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THE HYMNALS OF THE
LUTHERAN CHURCH--MISSOURI SYNOD

MISSOURI SYNOD

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Practical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by

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Short Title

HYMNALS OF THE MISSOURI SYNOD

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CHAPTER I

MISSOURI SYNOD HYMNALS

When one looks for a history of The Lutheran Hymnal and its predecessors in both English and German, there is nothing to be found except Carl Schalk's recent study.¹ No books, no pamphlets, no periodical articles provide the story of the Missouri Synod hymnals.

At the suggestion, then, of Dr. Walter E. Buszin this task was undertaken: to write a history of the hymnals used by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Such a study would be helpful in understanding the selection of hymns in the present hymnal, The Lutheran Hymnal. It would also provide answers to questions like "Who prepared these hymnals?," "When were they prepared?," "In what way were they compiled and edited?" and "What influences do they reflect?"

The scope of this study, then, is the hymns in the Missouri Synod hymnals. It encompasses the needs that brought them into being, the people who prepared them, the problems encountered in publishing them, the acceptance they received and the contribution they have made to the church.

Thus it deals mainly with the materials and people within the Missouri Synod and does not seek particularly to

¹Carl Schalk, The Roots of Hymnody in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965).

relate the hymnals to hymnals of other Lutheran bodies in the United States, nor does it seek to indicate what the future hymnological needs may be for the Lutheran Church. It tries merely to describe the historical setting and the contribution of the Missouri Synod's official hymnals in the Synod's first century. (In this study no attempt is made to discuss the developments after 1947.)

The organization of this study is simple. There are three hymnals which have "official" character within the Missouri Synod: the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden, a German hymnal from 1847; the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes, the first Missouri Synod hymnal in English; and, The Lutheran Hymnal, a revision of the earlier English hymnal. Each of these hymnals is discussed in its own context; the development of each is described separately. The relationship between the three hymnals is presented more fully in the final chapter. In general, the story of each hymnal incorporates the need for that hymnal, its compilation, its publication and general reaction to it.

The significance of this study for the present is quite apparent since The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is in the process of preparing a revision of The Lutheran Hymnal. This revision, however, is only a temporary hymnal. The intention is to join other synods in America in providing an English

hymnal which will be common to all, in liturgical materials, hymn texts, and hymn tunes.

In studying the Missouri Synod hymnals it becomes apparent what background and contribution the Missouri Synod can bring to a common hymnal for Lutherans in America. The intention of this investigation, it is to be noted again, is not to suggest what directions should be taken in the future; the intention is rather to track the course already taken. This may, it is hoped, assist in understanding how future needs in hymnody can be met.

The contribution of the Missouri Synod on the American scene has already been described in part by Carl Schalk's monograph. He calls attention to two motifs in particular:

(1) a concern for confessionally, yet evangelically orthodox hymnody; (2) a vigorous encouragement of the use of the rhythmic form of the chorale as the best means for recapturing the vital musical expression of Reformation times.²

These motifs he has traced through the Missouri Synod hymnals, but mainly he has described the developments in connection with the German hymnal. Although he summarizes the transition to the English language within the Missouri Synod and the two hymnals produced for worshiping in the English language it was not his intention to tell the full story of these two.

²Ibid., p. 7.

For the history of the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden the major sources were these: the minutes of Trinity Congregation in St. Louis, the congregation which published it in 1847; the pages of Der Lutheraner with its comments on the Lutheran scene in America during the last half of the nineteenth century; various articles in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly; and, Moving Frontiers, a collection of documents from the history of the Missouri Synod.

For the history of the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes the major sources were these: the pages of The Lutheran Witness which recorded many opinions and events concerning the transition to English; the proceedings of the synod which became the English District of the Missouri Synod and the proceedings of the Missouri Synod itself; articles in the Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly; a master's thesis on August Crull by Glen K. Johnson; and, an unpublished manuscript by William G. Polack entitled "Historical Background of the Lutheran Hymnal."

The major sources for the history of The Lutheran Hymnal were: the minutes and official reports of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee; Polack's "Historical Background of the Lutheran Hymnal"; the proceedings of the Missouri Synod, as well as the reports and memorials from the conventions from 1926-1947; various articles in

The Lutheran Witness and The American Lutheran; and, letters written by members of the committee which prepared the hymnal.

When these sources had been consulted, the hymnals themselves studied and other materials gathered, these pieces of information were arranged in a somewhat chronological order and presented, then, in the pages of this study. Attention is given, mainly, to what is reported by those who were directly involved in the preparation of these hymnals. However, the judgments and opinions of others more removed are not overlooked. An attempt is therefore made to present the story of these three hymnals in their proper perspective.

It was found that the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden was prepared by Trinity Congregation in St. Louis and eventually given to the Missouri Synod. In this hymnal were preserved the best German Lutheran hymns in as original a form as was possible in the 1840's. This basic collection was augmented on two occasions, but never significantly changed. The tune and accompaniment books prepared as companion volumes for it provided the chorale melodies in a rhythmic form, according to the research of the first half of the nineteenth century. It was, therefore, a unique endeavor to preserve the texts and tunes of the Reformation hymnody for German Lutherans in America.

The Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes began as a much smaller collection, selected and translated mainly from the Kirchengesangbuch. August Crull was the compiler; the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States prepared it for publication in 1889. It was revised and enlarged in 1892, incorporating more English hymns. A full revision with the tunes appeared in 1912, just one year after that synod became the English District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. This hymnbook became the official English hymnal for the Missouri Synod until 1941. It too retained the rhythmic form of the chorale melodies.

In 1941 The Lutheran Hymnal, a complete revision of the 1912 English hymnal, was published. But, this was a hymnal for more than just the Missouri Synod; it was prepared by a committee made up of members from each of the four synods in the Synodical Conference. It brought together the hymns from the German, Norwegian, English and American traditions. It was both American and Lutheran in its selection and, in general, contained only those hymns which had already stood the test of time. It also incorporated the rhythmic form of the chorale tunes.

These three hymnals, then, are the three official hymnbooks in the Missouri Synod's history and are discussed in the following pages.

CHAPTER II

THE KIRCHENGESANGBUCH

The first and longest-lived hymnal for The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod was the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession.¹ Its story reaches back to Europe before the Saxon fathers of the Missouri Synod emigrated to America. Its appearance was an answer to a problem which German Lutheran settlers encountered in America. Its publication was an ambitious but successful undertaking of a small group of St. Louis Lutherans. The rhythmical tunes which became associated with it are due to farsightedness and a desire to keep some of the Reformation fervor connected with many of the chorales. And, finally, the later editions did not essentially alter the original selection of hymns; a few more hymns were merely appended.

European Background

¹Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession darin des seligen D. Martin Luthers und anderer geistreichen Lehrer gebräuchlichste Kirchen-Lieder enthalten sind (New York: Gedruckt für die Herausgeber bei H. Ludwig, Im Verlag der deutschen evang. luth. Gemeinde u. A. C. in St. Louis, Mo., 1847). For subsequent references in this study this title will be shortened to Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden.

Since the Saxon founders of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod prepared a hymnal within the first ten years after their arrival in America it is necessary to look at the European environment from which they came. This will suggest certain concerns which their selection of hymns sought to reflect and certain pitfalls they wished to avoid.

The story of the German hymn among Lutherans begins with Luther himself. Luther tried to retain the general form and order of service to which the Christians of Germany were accustomed for centuries. But, he found that "he needed German hymns for the services which he intended to have conducted chiefly in the vernacular."² In answer to this need there appeared in 1524 the so-called Achtliederbuch, which contained such hymns in the German language. The last hymnal in which Luther had a direct hand is the so-called Babst'sche Gesangbuch of 1545. This contained the standard collection of hymns for most German hymnals until the middle of the seventeenth century. This "canon" of important Lutheran hymns can be referred to as the Kernlieder.³

²P. E. Kretzmann, "Luther's Use of Medieval Latin Hymns," Concordia Theological Monthly, II (April 1931), 261. Cf. also Liturgy and Hymns, edited by Ulrich S. Leupold, in Luther's Works (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), LIII, 191-210.

³Christhard Mahrenholz, Das Evangelische Kirchengesangbuch (Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1950), p. 6.

These Kernlieder formed the basic core of the hymns used in Lutheran services until 1714. To the Kernlieder in a German hymnal would be added an appendix containing various other editorial selections. After the appearance of J. A. Freylinghausen's Geistreichen Gesang-Buch, den Kern Alter und Neuer Lieder in 1714, Luther's hymns were no longer so prominent in hymnals although Freylinghausen's collection did contain thirty-three of Luther's hymns.⁴

With Pietism came an emphasis on the Christian life. Formalism and indifferentism were attacked by such men as Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke. The primary effects of Pietism included a high degree of emotionalism, emphasis on the study of the Bible, abandonment of the doctrinal forms of old Lutheran theology and a separatistic attitude toward the established church. The old emphasis on hymns for liturgical worship gave way to an emphasis on hymns for private devotion. This resulted in more hymns of a personal nature being included in hymnals and in fewer Kernlieder being incorporated. In short, these hymnals became less and less a Kirchengesangbuch and more and more a Hausgesangbuch.⁵ Pietism, then, propagated hymns for small gatherings of Christians rather than hymns for church services.

⁴Paul Gabriel, "Geschichte des Kirchenliedes," Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch, edited by Christhard Mahrenholz and Oskar Söhngen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), II, Zweiter Teil, 30.

⁵Mahrenholz, p. 9.

Rationalism too rejected the Kernlieder. In its hymnody Rationalism sought to express Christianity more in terms of a moral system. Doctrines like the vicarious atonement and justification by faith were considered untenable in an "enlightened" age. Within the framework of the official church the Rationalists tried to modify hymnals, catechisms and other religious books to conform to their ideas.⁶

And with Rationalism came the hymnbooks issued by various territories in Germany. These were collections of hymns for all occasions and all people within the territory, Lutheran or Reformed. A union of these two groups was promoted by having them sing from a common collection of hymns.⁷ The compilers also reduced the number of tunes in the hymnal so that many texts would be sung to a single hymn melody. For example, the Neue Gothaische Gesangbuch für die öffentliche Gottesverehrung und für die häusliche Andacht of 1828, which contained some one thousand songs, used the tune "O dass ich tausend Zungen hätte" 109 times and the tune "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort" 49 times.⁸

⁶Walter O. Forster, Zion on the Mississippi (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), p. 13.

⁷Mahrenholz, p. 10.

⁸Walter Blankenburg, "Geschichte der Melodien des Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuchs," Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch, edited by Christhard Mahrenholz and Oskar Söhngen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957) II, Zweiter Teil, 111.

To such revision there was, understandably, reaction.⁹ The Prussian territories, which were generally Lutheran, were subjected to Fredrick Wilhelm III's declaration on the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation that the Lutheran and Reformed churches were to be brought together. Part of the implementation of this policy was common worship materials. The most important publication was the 1812 revision of the Agenda. "The intention was that the new forms should not offend anyone."¹⁰ A major part of the reaction to this was a renewed study of Luther and the Lutheran Confessions. And, closely tied with this return to Luther and the Lutheran Confessions was a revival of interest in the hymnody of the Reformation.

The first third of the nineteenth century witnessed a number of important hymnals as part of the revival. The year 1818 saw Johann Arnold Kanne's Auserlesenen christlichen Lieder, gesammelt von einer Freundin. In 1825 at Heidelberg there appeared Wilhelmi's Liederkrone. In 1831 at Basel Karl von Raumer's Sammlung geistlicher Lieder was published. Kaufmann Samuel Elsner's Geistliche Liederschatz appeared in

⁹Number eighty-four of Claus Harm's Ninety-five Theses specifically objects to the acceptance of reason. He felt it would cause "confusion in the authorized and accepted agendas, hymnals, and catechisms," as well as contradictions. Carl S. Meyer, editor, Moving Frontiers (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), p. 68.

¹⁰Forster, p. 26.

1832 in Berlin and in 1833 at Hamburg Josias von Bunsen's Versuch eines allgemeinen evangelischen Gesang- und Gebetbuches.¹¹

Karl von Raumer's collection Sammlung geistlicher Lieder is worthy of further discussion. Within the movement for a common songbook came Raumer's assembling of three hundred, at the most four hundred, proven Kernlieder which would be useful to the Christian churches of Germany.¹² Basically, the selection presented those hymns which had stood the test of time. And it also presented those which were found in most old songbooks.¹³ In 1832 the Evang. Kirchenzeitung, Number 27, comments, according to Dietz's report, concerning Raumer's collection:

es sei ein vollständiges, ein Aecht Evangelisches und ein auch in poetischer Hinsicht auserlesenes Gesangbuch.¹⁴

Thus it was considered a fine collection already soon after it was published. A second and revised edition appeared in 1846.¹⁵

¹¹Wilhelm Nelle, Geschichte des deutschen evangelischen Kirchenliedes (Vierte, unveränderte Auflage; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), p. 286.

¹²Mahrenholz, p. 11.

¹³Philipp Dietz, Die Restauration des evangelischen Kirchenliedes (Marburg: N. K. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), p. 20.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 174.

¹⁵Karl von Raumer, Sammlung geistlicher Lieder (Zweite, vermehrte Auflage; Stuttgart: Verlag von S. K. Liesching, 1846).

The research of yet one more man is important for the Saxon Lutherans in America. Friedrich Layriz's Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs first appeared in 1844.

Though Layriz followed close on the heels of men like Raumer, his approach to hymnody was different in two respects. First, according to Dietz, Layriz limited his choice of hymns to the period from Luther to Gellert, namely 1524-1769. The 450 Lieder he selected include 216 from the Luther to Hermann period, 230 from the Gerhardt to Freylinghausen period, and 4 from the time of Gellert. Thus Layriz avoided judging recently composed hymns as worthy or unworthy.

Second, Layriz was greatly interested in presenting the tune in a more original form than it was used in his day. The tunes were originally quite rhythmical but through the influences of Pietism and Rationalism had been equalled out (almost all notes made equal in length). Although he was only one pioneer in this task of recovering the original forms of the melodies, Layriz was important for the Lutherans in St. Louis.¹⁶

In short, the real significance of Layriz's work was that he chose only those melodies and tunes which were "echt

¹⁶It is to be noted that the work of Layriz, Zahn and others did not bear fruit in Germany until the twentieth century, when the rhythmical forms of the chorale tunes were restored to common usage in German hymnals.

Kirchliche."¹⁷ The title Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs, then, amply describes the contents of his hymnal.

Among the various movements toward confessional revival and resistance to unionism was that which sought relief by emigration to the United States. The founders of the Missouri Synod came from the Stephanite movement in Saxony, the Lutheran resistance to the Prussian union and the revival of Lutheranism in Franconia.

Among the Stephanites was C. F. W. Walther, a young pastor at Braunsdorf. He was so determined to keep rationalistic books from his people that he did more than complain. When the parish teacher selected and had approved by the school board various rationalistic texts, Walther refused to permit the use of these books. By obtaining a donation of conservative texts, Walther was able to convince the congregation that it was sound economy to make use of them. Such determination clearly shows that he desired to keep his people from being misled by rationalistic teachings.¹⁸

Though the actual reasons for emigration by the Saxon fathers were never absolutely stated it is clear that economic,

¹⁷Dietz, p. 231. See also the foreward to Layriz's Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs where he states that the selection was made on the basis of what would be most churchly for congregational worship. Friedrich Layriz, Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck'schen Buchhandlung, 1844). This was a collection of two hundred hymns with four-part harmonizations.

¹⁸Forster, pp. 79-80.

political and religious reasons caused them to emigrate. Apparently, an important religious reason was their wish to preserve the truth of the Gospel for themselves and their children.

In November of 1838 they set sail from Bremerhaven, Germany. After they had arrived at New Orleans and sailed up the Mississippi in river steamers, the last of them arrived in St. Louis on February 19, 1839. Land was then purchased in Perry County where most of them settled.¹⁹

Thus the "Old Lutheran" settlers found themselves in a new land with new freedoms in worshipping but also with new challenges and new responsibilities in supplying the tools for this worship.

American Problem

Among the challenges and responsibilities in the new world was that of providing a Lutheran hymnbook for German Lutherans. It had to be in German, for that was the language which the settlers spoke. It had to be Lutheran, for that was one of the main reasons they emigrated to America--in Germany they had found it difficult to continue in an "Old Lutheran" tradition.

¹⁹Forster, pp. 224-225. Cf. Walter A. Baepler, A Century of Grace (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 28-32.

The hymnbooks brought by the settlers were not much help on the American scene. First, there was a multiplicity of hymnals. Each settler brought the hymnbook from his own territory in Germany. The very texts of the stanzas, as well as the number of stanzas in a hymn, often varied considerably.

At times four, five, or even six different hymnals were in use at one service in a given congregation.²⁰

The multiplicity of hymnals, therefore, made the situation at times rather impractical because the numbers of one hymn would have to be announced for several different hymnals.

Second, the wording of the same hymn might vary from hymnal to hymnal. And these various wordings might reflect an alteration in the doctrinal content.²¹ Some settlers had left such books in the old country. Friedrich Wyneken's Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nord-Amerika, a tract to describe the distress of German Lutherans in America, claims that many had lost their taste for their hymnbooks because of the enlightenment. Consequently, he says, it was "not worth the effort to stretch out your hand for the revised hymnbooks."²² The lack of a common text, then, made the situation

²⁰Meyer, p. 181. Cf. William G. Polaack, Founders and Fathers (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938), p. 44.

²¹Meyer, pp. 181-182.

²²Ibid., p. 93. Cf. a discussion of "Die Gesangbücher der 'evangelisch-lutherischen' Landeskirche Hannovers" which was submitted to Der Lutheraner by a reader in Germany and appeared in 1867. The conclusion of the writer concerning

impractical and the doctrinal alterations made it a "dangerous" situation for the Saxon settlers.

