permanent treasure of song for our children and young people, voicing in word and music the glorious faith that fills our hearts, opens our lips, and sanctifies our lives.<sup>42</sup>

This new, open-review process developed by Dallmann represented a change in approach from the process that was used to develop *ELHB* 1889/1892. Whereas with the earlier project, a small review committee had made all the decisions with virtually no input from the church at large, here Dallmann proposes that “every member of Synod,” in effect, become a member of the committee by providing input and suggestions for improvement on the proposed hymnody. This new, open-review process must have served well because Dallmann and the English Synod would use it again in 1905 when it came time to revise *ELHB* 1892 toward *ELHB* 1912. (See above, Chapter Two, pages 75–76.)

By June 1901, *SSH* 1901 was available for sale, as the following announcement appeared in the *Lutheran Witness*:

In this issue of the “Witness” the readers find the announcement and review of the long expected Sunday-school hymnal. Everybody in Synod will hail its appearance with joy, and we consider the event important enough to call attention to it on the editorial page. The want of a suitable hymnal for use in our Sunday-schools has been deeply felt everywhere, and this want has now been supplied . . . The first edition, we are informed, is to be a large one, and our Publication Board will therefore be in a

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<sup>41</sup> “1899 English Synod Proceedings,” 49.

<sup>42</sup> [George A.] R.[omoser], “The Sunday School Hymnal,” *Lutheran Witness* 18, no. 11 (1899): 82. Emphasis not original.

position very soon to fill all orders for it promptly and quickly. We bespeak for it a hearty reception and a large sale.<sup>43</sup>

The review in this issue was brief, describing the services and hymns in *SSH* 1901, but also noting:

The selection of both hymns and tunes has been made with great care; all, or at least very many of the old favorites are here, and many others that should find favor in Lutheran Sunday-schools. We venture to say that this book contains more Lutheran hymns and chorals [*sic*] than any other book of its kind. And this we consider a distinct gain.<sup>44</sup>

By the following October, a major, two-part review of *SSH* 1901 appeared, written by Rev. Dietrich Henry Steffens, a late addition to the Sunday school hymnal committee.<sup>45</sup> This review, titled “Our Sunday-School Hymnal,” provides a revealing look into the stated rationale and purposes for *SSH* 1901.

The first installment of the review deals with the hymn section of the hymnal and begins by establishing a biblical foundation for hymn-singing on the basis of Ephesians 4:19 and Colossians 3:16. It traces such hymn-singing from the psalms of the Old Testament, to the canticles of the New Testament, to the hymns of the Early Church, and finally to the contributions of the Reformation. It concludes: “It is therefore plain that the value of our church hymnal is to be determined chiefly by the third portion of its contents, its hymns and hymn tunes.”<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> [George] L.[uecke], *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 2 (1901): 9.

<sup>44</sup> [Carl A.] W.[eiss], “Review of *Sunday-School Hymnal*,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 2 (1901): 16.

<sup>45</sup> “1899 English Synod Proceedings,” 31, notes under “Standing Committees,” “On Sunday School Hymnal: Rev. Abbetmeyer, Dr. E. Miller, Mr. Fred. Miller.” Apparently, sometime after Dallmann had taken a call to New York in February 1898 and completed his work, he left the committee, and Rev. Abbetmeyer, another pastor in Baltimore, continued that work on the Baltimore-based committee. Then in “1901 English Synod Proceedings,” 15, it is noted: “On March 12, 1900, The Rev. D. H. Steffens was appointed a member of the Sunday School Book Committee, vice the Rev. C. Abbetmeyer, resigned. June 14, 1901, the Rev. D. H. Steffens resigned; Synod being close at hand, the place was not filled.”

<sup>46</sup> D.[ietrich] H.[enry] Steffens, “Our Sunday-School Hymnal,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 10 (1901): 74.

The review then goes on to do some statistical comparisons of hymns and hymn tunes in the various Lutheran hymnals of the day:

But how about the hymns and hymn tunes? That our church hymnal, with four hundred and fifty hymns, two hundred and eleven of which are translations of classical German chorals [*sic*] and the others a most carefully selected collection of standard hymns from other sources, most of which are also choral, is in character the most positively Lutheran hymn book published in the English language, needs no proof. The Ohio hymnal has four hundred and sixty-eight hymns, one hundred and eighty-three are translations from the German. In the Church Book (General Council) about one hundred and twenty-five out of six hundred and fifty are from the German. And, apart from the evidence of mere numbers, some of these translations not only weaken but do violence to the original . . . .<sup>47</sup>

Here Steffens holds up English Missouri's *ELHB* 1892, with its 450 hymns, as the "most positively Lutheran hymn book published in the English language." The criterion for such an assertion is the fact that it contains the greatest percentage of German-language hymn texts.

Steffens concludes:

For our Sunday-school hymnal the writer believes we can claim more. While a collection of hymns for children and young people must of necessity be simpler in form and contents than a church hymnal, and while the tunes used may be a somewhat lighter character than those employed by the congregation before the face of its Lord in His house; in other words, while a Sunday-school hymnal should have the character of the German "Missionsharfe" rather than that of the "Gesangbuch," we believe that as a first great desideration, it should contain a goodly number of those glorious chorals [*sic*] which are to be given our children as a portion of their Lutheran heritage. Nothing but the best is good enough for our children, and if there is anything better in worship music than our chorals [*sic*], the writer has failed to find it.<sup>48</sup>

Steffens posits a basic assumption that a Sunday school hymnal must by necessity "be simpler in form"—not a full-fledged *Gesangbuch*, or "hymnal," but must contain tunes that are "somewhat lighter character," like a *Missionsharfe*.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, there is also the recognition

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<sup>47</sup> Steffens, "Our Sunday-School Hymnal," 75.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Hans Joachim Moser notes regarding the *Missionsharfe* in a section entitled, "Die romantisch-historistische Zeit": "In the meantime a counter-movement had been implemented, one which indeed was inevitable with the all too backward-looking and romantically inculcated endeavors of the leading authorities. It originated with the simple layman of the congregation, out of the living power of the faith of the 'Stillen im Lande' [a kind of 'silent

that such a Sunday school hymnal should contain “a goodly number of those glorious chorals [*sic*] which are to be given our children as a portion of their Lutheran heritage.” Steffens goes on at some length to extol the virtues of traditional, German, Lutheran hymnody. For Steffens, such hymns should be the core and foundation of any Sunday school hymnal.

And yet, Steffens fails to apply the same statistical analysis to *SSH* 1901 as he did to the other English Lutheran hymnals of the day, that is, to calculate the number of German-language hymns that were included in *SSH* 1901. Perhaps that is because such a calculation does not come out very favorably.

In the 1899 Proceedings announcement mentioned above, it was noted that some eighty-eight hymns “have been taken from our Church Hymnal, *mainly* the old Lutheran hymns.”<sup>50</sup> An accurate tally, however, indicates that actually 110 hymns from *ELHB* 1892 were included in *SSH* 1901. Further analysis shows that of the 468 hymns in *SSH* 1901, only forty-one were of German origin—twenty-six of them appearing in *KELG* 1847 and the remaining fifteen from

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majority’]. Consequently this counter-movement did not care about hymnological sources nor about authentic versions or stylistic attitudes, but simply about piety and a fully penetrating warming of the soul. In 1852, the ‘Little Mission Harp Set To Church and Folk Tunes for Festive and Non-Festive Gatherings,’ with a foreword by Pastor Volkening of Joellenbeck near Bielefeld, first appeared. By 1885 it had seen 43 (!) editions. Initially it contained only 30 chorales (without music) and 21 extra-ecclesiastical ‘folk songs’ with melodies—later 20 and 160 of quite dubious taste . . . . These and related undertakings form, at the very least, a constant corrective admonition for all-too-purist hymnal production committees not to disregard the actual scope of congregations for the sake of the ideals of ‘style.’” *Die evangelische Kirchenmusik in Deutschland* (Berlin-Darmstadt: Verlag Carl Merseburger, 1954), 240. I am indebted to Gerald Krispin for assistance in this translation. German: “Inzwischen hatte freilich, wie es bei der allzu rückwärtsgewandten und romantisch-gelehrtenhaften Bemühung der leitenden Autoritäten kaum ausbleiben konnte, eine Gegenbewegung eingesetzt, die vom einfachen Mann der Gemeinde, von den lebendigen Glaubenskräften der Stillen im Lande ausging und weder nach hymnologischen Quellen noch nach authentischen Lesarten oder stilvoller Haltung, sondern einfach nach der *Pietas* und der durchschlagenden Seelenerwärmung fragte: 1852 erschien erstmals, mit Vorwort von Pastor Volkening in Jöllenbeck bei Bielefeld, die ‘Kleine Missionsharfe im Kirchen- und Volkston für festliche und außerfestliche Kreise,’ die ist bis 1885 bereits auf 43 (!) Auflagen gebracht hat. Sie enthielt anfangs bloß 30 Choräle (ohne Singweisen) und 21 außerkirchliche ‘Volklieder’ mit Melodien, später 20 und 160, oft von recht fragwürdigem Geschmack . . . diese und verwandte Unternehmungen bilden zumindest stets korrektive Mahnungen an allzu puristische Gesangbuchmacher-Gremien, über den Idealen der ‘Haltung’ den tatsächlichen Horizont der Gemeinden nicht allzuweit außer Betracht zu lassen.”

<sup>50</sup> “1899 English Synod Proceedings,” 49. Emphasis not original.

other sources. In the final analysis, these forty-one hymns represent, at most, only 9% of the hymns in *SSH* 1901 that could in any way be called “the old Lutheran hymns.”

Steffens seems to sense this deficit when he writes:

A Lutheran Sunday-school hymnal containing only “From heaven above to earth I come,” and “A mighty fortress is our God,” out of respect to the half-forgotten Reformer is certainly an anomalous [*sic*] production. For if our children do not learn to sing and love our chorals [*sic*] in school, the chances are they will never learn them.<sup>51</sup>

Steffens clearly desires to retain as much of the hymnody of “The Fathers’ Faith” as possible, but the meager, nine-percent minority of German-language hymnody in *SSH* 1901 does not square well with that objective.

Table 1 lists the fifteen hymns of German origin included in *SSH* 1901 that were not included in *KELG* 1847, German Missouri’s core, German-language corpus:

Table 1: German Hymns in *SSH* 1901, Not Included in *KELG* 1847.

English Title	German Title	LP/MH
Jesus, who can be	<i>Wer ist wohl wie du</i>	—
Light of Light, enlighten me!	<i>Licht vom Licht, erleuchte mich</i>	—
O blest the house, whate’er befall	<i>Wohl einem Haus, da Jesus Christ.</i>	—
O living Bread from heaven	<i>Wie wohl hast du gelabet</i>	—
Spread, oh spread, Thou mighty word	<i>Walte, fürder, nah und fern</i>	—
Beautiful Savior	<i>Schönster Herr Jesu</i>	LP
Come hither, ye children	<i>Ihr Kinderlein kommet</i>	LP
Come, and Christ, the Lord be praising	<i>Kommt, und lasst uns Christum ehren</i>	LP
Let me go, let me go	<i>Laß mich gehn, laß mich gehn</i>	LP
Seeing I am Jesus’ Lamb	<i>Weil ich Jesu Schäflein bin</i>	LP
Silent night! Holy night	<i>Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht</i>	LP
Take Thou my hands and lead me	<i>So nimm denn meine Haende</i>	LP
As each happy Christmas	<i>Alle Jahre wieder</i>	MH
Praise the Lord! Praise the Lord!	<i>Lobt den Herrn, die Morgensonne</i>	MH
We plough the fields and scatter	<i>Wir pflugen und wir streuen</i>	MH

Source: *SSH* 1901. LP = *Lieder-perlen*; MH = *Missionsharfe*.

<sup>51</sup> Steffens, “Our Sunday-School Hymnal,” 75.

Among these fifteen German-language hymns listed, ten are found in either the 1894 *Lieder-Perlen* collection from Concordia Publishing House<sup>52</sup> or in the *Große Missionsharfe*,<sup>53</sup> another popular collection of “spiritual songs” from the late nineteenth century. In his review of *SSH* 1901, Steffens comments on the role of such “spiritual songs” in the Lutheran tradition:

Again, an English Lutheran Sunday-school hymnal should contain as many as possible of those beautiful and touching “spiritual songs,” which, while not being church hymns, are none the less [*sic*] inseparably bound up with the religious life of our people. We are in danger of losing much under the terrible strain of this transition from German to English, and it will be an untold loss if our children are never to hear from their mother’s lips those touching little spiritual Folk songs which are so inexpressibly dear to us . . . “Goldene Abendsonne,” “Muede bin ich, geh zur Ruh,” “Alle Jahre Wieder,” “Weil ich Jesu Schaefflein bin,” “So nimm denn meine Haende,” etc., but what Lutheran would care to be without them; above all, what Lutheran would care to lose such Christmas carols as “Stille Nacht” and “Ihr Kinderlein kommet”?<sup>54</sup>

Just a decade earlier, August Crull had chastised Dallmann for including a handful of “spiritual songs” in *ELHB* 1892, and Steffens is sympathetic to Crull’s opinion that such hymnody should not be considered proper “church hymns” (see above, Chapter Two, page 68). Yet, Steffens also argues strongly that these songs are “inseparably bound up with the religious life of our people” and that, as the Missouri Synod makes the arduous transition from German to English in its hymnody, they are in great danger of suffering “untold loss” if their children never

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<sup>52</sup> *Lieder-Perlen: Eine Sammlung von Liedern geistlichen und gemischten Inhalts, teils in deutscher, theils in englischer Sprache, nebst einer Anzahl Spiellieder, ein-, zwei- und dreistimmig gesetzt für unsere Schulen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894). Somewhat like a *Missionsharfe*, this collection, first published in 1894 by Concordia Publishing House, provided two- and three-part harmonizations for German- and English-language hymns and songs to be sung by children in Missouri Synod elementary schools. Many of the selections were “lighter” in nature and ranged from the spiritual to the patriotic, including: “O du fröhliche, o du selige,” “Oh! Say, can you see by the dawn’s early light,” “Abide with me,” “So nimm den meine Hände,” and “Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen.” A second edition with an appendix containing an additional eighty hymns was published in 1897, followed by the *Grössere Ausgabe* (a kind of large-print edition, roughly in quarto size) in 1898.

<sup>53</sup> H. G. Emil Niemeyer, *Große Missionsharfe: Geistliches Liederbuch für gemischten Chor, sowie für Klavier- oder Harmonium-Begleitung* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1906). See above, note 49, for a description of the genre of *Missionsharfe*.

<sup>54</sup> Steffens, “Our Sunday-School Hymnal,” 75.

hear these texts and tunes that are so dear to the “The Fathers’ Faith.” *SSH* 1901, Steffens argues, is exactly the proper place for retaining this stream of Missouri’s German hymnody.

The “spiritual songs” of the *Lieder-Perlen* and *Missionsharfe* represented a kind of “deutero-canonical” stream of hymnody for German Missouri. While often not included in the “canon” or *Kernlieder* of the tradition, as reflected in the official hymnals of the church, these religious texts (and their melodies) nevertheless found a place in the homes and schools of German Missouri as parents and teachers used them to teach the faith of the fathers to the children under their care. Unlike *ELHB* 1889/1892, *SSH* 1901 intentionally sought to carry forward into English this outlier strand of German Missouri’s hymnological tradition.

In his review of *SSH* 1901, Steffens spends over 70% of his words on the rich hymnological heritage of German Lutheranism, firmly grounded in the Scriptures and the Early Church. Only then does he finally (and briefly) turn his attention to what beneficial sources may be found already existing in the English tongue:

And then, as being written for a church of the dispersion which thus under the necessity of becoming all things to all men, that we may by all means save some, an ideal English Lutheran Sunday-school hymnal should contain the best, the cream of the cream in English hymnology, so far as it conforms to the doctrine and spirit of our church.<sup>55</sup>

For Steffens, the transition to the English language was clearly out of necessity, and therefore only that which measured up to the high standards of existing German Lutheran hymnody could be accepted—“the cream of the cream.” It had to clearly conform “to the doctrine and spirit of our church.” Steffens then seeks to make clear just what such stellar English hymnody did *not* consist of:

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<sup>55</sup> Steffens, “Our Sunday-School Hymnal,” 75.

[W]e do not want our baptized lambs of Christ, to sing doubtfully and dolefully:  
“Depths of mercy, can there be  
Mercy still reserved for me?”

Nor do we want them to sing the inane jingling bells, rhymes and nursery doggerel set to dance music affected in some quarters by people who imagine that in order to be simple and childlike, you must be silly and foolish. Wesley, may have been honest in his belief that the devil had all the best tunes and that it would be an admirable thing to introduce secular music into the church, but we believe that even Wesley would draw the line at much of the six-eight, march rhythm, beat-the-drum stuff found in some of our present-day Sunday-school hymnals. Of course, Sunday-school hymns must be singable. Nevertheless, our new hymnal solves that problem without stooping to the vitiated musical taste of our time and putting doggerel into the hands of our children.<sup>56</sup>

Steffens first takes a jab at Charles Wesley’s “Depth of Mercy, Can There Be,” made ever popular in Ira Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns* collection.<sup>57</sup> The suggestion is that such a hymn text could cause children to doubt their salvation in Christ and that such a text would therefore not be in keeping with Lutheran doctrine. Steffens then critiques “the inane jingling bells, rhymes and nursery doggerel,” arguing that while children’s hymn texts should be “simple and childlike” they should not become “silly and foolish.” Closely related to the propensity toward the “silly and foolish,” in Steffen’s mind, is the music that is often employed in such Sunday school hymnals—music that often sounds “secular” and stoops to “the vitiated musical taste of our time.” Steffens concludes:

Judged, then, by these standards and requirements, as well as by the demands of good taste, as regards general contents, arrangement, mechanical executive [*sic*] and make-up, we believe that our struggling little Synod has in this publication produced *a work which may not be the perfect*, but which is nevertheless *the peer* of everything in this line heretofore offered to the Sunday-school workers of America. . . . [W]e do hope to find this book not only in every Sunday-school of our Synod, but in the hands of every parochial school teacher of the German Synod. More than that, we hope to find it in every Lutheran home of the Synodical Conference, where we heretofore only too often have found “Gospel Hymns” in the hands of our musical young people whose

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<sup>56</sup> Steffens, “Our Sunday-School Hymnal, 75.

<sup>57</sup> This popular revivalist hymn appears three times with three different tunes in Ira D. Sankey, James McGrannahan, and George C. Stebbins, *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1 to 6* (New York: The John Church Co. and The Biglow & Main Co., 1894), nos. 57, 207, 610. See Chapter Six for more on Ira Sankey and the Gospel Song genre.

parents knew not what else to offer their English-speaking and English-singing children. *With that let us be content.*<sup>58</sup>

Steffens boldly suggests that *SSH* 1901 should become a Lutheran alternative to the ubiquitous *Gospel Hymns* collections of Ira Sankey. That being said, Steffens also acknowledges that *SSH* 1901 is not perfect but at least “the peer” of anything else available at the time. Now that the hymnal was printed and the tremendous labors involved were completed, one must be content and (one might perhaps also infer) work toward a revised and improved edition. Over half a century would pass, however, before such a successor would be published.<sup>59</sup>

The second part of Steffens’ review of the *SSH* 1901 is titled: “The Services in Our Sunday-School Hymnal.” Only half the length of the first part, this second installment outlines the contents and benefits of the services portion of the hymnal. Taking a cue from Luther’s *Deutsche Messe* of 1526, where Luther notes, “We thereof still have the children’s schools, through which the daily morning and evening prayers are preserved,” Steffens writes:

In arranging a form for opening and closing Sunday School, the only possible course to take was to have this form upon Matins and Vespers, particularly since our schools meet either before the communion or regular morning service or in the afternoon.<sup>60</sup>

Steffens then outlines several helpful and practical methods of utilizing the rich liturgical heritage transmitted in the hymnal:

On our hymn board we place the opening hymn, the Venite, the chief part of the catechism to be recited, a hymn for practice and a closing hymn sung in the place of

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<sup>58</sup> Steffens, “Our Sunday-School Hymnal,” 75. Emphasis not original.

<sup>59</sup> Not until 1955 was *The Children’s Hymnal* finally published, and in the years immediately preceding, “The Sunday school hymnal in use at this time [1920–40] was the one developed by the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States . . . Although the work of that original hymnal committee had been well done and the variety of opening devotions and prayers available on pages 5 through 84 included not only psalms for responsive reading, prayers, Luther’s *Small Catechism*, and chants, nevertheless some criticism was rising as to the small number of traditionally Lutheran hymns available to the children and youth in this Sunday school hymnal. It was felt by some that this was the time to start considering the publication of a new hymnal.” Haendschke, *Sunday School Story*, 66–67.

<sup>60</sup> D.[ietrich] H.[enry] Steffens, “The Services in Our Sunday School Hymnal,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 11 (1901): 83.

the Te Deum or the Benedictus, which we, as yet, have not learned. . . . As we have hymnboards for all the canticles as well as for the chief part of the catechism, no time is lost in making announcements. Everything is arranged beforehand, and the whole service, which is fully liturgical, not only moves like clock work, but is even more full and churchly than the “Christenlehre” of our German Churches.<sup>61</sup>

Indeed, Steffens is bold to boast that the liturgy of a Missourian Sunday school hymnal outdoes even that of the venerable *Christenlehre*. But then he goes on to explain how liturgy and catechesis can support and edify one another:

The use of this order of service . . . will prove a golden opportunity for the explaining of the distinctive worship of our church and the cultivation of a taste and love for things which many, out of sheer ignorance, would cast aside as useless lumber . . . [With the prayers for private use on pages 42 to 45] our children should be taught how to enter and leave God’s house, how to kneel, namely facing the altar, how to approach and leave the altar at communion, and, above all, they should be taught appropriate little prayers for use on such occasions.<sup>62</sup>

In contrast to the hymns section, Steffens is unqualifiedly thrilled with the services section of *SSH* 1901. He understands its purpose and holds it to be not simply an equal to the existing genre, but absolutely the best there is. Steffens concludes:

The liturgical treasures of the new Sunday School Hymnal demand close and careful study to insure their proper and profitable use, but the most cursory examination cannot fail to show that *in its liturgical portion it is the most handy and complete Sunday School hymnal published*.<sup>63</sup>

In summary, Steffens’ review of *SSH* 1901 finds the hymns section somewhat lacking but the services section superb. He longs for a hymnal that is thoroughly grounded in the German hymn tradition of Missouri and seems to sense that the *SSH* 1901 could have been much richer in this regard. In its liturgical expression, Steffens finds some compensation and exhibits a thorough understanding and desire to teach the next generation the liturgy of the Church. Steffens’ review is extremely helpful in understanding how *SSH* 1901 was perceived by one who

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<sup>61</sup> Steffens, “The Services in Our Sunday School Hymnal,” 83.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

was involved in its production. Of further assistance, however, are the reviews and reactions of those outside of English Missouri.

### **Reviews and reactions to *SSH* 1901**

The reaction to *SSH* 1901 on Missouri's ecclesiastical scene was generally positive. Less than a month after it was announced in the *Lutheran Witness*, German Missouri's counterpart, *Der Lutheraner*, published a review by Ludwig Fuerbringer (1864–1947). With regard to the hymns, Fuerbringer notes:

The much-desired and long-awaited hymnal for the English Lutheran Sunday schools of our English sister synod has now arrived, and as far as we have up to this point been able to examine it, we must adjudge: Whatever is long in coming is usually worth the wait. Now with any such collection from the east, there will certainly be a difference of opinion concerning the inclusion or criteria for inclusion of this or that piece. However, no one who examines this collection and compares it with other collections can fail to see that much diligence, a tremendous amount of labor, and earnest care have been put into this work, for which the compiler is due proper thanks.<sup>64</sup>

Fuerbringer's brief review is not nearly as comprehensive as was Steffens', and he indicates that he has not read through every hymn nor examined the document very thoroughly. He also suggests that no one will agree with everything found in a collection such as this, but then, as in Steffens' review, he concludes that when compared to other such collections of the day, the great amount of labor and diligence gone into it should be a cause for thanksgiving. Whatever took this much work and this much care *has* to be good.

Fuerbringer next considers the German hymnic heritage of *SSH* 1901:

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<sup>63</sup> Steffens, "The Services in Our Sunday School Hymnal," 83. Emphasis not original.

<sup>64</sup> L.[udwig] F.[uerbringer], "Review of *Sunday-School Hymnal*," *Der Lutheraner* 57, no. 14 (1901): 221. "Das vielbegehrte und langerwartete Liederbuch für die englisch-lutherischen Sonntagsschulen unserer englischen Schwestersynode ist nun erschienen, und soweit wir es bis jetzt haben prüfen können, müssen wir urtheilen: Was lange währt, wird gut. Man wird ja bei einer solchen Sammlung öfters verschiedener Meinung sein betreffs der Aufnahme oder Richtaufnahme dieses oder jenes Stückes. Aber niemand, der diese Sammlung prüft und mit andern Sammlungen vergleicht, wird sich verhehlen können, daß viel Fleiß, große Arbeit und ernste Sorgfalt auf dieses Werk gewandt worden ist, wofür den Zusammenstellern rechter Dank gebührt."

Among the hymns we find thirty-three chorales from our German hymnal, precisely the pearls of our hymnody in good and proper rhythmic harmonizations. In addition, there are other chorales and a number of spiritual folk songs. Then some Scandinavian melodies, and among the many English hymns are found, for the most part, those which have already established their place in our schools through our “Liederperlen.” The paper is somewhat thin (probably to prevent the book from becoming too unwieldy), but nevertheless strong. The green binding is quite attractive. And the price, in view of the great amount of musical typography, quite low.<sup>65</sup>

Fuerbringer reckons only thirty-three chorales from *KELG* 1847, certainly the cream of the crop, and in the tradition of German Missouri’s affinity for the rhythmic chorale.<sup>66</sup> He notes the inclusion of Missouri’s “spiritual songs,” Scandinavian melodies, and some of the English hymnody that has already appeared in the English section of Concordia’s *Lieder-Perlen*. The only criticism Fuerbringer has to offer is that the paper is somewhat thin—but the price is certainly right. Overall, Fuerbringer’s review measures *SSH* 1901 by what German Missouri knows—that is, the chorales of *KELG* and the “spiritual songs” of the *Lieder-Perlen*, and it reveals that at least one leader of German Missouri recognizes even less of “The Fathers’ Faith” in *SSH* 1901 than Steffens’ more extensive review might have articulated.

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<sup>65</sup> Fuerbringer, “Review of *Sunday–School Hymnal*,” 83. “Unter den Gesängen haben wir 33 Choräle aus unserm deutschen Gesangbuch gefunden, gerade die Perlen unserer Gesangbuchlieder, in richtigem, gutem, rhythmischem Tonsatz; außerdem noch einige andere Choräle und eine Anzahl geistlicher Volkslieder; dann einige skandinavische Melodien, und unter den vielen englischen Gesängen finden sich wohl auch die meisten derjenigen, die sich schon zum Theil in unsern Schulen durch unsere “Liederperlen” eingebürgert haben. Das Papier ist etwas dünn (wohl um das Buch nicht zu unhandlich zu machen) sonst aber fest, der grüne Einband ganz geschmackvoll, der Preis in Anbetracht des vielen Notensatzes recht niedrig.”

<sup>66</sup> A major aspect of the revival of German Lutheran hymnody in the mid-nineteenth century was the recovery of the original “rhythmic chorale” of the Reformation. This meant the recovery and reintroduction of the original, sixteenth-century “rhythmic” versions of Reformation melodies as opposed to later “isometric” versions. Fred L. Precht notes: “The free, pliable, irregular rhythmic flow, so characteristic of the early German choral and Genevan psalter tunes, stands in stark contrast to the rigid isometric restructuring exhibited in the choral harmonizations of J. S. Bach . . . and in the tunes of Pietism. . . . The result is a taming of the melody and a smoothing or flattening of the syncopations and melodic jumps . . . .” *Lutheran Worship: Hymnal Companion* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 832. Thus, the 1855 Convention of the Western District of the Missouri Synod resolved that “the usages in the divine services are of the greatest influence on the outward and inward growth of congregations, and the greatest possible uniformity in them is especially desirable . . . . All the pastors of our Synod in whose congregations rhythmical singing has not yet been introduced, were admonished to work for its introduction . . . .” As translated by Armand J. Mueller in Carl S. Meyer, *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 242.

Several other articles in the *Lutheran Witness* refer to *SSH* 1901 in the months immediately following its publication. The first is found in August 1901, where the writer quotes a Methodist who laments the intrusion of Sankey's "Gospel Hymns" into the field of sacred music:

The "Gospel Hymns" are responsible for more bad taste in music in this country than any other agency. Some of the Gospel Hymns are good, but most of them are unspeakably bad. Not only is the music tin-panny, tawdry and vulgar, but the words are bad. The poetry doesn't scan; the rhymes are poor, the sentiment cheap and the grammar loose and disjointed. 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 they brought to the task all their literary skill and ability, their sentiment is lofty and inspiring, the music noble and uplifting.<sup>67</sup>

The writer then concludes:

Our Hymn book and recently published Sunday-school hymnal contain none of this trashy hymnology, but together with translations of many of the grand old hymns of our Church only what is best in English hymnology.<sup>68</sup>

Here *SSH* 1901 is laid against the foil of the "Gospel Hymns" of nineteenth-century Revivalism. (See Chapter Six.) Yet, it is not entirely accurate to say that no Gospel Songs were to be found in *SSH* 1901. (See below, page 136.)

Two months later, another article appeared by the same writer, who notes a report in *The Independent* of a Sunday school hymn sung at a recent funeral:

There was certainly one serious flaw in the funeral services at Canton, and that was the selection sung by the Euterpean Ladies' Quartet, the words of which, whatever may have been the music, are unspeakably inane and babyish . . . They are a disgrace to the Sunday-school hymnal from which they were presumably taken. Such stuff can be reeled off by the yard.<sup>69</sup>

And the writer for the *Lutheran Witness* concludes:

This again brings home the importance of using a Sunday-school hymnal free from "such stuff." In this connection we are pleased to note that even the "Lutheran

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<sup>67</sup> [George] L.[uecke], *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 5 (1901): 34.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> [George] L.[uecke], *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 9 (1901): 70.

Standard” of the Ohio Synod accords unqualified praise to our new Sunday-school hymnal.

With these comments from the months immediately following the publication of *SSH* 1901,<sup>70</sup> there was a concerted effort to describe this new publication as uniquely Lutheran and as completely free from the excesses of contemporary, evangelical, Sunday school hymnody. The publication results suggest this effort was successful. The Proceedings of the 1901 convention indicate that the first printing of *SSH* 1901 was 5,000 of the Tune Edition and 5,000 of the Word Edition.<sup>71</sup> The 1903 Proceedings record that an additional 12,000 copies of the Word Edition were printed.<sup>72</sup> And the 1907 Proceedings note that 5,000 of the Tune Edition and 9,200 of the Word Edition were printed.<sup>73</sup> Thus, a total of 10,000 of the Tune Edition and 26,200 of the Word Edition of *SSH* 1901 were printed in less than six years.

The production expenses for *SSH* 1901 were likely considerable since they included not only the typesetting for a Word Edition, but also the music engraving required to provide a complete Tune Edition. These initial production costs, plus the initial print run of 5,000 Word Edition and 5,000 Tune edition, as well as an additional, aggressive 12,000 copies of the Word Edition shortly thereafter—all of this capital outlay contributed to a cash flow shortage for the English Synod’s American Lutheran Publication Board and an inability to move forward in a timely way with the publication of a Tune Book and revision of *ELHB* 1892. (See above,

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<sup>70</sup> A listing of more positive comments from other sources is found in a catalog for the American Lutheran Publication Board printed in the back of “Proceedings of the Tenth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in Milwaukee, 1907 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board). Reviews are listed from: “Lutheraner”; “Pittsburger Kirchenbote”; “Zeuge der Wahrheit”; “Lutheran World”; “Schulzeitung”; and “Hartwick Seminary Monthly.”

<sup>71</sup> “1901 English Synod Proceedings,” 131.

<sup>72</sup> “Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in Pittsburgh, 1903 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 57.

<sup>73</sup> “1907 English Synod Proceedings,” 62.

Chapter Two, page 75). However, these publication numbers are all the more significant when one considers the enrollment in English Synod Sunday schools during this period.<sup>74</sup>

Table 2: English Synod Sunday School Enrollment, 1898–1907

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of SS's</b>	<b>Enrollment</b>	<b>Teachers</b>
1898	40	3,950	350
1899	—	—	—
1900	—	—	—
1901	41	4,348	318
1902	—	—	—
1903	61	6,900	540
1904	63	7,285	638
1905	62	7,204	609
1906	63	7,687	685
1907	58	7,701	683

Source: “Proceedings of the Tenth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” in Milwaukee, 1907 (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board), 62.

The most noticeable change in these figures occurred in 1903, the first recorded data after the publication of *SSH* 1901. Here we see a 58.7% increase in Sunday school enrollment in just two years. Although there were undoubtedly other factors to account for this large increase, it is likely that *SSH* 1901, at a minimum, further legitimized the notion of Sunday schools for English Missouri and, at a maximum, provided a much needed tool to carry out this work among its children. As the Proceedings from the 1901 convention indicate:

The Sunday School Hymnal, *so persistently demanded by the members of Synod*, has been published, with and without tunes in an edition of 5,000 each. The vast amount of labor such a publication entails will never be known by those who have escaped the experience. Nor will the cost. The determination to present to Synod at this session this book complete, was the cause of the concentration of all our energies,

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<sup>74</sup> H. P. Eckhardt, *The English District: A Historical Sketch* (St. Louis: The English District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1946), 77.

financial and others, upon this, in every way, expensive publication. . . . *We consider this one of Synod's most valuable assets . . .*<sup>75</sup>

*SSH* 1901, however, was a valuable asset not only because of its worth in English Missouri's Sunday school, but also for two other important reasons. As an advertisement in a 1907 Catalogue for the American Lutheran Publication Board reveals:

How to use the Sunday School Hymnal as Tune-book to Church Hymnal. Turn to metrical index in back of Sunday School Hymnal. Every tune there given under, for instance, C.M. will fit every hymn so marked in Hymn-book. Every tune under 8,7 will fit every hymn in Hymn-book marked 8,7, etc. The markings in Hymn-book are to be found to the right over every hymn.”

Mission Congregations will find the Sunday School Hymnal an excellent and cheap Hymn-book for church services until they are strong enough to produce regular Hymn-books. Thereafter the books can be used by the Sunday school.<sup>76</sup>

The first ancillary purpose of *SSH* 1901 was that it was to serve as a “tune book” to *ELHB* 1892, which had been published in a Word Edition only. Amazingly, every one of the 468 hymn texts in *SSH* 1901 was assigned its own unique melody. The variety is staggering, and during this time of transition between the familiar German melodies of *KELG* and the newer meters and melodies of British and American hymnody included in *ELHB* 1892, the Tune Edition of *SSH* 1901 served as a valuable additional resource to both pastor and organist. *SSH* 1901 may also have served as a kind of prototype for English Synod congregations to test which tunes were most serviceable to include in the revision of *ELHB* 1892 that would eventually become *ELHB* 1912.

The second ancillary function for *SSH* 1901, however, was that it served as a “one-size-fits-all” hymnal for struggling mission congregations. As Dallmann would later note: “Some enthusiastic brethren would even use it *instead* of the church hymnal.”<sup>77</sup> Indeed, with the wide

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<sup>75</sup> “1901 English Synod Proceedings,” 131. Emphasis not original.

<sup>76</sup> As found printed in the “American Lutheran Publication Board Catalogue” at the back of “1907 English Synod Proceedings.”

<sup>77</sup> Dallmann, *My Life*, 62. Emphasis not original.

variety and great number of hymns available in *SSH* 1901, it may have been a very attractive alternative for such missions. This may also help to account for the fact that more hymnals were printed than there were Sunday school pupils and teachers in the English Synod—at least according to the early data of English Missouri. (See above, Table 2.)

In summary, the reviews and reactions to *SSH* 1901 reveal a publication trumpeted as being uniquely Lutheran, filling a number of important practical needs in both German and English Missouri at the time, and signaling a tremendous increase in the growth of Sunday schools in English Missouri immediately following publication. And yet, some reviewers also imply a certain uneasiness with the small number of hymns from the German hymn corpus included in *SSH* 1901. As they stepped across the hymnological threshold into American Sunday school hymnody, they seem to have found themselves in an uncomfortable state of liminality between “The Fathers’ Faith” and “the Children’s Song.” The reviews suggest a kind of longing for what lay behind and an ambivalence toward what lay ahead. Though the intended purpose of *SSH* 1901 was to provide Missouri Lutheranism with a confessional and orthodox Lutheran Sunday school hymnal in the English language, the final result was something “which may not be the perfect, but which is nevertheless the peer” of any other Sunday school hymnal currently on the market. “With that let us be content.”<sup>78</sup>

An overview of the outline of hymns and the source hymnals used for *SSH* 1901 reveals some of the basis for that ambivalence, especially in the predominance of non-Lutheran source hymnals and hymnody used in *SSH* 1901.

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<sup>78</sup> Steffens, “Our Sunday-School Hymnal,” 75.

## Overview and Outline of Hymns in *SSH* 1901

The back of the *SSH* 1901 contains an “Index of First Lines,” an “Alphabetical Index of Tunes,” and a “Metrical Index of Tunes.” It is significant that no index of “Translations from the German” is included in *SSH* 1901, as had been included in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and later in *ELHB* 1912. Such an additional index was likely considered unnecessary for a publication such as a Sunday school hymnal, and would certainly not have been conventional. Such an index would also have revealed that fewer than one in ten hymns in *SSH* 1901 came from Missouri’s German hymn tradition.

In the Tune Edition, the first stanza of each hymn is printed with the music, the remaining stanzas being printed beneath in verse form. Each hymn provides only the name of the tune assigned to it. Unlike other Lutheran Sunday school hymnals of the day, *SSH* 1901 contains no mention of attributed authorship for either text or tune, and consequently no corresponding indexes.<sup>79</sup>

The center column of Appendix Nine provides the outline of hymns in *SSH* 1901, along with the corresponding number of hymns in each section. In the Church Year section, the largest number of hymns is assigned to “Christmas”—almost more than Lent, Palm Sunday and Easter combined. A review of the hymns in the “Christmas” section reveals that eleven are from various children’s Christmas programs of the day. It appears, therefore, that this large section of Christmas hymns and Christmas program music was designed to serve congregations as a built-in resource for this annual Sunday school event.

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<sup>79</sup> The General Council’s Sunday school hymnal provides attributed authorship of texts and tunes in its indexes to first lines and tunes. See *Sunday-School Book. For the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Philadelphia: General Council’s Publication Board, 1873). Like *SSH* 1901, the Sunday school hymnal of the Norwegian Synod does not provide attributed authorship to either texts or tunes. See *Christian Hymns for Church, School and Home*.

Looking at the other end of the spectrum to see which categories receive the smallest number of hymns, there one finds “Baptism” and the “Lord’s Supper.” It is possible that the dearth of communion hymnody may have been due to the view that hymns on Holy Communion would only have been useful for those already confirmed in the faith and less so for Sunday-school-age children.<sup>80</sup> And yet, with *SSH* 1901 considered to be a “starter hymnal” for mission congregations, as well as a hymnal that would surely have been used by catechumens preparing for Confirmation, the scarcity of hymnody on the Lord’s Supper seems incongruous with the relative wealth of such hymnody in *ELHB* 1892.<sup>81</sup>

With only three hymns, the Baptism section of *SSH* 1901 exhibits a more profound lacuna. The first hymn is titled, “I Was Made a Christian When My Name Was Giv’n,” written by John Samuel Jones (1831–1911), an Anglican clergyman.<sup>82</sup> The second hymn, “At Jesus’ Feet Our Infant Sweet,” was written by Matthias Loy (1828–1915), an Ohio Synod Lutheran. This was a newer baptismal hymn, written by this English-speaking Lutheran whose hymnody and translations had already been used in *ELHB* 1892. The third hymn, “Lamb of God, for Sinners Slain,” was written by James Russell Woodford (1820–85), also an Anglican clergyman.<sup>83</sup> While these three hymns augment the baptismal hymnody included in *ELHB* 1892, the small number of baptism hymns in *SSH* 1901 is, again, incongruous with the relative wealth of such hymnody in *ELHB* 1892.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Only two communion hymns were included in *SSH* 1901: “O Living Bread from Heaven” (no. 236) and “Draw Nigh and Take the Body of the Lord” (no. 237).

<sup>81</sup> *ELHB* 1892 contained 14 hymns in the Lord’s Supper section (nos. 182–86; 418–26).

<sup>82</sup> John Julian, ed. *A Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations* (London: John Murray, 1907), 1658.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 1292.

<sup>84</sup> *ELHB* 1892 contained 7 hymns in the Baptism section (nos. 177–79; 414–17).

In addition to the dearth of sacramental hymnody, the outline of hymns in *SSH* 1901 also gives scant attention to the Six Chief Parts of the Small Catechism. Whereas a major section titled “Catechism” was included in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912,<sup>85</sup> in *SSH* 1901, these hymns appear to be lumped together into a kind of “Means of Grace” section (“Word,” “Baptism,” “Lord’s Supper”) following the Church Year. Although the Enchiridion of the Small Catechism (including Luther’s Preface) does comprise a significant portion of the front section of *SSH* 1901 (pages 46–73), there appears to have been little recognition of the role of hymnody in inculcating the teachings of the Six Chief Parts of the Small Catechism.<sup>86</sup> Although they were included in *ELHB* 1892 and *ELHB* 1912, Luther’s catechetical hymns were entirely omitted from *SSH* 1901.<sup>87</sup>

Appendix Nine further reveals the transitional role that *SSH* 1901 played between the outline of hymns in *ELHB* 1892 and *ELHB* 1912. In common among all three hymnals, the Church Year section (“Advent,” “Christmas,” etc.) holds pride of place. Likewise, all three hymnals conclude with similar eschatological themes (“Cross and Comfort,” “Death and Burial,” etc.). Following the Church Year section, *SSH* 1901 mirrors the received ordering of hymns from *ELHB* 1892 (“The Word and the Church,” “Catechism,” “Faith and Justification,” and “The Christian Life”). *SSH* 1901 does not yet move to the order proposed in 1905 and eventually adopted in *ELHB* 1912 (“Faith and Justification,” “Sanctification,” “Catechism,” and

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<sup>85</sup>For more on this, see Chapter Two, page 77.

<sup>86</sup>English translations of Luther’s catechetical hymns were included in *ELHB* 1889/1892, as follows: Ten Commandments—“That Man a Godly Life Might Live” (no. 172); Creed—“We All Believe in One True God” (no. 176); Lord’s Prayer—“Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above” (no. 176); Baptism—“To Jordan Came Our Lord, the Christ” (no. 179); Confession—“Out of the Depths I Cry to Thee” (no. 200); and the Lord’s Supper—“Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Saviour” (no. 183). For an excellent series on Luther’s catechetical hymns as “musical catechesis,” see Robin A. Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007), 107–69.

<sup>87</sup>It should be noted, however, that collections such as the *Missionsharfe* and *Lieder-Perlen* (see above, page 113) were also lacking in catechetical or sacramental hymnody.

“Church”).<sup>88</sup> However, *SSH* 1901 does already begin to exhibit a significant hypertrophy toward the beginning of the hymn section, with sixty-seven hymns included prior to the Church Year Section. In this way, then, the order of hymns in *SSH* 1901 served as a transitional outline toward the ordering of hymns that was proposed and adopted for *ELHB* 1912.

An additional factor behind the perplexing dearth of sacramental hymnody and a corresponding omission of the catechetical role of hymns in teaching the Small Catechism to children becomes evident when one considers the wide range of source hymnals used in compiling *SSH* 1901.

### **Sources Used to Compile *SSH* 1901**

In the interest of conducting an open review process so that every member of the English Synod could become “a member of the committee,” the Sunday School Hymn-Book Committee published in 1899 a lengthy, three-page listing of 492 hymn recommendations, by hymn title and tune name, for three months of “criticism and further suggestions.”<sup>89</sup> Most importantly, however, the committee also provided a listing of the thirty-nine source hymnals it had used to assemble the proposed list, as well as a number next to each hymn to indicate from which of the thirty-nine sources it had been derived.<sup>90</sup> This open and transparent process of hymn selection and review has provided a valuable record by which to examine the sources that were used in the formation of *SSH* 1901.

Methodologically, this study will proceed by examining first the Lutheran source hymnals and then the non-Lutheran source hymnals. In examining each of the Lutheran source hymnals,

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<sup>88</sup> See above, Chapter Two, page 79, for a further discussion of this change in order.

<sup>89</sup> R.[omoser], “The Sunday School Hymnal,” 82–85.

<sup>90</sup> See Appendix Four for a complete listing of source hymnals and the number of hymns proposed and eventually included from each source hymnal.

the study will take into account the number of hymns derived from each source, the synod under which it was published, and any other pertinent information and observations about the hymnal or its editor. In examining each of the non-Lutheran source hymnals, the study will take into account the number of hymns derived from each source, the ecclesial body under which it was published (or ecclesial persuasion of the editor), and any other pertinent information and observations about the hymnal or its editor. Each section will then conclude with a brief summary and interpretation of the data presented.

### **Review of Lutheran sources**

The first source listed is *ELHB* 1892. As such, it represents the mother hymnal for the hymnody of *SSH* 1901, with 115 hymns listed as being taken from it. And yet, although *ELHB* 1892 contained 210 hymns from Missouri's German-language hymn tradition, only 26 of them made their way into *SSH* 1901.<sup>91</sup> This suggests a significant preference on the part of the editor(s) of *SSH* 1901 for English-language hymn texts over against translations of the core hymnody of "the Fathers' Faith."

That preference for English-language hymn texts is carried through in the next five Lutheran sources, all publications of the General Council: *Sunday School Book* (1889),<sup>92</sup> *Sunday School Book*, 2nd edition (1896),<sup>93</sup> *Little Children's Book* (1885),<sup>94</sup> *Church Book* (1891),<sup>95</sup> and

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<sup>91</sup> See above, page 111.

<sup>92</sup> *Sunday-School Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 1889).

<sup>93</sup> *Sunday-School Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 1896).

<sup>94</sup> *Little Children's Book: For Schools and Families* (Philadelphia: J. C. File, 1885). The Preface (3) notes that the committee that produced this volume was appointed by the General Council in response to the demand for a hymnal "especially adapted for use with little children in School and Family." It continues: "In the preparation of this book the Committee have, as far as possible, adhered to the principle of choosing only such hymns and tunes as combine substantial merit with child-like simplicity."

<sup>95</sup> *Church Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations*, by authority of the General Council of the

*School and Parish Hymnal* (1892).<sup>96</sup> Together, these hymnals provided 141 hymns, compared to the 115 hymns taken from *ELHB* 1892, further underscoring the trend described in Chapter Two (see above, page 53) where the editors of *ELHB* 1889/1892 essentially culled through the hymnals of older Lutheran church bodies that generations earlier had already travelled the road from German into English-language hymnody. The great number of General Council hymns in *SSH* 1901 further underscores this fact remarkably well and suggests that, in terms of all of the Sunday school hymnals that contributed to *SSH* 1901, the Sunday school hymnals of the General Council served as the primary models.

The external similarities between *SSH* 1901 and the Sunday school hymnals of the General Council are remarkable. This is especially true of the *Sunday School Book* (1896). The opening and closing services for Sunday school are nearly identical in structure to *SSH* 1901, many of the prayers are the same, and the Tune Edition's style of placing the first stanza with the music and the rest of the stanzas beneath is identical as well. The dearth of sacramental hymnody is likewise evident. In the *Sunday School Book* (1896), one finds only three baptismal hymns and none on the Lord's Supper.<sup>97</sup> Even the size and color of the two volumes are nearly identical.

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Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (Philadelphia: F. W. Weiskotten, Agent, 1891). The General Council's *Church Book* of 1891, first published in 1868, was the pew hymnal for that church body. Carl F. Schalk includes it in a section titled, "Toward a More Confessional Hymnody," but notes that "in spite of the 'infusion of German, Latin [and Greek] matter,' the predominant bias in favor of English hymnody is clearly evident." Carl F. Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 143. Only one hymn made it into *SSH* 1901, and it is of nineteenth-century, German origin: "We praise and bless Thee, gracious Lord," attributed to Karl Johann Philipp Spitta. *Church Book*, no. 441. Cf. Julian, ed. *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1075–80.

<sup>96</sup> J.[eremiah] F.[ranklin] Ohl, ed. *School and Parish Hymnal, with Tunes* (Philadelphia: G. W. Frederick, 1892). The Preface (3) notes: "The popular notion that the words and music in which a child is taught to express its devotions, must be radically different from the hymns and tunes used by adult Christians, is as false in principle as it is pernicious in practice. Hymns for children must deal with the same great *objective* realities of faith as hymns for adults, and hence should be chiefly hymns of prayer and praise. . . . Perhaps the great defect of the current Sunday-School hymnology—to say nothing of its other faults—is its intense subjectiveness [*sic*]. While this is a quality that should never predominate in a hymn for public worship, it should least of all characterize a hymn used by children." Emphasis original. Ohl was a pioneer Lutheran city missionary, serving in Philadelphia in that capacity from 1899–1930. E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*, revised ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 301.

<sup>97</sup> The three baptismal hymns are: "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" (no. 206); "I Was Made a Christian" (no. 207);

Thus, it is clear that the Sunday school hymnals of the General Council, in a variety of ways, provided a general form for what a Lutheran Sunday school hymnal in English should be and that English Missouri therefore modeled its Sunday school hymnal after those of the General Council.

A final Lutheran source examined in this study stands somewhat in contrast to the Sunday school hymnals of the General Council—that is, the Ohio Synod’s *Sunday School Hymnal* of 1883, with six hymns attributed to it.<sup>98</sup> Although the Ohio Synod withdrew from the Synodical Conference in 1881 over the Predestinarian Controversy<sup>99</sup> and was the most Americanized of the midwestern synods not affiliated with the General Council or the General Synod,<sup>100</sup> nevertheless, a Lutheran confessionality akin to Missouri’s was alive and well in this synod, as reflected in the preface to its Sunday school hymnal by John H. Spielman (1840–96):

The hundreds of popular *so-called* Sunday School hymnals, now in vogue throughout our land, would appear to render it superfluous and of doubtful utility to offer anything new on the subject. Yet, no inference could be more palpably erroneous. Never was the need of a reformation in Sunday School *hymnology*, as well as Sunday School *music*, more seriously felt than now, when the prevailing popular taste has lost almost every trace of the sound Evangelical spirit of the grand *Church of the Reformation*. The contemptible catering for the vitiated taste of the thoughtless and amusement loving, by equally giddy or selfinterested [*sic*] persons, has so increased the morbid craving for the unchurchly, frivolous and inane effusions that, it seems, the unnatural appetite for them cannot be sated. Even in our own schools and amongst our own youth this soft sentimentalism has occasionally cropped out, so that the need of wholesome check upon its unchurchly spirit and enervating influence is a matter of the gravest importance.<sup>101</sup>

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also in *SSH* 1901, see above, page 126); and “O Lord, Our Strength in Weakness” (no. 208).

<sup>98</sup> *Sunday School Hymnal: A Collection of Music for Sunday and Week-Day Schools with Full Responsive Services for Sundays and Festivals* (Columbus, OH: Lutheran Book Concern, 1883).

<sup>99</sup> Nelson, *The Lutherans*, 319.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 350.

<sup>101</sup> *Sunday School Hymnal: A Collection*, iii. Emphasis original.

Nearly a generation before *SSH* 1901, the Ohio Synod's *Sunday School Hymnal* expressed a desire to *reform* the American Sunday school hymnal away from its revivalistic excess and recast it in the shape of the Reformation Gospel and its hymnody. The editor expresses sensitivity toward utilizing the very best of the Lutheran tradition in light of the American context. With *SSH* 1901, however, there appears to be a tendency to *adapt* to the prevailing model of the Sunday school hymnal as modeled in those of the larger General Council over against the *Sunday School Hymnal* of the smaller, midwestern Ohio Synod.<sup>102</sup>

In summary, the first ten sources in Appendix Four are Lutheran in origin, as well as three others.<sup>103</sup> This represents 265 of the 468 hymns in *SSH* 1901 (57%). Of these 265 hymns from Lutheran source hymnals, 115 (43%) are from English Missouri, 131 (49%) are from the General Council, six are from the Ohio Synod (2%), and thirteen (5%) are from other Lutheran sources. It is most significant that the number of hymns attributed to the General Council sources actually surpasses the number attributed to English Missouri. As with the formation of *ELHB* 1892, the first place English Missouri looked to for English-language hymnody suitable for Lutheran use was the hymnals of the older, eastern synods—in this case overwhelmingly, the General Council.

### **Review of Non-Lutheran Sources**

If 265 (57%) of the hymns from *SSH* 1901 came from Lutheran sources, the remaining 203 (43%) came from non-Lutheran sources comprising the broad center of mainline, evangelical Protestantism of the day. This section will briefly examine nine of these remaining twenty-six sources. These nine sources account for 148 (73%) of the 203 hymns from non-Lutheran sources.

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<sup>102</sup> For more on the propensity in *SSH* 1901 to “adapt” rather than “reform,” see below, page 141.

<sup>103</sup> 30. *Sonntags-Schul Harfe* (Pilger, 1878); 31. *Christmas Service* (Lochner); and 39. *Christ Child Christmas Service*, (Ohl).

The first non-Lutheran source is *Carmina for the Sunday School and Social Worship*, edited by Lewis W. Mudge (1839–1914) and Herbert B. Turner (1852–1927). Published by A. S. Barnes & Company in 1894, this hymnal accounts for thirty-four of the hymns found in the *SSH* 1901. Rogal identifies this hymnal as Congregational and notes that Turner was a product of Amherst College and Union Theological Seminary. He pastored several Congregational churches in New York and New Jersey and spent the majority of his career as chaplain at Hampton Institute in Virginia.<sup>104</sup> Mudge was a graduate of Princeton College and Princeton Theological Seminary and served a number of Presbyterian congregations in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania during his long career. He was editor or co-editor of several hymnals, collaborating with Philip Schaff (1819–93) and other prominent Protestant figures of his day.<sup>105</sup> The preface to the hymnal notes that “special attention has been given to scriptural hymns, and a larger number of didactic hymns of high character admitted than would be appropriate in a book for adults.”<sup>106</sup> The hymnal contains 293 hymns with music and is organized under twenty varied topics, among them: “Praise to God,” “The Lord Jesus Christ,” “The Holy Spirit,” “The Holy Scriptures,” “Salvation Offered,” “Salvation Sought and Found,” and “Grace Magnified.”

The second non-Lutheran source is *Hymnal and Service Book for Sunday Schools, Day Schools, Guilds, Brotherhoods, etc.*, edited by Charles L. Hutchins (1838–1920). Published in 1893 by the Parish Choir of Boston, the preface reveals its Anglican origins: “The revision of the Book of Common Prayer has rendered desirable, if not necessary, a revision of the Liturgical portions of the Sunday-School Hymnal taken from that Book.”<sup>107</sup> Rogal likewise identifies this

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<sup>104</sup> Rogal, *Children’s Jubilee*, 17.

<sup>105</sup> “Death of Dr. L. W. Mudge,” *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 8, no. 3 (1914): 16–17.

<sup>106</sup> Lewis W. Mudge and Herbert B. Turner, eds., *Carmina for the Sunday School and Social Worship* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1894), “Preface,” n.p.

<sup>107</sup> Charles L. Hutchins, ed., *A Hymnal and Service-Book for Sunday Schools, Day Schools, Guilds,*

hymnal's origins as Protestant Episcopal and notes that Hutchins was educated at Williams College and General Theological Seminary. He served as rector at a number of parishes, and also as editor of several Episcopal hymnals.<sup>108</sup> The hymnal itself contains a wealth of rich, Anglican liturgical resources, 580 psalms, hymns and carols. Its hymnody is organized along the parameters of the Church Year, and fifteen of its hymns were included in *SSH* 1901.

Two additional Anglican sources, edited by John Ireland Tucker (1819–95), provided 22 hymns for *SSH* 1901—*The Children's Hymnal* (1880; first published in 1875),<sup>109</sup> and *The New Children's Hymnal* (1892). Tucker was a “priest-musician,” who served most of his career as the beloved rector of Holy Cross Parish in Troy, New York.<sup>110</sup> He was best known for the musical settings he provided for the Protestant Episcopal *The Hymnal* (1874) and a number of other collections.<sup>111</sup> In the Preface to *The Children's Hymnal*, Tucker noted that his collection had been “compiled and arranged with the hope that it may find its way into the Day, as well as the Sunday-School; and may meet with a favourable reception even in the Home-circle. Accordingly I have allowed myself a broad range in the selection of words and music, in order to bring the Hymnal within the reach of the little ones and children of a larger growth, not excluding even the ‘young men and maidens.’”<sup>112</sup> *The New Children's Hymnal* (1892) included nearly a hundred additional hymns as well as orders of service. Both of these collections found themselves within the mainstream of the Protestant Episcopal tradition.

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*Brotherhoods, etc.* (Boston: Parish Choir, 1893), 2.

<sup>108</sup> Rogal, *Children's Jubilee*, 10.

<sup>109</sup> John Ireland Tucker, ed. *The Children's Hymnal, with Tunes* (New York: F. J. Huntington and Co., 1880).

<sup>110</sup> Christopher W. Knauff, *Doctor Tucker, Priest-Musician: A Sketch which Concerns the Doings and Thinkings of the Rev. John Ireland Tucker, S.T.D., Including a Brief Converse about the Rise and Progress of Church Music in America* (New York: A. D. F. Randolph Company, 1897).

<sup>111</sup> Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship* (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1915), 546–47. See also, Rogal, *Children's Jubilee*, 24.

<sup>112</sup> Tucker, ed. *The Children's Hymnal, with Tunes*, Preface, n.p.

A fifth source of hymns is *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1 to 6*, edited by Ira Sankey, James McGranahan (1840–1907) and George C. Stebbins (1846–1945).<sup>113</sup> Nathan Hatch identifies the nascent origins of the Gospel Song genre as coming from four waves of what he calls “indigenous folk religious music” between the early period of 1780 and 1830: 1) from dissenting Baptists of rural New England; 2) from Methodist Revivalism; 3) from the black spiritual; 4) and from outsider groups such as Mormons and Adventists who used vernacular song as a way to advance their own purposes.<sup>114</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century, this religious folk-song genre developed into the full-fledged Gospel Song, a title attached to the hymns popularized in the revivals of Moody and Sankey.<sup>115</sup> Hymnologist Ellen Jane Lorenz notes of this later development: “The words of the Gospel Song turned often from emotional to sentimental, but always they declaimed a personal message, straight to the heart of the individual.”<sup>116</sup> In the midst of all this, we recall the *Lutheran Witness*’s frequent lament of such “Gospel Hymns” and the claim that “our Hymn book and recently published Sunday-school hymnal contain *none* of this trashy hymnology.”<sup>117</sup> “None,” however, is not accurate.

Appendix Four shows that six hymns from Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns* made their way into *SSH* 1901. It appears that there were originally ten hymns designated for inclusion, but that four did not make the final cut. Thus, other than *ELHB* 1892, with its 115 hymns plus five rejections, the Sankey hymnal with its six hymns plus four rejections shows the second-highest number of hymn replacements in the whole project. It appears that the inclusion of hymns from Sankey’s

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<sup>113</sup> Sankey, McGranahan, and Stebbins, *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1 to 6*.

<sup>114</sup> Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 147–61. See Chapter Six below for more on the Gospel Song genre and Missouri Lutheran attitudes toward it.

<sup>115</sup> William Jensen Reynolds and Milburn Price, *A Joyful Sound: Christian Hymnody*, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 94. See below, Chapter Six.

<sup>116</sup> Ellen Jane Lorenz, *Glory, Hallelujah!: The Story of the Campmeeting Spiritual* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1980), 80.

hymnal may have, indeed, generated some “friendly criticism” from members of the English Synod responding to the proposed content of *SSH* 1901. Table 3 shows which hymns were included and which were not:

Table 3: Gospel Songs from Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1–6* in *SSH* 1901.

<b>Title</b>	<b><i>GH</i> 1–6</b>	<b><i>SSH</i> 1901</b>
Bringing in the Sheaves	609	400
Cling to the Bible	392	—
Grace! ‘Tis a Charming Sound	35	—
I Need Thee Ev’ry Hour	597	320
In Thy Cleft, O Rock of Ages	230	—
More Holiness Give Me	594	—
Pass Me Not, O Gentle Savior	585	313
Sweet Hour of Prayer!	634	353
There Is a Green Hill Far Away	601	141
What a Friend We Have in Jesus	583	315

Source: *SSH* 1901.

Of these hymns from Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1 to 6*, only “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” had already been included in *ELHB* 1892.<sup>118</sup>

The sixth and seventh non-Lutheran sources for the hymnody of *SSH* 1901 were the *New Laudes Domini: A Selection of Spiritual Songs Ancient and Modern*<sup>119</sup> and *The Calvary Selection of Spiritual Songs*, both edited by Charles S. Robinson (1829–99). Robinson was a well-known Presbyterian minister who published no less than fifteen independent and widely-used collections. Much of the popularity of his works can be attributed to his use of contemporary

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<sup>117</sup> [George] L.[uecke], *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 5 (1901): 34. Emphasis not original.

<sup>118</sup> “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” does not appear in the 1889 edition, and the authorship designated in the index of the 1892 edition is simply “?” It appears that Dallmann and the editors of *ELHB* 1892 were unsure of its origins and authorship. In *ELHB* 1912, “What a Friend” was the only hymn from the Gospel Song genre to be included from either *SSH* 1901 or *ELHB* 1892.

<sup>119</sup> Charles S. Robinson, ed., *New Laudes Domini: A Selection of Spiritual Songs Ancient and Modern* (New York: The Century Company, 1892).

hymn tunes by Lowell Mason (1792–1872), Thomas Hastings (1784–1872), William Bradbury (1816–68), and others.<sup>120</sup> Robinson’s proactive approach to teaching new hymnody is reflected in his preface to *The Calvary Selection*:

One reason why the music in many prayer-meetings gives so little assistance is found in the worn-out familiarity of the hymns and tunes employed. There is no growth in the exercise. What is wanted is a wider range and a fresher adaptation. But there is no adequate chance for increase, unless the experience of the Sabbath successes can be taken into the week-day monotony . . . What is wanted is that the tunes should be learned, and the hymns should be rendered usable by frequent repetition.<sup>121</sup>

Robinson appears to have been about the furtherance of new hymnody and the broadening of the hymnological repertoire of a congregation beyond the “old favorites.” To that end, he sought to offer a wide range of usable hymns, and from these two hymnals, thirty-four were selected for *SSH* 1901.

The eighth source of hymns for *SSH* 1901, *In Excelsis for School and Chapel*, published by The Century Company in 1900, is also connected to Robinson, as the Preface notes:

The selections in this book are mainly from “In Excelsis” (which is already in use in a large number of representative churches), with the addition of many beautiful Christmas and Easter carols and hymns for young children.<sup>122</sup>

The *In Excelsis* “already in use” is undoubtedly another collection edited by Robinson and published in 1897.<sup>123</sup> Since Robinson died in 1899, it appears that the publisher slightly enlarged and reprinted Robinson’s work in 1900 without his name attached. The hymnal itself contains 299 hymns and six chants, among them the Gloria in Excelsis, Te Deum Laudamus, and the Gloria Patri. From it, twenty-eight hymns were selected for *SSH* 1901.

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<sup>120</sup> Reynolds and Price, *Joyful Sound*, 99–100.

<sup>121</sup> Charles S. Robinson and Robert S. MacArthur, eds., *The Calvary Selection of Spiritual Songs with Music for Use in Social Meetings* (New York: Scribner & Co., 1880), “Preface,” n.p.

<sup>122</sup> *In Excelsis: For School and Chapel* (New York: The Century Co., 1900), iii. See also, Rogal, *Children’s Jubilee*, 13.

<sup>123</sup> Reynolds and Price, *Joyful Sound*, 99.

The final non-Lutheran source of hymns to be considered in this study is *The Church Praise Book: A Selection of Hymns and Tunes for Christian Worship*, edited by Melancthon Woolsey Stryker (1851–1929) and Hubert Platt Main (1839–1925), and published by Biglow & Main, New York, in 1888. Stryker was a Presbyterian minister who edited a handful of hymnals and authored nearly thirty hymn texts. Julian describes his texts as “massive and rugged, full of dogmatism and fire, but they lack unity and purity of rhythm.”<sup>124</sup> Main, who collaborated with a variety of composers and hymnists (including Ira Sankey in his publication of *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1–6*), was the editor of this and other collections published through Biglow & Main.<sup>125</sup> *The Church Praise Book* contains 728 hymns organized along the lines of the Church Year and various other categories. The Preface describes its intended character:

The book is an advance, but a conservative one; by no means presuming against the resonant memories of the American Church, nor, with a startling originality, disjoining the wedded hands of old and cherished adaptations. It, however, contains much more music than any similar collection, and, with what is familiar and precious, is blended the stately river-flow of the noblest German chorals [*sic*], and the best of the modern, but already classic, English church-songs, whose purity and fervor are deep wells of worship, and whose clear melody and decisive movement will rapidly endear them to the very children.<sup>126</sup>

From this hymnal, nine hymns were chosen for *SSH* 1901.

In summary, the number of hymns included in *SSH* 1901 from the non-Lutheran sources surveyed above ranged as follows:

Presbyterian	71
Protestant Episcopal	37
Congregational	34
Gospel Songs	6

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<sup>124</sup> Julian, ed. *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 1098–99.

<sup>125</sup> “Hubert P. Main,” [http://www.hymnary.org/person/Main\\_HP](http://www.hymnary.org/person/Main_HP) [accessed March 4, 2013].

<sup>126</sup> Melancthon Woolsey Stryker and Hubert Platt Main, eds., *The Church Praise Book: A Selection of Hymns and Tunes for Christian Worship* (New York: Biglow & Main, 1888), 3.

Except for the handful of Gospel Songs included, the source hymnals utilized came essentially from mainline, evangelical Protestant origins. As such, these non-Lutheran Sunday school hymnals, as with the vast majority of the Lutheran source hymnals, reflected the predominant American evangelical notions of what a Sunday school hymnal should be. The over-reliance on these non-Lutheran sources contributed even more profoundly to the dearth of sacramental hymnody in *SSH* 1901, as well as to its failure to carry forward into English the catechetical hymnody of “the Fathers’ Faith.”

Although the editors of *SSH* 1901 avoided the excesses of revivalist hymnody, they were not successful in avoiding it entirely.<sup>127</sup> In fact, one may observe that by the inclusion of a handful of hymns from Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1–6*, the editors of *SSH* 1901 showed that they were not afraid of gently exploring the “rough edges” of evangelical hymnody. Indeed, such a move may be viewed as the inclusion of yet another outlier strand of hymnody in their Sunday school hymnal, literally “the Children’s song”—even complementary to the handful of German “spiritual songs” they had included from “The Fathers’ Faith.” However it may be, by mining a diverse collection of non-Lutheran source hymnals in the formation of *SSH* 1901, English Missouri took another step into the uncomfortable liminal zone between “The Fathers’ Faith” and “The Children’s Song.”

### Conclusions

*SSH* 1901 was a latecomer to the American Sunday school scene. In the Missouri Synod, the debate over Sunday schools versus *Christenlehre* took place in the context of an American ecclesial environment already defined by prevailing evangelical notions of what Sunday schools

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<sup>127</sup> It is important to point out that while the editors of *SSH* 1901 did include a handful of Gospel Songs from Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1–6*, there were hundreds of other Gospel Song collections available and thousands of additional Gospel Songs from which they could also have chosen.

were for and which hymnals should be used in them. Debates over Sunday schools in Missouri Lutheranism, nevertheless, revealed the need for a suitable Sunday school literature that would proclaim pure, Lutheran doctrine in the language and song of the children. *SSH 1901* led the way in the English Synod's publication efforts to fill that need. The result was a hymnal whose redactors brought with them noble intentions, but a product into which those stated intentions were not clearly translated.

In William Dallmann we see a churchman whose utmost desire was to translate the Lutheran faith of the German fathers into the English language of their American children. This he did without apology—neither to those who opposed him in German Missouri nor to the evangelical religious establishment of his day. In the Sunday school, Dallmann saw a great arena for such a “translation.” For him, the Sunday school represented a major area of focus for the future, both in its emphasis upon the future of American Lutheranism through its children, as well as in its mission potential for establishing Missouri congregations in America. In *SSH 1901*, Dallmann sought to make these noble intentions concrete.

The results, however, failed to fulfill those noble goals. In the hymnody of *SSH 1901*, less than 9% could be recognized as coming from the German-language stream of Missouri hymnody, “the Fathers’ Faith.” As a result, there was little likelihood of reforming the institution of the American Sunday school into the catechetical and hymnic paths of Missouri’s received Lutheran tradition. Instead, the editors simply searched through the established, evangelical Sunday school hymnals and drew from them what appeared to be acceptable to Lutheran sensitivities. Our study indicates an over-reliance on the evangelical, Protestant Sunday school hymnals of the day, even to the extent of incorporating a handful of the Gospel Songs from Moody-Sankey revivalism. Such a profound hypertrophy in utilizing evangelical, Protestant

sources, along with a failure to include sound Lutheran catechetical hymnody from “The Fathers’ Faith,” resulted in an overwhelming deficit in sacramental hymnody for *SSH* 1901.

This descriptive overview demonstrates a general principle at work in the formation of *SSH* 1901: the propensity to “adapt” rather than to “reform.” The difference is significant. In “adapting” its various sources, the emphasis ultimately becomes one of utilitarianism, i.e., finding suitable material that will fit and serve the existing mold of the American Sunday school. The mold thus determines, to a great extent, what the material (and even its content) will be. “Reform,” however, seeks to change the mold itself to fit another paradigm (confessional and catechetical Lutheranism) and uses and produces suitable materials toward that end. Thus, the former model tends to be static and functionalist in nature, while the later is dynamic and formative.

This “adaptive principle” is evident in the fact that this chapter uncovered few, if any, original Lutheran contributions in the hymns section. Unlike the Ohio Synod Sunday school hymnal, which declared its intention to reform the state of affairs in American Sunday school hymnody and actually produced some original materials toward that end, Missouri’s hymnal failed to engage in this kind of reformative enterprise. Instead, *SSH* 1901 relied heavily on both the static form as well as much of the hymnic content from the Sunday school hymnals of the General Council. Finally, the complete absence of the great catechetical hymnody of the Lutheran tradition bespeaks a propensity to adapt rather than reform. Luther’s hymns based on the Small Catechism were apparently not considered adaptable to the American Sunday school mold.

And yet, within the trajectory of Missouri Lutheran hymnals from *KELG* 1847 to *ELHB* 1912, *SSH* 1901 found its place as a transitional collection between *ELHB* 1892 and *ELHB* 1912.

While the outline of hymns in *SSH* 1901 demonstrates an overall dependence on the outline of hymns in *ELHB* 1892, the expanded section of hymns prior to the Church Year foreshadows the even greater hypertrophy of this section in *ELHB* 1912.

The transitional character of *SSH* 1901 also manifested itself in a number of practical ways. First, the open review process that Dallmann instituted for *SSH* 1901 was used again with success in 1905, as his hymnal committee worked toward the publication of *ELHB* 1912. Second, with its 468 tunes for 468 texts, *SSH* 1901 filled a very practical short-term need for organists and congregations in the absence of a Tune Edition prior to *ELHB* 1912. Finally, *SSH* 1901 was able to serve the needs of not only a rapidly expanding Sunday school movement in Missouri Lutheranism, but also of struggling mission congregations as a dual-purpose hymnal for both Sunday school and Divine Services.

Finally, it should also be noted that, although the hymnody of *SSH* 1901 failed to carry forward adequately the classic Lutheran chorales and catechetical hymnody of German Missouri's hymnic tradition, it did manage to preserve a number of hymns from the "spiritual songs" tradition of German Missouri's piety and religious life—hymns which had not appeared in either *KELG* 1847 or *ELHB* 1892. Although none of these "spiritual songs" was immediately carried forward into *ELHB* 1912, several of them were eventually included in Missouri Synod hymnals during the century following *ELHB* 1912.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE GERMAN-LANGUAGE HYMN WRITERS

In June 1847, C. F. W. Walther announced the publication of what eventually would become the first and only German hymnal of the Missouri Synod.<sup>1</sup> Only eighteen months earlier, the voter's assembly of Trinity Lutheran Congregation, St. Louis, had put their young pastor in charge of the project, along with a number of laymen from the congregation to handle financial matters and several clergy from nearby congregations to assist in hymn selection.<sup>2</sup> Pastor Walther served as general editor of a hymnal that would eventually shape the piety and hymnological ethos of the Missouri Synod for generations to come.

Walther's remarks at the advent of this seminal publication disclose 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]; . . .<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The first edition of *KELG* 1847 contained the following: title page; table of contents; alphabetical hymn index organized by page number; 437 hymns, text only; melodic index consisting of 167 melodies in 103 different meters; and an appendix containing various prayers with an index to their content, a Formula for Emergency Baptism, the Antiphons, the Proper Prefaces, and finally an Enchiridion, consisting of the Small Catechism with Luther's Preface, and the "Christian Questions with Their Answers" (*Christliche Fragestücke*), the Augsburg Confession, and the three Ecumenical Creeds. In 1857, six additional hymns were added, and an additional 41 hymns were added in 1917. See Carl F. Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 129–30; and Jon D. Vieker, "C. F. W. Walther: Editor of Missouri's First and Only German Hymnal," *CHIQ* 65, no. 2 (1992): 53–69.

<sup>2</sup> "Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Missouri," typed document, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri, November 17, 1845 (344), and January 26, 1846 (353). See also Jon D. Vieker, "'Who from Our Mothers' Arms': The Story of the Hymnals That Came before Us," *CHIQ* 79, no. 1 (2006): 4.

<sup>3</sup> C. F. W. Walther, "Lutherisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch," *Der Lutheraner* 3, no. 20 (1847): 112, as translated in Carl S. Meyer, *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis:

Walther's emphasis on purity of doctrine was fully in keeping with the rise of the Confessional Lutheran Revival during this period. Indeed, Lutheran, Anglican, and Presbyterian traditions—each in its own way—experienced a renaissance of conservative confessionalism during the mid-nineteenth century, both in America and Europe.<sup>4</sup> Walther and the Missouri Synod would play a significant role on the American side of that equation, and the selection of hymns reflecting this “Old Lutheran” emphasis on purity of doctrine helped to ensure the spread of that commitment among German American Lutherans.<sup>5</sup>

Walther's second consideration—that the hymns be universally accepted by “the orthodox German Lutheran Church”—likewise reflected his commitment to Lutheran orthodoxy, but particularly to Lutheran orthodoxy in its *German* form. As Walther further explained in his *Der Lutheraner* announcement:

The editors have been fully conscious of the difficulty of their task . . . They can give the assurance that they approached the task with fear and trembling and from the Christian church's *voluminous treasury of German hymnody*, according to the grace which God had given them, selected only those hymns which they recognized as particularly worthy of transmission from children to children's children and of

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Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 182. Emphasis not original.

<sup>4</sup> See Walter H. Conser, *Church and Confession: Conservative Theologians in Germany, England, and America, 1815–1866* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984).

<sup>5</sup> In 1855, the same year that “New Lutheran” Samuel Simon Schmucker published his *Definite Platform*, Philip Schaff published an English translation of the report he had made to a German audience a year earlier. At the midpoint of the nineteenth century, Schaff observed the following taxonomy of American Lutherans: “The *New Lutheran* party is an amalgamation of Lutheranism with American Puritanic and Methodistic elements. . . . The *Old Lutheran* section consists of a portion of the more recent emigrants from Saxony, Prussia, Bavaria, and other countries. . . . Over the experimenting New Lutherans they have the advantage of a fixed principle, a well-formed doctrinal basis, and general logical consistency. . . . The *Moderate Lutheran* tendency strikes a middle course between these two extremes, which are bound together only by the accident of name. . . . Finally, as to worship and Christian life. In the first place, the Old Lutherans have a more or less complete liturgical altar-service, even with the crucifixes and candles burning in day-time; and in all such matters they cleave to historical tradition; while the New Lutherans incline to the Puritanic system of free prayer, the strict observance of Sunday, neglect of the church festivals, and of all symbolical rites and ceremonies; . . .” See Philip Schaff, *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social and Religious Character*, ed. Perry Miller, The John Harvard Library (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 150–59. Emphasis not original.

preservation as a treasure, as an *inalienable possession of the German-speaking church*.<sup>6</sup>

That Walther, on the one hand, would be focusing his efforts on the production of a German-language hymnal for his German-speaking congregation is, in itself, unremarkable. Other German Lutheran immigrants were doing much the same.<sup>7</sup> Yet, Walther was clearly keen that the hymns selected for Trinity's *Gesangbuch* contain only those that were deemed "particularly worthy" among the tens of thousands available, in order to transmit to and preserve for future generations an "inalienable possession of the German-speaking church." What Walther could not foresee was the way in which this "voluminous treasury" would one day transcend its German-language boundaries and be transmitted to a generation of "children's children," who would sing them not in German, but in English.

Some sixty years later, that day was surely drawing near as Walther's hymnal underwent its final revision by a commission consisting of August Crull, Otto F. Hattstädt (1862–1950), and Johann Schlerf (1852–1915).<sup>8</sup> Appointed by the 1908 Missouri Synod Convention,<sup>9</sup> they detailed their progress over the next two years in German Missouri's theological journal, *Lehre und Wehre*.

In the first of five installments, the commission noted that those who had assembled *KELG* 1847 more than sixty years earlier had "resorted to the old hymnals, predominantly those of

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<sup>6</sup> Walther, "Lutherisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch," as translated in Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 182. Emphasis not original.

<sup>7</sup> For example, see J. A. A. Grabau's hymnal, *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchen-Gesang-Buch* (Buffalo: Georg Zahm's Schriften, 1842). Cf. Carl F. Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 125–28. Also, the Ohio Synod's *Gesangbuch für Gemeinden des Evangelisch Lutherischen Bekenntnisses* (Columbus, OH: Schulze und Gaßmann, 1870). Cf. Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land*, 138–41.

<sup>8</sup> Schlerf was pastor at Trinity, Milwaukee and conducted the funeral of Friedrich Lochner. *Lutheran Witness* 21, no. 6 (1902): 43–44. See also Johann Schlerf, "Das Kirchenlied in der Konfirmationsfeier," *Lehre und Wehre* 55, no. 3 (1909): 116–19.

<sup>9</sup> "Weitere Revision des Gesangbuchs," in *Siebenundzwanziger Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen*

Saxony, which came out before the age of hymnological decline [i.e., the Enlightenment] . . . [hymnals] they had assumed contained the original texts.”<sup>10</sup> However, by 1863, when *KELG* 1847 was given by Trinity Lutheran Congregation as a gift to the Missouri Synod, it was recognized even at that point that the hymnal was very much in need of a revision due to its “many typographical errors, but also errors in respect to the text as well as in the ascription of authors, as new hymnological research has shown.”<sup>11</sup> Yet, Crull and his commission members further noted that even the revision of 1863 was inadequate, since “not until [after] the 1860s were the sources of hymn composition of all ages developed in widest scope.” Citing the monumental works of Philipp Wackernagel,<sup>12</sup> Albert Fischer,<sup>13</sup> and other contributors during “a century of hymnology,” the commission noted: “These men have brought a great deal of valuable material to light, long perpetuated errors were corrected by them, and new information given, so that the purity of the text can now be guaranteed to a much higher degree than half a century ago.”<sup>14</sup> Crull’s commission concluded its first installment by observing that the original

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*Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten*, 1908 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 119.

<sup>10</sup> “Unser Kirchengesangbuch: I. Revision der Angaben unter den Liedern,” *Lehre und Wehre* 54, no. 8 (1908): 355: “Für die Textgestalt hielten sie sich an die alten Gesangbücher, vornehmlich an die sächsischen, die vor der Zeit des Verfalls des Kirchenliedes erschienen waren, die sie bisher in ihren Gottesdiensten gebraucht hatten, und von denen sie annahmen, daß in ihnen der Urtext enthalten sei.” Translation adapted from Mathew Carver, “The Second Major Revision of the St. Louis Hymnal,” <http://matthaeusglyptes.blogspot.com/2010/09/second-major-revision-of-walters.html>. Accessed December 27, 2010.

<sup>11</sup> “Unser Gesangbuch,” in *Elfier Synodal-Bericht der allgemeinen Deutschen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. Staaten*, 1863 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1864), 66: “Hinsichtlich der Revision, welche man allerdings als nöthig erkannte, da in den jetzigen Ausgaben nicht nur manche Druckfehler stehen, sondern auch, wie aus neueren hymnologischen Forschungen sich ergeben hat, sowohl in Betreff des Textes, als der Angaben der Verfasser Irrthümer eingeschlichen sind, . . .” Translation adapted from Carver, “The Second Major Revision.”

<sup>12</sup> Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1864–77; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964).

<sup>13</sup> Albert Fischer and Wilhelm Tümpel, *Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 6 vols. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1904–1916; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964).

<sup>14</sup> “Unser Kirchengesangbuch: I. Revision der Angaben unter den Liedern,” 356: “Diese Männer haben sehr viel wertvolles Material zutage gefördert, lange gehegte Irrtümer sind von ihnen beseitigt und neue Aufschlüsse gegeben worden, so daß die Reinheit des Texts jetzt viel besser garantiert werden kann als vor einem halben Jahrhundert.” Translation adapted from Carver, “The Second Major Revision.”

rights of transferal from 1863 mandated that “no hymn already present therein may be omitted or altered counter to the author’s original text, and that the hymnal may only be enriched with hymns considered thoroughly beyond suspicion by all concerned, their confession true to the Evangelical-Lutheran Church as pure, established church hymns.”<sup>15</sup>

The work of the *KELG* revision commission during the years 1908–10 was thorough and extensive, and it eventually resulted in the addition of 41 hymns in the final, 1917 edition of *KELG*. It also resulted in the creation of an index of hymn writers, based on the most recent hymnological research, “in which everything interesting or edifying that is known about an author is detailed in a brief, compact manner—not only the essential personal details, his calling, title, and alias, but also his importance to the Church or Christian life, any excellent book of edification that he wrote, the circle of friends in which he moved, etc.”<sup>16</sup> In presenting a draft of such an index in its *Lehre und Wehre* installments, the commission suggested that:

Many congregants would be surprised to learn from this index that those who wrote our hymns came from all different walks of life. Of course the majority of them were theologians, but scattered among these are also many pious laymen, persons of high station as well as common folk, tutors of princes and teachers of peasants, mayors and statesmen, soldiers and poets of worldly renown, musicians, doctors and lawyers, as well as ladies of the nobility. Among these poets are men who exercised a far-reaching influence on the development of the kingdom of God, and also those who, unheeded by the world, served their God in silence, and of whom we might well have known nothing, had they not left us one or more hymns.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> “Unser Kirchengesangbuch: I. Revision der Angaben unter den Liedern,” 357: “daß kein darin bereits vorhandenes Lied herausgenommen oder wider den ursprünglichen Text des Verfassers desselben verändert, und daß dasselbe allein mit durchaus unverdächtigen, von der gesamten, ihrem Bekenntnis treuen, evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche als reine anerkannte Kirchenlieder bereichert werde.” Translation adapted from Carver, “The Second Major Revision.”

<sup>16</sup> “Unser Kirchengesangbuch: II. Verzeichnis der Liederdichter,” *Lehre und Wehre* 54, no. 10 (1908), 449: “was Interessantes oder Erbauliches über den Liederdichter bekannt ist, nicht nur die nötigen Personalien, sein Beruf, Titel und Nebenname, sondern auch seine Bedeutung für die Kirche oder das christliche Leben, ein hervorragendes Erbauungsbuch, das er geschrieben, der Kreis, dem er angehörte, u. a. m.” Translation adapted from Carver, “The Second Major Revision.”

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. “Da würde manches Gemeindeglied überrascht sein, aus dem Verzeichnis zu erfahren, daß die Dichter unser Kirchenlieder den verschiedensten Ständen angehören. Ihrer Mehrzahl nach sind des freilich Theologen, aber unter ihnen sind doch auch viele gottselige Laien, hochgestellte Personen, wie auch schlichte Leute, Prinzenzieher

The backgrounds of the hymn writers whose hymns were included in *KELG* were clearly important to the piety and understanding of German Missouri. This chapter offers snapshots of representative German-language hymn writers within an integrated historical narrative of German-language hymnody,<sup>18</sup> placing these writers within the larger context of the historical and theological movements of their times. This chapter will demonstrate that while the vast majority of these German-language hymn writers proclaimed “The Fathers’ Faith” through their hymns as confessional Lutherans, a significant strand of German-language hymn writers exhibited a theological diversity that pressed the outer limits and, at times, wandered outside of the orbit of Lutheran orthodoxy. Such a strand of theological diversity would set the stage for and even legitimize the eventual appropriation of hymnody from non-Lutheran, English-language hymn writers—“The Children’s Song.”

### **The Lutheran Reformation (1520–50)**

#### **Hymns, hymnals, and the Gospel**

The explosion of hymn writing and hymnal publication that was part and parcel of the Lutheran Reformation propelled the spread of Reformation doctrine across Europe, comforting the faithful from cradle to grave. The first Lutheran hymns were published on broadsheets, what amounted to “a broadside ballad, a narrative song in the style of the secular Hofweise, the court song . . . which followed the secular practice of disseminating news in ballad form.”<sup>19</sup> This was

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und Volksschullehrer, Bürgermeister und Gerichtsräte, Kriegsleute und gefeierte weltliche Dichter, Musiker, Ärzte und Juristen, sowie auch edle Frauen. Da sind unter den Dichtern Männer, die auf die Entwicklung des Reiches Gottes einen weitgehenden Einfluß ausgeübt, daneben aber auch solche, die, von der Welt unbeachtet, in der Stille ihrem Gott gedient haben, und von denen wir vielleicht nichts wüßten, wenn sie uns nicht ein oder etliche Lieder hinterlassen hätten.” Translation adapted from Carver, “The Second Major Revision.”

<sup>18</sup> Of the 228 German hymns carried forward in English translation to *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912, all but 21 came from *KELG* 1847/1856.

<sup>19</sup> Robin A. Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007), 13.

the “newswire” of the sixteenth century, as town crier moved from city to city with the latest news—singing it in the town square and hawking the print version immediately following. Thus, Luther’s first hymn, “Eyn neues lyed wyr heben an” (“A New Song Here Shall Be Begun”), told the story of two monks martyred in Brussels in July 1523 for teaching Luther’s doctrine.<sup>20</sup> Like wildfire, Luther’s hymn spread the news of their death as well as the doctrine they died for.

From this early foray into hymnody, Luther learned that hymns could be used to spread Reformation doctrine. By the end of 1524, he had written nearly two-thirds of his lifetime output of thirty-seven hymns and heartily encouraged others to go and do likewise.<sup>21</sup> To accommodate the growing number of Lutheran hymns, printers happily began to move away from broadsheets to larger and larger collections. Christopher Boyd Brown suggests that, even by conservative estimates, there were “more than two million hymnals, song sheets, and other hymn-related materials circulating in sixteenth-century Germany,” the overwhelming preponderance of them Lutheran in origin.<sup>22</sup>

The primary purpose of these hymns and hymnals was to serve as instruments for the proclamation of the Gospel.<sup>23</sup> In the first hymnal preface he would write, Luther commented in 1524 on Colossians 3:16, noting that St. Paul exhorted the Colossians “to sing spiritual songs and Psalms heartily unto the Lord so that God’s Word and Christian teaching might be instilled and

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<sup>20</sup> Martin Luther, “A New Song Here Shall Be Begun” (1523), AE 53:211–216; WA 35:411–15, 487–88.

<sup>21</sup> Johannes Riedel notes that “the Reformer completed twenty-three hymns within the space of twelve months.” *The Lutheran Chorale: Its Basic Traditions* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967), 37.

<sup>22</sup> Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*, Harvard Historical Studies (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 5–6.

<sup>23</sup> Brown also notes the following helpful distinctions: “In Roman Catholic and Calvinist thought alike, religious song was primarily a human activity intended to satisfy a debt of worship, whether due to the saints or to God himself—a point not to be obscured by the strict Calvinist insistence on Biblical texts for their congregational singing. Whereas Lutherans regarded their hymns as a form of preaching or proclamation, for Calvin the sung psalms were categorized as congregational prayer. For Lutherans, the hymns were a form of God’s Word, through which God himself was active to strengthen and comfort his people in faith, not only through the mediation of the public ministers of their church, but also among the laity as they sang in the churches or in their own hymns.” *Ibid.*, 24.

planted in many ways.”<sup>24</sup> In a sermon he preached just a few months later, Luther further noted concerning “psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs,” that

“spiritual songs,” however, are those songs that one sings concerning God that do not appear in Scripture and that one can write even today. These, too, St. Paul calls “spiritual”—more so even than the psalms and hymns of praise that he knew well, which were themselves already “spiritual”. . . . So Paul wants our songs [today] to sound forth concerning spiritual things, which are able to teach us something or to admonish us, as he says here.<sup>25</sup>

Clearly, the chief purpose of newly-composed hymns (or “spiritual songs”), in Luther’s understanding, was to proclaim the Gospel into the hearts and minds of those who sang and heard them. This proclamatory understanding of the Church’s song would hold for Luther’s entire hymn-writing career, for in his final hymnal preface of 1545 Luther noted:

For God has cheered our hearts and minds through his dear Son, whom he gave for us to redeem us from sin, death, and the devil. He who believes this earnestly cannot be quiet about it. But he must gladly and willingly *sing and speak* about it so that others also may come and hear it. And whoever does not want to *sing and speak* of it shows that he does not believe and that he does not belong under the new and joyful testament, but under the old, lazy and tedious testament.<sup>26</sup>

Here, Luther uses “sing” and “speak” as a hendiadys—that is, employing two different words to express a single idea—so that *singing* the Gospel through the hymns of the Church becomes effectively interchangeable with *speaking* the Gospel in all its various forms. Both methods proclaim the Good News of redemption from sin, death and the devil, which is to be spoken or sung “so that others also may come and hear it”—an evangelistic purpose of hymn singing that would exasperate Roman Catholic authorities into the seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Martin Luther, “Preface to the Wittenberg Hymnal” (1524), AE 53:316, WA 35:474.

<sup>25</sup> “Epistel S. Pauli zu den Colossern auff den funfsten Sonntag nach Epiphania” (1525), WA 17/2, 121: “Durch geystliche lieder aber die lieder, die man ausser der schriff von Got singet, wilche man teglich machen kan. Darumb heysset er die selben geystliche, mehr denn die psalmen und lobesenge, wilche er wol wuste, das sie schon selbs geystlich sind. . . . Sondern will, das unser lieder sollen von geystlichen dingen lauten, die da tuchtig sind uns ettwas zu leren odder zu vermanen, wie er hie sagt.”

<sup>26</sup> Martin Luther, “Preface to the Babst Hymnal” (1545), AE 53:333; WA 35:477, 4 ff. Emphasis not original.

<sup>27</sup> Brown, *Singing the Gospel*, 1, 201. See also the famous comment of the German Jesuit, Adam von Contzen,

## Luther's hymn writing

Although scholars today generally identify only 37 hymns or hymn translations written by Luther, his hymnic contributions formed a critical core in nearly every Lutheran hymnal to follow.<sup>28</sup> *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 was no exception, with 34 of 37 Luther hymns included.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, Crull's commission would report that "there is *one* hymn writer, the founder and master of our hymnody, who needs no forename. Under all of Luther's hymns it should simply read 'Luther.'"<sup>30</sup> Scholars have taken a variety of approaches in categorizing Luther's hymn texts.<sup>31</sup> Yet, the Wittenberg hymnals of Luther's day suggest a helpful division: festival hymns, psalm hymns, and catechism hymns.<sup>32</sup>

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lamenting in 1620 that Martin Luther had destroyed more souls with his hymns than with all his writing and preaching. Adam Contzen, *Politicorum libri decem in quibus de perfectae reipublicae forma, virtutibus, et vitiis, Institutione civium, Legibus, Magistratu Ecclesiastico, civili, potentia Reipublicae; itemque Seditio et bello, ad usum vitamque communem accomodate tractatur* (Mainz, 1620), 100;. Cf. Eduard Emil Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs der christlichen, in besondere der deutschen evangelischen Kirche*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 8 vols. (Stuttgart: Chr. Belser'schen Verlagshandlung, 1866–77), 1:244: "Hymni Lutheri animos plures, quam scripta et declamationes occidernunt."

<sup>28</sup> Brown says, "Though joined by many new compositions, Luther's hymns retained their pride of place within the Lutheran repertoire and played an increasingly important role in defining Protestant memory of Luther. Already by the last half-decade of Luther's life, hymn editions accounted for more than a third of the total German output of Luther's works." *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>29</sup> The three hymns omitted are: "Eyn neues lyed wyr heben an," ("A New Song Here Shall Be Begun," 1523); "Sie ist mir lieb die werde magd" ("To Me She's Dear, the Worthy Maid," 1535/45); and "All ehr und lob soll Gottes sein" ("All Glory, Laud, and Praise Be Given," 1537), Luther's metrical version of the Gloria in Excelsis.

<sup>30</sup> "Unser Kirchengesangbuch: I. Revision der Angaben unter den Liedern," 357: "Bei *einem* Liederdichter, der Begründer und Meister unsers Kirchengesanges, bedarf es keines Vornamens. Unter den Lutherliedern sollte einfach 'Luther' stehen." Emphasis original. Translation adapted from Carver, "The Second Major Revision."

<sup>31</sup> For example, AE 53:209 suggests the following categories: "The Service" (including wedding and funeral), "The Church Year," "The Catechism," and "The Gospel of the Reformation." Carl Schalk, "German Hymnody," in *Hymnal Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship*, ed. Marilyn Kay Stulken (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 22, suggests: psalm paraphrases, liturgical hymns, catechism hymns, and miscellaneous. Christoph Albrecht, *Einführung in die Hymnologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1973), 16–19 suggests: original hymn texts, psalm paraphrases, translations from existing Latin texts, catechism hymns, Church Year hymns, and children's hymns.

<sup>32</sup> Christopher Boyd Brown, "Reformation and Age of Lutheran Confessionalization (to ca. 1618)," in *Lutheran Service Book Hymnal Companion*, ed. Joseph Herl, Peter C. Reske, and Jon D. Vieker (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, forthcoming), n. 31.

Under the heading of festival hymns, Luther’s approach to hymn writing and translating was consistent with his approach in reforming the liturgy—that is, it was conservative and preservative in nature.<sup>33</sup> A sizeable portion of Luther’s total hymnic output, therefore, consisted of translating all or part of existing liturgical texts, and even then importing or adapting existing melodies to go with them.<sup>34</sup> Most of the hymns in this category served liturgical functions (e.g., “Wyr gleuben all an eynen Gott” [“We All Believe in One True God,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 394]), or supported a festival in the Church Year (e.g., “Christ lag ynn todes banden” [“In Death’s Strong Grasp the Savior Lay,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 224]). Others were translations of existing hymns from the early or Medieval Church (e.g., “Kom Gott schepfer heyliger geyst,” [“Come, God, Creator, Holy Ghost,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 249]). Luther was no innovator in this regard.<sup>35</sup> Even musically, Luther selected, with but one exception, existing church melodies or melodies composed by church musicians or himself, and those composed by Luther or his musical collaborators were clearly in a sixteenth-century churchly style.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Luther D. Reed notes: “While critical, the *Formula [Missae]* is conservative . . . Its conservatism is not that of timidity, but of courageous conviction.” *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 74. Bryan D. Spinks pushes Reed one step farther and concludes that in his reform of the Canon of the Mass, “Luther was in fact giving radical liturgical expression to justification by faith, and deserves to be regarded as a serious Reformation liturgist.” *Luther’s Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass* (Bramcote Notts: Grove Books, 1982), 37.

<sup>34</sup> Martin Brecht provides an analysis of at least thirteen of Luther’s hymns, showing “how he went back in part or in whole to the spiritual literature of the ancient or medieval church, either Latin or German, or borrowed from it.” *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521–1532*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 134. See also Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 230 ff. for a discussion of Luther’s adaptation of medieval Sequence texts in his introduction of seasonal Sequence Hymns. For a classification of the various ways that Luther used existing material, see also Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale*, 38.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Herl states that “[u]nquestionably, the strength of Luther’s hymn texts did much to popularize the genre, but in assigning German song a part in the liturgy Luther was only introducing locally what was already the practice in a number of places. His close colleagues Justus Jonas and Philipp Melancthon admitted as much when they said in the Apology to the Augsburg Confession (1531) that ‘This usage [congregational singing] has always been held in esteem in the churches. For although in some places more and in some places fewer German songs are sung, still in all churches the people have sung in German, and so it isn’t all that new.’” *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 33. Cf. AP 24, 3–4; Kolb-Wengert, 258; *BSLK*, 350.

<sup>36</sup> For an extended discussion of “The ‘Secular’ Music Mythology” surrounding Luther’s use of music and the modern misunderstanding of “barform,” see Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 12–18, where he notes: “the

A second significant category of Luther hymns was the psalm paraphrase. One of his very earliest hymns of any type was “Aus tieffer not schrey ich zu dyr” (“Out of the Depths I Cry to Thee,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 415), a paraphrase of Psalm 130. Luther sent an early version of this hymn to Georg Spalatin in 1523, encouraging him also to try his hand at “turning a Psalm into a hymn.” When doing so, Luther suggested, “the meaning should also be clear and as close as possible to the Psalm. Irrespective of the exact wording, one must freely render the sense by suitable words.”<sup>37</sup>

“Aus tieffer not” and two other psalm paraphrases like it, “Ach got von hymel sihe darein” (“O God, from Heav’n Look Down and See,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 278; Psalm 12) and “Es spricht der unweyßen mund wol” (“The Mouth of Fools Doth God Confess,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 277; Psalm 14), appeared in the first Lutheran hymnal, the *Achtliederbuch* of 1524, and all three tend to stay “as close as possible to the Psalm” in translating its meaning. However, in composing perhaps his most famous hymn just a few years later, “Ein feste burg ist unser Gott” (“A Mighty Fortress Is Our God,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 273), Luther exercised considerable latitude in his rendering of Psalm 46, abandoning his earlier concern with staying “as close as possible to the Psalm” in favor of expounding the psalm’s meaning in light of its Christological and eschatological implications.<sup>38</sup> Luther’s hermeneutical move with “Ein feste burg” would set a

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conclusion that Luther was totally open to the use of melodies associated with overtly secular texts in evangelical worship cannot be supported either by a specific statement of the Reformer, or deduced from his practice as a writer of hymns and songs.” Herl similarly observes: “The well-known question ‘Why should the devil have all the good tunes?’—attributed in Bartlett’s *Familiar Quotations* to English preacher Rowland Hill (1744–1833)—is frequently attributed to Luther. The origin of this attribution may have been Friedrich Blume’s influential 1931 book *Die evangelische Kirchenmusik*, in which he stated ‘Luther believed “the devil does not need to have all lovely tunes solely for himself.”’ Unfortunately, Blume gave no citation for the quotation. The second edition of Blume’s book, which appeared in 1965 with an English translation in 1974, continued to attribute the idea to Luther but omitted the quotation.” *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism*, 21. See also James L. Brauer, “The Devil’s Tunes,” *Concordia Journal* 23, no. 1 (1997): 2–3.

<sup>37</sup> Martin Luther, “From Trouble Deep I Cry to Thee” (1523), AE 53:221, citing Luther’s letter to Spalatin in WA Br 3, 220–21.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Herl, notes: “But Luther was different. His psalm versions were never literal because they always

distinctly Lutheran approach for hymn writing, as compared to Calvinist and other Reformed traditions that became preoccupied with creating strictly literal translations of the psalter in metrical form.<sup>39</sup>

A third category of Luther's hymnody was his catechetical hymns—hymns reflecting the six chief parts of his catechism of 1529. Brown suggests that it is more than coincidence that the first edition of the Small Catechism was simultaneously published in a size and shape similar to the hymnal and prayer book, illustrating their interrelatedness and common usefulness to pious Lutherans.<sup>40</sup> From 1529 onward, Lutheran hymnals began to include a section of *Catechismuslieder*, and by the end of his life, Luther had written hymns for each of the catechism's six chief parts.<sup>41</sup> Using hymns to teach and reinforce the doctrines of the catechism further underscored the proclamatory nature of hymnody as Lutherans had come to view it. More than mere pedagogy, such hymns went to the core of the Lutheran contention that hymns were “a form of God's Word, through which God himself was active to strengthen and comfort his people in faith, . . .”<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the twin themes of *Lehr* (“doctrine”) and *Trost* (“comfort”) became a hallmark of Lutheran hymnody in the sixteenth century.<sup>43</sup>

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referred to the One to whom Luther believed all the psalms point: Jesus Christ.” “The Lutheran Roots of Our Hymnody,” in *Hymns in the Life of the Church*, ed. Daniel Zager (Fort Wayne, IN: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 2004), 61.

<sup>39</sup> See Chapter Five below, pages 205–9 for how these developments affected English hymnody.

<sup>40</sup> Brown, *Singing the Gospel*, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Brown, “Reformation and Age of Lutheran Confessionalization (to ca. 1618),” n. 58, notes that the 1543 Klug Hymnal identified the following as catechism hymns: “That Man a Godly Life Might Live” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 391); “We All Believe in One True God” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 394); “Our Father, Thou in Heav'n Above” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 396); “To Jordan Came Our Lord, the Christ” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 401); “May God Be Praised Henceforth and Blest Forever” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 431) and “Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 441). Hymnals after Luther's death eventually identified “Out of the Depths I Cry to Thee” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 415) with Confession. See also, Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 116–69.

<sup>42</sup> Brown, *Singing the Gospel*, 24.

<sup>43</sup> “The association of the Lutheran hymns with both teaching and comfort, however, was all-pervasive and went to the core of the Lutheran understanding of the Gospel. Hymnal after Lutheran hymnal advertised itself as being filled with both *Lehr* and *Trost*—two sides of the same Gospel coin.” *Ibid.*

At the center of all doctrine and comfort was the Gospel—the doctrine of justification or *Hauptartikel* of the Reformation—and no hymn proclaimed such doctrine and comfort more clearly and effectively than Luther’s “Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmeyn” (“Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 310). “Nun freut euch” was Luther’s second hymn, written immediately following and in the “ballad style” of his first hymn, “Eyn neues lyed wyr heben an” (see above, page 149). The oldest surviving printing of “Nun freut euch” is found in the *Achtliederbuch* of 1524, but the date printed beneath the hymn is 1523, suggesting that it likely first appeared as a broadsheet, as had so many others composed in the ballad style.<sup>44</sup> Luther’s melody is considered to be original, although certainly written in the tradition of the German Meistersingers’ “barform chorale,” with its simple AAB structure.<sup>45</sup>

The outline of Luther’s “Nun freut euch” has often been identified with his own personal experience in “discovering” the Gospel.<sup>46</sup> However, it may be more accurate to say that this hymn is not so much reflective of Luther’s personal experience as it is of the doctrine of justification revealed in Scripture and grounded in the life of every Christian.<sup>47</sup> Alfred Jung notes:

. . . Luther speaks of the “congregation of the redeemed” so that the individual “I” becomes the collective “we” of the confessing and praising Church of Jesus Christ  
. . . . From the unification of the congregation and the individual in praise, one must

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<sup>44</sup> Markus Jenny, ed. *Luthers geistliche Lieder und Kirchengesänge*, vol. 4, Archiv zur Weimarer Ausgabe der Werke Martin Luthers: Text und Untersuchungen (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1985), 56.

<sup>45</sup> Riedel, *The Lutheran Chorale*, 41–45.

<sup>46</sup> The classic example of such a reading is Wilhelm Nelle, *Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieds* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), 38.

<sup>47</sup> Leaver notes that “the confessional nature of this hymn is reflected . . . in the way it was regarded in later Lutheranism. For example in the preface to his comprehensive hymnal, *Geistliche Singe-Kunst, und ordentliche verfassetes vollständigen Gesangbuch* (Leipzig, 1676–72), Johann Olearius wrote: ‘Luther’s beautiful hymn, *Nun freut euch lieben Christen gemein*, is an excellent and comforting summary of the totality of the evangelical [= Lutheran] foundation of faith, and within which is thus found the whole of Theology, Christology, and Anthropology, or, what we should know from the word of God about God, about Christ and our wretchedness and its solution in the kingdom of grace through the merit of Christ, as well as the certainty of the eternal joyful kingdom.’” *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 164.

lay the promise of Christ as the principle accent, not the individual experience of Luther, lest one depart completely from the substance of Luther’s hymn.<sup>48</sup>

Viewed from the perspective of the Reformation doctrine of justification, the following outline and exposition of “Nun freut euch” helps to demonstrate the centrality of Luther’s hymnody in proclaiming this doctrine.<sup>49</sup>

Table 4: Outline of Luther’s “Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmeyn”

<b>Section Theme</b>	<b>Stanza</b>	<b>Stanza Theme</b>
Introduction	Stanza 1	Justification: The Source of Christian Joy
I. The Sinner <i>Coram Deo</i>	Stanza 2	The Sinner and Original Sin
	Stanza 3	The Sinner and Unrighteous Deeds
II. The Grace of God in Christ	Stanza 4	The Father’s Mercy from Eternity
	Stanza 5	The Father’s Gracious Sending of His Son
	Stanza 6	The Word Become Flesh
III. The Basis of Justification and Its Appropriation	Stanza 7	The “Joyful Exchange”
	Stanza 8	Calvary’s Benefits Received in Faith
IV. The Spirit and the Means of Grace	Stanza 9	The Promise of the Spirit
	Stanza 10	The Means of Grace

Stanza 1 sets the theme for the hymn by proclaiming the Reformation Gospel as a source of Easter joy and singing for the Christian—the joy of the Christian in light of the cost to the Savior. Stanzas 2 and 3 shift to first person singular in recalling the reign of sin and death in the individual Christian’s life—from spiritual stillbirth to a will bound by sin, for which good works could do nothing. While stanzas 2–3 proclaim the Law in its full severity, at stanzas 4–6, Luther shifts to proclaiming the Gospel in all its sweetness, beginning in stanza 4 with the origin of all

<sup>48</sup> Alfred Jung, “Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 19 (1975), 203–4: “So spricht in Luther die Gemeinde der Erlösten, und das scheinbar so individuelle *Ich* wird zum kollektiven *Wir* der bekennenden und lobpreisenden Kirche Jesu Christi . . . Auf das Einswerden von Gemeinde und Individuum in Lobpreis der Verheißung muß man den Hauptakzent legen, nicht auf das einmalige Erlebnis Luthers, sonst geht man wohl am Wesen seines Liedes vorbei.” Emphasis original.

<sup>49</sup> See Appendix Ten, page 370, for the full text of this hymn as it appears in *ELHB* 1912.

grace in “the Father’s heart,” giving “his best and dearest” [his Son]. Stanza 5 continues to expound the graciousness of the Father in sending his Son to earth as the Savior “to slay bitter death” that all Christians may live forever. Stanza 6 continues this cross-ward focus by confessing the Incarnation as nothing other than a means toward Calvary, Christ taking on human form in order to imprison the devil.

Stanza 7 is the center of the entire hymn as it frolics in the *fröhliche Wechsel* between Bride and Bridegroom. The Christian’s sin is laid on Christ, and Christ’s righteousness is laid on the sinner. Faith receives what Christ bestows. Stanza 8 continues by describing the cost to Christ in his own blood with the promise that his victory has swallowed up death forever.

Stanzas 9–10 conclude the hymn by pointing forward from faith’s appropriation of Calvary’s benefits toward the promise of the Holy Spirit, who will teach and comfort (*Lehr* and *Trost*) the Christian in the truth. Conversely, the Christian is to guard himself against the teachings of men, lest this great Gospel treasure be destroyed.

In summary, Luther’s hymnic contribution set a pattern for Lutheran hymn writers to follow—a pattern exponential in proportion to his modest output. Luther’s discovery that hymns could be used to proclaim Reformation doctrine and to bring comfort to the distressed was immediately emulated and expanded by his contemporaries. Those who followed would compose numerous hymn texts within the genres that Luther had developed (e.g., festival hymns, psalm hymns, etc.), yet create additional genres and permutations to serve the proclamation of the Gospel in the various contexts of sixteenth-century Europe.

### **Hymns by Luther’s contemporaries**

Although Georg Spalatin never took Luther up on the offer to try his hand at “turning a Psalm into a hymn” (see above, page 153), Luther’s feverish output of hymn composition during

1523–24 inspired a number of other colleagues and confessors to set the Reformation Gospel to song. Next to “Nun freut euch,” perhaps the most influential hymn in spreading Reformation teaching was “Es ist das Heil, uns kommen her,” by Paul Speratus. Trained in Vienna, with a doctorate in canon law, Speratus eventually ended up in Wittenberg in late 1523 during Luther’s most productive period of hymn writing. He occupied himself there with translating Luther’s publications from Latin into German, most notably the *Formula Missae* (1523). In 1524, Speratus was recommended by Luther to serve as court preacher to Albrecht of Prussia (1490–1568), another Lutheran who would put his hand to hymn writing (“The Will of God Is Always Best”; *ELHB* 1912, no. 494, stanzas 1–3). Speratus’ “Es ist das Heil” and two other of his hymns appeared with Luther’s “Nun freut euch” in the *Achtliederbuch* of 1524.<sup>50</sup> Speratus was an important collaborator with Luther during this seminal period of hymn production in Luther’s life.

Another significant hymn writer during this period was Nicolaus Decius (ca. 1485–ca. 1546). Decius identified with the theology of Martin Luther in the early 1520s and eventually served as assistant kantor and second preacher in the court of Albrecht of Prussia in the 1540s. Decius is a classic example of the pastor/musician during this period, and two of his lasting contributions—“O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig” (“O Lamb of God Most Holy,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 203) and “Allein Gott in der Höh’ sei Ehr” (“All Glory Be to God on High,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 261)—demonstrate that fact in that he composed both text and tune. Both of these creations became widely used throughout German lands wherever Luther’s reforms in the *Deutsche Messe* were adopted. His *Gloria in Excelsis* (“All Glory Be to God on High,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 261)

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<sup>50</sup> Wolfgang Herbst, ed. *Handbuch zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch: Komponisten und Liederdichter des Evangelischen Gesangbuchs*, vol. 2, *Handbuch zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 2:305–6. Hereafter, *EG Hb* 2.

eventually came into almost universal use throughout Germany,<sup>51</sup> superseding even Luther's own *Gloria in excelsis*, "All Ehr und Lob soll Gottes sein."<sup>52</sup>

Reformation teaching spread throughout Germany through both word and song. In the case of the Bohemian town of Joachimsthal, it arrived first through its kantor, Nicolaus Herman (ca. 1500–61), who arrived there in 1520 and soon became an avid supporter of Luther's ecclesiastical reforms. As kantor, Herman began by exercising Lutheran discernment in selecting church music for services of the congregation, and by influencing the curriculum of the Latin school for the boys as well as the curriculum of the girls' school.<sup>53</sup> Following a series of ups and downs with parish rectors and townspeople, Herman expressed concern to Luther in 1524, asking whether he should leave Joachimsthal to seek regions more favorable to the Gospel. Luther encouraged him to stay at his post and see "what God may plan to accomplish through you."<sup>54</sup> This coincided with Luther's year of prolific hymnic output, and what Luther provided in his approach to the Church's song proved to be the Reformation Gospel solution that Herman and the parish at Joachimsthal needed.

In 1532, Herman was joined by another convinced Lutheran, the Wittenberg graduate, Johann Mathesius (1504–65)—first as rector of the Latin school and then as preacher and eventually senior pastor from 1545 to the end of his life. The team of Mathesius and Herman, pastor and kantor united together in Gospel proclamation, proved to be most salutary to the spiritual state of the church in Joachimsthal. Mathesius' own detailed record of the last twenty years of parish service there "provide a vivid description of the musical life that flourished in the

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<sup>51</sup> Cf. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 187. See also Herbst, ed. *EG Hb* 2:73.

<sup>52</sup> Martin Luther, "The Gloria in Excelsis" (1537), AE 53:184–86; WA 35:288, 530–31. Both AE and Jenny, ed. *Luthers geistliche Lieder und Kirchengesänge*, 132–34, discuss the question as to whether Luther actually authored this hymn.

<sup>53</sup> Brown, *Singing the Gospel*, 27.

schools, church, and homes of Joachimsthal . . . .”<sup>55</sup> Herman’s most famous compositions include the Christmas hymn, “Lobt Gott, ihr Christen allzugleich” (“Praise God the Lord, Ye Sons of Men,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 157), a hymn on confession and absolution, “So wahr ich leb’, spricht Gott, der Herr” (“Yea, as I Live, Jehovah Saith,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 426), and a deathbed hymn, his most famous in the sixteenth century, “Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist” (“When My Last Hour Is Close at Hand,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 528). Mathesius’ legacy is less widespread but includes “Aus meines Herzens Grunde” (“My Inmost Heart Now Raises,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 22) and “Herr Gott, der du mein Vater bist” (“Lord God, Who Art My Father Dear,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 517). Even a century after the deaths of Herman and Matthesius, the effects of the Gospel delivered through their song still resonated strongly. When the Jesuits arrived in 1652 to reclaim Joachimsthal following the Thirty Years’ War, fully half of its approximately 1,600 citizens and miners chose to emigrate across the mountainous border into Lutheran Saxony rather than renounce their faith in the Reformation Gospel.<sup>56</sup>

A student of both Luther and Melanchthon, Paul Eber (1511–69) also experienced crisis at the hands of his opponents. Called in 1536 to serve on the Wittenberg arts faculty, and later as preacher in Wittenberg’s castle church, Eber preached Melanchthon’s funeral sermon and, following his teacher’s death, became the chief theological thinker in electoral Saxony, as well as superintendent of the churches in that region upon the death of Johannes Bugenhagen (1485–1558). Eber’s most famous hymn, “Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein” (“When in the Hour of Utmost Need,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 515), was written in 1566, toward the end of his life, when Turkish forces were in Hungary and the plague was raging in Wittenberg. Based on

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<sup>54</sup> Brown, *Singing the Gospel*, 37.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

Jehoshaphat's prayer in 2 Chronicles 20:6 ff., where war and pestilence surrounded God's ancient people, Jehoshaphat prayed: "We know not what to do, but our eyes are on you" (2 Chron. 20:12, ESV).<sup>57</sup> So also Eber and his city in crisis proclaimed their Reformation hope in song:

For Thou hast promised graciously  
To hear all those who cry to Thee,  
Through Him whose name alone is great,  
Our Savior and our Advocate (*ELBH* 1912, no. 515, stanza 4).

A final important group of hymn writers contemporary with Luther were the Bohemians, followers of the proto-Reformation martyr, John Hus (ca. 1371–1415). In 1522, just prior to his fertile period of hymn production, Luther met with Johann Horn (ca. 1490–1547) and Michael Weisse (ca. 1488–1534), who presented Luther with an *Apology* describing the faith of the Bohemian Brethren. Hymn writer Paul Speratus, who was serving as preacher in Bohemian Moravia, also informed Luther on the teachings of the Bohemians. Of particular interest to Luther was the Bohemian teaching on the sacramental presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, as well as the practice of the adoration of Christ in the sacrament. Luther soon dealt with these topics in a treatise titled, "The Adoration of the Sacrament" (1523), concluding that the Bohemians confessed the real presence in the Sacrament, but that the adoration of the Sacrament should be optional.<sup>58</sup>

Well-acquainted with the teachings of the Bohemian Brethren on the Lord's Supper, Luther himself, in 1524, translated and significantly reshaped the Latin communion hymn attributed to John Hus, "Jesus Christus nostra salus." With the superscription, "Das lied S. Johannes Hus

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<sup>57</sup> Wolfgang Herbst and Ilsabe Seibt, eds., *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 3/15:36–41.

<sup>58</sup> Brecht, *Martin Luther, 1521–1532*, 72–77. Cf. Martin Luther, "The Adoration of the Sacrament" (1523), AE 269–305, WA 11:431–56.

gebessert,” Luther’s “Jhesus Christus unser Heyland” (“Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 441) represented a significant theological recasting of Hus’ Latin *cantio*, and it quickly became a standard communion hymn in German Lutheran hymnals from the 1520s onward.<sup>59</sup>

Michael Weisse went on to translate and/or compose 157 hymns of the Bohemian Brethren into German for German-speaking Brethren in his *Ein New Geseng buchlen* of 1531.<sup>60</sup> Among them was his burial hymn, “Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben” (“Now Lay We Calmly in the Grave,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 538), which Luther recommended in his “Preface to the Burial Hymns” (1542).<sup>61</sup> Johann Horn was also active in preparing hymnals for the Bohemian Brethren. His *Písně chval božských* (“Songs of Divine Praise”; Prague, 1541) contained 481 hymn texts with 300 tunes, and he was later involved in preparing a revised edition of Weisse’s *Ein new Geseng buchlen*.<sup>62</sup> The Advent hymn, “Gottes Sohn ist kommen” (“Once He Came in Blessing,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 143), often associated with Horn, was published widely in German Lutheran hymnals.<sup>63</sup>

In summary, the hymns of the Lutheran Reformation became powerful vehicles for the proclamation of the Gospel throughout Germany and beyond. Luther’s own composition of hymn texts and tunes became a kind of nuclear core—both by example and in substance—from which would emanate thousands of hymns from his contemporaries and tens of thousands more from generations of hymn writers to follow. It is clear that Luther’s hymnody formed a bedrock foundation for “the Fathers’ Faith,” on which many other hymn writers would also build and

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<sup>59</sup> Jenny, ed. *Luthers geistliche Lieder und Kirchengesänge*, 168–70, 61. For example, the Bapst hymnal of 1545 included fifteen hymn texts from the Bohemian Brethren.

<sup>60</sup> Christian Möller, ed. *Kirchenlied und Gesangbuch: Quellen zu ihrer Geschichte, Ein hymnologisches Arbeitsbuch* (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 2000), 83.

<sup>61</sup> Martin Luther, “Preface to the Burial Hymns,” AE 53:325–31; WA 35:478–83.

<sup>62</sup> C. T. Aufdemberge, *Christian Worship: Handbook* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1997), 747.

<sup>63</sup> Gerhard Hahn and Jürgen Henkys, eds., *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch*, Handbuch zum

from which the editors of *ELHB* would draw heavily. In surveying the church orders of the sixteenth century, Joseph Herl identifies the top ten “most popular German hymns.” (See Table 5.) All but one were either written or translated by Luther. All of them were included in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912.

Table 5: The Most Popular German Hymns in the *Kirchenordnungen*

Hymn Title	Times mentioned
Wir glauben all an einen Gott	179
Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeit	124
Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns	122
The Litany in German	116
Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort	110
Allein Gott in der Höh sei Her	97
Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist	97
Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich	85
Vater unser in Himmelreich	74

Source: Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation and Three Centuries of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 66–67.

### The Rise of Confessionalization (1550–1618)

The period following Luther’s death in 1546 was one of theological disarray and confusion for his followers. Various parties, each with its own theological emphases and allegiances, began to coalesce around an assortment of theological tensions that had existed beneath the surface already during Luther’s lifetime. With the vacuum of theological authority created by Luther’s death, the followers of Melancthon, known as “Philippists,” found their theological grounding under the leadership of their teacher, while those who claimed to follow

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Evangelischen Gesangbuch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 3/13:3–4.

only the teachings of Luther, known as “Gnesio-Lutherans,” found their theological grounding in Luther’s writings, usually in opposition to the Philippists.<sup>64</sup>

The flashpoint for the creation of these two parties was the move by Emperor Charles V to eradicate what he perceived as “the Lutheran pest” via military action in the Smalcaldic War of 1546–47, followed by the Interims he imposed to recatholicize Lutheran lands. Lutheran preachers and theologians were either forced into exile or toward some sort of compromise with Catholic authorities. Although the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555 eventually ended the interims and granted religious toleration to non-Roman princes, the experience of persecution for their faith and the controversies that arose during this period and immediately following brought to the surface a number of theological tensions that needed consideration by German Lutherans in order to put their ecclesiological house in order.<sup>65</sup>

Over the next generation, Lutheran leaders, both clergy and lay, debated and wrestled with one another regarding such matters as: the nature of adiaphora,<sup>66</sup> especially in times of persecution; the role of good works in relation to salvation; the role of the human will in conversion; the proper distinction between the Law and the Gospel; the nature of justification; the Lutheran view of the Lord’s Supper (in contradistinction to the Calvinist view) as it relates to Christology; election and predestination; and the descent into hell. These theological controversies eventually came to resolution in the Formula of Concord in 1577, followed by widespread subscription to the documents contained in the Book of Concord, first printed in 1580. The codification of subscription to secondary authorities—that is, “*confessions*—

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<sup>64</sup> Robert Kolb, “Historical Background of the Formula of Concord,” in *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concordia*, ed. Robert D. Preus and Wilbert H. Rosin (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 24.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 24–26.

<sup>66</sup> A Greek term, derived from the Stoics and used in the Formula of Concord, Epitome, Article X, “Concerning Ecclesiastical Practices, Which Are Called Adiaphora, or Indifferent Matters.” See Kolb-Wengert, 515.

statements growing out of their [Lutheran] experiences in bringing the Word of God to bear on life in their culture in the wake of Augsburg”<sup>67</sup>—marked this period as one of “confessionalization” within Lutheran lands.<sup>68</sup> These experiences and controversies at times also transcended strictly Lutheran boundaries to involve not only the Reformed, as in the case of Crypto-Calvinism and the Lord’s Supper, but also Roman Catholicism, as in the question of adiaphora during times of persecution. In the end, “the questions upon which these controversies focused shaped much of the subsequent agenda and formulation of the thought and piety of Lutherans throughout subsequent centuries.”<sup>69</sup>

The most significant hymn writers of this period were shaped by the events of confessionalization, and some were even major players in those events. The hymns they wrote reflected the tensions they experienced—either theologically, through the doctrinal controversies in which they were engaged, or existentially, as they lived out their lives in times of persecution and want.

One of the foremost hymn writers during this period was Nicolaus Selnecker (1532–92).<sup>70</sup> While a student at the University of Wittenberg, he had studied under Philipp Melanchthon and had been a favorite student and resident in his home. During the doctrinal controversies following Luther’s death, Selnecker was often viewed as an ardent Philippist, yet he defended Luther’s teaching on the Lord’s Supper and was even removed from his position at the university

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<sup>67</sup> Robert Kolb, *Confessing the Faith: Reformers Define the Church, 1530–1580*, Concordia Scholarship Today (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1991), 132. Emphasis original.

<sup>68</sup> Robert Kolb notes that recent rise of “‘Confessionalization’ research has largely focused on the relationship between religion (expressed in Christian thinking at every social level and in the policies and practices of the institutional church, as well as popular and official ritual) and other organs and elements of society and culture.” “Introduction,” in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, ed. Robert Kolb, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition (Boston: Leiden, 2008), 2.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>70</sup> Five of his hymns were included in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912—the most from this period.

in Jena, a Philippist stronghold. In subsequent years, he came to work closely with Martin Chemnitz and Jakob Andreä, eventually becoming one of the chief architects and drafters of the Formula of Concord.<sup>71</sup>

Selnecker's most famous hymn "Ach, bleib bei uns, Herr Jesu Christ" ("Lord Jesus Christ, with Us Abide," *ELHB* 1912, no. 110), reflects the doctrinally tumultuous times in which he lived. The first stanza was originally a Latin verse published in 1551 by Melancthon, his teacher. Melancthon's stanza later appeared in German and was eventually combined with additional stanzas that Selnecker had composed as a prayer to accompany Psalm 122—a psalm which he described as a general psalm of thanksgiving "for rescue from all sorts of spiritual and bodily necessities and for [God's] gracious protection and shield [*schutz und schirm*], etc."<sup>72</sup>

Selnecker's hymn reflects the eschatological concern of Lutherans during the period following Luther's death. With the traumatic events of the Smalcaldic War and its aftermath, many Lutherans came to believe ever more firmly that they were living in the final days of the End Times and that faithfulness to Christ and his Word during those darkening days was to be the Church's constant prayer.<sup>73</sup> Only God's Word could protect and deliver them:

A trusty weapon is Thy Word,  
Thy Church's buckler, shield [*schutz*], and sword;  
Lord, let us in this Word abide,  
That we may seek no other guide [*ELHB* 1912, no. 110, stanza 8].<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Kolb, "Historical Background of the Formula of Concord," 79–83.

<sup>72</sup> Nicolaus Selnecker, *Der Psalter mit kurtzen Summarien und Gebetlein für die Housveter und ihrer Kinder* (Leipzig: Hans Steinman, 1581), n.p., "Danck in Gemein für rettung aus allerley Geistlichen und leiblichen nöthen und für gnedigen schutz und schirm, etc."

<sup>73</sup> Mark U. Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531–1546* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 97, 101–5.

<sup>74</sup> Selnecker, *Der Psalter*, n.p.: "Dein Wort is unsers hertzen trutz, / Und deiner Kirchen warer schutz. / Dabey erhalt uns, lieber Herr, / Das wir nichts anders suchen mehr."

Viewed in this light, the hymn as a whole is a prayer of protection for Christ's Church in times of conflict and persecution. The hymn confesses that, even through the darkest times, Christ promises to abide with his Church and guide it with the light of his Word.

While Selnecker may be viewed as a moderating Philippist, Bartholomäus Ringwaldt (ca. 1530–99) could be considered a staunch Gnesio-Lutheran. As pastor in the little village of Langenfeld (near Berlin) for most of his career, Ringwaldt was one of the most prolific Lutheran hymn writers during this period, authoring more than 150 hymns in several collections, as well as a number of additional writings.<sup>75</sup> His most famous hymn, “Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit” (“The Day Is Surely Drawing Near,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 552), expressed the eschatological concerns of the late Reformation period, hearkening back to the medieval era as a kind of German *Dies irae*. On the basis of his study of the Revelation to St. John, Ringwaldt even went so far as to suggest that the dawn of the end times could be dated to 1584, taking it as his duty then to call his people to repentance before the Last Day.<sup>76</sup> His hymn on the end times, first published in 1582, became a means of proclaiming a warning of final judgment, but also the comfort of the Gospel for those who live in end-time stress:

Therefore my Intercessor be,  
And for Thy bloody merit  
Declare my name from judgment free,  
With all who life inherit;  
That I may see Thee face to face,  
With all Thy saints in that blest place,  
Which Thou for us hast purchased (*ELHB* 1912, no. 552, stanza 6).<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Wilhelm Lueken, ed. *Lebensbilder der Liederdichter und Melodien*, Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), 2/1: 115. Brown also notes: “Perhaps the most poetically successful of [Nikolaus] Herman’s imitators was the Langenfeld pastor Bartholomäus Ringwaldt; the two editions of his *Evangelia* were hardly a match for the publishing success of Herman’s volumes, but his Gospel hymns gained wider distribution when many of them were taken up into Johann Crüger’s 1640 hymnal, widely printed from 1647 on under the title *Praxis Pietatis Melica*.” *Singing the Gospel*, 160.

<sup>76</sup> Hahn and Henkys, eds., *EG Hb*, 3/11: 93.

<sup>77</sup> Bartholomäus Ringwaldt, *Handbüchlin: Geistliche Lieder und Gebetlin* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1586), no.

Towering above all the hymn writers during this period stands Philipp Nicolai (1556–1608)—not because of the quantity of hymns he composed, but because of the enduring quality of his contributions and the circumstances under which he produced them. Born into a first-generation Lutheran parsonage in Waldeck, (Westphalia), Philipp, as did his two brothers, became a Lutheran pastor—as his father said, consecrated “to God and to his Church to be a useful man.”<sup>78</sup> Philipp studied Latin poetry with poet laureate Ludwig Helmbold (1532–98) and music with Kantor Joachim a Burgk (1546–1610) in Mühlhausen. Nicolai then attended university at Erfurt in 1575 and a year later began studying theology at the University of Wittenberg in the wake of the Torgau Articles of 1574 and the fallout of the Crypto-Calvinist Controversy among the Wittenberg faculty. As a result, Nicolai became well-versed in the Lutheran arguments against the Zwinglian and Calvinist understandings of the Lord’s Supper.<sup>79</sup>

In 1583, Nicolai was called to his first parish in Herdecke, Westphalia, where his father had introduced the Reformation over thirty years earlier. Three years later, Spanish troops invaded and plundered the region, and Nicolai and his followers were forced to go underground and worship in their homes. In 1587, he was called to serve as court preacher to the widowed Duchess Margareta von Waldeck, as well as to tutor her young son, Duke Wilhelm Ernst. Yet, with the rise of Calvinism in various German courts, especially at the court of Landgrave Maurice (1572–1632) in Hesse-Kassel and also at the court under the Electorate of Saxony, Christian I (1560–91), Nicolai found himself temporarily banned from the pulpit for his outspokenly Lutheran views on the Lord’s Supper. A theological doctorate from Wittenberg in

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XXV: “Derhalben mein Fürsprecher sey / wenn du nu wirst erscheinen / Und ließ mich aus dem Buche frey / darinnen stehn die deinen / Auff das ich sampt den Brüdern mein / mit dir geh in den Himmel nein, den du uns hast erworben.”

<sup>78</sup> Martin Röbber, *Liedermacher im Gesangbuch*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1992), 1:120: “Er und seine beiden Brüder sollen Prediger werden, geweiht *dem lieben Gott und seiner Kirche zu einem nützlichen Manne*, wie der Vater sagt.” Emphasis original.

<sup>79</sup> Herbst, ed. *EG Hb* 2:229.

1594 made him all the more determined, resulting two years later in a major treatise:

*Notwendiger und ganz vollkommener Bericht von der ganzen Calvinischen Religion* (“A Necessary and Very Complete Report on All of Calvinism”; Frankfurt, 1596).<sup>80</sup>

In the fall of 1596, Nicolai accepted a call to serve as pastor of a Lutheran congregation in the little village of Unna, Westphalia, where Roman Catholic authorities had asserted their rights and Reformed immigrants from Holland were constantly bickering with the Lutherans on spiritual matters. Shortly after arriving, Nicolai declared the Calvinist God to be “a roaring bull and a bloodthirsty Moloch.”<sup>81</sup> The Calvinists, in turn, characterized Nicolai as a “squealing wild boar.”<sup>82</sup> All such disputing was silenced when, a year later, a horrific plague visited Unna. In just seven months’ time, more than half of the population—some 1,400—were dead, 300 in July 1597 alone. By the following January, the worst had passed, and Nicolai wrote his brother:

The plague has ceased its raging, and by God’s grace I am quite well. During the entire time of the plague I put all disputes [*Streitigkeiten*] in the back of my mind with prayer and with the praiseworthy reflection upon eternal life and the condition of precious souls in heavenly paradise prior to the day of resurrection. [Nothing was more precious] . . . than the contemplation of this noble and elevated article concerning eternal life, purchased by Christ’s blood.<sup>83</sup>

From polemic to end times, Nicolai’s profound experiences in shepherding his congregation through the plague resulted in a classic devotional work published in 1599 and titled, *Freudenspiegel des ewigen Lebens* (“The Joyous Mirror of Eternal Life”). In an appendix to this work, Nicolai included four original hymns. For two of those hymns he had composed both text and melody, and they later become known as the “king” and “queen” of chorales: “Wachet auf! Ruft uns die Stimme” (“Wake, Awake, for Night Is Flying,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 549)

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<sup>80</sup> Lueken, ed. *Lebensbilder der Liederdichter und Melodien*, 110.

<sup>81</sup> Rößler, *Liedermacher*, 123–24.

<sup>82</sup> Herbst and Seibt, eds., *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch*, 224.

<sup>83</sup> Lueken, ed. *Lebensbilder der Liederdichter und Melodien*, 2/1:110 as translated in Gerald S. Krispin, “A

and “Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern” (“O Morning Star, How Fair and Bright,” *ELHB* 1912, no. 103) respectively.

Above the “queen,” Nicolai provided the following superscription: “A spiritual bridal song of the believing soul concerning Jesus Christ, her heavenly bridegroom, based on the 45<sup>th</sup> Psalm of the Prophet David.”<sup>84</sup> The first letter of the first word of each of the hymn’s seven stanzas spell an acrostic tribute to his friend and former student: W, E, G, V, H, Z, W: “Wilhelm Ernst, Graf vnd [und] Herr zu Waldeck.” (“William Ernst, Duke and Lord of Waldeck”). Though considered centuries later to be a hymn for the Epiphany of Our Lord (presumably because of its initial reference to a “Morningstar”), the hymn as Nicolai conceived it is actually a meditation on the life of the world to come—an end times reflection on the bride’s mystical union with Christ, the Bridegroom, proclaimed from the perspective of the believing soul.<sup>85</sup>

In Stanza 1, the singer acclaim Christ to be both “root and the descendant of David, the bright morning star” (Rev. 22:16), as well as Bridegroom of his bride, the Church:

O morning star, how fair and bright  
Thou beamest forth in truth and light!  
O Sovereign meek and lowly!  
Sweet Root of Jesse, David’s Son,  
My King and Bridegroom, Thou hast won  
My heart to love Thee solely!  
Lovely art Thou, fair and glorious,  
All victorious, Rich in blessing,  
Rule and might o’er all possessing (*ELHB* 1912, no. 103, stanza 1).

Written in first person singular, the singer, i.e., the Church, declares her most intimate wedding joy and love in adoration of Christ, the Bridegroom: “My King and Bridegroom, Thou hast won /

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Mirror of Life in the Face of Death: A Study in the Pastoral Care of Philip Nicolai,” *Logia* 7, no. 2 (1998): 15.

<sup>84</sup> Philipp Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel deß ewigen Lebens* (Frankfurt: Johann Spees, 1599), 409: “Ein Geistlich Braut-Lied der gläubigen Seelen, von Jesu Christo irem himlischen Bräutigam: Gestellt uber den 45. Psalm deß Propheten Davids.”

<sup>85</sup> See Appendix Ten, page 429, for the full text of this hymn as it appears in *ELHB* 1912.

My heart to love Thee solely!” Stanza 2 recalls Psalm 45:1, (“My heart overflows with a pleasing theme; I address my verses to the king”), praising the Bridegroom as the one born “True Son of God and Mary’s Son.” Stanza 3 continues the bride’s praise of her Groom, rejoicing in their intimacy and union: “Fill me with joy, grant me to be / Thy member closely joined to Thee, / Whom naught from Thee may sever.”<sup>86</sup>

Stanza four serves as the center stanza of the hymn, and thus the theological watershed from which pours praise for this life in one direction (Stanzas 1–3) and praise for the life to come in the other (stanzas 5–7). Such praise flows from a recounting of the Bridegroom’s wondrous gifts, bestowed on his beloved:

But if Thou look on me in love,  
There straightway falls from God above  
A ray of purest pleasure;  
Thy Word and Spirit, flesh and blood,  
Refresh myself with heavenly food,  
Thou art my hidden Treasure.  
Let Thy grace, Lord, warm and cheer me,  
O draw near me; Thou hast taught us  
Thee to seek, since Thou has sought us (*ELHB* 1912, no. 103, stanza 4).

The gifts of Christ’s good Word and Spirit, the body and blood of his Holy Supper—all refresh and enliven the soul. The German is even more poignant in the final three lines, translated: “Take me gently into your arms, that I may be warmed by [Your] grace. [For] by your Word I am invited.”<sup>87</sup>

In stanza 5, the hymn begins to point toward praise in eternity. The Father, who has known his own from before time began, sent his Son to be her betrothed. He is her treasure (*Schatz*); she

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<sup>86</sup> Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel deß ewigen Lebens*, 410: “Und erfreuw mich daß ich doch bleib / An deinem außerehlten Leib/ Ein lebendige Rippe.” English: Literally, “And I rejoice that I yet remain, a living rib of your elect body.” Cf. Gen. 2:21–23.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. “Nimm mich / freundlich / In dein Arme / Daß ich warme / Werd von Gnaden. Auff dein Wort komm ich geladen.” Although the English of *ELHB* here shifts to first person plural, the German is entirely in first person singular.

is his Bride (*Braut*). The almost untranslatable “Eia, Eia” (“Yes, oh yes!”) declares the rapturous joy of the bride for her husband in their wedded union. Stanza 6, then, expands that praise to all the music of heaven—in the strings of the lyre and all sweet music declaring the praise of the Bridegroom, the greatness of the King of Glory. Stanza 7 concludes by declaring that the One who is the Alpha and Omega will take his bride as his prize to Paradise. In the meantime, the Church cries out:

Amen! Amen! Come Lord Jesus,  
Soon release us! With deep yearning  
Lord, we look for Thy returning! (*ELHB* 1912, no. 103, stanza 7).<sup>88</sup>

Flowing throughout Nicolai’s hymn is the imagery of Christ’s love for his bride, the Church.<sup>89</sup> Carrying forward the medieval-mystic, hymn-writing tradition of Bianco da Siena (ca. 1350–1434) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153), the singer proclaims the love between spiritual bride and bridegroom in intimate and even passionate terms—yet tamed from the excesses of worldly eroticism for the service of Christian piety toward Word and Sacrament.<sup>90</sup> Here the Church’s mystical and eschatological anticipation is undergirded by the Means of Grace, which refresh the singer throughout his life. The singer expresses his devotion in first person singular. Yet, these are no mere musings of the individual apart from the community of the faithful, nor do they represent some sort of soulful, spiritual experience known only to the

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<sup>88</sup> Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel deß ewigen Lebens*, 412. “Amen / amen / Kom du schone FrewdenKrone / Bleib du nicht lange / Deiner wart ich mit Verlangen.”

<sup>89</sup> Isabella van Elferen notes: “While in medieval mysticism the desire of the faithful soul was answered by the often explicitly sensually perceived presence of Christ in *raptus mysticus* and visions, however, the desire of the Lutheran believer remained unassuaged. In Nicolai’s descriptions the soul, therefore, suffers violent heartache when contemplating a mystical love union with Jesus. Unlike the medieval mystics, the Lutheran believer knows that his desire must as yet remain unfulfilled.” *Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry, Music*, Contextual Bach Studies (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 169.

<sup>90</sup> Hahn and Henkys, eds., *EG Hb*, 4:45.

individual.<sup>91</sup> Rather, the singer's "I" becomes collective, expressing the experience of all believers of all time gathered around the Lord and his Means of Grace.

Through times of doctrinal controversy, plague, and disaster, the Lutheran hymn writers of the late sixteenth century proclaimed the Reformation Gospel amidst the pressures and joys they experienced. And through it all, "the hymns of this period laid the groundwork for a piety that would be able to survive the storms of the Thirty Years' War."<sup>92</sup>

### **The Thirty Years' War and Its Aftermath (1618–70)**

Although the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555 had granted religious toleration to non-Roman princes, it failed to resolve successfully the underlying theological tensions that continued to fester. Moreover, the spread of Calvinism during the years following added an additional faith system to the region that had not been included in the Augsburg agreement. Add to that the politically fragmented state of the Holy Roman Empire at the dawn of the seventeenth century, with its competing regional powers and alliances, and the result was decades of open warfare, centered mostly in German territories.

#### **Warfare, plague, and famine**

The devastation and loss of life during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) was unparalleled in Europe until modern times. Estimates put the reduction of population in the German states alone at 15% to 30%, with the male population reduced by almost half. Total casualties are estimated to have numbered more than 8,000,000. Pestilence of several kinds stalked soldiers and civilians alike. Marauding armies from all sides, many of which earned their pay and

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<sup>91</sup> Hansjakob Becker et al., eds., *Geistliches Wunderhorn: Große deutsche Kirchenlieder*, 2nd ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003), 150.

<sup>92</sup> Albrecht, *Einführung in die Hymnologie*, 28: "Zusammen mit Bibel und Katechismus legten die Lieder dieser Zeit den Grund zu einer Frömmigkeit, die die Stürme des Dreißigjährigen Krieges überstanden hat."

received their supplies for battle by looting and pillaging, destroyed life, limb, and local economies. Famine became widespread.<sup>93</sup>

Nevertheless, the production of new Lutheran hymnody, which had first flourished during the Reformation and years following, experienced a second blossoming during this period of dramatic deprivation and devastation. These two flowerings of German Lutheran hymnody are reflected in the selections made by the editors of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912. The total tally of hymns from the periods of Reformation and Confessionalization (1520–1618) number 96, while those from the period of the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath number almost as many at 87. Together they account for more than 80% of the German-language hymn texts included in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912.

The Reformation and Age of Confessionalization had established a canon of Lutheran hymnody for use in the Divine Service, with hymns by Luther and his contemporaries forming the bulk of congregational song.<sup>94</sup> In contrast, hymns written during the seventeenth century began to fulfill a more devotional function for individuals and families, as church and society were disrupted by the ravages of war and devotional literature assumed a more prominent role.<sup>95</sup> Most influential during this period were the writings of Johann Arndt (1555–1621), Lutheran pastor in Braunschweig and later superintendent of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. His four-volume *Wahres Christentum* ("True Christianity"; 1605–10), and his *Paradiesgärtlein aller christlichen*

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<sup>93</sup> David J. Sturdy, *Fractured Europe: 1600–1721*, ed. John Stevenson, Blackwell History of Europe (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 75–78.

<sup>94</sup> Herl notes: "Of the large number of hymns published between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, only a relatively small number were sung in church. Most popular were those written during the early years of the Reformation." *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism*, 152.

<sup>95</sup> Albrecht, *Einführung in die Hymnologie*, 33–34.

*Tugenden* (“Little Garden Paradise of All Christian Virtues”; 1612) were widely read and influenced Lutheran and Roman Catholic piety alike.<sup>96</sup>

As a forerunner of German Pietism, Arndt’s work signaled a shift in focus away from a collective understanding and expression of the Church toward the concerns and religious expressions of the individual. In the tradition of Bernard of Clairvaux, (1090–1153), Johannes Tauler (ca. 1300–61), Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1380–1471), and others in the mystic tradition, Arndt dwelt on the union between the believer and Christ, focusing attention on the life of Christ at work in the believer rather than on the forensic sense of Christ’s work on behalf of the believer.<sup>97</sup> This shift in emphasis profoundly influenced the most important hymn writers during this period, as they brought to bear in their hymn writing the horribly challenging times that they and those they served were experiencing.

Along with the general societal upheaval and the drift toward a more personal and devotional role for hymnody, the hymns from this period also began to reflect a significant literary and linguistic transformation. In 1624, Martin Opitz (1597–1639) published his influential *Buch von der Deutschen Poetrey* (“Book About German Poetry”), which changed the face of German literature forever. Among other things, Opitz recommended a standardization of such poetic conventions as consistent accent patterns in relation to meter (e.g., trochaic versus iambic), end rhymes that are precise, and the elimination of truncated syllables and contractions. Opitz’ poetic reforms were widely embraced and quickly became the standard among serious poets and hymn writers. The influence of his work was also reflected in the profusion of poets laureate and poetic societies throughout this period.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Johannes Wallmann, *Pietismus-Studien: Gesammelte Aufsätze II* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 67–74.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 80–81.

<sup>98</sup> Herbst, ed. *EG Hb 2*:236–37.

## Johann Heermann, the “Silesian Job”

The most significant hymn writer to emerge between Martin Luther and Paul Gerhardt was Johann Heermann (1585–1647).<sup>99</sup> Called to serve as Lutheran pastor in Köben, Silesia, Heermann shepherded his people through unspeakably horrible times, as military forces plundered their village on no less than four different occasions during his service there. Plague struck Silesia in 1631 and killed over half of the 1,000 residents in Köben alone. Heermann himself suffered a chronic throat ailment that forced him to abandon preaching and eventually retire in 1639 to Poland, where his wife cared for him until his death.<sup>100</sup> Heermann’s suffering—both personally and as pastor of his people in Köben—earned him the designation “The Silesian Job” by contemporary Andreas Gryphius (1616–64).<sup>101</sup>

Along with Gryphius, Martin Opitz, Christian Keimann (1607–62), and others, Heermann is considered part of the “Silesian Circle” of hymn writers from this period—many of them poets laureate, including Heermann. The title of Heermann’s most famous collection, *Devoti musica cordis: Haus- und Hertz- Musica* (“Music for a Devout Heart: House and Heart Music”; 1630), describes the devotional purpose of his hymns outside of the Divine Service. Heermann sought not to replace the hymns being used in corporate worship, but rather to supplement them with pastorally-oriented poetic reflections on the appointed readings.<sup>102</sup> In the preface to *Devoti Musica Cordis*, Heermann included the following poem describing his purpose and approach to hymn writing:

Hjer hab ich / was ich mir aus Andacht auffgesetzt /  
Vnd oft in Trawrigkeit mein Hertz damit ergetzet:

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<sup>99</sup> Albrecht, *Einführung in die Hymnologie*, 34.

<sup>100</sup> Rößler, *Liedermacher*, 1:144–50.

<sup>101</sup> Herbst, ed. *EG Hb* 2:136.

<sup>102</sup> Rößler, *Liedermacher*, 1:154.

Das auch manch fromer Christ zu haben hat bege(h)rt.  
 Wolan / er sey nun des / was er jhm wünscht / gewä(h)rt.  
 Wer jhm der Redner Pracht für allem lest belieben /  
 Der find hier nichts für sich. Hier mus er sich nur vben  
 In Andacht. Hier ist weg der Worte Zierd vnd Kunst.  
 Hier such ich mir bey Gott in Demut Gnad und Gunst.  
 Wer mit Gott reden wil / vnd seine Huld erlangen /  
 Der darff für jhm nicht erst mit hoher Rede prangen.  
 Das Hertze si(e)ht Gott an. Ist diß nur gut vnd rein /  
 Die Worte können leicht jhm wolgefellig seyn.<sup>103</sup>

Here is what I have drafted for my devotion,  
 and often in times of sorrow my heart has delighted in:  
 this also many a pious Christian has desired to have.  
 So then, let it now be granted that which he wants.  
 Whoever lets the speaker's splendor enliven everything,  
 he will find nothing here for himself. Here he must only practice  
 devotion. Here is the way of words [with] adornment and art.  
 Here I seek [to be] with God in humility, grace, and affection.  
 Whoever desires to speak with God and to obtain his favor,  
 he dare not parade before Him merely with high speech.  
 The heart beholds God. This is only good and pure,  
 [that] the Word can easily be pleasing to it.

Here Heermann observes that if one is interested in high-sounding phrases, his poetic reflections are not the place to find them. Rather, the poems contained therein are for devotional exercise, a discipline which one must approach with humility and grace. In his hymn writing, Heermann advocated the use of a simple and unpretentious vocabulary and expression of ideas that speak to the heart—allowing the Word of God thereby proclaimed to speak to the Christian, and the Christian to take delight in it.

Heermann read and used the devotional works of Johann Arndt, as well as Martin Moller (1547–1607), a forerunner of Arndt.<sup>104</sup> Yet, many of the 400-plus hymns that Heermann wrote were meditations on the Sunday Scripture readings, most notably those contained in his *Sontags- und Fest-Evangelia durchs gantze Jahr* (“Sunday and Festival Gospels throughout the Entire

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<sup>103</sup> Möller, ed. *Kirchenlied und Gesangbuch*, 141.

Year”; Leipzig, 1636).<sup>105</sup> These Sunday-Gospel hymns by Heermann expanded and deepened the genre of narrative hymnody—where the hymn retells the story of Sunday’s Holy Gospel, or as some have observed, provides a “didactic narrative sermon in poetic form.”<sup>106</sup> Heermann wrote these hymns not to be sung in the Divine Service in support of the appointed propers, but rather to be used for devotional meditation and reflection throughout the week following. In expanding this genre of hymn writing established by Nicolaus Herman and others, Heermann not only provided a model for hymn writers that followed him, but also offered a wealth of pericopal hymns that would eventually find their way into the Divine Service in future generations. Some of Heermann’s most enduring hymns include: “Beloved Jesus, What Law Hast Thou Broken” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 198), “Jesus, Grant That Balm and Healing” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 194), “O God, Thou Faithful God” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 346), and “O Christ, Our True and Only Light” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 475).

### **Paul Gerhardt**

The most significant German hymn writer from this period—and indeed, since Martin Luther—was Paul Gerhardt (1607–76). Born in Gräfenhainichen (near Wittenberg), Gerhardt came of age as the Thirty Years’ War was beginning to rage; and by the time he was fourteen, both his father and mother had died. Gerhardt attended *Gymnasium* at nearby Grimma and eventually enrolled at the University of Wittenberg in 1628, where he was influenced poetically by August Buchner (1591–1661), a disciple of Martin Opitz; theologically by the strongly confessional orientation of such Lutheran faculty as Paul Röber (1587–1651) and Georg

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<sup>104</sup> Möller, ed. *Kirchenlied und Gesangbuch*, 141.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 143, notes that Heermann’s collection provides a sizeable collection of hymns to enable congregation members to sing through the appointed Sunday pericopes devotionally during the week.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 142: “die didaktisch-narrative Predigt in Poesie, wobei unter den Bibeltexten die sonntäglichen

Hülsemann (1602–61); and in piety by the ubiquitous writings of Johann Arndt.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, Arndt’s call for a more introspective and practical Christianity was carried forward in Gerhardt’s hymnody as he sought to connect Lutheran doctrine with an internalized piety.<sup>108</sup>

The themes of Gerhardt’s 134 hymns reflect this nexus of churchly doctrine and individual piety. Eberhard von Cranach-Sichart’s modern edition of Gerhardt’s hymnody suggests the following themes, in order of frequency:

Table 6: Themes in Paul Gerhardt’s Hymnody

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Church Year (Advent through Trinity)	32
Cross and Comfort	29
Death and Eternal Life	21
Praise and Thanksgiving	18
Prayer and Penitence	17
Morning/Evening/Summer	8
Sacraments	2
Other	7

Source: Eberhard von Cranach-Sichart, *Paul Gerhardt: Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe; Gesamtausgabe seiner Lieder und Gedichte* (Wupertal and Kassel: Oncken Verlag, 1982).

The greatest number of Gerhardt’s hymns was composed on Church Year themes, suggesting that Gerhardt found himself fully at home within the Lutheran tradition of Nicolaus Herman, Johann Heermann, and others in providing devotional poetry to support the traditional Sunday morning readings. Yet, as with his predecessors, Gerhardt’s hymns were not written

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Perikopen die größte Beachtung finden.”

<sup>107</sup> Christian Bunnars, *Paul Gerhardt: Weg – Werk – Wirkung*, 3rd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 33–37.

<sup>108</sup> For example, six of Gerhardt’s hymns contain direct references to poems in Arndt’s *Paradiesgärtlein* (1612), and one of them, Gerhardt’s hymn, “Jesu, allerliebster Bruder,” is a metrical paraphrase of Arndt’s prayer “Gebet um Christliche beständige Freundschaft,” as found in his *Paradiesgärtlein*. See Elke Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt: Studien zur Theologie, Frömmigkeit und geistlichen Dichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hermann Kurzke, *Mainzer Hymnologische Studien* (Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke Verlag, 2001), 233–238. This hymn was not

primarily for Sunday morning worship. In fact, the first hymnal in which Gerhardt's hymns appeared was *Praxis pietatis melica* ("The Practice of Piety by Way of Music"; 1647). Edited by Johann Crüger, cantor at St. Nicholas, Berlin, where Gerhardt was living at the time, the collection's German subtitle translates the Latin and describes its devotional purpose: "Das ist: Übung der Gottseligkeit in Christlichen und Trostreichen Gesängen" ("That Is, the Exercise of Godliness through Christian and Comforting Songs").<sup>109</sup> Thus, the greatest number of Gerhardt's hymns found their center in the doctrine of Scripture proclaimed throughout the observance of the Church Year, but in a way that supported the individual's piety in private devotion at home.

The large number of hymns in the categories of "Cross and Comfort," "Death and Eternal Life," and "Prayer and Penitence" reflects the horrendous times during which Gerhardt lived and that he himself experienced. Gerhardt's childhood home, church, and the entire village of Gräfenhainichen were razed to the ground by vengeful Swedish forces in 1637. Due to the ravages of war, Gerhardt never received a call to serve as parish pastor until 1649, when he went to serve in Mittenwalde, south of Berlin. There he was married; a few years later, he was called as senior pastor of St. Nicholas to serve with his old friend and collaborator, Johann Crüger. Yet within a decade, his wife and four of his five children died, and Gerhardt was removed from the pastorate of St. Nicholas for his refusal to accede to his Calvinist prince regarding distinctively Lutheran teachings. Consequently, Gerhardt finished his remaining pastoral career in out-of-the-way Lübben. A portrait from his final years was hung in the Lübben parish church, with the

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included in *KELG* 1847/1856 nor in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912.

<sup>109</sup> The title page of *Praxis Pietatis Melica* also indicates that the hymns assembled were "arranged for the advancement of both church and home worship . . ." ("zu Beförderung beydes des Kirchen- als Hauß-Gottesdienstes also geordnet . . ."). Bunners, *Paul Gerhardt: Weg – Werk – Wirkung*, 58.

words inscribed beneath: “Paul Gerhardt, a theologian tested in Satan’s sieve, and afterward found faithful . . . .”<sup>110</sup>

Of the 39 Gerhardt hymns included in Walther’s *KELG* 1847/1857, eighteen made their way into the *ELHB* corpus in English. Cranach-Sichert’s thematic classification reveals the following comparisons:

Table 7: Paul Gerhardt’s Hymnody (by Theme) in *KELG* 1847 and *ELHB* 1912

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Gerh.</b>	<b>KELG</b>	<b>ELHB</b>
Church Year (Advent through Trinity)	32	16	10
Cross and Comfort	29	4	3
Death and Eternal Life	21	4	0
Praise and Thanksgiving	18	6	2
Prayer and Penitence	17	5	2
Morning/Evening/Summer	8	2	1
Sacraments	2	2	0
Other	7	0	0

The hymns that passed from the *KELG* corpus to *ELHB* reflect a similar weighting by topic between the two collections. The greatest number of Gerhardt hymns that passed from German into English focus on Church Year themes—albeit by the time of the nineteenth century, no longer used only at home devotionally, but primarily in corporate worship. Gerhardt’s two sacramental hymns both found their way into the *KELG* collection, but not into English.

Gerald Krispin cogently observes that Gerhardt’s hymnody serves two purposes simultaneously:

to confess the faith and to give expression to the *praxis pietatis* in everyday life. Indeed, confession and *praxis pietatis* are inextricably linked in Gerhardt’s

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<sup>110</sup> The full Latin title from the painting reads: “PAULUS GERHARDUS THEOLOGUS / in Cribro Satanae tentatus, / et devotus postea obiit Lubena Ao 1676 aetatis 70.” Heinz Hoffmann, *Paul Gerhardt: Dichter – Theologe – Seelsorger, 1607–1676; Beiträge der Wittenberger Paul-Gerhardt-Tage 1976 mit Bibliographie und Bildteil* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1978), 124.

hymnody, where the confession is the sole source of the *praxis pietatis*. . . . The nucleus of Gerhardt’s confession and practical spirituality as it comes to expression within his hymns is consequently “the loving relationship between God and man which has been established through grace in Christ.” On the one hand, Gerhardt therefore confesses that God is my Father through the act of redemption through the Son. The counterpart of this confession, that I am God’s child and therefore always “joyful, consoled and not dismayed,” also becomes the counterpart for the tenor of his hymnody. Thus Gerhardt’s hymnody remains distinctly confessional in character, as it certainly confesses *the* faith. But more than confessing *the* faith, Gerhardt confesses it as *my* faith, even as the creeds, though spoken by the whole of the gathered community of believers, begins with the “Credo” . . . .<sup>111</sup>

This simultaneous proclamation in Gerhardt’s hymnody—a confession of the *fides quae creditur* as well the *fides qua creditur*—is exemplified in perhaps his most famous Passion hymn, “A Lamb Goes Uncomplaining Forth” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 191). The core message of this hymn is the love of God the Father in offering his Son for mankind’s salvation. Elke Axmacher suggests a helpful thematic outline of Gerhardt’s ten stanzas, adapted as follows:

Stanzas 1–4: *Passion*—The Lamb of God’s suffering and dying because of the Father’s love.

Stanzas 5–6: *Bridge*—The realization of the Passion in the requited love and thought of man.

Stanzas 7–10: *The Lord’s Supper*—The blood of Jesus as gift and benefit of the Passion.<sup>112</sup>

In stanza 1, Gerhardt draws from John 1:29 and the ancient *Agnus Dei*, as he proclaims the Lamb of God, “The guilt of all men bearing; / ‘Tis laden with the sin of earth, / None else the burden sharing.” Stanza 2 moves from the witness of Scripture to its meaning for the sinner: “This Lamb is Christ, the soul’s great friend / And everlasting Savior; Him, Him God chose, sin’s reign to end / And bring us to His favor.” A dialogue then ensues between Father and Son,

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<sup>111</sup> Gerald Krispin, “Spirituality and Spiritual Formation in the Hymnody of Paul Gerhardt,” *Lutheran Theological Review* 6, no. 1 (1993), 16–17.

<sup>112</sup> Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt*, 225.

as the Father declares, “‘Go forth, my Son!’ He said, ‘and bail / The children who are doomed to hell . . .’”; to which the Son obediently replies, “‘Yea, Father, yea, most willingly / I’ll bear what Thou commandest . . .’” Stanza 3 concludes with the central theme of the hymn: “O Love! O love! How strong art Thou! / In shroud and grave Thou lay’st Him low / Whose word the mountains rendeth.” Stanza 4, then, confronts the singer with the Father’s sacrifice of the Son at Calvary: “Thou slay’st Him as a lamb, His loss / From soul and body oozing; / From body ‘tis the crimson flood / of precious sacrificial blood.” To which the singer replies: “My gain it is; sweet Lamb to Thee / What can I give, whose love to me / For me doth make Thee languish?”

In the bridge section that follows (stanzas 5–6), the shift in perspective that occurred at the conclusion of stanza 4 is expanded, as the singer now confesses just how the Father’s love in Christ Jesus has its way in his life today as a result of the Son’s sacrifice: “Lord, all my life I’ll cleave to Thee, / Thy love fore’er beholding . . . Henceforth myself and all that’s mine / To Thee, my Savior, I consign, From whom all things I borrow.” There is no holding back for the singer redeemed by Christ the crucified: “From morn till eve my theme shall be / Thy mercy’s wondrous measure; . . . / My stream of life shall flow for Thee, / Its steadfast current ceaselessly / in praise to Thee outpouring; . . .”

In the remaining four stanzas, the blood of Christ—sacrificed long ago at Calvary and poured out in the Lord’s Supper for the believer today—becomes the focus of confession and adoration. First, the remembrance of Calvary: “Away with Arabian gold, / With treasures of an earthly mold! / I’ve found a better jewel. / My priceless treasure, Lord my God, / Is Thy most holy, precious blood, / Which flowed from wounds so cruel” (stanza 7). Then to the Supper today: “This treasure ever I’ll employ, / This every aid shall yield me . . . In thirst my drink; in want my food; / My company in solitude, to comfort and to lead me” (stanza 8). And so on to

death and the *viaticum*: “Death’s poison cannot harm me now. / Thy blood new life bestoweth; . . .” (stanza 9). And finally, to the wedding feast of the Lamb in his kingdom, which has no end:

And when Thy glory I shall see  
And taste Thy kingdom’s pleasure,  
Thy blood my royal robe shall be,  
And joy beyond all measure;  
It then shall be my glorious crown  
Thus I’ll appear before the throne  
Of God and need not hide me;  
And shall, by Him to Thee betrothed,  
By Thee in bridal garments clothed,  
Stand as a bride beside Thee. (*ELHB* 1912, no. 191, stanza 10)

### **Transitional hymn writers**

Three other prominent hymn writers from the period of the Thirty Years’ War and its aftermath also bear mentioning. Johann Rist (1607–67) served most of his life as both pastor and parish physician at Wedel (near Hamburg). He was crowned poet laureate by Emperor Ferdinand III in 1641 and authored more than 650 hymns. Along with those of Paul Gerhardt, Rist’s texts were among the most sought after by composers of his day, among them Johann Schop (1590–1667) and Andreas Hammerschmidt (ca. 1611–75). Many of Rist’s hymns reflected the suffering of his times, and he once remarked concerning his hymn writing: “Many of my hymns have been squeezed out of me by the sweet cross.”<sup>113</sup> His most beloved hymns to come into English through *ELHB* include the Good Friday hymn, “O Darkest Woe!” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 215) and the Lord’s Supper hymn, “O Living Bread from Heaven” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 435).

During the post-war period, the hymns of Johann Franck (1618–77), marked a transition from those of Paul Gerhardt to the pietist “Jesus-Hymns” that would follow. Unusual for his day as a hymn writer, Franck was trained in law rather than theology and had studied poetry under

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<sup>113</sup> *EG Hb* 2:258. “Viele Lieder hat mir das süße Kreuz abgepreßt.”

Simon Dach (1605–59) at the University of Königsberg. After university, Franck returned to his hometown of Guben (near Frankfurt an der Oder), where he served as an attorney and in various governmental capacities. Franck wrote 110 hymns during his 59 years, a number of which were published in Crüger’s *Praxis pietatis melica*. Many of his hymns are rooted deeply in the psalter and, like Nicolai before him, deal with the mystical union of the believing soul with the Savior. He considered poetry to be “the wet nurse of piety, a herald of immortality, a teacher of merriment, a destroyer of sorrow, and a foretaste of heavenly glory.”<sup>114</sup> Among his most famous hymns to come into English through *ELHB* are: “Deck Thyself, My Soul, with Gladness” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 432), and “Jesus, Priceless Treasure” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 82).

Johann Olearius (1611–84) came from a long line of esteemed theologians and hymn writers. Born in Halle, Olearius studied theology at Wittenberg and eventually became a superintendent and later court preacher at Halle. He carried on a friendly relationship with Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), the father of German Pietism, and greeted Spener’s *Pia desideria* warmly, welcoming Pietism’s emerging critique of the shallowness of thought and life of his contemporaries as well as its proposals for correcting them. Olearius translated Thomas à Kempis’ *Imitatio Christi* and authored a number of widely-read devotional works, including his *Geistliche Singe-Kunst* (Leipzig, 1671)—the finest and most comprehensive collection of German hymns available in his day.<sup>115</sup> Some of his best-known hymns to come into English through *ELHB* include “Comfort, Comfort Ye, My People” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 130), “Lord, Open Thou My Heart to Hear” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 2), and “O How Great Is Thy Compassion” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 317).

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<sup>114</sup> *EKG Hb* 2/1:161: “Die Poesie ist die Säugamme der Frömmigkeit, eine Heroldin der Unsterblichkeit, eine Lehrerin der Fröhlichkeit, eine Zerstörerin der Traurigkeit und ein Vorschmack der himmlischen Herrlichkeit.”

<sup>115</sup> Herbst and Seibt, eds., *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch*, 2:234–35.

## The Age of Pietism (1670–1750)

The Thirty Years' War was devastating to German lands, not only in the scope of its physical destruction and ruin, but also in the way it affected the spiritual outlook of the generations of theologians who survived and those who would follow in its wake. Within the Lutheran Church in particular, a number of theologians began to react to what they perceived as a nit-picking, scholastic approach to theology and an overwrought concern for doctrinal precision. Their solution was to advance a “kinder, gentler” approach to the theological enterprise. One might even suggest that the ravages of war had, in effect, “mellowed out” a broad segment of continental Lutheranism, such that the crossing of swords over theology—whether by the state or through the theologian’s pen—was no longer valued as highly or as widely as it once was.

The chief narrator for this new approach was Philip Jakob Spener (1635–1705), who in 1675 published his famous *Pia Desideria*, subtitled, “Or Heartfelt Desire for a God-Pleasing Reform of the True Evangelical Church, Together with Several Simple Christian Proposals Looking Toward This End.”<sup>116</sup> Like many pastors of his generation, the lack of pious behavior among the members of his own congregation had led him to wonder whether some of them were, in fact, true Christians.

During his university years at Strasbourg, Spener had been induced by his teacher, the orthodox theologian, Johann Conrad Dannhauer (1603–66), to read the writings of Luther.<sup>117</sup> Throughout his *Pia Desideria*, Spener promoted what he believed to be Luther’s views, quoting him favorably and extensively. In the end, Spener offered the following proposals to correct the problems he perceived in the Church of his day:

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<sup>116</sup> Philip Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), 29.

1. That Christians engage in earnest and thorough study of the Bible in private meetings, *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* (“little churches within the Church”).
2. That the laity should share in the government of the Church, since the spiritual priesthood belongs to all believers.
3. That it is not enough to have mere knowledge of the Christian faith, but rather that Christianity consists of the practice of the faith.
4. That instead of merely didactic and often bitter attacks on the heterodox and unbelievers, a sympathetic and kindly treatment of them should obtain.
5. That there be a reorganization of the theological training at the universities, giving more prominence to the devotional life and spiritual formation of the students.
6. That sermons be not concerned merely with providing pleasing rhetoric, but rather with the implanting of Christianity in the inner man, the soul of which is faith, and whose expressions are the fruits of life.<sup>118</sup>

Spener’s proposals were widely read and positively received. Indeed, Johann Arndt’s *True Christianity* (1605–10),<sup>119</sup> perhaps the most published and widely-read book of the seventeenth century, had liberally tilled the soil for Spener’s proposals, and Spener acknowledged Arndt’s powerful influence throughout his own work. From Arndt’s tilling and Spener’s sowing sprang a movement that would cross confessional as well as national boundaries to dominate religious thought even into the nineteenth century. The hymn writers in our study from this period reflect a range of pietist backgrounds and sensitivities.

### **A Proto-Pietist: Johann Scheffler (1624–77), a.k.a. Angelus Silesius**

The life and hymns of Johann Scheffler reflect the worldview of a nascent Pietism awaiting full-flowering. Born in Breslau, Silesia, in 1624, Scheffler was baptized in the Lutheran Church and eventually went on to study medicine at Strasbourg and Leiden. In Leiden, he encountered the writings of Jakob Böhme (1575–1652), a shoemaker-turned-mystic after he had received a

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<sup>117</sup> Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 10.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* Summarized from pages 87–122.

<sup>119</sup> F. Ernest Stoeffler goes so far as to say: “The father of Lutheran Pietism is not Spener but John Arndt. This has frequently been recognized. ‘In a sense,’ says Friedman, ‘Arndt can be regarded as the real “father of Pietism,” who transformed the doctrine of the Word, as Luther understood it, into an ethical doctrine, and thereby changed the experience of justification into one of sanctification.’” *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, vol. 9, Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 202,

vision one day by focusing his attention on a beam of sunlight reflected in a pewter dish.<sup>120</sup>

Scheffler began to reconsider Lutheran theology in light of Böhme's writings and was led to reject the faith of his baptism as ossified and inadequate. Instead, he turned to embrace a mystical stream of Roman Catholicism and adopted the name "Angelus Silesius" ("The Silesian Messenger"). Eventually ordained a priest in 1661, he engaged in polemics against Lutheran theologians and teachings.

Scheffler's 205 hymns were first published in his *Heilige Seelen-Lust, Oder Geistliche Hirten-Lieder Der in jhren JESUM verliebten Psyche* ["Holy Raptures of the Soul, or Spiritual Shepherd Songs of the Psyche That Has Fallen in Love with Her Jesus"; Breslau, 1657]. A number of Scheffler's hymns were included in pietist hymnals of the late seventeenth century.<sup>121</sup> Three of them made their way into Walther's *KELG* 1847/1856, with two additional Scheffler hymns brought into English by the editors of *ELHB*, for a total of five in both *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912.

Scheffler's hymnody could at times be downright fanatical in its approach to epistemology.

For example:

Halt an, wo lauftst du hin?  
Der Himmel ist in dir:  
Suchtst du Gott anderswo,  
Du fehlst ihn für und für.

Stop! Where are you running?  
Heaven is inside of you!  
If you seek God anywhere else,  
You'll miss him by and by.

Or:

Die Schrift ist Schrift, sonst nichts.  
Mein Trost ist Wesenheit,  
und daß Gott zu mir spricht  
das Wort der Ewigkeit.

The Scriptures are writings, nothing else.  
My trust is in what's real,  
And that God speaks to me  
The word of eternity.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Werner Buddecke, "Böhme, Jacob," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (1955), 2:388–90.

<sup>121</sup> Möller, ed. *Kirchenlied und Gesangbuch*, 144–45.

<sup>122</sup> Albrecht, *Einführung in die Hymnologie*, 39–40.

Of course, the hymns by Scheffler that made it into Missouri Synod hymnals were nothing like this in terms of their view of revelation, but one does notice a closely related pietist emphasis, that is, the believer's ardent desire for intimate union with Jesus Christ. For example, Scheffler's "Jesu, komm doch selbst zu mir" ("Jesus, Savior, Come to Me!"; *ELHB* 1912, no. 106):

2 Lord, for Thee I ever sigh,  
Nothing else can satisfy.  
'Tis my constant cry to Thee:  
Jesus, Jesus, come to me!

6 Lord, to none on earth, beside  
Thee, my heart I open wide;  
Enter Thou, possess it all.  
Thee alone mine own I call.

A number of Scheffler's hymns were included in Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen's (1670–1739) monumental pietist hymnal *Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch* ("Spirit-filled Songbook"; 1704) and succeeding editions. While Freylinghausen's wildly popular hymnals also included many of the *Kernlieder* of the Lutheran Reformation, they chiefly included the latest hymn texts and melodies used in pietist circles. Freylinghausen's hymnals in turn became vehicles for popularizing the hymns of Scheffler and others, as well as repositories for the formation of future regional hymnals, as hymnals during the eighteenth century gradually became the publications of regional ecclesiastical authorities for use in churches, rather than of individual publishers for private, devotional consumption. Other hymns by Scheffler found in early Missouri Synod hymnals include: "Come, Follow Me, the Savior Spake" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 334) and "Thee Will I Love, My Strength, My Tower" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 349).

### **A Halle Pietist: Johann Burkhard Freystein (1671–1718)**

The bulk of pietist hymnody from *KELG* into English comes from a variety of individual hymn writers, nearly twenty in all. Johann Burkhard Freystein (1671–1718) is fairly typical of a

middle-of-the-road, Hallensian form of Pietism. Born to a family of lawyers, Freystein followed in his father's footsteps after his death when Johann was only eleven. While visiting Berlin as a young adult, Freystein came under the influence of Spener and believed himself to have been awakened to a conscious and living faith as a result. Freystein received his doctorate in law in 1695, and it was about this time that he wrote one of his most famous hymns, "Rise, My Soul, to Watch and Pray" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 381).<sup>123</sup> It reflects his own experience of awakening at about that time, but it also demonstrates a pietist emphasis on the internal resources of the Christian in the struggle with temptations from the devil, sinful human nature, and the world:

5 Watch against the world that frowns  
Darkly to dismay thee;  
Watch, when she thy wishes crowns,  
Smiling to betray thee;  
Watch and see Thou art free  
From false friends that charm thee,  
While they seek to harm thee.

7 But while watching, also see  
That thou pray unceasing,  
For the Lord must make thee free,  
Strength and faith increasing,  
So to do Service true;  
Let not sloth enslave thee;  
Pray, and He will save thee.

Throughout this ten-stanza hymn, the Christian does battle with temptation by monitoring what is going on inside of himself—whether he is awake enough, whether he is praying enough, whether his trust is strong enough. Resources from outside of the individual Christian—i.e., Christ's appointed Means of Grace—though not spoken against, are not explicitly referenced or proclaimed. This shift away from the external toward the internal became a hallmark of the age of Pietism.

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<sup>123</sup> Herbst, ed. *EG Hb* 2:101.

## **A Moravian Pietist: Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60)**

Absent from Walther’s hymnal but present in the early English hymnals of the Missouri Synod are two hymns from the second-generation pietist leader, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60). Zinzendorf’s future as a pietist leader was almost inevitable: Spener was his godfather, and August Hermann Francke (1633–1727), Spener’s theological successor in Halle, was Zinzendorf’s teacher while he studied there from 1710 to 1715. Zinzendorf graduated from the University of Wittenberg in 1719, and being a man of means, eventually came to support a group of persecuted and displaced Moravian Brethren. He had a village specially constructed for their community and named it *Herrnhut* (“The Lord’s Protection”). It became a model and center for Halle Pietism in action, with Zinzendorf as their spiritual leader, protector, and patron. In 1727, the community established the “Statutes of Herrnhut,” a code of Christian behavior reflecting their pietist ideals. Later that summer, the community experienced what was believed to have been an outpouring of the Holy Spirit in connection with a celebration of the Lord’s Supper. This so-called “Moravian Pentecost” signaled a new era of spiritual growth and experimentation in communal living for Herrnhut.<sup>124</sup>

By 1735, the community had published its own hymnal, *Das Gesang-Buch der Gemeinde in Herrn-Hut* (Herrnhut, 1735). Of its 972 hymns, 225 were by Zinzendorf himself. During his lifetime, he wrote over 2,000 hymns, many of them in need of revision and improvement by later editors.<sup>125</sup> Indeed, as F. Ernest Stoeffler concludes:

Zinzendorf did not use precise theological language. He delighted, in fact, in giving his exceedingly fertile imagination free linguistic reign. Words to him were not primarily a medium of rational expression, but a means of communicating religious

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<sup>124</sup> F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 24, Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 131–40.

<sup>125</sup> Regarding the editing of 700 of Zinzendorf’s hymns by Albert Knapp in 1845, see Gerald S. Krispin, “Zinzendorf, Nicolaus Ludwig von,” in Herl, Reske, Vieker, eds. *LSB: Hymnal Companion*.

feeling. This implies, and quite correctly, that in his understanding of the meaning of the Christian faith the latter took precedent.<sup>126</sup>

As mentioned above, Zinzendorf's hymns do not appear in Walther's hymnal, yet a portion of Zinzendorf's "Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit" played a critical role in Walther's life and piety. In his biography of Walther, August R. Suelflow notes that when Walther was only three years old, the Walther home experienced a pre-Christmas visit from St. Nicholas. As was the custom, St. Nicholas questioned each of the children as to their progress in learning the Bible and Catechism, at which time the tiny Walther shyly responded when queried:

Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness  
My beauty are, my glorious dress  
Wherein before my God I'll stand  
When I shall reach the heavenly land.

Walther's father was so proud of his little boy that he awarded him a three-penny piece, which planted an indelible memory of this hymn on the young boy's mind. Suelflow also notes that over seven decades later, during his final days, Walther frequently returned to this beloved hymn for comfort on his deathbed.<sup>127</sup>

### **A Reformed Pietist: Joachim Neander (1650–80)**

Pietism as a movement extended beyond the bounds of Lutheranism. Calvinist forms of Pietism first surfaced in the Netherlands, perhaps due to influences from pietistic Puritanism in

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<sup>126</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 141.

<sup>127</sup> August R. Suelflow, *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C. F. W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000), 15, 279. John Julian, ed. *A Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations* (London: John Murray, 1907), 319, notes that Zinzendorf borrowed these four lines from an older German hymn, "In Christi Wunden schlaf ich ein"—a hymn "adopted by many pious Germans, young and old, as a prayer in life and death." Attributed uncertainly to Paul Eber (1511–69), "In Christi Wunden" appeared in *KELG* 1847, no. 412, and with Catharine Winkworth's English translation in *ELHB* 1912, no. 545, as "I Fall Asleep in Jesus' Wounds." Though it was likely Eber's hymn that Walther knew as a child and on his deathbed, it was Zinzendorf's appropriation of this beloved text as the first stanza of his hymn, along with John Wesley's English translation, that was eventually included in *ELHB* 1912, no. 326 as "Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness."

England.<sup>128</sup> In parts of northwestern Germany, where the Reformed had a greater presence, Reformed Pietists such as Theodor Untereyck (1635–93) began to exert an influence by the middle of the seventeenth century with the formation of conventicles in such places as Mühlheim and Bremen.<sup>129</sup>

Joachim Neander (1650–80) was born in Bremen and began his study of theology at the *Gymnasium* there at age 16. He was awakened to faith while listening to a sermon by Untereyck and was later encouraged by Untereyck to continue his theological studies at Heidelberg and later Frankfurt. While in Frankfurt, Neander became friends with Spener, and shortly thereafter accepted a call to serve as rector of the Latin school in Düsseldorf. He returned to Bremen a few years later and died there of tuberculosis at the age of thirty. His 60 or so hymns were published that same year in *A & O. Joachimi Neandri Glaub- und Liebesübung: Auffgemuntert durch Einfältige Bundes-Lieder und Danck-Psalmen* (“Alpha and Omega. Joachim Neander’s Exercises in Faith and Love, Encouraged through Simple Covenant Hymns and Psalms of Thanksgiving”).<sup>130</sup> Two centuries later, the valley near Düsseldorf where Neander once enjoyed taking walks as he composed his hymns, was renamed “Neanderthal” (“Neander’s Valley”) in his honor. Today, the same valley is famous for the remains of *homo neanderthalensis* (“Neanderthal Man”) discovered there in 1856.

Martin Rößler describes Neander’s most famous hymn, “Praise to the Lord, the Almighty” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 63) as “the number one hit among chorales, the best-seller on the hymn list, and anecdotally and statistically the most frequently sung hymn of all time.”<sup>131</sup> The extensive use

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<sup>128</sup> Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, 117.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 171–72.

<sup>130</sup> Herbst, ed. *EG Hb* 2:224–25.

<sup>131</sup> Rößler, *Liedermacher*, 2:112: “Sein Lied is der Hit unter den Chorälen, der Best-seller in der Liederliste, dem Gefühl und der Statistic nach das meistgesungene Kirchenlied überhaupt.”

of this hymn across Western Christendom is but one small illustration of the widespread and ecumenical influence of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Pietism. After the hymn was first published in 1680, it was picked up in an edition of Johann Crüger's influential *Praxis Pietatis Melica* and later in Freylinghausen's *Geistreiches Gesangbuch*. From these, J. S. Bach discovered the text and melody for his Cantata 137, composed in Leipzig in 1725.<sup>132</sup> Although Neander's hymn was not included in the Dresden hymnals that Walther would have brought with him from Germany, he did somehow include it in his *KELG* 1847/1857; and with a composite translation, the editors of *ELHB* brought it into Missouri Synod usage in English.

### **The orthodox Lutheran hymn writers**

Not every Lutheran during the age of Pietism was a Pietist. In fact, Spener's *Pia Desideria* and other pietist writings encountered virulent opposition from orthodox Lutheran theologians. Because of the diverse, amorphous, and metamorphosing nature of Pietism, however, it was often challenging for its orthodox critics to get a handle on the central theological issues. Some found Pietism to exhibit a *schwärmerisch* attitude toward the Means of Grace; others were critical of the millennialistic teachings of certain pietist leaders; and still others complained of a confusion of justification and sanctification.<sup>133</sup>

One example of an orthodox Lutheran critique of pietist hymnody is found in the *Wittenberg Bedencken*, a *Gutachten* ("theological opinion") offered by the Wittenberg theological faculty in 1716 concerning Freylinghausen's *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* of 1704, the quintessential pietist hymnal. The critique begins by offering seven criteria against which the *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* fails to measure. These criteria may be summarized as follows:

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<sup>132</sup> Rößler, *Liedermacher*, 2:128–29.