Was there any hymnal published in Germany that they might have found practical and acceptable for use in America? Johann K. Wilhelm Loehe, who gave particular attention to the Lutherans who emigrated to America and who sent hundreds of pastors to the settlers in America, did recommend a hymnbook. In his handwritten instructions to Georg W. Hättstedt in 1844 he recommended Raumer's hymnal:

As hymnal we recommend to you the new edition of Raumer's small hymnal, which will be perfectly adequate in the initial stages.²³

Thus Loehe suggested Karl von Raumer's Sammlung geistlicher Lieder, but only as a temporary hymnbook for use in America.²⁴

the hymnbook is this: "Es liegt nun auf der Hand, dass derartige Gesangbücher einer lutherischen Kirche unwürdig und dass sie schädlich sind," Der Lutheraner, XXXII (October 1, 1867), 148. Among the criticisms are these: "Es giebt verschiedene Gesangbücher in der Hannover'schen Landeskirche-- aber kein einziges, welches die reine Lehre unvermischt enthält." Later on he says, "Es fehlen treffliche Kernlieder darin, statt dessen ist Ueberfluss an wertlosen, ja schädlichen Reimereien aus der Zeit des Rationalismus." Ibid., p. 147. Such judgments of nineteenth century hymnbooks were not isolated among the "Old Lutherans."

²³Meyer, p. 100.

²⁴As mentioned above, this hymnbook by Raumer was significant because it contained those hymns which had stood the test of time and which could be found in most of the earlier Lutheran hymnals. It contained the Kernlieder and therefore was without a doubt Lutheran in character. In a list of books advertised in Der Lutheraner in 1855 by H. R. Schwegman is found "Sammlung geistlicher Lieder von Raumer." Copies of this hymn collection, then, did make their way to America. Der Lutheraner, XI (February 13, 1855), 104.

A major problem, of course, would exist in supplying America with a Lutheran hymnal published in Germany.

The next question is quite obvious: were there any hymnals published in America that could be used by the German Lutherans? By 1860 several had been published which carried the title "Lutheran."

Part of the problem with the German hymnbooks published in America, says Arthur C. Repp, was that "hymnbooks were published not for a Lutheran market, but for a German market."²⁵ This was a result of the weakness of confessionalism and perhaps even more significantly because the "ties of language between Germans were stronger than the ties of religion."²⁶ Among such hymnals was a 245 hymn collection by Paul Henkel, published already in 1810 with a second edition appearing in 1820.²⁷ This uniting of German Protestants, which was part of the age, was also reflected in the German hymnals published in America. Prussian Union

At several places in Der Lutheraner during the early years of the Missouri Synod one finds discussions of hymnals from other Lutheran circles in America.

One such hymnal, published in America, is discussed at some length in a series of four open letters signed by

²⁵Arthur C. Repp, "The Lutheran Church in America a Century Ago," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XX (July 1947), 68.

²⁶Ibid., p. 71.

²⁷Ibid., p. 78.

"Andreas" in 1849. The letters were addressed to his brother "Jakob." The hymnal is referred to as the "amerikanisch-luth. und reform. Gesangbuch." Andreas, the farmer who wrote the letters, was searching for a truly Lutheran hymnbook which would reflect God's Word and the Lutheran Confessions. He had searched through each page of this hymnbook in order to evaluate it. His conclusion was this:

es ist ein Buch für allerlei Leute, aber kaum für einen wahren Christen, am allerwenigsten für einen gläubigen und treuen Lutheraner.²⁸

Upon his close and detailed examination the basic criticisms were these: (1) some hymns suggest work-righteousness as a way of salvation,²⁹ (2) the main Lutheran communion hymns (Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam, Jesus

²⁸"Von dem Amerikanisch- luth. und reform. Gesangbuch," Der Lutheraner, V (June 12, 1849), 167. The title of this hymnal was Neues Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch zum Gemeinden in Nord-Amerika and was published by Wilhelm Radde in 1849. Cf. Carl Schalk, The Roots of Hymnody in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), p. 20. According to its 1849 title page, the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden was also available from Wilhelm Radde. Some years later Wilhelm Radde also published a Neues Gesangbuch für Gemeinden der Evangelischen Kirche, Eine Sammlung der vorzüglichsten Kernlieder aus den Jahren 1400 bis 1850; nebst erbaulichen Gebeten und den sonn- und festtäglicher Evangelien und Episteln, und einem Melodien-Anhange (New York: Verlag von Wilhelm Radde, 1881).

²⁹Der Lutheraner, V (June 12, 1849), p. 168. See also Der Lutheraner, V (July 24, 1849), 192, and (August 7, [sic] 1849), 203.

Christus unser Heiland, and Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet) were missing and the texts of the communion hymns which were included fit the reformed theology much better,³⁰ (3) many texts were altered (either important doctrinal stanzas were omitted or words were changed to weaken and destroy the doctrinal content), and (4) many Kernlieder did not appear, in fact, not one of Luther's hymns was discovered.³¹

In 1850 a second series of letters appeared in Der Lutheraner. This time it was Jakob writing to Andreas.³² These letters refer to the "St. Louis Gesangbuch" (obviously the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden) as "rein Lutherische."³³ The main topic of discussion in this set of letters was the "neue lutherische pennsylvanische Gesangbuch."

The criticism of this hymnal was that it adulterated and abbreviated "alte reine Kernlieder." For example, in the hymn "Komm mein Herz in Jesu Leiden" the third stanza normally

³⁰"Von dem amerikanisch.-luth. und reformirten Gesangbuch," Der Lutheraner, V (August 7, 1849), 197-198.

³¹"Von dem amerikanisch.-luth. und reformirten Gesangbuch," Der Lutheraner, V (August 7 [sic], 1849), 204.

³²A footnote indicates that the letters came from a reader who was not a member of the Missouri Synod.

³³"Die Kirchen-Gesangbücher," Der Lutheraner, VII (October 1, 1850), 20. The reference here is, apparently, to the Deutsches Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten (Philadelphia: Druck und Verlag von L. A. Wollenweber, 1849).

read "Hier darf Leib und Seel ihn essen," but was changed rather significantly.

Da ist ein rein lutherische Lehre von Sakrament des Altars nach Inhalt der Concordienformel "dass man Christi Leib und Blut mit dem Munde geniesse,"-- entschieden ausgedrückt. Aber in Pensylvanischen [sic] heisst es: "darf ich da mich ihm verbinden:"-- ein grosser Unterschied.³⁴

Similarly, when the "neue lutherische pennsylvanische Gesangbuch" omitted verses Jakob claimed that they "viel an Güte verloren haben."³⁵ Therefore, he felt that this hymnbook could not lay claim to being "Lutheran."³⁶

Another aspect is this: the new Pennsylvania hymnbook took over a number of false, pietistic hymns from Germany and some Methodist hymns from America. The foreword to the hymnal explained the reasons, says Jakob.

In genanter Vorrede heisst es zwar, die Herausgeber hätten die Absicht gehabt, "Nichts gutes Altes zu nehmen, nur gutes neues zugeben;"--allein wie das Versprechen gehalten sei, davon geben die vielen alten vortrefflichen, aber hier veränderten und abkürzten Lieder, genügend Beweis; es ist just umgekehrt; viel gutes Altes ist genommen, viel schlechtes

³⁴"Die Kirchen-Gesangbücher," Der Lutheraner, VII (October 15, 1850), 27. Likewise in discussing a hymn that seems to distort the teaching on justification by faith Jakob writes: "O! wenn man die herrlichen Bekenntnisschriften unserer Kirche, namentlich, die so gediegne Concordienformel, in der Lehre vom freien Willen und menschlichen Kräften, diesem Liede entgegen hält, so wird man bald sehen und finden, wie weit dieses Lied von rein Lutherischer und Paulinischer Lehre abweicht." Ibid., p. 28.

³⁵"Die Gesang-Bücher," Der Lutheraner, VII (October 29, 1850), 37.

³⁶Ibid., p. 35.

Neues ist dafür gegeben worden; ein schlechter swop (Tauschhandel).³⁷

The conclusion, then, was that the "neue lutherische pennsylvanische Gesangbuch" did not fill the need for a Lutheran hymnbook.

In 1878 the same kind of criticism was leveled against the new hymnal of the General Council:

Man hat in einer geradezu unverantwortlichen Weise zum Theil die bekanntesten und gebräuchlichsten Kernlieder unserer Kirche abgekürzt und verstümmelt.³⁸

The justification for omitting stanzas, as offered by a Pastor Späth, is appended to the article. It states:

Als Gründe führt er z. B. an: Unschöne Wendungen, prosaische Verflachung, zu breites Ausspinnen, ungelenke Verse, flache, ungeschickte Ausdrücke u. s. w.³⁹

Of these three hymnals reviewed in Der Lutheraner none seemed to meet the doctrinal standards of the Saxon settlers. They did not feel that their needs for a hymnal could be filled by those that were being published in America.

³⁷"Die Gesang-Bücher," Der Lutheraner, VII (November 12, 1850), 44. With respect to this he must praise the "St. Louis Hymnbook," for it contained "die alten Kernhaften Kirchenlieder unverändert, unverstümmelt, und ganz so, wie sie aus den Händen der alten Dichter hervorgingen; und hat allerdings die St. Louis'er Gemeinde ein grosses gethan . . . dass sie der grossen 'Gesangbuches-Noth' abgeholfen hat."

³⁸"Das Neue Gesangbuch des General Council," Der Lutheraner, XXXIV (November 15, 1878), 172.

³⁹Ibid.

Besides this, they were fearful of unionism. They realized the power that a hymnbook might have in creating unity among the newly arrived immigrants. In order to avoid unionism, therefore, they felt it necessary "to supply a model constitution, a hymnbook and other publications"⁴⁰ for their own congregations. In 1861 when a hymn written by a pastor from the Ohio Synod appeared in the Lutherischen Kirchen-Zeitung it was roundly condemned for its unionistic approach, particularly in its final stanza:

Wo alle steh'n vor Gottes Thron,
Da ist die rechte Union.
Wo alle Halleluja schrei'n,
Stim mit Zwingli auch mit Luther ein.⁴¹

The Saxon fathers were not ready to give up their Lutheran teachings in order to be supplied with a hymnbook quickly and easily.

In fact, they demanded that unadulterated books be used. In the 1843 constitution of Trinity Lutheran Church, St. Louis, Missouri, it was stated that "in the public service only purely Lutheran hymns" could be used.⁴² And again, according to a Fort Wayne constitution, when such purely Lutheran hymnbooks were not available for the pastor he was to act as follows:

⁴⁰Meyer, p. 142.

⁴¹"Ein Lied aus der Ohio-Synode," Der Lutheraner, XVII (July 31, 1861), 197.

⁴²Meyer, p. 169.

If a pastor cannot immediately prevail with his protest against heterodox hymnbooks, he must use them only under protest; and during the time that he is thus using them he must make earnest and sincere attempts to introduce orthodox forms.⁴³

According to the 1854 constitution of the Missouri Synod, a pastor of a congregation which was using heterodox hymnals would have to give assurance that this continued despite his protest and that in all seriousness he desired to introduce an orthodox one. Under this condition union with the synod could take place and fellowship with it could continue.⁴⁴

In 1847 a Besucher, who was to organize the new settlements of immigrants in Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, was appointed by the synod. His job, in part, was to see that the Lutheran settlers had "good hymnbooks" and made regular use of them.⁴⁵ Likewise, when it appeared advisable instead to use a layman as a seller of Lutheran books and an advance contact man, he was to "offer for sale Bibles, hymnals, catechisms, and such devotional and prayer books as have the approval of Synod."⁴⁶

Therefore, with a view to propagating orthodox Lutheran teachings, many publications appeared soon after the Saxon immigrants became settled. In 1844 it was the periodical Der

⁴³Carl S. Mundinger, Government in the Missouri Synod (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 184.

⁴⁴Meyer, p. 150.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 202.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 204.

Lutheraner. In 1855 Lehre und Wehre, a theological journal, was begun. An Agenda appeared in 1856. And, by 1857, a publications committee was appointed by synod, although the ownership and operation of a printing establishment did not begin until 1870.⁴⁷ Among these publications for preserving orthodox doctrine was the hymnal of Trinity Congregation⁴⁸ in St. Louis. The Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden appeared only three years after the founding of Der Lutheraner.

1847 Hymnbook

Since, in the eyes of the Saxon settlers, there seemed to be a definite need for a truly Lutheran hymnbook in German for Americans it is not surprising that the project was undertaken within ten years of their arrival. What is surprising is that one congregation should undertake it. On the tenth of November in 1845 in the congregational meeting of Trinity Congregation

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 177.

⁴⁸To give some idea of what kind of hymns were used at Trinity Congregation in St. Louis, an extant copy of the order of service for the dedication of their church building on December 4, 1842 provides some clues. The hymns used in the morning communion service were: Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr', Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist, Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele, and Nun danket alle Gott. In the afternoon service the hymns were: Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott, Liebster Jesu wir sind hier, Herr, Gott, erhalt uns für und für (by the children alone), Wie schön ist's doch, Herr Jesu Christ and Unsern Ausgang segne Gott. W [illiam G.] P [olack], "Two Rare Antiquities of Unique Interest," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, I (July 1928), 26-27.

of St. Louis Pastor C. F. W. Walther, who had become Trinity's pastor in 1841, invited all who were interested to discuss the possibilities of publishing a hymnbook at the next meeting.⁴⁹

In the meeting on the following Thursday the matter was discussed and these decisions were made:

- 1., Dass die Gemeinde das Gesangbuch einfuehren werde.
- 2., Dass die Gemeinde das Unternehmen selbst in ihre Haende nehmen werde.
- 3., Dass das Gesangbuch 500. Seiten stark sein soll.
- 4., Dass, um das Geld dazu aufzubringen, innen 14 Tagen Subscriptionen durch die Herren Niemann und Graeber, wenn es gebraucht wird, gesammelt werden sollen, welche im Voraus zu bezahlen sind.
- 5., Dass ein gebunden Exemplar zu dem Preiss von 75 Cents gesetzt werde, ein ungebundenes zu 50 Cents.⁵⁰

Just who was to do the selecting and editing of the hymnal is not clear until the congregational meeting in January of 1846. In addition to Pastor Walther, who seems to have headed the hymnbook endeavor from the beginning and been its guiding light throughout, six laymen were selected to form the hymnbook committee. They were Friedrich Barthel, Tschirpe, Hermann Wichmann, Carl Roschke, Rechmann and Heinrich Axt.⁵¹

⁴⁹Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., November 10, 1845, transcript, Concordia Historical Institute.

⁵⁰Ibid., November 17, 1845.

⁵¹Ibid., January 26, 1846.

Since Pastor Walther was in charge of the preparation of this hymnal his qualifications and background should be mentioned.

C. F. W. Walther, when he left the Gymnasium in his youth, expressed a stronger interest in church music than in theology. He had written in his diary: "I feel that I was born for nothing but music."⁵² But, he soon read a biography of Jean Frederic Oberlin, a famous, dedicated pastor in Alsace, and Oberlin's example of humble service persuaded Walther to study theology.

During his theological studies Walther, despite the definite rationalistic leanings of his teachers, discovered Luther and the Bible. And, he came to understand the confessional position of the Lutheran church. Soon after he was ordained he wrote this concerning his allegiance to the confessions:

I now have liberty to teach, namely, freedom to teach the pure Word of God, to which my poor heart clings as to the firm anchor of my hope for the present and the world to come.⁵³

This freedom and responsibility he was to reflect in the hymnal which he helped his St. Louis congregation to prepare.

It has already been noted that Walther wanted to be a church musician. Somehow during his early years he learned

⁵²Lewis W. Spitz, Sr., The Life of Dr. C. F. W. Walther (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1961), p. 10.

⁵³Ibid., p. 35.

to play the piano and organ; he never lost interest in the organ. In fact, he would occasionally find time to play when he was a pastor and even in the services at Holy Cross in St. Louis when he was teaching at Concordia Seminary.⁵⁴ There can be little doubt that this continuing interest in music played an important role in preparing a hymnbook. This would be particularly true in choosing the melodies.

In January of 1846 the congregation began discussing whether the hymnbook should be published in St. Louis or New York. In December of 1846 they decided that it should be published in New York.⁵⁵ In January of the following year they made further decisions: that it should have only thirty-five lines per page, that it should be "sterotypirt" and that only one thousand-five hundred of the copies should be bound.⁵⁶

One of the major problems was financing the cost of the publication since Heinrich Ludwig, the New York publisher, would extend no credit to the congregation.⁵⁷ The cost to

⁵⁴F. R. Webber, "Some Notes on Dr. Walther as an Organist," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXXII (July 1959), 47. For other notes on Walther's musical abilities and interests see the following in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly: IV (October 1931), 65-77; IX (October 1936), 70; and, XXXVI (July 1963), 53-56.

⁵⁵Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., December 15, 1846, transcript, Concordia Historical Institute.

⁵⁶Ibid., January 15, 1847.

⁵⁷Ibid., May 31, 1847.

the congregation is best indicated by a comparison. When they built their first church building the land cost one thousand dollars and the construction of the building over four thousand dollars. About five thousand dollars, thus, was invested in their first church building.⁵⁸ According to the manuscript history which was placed in the cornerstone of Immanuel Lutheran Church and laid in 1847, the cost of publishing the hymnbook was about ten thousand dollars.⁵⁹ Although this money was eventually returned to the investors as the hymnals were sold, it does give some idea of just how intent they were on providing themselves with a pure Lutheran hymnbook. The sale of the hymnals in St. Louis was handled by Mr. Barthel, a member of Trinity and the first treasurer of the Missouri Synod.⁶⁰

Those who prepared the hymnbook were not paid for their work. However, the pastors who worked on it were presented with as many copies as they needed for their families.⁶¹ And, Walther, in addition, received five cords of winter wood "mit Macherlohn," as a token of appreciation for his labors.⁶²

⁵⁸Baepler, p. 50.

⁵⁹Mundinger, p. 162.

⁶⁰Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., May 31, 1847, transcript, Concordia Historical Institute.

⁶¹Ibid., August 12, 1847.

⁶²Ibid., October 11, 1847. Macherlohn, meaning "charge for manufacture," may be a reference to the splitting of the

The hymnal was introduced to Trinity congregation in the middle of August in 1847. According to the June 1 issue of Der Lutheraner the hymnal had just come off the presses.⁶³ The lapse of time between its publication and its use in the St. Louis congregation is easily explained. It took time to ship them from New York to St. Louis and to distribute them to the members of the congregation.

By the seventeenth of September in 1847 the first edition was already sold and it was necessary to consider a second printing. The plates for the hymnal remained in New York until 1856 when they were shipped to St. Louis for the publication of a new edition.⁶⁴

The contents of the hymnbook were as follows: pages I-XII contained the title page, table of contents and an alphabetical table of the hymns; pages 1-380 contained 437 hymns, texts only; pages 381-390 contained a table of melodies and the hymns with which they were used; the first appendix,

wood or some part of its manufacture, or it may be, as O. A. Dorn takes it, "a week's salary." Cf. O. A. Dorn, "Early Printing in the Missouri Synod," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXIV (April 1951), 7.

⁶³Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., August 12, 1847, transcript, Concordia Historical Institute. Cf. "Lutherisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch," Der Lutheraner, III (June 1, 1847), 84. This was probably written by Walther.

⁶⁴Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., September 27, 1847, transcript, Concordia Historical Institute. For further details concerning publication problems and agents for selling the hymnbook see the article by O. A. Dorn mentioned above.

pages 391-420, contained prayers, antiphons and the preface (for communion); and, the second appendix in two new paginations presented Luther's small catechism (pages 1-36), the three ecumenical creeds and the unaltered Augsburg Confession (pages 1-46). In all, there were over five-hundred pages in a format similar to the usual German hymnal.

The basic criteria for determining the selection of the hymns were stated, probably by Walther, in Der Lutheraner:

dass sie rein seien in der Lehre; dass sie in der rechtgläubigen deutsch-lutherischen Kirche schon eine möglichst allgemeine Aufnahme gefunden und so mit von derselben ein möglichst einstimmiges Zeugniß, dass sie aus dem rechten Geist geflossen sind, erhalten haben; dass sie, da dass Buch zunächst für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst bestimmt ist, nicht sowohl die besondern wechselnden Zustände einzelner Personen ausdrücken, als vielmehr die Sprache der ganzen Kirche enthalten, und dass sie endlich, obgleich das Gepräge der christlichen Einfachheit an sich tragend, doch gereimte Prosa, sondern Erzeugnisse einer wahren christlichen Poesie seien.⁶⁵

In addition, the editors did not rely entirely on their own wisdom, but on the illumination and rule of the Holy Spirit; they approached, says Walther, their task with fear and trembling since they knew that these hymns would be passed from generation to generation. Even though it was intended chiefly for use in public services the editors were aware of the need for a hymnal for the home; as time progressed

⁶⁵[G. F. W. Walther], "Lutherisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch," Der Lutheraner, III (June 1, 1847), 84. An English translation of this appears in Polack's Founders and Fathers (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938), p. 44.

they hoped also to provide a Haus-Gesangbuch. They planned to publish a "Melodienbüchlein für unser Gesangbuch" within the next months so that also the rich treasure of hymn melodies would not be lost.⁶⁶

The Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden remained the property of Trinity Congregation until 1862. In a March meeting the congregation decided to donate the hymnal to the Missouri Synod. In this way the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden became the first official hymnbook of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.⁶⁷

Rhythmical Tunes

In the same month that the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden was being introduced in Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, an article appeared in Der Lutheraner by Frederick Lochner.⁶⁸ This article explained

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., March 31, 1862, Concordia Historical Institute.

⁶⁸In a short biography of Frederick Lochner, Otto F. Hattstaedt describes him as a gifted and diligent man. He says that Lochner was a hymnologist "of no mean ability." And, he says that "he never tired of bringing about a rhythmical singing of our hymns." This was a concern which Lochner had from his youth when he first met the hymn melodies in an unaltered form. Otto F. Hattstaedt, "The Life and Works of Pastor Frederick Lochner," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXI (January 1949), 166-174.

why there was seldom the singing of spiritual hymns in the Christian family circle. The reason he suggested was this: the hymns had been robbed of their power and their "unction" by Rationalism. In short, they had been adulterated and falsified, not only in their texts but also in their tunes.

The rhythm had been destroyed by making each tone as long as the next where originally there had been a variety of notes (whole notes, half notes, quarter and eighth notes). One had only to compare side by side the original and the altered forms of the melody and he could see what had been done:

Man singe nur einmal die alten rhythmischen Melodien, oder lasse sich dieselben vorsingen und halte mit seinem Urtheil so lange zurück, bis man dies etliche Male probirt hat, gewiss, es wird nicht fehlen, dass man unbedenklich denselben den Vorzug einräumt, und über deren Frische, Lebendigkeit, Kraft und Herzlichkeit alle Lust und Gefallen an unserer dermaligen, langweiligen, schläferigen, schleppenden und den Charakter der meisten Lieder verwischenden und verläugnenden geistliche Singweise verlieren wird.⁶⁹

If one is to retain the real folk character of the hymns, he must return to the original form of the tune, as Tucher, Layriz, Ortlop and others have provided.⁷⁰ With a rhythmical

⁶⁹F[rederick] L[ochner], "Ein Wort über Kirchenmelodien," Der Lutheraner, III (August 10, 1847), 103.

⁷⁰It may be that at the time Lochner wrote this article he had in his possession a copy of Layriz's Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs. In the library of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. there is such a copy (call number 783.9 L 428) with "F. Lochner" on its title page in a clear handwriting.

form of the tune the old hymns could be sung with new interest and new life.

This suggestion did not go unheeded. Trinity congregation began practice sessions in January of 1849 to learn the old chorales "wie sie sich in Baprizens [Layrizens] Choralbuch befinden."⁷¹ They were held twice a week, Thursday and Friday evenings from seven to eight o'clock. And, in an October meeting, the congregation resolved gradually to introduce the original rhythmic form of the melodies into the services.⁷²

In an article entitled "Von alten und neuen Melodien," which appeared in Der Lutheraner, C. F. W. Walther sought to demonstrate that the old forms of the melodies were more beautiful and better.⁷³ Various reasons were given for calling the older forms of the melody more beautiful. The work of an artist, said Walther, is better in its original form than some bungling idiot's changes. There is a variety, besides, in the length of notes and therefore fresh, lively

⁷¹Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., January 8, 1849, transcript, Concordia Historical Institute. In Carl Schalk's The Roots of Hymnody, p. 28, footnote 65, a clerical error seems to have been correctly identified. "Baprizens" is an incorrect transcription of "Layrizens."

⁷²Ibid., October 24, 1849.

⁷³[C. F. W. Walther]; "Von alten und neuen Melodien," Der Lutheraner, VII (November 16, 1850), 52-56.

movement in the old forms. One can also tell the difference between a joyful and a mournful hymn by the character of its melody. There is no longer any need for Zwischenspiel (free organ passages between the phrases of a hymn) because one phrase can be sung with one breath. A common way was to sing the hymns so slowly and hold each note so long that it took about two breaths to make it through one phrase of the melody. When the people know the melodies in the rhythmic form they like to sing them joyfully, at home or in the field.

Walther explained how the congregation would be able to learn these melodies in their original form:

Die Gesangreformation, von der die Rede ist, muss nun der Natur der Sache nach von den Pfarren, Cantoren und Organisten ausgehen.⁷⁴

These can organize Singstunden and with the aid of cantors, organists, school children and choir let the congregation become acquainted with the old melodies. It would be helpful, Walther points out, if the people could have notes before them. Therefore, a little book with the melodies was being considered as a project for publication. This little book could be held in one hand while the hymnbook with the text was held in the other.

By October 1851 such a little melody book was available, according to an advertisement in Der Lutheraner, reading as follows: "Melodien deutscher Kirchengesänge nach Dr. Frindrich

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 54.

[sic] Layriz, 25 [Ø]."⁷⁵ Just who selected and edited this collection of melodies cannot be discovered. However, the 1857 edition bears the name of the synodical agent, Otto Ernst, and we may assume that earlier editions were also sold through the synodical agent⁷⁶ and most likely produced within synodical circles. Perhaps Walther had a hand in its preparation. At the very least it would seem that he would have been an ardent promoter of the project.

By no means was the original rhythmical form of the chorale adopted everywhere immediately. In fact, the Altenburg conference of pastors petitioned Synod in 1852 regarding the introduction of the rhythmic forms of the chorale melodies. They requested that expert opinions be published,

und darin nicht allein eine historische Darstellung der Sache geben, sondern auch die mancherlei Einwürfe wider die Einführung deselben berücksichtigen.⁷⁷

⁷⁵"Bücher und Pamphlets," Der Lutheraner, VII (October 14, 1851), 32.

⁷⁶223 Melodien deutscher Kirchengesänge meist aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in ihren ursprünglichen Rhythmen und Tönen nach Dr. Fr. Layriz zum Gebrauch christlicher Gemeinden deutscher Zunge in Nordamerika, dritte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (St. Louis: Verlag von Otto Ernst, 1857). This edition made certain additions and corrected features which were too difficult, cf. Otto Ernst, "223 Melodien deutscher Kirchengesänge," Der Lutheraner, XIV (January 12, 1858), 88.

⁷⁷Sechster Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri Ohio u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1852 (zweite Auflage; St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1876), p. 220.

Pastor Schaller was, therefore, directed to prepare such an article for Der Lutheraner.

In 1853 the article appeared. Schaller presented several points. First, he said that all art which employs sound must necessarily also use rhythm. Second, he pointed out that "der Rhythmus besteht in einer schönen Abwechslung langer und kurzer Sylben oder Töne oder Noten."⁷⁸ Third, he said that therefore

der Rhythmus allein gibt dem Ton das Leben und einer formlosen Masse von Tönen einen anmuthig gegliederten Leib, der zugleich schön geformt u. überschaulich, fasslich und leicht behältlich ist. Und man kann mit Recht sagen: Zerstöre den Rhythmus und du hast die Melodie zerstört!⁷⁹

Since the changing time values of the notes correspond with changing accents in the texts the melody and the text are quite inseparable. Thus, the fourth point, the rhythmical forms are not only the original but also the only natural form. When Luther, for example, saw to it that Christian people were provided with songs to sing in public worship he took the rhythmical kind of melody because they arose among the people and were provided by the masters. Before Schaller concludes by saying that it is not impossible to introduce the rhythmical chorale to congregations, he quickly

⁷⁸G [ottfried] Sch[aller], "Was ist's mit dem rhythmischen Chorälen?," Der Lutheraner, IX (May 10, 1853), 123.

⁷⁹Ibid.

sets straight various unfounded notions. Among these notions were the following: that the rhythmical hymn is worldly, that they stem from the Union and that they are hard to learn.⁸⁰

The most comprehensive and extensive historical treatment of rhythmical tunes of congregational song was written by A. Hoyer. He blames the taking of musical participation away from the people and giving almost all musical participation in the service to the choir for the destruction of rhythmical melodies in the church. He thereby tries to support the use of Layriz's research into the sixteenth and seventeenth century melodic forms of the chorale as the best form to use in the congregation's worship.⁸¹

By 1855 the variety in the manner of singing the chorales caused the Western District to make a decision either for the old "schleppender Weise" or the singing of the chorales "nach Rhythmus." Because it was necessary to have unity in practice on this from congregation to congregation and, because more and more, also in Germany, congregations were returning to the rhythmical form of the tunes, those congregations which had not yet introduced the rhythmical tunes were exhorted to do so:

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹A. Hoyer, "Vom rythmischen Gesange in der Christlichen Kirche," Der Lutheraner, X (July 5, 1854), 177-181.

Sämmtliche Pastoren unserer Synode, in deren Gemeinden rhythmischer Gesang noch nicht eingeführt ist, wurden ermahnt, auf dessen Einführung, freilich ohne alles Drängen, hinzuwirken und sich hierzu Weisheit zu erbitten.⁸²

Thus the research of Friedrich Layriz (1808-1859) and other German scholars came to be used within the congregations of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Layriz, who had studied theology at Erlangen and Leipzig, was a German pastor who published several melody books for sixteenth and seventeenth century hymns. The first of these appeared in 1839. It contained 118 melodies in two-part settings.⁸³ Similar two-part settings for use in school and home appeared in 1848 (the first one hundred melodies) and 1850 (the second one hundred melodies).⁸⁴ The most important collection for

⁸²Verhandlungen der ersten Sitzungen des westl. Distrikts der Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten im Jahre 1855 (St. Louis, Mo.: Druckerei der evang. lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. St., 1855), p. 19.

⁸³Johannes Zahn, Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder. (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1893), V, 485.

⁸⁴Geistliche Melodien meist aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrh. in ihren ursprünglichen Tönen und Rhythmen, zum Gebrauche für Schule und Haus zweistimmig gesetzt von Dr. Friedr. Layriz, Erstes Hundert (Zweite durchaus ungearbeitete Auflage, zweiter Abdruck; Erlangen: Verlag von Theodor Blaesing, 1848), and Geistliche Melodien meist aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrh. in ihren ursprünglichen Tönen und Rhythmen zum Gebrauche für Schule und Haus zweistimmig gesetzt von Dr. Friedr. Layriz, Zweites Hundert (zweite Auflage; Erlangen: Verlag von Theodor Blaesing, 1850).

the Saxon settlers was Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs.⁸⁵ The second edition, 1849, served as the basic resource for the chorale books which were published within the Missouri Synod. By 1863 the Evangelisch Lutherisches Choralbuch für Kirche und Haus, based on Layriz's Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs, was published by L. Volkening in St. Louis. The reason that an American edition appeared: the 1849 edition of Layriz was no longer available.⁸⁶

The small melody books continued to be published. In 1865 225 Melodien deutscher Kirchengesänge appeared. It corrected some earlier errors.⁸⁷ Another edition in an

⁸⁵Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs, Eine Sammlung von CC. Chorälen meist aus dem XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert in ihren ursprünglichen Tönen und rhythmischen mit altertümlicher Harmonie, vierstimmig, zum Gebrauche für Kirche und Haus, herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich Layriz (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck'schen Buchhandlung, 1844). This also appeared in a four volume edition from 1844-1855.

⁸⁶Evangelisch Lutherisches Choralbuch für Kirche und Haus, Sammlung der gebräuchlichsten Choräle der Lutherische Kirche, ausgezogen und verändert abgedruckt aus "Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs von Dr. F. Layriz" (St. Louis: Verlag von L. Volkening, 1863).

⁸⁷225 Melodien deutscher Kirchengesänge meist aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in ihren ursprünglichen Rhythmen und Tönen, nach Dr. Fr. Layriz, (revidierte Ausgabe; St. Louis: M. C. Barthel, 1865). The foreword states that the plates were purchased from the previous owners and donated by a few "lovers of Christian hymnody" to the Missouri Synod. In this collection of 225 a setting of the Sanctus and the melody "Du Friedenfürst, Herr Jesu Christ" were added to the 223 in the earlier collection.

expanded form was printed in 1887; this time it included 335 tunes.⁸⁸

In addition to the tunebooks, accompaniment books continued to be produced like the previously mentioned Evangelisch Lutherisches Choralbuch für Kirche und Haus of 1863. It contained all the melodies needed for the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden. Several editions of this Choralbuch were made until it was replaced in 1886 by "Hoelter's Choralbuch,"⁸⁹ also based on the work of Layriz but taking into account the subsequent research of Herzog, Zahn, and others.⁹⁰ A similar work entitled Mehrstimmiges Choralbuch, edited by Karl Brauer, was published in 1888.⁹¹

The rhythmical chorale therefore became thoroughly entrenched in the congregations of the Missouri Synod through the little melody books and the organist's accompaniment books which were based on the research of Layriz and others.

⁸⁸335 Melodien Deutscher Kirchengesänge meist aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, nach Dr. Fr. Layriz (Revidirte und vermehrte Ausgabe; St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1887).

⁸⁹H. F. Hölter, ed., Choralbuch, Eine Sammlung der gangbarsten Choräle der evang.-lutherischen Kirche, meist nach Dr. Fr. Layriz, nebst den wichtigsten liturgischen Sätzen (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1902).

⁹⁰Ibid., p. iii.

⁹¹Karl Brauer, ed., Mehrstimmiges Choralbuch zu dem Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906). Cf. Schalk, pp. 36-38, which contain a more complete discussion of these accompaniment books than is given here.

Later Additions

Although the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden may still be purchased from Concordia Publishing House, it is not exactly the same book Trinity Congregation had prepared. Many hymns have been added. However, the basic collection has remained the same, including the numbering of the hymns. Some texts have been altered to bring them up to date according to later research. And, in the meantime the hymnbook has become the Missouri Synod's property.

The first of the Liederanhang was provided already in 1857 while the publishing of the hymnbook was still in the hands of Trinity Congregation. The six hymns that were appended were "Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält," "Löwen, lasst euch wieder finden," "Der Tag vertreibt die finstre Nacht," "Lobe den Herrn, o meine Seele!," "Gott hat das Evangelium gegeben," and "Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt."⁹²

When the members of Trinity Congregation gave their hymnbook to Synod they were careful to do it with certain conditions in order to protect its doctrinal purity. The minutes of their meeting read as follows:

Nachstehende Uebergabsurkunde, betreffs des von der hiesigen Gemeinde herausgegeben "Kirchen-Gesangbuchs" an die Ehrw. Synode von Missouri

⁹²Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession (St. Louis: August Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1857), numbers 438-443.

u. andere Staaten übergebenen Eigenthumsrecht, wurde vorgelesen u. einstimmig angenommen. Sie lautet folgendermassen:

Im Namen Jesu.

Unterzeichnete Gemeinde bezeugt auf Grund eines von ihr den 2. Decb. 1861 in öffentlicher Versammlung einstimmig gefassten Beschlusses, dass sie das Eigenthumsrecht an das von ihr herausgegebenen u. verlegten "Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Ev.-Luth. Gemeinden ungeänderten Augsburgischen Confession" an die Ehrwürdige Deutsche Ev. Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. andern Staaten für immer abgegeben hat; jedoch unter folgenden Bedingungen:

1) dass besagte Synode die ferneren Ausgaben des bezeichneten Gesangbuches also besorgen, dass kein darin bereits vorhandenes Lied herausgenommen oder wider den ursprünglichen Text des Verfassers desselben verändert, und dass dieselben allein mit durchaus unverdächtigen, von der gesammten, ihrem Bekenntniss treuen Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirche als reine anerkannte Kirchenlieder bereichert werde;

2) dass besagte Synode den aus dem Verkauf des genannten Gesangbuchs sich ergebenden Reingewinn wie bisher, so auch ferner für Erhaltung des Concordia-Seminars u. Collegiums gewissenhaft verwende.