<sup>133</sup> Bengt Hägglund, *History of Theology*, trans. Gene J. Lund (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968),

1. Great discernment and caution is required when it comes to selecting hymn texts for a hymnal, especially when used for public worship, because “every member of the true Church is required to accept the words and meaning (*sensus*) of the hymns” and to recognize them as being sound.
2. Because Satan is a cunning spirit, hymns can be used to teach the poison of false doctrine, “especially into the hearts of the simple-minded and others who cannot discern it.”
3. The hymns of Luther and other true followers should not be omitted or altered in any way.
4. New hymns should only be included by individuals who have proven to be orthodox—such as Heermann, Rist, Gerhardt, et al. Hymns “lacking proper approval and written by an unpure [*sic*] and unreliable person” should not be included in the hymnals, regardless of who the author is.
5. The hymn writer’s name should always be included beneath the hymn because “sometimes a questionable phrase written by someone whose adherence to Orthodoxy is otherwise undeniable can be accepted.”
6. Texts containing false doctrine, and even texts that are unclear or ambiguous, should not be included—regardless of how devotional they may sound.
7. The melodies in a hymnal should be “serious, devotional, and divine in terms of meter, as well as in terms of composition and music. They should possess none of the elaborate, light, and almost lewd characteristics found in secular tunes.”<sup>134</sup>

The critique then embarks on twenty pages of specific examples of hymns that are “filled with false doctrine or offensive or highly questionable phrases,” which, the faculty notes, “are not to be tolerated as a whole or in isolated passages, even though the writer could provide a reasonable explanation, if he were asked.”<sup>135</sup> Clearly, the Wittenberg faculty set the bar for clarity very high when it came to assessing the pietist hymnody it encountered.

Such strong reactions to Pietism were typical among the orthodox Lutheran theologians of the day. The most famous and thoroughgoing critique came from Valentin Ernst Löscher (1673–1759), a professor on the theological faculty at Wittenberg just prior to the above *Gutachten*, but who spent the rest of his life as pastor of the Kreuzkirche in Dresden and as superintendent for

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<sup>134</sup> Dianne Marie McMullen, “The *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* of Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670–1739): A German Pietist Hymnal” (University of Michigan, 1987), 1:568–72.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 574.

area churches.<sup>136</sup> His most comprehensive critique appeared under the title, *Vollständiger Timotheus Verinus* (Wittenberg, 1718–22), and it drew a sharp reaction from his pietist opponents. Löscher was also a hymn writer, but none of his hymns were included in Walther’s *KELG* 1847/1857.

The most famous orthodox Lutheran hymn writer from this period was Erdmann Neumeister (1671–1756), pastor at St. James Church and court preacher in Hamburg. Neumeister’s approach in engaging his pietist opponents was irenic in comparison to the approach of others of his day. Instead of merely resorting to polemics, he sought to engage those affected by Pietism in his congregation with orthodoxy’s scriptural groundings on the key doctrines affected by pietist aberrations. Thus, he did not exclude his members’ personal experiences, but sought to direct them back to God’s Word and its comfort in Jesus Christ, as their indispensable interpretive lens.

Neumeister wrote more than 700 hymns during his lifetime, his most famous being “Jesus Sinners Doth Receive” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 414).<sup>137</sup> This hymn demonstrates how Neumeister shepherded his people through pietistic valleys. The constantly recurring refrain, “Jesus, sinners doth receive!” (Luke 15:2), directs the singer in every stanza to this central scriptural truth: that Jesus came only for sinners. The first four stanzas of the hymn are written in the collective first-person plural, for example: “We deserve but grief and shame, / Yet His words, rich grace revealing, . . .” (stanza 2). Then at stanza 5, the hymn shifts to first-person singular:

I, a sinner, come to Thee,  
And acknowledge my transgression;  
Tender mercy, show to me,  
Grant me graciously remission;

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<sup>136</sup> See Valentin Ernst Löscher, *The Complete Timotheus Verinus*, trans. James L. Langebartels and Robert J. Koester (Milwaukee, WI: Northwestern Publishing House, 1998).

<sup>137</sup> See Appendix Ten, page 388, for the full text of this hymn as it appears in *ELHB* 1912.

Let these words my soul relieve:  
“Jesus sinners doth receive!”

The hymn continues to the end in first-person singular, confessing that “in these words I believe: ‘Jesus sinners doth receive!’” (stanza 6). In this way, Neumeister constantly points his people back to God’s Word for comfort, not to themselves and their feelings.

The contribution of hymn writers from the era of Pietism to the hymn corpus of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 is not insignificant. Proto-pietist and pietist hymn writers account for more than 10 percent of the total number of German-language hymns in this corpus. While by no means a majority, the inclusion of one in ten German hymns by pietist hymn writers, whose theology stood at variance with Missouri’s staunchly orthodox and confessional Lutheran understanding, raises some important issues for consideration.

Most interesting is the fact that nearly all of these pietist hymns came from *KELG* 1847/1857, a hymnal edited by Walther himself, suggesting that “The Fathers’ Faith,” (i.e., the German-language hymns in *ELHB*) was by no means monolithic, but rather semipermeable. In other words, the German tradition’s inclusion of a significant number of hymns written by pietist hymn writers, in effect, set a precedent for the acceptability of including certain hymns by non-Lutheran hymn writers in “the Children’s Song” (the English-language hymns in *ELHB*)—to great effect, as we will see in Chapters Five and Six.

Classic themes of Pietism are found in the pietist hymns that were included—themes such as the believer’s ardent desire for union with Christ (Scheffler) or an emphasis on internal resources in dealing with spiritual struggles (Freystein). Such a selective appropriation suggests that some hymns, even with pietist emphases, could be read through confessional Lutheran lenses, as it were, and be appropriated into Missouri’s tradition in a way that was acceptable for both “The Fathers’ Faith” as well as “The Children’s Song.”

A third important factor to consider is the ecumenical or common usage of certain hymns. Neander's "Praise to the Lord, the Almighty" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 63) is a classic example of a hymn that found widespread use among Protestants of every sort, including the Missouri Synod, yet was written by a Pietist who was clearly in the Reformed camp. Even though it was not to be found in the hymnal tradition that Walther and the Saxons brought with them from Saxony, it was nevertheless so widely known among Germans in general that Walther included it in *KELG* 1847/1857. Indeed, the widespread usage of Freylinghausen's *Geistliches Gesangbuch* and other pietist collections to follow had helped to popularize a great number of hymns across regional and denominational lines. This ecumenical factor of common usage would play an increasing role in hymnal preparation in the nineteenth century, especially among English-language hymns, and particularly in the preparation of Missouri's *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912.

### **Enlightenment and Restoration (1750–1889)**

Only four hymns and four hymn writers from this period were included in *ELHB*. From the period of the Enlightenment, few poets produced hymns of lasting value.<sup>138</sup> What did occupy many poets and hymnal editors of the Enlightenment was the reshaping of classic Lutheran hymn texts to fit the rationalistic and literary ideals of the day. So, for instance, the famous Enlightenment poet, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803), reworked the third stanza of Luther's credo hymn, "We All Believe in One True God," as follows:

Wir glauben an den heil'gen Geist,  
 unsern göttlichen Regierer,  
 den Jesus Christus uns verheißt,  
 uns zum Beistand und zum Führer.  
 Der in Trübsal seine Christen  
 eilt mit Muth und Kraft zu rüsten;  
 der uns lehrt Vergebung finden

We believe in the Holy Spirit,  
 our divine ruler,  
 whom Jesus Christ promised us,  
 as Advisor and Guide.  
 Who hastens his Christian to prepare  
 for trouble with courage and strength;  
 who teaches us to find forgiveness

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<sup>138</sup> Albrecht, *Einführung in die Hymnologie*, 45.

und der Tugend Werth empfinden.  
Er flößt uns in Todesschmerz  
des ew'gen Lebens Trost in Herz.

and to find value in virtue.  
He infuses us in the pain of death  
with comfort in the heart of eternal life.<sup>139</sup>

In Klopstock's version, Luther's overtly Trinitarian language connecting the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son in lines 2–3 is eliminated. In lines 7–8, the forgiveness of sins, bestowed by the Holy Spirit through his gifts, is eliminated in favor of a spirit who teaches one to find value in virtuous living. In the final lines, the resurrection of all flesh is eliminated in favor of vague language about comfort at the time of death in some sort of hope in eternal life. Such wholesale reworking of classic, Lutheran hymn texts was widespread during the last half of the eighteenth century.<sup>140</sup> Luther's "A Mighty Fortress," with its pervasive language describing the evil foe and other supernatural and cosmic realities, was even omitted from Lutheran hymnals of this period—likely because it was virtually impossible to rewrite it to fit the rationalistic canons of the day.<sup>141</sup>

It is not surprising, then, that Walther and the English-speaking Missourians who followed him would not have included many hymns from the period of the German Enlightenment. Indeed, Walther and the German immigrants who formed the Missouri Synod did so in antipathy to Rationalism and its effects on the Church. As part of the Confessional Lutheran Revival that arose toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the Missourian "old Lutheran" emphasis on purity of doctrine and a return to the confessions and writings of the Reformation led them to focus their worship life around the liturgical forms and hymn texts of their Lutheran forefathers prior to the "wrong turning" of the Enlightenment. Or, as the *KELG* revision committee put it:

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<sup>139</sup> Albrecht, *Einführung in die Hymnologie*, 96.

<sup>140</sup> See, for example, the reworking of Nicolai's "O Morning Star, How Fair and Bright" by Johann Adolph Schlegel (1721–93)—a version that persisted in German hymnals even into the first part of the twentieth century. Becker et al., eds., *Geistliches Wunderhorn*, 152.

<sup>141</sup> Albrecht, *Einführung in die Hymnologie*, 95.

Walther and the editors of *KELG* “resorted to the old hymnals, predominantly those of Saxony, which came out before the age of hymnological decline [i.e., the Enlightenment] . . . .”<sup>142</sup>

The period of Restoration that followed the Enlightenment went hand-in-hand with the Lutheran Confessional Renewal Movement. Along with the recovery of Reformation texts and tunes (see above, page 146), it also included a handful of nineteenth-century German poets who were writing hymn texts for their day. In 1889, the same year that *ELHB* first appeared, August Crull published *Gott tröste Dich! Eine Sammlung von Trostliedern der neueren geistlichen Dichtung*, a collection of some 240 poems by German Christian poets, including 27 by Julius Sturm (1816–96), 13 by Carl Johann Phillip Spitta (1801–59), and 12 by Karl Gerok, (1815–90).<sup>143</sup> Yet, in spite of Crull’s more-than-passing familiarity with the German poets of his day, very few of their texts were included in *ELHB*. Crull’s selectivity is not surprising when one considers the overwhelming number of English-language hymn texts from which Crull and the other editors that followed had to choose, as well as the wealth of German-language hymnody brought into English by the end of the nineteenth century.

### Conclusions

The German-language hymn corpus of Walther’s *KELG* 1847 was formed in the crucible of the Lutheran Confessional Revival. With its emphasis on the recovery of confessional Lutheran doctrine, as well as on original Reformation-era hymn texts and melodies, Walther’s hymnal sought to pass on this “voluminous treasury” of hymnody to the generations that followed. The harvest of this German hymnological recovery did not come to full fruition until the end of the

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<sup>142</sup> “Unser Kirchengesangbuch: I. Revision der Angaben unter den Liedern,” 355. Translation adapted from Mathew Carver, “The Second Major Revision of the St. Louis Hymnal.”

<sup>143</sup> August Crull, compiler, *Gott tröste Dich! Eine Sammlung von Trostliedern der neueren geistlichen Dichtung*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Dr. Martin Luther Waisenhaus, 1894).

nineteenth century, and August Crull reaped many of its benefits, both in his editorship of *ELHB* 1889 and in his committee's work on the final revision of *KELG* 1847.

The heart and core (more than 80 percent) of the German-language hymn corpus transmitted from *KELG* 1847 to *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 came from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheran hymn writers—from Martin Luther through Paul Gerhardt and his Lutheran contemporaries. Luther's modest hymn corpus came to form the foundation of Lutheran hymnals for centuries to follow. His revolutionary view of the proclamatory function of hymnody, specifically to proclaim *Lehr und Trost* ("doctrine and comfort"), became the model for hundreds of Lutheran hymn writers and thousands of hymns; and his Christological translations of psalm hymns, as well as his catechetical hymnody, demonstrated for hymn writers to follow how the Reformation doctrine of justification could be proclaimed fully and vitally on the wings of song.

The hymn writers included from this period were either Luther's contemporaries or those who followed faithfully within the train of confessional Lutheranism. During the period of the Thirty Years' War, many suffered greatly for their confession; and yet, the bloodshed of seventeenth-century Germany became the seedbed for a second flowering of Lutheran hymnody. The function of much of this latter hymnody became devotional in nature, supporting families and congregations disrupted by the ravages of war. As such, the tenor of their texts began to shift gradually toward the religious expression of the individual. The hymnody of Philipp Nicolai, with its emphasis on the mystical union of the believer with Christ, signaled the beginnings of this change.

The writings of proto-Pietist Johann Arndt, with his focus on the life of Christ at work in the believer, were widely influential on orthodox hymn writers from Nicolai to Johann Heermann and Paul Gerhardt. Gerhardt's hymnody sought not only to confess the faith and

doctrine of confessional Lutheranism, but also to give expression to the practice of that faith in the devotional life of the believer. Nearly half of the Gerhardt hymns found in *KELG* 1847 were included in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912. Next to Luther, no other German-language hymn writer's hymnody is so well represented.

The distant theological leitmotif that began to sound forth from Nicolai's hymnody, as he explored the mystical union of the believer with Christ, was given fuller voice in the hymnody of Gerhardt and his contemporaries, as they intensified the theme of Christ at work in the devotional life of the believer, and eventually came to a full-throated shout—at times a shrill and distorted one in the hymnody of the Pietists. Of course, German Pietism came in a wide range of flavors. From the enthusiastic and mystical spices of the proto-Pietist, Johann Scheffler, to the milder, moralistic flavors of Freystein and Hallensian Pietism, to the socially active and theologically imprecise aromas of Zinzendorf and the Herrnhuters, to the Reformed seasonings of a Neander—the common theological theme among them all was the internalization of spirituality, leading, to varying degrees, away from the external Means of Grace as delivery points for God's forgiveness in Christ Jesus and toward a focus on the work of the Spirit in the heart of the individual Christian. Though small in number overall, the pietist contribution added a complex and multivalent blend of seasonings to the theological flavor palate of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912.

One in nine hymns from the German-language hymn corpus of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 came from pietist pens, and nearly all of them as they had been transmitted via Walther's *KELG* 1847. While the vast majority of Missouri's German-language hymn texts came from well within the orbit of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century confessional Lutheran hymnody, the outer band of pietist hymnody that was also present set the stage for the eventual appropriation of English-

language hymnody in two important ways. First, it suggested that not every hymn text in a confessional Lutheran hymnal had to be written by a confessional Lutheran, and it thus tacitly gave permission to consider the inclusion of non-Lutheran texts in such a collection. Second, however, the theological character of pietist hymn texts, with their prioritization of the individual believer's religious experience, also gave permission for hymnal editors to consider hymns from the English-language corpus that might proclaim similar themes and emphases. Such resonances between German pietist hymnody and certain strains of English-language hymnody will be explored further in Chapters Five and Six.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE HYMN WRITERS AND TRANSLATORS

In August 1901, shortly after the appearance of *SSH* 1901, George H. A. Luecke, editor of the *Lutheran Witness*, opined that “a pronounced reaction is setting in against trashy and unchurchly hymnology in the churches and a demand for a return to the standard productions of the ages.” His editorial continued as he quoted from a Methodist writer, who declared:

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* they brought to the task all their literary skill and ability, their sentiment is lofty and inspiring, the music noble and uplifting.

Luecke concludes by noting that:

Our hymn book and recently published Sunday-school hymnal contain none of this trashy hymnology, but together with translations of many of the grand old hymns of our Church only what is best in English hymnology.<sup>1</sup>

In the mind of Luecke, the hymnals of English Missouri contained “the most beautiful hymns in the world” written by Watts, Luther, and Wesley—that is, they provided the best translations of Missouri’s heritage of German hymnody, as well as “what is best in English hymnology.”

This chapter will examine the English-language hymn writers whose hymns were included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus, as well as the translators whose metrical translations of German, Latin, and Greek hymns were also included. The chapter will focus especially on representative hymn writers and translators from each period, placing them within the larger context of the historical and theological movements of their times. This chapter will show that the editors of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 benefited greatly from the bountiful harvest of English-

language hymnody during the nineteenth century. Preferencing more recent nineteenth-century hymnody, they selected hymns from a broad range of hymn writers and translators whose work was consonant with Missouri Lutheran theology and resembled in certain key aspects the hymnody they knew from Missouri's German hymn corpus.<sup>2</sup>

### **From Watts to Wesley**

Studies in early English hymnody (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) often divide around the central figure of Isaac Watts (1674–1748).<sup>3</sup> Widely recognized as “the Father of English Hymnody,” Watts’ influence on early Missouri Synod English hymnody was equally as significant.

In accord with the liturgical dictums of John Calvin, much of 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, or metrical, English.<sup>4</sup> The emphasis during this period was on accuracy of translation over poetic beauty, creative paraphrase, or even Christological readings of Old Testament psalmody; and such metrical translations employed relatively few meters or rhyme schemes. By the dawn of the eighteenth century, what had gradually become a

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<sup>1</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “Editorials,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 5 (1901): 34.

<sup>2</sup> See Jon D. Vieker, “‘The Most Beautiful Hymns in the World’: The Hymns and Hymn Writers of Early LCMS English Hymnals,” *Logia* 14, no. 3 (2005): 9–19.

<sup>3</sup> Classic studies of the genre include J. R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); and Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship* (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1915).

<sup>4</sup> For example, see the early metrical psalter of Thomas Sternhold (1500–49) and John Hopkins (d. 1570), first published in 1549, and then in 1696 *A New Version of the Psalms of David, Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches* compiled by Nahum Tate (1652–1715) and Nicholas Brady (1659–1726). See Watson, *The English Hymn*, 42–43; 98–102. Very few hymns prior to Watts were included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus: only three hymns from the Tate and Brady collection and then just nine hymns by six other hymn writers.

monochromatic psalmody begged for some glint of color.<sup>5</sup> Isaac Watts was just the person to open the windows and let in the sunshine.

Madeleine Forell Marshall and Janet Todd aptly summarize Watts' 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.<sup>6</sup>

As a nonconformist minister, Watts was not subject to the pressures that bishops over him might inveigh. Thus, he 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.

In our study, forty-three hymns by Watts were included in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912. They represent more than 12% of the 351 English-language hymn texts considered in this chapter and therefore the single largest contribution of any hymn writer in any language to the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus. In fact, the inclusion of more hymns by Isaac Watts than Martin

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<sup>5</sup> Erik Routley notes: "If then one excepts the versification of Prayer Book canticles and scriptural passages especially associated with the liturgy, and of the creeds, there is, stretching it as far as we can, a repertory of hardly a dozen hymns available to seventeenth-century churchgoers. . . . The understanding of this makes a proper preparation for the explosion of evangelical hymnody in the following century." *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody*, ed. Paul A. Richardson (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 2005), 16.

<sup>6</sup> Madeleine Forell Marshall and Janet Todd, *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1982), 28.

Luther further underscores the seismic shift in the hymn corpus of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 from the hymnody of “the Fathers’ Faith” to that of “the Children’s Song.”<sup>7</sup>

Watts’ most famous hymn, “When I Survey the Wondrous Cross,” was included in *ELHB* 1889/1892, complete with its original fourth stanza, which has “habitually been omitted” since the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

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. (*ELHB* 1892, no. 86, stanza 4)

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 “globe” of stanza 4 with related imagery. If even “the whole realm of nature” were to belong to the singer, it would be nothing compared with the surpassing glory of Christ the crucified (Phil. 2:8).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Appendix One indicates that there were 34 hymns by Martin Luther, and Appendix Two shows that there were 43 hymns by Isaac Watts in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912.

<sup>8</sup> Donald Davie notes: “For one sees the point of excision well enough: Watts’ ‘crimson . . . robe’ quite flagrantly refuses to consider the pus and sweat, the scab and the coagulation and the stink; not to speak of the thronging multitude, its jeerings and gawkings, its horse-laugh or worse. But ‘survey’ has signaled in advance that these actualities will be ignored: the crucifixion is to be looked at ‘from, or as from, a height or commanding position,’ from which the sweat cannot be smelt, the horse-laugh cannot be heard.” *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.

<sup>9</sup> 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 Watson, *The English Hymn*, 135 ff. Watts wrote a hymn on Baptism titled “Thus did the Sons of Abraham pass,” with the superscription: “Written only for

The advancements that Watts brought to English hymnody were substantial. First, Watts legitimized the Christological reading of the psalter in metrical translations. Prior to Watts, various metrical psalters had focused only on strict accuracy in translation from the Old Testament, with no Christological interpretation included. In contrast, Watts described his revolutionary approach in the preface to his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707):

After this manner should I rejoice to see a good part of the Book of Psalms fitted for the use of our Churches, and David converted into a Christian; . . .<sup>10</sup>

Thus, for example, in his *The Psalms of David* (1719), Watts' metrical translation of the second part of Psalm 72 (vs. 8 ff.) reads this Old Testament psalm through Christ:

Jesus shall reign where e'er the Sun  
Does his successive Journeys run;  
His Kingdom stretch from Shore to Shore,  
Till Moons shall wax and wane no more.<sup>11</sup> (cf. *ELHB* 1912, no. 483, stanza 1)

The second significant advancement that Watts brought to English hymnody was the legitimization of hymn texts on biblical texts or themes beyond the Old Testament Psalter or New Testament Canticles. As Watts noted:

Since there are some Christians who are not yet perswaded that it is lawful to sing any thing in Divine Worship, but a meer Version of some part of the Word of God, I have subjoyned a Discourse for the satisfaction of their Consciences wherein I indeavour to prove, that the Duty of Singing under the Gospel is not confin'd to the *Jewish* Psalms, or any other Scriptural Songs, but that Hymns of human Composure suited to the clear *Revelations* of the New Testament, are encouraged by the Word of God, and most necessary for Christian Churches, that desire to worship Christ in the Beauty of Holiness, and praise him for the Wonders of redeeming Grace.<sup>12</sup>

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those who practise [*sic*] the Baptism of Infants.” Selma L. Bishop, *Isaac Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 1707–1748* (London: The Faith Press, 1962), 299–300.

<sup>10</sup> Isaac Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs: In Three Books . . .* (London: Printed by J. Humfreys, for John Lawrence, 1707), x.

<sup>11</sup> Isaac Watts, *The Psalms of David, Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and Apply'd to the Christian State and Worship* (London: J. Clark, 1719), 186.

<sup>12</sup> Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, xiii.

Of course, German Lutherans had already been singing Christological psalter hymns as well as hymns on a variety of biblical texts for nearly two hundred years. Thus, it is no wonder that when they started speaking English toward the end of the nineteenth century, they would have a natural affinity for the Christocentric and biblical hymn texts of Isaac Watts.

The colors that Watts introduced to English hymnody were to have a profound impact on those who followed him. Fellow Calvinist nonconformists such as Philip Doddridge (1702–51), Joseph Hoskins (1745–88), and even Baptist nonconformists such as Anne Steele (1716–78) and Benjamin Beddome (1711–95), all drew upon and expanded the sung legacy founded by Watts.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps nothing expanded on the heritage of Watts more—indeed, creating a legacy of their own—than the hymns and hymn translations of Charles Wesley (1707–88) and John Wesley (1703–91), leaders of the Evangelical Revival in Great Britain during the eighteenth-century.<sup>14</sup> Though the vast majority of the estimated 7,000 hymns of Charles Wesley (fashioned mostly on the battlefield of outdoor revival preaching) never measured up to the literary quality of Watts, they did considerably expand the hymn writer’s prerogative to appeal to human emotions through the imagery and rhetoric employed. In short, Wesley’s hymns have been

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<sup>13</sup> Watson, *The English Hymn*, 171–204. Additionally, Benson notes: “Upon the production of hymns also Dr. Watts’ work exercised a great influence, not wholly for good. The art that hides art beneath apparent simplicity seems to the observer to be the most imitable of all literary forms: and a success so striking as that of Watts inevitably breeds imitators. Moreover, the reiterated assurances of Watts’ prefaces that his hymns were not poetry, but only measured verse written down to the level of the meanest capacity, were a distinct encouragement to many who could not write poetry to believe they could write hymns. In this way Watts’ hymns became a direct model for the construction of other hymns, and he became unconsciously the founder of a school of hymn writers.” *The English Hymn*, 210.

<sup>14</sup> Williston Walker et al. 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.” *A History of the Christian Church*, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985), 598. 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.

described as full of metaphorical “variety,”<sup>15</sup> “carnal,”<sup>16</sup> and simply “different.”<sup>17</sup> 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 hymn books 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.<sup>18</sup>

Except for those of Watts, Wesley’s twenty-seven hymns number greater than those of any other English-language hymn writer’s included in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912, more than any of the German hymn writers other than Martin Luther. Perhaps the best-known of Wesley’s hymns is “O for a Thousand Tongues to Sing” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 108), and it aptly illustrates many of the features described above by Marshall.

For instance, Wesley’s use of hymns to narrate the conversion process is underscored by the hymn’s original superscription as found in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1740): “For the

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<sup>15</sup> Watson, 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.” *The English Hymn*, 224.

<sup>16</sup> Davie, *The Eighteenth-Century Hymn in England*, 57 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Marshall, *Common Hymnsense*, 45–64.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 45–46.

Anniversary Day of One's Conversion."<sup>19</sup> Such a title reflects the context of the Evangelical Revival in which the Wesleys were prominent, and a number of Wesley's original eighteen stanzas highlight their Arminian 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 expir'd the legal Strife,  
'Twas then I ceas'd to grieve,  
My Second, Real, Living Life  
I then began to live.

I found, and own'd his Promise true,  
Ascertain'd of my Part,  
My Pardon pass'd in Heav'n I knew  
When written on my Heart.<sup>20</sup>

Of course, August Crull and other *ELHB* editors omitted these stanzas (as had many Protestant hymnal editors before them), retaining only seven out of the original eighteen. And yet, in spite of their revivalist origins, twenty-seven of Wesley's hymns found a resonance with the editors of the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus. The reasons for such a resonance become clear when one considers the genesis of Wesley's hymn writing career and the influence of German pietist hymn writers.

Charles' brother, John, was the first of the two to put his hand to hymn writing—or, more precisely, hymn translating. The context was the missionary expedition that the two brothers undertook to Savannah, Georgia, in 1735. On the ship crossing the Atlantic, they travelled with a

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<sup>19</sup> John Wesley and Charles Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London: Printed by W. Strahan and sold by James Hutton, 1740), 120. J. R. Watson, ed. also notes: "The importance of his conversion for Charles Wesley is indicated by the fact that he kept the day in remembrance each year. . . . This is a classic statement of the 'new birth' associated with conversion; since Charles Wesley had experienced this on 21 May 1738, it seems likely that the hymn was written a year later." *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 167–68.

<sup>20</sup> Wesley and Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 120–21.

group of Moravian Pietists, whom the Wesleys quickly befriended and began to learn their language. Although the Wesleys would break with the Moravians by 1740, years later John recalled:

It was between fifty and sixty years ago that, by the gracious providence of God, my brother and I, in our voyage to America, became acquainted with the (so-called) Moravian Brethren. We quickly took knowledge what spirit they were of; six and twenty of them being in the same ship with us. We not only contracted much esteem, but a strong affection, for them. Every day we conversed with them, and consulted them on all occasions. I translated many of their hymns, for the use of our own congregations. Indeed, as I durst not implicitly follow any man, I did not take all that lay before me, but selected those which I judged to be most scriptural, and most suitable to sound experience.<sup>21</sup>

In 1737, John published his *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, the first Methodist hymnal to be printed in America.<sup>22</sup> Of the twenty-seven hymns included, five contained the superscription “From the German.”<sup>23</sup> By 1742, Wesley would go on to translate and publish thirty-three hymns from the German—four by Paul Gerhardt, and the rest by Pietists or proto-Pietists, from Johann Scheffler (1624–77) to Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60).<sup>24</sup> All thirty-three of John Wesley’s hymn translations were made from Zinzendorf’s *Das Gesang-Buch der Gemeinde in*

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<sup>21</sup> Henry Bett, *The Hymns of Methodism*, 3rd ed. (London: The Epworth Press, 1945), 18.

<sup>22</sup> John Wesley, *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (Charlestown, SC: Lewis Timothy, 1737).

<sup>23</sup> Bett, *The Hymns of Methodism*, 16.

<sup>24</sup> John Nuelsen, notes: “All the hymns he [John Wesley] translated are contained in the Moravian Hymn Book. The German tunes, which he had printed later, were taken from that of Freylinghausen. Both books belong to Pietist days and therefore bear the stamp of the subjective devotional hymn. The authors of the hymns belong to that period. Beginning with Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676) who provides four hymns, and Johann Scheffler (Angelus Silesius) (1624–1677) likewise with four hymns, two poets to be sure who stand at the outset of the transition from the confessional to the devotional hymn, but in whom a consuming love for Jesus strikes the all-dominant note; these are followed by Ernst Lange (1650–1727), Joachim Lange (1670–1744), Winckler (1670–1722), Dessler (1660–1722), Gmelin (1679–1707), Gotter (1661–1735), G. Arnold (1666–1714), Rothe (1688–1758), each with one hymn; C. F. Richter (1676–1711), Tersteegen (1697–1769) and Freylinghausen (1670–1739) with two each; and from among the Moravians, Zinzendorf himself (1700–1760) with eight hymns, that is more than any of the others, Spangenberg (1704–1792), Anna Dober (1713–1739) and Maria Böhmer (died 1743) have one hymn each.” *John Wesley and the German Hymn*, trans. Theo Parry, Sydney H. Moore, and Arthur Holbrook (Calverley, Yorkshire: A. S. Holbrook, 1972), 43.

*Herrn-Hut* (Herrnhut, 1735), the hymnal he was first introduced to by his Moravian shipmates.<sup>25</sup> (For more on this hymnal, see above, Chapter Four, page 191.)

When Charles Wesley began his hymn writing career in 1738, he carried forward many of the same thematic and literary motifs that his brother, John, had gleaned from Moravian hymnody. Marshall and Todd suggest that the Moravian influence on the hymn writing of the Wesleys was more than merely intermediary, arguing that the thematic and literary characteristics of Moravian hymnody were unique in the comparative history of hymnology and eventually came to form an integral part of the Wesleys' hymn writing. They conclude:

The Moravian influence on the Wesley hymn . . . was manifold. The German group inspired the Wesleys to learn German and exposed them to a variety of German hymns and their use. The Wesleys profited. The Moravians also provided a model for the adaptation of the seventeenth-century hymn to mid-eighteenth-century thought. Charles Wesley was to follow much the same procedure.<sup>26</sup>

Chapter Four demonstrated the existence and impact of a significant “outer band” of pietist hymnody present in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 German-language hymn corpus, a stream of German hymnody received from Walther's *KELG* 1847. The expressive yet familiar language of such pietist hymnody, not to mention the prioritization of the individual believer's religious experience, as well as the actual translations by John Wesley of beloved German hymns that were available—all provided the German-born editors of the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus with a built-in affinity for the English-language hymnic expressions of the Wesleys and

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<sup>25</sup> Bett, *The Hymns of Methodism*, 11–17, 30–33. Three of John Wesley's hymn translations were included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus: “Jesus, Thy Boundless Love to Me” (*ELHB* 84) and “Commit Thou All Thy Grievs” (*ELHB* 1889/1892, no. 339) by Paul Gerhardt, and “Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness” (*ELHB* 326) by Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf.

<sup>26</sup> Marshall and Todd, *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century*, 22–23. Watson concurs, noting that: “Wesley's German translations offer new possibilities to the world of eighteenth-century hymnody. To the experience of Tate and Brady, of Baxter, Addison and Watts, the world of Puritan devotion, high seriousness, and Newtonian physico-theology, they import an entirely new element—the spectacular: ‘Jesu, thy blood and righteousness / My beauty are, my glorious dress: / ‘Midst flaming world, in these array'd / With joy shall I lift up my head.’” *The English Hymn*, 212–13.

those who followed.

Other hymn writers of this period were influenced, to one degree or another, by the trends established in the Wesleys' 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” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 93).<sup>27</sup> 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, where he authored “Now the Shades of Night Are Gone” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 26).<sup>28</sup> All in all, the latter half of the eighteenth century became 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<sup>29</sup>**

The theological emphases of the mid-eighteenth-century Evangelical Revival—the atonement, personal conversion, and the authority of Scripture (in opposition to English Deism)—were carried forward by Anglican divines into the nineteenth century and beyond.<sup>30</sup> In particular, three hymn writers stand out within this stream toward the end of the eighteenth century: Newton, Cowper, and Toplady.

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<sup>27</sup> A. B. G.[rosart], “Perronet, Edward,” in John Julian, ed. *Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations* (London: John Murray, 1907), 889 ff.

<sup>28</sup> F. M. B.[ird] “Occom, Samson,” in Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 855.

<sup>29</sup> Here we are using the word “Evangelicals” in a narrower sense to denote those in the Church of England toward the end of the eighteenth century who carried forward the emphases of the Evangelical Revival from earlier in the century—whether Calvinist, Arminian, or moderating in persuasion. Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys*, vol. 1, *A History of Evangelicalism: People, Movements and Ideas in the English-Speaking World* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 195–202, describes the growth of evangelical teachings in the established church and the rise of “Anglican Evangelicals” during the period 1770–1795, including John Newton and William Cowper.

<sup>30</sup> See “Evangelicalism,” in F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 486.

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 12. 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 various nonconformists. In spite of his lack of a formal education, Newton became a thoroughgoing Calvinist and was eventually ordained in the Church of England as the curate of Olney in Buckinghamshire.<sup>31</sup> The pastorate at Olney brought many challenges in ministering to the poor and illiterate of his congregation. Offering Sunday schools for children and weekly meetings for the adults, Newton wrote his *Olney Hymns* (1779) with these extra-liturgical occasions in mind.<sup>32</sup>

As a result 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* 1912, no. 464), among Newton's finest, exhibits this sermon hymn pattern.<sup>33</sup> Based on Isaiah 33:20–21, stanzas 1 through 3 paraphrase the biblical text, describing Zion as "the Rock of ages founded," with "streams of living waters / Springing from eternal love." At stanza 4, Newton explains the text's relevance to his hearers:

Blest inhabitants of Zion,  
Wash'd in the Redeemer's blood!  
Jesus, whom their souls rely on,  
Makes them kings and priests to God:

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<sup>31</sup> Bernard Braley, *Hymnwriters 2* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1989), 1–21.

<sup>32</sup> Marshall and Todd, *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century*, 91.

<sup>33</sup> See Appendix Eleven, page 477, for the full text of this hymn as it appears in *ELHB* 1912.

‘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.<sup>34</sup>

Newton is intent on bringing home the Christocentric nature and purpose of Isaiah’s text 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 thro’ grace a member am;  
Let the world deride or pity,  
I will glory in thy name . . .<sup>35</sup>

The strict Calvinist emphasis on election is apparent in the first line, altered in *ELHB*

1889/1892/1912 (and many other nineteenth-century hymnals) to read: “Savior, *since* of Zion’s city . . .” Yet, the result is “a grand hymn, an exercise in the sublime.”<sup>36</sup>

William 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.<sup>37</sup> Although many of Cowper’s hymn texts are fairly tame, one also at times encounters a kind of bold, “living on the edge” quality as, for instance, one sees in “There Is a Fountain Filled with Blood”:

There is a fountain filled with blood,  
Drawn from Immanuel’s veins;

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<sup>34</sup> John Newton and William Cowper, *Olney Hymns, in Three Books* (London: W. Oliver, 1779), 76.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>36</sup> Watson, ed., *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns*, 218.

<sup>37</sup> Bernard Braley summarizes Cowper’s struggles as follows: “Cowper (he is pronounced Cooper), the first man of letters to become a major hymn writer and one of the very small handful who ever did, was of course the only man in the parish on Newton’s intellectual level. He was naturally Newton’s closest friend, but for other reasons his most difficult and demanding parishioner, for Cowper was a pathological depressive, haunted by a sense of guilt and failure, whose mind became gradually more and more clouded until in his last decade he was to all intents and purposes insane.” *Hymnwriters I* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1987), 29–53. Routley, *A Panorama of Christian Hymnody*, 81.

And sinners, plunged beneath that flood,  
Lose all their guilty stains. (*ELHB* 1912, no. 200, stanza 1)

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.” 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 207.) Cowper simply pushed it farther, perhaps even a little over the edge.

Augustus Montague Toplady (1741–78), another thoroughgoing Calvinist minister in the Church of England, 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 *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912.<sup>38</sup>

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. (*ELHB* 1912, no. 325, stanza 1)

Drawing on the Johannine Passion Narrative (John 19:34–37; cf. 1 John 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 references the “water and the blood” from line three as the cleansing remedy to “guilt and power” in the final line.

The hymns of Toplady and other English Evangelicals during this period laid the groundwork for congregational song during the nineteenth century. For although hymn singing had expanded beyond the monochromatic palette of metrical psalmody into the shades and hues

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<sup>38</sup> See Appendix Eleven, page 528, for the full text of this hymn as it appears in *ELHB* 1912.

of Watts, 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.<sup>39</sup> The Church of England had authorized Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* to guide its liturgical life, but 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 29 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.<sup>40</sup>

Only a few years later, another important effort to reform the worship of the Church of

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<sup>39</sup> 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. See also Thomas K. McCart, who notes: “By the end of the eighteenth century it was widely believed that there were two authorized versions of metrical psalms that could be used in the liturgy, that of Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins and that of Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady. There was also a growing belief that hymns were not prohibited, though perhaps they were not strictly authorized either. The fact that some believed no metrical version of the Psalms was authorized only added to the complexity of the controversy. Although the issue of the authorization of hymns for use in the liturgy emerged gradually out of a number of other concerns, from 1800 on it became the central issue, eventually becoming the basis for a legal challenge and determination by the courts.” *The Matter and Manner of Praise: The Controversial Evolution of Hymnody in the Church of England 1760–1820*, vol. 5, Drew Studies in Liturgy Series (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 1998), xv.

<sup>40</sup> Ian Bradley, *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 1997), 15–16.

England—the Oxford Movement—would intersect with this and other official authorizations for expanded hymn singing. The results would bestow upon the Church catholic, and thus English Missouri, a flowering of English hymnody previously unknown.

### **The Oxford Movement and *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861)**

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*.<sup>41</sup> Also known as “Tractarians” because of the numerous tracts they published, these Anglicans sought, among other things, to restore the Romantic 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 Henry Newman), many of the movement’s emphases were carried forward into the Church’s life—especially in the flood of hymns pouring forth during this period.<sup>42</sup>

At first glance, one would not expect high church Anglicans in the 1830s to 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.

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<sup>41</sup> Walter H. Conser notes: “On 14 July 1833, forty-four years to the date that the Bastille was stormed, John Keble ascended a pulpit and delivered his famous sermon on ‘National Apostasy.’ . . . Since the legislature, which need no longer be composed of church members, had ratified the view that the Church of England was but one sect among others, had not the church, Keble asked, become a creature of the state, ‘a mere Parliamentary Church.’ . . . Here was the national apostasy, in Keble’s view. The process in which the ‘apostolical church’ had become a slave of state bondage had to be reversed.” *Church and Confession: Conservative Theologians in Germany, England, and America, 1815–1866* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 170–71.

<sup>42</sup> A number of Tractarian hymn writers from this period whose hymns were included in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 and who eventually left the Church of England for Roman Catholicism include: Matthew Bridges (1800–94), Henry John Pye (1825–1903), Frederick W. Faber (1814–63) and Edward Caswall (1814–78).

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.<sup>43</sup>

Although he died before Keble's famous sermon, Anglican Reginald Heber (1783–1826) prepared the way in 1820 when he assembled a collection of 98 hymns for his parish at Hodnet in Shropshire. Fifty-seven were his own, and the rest were by other Anglicans with impeccable credentials, including Thomas Ken (1637–1711), 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.<sup>44</sup>

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. Four of Heber's most famous hymns were included in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912: "Brightest and Best of the Sons of the Morning" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 181); "God Who Madest Earth and Heaven" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 44), modified by Richard Whately, ca. 1860; "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord, God Almighty!" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 263); and "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 474).

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<sup>43</sup> Bradley, *Abide with Me*, 22.

<sup>44</sup> Braley, *Hymnwriters 1*, 68–72.

An even greater contribution to the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus (with fifteen 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” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 187); “Come, to Calvary's Holy Mountain” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 212); “Go to Dark Gethsemane” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 199); and “Hail to the Lord's Anointed” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 132). 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”:

A hymn ought to be as regular in its structure as any other poem; it should have a distinct subject, and that subject should be simple, not complicated, so that whatever skill or labour might be required in the author to develop his plan, there should be little or none required on the part of the reader to understand it. Consequently, a hymn must have a 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; every line carrying forward the connection and every verse adding a well-proportioned limb to a symmetrical body.<sup>45</sup>

Montgomery's 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 translators of Greek and Latin hymnody. Along with Richard Mant (1776–1848) and other like-minded translators, Neale and other Tractarians sought to reclaim the Church's ancient office hymns for English speakers. (For more on the work of Neale and other translators, see below, pages 233–40.)

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<sup>45</sup> James Montgomery, *The Christian Psalmist: Or, Hymns, Selected and Original*, 7th ed. (Glasgow: William Collins, 1832), xiv–xv.

In 1861, Tractarian hymnody and the best of recent English hymnody from a variety of sources were combined to become the first truly “national” hymnal for the Church of England: *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. During the decades preceding *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, myriad hymnals had been published as collections of parish favorites. An anonymous letter in *The English Churchman* from 1862 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!<sup>46</sup>

The above writer did not see much use for *Hymns Ancient and Modern* either. Yet, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* eventually succeeded precisely because it was *not* a private collection but rather a collection of the best hymnody from 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) all made their unique contributions.<sup>47</sup> The result was the beginning of a line of hymnals, published in successive editions, which harvested the rich flowering of Victorian hymnody during the second half of the nineteenth century and has continued in publication even into the twenty-first century.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> 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, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 97. Emphasis original.

<sup>47</sup> A number of hymns from these writers were included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus, among them: Wordsworth’s “Songs of Thankfulness and Praise” (*ELHB* 184); How’s “We Give Thee but Thine Own” (*ELHB* 361), “Jesus, Name of Wondrous Love!” (*ELHB* 178), and “O Word of God Incarnate” (*ELHB* 113); and Ellerton’s “Savior, Again to Thy Dear Name We Raise” (*ELHB* 16).

<sup>48</sup> See the latest edition: *Ancient & Modern: Hymns and Songs for Refreshing Worship* (London: Hymns Ancient & Modern, 2013).

## The Flowering of Victorian Hymnody

In 1837, just four years after Keble's sermon 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 *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and other collections.

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 draws some helpful distinctions. He observes 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. Finally, 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.<sup>49</sup>

A plethora of Victorian-era hymn writers is found in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus, and it is not surprising that their Victorian-era hymns would appeal to editors assembling a hymnal at the close of the Victorian era. Nor should it be surprising that the theological emphases identified above by Bradley would find a certain resonance with Missouri Lutheran theology.

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<sup>49</sup> Bradley, *Abide with Me*, 110–23.

Scottish Presbyterian, Horatius Bonar (1808–99), registered the greatest number of hymns from this period.<sup>50</sup> Bonar was a bright, burly, and energetic minister of the Free Church of Scotland and wrote over 600 hymns for a variety of purposes and occasions, nearly a hundred of which were in common usage throughout the English-speaking world by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Frequently rich in imagery and emotionally powerful, his texts were also strongly doctrinal and focused on the love of God in Christ Jesus. “I try to fill my hymns with the love and light of Christ,” he once said.<sup>52</sup>

Bonar is followed by the Anglican divine Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847), whose “Abide With Me! Fast Falls the Eventide” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40) exemplifies many of the themes identified by Bradley above.<sup>53</sup> Published in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) with only five stanzas, *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 chose to include three additional stanzas originally penned by Lyte. The Victorian doctrinal/didactic character is typified by such lines as:

Change and decay in all around I see;  
O Thou who changest not, abide with me! (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40, stanza 2)

And,

Where is death’s sting? Where, grave, thy victory?  
I triumph still, if Thou abide with me! (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40, stanza 7)

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

Swift to its close ebbs out life’s little day;  
Earth’s joys grow dim, its glories pass away . . . (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40, stanza 2)

And,

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<sup>50</sup> Eight of Bonar’s hymns were included, among them “Glory be to God the Father” (*ELHB* 268); “All That I Was, My Sin, My Guilt” (*ELHB* 308); “I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say” (*ELHB* 46); “I Lay My Sins on Jesus” (*ELHB* 322); “Not What These Hands Have Done” (*ELHB* 320); “Thy Way, Not Mine, O Lord” (*ELHB* 384); and “Thy Works, Not Mine, O Christ” (*ELHB* 329).

<sup>51</sup> J.[ohn] B.[rownlie], “Bonar, Horatius,” in Julian, ed., *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 161.

<sup>52</sup> Ernest Edwin Ryden, *The Story of Christian Hymnody* (Rock Island, IL: Augustana Press, 1959), 399.

<sup>53</sup> See Appendix Eleven, page 453, for the full text of this hymn as it appears in *ELHB* 1912.

Heaven's morning breaks, and earth's vain shadows flee;  
In life, in death, O Lord, abide with me! (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40, stanza 8)

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! (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40, stanza 6)

And,

Hold Thou Thy cross before my closing eyes,  
Shine through the gloom, and point me to the skies . . . (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40, stanza 8)

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 . . . (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40, stanza 4)

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. (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40, stanza 3)

Another significant aspect of Victorian hymnody was the prominence of women hymn writers who contributed. J. R. Watson notes:

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.<sup>54</sup>

Hymns from a number of women hymn writers in the Victorian genre found their way into the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus, including hymns by 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

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<sup>54</sup> Watson, *The English Hymn*, 422.

Irons (1855–1928); Jane Eliza Leeson (1807–82); Julia Anne Elliott (1809–41); and Margaret Mackay (1802–87). Concerning these Victorian women 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.<sup>55</sup>

Among the hymn writers listed above, Charlotte Elliott perhaps best resembles the “sickly spinster” variety. Her hymn, “Just as I Am, without One Plea” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 318), 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.”<sup>56</sup> 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” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 358) was first published in 1868 in a supplement to *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. 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.”<sup>57</sup>

### The American Contribution

While the vast majority of English-language hymns included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus came from the British Isles, 41 (12%) were of North American origin—a handful from the eighteenth century, but most from the nineteenth. Three categories of American hymn writers rise to the fore: mainstream Protestant, revivalist, and American Lutheran hymn writers. Among the mainstream Protestant hymn writers, the best known would be the Congregationalist minister Ray Palmer (1808–87), who wrote “My Faith Looks Up to Thee” (*ELHB* 1912, no.

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<sup>55</sup> Bradley, *Abide with Me*, 91.

<sup>56</sup> J.[ames] D.[avidson], “Elliott, Charlotte,” in Julian, ed., *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 328.

<sup>57</sup> “Alderson, Eliza Sibbald,” in Julian, ed., *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 38.

351). Palmer wrote this hymn right after he graduated from Yale in 1830, giving the text to Lowell Mason (1792–1872), who then wrote the tune OLIVET and published them together the following year.<sup>58</sup> Tune and text have been inseparably wed ever since.

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 (1792–1875) toward the middle of the century, and in a second wave as revivalist models continued toward the end of the century with the work of Dwight L. Moody (1837–99) and Ira D. Sankey (1840–1908).<sup>59</sup> 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),<sup>60</sup> 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 was the inclusion of “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 395). Though August Crull did not include this hymn in *ELHB* 1889, it was among the fifty additional hymns added to *ELHB* 1892, yet with the authorship designated with a simple “?”. It was not until the 1905 printing of *ELHB* 1892, that the hymn was designated as having been written by Joseph Scriven (1820–86). Of course, Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1 to*

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<sup>58</sup> F. M. B.[ird], “Palmer, Ray,” in Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 877.

<sup>59</sup> Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

<sup>60</sup> E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*, revised ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 225 f. See also David A. Gustafson, *Lutherans in Crisis: The Question of Identity in the American Republic* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993).

6 (1894) and the accompanying Moody/Sankey revivals had popularized this hymn throughout America. So it was that a song from late-nineteenth-century revivalism, which Missouri had so vehemently rejected, managed at least to get its camel's nose through the back door of Missouri Lutheran hymnody, albeit initially unnoticed. (See below, Chapter Six).

While 31 of the 41 hymn texts from American authors in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 were penned by Protestants of varying stripes, the remaining ten hymns were penned by English-speaking American Lutherans. None of these Lutheran hymn writers was from the Missouri Synod, although some were from the Synodical Conference. Their contribution was both statistically significant as well as qualitatively unique.

Five hymns by Matthias Loy (1828–1915) were included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus. Best known for his “The Law of God Is Good and Wise” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 115) and “The Gospel Shows the Father’s Grace” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 116), Loy was born in Pennsylvania and eventually become 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 Ohio Synod seminary in Columbus, Ohio, Loy joined Walther at the formation of the Synodical Conference in Gravelton, Missouri, in 1872, but eventually opposed him during the Predestinarian Controversy of the 1880s that divided the Ohio and Missouri synods.<sup>61</sup> However, a number of the Ohio Synod’s English-speaking pastors, who found themselves siding with Walther and Missouri in the Predestinarian 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. (See above, Chapter Two, page 61.) Nevertheless, the English-

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<sup>61</sup> Fred L. Precht, *Lutheran Worship: Hymnal Companion* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 682–83. See also Loy’s autobiography, Matthias Loy, *The Story of My Life* (Columbus, OH: Lutheran Book Concern, 1905); and C. George Fry and Joel R. Kurz, *The Americanization Process in the Second Generation: The*

speaking Missourians saw fit to include a number of Loy’s original English hymns in their hymnal, in addition to a greater number of his translations of German hymns.<sup>62</sup>

One other noteworthy English-language Lutheran contribution to the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus was the hymn by Henry Eyster Jacobs (1844–1932), “Nearer, My God, to Thee, Through Word and Sacrament” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 324). 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*.<sup>63</sup>

The inclusion of Jacob’s version of “Nearer, My God, to Thee” in *ELHB* 1912 demonstrates a fascinating adaptation of a Protestant hymn text toward a clearer Lutheran proclamation of salvation and the Means of Grace. The original text was written by Sarah Flower Adams (1805–48), who belonged to a Unitarian congregation in London where the hymn was first published with five stanzas. Adams’ first stanza reads as follows:

Nearer, my God, to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!  
E’en though it be a cross  
That raiseth me;  
Still all my song shall be,  
Nearer, my God, to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee! (*ELHB* 1889, 357, stanza 1)

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*German Lutheran Matthias Loy (1828–1915) Caught Between Adaptation and Repristinization* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 151–54, 219–43.

<sup>62</sup> Fry and Kurz note: “The *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal* [1880] contained four hundred sixty-eight hymns, largely translations from the German, of which Loy had translated eighteen. . . . Loy also wrote twenty original hymns which have been widely used in the Lutheran Church. Some of these were for Holy Communion . . . and Baptism . . . Several dealt with the Bible . . . Confirmation . . . and a Christian’s daily duty . . . Others were composed for festivals of the church year . . .” *The Americanization Process in the Second Generation*, 158–59.

<sup>63</sup> Henry Eyster Jacobs, Charles Porterfield Krauth, and Charles Frederick Schaeffer, *The Book of Concord, or the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Translated from the Original Languages, with Notes* (Philadelphia: G. W. Frederick, 1882).

At first glance, the line “E’en though it be a cross . . .” would appear to reference the atonement. However, the remaining four stanzas make such a reading problematic, as they focus on the trials of the singer in her heavenward progress. J. R. Watson notes:

Its Unitarian origins are seen in the third line where the Cross is not the sign of the Atonement but the Cross of earthly trouble and suffering. . . .

. . . in the nineteenth century . . . William Walsham How took it upon himself to write a version beginning “Nearer to Thee, my God,” which he described as “a paraphrase of Mrs. Adams’s hymn, expressing more definitely Christian faith . . .”<sup>64</sup>

Although August Crull included Adams’ hymn in *ELHB* 1889, it appears that the Anglican William Walsham How (1823–97) was not the only hymn lover who had theological misgivings about the Adams text. Among the fifty hymns added to the back of *ELHB* 1892, a rewrite of the Adams hymn by a Dutch Reformed clergyman, Hervey Doddridge Ganse (1822–91), was also included.<sup>65</sup> While the first stanza was left unchanged, Ganse appended three new stanzas:

Nearer, my Lord, to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee,  
Who to Thy cross didst come  
Dying for me!  
Strengthen my willing feet!  
Hold me in service sweet  
Nearer, O Christ to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!

Nearer, O Comforter,  
Nearer to Thee!  
Who with my loving Lord  
Dwellest with me!  
Grant me Thy fellowship!  
Help me each day to keep  
Nearer, my Guide, to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!

But to be nearer still,

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<sup>64</sup> Watson, ed., *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns*, 282.

<sup>65</sup> For more on Ganse, see F. M. B.[ird], “Ganse, Hervey Doddridge,” in Julian, ed., *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 404, 1639.

Bring me, O God!  
 Not by the visioned steeps  
 Angels have trod.  
 Here where Thy cross I see  
 Jesus, I wait for Thee,  
 Then evermore to be  
 Nearer to Thee! (*ELHB* 1892, 448, stanzas 2–4)

Ganse reshaped Adams’ hymn into a Trinitarian form, with stanza 1 now read as addressed to the Father; stanza 2 addressed to the Son, who died on the cross “for me”; and stanza 3 addressed to the Holy Spirit, the “Comforter.” Ganse’s stanza 4 turns Adams’ original concluding stanza on its head, pointing at the time of death *not* to “visioned steeps,” where “angels have trod,” but rather to the sufficiency of Christ’s cross, where the singer will wait “evermore to be / Nearer to Thee!”

The publication of *SSH* 1901 signaled a break with the Adams text. It omitted the Adams text completely, included the Ganse text, but then introduced yet another text by Henry Eyster Jacobs. *ELHB* 1912 would do the same thing. The inclusion of the text by Jacobs brought the evolution of “Nearer, My God, to Thee!” to a Lutheran *telos*. In stanza one, Jacobs squarely points the singer to the Lutheran understanding of where God has promised to draw near: in Word and Sacrament:

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.<sup>66</sup> (*ELHB* 1912, no. 324, stanza 1)

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<sup>66</sup> It should be noted that the Ganse text contains an additional line after line six, for a total of eight lines as compared to seven lines in Adams’ original or Jacobs’ rewrite. This has to do with the competing tunes that were popular with these texts. In Great Britain, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) assigned the tune HORN BURY to the Adams text, and since the Jacobs text was also written with seven lines, *ELHB* 1912 followed suit in assigning HORN BURY to the Jacobs text. In America, however, the tune BETHANY, by Lowell Mason, was popular with the Adams text, with the addition of an extra “Nearer, my God, to Thee” at line seven. Thus *ELHB* 1912 assigned the

Stanza's two through five focus on God's work on behalf of man through the order of salvation: from before creation (stanza 2), to the incarnation (stanza 3), to the atonement and resurrection (stanza 4), and to the ascension (stanza 5).

Ages on ages rolled,  
Ere earth appeared,  
Yet Thine unmeasured love  
The way prepared;  
E'en then Thou yearn'st for me  
That I might nearer be,  
Nearer to Thee!

Thy Son has come to earth,  
My sin to bear,  
My every wound to heal,  
My pain to share.  
"God in the flesh" for me,  
Brings me now nearer Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!

Lo! all my debt is paid,  
My guilt is gone.  
See! He has risen for me,  
My throne is won.  
Thanks, O my God, to Thee!  
None now can nearer be.  
Nearer to Thee!

Welcome, then, to Thy home,  
Blest One in Three!  
As Thou has promised, come!  
Come, Lord, to me!  
Work, Thou, O God, through me,  
Live, Thou, O God, in me,  
Ever in me! (*ELHB* 1912, no. 324, stanzas 2–5)

Stanza six, then, focuses on Holy Baptism as the means by which the singer has been made God's child and the Lord's Supper as the means by which God's love is brought to the singer and the singer brought nearer to God:

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Mason tune BETHANY to the Ganse text, which had been written with eight lines. See Maurice Frost, ed. *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient & Modern* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1962), 327.

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! (*ELHB* 1912, no. 324, stanza 6)

The final stanza concludes with death and eschatology—with the promise that grace will prevail and that the singer will forever be “Nearer to Thee!”:

Surely it matters not  
What earth may bring,  
Death is of no account,  
Grace will I sing.  
Nothing remains for me,  
Save to be nearer Thee,  
Nearer to Thee! (*ELHB* 1912, no. 324, stanza 7)

The Jacobs text turns Adams’ original completely on its head. Whereas with the Adams text the singer is throughout striving to draw near to God, in the Jacobs text, God is constantly at work, through all of history and into the present, drawing the sinner near to him. Although the Ganse text is clearly Trinitarian and contains a Christocentric focus, the Jacobs text is clearly Christocentric *and* sacramental. As such, the Jacobs version of this Protestant hymn provided a qualitatively unique contribution to the *ELHB* 1912 hymn corpus: a distinctively American Lutheran redrafting of a Unitarian hymn in a sea of Protestant hymnody.<sup>67</sup>

### **The Translators**

The flowering of Victorian hymnody in Great Britain and the swelling of American hymnody on the other side of the Atlantic yielded a virtual mountain of new, original, English-language hymn texts for the editors of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 to consider. Yet, a significant

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<sup>67</sup> For a fascinating discussion of a similar revision of hymn texts between the doctrinal poles of Calvinism and Arminianism, see the chapter ““Grace for *All*”? or ‘Grace for *Us*’?” in Richard Arnold, *The English Hymn: Studies in a Genre* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 165–92.

additional component, unparalleled in previous centuries of English-language hymnody, was also harvested during this fertile period: the metrical translation into English of ancient Latin and Greek hymnody, as well as the most significant German-language hymn texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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. Within this renewal movement, John Mason Neale is considered to be “the most important Anglican hymn-writer.”<sup>68</sup> While a student at Cambridge, he co-founded the Cambridge Camden Society (later known as the Ecclesiological Society), which became the Cambridge counterpart to the Oxford (Tractarian) Movement.<sup>69</sup>

Neale was ordained a deacon in 1841 and a priest a year later. From 1846 onward, he served as an administrator at Sackville College, East Grimstead, a home for the aged poor. Neale’s calling at Sackville appears to have afforded him time for his scholarly and literary interests in hymnology and liturgiology. It is said that Neale could read, write, and think in twenty different languages, equipping him better than anyone to bring into English more than 200 hymns from the Greek and Latin texts.<sup>70</sup>

Three ideals stand out from Neale’s method of rendering hymn texts from Latin and Greek into English. First, he focused on translating those hymns that he believed were of particular importance to the British heritage—that is, Latin hymns from the Sarum tradition.

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<sup>68</sup> Watson notes: “John Mason Neale is the most important Anglican hymn-writer—if we except Charles Wesley . . . In *Hymns Ancient and Modern* Neale had over sixty hymns, far outnumbering those of others; and his influence on the subsequent course of hymn-writing, both Anglican and ecumenical, has been considerable.” *The English Hymn*, 373.

<sup>69</sup> Martin D. Stringer, “Style against Structure: The Legacy of John Mason Neale for Liturgical Scholarship,” *Studia Liturgica* 27, no. 2 (1997): 236.

<sup>70</sup> Marilyn Kay Stulken, ed. *Hymnal Companion to the Lutheran Book of Worship* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 135.

Second, he considered it an absolute necessity to render his English translations in the same meter and rhyme scheme as the original Latin, and he was quite critical of translations that failed in this regard. And third, Neale believed that the ancient Latin texts should be sung today to the original Gregorian melodies, finding particular merit in “the rolls of sound which accompany the elongation of syllables.”<sup>71</sup> Such ideals, however, were impossible to maintain when it came to his translations of Greek hymns, which presented a different set of linguistic and poetic issues.

The English translations of Latin and Greek hymn texts by Neale and many others during this period—including Edward Caswall (1814–78), Robert Campbell (1814–68), and Henry Williams Baker (1821–77)—enriched Missouri Lutheran hymnody considerably. Whereas Missouri’s German hymn corpus contained only a handful of translations from Latin hymnody (e.g., Luther’s translation of Ambrose’s “Veni, Redemptor gentium” and Gerhardt’s adaptation of Bernard of Clairvaux’s “Salve, caput cruentatum”), the editors of the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus now had hundreds of Latin and Greek hymn texts available in metrical English, from which they selected over two dozen for inclusion. The topics and periods range widely: from the Lord’s Supper, e.g., “Draw Nigh and Take the Body of Your Lord” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 427), seventh century, Latin; to Christology, e.g., “Shepherd of Tender Youth” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 448), second century, Greek; to Angelology, e.g., “Stars of the Morning, So Gloriously Bright” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 285), ninth century, Greek. Thus, the hymnody of the Missouri Synod going forward into English was greatly enriched and expanded through the recovery of this catholic heritage of ancient hymnody.

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<sup>71</sup> J. Vincent Higginson, “John Mason Neale and 19th Century Hymnody: His Work and Influence,” *The Hymn* 16 (1965), 126, quoting from an appendix to Higginson’s article containing an excerpt from John Mason Neale, “Hymnal Noted,” *Ecclesiologist* (1851). See also, Michael Chandler, *The Life and Work of John Mason Neale, 1818–1866* (Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing Books, 1995), 171–201.

The greatest contribution of the nineteenth-century's flowering of English-language hymnody, however, was the translation of hundreds of German-language hymns into metrical English. This flurry of metrical hymn translation from the German coincided with a Confessional Renewal Movement in Lutheranism and the concurrent scholarly research, recovery, and publication of original German texts and tunes in Germany. (See Chapter 4 above, page 119.) For the editors of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912, this abundant supply of viable translations provided the means to render their beloved German hymn corpus into English.

The largest contributor of metrical German hymn translations to the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus was Catherine Winkworth (1827–78). Winkworth's parents came from Anglican homes of the Evangelical persuasion. Her oldest sister, Susanna, wrote:

Both parents used often to take us aside to talk to us, pray with us, and explain the Bible to us. The doctrines we were taught were those of the Calvinist Evangelical school of [John] Newton, Romaine, [Augustus Montague] Toplady, etc., but in my mother's teachings, the love of God was so brought out as to almost conceal with its brightness the sterner aspects of the creed to which she too subscribed.<sup>72</sup>

During her formative years, Winkworth was tutored by Unitarian ministers, and her religious views before she began her hymn writing career appear to have resembled the more liberal strain of Anglicanism. Robin Leaver notes, however, that “as time went on, in her own independent way, [Winkworth] came to a more conservative understanding of the Christian faith.”<sup>73</sup> She remained in the Church of England to the end of her life, and shared with broad church Anglicans a dislike of the Tractarian movement, once even writing Richard Massie to the effect that “she didn't like the ‘High Church’ doctrine of the sacraments, which she could not

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<sup>72</sup> Margaret Josephine Shaen, *Memorials of Two Sisters, Susanna and Catherine Winkworth* (London: Longmans, Green, 1908), 8–9.

<sup>73</sup> Robin A. Leaver, *Catherine Winkworth: The Influence of Her Translations on English Hymnody* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 13.

distinguish from the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church.”<sup>74</sup> Winkworth was also, however, critical of the low view of Scripture held by Unitarians, as well as the latent Rationalism perceived in her good friend and mentor, Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen (1791–1860).

In 1846, Catherine and her sister were sent to Dresden to stay with relatives for a year, and it was there that Catherine began her study of the German language and her lifelong friendship with Bunsen. By the early 1850s, Catherine’s skills with the German language were rapidly expanding, and Bunsen regularly encouraged her to work at translating the best of the German hymns into metrical English. The result was *Lyra Germanica: Hymns for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Christian Year* (1855). It was “respectfully and gratefully dedicated” to “His Excellency the Chevalier Bunsen.”<sup>75</sup> In 1833, Bunsen had published his *Versuch eines allgemeinen evangelischen Gesang- und Gebet-buchs* (“An Attempt at a Common Evangelical Hymnal and Prayerbook”) which received wide circulation, and the evidence suggests that Winkworth used Bunsen’s edited collection to establish the text for a great many of her 102 translations in *Lyra Germanica*. Although Winkworth has at times been criticized for omitting certain sacramental stanzas from the original texts, many of these omissions had already occurred in Bunsen’s redaction rather than in Winkworth’s translation.<sup>76</sup>

*Lyra Germanica* was wildly successful, and Winkworth went on to publish several additional collections of German hymn translations, some of them containing improved and

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<sup>74</sup> Leaver, *Catherine Winkworth*, 16. Winkworth also remarked regarding the Roman Catholic Martineau’s critique of Anglicanism: “[Martineau] says that the weak point of the ‘Coleridge set’ among our theologians (i.e., of the Church of England) is in Biblical criticism, and in connecting the doctrine of ‘the Word’ with the historical Jesus of Nazareth. His (Martineau’s) weak point seems to me to be that he does not do it, and he does not seem to feel how absolutely essential a direct revelation in history is, to give principles any power to touch the soul; that we must feel that something has been actually done for us before we can do anything. Nothing else that the knowledge that this is so can ever give a wide and living influence over men’s hearts.” Quotation from a letter dated November 5, 1856, as found in Shaen, *Memorials of Two Sisters*, 162 ff.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 30, quoting Catherine Winkworth, *Lyra Germanica: Hymns for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Christian Year* (London, 1855), v.

expanded translations based on more accurate texts. All totaled, Winkworth provided translations of nearly 400 hymns by more than 170 German authors. Seventy-three of her translations were acknowledged in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus, and other untold fragments of her translations undoubtedly lie in the sixty-five “Composite” translations with uncredited authorship. (See Appendix Three.)

Along with Winkworth, Jane Borthwick (1813–97), John Kelly (1833–90), Frances Elizabeth Cox (1812–97), and others, Richard Massie (1800–87) was one of several significant German hymn translators from Great Britain. The fourth of twenty-two children, Massie was born into a family of means and became known as a man of wealth and leisure, and for being somewhat eccentric.<sup>77</sup>

Massie’s real passion, however, was literature, and he is most remembered for his translation of the hymns of Martin Luther in his *Martin Luther’s Spiritual Songs* (1854). In the preface, Massie described his approach to hymn translation:

My first aim, has been to give the meaning of the original with accuracy and fidelity . . . since the slightest mistake, or, in some cases, even the change of a word, might involve the change of a doctrine . . .

My next aim has been to imitate the simple, idiomatic, biblical language of the original, for any attempt at finery or embellishment would mar the simplicity which constitutes their chief charm. I have also endeavoured . . . to throw an air of archaic dignity over them by using language somewhat older and more quaint than that in common use, . . .<sup>78</sup>

When one considers the task of metrical hymn translation and the tension that exists along a continuum between 1) communicating accuracy of meaning from the source text, and 2) achieving poetic beauty in the target language, Massie’s preference clearly falls toward the

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<sup>76</sup> Leaver, *Catherine Winkworth*, 30–31.

<sup>77</sup> C. T. Aufdemberge, *Christian Worship: Handbook* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1997), 780.

former. Thus, many of his translations have been considered to be somewhat stilted, antiquarian, and “for the most part colourless and flat.”<sup>79</sup>

One of Massie’s awkward translations was evident in the *ELHB* 1889 reviewers’ discussion of his translation of Luther’s “To Shepherds, as They Watched by Night” (*ELHB* 1889, no. 39) and Crull’s solution and removal of the “nefarious ass.”<sup>80</sup> (See above, Chapter Two, page 63.) In spite of such infelicities, the editors of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 included a total of twenty-one translations by Massie—a sign that the editors put a high premium on translational accuracy, especially for the core hymns of Martin Luther. Indeed, seventeen of the hymn translations of the thirty-four hymns by Martin Luther included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 were by Massie.

August Crull’s critical role in editing *ELHB* 1889 was surpassed only by his thoughtful and meticulous translations of German hymns into English—a lifetime output of thirty-eight hymn translations in all, thirty-one of which were included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus. In his editorship of the *ELHB* 1889, Crull relied heavily on the rich harvest of translations by Winkworth, Massie, and John Kelly. However, there were also a number of hymns unique to *KELG* 1847, either for which Crull was unable to find suitable translations or for which no translation existed at that time. Of his thirty-one translations included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus, only two duplicate the nearly four hundred existing translations of Catherine Winkworth, and none of them duplicate the translations of Massie or Kelly. Thus, it would appear that Crull’s translations were selected in and around already existing translations. It would also suggest that Crull’s translations targeted hymns that were important for German Missouri to pass into English, but which were not recognized as important enough to translate

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<sup>78</sup> Richard Massie, *Martin Luther’s Spiritual Songs* (London: Hatchard & Son, 1854), ix.

<sup>79</sup> Watson, *The English Hymn*, 411.

into English by the rest of English-speaking Christendom. In the end, Crull's mastery of German and his love of English literature came together as he created new translations to texts previously unknown to the English-speaking world.

### Conclusions

The panorama of English hymn writers, translators, and their hymns included in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus is truly astonishing. (See Appendix Two.) In one sense, the overall provenance of these texts reflects the inverse of what we observed in Chapter Four with the German-language hymnody. Whereas, in Chapter Four, the vast majority of German-language hymns came from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and very little from the more recent German hymnody of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the case of the English-language hymnody, a sizeable portion came from the eighteenth century and the vast majority from the most recent hymnody of the nineteenth century. If one also includes the various translations in the calculation—considering the hymn translator to be a creative partner in the act of producing a hymn—one could argue that nearly 80% of the hymns in the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus were, either entirely or in part, creations of the nineteenth century.

It is not surprising that the metrical psalmody prior to Watts exercised little influence on the *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 hymn corpus. 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.

Neither is it surprising that the hymns of Watts should outnumber those of any other hymn writer. As the “father of English hymnody,” his nonconformist expansion of what was

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<sup>80</sup> August Crull, “August Crull to William Dallmann, March 29, 1889,” Box 1, Bio File, Concordia Historical

scripturally fair game for hymn writers only mirrored, in many ways, what Lutherans had already been singing in their hymnody for nearly two centuries before him. As such, the hymnody of Watts presented the “perfect fit” for Lutherans who wanted to sing biblical and Christological texts in English.

For eighteenth-century England, the hymns of Wesley added a supersaturated color enrichment to the already Technicolor hymnody that Watts had provided; however, for nineteenth-century English-speaking Missourians, these hymns must have looked and sounded very much like the “outer band” of pietist hymnody that they had already been singing in German for half a century from Walther’s *KELG* 1847. Indeed, as Missouri Lutherans pondered the hymns of Wesley, they likely saw little difference between his more expressive elements concerning the atonement and its implications for the Christian life and the comparable treatment of such subjects in the hymns of Zinzendorf, Scheffler, or even Gerhardt. While it is interesting to observe the role that strict Calvinists such as Newton, Cowper, and Toplady played in the hymnody of the eighteenth-century Church of England, 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.<sup>81</sup>

The explosion of Victorian hymnody, as typified in the ubiquitous *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, promulgated the theological foci of a Victorian worldview. The doctrinal and didactic, an emphasis on death/heaven/hell, the pilgrimage to heaven, and the God of love enfleshed in Jesus Christ—all of these central Victorian hymn themes were found to be consonant with

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Institute.

<sup>81</sup> 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.

Missouri Lutheran theology. Besides being a respectable and ladylike activity in late-nineteenth-century Victorian culture, the work of women hymn writers likewise presented no obstacles to Missourian sensitivities, since their German hymn corpus already contained a handful of hymns written by women in the seventeenth century.

The greatest gift, however, that the nineteenth century provided the hymn corpus of *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912 was through the hymn translators and their work. Through English-language translations of ancient Latin and Greek hymnody from the studies of Neale, Caswall, and others, Missouri Lutheran hymnody was vastly enriched beyond anything that the received tradition of *KELG* 1847 could deliver. In the area of German hymnody, the critical endeavor to include Missouri's beloved German hymn corpus would have been virtually impossible without the contributions of Winkworth, Massie, Borthwick, and others. As a good editor, then, Crull filled in the gaps by translating those additional hymns that were most critical for German Missouri to see transmitted from "The Fathers' Faith" into "The Children's Song."

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 of Christianity in America, from the Missourian perspective, it would have been the likes of Finney, Moody, and, most notoriously, Schmucker.

This leads to the obvious question: why would English Missouri at the end of the nineteenth century consider including the Gospel songs of Sankey and Moody when it had at its disposal all of the doctrinal richness of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and, indeed, much more from which to choose? The next chapter will pursue that question through an excursus into late-nineteenth-century Missouri Lutheran attitudes toward Revivalism and the Gospel Song.

## CHAPTER SIX

### REVIVALISM AND THE GOSPEL SONG

In his book, *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon*, Stephen Prothero observes that “Jesus as friend came alive for nineteenth-century Americans first and foremost in song.”<sup>1</sup> By and large, these were the songs associated with revivalist song leader Ira David Sankey (1840–1908), who, along with evangelist Dwight L. Moody (1836–99), conducted the largest revivals the nineteenth century had ever seen and promoted the Gospel Song genre like none other in their day. For millions of Americans, hymns like “What a Friend We Have in Jesus,” “Pass Me Not, O Gentle Savior,” and “Sweet Hour of Prayer” were made household and Sunday morning standards through the promotion of the Moody-Sankey revivals and the sales of their ubiquitous *Gospel Hymns* songbook collections. Some of these Gospel Songs even made their way into Missouri Synod hymnals and Sunday school hymnals.<sup>2</sup>

There is a tension here, of course. How did one of the most staunchly confessional Lutheran church bodies in America find itself singing some of the songs of the most prominent evangelical revivalists of their day? This chapter will examine the larger context of revivalism in America during the nineteenth-century, as well as the attitudes and understandings of English Missouri toward revivalism and the Gospel Song at the close of the century. The picture that emerges portrays a vivid religious landscape in which English Missouri lived and breathed and

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen R. Prothero, *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003), 74.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Chapter Three, page 136, for a list of the ten Gospel Songs initially slated for inclusion in *SSH* 1901, only six of which were eventually published. See above, Chapter Five, page 227, regarding the inclusion of “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” in *ELHB* 1892.

from which they voiced a surprising mixture of attitudes and understandings toward revivalism and the Gospel Song.<sup>3</sup> The result is a nuanced portrait of how a handful of Gospel Songs was included among the outlier band of English-language hymnody in *ELHB* and *SSH* 1901.

### Revivalism and Its American Context

The larger historical context of revivalism in America provides a complex and multi-dimensional picture,<sup>4</sup> dating from Jonathan Edwards (1703–58) and the Great Awakening in New England during the 1730s–40s to a second wave of revivals that began in Kentucky during the 1790s and spread throughout the new American republic into the middle of the nineteenth century. Accounts of this second wave indicate an overtly emotional style of revivalism that was “ratcheted up” considerably from the earlier New England movement.<sup>5</sup>

As this second wave began to peak in the 1830s and 40s, its practitioners had come to perfect and codify its methods and means, especially as articulated by the movement’s great high priest, Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875). In his famous *Lectures on Revivals*, Finney’s pragmatic approach comes to the fore:

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<sup>3</sup> See Jon D. Vieker, “‘What a Friend We Have in Jesus’: Missouri Lutherans Encounter Revivalism and the Gospel Song,” *Logia* 17, no. 2 (2008): 17–28.

<sup>4</sup> Toward a definition of “revivalism,” see Russell E. Richey: “. . . we propose a constellation of ingredients as defining revivalism. The ingredients or factors appear in various combinations in revivals and revivalism. It is their combination, the constellation, that constitutes the definition . . . .” “Revivalism: In Search of a Definition,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 28, nos. 1–2 (1993): 166. Richey goes on to assert that such a “constellation” would include: “. . . an underlying pietism, a missional theology, a soteriology of crisis, a jeremiadic understanding of ‘these days,’ crowds, volunteerism, dramatic ritual form, charismatic leadership, confidence in the Spirit’s presence, and a communication network” (172).

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, an account of the famous Cane Ridge revival of 1801 by Barton W. Stone, who writes: “Having heard of a remarkable religious excitement in the south of Kentucky, and in Tennessee, under the labors of James McGready and other Presbyterian ministers, I was very anxious to be among them; and early in the spring of 1801, went there to attend a camp-meeting . . . The scene to me was new, and passing strange. It baffled description. Many, very many fell down, as men slain in battle, and continued for hours together in an apparently breathless and motionless state—sometimes for a few moments reviving, and exhibiting symptoms of life by a deep groan, or piercing shriek, for by a prayer for mercy most fervently uttered. After lying thus for hours, they obtained deliverance. . . . [T]hey would rise shouting deliverance, and then would address the surrounding multitude in language truly eloquent and impressive. With astonishment did I hear men, women and children declaring the wonderful works of God, and the glorious mysteries of the gospel.” *The Biography of Eld. Barton Warren Stone*:

A revival is not a miracle . . . There is nothing in religion beyond the ordinary powers of nature. It consists entirely in the *right exercise* of the powers of nature. It is just that and nothing else. . . . A revival . . . is a purely philosophical result of the right use of the constituted means—as much so as any other effect produced by the applications of means.<sup>6</sup>

Such “means” usually included a heavy dose of fire-and-brimstone preaching within the context of “protracted meetings,” along with the use of the “anxious bench,” where apprehensive sinners could be prayed over and further exhorted toward conversion. The use of camp-meeting songs also directed the penitent toward the desired end.<sup>7</sup>

In the wake of the Civil War, however, this second wave of revivalism had already crested, and a third wave was beginning to form on the horizon. In addition to the lingering trauma of war, a variety of social factors began to affect how that wave took shape during the so-called “Gilded Age.”<sup>8</sup> During this period, the United States began to experience a shift “from an agrarian to an industrial economy, from a rural to an urban-centered population, from an anticolonial to an imperialistic nation, from a relatively homogeneous to a polygenetic people, and from a system of relative *laissez-faire* to the first stages of governmental social control.”<sup>9</sup>

These rapidly changing social factors paralleled a shift in popular worldview as well. The influence of Romanticism on the American public was exhibited by a growing appetite for

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*Written by Himself with Additions and Reflections* (Cincinnati: J. A. & U. P. James, 1847), 34–35.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Grandison Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, new ed. (New York: F. H. Revell, 1868), 4–5, emphasis original.

<sup>7</sup> Frank C. Senn notes: “Finney’s contribution was to package the practices that had proved successful in the frontier camp meetings and move them indoors. . . . Finney used music to make an impact on the worshipers. His introduction of choirs was itself controversial within the Reformed tradition. Within this purpose, even the pipe organ had a use.” *The People’s Work: A Social History of the Liturgy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 270–71.

<sup>8</sup> Used to describe the years of roughly 1865–1900, which were marked by unprecedented economic, industrial, and population expansion, this term was coined by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner in their book, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* (1873), taking a cue from William Shakespeare’s *King John* (1595): “To gild refined gold, to paint the lily . . . is wasteful and ridiculous excess.” See Paul A. Carter, *The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), vii.

<sup>9</sup> William G. McLoughlin Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1959), 168.

sentimentality in late-nineteenth-century popular culture, evidenced in the secular and religious press alike.<sup>10</sup> The indulgence of feeling above reason or thought, “assuming an affected, sometimes mawkish, manner of speech, music, or gesture” became the “emotional expression of a culture in flux.”<sup>11</sup> It was within this sentimental and romanticizing middle-class culture that the third wave of American revivalism began to take shape in the 1870s, with Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey riding at the top.

### **Moody’s Message and Method**

In contrast to the stern preaching and overtly emotional excesses of second-wave revivalism, the Moody-Sankey era represented a “kinder, gentler” form of revivalism. Jonathan M. Butler observes that “a benevolent Evangelical God sat on the throne in the era of Victorian sentimentalism . . . .”<sup>12</sup> Although Moody did not completely ignore the concept of hell, his central focus was definitely on heaven and on leading the individual to get there.<sup>13</sup>

Moody’s message was simple, involving what he called “The Three ‘Rs’”: Ruin by sin, Redemption by Christ, and Regeneration by the Holy Ghost.<sup>14</sup> In line with the main trajectory of second-wave revivalist preaching, the sins that Moody preached against were personal sins—sins confined to the individual or his immediate family. In Moody’s revivalism, the responsibility of

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<sup>10</sup> Mel R. Wilhoit, “The Music of Urban Revivalism,” *The Hymn* 35, no. 4 (1984): 220.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan M. Butler, *Softly and Tenderly Jesus Is Calling: Heaven and Hell in American Revivalism, 1870–1920*, Chicago Studies in the History of American Religion, vol. 3 (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1991), 143.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>13</sup> McLoughlin notes: “The central and all-inclusive fact of Christian theology for Moody was that sinful men could all obtain eternal life simply by believing that Christ died for their sins. If men did not ‘accept Christ’ they would certainly spend eternity in hell.” *Modern Revivalism*, 247.

<sup>14</sup> George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 21.

the individual to accept the message of salvation stood well within “the democratic American and Arminian tradition.”<sup>15</sup>

However, the style of Moody’s preaching was in sharp contrast to those who came before him. Moody’s preaching was anecdotal; he used countless stories and illustrations to draw the hearer into the message of redemption. Moody’s “warm, evangelical, open approach . . . stressing the love of God in Christ”<sup>16</sup> was then packaged within the highly-produced and orchestrated context of the big-city revival, and executed with a savvy, business-oriented acumen. In other words, while “Charles Finney made revivalism a profession . . . Dwight L. Moody made it a big business.”<sup>17</sup>

For all intents and purposes, Moody looked and acted like a businessman. With his peculiar genius, he presented a tremendous appeal to the average Victorian businessman. In fact, Moody had previously worked as a businessman, amassing a small fortune at a boot and shoe firm prior to leaving it all to become a professional evangelist.<sup>18</sup> As Moody subsequently applied his natural marketing instincts to the business of revivalism, he was able to develop the ability to promote city-wide interdenominational revivals at will.<sup>19</sup> The results were staggering, with more money than ever involved in producing revivals, and with more Americans than ever exposed to the revival phenomenon and the Gospel Songs they sang.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 37.

<sup>16</sup> Butler, *Softly and Tenderly*, xvi.

<sup>17</sup> McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 166.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 225–30 documents the large sums of money involved in producing the revivals of that day, as well as the generous benefactors who contributed toward that end, including such financial luminaries as John Wanamaker in Philadelphia, and Cornelius Vanderbilt, II and J. P. Morgan in New York. Deficits still sometimes faced the local committees afterward.

## The Gospel Songs of Moody and Sankey

Just as Moody's message and method found their predecessors in second-wave revivalism, so also did the Gospel Song of Ira Sankey find its antecedents in the genre of the camp meeting song of early nineteenth-century America. The core message of the camp meeting song focused on the central revivalist theme of conversion. Often joyful in character, the mood of these early camp meeting songs contrasted sharply with the preacher's stern, fire-and-brimstone message. As the penitent sat on the anxious bench, pondering his future, he was aurally engulfed in a heaven-or-hell dichotomy—hell from the preacher or exhorter, heaven from the masses as they sang of the joy of their own conversion and the glory that awaited those who would join them.<sup>21</sup>

A second antecedent to Sankey's Gospel Song was that of the Sunday school song, which began to develop during the late antebellum period. Based on the camp meeting songs sung at surrounding revivals, songs such as "He Leadeth Me! O Blessed Thought," "My Hope Is Built on Nothing Less," and "Brighten the Corner Where You Are" were soon introduced to church Sunday school classes. Like their revival counterparts, these Sunday school songs featured catchy, simple melodies and almost always a refrain. Children quickly learned them, parents learned them, too, and soon whole congregations were singing them together.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Dickson D. Bruce, *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800–1845* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974), 97.

<sup>22</sup> Jim Mankin, "Sing to Me of Heaven—The Role of Eternal Life as Reflected in Gospel Songs," *The Hymn* 48, no. 1 (1997): 18. See also, Samuel J. Rogal, who notes: "The formula for success rests with the triteness (even for the nineteenth century) of the universal imagery. . . . Thus the emotion of the melody and the obvious rhyme, certainly not the sense and the substance of the lyrics, will convey the youthful singer's spirits heavenward." *The Children's Jubilee: A Bibliographical Survey of Hymnals for Infants, Youth, and Sunday Schools Published in Britain and America, 1655–1900* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), xxviii. For an analysis of the music of the Sunday school song, see Mel R. Wilhoit, who notes: "Sunday School songs imbibed of the popular secular, genteel song style of the Stephen Foster tradition [e.g., 'Oh, Susanna,' 'Camptown Races,' and 'Swanee River']. This consisted of diatonic but tuneful melodies in a homophonic texture with simple harmonies and slow harmonic rhythm. One of the most telling features was the popular verse/chorus format. Simplicity and immediacy of impact were important features of both text and music." "'Sing Me a Sankey': Ira D. Sankey and Congregational Song," *The Hymn* 42, no. 1 (1991): 16.

The element of simplicity found in camp meeting and Sunday school songs carried through to the Gospel Song genre as typified by Ira Sankey. The simple nature of these tunes enabled the average person, whether musically literate or illiterate,<sup>23</sup> to participate easily and to return home from Moody-Sankey revival meetings humming the tunes under their breath. To be sure, Sankey did not really create an entirely new musical form. Rather, he popularized and mass-produced a musical and textual style that American Evangelicals had already been singing for decades. In this sense, Sankey's work was "a culmination, not a beginning."<sup>24</sup>

The aspect of mass production and popularization of the Gospel Song genre is apparent when considering Sankey's various *Gospel Hymns* songbooks and their almost universal appeal. The songbooks were attractive because they were both small and inexpensive. Most people, therefore, came to the Moody-Sankey revivals with songbook in hand. "Ordinary people took it up, bought it, carried it to meetings, sang it and demanded more."<sup>25</sup>

The Sankey songbooks contained not only the latest in the Gospel Song hit parade, but a significant number of tried-and-true traditional hymns as well. In the final collected edition of Sankey's songbooks, titled *Gospel Hymns 1–6*, some 17% (125 out of 739) of the hymns were from the "standard hymns of the church"—a feature the editors took pains to point out in the

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<sup>23</sup> Wilhoit, "Sing Me a Sankey," 15, suggests that musical literacy during this period may have been fairly high among the middle class: "The rise of singing schools and the continuing emphasis on musical literacy by men like Lowell Mason created a new standard—the printed page."

<sup>24</sup> James F. Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody, American Evangelist, 1837–1899* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 211 and 216. On a different level, see Sandra S. Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism, American Civilization* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978), 134, which notes: "In terms of its forms, then, *Gospel Hymns* can be seen as a culmination of the development of social religion, using its major features of prayer, testimony, and exhortation plus music, to create a community of feeling."

<sup>25</sup> Edith L. Blumhofer states that "When Sankey died in 1908, the *New York Times* estimated that some 50 million of his variations on *Gospel Hymns 1–6* were in circulation; others claimed the number stood closer to 80 million." *Her Heart Can See: The Life and Hymns of Fanny J. Crosby*, Library of Religious Biography (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2005), 248–49

preface.<sup>26</sup> Thus, such traditional hymn writers as Isaac Watts (1674–1748), William Kethe (d. ca. 1594), Thomas Ken (1637–1711), and John Newton (1725–1807) also found a prominent place in the Gospel Song collections of Ira Sankey, with several of these older hymns even leading the way. As Samuel J. Rogal humorously notes: “Enthusiasts of gospel hymnody must exercise patience until the fifth piece in the collection before beating drum and slapping tambourine to the words and music of P. P. Bliss . . . .”<sup>27</sup> This hymnologically moderate and accommodating path chosen by the editors of Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns* was also in keeping with the “kinder, gentler” nature of Moody-Sankey revivalism.

However, something else important was going on as well. When these traditional hymns were put into the context of a Moody-Sankey revival, such re-contextualization forever changed the way they were remembered by those who sang them there. “Amazing Grace” is but one of many examples. First published in 1779 by John Newton, an Evangelical Anglican priest of the Calvinist persuasion, it now became reincarnated in an American Arminian environment, portraying in a new way “the touching contrast between a lost sinner and the tender love of Christ.”<sup>28</sup>

In regard to the performance practice of Gospel Songs, there were generally three types of songs sung at Moody-Sankey revival meetings: 1) solos by Sankey, 2) ensembles by the choir (usually made up of choir members from local congregations), and 3) congregational singing by those gathered. Although nearly all of the songs in the *Gospel Hymns* collections were suitable

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<sup>26</sup> Ira D. Sankey, James McGrannahan, and George C. Stebbins, *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1 to 6* (New York: The John Church Co. and The Biglow & Main Co., 1894), 2.

<sup>27</sup> Samuel J. Rogal, “Sankey’s Sacred Sisters: Women in *Gospel Hymns, Numbers 1–6 Complete* (1894–1895),” *The Hymn* 49, no. 1 (1998): 17.