St. Louis im Staate Missouri den 30. März 1862
(Folgen die Unterschriften)⁹³

Synod graciously accepted this gift of Trinity Congregation:

Wir nehmen das theure Geschenk mit aufrichtiger Freude unter den von Euch gestellten Bedingungen an und sprechen hiermit unsern herzlichen Dank gegen Euch aus.⁹⁴

⁹³Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., March 31, 1862, here transcribed from the original minutes, Concordia Historical Institute. Cf. "Unser Gesangbuch," Elfter Synodal-Bericht der allgemeinen Deutschen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1863 (St. Louis: Synodaldruckerei von Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1864), pp. 64-65., which contains a transcript of part of this motion. It also lists the names of those who signed the document sent to Synod, whereas the minutes do not record those names.

⁹⁴From the letter of thanks published in the above mentioned article from Elfter Synodal-Bericht, p. 65.

The Synod also appointed a committee to oversee the further publication of their newly acquired hymnal. The committee consisted of F. W. Fühlinger, J. Birkner, J. C. D. Römer and F. Lochner. Their first report recommended publication of a pocket edition of the hymnbook and a revision of it. The revision was to correct the few mistakes and also to take into account the new hymnological research concerning the texts.⁹⁵

In 1862 a new edition of the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden in a size that could be carried in the pocket.⁹⁶ Also included were the Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Festivals of the Church Year, "Die Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens . . . Jesu Christi" and the report of the destruction of Jerusalem.⁹⁷

✓ In 1908 Johann Schlerf of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, petitioned Synod's convention at Fort Wayne, Indiana, May, 1908, to consider revising the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 66.

⁹⁶Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungewänderter Augsburgischer Confession (St. Louis: Verlag der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1862).

⁹⁷Pastor Büniger had requested these additions in a Trinity congregational meeting and they were subsequently added to the original collection. Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., November 20, 1848, transcript, Concordia Historical Institute.

Gemeinden.⁹⁸ He pointed back to the committee's report in 1862 where the suggestion had been made to revise the hymns according to the latest research. Schlerf reminded synod that Philipp Wackernagel's Das deutsche Kirchenlied von den ältesten Zeiten an bis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts, Fischer's Das Kirchenlied des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, as well as the work of Bachmann, Nelle, Spitta, Dietz, Küstlin and Tümpel, were now available. These sources could provide the hymns of the church in a truly original form "so dass die Reinheit des Textes jetzt viel besser garantiert werden kann als vor einem halben Jahrhundert."⁹⁹ Besides, almost half of the historical and biographical notes concerning the hymns needed correction.

A synodical committee was appointed, Fr. Brust, J. H. C. Käppel and W. Schaller, to study the need for revision. In 1911 this committee reported and the necessary revision was authorized.¹⁰⁰

Therefore, in 1917 another appendix containing forty-three more hymns was added to the book. The hymnbook was left almost

⁹⁸Johann Schlerf, "Eingabe betreffs unsere Gesangbuch," Eingaben für die Delegatensynode 1908 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1908), pp. 103-104.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁰⁰"Revision des Gesangbuches," 13. Delegatensynode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. St., 1911 ([St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1911]), pp. 153-154.

completely as it was except for these new hymns, some liturgical materials before the table of contents, and an index of hymnwriters (immediately following the collection of hymns) and forms for emergency baptism. Apparently, also the historical and biographical notes were changed according to later research. The hymnal of Trinity Congregation in St. Louis was still in existence with only a few modifications to its basic collection of Lutheran hymns.¹⁰¹

In 1885 a concordance for the hymnal, prepared by Pastor O. Spehr of Frazer, Michigan, was published so that the contents of the hymnal would be more easily accessible.¹⁰²

Summary

The Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden became and continued to be the official German hymnal of the Missouri Synod. The religious problems in Germany and America and the confessional stance of the Saxon

¹⁰¹Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, [1917]). According to a review in The Lutheran Witness Concordia Publishing House made available two editions: one with the hymns only; the other with all the above mentioned items. S., "Kirchengesangbuch fuer evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession," The Lutheran Witness, XXXVII (March 5, 1918), 79.

¹⁰²"Neue Drucksachen," Der Lutheraner, XLI (March 15, 1885), 48. This article contains a review. Concordanz zum Kirchen-Gesangbuch für ev.-luth. Gemeinden Ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession (St. Louis, Mo.: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1885).

fathers influenced the selection of hymns. One congregation's foresight became a gift to the Missouri Synod. The introduction of the rhythmic form of the melodies was a unique and daring venture and a contribution to the Lutheran scene in America. The hymnal has survived intact. Some fifty hymns have been added, but the basic collection is still there. The tune books and accompaniment books with the rhythmic forms of the melodies helped preserve some of the Reformation flavor of the hymns. This hymnal also served as a model and guideline for the hymnals in English which were to follow.

CHAPTER III

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN HYMN-BOOK

The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod had in its Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden a hymnal for worship in the German language. But, the synod existed in a country which spoke English. And, as time progressed, the absorbing of German immigrants decreased; the outreach to English speaking neighbors grew in importance. In order to be able to conduct worship in English it was necessary to have a Lutheran hymnal in English.

The story of the first Missouri Synod hymnal in English is closely tied to the story of mission work in English. It involves men like August Crull, who translated many German chorales and prepared collections of Lutheran hymns in English. It involves the publication efforts of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States, a group which later became the English District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. The Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book which was published by the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States in 1889 led directly to the publication of the Missouri Synod's Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book in 1912, just one year after it became a district of the Missouri Synod.

The Need for a Hymnal in English

The first attempt to establish an English speaking congregation in the Missouri Synod was made by a few members of St. Paul's congregation in Baltimore in 1854. The rest of St. Paul's congregation, however, refused to cooperate. The few interested members, then, went ahead and formed their own English congregation. The Rev. J. Clement Miller became its first pastor. When he died in 1859, Jacob Buehler was supplied by the faculty at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis as a vicar. It was under the leadership of Rev. F. A. Schmidt, who arrived in 1860, that the congregation began to grow. The Civil War caused its church building to be requisitioned for a barracks and in 1865 the congregation was forced to disband. The work was taken up again in 1875 and the congregation became "the mother of the Ohio Synod congregations in and around Baltimore."¹

The English Lutheran movement had more success in the State of Missouri. It began in 1872 with the organizing of the English Lutheran Conference of Missouri. Among the participants in this organizing was C. F. W. Walther. The English Lutheran Conference considered uniting with the Synodical Conference and petitioned the Synodical Conference to give attention to providing English church and school books. At

¹H. B. Hemmeter, "Early English Mission Efforts in the Missouri Synod," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XI (October 1938), 67-68.

first a union of these Lutherans with the Concordia Synod of Virginia was considered.

However, by others the great distance in this case was also referred to as a hindrance against union. Therefore a preliminary independence of such small synods with mutual strengthening seemed most advisable.²

The English Lutheran Conference of Missouri continued to work closely with the Western District of the Missouri Synod. In 1880 the Western District appointed a committee "to carry on the expansion of Lutheran doctrine in the English tongue."³ This committee consisted of Professor M. Guenther, Pastor C. L. Janzow, and the president of the English Conference, C. F. Lange. This English Mission Board had three chief objectives:

- 1) to appoint missionaries for its field; 2) to induce the pastors of Synod in the larger cities of our country to appoint English missionaries;
- 3) to unite all English pastors and congregations within the Synodical Conference into one body.⁴

Despite further attempts by the English Lutheran Conference of Missouri to be received by the Synodical Conference and by the Missouri Synod it had no success. Therefore, in 1888

²Ibid., p. 69.

³Ibid.

⁴C. L. Janzow, "The Beginning of Our English Work," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXI (April 1948), 28-29.

the English Lutheran Conference of Missouri extended its limits and took the name "General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and other States." Having again grown in the number of congregations and spread in regard to territory [the] Conference in 1891 adopted the name "English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and other States."⁵

In that same year it received The Lutheran Witness as its official organ. At first this journal was edited by Rev. C. A. Frank but beginning with 1891 it was edited by Rev. William Dallmann.⁶

The men within this group, of course, were very keenly aware of the lack of Lutheran materials in English. One of their pastors, A. Rader, looked to the Missouri Synod, especially because of its doctrinal stand, for help in preparing the necessary books in English. He wrote,

It is plain for all to see, as regards language, that the current is running into the English; many, if not all of our German friends, must in this, and we believe that they will, prepare to meet it We trust that there will be talent and means to have all those good German books translated, and able and sound theologians to still write more; only if we can retain that energy and spirit, with purity of doctrine and practice, which animate our German friends of the present and did those of the past generation.⁷

⁵D. [allmann], "A Brief Historical Sketch of the English Synod of Missouri and other States," The Lutheran Witness, X (March 21, 1892), 153.

⁶Ibid., p. 154.

⁷A. Rader, "English Missouri," The Lutheran Witness, IX (December 7, 1890), 100.

Others, too, voiced their arguments for English language work. Their concerns included: the defections of the young from the German congregations, the fate of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America, the doctrinal laxity that results in English-speaking congregations when they are isolated from their German-speaking brothers. Thus in the 1857 proceedings of the Missouri Synod there is this argument for work in English:

Of unquestionable necessity for the future, then, is the translation of pure Lutheran writings, not only dogmatic and catechetical but also devotional [literature], including Lutheran hymns.⁸

Part of the problem was that previous transitions to English by Lutherans had brought adulteration of doctrine. Some, who had already made this transition to English in America, were of the opinion that "Americans would never accept or stand on a basis of unqualified Lutheranism as advocated by the German Synodical Conference."⁹ And, as Frank put it in his editorial note, "to become American Lutherans meant in former years to become unlutheran in doctrine and practice."¹⁰

⁸Carl S. Meyer, editor, Moving Frontiers (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), p. 358, quoted from the Missouri Synod proceedings of 1857, pp. 51-52.

⁹C. A. Frank, in an editorial note to C. Gausewitz, "Why we Undertake and should Undertake this English Work," The Lutheran Witness, VII (December 7, 1888), 99.

¹⁰Ibid.

Before 1890, publication of Lutheran materials by non-Lutheran publishing houses had very little success. Any undertaking of materials in English would have to take into account that "English Lutheran books have a hard road to travel."¹¹ When therefore it was felt necessary to provide these materials it was somewhat of a gamble to publish a Lutheran hymnal without a specific and prepared market.

By 1880 several hymnals had appeared in America in English for Lutherans. The first Lutheran hymnal for Americans in the English language was Psalmodia Germanica. It was edited by John Christian Jacobi and had its origin in London in 1722. The American edition appeared later in New York.

The first Lutheran hymnbook to be prepared in America for English speaking people was done by John Christopher Kunze, a son-in-law of H. M. Muhlenberg. The Hymn and Prayer-Book was published in 1795 and contained 70 hymns from English origin, as well as translations of 150 German hymns. It was based on Psalmodia Germanica and, in part, on a 1789 Moravian collection.¹²

¹¹C. A. Frank, "English Lutheran Books," The Lutheran Witness, IX (May 21, 1891), 187.

¹²Ernest E. Ryden, "Hymnbooks," The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, edited by Julius Bodensieck, II (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), 1084-1085. Cf. Carl Schalk, "The Living Hymnody of American Lutheranism," Church Music, I (Fall 1966), 40-45.

Hymns and Liturgy, 1797, edited by George Strebeck, had only thirteen translations from the German. Another hymnal, edited by Ralph Williston and largely ignoring the German hymns, appeared in 1806. Both of these were prepared by Methodist ministers. Likewise A Collection of Hymns and a Liturgy, authorized by the Lutheran Synod of the State of New York, was published in 1812. "Its 520 hymns were largely of Anglican origin, and Lutheran hymns continued to be ignored."¹³

Paul Henkel's collection, Church Hymn Book, appeared in 1815. Most of the hymns that he did not write were from Anglican sources. Three editions of this hymnal followed and it became known as "The Tennessee Hymn Book."

An early attempt to provide a hymnal which would serve all English-speaking Lutherans was Hymns Selected and Original of 1828. It was produced under the auspices of the General Synod. In 1841 a revised edition appeared. This revision was headed by S. S. Schmucker and "reveals many of the doctrinal aberrations which characterized the General Synod of that period."¹⁴

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania tried to create a more conservative book in 1868 with its Church Book. The eminent hymnologist Louis Fitzgerald Benson is quoted by Ryden to evaluate this hymnal's worth:

¹³Ryden, p. 1085.

¹⁴Ibid.

English-speaking Lutheranism had at last expressed itself in a hymnal worthy of its own traditions, and on a plane where no other American denomination could hope to meet it.¹⁵

A second edition was published in 1870. This hymnbook led to cooperation between the General Council and the General Synod on "a book of worship with a common order of Service and hymns for all English-speaking churches."¹⁶

The Ohio Synod, dissatisfied with the English hymnbook of the General Synod, published its own A Collection of Hymns and Prayers in 1845. A later edition was called Hymns for Public and Private Worship. And, in 1880, The Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal, with a large number of original hymns and translations by Matthias Loy appeared. An edition containing the tunes was not published until 1908.¹⁷

Even though it did find some use in the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod this Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal published by the Ohio Synod was not used widely.¹⁸ It contained 468 hymns; 199 (39 per cent) of these were from the German.¹⁹

¹⁵Ibid., p. 1086.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 1087.

¹⁸Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal, Published by order of the Ev. Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States (Columbus: Ohio Synodical Printing House, 1880).

¹⁹Walter G. Tillmanns, "The German Hymn in English Translation," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXV (November 1954), 825.

A hymnal which did find a broader use among the English speaking groups related to the Missouri Synod originated in the old Norwegian Synod.²⁰ It was entitled Hymn-Book (for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Schools and Congregations) and appeared in 1879.²¹ It contained 130 hymns; 82 were translations from the German and 7 were from the Danish and Norwegian. Walther declared it pure in doctrine:

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 nicht nur keine falsche Lehre enthalten, sondern auch einen wahrhaft evangelischen Geist athmen.²²

He further explained that Professor A. Crull of Fort Wayne was the translator and compiler.

Thus the work of the English Lutheran Conference of Missouri did find a "pure" hymnal for its use. It was a small but worthy collection of English hymns, translations of German hymns and some translations of Danish and Norwegian hymns. And, it had been prepared by August Crull.

²⁰W. G. Polack, "The Historical Background of the Lutheran Hymnal" (Unpublished manuscript, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo., [1941]), p. 2. This may have been a draft of the preface to Polack's The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal (Third and Revised Edition; Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958).

²¹Hymn Book (Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1879).

²²[C. F. W.] W. [alther], "Anzeige neuer Schriften," Der Lutheraner, XXV (July 1, 1879), 104.

August Crull .

Since August Crull was instrumental in providing many translations of hymns and in editing several early Lutheran hymnals in English his work deserves special attention.

August Crull (1845-1923) was born in Rostock, Germany. He attended the Gymnasium there before he emigrated to the United States and took up studies at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. After he graduated from Concordia Seminary in 1865 he served in Milwaukee, first as an assistant pastor and then as director of the high school. From the parish ministry at Grand Rapids, Michigan, he was called to Concordia College in Fort Wayne, Indiana, as a professor of German language and literature.²³

He became well-known for his hymnological work. Apparently the first such endeavor was the Hymn Book for the Norwegian Synod. The circumstances of its preparation are difficult to ascertain. It might be noted that the Hymn Book did not appear under the auspices of the Evangelical Lutheran English Conference of Missouri.

In the convention of 1877 the Conference broached the subject of a hymn book. No mention was made of August Crull or any pending collection of English hymns which could be used by the Conference. Rather, they resolved that they should adopt the English

²³"August Crull," Lutheran Cyclopedia, edited by Erwin L. Lueker (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954), p. 273.

Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book and English Pocket Liturgy which had been published by the Joint Synod of Ohio.²⁴

Walther's notice in Der Lutheraner, July 1, 1879 indicates that the compiling of the hymns rested upon Crull:

Hrn. Professor A. Crull in Fort Wayne, als dem Uebersetzer und Sammler, und unseren norwegisch-lutherischen Brüdern, als den Verlegern, ist daher die englisch-lutherische Kirche dieses Landes grossen Dank schuldig.²⁵

Crull probably relied on existing collections as sources from which to choose. These would be the hymnals of the Ohio Synod, the General Synod and the General Council, since most of the English hymns in his collection are found in these sources.²⁶

The Hymn Book contained 130 hymns and 10 doxologies. Of these 41 were of English origin. The German hymns were presented in translations by Catherine Winkworth and August Crull, 49 by Miss Winkworth and 9 by Crull. Of the translations he used, Crull altered 54 of them.²⁷

The significance of this hymnal for the Missouri Synod is summed up by Johnson:

In this hymn book the translations of Crull first make their appearance. For August Crull it marks

²⁴Glen K. Johnson, "August Crull: His Contribution to the Missouri Synod" (Unpublished S. T. M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1961), p. 42.

²⁵Supra, n. 22.

²⁶Johnson, p. 43.

²⁷Ibid.

the beginning of his work in hymnology, which, viewed in its total perspective, has been of inestimable value in the Missouri Synod. In the second place, it antedates all official hymnals published by the Missouri Synod and its present English District. It serves thus as a definite milestone in hymnology within the Missouri Synod.²⁸

The first English hymnal to be published within the Missouri Synod appeared in 1886.²⁹ It was entitled Hymns of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and contained 33 hymns with tunes.

Most of the hymns were from the German. A review of this hymnal by Walther in Der Lutheraner provides the following evaluation:

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.³⁰

Not only did Walther consider the translations true representations of the original German, but he also pointed to another important aspect of this little collection.

An der Spitze jedes Liedes steht in sauberem Notendruck die dazu gehörige rhythmische Melodie.³¹

²⁸Ibid., p. 44.

²⁹[Arthur C. Repp], "Early English Hymnal," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXIII (July 1950), 92.

³⁰W[alther], "Neue Drucksachen," Der Lutheraner, XLII (April 1, 1886), 56.