<sup>28</sup> Bruce D. Hindmarsh, “‘Amazing Grace’: The History of a Hymn and a Cultural Icon,” in *Sing Them over to Me: Hymns and Hymnbooks in America*, ed. Mark Noll and Edith L. Blumhofer (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2006), 12–13. It should be noted, however, that *Gospel Hymns 1–6* did not include the currently familiar tune NEW BRITAIN to the text of “Amazing Grace.” Another revivalist song leader, Edwin Othello Excell,

for congregational singing, Sankey's solos required the greatest amount of care and were best suited for the solo voice of the singing evangelist.<sup>29</sup> In keeping with the sentimentality of the age, Sankey's solos often left the audience "bathed in tears." Light on doctrine and heavy on testimonial and story-telling,<sup>30</sup> these intimate and often first-person portrayals reflected in song the personal and anecdotal style of Moody's preaching. In this way, Moody and Sankey were joined at the hip, as it were, so that what was proclaimed from the podium, and even the manner in which it was proclaimed, was echoed from the organ bench as well.

According to twenty-first century sensibilities, Ira Sankey's performance style could be described as "affected," even "schmaltzy." Suave and much more put-together than the rough-and-ready Moody, Sankey brought a performer's presence and a certain *gravitas* to his singing. He would often pause at the ends of phrases. He freely employed *rubato*, stretching some lines and rushing others. And he would even employ a kind of *Sprechstimme*, a speaking of the text for dramatic effect.<sup>31</sup> Sankey's stage demeanor was equally sentimental. Sometimes "he was so affected at the conclusion of his song as to weep like a child."<sup>32</sup> Of course, all of this was fully in keeping with the sentimentality of the age.

However, there was more than the *Zeitgeist* of sentimentality at work at a Moody-Sankey revival. Although Moody's audiences always enjoyed a good cry, Moody also knew how to monitor carefully the crowd's emotional level *and* how to keep things flowing within reasonable bounds. Music was one of Moody's "crowd control" techniques. On one occasion, Moody kept calling for Sankey to repeat a particular hymn again and again. After several times through,

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made that enduring connection in a collection published in 1900.

<sup>29</sup> McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 234–35.

<sup>30</sup> Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion*, 130–31.

<sup>31</sup> Wilhoit, "Sing Me a Sankey," 14.

<sup>32</sup> Findlay, *Dwight L. Moody*, 210.

Sankey finally quit playing, and Moody (who couldn't sing a note) took over completely, encouraging the crowd by crying out, "Sing on! We are making Heaven ring with gladness this afternoon. We'll make all Brooklyn joyous." In other words, when the crowd's emotions had begun to get out of control, Moody had them sing and sing again, until they sang themselves "down out of the tree," as it were. Thus, Moody permitted emotional expression as long as he channeled and controlled it, and music became a very effective means toward that end.<sup>33</sup>

More profoundly, the manipulative power of song was also put to use at the conclusion of each sermon. As Moody would make his plea for individuals to come forward to the "inquiry rooms" (the "kinder, gentler" version of Finney's "anxious bench"), he would then motion to Sankey, who would intone a chord on the organ, and the choir would begin singing, "Softly and tenderly, Jesus is calling . . . ." This was one of many "invitation hymns" written specifically to entice penitents down the aisles and into the inquiry rooms. The effect was truly mesmerizing, as the words, "Come home . . . come home!", were repeated in soft, musical tones, and the hesitant sinner debated in his mind whether or not to respond.<sup>34</sup> In short, Moody and Sankey worked together to deliver the goods; as a result of their collaboration, music became elevated "to a position of equality with the spoken word."<sup>35</sup>

### **Missouri Lutheranism Encounters Revivalist America**

Missouri Synod Lutheranism found itself within the context of revivalist America from the very beginning. In the beginning, however, German-speaking Missouri was somewhat insulated by the language barrier. Although there were some German Methodists, and even some itinerant German revivalists in the antebellum midwest, the doctrine and piety of early German Missouri

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<sup>33</sup> Blumhofer, *Her Heart Can See*, 246.

<sup>34</sup> McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism*, 238–39.

<sup>35</sup> Wilhoit, "The Music of Urban Revivalism," 221.

remained relatively unaffected by American revivalist influences for several decades following the founding of the Missouri Synod in 1847.

One of the purposes of the synod, however, was “the conservation and promotion of the pure confession . . . and the common defense against schism and sectarianism.”<sup>36</sup> Carrying out this purpose involved not only due diligence within synod and its own members, but also included ecumenical relations with other Lutheran church bodies in America at that time. The latter came to the fore as American revivalism began to demonstrate its effect on the General Synod in the 1840s, particularly in the “new measures” advocated by John George Schmucker (1771–1854) and his more famous son, Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799–1873).<sup>37</sup>

It was Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken (1818–76), one of the key participants in the founding of the Missouri Synod, who “sounded the alarm” with regard to the General Synod’s struggle with “new measures” when he published his “Distress of the German Lutherans in North America” in 1844. In this widely-circulated document, Wyneken described in detail the activities that occurred at protracted revival meetings, including the anxious bench, and the “most awful gyrations and gestures.”<sup>38</sup> This document tattooed an indelible portrait of American revivalism onto the mindset of German Missouri—a picture that would not soon fade away. Insulated by the language barrier, German Missouri would have nothing to do with such excesses and theology

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<sup>36</sup> From the “1854 Constitution of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States,” as translated in Carl S. Meyer, ed., *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 149.

<sup>37</sup> David A. Gustafson, *Lutherans in Crisis: The Question of Identity in the American Republic* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993), 51.

<sup>38</sup> Friedrich Wyneken, *Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika*, American ed. (Pittsburgh: Druckerei der lutherischen Kirchenzeitung, 1844), 1–13, as translated in Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 91–97.

and was consequently viewed by other Lutherans and Protestant Americans as separatist and isolationist.<sup>39</sup>

Despite its insulating effect, the language barrier was not completely impenetrable. Already in 1857, the Missouri Synod recognized in convention that work in English would become necessary as children would inevitably grow up to speak English and would therefore need to be ministered to in English.<sup>40</sup> Likewise, leaders in German Missouri began to argue that

Since it is highly probable, judging from previous experience, that our German descendants will fall to the English language, therefore beyond all doubt the Lutheran Church has the sacred duty to see to it that the pure doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church is preserved in the English language for our descendants.<sup>41</sup>

It wasn't until 1872, however, that a significant beginning toward that end was made with the formation of The English Lutheran Conference of Missouri as the result of a meeting in Gravelton, Missouri, between C. F. W. Walther and representatives of the English-speaking Tennessee Synod.<sup>42</sup> Eventually named the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, this English-speaking "sister synod" of German Missouri began to grow significantly in the 1890s as it sought to transmit orthodox, confessional Lutheranism to English-speaking America. One of the chief communication pieces of that hallowed transmission would become its bi-monthly, lay periodical, the *Lutheran Witness*.

Founded in 1882 by Carl A. Frank (1846–1922), an Ohio Synod pastor who, along with a number of others, joined the Missouri Synod as a result of the Predestinarian Controversy

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<sup>39</sup> August R. Suelflow, *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C. F. W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000), 195.

<sup>40</sup> *Neunter Synodal-Bericht . . . 1857* (St. Louis: Die Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Statten, 1876), 354. Cf. MacKenzie, "Missouri Accepts English," 12.

<sup>41</sup> F. W. Föhlinger, "Referat: Bildung evang. Luth. Gemeinden unter unsern englisch redenden Nachkommen," *Lehre und Wehre* 11, no 8. (1865): 236–42, as translated in Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 357–58.

<sup>42</sup> H. P. Eckhardt, *The English District: A Historical Sketch* (St. Louis: The English District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1946), 11–12.

between Ohio and Missouri, the *Lutheran Witness* was eventually given to the English Synod in 1889. William Dallmann (1864–1953) took over editorial duties shortly thereafter in 1891. When Dallmann passed those duties on to the faculty at Concordia College, Conover, North Carolina, in 1895, one of its new editors, W. H. T. Dau (1864–1944), included in his debut editorial this observation from “an esteemed German brother and life-long friend”:

It would, of course, be idle to deny that our English Lutheran Synod of Missouri is, to some extent, exposed to an unwholesome sectarian influence. But from utterances of our English brethren we may amply see that they are fully aware of this danger. Yielding to the unavoidable circumstances, they indeed mean to become and be thoroughly American. At the same time, however, they seem to be on the alert that the tendency of becoming Americanized keep within proper bounds. In faith, in doctrine, in church-discipline they intend to remain strictly Lutheran, Lutheran of the Missouri type, thus uniting true Americanism with staunch Lutheranism.<sup>43</sup>

The *Lutheran Witness* became one of the English Synod’s chief vehicles for the uniting of “true Americanism with staunch Lutheranism,” and, as such, it provides a fruitful historical record of the attitudes and understandings of English-speaking Missouri Synod Lutherans as they encountered the American experience of revivalism and the Gospel Song.

### **Attitudes and Understandings in the *Lutheran Witness* Regarding Revivalism**

A content analysis of the *Lutheran Witness* from 1882–1901 reveals a complex constellation of attitudes and understandings concerning American revivalism, Moody and Sankey, and the Gospel Song.<sup>44</sup> During this twenty-year period, over sixty articles on revivalism and related topics were published, indicating a significant interest and engagement with this

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<sup>43</sup> W. H. T. Dau, “The Mission of the Lutheran Witness,” *Lutheran Witness* 14, no. 11 (1895): 84; quoting from “Our English Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States,” *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 4 (1891): 25.

<sup>44</sup> The following section is based on a content analysis of the first twenty volumes (1882–1901) of the *Lutheran Witness*, focusing in particular on references to revivalism and related topics. Although revivalism itself is not specifically covered in his dissertation, Leland Stevens demonstrates the wide variety of social, political, and theological issues that engaged the editors of the *Lutheran Witness*. See Leland Robert Stevens, “The Americanization of the Missouri Synod as Reflected within the *Lutheran Witness*” (Ph.D. Dissertation, St. Louis University, 1986). For the purposes of this chapter, the following content analysis of the *Lutheran Witness* provides a healthy cross-section of English Synod thinking during this period.

American religious phenomenon. Although one may frequently observe topical overlap, the articles described below may be arranged according to the following categories: attitudes and understandings 1) regarding revivalism in general; 2) regarding Moody; 3) regarding Sankey and the Gospel Song.

### **Regarding revivalism in general**

Only two articles displaying a positive or neutral attitude or understanding toward revivalism in general were found in the *Lutheran Witness* during the period surveyed. Both were part of the “Hearth and Home” section in the early days of the *Witness*—a selection of anecdotes and frequently heart-warming stories in keeping with the popular tastes of the Victorian era. The first article relates the story of a young lady during a recent revival in New York City.<sup>45</sup> The second recounts an incident with the famous, early nineteenth-century revivalist, Lorenzo Dow.<sup>46</sup> Both stories are set within a revival context and portray the preacher in a positive or neutral light.

In contrast, over thirty-five articles surveyed display a critical attitude or understanding regarding revivalism in general. These articles may be arranged under the following subcategories: 1) false doctrine or doctrinal indifference; 2) poor pastoral care; 3) Christ or the Gospel not at the center; 4) emotional excess or manipulation; 5) revivalism as a failure or on the wane.

Four articles criticize revivalism in general, either because of its false doctrine or its doctrinal indifference. A .S. Bartholomew led the way in a two-part series in 1885 titled “False Prophets.” In these articles, he describes false prophets and how to know them. In the first part of his article, he attacks primarily Muslims, the Pope, “episcopal successionists,” and a

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<sup>45</sup> “Dr. Spring and the Thoughtless Young Lady,” *Lutheran Witness* 1, no. 22 (1883): 175.

<sup>46</sup> “An Evil Conscience Betraying Itself,” *Lutheran Witness* 7, no. 3 (1888): 22.

millennialist, noting that “the very language of these false prophets is calculated to deceive.” In particular, “they boast of the many rousing revivals they have held, of the number of convictions and conversions reached. Some will boast of their ‘faith cures’; others of their Christian Science Sanitariums.”<sup>47</sup> In the second part of his article, the writer turns his attention to the “Reformed churches, which embrace nearly all the modern sects. . . . Here we are glad to testify, the Gospel has more faithful adherents and defenders. And yet it is embarrassing to witness the range of interpretation and the privilege of practice that are tolerated in each of these denominations.”<sup>48</sup>

The doctrinal indifference associated with revivalism in general becomes the critique of three additional articles. The first describes the “Evangelical Association,” a German Methodist church body of the nineteenth century, and notes: “As all Methodists they are not very doctrinal, their almost only doctrine being conversions at the mourners’ bench.”<sup>49</sup> A second article makes note of a German Methodist pastor’s converting to Lutheranism “because of the errors of the Methodist church . . .” including “their class and camp-meetings . . . .”<sup>50</sup> And a third article describes a sermon by the “Rev. Barnes, the ‘Mountain Evangelist,’”<sup>51</sup> in which the preacher declares that the church should throw theology “to the devil where it belonged.” The *Witness* editor then comments: “This remark of Mr. Barnes’ is characteristic of revival theology, plainly

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<sup>47</sup> A. S. Bartholomew, “False Prophets,” *Lutheran Witness* 4, no. 9 (1885): 72.

<sup>48</sup> A. S. Bartholomew, “False Prophets [Continued],” *Lutheran Witness* 4, no. 12 (1885): 90.

<sup>49</sup> “The Evangelical Association,” *Lutheran Witness* 7, no. 8 (1888): 60. Cf. “Evangelical Church, The,” F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingston, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 485–86, for more on these German Methodist *Albrechtsbrüder*.

<sup>50</sup> C.[arl] A. Frank, “Renouncing Methodism to Become Lutheran,” *Lutheran Witness* 2, no. 2 (1883): 13. The article notes further that the pastor in question, Rev. Kunschick, “will enter our Seminary at Springfield, Ills., with a view of fitting himself thoroughly for the ministry of our Lutheran Zion. 1 Peter 5, 10!”

<sup>51</sup> Likely George O. Barnes, described elsewhere as preaching a sermon on the devil for D. L. Moody, with a somewhat different effect. See <http://www.biblebelievers.com/moody/33.html>, accessed August 9, 2012.

showing its demoralizing and (to coin a new word) ‘dereligionizing’ character.”<sup>52</sup> English Missouri clearly associated revivalism with false doctrine and doctrinal indifference.<sup>53</sup>

Ten articles criticize revivalism in general because, in various ways, it resulted in poor pastoral care. In a three-part series on “The Minister’s Institute,” the writer observes:

We have no faith whatever in any revival-system that looks toward any other means of conversion than the preaching of the word of God and the administration of His sacraments. The patient teaching and preaching of the Word is the only means of saving souls and of urging Christians towards a daily renewal of their baptismal covenant. The self-made superficial efforts and struggles and prayers, of new measures, of boy-preachers, cow-boy-preachers, professional revivalists, called in to supplement or make effective the work of the duly called minister of the church, we giv[e] them no countenance.<sup>54</sup>

George H. A. Luecke, professor at Concordia, Conover, wrote three articles during this period critiquing revivalism for its poor pastoral care. In the first he observes that the revival system

does not agree with the idea of the holy ministry as laid down in the Word of God. Patient, faithful labor of local pastors, faithful instruction and training of the young in the Christian religion, that alone is the way to build up the Church of Christ; it will never be done by the fitful preaching of the evangelists and revivalists.<sup>55</sup>

In the remaining two articles, Luecke quotes Protestant ministers critiquing revivalism for its poor pastoral care: one noting that “the surest way to hamstring any pastor is to make him believe that his only business is to make sermons, make visits, and officiate at funerals and weddings; but if sinners be led to Christ some one else [a revivalist] must be sent for to do it!”<sup>56</sup>

And another, from the Methodist Episcopal Church, observing that

The purpose of the revival is to secure conversions, but it is only a second best way to reach the end. . . . The gentle rain is a better force than the deluging hurricane; the

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<sup>52</sup> “No Theology,” *Lutheran Witness* 1, no. 9 (1882): 69.

<sup>53</sup> See also August R. Suelflow and E. Clifford Nelson, “To the Promised Land,” in *The Lutherans in North America*, ed. E. Clifford Nelson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 151.

<sup>54</sup> “The Minister’s Institute,” *Lutheran Witness* 5, no. 4 (1886): 28.

<sup>55</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “A Dangerous Evangelist,” *Lutheran Witness* 16, no. 11 (1897): 86.

<sup>56</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “Church News and Comment—at Home,” *Lutheran Witness* 18, no. 23 (1900): 182.

quiet teaching of the young is a better way to secure good Christian character than that which would smite down the hardened and callous soul.<sup>57</sup>

Two other Concordia, Conover, faculty members added their critiques as well. The first, George Romoser (1870–1936), reported in 1901 that the ministers in San Francisco “resolved not to invite an evangelist to come to the city this season” and then observed that “the whole ‘evangelist’ and ‘revival’ system . . . disparages the ordinary work of the church” and that results are consequently expected from revivalism but “are not looked for from the ordinary means of grace.”<sup>58</sup> His colleague, Carl A. Weiss (1871–1950), echoed many of the same thoughts later that year when he lamented that “even Christians are forgetting that ‘the wind bloweth where it listeth,’ and that the Spirit of God works in a like manner. . . . [A]s long as we are faithful, there is no occasion for fear and misgiving. We cannot fix a time for a revival.”<sup>59</sup>

In their negative assessment of revivalism because of its poor pastoral care, the *Witness* editors seemed to be particularly critical of General Synod Lutherans who indulged in revivalist practices. In part three of the 1886 article, “The Minister’s Institute,” mentioned above, the writer disparages General Synod and General Council congregations because “there is too much sad evidence that they utterly neglect the youth of their church . . . .” As a result, the writer notes, “they must resort to revivals to draw them in whom they neglected when young.”<sup>60</sup>

A decade later, Concordia, Conover, faculty member W. H. T. Dau approached the matter a little more gently in an article in which he begins by noting that the word “revival” “has an excellent signification, full of doctrine and abounding in comfort.” Dau then quotes an article from the General Synod *Evangelist* decrying the hysterics of certain sectarian revivals but

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<sup>57</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “Contributions,” *Lutheran Witness* 19, no. 21 (1901): 166.

<sup>58</sup> George A. Romoser, “Church News and Comment: At Home,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 9 (1901): 69–70.

<sup>59</sup> C[arl] A. Weiss, “Editorials,” *Lutheran Witness* 19, no. 21 (1901): 161.

<sup>60</sup> “The Ministers’ Institute,” *Lutheran Witness* 5, no. 5 (1886): 36.

maintaining that “manly, honest, dignified special efforts to win men and women from sin to God” are appropriate. Dau replies:

We have no inclination to doubt the good intention of the Editor of the *Evangelist*, and of those whom he defends; nevertheless, his plea is weak. To all intents and purposes the revivals of General Synod men are generally understood to be “revivals”; they may be shorn of the objectionable features which very frequently accompany them but they are “revivals.” The principle remains, and it is to the principle that objections are raised, not to the word.<sup>61</sup>

Three years later, as a follow-up to this article, Dau notes that the General Synod argument still appears to be “a mighty effort to make a distinction without a real difference.” Dau continues: “With this understanding, we wish to report the following revivals lately held in General Synod churches . . . .” Dau then lists the congregations, along with the pastors’ names and the number of persons converted. With what one must imagine to be a large editorial grin, Dau concludes the final congregational listing as follows: “Princeton, Ill., (Rev. Eichelberger, pastor), 120 converted, *of whom 40 are still undecided as to what church they will join.*”<sup>62</sup> Shortly thereafter, George H. A. Luecke commends an article in the General Synod’s *Lutherischer Zions Bote* that disparages the practice of a congregation’s bringing in “strange preachers, in order that these may cause a revival and convert people,” instead of placing their confidence in “the Word of God, which their own pastor proclaims.” Luecke concludes: “We are glad that more and more voices are lifted up also against this abuse in the churches of our country. We are glad also of this voice from the General Synod, where revivals are not uncommon.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> W. H. T. Dau, “Revivals,” *Lutheran Witness* 14, no. 21 (1896): 165.

<sup>62</sup> “Church News and Comment—at Home,” *Lutheran Witness* 17, no. 24 (1899): 190. Emphasis not original.

<sup>63</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “Editorials,” *Lutheran Witness* 18, no. 23 (1900): 178. See also Eugene L. Fevold, who notes: “At a time when revivalism was a powerful and pervasive movement in American Protestantism Lutherans chose the catechetical or instructional approach rather than revivalism. Nevertheless, some English-speaking Lutherans, especially in mid-century, adopted the methods of revivalism and regarded the Sunday school primarily as an instrument of conversion. . . . With the developing confessional consciousness of English-speaking Lutherans in the later nineteenth century, there was an increased concern for providing distinctively Lutheran instructional materials and for withdrawing from union Sunday schools and from other interdenominational

A third negative critique of revivalism in general was that it failed to put Christ or the Gospel at the center of its preaching. Two articles fall into this category. The first, titled “Revivals, Ancient and Modern,” was by Adolphus W. Meyer (1860–1937), who later served as President of St. John College, Winfield, Kansas. Meyer analyzes a sermon preached on Acts 2 by evangelist “Mr. S. Jones.” Meyer then compares Peter’s sermon preached at the “revival” recorded in Acts 2 with Jones’ sermon preached in Chicago and notes that St. Peter

preached a plain sermon, containing both law and gospel, *together with the right application of both* . . . After they were pricked in their hearts, by his words and anxiously inquired: “What shall we do?” the apostle preached to them the gospel, showing them that in connection with baptism the promises of the gospel pertained also to them and their children.

In contrast, Meyer notes that:

Sometimes we meet with strong applications of the law in Mr. Jones’ sermons . . . but such outbursts, not tracing sin to its source seldom bring about the right recognition of sin, and, furthermore, Mr. J. fails to follow up his preaching of the law with that of the gospel, but bases salvation on self-righteousness.<sup>64</sup>

The second article is a lengthy quotation from the famous British preacher and pastor, Charles Spurgeon (1834–92), concerning revivalism. Spurgeon observes that:

It is no use to try to get more zeal except by the right way—knowing more of Christ. And if we seek to grow up in zeal by certain ideas of our own, certain “revivals” as they are called, and all that nonsense, we shall have a zeal like a house on fire; it will do more mischief than it will do good. . . . If we would have true zeal . . . it must be by the preaching of the good old doctrine, the good old truth, and the preaching of Christ; not anything else . . . if we get to the truth of God, there will be “revival” enough. We want nothing but Gospel, good old-fashioned Gospel, to stir the world again.<sup>65</sup>

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cooperative efforts.” “The Broadening Work of the Church,” in Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*, 298. It is significant to note, however, that, at least according to accounts in the *Lutheran Witness*, revival practices were still going on in General Synod congregations even into the early twentieth century. On the other hand, perhaps this later “developing confessional consciousness” is reflected in the ambivalence evident in the *Witness’s* accounts from the General Synod.

<sup>64</sup> A.[dolphus] W. Meyer, “Revivals, Ancient and Modern,” *Lutheran Witness* 5, no. 1 (1886): 8. Emphasis original.

<sup>65</sup> “Spurgeon on Revivals,” *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 22 (1892): 171.

Both of these articles were critical of revivalism because neither Christ nor the Gospel was perceived to be at the center of revivalist preaching.

A fourth negative critique of revivalism in general was concerned with the emotional excesses and manipulation associated with revivalist methods. This concern was addressed by nearly a dozen articles in the period surveyed. The first article, titled “The Mourner’s Bench,” declares that “no bigger imposition has ever been thrown upon the Protestant churches than the mourner’s bench,” which entails “a laborious exercise . . . causing uncontrollable movements of the muscles, accompanied with loud shouts and whoops, often ludicrous and pitiful alike.” The writer suggests that the custom of the mourner’s bench is a result of works righteousness, with people being misled “to believe that they must make compensation to God for their sins, in the tortures and struggles of the mourner’s bench.” The article then concludes with a lengthy biblical exposition as to why the anxious bench is “a fraudulent humbug, devised by Satan to estrange the people.”<sup>66</sup>

Four other articles approach the issue of whether human emotions and feelings can be used as a barometer of God’s grace or of faith. George H. A. Luecke quotes from an unnamed source that “the trouble is that many so-called revivals do not result from the Word of God, as did the Reformation, but are ‘machine made,’ and are positively pernicious,” particularly because “emotional experiences are substituted for faith.”<sup>67</sup> A second article describes a conversion experience at Yale “some years ago” and concludes that

Feelings and emotions are good enough in their place—when the Holy Spirit, by means of holy thoughts and emotions, communicates with our spirit in hours of distress or joy we should certainly be thankful for the same—but it will not do to build our salvation on joyful emotions . . . Over against the inconstancy of mere

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<sup>66</sup> “The Mourner’s Bench,” *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 7 (1891): 54.

<sup>67</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “Contributions,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 2 (1901): 14.

emotions: “We have a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed,” etc. (2 Peter 1, 19).<sup>68</sup>

In a sermon on Philippians 4:4–7, Frederik Kuegele (1846–1916), long-time president of the English Synod, asks: “How is a good conscience toward God obtained? Not by revivalist boisterousness; for thereof the Scriptures nowhere tell us anything, and such momentary excitement of the feelings does not last *‘alway.’*”<sup>69</sup> Another article, quoting from the Presbyterian *Interior*, notes that persons of “sensitive and highly strung nervous organization” are more likely to be affected by revivalistic methods, and then suggests that “every species of charlatany” also depends on the same kind of human weakness.<sup>70</sup> Finally, five additional articles decry various abuses associated with revivalism, including “faith cures,” “boy preachers,” and other unusual practices.<sup>71</sup>

Perhaps the most pervasive critique of revivalism in general, however, had to do with the claim that the movement was on the wane and that it had even been a failure. From 1896 onward, nine different articles were written along these lines. Three of those articles included reports from a variety of sources that revivalism was on the downturn. In one report concerning a woman evangelist, Concordia, Conover, professor, Charles L. Coon (1868–1927), concludes that “it is refreshing to note that some of our secular papers are beginning to see the emptiness of so-called ‘Modern Evangelism’ and its claims. Of late, we have noted that several leading papers

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<sup>68</sup> A.[dolphus] W. Meyer, “The Deceitfulness of Mere Emotions,” *Lutheran Witness* 8, no. 1 (1889): 3.

<sup>69</sup> F.[rederik] Kuegele, “Sermon on the Fourth Sunday in Advent, Phil. 4:4–7,” *Lutheran Witness* 6, no. 5 (1887): 33. Emphasis original.

<sup>70</sup> “Church News and Comment—at Home,” *Lutheran Witness* 17, no. 13 (1898): 103.

<sup>71</sup> See “The ‘Faith Cure,’” *Lutheran Witness* 1, no. 11 (1882): 88; “The Faith Cure Craze,” *Lutheran Witness* 4, no. 18 (1885): 141; “Boy Preachers,” *Lutheran Witness* 14, no. 5 (1895): 35; “Quaker Revival,” *Lutheran Witness* 1, no. 16 (1883): 125; “Holy Places Turned into Houses of Merchandise,” *Lutheran Witness* 1, no. 19 (1883): 149; and “A Methodist Force Conversion, or, a Strange Incident at Camp-Meeting,” *Lutheran Witness* 6, no. 21 (1888): 168.

have come out strongly against this system.”<sup>72</sup> Another article notes that three different Methodist papers are quoted as “expressing doubt of the further utility of the old-time ‘revival.’”<sup>73</sup> A third reports of a Methodist Episcopal bishop’s expressing his reservations about the premillennialist teachings of some revivalists, with the *Witness* editor concluding: “It is gratifying to find that people are coming to see that revival methods are a failure in building up the church, because they are unscriptural.”<sup>74</sup>

Three more articles seek to show by numerical analysis that revivalism had been a failure to one extent or another. George Luecke quotes from a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1898 in Philadelphia that “by the special protracted meetings, held by so many churches in our country, not even half of the unchurched masses are brought into a Church,” and that “ninetenths of those, who visit such meetings, are already churchmembers” [*sic*].<sup>75</sup> A second article notes that “now and again one may be moved for the time being, but when the meeting is over he returns to his old haunts and habits.”<sup>76</sup> And in a third article, Luecke reports on a fairly detailed statistical analysis from the Presbyterian *Interior*, showing that, at least for Presbyterians, such revivals were “showy and grateful to the spiritual emotions, but [they] did not result in such permanent gains to the church as our more quiet methods.”<sup>77</sup>

Finally, three articles at the beginning of the twentieth century tend to be forward-looking—toward what was hoped would be a future *without* revivals. The first notes that “the

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<sup>72</sup> C.[harles] L. Coon, “A Woman ‘Evangelist,’” *Lutheran Witness* 14, no. 21 (1896): 166.

<sup>73</sup> “Three of the Methodist *Advocates*,” *Lutheran Witness* 16, no. 28 (1898): 175.

<sup>74</sup> “Church News and Comment—at Home,” *Lutheran Witness* 17, no. 12 (1898): 93.

<sup>75</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “Another Testimony against Revivalism,” *Lutheran Witness* 16, no. 16 (1898): 125.

<sup>76</sup> “Editorials,” *Lutheran Witness* 18, no. 6 (1899): 41–42.

<sup>77</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “The Lutheran Church,” *Lutheran Witness* 16, no. 15 (1898): 117. See also McLoughlin, who notes: “The over-all effect of Moody’s revivals in the United States was just about the same as that in Scotland and England. He boosted the morale of the regular churchgoers, but he did not reach the masses and he did not add appreciably to the numerical growth of the churches.” *Modern Revivalism*, 265.

great Brooklyn revival has collapsed after two months of work . . . .”<sup>78</sup> Another by Carl A. Weiss reports that “the great religious revival at the beginning of the twentieth century, which has been so often prophesied, has now been formally inaugurated.” Weiss concludes: “We do not expect much lasting effect from the movement, just as little as there have been many permanent results from similar work in the past.”<sup>79</sup> Finally, in a third article, Weiss reports on two contrasting views of the coming revival—one anticipating a revival that will be, “in the words of Albrecht Ritschl, for ‘the founding of the universal moral community which is designated for the kingdom of God’”; and the other anticipating that “the next general revival of the Christian life and spirit will be marked by a strong popular grasp on the vital truths of scripture and an embodiment of the basal [*sic*] teachings of the religion of Jesus in the civic life of the people.” Weiss concludes:

We fear that men are beginning to doubt the efficacy of, or despising of the means of grace, otherwise they would know that the Word and the Sacraments are reviving God’s children continually, and also that it does not lie with us to determine the time and season when God shall visit His Church. A revival at its best can do no more than does the preaching of the Word at any time and place.<sup>80</sup>

### **Regarding Moody**

Whereas the attitudes and understandings toward revivalism in general were overwhelmingly negative during the period surveyed, we see a somewhat different picture when it comes to Dwight L. Moody in particular. Of the seven articles that mention Moody by name, six are either positive or neutral, and only one is negative.

The first article published in the *Lutheran Witness* concerning Dwight L. Moody, in the summer of 1883, describes Moody and Sankey’s recent revival in Paris as “somewhat

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<sup>78</sup> “Editorials,” *Lutheran Witness* 18, no. 22 (1900): 170.

<sup>79</sup> Luecke, “Contributions,” *Lutheran Witness* 19, no. 3 (1900): 103.

<sup>80</sup> C.[arl] A. Weiss, “Church News and Comment—at Home,” *Lutheran Witness* 19, no. 13 (1900): 103.

successful” in reaching both working class and high society alike.<sup>81</sup> A year later, another article describes “Mr. Moody’s Ministers’ Convention,” at which “Bible study and the evangelization of the foreign population were discussed by several prominent divines,” and notes that the evening services, at which Mr. Moody spoke, were filled beyond capacity.<sup>82</sup> A third article from the editorship of Carl A. Frank includes a long quotation from a Moody sermon on “Intemperance, the Work of the Devil.” In this sermon, Moody despairs of the Temperance Movement, declaring:

I am coming to the conclusion that the only hope is that the Son of God is to come and destroy man’s appetite for liquor. You cannot legislate men to be good. . . . I used to get discouraged in working in the temperance cause . . . but in the last year I have been more encouraged than ever before, because I have been working on a new line. I used to appeal to men to sign the pledge, and they used to do so and then break them; would sink down lower than ever. But I have given that all up; my only hope is that they will join Christ and lean upon the arm of God, lean upon His almighty arm, and then there is victory for them.<sup>83</sup>

Moody’s mild reassessment of the temperance cause, of course, was consonant with the generally anti-temperance stance that Frank’s *Witness* (and Missouri Lutheranism in general) had previously taken.<sup>84</sup>

Two articles from the Conover editorship mention Moody in a positive or neutral light. The first is the Luecke article mentioned above, which involved a statistical analysis of Presbyterian church growth patterns. At the conclusion of this analysis, the writer from the *Interior* observes that “the labors of Mr. Moody or Dr. Chapman, or their colleagues” never produced the kind of flat growth patterns among Presbyterians that “old order of revivalists” did in the 1830s.<sup>85</sup> A

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<sup>81</sup> “Moody in Paris,” *Lutheran Witness* 1, no. 16 (1883): 125.

<sup>82</sup> “Moody-Meetings in Chicago,” *Lutheran Witness* 2, no. 11 (1883): 83.

<sup>83</sup> “Mr. D. L. Moody and the Temperance Cause,” *Lutheran Witness* 3, no. 20 (1885): 160.

<sup>84</sup> Stevens, “The Americanization of the Missouri Synod,” 67–70.

<sup>85</sup> Luecke, “The Lutheran Church,” *Lutheran Witness* 16, no. 15 (1898): 117.

second article describes Moody's thoughts when asked his opinion concerning the "open, or institutional, church" movement.<sup>86</sup> The *Witness* editor notes that Moody "promptly answered in these wholesome words: 'It all depends upon whether Christ is kept at the front, or whether gymnasiums and clubs have the first place.'"<sup>87</sup>

The only article that mentions Moody in a negative light, ironically, is an article published shortly after his death. The initial article announcing his death was an unusually brief, one-line announcement: "Dwight L. Moody, the famous evangelist, died at East Northfield, Mass., December 22."<sup>88</sup> Two weeks later, Carl A. Weiss reported that "many anecdotes about Mr. Moody are now making the rounds of the papers, some of them, as is usually the case, not to his credit." The article goes on to relate how Moody had at one point made a large contribution to the Roman Catholic church in Northfield, Massachusetts, where he lived. He later donated an organ to the same church. Moody is quoted as defending his actions by stating that "If they are Roman Catholics, it is better that they should be good ones than bad. It is surely better to have a Catholic church than none." Romoser got the last word, however:

This may be called "large hearted," but we can not overlook the fact that such an act must serve to strengthen people in their false convictions. We quote the incident as belonging to the tendencies of the age. It is one of the ways in which doctrinal differences are quickly wiped out. Men who, like Mr. Moody, have otherwise done much good, are largely to blame for the spirit of indifference which is now rampant.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Marsden notes that the "institutional church" movement was "a way in which Protestants could combine evangelism with social work and community service . . . [by] providing a day nursery, kindergartens, diet kitchens, and employment bureau, a workingmen's club, a dispensary, and a college." *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 82–83.

<sup>87</sup> "Church News and Comment—at Home," *Lutheran Witness* 17, no. 8 (1898): 60.

<sup>88</sup> "Church News and Comment—at Home," *Lutheran Witness* 18, no. 15 (1899): 118. The volume of newspaper coverage on Moody between his heart attack in November 1899 and his death in December was truly staggering. See Bruce J. Evensen, *God's Man for the Gilded Age: D. L. Moody and the Rise of Modern Mass Evangelism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3–13.

<sup>89</sup> C.[arl] A. Weiss, "Church News and Comment—at Home," *Lutheran Witness* 18, no. 16 (1900): 126.

## Regarding Sankey and the Gospel Song

Attitudes and understandings toward Ira Sankey and the Gospel Song mirror the *Witness* editors' attitudes and understandings toward revivalism in general—that is, the articles were heavily weighted toward the negative.

Only two articles during the period under consideration could be considered neutral or positive. The first reports on the origins of the hymn, “Just as I Am,” by Charlotte Elliot. This story is told differently elsewhere,<sup>90</sup> but in the *Witness* account, there is dancing involved in a negative way, and that fit well with nineteenth-century Missourian piety as well as the position of the *Witness* at that time.<sup>91</sup> A second article tells the story of how “Hold the Fort,” the signature hymn of the Moody-Sankey revivals, was first written. Again, this story is told differently elsewhere,<sup>92</sup> but the *Witness* article concludes the story in a positive way by describing the hymn as one “that has been sung almost in every hamlet on the continent, and whose strains across the ocean have become familiar to the ears of men . . . .”<sup>93</sup>

By contrast, nearly a dozen of the articles surveyed display a negative attitude or understanding toward Sankey and the Gospel Song. These articles may be arranged under the following subcategories: 1) concerns with false doctrine or doctrinal indifference; 2) concerns with the weaknesses of poetry and texts; 3) concerns that the music sounds profane or elicits excess emotionalism.

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<sup>90</sup> Ira D. Sankey, *My Life and Sacred Songs* (London: Hodder and Stoughton/Morgan and Scott, 1906), 151–52.

<sup>91</sup> Stevens, “The Americanization of the Missouri Synod,” 48–51.

<sup>92</sup> Sankey, *My Life and Sacred Songs*, 105–6.

<sup>93</sup> “Hold the Fort, for I Am Coming: How the Famous Moody Hymn Came to Be Written,” *Lutheran Witness* 12, no. 7 (1893): 53.

The first article, a two-part series on “Songs and Singing,” takes a decidedly different view of “Hold the Fort” than that of the earlier article on the hymn’s origins. In the first part, the writer conducts the following (uneven) theological analysis of the text:

The lines say,  
“Hold the fort, for I am coming,”  
Jesus signals still;  
Wave the answer back to heaven  
“By thy grace we will.”

Here the fort means the Church, and it is implied in this song that we poor sinners are left alone in it, by ourselves, to fight against and ward off the devil, till Christ gets here from heaven; for you see the song commands to “wave the answer back to heaven” where it takes it for granted Christ is, as in opposition to His being on earth!

This false view, consistently carried out, leads to the separation of Christ’s divine nature from His human nature. That idea, you know, is very prevalent in the Reformed denominations, (Presbyterian, etc.) this is a great song with them.<sup>94</sup>

The writer continues with a similar broad-brushed analysis applied to additional hymn texts throughout the rest of the first part and into the second part, where he concludes by lamenting that although good hymns may be sung by bad people, guilt by association should not stop Christians from singing such good hymns anyway.<sup>95</sup>

A year following, Johannes Schaller (1859–1920), later president of the Wisconsin Synod seminary in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, sounded a warning against the danger of sects that faced English Lutheran missions:

The first care, then, of all who work in the field of English Mission, pastors and laymen alike, ought ever to be that they steadfastly adhere to the biblical doctrine in all its parts. Lutheran hymns, Lutheran liturgies, Lutheran prayers, above all Lutheran sermons ought to be heard wherever our missionary work, is carried on.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> “Songs and Singing [Part 1 of 2],” *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 3 (1891): 22.

<sup>95</sup> “Songs and Singing [Part 2 of 2],” *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 4 (1891): 29–30

<sup>96</sup> J.[ohannes] Schaller, “Danger Ahead!,” *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 8 (1891): 58.

In other words, because they are biblical, Lutheran hymns and liturgy should be proclaimed in English Lutheran missions.

In a final article concerned with doctrine in relation to the Gospel Song, Michigan pastor, and later Concordia Seminary professor, Theodore Engelder (1865–1949), quotes a Methodist writer who complains that “nowadays every new evangelist sells a new hymn-book, and generally for his own benefit . . . *doctrine is seldom preached and less studied . . .*” Engelder replies that this Methodist writer

will find what he wants and a great deal more—*pure* doctrine—in the Lutheran Church. We are far from bragging. On the contrary, are we fully thankful for the grand tunes, the doctrinal hymns, the doctrinal preaching, and the doctrinal schooling our Church gives us and our children?<sup>97</sup>

Three articles from 1901 concern themselves with the quality of the poetry and texts in the Gospel Song genre. The first, by George H. A. Luecke, quotes a Methodist minister who declares:

The “Gospel Hymns” are responsible for more bad taste in music in this country than any other agency. Some of the Gospel hymns are good, but most of them are unspeakably bad. Not only is the music tin-panny, tawdry and vulgar, but the words are bad. The poetry doesn’t scan; the rhymes are poor, the sentiment cheap and the grammar loose and disjointed. God’s praise is worthy of man’s most perfect literary expression . . . .<sup>98</sup>

Another article by Luecke quotes *The Independent*, a non-denominational religious magazine, as it critiques two stanzas of “Somewhere the Sun Is Shining,” describing them as “a disgrace to the Sunday-school hymnal from which they were presumably taken. Such stuff can be reeled off by

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<sup>97</sup> Theodore Engelder, “A Pretty Good Description of the Lutheran Way,” *Lutheran Witness* 13, no. 22 (1895): 171, emphasis original.

<sup>98</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “Editorials,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 5 (1901): 34.

the yard.”<sup>99</sup> A third article quotes a British weekly (as quoted in the *New York Sun*), which observes that:

A real Church Hymn Book must be free not only from sickliness and doggerel, but from that modern sectarianism which gives us addresses to God in which this or that section of the congregation are made to talk about themselves.

The *Witness* editor concurs, noting that “[t]hese are sane and sober words. May God speed the passing of the ragtime and tip-a-toe music and inane words that are altogether unworthy of the exalted themes that hymns should celebrate . . . .”<sup>100</sup>

Finally, four articles concern themselves with issues related to the unsuitability of non-church music for use in church. Adolphus W. Meyer writes in 1891 that, while allowing for exceptions, “the substitution of American songs for our own [Lutheran chorales] would betoken a depraved musical taste and deprive us of a great portion of the blessing of divine worship.”<sup>101</sup>

After comparing and contrasting the attitudes of Luther and Zwingli toward church music, George Romoser approaches the topic more directly:

On the other hand let us never catch “inspiration from the theatre and the ballroom.” In this age of vinting [*sic*] sensationalism in holy places, the jingle and tingle of the theatre and the ballroom has been transferred to the sanctuary. The words, of course, are different but the so-called music of the minstrel is made to profane the temple of God. Little wonder that under such conditions the easily unbalanced minister who will allow such a performance speedily acts the part of the minstrel and the society-bell [*sic*] can scarcely restrain her slippered feet from beating time with the exquisite waltz or polka selection! . . . Leave such things to the vagabond evangelists who have lately come from the gambling-hell [*sic*] and the dancehall from which they have brought with them their slang and their song and, in fact, their all.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> George H. A. Luecke, “Church News and Comment—at Home,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 9 (1901): 70.

<sup>100</sup> “Editorials,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 13 (1901): 98.

<sup>101</sup> A.[dolphus W.] Meyer, “Church Music,” *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 4 (1891): 26–27.

<sup>102</sup> George A. Romoser, “Congregational Singing,” *Lutheran Witness* 15, no. 6 (1896): 44–45. See also Darrel M. Robertson, who notes: “The beat of certain of the gospel songs was such that some Chicagoans were discovered dancing to them. Varied as the hymns were in subject, tempo, and mood, they were songs which caught the attention of the audience and were a joy to sing. As the editor of the *Nation* observed about the revival songs, ‘determine the pleasure that you get from a circus quick-step, a negro-minstrel sentimental ballad, a college chorus, and a hymn all in one, and you have some gauge of the variety and contrast that may be perceived in one of these songs.’” *The*

A third article quotes the *Christian Advocate*, a Methodist publication, which opines: “If we can only secure a Hymnal which will save us from the high-diddle-diddle under which many of our Sunday-schools and prayer-meetings have been afflicted, we will all have profound cause for thankfulness.”<sup>103</sup> And finally, Dietrich H. Steffens (1866–1944) comments following the publication of *SSH* 1901:

Nor do we want them to sing the inane jingling bells, rhymes and nursery doggerel set to dance music affected in some quarters by people who imagine that in order to be simple and childlike, you must be silly and foolish. Wesley, may have been honest in his belief that the devil had all the best tunes and that it would be an admirable thing to introduce secular music into the church, but we believe that even Wesley would draw the line at much of the six-eight, march rhythm, beat-the-drum stuff found in some of our present-day Sunday-school hymnals. Of course, Sunday-school hymns must be singable. Nevertheless, our new hymnal solves that problem without stooping to the vitiated musical taste of our time and putting doggerel into the hands of our children.<sup>104</sup>

In all of the above examples, the writers in the *Lutheran Witness* express their disapproval of the music associated with revivalist worship, which to them sounded like the music of the dance hall or theater and only stimulated an unhealthy emotionalism. Yet, in spite of their protests, a few such texts and tunes from the Moody-Sankey revivals made their way into *SSH* 1901, and so into Missouri Lutheranism.

### Conclusions

The legacy of revivalism and the Gospel Song was firmly rooted in the consciousness of late nineteenth-century America. As English Missouri began to reach out to English-speakers during this period, it inevitably encountered the revivalists of the day—preeminently Moody and Sankey—and the Gospel hymns that were being sung almost everywhere. English Synod leaders

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*Chicago Revival, 1876: Society and Revivalism in a Nineteenth-Century City*, Studies in Evangelicalism, no. 9 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989), 76–77.

<sup>103</sup> George A. Romoser, “Editorials,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 4 (1901): 25.

<sup>104</sup> D.[ietrich] H. Steffens, “Our Sunday-School Hymnal,” *Lutheran Witness* 20, no. 10 (1901): 75.

engaged the ecclesiastical and musical cultures that surrounded them by bringing to bear confessional Lutheran theology, as they knew it, through the pages of the *Lutheran Witness*. The results were somewhat mixed.

Although the vast majority of the articles surveyed were clearly critical of both revivalism and the Gospel Song, some summary observations are in order as to what exactly it was that they found most distressing. First of all, it may be observed that the vast majority of critical comments with regard to revivalism appear to have been directed primarily against the older, second-wave methodologies and theologies. This was, after all, the picture that had been tattooed on Missouri Lutheranism's memory banks from Wyneken onward, and much of it was still being practiced by second- and third-level evangelists, particularly in backwoods and rural America.

Moody, on the other hand, was a different story. His was a revivalism of the big city, and a revivalism with a different theological center—one that would have been infinitely more tolerable to Missourian theology than the heavily nomocentric preaching of second-wave revivalism. Thus, although Missouri Lutherans were clearly opposed “in principle” to revivalism, Moody somehow passed through the fires of Missourian polemic relatively unscathed.

The Gospel Song also received significant negative critique from the pages of the *Witness*. Yet this genre's lack of doctrine and triteness of music was recognized by others of that era. Evidently, there must have been certain types of Gospel Songs that were acceptable theologically and musically, since a number of selections from this genre were, in fact, included in *ELHB* 1892/1912 and *SSH* 1901. (See above, Chapter Three, page 136.) Although the *Witness* writers exhibited a strongly negative attitude toward much of the music associated with the Gospel Song genre, particularly when its tunes sounded like music derived from the theater or dance hall, a number of Gospel Song tunes with a simple, more folk-like quality did make it into *ELHB*

1892/1912 and *SSH* 1901 (e.g., CONVERSE with “What a Friend We Have in Jesus”).<sup>105</sup> When one compares these kinds of American Gospel Song tunes with the “spiritual song” melodies found in such German Missouri publications as the *Lieder-Perlen*<sup>106</sup> or *Missionsharfe*<sup>107</sup> (not to mention the theologically and poetically “lighter” quality of the texts from these German, quasi-ecclesial songbooks), it is not hard to see how English Synod hymnal editors were able to make the move from one to the other. As Dietrich H. Steffens wrote following the publication of *SSH* 1901:

For our Sunday-school hymnal the writer believes we can claim more. While a collection of hymns for children and young people must of necessity be simpler in form and contents than a church hymnal, and while the tunes used may be a somewhat lighter character than those employed by the congregation before the face of its Lord in His house; in other words, while a Sunday-school hymnal should have the character of the German “Missionsharfe” rather than that of the “Gesangbuch,” we believe that as a first great desideration, it should contain a goodly number of those glorious chorals [*sic*] which are to be given our children as a portion of their Lutheran heritage.<sup>108</sup>

Thus, the English-language Gospel Songs from “the Children’s Song” took their place alongside the German-language “spiritual songs” from “the Fathers’ Faith.” At the edges in each of their respective traditions, they were now combined to form an outlier band of hymnody—still at the edges, but nevertheless included in the emerging and eclectic hymn corpus of Missouri Lutheranism at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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<sup>105</sup> Although it is beyond the scope of this study to delve deeply into the musical components of the hymns involved, some explanation here is in order. Music professor Mel R. Wilhoit describes what I mean by “folk-like quality” of the Sunday school song (and later the Gospel Song) genre in note 22 above: “[Such music] consisted of diatonic but tuneful melodies in a homophonic texture with simple harmonies and slow harmonic rhythm.” I am indebted to James L. Brauer for pointing out to me the musical similarity between American Gospel Song tunes and the German tunes found in the *Lieder-perlen* and *Missionsharfe*.

<sup>106</sup> *Lieder-Perlen: eine Sammlung von Liedern geistlichen und gemischten Inhalts, theils in deutscher, theils in englischer Sprache, nebst einer Anzahl Spiellieder, ein-, zwei- und dreistimmig gesetzt für unsere Schulen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894).

<sup>107</sup> See *Kleine Missionsharfe im Kirchen- und Volkston festliche und ausserfestliche Kreise*, 13th ed. (St. Louis: L. Volkening, 1874); and H. G. Emil Niemeyer, *Große Missionsharfe: Geistliches Liederbuch für gemischten Chor, sowie für Klavier- oder Harmonium-Begleitung* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1906).

<sup>108</sup> Steffens, “Our Sunday-School Hymnal,” 75.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### A REVIEW AND ASSESSMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE HYMN TEXTS

Evangelicalism at its best is the religion displayed in its classic hymns. The classic evangelical hymns contain the clearest, most memorable, cohesive, and widely repeated expressions of what it has meant to be an evangelical.<sup>1</sup>

In Chapters Two through Six of our study we examined the background of the hymnals and hymn writers of the early English hymnals of the Missouri Synod, with particular attention to how this immigrant church body engaged the question of giving voice to a confessional Lutheranism in an American environment dominated by nineteenth-century Evangelicalism. In this chapter, we will engage representative hymn texts from both the German- and English-language hymn corpuses of these hymnals in order to compare and contrast the hymnic language used by each and thereby draw some conclusions concerning the relative influence of American Evangelicalism on the overall hymn corpus of these hymnals.

#### Setting the Table

##### Establishing the hymns for consideration

Of the 584 hymn texts between *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912, 224 (38%) of them are English translations of German hymns.<sup>2</sup> Chapter Two of this study isolated a corpus of these German-language hymns, distilled from *KELG* 1847, that were viewed as most critical to be transmitted into English.<sup>3</sup> Those eighty hymns are listed in Appendix Five, and all but four of

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<sup>1</sup> Mark A. Noll, "We Are What We Sing," *Christianity Today* 43, no. 8 (1999): 37.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Chapter One, page 14.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Chapter Two, page 46.

them were carried into *ELHB* 1889 and eventually into *ELHB* 1912.<sup>4</sup> In *ELHB* 1892, three more German-language hymns were also included and then carried forward into *ELHB* 1912. *SSH* 1901 added a single German-language hymn, which was also included in *ELHB* 1912. Finally, *ELHB* 1912 added twelve more German-language hymns,<sup>5</sup> for a total of 91 German-language hymn translations to be considered in this chapter.<sup>6</sup>

There are a total of 322 English-language hymn texts found in *ELHB* 1889/1892 and *ELHB* 1912.<sup>7</sup> Chapter Two isolated a corpus of hymns derived from *DH* 1879, *CB* 1868, *BoW* 1871, and *ELH* 1880.<sup>8</sup> These hymns were from the four English-language hymnals published by non-Synodical Conference Lutherans from which August Crull compiled the 197 English-language hymns included in *ELHB* 1889. The top two strata of Appendix Six (i.e., “Hymns from 4 of 4 Hymnals” and “Hymns from 3 of 4 Hymnals”) provide a useful list of 70 English-language hymn texts for consideration in this chapter.<sup>9</sup> Eight additional hymns that were new to *ELHB* 1892 (from its appendix, Nos. 401–450) were carried forward into both *SSH* 1901 and into *ELHB* 1912. Finally, the transitional character of *SSH* 1901 is demonstrated by the additional 23

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<sup>4</sup> The four hymns not included in *ELHB* 1889 were: “A Healer t’ Us Is Given”; “Bless Our Going Out, O Lord”; “In Grateful Songs Your Voices Raise”; and “Tender Shepherd, Thou Hast Stilled.”

<sup>5</sup> Only five of these fourteen were from *KELG* 1847.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix Ten provides a listing of these 91 German-language hymns, followed by the hymn texts themselves. These texts were established from a 1927 printing of the word edition of *ELHB* 1912. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, Abridged ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927). This later printing was selected for establishing the text in order to keep at a minimum the number of typographical errors that may be found in earlier printings.

<sup>7</sup> Excluded from these 322 texts are the 29 hymns from “Other Languages” and nine hymns of “Unknown Origin” listed in Appendix Two.

<sup>8</sup> See above, Chapter Two, page 53, and Appendix Six.

<sup>9</sup> This list therefore represents the most often printed English-language hymn texts among American Lutherans during our period. This number excludes five hymns from languages other than German that appear in the first two categories in Appendix Six: “Jesus, the Very Thought of Thee” by Bernard of Clairvaux; “Day of Wrath, That Day of Mourning” and “The Day of Wrath, That Dreadful Day” by Thomas of Celano; “Glory Be to Jesus” (Italian); and “Draw Nigh and Take the Body of the Lord” (Latin). Two additional hymns have also been excluded because they were never carried forward beyond *ELHB* 1892: “May the Grace of Christ Our Savior” by John Newton; and “Come, Said Jesus’ Sacred Voice” by Anna Barbauld.

English-language hymn texts new to *SSH* 1901 and carried forward into *ELHB* 1912, bringing the total to 100 English-language hymn texts for consideration in this chapter.<sup>10</sup>

### **The Marini lists**

A number of valuable studies of evangelical hymnody have recently emerged based on the pioneering work of Stephen A. Marini. Marini's primary methodological contribution, the assembly of databases containing the titles of the hymns printed in the most important American evangelical hymnals between 1737 and 1960, has enabled him to compile ranked lists of the most reprinted hymns found in American Protestant hymnals and songbooks. Marini laments that "there is, in fact, no established canon of texts for American evangelical hymnody,"<sup>11</sup> and his tabulated ranking of hymns from key evangelical hymnals and songbooks provides a fresh approach to considering which hymn texts might potentially be included in such a canon.

Marini's most comprehensive hymn list was published in 2004 as part of the American Protestant Hymns Project. It contains a ranked listing of the 300 most often reprinted hymns found in 175 American Protestant hymnals and hymnbooks that were published from 1737 to 1960.<sup>12</sup> A second study examines more specifically the hymns and hymnals during the

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<sup>10</sup> Appendix Eleven provides a listing of these 100 English-language hymns, followed by the hymn texts themselves. These texts were also established from a 1927 printing of the word edition of *ELHB* 1912. See above, note 6.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen A. Marini, "Hymnody and History: Early American Evangelical Hymns as Sacred Music," in *Music in American Religious Experience*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith L. Blumhofer, and Maria M. Chow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 132.

<sup>12</sup> Stephen A. Marini, "American Protestant Hymns Project: A Ranked List of Most Frequently Printed Hymns, 1737–1960," in *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, ed. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 251–64. Although the *terminus ad quem* (1960) of the Marini 300 is not ideal for this study, the list still commends itself for the following reasons. First, it is important to note that only two of the 300 hymns in Marini's list were initially published in the twentieth century: "O Beautiful for Spacious Skies" (1904; ranked number 80 of 300); and "On a Hill Far Away" (1913; ranked 299 of 300). Thus, the vast majority of Marini's 300 hymns were published in evangelical hymnals during the period under consideration. Second, and more importantly, the Marini 300 and his other ranked lists of evangelical hymns have engendered a number of studies that have used his lists in a variety of ways. See, for example, the four studies based on the Marini 300 included in Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant*

antebellum period and provides a listing of the top thirty-five most popular American evangelical hymns prior to 1860.<sup>13</sup> Finally, a third study provides a list of the top twenty evangelical hymns published from 1860–1970.<sup>14</sup>

For the purposes of this study, Marini’s first list (Marini 300), containing the top 300 evangelical hymns, provides a helpful foil against which to compare the broader hymn corpus of our study (*ELHB* 1889/1892, *SSH* 1901, and *ELHB* 1912). Of the 300 most frequently-printed evangelical hymns according to Marini’s tabulation, 121 (40%) are also included in the hymnals included in this study; among the top 100 hymns from the Marini 300, sixty-five (65%) are included; and among the top fifty hymns from the Marini 300, forty (80%) are included.

These results suggest a kind of “thinning out” of the data toward the bottom of the Marini 300—that is, the further down the list, the less of a consensus there is between hymnals; the closer to the top, the greater a consensus. This suggests that when using these kinds of wide-ranging data, shorter lists may provide more concentrated and useful data for consideration.<sup>15</sup>

The Marini 300 also demonstrates the weighty contribution that the hymns of American Evangelicalism made to the hymnals included in this study. For example, of the fifty most reprinted hymns in evangelical hymnals, forty of them were included in the *ELHB* hymn corpus—that is, English-speaking Missourians were basically singing from the same

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*History and Theology*, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), as well as Introduction and articles in Edith L. Blumhofer and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Singing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land*, Religion and American Culture (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), ix–x. Thus, Marini’s lists and his methodology have opened up a multitude of new avenues for research and reflection on the nature and characteristics of Evangelicalism as reflected in its most popular hymnic expressions.

<sup>13</sup> Marini, “Hymnody and History,” 135.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen Marini, “From Classical to Modern: Hymnody and the Development of American Evangelicalism, 1737–1970,” in *Singing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Hymnody in the History of North American Protestantism*, ed. Edith L. Blumhofer and Mark A. Noll (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> This may also explain why Marini himself has primarily worked with shorter lists when employing this kind of data in his own studies, for example: *ibid.*, 11, 18, and 20; and Marini, “Hymnody and History,” 123–24.

“hymnological top forty” as the rest of evangelical America. Table 8 combines the results of Marini’s lists with the English-language hymns isolated for study in this chapter:

Table 8: Top Twenty-four Evangelical Hymns in the English-language Hymn Corpus of *ELHB*.

<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>M 300</b>	<b>M pre-1860</b>	<b>M post-1860</b>
Jesus, Lover of My soul	Wesley	2	2	1
Alas! and Did My Savior Bleed	Watts	3		3
Am I a Soldier of the Cross?	Watts	5	3	10
Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me	Toplady	9	4	5
Joy to the World, the Lord Is Come	Watts	11	9	
When I Survey the Wondrous Cross	Watts	12	10	11
Blest Be the Tie That Binds	Fawcett	13	8	10
From Greenland’s Icy Mountains	Heber	15	13	
Just as I Am, without One Plea	Elliott	17		2
Jesus Shall Reign Where’er the Sun	Watts	21	21	
Come, Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove	Watts	22		
Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken	Newton	22	20	
Nearer, My God to Thee	Adams	22		3
I Love Thy Zion, Lord	Dwight	23	17	
There Is a Land of Pure Delight	Watts	23	15	
Lord, Dismiss Us with Thy Blessing	Fawcett	24	7	
Christ the Lord Is Risen Today	Wesley	25		
I know That My Redeemer Lives	Medley	27		
Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord, God Almighty!	Heber	28	12	
Grace! ’Tis a Charming Sound	Doddridge	30	20	
Abide with Me! Fast Falls the Eventide	Lyte	31		10
Before Jehovah’s Awful Throne	Watts	32	19	
Jesus, and Shall It Ever Be	Grigg	32	18	
God Moves in a Mysterious Way	Cowper	33		

Source: **M 300** = Stephen A. Marini, “American Protestant Hymns Project: A Ranked List of Most Frequently Printed Hymns, 1737–1960,” in *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, ed. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 251–64. **M pre-1860** = Stephen A. Marini, “Hymnody and History: Early American Evangelical Hymns as Sacred Music,” in *Music in American Religious Experience*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith L. Blumhofer, and Maria M. Chow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 132. **M post-1860** = Stephen Marini, “From Classical to Modern: Hymnody and the Development of American Evangelicalism, 1737–1970,” in *Singing the Lord’s Song in a Strange Land: Hymnody in the History of North American Protestantism*, ed. Edith L. Blumhofer and Mark A. Noll (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2004).

Table 8 lists the twenty-four hymns that appear among the top fifty hymns of the Marini 300 *and* also among the 101 English-language hymns isolated from the *ELHB* English-language corpus for this study. This table will be useful as a list of primary targets for thematic exploration of evangelical themes later in this chapter.

### **Employing the Bebbington Quadrilateral**

Over the last two decades, the “Bebbington Quadrilateral” (i.e., Bible, cross, conversion, activism) has established itself as a useful paradigm for exploring core theological themes of Evangelicalism, particularly as this movement manifested itself during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>16</sup> The Bebbington Quadrilateral has also been adapted as a tool to explore core evangelical themes in hymnody,<sup>17</sup> in spirituality/worship,<sup>18</sup> and even a range of continuities between the beliefs of Luther and sixteenth-century Lutherans and those of later evangelicals.<sup>19</sup>

This chapter will employ the four loci of the Bebbington Quadrilateral to examine the theological continuities between the German- and English-language hymnody in our study, as

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<sup>16</sup> Timothy Larsen, “The Reception Given *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* since Its Publication in 1989,” in *The Advent of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart (Nashville: InterVarsity Press, 2008), 21–36, provides a thorough (approaching exhaustive) overview of the reception of the Bebbington Quadrilateral within the academy of evangelical scholars since 1989, concluding that “in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, David Bebbington made as significant and substantial contribution to scholarship as the author of any book could ever hope for, in the ambitious way that he related church history to other forms of history and wider cultural developments. Along the way, he also happened to provide us with the standard definition of evangelicalism” (36).

<sup>17</sup> Mark A. Noll, “The Defining Role of Hymns in Early Evangelicalism,” in *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, ed. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 8–11, where Noll identifies core themes in evangelical hymns that fall well within the parameters of the Bebbington Quadrilateral. See a similar approach in: Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys*, vol. 1, *A History of Evangelicalism: People, Movements and Ideas in the English-Speaking World* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 275–79.

<sup>18</sup> Ian Randall, “Recovering Evangelical Spirituality,” *European Journal of Theology* 19, no. 1 (2010): 33–44; and David K. McFarland, “‘An Enterprise Calculated to Knit the Union’: Evangelical Hymnody and Church Union in Canada, 1925–1931,” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2010): 51–65.

<sup>19</sup> Cameron A. MacKenzie, “The Evangelical Character of Martin Luther’s Faith,” in *The Advent of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2008), 171–98.

well as the unique contributions of each.<sup>20</sup> As we explore the four themes of “Bible,” “cross,” “conversion,” and “activism,” we will also bring to our reading of selected hymn texts, whenever possible, a “kind of historicism” to our interpretation.<sup>21</sup> First, we will consider the “rubrics” under which the hymn has appeared in *ELHB*—that is, the section heading of the hymnal under which a particular hymn appears.<sup>22</sup> Such “rubrics” can often provide helpful clarity as to how the editors of the hymnal may have viewed the principal theological focus of a particular hymn within its larger context (i.e., the hymnal). Second, we will consider interpretive articles and writings on hymns from Missouri Synod periodicals during the period of our study. Such ancillary writings can provide a window into how the leaders and writers of German and English Missouri may have interpreted particular hymn texts during the formation of the *ELHB* hymn corpus. Finally, we will consider the historical background of the original hymn writers and their hymns, particularly when they are mentioned in the interpretive writings from the period of our study. With this approach, we will demonstrate in what ways the evangelical English-language hymnody of *ELHB* converged with, diverged from, or was appropriated into the existing German Missouri Lutheran hymn canon, thereby creating a unique complementarity in which “The Fathers’ Faith” was given voice through “The Children’s Song” in a new, eclectic hymn corpus for the Missouri Synod in the twentieth century.

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<sup>20</sup> See above, Chapter One, pages 9–13 and 35.

<sup>21</sup> J. R. Watson notes: “A contemporary reading [of a hymn] may well concentrate on the text, but the danger of this is that it will become a private reading or singing, an example of what Heidegger called the hermeneutical circle, in which the interpreter gets from the text what he or she brings to it. To counter this, it is necessary to attempt some kind of historicism, to set the hymn in the context of its original production, if only because this involves not individual response but understanding.” *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 19.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Marini, “Hymnody and History,” 127–31, where he discusses “Hymnals as Denominational Media” and compares and contrasts three different topical outlines in early evangelical hymnals. Marini concludes: “These three hymnals and their hymn classification suggests that early American evangelicals understood hymnody to be a function of doctrinal teaching and church practice. The texts and tunes gathered into any particular hymn collection were understood to reflect a specific denominational synthesis of religious culture, and the books were used didactically as well as liturgically” (131).

## The Bible

In *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, David W. Bebbington notes that a “main feature of the Evangelicals, their devotion to the Bible, has been the result of their belief that all spiritual truth is to be found in its pages.” He goes on to observe that Charles Wesley “was so immersed in scripture that in one of his hymns . . . twenty-six biblical allusions are crowded into sixty-four lines.” He concludes that “the overriding aim of early Evangelicals was to bring home the *message* of the Bible and to encourage its devotional use . . . .”<sup>23</sup>

With these parameters in mind, we will examine the German- and English-language hymn corpuses according to the following general categories: 1) hymns as biblical paraphrases; 2) hymns describing Scripture as the Word of God; 3) hymns describing Jesus as the Word or the sacramental Word; and 4) hymns emphasizing the importance of biblical doctrine.<sup>24</sup>

### Hymns as biblical paraphrases

As noted in Chapter Five, the use of hymns as paraphrases of the Psalter and other select canticles of Holy Scripture held a long and venerable tradition in English-language hymnody.<sup>25</sup> Though none of the more pedantic paraphrases prior to Watts (e.g., Tate and Brady) are included in our sample of English-language texts, Watts’ paraphrase of Psalm 90 in “Our God, Our Help in Ages Past” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 172) illustrates the careful attention he gave to crafting his interpretive paraphrases.<sup>26</sup> Watts’ interpretive approach must have resonated well with the

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<sup>23</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London; Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 12, 14. Emphasis not original.

<sup>24</sup> These subcategories were derived from the patterns that emerged from a study of the hymns in the respective German and English samples.

<sup>25</sup> See above, Chapter Five, page 205.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix Ten, *ELHB* 1912, no. 172. Like many hymnals of its day, *ELHB* 1912 reordered the stanzas of Watts’ original, which reflected the original flow of the biblical text. Watts’ original also contained an additional stanza following *ELHB*’s stanza 6, which expanded on the theme of those who would perish in the flood of the “ever-rolling stream.” For additional commentary and comparisons between Watts’ hymn and Psalm 90 (KJV), see:

German editors of *ELHB*,<sup>27</sup> who, from Luther onward, would have already been accustomed to proclaiming and interpreting biblical texts through hymnody. As one Missouri writer noted: most of Luther's hymns were "largely paraphrases of Scripture in verse, composed while his mind was occupied with his translation of the Bible and his heart was aglow with the fire enkindled by his ever new discoveries of the riches of Revelation."<sup>28</sup>

Thus, the German-language hymn corpus of *ELHB* contains a broad range of hymnody focused on proclaiming and interpreting specific biblical texts or narratives. For instance, Luther's paraphrase of Simeon's Nunc Dimittis (Luke 2:29–32), "In Peace and Joy I Now Depart" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 185), provides an example of Luther's interpretive approach in expressing a biblical text through hymnic verse.<sup>29</sup> In stanza 1, Luther describes the peace and joy of ancient Simeon in beholding the Messiah, whom the Lord had promised he would see with his own eyes before he died—so that death is now "but a slumber."<sup>30</sup> In stanza 2, Luther links the "salvation" of Simeon's Nunc Dimittis with the Messiah, whom the Lord has graciously given him to see, then returns again to the theme in stanza 1 of Simeon's facing death and the "Life" and "Help" that the Christ provides. In stanza 3, Luther takes the "salvation" theme of stanza 2

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Rochelle A. Stackhouse, "Hymnody and Politics: Isaac Watts's 'Our God, Our Help in Ages Past' and Timothy Dwight's 'I Love Thy Kingdom, Lord,'" in *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, ed. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 47–51.

<sup>27</sup> Other *ELHB* 1912 psalm paraphrases by Watts and others include: "The Man Is Ever Blest" (no. 341)—Psalm 1; "My Soul, Repeat His Praise" (no. 77)—Psalm 103; "O Bless the Lord, My Soul" (no. 76)—Psalm 103; and "The Lord My Shepherd Is" (no. 374)—Psalm 23.

<sup>28</sup> John Schiller, "Luther as Hymnologist," *Lutheran Witness* 24, no. 21 (1905): 163–64.

<sup>29</sup> See Appendix Eleven, *ELHB* 1912, no. 185, "In Peace and Joy I Now Depart."

<sup>30</sup> One Missouri writer notes the joy in Luther's "In Peace and Joy I Now Depart": "[The singer] awaited a blessed and joyous farewell from this vale of tears, as he expresses it in this unique and beautiful little song." ["... freudig gewartet er eines seligen Abschiedes aus diesem Jammertal, wie er das auspricht in dem einzig schönen Liedlein."] Otto F. Hattstaedt, "Das evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenlied, IV," *Der Lutheraner* 64, no. 18 (1908): 282–83. Another writer describes the comfort this hymn provided a condemned man as he faced the sword unjustly, even when the executioner's sword failed to hit its mark and the man lingered for several days following. "Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr' dahin!," *Der Lutheraner* 62, no. 22 (1906): 360.

and goes on to describe it in terms of the Gospel's promise ("Thy dear and wholesome Word") to "every nation." Finally, in stanza 4, Luther takes the theme of the Gospel's centrifugal spread in stanza 3 and further expands it in terms of "lands benighted" and "they who dwelt in night," who are now "[f]ed and lighted" by the Messiah, the Light,—Israel's "Praise, and Bliss, / Their Joy, Reward, and Glory."<sup>31</sup>

From Luther and German hymn writers onward, "In Peace and Joy I Now Depart" represents one of the more conventional paraphrases of a biblical text or narrative.<sup>32</sup> Toward the other end of the spectrum, Luther's "From Heaven above to Earth I Come" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 150) illustrates a more wide-ranging approach to paraphrase and interpretation. In fifteen stanzas, Luther retells the story of the Lucan Infancy Narrative (Luke 2:1–20)—composed in particular for his young family at Christmastime.<sup>33</sup> Stanzas 1–5 paraphrase the words of the angel to the shepherds in the narrative of Luke 2. Stanzas 6–7 continue in this fairly conventional manner to describe the wonder of the shepherds as they travel to Bethlehem to see the Christ child. Stanzas 7–14, however, provide a lengthy commentary, in childlike terms, on the story just prior and especially on the believer's response. Stanza 14, declares:

My heart for very joy doth leap,  
My lips no more can silence keep;  
I, too, must sing with joyful tongue  
That sweetest ancient cradle-song:

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<sup>31</sup> Thus, one sees a kind of "chain-link" effect between the stanzas, as Luther picks up the theme of "death" in stanza 1 again in stanza 2; then the theme of "salvation" from stanza 2, he picks up again in stanza 3; and finally the theme of Gospel expansion into the world in stanza 3, he renews and carries forward into stanza 4.

<sup>32</sup> Other examples along these lines include: "That Man a Godly Life Might Live" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 172)—Ten Commandments; "Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 396)—Lord's Prayer; and "Out of the Depths I Cry to Thee" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 415)—Psalm 130.

<sup>33</sup> Schiller notes: "[Luther's] Christmas carol, 'Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her,' the freshest, most joyful and child-like hymn that children sing on Christmas, he composed as he sat by the cradle of his infant child with Bible before him, meditating upon the Christmas message he was going to present to his parish at Wittenberg on Christmas morning. When Christmas eve came, he gathered his family around the Christmas tree and they all joined in this new hymn, singing and praising God for His wonderful gift, the Christ-child." "Luther as Hymnologist," 164. See also, "Vom Himmel hoch," *Der Lutheraner* 64, no. 25 (1908): 400, which tells much the same story.

Here, the joyful response of the believer today is put onto the lips of the singer, as he declares the Christmas Gospel in the intimate terms of a “cradle-song” to little children.<sup>34</sup> In the final stanza, the narrative of the angel’s Gloria in Excelsis is joined with the believer’s song—in effect, uniting the biblical paraphrase of the first half with Luther’s expansive commentary in the second.<sup>35</sup>

The English-language hymnody in the *ELHB* hymn corpus displays a similar broad range of interpretive approaches to portraying biblical texts. For example, Newton’s “Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 464) takes Isaiah 33:20–21—an Old Testament, non-psalter text—as a departure point for a hymn on the power of God’s Word for the New Testament Church: “He whose word cannot be broken / formed thee for His own abode . . .” (stanza 1). Additional biblical allusions are then enlisted: Psalm 87:3, Psalm 132:14, Matthew 16:16, Isaiah 26:1, Psalm 46:4, among others.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, Newton and Cowper were fastidious in providing almost stanza-by-stanza Scripture references to their hymns, demonstrating the biblicism germane to Evangelicalism. Such careful attention to biblical thought and imagery was also appreciated by Missouri Synod Lutherans,<sup>37</sup> and the use of hymnody to paraphrase and

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<sup>34</sup> One Missouri writer provides a lengthy and scholarly discussion of what Luther meant by the obscure German word, “Susannine” (“cradle-song”) in this stanza. See “Susannine,” *Der Lutheraner* 62, no. 26 (1906): 423.

<sup>35</sup> Another example of the more interpretive side of Luther’s hymnwriting would be “A Mighty Fortress Is Our God” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 273). Although this hymn has been connected with Psalm 46 from its first printing, very little of the text actually paraphrases the biblical psalm and instead reflects Luther’s rather free interpretation of the psalm for his day.

<sup>36</sup> See John Newton and William Cowper, *Olney Hymns, in Three Books* (London: W. Oliver, 1779), 75–77, where the authors specifically list these Bible verses, stanza-by-stanza.

<sup>37</sup> F[rederik] Kuegele notes in a sermon: “Christians, as many as are Christians in deed and in truth, are described in the Holy Scriptures as a glorious people . . . Of every sinner that repents, Christ says that he is such a person over whom the angels of heaven rejoice. And many more similar things are found in the Scriptures, so that the poet fitly sings: ‘Glorious things of thee are spoken, / Zion, City of our God.’” “Sunday after New Year, 1 Peter 4, 12–19,” *Lutheran Witness* 6, no. 13 (1887): 97.

interpret the Bible was a hallmark of both the German and English-language hymn corpus in *ELHB*.<sup>38</sup>

### Hymns describing Scripture as the Word of God

Both the German- and English language hymnody of *ELHB* contain hymns describing Holy Scripture as God's Word, although the words "Scripture" and "Bible" are infrequent. Most often these hymns are included under section headings ("rubrics") such as "Beginning of Worship" or "Close of Worship." Given the kind of corporate worship context in which these hymns appear, the Lutheran distinction between the "written Word of God" (i.e., the Bible), and the "spoken Word of God" (preaching, Holy Absolution, etc.) are therefore often bound together as one.

A variety of metaphors for the Bible as the Word of God nevertheless pertain. For example, in the German hymnody, Benjamin Schmolck's "Open Now Thy Gates of Beauty" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 5), declares in stanza 3: "Here Thy praise is gladly chanted, Here thy *seed* is duly sown . . . ." Or in stanza 4: "May Thy *Word* still o'er me shine, / as my *pole-star* through my life . . . ." Josua Stegmann's "Abide, O Dearest Jesus" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 9), declares in stanza 3: "Abide, with heavenly brightness / Among us, precious *Light*; Thy *truth* direct and keep us . . . ." Finally, in the section "God's Word," the strongest German hymn on this theme is Nikolaus Selnecker's "Lord Jesus Christ, with Us Abide" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 110), where nearly every stanza of its nine stanzas says something about the role of God's Word in the Church:

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<sup>38</sup> Additional English-language hymns that paraphrase or interpret specific Bible passages include: "Joy to the World" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 158)—Psalm 98; "Before Jehovah's Awful Throne" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 78)—Psalm 100; "Hail to the Lord's Anointed" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 132)—various Old Testament Messianic prophecies; "Hark, the Glad Sound! The Savior Comes" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 139)—various Old Testament Messianic prophecies; "The Lord My Pasture Shall Prepare" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 85)—Psalm 23; "Thou Art the Way; to Thee Alone" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 94)—John 14:6; "Brightest and Best of the Sons of the Morning" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 181)—telling/interpreting the Epiphany story (Matthew 2:1–12); and "Our Heavenly Father, Hear" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 397)—the Lord's Prayer.

1 Nor let Thy *Word*, that heavenly light, For us be ever veiled in night.  
 2 That pure we keep, till life is spent, / Thy holy *Word and Sacrament*.  
 3 Indue Thy *Word* with power and grace / And spread its *truth* in every place.  
 4 O keep us in Thy *Word*, we pray;  
 6 And always offer something new, / Devised to change Thy *doctrine* true.  
 8 A trusty weapon is Thy *Word*, / Thy Church's *buckler, shield, and sword*; / Lord,  
 let us by this *Word* abide . . . .  
 9 O grant that in Thy holy *Word* / We here may live and die, dear Lord;<sup>39</sup>

A similar variety of metaphors for God's Word is found in the English-language hymnody.

For example, under similar worship "rubrics" to the German hymns, John Fawcett's "Lord, Dismiss Us with Thy Blessing" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 17) declares in stanza 2: "Thanks we give and adoration / For Thy *Gospel's* joyful sound." William Hammond writes in stanza 4 of his "Lord, We Come before Thee Now" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 7): "Send some *message* from Thy *Word* / That may joy and peace afford . . . ." John Cawood's "Almighty God, Thy Word Is Cast" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 13) declares in three of its four stanzas the metaphor of God's Word as seed: "Almighty God, Thy *Word* is cast / Like *seed* into the ground" (stanza 1); "Let not the foe of Christ and man / This *holy seed* remove" (stanza 2); and "Oft as the precious *seed* is sown, / Thy quickening grace bestow" (stanza 4). Lastly,, in the section "God's Word," the strongest English hymn on this theme is Bernard Barton's "Lamp of Our Feet, Whereby We Trace" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 119):

1 *Lamp of our feet*, whereby we trace / Our path when wont to stray,  
 2 *Bread of our souls*, whereon we feed, / *True manna* from on high/ Our *guide and chart*, wherein we read / of realms beyond the sky;  
 3 *Pillar of fire*, through watches dark, / Or radiant cloud by day;  
 4 *Word* of the ever-living God, *Will* of His glorious Son;

In general, the German- and English-language hymns in our sample reflect a similar variety of metaphors in describing the Bible as the Word of God, especially as it is proclaimed within the context of corporate worship.

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<sup>39</sup> This hymn is quoted in a dedicatory prayer, composed for the dedication of a church building, in William Miller, "Dedicatory Prayer," *Lutheran Witness* 8, no. 7 (1889): 53, further reinforcing the theme of God's Word at work among the worshipping congregation.

## Hymns describing Jesus as the Word or the sacramental Word

Only two hymns in our sample (one German and one English) employ the biblical imagery of Jesus as the Word (*logos*; John 1:1). The German hymn is Luther's "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 273)—perhaps the most iconic hymn in the German-language corpus.<sup>40</sup> Stanza 3 describes the Christian's comfort in the face of the devil's rage and spite, concluding: "Scowl fierce as he will, / He can harm us none, / He's judged; the deed is done; / One little word [*Wörtlein*] can fell him." Luther then continues the beginning of stanza 4 with:

The *Word* they still shall let remain,  
And not a thank have for it;  
He's by our side upon the plain  
With His good gifts and Spirit.

The connection between the "little word" of stanza 3 and "[t]he Word" (i.e., *logos*) of stanza 4 is certainly implicit<sup>41</sup>—that the judgment of the devil was accomplished by the eternal Word of God, clothed in lowly flesh and blood (i.e., "ein Wörtlein"), who now fights for us against the devil "upon the plain / With His good gifts and Spirit."<sup>42</sup> Regardless, Luther's stanza 4 explicitly employs the biblical imagery of Jesus as the Incarnate Word (*logos*).

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<sup>40</sup> Luther's hymn was the most quoted and noted hymn in the periodicals reviewed in this study, including: "A Mighty Fortress," *Lutheran Witness* 33, no. 22 (1914): 175; "Luther's Hymn," *Lutheran Witness* 17, no. 2 (1893): 15; W. H. T. Dau, "Dr. Luther Tells How the Reformation Was Begun," *Theological Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (1905): 57–64; Louis Wessel, "Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary," *Theological Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (1907): 163–72; L.[udwig] F.[uerbringer], "Was wir Lutheraner," *Der Lutheraner* 64, no. 18 (1908): 287; and C. F. W. W.[alther], "Die feste Burg," *Der Lutheraner* 39, no. 19 (1883): 149.

<sup>41</sup> Madeleine Forell Marshall observes: "Stanza 3, for all its confusion, leaves us with a good question: *What 'little word subdues him'?* I guess we have to let this question puzzle us. That's how we progress. The finale, the last stanza, unfortunately suggests that the word is 'God's Word' . . ." *Common Hymnsense* (Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 1995), 155

<sup>42</sup> The earliest evidence from Luther's writings suggests that he did intend a connection between the "little word" of stanza 3 and "The Word" of stanza 4. In a sermon from 1528/29 (about the time he wrote "A Mighty Fortress"), Luther noted: "So it is meant to happen: all ruthlessness is meant to fall upon Christ and His Gospel, so that the devil pours out all his wickedness and all his power upon Christ and in Him becomes powerless, for the salvation and comfort of us who believe in Christ. Thus they may drive back the devil *with a single word* and cast him down. To the godless and unbelieving, the devil is a prince, indeed, a god of this world. But to believers he is powerless. When he hears a Christian *speaking the one word 'Jesus of Nazareth'* with true faith, he falls down as if struck by a thunderclap." Martin Luther, "The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Chapters of St. John and a Portion of the Twentieth, on the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (1528–29/1557)," in *Luther's Works*:

A second explicit identification of Jesus as the Word appears in stanza 3 of Thomas Kelly's "Stricken, Smitten, and Afflicted" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 209).

Mark the Sacrifice appointed!  
See who bears the awful load;  
'Tis the WORD, the LORD'S ANOINTED,  
Son of Man and Son of God.

Here, the editors of *ELHB* include the hymn writer's original typographical emphases on the words "WORD" and "ANOINTED," thereby stressing the importance of identifying the sacrifice of Calvary with the Word of God Incarnate, Jesus, the Messiah (Christ). All of this echoes and reinforces the imagery first presented at the end of stanza 1 of Kelly's hymn:

'Tis the long-expected Prophet,  
David's Son, yet David's Lord;  
Proofs I see sufficient of it:  
'Tis the true and faithful Word.

No references to the Word of God in any sacramental sense are found in our sample of English-language hymnody, but the German-language hymnody contains ample references, especially in the hymnal sections of "Baptism" and "Lord's Supper." For example, Benjamin Schmolck's "Blessed Jesus, Here We Stand" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 402) describes in stanza 1 the bringing of children at Christ's command to the waters of Holy Baptism, "For of such shall be Thy heaven." Stanza 4 then proclaims what happens in the waters of Baptism:

Wash it, Jesus, in Thy blood  
From the sin-stain of its nature;  
Let it rise from out this flood  
Clothed in Thee, a new born creature;

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*Sermons on the Gospel of St. John*, ed. Christopher Boyd Brown, American Edition (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2009), 265. Emphasis not original. Cf. WA 28:404–06. On the other hand, Luther wrote toward the end of his life: "For all such books, even if there were as many as thousands of them written every day and every hour as von Wolfenbüttel has vices and lies, are very easily refuted *with the single word*, 'Devil, you lie,' just as that haughty beggar Dr. Luther sings so proudly and boldly in those words of his hymn, 'One little word shall fell him.'" Martin Luther, "Against Hanswurst," in *Luther's Works, Church and Ministry III*, ed. Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald, and Helmut T. Lehmann, American Edition (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 185–86. Emphasis not original.

Similarly, Johann Rambach's "Baptized into Thy Name Most Holy" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 400) expresses the life of faith following the day of Baptism, especially God's baptismal grace at work in the life of the baptized.

The sacramental Word in the life of the Christian is also referenced in the German Lord's Supper hymnody of *ELHB*. Luther's "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 183) confesses the very presence of Christ's body and blood for the Christian to eat and drink in the bread and the wine of the Sacrament (stanza 2):

To remind us that, to save us,  
He hath died, His flesh He gave us  
With this bread, a quick'ning food,  
And with this wine, His precious blood.

Johann Franck's "Deck Thyself, My Soul, with Gladness" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 432) provides an extended devotional meditation on the union of Christ with the believer through the Sacrament of the Altar: "For the Friend, who here invites us / And to God Himself unites us" (stanza 4).<sup>43</sup> Thus, the German hymnody supplies a healthy range of sacramental language to the hymn corpus of *ELHB*.

### **Hymns emphasizing the importance of biblical doctrine**

Belief in the Bible as the ultimate authority in the Church has been identified as a chief component of Evangelicalism.<sup>44</sup> Yet, for Missouri Lutherans, the Bible's authority also extended to its biblical teachings as contained in the Lutheran Confessions, and particularly through the

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<sup>43</sup> One Missouri writer noted that "this famous and so richly blessed Lord's Supper hymn, whose melody reflects so superbly the unparalleled intimacy of the text, comes from Johann Frank, mayor in Guben, who is one of our greatest hymn writers . . ." ["Dieses berühmte und so reich gesegnete Abendmahlslied, dessen Melodie die unvergleichliche Innigkeit des Texts gar prächtig widerspiegelt, rührt von dem Bürgermeister Johann Frank in Guben her, der einer unser bedeutendsten Kirchenliederdichter ist . . ."] "Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele," *Der Lutheraner* 57, no. 7 (1901): 105.

<sup>44</sup> David W. Bebbington notes: "The place of the Bible, always the supreme evangelical court of appeal, can be explored first." *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*, A History of Evangelicalism (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 23.

Small Catechism among the laity. Thus, Missouri's German hymnody could plainly declare in stanza 1 of Ludwig Helmbod's "Lord, Grant That We E'er Pure Retain" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 390):

Lord, grant that we e'er pure retain  
The catechismal doctrine plain,  
As Luther taught the heavenly truth  
In simple words to tender youth.

Hymn singing was viewed as integral to the catechesis of Lutheran doctrine via the Small Catechism,<sup>45</sup> as well as to the spread of Missouri Lutheran mission work among English-speaking America.<sup>46</sup> The preservation and proclamation of the Bible's teaching through pure, Lutheran doctrine was viewed as critical to the churchly enterprise, as was the converse: the rejection of false doctrine. Thus Martin Schalling's "O Lord, I Love Thee From My Heart" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 366) prays: "From all false doctrine keep me, Lord, / From Satan's lies and malice ward . . . ."<sup>47</sup> Or as Luther's "Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 396)

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<sup>45</sup> [Carl A.] W.[eiss] noted: "Next to the preaching of the Gospel and catechizing, songs are most suitable for the imparting of Christian doctrine. It is claimed by some persons that the doctrine of the great Reformation was sung into the people." "Songs and Singing," *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 3 (1891): 22. So also "Abroad," *Lutheran Witness* 26, no. 2 (1907): 14, which noted: "The part played by hymns in spreading doctrine has always been looked upon as exceedingly important. Most of the great heresies of the early Church gained popularity in that way. The Reformation made tremendous use of the principle . . . ."

<sup>46</sup> J.[ohannes] Schaller, "Danger Ahead!," *Lutheran Witness* 10, no. 8 (1891): 57–58, noted: "The first care, then, of all who work in the field of English Mission, pastors and laymen alike, ought ever to be that they steadfastly adhere to the biblical doctrine in all its parts. Lutheran hymns, Lutheran liturgies, Lutheran prayers, above all Lutheran sermons ought to be heard wherever our missionary work, is carried on. . . . Emphasize doctrine, if you would accomplish your aim."

<sup>47</sup> Otto F. Hattstaedt notes: "Many hymns that originated back then testify to this plight of the church, and it is good that we remember them, so that when we sing them, they serve as a salutary reminder to us to remain firm in our faith and confession, just as our fathers did. For how many Lutheran preachers were there back then who, not desiring to deviate from the truth, were abused, tortured, deposed, persecuted! Thus the pious Martin Schalling was forced to learn, who, on account of his Lutheran confession was expelled from his Office in Amberg in the Palatinate, and subsequently composed the joyous hymn of comfort, "O Lord, I Love Thee from My Heart" ([KELG] no. 271), in which he, among other things, prayed: 'From all false doctrine keep me, Lord . . . .' ["Viele Kirchenlieder, die damals entstanden, zeugen von dieser Notlage der Kirche, und es ist gut, daß wir uns dessen erinnern, damit sie, wenn wir sie singen, uns zur heilsamen Mahnung dienen, fest wie unsere Väter bei unserm Glauben und Bekenntnis zu verharren. Denn wie wurden damals doch so viele lutherische Prediger, die nicht von der Wahrheit weichen wollten, geschmäht, gequält, abgesetzt, verfolgt! Das mußte der fromme Martin Schalling erfahren, der wegen seines lutherischen Bekenntnisses aus seinem Amt in Amberg in der Pfalz verjagt wurde und sich zum Trost damals das herzerquickende Lied dichtete: 'Herzlich lieb hab' ich dich, o Herr' (No. 271), worin er ja unter anderm bittet: 'Behüt' mich, Herr, vor falscher Lehr.'"] "Das evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenlied, VI.," *Der Lutheraner* 64, no. 20 (1908): 317.

declares of the First Petition of the Lord's Prayer: "Thy name be hallowed! Help us, Lord, / To keep in purity Thy Word . . . ."48 For Missouri Lutherans, teaching purely what the Bible taught, particularly as confessed in the Small Catechism, was part and parcel to the Church's mission, and so also to its hymnody.<sup>49</sup>

## Summary

The evangelical feature of devotion to the Bible is certainly a feature of the hymnody of *ELHB*, albeit with certain nuances. In both the German and English hymnody, there are abundant examples of hymns that serve as biblical paraphrases, with a wide range of literary imagery and approaches. In both the English and German hymns, scriptural allusions abound, as well as a variety of metaphors to describe the Bible and the Bible's message. Even Jesus as the Word (*logos*) finds a home in both hymn corpuses. The sacramental hymnody, however, is found only among the German hymns of our two sample groups. Likewise, hymns emphasizing the teachings of the Small Catechism and the rejection of false doctrine are found only among the German hymns. These last two findings are not unexpected and, in fact, reflect the kind of theological distinctives found in many denominational hymnals from this period.<sup>50</sup>

## The Cross

In *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, Bebbington outlines the second aspect of Evangelicalism as "their attachment to the doctrine of the cross. The sacrifice of Christ on

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<sup>48</sup> Similar imagery is found in: Johann Stuerlein's "The Old Year Now Hath Passed Away" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 173)—stanza 3; Nicolaus Selnecker's "Lord Jesus Christ, with Us Abide" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 110)—stanza 6; and Caspar Melissander Bienemann's "Lord, As Thou Wilt, Deal Thou with Me" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 383)—stanza 2.