³¹Ibid.

Thus the hymnal presented a core of German hymns with their rhythmic melodies.

The selections in the hymnal fall under the following categories: worship (6), church (12), means of grace (5), order of salvation (3), Christian life (3) and death and eternity (4).³² A few of the hymns were translated by Crull himself.³³ Although the number of hymns was not large it was designed for general use.

Crull's work in compiling and translating English hymns had not yet made its greatest contribution. What was needed was a collection of several hundred hymns that could fit all types of worship needs in English.

Between 1880 and 1896 a profusion of small hymnals in English sprang up. Among such hymnals was the collection by M. Guenther and C. Janzow containing 18 hymns from the German with "its original melody." It was called Lutheran Hymns (For the use of English Lutheran Missions) and appeared in 1882.³⁴ A review of it says "Dies Englisch schliesst sich so genau als möglich an den deutschen Text an."³⁵ And it is

³²Hymns of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, For the Use of English Lutheran Missions (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1896), pp. iii-iv.

³³Johnson, p. 45.

³⁴"New Publications," The Lutheran Witness, I (June 7, 1882), 16.

³⁵G., "Neue Drucksachen," Der Lutheraner, XXXVIII (April 1, 1882), 56. This review claims that there were only

recommended for an occasional English service at a German congregation. In 1885 The Lutheran Witness mentions the same title in its column called "Recent Publications" and gives the place of publication as St. Louis at Concordia Publishing House and the date as 1885.³⁶

The Arkansas and Tennessee Pastoral Conference published a small English hymnal for use in their English mission work. Pastors George Goehringer and Julius A. Friedrich edited and published the booklet. It was printed by the Chattanooga Times printshop, whose owner Adolphus Ochs later "bought the bankrupt New York Times and made it one of the greatest papers in the world."³⁷ The two editors had tried to get "the powers that be in St. Louis and the Concordia Publishing House interested in the matter," but without success. They were told to "use the English Lutheran Conference hymn-book."³⁸ Their own collection was titled Hymns (For the Use of English Lutheran Missions) and published in 1891. It contained 31 hymns, "all but two of which were taken from the Hymn Book of the English

16 hymns and 15 melodies in Lutheran Hymns. See also Der Lutheraner, XXXIX (May 15, 1883), 80.

³⁶"Recent Publications," The Lutheran Witness, IV (June 21, 1885), 24.

³⁷Julius A. Friedrich, "Early English Hymnal," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXIII (April 1950), 18.

³⁸Ibid.

Lutheran Conference."³⁹ This little hymnal went through two editions of five hundred copies each.⁴⁰

In 1892 a School and Parish Hymnal by the Rev. J. F. Ohl appeared. It contained over two hundred and fifty hymns with their tunes. The German hymns had the rhythmic forms of the melodies.⁴¹ In 1895 Hymns for the use of Eng. Lutheran Mission Festivals⁴² and Hymns for English Lutheran Services (with order of service)⁴³ were published. And in 1896 Passion Hymns (for English Lutheran Services) was published by the American Lutheran Publications Board of Chicago. It contained nine hymns from the English Conference hymnal.⁴⁴

Despite all these little collections of hymns in English none, with the exception of Ohl's School and Parish Hymnal, seemed to be acceptable for general use in English worship situations.

Therefore, when August Crull presented the English Lutheran Conference with the manuscript of a hymnal the

³⁹Ibid., p. 19.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 20.

⁴¹"The Reviewer," The Lutheran Witness, XI (September 21, 1892), 62.

⁴²"New Publications," The Lutheran Witness, XIII (May 7, 1895), 184.

⁴³"New Publications," The Lutheran Witness, XIII (April 7, 1895), 168.

⁴⁴D[allmann], "The Reviewer," The Lutheran Witness, XIV (March 21, 1896), 160.

conference resolved to accept the gift.

By resolution the chairman appointed a committee of three to receive, examine and publish this manuscript. The President appointed the following: Prof. A. Crull, Rev. L. M. Wagner, Prof. A. L. Graebner. By vote of the Conference the chairman, Rev. F. Kuegele, was added to this committee.

It was furthermore Resolved, that this committee should send a provisional copy of the hymnal to each pastor of this General Conference, and that the committee shall publish the Hymnal when two thirds of the charges of this Conference are in favor of it, and when two thirds of the cost of publication is secured.⁴⁵

After many delays the manuscript was finally published in 1889 under the title Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book.⁴⁶

1889 Hymnal

The Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book of 1889 contained almost all that was essential for worship in English. It had an order of morning service and of evening service, antiphons, hymns (texts only), and even the Augsburg Confession. Indices were provided: an index of first lines of the English hymns and an index of hymns translated from the German.

⁴⁵Proceedings of the First Convention of the General Ev. Luth. Conference of Missouri and Other States (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1888), pp. 16-17.

⁴⁶Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book, Published by order of the General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States (Baltimore: Harry Lang, Printer, 1889). Because it was published in Baltimore it became known as the "Baltimore Hymnal," cf. Polack, "Historical Background," p. 2.

The arrangements of the hymns was according to the church year and by other topics. It also carefully acknowledged how many hymns in each division were from the German and how many were from existing English hymns. Of the four hundred hymns 203 were translated from the German and 197 were English hymns.⁴⁷

The index of first lines also indicated whether each hymn had appeared in the "Decorah H. B.," the "Church Book," the "Book of Worship," or the "Ohio Hymnal."⁴⁸ It also indicated the source of the translation and whether it had been altered. The Hymn Book of the Norwegian Synod contained only 8 translations by Crull; the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book contained 29 by him. The chorale translations of Catherine Winkworth were relied on very heavily. Other translators which were used frequently include J. M. Neile, R. Massie and Th. Kelly. Some 149 hymns were altered in one form or another. Of the 231 hymns from the German, all but 12 had appeared in the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden.⁴⁹ One hundred sixty-nine of the hymns were originally in English.

⁴⁷Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book, p. xvii.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 616-625. The hymnals referred to are the following: Hymn Book (Norwegian Synod), Church Book (General Council), Book of Worship (General Synod), and Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal (Ohio Synod).

⁴⁹Johnson, p. 53.

Crull had therefore prepared a hymnal which provided a fine collection of the more important hymns from the German and the more important English hymns for American Lutherans who spoke English.

The purpose of this hymnbook was defined by F. Kügele in Der Lutheraner:

Nach dem Wunsche unseres sel. Dr. Walther wurde schon vor etlichen Jahren von Herrn Prof. A. Crull ein englisches Gesangbuch nach dem Muster des deutschen hergestellt, und dasselbe ist nun im Auftrage der Allgemeinen Englischen Conferenz im Druck erschienen Wollen wir für unsere Nachkommen eine recht lutherische englische Kirche erbauen, so müssen wir auch bei Zeiten für ein recht lutherisches englisches Gesangbuch sorgen.⁵⁰

Thus they had a truly Lutheran hymnal which could serve well for various worship situations.

In 1891 the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States resolved to revise and enlarge its hymnal since the first edition of two thousand copies had been sold out.⁵¹ W. Dallmann, A. Detzer, C. Spannuth and F. Kuegele were appointed to undertake the task.⁵²

⁵⁰F. Kügele, "Englisches Gesangbuch," Der Lutheraner, XLV (October 8, 1889), 166.

⁵¹Proceedings of the Second Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Baltimore: Harry Lang, printer, 1891), p. 8. Cf. "Miscellaneous," The Lutheran Witness, X (August 7, 1891), 40, where all suggestions for "the new edition of the hymnal" are to be directed to Rev. Dallmann, chairman of the Publication Committee.

⁵²D[allmann], The Lutheran Witness, X (March 21, 1892), 154.

They were advised, if necessary, to consult with others and their work [was] 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. Translations are to retain their tunes.⁵³

A motion was also made to include the tunes; organists often had a difficult time finding the tunes to accompany the congregation. However, no action was taken except to appoint a committee, consisting of O. M. Kaiser, Th. Huegli and A. S. Bartholomew, to make a recommendation concerning the motion.⁵⁴

In 1892 the second edition appeared. Apparently, this edition was mainly the work of William Dallmann.⁵⁵ The hymns contained in the first edition were kept with their original numbering. Some English hymns were altered by changing words or adding stanzas. These changes were based on research done in Baltimore libraries. Some German translations were omitted, others were substituted so that they were more singable according to the original melodies. And some translations were improved. Fifty more hymns "of high literary excellence" were added. Before these were included they were studied "as to their doctrinal and spiritual worth." The total number, then, not including the doxologies, became four hundred-fifty hymns.⁵⁶

⁵³Proceedings of the Second Convention, p. 37.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Polack, "Historical Background," p. 3.

⁵⁶Wm. Dallmann, "The New Hymn Book Contains," The Lutheran Witness, X (March 7, 1892), 149.

The important feature of the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden, namely, the preservation of the best of German Lutheran hymnody, was also the distinguishing characteristic of this hymnal in English. In Dallmann's words,

The characteristic feature that makes this book superior to all other English Lutheran hymnbooks is the large number--over two hundred--of the beautiful German Lutheran chorals given in it in translations according to the original meter and without mutilation by arbitrary abbreviation.⁵⁷

That this new edition was received with favor is quite clear from the number that were sold. Already in November, only eight months after it was published, almost all two thousand copies were gone. They were being offered with or without "the Common Service."⁵⁸ And they could be purchased in a variety of bindings. At the third convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States, in 1893, it was reported that "a second, and now a third, edition of the hymnbook has been published."⁵⁹ By the time the seventh and eighth thousandth copies appeared, 1894, the Lutheran Publication Board had moved to Chicago.⁶⁰ A low introductory

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Wm. Dallmann, "Miscellaneous," The Lutheran Witness, XI (November 21, 1892), 96.

⁵⁹Proceedings of the Third Convention of the English Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Baltimore: Lutheran Publication Board, [1893]), p. 12.

⁶⁰"The Reviewer," The Lutheran Witness, XII (April 7, 1894), 166.

rate was granted to congregations and missions which had not yet introduced the hymnal.⁶¹ Thus, sales continued and by 1897 thirteen thousand copies had been printed.⁶²

A copy of the Evangelical Lutheran Hymnbook now contained these items: a table of contents, the festivals of the Church Year with a table of lessons, the order of morning service (communion), the order of evening service (vespers), the order of early service (matins), the introits and collects for the Church Year, collects and prayers, general prayers, psalms, four hundred and fifty hymns (texts only), four doxologies, an index of the arrangement of the hymns, an index of first lines, and an index of translations from the German. This constituted a book of some four hundred seventy pages.⁶³

The problem of producing a book with the tunes for the hymns remained. In 1893 the synod had deferred indefinitely the publication of its own tune-book. Organists could find the tunes for all the hymns in the Evangelical Lutheran

⁶¹Proceedings of the Fifth Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, [1897]), p. 44.

⁶²Evangelical Lutheran Hymnbook (Chicago: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1897), title page.

⁶³Ibid.

Hymnbook in Layriz's Choralbuch, in Church Song, or The Common Service by Mrs. H. Krauth.⁶⁴

When the Rev. O. E. Brandt, a delegate from the Chicago Norwegian Pastoral Conference visiting the fourth convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States, stated that his synod saw the need of English work and wished to prepare a hymn-book for Sunday-schools, he suggested that the book 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, if matters could be satisfactorily arranged between our synods, the book would find a large, ready and constant sale among their people. . . . 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.⁶⁵

In this action there is evidence that there was a strong desire to include tunes, as well as texts, in a new hymnal.

Although a joint publication of a Sunday-school hymnal was discussed, the Norwegian synod seemingly went ahead on its own. Because it wished to have a tune-book of its own,

⁶⁴Proceedings of the Third Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Baltimore: Lutheran Publication Board, [1893]), p. 36.

⁶⁵Proceedings of the Fourth Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Chicago: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1895), p. 44. The synod also resolved to invite the other members of the Synodical Conference to collaborate in the preparation of a Sunday-school hymnal.

the English Synod attempted again to revise its own hymnal. A committee located in Baltimore was appointed to prepare a tune-book and to revise the hymnal. Pastor Dallmann was to oversee the doctrinal side; Dr. C. W. Emil Miller was to oversee the literary side; and organist Fred Miller was to oversee the musical side. When the revision of the hymnbook was completed the tune committee was to compile a music-book for the hymnal after it had gathered funds and subscribers for it.⁶⁶ The committee on the tune-book reported that the list of tunes was prepared and agreed to wait until the revision of the hymnal was complete before publishing it. It was not yet determined whether the words would be printed with the tunes; this matter was to be decided by the Publication Board.⁶⁷

When the committee on revision reported in 1901 it made several recommendations. It said that its task had not been clearly enough defined, that to publish a tune-book would necessitate a rearranging of the hymns, that some hymns were unusable and some very desirable hymns were missing and that they recommended a thorough revision in form and content.

⁶⁶Proceedings of the Fifth Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publications Board, [1897]), p. 40.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 48-49. For the list of tunes and additional hymns see "Hymns and Tunes for a New Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, XXIV (June 15, 1905), 91-93.

In addition, the present committee was to be dissolved and a new one be appointed that "will be in a better position to do the work" so that a manuscript could be presented at the next convention. The synod accepted this report.⁶⁸ At this time the necessity for a revision was urged on by the need to replace the plates for the hymnal.⁶⁹ ★

In 1903 the committee reported to the convention that it had almost finished its work since just the musical settings for the various services needed to be completed.

Synod resolved to delay the publication of the book for two years. Meanwhile lists of hymns and tunes and other data are to appear in the "Witness". A committee to gather funds for the publication was created.⁷⁰

In 1905 the committee reported that some members of the committee had resigned, that the list of tunes and hymns was printed in The Lutheran Witness⁷¹ and that the work was now submitted for adoption. Synod adopted the new hymnbook proposed by the revision committee and requested that suggestions still be considered by the committee.

⁶⁸Proceedings of the Seventh Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1901), p. 137.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 130.

⁷⁰Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1903), p. 61.

⁷¹Supra, n. 68.

The Hymn-Book Committee was made a committee of ways and means for the publication of the hymn-book. The following resolution was passed: "That the Committee go ahead with publishing the hymn-book only under the condition that it place no financial burden upon Synod."⁷²

At the 1907 convention the committee had to report that it had found "no ways and means of publishing the book without placing any financial burden on Synod."⁷³ They had, however, made use of the time by making improvements on the hymnal.

By the 1909 convention no progress could be reported and the synod resolved to appoint a special committee to secure funds for the immediate publication of the new hymnal with tunes. This committee was to consist of three laymen.⁷⁴

In the meantime part of the need for the tunes had been supplied by a Sunday School hymnal. The committee for the Sunday School hymnal had selected four hundred and fifty hymns. Eighty-eight of these were from the Evangelical Lutheran Hymnbook ("mainly the old Lutheran hymns"), and

⁷²Proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1905), pp. 66-67.

⁷³Proceedings of the Tenth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1907), p. 66.

⁷⁴Proceedings of the Eleventh Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1909), p. 79.

this selection was widely accepted. The editorial committee consisted of William Dallmann, C. W. E. Miller and Fred W. Miller. In a review by H. D. Steffens much praise is sounded for the hymnal. This statement is typical:

We believe that our struggling little Synod has in this publication produced a work which may not be perfect, but which is nevertheless the peer of everything in this line heretofore offered to the Sunday-school workers of America 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 parents knew not what else to offer their English-speaking and English-singing children.⁷⁵

This Sunday School hymnal provided many of the tunes for the Evangelical Lutheran Hymnbook, though it did not remove the need for a tune edition, and paved the way for the revision which was to appear with the tunes.

1912 Hymnal

The revision of the Evangelical Lutheran Hymnbook which was in the last stages of preparation was to become an official hymnbook of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. No "official" English hymnal had been prepared by the Missouri Synod before 1912. There were small hymnals in English; none of these had "official" status. Two of the important English hymnals were

⁷⁵H. D. Steffens, "Our Sunday-School Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, XX (October 21, 1901), 75.

Hymns of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (1896) and Hymnal for Evangelical Lutheran Missions (1905). The significance of these should be reviewed again.

Hymns of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, known as the "Little Black Hymnal," was compiled and edited by Crull. It contained only 33 hymns. Several of the translations were made by Crull. It was designed for general use. A noteworthy feature was this: it contained the melodies in the original rhythmic forms.⁷⁶ Polack indicates that this hymnal had "quasi-official character."⁷⁷

Hymns of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was superseded by the Hymnal for Evangelical Lutheran Missions, known as the "Grey Hymnal." It contained one hundred and ninety-nine hymns and three doxologies, as well as a table of contents, index of hymns, index of tunes, versicles, an order for Holy Communion (beginning, however, with the preface), the Apostles' Creed and a general confession. Fifteen of the translations from German hymns were done by Crull.⁷⁸ This, too, had a quasi-official character.

⁷⁶Hymns of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, For the use of English Lutheran Missions (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1896).

⁷⁷Polack, "Historical Background," p. 3.

⁷⁸Hymnal for Evangelical Lutheran Missions (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1905).

Hymnals from outside the circles of the Missouri Synod that were used by various congregations included the following: Hymn-book (Norwegian Synod), 1879; Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal (Joint Synod of Ohio), 1880; Church Book (General Council), 1870; and, Hymns (For the Use of English Lutheran Missions, prepared by the Arkansas and Tennessee Pastoral Conference), 1891.⁷⁹ The Evangelical Lutheran Hymnbook of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States, of course, was used by some congregations in the Missouri Synod. It was often referred to as the "Baltimore Hymnal" or, later, as the "Pittsburgh Hymnal."⁸⁰

When therefore the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States decided to join the Missouri Synod as a district it wished to see its hymnbook receive publication. The report of the committee, which was adopted by the synod, included this stipulation among others:

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 Hymn-Book, Sunday-School literature, pamphlets, etc.⁸¹

⁷⁹W. G. Polack, Handbook, p. v.

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. v-vi.

⁸¹Proceedings of the Eleventh Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1909), p. 82.

In 1911 these two synods were joined. The "English Synod" became the English District of the Missouri Synod.

In 1911, after repeated inquiries on the part of the English Synod as to whether the barriers that separated the English Synod from the German Synod could not be removed, and after the interchange of opinions as to this matter, the English Synod accepted the invitation of the German body to join the German organization. Since that time the English Synod has continued its existence within the German body in the form of the English District of Synod.⁸²

Thus the Missouri Synod was to receive the long awaited revision of the English Synod's hymnal and was to have its own official English hymnal.

This Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes came off the press in April of 1912. William Dallmann was the one who saw it through the press; he had also been instrumental in preparing the form and the contents of the hymnal. The publication of this book was not an easy task. Dallmann told the story in a letter to W. G. Polack some years later:

In all Wisconsin no music type setter could be found! At last I discovered a saloon keeper who had done such work. He bought a very small amount of music type, set up a few pages during the day, rushed them to me, my wife and I read proof in a great hurry, and rushed the sheets to the compositor so that he could at once distribute the type and set up a few more pages the next day, and so ad finitum! Boy! What Joy!!! Much of the nightmare has been omitted.⁸³

Also in "My Life", p. 107

⁸²Hemmeter, pp. 73-74.

⁸³Polack, "Historical Background," p. 4.

And, Polack remarks that this explains why Concordia Publishing House was correcting those plates for twenty-five years.

The Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes contained the following: an order for Holy Communion; orders for Matins and Vespers; Introits and Collects for the church year; invitatories, antiphons, responsories and versicles for the church year; collects and prayers; a selection of psalms; five hundred sixty-seven hymns; nine chants; sixteen doxologies; a table of the festivals of the church year with scripture lessons and psalms appointed; index of first lines; an alphabetical index of tunes; a metrical index of tunes; an index of translated hymns; and, a short form for Holy Baptism in cases of necessity.⁸⁴

About 34 percent of the hymns in this hymnal were translated from the German (191 out of 567 hymns).⁸⁵ Of these 27 were written by Luther.

In the April 25 issue of The Lutheran Witness Concordia Publishing House announced that the new hymnal was completed and would be ready for shipment in a week. It also announced that a word edition was not yet ready but was in the process of being prepared for publication.⁸⁶

⁸⁴Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes (Edition of 1924; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, [1924]).

⁸⁵Tillmanns, p. 825.

⁸⁶"The Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book," The Lutheran Witness, XXXI (April 25, 1912), 72.

The publisher's intentions are indicated in the following statement reported in The Lutheran Witness:

It is sincerely hoped by the publishers that all 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.⁸⁷

The tradition begun in Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden of providing orthodox hymns in a comprehensive yet practical form was continued in the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes.

In general, the book was received with favor. Almost immediately Lehre und Wehre strongly recommended it.

Unser Englischer Distrikt kann sich glücklich schätzen, dass er in den Besitz dieses Buches gelangt ist, welches Kirchenlieder und Melodien miteinander verbindet. Nicht bloch Organisten werden es mit Freuden begrüßen, sondern auch in christliche Familien sollte es seinen Eingang halten und mit dazu beitragen, dass unsere gesungen und unwürdige Lieder aus christlich Familien verdrängt werden. Wer eine Orgel oder ein Piano im Hause hat, sollte sich unverzüglich dies Hymn-Book with Tunes kommen lassen.⁸⁸

And, it was highly praised some twelve years later with these words:

⁸⁷R., "Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, XXXI (May 9, 1912), 80.

⁸⁸F. B., "Literatur," Lehre und Wehre, XLVIII (May 1912), 218.

After using it [Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes] and after drawing comparisons with other English Lutheran hymnals, we believe that none so well stands the test of criticism as our own.⁸⁹

The reason for such praise is further explained:

Its hymns are, in the main, drawn from our old Lutheran stock. Those of Reformed origin breathe the sentiments common to all believers, whether Lutheran, Reformed, or Catholic. Some of those teaching the doctrine of Justification -- "Just as I Am," "Not What These Hands Have Done," the first verse of "I Lay My Sins on Jesus," "Rock of Ages" -- are among the most lovely songs of our faith ever penned by men. As for the tunes, there are some which might be called trivial, but most of them are built on true churchly lines. In addition, our English hymnal contains a great number of old Lutheran tunes which are not found in our German hymnal, and among these a number of very fine Norwegian tunes.⁹⁰

Those who compiled the hymnal are also commended for not including certain items:

We do not find melodies by Lida Shivers Leech, C. Austin Miles, J. Hall, H. J. Lacey, and the rest of the Gospel-song composers, nor do we find hymns of the type of "I Was There When It Happened," "The Hand that Holds Me Steady," "Jesus Set the Music Ringing," "Let the Lower Lights be Burning," "Ring the Bells of Heaven," or "The Church in the Wildwood," nor such combinations of vapid text and secular tune as

⁸⁹"Our Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, XLIII (June 3, 1924), 214.

⁹⁰Ibid.

"Jesus is Calling" sung to the Melody in F by Rubenstein.⁹¹

Thus the preservation of the good German Lutheran hymns and the presentation of the best hymns in the English language were considered strong points of the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes.

This hymnal also influenced hymnals outside the Missouri Synod. Polack evaluates this influence among other Lutherans as follows:

But whatever the defects of this hymn-book were, it must be said that for its day it was an epoch-making work. All the official English Lutheran hymnals, now in use in our country, Canada, and Australia have been prepared and published since that time and to a greater or lesser degree have leaned on this book. This is especially true of Wisconsin Synod's Book of Hymns, published in 1920 and of the Australian Lutheran Hymn-Book of 1925. The 320 hymns of the former are taken almost bodily from our old hymn-book; the latter leans heavily upon it.⁹²

It was, therefore, a genuine pioneering, trail-blazing effort as a Lutheran hymnbook in English.

By August 1912 it was necessary for a second edition, merely a reprint of the first edition with but a few corrections,

⁹¹Ibid. Similar warnings against the use of poor tunes and texts appeared rather frequently in The Lutheran Witness, cf. XX (July 21, 1901), 25; XX (August 7, 1901), 34; XX (December 7, 1901), 98; XXI (February 13, 1902), 29; XXII (January 29, 1903), 22; and, XXXIV (July 27, 1915), 234-235.

⁹²Polack, "Historical Background," p. 4.

to be run off the press.⁹³ And, in December of 1912 the word edition was available. It contained everything that the original edition contained "with the exception of the music and a few tables, the latter of which were omitted through accident not within our control."⁹⁴

In 1929 a Concordance to Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book was published. It had been prepared by E. Eckhardt in order to open more fully the wealth of the hymnal to those who would take the few moments to consult a concordance.⁹⁵

Summary

The Missouri Synod now had an English hymnal for its own use, the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes. It was preceded by many smaller attempts at suiting the needs of worship in English. It was a collection of hymns which was begun by August Crull and which grew under the direction of the English Synod to a significant collection of hymns from the German and English traditions. It survived among other hymnals from inside and outside the Missouri Synod. The original

⁹³"The New Hymn-Book," The Lutheran Witness, XXXI (August 29, 1912), 144.

⁹⁴"Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book," The Lutheran Witness, XXXII (January 16, 1913), 15. Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House [1912]).

⁹⁵E. Eckhardt, Concordance to Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1929).

edition of 1889 saw some revision and enlarging in 1892 and a full revision with the addition of tunes in 1912. Its publication came just one year after the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States became the English District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, and was, apparently, due in part to that union. It was widely accepted and considered a fine tool for worship in English.

CHAPTER IV

THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL

The Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden provided the Missouri Synod with a German hymnal. The Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes provided it with an English hymnal. As more and more congregations within the Synod began to use the English language, a movement arose to revise the 1912 English hymnal to make it more useful. This revision became a joint project with other synods in the Synodical Conference. The product of this joint effort was The Lutheran Hymnal, a collection of hymns that brought together the best hymns in English for Lutheran worship. And, it was used, finally, by almost every congregation in the Synodical Conference.

A Synodical Conference Hymnal

Suggestions of a joint hymnal for more than one Lutheran synod in America came occasionally, but seldom did they come to fruition. For example, the Ohio Synod in the fall of 1866 passed a resolution to appoint a committee "to pave the way for a friendly relations" with the Missouri Synod.¹ As part

¹Carl S. Meyer, editor, Moving Frontiers (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), p. 262.

of this effort at cooperation, the publication of a new Lutheran hymnal was suggested. Evidently nothing came of the suggestion for the Ohio Synod published its Gesangbuch in 1870 and its Lutheran Hymnal in 1880.²

In 1923 a similar request came from other Lutheran synods, which were not in doctrinal unity with the Missouri Synod, to join in publishing an English hymnbook for all the bodies. The Missouri Synod choose to reject this offer with this resolution:

We cannot participate in this undertaking because, among other reasons, our present hymnal is so firmly established in our congregations that we cannot introduce a new one at this time.³

Just three years later, 1926, in a meeting of the Synodical Conference another such petition came. This time it was from the Norwegian Synod to the members of the Synodical Conference.

to prepare and publish, through a joint committee, an English hymnal for use in the various synods of the Synodical Conference.⁴

However, this petition was not turned down as others had been.

²Carl Schalk, "The Living Hymnody of American Lutheranism," Church Music, I (Fall 1966), 42.

³Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Regular Meeting of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1923 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1923), p. 55.

⁴"Betreffs Herausgabe eines gemeinschaftlichen englischen Gesangbuchs," Verhandlungen der dreissigsten Versammlung der Evang.-Luth. Synodalkonferenz von Nord-Amerika (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1926), p. 43.

In that same year Concordia Publishing House advised the Missouri Synod that a new set of plates was needed in order to continue printing the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes. Although a change in hymnbooks was not recommended, a desire was expressed that Synod should consider the matter carefully.

We would not welcome the addition of a new hymn-book, though we might welcome the substitution of a new hymnal for one or several of our present hymn-books. At the present time we must still furnish the old gray hymn-book, the old Pittsburgh hymn-book, and the 1911 ("standard") hymn-book.⁵

Another important consideration was the occasional dissatisfaction with the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes. Concordia Publishing House noted also this in its report to Synod. The criticisms were voiced concerning things like these: those texts that were included, or those that were excluded; the predominance of German-origin tunes, or tunes which were not of German origin; the inclusion of responsive readings, or the desirability of an edition without responsive readings; as well as, a wide difference of opinion on the liturgical order of service.⁶

Synod was not yet willing to authorize changes, but rather appointed a committee to study the possibilities of a

⁵Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Regular Convention of Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1926 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1926), p. 159.

⁶Ibid., p. 158.

revision of the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes. The request from the Synodical Conference, the necessity of making new plates and the occasional dissatisfaction caused Synod to consider a revision.

At Synod's convention in 1929 the special committee to study the revision of the English synodical hymnal, L. Fuerbringer, W. G. Polack, and P. E. Kretzmann, made its report. The committee felt that the "present hymnal" was in need of more than revision. Although it was still serviceable and "the best hymnal on the American market to-day,"⁷ the committee recommended that a new hymnal, which would more adequately fit the need of Synod's congregations and which could be produced in ten or fifteen years, should be considered.

The committee's reasons for making such a recommendation are somewhat lengthy, but they are important.

1. Many of the translations from the German are of uncertain merit, not paying sufficient attention to the idiom of the English language; often there are mistakes also in rhyme and rhythm. Such imperfections ought to be corrected in the interest of a wider use of the splendid heritage which has come down to us from our fathers.
2. The selection of material from other fields outside of the German chorals is also subject

⁷Reports and Memorials for the Nineteenth Delegate Synod, 1929 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1929), p. 162.

to criticism, since, in many instances, we have better hymns for specific purposes from Lutheran sources, upon which we may well draw, than from extra-Lutheran, and we believe that other hymns from German sources, not now included, could be added or substituted. This is one of the reasons why we suggest ten to fifteen years as the period probably required for hymns to be compared in order that the best may be included.

3. Our hymnal ignores, to a large, extent, many of the treasures found in the hymnals of the Scandinavian countries, also in those of Bohemia, France, and other countries; and yet some excellent material is contained in the Lutheran hymn-books of these countries, also some excellent tunes. Much material found in the Lutheran Church of America may also be used to good advantage. In short, every point of progress in Lutheran hymnody and hymnology should be recognized.

4. It will be necessary, in many instances, to do additional recasting of melodies in order to have the hymns as sung agree with the genius of the English language.⁸

For these reasons the committee suggested that Synod's president appoint a standing Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics to begin such work as soon as possible. It also suggested that the other synods in the Synodcal Conference be invited to join in the undertaking "in order to have their cooperation in the preparation of the proposed hymnal."⁹

The convention brought the following resolutions to the floor and passed them:

1. Resolved . . . That the Ven. Synod instruct its President to appoint a standing committee of five

⁸Ibid., pp. 162-163.

⁹Ibid., p. 163.

on English hymnology and liturgics; and be it furthermore

2. Resolved, That this committee proceed at once to begin studies and make investigations with a view to the ultimate publication of a new hymnal, a task which may require from nine to twelve years; and be it furthermore

3. Resolved, That the Ven. Synod instruct its President to confer with other synods composing the Synodical Conference in order to have their cooperation in the preparation of the proposed hymnal; and be it furthermore

4. Resolved . . . That in the mean time no changes be made in, or additions to, the present hymnal except by special instruction or order of Synod.¹⁰

A thorough-going revision, then, was to be undertaken with the other Lutheran synods of the Synodical Conference, if they would be willing to cooperate.

W. G. Polack, who was to be selected chairman of the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, explained why the Missouri Synod felt so strong a need for revision of the 1912 hymnal.

The cry which went up in our circles about 1927, calling for a revision of the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book[,] was the result of the following facts that had impressed themselves upon our people: first, the inadequacy of many of the translations, not so much because they were full of Germanisms (Wesley's "Reach me out Thy hand!"), but because they were full of obsolete expressions, ponderous rhymes, etc.; secondly, the preponderance of Wesley and Watts' hymns, to the exclusion of

¹⁰Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Regular Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1929 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1929), p. 133.

many other good English hymns; thirdly, the absence of many good hymns of Latin, Greek, German, American, Scandinavian, and other origins.¹¹

Such thoughts would be carried by Polack and L. Fuerbringer, both of whom had brought the recommendations for revision, to the intersynodical committee.

By November 20, 1929, Dr. F. Pfothenhauer, the president of the Missouri Synod, had appointed a "Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics." It consisted of five members: Prof. W. G. Polack, Dr. L. Fuerbringer, Prof. L. Blankenbuehler, Rev. O. Kaiser, and Supt B. Schumacher. W. G. Polack was the chairman; B. Schumacher was the secretary. These five men met at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, at 9:00 A.M. on November 20, 1929, "to organize the committee and to outline the scope of the work."¹²

¹¹W. G. Polack, "The Historical Background of the Lutheran Hymnal" (Unpublished manuscript, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo., [1941]), p. 5.

¹²Minutes of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, November 20, 1929, p. 1. Concordia Historical Institute in St. Louis, Mo., holds the minutes of this committee. The minutes of November 20, 1929 and January 2, 1930 are described as meetings of the "Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics." Beginning with the January 3, 1930 meeting the minutes refer to the "Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee" since that was the first time that the various synodical representatives met together. And, beginning with the October 25, 1940 meeting the minutes refer to the "Synodical Conference Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics" since the work on the hymnal had been completed. The references to these minutes will, then, in almost all cases be to the "Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee." By referring to the same document under these several titles it can be indicated whether it was synodical committee action or intersynodical committee action.

Basic Guidelines

Already in the first session of the Missouri Synod's Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics guidelines were discussed and adopted which were to become the basic guidelines of the intersynodical committee. The division of the work according to origins of hymns and the principles for deciding whether a hymn was worthy of inclusion were clarified.

The first resolution of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics divided the work among its members. At this time it was not yet known whether the other synods would participate in a cooperative effort and if they would cooperate just how the resulting intersynodical committee would operate. Prof. Blankenbuehler was assigned the hymns of English and American origin. The Rev. Kaiser was assigned the hymns of German origin. Prof. Polack took the hymns of Scandinavian, American and Australian origin. Dr. Fuerbringer took the hymns of ancient and Medieval origin. And, Supt. Schumacher was assigned the music.¹³

In the same meeting, the second session, it was decided what guiding principles were to be used in determining which hymns should be included. After some deliberation these principles were adopted:

¹³Minutes of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, November 20, 1929, p. 1.

- 1) Hymns:
 - a) Must be of intrinsic value as to their contents;
 - b) Must be distinctively Christian.
- 2) Translations:
 - a) Must be of good form;
 - b) Must be idiomatic English.
- 3) Tunes:
 - a) Must be suited to the text;
 - b) Must be good church music. (Exceptions may be made in such cases in which text and tune are associated to such an extent that they are inseparable.)¹⁴

These principles were to guide the committee in its decisions.

Suggestions from pastors, teachers and interested laymen were welcomed. Chairman Polack was directed to make an announcement in The Lutheran Witness and Der Lutheraner to solicit ideas and wishes "with respect to the hymns, translations, tunes, and order of service."¹⁵ In the meeting on January 2, 1930 Polack reported that such announcement had been made. The questions, to which some replies already had been received, were these:

Which hymns or tunes not now included in the hymn book do you think ought to be embodied in a new hymnal, if one is published?

Have you in your possession English translations which are better than those now found in the hymn book? Will you send a copy of these?

¹⁴Ibid., p. 2. These principles were reported in many places, i.e., W. G. Polack, The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal (Third and Revised Edition; Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), p. vii, as well as many reports of the committee.

¹⁵Minutes, p. 1.

Which of the hymns or tunes in our present hymn book are seldom, if ever, used in your services?¹⁶

On January 3, 1930 in the Rev. O. Kaiser's parsonage in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the first meeting of the "Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee" was held. The Missouri Synod representatives were Prof. W. G. Polack, Dr. L. Fuerbringer (who was absent for reasons of health), Prof. L. Blankenbuehler, the Rev. O. Kaiser and Supt. B. Schumacher. The representatives from the Wisconsin Synod were Prof. J. Meyer and the Rev. O. Hagedorn. The Rev. N. A. Madson and the Rev. C. Anderson represented the Norwegian Synod. The Slovak Synod's representative was not yet known; after the meeting adjourned the Rev. J. Pelikan, the representative appointed by the Slovak Synod, arrived from Chicago. He had been detained by important work in his congregation.¹⁷

The basic guidelines and the division of the work as already outlined by the Missouri Synod's committee was presented and adopted. In the minutes Secretary Schumacher reported the sentiments of those members who were present:

A uniform hymn book for the entire Synodical Conference certainly is desirable; the manner of dividing the various phases of the work of revision among various sub-committees is a good plan; and

¹⁶Ibid., January 2, 1930, p. 4.