<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Missouri's *Der Lutheraner*, the German lay periodical first established by C. F. W. Walther in 1844, carried as a banner emblazoned atop every issue: "Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr / vergehet nun und nimmermehr"—"God's Word and Luther's doctrine shall not now or evermore pass away."

<sup>50</sup> Marini observes: "The texts and tunes gathered into any particular hymn collection were understood to reflect a specific denominational synthesis of religious culture, and the books were used didactically as well as liturgically. In the diverse denominational and sectarian environment of early American evangelicalism, this

Calvary was the way in which the salvation described in the Bible was won for humanity.

Preachers often dwelt on the Pauline manifesto of preaching ‘Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.’”<sup>51</sup>

With these parameters in mind, we will examine the German- and English-language hymn corpuses according to the following general categories: 1) hymns on Calvary and Easter; 2) hymns on the atonement; and 3) hymns on the cross as hymns of comfort.

### **Hymns on Calvary and Easter**

In the German hymn corpus, the most iconic hymn on the suffering of Jesus Christ is Paul Gerhardt’s “O Bleeding Head, and Wounded” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 201).<sup>52</sup> Gerhardt’s hymn is a very free paraphrase of one of a series of fourteenth-century Latin poems, “Salve caput cruentatum”—part of a medieval meditation on the feet, knees, hands, side, breast, heart, and head of the crucified Christ.<sup>53</sup> Gerhardt’s hymn focuses only on Christ’s head, juxtaposing in stanza 1 the “Head, once crowned with glory” with the “Bleeding Head” . . . “In mockery surrounded / With cruel crown of thorns.” In stanza 2, Gerhardt contrasts the one whom “mighty worlds shall fear Thee / And flee before Thy glance” with the image of one upon whom men “spit” and “jeer.” The singer’s internalization of the events of Calvary is made all the more intense by the hymn writer’s use of the first person singular:

4 My burden, in Thy passion,  
Lord, Thou hast borne for me,  
For it was my transgression

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particularity worked well as an evangelistic device and for a specific audience.” “Hymnody and History,” 131.

<sup>51</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 26–27.

<sup>52</sup> Friedrich L.[ochner] says that Gerhardt’s hymn is “the most quintessential of Passiontide hymns . . .”; and, that it “belongs altogether to the most valuable of pearls among the richest of hymn treasures in the Lutheran Church.” [“. . . das Alpha schöner Passions-lieder.” . . . “Ueberhaupt gehört das Lied zu den werthvollsten Perlen in dem so reichen Liederschatze der lutherischen Kirche.”] “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,” *Der Lutheraner* 52, no. 5 (1896): 43.

<sup>53</sup> J. R. Watson, “Salve caput cruentatum,” in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. J. R. Watson and Emma Hornby (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2013), <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/s/salve-caput-cruentatum>, accessed October 23, 2013.

Which brought this woe on Thee.  
I cast me down before Thee,  
Wrath were my rightful lot;  
Have mercy, I implore Thee,  
Redeemer, spurn me not!

Throughout the first five stanzas, the singer stands before the dead Christ of Calvary, reflecting on the events of Good Friday.<sup>54</sup> In this way, the significance of Christ's Passion is brought home to the singer in a most meaningful way.

An English hymn comparably as vivid is James Montgomery's "Go to Dark Gethsemane" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 199). Montgomery wrote this hymn in two different versions (1820 and 1825), the latter appearing with the superscription "Christ our example in suffering."<sup>55</sup> Instead of using the first-person singular as Gerhardt did, however, Montgomery addresses the singer throughout the hymn with a series of stirring imperatives:

1 *Go* to dark Gethsemane, / Ye that feel the Tempter's power;  
2 *Follow* to the judgment-hall, / *View* the Lord of life arraigned;  
3 *Mark* the miracle of time, / God's own sacrifice complete.  
4 Early *hasten* to the tomb / Where they laid His breathless clay;

The effect is similar to Gerhardt's "O Bleeding Head," in that it prompts the singer to internalize the events of Calvary as if he were there. The final line in each stanza in Montgomery's hymn, then, brings home the lesson or meaning of each event to the singer.

1 *Learn* of Jesus Christ to pray.  
2 *Learn* of Him to bear the cross.  
3 *Learn* of Jesus Christ to die.  
4 Savior, *teach* us so to rise.

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<sup>54</sup> The remaining stanzas of Gerhardt's Passion hymn serve as a reflection on the comfort of the cross at the time of death.

<sup>55</sup> James Montgomery, *The Christian Psalmist; or, Hymns, Selected and Original* (Glasgow: Chalmers and Collins, 1825), 392. See also, John Julian, ed. *A Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations* (London: John Murray, 1907), 430–31.

The final line of the final stanza, then, stands out as unique in that it is no longer addressed as an imperative to the singer, but rather as a prayer to the risen Savior.<sup>56</sup>

The resurrection of the Crucified One on Easter morning is also a strong theme in the *ELHB* hymn corpus. Among the German hymns, the classic Lutheran hymnic expression is Luther's "In Death's Strong Grasp the Savior Lay" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 224). Luther's hymn takes a penetrating look at the cosmic battle that was waged at Calvary and the victory over death that was announced to the depths of hell and to the ends of the earth that first Easter morning.

5 Here the true Paschal Lamb we see,  
Whom God so freely gave us;  
He died on the accursed tree,  
So strong His love!—to save us.  
See, His blood doth mark our door;  
Faith points to it, Death passes o'er,  
The Murderer cannot harm us.  
Hallelujah!

The vital connection of Calvary with Easter is integrated throughout Luther's hymn, a characteristic of much of the German Easter hymnody in *ELHB*.<sup>57</sup>

By contrast, the English hymns in *ELHB* also integrate the events of Calvary and the empty tomb, but in a more abbreviated fashion than one finds among the German hymns. For example, Charles Wesley's "Christ, the Lord Is Risen To-day" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 221) touches on the cosmic battle in stanza 2 ("Fought the fight, the battle won"), stanza 3 ("Christ has burst the gates of hell"), and stanza 4 ("Dying once, He doth all save"). Wesley's "Our Lord Is Risen from the Dead" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 232), also touches briefly on the battle at Calvary in stanza 1 ("The

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<sup>56</sup> Other hymns in the *ELHB* hymn corpus that focus specifically on the events of Calvary include: "Stricken, Smitten, and Afflicted" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 209); "Hail, Thou Once Despised Jesus" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 242), also covers Easter and Ascension; "Savior, When in Dust to Thee" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 213); and from the German hymns, "Lord, Jesus, Who Our Souls to Save" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 217), focuses uniquely on Jesus' rest in the tomb on Holy Saturday.

<sup>57</sup> Other examples include: "Awake, My Heart, with Gladness" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 218); "Jesus Christ, My Sure Defense" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 220); and "Welcome, Thou Victor in the Strife" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 228).

powers of hell are captive led”) and stanza 4 (“The world, sin, death, and hell o’erthrew”).<sup>58</sup> Yet, neither of these displays the same depth of Christological reflection as Luther’s “In Death’s Strong Grasp the Savior Lay,” or even Gerhardt’s “Awake, My Heart, with Gladness” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 218). Some later hymns, however, such as Matthew Bridges’ “Crown Him with Many Crowns” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 104), do begin to display a richer consideration of the Christological connections between Good Friday and Easter.

### **Hymns on the Atonement**

Both the German and English hymns of *ELHB* interpret the events of Holy Week through a well-developed doctrine of the atonement. Among the German hymns, Johann Rist’s “O Darkest Woe” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 215) paints a most vivid picture:

2 O sorrow dread  
Our God is dead,  
But by His expiation  
Of our guilt upon the cross  
Gained for us salvation.

No other hymn in either German or English describes the death of Christ as the death of God in quite the same way—that at Calvary, Christ died according to both his human and divine natures, and thereby gained salvation for all humankind. Decius’ “O Lamb of God, Most Holy” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 203) articulates the atonement using the Lamb of God imagery from John 1:29: “E’er patient, meek, and lowly, / Though heaped with hate and disdain. / All sins thou borest for us.” And Zinzendorf’s first-person singular reflection, “Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 326), carries a doctrine of substitutionary atonement virtually throughout:

1 Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness, / My beauty are, my glorious dress;

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<sup>58</sup> One Missouri writer quotes this Wesley hymn in an extended exposition on the Ascension and comments that “by His glorious ascension into heaven Christ proclaimed His victory to the angels and the spirits of the blessed and made His entry into His native heaven and sat down in royal state at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.” “‘He Ascended into Heaven’—Apostles’ Creed,” *Lutheran Witness* 13, no. 24 (1895): 185–86.

3 The holy, meek, unspotted Lamb . . . / Who died for me, e'en me t' atone,  
4 Lord, I believe Thy precious blood . . . / Forever doth for sinners plead,  
5 Thou hast for all a ransom paid, / For all a full atonement made.  
6 E'en then this shall be all my plea: / Jesus hath lived and died for me.  
7 For me, and all Thy hands have made, / An everlasting ransom paid.

The English hymnody of *ELHB*, though perhaps not as stark and robust as that of the German, is certainly very similar. For example, Watts' "Alas! And Did My Savior Bleed" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 214) echoes the stark Christology of Rist's "O Sorrow Dread":

3 Well might the sun in darkness hide  
And shut his glories in,  
When God, the mighty Maker, died  
For man the creature's sin!

Like Luther's "O Lamb of God, Most Holy," Watts' second stanza also expresses the atonement in the language of John 1:29: "But Christ, the heavenly Lamb, Takes all our sins away . . . ."

Finally, Watts' further meditation on the atonement is phrased in the language of "the saint's grieved and amazed reflection on Christ's sacrifice,"<sup>59</sup> not at all unlike Zinzendorf's "Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness":

2 Was it for crimes that I had done  
He groaned upon the tree?  
Amazing pity, grace unknown,  
And love beyond degree!

Or, as we see also in Watts' "Not All the Blood of Beasts" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 319):

4 My soul looks back to see  
The burden Thou didst bear  
When hanging on the cursed tree,  
And knows her guilt was there.

All in all, both the German and English hymnody of *ELHB* employ similar imagery to express a classic doctrine of Christ's atonement for a sinful humanity.

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<sup>59</sup> Marini, "From Classical to Modern," 12.

## Hymns on the cross as hymns of comfort

In 1907, Missouri Synod Lutherans, along with many others around the world, observed the tricentennial of Paul Gerhardt's birth. One writer for the *Lutheran Witness* observed:

Lutherans love and value the unparalleled wealth and excellence of their hymnody . . . Whether these hymns, like those of Luther and the earlier hymn-writers, declare the great truths of Christian doctrine, the mighty works of God as revealed in the divine Word, or whether, like those of Gerhardt and the later hymnists, they emphasize the response of the individual to the divine call, the operations of the Spirit in the heart of man under the manifold circumstances of life, these hymns have found their way to the heart of the people.<sup>60</sup>

Hymns of comfort, especially from Gerhardt and the later German poets, form a particularly strong component of the cross-related hymnody in *ELHB*, and certain strands of the English hymnody carry strains of comfort as well.

One of the great Passion hymns of comfort from the German hymnody of *ELHB* is Johann Heermann's "Jesus, Grant that Balm and Healing" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 194). For every kind of trial or suffering presented throughout its six stanzas, the singer is directed to some aspect of the cross for comfort:

- 1 Pains of body and of mind: "balm and healing / In Thy holy wounds I find,"
- 2 Lust or sharp temptation: "Let me think upon Thy Passion . . . / Jesus Christ for me was wounded,"
- 3 Worldly enticements: "Let me think upon the load / Thou didst once for me endure,"
- 4 Whatever pain or grief: "Let Thy wounds, Lord, make me whole."
- 5 Death: "Let Thy death be my protection, / Safety, life, and resurrection."
- 6 Death: "In Thy wounds find consolation, / And obtain my soul's salvation."

Valerius Herberger's "Farewell! I Say with Gladness" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 532) reflects a similar cross-focused comfort in time of spiritual need:

3 When all around is darkling,  
Thy name and cross, still bright,  
Deep in my heart are sparkling

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<sup>60</sup> C.[harles] Abbtmeyer, "Paul Gerhardt: I. His Life," *Lutheran Witness* 26, no. 6 (1907): 42.

Like stars in blackest night.  
Appear Thou in Thy sorrow,  
For Thine was woe indeed,  
And from Thy cross I borrow  
All comfort heart can need.

In all, the German hymnody, much of it born out of the struggles of the Thirty Years' War, makes up the bulk of the hymnody of *ELHB* when it comes to hymns of comfort.<sup>61</sup>

Among the English hymns, the most striking hymns of comfort come from the Wesleys onwards. Charles Wesley's "Jesus, Lover of My Soul" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 107) leads the way as a hymn "predominantly and characteristically Christocentric."<sup>62</sup> At the very beginning of the hymn the singer addresses Jesus with the intimate phrase, "lover of my soul," marking the hymn to come "as a work of unusual intensity."<sup>63</sup> The central message of the hymn is that Jesus is "the lover of the human soul, however undeserving it may be."<sup>64</sup> The line-by-line interplay in stanza 3 between a gracious Jesus and the sinful soul underscores their intimate relationship:

Just and holy is Thy name;  
I am all unrighteousness:  
False and full of sin I am,  
Thou art full of truth and grace.

In the concluding stanza, the unworthy soul finds comfort only in the unmerited grace of God:

"Plenteous grace with Thee is found, / Grace to cover all my sin . . . ."<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Other German hymns of comfort include: "When in the Hour of Utmost Need" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 515); "Whatever God Ordains Is Good" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 507); "O Lord, How Shall I Meet Thee" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 136)—especially stanzas 3–6; "Now Let Us Come before Him" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 174)—especially stanzas 4–5, 8, 11–12; "Jesus, Priceless Treasure" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 82); "Commit Whatever Grieves Thee" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 525); "If Thou but Suffer God to Guide Thee" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 498); "In God, My Faithful God" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 508).

<sup>62</sup> Marini, "Hymnody and History," 138.

<sup>63</sup> J. R. Watson, ed. *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 175.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> William D.[allmann] tells how Wesley was prompted to write "Jesus, Lover of My Soul" when a little bird, being pursued by a hawk, flew into his window and so into his arms and found refuge there. "So he [Wesley] took up his pen and wrote that sweet hymn: 'Jesus, lover of my soul, / Let me to thy bosom fly . . . .' That prayer grew into one of the most beautiful hymns in our language, and multitudes of people, when in sorrow and danger, have found comfort while they have said or sung the last lines of that hymn." "How a Beautiful Hymn Was Written," *Lutheran*

One of the most popular and comforting hymns from the nineteenth century, Henry Francis Lyte's "Abide with Me" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 40), was included in *ELHB* with all eight of its original stanzas.<sup>66</sup> Taking its biblical cue from the appearance of the resurrected Jesus on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:29), the hymn focuses on the abiding and changeless grace of God in Christ Jesus in the midst of the changes and chances of a transient world:<sup>67</sup> "Change and decay in all around I see; / O Thou, who changest not, abide with me!" (stanza 2). Lyte's altering of the biblical words "abide with *us* . . ." to the first person singular internalizes the meaning of the text in the mind of the singer, as each stanza concludes with the prayer, ". . . abide with *me*!" The final stanza, then, declares the comfort of the cross as the beacon toward heaven: "Hold Thou Thy cross before my closing eyes, / Shine through the gloom, and point me to the skies."<sup>68</sup> As with nearly every other hymn in our sample, Lyte's final stanza points the believer toward heaven and the comfort and presence of Christ that awaits him there.

## Summary

Among both the German and English hymns recounting the events of Calvary, one finds vivid and poignant language drawing the singer to ponder and internalize the meaning of Good Friday. Regarding the meaning of Easter and the empty tomb, the German hymns evidence a

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*Witness* 15, no. 11 (1896): 87. See also, "Famous Hymns and What Inspired Them," *Lutheran Witness* 22, no. 9 (1903): 71.

<sup>66</sup> A great many hymnals, following the lead of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861), omitted stanzas 3–5. Watson, ed., *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns*, 273.

<sup>67</sup> One Missouri writer noted: "A melancholy interest attaches to this hymn. It is the last composition of the Rev. Henry Francis Lyte, and it is said to have been written at a time when a number of his S. S. [Sunday school] teachers and other helpers left him for another denomination. . . . To these deserters the author is said to allude in the first verse, where he writes, 'When other helpers fail.' Whether this were so or not, it is certain that the hymn was written at a time of great mental as well as bodily suffering." A. W. Meyer, "Topic for the Times: Abide with Me," *Lutheran Witness* 14, no. 4 (1895): 27. See also, "Famous Hymns and What Inspired Them," 71.

<sup>68</sup> Other hymns of comfort from the *ELHB* English-language hymn corpus include: "Nearer, My God, to Thee" [Ganse] (*ELHB* 1912, no. 520); "God Moves in a Mysterious Way" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 524); "God Is Love, His Mercy Brightens" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 510); "Lord, It Belongs Not to My Care" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 496); "O Thou, from Whom All Goodness Flows" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 497); "In the Hour of Trial" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 409); "Savior, Again to

deeper reflection on the cosmic implications of the Crucified One's resurrection, although the English hymns evidence similar thoughts in many places. The doctrine of the atonement is articulated throughout both the German and the English hymnody, albeit more robustly at times among the German hymns. Finally, while German hymns from the seventeenth century predominate as hymns of comfort in *ELHB*, hymns from the Wesleys and others into the nineteenth century also contribute significantly to this theme.

### Conversion

In *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, Bebbington notes:

A third characteristic of [Evangelicalism] was that its members looked for conversions. . . . Not all evangelicals would have phrased the idea in the same way, but nearly all would have agreed that the individual had to exercise *repentance*, or a deliberate turning away from sin, and faith, or trust in Christ as Savior. . . . A theological concept closest to conversion was *regeneration*. Those who were converted could equally be described as “born again.” . . . Another theological term associated with conversion was *justification* . . . Believers subsequently trusted that they were treated by the Almighty as righteous even though they had previously been guilty.<sup>69</sup>

With these parameters in mind, we will examine the German- and English-language hymn corpuses according to the following general categories: 1) call to repentance; 2) justification of the sinner; and 3) regeneration, work of the Holy Spirit.

### Call to repentance

During the nineteenth-century, “the biggest difference in the evangelical community over conversion related to its timing. Was it always the experience of a moment or could it be a long, perhaps unconscious process?”<sup>70</sup> The former was the predominant opinion for most of the

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Thy Dear Name We Raise” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 16).

<sup>69</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 31–33.

<sup>70</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 33.

century, and much of evangelical hymnody from this period reflected the various waves of revivalism that dominated the American religious landscape.<sup>71</sup>

For Missouri Synod Lutherans, however, the appropriation of evangelical hymnody had to find its place within a Lutheran morphology of conversion that did not primarily concern itself with a “moment of conscious conversion,” but rather with Baptism (usually at infancy) into Christ’s death and resurrection and a lifelong dying to self through daily repentance and arising in Christ as a new, forgiven creature.<sup>72</sup> Adult conversion was certainly also granted and accounted for within a Missouri Lutheran morphology, but not with the same kind of revivalist overtones and emphases that one would find among Evangelicals.

The German hymnody, therefore, tends primarily to emphasize repentance in the daily, baptismal sense, but much of it may also be tacitly read and understood in terms of adult conversion. For example, Erdmann Neumeister’s “Jesus, Sinners Doth Receive” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 414), calls sinners (converted or unconverted) to come to Jesus in stanza after stanza:

1 O may all this saying ponder / Who in sin’s delusions live / And from God and  
heaven wander!  
3 Sheep that from the fold did stray / Every faithful shepherd seeketh;  
4 Come, ye sinners, one and all, / Come, ye all have invitation . . . Come accept His  
free salvation!  
5 I, a sinner, come to Thee / And acknowledge my transgression;

The Gospel content of the call to repentance even more so predominates Neumeister’s text:

1 This alone sure hope can give— / “Jesus sinners doth receive!”  
2 Yet His words, rich grace revealing, / Pardon, peace, and life proclaim;  
3 Weary souls that lost their way, / Christ, the Shepherd, seeks and taketh / In His  
arms that they may live—  
5 Tender mercy show to me, / Grant me graciously remission;

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<sup>71</sup> See above, Chapter Six, pages 244–46.

<sup>72</sup> See the Small Catechism, The Sacrament of Holy Baptism, Part Four: “What does such baptizing with water signify? It signifies that the old Adam in us should, by daily contrition and repentance, be drowned and die with all sins and evil lusts and, again, a new man daily come forth and arise, who shall live before God in righteousness and purity forever.” *SSH* 1901 (Tune Edition), page 58. See also Romans 6:4.

6 Were as scarlet my transgression, / It shall be as white as snow / By the virtue of  
Thy Passion;  
7 He who grants me full release / Hath atoned for my transgression;

Placed within the context of the Missouri Lutheran practice of “Confessional Services,”<sup>73</sup> such hymnody primarily supported an ordered call to repentance within the worshipping community in preparation for the service of Holy Communion.<sup>74</sup> Such a call was often found in the hymns under the section heading “Confession and Absolution,”<sup>75</sup> but other hymns also included a call to repentance.<sup>76</sup>

There appears to have been some tension among Missouri Lutherans regarding the topic of conversion in their hymnody. In one article, the writer gives the hymn, “Come, Humble Sinner, in Whose Breast,”<sup>77</sup> as an example of one of the standard evangelical hymns that are “fruitful sources of error.” After approving of the first three stanzas, the writer then notes:

So far it is excellent. So far it gives all the power and glory to Christ, and none to man. But see how it goes on:

“*Perhaps* He will admit my plea,  
*Perhaps* will hear my prayer.

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<sup>73</sup> Concerning these services, Fred L. Precht notes: “In those days it was customary to have the corporate confession, or the so-called confessional service, on Friday or Saturday evening prior to Communion Sunday. Such an arrangement, it was felt, allowed more time for spiritual preparation and increased the meaning of both confession and the Lord’s Supper.” “Confession and Absolution: Sin and Forgiveness,” in *Lutheran Worship: History and Practice*, ed. Fred L. Precht (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993), 361.

<sup>74</sup> For an outline of a sermon to be preached at such a service, where this hymn is quoted in conclusion, see: J. C. A., “Outline of a Confessional Sermon on John 1, 16,” *Theological Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (1900): 364–65.

<sup>75</sup> See also, for example, “Lord, to Thee I Make Confession” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 416), or “Lord Jesus Christ, in Thee Alone” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 413), which one Missouri writer described as one of many hymns that burst forth from the heart of a Christian “who finds himself in the state of *daily repentance*,” and who consequently also desires to sing such hymns “before others when he comes to Confession and the holy Supper.” [“Namentlich findet in ihm das Herz eines solchen Christen den entsprechenden Ausbruch, der in Stande der *täglichen Buße* sich finden läßt und darum auch vor andern es gern gebraucht, wenn er zur Beichte und zum heiligen Abendmahl kommt.”] F.[riedrich] L.[ochner], “Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ,” *Der Lutheraner* 44, no. 5 (1888): 34. Emphasis original.

<sup>76</sup> For examples of German hymns including the theme of repentance outside of the “Confession and Absolution” section of *ELHB*, see “Once He Came in Blessing” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 143)—especially stanzas 2–3; or “Lift Up Your Heads, Ye Mighty Gates” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 138)—especially stanzas 4–5.

<sup>77</sup> This hymn, by the Baptist evangelical Edmund Jones (1722–75), appears as number fifty in the Marini 300. See Marini, “American Protestant Hymns Project,” 255. For more on Jones, see Julian, ed., *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 605.

But if I perish I will pray,  
And perish only there.”

Now that is very wrong. There is no “perhaps” in the case. Jesus emphatically says: “Whosoever cometh unto Me, I will in no wise cast out.” And “whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but hath everlasting life.” This hymn has a place in many hymnals, yet it teaches to gravely doubt God’s plain Word, and it should be avoided. . . . For if he prays truly, he has faith and he is already God’s child.<sup>78</sup>

The writer speaks against any hymn that would place doubt into the singer’s mind regarding the promises of God in Scripture and the sinner’s standing before God as a beloved child.

On the other hand, another writer gives voice to the Missouri Lutheran struggle to appropriate evangelical hymnody into a Lutheran morphology of conversion. Noting that hymns such as Cowper’s “O for a Closer Walk with God” and Bonar’s “I Was a Wandering Sheep” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 105) have been subject to much criticism “that lacks foundation,” the writer goes on to frame the question as follows:

The question is not concerning the merit of the above hymns, but . . . whether a person may fall from grace, or fear that he has, and whether this fear may be expressed in poetry and song. The question, furthermore, is, whether a Christian in the full and present enjoyment of grace may recall his former state, and whether he may do so in song. The question, finally, is whether a worshiping congregation may not sing hymns, parts of which do not directly and at the time being describe the soul’s state of all, but only of a few of the worshipers present.<sup>79</sup>

The writer does not go on to answer his questions directly but seems to imply a series of rhetorical “yesses”—particularly if he may have also had in mind stanza 2 of Luther’s beloved

“Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 310):

Fast bound in Satan’s chains I lay,  
Death brooded darkly o’er me,  
My sin oppressed me night and day,  
Therein my mother bore me;  
And ever deeper yet I fell,  
Life had become a living hell,

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<sup>78</sup> W.[eiss], “Songs and Singing,” 22. Emphasis original.

<sup>79</sup> “The Hymns to Be Sung by the Worshiping Congregation,” *Lutheran Witness* 17, no. 10 (1898): 73.

So firmly sin possessed me.

The English-language hymnody of the *ELHB* hymn corpus reflects the tension and struggle of English Missouri to appropriate evangelical hymns into a Lutheran morphology of conversion. For example, Joseph Grigg's "Behold a Stranger at the Door" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 51) originally contained five stanzas, but in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912, the original stanza 4 was omitted:

Rise, touched with gratitude Divine;  
Turn out His enemy and thine,  
That soul-destroying monster, sin,  
And let the heavenly Stranger in.<sup>80</sup>

While there are no minutes from the *ELHB* project to suggest precisely why this stanza was omitted, the second and third lines may have been read as affirming Methodist perfectionism. Regardless, the omission of a stanza from this otherwise short hymn does reflect the tension voiced among Missouri Lutherans on appropriate hymnic expressions for a call to repentance.<sup>81</sup>

### **Justification of the sinner**

Among the German-language hymns of *ELHB*, two iconic hymns on the doctrine of justification stand out: Luther's "Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 310)<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> This missing stanza appeared in other Protestant hymnals during this period, for instance Louis F. Benson, ed. *The Hymnal: Published in 1895 and Revised in 1911 by Authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1911), no. 718. The omitted stanza also appeared in the General Synod's *BOW* 1871, but not in the Ohio Synod's *ELH* 1880. Thus, a decision was made by August Crull and subsequent *ELHB* editors to go with the shorter version.

<sup>81</sup> Other English-language hymns in the *ELHB* hymn corpus along these lines include: "The Savior Calls; Let Every Ear" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 47); and "The Spirit in Our Hearts" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 52).

<sup>82</sup> For more on Luther's hymn on justification, see Chapter Four, pages 155–57. Lutheran theologian, Tilemann Heshusius (1527–88), is quoted as saying: "We have no doubt that by Luther's little song, 'Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice,' many hundreds of Christians have been brought to faith, who would have otherwise never heard the name 'Luther,' but the dear noble words of Luther have delighted their hearts so that the truth had to occur to them. In my assessment, such spiritual hymns have assisted the propagation of the Gospel not a little." ["Wir zweifelt nicht, daß durch das einig Liedlein Luthers 'Nun Freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein' u. werden viel hundert Christen zum Glauben bracht worden sein, die sonst den Namen Lutheri vorher nicht hören mochten, aber die edeln teuern Worte Lutheri haben ihnen das Herz abgewonnen, daß sie der Wahrheit beifallen mußten; so daß meines Erachtens die geistlichen Lieder nicht wenig zur Ausbreitung des Evangelii geholfen haben.]" "Luthers Lieder," *Der Lutheraner* 39, no. 19 (1883): 149.

and Paul Speratus's "Salvation unto Us Has Come" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 314).<sup>83</sup> In the latter, stanza 1 announces the central message of the hymn: "Faith looks to Jesus Christ alone, / Who did for all the world atone; / He is our Mediator." Stanzas 2–5 proclaim the impossibility of keeping God's Law (stanzas 2–4) and that God therefore sent his Son to still God's wrath by fulfilling the Law in our place (stanza 5). Stanza 6, then, stands at the Gospel center of this hymn on justification:

Since Christ hath full atonement made  
And brought to us salvation,  
Each Christian therefore may be glad  
And build on this foundation.  
Thy grace alone, dear Lord, I plead,  
Thy death my life now is indeed,  
For Thou hast paid my ransom.

Luther's *fröhliche Wechsel* or "joyful exchange" finds hymnic expression in "Thy death my life now is indeed."<sup>84</sup> Stanza 7 extends the Gospel invitation to all the world: "Thou all dost call, 'Come unto Me!' . . . / 'He that believes and is baptized, / He shall be saved,' say'st Thou, O Christ . . . ." Stanzas 8 and 10 deal with the relationship of good works to faith and salvation, but stanza 9 circles back to the theme of the Gospel's call in stanza 7—this time in relation to conversion by tying the earlier themes of Law (stanzas 2–4) and Gospel (stanzas 5–6) to repentance and faith:

The Law reveals the guilt of sin  
And makes man conscience-stricken;

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<sup>83</sup> Two articles from *Der Lutheraner* tell how Luther learned of Speratus' hymn and how it was used as a tool to spread the Reformation doctrine of justification. See "Ein Reformationslied," *Der Lutheraner* 62, no. 22 (1906): 359–60; and "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her Von Gnad und lauter Güte," *Der Lutheraner* 43, no. 2 (1887): 13.

<sup>84</sup> The "joyful exchange" is also noted by one Missouri writer in Luther's "Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 310). See Hattstaedt, "Das evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenlied, IV," 282: "Yes, the words 'For I am thine, and thou art Mine' [stanza 7]—that is the keynote of [Luther's] hymns, and his certainty of being connected with his Savior in faith makes him so joyful in his God that he knows nothing of sadness and gloom in his hymns." ["Ja, 'ich bin dein, und du bist mein'—das ist der Grundton seiner Lieder, und diese Gewißheit, mit seinem Heiland im Glaubens verbunden zu sein, macht ihn so fröhlich in seinem Gott, daß er nichts von Traurigkeit und Schwermut in seinen Liedern weiß."]

The Gospel then doth enter in  
The sinful soul to quicken.  
Come to the Cross, trust Christ and live;  
The Law to you no peace can give  
With all its good endeavors.

Thus, the hymn's central message is that only the Gospel of Christ crucified can enliven and give peace to the justified sinner.<sup>85</sup>

Among the English-language hymns, Toplady's "Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 325) stands out as a classic evangelical expression of the doctrine of justification. Toplady was a thoroughgoing Calvinist who emphasized humanity's total depravity in contradistinction to competing Arminian notions of Wesleyan Methodism.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, he wrote this hymn as a frontal attack against the Wesleyan doctrine of perfectionism and a weakened view of sin.<sup>87</sup> Though scores of Methodists hymnals would later include Toplady's hymn, likely because of its powerful appeal to the saving blood of Jesus, Missouri Lutherans also found an ecumenical convergence in this hymn on both scores: as a confession with Calvinist Toplady of man's complete sinfulness and utter helplessness apart from Christ (and a corresponding rejection of Methodistic perfectionism and synergism); and as a confession with Arminian Wesley of the cleansing and atoning blood of Jesus for all sinners:<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Additional German hymns with a strong emphasis on the doctrine of justification include: "Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 326); and "Now I Have Found the Sure Foundation" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 312).

<sup>86</sup> In the same issue of the *Gospel Magazine* (1776) where Toplady first published his hymn, he included a lengthy article comparing an individual's daily sins to the national debt, calculating that "at *ten* years old each of us is chargeable with 315 millions and 36 thousand sins. At *twenty*, with 630 millions, and 720 thousand. At *thirty*, with 946 millions and 80 thousand . . ." Toplady then argued that Christ's atonement "will not only *counter*-balance, but infinitely *over*-balance, ALL the sins of the WHOLE believing world." Thereupon followed his hymn, with the superscription: "A living and dying PRAYER for the HOLIEST BELIEVER in the world." Watson, ed., *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns*, 213. Emphasis original. See also, Ian Bradley, ed. *The Book of Hymns* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1989), 354–55.

<sup>87</sup> Noll, "The Defining Role of Hymns in Early Evangelicalism," 14–15.

<sup>88</sup> "Rock of Ages" was one of the most quoted English-language hymns in Missouri Lutheran publications during this period. Quoting Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, page 972, the *Lutheran Witness* noted: "No other English hymn can be named which has laid so broad and firm a grasp on the English-speaking world." The article also quoted a recent poll that found "Rock of Ages" the most popular hymn, followed by "Abide with Me," "Jesus,

3 Nothing in my hand I bring,  
Simply to Thy Cross I cling;  
Naked, come to Thee for dress;  
Helpless, look to Thee for grace;  
Foul, I to the fountain fly,—  
Wash me, Savior, or I die!

A second popular evangelical hymn that found a home among Missouri Lutherans was Charlotte Elliott's "Just as I Am, without One Plea" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 318), the most frequently published hymn after 1860 and one that was "liturgically and thematically related to revivalism, evangelicalism's distinctive ritual practice . . . ." <sup>89</sup> And yet for Missouri Lutherans, it was seemingly read apart from its ritual context of revivalism and placed instead under the "rubric" (hymnal section) of "Faith and Justification."

As with "Rock of Ages," Elliott's hymn declares the individual's utter helplessness and inability to contribute to his salvation. The sense of such helplessness is reinforced as the first line of each stanza begins with the words, "Just as I am . . ." <sup>90</sup> Correspondingly, the conclusion of each stanza reinforces where the help for the singer's helplessness is to be found: "O Lamb of

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Lover of My Soul," and "Just as I Am." "Rock of Ages," *Lutheran Witness* 16, no. 18 (1893): 143. Two articles quote from Toplady's hymn as parts of sermons or addresses: C. Gausewitz, "Why We Undertake and Should Undertake This English Work," *Lutheran Witness* 7, no. 13 (1888): 97; A. S. Bartholomew, "Closing Sermon," *Lutheran Witness* 7, no. 15 (1889): 115; A.[ugust L.] G.[raebner], "Religion: A Lecture Delivered before the Lutheran Students at Missouri State University," *Theological Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (1899): 212. The *Lutheran Witness* even published a version of Toplady's hymn in Latin: "Rock of Ages," *Lutheran Witness* 14, no. 7 (1896): 120.

<sup>89</sup> Marini, "From Classical to Modern," 21.

<sup>90</sup> Charlotte Elliott was an invalid from age 32 onward, and drafted "Just as I Am" as she was in her sickroom in 1832 feeling especially helpless and useless while the whole Elliott household around her was busily preparing to host a bazaar to raise money for a charitable cause. Watson, ed., *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns*, 270. See also, Susan VanZanten Gallagher, who notes: "When Elliott writes that she is 'tossed about / With many a conflict, many a doubt, / Fightings within, and fears without,' she is referring to her inability to perform the works of charity that were expected of a middle-class Christian woman . . . 'Just as I Am' affirms the fact that Elliott's salvation rests not on her ability to do good works but on the shed blood of Jesus Christ, the Lamb, 'whose blood can cleanse each spot.' . . . This hymn is not a simple sentimental effusion but rather a sound theological declaration about the inability of domestic good works to provide salvation." "Domesticity in American Hymns, 1820–1870," in *Sing Them Over Again to Me: Hymns and Hymnbooks in America*, ed. Mark A. Noll and Edith L. Blumhofer (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2006), 246.

God, I come, I come.”<sup>91</sup> Even more specifically, such help is to be found in the blood of the Lamb:

1 Just as I am, without one plea / But that Thy blood was shed for me  
2 To Thee, whose blood can cleanse each spot, / O Lamb of God, I come, I come.  
5 Just as I am, Thou wilt receive, / Wilt welcome, pardon, cleanse, relieve;

Thus, “Just as I Am,” a hymn used for altar calls at Moody-Sankey revivals, was read through Missouri Lutheran eyes and was thereby transformed into a hymn on justification.<sup>92</sup> Other evangelical hymns similarly appropriated include: Watts’ “When I Survey the Wondrous Cross” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 204); Philip Doddridge’s “Grace! ’Tis a Charming Sound” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 328); and Edward Mote’s “My Hope Is Built on Nothing Less” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 306).<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Three articles in the *Lutheran Witness*, each a decade apart, describe Elliott’s encounter with the Swiss evangelist, César Malan, who had encouraged her to come to Christ “just as you are.” “Just as I Am,” *Lutheran Witness* 12, no. 4 (1893): 29–30; “Famous Hymns and What Inspired Them,” 71; and “The Story of a Hymn,” *Lutheran Witness* 34, no. 10 (1913): 158. See also, Bradley, ed., *The Book of Hymns*, 227–28.

<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, this hymn was even viewed by some Missourians as appropriate to use homiletically to call unbelievers to faith in Christ. At the conclusion of a published Easter sermon, one Missouri preacher declared: “And if perchance there are some here this evening who have never tasted that the Lord is good; who never have been His disciples, you too the Lord bids come. . . . Simply believe the Easter message, and though it may seem too great news to you, appropriate it unto yourselves, nevertheless, and rejoice with all true Christians over this Easter sermon from the grave. In Christ’s name we bid you: Come! He says ‘Whosoever cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.’ Therefore answer: ‘Just as I am without one plea . . .’” etc. L.[ouis] W.[essel], “Easter Sermon on Mark 16, 1–8,” *Theological Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (1898): 248.

<sup>93</sup> “My Hope Is Built on Nothing Less,” was quoted in a Missouri Lutheran sermon preached for Reformation 1895 on the doctrine of justification, noting: “The sum and substance of this word, however, or the central doctrine of the whole Bible is the doctrine of justification by faith. This central doctrine that a poor sinner is justified by faith in Christ and not by any works of his own, this *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*, the article with which the church stands or falls, had been almost entirely obliterated and supplanted by the unscriptural doctrine of justification by works, which doctrine, however, afforded no peace and comfort for troubled souls, but rather plunged them into despair. . . . And this doctrine, once delivered unto the saints, Luther contended for, crying out with St. Paul: ‘Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.’ . . . Therefore he sang to us the words of an English poet: ‘My hope is built on nothing less . . .’” Oscar Kaiser, “Sermon: Preached at the Joint Reformation Festival of the Buffalo Congregations at Music Hall,” *Lutheran Witness* 13, no. 16 (1895): 122. While the preacher apparently got a little carried away in asserting that Luther somehow sang this nineteenth-century hymn, the point is that the preacher definitely identified the hymn as one proclaiming a sound Lutheran doctrine of justification.

## Regeneration, the work of the Holy Spirit

For earlier Evangelicals, “the orthodox teaching was that true conversion is the work of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>94</sup> During the nineteenth century, however, an optimistically expanded role of the human will and the “science” of revivalism, as posited by Charles Finney’s influential *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, came close to denying any role for the Holy Spirit in conversion. The most celebrated issue in this regard was the relation of baptism to conversion, particularly for Anglican Evangelicals, whose Book of Common Prayer declared the baptized infant to be “regenerate.”<sup>95</sup>

As noted earlier, the German hymnody of *ELHB* certainly portrayed an orthodox Lutheran view of regeneration and the work of the Holy Spirit at Holy Baptism.<sup>96</sup> Among the remainder of the German hymns on the work of the Holy Spirit, Luther’s “Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 257) was perhaps best known by German Missouri, having been regularly sung to open Missouri Synod conventions throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>97</sup> In the first line of stanza 1, the Church on earth addresses the Third Person of the Trinity as “God and Lord,” asking for the Spirit’s “graces” and “love” to be poured out “On each believer’s mind and heart.” By the brightness of His light, the Holy Spirit dispels the darkness of unbelief and unites people “of every tongue and every nation.” In stanza 2, the Spirit’s “light” of stanza 1 is identified as the

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<sup>94</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 8.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>96</sup> See above, page 289, especially “Blessed Jesus, Here We Stand” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 402) and “Baptized into Thy Name Most Holy” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 400).

<sup>97</sup> Friedrich Pfoth notes: “Since the founding of Synod in 1847, that is, through a period of almost ninety years, nearly all the conventions of the Delegate Synod as well as of the Districts have been opened by singing the hymn ‘Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord.’ Originating in the Middle Ages, this hymn was turned into German by Luther in an improved and expanded form; and Luther’s version, again, has been put into English dress. This marvelous hymn is a powerful prayer addressed to God the Holy Ghost. Singing this hymn, the Christian assembly unites before the throne of God and fervently sues for the assistance and guidance of the Holy Ghost for its work.” “Come, Holy Ghost! 1935 Synodical Address,” in *At Home in the House of My Fathers: Presidential Sermons, Essays, Letters and Addresses from the Missouri Synod’s Great Era of Unity and Growth*, ed. Matthew C. Harrison

“Word of life” (the Gospel) that teaches his people rightly to know God the Father “with delight” and not with fear. The Spirit also defends our souls “from error” so that we trust alone in Christ “with living faith abiding” and cast our entire selves into his care and service through life and death. Finally, in stanza 3, the hymn calls on the Holy Spirit not only as “holy fire,” but also as “source of rest.” Thus, the Holy Spirit is the one who works not only to keep us in Christ’s kingdom and service, but also to guard and protect us in the face of the troubles that confront Christ’s Church, “That firmly here we be contending, / Through life and death to Thee ascending.” Each stanza concludes with the Church’s ancient word of praise, confessing the Holy Spirit to be both God and Lord: “Hallelujah! Hallelujah!”<sup>98</sup>

Among the English hymns of *ELHB* describing the work of the Holy Spirit, Isaac Watts’ “Come, Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 255) is the most popular among the hymns sung by Evangelicals, ranking number 22 on the Marini 300. A number of alterations to Watts’ original text resulted in more than twenty variations in common usage by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>99</sup> The superscription above Watts’ original hymn read, “Breathing after the Holy Spirit; or, Fervency of Devotion desir’d.”<sup>100</sup> Stanza 1 announces that theme, calling on the Holy Spirit to “Kindle a flame of sacred love / In these cold hearts of ours.” Stanzas 2–4 explore the earthly predicament of those with “cold hearts”:

2 See how we grovel here below, / Fond of these earthly toys;  
3 In vain we tune our formal songs, / In vain we strive to rise;  
4 Our love so cold, so faint to Thee, / And Thine to us so great?

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(St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2011), 789.

<sup>98</sup> Other German hymns describing the work of the Holy Spirit include: “Now Do We Pray God, the Holy Ghost” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 260); “Lift Up Your Heads, Ye Mighty Gates” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 138)—especially stanzas 4–5; “Blessed Jesus, at Thy Word” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 3)—especially stanzas 2–3; and “Lord Jesus Christ, to Us Attend” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 1)—especially stanza 1.

<sup>99</sup> Julian, ed., *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 247.

<sup>100</sup> Selma L. Bishop, *Isaac Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 1707–1748* (London: The Faith Press, 1962), 193.

The theme of the great love of God toward the sinner, briefly mentioned in stanza 4, is expanded in the final stanza, as the singer returns to addressing the Holy Spirit (repeating the first two lines of the first stanza) and then praying: “Come, shed abroad a Savior’s love, / And that shall kindle ours.” Thus, in Watts’ hymn, the flame of sacred love prayed for in stanza 1 is given through the Gospel message of a Savior’s love, which will kindle the “Fervency of Devotion” described in Watts’ superscription to the hymn.<sup>101</sup>

### Summary

Missouri Lutherans experienced some tensions as they went about appropriating the hymnody of Evangelicalism into a Lutheran morphology of conversion. Their existing German hymnody emphasized the Christian’s baptismal life of daily repentance, which found expression especially within a ritual context of corporate confession and absolution. As they appropriated the surrounding English hymnody, Missouri Lutherans sought to avoid language that would cast doubt on the singer’s state of grace as a beloved child of God, or which could be read as expressing doctrinal error (e.g., Methodist perfectionism). The central Lutheran doctrine of justification found rich expression in the classic hymns of the Reformation, and the best known hymns of Evangelicalism dealing with this theme were also included. English hymns that had been strongly associated with nineteenth-century revivalism were re-read with “Lutheran eyes” and in Lutheran theological categories and were given a home alongside German chorales on justification.<sup>102</sup> Likewise, both the German- and English-language hymns expressing regeneration

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<sup>101</sup> Other English hymns from *ELHB* describing the work of the Holy Spirit include: “Come, Holy Spirit, Come” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 258); “Gracious Spirit, Dove Divine” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 253); and “Let Songs of Praises Fill the Sky” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 254).

<sup>102</sup> It should be noted here that of the six Gospel Songs identified as coming from Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns, Nos. 1–6* (see above, Chapter Three, page 136), only one, “What a Friend We Have in Jesus,” was eventually included in *ELHB* 1912—and that likely because it had already found a home two decades earlier in *ELHB* 1892. Similarly, of the ten German hymns identified as forming an “outlier band” of hymnody from the *Lieder-perlen* and *Missionsharfe* tradition (see above, Chapter Three, page 114), none were ever included in *ELHB* 1912. Part of the

and the work of the Holy Spirit, both in the individual as well as in the Church throughout the world, found a home together in *ELHB*.

### Activism

In *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, Bebbington describes the fourth and final component of his evangelical quadrilateral as “an eagerness to be up and doing. This activism was in a sense a logical corollary of the awareness of having undergone conversion.”<sup>103</sup> Evangelical activism was carried out primarily through personal witness—the duty “of everyone who knows *the good news* of salvation through Christ to *tell* the good news”;<sup>104</sup> and through mission work, especially as manifested in the missionary movement of the nineteenth century.<sup>105</sup> With these parameters in mind, we will examine the German- and English-language hymn corpuses according to the following general categories: 1) personal witness, and 2) mission work.<sup>106</sup>

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reason for this may be related to the sensitivity reflected in August Crull’s comment that such hymns “were not written to the tunes of church hymns, [and] therefore do not belong in a church hymnal” (see above, Chapter Two, page 68). More profoundly, it may be suggested that while the editors of *SSH* 1901 were certainly willing to explore the more recent revivalist Evangelical hymnody or their own “outlier band” of German hymns, in the final analysis, such experimentation remained within the bounds of *SSH* 1901. Thus, these two streams (Evangelical Gospel Songs and German *Lieder-perlen/Missionsharfe* songs) may be viewed as forming a kind of “deuterocanonical” hymn corpus that lived out its parallel existence in *SSH* 1901 alongside *ELHB* 1912—yet sung in the same congregations and from the same lips. In time, a few of these hymns would be accepted into the “canon” of succeeding Missouri Synod hymnals, but most would either remain in the realm of Sunday school hymnody or fall out of use completely.

<sup>103</sup> Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 36.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* Emphasis original.

<sup>105</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 12.

<sup>106</sup> A third significant component of evangelical activism during the nineteenth century was that of “social work that carried over into pressure for reform . . .” This manifested itself in the form of free education and clothing for the poor, orphanages, and the impulse to do good for “the less fortunate members of society, a symptom of the large-hearted sense of mission that motivated evangelicals of the Victorian era.” Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, 38–40. The hymns in our study do not display discernable strands of this component. This is not surprising as this theme is also not discernable in the top fifty hymns of the Marini 300, nor in Marini’s study on the various components of antebellum and post-bellum evangelical hymnody in Marini, “From Classical to Modern,” 1–38.

## Personal witness

Very little on the theme of “personal witness” is found among the German hymns in our sample, although it is not entirely absent. For example, Michael Schirmer’s “Holy Spirit, Enter In” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 247) describes the role of the Holy Spirit in the Christian’s life of witness and service to the neighbor. Schirmer was a contemporary of Paul Gerhardt during his years in Berlin and was a co-confessor in the face of pressures from the Reformed establishment.<sup>107</sup> As such, Schirmer’s hymns tend to draw on strong biblical and confessional themes, while at the same time expressing the faith of the individual.

In stanza 1, Schirmer’s hymn invokes the Holy Spirit to enter into the hearts of the singers and begin his work there, “That we, To thee . . . / May in love be still increasing.” In stanza 3, the singer addresses the Holy Spirit as a “Fountain, whence all wisdom flows” and prays:

Grant us Thy consolation  
That in our pure faith’s unity  
We faithful witnesses may be  
Of grace that brings salvation.  
Hear us, Cheer us  
By Thy teaching; Let our preaching  
And our labor  
Praise Thee, Lord, and bless our neighbor.

Here Schirmer links Christian witness to the unity of the pure faith—that is, Christians witness to their neighbors and so bless them through right preaching and teaching. Finally, in stanza 7, the singer prays to the Holy Spirit:

That heart to heart more closely bound,  
In kindly deeds be fruitful found,  
The law of love fulfilling;

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<sup>107</sup> One Missouri Lutheran notes that as a result of his suffering through the Thirty Years’ War, the death of his children, and bouts with severe depression, Schirmer called himself “The German Job.” The writer goes on to note that Schirmer’s hymn, “O Holy Spirit,” had been translated into several foreign languages. “O Heil’ger Geist, kehr’ bei uns ein!,” *Der Lutheraner* 64, no. 11 (1908): 179.

Thus, in this German hymn, the Holy Spirit inspires and empowers the believer toward daily witness through word and deed in the Christian's daily vocation.<sup>108</sup>

Among the English hymns, the theme of personal witness is more pronounced and often linked to themes of revival and conversion. For example, Joseph Grigg's "Jesus, and Shall It Ever Be" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 91) is described by one nineteenth-century hymn editor as a hymn that "will ever have the force of a revival hymn."<sup>109</sup> In the hymn, based on Mark 8:38, each stanza points to some aspect of Jesus for the singer to ponder as to why he should never be ashamed of his Savior:

1 Ashamed of Thee, *whom angels praise / Whose glories shine* through endless days?  
2 [Jesus] *sheds beams of light divine / O'er this benighted soul* of mine.  
3 'Tis midnight with my soul till He, / *Bright Morning-Star, bids darkness flee.*  
4 Ashamed of Jesus! That dear Friend / *On whom my hopes of heaven depend!*  
5 [Only if] I've no *guilt to wash away . . . / No fears to quell, no soul to save.*

Stanza 6 concludes with a crucicentric focus for the Christian's message of personal witness:

Till then—nor is my boasting vain—  
Till then *I boast a Savior slain;*  
And, oh, may this my glory be,  
That Christ is not ashamed of me!

Revivalist associations or not, Grigg's hymn found resonance in English Missouri such that it was even quoted positively several times at the closing sermon of the founding convention of the

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<sup>108</sup> If one also considers the additional theme of "Christian vocation," the following German hymns apply: "That Man a Godly Life Might Live" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 172); "O God, Thou Faithful God" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 346)—especially stanzas 2, 3, and 5; and "O Blest the House, Whate'er Befall" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 445). Among the English hymns, the theme is not as strong except perhaps in "Awake, My Soul, and with the Sun" (*ELHB* 1912, no. 29).

<sup>109</sup> Chris Brown, "Joseph Grigg," in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. J. R. Watson and Emma Hornby (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2013), <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/j/joseph-grigg>, accessed October 29, 2013, citing Daniel Sedgwick, *Hymns on Divine Subjects Wherein the Patience and Love of Our Divine Saviour Is Displayed to Which Are Added Serious Poems by Rev. Joseph Grigg* (London: Daniel Sedgwick, Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1861). Brown's article also notes that Grigg's hymn appeared in more than a thousand collections, and that its use increased during the twentieth century.

English Conference of Missouri in 1888—the same convention that accepted August Crull’s “valuable gift” of an English-language hymnal in manuscript form.<sup>110</sup>

Isaac Watts’ “Am I Soldier of the Cross” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 378) is another evangelical hymn that focuses on “believers’ commitment to witness and mission in the world.”<sup>111</sup> Like Grigg’s “Jesus, and Shall It Ever Be” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 91), Watts’ hymn employs a series of rhetorical questions in the first three stanzas:

1 Am I a soldier of the Cross, / A follower of the Lamb?  
2 Must I be carried to the skies . . . / While others fought to win the prize . . . ?  
3 Are there no foes for me to face? Must I not stem the flood?

The effect of this series of rhetorical questions is to heighten the tension in the singer’s mind so that he longs for some sort of resolution.<sup>112</sup> The remaining three stanzas seek to do just that. In stanza 4, the singer boldly affirms that “I must fight if I would reign” and then expresses trust in the Lord’s provision, knowing that “I’ll bear the toil, endure the pain, / Supported by Thy Word.”<sup>113</sup> Indeed, as stanza 5 confirms, the saints who do battle in this “glorious war, / Shall conquer, though they die.” Conflict in the Lord’s kingdom may even lead to death, yet faith “sees the triumph from afar” with a “discerning eye.” Stanza 6 then points to the ultimate resolution on the Last Day, when all the armies of the Lord shall shine and the glory shall be the Lord’s. In *ELHB* 1912, Watts’ hymn was placed in the hymnal section “Sanctification: Warfare,”

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<sup>110</sup> Bartholomew, “Closing Sermon,” 113–15. See above, Chapter Two, page 60.

<sup>111</sup> Marini, “Hymnody and History,” 144.

<sup>112</sup> Marini suggests that Watts’ hymn begins “with a characteristic note of doubt, a questioning and provisional attitude toward the saint’s own salvation. . . . [Watts’ hymn] asks first whether the believer is in fact willing to pay the price of Christian life before moving on to militant proclamations of perseverant triumph.” “From Classical to Modern,” 15.

<sup>113</sup> Noll notes regarding Watts’ hymn: “In response to the question whether ‘I’ should ‘be carried to the skies / On flowery beds of ease?’ the answer was unequivocal: ‘Sure I must fight if I would reign . . . .’ The standard expectation was that life would be difficult, but also that God-in-Christ would make it possible to go on with hope.” “The Defining Role of Hymns in Early Evangelicalism,” 10.

suggesting that it was viewed by Missouri Lutherans as a hymn about the “church militant”—in some ways a Lutheran category approximating evangelical “activism.”

### **Mission work**

The most enduring result of evangelical activism during the nineteenth century was the missionary movement, which would do so much eventually to make Christianity a worldwide religion. The rise of evangelical mission societies in America and Great Britain was paralleled in Lutheran lands, especially Germany and Scandinavia. “By the end of the century every nominally Christian country and almost every denomination had begun to take its share in the support of the missionary cause.”<sup>114</sup>

Missouri Lutherans themselves were, in some ways, a product of the missionary movement, and they brought with them a great zeal for mission work. In their constitution, one of the reasons given for forming the Missouri Synod was “the joint extension of the kingdom of God and promotion of special church enterprises ([including] . . . missionary endeavors within and without the church, etc.).”<sup>115</sup> Thus, built into Missouri’s polity and piety there was already a significant resonance and alignment with the missionary movement of nineteenth-century Evangelicalism.

Among the German hymns, one hymn stands out: Johann Heermann’s “O Christ, Our True and Only Light” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 475). First published during the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation and written by a Lutheran pastor, the hymn was based on thoughts from a Jesuit prayer for the advance of the Gospel “among all men, all Jews and heathen . . . and all sects and

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<sup>114</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, ed. Owen Chadwick, The Penguin History of the Church (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 213–15.

<sup>115</sup> “1854 Constitution of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States,” in Carl S. Meyer, *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 149.

errorists” (e.g., ironically, Lutherans). Thus, Heermann ordered and compressed the thoughts of a Jesuit mission prayer into a Lutheran Epiphany hymn.<sup>116</sup> In the first five stanzas, the hymn prays that the light of Christ’s Gospel would reach an extensive array of people and situations:

- 1 “those who sit in night”; “those afar.”
- 2 “souls now lost in error’s maze”; “all whom . . . some dark delusion haunts and blinds.”
- 3 “all who have strayed;” “every wounded conscience.”
- 4 “the deaf”; “the dumb”; “those who dare not yet the faith avow.”
- 5 “the darkened and the cold”; “the wanderers”; “those who walk apart”; “the weak and doubting heart.”

The sixth stanza concludes with “endless praise . . . / By all the Church in earth and heaven” for God’s grace in Christ Jesus that will reach the manifold people and situations mentioned earlier in the hymn. In *ELHB* 1912, Heermann’s Epiphany hymn was placed in the “Missions” section of the hymnal, a new category that further evidences the mission zeal among Missouri Lutherans in the nineteenth century.

Appearing just prior to Heermann’s hymn in *ELHB* 1912 is Reginald Heber’s iconic missionary hymn, “From Greenland’s Icy Mountains” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 474)—the most frequently published missionary hymn in the sixty most popular evangelical hymnals of the nineteenth century and ranked fifteenth among the Marini 300.<sup>117</sup> Heber was a poet of the Romantic period,<sup>118</sup> and in the first two stanzas, he employs a dazzling array of exotic images and locales:

- 1 “Greenland’s icy mountains”; “India’s coral strand”; “Afric’s sunny fountains”; “golden sand”; “ancient river”; “palmy plain.”

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<sup>116</sup> Elke Axmacher, “O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht,” in *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch*, ed. Gerhard Hahn and Jürgen Henkys (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 3/12:53.

<sup>117</sup> Mouw and Noll, eds., *Wonderful Words of Life*, 251–53.

<sup>118</sup> J. R. Watson, “Reginald Heber,” in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. J. R. Watson and Emma Hornby (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2013), <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/r/reginald-heber>, accessed October 30, 2013.

2 “spicy breezes”; “Ceylon’s isle”; “heathen in his blindness / bows down to wood and stone.”

Yet “behind the exotic images lies [*sic*] the central evangelical beliefs that defined and motivated evangelical foreign missions.”<sup>119</sup> The central theme of Heber’s text is the global spread of the Gospel to a world that is lost in darkness without it. Stanza three encapsulates this basic message:

Salvation, O salvation!  
The joyful sound proclaim  
Till earth’s remotest nation  
Has learned Messiah’s name.<sup>120</sup>

Missouri Lutherans concurred with that basic missionary hymn message and approved of Heber’s hymn in their publications.<sup>121</sup> They also included additional evangelical missionary hymns alongside it in the “Missions” section of *ELHB* 1912.<sup>122</sup>

## Summary

Through their selective appropriation of evangelical hymnody, Missouri Lutherans expanded their existing hymnic vocabulary in the areas of personal witness and missionary hymnody. While not entirely absent among the German hymns of *ELHB*, the theme of personal

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<sup>119</sup> Robert A. Schneider, “Jesus Shall Reign: Hymns and Foreign Missions, 1800–1870,” in *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, ed. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship Liturgical Studies (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 83.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 84–86. Schneider suggests that this stanza, and many others like it, emphasized “the motivations and consciousness of the early missionary movement of expectations of Christ’s thousand-year reign on earth.” Though Heber himself was no millennialist, Schneider’s observation serves as yet another example of how one particular strand of a religious movement can appropriate a hymn from outside of its religious culture to serve its unique theological perspective. Schneider also notes that “Jesus Shall Reign Where’er the Sun,” written by Watts as but a paraphrase of Psalm 72, is another example of a hymn appropriated a century later by certain strands of the nineteenth-century missionary movement to serve their millennialist perspectives.

<sup>121</sup> For example, see “Famous Hymns and What Inspired Them,” 71, which tells the story of how Heber wrote this hymn on a Saturday night before his father-in-law was to preach a missionary sermon the next morning where the hymn was sung for the first time. J. R. Watson, “From Greenland’s icy mountains,” in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. J. R. Watson and Emma Hornby (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2013), <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/f/from-greenland-s-icy-mountains>, accessed October 30, 2013, concurs with this story, “though how it [the hymn] was copied in time for the service has never been explained.”

<sup>122</sup> Among them, “Jesus Shall Reign Where’er the Sun” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 483); “The Morning Light Is Breaking” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 471); and “Our Country’s Voice Is Pleading” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 472).

witness was more pronounced among the English-language hymns as Missouri Lutherans embraced some of the most prominent hymns associated with revivalist American Evangelicalism. As German Missouri had been formed in the crucible of the nineteenth-century missionary movement, so English Missouri was primed by the turn of the century to embrace selected evangelical missionary hymns, even creating a new hymnal section to accommodate this emphasis. Thus, one observes a convergence between Missouri Lutheran mission zeal and the evangelical missionary movement of the nineteenth century through the hymnic expressions that were appropriated.

### Conclusions

Although there are many additional themes in the hymnody of *ELHB* that we have not been able to explore in this chapter,<sup>123</sup> the four components of the Bebbington Quadrilateral emerge as significant indicators of the 1) convergence with, 2) divergence from, or its 3) appropriation from the language of American Evangelicalism in the hymn texts included in the early English-language hymnals of the Missouri Synod. Under the theme of “The Bible,” the language used to

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<sup>123</sup> Additional prominent themes noted in the hymn sample for this study include: **Heaven:** “Jesus, Still Lead On” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 331); “Jerusalem, Thou City Fair and High” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 559); “There Is a Land of Pure Delight” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 560); “Jerusalem, My Happy Home” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 558); “Ten Thousand Times Ten Thousand” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 288); “O Paradise, O Paradise” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 561); “I’m But a Stranger Here” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 563). **Christian facing death:** “O Bleeding Head, and Wounded” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 201)—especially stanzas 6–10; “When My Last Hour Is Close at Hand” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 528); “Who Knows How Near My End May Be” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 544); “Jesus Christ, My Sure Defense” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 220); “For Me to Live Is Jesus” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 529)—especially stanzas 4–5; “I Fall Asleep in Jesus’ Wounds” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 545); “Now Lay We Calmly in the Grave” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 538); “O How Blest Are Ye Whose Toils Are Ended” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 547); “O Lord, My God, I Cry to Thee” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 543); “Gentle Shepherd, Thou Hast Stilled” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 537); “And Must This Body Die” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 534); “Asleep in Jesus! Blessed Sleep” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 540); “One Sweetly Solemn Thought” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 531); “While with Ceaseless Course the Sun” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 163). **Union with Christ:** “O Morning Star” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 103)—especially stanzas 3 and 5; “Wake, Awake, for Night Is Flying” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 549); “Jesus, Thou My Heart’s Delight” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 89); “Draw Us to Thee” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 234); “Since Christ Has Gone to Heaven, His Home” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 236); “Deck Thyself, My Soul, with Gladness” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 432)—especially stanzas 1, 2, and 4. **Faith** (i.e., *fides qua*): “Jesus, Jesus, Jesus Only” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 86); “Lord, as Thou Wilt, Deal Thou with Me” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 383); “Let Us Ever Walk with Jesus” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 333); “My Jesus, As Thou Wilt!” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 387); “I am Trusting Thee, Lord Jesus” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 370); “O’er the Distant Mountains Breaking” (*ELHB* 1912, no. 548).

describe Scripture as the Word of God is somewhat similar between the German and English hymns. Here we observe a general convergence. In the use of sacramental language, one observes a divergence, in that such language is all but absent from the English hymns. This absence is not entirely surprising, given the doctrinal specificities of Missouri Lutheranism's sacramental theology lacking in the most popular evangelical hymns.<sup>124</sup> Likewise, under the topic of biblical doctrine and the Small Catechism, one also observes a divergence—again, not surprising given the Lutheran distinctives of such an emphasis and the generally non-divisive nature of the most popular evangelical hymns.<sup>125</sup>

Under the topic of “The Cross,” one finds a convergent language in describing the events of Calvary and Easter. Gerhardt’s “O Sacred Head” and Kelley’s “Stricken, Smitten, and Afflicted” stand on par with each other, within their respective genres. The German Eastertide hymns (e.g., Luther’s “In Death’s Strong Grasp the Savior Lay”) tend to go deeper theologically than their English counterparts, but that may be partially due to the fact that the German hymns, in their athletic length and meters, had a luxury of dimension that the English hymnody (especially the earlier hymnody of Watts) did not. Hymns on the atonement show a similar convergence in content between the German and English, though again, nothing in the English quite rises to the level of Rist’s “O Darkest Woe,” Decius’ “O Lamb of God, Most Holy,” or even Zinzendorf’s “Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness.” Among the hymns of comfort, both

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<sup>124</sup> It should be noted that if one includes John Mason Neale’s translation of the Latin hymn, “Draw Nigh and Take the Body of the Lord,” then there was some scant evidence of sacramental hymnody imported from English sources.

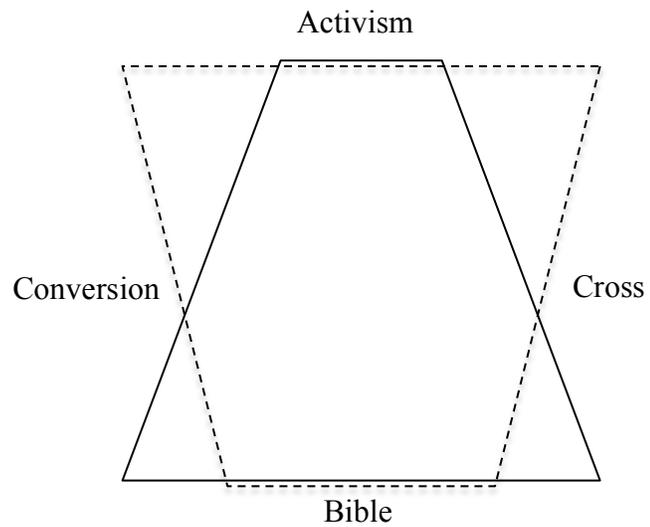
<sup>125</sup> Noll notes: “Although most of the major hymn-writers of the eighteenth century composed verses on the nature of the church, the sacraments of baptism and communion, the configuration of events at the end of time, as well as the particular convictions of their own subgroups, the hymns that were sung widely, that were reprinted time after time, and that won their way deep into the heart of popular evangelicalism did not concern these potentially divisive subjects. Rather, the enduring hymns featured the need of sinners for Christ the savior, the love of God in Christ, the saving power of Christ, the refuge and healing found in Christ, the joy of redemption in Christ, and the hope of eternal life in Christ.” “The Defining Role of Hymns in Early Evangelicalism,” 6–7.

the seventeenth-century German and the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English hymns contribute significantly to this theme—from Heermann’s “Jesus Grant that Balm and Healing” to Lyte’s “Abide with Me.”

In the area of “Conversion” we begin to see a tension between the German and English hymns, as well as some unusual appropriation. While the existing German hymnody emphasized the daily life of repentance for the baptized (i.e., converted) Christian within the sacramental life of the congregation, much of the English evangelical hymnody presupposed a “moment of conversion” for the Christian, within the context of revivalist America. A hymn like Grigg’s “Behold a Stranger at the Door” could be read with “Lutheran eyes,” thus appropriating for use within the context of the Christian’s daily repentance and contrition and the congregation’s sacramental life of confession and absolution. Likewise, Toplady’s “Rock of Ages” and Elliott’s “Just as I am” were appropriated out of their surrounding revivalist contexts, read “with Lutheran eyes,” and transformed within their new-found Missouri Lutheran surroundings into hymns on the doctrine of justification.

Finally, under the topic of “Activism,” one sees an obverse divergence from what is observed regarding the Bible. Whereas the English hymnody exhibits an absence of sacramental and catechetical hymnody, the German hymnody exhibits a relative absence of hymnody regarding personal witness and mission work. Or to look at it another way, the German hymnody supplied what was lacking in the English hymns, and the English hymns provided what was lacking in the German hymns of *ELHB*. This kind of complementarity may be pictured in something like Figure 4, where the dotted-line quadrilateral represents the English hymnody and the solid-line quadrilateral represents the German hymnody. In this way the atrophy and hypertrophy of the various themes are visible in relation to each other, as well as the thematic

convergence (e.g., biblical paraphrase and Scripture as the Word of God) and divergence (e.g., sacramental and catechetical hymnody) of the two hymn corpuses. Thus, in *ELHB* 1912, “The Fathers’ Faith” and “The Children’s Song” were brought together to create a new, eclectic hymn corpus that would serve Missouri Lutheranism for the twentieth century and beyond.



**Figure 4: *ELHB* German and English hymnody compared.**

## CONCLUSION

In 1925, Walter Wismar (1881–1969), church musician at Holy Cross Lutheran Church, St. Louis, reported in the *Lutheran Witness* on a recent lecture tour that he had conducted among youth groups on the topic “The Lutheran Hymn.” As part of his presentation, he asked participants to list their three favorite hymns, which he then tallied and reported to the group. He also tallied the results of all of the responses received over the whole series of speaking engagements. Although there were a great many hymns that received only one vote, Wismar reported the following results for the top twenty hymns:

1. What a Friend We Have in Jesus .....	284
2. Rock of Ages .....	158
3. Abide with Me .....	140
4. A Mighty Fortress (G) .....	138
5. Just as I Am .....	119
6. Jesus, Lover of My Soul .....	109
7. Savior, I Follow On .....	106
8. Nearer, My God, to Thee .....	98
9. In the Hour of Trial .....	82
10. I’m But a Stranger Here .....	68
11. From Greenland’s Icy Mountains .....	54
12. My Hope Is Built on Nothing Less .....	53
13. Abide, O Dearest Jesus (G) .....	31
14. Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty .....	24
15. O Friend of Souls, How Blest Am I (G) .....	22
16. Lamb of God, Most Holy .....	20
17. My Faith Looks Up to Thee .....	18
18. Praise to the Lord, the Almighty (G) .....	14
19. Lead, Kindly Light .....	12
20. Beautiful Savior .....	11

Among his calculations, Wismar denoted the hymns of German origin with a “(G)” and expressed some alarm that so few had been chosen, noting further that “we believe that in almost all congregations where English is now preached the ratio of the German choral [*sic*] to the

English hymn is one to three, and we are frank to state that in some congregations the ratio is one to four or more.”<sup>1</sup>

While Wismar’s report is relatively limited in scope, it nevertheless displays, in part, the dramatic impact that the English-language hymnody of *ELHB* 1912 made on the generation of Missouri Lutherans coming of age following World War I. Although the editors of *ELHB* had made a sizeable commitment to retaining the German hymnody of Missouri’s fathers in English translation, the hymns of American Evangelicalism that they introduced in even greater number quickly began to dominate Sunday-morning services. The transition from German to English in the Missouri Synod and its ecclesial Americanization were thus greatly enhanced by the great number of Evangelical hymns its congregations quickly embraced in *ELHB* 1912.

The eclectic breadth and depth of the hymnody and hymn writers in *ELHB* 1912 is truly astonishing. From the Latin and Greek hymn translations of the Oxford Movement, to the theological richness of Victorian hymnody, to the spiritual treasure store in Missouri’s great German hymn corpus—the overall span of thematic emphases and historic hymnody was greatly expanded for Missouri Lutheranism far beyond the bounds that German Missouri had previously known. And much of what they discovered in the hymns of Wesley, Watts, Montgomery, and Lyte was already resonant with the kinds of expansive themes and language they had come to know and cherish in “The Fathers’ Faith.”

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Wismar, “Popular Hymns,” *Lutheran Witness* 44, no. 17 (1925): 280.

**394b** Homerita 8s 101 J. C. KITTEL, 1790

**Catechism—Creed**

1 We all be-lieve in one true God, Mak-er of the earth and heav-  
 1 The Fa-ther, who to us in love Hath the claim of child-ren giv-  
 en. He in soul and bod-y feeds us, All we want His hand provides us,  
 en. He in soul and bod-y feeds us, All we want His hand provides us,  
 Thro' all snares and per-ils leads us, Watches that no harm betides us;  
 3rd verse  
 He cares for us by day and night, All things are governed by His might. A-men.

**395** Friend 8,7 81 CHARLES C. CONVERSE

**Catechism Prayer**

1 What a Friend we have in Je - sus, All our sins and griefs to bear;  
 What a priv-i-lege to car - ry Ev-'ry thing to God in prayer.  
 Oh, what peace we oft - en for - feit, Oh, what needless pain we bear—  
 All because we do not car - ry Ev - 'ry thing to God in prayer.  
 2 Have we trials and temptations?  
 Is there trouble anywhere?  
 We should never be discouraged,  
 Take it to the Lord in prayer.  
 Can we find a Friend so faithful,  
 Who will all our sorrows share?  
 Jesus knows our every weakness,  
 Take it to the Lord in prayer.  
 3 Are we weak and heavy laden,  
 Cumbered with a load of care?  
 Precious Savior, still our refuge,—  
 Take it to the Lord in prayer.  
 Do thy friends despise, forsake thee?  
 Take it to the Lord in prayer:  
 In His arms He'll take and shield thee,  
 Thou wilt find a solace there.  
 Joseph Scriven, 1855

Figure 5: Facing pages from *ELHB 1912 (with Tunes)*.

Even a Gospel Song like “What a Friend We Have in Jesus” found a home in Missouri’s eclectic hymn corpus—at the top of Wismar’s list, no less. Musically reminiscent of the songs found in German Missouri’s *Lieder-perlen*, the text of this new favorite was appropriated from American Evangelicalism, reinterpreted through the lenses of the Third Chief Part of Luther’s Small Catechism (Prayer), and placed alongside Luther’s “We All Believe in One True God” (*ELHB 1912*, no. 394) from the Second Chief Part. Thus, “What a Friend” serves as a kind of hymnological exemplar for the tension at play in “The Fathers’ Faith, The Children’s Song.” The convergence, divergence, and appropriation at work among the hymns of *ELHB 1912* ultimately resulted in a broader and richer hymn canon for Missouri Lutheranism, as the English-language

hymnody complemented and expanded on the themes of the German hymns in such areas as mission work, personal witness, and presumably other topics as well.<sup>2</sup>

Missouri's experience with *ELHB* 1912 also provided a model for this emerging immigrant church body in discerning and engaging new hymnody that might arise from the church catholic in future generations. In such a model, the core tradition of existing hymnody would be respected and preserved, yet with an openness to considering hymns from a variety of non-Lutheran sources that exhibit a consonance with Missouri's public doctrine and even a willingness to read and reinterpret new texts from outside of the Lutheran tradition "with Lutheran eyes" and framed within a Lutheran context and community. Such a model would thereby allow for future hymnals and hymn collections to "cherry pick" the best hymns from the church catholic and repurpose them for Lutheran use. In this way the new would find its place alongside the old, and the church's song would continue as a living, growing corpus.

The role of companion collections was also established in Missouri's experience with *SSH* 1901. Such collections served as transitional volumes between hymnals, providing an opportunity to test new hymns, but without the commitment of incorporating them into the official church hymnal. They also served as a home for outlier strands of hymnody that, for one reason or another, may not have found a home in the church's official hymnal. Regardless, the hymns in such "deuterocanonical" collections lived out a parallel existence to the hymns in the official hymnal, since many were sung in the same congregations by the same people. In subsequent official hymnals, a few found their way from such ancillary collections into the church's official hymn corpus, but most faded into obscurity.

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<sup>2</sup> Though the number of topics explored in this study was limited in scope, a listing of other potential topics is included above in Chapter Seven, page 320, note 123.

In just one generation, the hymnody of the Missouri Synod rapidly changed from an entirely German-language hymn corpus to a hymn corpus in which English-language hymns dominated the German hymns by a ratio of three to two. Yet, in the midst of this rapid change, no single hymn genre rose to dominate the emerging hymn corpus as a whole. *ELHB* 1912 did not become a collection resembling Sankey's *Gospel Songs, Nos. 1–6*, or John Mason Neale's *Mediaeval Hymns and Sequences*, or even Winkworth's *Lyra Germanica*. While the German-language core was maintained with great vitality, a theologically rich and eclectic collection of English-language hymnody was incorporated alongside. This precedent provides a model for future Missouri Synod hymnal projects to ponder how best to discern and incorporate the hymnological riches produced by the current generation to be sung by the next generation in "The Fathers' Faith, the Children's Song."

## APPENDIX ONE

### German-Language Hymn Writers in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912

#### Lutheran Reformation (1520–50) [60]

##### Luther and the Early Lutherans [57]

Martin Luther (1483–1546)—34  
Nikolaus Herman (1500–61)—5  
Paul Eber (1511–69)—4  
Nikolaus Decius (1485–1541)—2  
Johann Mathesius (1504–65)—2  
Paul Speratus (1484–1551)—2  
Albrecht of Prussia (1490–1568)—1  
Johann Böschenstein (1472–1539)—1  
Johann Graumann (1487–1541)—1

Justas Jonas (1493–1555)—1  
Urban Langhans (ca. 1526)—1  
Wolfgang Meusslin (1497–1563)—1  
Johann Schneeing (d. 1567)—1  
Johann Walther (1496–1570)—1

##### Bohemian Brethren [3]

Michael Weisse (1488–1534)—2  
Johann Horn (1487–1547)—1

#### Rise of Confessionalization (1550–1618) [32]

##### Lutheran [30]

Nicolaus Selnecker (1532–92)—5  
Martin Behm (1577–1622)—3  
Ludwig Helmbold (1532–98)—2  
Johann Muehlmann (1573–1613)—2  
Philipp Nicolai (1556–1608)—2  
Bartholomäus Ringwaldt (1532–99)—2  
Cyriacus Schneegass (1546–97)—2  
Johann Baumgart (1514–78)—1  
Caspar Melissander Bienemann  
(1540–91)—1  
Cornelius Freundt (1535–91)—1  
Caspar Függer (1561–1617)—1  
Valerius Herberger (1562–1627)—1

Conrad Hoyer (ca. 1584)—1  
Martin Moller (1547–1606)—1  
Martin Schalling (1532–1608)—1  
Johann Steuerlein (1546–1613)—1  
Christoph Vischer (1520–97)—1  
Sigismund Weingaertner (ca. 1607)—1  
Unknown—1

##### Anabaptist [1]

Adam Reusner (1496–1575)—1

##### Bohemian [1]

Petrus Herbert (1533–71)—1

#### Thirty Years' War Lutherans (1618–48) [58]

Paul Gerhardt (1607–76)—18  
Johann Heermann (1585–1647)—7  
Johann Rist (1607–67)—5  
Bartholomäus Helder (1585–1635)—4  
Simon Dach (1605–59)—2  
Justus Gesenius (1601–73)—2

Ernst Christoph Homburg (1605–81)—2  
Christian Keimann (1607–62)—2  
Heinrich Albert (1604–51)—1  
Jacob Fabricius (1593–1654)—1  
Paul Fleming (1609–40)—1  
Bodo von Hodenberg (1605–50)—1

Samuel Kinner (1603–68)—1  
Matthias Appeles von Löwenstern  
(1594–1648)—1  
Johann Major (1564–1654)—1  
Johann Matthaeus Meyfart (1590–1642)—1  
Martin Rinckart (1586–1649)—1  
Michael Schirmer (1606–73)—1

Josua Stegmann (1588–1632)—1  
Josua Wegelin (1604–40)—1  
Georg Weissel (1590–1635)—1  
Georg Werner (1589–1643)—1  
Burkhard Wiesenmeyer (ca. 1635)—1  
William II of Saxe Weimar (1603–69)—1

#### **Post-War German Lutherans (1648–70) [29]**

Johannes Olearius (1611–84)—6  
Johann Franck (1618–77)—4  
Sigismund von Birken (1626–81)—2  
Tobias Clausnitzer (1619–84)—2  
Heinrich Held (1620–59)—2  
Johann Georg Albinus (1624–79)—1  
Johann Flittner (1618–78)—1  
Johann Friedrich Herzog (1647–99)—1  
Karl Friedrich Lochner (1634–97)—1

Gerhard Wolter Molanus (1633–1722)—1  
Georg Neumark (1621–81)—1  
Johann Gottfried Olearius (1635–1711)—1  
Gottfried Wilhelm Sacer (1635–99)—1  
Hartmann Schenck (1634–81)—1  
Christoph Titius (1641–1703)—1  
Otto von Schwerin (1616–79)—1  
Unknown—2

#### **Age of Pietism (1670–1750) [41]**

##### **Pietist Forerunners [8]**

Johann Scheffler (1624–77)—5  
Emilie Juliane von Schwarzburg–  
Rudolstadt (1637–1706)—2  
Friedrich Funcke (1642–99)—1

##### **Pietists [18]**

Wolfgang Christoph Dessler  
(1660–1722)—2  
Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf  
(1700–60)—2  
Karl Heinrich Bogatzky (1690–1774)—1  
Bartholomäus Crassellius (1667–1724)—1  
Ludämilia Elisabeth (1640–72)—1  
Johann Freystein (1671–1718)—1  
Johann Mentzer (1658–1734)—1  
Joachim Neander (1650–80)—1  
Christoph Karl Ludwig von Pfeil  
(1712–84)—1

Johann Rambach (1693–1735)—1  
Samuel Rodigast (1649–1708)—1  
Johann Rothe (1688–1758)—1  
Johann Friedrich Ruopp (1672–1708)—1  
Christian Ludwig Scheidt (1709–61)—1  
Johann Heinrich Schroeder (1667–99)—1  
Johann Schütz (1640–90)—1

##### **Non-Pietist Lutherans [15]**

Benjamin Schmolck (1672–1737)—5  
Salomo Franck (1659–1725)—3  
Balthasar Kindermann (1636–1706)—1  
Mauritius Kramer (1646–1702)—1  
Johann Sigismund Kunth (1700–79)—1  
Johann Möller (1660–1733)—1  
Caspar Neumann (1648–1715)—1  
Erdmann Neumeister (1671–1756)—1  
Johann Zihn (1650–1719)—1

#### **Enlightenment and Restoration (1750–1900) [4]**

Christian Gellert (1715–69)—1  
Albert Knapp (1798–1864)—1

Johann Wilhelm Meinhold (1797–1851)—1  
Samuel Preiswerk (1799–1871)—1

## APPENDIX TWO

### English-Language Hymn Writers in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912

#### From Watts to Wesley [121]

##### Before Watts, Watts [55]

Tate and Brady (1703)—3  
Thomas Ken (1637–1711)—2  
Joseph Hart (1712–68)—2  
Joseph Addison (1672–1719)—2  
Francis Rous (1579–1659)—1  
Richard Baxter (1615–91)—1  
John Austin (1613–69)—1  
Isaac Watts (1674–1748)—43

##### After Watts [28]

Anne Steele (1716–78)—9  
Philip Doddridge (1702–51)—8  
John Fawcett (1740–1817)—4  
Samuel Medley (1738–99)—2  
Joseph Hoskins (1745–88)—1  
Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1758–1804)—1

Thomas Scott (1705–75)—1  
John Morisson (1746–98)—1  
Benjamin Beddome (1711–95)—1

##### The Wesleys and the First Great Awakening [38]

Charles Wesley (1707–88)—27  
Joseph Grigg (ca. 1728–68)—3  
Alexander Pope (1688–1744)—1  
Edward Perronet (1726–92)—1  
Samson Occom (1732–92)—1  
Joseph Humphreys (b. 1720)—1  
William Hammond (1719–83)—1  
Benjamin Francis (1734–99)—1  
John Blakewell (1721–1819)—1  
William Williams (1717–91)—1

#### The Legacy of the English Evangelicals [44]

John Newton (1725–1807)—10  
Thomas Kelly (1769–1854)—7  
William Cowper (1731–1800)—4  
Thomas Cotterill (1779–1823)—2  
Thomas Haweis (1732–1820)—2  
Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743–1825)—2  
William Bengo Collyer (1782–1854)—2  
John Cawood (1775–1852)—2  
Augustus Montague Toplady (1741–78)—1  
Basil Woodd (1760–1831)—1  
Thomas Rawson Taylor (1807–35)—1  
George Heath (1745?–1822)—1

Edward Cooper (1770–1833)—1  
Ambrose Serle (1742–1812)—1  
Lawrence Tuttiett (1825–97)—1  
William Shrubsole (1759–1829)—1  
James Hamilton (1819–96)—1  
Henry Downton (1818–85)—1  
Henry Kirke White (1785–1806)—1  
John Stocker (ca. 1777)—1  
Joseph Anstice (1808–36)—1

### **The Oxford Movement and *Hymns Ancient and Modern* [63]**

#### **Oxford Movement [32]**

James Montgomery (1771–1854)—15  
Reginald Heber (1783–1826)—4  
John Keble (1792–1866)—3  
Matthew Bridges (1800–94)—2  
Frederick W. Faber (1814–63)—2  
Henry John Pye (1825–1903)—1  
Thomas Moore (1779–1852)—1  
Edward Caswall (1814–78)—1  
Robert Grant (1779–1838)—1  
Thomas Edward Powell (1823–1901)—1  
John Chandler (1806–76)—1

#### ***Hymns Ancient and Modern* [31]**

Christopher Wordsworth (1807–85)—6  
William W. How (1823–97)—6  
John S. B. Monsell (1811–75)—3  
John Ellerton (1826–93)—3  
William Chatterton Dix (1837–98)—3  
Henry Williams Baker (1821–77)—2  
Godfrey Thring (1823–1903)—2  
John Mason Neale (1818–66)—2  
Samuel John Stone (1839–1900)—1  
Greville Phillimore (1821–84)—1  
Richard Mant (1776–1848)—1  
Edward Arthur Dayman (1807–90)—1

### **The Flowering of Victorian Hymnody [53]**

Horatius Bonar (1808–99)—8  
Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847)—4  
Frances Ridley Havergal (1836–79)—3  
Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871)—3  
Edward Osler (1798–1863)—2  
John Bowring (1792–1872)—2  
William Hiley Bathurst (1796–1877)—2  
Henry Alford (1810–71)—2  
Mary Fawler Maude (1819–1913)—2  
James Edmeston (1791–1867)—1  
Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924)—1  
John Reynell Wreford (1800–81)—1  
Adelaide Thrupp (1831–1908)—1  
Dorothy Frances Blomfield Gurney  
(1858–1932)—1  
Eliza Sibbald Alderson (1818–89)—1  
Sarah Flower Adams (1805–48); Hervey  
Doddridge Ganse (1822–91)—1  
Genevieve Mary Irons (1855–1928)—1

Andrew Reed (1788–1862)—1  
Edward Mote (1797–1874)—1  
William McComb (1793–1870)—1  
Jane Eliza Leeson (1807–82)—1  
Cornelius Elven (1791–1873)—1  
Julia Anne Elliott (1809–1841)—1  
Josiah Conder (1789–1855)—1  
Bernard Barton (1784–1849)—1  
Oswald Allen (1816–78)—1  
Margaret Mackay (1802–87)—1  
Thomas Hornblower Gill (1819–1906)—1  
Henry Cook (1788–1868)—1  
Edward Henry Bickersteth, Jr.  
(1825–1906)—1  
Harriet Auber (1773–1862)—1  
Cecil Frances Alexander (1823–95)—1  
Frank B. St. John (ca. 1878)—1  
Hugh Reginald Haweis (1836–1891)—1

### **The American Contribution [42]**

#### **American Protestants [32]**

Ray Palmer (1800–87)—3  
Henry Harbaugh (1817–67)—3  
Henry Ustic Onderdonk (1789–1858)—2  
George Washington Doane (1791–1859)—2  
Thomas Hastings (1784–1872)—2  
Maria Frances Anderson (b. 1819)—1

Timothy Dwight (1752–1817)—1  
Denis Wortman (1835–1922)—1  
William Bingham Tappan (1794–1835)—1  
Nathan Strong (1748–1816)—1  
Samuel Francis Smith (1808–95)—1  
Joseph Scriven (1820–86)—1  
Charles Seymour Robinson (1829–99)—1

Daniel March (1816–1909)—1  
George Duffield, Jr. (1818–88)—1  
William Crosswell (1804–51)—1  
Arthur Cleveland Coxe (1818–96)—1  
William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878)—1  
Mary Hamlin Maxwell (1814–53)—1  
Mary Cornelia Gates (1842–1905)—1  
John S. Dwight (1812–93) and  
Charles T. Brooks (1813–83)—1  
John Leland (1754–1841)—1  
Phoebe Cary (1824–71)—1

Samuel Gilman (1791–1858)—1  
Sylvanus Dryden Phelps (1816–95)—1

### **English-speaking Lutherans in America [10]**

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

### **Other Languages [30]**

#### **Latin [20]**

Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153)—2  
Bernard of Cluny (12<sup>th</sup> cent.)—2  
Sebastian Besnault (d. 1724)—2  
Thomas of Celano  
(ca. 1200– ca. 1260–70)—2  
Adam of St. Victor (d. 1146)—1  
Thomas Aquinas (1226–74)—1  
The Venerable Bede (673–735)—1  
Rhabanus Maurus (776–856)—1  
John Francis Wade (1710–86)—1  
Unknown—7

#### **Greek [5]**

Clement of Alexandria (ca. 170–ca. 220)—1  
Joseph the Hymnographer  
(ca. 810–886)—3  
St. Germanus (ca. 634–ca. 784)—1

#### **Other [5]**

Magnus Brostrop Landstadt  
(1802–80)—1  
Henri Abraham César Malan  
(1787–1864)—1  
Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98)—1  
Haquin Spegel (1645–1714)—1  
Unknown—1

### **Unknown Origin [7]**

## APPENDIX THREE

### Hymn Translators in *ELHB* 1889/1892/1912

#### Anglican [120]

Catherine Winkworth (1827–78)—73  
Richard Massie (1800–87)—21  
John Mason Neale (1818–66)—9  
Frances Elizabeth Cox (1812–97)—6  
Henry Williams Baker (1821–77)—2  
John Chandler (1806–76)—2  
Elizabeth R. Charles (1828–96)—1  
Claudia F. Hernamann (1838–98)—1  
William Josiah Irons (1812–83)—1  
John Christian Jacobi (1670–1750)—1  
Arthur Tozer Russell (1806–74)—1  
Walter Scott (1771–1832)—1  
Jane Francesca Elgee Wilde  
(1821–96)—1

#### Lutheran [47]

August Crull (1845–1923)—31  
Matthias Loy (1828–1915)—7  
Emanuel Cronenwett (1841–1931)—2  
Johann Adam Rimbach (1871–1941)—2  
Conrad Hermann Louis Schuette  
(1843–1926)—2  
Olof Olsson (1841–1900)—1  
Philip Peter (1832–1919)—1  
Charles William Schaeffer (1813–96)—1

#### Other Protestant (Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, Reformed, Unitarian) [20]

John Kelly (1833–90)—6  
John Wesley (1703–91)—3  
Leonard Woolsey Bacon (1830–1907)—2  
Jane Borthwick (1813–97)—2  
James Waddel Alexander (1804–59)—1  
George Washington Bethune  
(1805–62)—1  
Henry Martyn Dexter (1821–90)—1  
Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham  
(1793–1870)—1  
Samuel Gilman (1791–1858)—1  
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow  
(1807–82)—1  
Peter Williams (1723–96)—1

#### Roman Catholic [8]

Edward Caswall (1814–78)—7  
Robert Campbell (1814–68)—1

#### Other [69]

Composite—65  
Unknown—4

## APPENDIX FOUR

### Source Hymnals Used in Hymn Selection for the *Sunday-School Hymnal* of 1901

1.*	Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book, English Synod (1895).....	115 (5)
2.*	Sunday School Book, General Council (1889).....	49 (1)
3.*	Sunday School Book, General Council, 2nd ed. (1896).....	55 (1)
4.*	Little Children's Book, General Council (1885) [R. 180] .....	10
5.*	Church Book, General Council (1891) .....	1
6.*	School and Parish Hymnal, Ohl (1892) [R. 205] .....	16
7.*	Sunday School Hymnal, Ohio Synod (1883) .....	6 (2)
8.	Augsburg Songs No. 2, Lutheran Publication Board (1893).....	7
9.	Book of Worship, General Synod (1899) .....	0
10.	Church Song, Lutheran Book Store (1893) [book of tunes].....	0
11.*	Carmina for the Sunday School, Mudge & Turner (1894) [R. 199].....	34 (2)
12.	Prayer Book and Hymnal for the Sunday School, Shinn (1885) [R. 258].....	5
13.*	Hymnal and Service Book for the Sunday School, Hutchins (1893) [R. 116].....	15 (1)
14.*	Children's Hymnal, Tucker (1880) [R. 286] .....	6
15.*	New Children's Hymnal, Tucker (1892) [R. 288] .....	16
16.	Hymnal with Music, Messiter (1897).....	7 (1)
17.	Book of Praise for Sunday Schools, Shinn (1897) [R. 258].....	6
18.*	Gospel Hymns, Sankey (1894).....	6 (4)
19.	National Hymn Book, Thompson (1892).....	4
20.*	New Laudes Domini, Robinson [R. 231] .....	27
21.*	In Excelsis, Century Co. (1900) [R. 166].....	28 (2)
22.*	Calvary Selection, Century Co. (1880) [R. 231] .....	7
23.	Spiritual Songs, Century Co. [R. 231] .....	1
24.	Methodist Episcopal Hymnal (1878) .....	2
25.	Presbyterian Hymnal with Tunes (1874) .....	1
26.	Tribute of Praise, Methodist Protestant Hymnbook (1882).....	4
27.*	Church Praise Book, Stryker (1888) .....	9 (1)
28.	Crucifixion, Stainer (n.d.) .....	4
29.	Anthem Gems, Sudds (1900).....	1 (1)
30.	Sonntags-Schul Harfe, Pilger (1878) .....	3
31.	Christmas Service, Lochner .....	2
32.	Christmas Cantata, Gabriel .....	1
33.	Joyful Carols, Bargar .....	0 (1)
34.	Songs of the Nation, Silver, Burdett, and Co. ....	1
35.	Ever Liveth Easter Service, Lowry .....	0 (1)
36.	Children's Christmas Carol, Evans.....	0 (1)

37.	<i>First Fruits</i> Easter Service, Sanders & Stayman .....	1
38.	<i>Repeat the Sounding Joy</i> Christmas Service, Sanders & Stayman.....	5
39.	<i>Christ Child</i> Christmas Service, Ohl .....	1
40.	Hymns of unknown origin .....	<u>12</u>
		Totals: 468 (24)

The numbers in the first column indicate the number of the source according to its designation in the *Lutheran Witness* article.<sup>1</sup> The sources with an asterisk (\*) were considered in this study. These sources account for 394 of the 468 hymns in the hymnal (84%) and provide an adequately representative survey. Source “40” is not a source listed in the *Lutheran Witness* but represents those hymns that were eventually included in *SSH* 1901 but not listed in the article.

The middle column provides the name of the source in italics, followed by its publisher and the year published (if known) in parentheses. The abbreviation “R” in brackets indicates that this work, publisher, or author is described in Rogal’s *The Children’s Jubilee*.<sup>2</sup>

The final column on the right indicates the number of hymns from each source that finally made it into the *SSH* 1901. If there is a second number in parentheses to the right of the first number, it indicates how many hymns from that particular source did not make the final cut after the three-month period of “friendly criticism” had elapsed. Thus, for example, from source “1” the *Lutheran Witness* article indicated that 120 hymns were from the 1895 printing of *ELHB* 1892—only 115 of which were included and five that were not. In the case of source “33,” *Joyful Carols*, one hymn was proposed, but no hymns were included. Although sources “9” (*Book of Worship*) and “10” (*Church Song*) were listed as sources in the *Lutheran Witness* article, no hymn titles in the article were listed with these source numbers.

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<sup>1</sup> [George A.] R.[omoser], “The Sunday School Hymnal,” *Lutheran Witness* 18, no. 11 (1899): 82–85.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel J. Rogal, *The Children’s Jubilee: A Bibliographical Survey of Hymnals for Infants, Youth, and Sunday Schools Published in Britain and America, 1655–1900* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1983).

## APPENDIX FIVE

### German-Language Hymns from Pre-*ELHB* 1889 Collections

English Title	German Title	<i>KELG</i> 1847	<i>DH</i> 1879	<i>LH</i> 1882	<i>HELC</i> 1886	<i>ELHB</i> 1889
A Healer t' Us Is Given	<i>Ein Artz ist uns gegeben</i>	—		18		—
A Mighty Fortress Is Our God	<i>Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott</i>	158	45	7	17	135
Abide, O Dearest Jesus	<i>Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade</i>	2	6		2	2
All Glory Be to God on High	<i>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr</i>	1	1	1	1	1
Awake, My Heart, with Gladness	<i>Auf, auf, mein Herz, mit Freuden</i>	97	29			88
Baptized into Thy Name Most Holy	<i>Ich bin getauft auf deinen Namen</i>	458	59			177
Blessed Jesus, at Thy Word	<i>Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier</i>	8	3	3	4	4
Blessed Jesus, Here We Stand	<i>Liebster Jesu, hier sind wir</i>	190	58		22	178
Bless Our Going Out, O Lord	<i>Unsern Ausgang segne Gott</i>	—		17		—
Christ, Thou the Champion of the Band Who Own	<i>Christe, du Beistand deiner Kreuzgemeinde</i>	167	49			141
Come, Holy Spirit, God and Lord	<i>Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott</i>	134	38		14	111
Commit Thou All Thy Griefs	<i>Befiehl du deine Wege</i>	355	107			339
Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice	<i>Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein</i>	243	68	10	25	209
Deck Thyself, My Soul, with Gladness	<i>Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele</i>	210	61			182
Draw us to Thee, for Then Shall We*	<i>Zeuch uns nach dir</i>	124	36			100
Farewell! I Say with Gladness*	<i>Valet will ich dir geben</i>	426	116			371
Fear Not, O Little Flock, the Foe	<i>Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein</i>	455	47			143
For Me to Live Is Jesus	<i>Christus, der ist mein Leben</i>	400	112	15	30	372
From Heaven above to Earth I Come	<i>Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her</i>	41	14		9	22
God Who Madest Earth and Heaven	<i>Gott des Himmels und der Erden</i>	297	84			287
I Fall Asleep in Jesus' Wounds	<i>In Christi Wunden schlaf' ich ein</i>	412	113	16	31	375
If Thou but Suffer God to Guide Thee	<i>Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten</i>	382	104			350
In Death's Strong Grasp the Saviour Lay	<i>Christ lag in Todes Banden</i>	99	28			93
In God, My Faithful God	<i>Auf meinen lieben Gott</i>	354	103			351
In Grateful Songs Your Voices Raise	<i>Nun danket all und bringet Ehr</i>	347	96			—
In Peace and Joy I Now Depart	<i>Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr' dahin</i>	65	111			54

<b>English Title</b>	<b>German Title</b>	<b>KELG 1847</b>	<b>DH 1879</b>	<b>LH 1882</b>	<b>HELC 1886</b>	<b>ELHB 1889</b>
Jerusalem, Thou City Fair and High	<i>Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt</i>	443	130		33	393
Jesus Christ, My Sure Defense	<i>Jesus, meine Zuversicht</i>	111	30		12	94
Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior	<i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von</i>	110	60	14	23	183
Jesus Sinners Doth Receive	<i>Jesus nimmt die Sünder an</i>	222	65		24	195
Jesus, Grant that Balm and Healing*	<i>Jesu, deine heil'gen Wunden</i>	77	22			69
Jesus, Jesus, Jesus Only*	<i>Jesus, Jesus, nichts als Jesus</i>	253	74			230
Jesus, Priceless Treasure	<i>Jesu, meine Freude</i>	251	75			232
Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness	<i>Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit</i>	—	70			213
Let Me Be Thine Forever	<i>Lass mich dein sein und bleiben</i>	174	50	6	20	156
Let Us All with Gladsome Voice	<i>Lasst uns alle fröhlich sein</i>	28	13		8	29
Lift Up Your Heads, Ye Mighty Gates	<i>Macht hoch die Tür, die Thor' macht weit</i>	31	10			30
Lord Grant That E'er We Pure Retain*	<i>Herr Gott, erhalt uns für und für</i>	179	53			171
Lord Jesus Christ, in Thee Alone	<i>Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	213	64			196
Lord Jesus Christ, to Us Attend*	<i>Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend</i>	4	2	2	3	6
Lord Jesus Christ, with Us Abide	<i>Ach, bleib bei uns, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	165	48	4	19	158
Lord, as Thou Wilt, Deal Thou with Me	<i>Herr, wie du willst, so schick's mit mir</i>	270			27	256
Lord, Keep Us in Thy Word and Work	<i>Erhalt uns, Herr</i>	159	46		18	138
Lord, to Thee I Make Confession	<i>Herr, ich habe missgehandelt</i>	—	66			—
My Soul, Now Bless Thy Maker	<i>Nun lob', mein' Seel', den Herren</i>	348	97			319
Now Do We Pray God, the Holy Ghost*	<i>Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist</i>	136	39			120
Now God Be with Us, for the Night Is Closing	<i>Die Nacht ist kommen</i>	314	89			300
Now I Have Found the Sure Foundation	<i>Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden</i>	240	69	11	26	217
Now Lay We Calmly in the Grave	<i>Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben</i>	417	119		32	380
Now Let Us Come before Him*	<i>Nun lasst uns gehn und treten</i>	54	17			44
Now Rest beneath Night's Shadows	<i>Nun ruhen alle Wälder</i>	319	88			301
Now Thank We All Our God	<i>Nun danket alle Gott</i>	346	95	13	5	321
O Bleeding Head, and Wounded	<i>O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden</i>	84	21		11	74
O Christ, Our True and Only Light	<i>O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht</i>	175	51	5	21	162
O Darkest Woe	<i>O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid</i>	88	26			75
O God, Thou Faithful God	<i>O Gott, du frommer Gott</i>	281	79	12	28	265
O Holy Spirit, Enter in	<i>O heil'ger Geist, kehr' bei uns ein</i>	140	40			119
O How Blest Are Ye Whose Toils Are Ended*	<i>O wie selig seid ihr doch, ihr Frommen</i>	424	120			381
O Lamb of God, Most Holy	<i>O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig</i>	86	19			76

<b>English Title</b>	<b>German Title</b>	<b>KELG 1847</b>	<b>DH 1879</b>	<b>LH 1882</b>	<b>HELC 1886</b>	<b>ELHB 1889</b>
O Lord Our Father, Thanks to Thee	<i>Herr Gott Vater, wir preisen dich</i>	51	16			45
O Lord, How Shall I Meet Thee	<i>Wie soll ich dich empfangen</i>	44	12		7	32
O Lord, I Love Thee from My Heart*	<i>Herzlich lieb hab' ich dich, o Herr</i>	271	80			266
O Lord, My God, I Cry to Thee	<i>O Herre Gott, in meiner Not</i>	420	114			382
O Morning Star! How Fair and Bright	<i>Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern</i>	261	76			239
Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above	<i>Vater unser im Himmelreich</i>	185	57			176
Out of the Depths I Cry to Thee	<i>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</i>	214	63	9		200
Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King	<i>Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren</i>	341	93			326
Since Christ Has Gone to Heaven, His Home	<i>Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein</i>	117	35		13	105
Tender Shepherd, Thou Hast Stilled	<i>Guter Hirt, du hast gestillt</i>	—	124			—
That Man a Godly Life Might Live	<i>Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot'</i>	180	55			172
The Lord My God Be Praised*	<i>Gelobet sei der Herr</i>	21	43			128
The Old Year Now Hath Passed Away	<i>Das alte Jahr vergangen ist</i>	48			10	47
Thou Who Art Three in Unity	<i>Der du bist drei in Einigkeit</i>	143	42		15	131
To God, the Father of All Love*	<i>Sei Lob und Ehr' dem höchsten Gut</i>	350	94		6	332
Wake, Awake, for Night Is Flying	<i>Wachet auf! ruft uns die Stimme</i>	436	125			399
We All Believe in One True God, Maker	<i>Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, Schöpfer</i>	183	56	8	16	175
Whatever God Ordains Is Good*	<i>Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgethan</i>	376	106		29	363
When in the Hour of Utmost Need	<i>Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein</i>	387	102			364
When My Last Hour Is Close at Hand	<i>Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist</i>	428	115			385
Who Knows How Near My End May Be	<i>Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende</i>	429	117			386

\*Indicates that the hymn is found by a different English title in one of the predecessor collections.

English titles are as they appear in ELHB 1889.

None of the hymns from the appendix to KELG 1856 appear in the English-language volumes.

There are 80 hymns total.

## APPENDIX SIX

### English-Language Hymns from Non-Missouri Synod Hymnals

Hymn Title	<i>ELHB</i> 1889	DH 1879	<i>CB</i> 1868	<i>BoW</i> 1884	<i>ELH</i> 1880
<b>Hymns from 4 of 4 Hymnals (25)</b>					
Abide with me! fast falls the eventide	368	90	59	532	440
Alas! and did my Saviour bleed	59	23	181	128	64
Almighty God, Thy Word is cast	3	8	56	592	10
Asleep in Jesus! blessed sleep	370	122	555	560	443
Awake, my soul, and with the sun	286	85	510	515	301
Before Jehovah's awful throne	311	98	1	1	157
Come hither, ye faithful, triumphantly sing	20	15	129	233	38
From Greenland's icy mountains	144	52	297	221	163
God moves in a mysterious way	344	108	82	76	175
Great God, we sing that mighty Hand	42	18	137	545	50
Hail to the Lord's Anointed	23	11	122	153	22
Hail, Thou once despised Jesus	67	25	170	150	90
Jerusalem, my happy home	391	129	579	590	466
Jesus, the very thought of Thee	233	73	224	176	284
Just as I am, without one plea	214	72	366	311	241
Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing	5	9	58	594	12
My soul, repeat His praise	320	99	74	3	367
O God of Jacob, by whose hand	264	81	91	86	331
O Thou, from whom all goodness flows	358	109	490	378	426
Our Lord is risen from the dead	104	37	199	245	95
Rock of Ages, cleft for me	220	71	367	310	255
Saviour, when in dust to Thee	78	67	172	137	242
That day of wrath, that dreadful day	395	127	566	567	459
The Lord my pasture shall prepare	241	77	85	73	173
When all Thy mercies, O my God	334	100	17	75	369
<b>Hymns from 3 of 4 Hymnals (52)</b>					
Am I a soldier of the Cross?	244		461	456	382
And must this body die	369		561	476	450
Christ the Lord is risen to-day	90	31	192	239	
Christ whose glory fills the skies	224	86	40	516	
Come, Holy Spirit, come	110		254	324	109
Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove	112	41	253	182	

<b>Hymn Title</b>	<b>ELHB 1889</b>	<b>DH 1879</b>	<b>CB 1868</b>	<b>BoW 1884</b>	<b>ELH 1880</b>
Come, said Jesus' sacred voice	191		347	279	375
Come, to Calvary's holy mountain	64		349	273	379
Day of wrath! that day of mourning	388	128	569		460
Father of glory, to Thy name	125		125	65	117
Father of heaven, whose love profound	126		263	63	114
Father, in whom we live	124		261	64	118
For Thy mercy and Thy grace	41		138	543	41
Glorious things of thee are spoken	145		266	193	191
Go to dark Gethsemane	66		173	120	384
God is love, His mercy brightens	342		78	62	171
Grace! 'tis a charming sound	210		102	94	370
Gracious Spirit, Dove divine	114		256	186	108
Great is the Lord our God	146		269	483	201
Hark, the glad sound, the Saviour comes	24		123	111	20
How beauteous are their feet	148		285	198	335
I know that my Redeemer lives [Medley]	92	33	209		92
I love Thy Zion, Lord	151		275	202	194
I would not live alway, I ask not to stay	376	118	542	471	
In vain would boasting reason find	153		97	309	187
Jesus shall reign where'er the sun	154		295	213	164
Jesus, and shall it ever be	228		445	174	289
Jesus, Lover of my soul	231		321	358	290
Joy to the world, the Lord is come	27		134	110	23
Let songs of praises fill the sky	116		240	179	105
Lord, it belongs not to my care	355		492	374	403
May the grace of Christ our Saviour	9		64	598	14
Nearer, my God to Thee, Nearer to Thee! E'en tho'	357	110	536	393	
Not all the blood of beasts	73		158	135	253
O bless the Lord, my soul	322		73	7	363
O for a faith that will not shrink	262		411	357	214
Our God, our Help in ages past	383		538	389	177
Saviour, who Thy flock art feeding	274		532	258	345
Stricken, smitten, and afflicted	81		182	132	72
Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear	305		523	530	314
The man is ever blest	278		375	440	386
The Saviour calls, let every ear	166		345	270	372
The Spirit in our hearts	167		346	275	380
Thee we adore, eternal Lord	329		7	33	357
There is a land of pure delight	397		574	572	453
This is the day the Lord hath made	13	5	39	39	
Thou art the Way, to Thee alone	242		228	106	276
Through the day Thy love hath spared us	308	91	525		318
When I survey the wondrous Cross	86	24	183	127	

<b>Hymn Title</b>	<b>ELHB 1889</b>	<b>DH 1879</b>	<b>CB 1868</b>	<b>BoW 1884</b>	<b>ELH 1880</b>
When streaming from the eastern skies	294		507	513	299
While with ceaseless course the sun	49		139	544	39
Zion stands with hills surrounded	170		270	484	149

**Hymns from 2 of 4 Hymnals (105)**

A great and mighty wonder	16		130		35
A hymn of glory let us sing	99		201		94
All hail the power of Jesus' name	222		215	149	
All that I was, my sin, my guilt	204		105	100	
And let this feeble body fail	337		491	342	
And will the Judge descend	387			570	458
And wilt Thou pardon, Lord	188		358		239
Angels from the realms of glory	53			234	59
Approach, my soul, the mercy seat	205		364	330	
Arise, my soul, arise	206		211	142	
As with gladness men of old	50		140		59
Awake, my soul, in joyful lays	310			169	368
Behold the Saviour of mankind	60		179	235	
Behold the sure Foundation-Stone	139		264	192	
Beloved, it is well	338			443	427
Blest is the man, forever blest	207			316	257
Christ, Thou art the sure Foundation	140		292	492	
Come let us join our cheerful songs	63			160	65
Come, my soul, thy suit prepare	190		29		243
Come, Thou almighty King	123		262	66	
Dear refuge of my weary soul	340		481	367	
Delay not, delay not, O sinner	193			290	378
Enslaved by sin and bound in chains	65			137	63
Father of mercies, in Thy Word	142		310	249	
Forever with the Lord	389		585	588	
From all that dwell below the skies	313		307	9	
Give to our God immortal praise	314		100		360
Glory to Thee, My God, this night	298			519	316
God of mercy, God of grace	315			418	366
God of my life, to Thee I call	345		480	463	
God of my life, whose gracious power	248		426	376	
Great God, what do I see and hear	390	126	565		
Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah	249		418	387	
Hail the day that sees Him rise	101		200	243	
Hark, ten thousand harps and voices	102		206	162	
Hark! a voice divides the sky	373		557	562	
Hark! the herald-angels sing	25		128	230	
Hark! what mean those holy voices	26		127	229	
Hasten, O sinner, to be wise	194			285	377

<b>Hymn Title</b>	<b>ELHB 1889</b>	<b>DH 1879</b>	<b>CB 1868</b>	<b>BoW 1884</b>	<b>ELH 1880</b>
Here in Thy name, eternal Lord	147			485	133
Holy Father, Thou hast taught me	251			362	40
Holy Ghost, with light divine	115		257	187	
How precious is the Book divine	149		309	253	
How shall the young secure their hearts	150		312	252	
How sweet the name of Jesus sounds	225		221	175	
I heard the voice of Jesus say	211		106	320	
I lay my sins on Jesus	212		368	313	
I was a wandering sheep	227		107	99	
I'll praise my Maker whilst I've breath	316		2	17	
In the Cross of Christ I glory	68		157	133	
In weariness and pain	353		485	381	
Jerusalem the golden	392		587		467
Jesus, Brightness of the Father	132		93		124
Jesus, my great High Priest	71		210	144	
Lamb of God, we fall before thee	215			172	254
Let every ear attend	155			271	184
Let thoughtless thousands choose the road	394			410	452
Lo! upon the altar lies	184		337		272
Lord of hosts, to Thee we raise	159		294	488	
Lord of my life! O may Thy praise	289			508	300
Lord of the worlds above	7		43	48	
Lord, in Thy kingdom there shall be	157		276		199
Lord, we confess our numerous faults	216		99	318	
May we Thy precepts, Lord fulfil	161		279		391
My faith looks up to Thee	258		435	364	
My Father, cheering name	356			445	424
My soul, be on thy guard	260		463	457	
My spirit on Thy care	261		427	365	
Now may He who from the dead	10		63	599	
Now the shades of night are gone	291			518	303
O for a thousand tongues to sing	236		217	151	
O Jesus, King most wonderful	238		225	177	
O Lord, my best desire fulfil	267		420	348	
O Spirit of the living God	164		300	190	
O that the Lord would guide my ways	269		393	354	
O Thou that hear'st when sinners cry	199		356	301	
O Thou who wouldst not have	270		361	304	
On what has now been sown	12		57		11
Prayer is the soul's sincere desire	271			326	215
Return, O wanderer, return	201			284	376
Saviour, Breathe an evening blessing	302			520	319
Shepherd of tender youth	275		526		348
Sinners, turn; why will ye die	202			289	374

<b>Hymn Title</b>	<b>ELHB</b> <b>1889</b>	<b>DH</b> <b>1879</b>	<b>CB</b> <b>1868</b>	<b>BoW</b> <b>1884</b>	<b>ELH</b> <b>1880</b>
Soldiers of Christ, arise	276		462	454	
Songs of immortal praise belong	327		70		166
Songs of praise the angels sang	328		13		362
Spirit of mercy, truth and love	122			247	107
Stars of the morning, so gloriously bright	134		94		125
The abyss of many a former sin	203		359		237
The atoning work is done	106			145	98
The day is past and gone	306			522	317
The Head that once was crowned with thorns	107		205		99
The year begins with Thee	48		136		44
There is a fountain filled with blood	82		159	136	
There is an hour of peaceful rest	398			575	454
Thus far the Lord has led me on	309			521	321
Thy presence, gracious Lord, afford	14			29	6
Thy Ways, O Lord, with wise design	361			78	174
To God be glory, peace on earth	331		8		358
To our Redeemer's glorious name	84			156	66
We lift our hearts to Thee	293		512	511	
We sing the almighty power of God	333			69	167
When I can read my title clear	283		380	383	
Who is this that comes from Edom	98	32	191		
Ye servants of the Lord	285		465	449	

**Hymns from 1 of 4 Hymnals (9)**

Blest be Thy love, dear Lord	245				404
Chief of sinners though I be	223				287
God who madest earth and heaven, Darkness	299	92			
Jesus, my Truth, my Way	255		436		
My God, my Father, while I stray	259	82			
Oft in sorrow, oft in woe	359				415
Praise, O praise our God and king	325				137
Thine for ever! God of love	281		326		
Through all the changing scenes of life	330		86		

## APPENDIX SEVEN

### Comparison of Thematic Headings in *KELG* 1847 and *ELHB* 1889

<i>KELG</i> 1847	<i>ELHB</i> 1889
I. Sunday Hymns	1. Sunday
II. Advent and Christmas	2. Advent and Christmas
III. The Circumcision of Jesus and the New Year	3. New Year
IV. Epiphany (January 6)	4. Epiphany
V. Purification of Mary (February 2)	5. Presentation
VI. Annunciation (March 25)	
VII. Passion Hymns or Hymns on the Suffering and Death of Jesus Christ	6. Passion
VIII. Easter Hymns or Hymns on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ	7. Easter
IX. Ascension of Jesus Christ	8. Ascension
X. Pentecost Hymns or Hymns on the Pouring Out of the Holy Spirit	9. Pentecost
XI. Hymns for Trinity Sunday or on the Holy Trinity	10. Trinity
XII. John the Baptist (June 24)	
XIII. The Visitation of Mary (July 2)	
XIV. St. Michael (September 29)	11. Michaelmas
XV. Reformation Day (October 31)	12. Reformation
XVI. Commemoration of the Holy Apostles	
XVII. The Word of God and the Christian Church	13. The Word and the Church
XVIII. Catechism Hymns	14. Catechism
1. The Law of God	
2. The Christian Faith	
3. The Holy Lord's Prayer	
4. Holy Baptism	
5. Holy Absolution	
6. The Holy Lord's Supper	
XIX. Repentance and Confession	15. Repentance
XX. Faith and Justification	16. Faith and Justification
XXI. Jesus Hymns	17. The Redeemer
XXII. On the Christian Life	18. The Christian Life
XXIII. Morning Hymns	19. Morning
XXIV. Table Hymns	
1. Before Meals	
2. After Meals	

XXV. Evening Hymns	20. Evening
XXVI. Hymns on One's Station and Calling	
1. Matrimony	
2. Travel	
3. Harvest	
4. Appendix for Children	
XXVII. Praise and Thanks	21. Praise
XXVIII. Cross and Comfort	22. The Cross and Comfort
XXIX. In Particular Times of Need	
1. General Times of Need	
2. War Time	
3. Persecution	
4. Bad Weather	
5. Great Drought	
XXX. Death and Burial	23. Death and Burial
XXXI. Hymns of Eternity and Hymns on the Resurrection and the Last Judgment	24. Eternity
	25. Doxologies

## APPENDIX EIGHT

### Comparison of Thematic Headings in *ELHB* 1892 and *ELHB* 1912

<i>ELHB</i> 1892	<i>ELHB</i> 1912
I. Sunday	Beginning of Worship
1. Opening	Close of Worship
2. Closing	
	Morning
	Evening
	Invitation
	Praise [Worship]
	The Redeemer
	God's Word
	The Lord's Day
II. Advent and Christmas	Advent
	Christmas
III. New Year	End of the Year
	New Year
	Circumcision
IV. Epiphany	Epiphany
V. Presentation	Presentation
VI. Passion	Passion
	General
	Good Friday
	The Burial
VII. Easter	Easter
VIII. Ascension	Ascension
	Session
	Intercession
IX. Pentecost	Pentecost
X. Trinity	Trinity
XI. Michaelmas	
XII. Reformation	Festival of the Reformation
	St. Michael and All Angels
	All Saints
	Harvest and Thanksgiving
	National [National and Day of Humiliation]

XIII. The Word and the Church

1. Glory of the Word
2. Power
3. Invitation
4. Cornerstone
5. Dedication
6. Protection of
7. Loyalty to
8. Communion of Saints
9. Mission

Faith and Justification

Sanctification

- Obedience
- Consecration
- Giving
- Trust
- Warfare
- Resignation
- [Fruits of the Spirit]

Catechism

- Law
- Creed
- Prayer
- Baptism
- Confirmation
- Confession and Absolution
- The Lord's Supper
- Marriage, Family, Children

XIV. Catechism

1. Ten Commandments
2. Creed
3. Prayer
4. Baptism
  
5. Absolution
6. Lord's Supper

XV. Repentance

XVI. Faith and Justification

XVII. The Redeemer

Church

- Laying a Cornerstone
- Dedication of a Church
- The Communion of Saints
- Glory of the Church
- Missions
- The Ministry

XVIII. The Christian Life

1. Trust in God
2. Following Christ
3. Prayer
4. Watchfulness
5. Resolve and Holiness
6. Experience

- 7. Family
- 8. Marriage
- 9. Children

XIX. Morning XX. Evening XXI. Praise <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Harvest</li> <li>2. Independence Day</li> <li>3. National</li> </ul>
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XXII. The Cross and Comfort

XXIII. Death and Burial

XXIV. Eternity

XXV. Doxologies

Cross and Comfort

Death and Burial

The Judgment

Heaven

Chants

Doxologies

*The boxed areas with differing borders indicate the areas of similarity between ELHB 1892 and ELHB 1912.*

## APPENDIX NINE

### Comparison of Thematic Headings in *ELHB* 1892, *SSH* 1901, and *ELHB* 1912

<i>ELHB</i> 1892	<i>SSH</i> 1901	<i>ELHB</i> 1912
Sunday		
Opening	Opening (16)	Beginning of Worship
Closing	Closing (11)	Close of Worship
	Morning (13)	Morning
	Evening (18)	Evening
		Praise
		The Redeemer
		God's Word
	Lord's Day (9)	The Lord's Day
Advent & Christmas	Advent (10) Christmas (42)	Advent Christmas End of the Year
New Year	New Year (6)	New Year Circumcision
Epiphany	Epiphany (9)	Epiphany
Presentation		Presentation
Passion	Lent (21)	Passion General Good Friday The Burial
Easter	Palm Sunday (7) Easter (19)	Easter
Ascension	Ascension (6)	Ascension Session Intercession
Pentecost	Pentecost (13)	Pentecost
Trinity	Trinity (17)	Trinity
Michaelmas		Festival of the Reformation St. Michael and All Angels
Reformation		All Saints Harvest and Thanksgiving National

The Word and the Church

1. Glory of the Word
2. Power
3. Invitation
4. Cornerstone
5. Dedication
6. Protection of
7. Loyalty to
8. Communion of Saints
9. Mission

Word (15)

Baptism (3)

Lord's Supper (2)

Faith and Justification

Sanctification

- Obedience
- Consecration
- Giving
- Trust
- Warfare
- Resignation

Catechism

1. Ten Commandments
2. Creed
3. Prayer
4. Baptism
5. Absolution
6. Lord's Supper

Catechism

- Law
- Creed
- Prayer
- Baptism
- Confirmation
- Confession and Absolution
- The Lord's Supper
- Marriage, Family,

Childhood (18)

Confirmation (5)

Reformation—Church—Missions (29)

Children

Repentance

Faith and Justification	Faith in the Redeemer (55)
The Redeemer	

Prayer (18)  
Praise (20)

The Christian Life	Service (31)
1. Trust in God	
2. Following Christ	
3. Prayer	
4. Watchfulness	
5. Resolve and Holiness	
6. Experience	
7. Family	
8. Marriage	

Church
Laying a Cornerstone
Dedication of a Church
The Communion of Saints
Glory of the Church
Missions
The Ministry

Morning  
Evening  
Praise

Warfare and Processional  
(10)

Cross and Comfort	Cross and Comfort (14)	Cross and Comfort
Death and Burial	Death and Burial (10)	Death and Burial
Eternity	Heaven (15)	The Judgment
Doxologies	Miscellaneous (6)	Heaven
		Chants/Doxologies

*The boxed areas with differing borders indicate the areas of similarity between ELHB 1892, SSH 1901, and ELHB 1912.*

## APPENDIX TEN

### Core German-Language Hymns from *ELHB* 1892, *SSH* 1901, and *ELHB* 1912

<b>First Line</b>	<b>German Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b><i>ELHB</i> 1912</b>
A mighty Fortress is our God	<i>Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott</i>	Luther, Martin	273
Abide, O dearest Jesus	<i>Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade</i>	Stegmann, Josua	9
All glory be to God on high	<i>Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr</i>	Decius, Nikolaus	261
Awake, my heart, with gladness	<i>Auf, auf, mein Herz, mit Freuden</i>	Gerhardt, Paul	218
Baptized into Thy name most holy	<i>Ich bin getauft auf deinen Namen</i>	Rambach, Johann	400
Blessed Jesus, at Thy word	<i>Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier</i>	Clausnitzer, Tobias	3
Blessed Jesus, here we stand	<i>Liebster Jesu, hier sind wir</i>	Schmolck, Benjamin	402
Christ, Thou the Champion of the band who own	<i>Christe, du Beistand deiner Kreuzgemeinde</i>	Löwenstern, Matthias Appeles von	279
Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord	<i>Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott</i>	Luther, Martin	257
Comfort, comfort ye my people	<i>Tröstet, tröstet, meine Lieben</i>	Olearius, Johann	130
Commit whatever grieves thee	<i>Befiehl du deine Wege</i>	Gerhardt, Paul	525
Dear Christians, one and all rejoice	<i>Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein</i>	Luther, Martin	310
Deck thyself, my soul, with gladness	<i>Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele</i>	Franck, Johann	432
Draw us to Thee	<i>Zeuch uns nach dir</i>	Funcke, Friedrich	234
Farewell! I say with gladness	<i>Valet will ich dir geben</i>	Herberger, Valerius	532
Father of heaven, who hast created all	<i>O Vaterherz</i>	Knapp, Albert	405
Fear not, O little flock, the Foe	<i>Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein</i>	Fabricius, Jacob	276
For me to live is Jesus	<i>Christus, der ist mein Leben</i>	Unknown	529
From heaven above to earth I come	<i>Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her</i>	Luther, Martin	150

			<b><i>ELHB</i></b>
<b>First Line</b>	<b>German Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>1912</b>
Gentle Shepherd, Thou hast stilled	<i>Guter Hirt, du hast gestillt</i>	Meinhold, Johann Wilhelm	537
God, who madest earth and heaven	<i>Gott des Himmels und der Erden</i>	Albert, Heinrich	23
I fall asleep in Jesus' wounds	<i>In Christi Wunden schlaf' ich ein</i>	Eber, Paul	545
If thou but suffer God to guide thee	<i>Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten</i>	Neumark, Georg	498
In Death's strong grasp the Savior lay	<i>Christ lag in Todes Banden</i>	Luther, Martin	224
In God, my faithful God	<i>Auf meinen lieben Gott</i>	Weingaertner, Sigismund	508
In peace and joy I now depart	<i>Mit Fried' und Freud' ich fahr' dahin</i>	Luther, Martin	185
Jerusalem, thou city fair and high	<i>Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt</i>	Meyfart, Johann Matthaeus	559
Jesus Christ, my sure Defense	<i>Jesus, meine Zuversicht</i>	Schwerin, Otto von	220
Jesus Christ, our blessed Savior	<i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland</i>	Luther, Martin	441
Jesus sinners doth receive	<i>Jesus nimmt die Sünder an</i>	Neumeister, Erdmann	414
Jesus, grant that balm and healing	<i>Jesu, deine heil'gen Wunden</i>	Heermann, Johann	194
Jesus, Jesus, Jesus only	<i>Jesus, Jesus, nichts als Jesus</i>	Elisabeth, Ludämilia	86
Jesus, priceless Treasure	<i>Jesu, meine Freude</i>	Franck, Johann	82
Jesus, Thou my heart's Delight	<i>Jesu, meines Herzens Freud</i>	Flittner, Johann	89
Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness	<i>Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit</i>	Zinzendorf, Nicolaus Ludwig von	326
Jesus, still lead on	<i>Jesu, geh voran</i>	Zinzendorf, Nicolaus Ludwig von	331
Let me be Thine forever	<i>Lass mich dich sein und bleiben</i>	Selnecker, Nicolaus	408
Let us all with gladsome voice	<i>Lasst uns alle fröhlich sein</i>	Langhans, Urban	153
Let us ever walk with Jesus	<i>Lasset uns mit Jesu ziehen</i>	Birken, Sigismund von	333
Lift up your heads, ye mighty gates	<i>Macht hoch die Tür, die Thor' macht weit</i>	Weissel, Georg	138
Lord Jesus Christ, in Thee alone	<i>Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	Schneeing, Johann	413
Lord Jesus Christ, to us attend	<i>Herr Jesus Christ, dich zu uns wend</i>	William II of Saxe Weimar	1

			<b>ELHB</b>
<b>First Line</b>	<b>German Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>1912</b>
Lord Jesus Christ, with us abide	<i>Ach, bleib bei uns, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	Selnecker, Nicolaus	110
Lord Jesus, who our souls to save	<i>Der du Herr Jesu Ruh und Rast</i>	Werner, Georg	217
Lord, as Thou wilt, deal Thou with me	<i>Herr, wie du willst, so schick's mit mir</i>	Bienemann, Caspar Melissander	383
Lord, grant that we e're pure retain	<i>Herr Gott, erhalt uns für und für</i>	Helmbold, Ludwig	390
Lord, keep us in Thy Word and work	<i>Erhalt uns, Herr</i>	Luther, Martin	274
Lord, to Thee I make confession	<i>Herr, ich habe missgehandelt</i>	Franck, Johann	416
My Jesus, as Thou wilt	<i>Mein Jesu, wie du willst</i>	Schmolck, Benjamin	387
My soul, now bless thy Maker	<i>Nun lob', mein' Seel', den Herren</i>	Graumann, Johann	59
Now God be with us, for the night is closing	<i>Die Nacht ist kommen</i>	Herbert, Petrus	38
Now I have found the sure foundation	<i>Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden</i>	Rothe, Johann	312
Now lay we calmly in the grave	<i>Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben</i>	Weisse, Michael	538
Now let us come before Him	<i>Nun lasst uns gehn und treten</i>	Gerhardt, Paul	174
Now do we pray God, the Holy Ghost	<i>Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist</i>	Luther, Martin	260
Now rest beneath night's shadows	<i>Nun ruhen alle Wälder</i>	Gerhardt, Paul	33
Now thank we all our God	<i>Nun danket alle Gott</i>	Rinckart, Martin	64
O Bleeding Head, and wounded	<i>O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden</i>	Gerhardt, Paul	201
O blest the house, whate'er befall	<i>Wohl einem Haus, wo Jesus Christ</i>	Pfeil, Christoph Karl Ludwig von	445
O Christ, our true and only Light	<i>O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht</i>	Heermann, Johann	475
O darkest woe	<i>O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid</i>	Rist, Johann	215
O God, Thou faithful God	<i>O Gott, du frommer Gott</i>	Heermann, Johann	346
O Holy Spirit, enter in	<i>O heil'ger Geist, kehr' bei uns ein</i>	Schirmer, Michael	247
O how blest are ye whose toils are ended	<i>O wie selig seid ihr doch, ihr Frommen</i>	Dach, Simon	547
O Lamb of God, most holy	<i>O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig</i>	Decius, Nikolaus	203
O living Bread from heaven	<i>Wie wohl hast Du gelabet</i>	Rist, Johann	435

<b>First Line</b>	<b>German Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>ELHB 1912</b>
O Lord, our Father, thanks to Thee	<i>Herr Gott Vater, wir preisen dich</i>	Schneegass, Cyriacus	170
O Lord, how shall I meet Thee	<i>Wie soll ich dich empfangen</i>	Gerhardt, Paul	136
O Lord, I love Thee from my heart	<i>Herzlich lieb hab' ich dich, o Herr</i>	Schalling, Martin	366
O Lord, my God, I cry to Thee	<i>O Herre Gott, in meiner Not</i>	Selnecker, Nicolaus	543
O Morning Star, how fair and bright	<i>Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern</i>	Nicolai, Philipp	103
Once He came in blessing	<i>Gottes Sohn ist kommen</i>	Horn, Johann	143
Open now Thy gates of beauty	<i>Tut mir auf die schöne Pforte</i>	Schmolck, Benjamin	5
Our Father, Thou in heaven above	<i>Vater unser im Himmelreich</i>	Luther, Martin	396
Out of the depths I cry to Thee	<i>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</i>	Luther, Martin	415
Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation	<i>Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren</i>	Neander, Joachim	63
Salvation unto us has come	<i>Es ist das Heil uns kommen her</i>	Speratus, Paul	314
Since Christ has gone to heaven, His home	<i>Auf Christi Himmelfahrt allein</i>	Wegelin, Josua	236
That man a godly life might live	<i>Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot'</i>	Luther, Martin	391
The Lord hath helped me hitherto	<i>Bis hieher hat mich Gott gebracht</i>	Emilie Juliane von Schwarzburg- Rudolstadt	80
The Lord, my God, be praised	<i>Gelobet sei der Herr</i>	Olearius, Johann	272
The old year now hath passed away	<i>Das alte Jahr vergangen ist</i>	Steuerlein, Johann	173
Thou who art Three in unity	<i>Der du bist drei in Einigkeit</i>	Luther, Martin	266
To God, the Father of all love	<i>Sei Lob und Ehr' dem höchsten Gut</i>	Schütz, Johann	60
Wake, awake, for night is flying	<i>Wachet auf! ruft uns die Stimme</i>	Nicolai, Philipp	549
We all believe in one true God	<i>Wir glauben all' en einen Gott, Schöpfer</i>	Luther, Martin	394
Welcome, Thou Victor in the strife	<i>Wilkommen, Held im Streite</i>	Schmolck, Benjamin	228
Whatever God ordains is good	<i>Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgethan</i>	Rodigast, Samuel	507

<b>First Line</b>	<b>German Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b><i>ELHB</i></b> <b>1912</b>
When in the hour of utmost need	<i>Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein</i>	Eber, Paul	515
When my last hour is close at hand	<i>Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist</i>	Hermann, Nikolaus	528
Who knows how near my end may be	<i>Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende</i>	Emilie Juliane von Schwarzburg- Rudolstadt	544

*For each hymn text that follows, the hymn writer's name is provided beneath the hymn title, followed by the hymn number and "rubric" (i.e., hymn section title) in ELHB 1892 and ELHB 1912 respectively.*

## **A Mighty Fortress is our God**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 35—Reformation; *ELHB* 1912, 273—Festival of the Reformation

1 A Mighty Fortress is our God,  
A trusty Shield and Weapon;  
He helps us free from every need  
That hath us now o'ertaken.  
The old evil Foe  
Now means deadly woe;  
Deep guile and great might  
Are his dread arms in fight,  
On earth is not his equal.

2 With might of ours can naught be done,  
Soon were our loss effected;  
But for us fights the Valiant One,  
Whom God Himself elected.  
Ask ye, Who is this?  
Jesus Christ it is,  
Of Sabaoth Lord,  
And there's none other God,  
He holds the field forever.

3 Though devils all the world should fill,  
All eager to devour us,  
We tremble not, we fear no ill,  
They shall not overpower us.  
This world's prince may still  
Scowl fierce as he will,  
He can harm us none,  
He's judged; the deed is done;  
One little word can fell him.

4 The Word they still shall let remain,  
And not a thank have for it;  
He's by our side upon the plain  
With His good gifts and Spirit.  
And take they our life,  
Goods, fame, child, and wife:  
Let these all be gone,  
They yet have nothing won;  
The kingdom ours remaineth.

**Abide, O dearest Jesus**

Josua Stegmann (1588–1632)

*ELHB* 1892, 2—Sunday; *ELHB* 1912, 9—Close of Worship

1 Abide, O dearest Jesus,  
Among us with Thy grace,  
That Satan may not harm us  
Nor we to sin give place.

2 Abide, O dear Redeemer,  
Among us with Thy Word  
And thus now and hereafter  
True peace and joy afford.

3 Abide with heavenly brightness  
Among us, precious Light;  
Thy truth direct, and keep us  
From error's gloomy night.

4 Abide with richest blessings  
Among us, bounteous Lord;  
Let us in grace and wisdom  
Grow daily through Thy Word.

5 Abide with Thy protection  
Among us, Lord our Strength,  
Lest world and Satan fell us  
And overcome at length.

6 Abide, O faithful Savior,  
Among us with Thy love;  
Grant steadfastness, and help us  
To reach our home above.

**All glory be to God on high**

Nikolaus Decius (1485–1541)

*ELHB* 1892, 1—Sunday; *ELHB* 1912, 261—Trinity

1 All glory be to God on high,  
Who hath our race befriended!  
To us no harm shall now come nigh,  
The strife at last is ended;  
God showeth His good will to men,  
And peace shall reign on earth again;  
O thank Him for His goodness!

2 We praise, we worship Thee, we trust,  
And give Thee thanks forever,  
O Father, that Thy rule is just  
And wise and changes never.  
Thy boundless power o'er all things reigns,  
Done is whate'er Thy will ordains:  
Well for us that Thou rulest!

3 O Jesus Christ, Thou only Son  
Of God, Thy heavenly Father,  
Who didst for all our sins atone  
And the lost sheep dost gather:  
Thou Lamb of God, to Thee on high,  
From out our depths, we sinners cry,  
Have mercy on us, Jesus!

4 O Holy Ghost, Thou precious Gift,  
Thou Comforter unfailing,  
O'er Satan's snares our souls uplift,  
And let Thy power availing  
Avert our woes and calm our dread;  
For us the Savior's blood was shed,  
We trust in Thee to save us.

**Awake, my heart, with gladness**

Paul Gerhardt (1607–76)

*ELHB* 1892, 88—Easter; *ELHB* 1912, 218—Easter

1 Awake, my heart, with gladness,  
See what to-day is done,  
How after gloom and sadness  
Comes forth the glorious Sun!  
My Savior there was laid  
Where our bed must be made  
When to the realms of light  
Our spirit wings its flight.

2 They in the grave did sink Him,  
The Foe held jubilee;  
Before he can bethink him,  
Lo! Christ again is free,  
And “Victory!” He cries  
And waveth toward the skies  
His banner, for the field  
Is by the Hero held.

3 Upon the grave is standing  
The Hero, looking round;  
The foe, no more withstanding,  
His weapons on the ground  
Throws down, his hellish power  
To Christ he must give o’er,  
And to the Victor’s bands  
Must yield his feet and hands.

4 This is a sight that gladdens  
And fills my heart with glee;  
Now naughtsoever saddens  
My soul nor takes from me  
My trust or fortitude,  
Or any precious good  
Which by His victory  
My Savior gained for me.

5 Hell and its prince, the Devil,  
Now of their power are shorn,  
I now am safe from evil,  
And sin I laugh to scorn.

Grim Death with all his might  
Cannot my soul affright;  
He is a powerless form,  
Howe’er he rage and storm.

6 The world against me rageth,  
Its fury I disdain;  
Though bitter war it wageth,  
Its work is all in vain.  
My heart from care is free,  
No trouble troubles me,  
Misfortune now is play;  
And night is bright as day.

7 I cleave now and forever  
To Christ, a member true;  
My Head will leave me never,  
Whate’er He passeth through.  
He treads the world beneath  
His feet and conquers death  
And hell and breaks sin’s thrall;  
I’m with Him through it all.

8 To glory He ascendeth,  
I follow Him fore’er,  
For Christ, my Head, defendeth  
His member from all care.  
No enemy I fear  
Because my Head is near;  
My Savior is my Shield,  
By Him all rage is stilled.

9 He brings me to the portal  
That opens into bliss,  
Where, graved in words immortal,  
This golden scripture is:  
“Who there are scorned with Me  
Here with Me crowned shall be;  
Who there with Me shall die  
Shall here be raised as I!”

**Baptized into Thy name most holy**

Johann Rambach (1693–1735)

*ELHB* 1892, 177—Catechism; *ELHB* 1912, 400—Catechism: Baptism

1 Baptized into Thy name most holy,  
O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,  
I claim a place, though weak and lowly,  
Among Thy seed, Thy chosen host.  
Buried with Christ and dead to sin,  
Thy spirit now shall live within.

2 My loving Father, Thou dost take me  
To be henceforth Thy child and heir;  
My faithful Savior, Thou dost make me  
The fruit of all Thy sorrows share;  
Thou, Holy Ghost, wilt comfort me,  
When darkest clouds around I see.

3 And I have vowed to fear and love Thee  
And to obey Thee, Lord, alone;  
I felt Thy Holy Spirit move me  
And freely pledged myself Thine own,  
Renouncing sin to keep the faith  
And war with evil unto death.

4 My faithful God, Thou failest never,  
Thy covenant surely will abide;  
O cast me not away forever  
Should I transgress it on my side;  
If I have sore my soul defiled,  
Yet still forgive, restore Thy child.

5 Yea, all I am and love most dearly,  
To Thee I offer new the whole;  
O let me. make my vows sincerely,  
Take full possession of my soul;  
Let naught within me, naught I own,  
Serve any will but Thine alone.

6 Depart, depart! Thou Prince of darkness!  
No more by thee I'll be enticed.  
Mine is indeed a tarnished conscience,  
But sprinkled with the blood of Christ.  
Away, vain world! O sin, away!  
Lo! I renounce you all this day.

7 And never let my purpose falter,  
O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,  
But keep me faithful to Thine altar  
Till Thou shalt call me from my post;  
So unto Thee I live and die  
And praise Thee evermore on high.

**Blessed Jesus, at Thy word**

Tobias Clausnitzer (1619–84)

*ELHB* 1892, 4—Sunday; *ELHB* 1912, 3—Beginning of Worship

1 Blessed Jesus, at Thy word  
We are gathered all to hear Thee;  
Let our hearts and souls be stirred  
Now to seek and love and fear Thee,  
By Thy teachings sweet and holy,  
Drawn from earth to love Thee solely.

2 All our knowledge, sense, and sight  
Lie in deepest darkness shrouded  
Till Thy Spirit breaks our night  
With the beams of truth unclouded.  
Thou alone to God canst win us,  
Thou must work all good within us.

3 Glorious Lord, Thyself impart!  
Light of Light, from God proceeding;  
Open Thou our ears and heart,  
Help us by Thy Spirit's pleading;  
Hear the cry Thy people raises,  
Hear and bless our prayers and praises.

4 Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,  
Praise to Thee and adoration!  
Grant that we Thy Word may trust  
And obtain true consolation,  
While we here below must wander,  
Till we sing Thy praises yonder.

**Blessed Jesus, here we stand**

Benjamin Schmolck (1672–1737)

*ELHB* 1892, 178—Catechism; *ELHB* 1912, 402—Catechism: Baptism

1 Blessed Jesus, here we stand,  
Met to do as Thou hast spoken;  
And this child, at Thy command,  
Now we bring to Thee in token  
That to Christ it here is given;  
For of such shall be Thy heaven.

2 Yes, Thy warning voice is plain,  
And we would obey it duly:  
“He who is not born again,  
Heart and life renewing truly,  
Born of water and the Spirit,  
Will My kingdom ne'er inherit.”

3 Therefore hasten we to Thee;  
Take the pledge we bring, O take it!  
Let us here Thy glory see  
And in tender pity make it  
Now Thy child, and leave it never,  
Thine on earth and Thine forever.

4 Wash it, Jesus, in Thy blood  
From the sin-stain of its nature;  
Let it rise from out this flood  
Clothed in Thee, a new born creature;  
May it, washed as Thou hast bidden,  
In Thine innocence be hidden.

5 Turn the darkness into light,  
To Thy grace receive and save it;  
Heal the Serpent's venom'd bite  
In the font where now we lave it;  
Here let flow a Jordan river  
And from leprosy deliver.

6 Make it, Head, Thy member now;  
Shepherd, take Thy lamb and feed it;  
Prince of Peace, its Peace be Thou;  
Way of Life, to heaven lead it;  
Vine, this branch may nothing sever,  
Graft by faith in Thee forever.

7 Now into Thy heart we pour  
Prayers that from our hearts proceeded;  
Let our sighing heavenward soar,  
Let our warm desires be heeded.  
Write the name we now have given,  
Write it in the book of heaven.

**Christ, Thou the Champion of the band who own**

Matthias Appeles von Löwenstern (1594–1648)

*ELHB* 1892, 141—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 279—Festival of the Reformation

1 Christ, Thou the Champion of the band who own  
Thy cross, O make Thy succor quickly known!  
The schemes of those who long our blood have sought  
Bring Thou to naught.

2 Do Thou Thyself for us, Thy children, fight,  
Withstand the devil, quell his rage and might;  
Whate'er assails Thy members left below  
Do Thou o'erthrow.

3 And give us Thy peace: peace in Church and school;  
Peace to the powers who o'er our country rule;  
Peace to the conscience, peace within the heart,  
Do Thou impart.

4 So shall Thy goodness here be still adored,  
Thou Guardian of Thy little flock, dear Lord;  
And heaven and earth through all eternity  
Shall worship Thee.

## **Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 111—Pentecost; *ELHB* 1912, 257—Pentecost

1 Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord!  
Be all Thy graces now outpoured  
On each believer's mind and heart;  
Thy fervent love to them impart.  
Lord, by the brightness of Thy light  
Thou in the faith dost men unite  
Of every tongue and every nation;  
We, therefore, sing with exultation:  
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!

2 Thou holy Light, Guide divine,  
O cause the Word of life to shine;  
Teach us to know our God aright,  
And call Him Father with delight.  
From error, Lord, our souls defend  
That they on Christ alone attend,  
In Him with living faith abiding,  
In Him with all their might confiding.  
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!

3 Thou holy Fire, sweet Source of rest,  
Grant that, with joy and hope possest,  
We always in Thy service stay  
And trouble drive us not away.  
Lord, by Thy power prepare each heart,  
To our weak nature strength impart  
That firmly here we be contending,  
Through life and death to Thee ascending.  
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!

**Comfort, comfort ye My people**

Johann Olearius (1606–73)

*ELHB* 1912, 130—Advent

1 Comfort, comfort ye My people,  
Speak ye peace, thus saith your God;  
Comfort those who sit in darkness,  
Mourning 'neath their sorrow's load;  
Speak ye to Jerusalem  
Of the peace that waits for them;  
Tell her that her sins I cover,  
And her warfare now is over.

2 For the Herald's voice is crying  
In the desert far and near,  
Bidding all men to repentance,  
Since the kingdom now is here.  
Oh, that warning cry obey!  
Now prepare for God a way!  
Let the valleys rise to meet Him  
And the hills bow down to greet Him.

3 Make ye straight what long was crooked,  
Make the rougher places plain;  
Let your hearts be true and humble,  
As befits His holy reign;  
For the glory of the Lord  
Now o'er earth is shed abroad,  
And all flesh shall see the token  
That His Word is never broken.

**Commit whatever grieves thee**

Paul Gerhardt (1607–76)

*ELHB* 1892, 339—Cross and Comfort; *ELHB* 1912, 525—Cross and Comfort

1 Commit whatever grieves thee  
At heart, and all thy ways,  
To Him who never leaves thee,  
On whom creation stays,  
Who freest courses maketh  
For clouds and air and wind,  
Who care and counsel taketh  
A path for thee to find.

2 On God repose forever  
If thou wouldst prosper sure;  
On his work gaze thou ever,  
If thine is to endure.  
By anxious care and grieving,  
By self-consuming pain,  
God is not moved to giving;  
By prayer must thou obtain.

3 Thy grace, that ever floweth,  
O Father, what is good  
Or evil, ever knoweth,  
To mortal flesh and blood.  
What to Thine eye all-seeing,  
And to Thy counsel wise  
Seems good must into being,  
O mighty Prince, arise!

4 For means it fails Thee never,  
Thou always find'st a way,  
Thy deeds are blessing ever,  
Thy path like brightest day.  
Thy work no one can hinder,  
Thy labor cannot rest,  
If Thou design'st Thy tender  
Children should all be blessed.

5 Though all the power of evil  
Should rise up to resist,  
Without a doubt or cavil  
God never will desist;  
His undertakings ever  
At length He carries through;  
What He designs He never  
Can fail at all to do.

6 Hope on, thou heart, grief-riven,  
In hope courageous be;  
Where anguish thee had driven  
Thou shalt deliverance see.  
God, from thy pit of sadness  
Shall raise thee graciously;  
Wait, and the sun of gladness  
Thine eyes shall early see.

7 Arise, to pain and anguish  
A long good night now say;  
Drive all that makes thee languish  
In grief and woe away.  
Not thine 'tis to endeavor  
The ruler's part to play;  
God sits as Ruler ever,  
Guides all things well each day.

8 Let Him alone and tarry,  
He is a Prince all-wise,  
He shall Himself so carry  
'Twill strange seem in thine eyes,  
When He, as Him beseemeth,  
In wonderful decree,  
Shall as Himself good deemeth,  
O'errule what grieveth thee.

9 He may, a while still staying,  
His comforts keep from thee  
And, on His part delaying,  
Seem to have utterly  
Forgotten and forsaken  
And put thee out of mind,  
Though grief hath thee o'ertaken,  
No time for thee to find.

10 But if thou never shrinkest  
And true dost still remain,  
He'll come when least thou thinkest  
And set thee free again,  
Thee from the load deliver,  
That burdeneth thy heart,  
That thou hast carried never  
For any evil part.

11 Hail! child of faith, who gainest  
The victory alway,  
Who honor's crown obtainest,  
That never fades away.  
God in thy hand will give thee  
One day the glorious palm;  
Who ne'er in grief did leave thee,  
To Him thou'lt sing thy psalm.

12 O Lord, no longer lengthen  
Our time of misery;  
Our hands and feet to strengthen;  
And until death may we  
By Thee be watched and cared for,  
In faithfulness and love,  
So come we where prepared for  
Us is our blessed abode.

**Dear Christians, one and all rejoice**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 209—Faith and Justification; *ELHB* 1912, 310—Faith and Justification

1 Dear Christians, one and all rejoice,  
With exultation springing  
And with united heart and voice  
And holy rapture singing.  
Tell how our God beheld our need  
And sing His sweet and wondrous deed;  
Right dearly it hath cost Him.

2 Fast bound in Satan's chains I lay,  
Death brooded darkly o'er me,  
My sin oppressed me night and day,  
Therein my mother bore me;  
And ever deeper yet I fell,  
Life had become a living hell,  
So firmly sin possessed me.

3 My good works could avail me naught,  
For they with sin were stained;  
Free will against God's judgment fought  
And dead to good remainèd;  
Grief drove me to despair, and I  
Had nothing left me but to die,  
To hell I fast was sinking.

4 Then God beheld my wretched state  
With deep commiseration;  
He thought upon His mercy great  
And willed my soul's salvation;  
He turned to me a Father's heart—  
Not small the cost!—to heal my smart,  
He gave His best and dearest.

5 He spake to His beloved Son:  
"Tis time to take compassion;  
Then go, My heart's most Precious One,  
And bring to man salvation;  
From sin and sorrow set him free,  
Slay bitter death for him that he  
May live with Thee forever."

6 The Son His Father did obey,  
And, born of virgin-mother,  
He came a while on earth to stay  
That He might be my Brother.  
His mighty power He hidden bore,  
A servant's form like mine He wore  
To lead the devil captive.

7 He spake to me: "Hold fast by Me,  
I am thy Rock and Castle;  
I wholly give Myself for thee,  
For thee I strive and wrestle;  
For I am thine, and thou art Mine,  
Henceforth My place is also thine;  
The foe shall never part us.

8 "The Foe shall shed My precious blood,  
Me of My life bereaving.  
All this I suffer for thy good;  
Be steadfast and believing.  
Life shall from death the victory win,  
Mine innocence shall bear thy sin,  
So art thou blest forever.

9 "Now to my Father I depart,  
From earth to heaven ascending,  
Thence heavenly wisdom to impart,  
The Holy Spirit sending;  
He shall in trouble comfort thee,  
Teach thee to know and follow Me,  
Into all truth shall guide thee.

10 "What I have done and taught do thou  
To do and teach endeavor;  
So shall My kingdom flourish now  
And God be praised forever.  
Take heed lest men with base alloy  
The heavenly treasure should destroy;  
This counsel I bequeath thee."

**Deck thyself, my soul, with gladness**

Johann Franck (1618–77)

*ELHB* 1892, 182—Catechism; *ELHB* 1912, 432—Catechism: The Lord's Supper

1 Deck thyself, my soul, with gladness,  
Leave the gloomy haunts of sadness,  
Come into the daylight's splendor,  
There with joy thy praises render  
Unto Him whose grace unbounded  
Hath this wondrous banquet founded;  
High o'er all the heavens He reigneth,  
Yet to dwell with thee He deigneth.

2 Hasten as a bride to meet Him  
And with loving reverence greet Him;  
For with words of life immortal  
Now He knocketh at thy portal;  
Haste to ope the gates before Him,  
Saying, while thou dost adore Him,  
"Suffer, Lord, that I receive Thee,  
And I nevermore will leave Thee."

3 He who costly goods desireth  
To obtain much gold requireth;  
But to freely give the treasure  
Of Thy love is Thy good pleasure;  
For on earth there is no coffer  
Which as payment we might offer  
For this cup, Thy blood containing,  
And this manna, on us raining.

4 Ah, how hungers all my spirit  
For the love I do not merit!  
Oft have I, with sighs fast thronging,  
Thought upon this food with longing,  
In the battle well-nigh worsted,  
For this cup of life have thirsted,  
For the Friend, who here invites us  
And to God Himself unites us.

5 Now I sink before Thee lowly,  
Filled with joy most deep and holy,  
As with trembling awe and wonder  
On Thy mighty works I ponder,  
How, by mystery surrounded,  
Depths no man hath ever sounded,  
None may dare to pierce unbidden,  
Secrets that with Thee are hidden.

6 Nay, though reason here doth ponder,  
It can never reach this wonder,  
That this bread is never lessened,  
Though it nourish thousands present,  
And that Christ His blood is giving  
With the wine we are receiving.  
Oh, these mysteries, unsounded,  
Are by God alone expounded!

7 Sun, who all my life doth brighten,  
Light, who dost my soul enlighten,  
Joy, the sweetest man e'er knoweth,  
Fount, whence all my being floweth,—  
At Thy feet I cry, my Maker,  
Let me be a fit partaker  
Of this blessed food from heaven,  
For our good, Thy glory, given.

8 Lord, Thy fervent love hath driven  
Thee to leave Thy throne in heaven,  
For us on the cross to languish  
And to die in bitter anguish,  
To forego all joy and gladness  
And to shed Thy blood in sadness,  
Which we drink now; grant that never  
We forget Thy love, dear Savior!

9 Jesus, Bread of life, I pray Thee,  
Let me gladly here obey Thee,  
Never to my hurt invited,  
Be Thy love with love requited;  
From this banquet let me measure,  
Lord, how vast and deep love's treasure.  
Through the gifts Thou here dost give me  
As Thy guest in heaven receive me.

**Draw us to Thee**

Friedrich Funcke (1642–99)

*ELHB* 1892, 100—Ascension; *ELHB* 1912, 234—Ascension

1 Draw us to Thee,  
For then shall we  
Walk in Thy steps forever  
And hasten on  
Where Thou art gone  
To be with Thee, dear Savior.

2 Draw us to Thee,  
Lord, lovingly;  
Let us depart with gladness  
That we may be  
Forever free  
From sorrow, grief, and sadness.

3 Draw us to Thee;  
O grant that we  
May find the road to heaven.  
Direct our way,  
Lest we should stray,  
And from Thy paths be driven.

4 Draw us to Thee,  
That also we  
Thy heavenly bliss inherit  
And ever dwell  
Where sin and hell  
No more can vex our spirit.

5 Draw us to Thee  
Unceasingly,  
Into Thy kingdom take us;  
Let us fore'er  
Thy glory share,  
Thy saints and joint heirs make us.

**Farewell! I say with gladness**

Valerius Herberger (1562–1627)

*ELHB* 1892, 371—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 532—Death and Burial

1 Farewell! I say with gladness,  
False, evil world, farewell!  
Thy life is sin and sadness,  
With thee I would not dwell;  
In heaven are better pleasures,  
I long for that bright sphere  
Where God grants endless treasures  
To those that served Him here.

2 Do with me as it pleases  
Thy heart, O Son of God!  
When anguish on me seizes,  
Help me to bear my load;  
Nor then my sorrows lengthen,  
But take me hence on high;  
My fearful spirit strengthen  
And let me calmly die.

3 When all around is darkling,  
Thy name and cross, still bright,  
Deep in my heart are sparkling  
Like stars in blackest night.  
Appear Thou in Thy sorrow,  
For Thine was woe indeed,  
And from Thy cross I borrow  
All comfort heart can need.

4 Thou diedst for me,—O hide me  
When tempests round me roll;  
Through all my foes, O guide me,  
Receive my trembling soul.  
If I but grasp Thee firmer,  
What matters pain when past?  
Hath he a cause to murmur  
Who reaches heaven at last?

5 O write my name, I pray Thee,  
Now in the book of life;  
So let me here obey Thee  
And there, where joys are rife,  
Forever bloom before Thee,  
Thy perfect freedom prove,  
And tell, as I adore Thee,  
How faithful was Thy love.

**Father of heaven, who hast created all**

Albert Knapp (1798–1864)

*ELHB* 1912, 405—Catechism: Baptism

1 Father of heaven, who hast created all  
And rulest all, we pray,  
Look on this babe, who at Thy gracious call  
Now enters on life's way.  
Oh, make it Thine; Thy blessing give,  
That to Thy glory it may live,  
Father of heav'n!

2 O Son of God, atoning Lord, behold,  
We bring this babe to Thee:  
Take it, O loving Shepherd, to Thy fold,  
Forever Thine to be;  
Defend it through this earthly strife  
And lead it on the path of life,  
O Son of God!

3 O Holy Ghost, who broodest o'er the wave,  
Descend upon this child;  
Give it undying life, its spirit lave  
With waters undefiled,  
And make it evermore to be  
An heir of bliss, a shrine for Thee,  
O Holy Ghost!

4 O Triune God, what Thou has willed is done;  
We speak, but Thine the might.  
This babe hath hardly seen our earthly sun,  
Yet on it pour Thy light  
Of faith and hope and joyful love,  
Thou Sun of all below, above,  
O Triune God!

**Fear not, O little flock, the Foe**

Jacob Fabricius (1593–1654)

*ELHB* 1892, 143—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 276—Festival of the Reformation

1 Fear not, O little flock, the Foe  
Who madly seeks your overthrow;  
Dread not his rage and power:  
What though your courage sometimes faints,  
His seeming triumph o'er God's saints  
Lasts but a little hour.

2 Be of good cheer; your cause belongs  
To Him who can avenge your wrongs;  
Leave it to Him, our Lord.  
Though hidden yet from mortal eyes,  
His Gideon shall for you arise,  
Uphold you and His Word.

3 As true as God's own Word is true,  
Not earth nor hell with all their crew  
Against us shall prevail.  
A jest and byword are they grown;  
God is with us, we are His own;  
Our victory cannot fail.

4 Amen, Lord Jesus, grant our prayer!  
Great Captain, now Thine arm make bare.  
Fight for us once again!  
So shall Thy saints and martyrs raise  
A mighty chorus to Thy praise,  
World without end. Amen!

**For me to live is Jesus**

Author Unknown

*ELHB* 1892, 372—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 529—Death and Burial

1 For me to live is Jesus,  
To die is gain for me,  
To Him I gladly yield me  
And die right cheerfully.

2 From hence I go with gladness  
To Christ my Brother's side  
That I may soon be with Him  
And e'er with Him abide.

3 I have o'ercome life's crosses;  
Grief, pain, and sorrow cease;  
Through His five wounds most holy  
With God I am at peace.

4 When all my powers are breaking,  
My breath comes heavily,  
Nor word more I can utter,  
Lord, hear my sighs to Thee!

5 When reason, sense, and thinking  
Fail like a flickering light,  
That to and fro doth waver  
Ere 'tis extinguished quite,

6 Then let me softly, gently,  
Lord, fall asleep in Thee,  
When by Thy will and counsel  
My last hour comes to me.

7 As to the oak the ivy,  
So let me cleave to Thee  
And live in heavenly glory  
With Thee eternally.

8 Amen! This wilt Thou, Jesus,  
Grant graciously to me;  
Endow me with Thy Spirit,  
That I fare happily.

**From heaven above to earth I come**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 22—Advent and Christmas; *ELHB* 1912, 150—Christmas

1 From heaven above to earth I come  
To bear good news to every home;  
Glad tidings of great joy I bring,  
Whereof I now will say and sing.

2 To you this night is born a child  
Of Mary, chosen virgin mild;  
This little child, of lowly birth,  
Shall be the joy of all the earth.

3 This is the Christ, our God and Lord,  
Who in all need shall aid afford;  
He will Himself your Savior be,  
From all your sins to make you free

4 He brings those blessings long ago  
Prepared by God for all below,  
That in His heavenly Kingdom blest  
You may with us forever rest.

5 These are the tokens ye shall mark:  
The swaddling-clothes and manger dark;  
There shall ye find the young Child laid  
By whom the heavens and earth were made.

6 Now let us all with gladsome cheer  
Go with the shepherds and draw near  
To see the wondrous gift of God,  
Who hath His own dear Son bestowed.

7 Give heed, my heart, lift up thine eyes!  
What is it in yon manger lies?  
Who is this child, so young and fair?  
Dear little Jesus lieth there.

8 Welcome to earth, Thou noble Guest,  
Through whom the sinful world is blest!  
Thou com'st to share my misery,  
What thanks shall I return to Thee

9 Ah Lord, who hast created all,  
How hast Thou made Thee weak and small  
That Thou must choose Thy infant bed  
Where humble cattle lately fed.

10 And were the world ten times as wide,  
With gold and jewels beautified,  
It would be far too small to be  
A narrow cradle, Lord, for Thee.

11 For velvets soft and silken stuff  
Thou hast but hay and straw so rough,  
Whereon Thou, King, so rich and great,  
As 'twere Thy heaven, art throned in state.

12 And thus, dear Lord, it pleasèd Thee,  
To make this truth quite plain to me,  
That this world's honor, wealth, and might  
Are naught and worthless in Thy sight.

13 Ah! dearest Jesus, holy Child,  
Make Thee a bed, soft, undefiled,  
Within my heart, that it may be  
A chamber consecrate to Thee.

14 My heart for very joy doth leap,  
My lips no more can silence keep;  
I, too, must sing with joyful tongue  
That sweetest ancient cradle-song:

15 Glory to God in highest heav'n,  
Who unto man His Son hath giv'n!  
While angels sing with pious mirth  
A glad New Year to all the earth.

**Gentle Shepherd, Thou hast stilled**

Johann Wilhelm Meinhold (1797–1851)

*ELHB* 1912, 537—Death and Burial

1 Gentle Shepherd, Thou hast stilled  
Now Thy little lamb's brief weeping;  
Ah! how peaceful, pale, and mild,  
In its narrow bed 'tis sleeping.  
And no sigh of anguish sore  
Heaves that little bosom more.

2 In this world of care and pain,  
Lord, Thou wouldst no longer leave it;  
To the sunny, heavenly plain  
Dost Thou now with joy receive it;  
Clothed in robes of spotless white,  
Now it dwells with Thee in light.

3 Ah, Lord Jesus, grant that we  
Where it lives may soon be living,  
And the lovely pastures see  
That its heavenly food are giving;  
Then the gain of death we prove  
Though Thou take what most we love.

**God, who madest earth and heaven**

Heinrich Albert (1604–51)

*ELHB* 1892, 287—Morning; *ELHB* 1912, 23—Morning

1 God, who madest earth and heaven,  
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;  
Who the day and night hast given,  
Sun and moon and starry host;  
Thou whose mighty hand sustains  
Earth and all that it contains;—

2 Praise to Thee my soul shall render,  
Who this night hast guarded me;  
My omnipotent Defender,  
Who from ill dost set me free,  
Free from danger, anguish, woe,  
Free from the infernal Foe.

3 Let the night of my transgression  
With nights darkness pass away;  
Jesus, into Thy possession  
I resign myself to-day.  
In Thy wounds I find relief  
From my greatest sin and grief.

4 Grant that I may rise this morning  
From the lethargy of sin,  
So my soul, through Thy adorning,  
Shall be glorious within  
And I at the Judgment Day  
Shall not be a castaway.

5 Let my life and conversation  
Be directed by Thy Word;  
Lord, Thy constant preservation  
To Thine erring child afford;  
Nowhere but alone in Thee  
From all harm can I be free.

6 Wholly to Thy blest protection  
I commit my heart and mind.  
Mighty God, to Thy direction  
Wholly I may be resigned!  
Lord, my Shield, my Light divine,  
Oh, accept and own me Thine!

7 Lord, to me Thine angel sending,  
Keep me from the subtle Foe;  
From his craft and might defending,  
Never let Thy wand'rer go,  
Till my final rest shall come  
And Thine angel bear me home.

**I fall asleep in Jesus' wounds**

Paul Eber (1511–69)

*ELHB* 1892, 375—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 545—Death and Burial

1 I fall asleep in Jesus' wounds,  
There pardon for my sins abounds;  
Yea, Jesus' blood and righteousness  
My jewels are, my glorious dress,  
Wherein before my God I'll stand  
When I shall reach the heavenly land.

2 With peace and joy I now depart,  
God's child I am with all my heart;  
I thank thee, Death, thou leadest me  
To that true life where I would be.  
So cleansed by Christ, I fear not death.  
Lord Jesus, strengthen Thou my faith!

**If Thou but suffer God to guide thee**

Georg Neumark (1621–81)

*ELHB* 1892, 350—Cross and Comfort; *ELHB* 1912, 498—Cross and Comfort

1 If Thou but suffer God to guide thee  
And hope in Him through all thy ways,  
He'll give thee strength, whate'er betide thee,  
And bear thee through the evil days.  
Who trusts in God's unchanging love  
Builds on the Rock that naught can move.

2 What can these anxious cares avail thee,  
These never-ceasing moans and sighs?  
What can it help, if thou bewail thee  
O'er each dark moment as it flies?  
Our cross and trials do but press  
Thee heavier for our bitterness.

3 Be patient and await His leisure  
In cheerful hope, with heart content,  
To take whate'er thy Father's pleasure  
And all discerning love hath sent,  
Nor doubt our inmost wants are known  
To Him who chose us for His own.

4 He knows the time for joy and, truly,  
Will send it when He sees it meet;  
When He has tried and purged thee duly  
And finds thee free from all deceit,  
He comes to thee all unaware  
And makes thee own His loving care.

5 Nor think amid the heat of trial  
That God hath cast thee off unheard;  
That he whose hopes meet no denial  
Must surely be of God preferred;  
Time passes and much change doth bring  
And sets a bound to everything.

6 All are alike before the Highest;  
'Tis easy to our God, we know,  
To raise thee up, though low thou liest,  
To make the rich man poor and low.  
True wonders still by Him are wrought  
Who setteth up and brings to naught.

7 Sing, pray, and keep His ways unswerving;  
So do thine own part faithfully  
And trust His Word, though undeserving,  
Thou yet shall find it true for thee.  
God never will forsake in need  
The soul that trusts in Him indeed.

**In Death's strong grasp the Savior lay**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 93—Easter; *ELHB* 1912, 224—Easter

1 In Death's strong grasp the Savior lay,  
For our offences given;  
But now the Lord is ris'n to-day  
And brings us life from heaven.  
Therefore let us all rejoice,  
And praise our God with cheerful voice,  
And sing loud hallelujahs.  
Hallelujah!

2 No son of man could conquer Death,  
Such mischief sin had wrought us,  
For innocence dwelt not on earth,  
And therefore Death had brought us  
Into thralldom from of old  
And ever grew more strong and bold  
And kept us in his bondage.  
Hallelujah!

3 But Jesus Christ, God's only Son,  
To our low state descended,  
The cause of Death He has undone,  
His power forever ended,  
Ruined all his right and claim,  
And left him nothing but the name,—  
His sting is lost forever.  
Hallelujah!

4 It was a strange and dreadful fray  
When Death and Life contended;  
But it was Life that won the day,  
The reign of Death was ended.  
Holy Scripture plainly saith  
That Death is swallowed up by Death,  
Made henceforth a derision.  
Hallelujah!

5 Here the true Paschal Lamb we see,  
Whom God so freely gave us;  
He died on the accursed tree,  
So strong His love!—to save us.  
See, His blood doth mark our door;  
Faith points to it, Death passes o'er,  
The Murderer cannot harm us.  
Hallelujah!

6 So let us keep the festival  
With heartfelt exultation.  
Christ is Himself the Joy of all,  
The Sun of our salvation.  
By His grace He doth impart  
Eternal sunshine to the heart;  
The night of sin is ended.  
Hallelujah!

7 Then let us feast this Easter Day  
On Christ, the Bread of heaven;  
The Word of Grace hath purged away  
The old and evil leaven;  
Christ alone our souls will feed,  
He is our meat and drink indeed,  
Faith lives upon no other.  
Hallelujah!

**In God, my faithful God**

Sigismund Weingaertner (ca. 1607)

*ELHB* 1892, 351—Cross and Comfort; *ELHB* 1912, 508—Cross and Comfort

1 In God, my faithful God,  
I trust when dark my road;  
Though many woes o'ertake me,  
Yet He will not forsake me;  
His love it is doth send them  
And, when 'tis best, will end them.

2 My sins assail me sore,  
But I despair no more,  
I build on Christ, who loves me;  
From this Rock nothing moves me.  
To Him I all surrender  
To Him, my soul's Defender.

3 If death my portion be,  
Then death is gain to me  
And Christ my Life forever,  
From whom death cannot sever;  
Come when it may, He'll shield me,  
To Him I wholly yield me.

4 O Jesus Christ, my Lord,  
So meek in deed and word,  
Thou once didst die to save us,  
Because Thou fain wouldst have us  
After this life of sadness  
The heirs of heavenly gladness.

5 "So be it," then I say  
With all my heart each day.  
We, too, dear Lord, adore Thee,  
We sing for joy before Thee.  
Guide us while here we wander  
Till safely landed yonder.

**In peace and joy I now depart**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 54—Presentation; *ELHB* 1912, 185—Presentation

**Luther**

1 In peace and joy I now depart,  
At God's disposing;  
For full of comfort is my heart,  
Soft reposing.  
So the Lord hath promised me,  
And death is but a slumber.

2 'Tis Christ that wrought this work for me,  
The faithful Savior,  
Whom Thou hast made mine eyes to see  
By Thy favor.  
Now I know He is my Life,  
My Help in need and dying.

3 Him Thou hast unto all set forth  
Their great Salvation,  
And to His kingdom called the earth,  
Every nation,  
By Thy dear and wholesome Word,  
In every place resounding.

4 He is the Hope and saving Light  
Of lands benighted;  
By Him are they who dwelt in night  
Fed and lighted;  
He is Israel's Praise and Bliss,  
Their Joy, Reward, and Glory.

**KJV (Luke 2:29–32)**

Lord, now lettest Thou Thy  
servant depart in peace  
according to Thy word.

For mine eyes have seen Thy  
Salvation;

which Thou has prepared  
before the face of all people,

a Light to lighten the Gentiles  
and the Glory of Thy people  
Israel.

**Jerusalem, thou city fair and high**

Johann Matthaues Meyfart (1590–1642)

*ELHB* 1892, 393—Eternity; *ELHB* 1912, 559—Heaven

1 Jerusalem, thou city fair and high,  
Would God I were in thee!  
My longing heart fain, fain to thee would  
fly,  
It will not stay with me;  
Far over vale and mountain,  
Far over field and plain,  
It hastes to seek its Fountain  
And quit this world of pain.

2 O happy day, and yet far happier hour,  
When wilt thou come at last,  
When fearless to my Father's love and  
power,  
Whose promise standeth fast,  
My soul I gladly render?  
For surely will His hand  
Lead her, with guidance tender,  
To heaven, her fatherland.

3 A moment's space, and gently,  
wondrously,  
Released from earthly ties,  
Elijah's chariot bears her up to thee,  
Through all these lower skies  
To yonder shining regions,  
While down to meet her come  
The blessed angel legions  
And bid her welcome home.

4 O Zion, hail! Bright city, now unfold  
The gates of grace to me!  
How many a time I longed for thee of old,  
Ere yet I was set free  
From yon dark life of sadness,  
Yon world of shadowy naught,  
And God had given the gladness,  
The heritage I sought.

5 O what the tribe, or what the glorious host,  
Comes sweeping swiftly down?  
The chosen ones on earth who wrought the  
most,  
The Church's brightest crown,  
Our Lord hath sent to meet me,  
As in the far-off years  
Their words oft came to greet me  
In yonder land of tears.

6 The patriarchs' and prophets' noble train,  
With all Christ's followers true,  
Who bore the cross, and could the worst  
disdain  
That tyrants dared to do,  
I see them shine forever,  
All glorious as the sun,  
Mid light that fadeth never,  
Their perfect freedom won.

7 And when within that lovely paradise  
At last I safely dwell,  
From out my soul what songs of bliss shall  
rise,  
What joy my lips shall tell,  
While holy saints are singing  
Hosannas o'er and o'er,  
Pure hallelujahs ringing  
Around me evermore!

8 Innumerable choirs before the shining  
throne  
Their joyful anthems raise,  
Till heaven's glad halls are echoing with the  
tone  
Of that great hymn of praise,  
And all its host rejoices,  
And all its blessed throng  
Unite their myriad voices  
In one eternal song.

**Jesus Christ, my sure Defense**

Otto von Schwerin (1616–79)

*ELHB* 1892, 94—Easter; *ELHB* 1912, 220—Easter

1 Jesus Christ, my sure Defense  
And my Savior, ever liveth;  
Knowing this, my confidence  
Rests upon the hope it giveth,  
Though the night of death be fraught  
Still with many an anxious thought.

2 Jesus, my Redeemer, lives!  
I, too, unto life must waken;  
Endless joy my Savior gives;  
Shall my courage, then, be shaken?  
Shall I fear, or could the Head  
Rise and leave His members dead?

3 Nay, too closely am I bound  
Unto Him by hope forever;  
Faith's strong hand the Rock hath found,  
Grasped it, and will leave it never;  
Even death now cannot part  
From its Lord the trusting heart.

4 I am only flesh and blood,  
And on this corruption seizeth;  
But I know my Lord and God  
From the grave my body raiseth  
That with Him eternally  
In His glory I may be.

5 Glorified I shall again  
With this skin then be enshrouded;  
In this body I shall then  
See my God with eyes unclouded;  
In this flesh I then shall see  
Jesus Christ eternally.

6 Then these eyes my Lord shall know,  
My Redeemer and my Brother;  
In His love my soul shall glow,—  
I myself, and not another!  
Only there shall disappear  
Weakness in and round me here.

7 What now sickens, mourns, and sighs  
Christ with Him in glory bringeth;  
Earthly is the seed and dies,  
Heavenly from the grave it springeth;  
Natural is the death we die,  
Spiritual our life on high.

8 Then take comfort, nay, rejoice!  
For His members Christ will cherish;  
Fear not, they will know His voice,  
Though awhile they seem to perish,  
When the final trump is heard  
And the deaf, cold grave is stirred.

9 Laugh to scorn the gloomy grave  
And at death no longer tremble;  
For the Lord, who comes to save,  
Round Him shall His saints assemble,  
Raising them o'er all their foes,  
Mortal weakness, fear, and woes.

10 Only draw away your heart  
Now from pleasures base and hollow;  
Would ye there with Christ have part,  
Here His footsteps ye must follow;  
Fix your hearts beyond the skies,  
Whither ye yourselves would rise!

**Jesus Christ, our blessed Savior**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 183—Catechism; *ELHB* 1912, 441—Catechism: The Lord’s Supper

1 Jesus Christ, our blessed Savior,  
Turned away God’s wrath forever;  
Suffering pains no tongue can tell,  
He saved us from the pains of hell.

2 To remind us that, to save us,  
He hath died, His flesh He gave us  
With this bread, a quick’ning food,  
And with this wine, His precious blood.

3 Whoso to this board repaireth  
Take good heed how he prepareth;  
Death instead of life shall he  
Receive who comes unworthily.

4 Thou shalt hold with faith unshaken  
That this food is to be taken  
By the sick who are distressed,  
By those whose heart is sin-oppressed

5 Christ says: “Come, ye heavy-laden,  
I your weary hearts will gladden;  
They that are yet strong and well,  
Despise the best physician’s skill.

6 “Couldst thou earn thine own salvation,  
Useless were My death and Passion;  
This feast is not spread for thee  
If thine own helper thou wilt be.”

7 If thou this believest truly  
And confession makest duly,  
Thou a welcome guest art here,  
This heavenly food thy soul shall cheer.

8 But the fruits must not be missing,  
Love thy neighbor without ceasing;  
That true love let him receive  
Which here to thee thy God doth give.

**Jesus sinners doth receive**

Erdmann Neumeister (1671–1756)

*ELHB* 1892, 195—Repentance; *ELHB* 1912, 414—Catechism: Confession and Absolution

1 “Jesus sinners doth receive!”  
O may all this saying ponder  
Who in sin’s delusions live  
And from God and heaven wander!  
This alone sure hope can give—  
“Jesus sinners doth receive!”

2 We deserve but grief and shame,  
Yet His words, rich grace revealing,  
Pardon, peace, and life proclaim;  
Here their ills have perfect healing  
Who with humble hearts believe—  
“Jesus sinners doth receive!”

3 Sheep that from the fold did stray  
Every faithful shepherd seeketh;  
Weary souls that lost their way,  
Christ, the Shepherd, seeks and taketh  
In His arms that they may live—  
“Jesus sinners doth receive!”

4 Come, ye sinners, one and all,  
Come, ye all have invitation;  
Come, obey His gracious call,  
Come accept His free salvation!  
Firmly in these words believe:  
“Jesus sinners doth receive!”

5 I, a sinner, come to Thee  
And acknowledge my transgression;  
Tender mercy show to me,  
Grant me graciously remission;  
Let these words my soul relieve:  
“Jesus sinners doth receive!”

6 Henceforth I need fear no foe;  
Were as scarlet my transgression,  
It shall be as white as snow  
By the virtue of Thy Passion;  
For in these words I believe:  
“Jesus sinners doth receive!”

7 Now my conscience is at ease,  
Now I fear no condemnation.  
He who grants me full release  
Hath atoned for my transgression;  
In true faith to Him I cleave,—  
“Jesus sinners doth receive!”

**Jesus, grant that balm and healing**

Johann Heermann (1585–1647)

*ELHB* 1892, 69—Passion; *ELHB* 1912, 194—Passion: General

1 Jesus, grant that balm and healing  
In Thy holy wounds I find,  
Every hour that I am feeling  
Pains of body and of mind.  
Should some evil thought upstart,  
Let Thy cross defend my heart,  
Show the peril and from sinning  
Keep me ere its first beginning.

2 Should some lust or sharp temptation  
Prove too strong for flesh and blood,  
Let me think upon Thy passion,  
And the breach is soon made good.  
Or should Satan make his way  
To my heart, O let me say:  
“Jesus Christ for me was wounded,”  
And the Tempter flees confounded.

3 If the world my heart entices  
On the broad and easy road,  
Filled with mirth and pleasant vices,  
Let me think upon the load  
Thou didst once for me endure,  
That I flee all thoughts impure,  
Banishing each wild emotion,  
Calm and blest in my devotion.

4 Yes, whate'er may pain or grieve me,  
Let Thy wounds, Lord, make me whole.  
When I'm faint, let them revive me,  
Granting new life to my soul.  
May Thy comfort render sweet  
Every bitter cup I meet,  
Thou, who by Thy death and Passion  
Hast procured my soul's salvation!

5 O my God, my Rock and Tower!  
Grant that in Thy death I trust,  
Knowing Death has lost his power  
Since Thou trod'st him in the dust.  
Savior, let Thine agony  
Ever help and comfort me;  
Let Thy death be my protection,  
Safety, life, and resurrection.

6 Jesus, grant that balm and healing  
In Thy holy wounds I find,  
Every hour that I am feeling  
Pains of body and of mind;  
And when I this world must leave,  
Grant that, Lord, to Thee I cleave,  
In Thy wounds find consolation,  
And obtain my soul's salvation.