¹⁷Minutes of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee, January 3, 1930, p. 6.

the tentative general guiding principles for the selection of hymns and tunes may be used as a basis.¹⁸

The Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee was now ready to begin its work.

Next, the subcommittees in charge of various phases of the work were organized from the members of the intersynodical committee. These subcommittees were arranged as follows:

- a) Hymns of English and American (not Lutheran) origin: Prof. L. Blakenbuehler;
- b) Hymns of German origin: Rev. O. Kaiser and Rev. O. Hagedorn;
- c) Hymns of Scandinavian, American Lutheran, and Australian origin: Rev. N. A. Madson and Rev. C. Anderson;
- d) Hymns of Ancient and Medieval origin: Prof. J. Meyer;
- e) Hymns of Slovak and other Slavic origin: The representative of the Slovak Synod;
- f) Music: Supt. B. Schumacher.¹⁹

These subcommittees were encouraged to augment themselves, if it would be helpful. However, the names of persons selected to assist a subcommittee were to be approved by the entire intersynodical committee before the individuals were to be asked to serve.²⁰

At the next meeting, held April 24 and 25, 1930, the names of several men who were to serve as advisory members of the subcommittees were suggested. These are the names which were accepted by the committee:

¹⁸Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 8.

²⁰Ibid.

Committee on Hymns of English and American Origin: Prof. W. Burhop, Rev. K. Ehlers, and Rev. J. H. Deckmann;

Committee on Hymns of German origin: Prof O. Hattstaedt, Prof. W. Schaller, and Rev. A. Voss;

Committee on Hymns of Scandinavian Origin: Rev. C. M. Waller and Dr. S. Ylvisaker;

Committee on Hymns of Ancient and Medieval Origin: Dr. J. E. Ott;

Committee on Hymns of Slovac and other Slavic Origin: (No names were suggested.);

Committee on Hymns of American Lutheran and Australian Origin: (No names were suggested.);

Committee on Music: Prof. W. Buszin and Prof. E. Backer.²¹

Prof. Polack then presented a compilation of hymns that occurred in prominent Lutheran hymnals. This compilation was accepted "as a guide for beginning the selection of hymns to be embodied in the proposed new hymn book."²² Another decision of importance was "that the original version of hymns be retained unless it be a matter of doctrine or unless the change be a decided improvement."²³

Later the chairman, W. G. Polack, described in a more extended manner some of the principles which guided the committee. He wrote:

In working out this program the Committee kept in mind two fundamental points, aside from the requirements of purity of doctrine and literary qualities and the high liturgical character of the Lutheran service in which the hymns are to be used, and these two things were that the hymnal, even

²¹Ibid., April 24, 1930, p. 9.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

though to some extent used outside of our country, must be American and Lutheran. One of the first things that was done, therefore, was to establish on the basis of the American Lutheran hymnals an American Lutheran common usage, and then on the basis of the other American hymnals an American common usage was also established. This gave us a survey of the field and had the salutary effect of giving fairly definite direction to the work of the Committee.²⁴

There was, therefore, a definite effort to combine the German, English, Danish, Norwegian and American backgrounds in producing an English hymnal that was American and Lutheran.

From the previous chapters the Missouri Synod's tradition in hymnody is already clear. The hymnals which were being used by the other synods of the Synodical Conference as the new hymnal was being prepared should also be mentioned.

The joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and Other States was using its own Book of Hymns, which contained 320 hymns with tunes. Rev. O. Hagedorn, who was now serving on the intersynodical committee, and Rev. H. K. Moussa had been the chief editors. This 1920 publication was based, as Polack evaluated it, "largely on the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book of 1912," the Missouri Synod's hymnal. The Book of Hymns had been preceded by the Church Hymnal, which appeared in 1910 and contained 115 hymns with only the texts.²⁵

²⁴Polack, "Historical Background," p. 7.

²⁵Polack, Handbook, p. v. Cf. also Ernest E. Ryden, "Hymnbooks," The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, edited by Julius Bodensieck (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House,

The Lutheran Hymnary of 1913, which was originally published by authority of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod, the Hauge Evangelical Lutheran Synod, and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, was the hymnal being used by the Norwegian Synod. It preserved the Danish and Norwegian heritage of hymns in English; in fact, 262 of its hymns were translations from Danish and Norwegian. But, it also contained 118 translations of German hymns.²⁶

The Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the United States of America had been using the Missouri Synod's Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes.²⁷

Thus both the Slovak Synod, which actually used the English hymnal of the Missouri Synod, and the Wisconsin Synod whose hymnal was based largely on the Missouri Synod's 1912 publication were already somewhat in agreement with the Missouri Synod's selection of hymns. The Norwegian Synod had preserved its own Danish and Norwegian tradition of hymns. These four synods were now in the process of creating an English hymnal which would be both Lutheran and American.

1965), II, 1088. Book of Hymns, for the Evangelical Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, [1920]).

²⁶Polack, Handbook, p. v. Cf. also Ryden, pp. 1088-1089. The Lutheran Hymnary (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1913).

²⁷Polack, Handbook, p. v.

The Texts

Both the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden and the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book made their initial appearance as a collection of hymn texts without the tunes. The Lutheran Hymnal's story also revolves particularly around the selecting and editing of the texts.

As the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee began the work it requested from pastors, teachers and laymen of the various synods suggestions and recommendations for the hymnal revision. In the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics' report to the Missouri Synod convention in 1932 the type of response to its requests for suggestions was indicated. The chairman, W. G. Polack, wrote:

The responses to your Committee's several requests published in our church-papers were very gratifying, giving evidence of a very wide-spread interest in our work. All suggestions and recommendations as well as translations submitted are being duly [sic] considered.²⁸

The Committee could report that sixty hymns were already definitely accepted. It also requested of Synod an indication of the manner in which its reports should be made. The two techniques which the committee suggested were: either

²⁸W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on English Hymnology and Liturgics," Reports and Memorials for the Twentieth Delegate Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932), p. 160. Polack also reported that Dr. L. Fuerbringer and Prof. J. Meyer were replaced by Prof. A. Zich and the Rev. Wm. Moll.

partial printed reports from time to time, or publication of a provisional hymnal. Synod's resolution, however, left the method up to the committee and only indicated that it "keep Synod duly advised."²⁹

The first of these public reports appeared in The Lutheran Witness. Polack wrote,

The editors of the Lutheran Witness and the Northwestern Lutheran (Wisconsin Synod) have been kind enough to open the columns of their papers to us and we now present our first report to date on hymns and tunes tentatively accepted by the committee.³⁰

He also stated that the committee's report was too long to be published in one issue and therefore it would appear in several issues. And, since it was impossible to print out all hymns "only those hymns that have been materially altered, new translations, and new hymns" would appear.³¹ The report also contained these items: the guiding principles, the hymns tentatively adopted with no change (or slight change), the hymns adopted as they were (or with stanzas omitted), the hymns with more than minor changes (stanzas changed significantly).

²⁹"Report of the Committee on English Hymnology and Liturgics," Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Regular Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1932 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932), p. 191.

³⁰W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," The Lutheran Witness, LIII (January 16, 1934), 32.

³¹Ibid.

Since hymns, in a peculiar sense, give voice to the confession of the laity, the layman too should have opportunity to voice his opinion. Therefore the reports were published in a church periodical which laymen would read. Theodore Graebner, editor of The Lutheran Witness, described the reason for publishing the committee's reports within the pages of his periodical:

It is therefore proper that not only our pastors, but also our laymen have opportunity to examine the hymns that are proposed for reception into the new hymnal and that they note the changes made in the old.³²

For this reason five reports of the committee appeared in The Lutheran Witness from time to time.

The first report was continued in a March issue of the periodical. In this second report the suggestions that had been received were gratefully acknowledged and assurance was given that they were dully considered by the committee.

Polack also indicated this:

One of the aims of the committee has been to restore our hymns to the authors' original version unless false doctrine, obsolete expressions, or unclear meanings warrant a change; for we found that many hymn-book editors and committees during the past years have altered the original hymns for reasons that are not always clear.³³

³²[Theodore] G. [raebner], "Revision of Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, LIII (February 13, 1934), 57.

³³W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," The Lutheran Witness, LIII (March 27, 1934), 133.

Therefore, the committee was busy comparing all the new translations which appeared after the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes appeared. For the most part the committee was not relying on its own translating work, but on available translations. The report continued presenting the hymns that were changed significantly. In addition, tunes that had already been adopted were listed.

In 1934 there was a movement, at least by one congregation of the English District, to stop the work of revising the hymnal because of the unfavorable financial conditions of the times. But the English District did not move to recommend that Synod be petitioned along such lines.³⁴ Evidently the work of revision was considered important.

In the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics' report to Synod in 1935 the method of working with the texts was described. The committee determined which hymns were in common use among Lutherans in America by carefully comparing all the English Lutheran hymnals. This gave them a list of several hundred hymns. These, in turn, were apportioned to subcommittees (according to the national origin of the hymn) for study

³⁴"Revision of the Ev. Luth. Hymn-Book," Proceedings of the Fifteenth Convention of the English District, Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1934 ([St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House,] 1934), p. 61.

and recommendation. Polack described it further,

First of all, the question is decided as to whether a hymn is worthy of inclusion in our hymn-book. Then an effort is made to obtain the hymn in its original form, as it came from the pen of the author. This form is then adopted unless there are poetical, linguistic, or doctrinal reasons for making changes.³⁵

In adopting a translation the committee felt free to use whatever translations were available "in order to arrive at a smooth, clear, idiomatic English version."³⁶

Another aim of the committee came out in this report:

It is also the committee's aim to have the final selection of hymns include a sufficient number of children's hymns, so as to make the new hymn-book suitable also for school use (day and Sunday-school) and thus to provide one hymnal for church, school, and home.³⁷

And, in the same report, the committee also expressed the hope that its work could be completed by 1938. As a result of this possibility the Synod resolved to "publish the new English hymn-book."³⁸

In the committee's meeting of January 12, 1938 it began determining the arrangement of the items in the hymnbook.

³⁵W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," Reports and Memorials for the Twenty-First Delegate Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935), pp. 203-204.

³⁶Ibid., p. 204.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸"Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," Proceedings of Thirty-Sixth Regular Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States ([St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House,] 1935), p. 245.

This was the order decided upon:

Table of contents and rubrics; prayers (on entering church, before and after communion, morning, evening, for the sick, for the dying, on leaving church); liturgical section and psalms for responsive reading; the hymns, doxologies, and chant settings; Small Catechism; Augsburg Confession; Passion history; tables (festivals of Church Year, lessons, psalms, Easter computation, daily Bible readings for the year); indexes (tunes: alphabetical and metrical; authors: dates, denominations, profession, hymns; composers: dates, profession; translations: grouped by languages; topical index); index of first lines; short form for emergency baptism.³⁹

In the February meeting the committee chose a name for the new hymnal; the group decided that the title should be "The Lutheran Hymnal."⁴⁰

In the Spring of 1938 the sixth installment of its report appeared. This time, however, it was in a pamphlet form.⁴¹ This format was used because it was much less expensive than publishing it in The Lutheran Witness.

Another such pamphlet, a report to the Missouri Synod's convention in 1938, appeared in the Spring of 1938. It was forty-six pages in length and included a listing of the hymns according to the sections they were to comprise in the new hymnal.⁴²

³⁹Minutes of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee, January 12, 1938, p. 114.

⁴⁰Ibid., February 23, 1938, p. 117.

⁴¹W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics" (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, [1938]).

⁴²W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," [A report to the convention (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938)].

In the notes which introduce it Polack made some interesting statements. First, he said that work had now progressed far enough that the committee was preparing the entire manuscript for the press and that the hymnal might therefore be published during 1939. Second, he suggested that

the tune edition of the new hymnal . . . be the authentic edition and that for day and Sunday-schools a less expensive tune edition (unabridged) be published by using cheaper paper and stiff-paper covers.⁴³

At the same time, he pointed out that young people were receiving excellent training in singing from notes. Consequently, congregations ought to be encouraged to purchase a tune edition for church use. Third, he said that the committee proposed a section called "Children's Songs" which would be placed at the end of the hymn collection. This would make the hymnal more suitable for use in church-schools. Accordingly, a list of such songs was included in the report.⁴⁴

By now the committee had dropped 74 hymns from the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes, "some inferior, others seldom used," and added 166 hymns. These new hymns were Lutheran gems "not previously used in English in our circles" or they were "hymns from other sources, old and new,

⁴³Ibid., p. 1.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 2.

of acknowledged merit."⁴⁵ The proposed order of the materials in the new hymnal was also presented.

The convention moved to express grateful appreciation to the committee for faithful and efficient work, to instruct the committee to continue its work, to allow suggestions to be offered until January 1, 1939 and then to issue an advance copy of the text. Three months after the mailing of the advance copy to all pastors and teachers in Synod the committee would have the power to order the publication of the new hymnal.⁴⁶

On May 1, 1939 the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgies, as it was now called, presented its final report. Among the many items reported and included were these: some sample pages as illustration of the final product, the decision not to print the Small Catechism and the Augsburg Confession, the section entitled "Carols and Spiritual Songs" containing "such hymns as may be sung in Sunday-school and day-school by children of the age from eight to twelve,"⁴⁷

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶"Publication of New Hymnal," Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Regular Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1938 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938), p. 257. Cf. the recommendation of the committee in Minutes of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee, June 20, 1938, p. 120.

⁴⁷"Final Report of the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgies" ([St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House,] 1939), p. 2.

that the choice of texts and tunes continued the best tradition of the Church, that a collection of hymns for special occasions would soon be published, and that the retail price per book of the new hymnal was to be kept as near one dollar as possible.

By October, 1940 the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee could record in its minutes that the work on the new hymn book was complete and that the group could now turn its attentions to an Agenda and other materials.⁴⁸

During these more than ten years several changes occurred in the personnel on the committee. Polack has summarized these changes as follows:

In 1931 Dr. L. Fuerbringer tendered his resignation, owing to his increased duties as president of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and was made honorary member of the committee. The Rev. Wm. Moll of Fort Wayne was later appointed by President F. Pfotenhauer to take his place as member of the committee. The Rev. Prof. J. Meyer also resigned and was made honorary member, and the Rev. Prof. A. Zich was appointed in his place. The Rev. O. Hagedorn was removed from the committee by death, and the Rev. Arthur Voss was appointed in his place in 1932. In 1933 the Rev. A. Harstad was appointed to the committee as third representative of the Norwegian Synod. In 1944 the Rev. Wm. Moll resigned from the committee on account of failing health, and the Rev. O. H. Schmidt was appointed in his place. When the Rev. J. Pelikan resigned in 1938, the Revs. J. Bajus and J. Kucharik were appointed to represent the Slovak Synod. When death took the Rev. Prof. A. Zich from the committee the Rev. W. J. Schaefer, who had been active for

⁴⁸Minutes of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee, October 25, 1940, p. 142.

years as a subcommittee member, was appointed to succeed him.⁴⁹

Polack also gave a list of those men who served on various subcommittees for longer or shorter periods:

The Revs. W. M. Czamanske, W. Lochner, W. Burhop, K. Ehlers, J. H. Deckman, C. M. Waller, C. Hoffmann, C. Bergen, G. W. Fischer; the Rev. Profs. W. Schaller, W. Buszin, E. Backer, R. W. Heintze, K. Haase, M. Lochner; the Rev. Drs. J. H. Ott, P. E. Kretzmann, A. W. Wisnar, S. Ylvisaker.⁵⁰

Thus, in April of 1940 when all criticisms and further suggestions had been studied and one last review of all the work had been accomplished the committee turned the manuscript over to Concordia Publishing House for publication.⁵¹

Extra-Committee Suggestions

Although practically all the letters written to the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee are unavailable for study, those suggestions and recommendations that did appear in the periodicals of Missouri Synod circles are. These can provide only a small percentage of the opinions and, then, only those opinions which were considered worthy enough by the editors to make the printed page. However, they do present some of the "burning issues" concerning the new hymnal

⁴⁹W. G. Polack, "The Lutheran Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, LX (May 27, 1941), 187. This is a very comprehensive yet concise report on the work of the committee.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 188.

as the reports of the committee were being considered by others.

The Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden contained the Kernlieder, the basic core of Lutheran hymns. In the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes many of these Kernlieder in translation and many hymns from English and American traditions became available to Lutherans. But those hymns which were written by men who professed Lutheranism certainly were not guaranteed popularity merely because their hymns appeared in a Lutheran hymnal. Frequent efforts were made to bring these excellent hymns from the Lutheran heritage to the people's attention and close to their hearts.

These efforts were part of a realization that "the first consideration, in judging a hymn, must be its content, rather than its tune."⁵² This realization is further explained:

Some hymns must be avoided, because they have little or no doctrinal content. "Lead, Kindly Light" is such a one "Nearer My God to Thee" is Unitarian nonsense, and one needs only to read its words aloud, especially in its original form, to see how vague it is. The much altered version in our own hymnal is somewhat better.⁵³

Thus a tune alone did not make a hymn; to be a worthwhile hymn it also needed a worthwhile content.

⁵²"The New Hymnal Again," The American Lutheran, XXIII (February 1939), 17.

⁵³Ibid.

A whole series of articles on the quadricentennial of the first Lutheran hymnal appeared in the pages of The Lutheran Witness. It celebrated Luther's Achtliederbuch of 1524 and called attention to the early Lutheran contribution to hymnody. In this connection William Benbow reported a comment of an Episcopal clergyman who said:

It is a pity that the compilers of almost all [hymnals in America] have failed to borrow as many of the German chorals as they should. Those chorals are so elevated and at the same time so simple and devotional that they are beyond question the most perfect models of hymn tunes.⁵⁴

An essential purpose of William Dallmann's series of articles on Luther and the hymnal was to make his readers aware of the importance and uniqueness of the chorale.

A few years later the need for a hymnal revision arose. At this time there were many suggestions, but not all of these favored the German chorale.