**Jesus, Jesus, Jesus only**

Ludāmilia Elisabeth (1640–72)

*ELHB* 1892, 230—The Redeemer; *ELHB* 1912, 86—The Redeemer

1 Jesus, Jesus, Jesus only  
Can my heartfelt longing still;  
Without Him my soul is lonely,  
And I wish what Jesus will.  
For my heart, which He hath filled,  
Ever cries: Lord, as Thou wilt.

2 One it is for whom I'm living,  
Whom I'm loving faithfully;  
Jesus, unto whom I'm giving  
What in love He gave to me.  
Jesus' blood hides all my guilt;  
Lord, O lead me as Thou wilt.

3 What to me may seem a treasure,  
But displeasing is to Thee,  
O remove such harmful pleasure;  
Give instead what profits me.  
Let my heart by Thee be stilled,  
Make me Thine, Lord, as Thou wilt.

4 Grant that always I endeavor  
Thy good pleasure to fulfill;  
In me, through me, with me ever,  
Lord, accomplish Thou Thy will.  
Let me die, Lord, on Thee built,  
When and where and as Thou wilt.

5 Lord, my praise shall be unceasing,  
For Thou gav'st Thyself to me  
And, besides, so many a blessing,  
That I sing now joyfully:  
Be it unto me, my Shield,  
As Thou wilt, Lord, as Thou wilt.

## Jesus, priceless Treasure

Johann Franck (1618–77)

*ELHB* 1892, 232—The Redeemer; *ELHB* 1912, 82—The Redeemer

1 Jesus, priceless Treasure,  
Source of purest pleasure,  
Truest Friend to me!  
Long my heart hath panted,  
Till it well-nigh fainted,  
Thirsting after Thee.  
Thine I am, O spotless Lamb!  
I will suffer naught to hide Thee,  
Ask for naught beside Thee.

2 In Thine arms I rest me,  
Foes who would molest me  
Cannot reach me here;  
Though the earth be shaking,  
Every heart be quaking,  
Jesus calms my fear;  
Sin and hell, In conflict fell,  
With their heaviest storms assail me.  
Jesus will not fail me.

3 Satan, I defy thee;  
Death, I need not fly thee;  
Fear, I bid thee cease!  
Rage, O world, thy noises  
Cannot drown our voices  
Singing still of peace,  
For God's power Guards every hour;  
Earth and all its depths adore Him,  
Silent bow before Him.

4 Wealth, I will not heed thee,  
Wherefore should I need thee?  
Jesus is my Joy.  
Honors, ye may glisten,  
But I will not listen,  
Ye the soul destroy.  
Want or loss Or shame or cross  
Ne'er to leave my Lord shall move me,  
Since He deigns to love me.

5 Farewell, thou who chooseth  
Earth and heaven refuseth;  
Thou wilt tempt in vain.  
Farewell, sins, nor blind me,  
Get ye far behind me,  
Come not forth again.  
Past your hour, O pomp and power;  
Godless life, thy bonds I sever,  
Farewell now forever!

6 Hence, all fears and sadness!  
For the Lord of gladness,  
Jesus, enters in.  
Those who love the Father,  
Though the storms may gather,  
Still have peace within;  
Yea, whate'er I here must bear,  
Still in Thee lies purest pleasure,  
Jesus, priceless Treasure!

**Jesus, Thou my heart's Delight**

Johann Flittner (1618–78)

*ELHB* 1912, 89—Redeemer

1 Jesus, Thou my heart's Delight,  
Sweetest Jesus!  
Thrill'st my soul with rapture quite,  
Sweetest Jesus!  
All cares vanish at Thy sight,  
Sweetest Jesus!  
Jesus, sweetest Jesus!

2 Evermore I think of Thee,  
My Redeemer!  
And I long for none but Thee,  
My Redeemer!  
Yearns my soul with Thee to be,  
My Redeemer!  
Jesus, my Redeemer!

3 Feed Thou me and fill my soul,  
Heavenly Manna!  
Quench my thirst, my heart make whole,  
Help, Hosanna!  
Be the Rest unto my soul,  
Rest of weary,  
Jesus, Rest of weary!

4 Naught is lovelier than Thou,  
Fairest Lover!  
Naught is friendlier than Thou,  
Gentle Lover!  
And naught sweeter is than Thou,  
Sweetest Lover,  
Jesus, sweetest Lover!

5 I am weak; come strengthen me,  
Strength in weakness!  
Faint am I, refresh Thou me,  
Sweetest Jesus!  
When I die, console Thou me,  
Thou Consoler,  
Jesus, my Consoler!

**Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness**

Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60)

*ELHB* 1892, 213—Faith and Justification; *ELHB* 1912, 326—Faith and Justification

1 Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness,  
My beauty are, my glorious dress;  
Midst flaming worlds, in these arrayed,  
With joy shall I lift up my head.

2 Bold shall I stand in that great Day,  
For who aught to my charge shall lay?  
Fully through these absolved I am  
From sin and fear, from guilt and shame.

3 The holy, meek, unspotted Lamb,  
Who from the Father's bosom came,  
Who died for me, e'en me t' atone,  
Now for my Lord and God I own.

4 Lord, I believe Thy precious blood,  
Which at the mercy-seat of God  
Forever doth for sinners plead,  
For me—e'en for my soul—was shed.

5 Lord, I believe were sinners more  
Than sands upon the ocean shore,  
Thou hast for all a ransom paid,  
For all a full atonement made.

6 When from the dust of death I rise  
To claim my mansion in the skies,  
E'en then this shall be all my plea:  
Jesus hath lived and died for me.

7 Jesus, be endless praise to Thee,  
Whose boundless mercy hath for me,  
For me, and all Thy hands have made,  
An everlasting ransom paid.

**Jesus, still lead on**

Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60)

*ELHB* 1892, 435—The Christian Life; *ELHB* 1912, 331—Sanctification: Obedience

1 Jesus, still lead on  
Till our rest be won;  
And although the way be cheerless,  
We will follow calm and fearless.  
Guide us by Thy hand  
To our fatherland.

2 If the way be drear,  
If the Foe be near,  
Let no faithless fears o’ertake us;  
Let not faith and hope forsake us;  
For through many a woe  
To our home we go.

3 When we seek relief  
From a long-felt grief;  
When temptations come alluring,  
Make us patient and enduring;  
Show us that bright shore  
Where we weep no more.

4 Jesus, still lead on  
Till our rest be won.  
Heavenly Leader, still direct us,  
Still support, control, protect us,  
Till we safely stand  
In our fatherland

**Let me be Thine forever**

Nicolaus Selnecker (1532–92)

*ELHB* 1892, 156—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 408—Catechism: Confirmation

1 Let me be Thine forever,  
Thou faithful God. and Lord;  
Let me forsake Thee never  
Nor wander from Thy Word;  
Lord, do not let me waver,  
But give me steadfastness,  
And for such grace forever  
Thy holy name I'll bless.

2 Lord Jesus, my Salvation,  
My Light, my Life divine,  
My only Consolation,  
O make me wholly Thine!  
For Thou hast dearly bought me  
With blood and bitter pain;  
Let me, since Thou hast sought me,  
Eternal life obtain.

3 And Thou, O Holy Spirit,  
My Comforter and Guide,  
Grant that in Jesus' merit  
I always may confide,  
Him to the end confessing,  
Whom I have known by faith.  
Give me Thy constant blessing  
And grant a Christian death.

**Let us all with gladsome voice**

Urban Langhans (ca. 1526)

*ELHB* 1892, 29—Advent and Christmas; *ELHB* 1912, 153—Christmas

1 Let us all with gladsome voice  
Praise the God of heaven,  
Who to bid our hearts rejoice,  
His own Son hath given.

2 To this vale of tears He comes,  
Here to serve in sadness,  
That with Him in heaven's fair homes  
We may reign in gladness.

3 We are rich, for He was poor;  
Is not this a wonder?  
Therefore praise God evermore  
Here on earth and yonder!

4 O Lord Christ, our Savior dear,  
Be Thou ever near us.  
Grant us now a glad New Year;  
Amen, Jesus, hear us!

**Let us ever walk with Jesus**

Sigismund von Birken (1626–81)

*ELHB* 1912, 333—Sanctification: Obedience

1 Let us ever walk with Jesus,  
Follow His example pure,  
Flee the world, that would deceive us  
And to sin our soul allure.  
Ever in His footsteps treading,  
Body here, yet soul above,  
Full of faith and hope and love,  
Let us do the Father's bidding.  
Faithful Lord, abide with me;  
Savior, lead, I follow Thee.

2 Let us suffer here with Jesus,  
To His image e'er conform;  
Heaven's glory soon will please us,  
Sunshine follow on the storm.  
Having sown in tears, in gladness  
We shall reap. With patient cheer  
Let us hope and, void of fear,  
Bide the turning of our sadness.  
Christ, I suffer here with Thee,  
There, oh, share Thy joy with me!

3 Let us also die with Jesus.  
His death from the second death,  
From our soul's destruction, frees us,  
Quickens us with life's glad breath.  
Let us mortify, while living,  
Flesh and blood and die to sin;  
And the grave the shuts us in  
Shall but prove the gate to heaven.  
Jesus, here I die to Thee,  
There to live eternally.

4 Let us also live with Jesus;  
Since He's risen from the dead,  
Must the conquered grave release us.  
Jesus, Thou art now our Head,  
We Thy body's cherished members.  
Where Thou livest, live shall we;  
Own us evermore to be,  
Dearest Friend, Thy loved brethren.  
Jesus, here I live to Thee,  
Yonder, too, eternally.

**Lift up your heads, ye mighty gates**

Georg Weissel (1590–1635)

*ELHB* 1892, 30—Advent and Christmas; *ELHB* 1912, 138—Advent

1 Lift up your heads, ye mighty gates!  
Behold the King of glory waits;  
The King of kings is drawing near,  
The Savior of the world is here;  
Life and salvation He doth bring,  
Wherefore rejoice, and gladly sing:  
We praise Thee, Father, now,  
Creator, wise art Thou!

2 The Lord is just, a Helper tried,  
Mercy is ever at His side,  
His kingly crown is holiness,  
His scepter, pity in distress;  
The end of all our woe He brings,  
Wherefore the earth is glad and sings:  
We praise Thee, Savior, now,  
Mighty in deed art Thou!

3 O blest the land, the city blest,  
Where Christ, the Ruler, is confessed!  
O happy hearts and happy homes  
To whom this King in triumph comes!  
The cloudless Sun of Joy He is,  
Who bringeth pure delight and bliss.  
We praise Thee, Spirit, now,  
Mighty in deed art Thou!

4 Fling wide the portals of your heart,  
Make it a temple set apart  
From earthly use for heaven's employ,  
Adorned with prayer and love and joy;  
So shall your Sovereign enter in  
And new and nobler life begin.  
To Thee, O God, be praise  
For word and deed and grace!

5 Redeemer, come! I open wide  
My heart to Thee; here, Lord, abide!  
Let me Thy inner presence feel,  
Thy grace and love in me reveal;  
Thy Holy Spirit guide us on  
Until our glorious goal be won!  
Eternal praise and fame  
We offer to Thy name.

**Lord Jesus Christ, in Thee alone**

Johann Schneesting (d. 1567)

*ELHB* 1892, 196—Repentance; *ELHB* 1912, 413—Catechism: Confession and Absolution

1 Lord Jesus Christ, in Thee alone  
My only hope on earth I place;  
For other comforter is none,  
No help have I but in Thy grace.  
There is no man nor creature here,  
No angel in the heavenly sphere,  
Who at my need can succor me.  
I cry to Thee,  
For Thee I trust implicitly.

2 My sin is very sore and great,  
I mourn beneath its dreadful load;  
O free me from this heavy weight,  
My Savior, through Thy precious blood;  
And with Thy Father for me plead  
That Thou hast suffered in my stead;  
From me the burden then is rolled.  
Lord, I lay hold  
On Thy dear promises of old.

3 And in Thy mercy now bestow  
True Christian faith on me, O Lord!  
That all the sweetness I may know  
Which in Thy holy Cross is stored,  
Love Thee o'er earthly pride or pelf,  
And love my neighbor as myself;  
And when at last is come my end,  
Be Thou my Friend,  
From Satan's wiles my soul defend.

4 Glory to God in highest heaven,  
The Father of eternal love;  
To His dear Son, for sinners given,  
Whose watchful grace we daily prove;  
To God the Holy Ghost on high;  
Oh, ever be His comfort nigh,  
And teach us, in His love and fear,  
To please Him here  
And serve Him in the heavenly sphere!

**Lord Jesus Christ, to us attend**

William II of Saxe Weimar (1603–69)

*ELHB* 1892, 6—Sunday; *ELHB* 1912, 1—Beginning of Worship

1 Lord Jesus Christ, to us attend,  
Thy Holy Spirit to us send,  
With grace to rule us day by day  
And lead us in true wisdom's way.

2 Teach Thou our lips to sing Thy praise,  
Our hearts in true devotion raise,  
Our faith increase, and grant us light  
That we may know Thy name aright;

3 Until we join the hosts that cry,  
“Holy art Thou, O Lord most high!”  
And in the light of that blest place  
Shall gaze upon Thee face to face.

4 Glory to God, the Father, Son,  
And Holy Spirit, Three in One!  
To Thee, O Holy Trinity,  
Be praise throughout eternity!

**Lord Jesus Christ, with us abide**

Nicolaus Selnecker (1532–92)

*ELHB* 1892, 158—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 110—God’s Word

1 Lord Jesus Christ, with us abide,  
For round us falls the eventide;  
Nor let Thy Word, that heavenly light,  
For us be ever veiled in night.

2 In these last days of sore distress  
Grant us, dear Lord, true steadfastness,  
That pure we keep, till life is spent,  
Thy holy Word and Sacrament.

3 Lord Jesus, help, Thy Church uphold,  
For we are sluggish, thoughtless, cold;  
Indue Thy Word with power and grace  
And spread its truth in every place.

4 O keep us in Thy Word, we pray;  
The guile and rage of Satan stay;  
Unto Thy Church grant, Lord, Thy grace,  
Peace, concord, patience, fearlessness.

5 O God! how sins’ dread works abound!  
Throughout the earth no rest is found.  
And wide has falsehood’s spirit spread,  
And error boldly rears its head.

6 Those haughty spirits, Lord, restrain,  
Who o’er Thy Church with might would reign  
And always offer something new,  
Devised to change Thy doctrine true.

7 And since the cause and glory, Lord,  
Are Thine, not ours, do Thou afford  
Us help and strength and constancy;  
With all our heart we trust in Thee.

8 A trusty weapon is Thy Word,  
Thy Church’s buckler, shield, and sword;  
Lord, let us by this Word abide,  
That we may seek no other guide.

9 O grant that in Thy holy Word  
We here may live and die, dear Lord;  
And when our journey endeth here,  
Receive us into glory there.

**Lord Jesus, who our souls to save**  
Georg Werner (1589–1643)  
*ELHB* 1912, 217—Passion: The Burial

1 Lord Jesus, who our souls to save,  
Didst rest and slumber in the grave,  
Now grant us all in Thee to rest  
And here to live as seems Thee best.

2 Give us the strength, the dauntless faith,  
That Thou hast purchased with Thy death  
And lead us to that glorious place  
Where we shall see the Father's face.

3 O Lamb of God, who once wast slain,  
We thank Thee for that bitter pain.  
Let us share in Thy death that we  
May enter into Life with Thee.

**Lord, as Thou wilt, deal Thou with me**

Caspar Melissander Bienemann (1540–91)

*ELHB* 1892, 256—*The Christian Life*; *ELHB* 1912, 383—*Sanctification: Resignation*

1 Lord, as Thou wilt, deal Thou with me,  
No other wish I cherish;  
In life and death I cling to Thee,  
O Lord, let me not perish!  
Let but Thy grace ne'er from me part,  
Else as Thou wilt; grant patient heart:  
Thy will the best is ever.

2 Grant honor, truth, prosperity,  
And love Thy Word to ponder;  
False doctrines, Lord, keep far from me  
And grant both here and yonder  
What serves my everlasting bliss;  
Preserve me from unrighteousness  
In all my life and doings.

3 When at Thy summons I must leave  
This world of sin and sadness,  
Grant me Thy grace, Lord, not to grieve,  
But to depart with gladness.  
My spirit I commend to Thee;  
O Lord, a blessed end give me  
Through Jesus Christ;—yea. Amen.

**Lord, grant that we e'er pure retain**

Ludwig Helmbold (1532–98)

*ELHB* 1892, 171—Catechism; *ELHB* 1912, 390—Catechism: Law—Creed—Prayer

1 Lord, grant that we e'er pure retain  
The catechismal doctrine plain,  
As Luther taught the heavenly truth  
In simple words to tender youth.

2 That we Thy holy Law may know  
And mourn our sin and all its woe,  
And yet believe in Father, Son,  
And Holy Spirit, Three in One.

3 That we on Thee, our Father, call,  
Who canst and wilt give help to all;  
That as Thy children we may live,  
Whom Thou in Baptism didst receive.

4 That, if we fall, we rise again,  
Repentingly confess our sin,  
And take the Sacrament in faith. —  
Amen. God grant a happy death!

**Lord, keep us in Thy Word and work**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 138—Reformation; *ELHB* 1912, 274—Festival of the Reformation

1 Lord, keep us in Thy Word and work,  
Restrain the murderous Pope and Turk,  
Who fain would tear from off Thy throne  
Christ Jesus, Thy beloved Son.

2 Lord Jesus Christ, Thy power make known,  
For Thou art Lord of lords alone;  
Shield Thy poor Christendom that we  
May evermore sing praise to Thee.

3 Thou Comforter of priceless worth,  
Give one mind to Thy flock on earth,  
Stand by us in our final strife,  
And lead us out of death to life.

4 Destroy their counsels, Lord, our God,  
And smite them with an iron rod,  
And let them fall into the snare  
Which for Thy Christians they prepare.

5 So that at last they may perceive  
That, Lord, our God, Thou still dost live  
And dost deliver mightily  
All those who put their trust in Thee.

**Lord, to Thee I make confession**

Johann Franck (1618–77)

*ELHB* 1912, 416—Catechism: Confession and Absolution

1 Lord, to Thee I make confession,  
I have sinned and gone astray,  
I have multiplied transgression,  
Chose for myself my way.  
Led at last to see my errors,  
Lord, I tremble at Thy terrors.

2 Yet, though conscience' voice appall me,  
Father, I will seek Thy face;  
Though Thy child I dare not call me,  
Yet receive me to Thy grace;  
Do not for my sins forsake me,  
Let not yet Thy wrath o'ertake me.

3 For Thy Son hath suffered for me,  
And the blood He shed for sin,  
That can heal me and restore me  
Quench this burning fire within;  
'Tis alone His cross can vanquish  
These dark fears and soothe this anguish.

4 Then on Him I cast my burden,  
Sink it in the depths below!  
Let me feel Thy gracious pardon,  
Wash me, make me white as snow.  
Let Thy Spirit leave me never,  
Make me only Thine forever!

**My Jesus, as Thou wilt**

Benjamin Schmolck (1672–1737)

*ELHB* 1912, 387—Sanctification: Resignation

1 My Jesus, as Thou wilt!  
Oh, may Thy will be mine!  
Into Thy hand of love  
I would my all resign.  
Through sorrow or through joy  
Conduct me as Thine own  
And help me still to say,  
My Lord, Thy will be done.

2 My Jesus, as Thou wilt!  
If needy here and poor,  
Give me Thy people's bread,  
Their portion rich and sure.  
The manna of Thy Word  
Let my soul feed upon;  
And if all else should fail,  
My Lord, Thy will be done.

3 My Jesus, as Thou wilt!  
Though seen through many a tear,  
Let not my star of hope  
Grow dim or disappear,  
Since Thou on earth hast wept  
And sorrowed oft alone.  
If I must weep with Thee,  
My Lord, Thy will be done.

4 My Jesus, as Thou wilt!  
All shall be well for me;  
Each changing future scene  
I gladly trust with Thee.  
Straight to my home above  
I travel calmly on  
And sing in life or death,  
My Lord, Thy will be done.

**My soul, now bless thy Maker**

Johann Graumann (1487–1541)

*ELHB* 1892, 319—Praise; *ELHB* 1912, 59—Praise

1 My soul, now bless thy Maker!  
Let all within me bless His name,  
Who maketh thee partaker  
Of mercies more than thou dar'st claim!  
Forget Him not, whose meekness  
Forgiveth all thy sin;  
Who healeth all thy weakness,  
Renews thy life within;  
Whose grace and care are endless  
And saved thee through the past;  
Who leaves no sufferer friendless,  
But rights the wronged at last.

2 He shows to man His treasure  
Of judgment, truth, and righteousness,  
His love beyond all measure,  
His yearning pity o'er distress;  
Nor treats us as we merit,  
But lays His anger by,  
The humble, contrite spirit  
Finds His compassion nigh;  
Far as the heavens above us,  
As break from close of day,  
So far, since He doth love us,  
He casts our sins away.

3 For as a tender father  
Hath pity on his children here,  
He in His arms will gather  
All who are His in childlike fear.  
He knows how frail our powers,  
Who but from dust are made;  
We flourish as the flowers,  
And even so we fade;  
The wind but o'er them passes,  
And, all their bloom is o'er,—  
We wither like the grasses,  
Our place knows us no more.

4 His grace alone endureth,  
And children's children yet shall prove  
How God with strength assureth  
The hearts of all that seek His love.  
In heaven is fixed His dwelling,  
His rule is over all;  
Angels in might excelling,  
Bright hosts, before Him fall!  
Praise Him who ever reigneth,  
All ye who hear His Word,  
Nor our poor hymns disdaineth;—  
My soul, O bless the Lord!

**Now God be with us, for the night is closing**

Petrus Herbert (1533–71)

*ELHB* 1892, 300—Evening; *ELHB* 1912, 38—Evening

1 Now God be with us, for the night is closing;  
The light and darkness are of His disposing,  
And 'neath His shadow here to rest we yield us,  
For He will shield us.

2 Let evil thoughts and spirits flee before us;  
Till morning cometh, watch, O Master, o'er us;  
In soul and body Thou from harm defend us,  
Thine angels send us.

3 Let pious thoughts be ours when sleep o'ertakes us,  
Our earliest thoughts be Thine when morning wakes us;  
All day serve Thee, in all that we are doing  
Thy praise pursuing.

4 Through Thy Beloved soothe the sick and weeping  
And bid the captive lose his griefs in sleeping;  
Widows and orphans, we to Thee commend them,  
Do Thou befriend them.

5 We have no refuge, none on earth to aid us,  
Save Thee, O Father, who Thine own hast made us;  
But Thy dear presence will not leave them lonely  
Who seek Thee only.

6 Father, Thy name be praised, Thy kingdom given;  
Thy will be done on earth as 'tis in heaven;  
Give daily bread, forgive our sins, deliver  
Us now and ever.

**Now I have found the sure foundation**

Johann Rothe (1688–1758)

*ELHB* 1892, 217—Faith and Justification; *ELHB* 1912, 312—Faith and Justification

1 Now I have found the sure foundation  
Where evermore my anchor grounds.  
It lay there ere the world's creation,  
Where else, but in my Savior's wounds?  
Foundation, which unmoved shall stay  
When earth and heaven pass away.

2 It is that mercy never-ending,  
Which all conception far transcends,  
Of Him who, with love's arms extending,  
To wretched sinners condescends;  
Whose heart with pity still doth break  
Whether we seek Him or forsake,

3 Our ruin God has not intended,  
Salvation He would fain bestow;  
For this His Son to earth descended  
And then to heaven again did go;  
For this so loudly evermore  
He knocketh at our heart's closed door.

4 O depth of love, in which, past finding,  
My sins through Christ's blood disappear;  
This is for wounds the safest binding,  
There is no condemnation here;  
For Jesus' blood through earth and skies  
Forever Mercy! Mercy! cries.

5 I never will forget this crying,  
In faith I'll trust it all my days,  
And when o'er all my sins I'm sighing,  
I towards my Father's heart will gaze;  
For there is always to be found  
Free mercy without end and bound.

6 Though I be robbed of every pleasure  
That soul and body can make glad,  
Bereft of every earthly treasure,  
Forlorn, forsaken, lone and sad,—  
However far His help may be,  
His mercy yet is left to me.

7 Though earthly cares and want oppress me  
And cause me sorrow and regret  
That things so vain can still distress me  
And give me so much trouble yet,  
Though I am bowed down to the dust,  
Still in His mercy I will trust.

8 Though in the best of all my actions,  
In works that are admired the most,  
I must perceive great imperfections,  
I surely have no right to boast;  
Yet this sweet comfort doth abide:  
In mercy only I confide.

9 Be it with me as He is willing,  
Whose mercy is a boundless sea;  
May He Himself my heart be stilling,  
That this may ne'er forgotten be;  
Then it will rest, in joy and woe,  
On mercy while it beats below.

10 On this foundation I unshrinking  
Will stand while I on earth remain;  
This shall engage my acting, thinking,  
While I the breath of life retain;  
Then I will sing eternally,  
Unfathomed Mercy, still of Thee.

**Now lay we calmly in the grave**

Michael Weisse (1488–1547)

*ELHB* 1892, 380—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 538—Death and Burial

1 Now lay we calmly in the grave  
This form, whereof no doubt we have  
That it shall rise again that day,  
In glorious triumph o'er decay.

2 And so to earth again we trust  
What came from dust and turns to dust  
And from the dust shall surely rise  
When the last trumpet fills the skies.

3 His soul forever lives in God,  
Whose grace his pardon hath bestowed,  
Who through His Son redeemed him here  
From bondage unto sin and fear.

4 His trials and his griefs are past;  
A blessed end is his at last;  
He bore Christ's yoke and did His will;  
And though he died, he liveth still.

5 He lives where none do mourn and weep,  
And calmly shall his body sleep,  
'Tis God shall death Himself destroy  
And raise it into glorious joy.

6 He suffered pain and grief below,  
Christ heals him now from all his woe.  
For him hath endless joy begun;  
He shines in glory like the sun.

7 Then let us leave him to his rest  
And homeward turn, for he is blest;  
And we must well our souls prepare,  
For death may seize us everywhere.

8 So help us, Christ, our Hope in loss;  
Thou hast redeemed us by Thy cross  
From endless death and misery;  
We praise, we bless, we worship Thee.

**Now let us come before Him**

Paul Gerhardt (1607–76)

*ELHB* 1892, 44—New Year; *ELHB* 1912, 174—New Year

1 Now let us come before Him,  
With songs and prayers adore Him,  
Who to our life from heaven  
All needed strength hath given.

2 The stream of years is flowing,  
And we are onward going,  
From old to new surviving,  
And by His mercy thriving.

3 In woe we often languish  
And pass through times of anguish,  
Of wars and trepidation,  
Alarming every nation.

4 A faithful mother keepeth  
Guard while her infant sleepeth,  
Its fear and grief assuaging  
When angry storms are raging.

5 Thus God His children shieldeth  
And full protection yieldeth;  
When need and woe distress them,  
His loving arms caress them.

6 In vain is all our doing;  
The labor we're pursuing  
In our hands prospers never  
Unless God watches ever.

7 Our song to Thee ascendeth,  
Whose mercy never endeth;  
Our thanks to Thee we render,  
Who art our strong Defender.

8 O God of mercy, hear us;  
Our Father, be Thou near us;  
Mid crosses and in sadness  
Be Thou our Fount of gladness.

9 To all that bow before Thee  
And for Thy grace implore Thee,  
O grant Thy benediction  
And patience in affliction.

10 With richest blessings crown us,  
In all our ways, Lord, own us;  
Give grace, who grace bestowest  
To all, e'en to the lowest.

11 To all forlorn be Father,  
Thy erring children gather,  
And of the poor and needy  
Be Thou the Helper speedy.

12 Grant help to all afflicted;  
And to the souls dejected,  
By melancholy haunted,  
May cheerful thoughts be granted!

13 O Lord, assistance lend us,  
Thy holy Spirit send us  
That He may make us glorious  
And lead to Thee victorious.

14 All this Thy hand bestoweth,  
Thou Life, whence our life floweth;  
To me and all believers  
Grant, Lord, these New Year's favors.

**Now do we pray God, the Holy Ghost**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 120—Pentecost; *ELHB* 1912, 260—Pentecost

1 Now do we pray God, the Holy Ghost,  
For the true faith which we need the most,  
And that He defend us, when life is ending,  
And from exile home we shall be wending.  
Lord, have mercy!

2 Shine in our hearts, O most precious Light,  
That we Jesus Christ may know aright,  
Clinging to our Savior, whose blood has bought us,  
Who again to our true home has brought us.  
Lord, have mercy!

3 Thou sweetest Love, grace on us bestow,  
Set our hearts with heavenly fire aglow,  
That with hearts united we love each other,  
Of one mind, in peace with every brother.  
Lord, have mercy!

4 Thou highest Comfort in every need!  
Grant that neither shame nor death we heed,  
That e'en then our courage may never fail us,  
When at last th' Accuser shall assail us.  
Lord, have mercy!

**Now rest beneath night's shadows**

Paul Gerhardt (1607–76)

*ELHB* 1892, 301—Evening; *ELHB* 1912, 33—Evening

1 Now rest beneath night's shadows,  
Man, beast, town, woods and meadows,  
The world in slumber lies;  
But thou, my heart, awake thee,  
To prayer and song betake thee,  
Let praise to thy Creator rise.

2 O sun, where art thou vanished?  
The night thy reign hath banished,  
The foe of day, the night.  
Farewell! For now appeareth  
Another Sun end cheereth  
My heart—'tis Jesus Christ, my Light!

3 The last faint beam is going,  
The golden stars are glowing  
In yonder dark-blue deep;  
Such is the glory given  
When, called of God to heaven,  
On earth no more we pine and weep.

4 To rest my body hasteth,  
Aside its garments casteth,  
Types of mortality;  
These I put off and ponder  
How Christ shall give me yonder  
A robe of glorious majesty.

5 Head, hands, and feet, reposing  
Are glad the day is closing,  
That work came to an end;  
Cheer up, my heart, with gladness!  
For God from all earth's sadness  
And from sin's toil relief will send.

6 Ye weary limbs! now rest you,  
For toil hath sore oppressed you,  
And quiet sleep ye crave;  
A sleep shall once o'ertake you  
From which no man can wake you,  
In your last narrow bed—the grave.

7 My heavy eyes are closing;  
When I lie deep reposing,  
Soul, body, where are ye?  
To helpless sleep I yield them;  
O let Thy mercy shield them,  
Thou sleepless Eye, their Guardian be!

8 Lord Jesus, who dost love me,  
O spread Thy wings above me  
And shield me from alarm!  
Though Satan would devour me,  
Let angel-guards sing o'er me:  
"This child of God shall meet no harm!"

9 My loved ones, rest securely,  
From every peril surely  
Our God will guard your heads.  
May He sweet slumbers send you  
And bid His hosts attend you,  
And golden-armed, watch o'er your beds!

**Now thank we all our God**

Martin Rinckart (1586–1649)

*ELHB* 1892, 321—Praise; *ELHB* 1912, 64—Praise

1 Now thank we all our God  
With heart and hands and voices,  
Who wondrous things hath done,  
In whom His world rejoices;  
Who from our mother's arms  
Hath blessed us on our way  
With countless gifts of love  
And still is ours to-day.

2 Oh, may this bounteous God  
Through all this life be near us,  
With ever joyful hearts  
And blessed peace to cheer us;  
And keep us in His grace,  
And guide us when perplexed,  
And free us from all ills  
In this world and the next.

3 All praise and thanks to God  
The Father now be given,  
The Son, and Him who reigns  
With them in highest heaven:  
The one eternal God,  
Whom earth and heaven adore;  
For thus it was, is now,  
And shall be evermore!

## O Bleeding Head, and wounded

Paul Gerhardt (1607–76)

*ELHB* 1892, 74—Passion; *ELHB* 1912, 201—Passion: General

1 O Bleeding Head, and wounded,  
And full of pain and scorn,  
In mockery surrounded  
With cruel crown of thorn!  
O Head, once crowned with glory  
And heavenly majesty,  
But now despised and gory;  
Yet here I welcome Thee!

2 Men spit upon and jeer Thee,  
Thou noble countenance,  
Though mighty worlds shall fear Thee  
And flee before Thy glance.  
How art Thou pale with anguish,  
With sore abuse and scorn!  
How does Thy visage languish  
Which once was bright as morn!

3 Now from Thy cheeks has vanished  
Their color once so fair;  
From Thy red lips is banished  
The splendor that was there.  
Pale Death, with cruel rigor,  
Bereaveth Thee of life;  
Thus lovest Thou Thy vigor  
And strength in this sad strife.

4 My burden, in Thy passion,  
Lord, Thou hast borne for me,  
For it was my transgression  
Which brought this woe on Thee.  
I cast me down before Thee,  
Wrath were my rightful lot;  
Have mercy, I implore Thee,  
Redeemer, spurn me not!

5 My Shepherd, now receive me!  
My Guardian, own me Thine!  
Great blessings Thou didst give me,  
Source of gifts divine!  
Thy lips have often fed me  
With milk and sweetest food;  
Thy Spirit oft has led me  
To stores of heavenly good.

6 Here I will stand beside Thee,  
From Thee I will not part;  
Savior, do not chide me!  
When breaks Thy loving heart,  
When soul and body languish  
In death's last fatal grasp,  
Then, in Thy deepest anguish,  
Thee in mine arms I'll clasp.

7 Naught ever so much blesses,  
So much rejoices me,  
As when in Thy distresses  
I take a part with Thee.  
Ah, well for me, if lying  
Here at Thy feet, my Life,  
I, too, with Thee were dying  
And thus might end my strife!

8 Thanks from my heart I offer  
Thee, Jesus, dearest Friend,  
For all that Thou didst suffer;  
My good didst Thou intend.  
Ah! grant that I may ever  
To Thy truth faithful be;  
When soul and body sever,  
May I be found in Thee!

9 When hence I must betake me,  
Lord, do not Thou depart!  
O nevermore forsake me  
When death is at my heart!  
When soul and body languish,  
O leave me not alone,  
But take away mine anguish  
By virtue of Thine own!

10 Be Thou my Consolation  
And Shield when I must die;  
Remind me of Thy Passion,  
When my last hour draws nigh.  
My eyes shall then behold Thee,  
Upon Thy cross shall dwell,  
My heart by faith enfold Thee.  
Who dieth thus dies well!

**O blest the house, whate'er befall**

Christoph Karl Ludwig von Pfeil (1712–84)

*ELHB* 1892, 437—The Christian Life; *ELHB* 1912, 445—Catechism: Marriage—Family—Children

1 O blest the house, whate'er befall,  
Where Jesus Christ is all in all;  
Yea, if He were not dwelling there  
How poor and dark and void it were!

2 O blest, that house where faith ye find,  
And all within have set their mind  
To trust their God and serve Him still  
And do in all His holy will.

3 O blest the parents who give heed  
Unto their children's foremost need  
And weary not of care or cost!  
To them and heaven shall none be lost.

4 Blest such a house, it prospers well,  
In peace and joy the parents dwell,  
And in their children's lot is shown  
How richly God can bless His own.

5 Then here will I, and mine to-day  
A solemn covenant make and say:  
Though all the world forsake Thy Word,  
I and my house will serve the Lord.

**O Christ, our true and only Light**

Johann Heermann (1585–1647)

*ELHB* 1892, 162—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 475—Church: Missions

1 O Christ, our true and only Light,  
Enlighten those who sit in night;  
Let those afar now hear Thy voice  
And in Thy fold with us rejoice.

2 Fill with the radiance of Thy grace  
The souls now lost in error's maze,  
And all whom in their secret minds  
Some dark delusion haunts and blinds.

3 And all who else have strayed from Thee,  
O gently seek! Thy healing be  
To every wounded conscience given  
And let them also share Thy heaven.

4 O make the deaf to hear Thy Word  
And teach the dumb to speak, dear Lord,  
Who dare not yet the faith avow,  
Though secretly they hold it now.

5 Shine on the darkened and the cold,  
Recall the wanderers from Thy fold,  
Unite all those who walk apart,  
Confirm the weak and doubting heart,

6 So they with us may evermore  
Such grace with wondering thanks adore,  
And endless praise to Thee be given  
By all Thy Church in earth and heaven.

**O darkest woe**

Johann Rist (1607–67)

*ELHB* 1892, 75—Passion; *ELHB* 1912, 215—Passion: The Burial

1 O darkest woe!  
Ye tears, forth flow!  
Has earth so sad a wonder?  
God the Father's only Son  
Now is buried yonder!

2 O sorrow dread  
Our God is dead,  
But by His expiation  
Of our guilt upon the cross  
Gained for us salvation.

3 O child of man!  
It was the ban  
Of death on thee that brought Him  
Down to suffer for thy sins,  
And such woe hath wrought Him.

4 See, stained with blood,  
The Lamb of God,  
The Bridegroom, lies before thee,  
Pouring out His life that He  
May to life restore thee.

5 O Ground of faith,  
Laid low in death,  
Sweet lips now silent sleeping!  
Surely all that live must mourn  
Here with bitter weeping.

6 O Virgin-born,  
Thy death we mourn,  
Thou lovely Star of gladness!  
Who could see Thy reeking blood  
Without grief and sadness?

7 Yea, blest is he  
Whose heart shall be  
Fixed here, who apprehendeth  
Why the Lord of Glory thus  
To the grave descendeth.

8 O Jesus blest,  
My Help and Rest,  
With tears I now entreat Thee:  
Make me love Thee to the last,  
Till in heaven I greet Thee!

**O God, Thou faithful God**

Johann Heermann (1585–1647)

*ELHB* 1892, 265—The Christian Life; *ELHB* 1912, 346—Sanctification: Consecration

1 O God, Thou faithful God,  
Thou Fount that ever flowest,  
Without whom nothing is,  
Who all good gifts bestowest,  
A pure and healthy frame  
O give me, and within  
A conscience free from blame,  
A soul unhurt by sin.

2 And grant me, Lord, to do,  
With ready heart and willing,  
Whate'er Thou shalt command,  
My calling here fulfilling;  
To do it when I ought,  
With all my strength; and bless  
The work I thus have wrought,  
For Thou must give success.

3 O let me never speak  
What bounds of truth exceedeth;  
Grant that no idle word  
From out my mouth proceedeth;  
And grant, when in my place  
I must and ought to speak,  
My words due power and grace,  
Nor let me wound the weak.

4 If dangers gather round,  
Still keep me calm and fearless;  
Help me to bear the cross  
When life is dark and cheerless;  
Let me subdue my foe  
By words and actions kind;  
When counsel I would know,  
Good counsel let me find.

5 And let me with all men,  
As far as in me lieth,  
In peace and friendship live;  
And if Thy gift supplieth  
Me wealth and honor fair,  
Then this refuse me not,  
That naught be mingled there  
Of goods unjustly got.

6 And if a longer life  
Be here on earth decreed me,  
And Thou through many a strife  
To age at last wilt lead me,  
Thy patience in me shed,  
Avert all sin and shame,  
And crown my hoary head  
With pure, untarnished fame.

7 Let me depart this life  
Confiding in my Savior;  
Do Thou my soul receive,  
That it may live forever;  
And let my body have  
A quiet resting-place  
Beside a Christian's grave;  
And let it sleep in peace.

8 And on that solemn day  
When all the dead are waking,  
Stretch o'er my grave Thy hand,  
Thyself my slumbers breaking;  
Then let me hear Thy voice,  
Change Thou this earthly frame,  
And bid me aye rejoice  
With those who love Thy name.

**O Holy Spirit, enter in**

Michael Schirmer (1606–73)

*ELHB* 1892, 119—Pentecost; *ELHB* 1912, 247—Pentecost

1 O Holy Spirit, enter in,  
And in our hearts Thy work begin,  
Thy temple deign to make us;  
Sun of the soul, Thou Light divine,  
Around and in us brightly shine,  
To joy and gladness wake us.  
That we To Thee  
Truly living, To Thee giving  
Prayer unceasing,  
May in love be still increasing.

2 Give to Thy Word impressive power  
That in our hearts, from this good hour,  
As fire it may be glowing;  
That we confess the Father, Son,  
And Thee, the Spirit, Three in One,  
Thy glory ever showing.  
O stay And sway  
Our souls ever, That they never  
May forsake Thee,  
But by faith their refuge make Thee.

3 Thou Fountain, whence all wisdom flows  
Which God on pious hearts bestows,  
Grant us Thy consolation  
That in our pure faith's unity  
We faithful witnesses may be  
Of grace that brings salvation.  
Hear us, Cheer us  
By Thy teaching; Let our preaching  
And our labor  
Praise Thee, Lord, and bless our neighbor.

4 Left to ourselves we shall but stray;  
O lead us on the narrow way,  
With wisest counsel guide us  
And give us steadfastness that we  
May ever faithful prove to Thee  
Whatever woes betide us.  
Lord, now Heal Thou  
All hearts broken And betoken  
Thou art near us,  
Whom we trust to light and cheer us.

5 Thy heavenly strength sustain our heart  
That we may act the valiant part  
With Thee as our Reliance;  
Be Thou our Refuge and our Shield  
That we may never quit the field,  
But stand in bold defiance.  
Descend, Defend  
From all errors And earth's terrors;  
Thy salvation  
Be our constant consolation.

6 O mighty Rock, O Source of Life,  
Let Thy dear Word, mid doubt and strife,  
Be so within us burning  
That we be faithful unto death,  
In Thy pure love and holy faith,  
From Thee true wisdom learning.  
Thy grace And peace  
On us shower; By Thy power  
Christ confessing,  
Let us win our Savior's blessing.

7 O gentle Dew, from heaven now fall  
With power upon the hearts of all,  
Thy tender love instilling,  
That heart to heart more closely bound,  
In kindly deeds be fruitful found,  
The law of love fulfilling;  
Then, Lord, Discord  
Shall not grieve Thee; We receive Thee;  
Where Thou livest,  
Peace and love and joy Thou givest.

8 Grant that our days, while life shall last,  
In purest holiness be passed,  
Be Thou our Strength forever;  
Grant that our hearts henceforth be free  
From sinful lust and vanity,  
Which us from Thee must sever.  
Keep Thou Pure now  
From offences Heart and senses.  
Blessed Spirit,  
Let us heavenly life inherit.

**O how blest are ye whose toils are ended**

Simon Dach (1605–73)

*ELHB* 1892, 381—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 547—Death and Burial

1 O how blest are ye whose toils are ended!  
Who through death have unto God ascended!  
Ye have arisen  
From the cares which keep us still in prison.

2 We are still as in a dungeon living,  
Still oppressed with sorrow and misgiving;  
Our undertakings  
Are but toils and troubles and heartbreakings.

3 Ye, meanwhile, are in your chambers sleeping,  
Quiet, and set free from all our weeping;  
No cross or sadness  
There can hinder your untroubled gladness.

4 Christ has wiped away your tears forever;  
Ye have that for which we still endeavor;  
To you are chanted  
Songs that ne'er to mortal ears were granted.

5 Ah! who would, then, not depart with gladness,  
To inherit heaven for earthly sadness?  
Who here would languish  
Longer in bewailing and in anguish?

6 Come, O Christ, and loose the chains that bind us!  
Lead us forth and cast this world behind us!  
With Thee, th' Anointed,  
Finds the soul its joy and rest appointed.

**O Lamb of God, most holy**

Nikolaus Decius (1485–1541)

*ELHB* 1892, 76—Passion; *ELHB* 1912, 203—Passion: Good Friday

1 O Lamb of God, most holy,  
Upon the cursed tree slain;  
E'er patient, meek, and lowly,  
Though heaped with hate and disdain.  
All sins Thou borest for us,  
Else had despair reign o'er us,  
Have mercy on us, O Jesus!

2 O Lamb of God, most holy! etc.  
Have mercy on us, O Jesus!

3 O Lamb of God, most holy! etc.  
Thy peace be with us, O Jesus!

**O living Bread from heaven**

Johann Rist (1607–67)

*ELHB* 1892, 422—Catechism; *ELHB* 1912, 435—Catechism: The Lord's Supper

1 O living Bread from heaven,  
How hast Thou fed Thy guest!  
The gifts Thou now hast given  
Have filled my heart with rest.  
O wondrous Food of blessing!  
Cup that heals our woes!  
My heart, this gift possessing,  
In thankful song o'erflows.

2 My Lord, Thou here hast led me  
Within Thy holiest place  
And there Thyself hast fed me  
With treasures of Thy grace;  
And Thou hast freely given  
What earth could never buy,  
The Bread of life from heaven,  
That now I shall not die!

3 Thou givest all I wanted.  
The food can death destroy,  
And Thou hast freely granted  
The cup of endless joy.  
Ah, Lord, I do not merit  
The favor Thou hast shown,  
And all my soul and spirit  
Bow down before Thy Throne.

4 Lord, grant me that, thus strengthened  
With heavenly food, while here  
My course on earth is lengthened,  
I serve with holy fear;  
And when Thou call'st my spirit  
To leave this world below,  
I enter, through Thy merit,  
Where joys unmingled flow.

**O Lord, our Father, thanks to Thee**

Cyriacus Schneegass (1546–97)

*ELHB* 1892, 45—New Year; *ELHB* 1912, 170—New Year

1 O Lord, our Father, thanks to Thee  
In this new year we render,  
For Thou hast been from misery  
And dangers our Defender;  
Through all the year that now has fled  
Hast given us life and daily bread  
And peace within our borders.

2 Lord Jesus Christ, our thanks to Thee  
In this new year we render,  
For Thou still rulest zealously  
Thy fold, with mercy tender;  
Thou hast redeemed us with Thy blood,  
Thou art our only Trust and Good,  
In life and death our Savior.

3 Lord Holy Ghost, our thanks to Thee  
In this new year we render,  
For by Thy grace it is that we  
Enjoy Thy Word's pure splendor;  
Thus Thou hast kindled from above  
Within our hearts true faith and love,  
And other Christian virtues.

4 Our faithful God, we cry to Thee:  
Still bless us with Thy favor,  
Blot out all our iniquity,  
And hide our sins forever;  
Grant us a happy, good New Year  
And, when the hour of death draws near,  
A blest departure. Amen.

**O Lord, how shall I meet Thee**

Paul Gerhardt (1607–76)

*ELHB* 1892, 32—Advent and Christmas; *ELHB* 1912, 136—Advent

1 O Lord, how shall I meet Thee,  
How welcome Thee aright?  
All nations long to greet Thee,  
My Hope, my heart's Delight!  
O kindle, dearest Jesus,  
Thy lamp within my breast,  
That I may know what pleases  
Thee, Lord, my heav'nly Guest.

2 Thy Zion strews before Thee  
Green boughs and fairest palms,  
And I, too, will adore Thee  
With sweetest songs and psalms.  
My heart shall bloom forever  
For Thee with praises new,  
And from Thy name shall never  
Withhold the honor due.

3 What hast Thou left ungranted  
To give me glad relief?  
When soul and body panted  
In utmost depth of grief,  
In deepest degradation,  
Devoid of joy and peace,  
Then, Thou, my soul's Salvation,  
Didst come to bring release.

4 I lay in fetters groaning,  
Thou com'st to set me free;  
I stood, my shame bemoaning,  
Thou com'st to honor me;  
A glory Thou dost give me,  
A treasure safe on high,  
That will not fail or leave me  
As earthly riches fly.

5 Naught, naught, dear Lord, could move Thee  
To leave Thy rightful place  
Save love, for which I love Thee;  
A love that could embrace  
A world where sorrow dwelleth,  
Which sin and suffering fill,  
More than the tongue e'er telleth;—  
Yet Thou couldst love it still!

6 Rejoice, then, ye sad-hearted,  
Who sit in deepest gloom,  
Who mourn o'er joys departed  
And tremble at your doom.  
Despair not, He is near you,  
Yea, standing at the door,  
Who best can help and cheer you,  
And bid you weep no more.

7 No care nor effort either  
Is needed day or night,  
How ye may draw Him hither  
In your own strength and might.  
He comes, He comes with gladness,  
Moved by His love alone,  
To calm your fear and sadness,  
To Him they are well known.

8 Sin's debt, that fearful burden,  
Let not your souls distress;  
Your guilt the Lord will pardon  
And cover with His grace.  
He comes, He comes, procuring  
The peace of sin forgiv'n,  
To all God's sons securing  
Their part and lot in heav'n.

9 Why should the wicked move you?  
Heed not their craft and spite!  
Your Savior, who doth love you,  
Will scatter all their might.  
He comes, a King most glorious,  
And all His earthly foes  
In vain His course victorious  
Endeavor to oppose.

10 He comes to judge the nations,  
A terror to His foes,  
A light of consolations  
And blessed Hope to those  
Who love the Lord's appearing.  
O glorious Sun, now come,  
Send forth Thy beams so cheering  
And guide us safely home!

**O Lord, I love Thee from my heart**

Martin Schalling (1532–1608)

*ELHB* 1892, 266—The Christian Life; *ELHB* 1912, 366—Sanctification: Trust

1 O Lord, I love Thee from my heart;  
I pray Thee, ne'er from me depart,  
With tender mercy cheer me;  
I scorn the richest earthly lot,  
E'en heaven and earth attract me not,  
If only Thou be near me.  
Yea, though my heart be like to break,  
Thou shalt my Trust that naught can shake,  
My Portion and my Comfort be,  
Who by Thy blood hast purchased me,  
Lord Jesus Christ!  
My God and Lord my God and Lord!  
Forsake me not who trust Thy Word.

2 Yea, Lord, 'twas Thy free bounty gave  
My body, soul, and what I have  
In this poor life of labor;  
O grant that I may through Thy grace  
Use all my powers to show Thy praise,  
And serve and help my neighbor.  
From all false doctrine keep me, Lord,  
From Satan's lies and malice ward,  
In every cross uphold Thou me,  
That I may bear it patiently,  
Lord Jesus Christ!  
My God and Lord, my God and Lord!  
In death Thy comfort still afford.

3 Ah! Lord, let Thy dear angels come  
At my last end to bear me home,  
That I may die unfearing;  
And in its narrow chamber keep  
My body safe in painless sleep  
Until Thy reappearing;  
And then from death awaken me  
That these mine eyes with joy may see,  
O Son of God, Thy glorious face,  
My Savior and my Fount of grace.  
Lord Jesus Christ!  
My prayer attend, my prayer attend,  
And I will praise Thee without end.

**O Lord, my God, I cry to Thee**

Nicolaus Selnecker (1532–92)

*ELHB* 1892, 382—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 543—Death and Burial

1 O Lord, my God, I cry to Thee,  
In my distress Thou helpst me.  
My soul and body I commend  
Into Thy hands; Thine angel send  
To guide me home and cheer my heart  
Since Thou dost call me to depart.

2 O Jesus Christ, Thou Lamb of God,  
Once slain to take away our load,  
Now let Thy cross, Thine agony,  
Avail to save and solace me;  
Thy death to open heaven and there  
Bid me the joy of angels share.

3 O Holy Spirit, at the end,  
Sweet Comforter, be Thou my Friend,  
When death and hell assail me sore,  
Leave me, O leave me nevermore,  
But bear me safely through the strife,  
As Thou hast promised, into life!

**O Morning Star, how fair and bright**

Philipp Nicolai (1556–1608)

*ELHB* 1892, 239—The Redeemer; *ELHB* 1912, 103—The Redeemer

1 O Morning Star, how fair and bright  
Thou beamest forth in truth and light!  
O Sovereign meek and lowly!  
Sweet Root of Jesse, David's Son,  
My King and Bridegroom, Thou hast won  
My heart to love Thee solely!  
Lovely art Thou,  
Fair and glorious, All victorious,  
Rich in blessing,  
Rule and might o'er all possessing.

2 O King high-born, Pearl dearly won,  
True Son of God and Mary's Son,  
Crown of exceeding glory!  
My heart calls Thee a Lily, Lord,  
Pure milk and honey is Thy Word,  
Thy sweetest Gospel-story.  
Rose of Sharon,  
Hail! hosanna! Heavenly Manna,  
Feed us ever;  
Lord, I can forget Thee never!

3 Clear Jasper, Ruby fervent red,  
Deep, deep into my heart now shed  
Thy love's pure fire forever;  
Fill me with joy, grant me to be  
Thy member, closely joined to Thee,  
Whom naught from Thee may sever;  
Toward Thee longing  
Doth possess me: Come and bless me, For  
Thy gladness  
Eye and heart here pine in sadness.

4 But if Thou look on me in love,  
There straightway falls from God above  
A ray of purest pleasure;  
Thy Word and Spirit, flesh and blood,  
Refresh my soul with heavenly food,  
Thou art my hidden Treasure.  
Let Thy grace, Lord,  
Warm and cheer me, O draw near me;  
Thou hast taught us  
Thee to seek since Thou hast sought us.

5 Lord God, my Father, mighty Shield,  
Thou in Thy Son art all revealed  
As Thou hast loved and known me;  
Thy Son hath me with Him betrothed,  
In His own whitest raiment clothed,  
He for His bride will own me.  
Hallelujah!  
Life in heaven Hath He given,  
With Him dwelling,  
Still shall I His praise be telling.

6 Then touch the chords of harp and lute,  
Let no sweet music now be mute,  
But joyously resounding,  
Tell of the marriage-feast, the bride,  
The heavenly Bridegroom at her side,  
Mid love and joy abounding.  
Shout for triumph,  
Loudly sing ye, Praises bring ye,  
Fall before Him,  
King of kings, let all adore Him!

7 Here rests my heart and holds it fast;  
The Lord I love is First and Last,  
The End and the Beginning.  
I welcome death, for I shall rise  
Through Him to His own Paradise,  
Above all tears and sinning.  
Amen! Amen!  
Come, Lord Jesus. Soon release us!  
With deep yearning,  
Lord, we look for Thy returning!

**Once He came in blessing**

Johann Horn (1487–1547)

*ELHB* 1912, 143—Advent

1 Once He came in blessing,  
All our ills redressing,  
Came in likeness lowly,  
Son of God most holy;  
Bore the cross to save us,  
Hope and freedom gave us.

2 Still He comes within us,  
Still His voice would win us  
From the sins that hurt us;  
Would to Truth convert us  
From our foolish errors,  
Ere He comes in terrors.

3 Thus, of thou hast known Him,  
Not ashamed to own Him,  
Nor does love Him coldly,  
But wilt trust Him boldly,  
He will now receive thee,  
Heal thee, and forgive thee.

4 He who well endureth  
Bright reward secureth.  
Come then, O Lord Jesus.  
From our sins release us;  
Let us here confess Thee  
Till in heaven we bless Thee.

**Open now Thy gates of beauty**

Benjamin Schmolck (1672–1737)

*ELHB* 1912, 5—Beginning of Worship

1 Open now Thy gates of beauty,  
Zion, let me enter there,  
Where my soul in joyful duty  
Waits for Him who answers pray'r;  
Oh, how blessed is this place,  
Filled with solace, light, and grace!

2 Yes, my God, I come before Thee,  
Come Thou also down to me;  
Where we find Thee and adore Thee,  
There a heaven on earth must be.  
In my heart, oh, enter Thou,  
Let it be Thy temple now.

3 Here Thy praise is gladly chanted,  
Here thy seed is duly sown;  
Let my soul, where it is planted,  
Bring forth precious sheaves alone,  
So that all I hear may be  
Fruitful unto life in me.

4 Thou my faith increase and quicken,  
Let me keep Thy Gift divine,  
Howsoe'er temptations thicken;  
May Thy Word still o'er me shine,  
As my pole-star through my life,  
As my comfort in my strife.

5 Speak, O God, and I will hear Thee,  
Let Thy will be done indeed;  
May I undisturbed draw near Thee  
Whilst Thou dost Thy people feed.  
Here of life the fountain flows,  
Here is balm for all our woes.

**Our Father, Thou in heaven above**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 176—Catechism; *ELHB* 1912, 396—Catechism: Law—Creed—Prayer

1 Our Father, Thou in heaven above,  
Who biddest us to dwell in love,  
As brothers of one family,  
And cry for all we need to Thee:  
Teach us to mean the words we say  
And from the inmost heart to pray.

2 Thy name be hallowed! Help us, Lord,  
To keep in purity Thy Word  
And lead according to Thy name  
A holy life, untouched by blame.  
Let no false teachings do us hurt,  
All poor, deluded souls convert.

3 Thy kingdom come! Thine let it be  
In time and through eternity!  
Oh, let Thy Holy Spirit dwell  
With us to rule and guide us well.  
From Satan's mighty power and rage  
Preserve Thy Church from age to age.

4 Thy will be done on earth, O Lord,  
As where in heaven Thou art adored!  
Patience in time of grief bestow,  
Obedience in weal and woe;  
Our sinful flesh and blood control  
That thwart Thy will within the soul.

5 Give us this day our daily bread  
And all that for this life we need;  
From war and strife be our Defense,  
From famine and from pestilence,  
That we may live in godly peace,  
Unvexed by cares and avarice.

6 Lord, all our trespasses forgive  
That they our hearts no more may grieve,  
As we forgive their trespasses  
Who unto us have done amiss.  
Thus let us dwell in charity  
And serve each other willingly.

7 Into temptation lead us not;  
And when the Foe doth war and plot  
Against our souls on every hand,  
Then, armed with faith, O may we stand  
Against him as a valiant host,  
Through comfort of the Holy Ghost.

8 From evil, Lord, deliver us;  
The times and days are perilous.  
Redeem us from eternal death;  
And when we yield our dying breath,  
Console us, grant us calm release,  
And take our souls to Thee in peace.

9 Amen! that is, So let it be!  
Confirm our faith continually  
That we may doubt not, but believe  
That what we ask we shall receive;  
Thus in Thy name and at Thy word  
We say: Amen; O hear us, Lord!

### **Out of the depths I cry to Thee**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 200—Repentance; *ELHB* 1912, 415—Catechism: Confession and Absolution

1 Out of the depths I cry to Thee,  
Lord, hear my lamentation;  
Bend down Thy gracious ear to me  
And grant my supplication;  
For if Thou fix Thy searching eye  
On all sin and iniquity,  
Who, Lord, can stand before Thee?

2 But love and grace with Thee prevail,  
O God, our sins forgiving;  
The best and holiest deeds must fail  
Of all before Thee living;  
Before Thee none can boasting stand,  
But all must fear Thy strict demand  
And live alone by mercy.

3 My hope I rest, then, on the Lord  
And build not on my merit;  
My heart shall trust His gracious Word,  
His goodness stays my spirit.  
His precious Word assureth me  
He will my Joy and Comfort be;  
This is my firm reliance.

4 And though it tarry till the night  
And till the morn appeareth,  
My heart still trusteth in His might,  
It doubteth not nor feareth.  
Do thus, O ye of Israel's seed,  
Ye of the Spirit born indeed,  
Wait for your God's appearing.

5 Though great our sins and sore our woes,  
His grace much more aboundeth;  
His helping love no limit knows,  
Our utmost need it soundeth,  
Our Shepherd is the Lord, and He  
At last shall set His Israel free  
From all their sin and sorrow.

**Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation**

Joachim Neander (1650–80)

*ELHB* 1892, 326—Praise; *ELHB* 1912, 63—Praise

1 Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation!  
O my soul, praise Him, for He is thy Health and Salvation!  
Join the full throng;  
“Wake, harp and psalter and song;  
Sound forth in glad adoration!

2 Praise to the Lord, who o’er all things so wondrously reigneth,  
Who, as on wings of an eagle, uplifteth, sustaineth.  
Hast thou not seen  
How thy desires all have been  
Granted in what He ordaineth?

3 Praise to the Lord, who hath fearfully, wondrously, made thee;  
Health hath vouchsafed and, when heedlessly falling, hath stayed thee!  
What need or grief  
Ever hath failed of relief?—  
Wings of His mercy did shade thee.

4 Praise to the Lord, who doth visibly bless and defend thee;  
Who from the heavens the streams of His mercy doth send thee!  
Ponder anew  
What the Almighty can do  
If with His love He befriend thee.

5 Praise to the Lord! O let all that is in me adore Him!  
All that hath life and breath, come now with praises before Him!  
He is thy Light;  
Soul, keep it always in sight,  
Gladly forever adore Him!

**Salvation unto us has come**

Paul Speratus (1484–1551)

*ELHB* 1912, 314—Faith and Justification

1 Salvation unto us has come  
By God's free grace and favor;  
Good works cannot avert our doom,  
They help and save us never:  
Faith looks to Jesus Christ alone,  
Who did for all the world atone;  
He is the Mediator.

2 What God doth in His Law demand  
No man to Him can render,  
And so He draws His flaming brand  
To punish the offender:  
Our flesh has not those pure desires  
Which first of all the Law requires,—  
We are in condemnation.

3 It was a false, misleading dream  
That God His Law had given  
For us to keep and merit claim  
And earn our way to heaven.  
God's Law is but a mirror bright  
To bring the inbred sin to sight  
That lurks within our nature.

4 By our own strength to put aside  
God's wrath and win His blessing  
Is useless task, by many tried,  
Is only guilt increasing.  
For God hypocrisy abhors;  
Flesh with the spirit ever wars,  
For 'tis by nature evil.

5 And yet the Law fulfilled must be,  
Or we were lost forever;  
Therefore God sent His Son that He  
Might us from death deliver;  
For all the Law for us fulfilled  
And thus His Father's anger stilled  
Which over us impended.

6 Since Christ hath full atonement made  
And brought to us salvation,  
Each Christian therefore may be glad  
And build on this foundation.  
Thy grace alone, dear Lord, I plead,  
Thy death my life now is indeed,  
For Thou has paid my ransom.

7 Not doubting this, I trust in Thee,  
Thy Word cannot be broken;  
Thou all dost call, "Come unto Me!"  
No falsehood hast Thou spoken.  
"He that believes and is baptized,  
He shall be saved," say'st Thou, O Christ,  
"And he shall never perish."

8 He's just 'fore God, and he alone,  
Who by this faith is living;  
This faith will by good works be known,  
To God the glory giving.  
Faith gives thee peace with God above,  
But thou thy neighbor, too, wilt love  
If thou art a new creature.

9 The Law reveals the guilt of sin  
And makes man conscience-stricken;  
The Gospel then doth enter in  
The sinful soul to quicken.  
Come to the Cross, trust Christ and live;  
The Law to you no peace can give  
With all its good endeavors.

10 From faith in Christ, whene'er 'tis right,  
Good works are surely flowing;  
The faith is dead that shuns the light,  
No good works ever showing.  
By faith alone the just shall live,  
Good works alone the proof can give  
Of love, which true faith worketh.

**Since Christ has gone to heaven, His home**

Josua Wegelin (1604–40)

*ELHB* 1892, 105—Ascension; *ELHB* 1912, 236—Ascension

1 Since Christ has gone to heaven, His home,  
I, too, that home one day must share;  
And in this hope I overcome  
All doubt, all anguish, and despair;  
For where the Head is, well we know,  
The members He has left below  
In time He surely gathers.

2 Since Christ has reached His glorious throne,  
And mighty gifts henceforth are His,  
My heart can rest in heaven alone,  
On earth my Lord I always miss;  
I long to be with Him on high,  
My heart and thoughts forever fly  
Where is my only Treasure.

3 From Thy ascension let such grace,  
Dear Lord, be ever found in me,  
That steadfast faith may guide my ways  
With step unfalt'ring up to Thee,  
And at Thy voice I may depart  
With joy to dwell where Thou, Lord, art;  
Lord, hear my supplication!

**That man a godly life might live**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 172—Catechism; *ELHB* 1912, 391—Catechism: Law—Creed—Prayer

1 That man a godly life might live,  
God did these ten commandments give  
By His true servant Moses, high  
Upon the mount Sinai.  
Have mercy, Lord!

2 I am Thy God and Lord alone,  
No other god beside me own;  
Put Thy whole confidence in Me  
And love Me e'er cordially.  
Have mercy, Lord!

3 By idle word and speech profane  
Take not My holy name in vain,  
And praise but that as good and true  
Which I Myself say and do.  
Have mercy, Lord!

4 Hallow the day which God hath blest  
That thou and all thy house may rest;  
Keep hand and heart from labor free  
That God may so work in thee.  
Have mercy, Lord!

5 Give to thy parents honor due,  
Be dutiful, and loving too,  
And help them when their strength decays,  
So shalt thou have length of days.  
Have mercy, Lord!

6 In sinful wrath thou shalt not kill,  
Nor hate, nor render ill for ill;  
Be patient and of gentle mood,  
And to thy foe do thou good.  
Have mercy, Lord!

7 Be faithful to thy marriage vows,  
Thy heart give only to thy spouse;  
Thy life keep pure, and lest thou sin,  
Use temp'rance and discipline.  
Have mercy, Lord!

8 Steal not; all usury abhor  
Nor wring their life-blood from the poor,  
But open wide thy loving hand  
To all the poor in the land.  
Have mercy, Lord!

9 Bear not false witness nor belie  
Thy neighbor by foul calumny;  
Defend his innocence from blame;  
With charity hide his shame.  
Have mercy, Lord!

10 Thy neighbor's house desire thou not,  
His wife, nor aught that he hath got,  
But wish that his such good may be  
As thy heart doth wish for thee.  
Have mercy, Lord!

11 God these commandments gave, therein  
To show thee, child of man, thy sin  
And make thee also well perceive,  
How man unto God should live.  
Have mercy, Lord!

12 Help us, Lord Jesus Christ, for we  
A Mediator have in Thee.  
Our works cannot salvation gain;  
They merit but endless pain.  
Have mercy, Lord!

**The Lord hath helped me hitherto**

Emilie Juliane von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (1637–1706)

*ELHB* 1912, 80—Praise

1 The Lord hath helped me hitherto  
By his surpassing favor;  
His mercies ev'ry morn were new,  
His kindness did not waver.  
God hitherto hath been my Guide,  
Hath pleasures hitherto supplied,  
And hitherto hath helped me.

2 I praise and thank Thee, Lord, my God,  
For Thine abundant blessing,  
Which heretofore Thou hast bestowed  
And I am still possessing.  
Inscribe this on my memory:  
The Lord hath done great things for me.  
And graciously hath helped me.

3 Help me in future, God of grace,  
Help me on each occasion,  
Help me in each and ev'ry place,  
Help me through Jesus' Passion;  
Help me in life and death, O God,  
Help me through Jesus' dying blood,  
Help me as Thou hast helped me!

**The Lord, my God, be praised**

Johann Olearius (1635–1711)

*ELHB* 1892, 128—Trinity; *ELHB* 1912, 272—Trinity

1 The Lord, my God, be praised,  
My Light, my Life from heaven;  
My Maker, who to me  
Hath soul and body given;  
My Father, who protects  
My life from infancy,  
And mighty gifts of love  
Hath e'er bestowed on me.

2 The Lord, my God, be praised,  
My Trust, my Life from heaven,  
The Father's own dear Son,  
Whose life for me was given;  
Who thus atoned for me  
With His most precious blood;  
Who giveth to my faith  
The greatest heavenly good.

3 The Lord, my God, be praised,  
My Hope, my Life from heaven,  
The Father's Spirit, whom  
The Son to me hath given;  
He who revives my heart  
And gives me strength and power,  
Help, comfort and support  
In sorrow's gloomy hour.

4 The Lord, my God, be praised,  
He who forever liveth,  
To whom the heavenly host  
E'er praise and honor giveth.  
The Lord, my God, be praised,  
In whose great name I boast,  
God Father, God the Son,  
And God the Holy Ghost.

5 To Him we now sing praise,  
With joy our offering bringing  
And with the angel host  
The "Holy! Holy!" singing.  
To Him all Christendom  
Sings praises joyfully;  
The Lord, my God, be praised  
Throughout eternity!

**The old year now hath passed away**

Johann Steuerlein (1546–1613)

*ELHB* 1892, 47—New Year; *ELHB* 1912, 173—New Year

1 The old year now hath passed away,  
We thank Thee, Christ, our Lord, to-day  
That Thou hast kept us through the year  
When danger and distress were near.

2 We pray Thee, O Eternal Son,  
Who with the Father reign'st as one,  
To guard and rule Thy Christendom  
Through all the ages yet to come.

3 Take not Thy saving Word away,  
Our souls' true comfort, staff, and stay;  
Abide with us and keep us free  
From all false doctrines graciously.

4 O help us to forsake all sin,  
A new and holier course begin;  
From last year's sins, Lord, hide Thy face,  
In this new year grant us Thy grace,

5 That as true Christians we may live  
Or die in peace that Thou canst give,  
To rise again when Thou shalt come,  
And enter our eternal home.

**Thou who art Three in unity**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 131—Trinity; *ELHB* 1912, 266—Trinity

1 Thou who art Three in unity,  
True God from all eternity,  
The sun is fading from our sight,  
Shine Thou on us with heavenly light.

2 We praise Thee with the dawning day,  
To Thee at even also pray;  
With our poor song we worship Thee  
Now, ever, and eternally.

3 Let God the Father be adored,  
And God the Son, the only Lord,  
And God the Holy Spirit be  
Adored throughout eternity!

**To God, the Father of all love**

Johann Schütz (1640–90)

*ELHB* 1892, 332—Praise; *ELHB* 1912, 60—Praise

1 To God, the Father of all love,  
The God of earth and heaven,  
The mighty God, who reigns above,  
Be praise and glory given!  
With healing balm my soul He fills,  
And every pain and sorrow stills,—  
To God all praise and glory!

2 The angel host, O King of kings,  
Thy praise forever telling,  
In earth and sky all living things  
Beneath Thy shadow dwelling,  
Adore and praise their Maker's might,  
Whose wisdom orders all things right,—  
To God all praise and glory!

3 What God's almighty power hath made  
His gracious mercy keepeth;  
By morning glow or evening shade  
His watchful eye ne'er sleepeth;  
Within the kingdom of His might,  
Lo! all is just and all is right,—  
To God all praise and glory!

4 I cried to God in my distress,  
His mercy heard me calling;  
My Savior saw my helplessness  
And kept my feet from falling.  
For this, Lord, praise and thanks to Thee!  
Praise God most high, praise God with me,—  
To God all praise and glory!

5 The Lord forsaketh not His flock,  
His chosen generation;  
He is their Refuge and their Rock,  
Their Peace and their Salvation,  
And with a mother's watchful love  
He guides them wheresoe'er they rove,—  
To God all praise and glory!

6 When earth can comfort us no more,  
Nor human help availeth,

The Maker comes Himself, whose store  
Of blessing never faileth,  
And bends on them a Father's eyes,  
Whom earth all rest and hope denies,—  
To God all praise and glory!

7 Thus all my pilgrim way along  
I'll sing aloud Thy praises  
That men may hear the grateful song  
My voice unwearied raises.  
Be joyful in the Lord, my heart;  
Both soul and body, bear your part;—  
To God all praise and glory!

8 Ye who confess Christ's holy name,  
To God give praise and glory!  
Ye who the Father's power proclaim,  
To God give praise and glory!  
All idols under foot be trod,  
The Lord is God! The Lord is God!  
To God all praise and glory!

9 Then come before His presence now  
And banish fear and sadness;  
To your Redeemer pay your vow  
And sing with joy and gladness:  
Though great distress my soul befall,  
The Lord, my God, rules over all;—  
To God all praise and glory!

**Wake, awake, for night is flying**

Philipp Nicolai (1556–1608)

*ELHB* 1892, 399—Eternity; *ELHB* 1912, 549—The Judgment

1 Wake, awake, for night is flying,  
The watchmen on the heights are crying:  
Awake, Jerusalem, arise!  
Midnight hears the welcome voices,  
And at the thrilling cry rejoices;  
O where are ye, ye virgins wise?  
The Bridegroom comes, awake!  
Your lamps with gladness take!  
Hallelujah!  
With bridal care Yourselves prepare  
To meet the Bridegroom, who is near!

2 Zion hears the watchmen singing,  
And all her heart with joy is springing,  
She wakes, she rises from her gloom;  
For her Lord comes down all glorious,  
The strong in grace, in truth victorious,  
Her Star is risen, her Light is come!  
Now come, Thou Blessed One,  
Lord Jesus, God's own Son,  
Hail! Hosanna!  
The joyful call We answer all,  
And follow to the nuptial hall.

3 Glory unto Thee be given,  
By men and by the host of heaven,  
With harp and cymbal's clearest tone;  
Of one pearl each shining portal,  
Where we are with the choir immortal  
Of angels round Thy dazzling throne.  
Nor eye hath seen, nor ear  
Hath yet attained to hear  
Such great glory;  
Therefore will we Eternally  
Sing hymns of joy and praise to Thee.

**We all believe in one true God**

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

*ELHB* 1892, 175—Catechism; *ELHB* 1912, 394—Catechism: Law—Creed—Prayer

1 We all believe in one true God,  
Maker of the earth and heaven,  
The Father, who to us in love  
Hath the claim of children given;  
He in soul and body feeds us,  
All we want His hand provides us,  
Through all snares and perils leads us  
Watches that no harm betides us;  
He cares for us by day and night,  
All things are governed by His might.

2 And we believe in Jesus Christ,  
His own Son, our Lord, possessing  
An equal Godhead, throne and might,  
Through whom comes the Father's blessing:  
Conceived of the Holy Spirit,  
Born of Mary, virgin-mother,  
That lost man might life inherit,  
Made true man, our Elder Brother,  
Was crucified for sinful men,  
And raised by God to life again.

3 We in the Holy Ghost believe,  
Who sweet grace and comfort giveth  
And with the Father and the Son  
In eternal glory liveth;  
Who the Christian Church doth even  
Keep in unity of spirit.  
Sins are truly here forgiven  
Through the blest Redeemer's merit.  
All flesh shall rise again, and we  
Shall live with God eternally. Amen.

**Welcome, Thou Victor in the strife**

Benjamin Schmolck (1672–1737)

*ELHB* 1912, 228—Easter

1 Welcome, Thou Victor in the strife,  
Welcome from out the cave!  
Today we triumph in Thy life  
Around Thine empty grave.

2 Our enemy is put to shame,  
His short-lived triumph o'er;  
Our God is with us, we exclaim;  
We fear our foe no more.

3 The dwellings of the just resound  
With songs of victory;  
For in their midst Thou, Lord, art found  
And bringest peace with Thee.

4 O let Thy conquering banner wave  
O'er hearts Thou makest free;  
And point the path that from the grave  
Leads heavenward up to Thee.

5 We bury all our sin and crime  
Deep in our Savior's tomb  
And seek the treasure there that time  
And change can ne'er consume.

6 Fearless we lay us in the tomb  
And sleep the night away;  
For Thou art there to break the gloom  
And call us back to day.

**Whatever God ordains is good**

Samuel Rodigast (1649–1708)

*ELHB* 1892, 363—Cross and Comfort; *ELHB* 1912, 507—Cross and Comfort

1 Whatever God ordains is good!  
His righteous will abideth;  
I will be still whate'er He doth,  
And follow where He guideth,  
He is my God; Though dark my road,  
He knoweth how to shield me,  
Wherefore to Him I yield me.

2 Whatever God ordains is good!  
He never will deceive me;  
He leads me by the proper path,  
I know He will not leave me,  
And take content What He hath sent;  
His hand that sends my sadness  
Will turn my tears to gladness.

3 Whatever God ordains is good!  
His loving thought attends me;  
No poisoned draught the cup can be  
That my Physician sends me,  
But medicine; God true has been.  
Of doubt, then, I'll divest me  
And on His goodness rest me.

4 Whatever God ordains is good!  
My Life, my Light, can never  
Intend me harm; then, to His care  
I give myself forever  
In weal or woe; For well I know,  
Some day I shall see clearly  
That God did love me dearly.

5 Whatever God ordains is good!  
Though now this cup in drinking  
May bitter to my taste appear  
I take it all unshrinking;  
For to my heart God will impart  
A timely balm of healing  
And end each painful feeling.

6 Whatever God ordains is good!  
Here shall my stand be taken;  
Though sorrow, need, or death be mine,  
Yet am I not forsaken;  
My Father's care Is round me there,  
His arms embrace and shield me;  
Then to my God I yield me.

**When in the hour of utmost need**

Paul Eber (1511–69)

*ELHB* 1892, 364—Cross and Comfort; *ELHB* 1912, 515—Cross and Comfort

1 When in the hour of utmost need  
We know not where to look for aid;  
When days and nights of anxious thought  
Nor help nor counsel yet have brought,

2 Then this our comfort is alone,  
That we may meet before Thy throne  
And cry, O faithful God, to Thee  
For rescue from our misery;

3 To Thee may raise our hearts and eyes,  
Repenting sore with bitter sighs,  
And seek Thy pardon for our sin  
And respite from our griefs within.

4 For Thou hast promised graciously  
To hear all those who cry to Thee,  
Through Him whose name alone is great,  
Our Savior and our Advocate.

5 And thus we come, O God, to-day  
And all our woes before Thee lay;  
For tried, afflicted, lo! we stand,  
Perils and foes on every hand.

6 Ah! hide not for our sins Thy face,  
Absolve us through Thy boundless grace,  
Be with us in our anguish still,  
Free us at last from every ill.

7 That so with all our hearts we may  
Once more our glad thanksgivings pay  
And walk obedient to Thy Word  
And now and ever praise Thee, Lord.

**When my last hour is close at hand**

Nikolaus Herman (1500–61)

*ELHB* 1892, 385—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 528—Death and Burial

1 When my last hour is close at hand  
And I must hence betake me,  
Lord Jesus Christ, beside me stand,  
Nor let Thy help forsake me;  
To Thy blest hands I now commend  
My soul, at this my earthly end,  
And Thou wilt safely keep it.

2 My sins, dear Lord, disturb me sore,  
My conscience cannot slumber;  
But though as sands upon the shore  
My sins may be in number,  
I will not quail, but think of Thee;  
Thy death, Thy sorrow, borne for me,  
Thy sufferings, shall uphold me.

3 I have been grafted in the Vine  
And hence my comfort borrow,  
For Thou wilt surely keep me Thine  
Through fear and pain and sorrow;  
Yea, though I die, I die to Thee,  
Who through Thy death hast won for me  
The right to life eternal.

4 Since Thou from death didst rise again,  
In death Thou wilt not leave me;  
Lord, Thy ascension soothes my pain,  
No fear of death shall grieve me;  
For Thou wilt have me where Thou art,  
And so with joy I can depart  
To be with Thee forever.

5 And so I stretch mine arms to Thee  
And gladly hence betake me;  
Peaceful and calm my sleep shall be,  
No human voice can wake me.  
But Christ is with me through the strife,  
And He will bear me into life  
And open heaven before me.

**Who knows how near my end may be**

Emilie Juliane von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (1637–1706)

*ELHB* 1892, 386—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 544—Death and Burial

1 Who knows how near my end may be?  
Time speeds away, and death comes on;  
How swiftly, ah, how suddenly,  
May death be here and life be gone!  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

2 The world that smiled when morn was  
    come  
May change for me ere close of eve;  
So long as earth is still my home,  
In peril of my death I live.  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

3 Teach me to ponder oft my end,  
And ere the hour of death appears,  
To cast my soul on Christ, her Friend,  
Nor spare repentant cries and tears.  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

4 And let me now so order all,  
That ever ready I may be  
To say with joy, Whate'er befall,  
Lord, do Thou as Thou wilt with me.  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

5 Let heaven to me be ever sweet,  
And this world bitter let me find,  
That I, mid all its toil and heat,  
May keep eternity in mind.  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

6 O Father, cover all my sins  
With Jesus' merits, who alone  
The pardon that I covet wins  
And makes His long-sought rest my own.  
My God for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

7 His sorrows and His cross I know  
Make deathbeds soft and light the grave;  
They comfort in the hour of woe,  
They give me all I fain would have.  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

8 From Him can naught my soul divide,  
Nor life nor death can part us now;  
I thrust my hand into His side  
And say, My Lord and God art Thou!  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

9 In holy Baptism long ago  
I joined me to the living Vine;  
Thou lovest me in Him, I know,  
In Him Thou dost accept me Thine.  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

10 And I have eaten His own flesh  
And drunk His blood,—nor can I be  
Forsaken now nor doubt afresh  
I am in Him, and He in me.  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

11 Then death may come or tarry yet,  
I know in Christ I perish not;  
He never will His own forget,  
He gives me robes without a spot.  
My God, for Jesus' sake I pray  
Thy peace may bless my dying day.

12 And thus I live in God at peace  
And die without a thought of fear,  
Content to take what God decrees,  
For through His Son my faith is clear.  
His grace shall be in death my stay,  
And peace shall bless my dying day.

## APPENDIX ELEVEN

### Core English-Language Hymns from *ELHB* 1892, *SSH* 1901, and *ELHB* 1912 and Their Ranking among the Marini 300

<b>First Line</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>M 300</b>	<b>ELHB 1912</b>
Abide with me! fast falls the eventide	Lyte, Henry Francis	31	40
Alas! and did my Savior bleed	Watts, Isaac	3	214
Almighty God, Thy Word is cast	Cawood, John		13
Am I a soldier of the Cross?	Watts, Isaac	5	378
And must this body die	Watts, Isaac	59	434
Asleep in Jesus! blessed sleep	Mackay, Margaret	50	540
Awake, my soul, and with the sun	Ken, Thomas	49	29
Before Jehovah's awful throne	Watts, Isaac	32	78
Behold a Stranger at the door!	Grigg, Joseph	63	51
Blest be the tie that binds	Fawcett, John	13	462
Brightest and best of the sons of the morning	Heber, Reginald		181
Christ the Lord is risen to-day	Wesley, Charles	25	221
Christ, whose glory fills the skies	Wesley, Charles		100
Come hither, ye faithful, triumphantly sing	Wade, John Francis		159
Come, Holy Spirit, come	Hart, Joseph		258
Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove	Watts, Isaac	22	255
Come, to Calvary's holy mountain	Montgomery, James		212
Crown Him with many crowns	Bridges, Matthew		104
Every morning mercies new	Phillimore, Greville		28
Father of glory, to Thy name	Watts, Isaac		267
Father of heav'n, whose love profound	Cooper, Edward		269
Father, in whom we live	Wesley, Charles		270
For Thy mercy and Thy grace	Downton, Henry		168
From Greenland's icy mountains	Heber, Reginald	15	474
Glorious things of thee are spoken	Newton, John	22	464
Glory be to God the Father	Bonar, Horatius		268
Go to dark Gethsemane	Montgomery, James		199
God bless our native land	Brooks, Charles Timothy and Dwight, John Sullivan		305
God is Love; His mercy brightens	Bowring, John	67	510
God moves in a mysterious way	Cowper, William	33	524

<b>First Line</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>M 300</b>	<b>ELHB 1912</b>
Grace! 'tis a charming sound	Doddridge, Philip	30	328
Gracious Spirit, Dove divine	Stocker, John		253
Great God, we sing that mighty Hand	Doddridge, Philip		167
Great is the Lord, our God	Watts, Isaac		458
Hail to the Lord's Anointed	Montgomery, James	63	132
Hail, Thou once despised Jesus	Blakewell, John	62	242
Hark, the glad sound! the Savior comes	Doddridge, Philip	45	139
Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty!	Heber, Reginald	28	263
How beauteous are their feet	Watts, Isaac		148
I am trusting Thee, Lord Jesus	Havergal, Frances Ridley		370
I know that my Redeemer lives	Medley, Samuel	27	229
I love Thy Zion, Lord	Dwight, Timothy	23	264
I would not live alway; I ask not to stay	Mühlenberg, William Augustus	39	535
I'm but a stranger here	Taylor, Thomas		563
In the hour of trial	Montgomery, James		409
In vain would boasting reason find	Steele, Anne		122
Jerusalem, my happy home	F.B.P.	37	558
Jesus shall reign where'er the sun	Watts, Isaac	21	483
Jesus, and shall it ever be	Grigg, Joseph	32	91
Jesus, Lover of my soul	Wesley, Charles	2	107
Jesus! Name of wondrous love	How, William Walsham		178
Joy to the world, the Lord is come	Watts, Isaac	11	158
Just as I am, without one plea	Elliott, Charlotte	17	318
Lamp of our feet, whereby we trace	Barton, Bernard		119
Let songs of praises fill the sky	Cotterill, Thomas		254
Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing	Fawcett, John	24	17
Lord, it belongs not to my care	Baxter, Richard		496
Lord, we come before Thee now	Hammond, William	62	7
My hope is built on nothing less	Mote, Edward	58	306
My soul, repeat His praise	Watts, Isaac	66	77
Nearer, my God, to Thee	Adams, Sarah Flower and Ganse, Hervey Doddridge	22	520
Nearer, my God, to Thee	Jacobs, Henry Eyster		324
Not all the blood of beasts	Watts, Isaac	57	319
Now the day is over	Baring-Gould, Sabine		45
O bless the Lord, my soul	Watts, Isaac		76
O for a faith that will not shrink	Bathhurst, William Hiley		354
O God of Jacob, by whose hand	Doddridge, Philip		364
O Paradise, O Paradise	Faber, Frederick William		561
O Thou, from whom all goodness flows	Haweis, Thomas		497
O'er the distant mountains breaking	Monsell, John Samuel Bewley		548
One sweetly solemn thought	Cary, Phoebe		531
Our country's voice is pleading	Anderson, Maria		472

<b>First Line</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>M 300</b>	<b>ELHB 1912</b>
Our God, our Help in ages past	Watts, Isaac	58	172
Our heavenly Father, hear	Montgomery, James		397
Our Lord is risen from the dead	Wesley, Charles	62	232
Rock of Ages, cleft for me	Toplady, Augustus Montague	9	325
Savior, again to Thy dear name we raise	Ellerton, John		16
Savior, when in dust to Thee	Grant, Robert		351
Savior, who Thy flock art feeding	Mühlenberg, William Augustus		449
Stricken, smitten, and afflicted	Kelly, Thomas		209
Sun of my soul, Thou Savior dear	Keble, John	50	42
Ten thousand times ten thousand	Alford, Henry		288
The Church's one foundation	Stone, Samuel J.		466
The Lord my pasture shall prepare	Addison, Joseph	64	85
The Lord my Shepherd is	Watts, Isaac	75	374
The man is ever blest	Watts, Isaac		341
The morning light is breaking	Smith, Samuel Francis	51	471
The Savior calls; let every ear	Steele, Anne		47
The Spirit in our hearts	Onderdonk, Henry		52
There is a land of pure delight	Watts, Isaac	23	560
Thine forever, God of love	Maude, Mary Fawler		411
This is the day the Lord hath made	Watts, Isaac	62	129
Thou art the Way, to Thee alone	Doane, George Washington		94
Through the day Thy love hath spared us	Kelly, Thomas		43
What a Friend we have in Jesus	Scriven, Joseph	52	395
When all Thy mercies, O my God	Addison, Joseph	37	72
When I survey the wondrous Cross	Watts, Isaac	12	204
When streaming from the eastern skies	Shrubsole, William		19
While with ceaseless course the sun	Newton, John	69	163
Zion stands with hills surrounded	Kelly, Thomas		465

*For each hymn text that follows, the hymn writer's name is provided beneath the hymn title, followed by the hymn number and "rubric" (i.e., hymn section title) in ELHB 1892 and ELHB 1912 respectively.*

**Abide with me! fast falls the eventide**

Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847)

*ELHB* 1892, 368—Death and Burial; *SSH* 1901, 42; *ELHB* 1912, 40—Evening

1 Abide with me! fast falls the eventide;  
The darkness deepens; Lord, with me abide!  
When other helpers fail, and comforts flee,  
Help of the helpless, O abide with me!

2 Swift to its close ebbs out life's little day;  
Earth's joys grow dim, its glories pass away;  
Change and decay in all around I see;  
O Thou, who changest not, abide with me!

3 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.

4 Come not in terrors, as the King of kings,  
But kind and good, with healing in Thy wings;  
Tears for all woes, a heart for every plea;  
O Friend of sinners, thus abide with me!

5 Thou on my head in early youth didst smile,  
And, though rebellious and perverse meanwhile,  
Thou hast not left me, oft as I left Thee:  
On to the close, O Lord, abide with me!

6 I need Thy presence every passing hour:  
What but Thy grace can foil the Tempter's power?  
Who like Thyself my guide and stay can be?  
Through cloud and sunshine, O abide with me!

7 I fear no foe, with Thee at hand to bless;  
Ills have no weight, and tears no bitterness.  
Where is death's sting? where, grave, thy victory?  
I triumph still if Thou abide with me.

8 Hold Thou Thy cross before my closing eyes,  
Shine through the gloom, and point me to the skies.  
Heaven's morning breaks, and earth's vain shadows flee;  
In life, in death, O Lord, abide with me!

**Alas! and did my Savior bleed**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 59—Passion; *SSH* 1901, 148; *ELHB* 1912, 214—Passion: Good Friday

1 Alas! and did my Savior bleed,  
And did my Sov'reign die?  
Would He devote that sacred head  
For such a worm as I?

2 Was it for crimes that I had done  
He groaned upon the tree?  
Amazing pity, grace unknown,  
And love beyond degree!

3 Well might the sun in darkness hide  
And shut his glories in,  
When God, the mighty Maker, died  
For man the creature's sin!

4 Thus might I hide my blushing face  
While His dear cross appears,  
Dissolve my heart in thankfulness,  
And melt my eyes in tears.

5 But drops of grief can ne'er repay  
The debt of love I owe;  
Here, Lord, I give myself away,  
'Tis all that I can do.

**Almighty God, Thy Word is cast**

John Cawood (1775–1852)

*ELHB* 1892, 3—Sunday; *ELHB* 1912, 13—Close of Worship

1 Almighty God, Thy Word is cast  
Like seed into the ground;  
Now let the dew of heaven descend  
And righteous fruits abound.

2 Let not the foe of Christ and man  
This holy seed remove,  
But give it root in every heart,  
To bring forth fruits of love.

3 Let not the world's deceitful cares  
The rising plant destroy,  
But let it yield a hundredfold  
The fruits of peace and joy.

4 Oft as the precious seed is sown,  
Thy quickening grace bestow,  
That all whose souls the truth receive  
Its saving power may know.

### **Am I a soldier of the Cross**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 244—The Christian Life; *SSH* 1901, 415; *ELHB* 1912, 378—Sanctification:  
Warfare

1 Am I a soldier of the Cross,  
A follower of the Lamb?  
And shall I fear to own His cause  
Or blush to speak His name?

2 Must I be carried to the skies  
On flowery beds of ease  
While others fought to win the prize  
And sailed through bloody seas?

3 Are there no foes for me to face?  
Must I not stem the flood?  
Is this vile world a friend to grace,  
To help me on to God?

4 Sure I must fight if I would reign;  
Increase my courage, Lord!  
I'll bear the toil, endure the pain,  
Supported by Thy Word.

5 Thy saints, in all this glorious war,  
Shall conquer, though they die;  
They see the triumph from afar  
With faith's discerning eye.

6 When that illustrious day shall rise  
And all Thine armies shine  
In robes of victory through the skies,  
The glory shall be Thine.

**And must this body die**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 369—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 534—Death and Burial

1 And must this body die,  
This mortal frame decay?  
And must these active limbs of mine  
Lie moldering in the clay?

2 God, my Redeemer, lives  
And ever from the skies  
Looks down and watches all my dust  
Till He shall bid it rise.

3 Arrayed in glorious grace  
Shall these vile bodies shine  
And every shape and every face,  
Look heavenly and divine.

4 These lively hopes we owe  
To Jesus' dying love;  
We would adore His grace below  
And sing His power above.

5 Dear Lord, accept the praise  
Of these our humble songs  
Till tunes of nobler sound we raise  
With our immortal tongues.

**Asleep in Jesus! Blessed sleep**

Margaret Mackay (1802–87)

*ELHB* 1892, 370—Death and Burial; *SSH* 1901, 445; *ELHB* 1912, 540—Death and Burial

1 Asleep in Jesus! Blessed sleep,  
From which none ever wakes to weep;  
A calm and undisturbed repose,  
Unbroken by the last of foes.

2 Asleep in Jesus! Oh, how sweet  
To be for such a slumber meet,  
With holy confidence to sing  
That death has lost his venom'd sting.

3 Asleep in Jesus! Peaceful rest,  
Whose waking is supremely blest;  
No fear, no woe, shall dim that hour  
That manifests the Savior's power.

4 Asleep in Jesus! Oh, for me  
May such a blissful refuge be!  
Securely shall my ashes lie  
And wait the summons from on high.

**Awake, my soul, and with the sun**

Thomas Ken (1637–1711)

*ELHB* 1892, 286—Morning; *SSH* 1901, 34; *ELHB* 1912, 29—Morning

1 Awake, my soul, and with the sun  
Thy daily stage of duty run;  
Shake off dull sloth and joyful rise  
To pay thy morning sacrifice.

2 All praise to Thee, who safe hast kept  
And hast refreshed me while I slept.  
Grant, Lord, when I from death shall wake,  
I may of endless life partake.

3 Lord, I my vows to thee renew;  
Disperse my sins as morning dew,  
Guard my first springs of thought and will,  
And with Thyself my spirit fill.

4 Direct, control, suggest, this day,  
All I design or do or say,  
That as my powers, with all their might,  
In Thy sole glory may unite.

5 Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;  
Praise Him, all creatures here below;  
Praise Him, above, ye heavenly host:  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!

**Before Jehovah's awful throne**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 311—Praise; *SSH* 1901, 1; *ELHB* 1912, 78—Praise

1 Before Jehovah's awful throne,  
Ye nations, bow with sacred joy;  
Know that the Lord is God alone,  
He can create and He destroy.

2 His sov'reign power, without our aid,  
Made us of clay, and formed us men;  
And when like wandering sheep we strayed,  
He brought us to His fold again.

3 We are His people, we His care,  
Our souls and all our mortal frame.  
What lasting honors shall we rear,  
Almighty Maker, to Thy name?

4 We'll crowd Thy gates with thankful songs,  
High as the heavens our voices raise;  
And earth, with her ten thousand tongues,  
Shall till Thy courts with sounding praise.

5 Wide as the world is Thy command,  
Vast as eternity Thy love;  
Firm as a rock Thy truth must stand  
When rolling years shall cease to move.

**Behold a Stranger at the door**

Joseph Grigg (ca. 1728–68)

*ELHB* 1892, 189—Repentance; *SSH* 1901, 328; *ELHB* 1912, 51—Invitation

1 Behold a Stranger at the door!  
He gently knocks, has knocked before,  
Has waited long, is waiting still;  
You treat no other friend so ill.

2 But will He prove a friend indeed?  
He will; the very Friend you need;  
The Friend of Sinners—yes, 'tis He,  
With garments dyed on Calvary.

3 O lovely attitude! He stands  
With melting heart and laden hands;  
O matchless kindness! and He shows  
This matchless kindness to His foes.

4 Admit Him lest His anger burn  
His feet, departing, ne'er return;  
Admit Him, or the hour's at hand  
When at His door denied you'll stand.

**Blest be the tie that binds**

John Fawcett (1740–1817)

*SSH* 1901, 401; *ELHB* 1912, 462—Church: The Communion of Saints

1 Blest be the tie that binds  
Our hearts in Christian love;  
The fellowship of kindred minds  
Is like to that above.

2 Before our Father's throne  
We pour our ardent prayers;  
Our fears, our hopes, our aims are one,  
Our comforts and our cares.

3 We share our mutual woes;  
Our mutual burdens bear;  
And often for each other flows  
The sympathizing tear.

4 When we asunder part,  
It gives us inward pain;  
But we shall still be joined in heart  
And hope to meet again.

5 This glorious hope revives  
Our courage by the way,  
While each in expectation lives  
And longs to see the day.

6 From sorrow, toil, and pain,  
And sin we shall be free;  
And perfect love and friendship reign  
Through all eternity.

**Brightest and best of the sons of the morning**

Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

*ELHB* 1892, 402—Epiphany; *SSH* 1901, 277; *ELHB* 1912, 181—Epiphany

1 Brightest and best of the sons of the morning,  
Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid;  
Star of the East, the horizon adorning,  
Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid.

2 Cold on His cradle the dew-drops are shining;  
Low lies His head with the beasts of the stall:  
Angels adore Him in slumber reclining,  
Maker and Monarch and Savior of all!

3 Say, shall we yield Him, in costly devotion,  
Odors of Edom and offerings divine,  
Gems of the mountain and pearls of the ocean,  
Myrrh from the forest, and gold from the mine?

4 Vainly we offer each ample oblation;  
Vainly with gifts would His favor secure.  
Richer by far is the heart's adoration;  
Dearer to God are the prayers of the poor.

5 Brightest and best of the sons of the morning,  
Dawn on our darkness and lend us Thine aid;  
Star of the East, the horizon adorning,  
Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid.

**Christ, the Lord is risen to-day**

Charles Wesley (1707–88)

*ELHB* 1892, 90—Easter; *SSH* 1901, 163; *ELHB* 1912, 221—Easter

1 “Christ, the Lord is risen to-day,”  
Sons of men and angels say.  
Raise your joys and triumphs high;  
Sing, ye heavens, and, earth, reply.

2 Love’s redeeming work is done,  
Fought the fight, the battle won;  
Lo! our Sun’s eclipse is o’er;  
Lo! He sets in blood no more.

3 Vain the stone, the watch, the seal;  
Christ has burst the gates of hell.  
Death in vain forbids His rise;  
Christ has opened Paradise.

4 Lives again our glorious King;  
Where, O death, is now thy sting?  
Dying once, He all doth save;  
Where thy victory, O grave?

5 Soar we now where Christ has led,  
Following our exalted Head.  
Made like Him, like Him we rise;  
Ours the cross, the grave, the skies.

6 Hail the Lord of earth and heav’n!  
Praise to Thee by both be giv’n!  
Thee we greet triumphant now;  
Hail, the Resurrection Thou!

**Christ, whose glory fills the skies**

Charles Wesley (1707–88)

*ELHB* 1892, 224—The Redeemer; *ELHB* 1912, 100—The Redeemer

1 Christ, whose glory fills the skies,  
Christ, the true, the only Light,  
Sun of Righteousness, arise,  
Triumph o'er the shades of night.  
Day-spring from on high, be near;  
Day-star, in my heart appear.

2 Dark and cheerless is the morn  
Unaccompanied by Thee;  
Joyless is the day's return  
Till Thy mercy's beams I see;  
Till they inward light impart,  
Cheer my eyes, and warm my heart.

3 Visit, then, this soul of mine,  
Pierce the gloom of sin and grief;  
Fill me, Radiancy Divine,  
Scatter all my unbelief;  
More and more Thyself display,  
Shining to the perfect day.

**Come hither, ye faithful, triumphantly sing**

John Francis Wade (1710–86)

*ELHB* 1892, 20—Advent and Christmas; *SSH* 1901, 82; *ELHB* 1912, 159—Christmas

1 Come hither, ye faithful, triumphantly sing;  
Come see in the manger our Savior and King!  
To Bethlehem hasten with joyful accord;  
O come ye, come hither, to worship the Lord!

2 True Son of the Father, He comes from the skies;  
To be born of a virgin He does not despise.  
To Bethlehem hasten with joyful accord;  
O come ye, come hither, to worship the Lord!

3 Hark, hark to the angels all singing in heaven,  
“To God in the highest all glory be given!”  
To Bethlehem hasten with joyful accord;  
O come ye, come hither, to worship the Lord!

4 To Thee, then, O Jesus, this day of Thy birth,  
Be glory and honor through heaven and earth,  
True Godhead incarnate, omnipotent Word!  
O come, let us hasten to worship the Lord!

**Come, Holy Spirit, come**

Joseph Hart (1712–68)

*ELHB* 1892, 110—Pentecost; *SSH* 1901, 198; *ELHB* 1912, 258—Pentecost

1 Come, Holy Spirit, come!  
Let Thy bright beams arise;  
Dispel the sorrow from our minds,  
The darkness from our eyes.

2 Revive our drooping faith,  
Our doubts and fears remove,  
And kindle in our hearts the flame  
Of never-dying love.

3 Convince us of our sin,  
Then lead to Jesus' blood,  
And to our wondering view reveal  
The mercies of our God.

4 'Tis Thine to cleanse the heart,  
To sanctify the soul,  
To pour fresh life on every part,  
And new-create the whole.

5 Dwell, therefore, in our hearts;  
Our minds from bondage free;  
Then shall we know and praise and love  
The Father, Son, and Thee.

**Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 112—Pentecost; *SSH* 1901, 199; *ELHB* 1912, 255—Pentecost

1 Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,  
With all Thy quickening powers;  
Kindle a flame of sacred love  
In these cold hearts of ours.

2 See how we grovel here below,  
Fond of these earthly toys;  
Our souls, how heavily they go  
To reach eternal joys!

3 In vain we tune our formal songs,  
In vain we strive to rise;  
Hosannas languish on our tongues,  
And our devotion dies.

4 Dear Lord, and shall we ever live  
At this poor, dying rate—  
Our love so cold, so faint to Thee,  
And Thine to us so great?

5 Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,  
With all Thy quickening powers,  
Come, shed abroad a Savior's love,  
And that shall kindle ours.

**Come to Calvary's holy mountain**

James Montgomery (1771–1854)

*ELHB* 1892, 64—Passion; *ELHB* 1912, 212—Passion: Good Friday

1 Come to Calvary's holy mountain,  
Sinners, ruined by the Fall;  
Here a pure and healing fountain  
Flows to you, to me, to all,  
In a full, perpetual tide,  
Opened when our Savior died.

2 Come in poverty and meanness,  
Come defiled, without, within;  
From infection and uncleanness,  
From the leprosy of sin,  
Wash your robes and make them white;  
Ye shall walk with God in light.

3 Come in sorrow and contrition,  
Wounded, impotent, and blind;  
Here the guilty free remission,  
Here the troubled peace, may find.  
Health this fountain will restore;  
He that drinks shall thirst no more.

4 He that drinks shall live forever;  
'Tis a soul-renewing flood.  
God is faithful; God will never  
Break His covenant in blood,  
Signed when our Redeemer died,  
Sealed when He was glorified.

### **Crown Him with many crowns**

Matthew Bridges (1800–94)

*SSH* 1901, 152; *ELHB* 1912, 104—The Redeemer

1 Crown Him with many crowns,  
The Lamb upon His throne;  
Hark! how the heav'nly anthem drowns  
All music but its own:  
Awake, my soul, and sing  
Of Him who died for thee,  
And hail Him as thy matchless King  
Through all eternity.

2 Crown Him the Virgin's Son,  
The God incarnate born,  
Whose arm those crimson trophies won  
Which now His brow adorn;  
Fruit of the mystic rose,  
As of that rose the stem;  
The root whence mercy ever flows,  
The Babe of Bethlehem.

3 Crown Him the Lord of love  
Behold His hands and side,  
Rich wounds, yet visible above,  
In beauty glorified.  
No angel in the sky  
Can fully bear that sight,  
But downward bends His wond'ring eye  
At mysteries so bright.

4 Crown Him the Lord of peace,  
Whose power a scepter sways  
From pole to pole, that wars may cease  
And all be prayer and praise.  
His reign shall know no end;  
And round his piercèd feet  
Fair flowers of paradise extend  
Their fragrance ever sweet.

5 Crown Him of Lord of years,  
The Potentate of time,  
Creator of the rolling spheres,  
Ineffably sublime.  
All hail, Redeemer, hail!  
For Thou hast died for me;  
Thy praise shall never, never fail  
Throughout eternity.

**Every morning mercies new**

Greville Phillimore (1821–84)

*SSH* 1901, 35; *ELHB* 1912, 28—Morning

1 Every morning mercies new  
Fall as fresh as morning dew;  
Every morning let us pay  
Tribute with the early day;  
For Thy mercies, Lord, are sure,  
Thy compassion doth endure.

2 Still the greatness of Thy love  
Daily doth our sins remove;  
Daily, far as east from west,  
Lifts the burden from the breast;  
Gives unbought, to those who pray  
Strength to stand in evil day.

3 Let our prayers each morn prevail  
That these gifts may never fail;  
And as we confess the sin  
And the tempter's power within,  
Feed us with the Bread of Life,  
Fit us for our daily strife.

4 As the morning light returns,  
As the sun with splendor burns,  
Teach us still to turn to Thee,  
Ever blessed Trinity,  
With our hands our hearts to raise  
In unfailing prayer and praise.

**Father of glory, to Thy name**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 125—Trinity; *ELHB* 1912, 267—Trinity

1 Father of glory, to Thy name  
Immortal praise we give,  
Who dost an act of grace proclaim  
And bid us rebels live.

2 Immortal honor to the Son,  
Who makes Thine anger cease;  
Our lives He ransomed with His own  
And died to make our peace.

3 To Thine almighty Spirit be  
Immortal glory given,  
Whose teachings bring us near to Thee  
And train us up for heaven.

4 Let men with their united voice  
Adore th' eternal God  
And spread His honors and their joys  
Through nations far abroad.

5 Let faith and love and duty join  
One grateful song to raise;  
Let saints in earth and heaven combine  
In harmony and praise.

**Father of heav'n, whose love profound**

Edward Cooper (1770–1833)

*ELHB* 1892, 126—Trinity; *ELHB* 1912, 269—Trinity

1 Father of heav'n, whose love profound

A ransom for our souls has found,  
Before Thy throne we sinners bend;  
To us Thy pardoning love extend.

2 Almighty Son, Incarnate Word,

Our Prophet, Priest, Redeemer, Lord,  
Before Thy throne we sinners bend;  
To us Thy saving grace extend.

3 Eternal Spirit, by whose breath

The soul is raised from sin and death,  
Before Thy throne we sinners bend;  
To us Thy quickening power extend.

4 Jehovah! Father, Spirit, Son,

Eternal Godhead, Three in One,  
Before Thy throne we sinners bend;  
Grace, pardon, life, to us extend.

**Father, in whom we live**

Charles Wesley (1707–88)

*ELHB* 1892, 124—Trinity; *ELHB* 1912, 270—Trinity

1 Father, in whom we live,  
In whom we are and move,  
All glory, power, and praise receive  
For Thy creating love.

2 O Thou incarnate Word,  
Let all Thy ransomed race  
Unite in thanks, with one accord,  
For Thy redeeming grace.

3 Spirit of Holiness,  
Let all Thy saints adore  
Thy sacred gifts and join to bless  
Thy heart-renewing power.

4 Eternal Triune Lord,  
Let all the hosts above,  
Let all the sons of men record,  
And dwell upon, Thy love.

**For Thy mercy and Thy grace**

Henry Downton (1818–85)

*ELHB* 1892, 41—New Year; *SSH* 1901, 124; *ELHB* 1912, 168—New Year

1 For Thy mercy and Thy grace,  
Constant through another year,  
Hear our song of thankfulness;  
Jesus, our Redeemer, hear!

2 Lo! our sins on Thee we cast,  
Thee, our perfect Sacrifice,  
And, forgetting all the past,  
Press unto our glorious prize.

3 Dark the future; let Thy light  
Guide us, bright and Morning Star:  
Fierce our foes and hard the fight;  
Arm us, Savior, for the war.

4 In our weakness and distress,  
Rock of strength, be Thou our Stay;  
In the pathless wilderness  
Be our true and living Way.

5 Who of us death's awful road  
In the coming year shall tread?  
With Thy rod and staff, O God,  
Comfort Thou his dying bed.

6 Keep us faithful, keep us pure,  
Keep us evermore Thine own;  
Help, O help us to endure;  
Fit us for the promised crown.

7 So within Thy palace gate  
We shall praise, on golden strings,  
Thee the only Potentate,  
Lord of lords, and King of kings.

**From Greenland's icy mountains**

Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

*ELHB* 1892, 144—The Word and the Church; *SSH* 1901, 281; *ELHB* 1912, 474—Church:  
Missions

1 From Greenland's icy mountains,  
From India's coral strand,  
Where Afric's sunny fountains  
Roll down their golden sand;  
From many an ancient river,  
From many a palmy plain,  
They call us to deliver  
Their land from error's chain.

2 What though the spicy breezes  
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,  
Though every prospect pleases  
And only man is vile;  
In vain with lavish kindness  
The gifts of God are strown;  
The heathen in his blindness  
Bows down to wood and stone.

3 Shall we, whose souls are lighted  
With wisdom from on high,—  
Shall we to men benighted  
The lamp of life deny?  
Salvation, O salvation!  
The joyful sound proclaim  
Till earth's remotest nation  
Has learned Messiah's name.

4 Waft, waft, ye winds, His story,  
And you, ye waters, roll,  
Till, like a sea of glory,  
It spreads from pole to pole;  
Till, o'er our ransomed nature  
The Lamb for sinners slain,  
Redeemer, King, Creator,  
In bliss returns to reign.

**Glorious things of thee are spoken**

John Newton (1725–1807)

*ELHB* 1892, 145—The Word and the Church; *SSH* 1901, 261; *ELHB* 1912, 464—Church: Glory of the Church

1 Glorious things of thee are spoken,  
Zion, city of our God;  
He whose word cannot be broken  
Formed thee for His own abode:  
On the Rock of ages founded,  
What can shake thy sure repose?  
With salvation's walls surrounded,  
Thou may'st smile at all thy foes.

2 See, the streams of living waters  
Springing from eternal love  
Well supply thy sons and daughters  
And all fear of want remove.  
Who can faint while such a river  
Ever flows their thirst t' assuage—  
Grace, which, like the Lord, the Giver,  
Never fails from age to age?

3 Savior, since of Zion's city  
I, through grace, a member am,  
Let the world deride or pity,  
I will glory in Thy name.  
Fading is the worldling's pleasure,  
All his boasted pomp and show;  
Solid joys and lasting treasure  
None but Zion's children know.

**KJV** (Isaiah 33:20–21)

Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken.

But there the glorious LORD will be unto us a place of broad rivers and streams; wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby.

## **Glory be to God the Father**

Horatius Bonar (1808–99)

*SSH* 1901, 3; *ELHB* 1912, 268—Trinity

1 Glory be to God the Father,  
Glory be to God the Son,  
Glory be to God the Spirit;  
Great Jehovah, Three in One!  
Glory, glory,  
While eternal ages run!

2 Glory be to Him who loved us,  
Washed us from each spot and stain;  
Glory be to Him who bought us,  
Made us kings with Him to reign!  
Glory, glory,  
To the Lamb that once was slain!

3 Glory to the King of angels,  
Glory to the Church's King,  
Glory to the King of nations;  
Heaven and earth, your praises bring!  
Glory, glory,  
To the King of glory bring!

4 Glory, blessing, praise eternal!  
Thus the choir of angels sings;  
Honor, riches, power, dominion!  
Thus its praise creation brings;  
Glory, glory,  
Glory to the King of kings!

### **Go to dark Gethsemane**

James Montgomery (1771–1854)

*ELHB* 1892, 66—Passion; *ELHB* 1912, 199—Passion: General

1 Go to dark Gethsemane,  
Ye that feel the Tempter's power;  
Your Redeemer's conflict see,  
Watch with Him one bitter hour;  
Turn not from His griefs away,  
Learn of Jesus Christ to pray.

2 Follow to the judgment-hall,  
View the Lord of life arraigned;  
Oh, the wormwood and the gall!  
Oh, the pangs His soul sustained!  
Shun not suffering, shame, or loss;  
Learn of Him to bear the cross.

3 Calvary's mournful mountain climb;  
There, adoring at His feet,  
Mark that miracle of time,  
God's own sacrifice complete.  
"It is finished!" hear Him cry;  
Learn of Jesus Christ to die.

4 Early hasten to the tomb  
Where they laid His breathless clay;  
All is solitude and gloom;—  
Who hath taken Him away?  
Christ is risen! He meets our eyes.  
Savior, teach us so to rise.

**God bless our native land**

Charles Timothy Brooks (1813–83) and John Sullivan Dwight (1812–93)  
*SSH* 1901, 468; *ELHB* 1912, 305—National

1 God bless our native land!  
Firm may she ever stand  
Through storm and night;  
When the wild tempests rave,  
Ruler of wind and wave,  
Do Thou our country save  
By Thy great might!

2 For her our prayer shall rise  
To God, above the skies;  
On Him we wait:  
Thou, Who art ever nigh,  
Guarding with watchful eye,  
To Thee aloud we cry,  
God save the State!

**God is Love; His mercy brightens**

John Bowring (1792–1872)

*ELHB* 1892, 342—Cross and Comfort; *ELHB* 1912, 510—Cross and Comfort

1 God is Love; His mercy brightens  
All the path in which we rove;  
Bliss He wakes, and woe He lightens:  
God is Wisdom, God is Love.

2 Chance and change are busy ever,  
Man decays, and ages move,  
But His mercy waneth never:  
God is Wisdom, God is Love.

3 E'en the hour that darkest seemeth  
Will His changeless goodness prove;  
From the gloom His brightness streameth:  
God is Wisdom, God is Love.

4 He with earthly cares entwined  
Hope and comfort from above;  
Everywhere His glory shineth:  
God is Wisdom, God is Love.

**God moves in a mysterious way**

William Cowper (1731–1800)

*ELHB* 1892, 344—Cross and Comfort; *ELHB* 1912, 524—Cross and Comfort

1 God moves in a mysterious way  
His wonders to perform;  
He plants His footsteps in the sea  
And rides upon the storm.

2 Deep in unfathomable mines  
Of never-failing skill  
He treasures up His bright designs  
And works His sovereign will.

3 Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take;  
The clouds ye so much dread  
Are big with mercy and shall break  
In blessings on your head.

4 Judge not the Lord by feeble sense,  
But trust Him for His grace;  
Behind a frowning providence  
He hides a smiling face.

5 His purposes will ripen fast,  
Unfolding every hour;  
The bud may have a bitter taste,  
But sweet will be the flower.

6 Blind unbelief is sure to err  
And scan His work in vain;  
God is His own interpreter,  
And He will make it plain.

**Grace! 'tis a charming sound**

Philip Doddridge (1702–51)

*ELHB* 1892, 210—Faith and Justification; *ELHB* 1912, 328—Faith and Justification

1 Grace! 'tis a charming sound,  
Harmonious to the ear;  
Heav'n with the echo shall resound,  
And all the earth shall hear.

2 Grace first contrived the way  
To save rebellious man;  
And all the steps that grace display  
Which drew the wondrous plan.

3 Grace first inscribed my name  
In God's eternal book;  
'Twas grace that gave me to the Lamb,  
Who all my sorrows took.

4 Grace led my roving feet  
To tread the heavenly road;  
And new supplies each hour I meet  
While pressing on to God.

5 Grace taught my soul to pray  
And made my eyes o'erflow;  
'Twas grace that kept me to this day  
And will not let me go.

6 Grace all the work shall crown  
Through everlasting days;  
It lays in heaven the topmost stone  
And well deserves the praise.

**Gracious Spirit, Dove divine**

John Stocker (ca. 1777)

*ELHB* 1892, 114—Pentecost; *SSH* 1901, 14; *ELHB* 1912, 253—Pentecost

1 Gracious Spirit, Dove divine,  
Let Thy light within me shine;  
All my guilty fears remove,  
Fill me with Thy heavenly love.

2 Speak Thy pardoning grace to me,  
Set the burdened sinner free;  
Lead me to the Lamb of God,  
Wash me in His precious blood.

3 Life and peace to me impart;  
Seal salvation on my heart;  
Dwell Thyself within my breast,  
Earnest of eternal rest.

4 Let me never from Thee stray,  
Keep me in the narrow way;  
Fill my soul with joy divine;  
Keep me, Lord, forever Thine.

**Great God, we sing that mighty Hand**

Philip Doddridge (1702–51)

*ELHB* 1892, 42—New Year; *ELHB* 1912, 167—New Year

1 Great God, we sing that mighty Hand  
By which supported still we stand;  
The opening year Thy mercy shows;  
Let mercy crown it till it close.

2 By day, by night, at home, abroad,  
Still we are guarded by our God,  
By His incessant bounty fed,  
By His unerring council led.

3 With grateful hearts the past we own;  
The future, all to us unknown,  
We to Thy guardian care commit  
And, peaceful, leave before Thy feet.

4 In scenes exalted or depressed  
Be Thou our Joy and Thou our Rest;  
Thy goodness all our hopes shall raise,  
Adored through all our changing days.

5 When death shall interrupt our songs  
And seal in silence mortal tongues,  
Our Helper, God, in whom we trust,  
In better worlds our soul shall boast.

**Great is the Lord, our God**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 146—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 458—Church: Dedication of a Church

1 Great is the Lord, our God,  
And let His praise be great;  
He makes the Church His own abode,  
His most delightful seat.

2 In Zion God is known,  
A refuge in distress;  
How bright has His salvation shone  
Through all her palaces!

3 Oft have our fathers told,  
Our eyes have often seen,  
How well our God secures the fold  
Where His own sheep have been.

4 In every new distress  
We'll to His house repair;  
We'll think upon His wondrous grace  
And seek deliverance there.

### **Hail to the Lord's Anointed**

James Montgomery (1771–1854)

*ELHB* 1892, 23—Advent and Christmas; *SSH* 1901, 116; *ELHB* 1912, 132—Advent

1 Hail to the Lord's Anointed,  
Great David's greater Son!  
Hail, in the time appointed,  
His reign on earth begun!  
He comes to break oppression,  
To set the captive free,  
To take away transgression,  
And rule in equity.

2 He comes with succor speedy  
To those who suffer wrong,  
To help the poor and needy,  
And bid the weak be strong;  
To give them songs for sighing;  
Their darkness turn to light,  
Whose souls, condemned and dying,  
Were precious in His sight.

3 He shall come down like showers  
Upon the fruitful earth;  
And love, joy, hope, like flowers,  
Spring in his path to birth.  
Before Him on the mountains  
Shall peace, the herald, go;  
And righteousness, in fountains,  
From hill to valley flow.

4 For Him shall prayer unceasing  
And daily vows ascend,  
His kingdom still increasing,  
A kingdom without end.  
The tide of time shall never  
His covenant remove;  
His name shall stand forever,—  
That name to us is Love.

**Hail, Thou once despised Jesus**

John Blakewell (1721–1819)

*ELHB* 1892, 67—Passion; *SSH* 1901, 293; *ELHB* 1912, 242—Intercession

1 Hail, Thou once despised Jesus!  
Hail, Thou Galilean King!  
Thou didst suffer to release us;  
Thou didst free salvation bring.  
Hail, Thou agonizing Savior,  
Bearer of our sin and shame!  
By Thy merits we find favor;  
Life is given through Thy name.

2 Paschal Lamb, by God appointed.  
All our sins on Thee were laid;  
By almighty love anointed,  
Thou hast full atonement made.  
All Thy people are forgiven  
Through the virtue of Thy blood;  
Open is the gate of heaven,  
Peace is made 'twixt man and God.

3 Jesus, hail, enthroned in glory,  
There forever to abide;  
All the heavenly host adore Thee,  
Seated at Thy Father's side.  
There for sinners Thou art pleading,  
There Thou dost our place prepare,  
Ever for us interceding,  
Till in glory we appear.

4 Worship, honor, power, and blessing  
Thou art worthy to receive;  
Loudest praises, without ceasing,  
Meet it is for us to give.  
Help, ye bright angelic spirits,  
Bring your sweetest, noblest lays;  
Help to sing our Savior's merits,  
Help to chant Immanuel's praise.

**Hark, the glad sound! the Savior comes**

Philip Doddridge (1702–51)

*ELHB* 1892, 24—Advent and Christmas; *SSH* 1901, 77; *ELHB* 1912, 139—Advent

1 Hark, the glad sound! the Savior comes,  
The Savior promised long;  
Let every heart prepare a throne  
And every voice a song.

2 He comes the prisoners to release,  
In Satan's bondage held;  
The gates of brass before Him burst,  
The iron fetters yield.

3 He comes from thickest films of vice  
To clear the mental ray  
And on the eyeballs of the blind  
To pour the heav'nly day.

4 He comes, the broken heart to bind,  
The bleeding soul to cure  
And with the treasures of His grace  
T' enrich the humble poor.

5 Our glad hosannas, Prince of Peace,  
Thy welcome shall proclaim.  
And heaven's eternal arches ring  
With Thy beloved name.

**Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty**

Reginald Heber (1783–1826)

*SSH* 1901, 212; *ELHB* 1912, 263—Trinity

1 Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty!  
Early in the morning our song shall rise to Thee;  
Holy, holy, holy! merciful and mighty!  
God in three persons, blessed Trinity!

2 Holy, holy, holy! All the saints adore Thee,  
Casting down their golden crowns around the glassy sea,  
Cherubim and seraphim falling down before Thee,  
Which wert and art and evermore shalt be.

3 Holy, holy, holy! Though the darkness hide Thee,  
Though the eye of sinful man Thy glory may not see,  
Only Thou art holy; there is none beside Thee,  
Perfect in power, in love, and purity.

4 Holy, holy, holy! Lord God Almighty!  
All Thy works shall praise Thy name in earth and sky and sea;  
Holy, holy, holy! merciful and mighty!  
God in three persons, blessed Trinity!

**How beauteous are their feet**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 148—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 490—Church: The Ministry

1 How beauteous are their feet  
Who stand on Zion's hill;  
Who bring salvation on their tongues  
And words of peace reveal!

2 How charming is their voice!  
How sweet their tidings are!  
“Zion, behold thy Savior-King!  
He reigns and triumphs here.”

3 How happy are our ears  
That hear this joyful sound  
Which kings and prophets waited for  
And sought, but never found!

4 How blessed are our eyes,  
That see this heavenly light!  
Prophets and kings desired it long,  
But died without the sight.

5 The watchmen join their voice  
And tuneful notes employ;  
Jerusalem breaks forth in songs,  
And deserts learn the joy.

6 The Lord makes bare His arm  
Through all the earth abroad.  
Let every nation now behold  
Their Savior and their God.

**I am trusting Thee, Lord Jesus**

Frances Ridley Havergal (1836–79)

*SSH* 1901, 333; *ELHB* 1912, 370—Sanctification: Trust

1 I am trusting Thee, Lord Jesus,  
Trusting only Thee;  
Trusting Thee for full salvation,  
Great and free.

2 I am trusting Thee for pardon,  
At Thy feet I bow;  
For Thy grace and tender mercy,  
Trusting now.

3 I am trusting Thee for cleansing  
In the crimson flood;  
Trusting Thee to make me holy  
By Thy blood.

4 I am trusting Thee to guide me;  
Thou alone shalt lead,  
Ev'ry day and hour supplying  
All my need.

5 I am trusting Thee for power,  
Thine can never fail;  
Words which Thou Thyself shalt give me  
Must prevail.

6 I am trusting Thee, Lord Jesus,  
Never let me fall;  
I am trusting Thee forever  
And for all.

**I know that my Redeemer lives**

Samuel Medley (1738–99)

*ELHB* 1892, 92—Easter; *SSH* 1901, 170; *ELHB* 1912, 229—Easter

1 I know that my Redeemer lives!  
What comfort this sweet sentence gives!  
He lives, He lives, who once was dead,  
He lives, my ever-living Head.

2 He lives triumphant from the grave,  
He lives eternally to save,  
He lives all-glorious in the sky,  
He lives exalted there on high.

3 He lives to bless me with His love,  
He lives to plead for me above,  
He lives my hungry soul to feed,  
He lives to help in time of need.

4 He lives to grant me rich supply,  
He lives to guide me with His eye,  
He lives to hear my soul's complaint,  
He lives to comfort me when faint.

5 He lives to silence all my fears,  
He lives to wipe away my tears,  
He lives to calm my troubled heart,  
He lives all blessings to impart.

6 He lives, my kind, wise, heavenly Friend,  
He lives and loves me to the end;  
He lives, and while He lives, I'll sing:  
He lives, my Prophet, Priest, and King!

7 He lives and grants me daily breath;  
He lives, and I shall conquer death;  
He lives my mansion to prepare;  
He lives to bring me safely there.

8 He lives, all glory to His name!  
He lives, my Jesus, still the same.  
O the sweet joy this sentence gives,  
"I know that my Redeemer lives!"

## **I love Thy Zion, Lord**

Timothy Dwight (1752–1817)

*ELHB* 1892, 151—The Word and the Church; *SSH* 1901, 264; *ELHB* 1912, 468—Church: Glory of the Church

1 I love Thy Zion, Lord,  
The house of Thine abode,  
The Church our blest Redeemer saved  
With His own precious blood.

2 I love Thy Church, O God!  
Her walls before Thee stand,  
Dear as the apple of Thine eye,  
And graven on Thy hand.

3 Should I with scoffers join  
Her altars to abuse?  
No! better far my tongue were dumb,  
My hand its skill should lose.

4 For her my tears shall fall,  
For her my prayers ascend,  
To her my cares and toils be given  
Till toils and cares shall end.

5 Beyond my highest joy  
I prize her heavenly ways,  
Her sweet communion, solemn vows,  
Her hymns of love and praise.

6 Jesus, Thou Friend Divine,  
Our Savior and our King,  
Thy hand from every snare and foe  
Shall great deliverance bring.

7 Sure as Thy truth shall last,  
To Zion shall be given  
The brightest glories earth can yield  
And brighter bliss of heaven.

**I would not live alway; I ask not to stay**

William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796–1877)

*ELHB* 1892, 376—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 535—Death and Burial

1 I would not live alway; I ask not to stay  
Where storm after storm rises dark o'er the way:  
The few lurid mornings that dawn on us here  
Are enough for life's woes, full enough for its cheer.

2 I would not live alway; thus fettered by sin,  
Temptation without and corruption within;  
E'en the rapture of pardon is mingled with fears  
And the cup of thanksgiving with penitent tears.

3 I would not live alway; no, welcome the tomb;  
Since Jesus hath lain there, I dread not its gloom.  
There sweet be my rest till He bid me arise  
To hail him in triumph descending the skies.

4 Who, who would live alway, away from His God?  
Away from yon heaven, that blissful abode,  
Where the rivers of pleasure flow o'er the bright plains,  
And the noontide of glory eternally reigns;

5 Where the saints of all ages in harmony meet,  
Their Savior and brethren transported to greet,  
While the anthems of rapture unceasingly roll  
And the smile of the Lord is the feast of the soul?

**I'm but a stranger here**

Thomas Taylor (1807–35)

*SSH* 1901, 451; *ELHB* 1912, 563—Heaven

1 I'm but a stranger here,  
Heav'n is my home;  
Earth is a desert drear,  
Heav'n is my home;  
Danger and sorrow stand  
Round me on every hand;  
Heav'n is my fatherland,  
Heav'n is my home.

2 What though the tempest rage,  
Heav'n is my home;  
Short is my pilgrimage,  
Heav'n is my home;  
And time's wild wintry blast  
Soon shall be overpast;  
I shall reach home at last,—  
Heav'n is my home.

3 There at my Savior's side—  
Heav'n is my home—  
I shall be glorified,—  
Heav'n is my home.  
There are the good and blest,  
Those I love most and best;  
And there I, too, shall rest,—  
Heav'n is my home.

4 Therefore I murmur not—  
Heav'n is my home—  
Whate'er my earthly lot,—  
Heav'n is my home;  
And I shall surely stand  
There at my Lord's right hand,—  
Heav'n is my fatherland,  
Heav'n is my home.

### **In the hour of trial**

James Montgomery (1771–1854)

*SSH* 1901, 434; *ELHB* 1912, 409—Catechism: Confirmation

1 In the hour of trial,  
Jesus, plead for me,  
Lest by base denial  
I depart from Thee.  
When Thou see'st me waver,  
With a look recall  
Nor for fear or favor  
Suffer me to fall.

2 With forbidden pleasures  
Would this vain world charm  
Or its sordid treasures  
Spread to work me harm.  
Bring to my remembrance  
Sad Gethsemane  
Or, in darker semblance  
Cross-crowned Calvary.

3 Should Thy mercy send me  
Sorrow, toil, and woe,  
Or should pain attend me  
On my path below,  
Grant that I may never  
Fail Thy hand to see;  
Grant that I may ever  
Cast my care on Thee.

4 When my last hour cometh,  
Fraught with strife and pain,  
When my dust returneth  
To the dust again,  
On Thy truth relying,  
Through that mortal strife,  
Jesus, take me, dying,  
To eternal life.

**In vain would boasting reason find**

Anne Steele (1716–78)

*ELHB* 1892, 153—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 122—God's Word

1 In vain would boasting reason find  
The path to happiness and God;  
Her weak directions leave the mind  
Bewildered in a doubtful road.

2 Jesus, Thy words alone impart  
Eternal life; on these I live;  
Here sweeter comforts cheer my heart  
Than all the powers of nature give.

3 Here let my constant feet abide;  
Thou art the true, the living Way.  
Let Thy good Spirit be my guide  
To the bright realms of endless day.

4 The various forms that men devise  
To shake my faith with treacherous art  
I scorn as vanity and lies  
And bind Thy Gospel to my heart.

**Jerusalem, my happy home**

F. B. P.

*ELHB* 1892, 391—Eternity; *SSH* 1901, 455; *ELHB* 1912, 558—Heaven

1 Jerusalem, my happy home,  
Name ever dear to me,  
When shall my labors have an end  
In joy and peace and Thee?

2 When shall these eyes thy heaven-built walls  
And pearly gates behold;  
Thy bulwarks with salvation strong  
And streets of shining gold?

3 O when, thou city of my God,  
Shall I thy courts ascend,  
Where evermore the angels sing,  
Where sabbaths have no end?

4 There happier bowers than Eden's bloom,  
Nor sin nor sorrow know;  
Blest seats! through rude and stormy scenes  
I onward press to you.

5 Why should I shrink from pain and woe  
Or feel at death dismay?  
I've Canaan's goodly land in view  
And realms of endless day.

6 Apostles, martyrs, prophets, there  
Around my Savior stand;  
And soon my friends in Christ below  
Will join the glorious band.

**Jesus shall reign where'er the sun**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 154—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 483—Church: Missions

1 Jesus shall reign where'er the sun  
Does his successive journeys run;  
His kingdom stretch from shore to shore  
Till moons shall wax and wane no more.

2 For Him shall endless prayer be made  
And endless praises crown His head;  
His name, like sweet perfume, shall rise  
With every morning sacrifice.

3 People and realms of every tongue  
Dwell on His love with sweetest song;  
And infant voices shall proclaim  
Their early blessings on His name.

4 Blessings abound where'er He reigns;  
The prisoner leaps to lose his chains,  
The weary find eternal rest,  
And all the sons of want are blest.

5 Where He displays His healing power,  
Death and the curse are known no more;  
In Him the tribes of Adam boast  
More blessings than their father lost.

6 Let every creature rise and bring  
Peculiar honors to our King;  
Angels descend with songs again,  
And earth repeat the loud Amen.

**Jesus, and shall it ever be**

Joseph Grigg (ca. 1728–68)

*ELHB* 1892, 228—The Redeemer; *SSH* 1901, 302; *ELHB* 1912, 91—The Redeemer

1 Jesus, and shall it ever be,  
A mortal man ashamed of Thee?  
Ashamed of Thee, whom angels praise  
Whose glories shine through endless days?

2 Ashamed of Jesus! Sooner far  
Let evening blush to own a star;  
He sheds the beams of light divine  
O'er this benighted soul of mine.

3 Ashamed of Jesus! Just as soon  
Let midnight be ashamed of noon.  
'Tis midnight with my soul till He,  
Bright Morning-Star, bids darkness flee.

4 Ashamed of Jesus! That dear Friend  
On whom my hopes of heaven depend!  
No; when I blush, be this my shame,  
That I no more revere His name.

5 Ashamed of Jesus! Yes, I may,  
When I've no guilt to wash away,  
No tear to wipe, no good to crave,  
No fears to quell, no soul to save.

6 Till then—nor is my boasting vain—  
Till then I boast a Savior slain;  
And, oh, may this my glory be,  
That Christ is not ashamed of me!

**Jesus, Lover of my soul**

Charles Wesley (1707–88)

*ELHB* 1892, 231—The Redeemer; *SSH* 1901, 301; *ELHB* 1912, 107—The Redeemer

1 Jesus, Lover of my soul,  
Let me to Thy bosom fly,  
While the waters nearer roll,  
While the tempest still is high.  
Hide me, O my Savior, hide,  
Till the storm of life is past;  
Safe into the haven guide;  
O receive my soul at last!

2 Other refuge have I none;  
Hangs my helpless soul on Thee;  
Leave, ah, leave me not alone,  
Still support and comfort me!  
All my trust on Thee is stayed,  
All my help from Thee I bring;  
Cover my defenseless head  
With the shadow of Thy wing.

3 Wilt Thou not regard my call?  
Wilt thou not accept my prayer?  
Lo! I sink, I faint, I fall;  
Lo! on Thee I cast my care.  
Reach me out Thy gracious hand!  
While I of Thy strength receive,  
Hoping against hope I stand,  
Dying, and behold, I live!

4 Thou, O Christ, art all I want;  
More than all in Thee I find.  
Raise the fallen, cheer the faint,  
Heal the sick, and lead the blind.  
Just and holy is Thy name;  
I am all unrighteousness:  
False and full of sin I am,  
Thou art full of truth and grace.

5 Plenteous grace with Thee is found,  
Grace to cover all my sin;  
Let the healing streams abound;  
Make and keep me pure within.  
Thou of life the Fountain art,  
Freely let me take of Thee;  
Spring Thou up within my heart,  
Rise to all eternity.

**Jesus! Name of wondrous love**

William Walsham How (1823–97)

*SSH* 1901, 334; *ELHB* 1912, 178—Circumcision

1 Jesus! Name of wondrous love,  
Name all other names above,  
Unto which must every knee  
Bow in deep humility.

2 Jesus! Name decreed of old,  
To the maiden mother told,  
Kneeling in her lowly cell,  
By the angel Gabriel.

3 Jesus! Name of priceless worth  
To the fallen sons of earth,  
For the promise that it gave,—  
“Jesus shall His people save.”

4 Jesus! Name of mercy mild,  
Given to the holy Child  
When the cup of human woe  
First He tasted here below.

5 Jesus! Only Name that’s given  
Under all the mighty heaven  
Whereby man, to sin enslaved,  
Bursts his fetters and is saved.

6 Jesus! Name of wondrous love,  
Human Name of God above.  
Pleading only this, we flee,  
Helpless, O our God, to Thee.

**Joy to the world, the Lord is come**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 27—Advent and Christmas; *SSH* 1901, 71; *ELHB* 1912, 158—Christmas

1 Joy to the world, the Lord is come!  
Let earth receive her King;  
Let every heart prepare Him room  
And heaven and nature sing.

2 Joy to the earth, the Savior reigns!  
Let men their songs employ,  
While fields and floods, rocks, hills, and plains  
Repeat the sounding joy.

3 No more let sins and sorrows grow  
Nor thorns infest the ground;  
He comes to make His blessings flow  
Far as the curse is found.

4 He rules the world with truth and grace  
And makes the nations prove  
The glories of His righteousness  
And wonders of His love.

**Just as I am, without one plea**

Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871)

*ELHB* 1892, 214—Faith and Justification; *SSH* 1901, 311; *ELHB* 1912, 318—Faith and Justification

1 Just as I am, without one plea  
But that Thy blood was shed for me  
And that Thou bid'st me come to Thee,  
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.

2 Just as I am and waiting not  
To rid my soul of one dark blot,  
To Thee, whose blood can cleanse each spot,  
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.

3 Just as I am, though tossed about  
With many a conflict, many a doubt,  
Fightings and fears within, without,  
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.

4 Just as I am, poor, wretched, blind;  
Sight, riches, healing of the mind,  
Yea, all I need, in Thee to find,  
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.

5 Just as I am, Thou wilt receive,  
Wilt welcome, pardon, cleanse, relieve;  
Because Thy promise I believe,  
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.

6 Just as I am, Thy love unknown  
Has broken every barrier down;  
Now to be Thine, yea, Thine alone,  
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.

**Lamp of our feet, whereby we trace**

Bernard Barton (1784–1849)

*SSH* 1901, 221; *ELHB* 1912, 119—God's Word

1 Lamp of our feet, whereby we trace  
Our path when wont to stray,  
Stream from the fount of heav'nly grace,  
Brook by the traveler's way;

2 Bread of our souls, whereon we feed,  
True manna from on high;  
Our guide and chart, wherein we read  
Of realms beyond the sky;

3 Pillar of fire, through watches dark,  
Or radiant cloud by day;  
When waves would break our tossing bark,  
Our anchor and our stay:—

4 Word of the ever-living God,  
Will of His glorious Son;  
Without thee, how could earth be trod  
Or heaven itself be won?

5 Lord, grant us all aright to learn  
The wisdom it imparts  
And to its heavenly teaching turn  
With simple, childlike hearts.

**Let songs of praises fill the sky**

Thomas Cotterill (1779–1823)

*ELHB* 1892, 116—Pentecost; *SSH* 1901, 188; *ELHB* 1912, 254—Pentecost

1 Let songs of praises fill the sky:  
Christ, our ascended Lord,  
Sends down His Spirit from on high  
According to His word:  
All hail the day of Pentecost,  
The coming of the Holy Ghost!

2 The Spirit by His heavenly breath  
Creates new life within;  
He quickens sinners from the death  
Of trespasses and sin:  
All hail the day of Pentecost,  
The coming of the Holy Ghost!

3 The things of Christ the Spirit takes  
And shows them unto men;  
The fallen soul His temple makes;  
God's image stamps again:  
All hail the day of Pentecost,  
The coming of the Holy Ghost!

3 Come, Holy Spirit, from above  
With Thy celestial fire;  
Come and with flames of zeal and love  
Our hearts and tongues inspire!  
Be this our day of Pentecost,  
The coming of the Holy Ghost!

**Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing**

John Fawcett (1740–1817)

*ELHB* 1892, 5—Sunday; *SSH* 1901, 23; *ELHB* 1912, 17—Close of Worship

1 Lord, dismiss us with Thy blessing,  
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.  
Let us each, Thy love possessing,  
Triumph in redeeming grace.  
O refresh us, O refresh us,  
Trav'ling through this wilderness.

2 Thanks we give and adoration  
For Thy Gospel's joyful sound.  
May the fruits of Thy salvation  
In our hearts and lives abound:  
May Thy presence, May Thy presence  
With us evermore be found.

3 So, whene'er the signal's given  
Us from earth to call away,  
Borne on angels' wings to heaven,  
Glad the summons to obey,  
May we, ready, May we, ready,  
Rise and reign in endless day.

**Lord, it belongs not to my care**

Richard Baxter (1615–91)

*ELHB* 1892, 355—Cross and Comfort; *ELHB* 1912, 496—Cross and Comfort

1 Lord, it belongs not to my care,  
Whether I die or live;  
To love and serve Thee is my share,  
And this Thy grace must give.

2 If life be long, I will be glad  
That I may long obey;  
If short, yet why should I be sad  
To soar to endless day?

3 Christ leads me through no darker rooms  
Than He went through before;  
He that into God's kingdom comes  
Must enter by this door.

4 Come, Lord, when grace has made me meet  
Thy blessed face to see;  
For if Thy work on earth is sweet,  
What will Thy glory be?

5 Then shall I end my sad complaints  
And weary, sinful days  
And join with the triumphant saints  
That sing Jehovah's praise.

6 My knowledge of that life is small,  
The eye of faith is dim;  
But 'tis enough that Christ knows all  
And I shall be with Him.

**Lord, we come before Thee now**

William Hammond (1719–83)

*SSH* 1901, 15; *ELHB* 1912, 7—Beginning of Worship

1 Lord, we come before Thee now;  
At Thy feet we humbly bow;  
Oh, do not our suit disdain!  
Shall we seek Thee, Lord, in vain?

2 Lord, on Thee, our souls depend;  
In compassion, now descend,  
Fill our hearts with Thy rich grace,  
Tune our lips to sing Thy praise.

3 In Thine own appointed way  
Now we seek Thee, here we stay:  
Lord, we know not how to go  
Till a blessing Thou bestow.

4 Send some message from Thy Word  
That may joy and peace afford;  
Let Thy Spirit now impart  
Full salvation to each heart.

5 Comfort those who weep and mourn,  
Let the time of joy return;  
Those that are cast down lift up,  
Strong in faith, in love, and hope!

6 Grant that those who seek may find  
Thee a God sincere and kind.  
Heal the sick, the captive free;  
Let us all rejoice in Thee.

**My hope is built on nothing less**

Edward Mote (1797–1874)

*ELHB* 1892, 427—Faith and Justification; *SSH* 1901, 304; *ELHB* 1912, 306—Faith and Justification

1 My hope is built on nothing less  
Than Jesus' blood and righteousness;  
I dare not trust the sweetest frame,  
But wholly lean on Jesus' name.  
On Christ, the solid Rock, I stand;  
All other ground is sinking sand.

2 When darkness veils His lovely face,  
I rest on His unchanging grace;  
In every high and stormy gale  
My anchor holds within the veil.  
On Christ, the solid Rock, I stand;  
All other ground is sinking sand.

3 His oath, His covenant, and blood  
Support me in the sinking flood;  
When every earthly prop gives way,  
He then is all my Hope and Stay.  
On Christ, the solid Rock, I stand;  
All other ground is sinking sand.

4 When I shall launch to worlds unseen,  
Oh, may I then be found in Him,  
Dressed in His righteousness alone,  
Faultless to stand before the throne!  
On Christ, the solid Rock, I stand;  
All other ground is sinking sand.

**My soul, repeat His praise**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 320—Praise; *SSH* 1901, 381; *ELHB* 1912, 77—Praise

1 My soul, repeat His praise,  
Whose mercies are so great;  
Whose anger is so slow to rise,  
So ready to abate.

2 God will not always chide;  
And when His wrath is felt,  
His strokes are fewer than our crimes  
And lighter than our guilt.

3 High as the heavens are raised  
Above the ground we tread,  
So far the riches of His grace  
Our highest thoughts exceed.

4 His grace subdues our sins;  
And His forgiving love  
Far as the east is from the west  
Doth all our guilt remove.

5 The pity of the Lord  
To those who fear His name  
Is such as tender parents feel;  
He knows our feeble frame.

6 Our days are as the grass  
Or like the morning flower;  
If one sharp blast sweep o'er the field,  
It withers in an hour.

7 But Thy compassions, Lord,  
To endless years endure;  
And children's children ever find  
Thy words of promise sure.

## **Nearer, my God, to Thee**

Henry Eyster Jacobs (1844–1932)

*SSH* 1901, 303; *ELHB* 1912, 324—Faith and Justification

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

2 Ages on ages rolled  
Ere earth appeared;  
Yet Thine unmeasured love  
The way prepared.  
E'en then Thou yearn'st for me  
That I might nearer be,  
Nearer to Thee!

3 Thy Son has come to earth  
My sin to bear,  
My every wound to heal,  
My pain to share.  
“God in the flesh” for me,  
Brings me now nearer Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!

4 Lo! all my debt is paid,  
My guilt is gone.  
See! He has ris'n for me,  
My throne is won.  
Thanks, O my God, to Thee!  
None now can nearer be,  
Nearer to Thee!

5 Welcome, then, to Thy home,  
Blest One in Three!  
As Thou hast promised, come!  
Come, Lord, to me!  
Work, Thou, O God, through me;  
Live, Thou, O God, in me,  
Ever in me!

6 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!

7 Surely it matters not  
What earth may bring,  
Death is of no account,  
Grace will I sing.  
Nothing remains for me  
Save to be nearer Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!

**Nearer, my God, to Thee**

Sarah Flower Adams (1805–48) and Hervey Doddridge Ganse (1822–91)

*ELHB* 1892, 448—Cross and Comfort; *SSH* 1901, 442; *ELHB* 1912, 520—Cross and Comfort

1 Nearer, my God, to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!  
E'en though it be a cross  
That raiseth me,  
Still all my song shall be,  
Nearer, my God, to Thee,  
Nearer, my God, to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!

2 Nearer, my Lord, to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!  
Who to Thy cross didst come  
Dying for me.  
Strengthen my willing feet,  
Hold me in service sweet  
Nearer, O Christ, to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!

3 Nearer, O Comforter,  
Nearer to Thee!  
Who with my loving Lord  
Dwellest with me.  
Grant me Thy fellowship,  
Help me each day to keep  
Nearer, my Guide, to Thee,  
Nearer to Thee!

4 But to be nearer still,  
Bring me, O God,  
Not by the visioned steeps  
Angels have trod.  
Here where Thy cross I see,  
Jesus, I wait for Thee,  
Then evermore to be  
Nearer to Thee!

**Not all the blood of beasts**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 73—Passion; *ELHB* 1912, 319—Faith and Justification

1 Not all the blood of beasts  
On Jewish altars slain,  
Could give the guilty conscience peace  
Or wash away the stain.

2 But Christ, the heavenly Lamb,  
Takes all our sins away;  
A sacrifice of nobler name  
And richer blood than they.

3 My faith would lay her hand  
On that dear head of Thine,  
While thus a penitent I stand  
And there confess my sin.

4 My soul looks back to see  
The burden Thou didst bear  
When hanging on the cursed tree,  
And knows her guilt was there.

5 Believing, we rejoice  
To see the curse remove;  
We bless the Lamb with cheerful voice  
And sing His bleeding love.

**Now the day is over**

Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924)

*SSH* 1901, 45; *ELHB* 1912, 45—Evening

1 Now the day is over,  
Night is drawing nigh,  
Shadows of the evening  
Steal across the sky.

2 Now the darkness gathers,  
Stars begin to peep,  
Birds, and beasts, and flowers  
Soon will be asleep.

3 Jesus, give the weary  
Calm and sweet repose;  
With Thy tenderest blessing  
May our eyelids close.

4 Through the long night-watches  
May Thine angels spread  
Their white wings above me,  
Watching round my bed.

5 When the morning wakens,  
Then may I arise  
Pure and fresh and sinless  
In Thy holy eyes!

6 Glory to the Father,  
Glory to the Son,  
And to Thee, blest Spirit,  
Whilst all ages run.

**O bless the Lord, my soul**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 322—Praise; *ELHB* 1912, 76—Praise

1 O bless the Lord, my soul!  
Let all within me join  
And aid my tongue to bless His name,  
Whose favors are divine.

2 O bless the Lord, my soul!  
Nor let His mercies lie  
Forgotten in unthankfulness  
And without praises die.

3 'Tis He forgives thy sins;  
'Tis He relieves thy pain;  
'Tis He that heals Thy sicknesses  
And gives thee strength again.

4 He crowns thy life with love  
When ransomed from the grave;  
He that redeemed my soul from death  
Hath sovereign power to save.

5 He fills the poor with good;  
He gives the sufferers rest:  
The Lord hath judgments for the proud  
And justice for th' oppressed.

6 His wondrous works and ways  
He made by Moses known,  
But sent the world His truth and grace  
By His beloved Son.

**O for a faith that will not shrink**

William Hiley Bathhurst (1796–1877)

*ELHB* 1892, 262—The Christian Life; *ELHB* 1912, 354—Sanctification: Consecration

1 O for a faith that will not shrink,  
Though pressed by many a foe;  
That will not tremble on the brink  
Of poverty or woe;

2 That will not murmur nor complain  
Beneath the chastening rod,  
But in the hour of grief or pain  
Can lean upon its God;

3 A faith that shines more bright and clear  
When tempests rage without;  
That, when in danger, knows no fear,  
In darkness feels no doubt;

4 That bears unmoved the world's dread frown  
Nor heeds its scornful smile;  
That sin's wild ocean cannot drown,  
Nor Satan's arts beguile;

5 A faith that keeps the narrow way  
Till life's last hour is fled  
And with a pure and heavenly ray  
Lights up a dying bed.

6 Lord, give us such a faith as this,  
And then, whate'er may come,  
We'll taste, e'en here, the hallowed bliss  
Of an eternal home.

**O God of Jacob, by whose hand**

Philip Doddridge (1702–51)

*ELHB* 1892, 264—The Christian Life; *ELHB* 1912, 364—Sanctification: Trust

1 O God of Jacob, by whose hand  
Thy people still are fed;  
Who through this weary pilgrimage  
Hast all our fathers led;

2 To Thee our humble vows we raise,  
To Thee address our prayer  
And in Thy kind and faithful breast  
Deposit all our care.

3 Through each perplexing path of life  
Our wandering footsteps guide;  
Give us each day our daily bread  
And raiment fit provide.

4 O spread Thy covering wings around  
Till all our wanderings cease  
And at our Father's loved abode  
Our souls arrive in peace.

5 To Thee, as to our covenant God,  
We'll our whole selves resign  
And thankful own that all we are,  
And all we have, is Thine.

## **O Paradise, O Paradise**

Frederick W. Faber (1814–63)

*ELHB* 1892, 450—Death and Burial; *SSH* 1901, 450; *ELHB* 1912, 561—Heaven

1 O Paradise, O Paradise,  
Who doth not crave for rest?  
Who would not seek the happy land  
Where they that loved are blest;  
Where loyal hearts, and true,  
Stand ever in the light,  
All rapture through and through,  
In God's most holy sight?

2 O Paradise, O Paradise,  
The world is growing old;  
Who would not be at rest and free  
Where love is never cold;  
Where loyal hearts, and true,  
Stand ever in the light,  
All rapture through and through,  
In God's most holy sight?

3 O Paradise, O Paradise,  
I greatly long to see  
The special place my dearest Lord  
In love prepares for me;  
Where loyal hearts, and true,  
Stand ever in the light,  
All rapture through and through,  
In God's most holy sight.

4 Lord Jesus, King of Paradise,  
Oh, keep me in Thy love  
And guide me to that happy land  
Of perfect rest above,  
Where loyal hearts, and true,  
Stand ever in the light,  
All rapture through and through,  
In God's most holy sight.

**O Thou, from whom all goodness flows**

Thomas Haweis (1732–1820)

*ELHB* 1892, 358—Cross and Comfort; *ELHB* 1912, 497—Cross and Comfort

1 O Thou, from whom all goodness flows,  
I lift my heart to Thee;  
In all my sorrows, conflicts, woes,  
Dear Lord, remember me!

2 When on my aching, burdened heart  
My sins lie heavily,  
My pardon speak, new peace impart;  
In love remember me.

3 Temptations sore obstruct my way,  
And ills I cannot flee.  
O give me strength, Lord, as my day;  
For good remember me!

4 Distressed with pain, disease, and grief,  
This feeble body see;  
Grant patience, rest, and kind relief;  
Hear and remember me!

5 When in the solemn hour of death  
I wait Thy just decree,  
Be this the prayer of my last breath,  
Good Lord, remember me!

6 And when before Thy throne I stand  
And lift my soul to Thee,  
Then with the saints at Thy right hand,  
Good Lord, remember me!

**O'er the distant mountains breaking**

John Samuel Bewley Monsell (1811–75)

*SSH* 1901, 452; *ELHB* 1912, 548—The Judgment

1 O'er the distant mountains breaking  
Comes the redd'ning dawn of day;  
Rise, my soul, from sleep awaking,  
Rise, and sing, and watch, and pray;  
'Tis thy Savior, 'tis thy Savior,  
On His bright returning way.

2 Come, O long-expected, weary  
Waits my anxious soul for Thee;  
Life is dark, and earth is dreary,  
Where Thy light I do not see;  
O my Savior, O my Savior,  
When wilt Thou return to me?

3 Nearer is my soul's salvation,  
Spent the night, the day at hand;  
Keep me in my humble station,  
Watching for Thee, till I stand,  
O my Savior, O my Savior,  
In Thy bright, Thy promised land,

4 With my lamp well-trimmed and burning,  
Swift to hear and loath to roam,  
Watching for Thy glad returning,  
To restore me to my home.  
Come, my Savior, Come, my Savior,  
Thou hast promised: quickly come.

**One sweetly solemn thought**

Phoebe Cary (1824–71)

*SSH* 1901, 443; *ELHB* 1912, 531—Death and Burial

1 One sweetly solemn thought  
Comes to me o'er and o'er,—  
Nearer my home to-day am I  
Than e'er I've been before;

2 Nearer my Father's house,  
Where the many mansions be;  
Nearer to-day the great white throne;  
Nearer the crystal sea;

3 Nearer the bound of life  
Where burdens are laid down;  
Nearer to leave the heavy cross;  
Nearer to gain the crown.

4 But, lying dark between,  
Winding down through the night,  
There rolls the silent, unknown stream  
That leads at last to light.

5 E'en now, perchance, my feet  
Are slipping on the brink,  
And I to-day am nearer home,  
Nearer than now I think.

6 Father, perfect my trust;  
Strengthen my spirit's faith;  
Nor let me stand at last alone  
Upon the shore of death.

**Our country's voice is pleading**

Maria Frances Anderson (1819–95)

*ELHB* 1892, 407—The Word and the Church; *SSH* 1901, 278; *ELHB* 1912, 472—Church:  
Missions

1 Our country's voice is pleading,  
Ye men of God, arise!  
His providence is leading,  
The land before you lies;  
Day-gleams are o'er it brightening,  
And promise clothes the soil;  
Wide fields, for harvest whitening,  
Invite the reaper's toil.

2 Go, where the waves are breaking  
On California's shore,  
Christ's precious Gospel taking,  
More rich than golden ore;  
On Alleghany's mountains,  
Through all the Western vale,  
Beside Missouri's fountains,  
Rehearse the wondrous tale.

3 The love of Christ unfolding,  
Speed on from east to west,  
Till all, His cross beholding,  
In Him are fully blest.  
Great Author of salvation,  
Haste, haste the glorious day,  
When we, a ransomed nation,  
Thy scepter shall obey.

## **Our God, our Help in ages past**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 383—Death and Burial; *ELHB* 1912, 172—New Year

*Watts*

1 Our God, our Help in ages past,  
Our Hope for years to come,  
Our Shelter from the stormy blast,  
And our eternal Home!

2 Under the shadow of Thy throne  
Thy saints have dwelt secure;  
Sufficient is Thine arm alone,  
And our defense is sure.

3 Before the hills in order stood  
Or earth received her frame,  
From everlasting Thou art God,  
To endless years the same.

4 A thousand ages in Thy sight  
Are like an evening gone;  
Short as the watch that ends the night  
Before the rising sun.

5 Thy word commands our flesh to dust:  
“Return, ye sons of men!”  
All nations rose from earth at first  
And turn to earth again.

6 Time, like an ever-rolling stream,  
Bears all its sons away;  
They fly forgotten, as a dream  
Dies at the opening day.

7 Like flowery fields the nations stand,  
Pleased with the morning light;  
The flowers beneath the mower’s hand  
Lie withering ere ’tis night.

8 Our God, our Help in ages past,  
Our Hope for years to come,  
Be Thou our Guard while troubles last  
And our eternal Home!

*KJV (Psalm 90)*

1 Lord, thou has been our dwelling  
place in all generations.

2 Before the mountains were brought  
forth, or ever thou hadst formed the  
earth and the world, even from ever-  
lasting to everlasting, thou art God.

4 For a thousand years in thy sight are  
but as yesterday when it is past, and as  
a watch in the night.

3 Thou turnest man to destruction;  
and says, Return ye children of men.

5 Thou carriest them away as with a  
flood; they are as a sleep: in the  
morning they are like grass which  
groweth up.

6 In the morning it flourisheth, and  
growth up, in the evening it is cut  
down and withereth.

**Our heavenly Father, hear**

James Montgomery (1771–1854)

*ELHB* 1892, 413—Catechism; *SSH* 1901, 352; *ELHB* 1912, 397—Catechism: Law—Creed—Prayer

1 Our heavenly Father, hear  
The prayer we offer now;  
Thy name be hallowed far and near,  
To Thee all nations bow.

2 Thy kingdom come; Thy will  
On earth be done in love,  
As saints and seraphim fulfill  
Thy holy will above.

3 Our daily bread supply  
While by Thy word we live;  
The guilt of our iniquity  
Forgive as we forgive.

4 From dark temptation's power,  
From Satan's wiles defend;  
Deliver in the evil hour  
And guide us to the end.

5 Thine shall forever be  
Glory and power divine;  
The scepter, throne, and majesty  
Of heaven and earth are Thine.

## **Our Lord is risen from the dead**

Charles Wesley (1707–88)

*ELHB* 1892, 104—Ascension; *ELHB* 1912, 232—Ascension

1 Our Lord is risen from the dead,  
Our Jesus is gone up on high;  
The powers of hell are captive led,  
The Victor rises to the sky.

2 There His triumphal chariot waits,  
And angels chant the solemn lay:  
“Lift up your heads, ye heavenly gates!  
Ye everlasting doors, give way!”

3 Loose all your bars of massy light  
And wide unfold the radiant scene.  
He claims these mansions as His right;  
Receive the King of glory in!

4 Who is the King of glory, who?  
The Lord, who all His foes o’ercame,  
The world, sin, death, and hell o’erthrew;  
And Jesus is the Conqueror’s name.”

5 Lo! His triumphal chariot waits,  
And angels chant the solemn lay:  
“Lift up your heads, ye heavenly gates;  
Ye everlasting doors, give way!”

6 Who is the King of glory, who?  
The Lord, of glorious power possest;  
The King of saints and angels too,  
God over all, forever blest!

**Rock of Ages, cleft for me**

Augustus Montague Toplady (1741–78)

*ELHB* 1892, 220—Faith and Justification; *SSH* 1901, 292; *ELHB* 1912, 325—Faith and Justification

1 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.

2 Not the labors of my hands  
Can fulfill Thy Law's demands;  
Could my zeal no respite know,  
Could my tears forever flow,  
All for sin could not atone;  
Thou must save, and Thou alone.

3 Nothing in my hand I bring,  
Simply to Thy Cross I cling;  
Naked, come to Thee for dress;  
Helpless, look to Thee for grace;  
Foul, I to the fountain fly,—  
Wash me, Savior, or I die!

4 While I draw this fleeting breath,  
When my eyelids close in death,  
When I soar to worlds unknown,  
See Thee on Thy judgment throne,  
Rock of ages, cleft for me,  
Let me hide myself in Thee!

**Savior, again to Thy dear name we raise**

John Ellerton (1826–93)

*SSH* 1901, 56; *ELHB* 1912, 16—Close of Worship

1 Savior, again to Thy dear name we raise  
With one accord our parting hymn of praise;  
Once more we bless Thee ere our worship cease;  
Then, lowly bending, wait Thy word of peace.

2 Grant us Thy peace upon our homeward way;  
With Thee began, with Thee shall end the day;  
Guard Thou the lips from sin, the hearts from shame,  
That in this house have called upon Thy name.

3 Grant us Thy peace, Lord, through the coming night,  
Turn Thou for us its darkness into light;  
From harm and danger keep Thy children free,  
For dark and light are both alike to Thee.

4 Grant us Thy peace throughout our earthly life,  
Our balm in sorrow and our stay in strife;  
Then, when Thy voice shall bid our conflict cease,  
Call us, O Lord, to Thine eternal peace.

**Savior, when in dust to Thee**

Robert Grant (1779–1838)

*ELHB* 1892, 78—Passion; *SSH* 1901, 351; *ELHB* 1912, 213—Passion: Good Friday

1 Savior, when in dust to Thee  
Low we bow th' adoring knee,  
When, repentant, to the skies  
Scarce we lift our weeping eyes,  
Oh, by all Thy pains and woe,  
Suffered once for man below,  
Bending from Thy throne on high,  
Hear our solemn litany!

2 By Thy helpless infant years,  
By Thy life of want and tears,  
By Thy days of sore distress  
In the savage wilderness,  
By the dread, mysterious hour  
Of th' insulting Tempter's power:  
Turn, O turn, a favoring eye,  
Hear our solemn litany!

3 By Thine hour of dire despair,  
By Thine agony of prayer,  
By the cross, the nail, the thorn,  
Piercing spear, and torturing scorn;  
By the gloom that veiled the skies  
O'er the dreadful sacrifice:  
Listen to our humble cry,  
Hear our solemn litany!

4 By Thy deep expiring groan;  
By the sad sepulchral stone;  
By the vault, whose dark abode  
Held in vain the rising God:  
Oh, from earth to heaven restored,  
Mighty, reascended Lord,  
Listen, listen to the cry  
Of our solemn litany!

**Savior, who Thy flock art feeding**

William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796–1877)

*ELHB* 1892, 274—The Christian Life; *ELHB* 1912, 449—Catechism: Marriage—Family—Children

1 Savior, who Thy flock art feeding  
With the Shepherd's kindest care,  
All the feeble gently leading,  
While the lambs Thy bosom share,—

2 Now, these little ones receiving,  
Fold them in Thy gracious arm;  
There, we know, Thy Word believing,  
Only there secure from harm.

3 Never, from Thy pasture roving,  
Let them be the Lion's prey;  
Let Thy tenderness, so loving,  
Keep them through life's dangerous way.

4 Then within Thy fold eternal  
Let them find a resting-place,  
Feed in pastures ever vernal,  
Drink the rivers of Thy grace.

### **Stricken, smitten, and afflicted**

Thomas Kelly (1769–1854)

*ELHB* 1892, 81—Passion; *SSH* 1901, 135; *ELHB* 1912, 209—Passion: Good Friday

1 Stricken, smitten, and afflicted,  
See Him dying on the tree!  
'Tis the Christ by man rejected;  
Yes, my soul, 'tis He! 'tis He!  
'Tis the long-expected Prophet,  
David's Son, yet David's Lord;  
Proofs I see sufficient of it:  
'Tis the true and faithful Word.

2 Tell me, ye who hear Him groaning,  
Was there ever grief like His?  
Friends through fear His cause disowning,  
Foes insulting His distress;  
Many hands were raised to wound Him,  
None would interpose to save;  
But the deepest stroke that pierced Him  
Was the stroke that Justice gave.

3 Ye who think of sin but lightly,  
Nor suppose the evil great,  
Here may view its nature rightly,  
Here its guilt may estimate.  
Mark the Sacrifice appointed!  
See who bears the awful load;  
'Tis the WORD, the LORD'S ANOINTED,  
Son of Man and Son of God.

4 Here we have a firm foundation;  
Here the refuge of the lost;  
Christ's the Rock of our salvation:  
His the name of which we boast;  
Lamb of God, for sinners wounded!  
Sacrifice to cancel guilt!  
None shall ever be confounded  
Who on Him their hope have built.

**Sun of my soul, Thou Savior dear**

John Keble (1792–1866)

*ELHB* 1892, 305—Evening; *SSH* 1901, 428; *ELHB* 1912, 42—Evening

1 Sun of my soul, Thou Savior dear,  
It is not night if Thou be near;  
Oh, may no earth-born cloud arise  
To hide Thee from Thy servant's eyes!

2 When the soft dews of kindly sleep  
My wearied eyelids gently steep,  
Be my last thought how sweet to rest  
Forever on my Savior's breast.

3 Abide with me from morn till eve,  
For without Thee I cannot live;  
Abide with me when night is nigh,  
For without Thee I dare not die.

4 If some poor wandering child of Thine  
Has spurned to-day the voice divine,  
Now, Lord, the gracious work begin;  
Let him no more lie down in sin.

5 Watch by the sick, enrich the poor  
With blessings from Thy boundless store;  
Be every mourner's sleep to-night,  
Like infant's slumbers, pure and light.

6 Come near and bless us when we wake,  
Ere through the world our way we take;  
And lead us by Thy hand of love  
Until we reach our home above.

## Ten thousand times ten thousand

Henry Alford (1810–71)

*SSH* 1901, 456; *ELHB* 1912, 288—All Saints

1 Ten thousand times ten thousand  
In sparkling raiment bright,  
The armies of the ransomed saints  
Throng up the steeps of light.  
'Tis finished! all is finished,  
Their fight with death and sin;  
Fling open wide the golden gates,  
And let the victors in.

2 What rush of alleluias  
Fills all the earth and sky!  
What ringing of a thousand harps  
Bespeaks the triumph night!  
O day, for which creation  
And all its tribes were made;  
O joy, for all its former woes  
A thousand-fold repaid!

3 Oh, then what raptured greetings  
On Canaan's happy shore;  
What knitting severed friendships up,  
Where partings are no more!  
Then eyes with joy shall sparkle  
That brimmed with tears of late;  
Orphans no longer fatherless  
Nor widows desolate.

4 Bring near Thy great salvation,  
Thou Lamb for sinners slain;  
Fill up the roll of Thine elect,  
Then take Thy power and reign.  
Appear, Desire of nations,  
Thine exiles long for home;  
Show in the heav'ns Thy promised sign;  
Thou Prince and Savior, come!

### **The Church's one foundation**

Samuel John Stone (1839–1900)

*SSH* 1901, 273; *ELHB* 1912, 466—Church: Glory of the Church

1 The Church's one foundation  
Is Jesus Christ her Lord;  
She is His new creation  
By water and the Word.  
From heav'n He came and sought her  
To be His holy bride;  
With His own blood He bought her,  
And for her life He died.

2 Elect from every nation,  
Yet one o'er all the earth,  
Her charter of salvation  
One Lord, one faith, one birth.  
One holy name she blesses,  
Partakes one holy food,  
And to one hope she presses,  
With every grace endued.

3 Though with a scornful wonder  
This world sees her oppressed,  
By schisms rent asunder,  
By heresies distressed,  
Yet saints their watch are keeping;  
Their cry goes up, "How long?"  
And soon the night of weeping  
Shall be the morn of song.

4 Mid toil and tribulation  
And tumult of her war  
She waits the consummation  
Of peace forevermore,  
Till with the vision glorious  
Her longing eyes are blest  
And the great Church victorious  
Shall be the Church at rest.

5 Yet she on earth has union  
With God, the Three in One,  
And mystic sweet communion  
With those whose rest is won.  
O happy ones and holy!  
Lord, give us grace that we,  
Like them, the meek and lowly,  
On high may dwell with Thee.

**The Lord my pasture shall prepare**

Joseph Addison (1672–1719)

*ELHB* 1892, 241—The Redeemer; *SSH* 1901, 324; *ELHB* 1912, 85—The Redeemer

1 The Lord my pasture shall prepare  
And feed me with a shepherd's care;  
His presence shall my wants supply  
And guard me with a watchful eye;  
My noonday walks he shall attend  
And all my midnight hours defend.

2 While on the sultry glebe I faint  
Or on the thirsty mountain pant,  
To fertile vales and dewy meads  
My ever wandering steps He leads,  
Where peaceful rivers soft and slow  
Amid the verdant landscape flow.

3 Though in a bare and rugged way,  
Through devious lonely wilds I stray,  
Thy bounty shall my pains beguile;  
The barren wilderness shall smile,  
With sudden green and herbage crowned,  
And streams shall murmur all around.

4 Though in the paths of death I tread,  
With gloomy horrors overspread,  
My steadfast heart shall fear no ill,  
For Thou, O Lord, art with me still;  
Thy friendly crook shall give me aid  
And guide me through the dreadful shade.

## **The Lord my Shepherd is**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*SSH* 1901, 310; *ELHB* 1912, 374—Sanctification: Trust

1 The Lord my Shepherd is,  
I shall be well supplied:  
Since He is mine and I am His,  
What can I want beside?

2 He leads me to the place  
Where heavenly pasture grows,  
Where living waters gently pass  
And full salvation flows.

3 If e'er I go astray,  
He doth my soul reclaim  
And guides me in His own right way  
For His most holy name.

4 While He affords His aid,  
I cannot yield to fear;  
Though I should walk through death's dark shade,  
My Shepherd's with me there.

5 The bounties of Thy love  
Shall crown my following days;  
Nor from Thy house will I remove  
Nor cease to speak Thy praise.

**The man is ever blest**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 278—The Christian Life; *ELHB* 1912, 341—Sanctification: Obedience

1 The man is ever blest  
Who shuns the sinners' ways,  
Among their counsels never stands,  
Nor takes the scorners' place;

2 But makes the Law of God  
His study and delight  
Amid the labors of the day  
And watches of the night.

3 He like a tree shall thrive,  
With waters near the root;  
Fresh as the leaf his name shall live,  
His works are heavenly fruit.

4 Not so th' ungodly race,  
They no such blessings find;  
Their hopes shall flee like empty chaff  
Before the driving wind.

5 How will they bear to stand  
Before that judgment-seat  
Where all the saints at Christ's right hand  
In full assembly meet?

6 He knows and He approves  
The way the righteous go;  
But sinners and their works shall meet  
A dreadful overthrow.

**The morning light is breaking**

Samuel Francis Smith (1808–95)

*SSH* 1901, 289; *ELHB* 1912, 471—Church: Missions

1 The morning light is breaking;  
The darkness disappears;  
The sons of earth are waking  
To penitential tears;  
Each breeze that sweeps the ocean  
Brings tidings from afar  
Of nations in commotion,  
Prepared for Zion's war.

2 See heathen nations bending  
Before the God we love,  
And thousand hearts ascending  
In gratitude above;  
While sinners, now confessing,  
The gospel call obey  
And seek the Savior's blessing,  
A nation in a day.

3 Blest river of salvation,  
Pursue thy onward way;  
Flow thou to every nation,  
Nor in thy richness stay;  
Stay not till all the lowly  
Triumphant reach their home;  
Stay not till all the holy  
Proclaim, "The Lord is come!"

**The Savior calls; let every ear**

Anne Steele (1716–78)

*ELHB* 1892, 166—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 47—Invitation

1 The Savior calls; let every ear  
Attend the heavenly sound,  
Ye doubting souls, dismiss your fear;  
Hope smiles reviving round.

2 For every thirsty, longing heart  
Here streams of bounty flow  
And life and health and bliss impart  
To banish mortal woe.

3 Here springs of sacred pleasure rise  
To ease your every pain;  
Immortal fountain! full supplies!  
Nor shall you thirst in vain.

4 Ye sinners, come, 'tis Mercy's voice;  
The gracious call obey:  
Mercy invites to heavenly joys,  
And can you yet delay?

5 Dear Savior, draw reluctant hearts;  
To Thee let sinners fly  
And take the bliss Thy love imparts  
And drink and never die.

### **The Spirit in our hearts**

Henry Onderdonk (1789–1858)

*ELHB* 1892, 167—The Word and the Church; *ELHB* 1912, 52—Invitation

1 The Spirit in our hearts  
Is whispering, “Sinner, come!”  
The Bride, the Church of Christ, proclaims  
To all His children, “Come!”

2 Let him that heareth say  
To all about him, “Come!”  
Let him that thirsts for righteousness  
To Christ, the Fountain, come.

3 Yes, whosoever will,  
O let him freely come  
And freely drink the stream of life;  
'Tis Jesus bids him come.

4 Lo, Jesus, who invites,  
Declares, “I quickly come.”  
Lord, even so; I wait Thine hour;  
Jesus, my Savior, come!

**There is a land of pure delight**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 397—Eternity; *ELHB* 1912, 560—Heaven

1 There is a land of pure delight,  
Where saints immortal reign;  
Eternal day excludes the night,  
And pleasures banish pain.

2 There everlasting spring abides,  
And never-withering flowers;  
Death, like a narrow sea, divides  
This heavenly land from ours.

3 Sweet fields, beyond the swelling flood,  
Stand dressed in living green;  
So to the Jews old Canaan stood,  
While Jordan rolled between.

4 But timorous mortals start and shrink  
To cross this narrow sea,  
And linger, shivering, on the brink  
And fear to launch away.

5 O could we make our doubts remove,  
Those gloomy doubts that rise,  
And view the Canaan that we love,  
With unclouded eyes:

6 Could we but climb where Moses stood  
And view the landscape o'er,  
Not Jordan's stream nor death's cold flood  
Should fright us from the shore.

**Thine forever, God of love**

Mary Fawler Maude (1819–1913)

*ELHB* 1892, 410—The Word and the Church; *SSH* 1901, 258; *ELHB* 1912, 411—Catechism:  
Confirmation

1 Thine forever, God of love!  
Hear us from Thy throne above;  
Thine forever may we be  
Here and in eternity.

2 Thine forever, Lord of life!  
Shield us through our earthly strife;  
Thou, the Life, the Truth, the Way,  
Guide us to the realms of day.

3 Thine forever! O how blest  
They who find in Thee their rest!  
Savior, Guardian, heavenly Friend,  
O defend us to the end!

4 Thine forever! Savior, keep  
These Thy frail and trembling sheep!  
Safe alone beneath Thy care,  
Let us all Thy goodness share.

5 Thine forever! Thou our Guide,  
All our wants by Thee supplied,  
All our sins by Thee forgiven;  
Lead us, Lord, from earth to heaven.

**This is the day the Lord hath made**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 13—Sunday; *ELHB* 1912, 129—The Lord's Day

1 This is the day the Lord hath made;  
He calls the hours His own;  
Let heaven rejoice, let earth be glad,  
And praise surround the throne.

2 To-day He rose and left the dead,  
And Satan's empire fell;  
To-day the saints His triumph spread  
And all His wonders tell.

3 Hosanna to th' anointed King,  
To David's holy Son;  
Help us, O Lord; descend and bring  
Salvation from Thy throne.

4 Blest be the Lord, who comes to men  
With messages of grace;  
Who comes in God His Father's name  
To save our sinful race.

5 Hosanna in the highest strains  
The Church on earth can raise!  
The highest heavens, in which He reigns,  
Shall give Him nobler praise.

**Thou art the Way; to Thee alone**

George Washington Doane (1791–1859)

*ELHB* 1892, 242—The Redeemer; *ELHB* 1912, 94—The Redeemer

1 Thou art the Way; to Thee alone  
From sin and death we flee;  
And he who would the Father seek,  
Must seek Him, Lord, by Thee.

2 Thou art the Truth; Thy Word alone  
True wisdom can impart;  
Thou only canst inform the mind  
And purify the heart.

3 Thou art the Life; the rending tomb  
Proclaims Thy conquering arm;  
And those who put their trust in Thee  
Nor death nor hell shall harm.

4 Thou art the Way, the Truth, the Life;  
Grant us that Way to know,  
That Truth to keep, that Life to win,  
Whose joys eternal flow.

**Through the day Thy love hath spared us**

Thomas Kelly (1769–1854)

*ELHB* 1892, 308—Evening; *ELHB* 1912, 43—Evening

1 Through the day Thy love hath spared us,  
Now we lay us down to rest;  
Through the silent watches guard us,  
Let no foe our peace molest:  
Jesus, Thou our Guardian be;  
Sweet it is to trust in Thee.

2 Pilgrims here on earth, and strangers,  
Dwelling in the midst of foes,  
Us and ours preserve from dangers:  
In Thine arms may we repose  
And, when life's sad day is past,  
Rest with Thee in heaven at last.

3 Triune God, let all adore Thee,  
Saints on earth and saints in heav'n;  
Every creature bow before Thee,  
Who hast all their being giv'n,  
Who dost seek and save the lost;  
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

### **What a Friend we have in Jesus**

Joseph Scriven (1820–86)

*ELHB* 1892, 431—*The Christian Life*; *SSH* 1901, 315; *ELHB* 1912, 395—Catechism: Law—  
Creed—Prayer

1 What a Friend we have in Jesus,  
All our sins and griefs to bear!  
What a privilege to carry  
Everything to God in prayer!  
Oh, what peace we often forfeit,  
Oh, what needless pain we bear,—  
All because we do not carry  
Everything to God in prayer!

2 Have we trials and temptations?  
Is there trouble anywhere?  
We should never be discouraged,  
Take it to the Lord in prayer.  
Can we find a Friend so faithful,  
Who will all our sorrows share?  
Jesus knows our every weakness,—  
Take it to the Lord in prayer.

3 Are we weak and heavy laden,  
Cumbered with a load of care?  
Precious Savior, still our Refuge,—  
Take it to the Lord in prayer.  
Do thy friends despise, forsake thee?  
Take it to the Lord in prayer;  
In His arms He'll take and shield thee,  
Thou wilt find a solace there.

**When all Thy mercies, O my God**

Joseph Addison (1672–1719)

*ELHB* 1892, 334—Praise; *ELHB* 1912, 72—Praise

1 When all Thy mercies, O my God,  
My rising soul surveys,  
Transported with the view, I'm lost  
In wonder, love, and praise.

2 Ten thousand thousand precious gifts  
My daily thanks employ;  
Nor is the least a cheerful heart,  
That tastes those gifts with joy.

3 Through every period of my life  
Thy goodness I'll pursue;  
And after death, in distant worlds,  
The glorious theme renew.

4 When nature fails, and day and night  
Divide Thy works no more,  
My ever grateful heart, O Lord,  
Thy mercy shall adore.

5 Through all eternity to Thee  
A joyful song I'll raise;  
But oh! eternity's too short  
To utter all Thy praise.

**When I survey the wondrous cross**

Isaac Watts (1674–1748)

*ELHB* 1892, 86—Passion; *SSH* 1901, 149; *ELHB* 1912, 204—Passion: Good Friday

1 When I survey the wondrous cross  
On which the Prince of glory died,  
My richest gain I count but loss  
And pour contempt on all my pride.

2 Forbid it, Lord, that I should boast  
Save in the death of Christ, my God;  
All the vain things that charm me most,  
I sacrifice them to His blood.

3 See, from His head, His hands, His feet,  
Sorrow and love flow mingled down!  
Did e'er such love and sorrow meet  
Or thorns compose so rich a crown?

4 Were the whole realm of nature mine,  
That were a tribute far too small;  
Love so amazing, so divine,  
Demands my soul, my life, my all.

**When streaming from the eastern skies**

William Shrubsole (1759–1829)

*ELHB* 1892, 294—Morning; *ELHB* 1912, 19—Morning

1 When streaming from the eastern skies,  
The morning light salutes mine eyes,  
O Sun of righteousness divine,  
On me with beams of mercy shine,  
Chase the dark clouds of sin away,  
And turn my darkness into day.

2 When to heaven's great and glorious King  
My morning sacrifice I bring,  
And, grieving o'er my guilt and shame,  
Ask mercy, Savior, in Thy name,  
My conscience sprinkle with Thy blood  
And be my advocate with God.

3 When each day's scenes and labors close,  
And wearied nature seeks repose,  
With pardoning mercy, richly blest,  
Guard me, my Savior, while I rest;  
And as each morning's sun shall rise,  
O lead me onward to the skies.

4 And at my life's last setting sun,  
My conflict o'er, my labors done,  
Jesus, Thy heavenly radiance shed,  
To cheer and bless my dying bed;  
And from death's gloom my spirit raise  
To see Thy face and sing Thy praise.

**While with ceaseless course the sun**

John Newton (1725–1807)

*ELHB* 1892, 49—New Year; *ELHB* 1912, 163—End of the Year

1 While with ceaseless course the sun  
Hasted through the former year,  
Many souls their race have run,  
Nevermore to meet us here;  
Fixed in an eternal state,  
They have done with all below;  
We a little longer wait,  
But how little, none can know.

2 As the wingèd arrow flies  
Speedily, the mark to find;  
As the lightning from the skies  
Darts and leaves no trace behind;  
Swiftly thus our fleeting days  
Bear us down life's rapid stream.  
Upward, Lord, our spirits raise;  
All below is but a dream.

3 Thanks for mercies past receive,  
Pardon of our sins renew,  
Teach us henceforth how to live  
With eternity in view.  
Bless Thy Word to young and old,  
Fill us with a Savior's love;  
And when life's short tale is told,  
May we dwell with Thee above.

**Zion stands with hills surrounded**

Thomas Kelly (1769–1854)

*ELHB* 1892, 170—The Word and the Church; *SSH* 1901, 263; *ELHB* 1912, 465—Church: Glory of the Church

1 Zion stands with hills surrounded,  
Zion, kept by power divine;  
All her foes shall be confounded,  
Though the world in arms combine.  
Happy Zion,  
What a happy lot is thine!

2 Every human tie may perish,  
Friend to friend unfaithful prove,  
Brothers cease their own to cherish,  
Heaven and earth at last remove:  
But no changes  
Can attend Jehovah's love.

3 In the furnace God may prove thee,  
Thence to bring thee forth more bright,  
But can never cease to love thee;  
Thou art precious in His sight;  
God is with thee,  
God, thine everlasting Light.

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