One voice, an authority in his own right, was the Rev. Arthur F. Katt of Cleveland. He possessed an excellent library on hymnody and devoted much time to the study of hymnology. One person wrote about him:

His research has covered not only the familiar Lutheran chorales, but early Greek and Latin

⁵⁴William Benbow, "Ignoring the German Choral," The Lutheran Witness, XLIII (January 29, 1924), 48. Dallmann's articles on "Luther and the Hymnal" may be found in The Lutheran Witness, XLIII, 17-18, 53-54, 69-72, 104-105. Cf. also The Lutheran Witness, XLII, 101; XLIII, 23 and 48.

hymns, Mediaeval hymns, as well as those of the Roman, Anglican, Scottish and other churches.⁵⁵

Katt was therefore able to provide many suggestions to the committee, such as keeping the original order of the stanzas in "For All the Saints."⁵⁶ Rev. Katt even appeared in person before the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee to give his suggestions and recommendations. These were apparently so numerous and detailed at times that the committee asked him to submit them in writing.⁵⁷ This he did in mimeographed form.⁵⁸ Some of Rev. Katt's comments also reached the pages of The American Lutheran.⁵⁹

⁵⁵"The New Hymnal," The American Lutheran, XX (June 1937), 9.

⁵⁶Cf. a letter from W. G. Polack to Rev. Arthur F. Katt, September 27, 1941, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo.

⁵⁷Cf. Minutes of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee, November 10, 1937, p. 109; and October 11, 1939, p. 134.

⁵⁸Arthur F. Katt, "Critical Comments on the Proposed New Hymnal after Publication of the Committee's Final Report" (A mimeographed manuscript, 1939). A workbook of some member of the committee, as the workbook was found in Concordia Historical Institute, contained notations referring to Katt's "Critical Comments." These comments must have been put together rather hastily. He had only a few months after the final report of the committee, but his comments discuss detail and give evidence of a broad background.

⁵⁹Supra, n. 55.

One continuing discussion, quite obviously, would have to do with the place of revival and gospel hymns in the new hymnal. Those that strongly recommended including this type of hymn in the hymnal revision presented reasons like the following by R. T. de Brau, who described the limitations of the chorales for a twentieth century congregation.

It has been our experience that those German melodies which have made a place for themselves in the hearts of our English-singing people are those which proclaim the joyful note, like "Let us all with gladsome voice," and a few others of similar optimistic strain. From this it would seem that we must enter upon a harvest of hymns from extra-German sources, take all and sing all that easily and heartily endears itself to the Christian soul, albeit, it must be music and not merely rhythm.⁶⁰

In a similar vein Karl F. Breehne wrote,

If we can approach them [mission prospects] through our high standard Lutheran Church music, then we must use such music. But it is a fact that such an avenue does not exist . . . I know that we must condescend to the level of our prospects in the matter of the hymns we sing.⁶¹

And again,

Gradually, after we have won the prospects, we can educate them up to a higher appreciation of church music.⁶²

⁶⁰R. T. de Brau, "Hymns and Museum Pieces," The American Lutheran, XXIII (December 1940), 8. Some support is given to this by two surveys published in The Lutheran Witness. One was compiled by Walter Wismar, XLIV, 280; the other by W. G. Polack, LII, 154.

⁶¹Karl F. Breehne in a letter to The American Lutheran, XXIV (January 1941), 20-21.

⁶²Ibid.

Another, apparently F. R. Webber, in The American Lutheran voiced this opinion:

It is in such mission halls as these that such hymns [the "Old Rugged Cross" type] are suitable. More than that, it is a crying shame and an outrage that you and I are neglecting to do such work . . . There is a vast neglected field in every large city where we could work and where we ought to work.⁶³

These are a few of the arguments voiced for including hymns of the revival and gospel type in the revision of the hymnal. The reason they give: the mission prospects know only this type of hymn.

On the opposite side there were those who argued strongly that such hymns were not really suitable for a Lutheran hymnal. One such voice said,

Whatever the coming hymnals may be, they ought to be frankly Lutheran, and not concessions to the reformed spirit so strong in the land. A hymnal may be soundly Lutheran in spirit, and yet incorporate many of the best Anglican, Scottish, Roman Catholic and other hymns. All have made valuable contributions to Christian hymnody. All have hymns that are entirely sound in theology, as well as hymns that are unsound. The former are often in complete harmony with the Lutheran spirit, which the revivalistic type rarely are.⁶⁴

⁶³[F. R. Webber], "More About Hymn Tunes," The American Lutheran, XXV (February 1942), 13. Cf. also XXIII (November 1940), 4, where the suggestion is made that such hymns might be included in the new hymnal in a section entitled "Juvenile Hymns." Cf. also XXIII, 6-8, 22.

⁶⁴"The New Hymnal," The American Lutheran, XX (June 1937), 10.

The need for more hymns suitable for the church year was stressed:

The old "reformed" idea is to overload the hymnal with the so-called subjective Hymns of the Christian Life, and add, as an apparent afterthought, a meagre collection of Church Year hymns Subjectiveness was stressed, and the Christocentric Church Year, whose purpose it is to proclaim our Lord Jesus every Sunday and feast day, was given a minor place. It finds its culmination in present-day rationalistic modernism, where man is glorified and the Saviour all but forgotten.⁶⁵

Another emphasized the need for correct doctrinal content:

Many a hymn of the evangelistic sort at least assumes that such Protestant asceticism as this is a contributing cause to man's salvation. It would seem to us that the first test of any hymn should be its content, not its tune. Many a catchy tune is defended by people who might be surprised were they to sit down and read the words aloud, and study their meaning.⁶⁶

And this same voice, apparently F. R. Webber, explained how non-chorales should be examined:

Hymns of the lighter sort would have to be selected with careful regard to the content of their words, so that no false way of salvation is held out to them. There must be some definite teaching in such hymns, if they are to prove useful, and not merely a catalogue of one's private feelings, as so many of such hymns are.⁶⁷

These are a few of the arguments which were voiced for keeping the chorales as the core of the new hymnal and carefully

⁶⁵Ibid. Cf. also The American Lutheran, XXI (November 1938), 12-13.

⁶⁶F. R. Webber, "What About Hymns?," The American Lutheran, XXV (April 1942), 14.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 15.

scrutinizing any other hymns which might be included for their doctrinal content.

Howard R. Kunkle presented an extended argument in favor of the Lutheran chorale. He tried to show that non-Lutheran hymnals considered the chorale an essential part of their collections of hymns. In this he pointed to several hymnals like the English Hymnal with Tunes, Songs of Praise With Music, and the Oxford American Hymnal for Colleges and Schools as hymnals which contained a high percentage of chorales. And, he summarized his findings like this:

If we compare these figures with Lutheran hymnals in America we find that the percentage of chorales is just as high, and in some cases higher, than that found in our own books. In many cases, the trained musician from the outside appreciates our musical heritage more than we do. The current hymnal of the Missouri Synod uses 169 chorales out of a total of 459 hymns. The Common Service Book (U. L. C. A.) has 487 hymns, and only 78 of them are chorales! This is the low-water mark in all our books. The Augustana Synod hymnal has 120 chorales out of a 459 total. "The Hymnary" of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America has the highest score, with 109 chorales out of a total of 622 hymns. In all these tabulations we are limiting our selection to tunes of German origin previous to the year 1750 as "chorales." And not one of these Lutheran hymnals has even one-third chorale tunes!⁶⁸

⁶⁸Howard R. Kunkle, "Long Live the Chorale," The American Lutheran, XXIV (August 1941), 7. Cf. a somewhat later study with similar findings, Walter G. Tillmanns, "The German Hymn in English Translation," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXV (November 1954), 824-833. In a similar vein a report on a Southern Methodist attempt to raise its hymn standards appeared in The Lutheran Witness, LVII (November 19, 1938), 415.

Kunkle thus suggested that the core of a Lutheran hymnal must be chorales.

Doubtlessly these types of suggestions and recommendations were brought to the attention of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee and were taken into consideration as the committee made its decisions on what was to be included in the new Lutheran hymnal for the chorales are well represented and the Gospel hymn is not entirely unrepresented in The Lutheran Hymnal.

The Tunes

The story of the tunes for The Lutheran Hymnal is not easily determined. W. G. Polack has summarized, however, the approach of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee:

In general, we have tried to give such tunes only as are by common consent considered the best from the musical heritage of the Church.⁶⁹

The committee, then, did not wish to experiment but to provide melodies which had already proved themselves useful.

This choice of tunes to accompany texts was a continuous process in the committee's deliberations. In its second report the committee had a long list of tunes it had already adopted.⁷⁰

⁶⁹W. G. Polack, "The Lutheran Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, LX (May 27, 1941), 188.

⁷⁰W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," The Lutheran Witness, LII (March 27, 1934), 140.

Likewise in the third published report another such list appeared.⁷¹ Both reports include tunes from English and other traditions, as well as chorale melodies.

In 1939 an article, making recommendations about tunes and harmonizations, was published in the pages of The American Lutheran. Walter C. Daib, in a somewhat cryptic manner, called attention to German trends in hymnology. A dialogue between two fictitious characters included this suggestion:

At this same conference another brother reported on the state of religious music in Germany. The outstanding development he reported was the return to the Lutheran Chorale, not in its present rigid metric form with modern harmonization, but in its rhythmic form with the observance of Gregorian tonalities in the harmonization.⁷²

In subsequent paragraphs Daib made it clear that this was information that the hymnology committee should hear. Since the melodies of the chorales were already in their metric form in the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes, the suggestion quite obviously was that they should be harmonized in their original modes. Apparently, this suggestion was missed or ignored because the modes of the chorales were not observed. In addition, almost every phrase of the harmonizations in The Lutheran Hymnal concluded with a major chord, regardless of the original mode of the melody.

⁷¹W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," The Lutheran Witness, LIV (November 5, 1935), 395.

⁷²Walter C. Daib, "Why Should the Devil Have the Best Tunes?," The American Lutheran, XXII (October 1939), 14.

Very little is found in the minutes of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee concerning the music. As the texts were adopted tunes which were suitable were selected. At one meeting in 1939 it was recorded that "harmonizations of the tunes were now presented, following the order in our Final (Printed) Report."⁷³ There is, unfortunately, no discussion or comment recorded to indicate the reactions.

Evidence suggests that Schumacher did the work himself. In a letter written to Concordia Historical Institute about the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee's work he wrote, "Our people knew that I had prepared the entire musical section of the Hymnal."⁷⁴ If this statement accurately reflects the situation, and there seems to be nothing to contradict it, Schumacher did the work himself.

Later reports do give some of the considerations of the committee as it selected the tunes. In 1942 Schumacher prepared a report on the tunes in The Lutheran Hymnal for The Lutheran Witness. In it he said, concerning the favorite tunes of individuals,

⁷³Minutes of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee, July 18-20, 1939, p. 131. The lack of comment may be due, at least in part, to one person preparing (and perhaps presenting) the harmonizations as well as the minutes of the committee. Evidently, this was the only time that harmonizations were discussed by the whole hymnbook committee.

⁷⁴A letter from B. Schumacher to Concordia Historical Institute, December 14, 1964, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo.

It was found again and again that a tune favored very much by some was looked upon with utter disfavor by others.⁷⁵

For such reasons the hymnbook committee chose those tunes which had proved themselves good by common consent.

Schumacher described it this way:

It was our constant endeavor to embody in the new Hymnal the best tunes which are actually good, good by common consent, tunes which have been written in the spirit of the hymn, in the spirit of true devotion, and which have proved their worth in the Christian Church.⁷⁶

And, in a manuscript on the same subject he also explained why the number of tunes in The Lutheran Hymnal was kept down.

He wrote,

There is not only a strong movement in other church bodies to include better tunes in their hymnbooks, but there is also a definite trend to reduce the number of tunes, repeating certain ones a number of times Likewise, in our hymnal, the number of tunes is reduced from the number in the previous Hymn-Book to 380. The advantage is evident: If a tune should be of lasting value to our people, if they should cherish it, it must be sung, sung as often as possible, also in the church service. The repetitions in our Hymnal have, therefore, been arranged in such a manner that they occur at different times of the church year. with the exception of the seasonal tunes.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Bernard Schumacher, "The Tunes of 'The Lutheran Hymnal'," The Lutheran Witness, LXI (July 21, 1942), 258.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷B. Schumacher, "More About the Tunes of the Lutheran Hymnal" (Unpublished manuscript, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo., [1942]), pp. 5-6. This may have been a continuation of the article mentioned in n. 75, since the pagination begins with p. 4 and the title is penciled in.

The tunes, therefore, which were selected and presented in The Lutheran Hymnal were tunes that had already proved their worth. They were also, in many cases, repeated in connection with texts for other parts of the church year.

In addition, there was a conscious effort to mix the tunes from the English-speaking world with the chorale tunes. Polack says,

In selecting the tunes of the new hymnal, the editorial committee also exercised extreme care to give the great musical heritage of the Lutheran Church, the Lutheran chorale, its due place and at the same time not to ignore the excellent tunes that have become the common heritage of the English-speaking world.⁷⁸

He also emphasized the ecumenical character of the tune selection:

As in the case of the authors, the national origins of the composers are an evidence of the ecumenical character of The Lutheran Hymnal. The composers classify as follows: American, 18; British, 59; German, 58; Scandinavian, 4; Italian, 2; and Dutch, Finnish, Hebrew, Polish, Russian, and Slovak, each 1.⁷⁹

There is no doubt, then, that it was the intention of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee to provide a hymnal which also in its collection of tunes was to reflect the best from various traditions. Thus the committee itself

⁷⁸W. G. Polack, "The Lutheran Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, LX (May 27, 1941), 188.

⁷⁹Ibid.

selected the tunes and Schumacher, apparently, prepared the harmonizations.

The Publication

In April of 1940 the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee turned its manuscript over to Concordia Publishing House. The committee's work had been finished. The book now needed to be published. And, everyone was patiently waiting to see the finished product. Everything, therefore, was being done to insure a first class job of printing.

William G. Polack described the cooperation of all those who were involved in the publishing:

In the first place, the arrangements made with other synods associated with us were highly satisfactory. In the second place, the committee's recommendations as to paper, binding, size, type, and arrangement have been accepted. In the third place, the cooperation accorded us on every hand is evidence that every effort is being made to give the Church a hymnal that will compare with the best in the world, also mechanically. In the last place, the introductory price, recently announced to our churches, is evidence that Concordia Publishing House and its manager are endeavoring to make the introduction of the new hymnal in our congregations as "painless" as possible.⁸⁰

In fact, Polack could report that the first edition of fifty thousand was oversold even before it reached the market.

⁸⁰W. G. Polack, "The New Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, LIX (October 1940), 356.

Several overtures were made to the 1941 convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod requesting that Synod authorize the publication of a word edition of the new hymnal. However, since the cost of publishing a word edition was not feasible at that time and since the sale of the new tune edition (570,000 by that time) was going so well, Synod resolved that the printing of a word edition be deferred for at least three years.⁸¹ The committee, too, requested permission "to proceed with the publication of a pocket edition of the new Hymnal, containing everything in that volume, but having the tune printed above the words of the text."⁸² This, it was thought, would satisfy the demand for a word edition. But Synod again resolved "that the publication of the Lutheran Hymnal be limited to the tune edition."⁸³ Part of the reason for this action was that the tune edition had markedly improved the singing in church and school.

The Lutheran Hymnal, in its final form, was a book of 852 pages. The first 169 pages contained the orders of service and liturgical materials. The hymns, carols and spiritual

⁸¹"Word Edition of the New Hymnal," Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States, 1941, p. 327.

⁸²W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," Proceedings of the Fortieth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1947, p. 572.

⁸³Ibid., p. 574.

songs, as well as a few chants, occupied the next 666 pages. Each hymn was provided with full four-part harmonization and was arranged so that up to four stanzas were placed between the musical staves. In the last 15 pages were the table of contents, the alphabetical index of tunes, the metrical index of tunes, the index of first lines and a form for emergency baptism.

Polack comprehensively, yet carefully, summarized the hymns in The Lutheran Hymnal as follows:

There are 644, arranged according to the church-year, 16 carols and spiritual songs, and 8 canticles and chants. A careful study of the hymn section presents the following facts as to the texts. There are 313 original hymns and 347 translations. Of the latter, 248 are from the German, 46 from the Latin, 31 from the Scandinavian, 9 from the Greek, 6 from the Slovak, 2 from the French, 2 from the Italian, and one each from the Dutch, Welsh and Finnish. The original hymns may be classified as follows: British (written in English by English, Welsh, Scotch or Irish poets), 267; American, 45; Canadian, 1. The translators are as follows: American, 47; British, 42.⁸⁴

The indices of Bible-texts, of authors and composers, of original first lines, and of topics, which were to be included in The Lutheran Hymnal, could not be included because of the lack of space. These were included, however, in Polack's Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal.⁸⁵

⁸⁴W. G. Polack, "The Lutheran Hymnal," The Lutheran Witness, LX (May 27, 1941), 188.

⁸⁵Supra, n. 14. For further statistics and discussion of the hymnal's contents, see Walter G. Tillmanns, "The German Hymn in English Translation," Concordia Theological

When The Lutheran Hymnal is compared with its predecessor, the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes, it is seen that the earlier book is exceeded in size by thirty-three percent. About seventy-five percent of the hymns in the earlier hymnal were taken into The Lutheran Hymnal, in some cases with revision. The earlier hymnal contained 450 hymns; 340 of these were incorporated in whole or in part in the 1941 publication.⁸⁶

At the meeting of the Synodical Conference Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics on April 24, 1941 all on the committee agreed that the printing job and the final format were outstanding.⁸⁷

After the hymnal was published there were, of course, many reviews. Polack presented excerpts from reviews in The American Lutheran in April, 1942. He reported that the reviewers praised the external make-up of the book. The hymn section, he said, brought forth the most comment and "even that is generally favorable."⁸⁸ Then, he quotes from a personal letter from Dr. John R. Van Pelt of Hartford, Conn.,

Monthly, XXV (November 1954), 824-833; and Harold W. Scheibert, "The Hymn and the Liturgy," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXIX (May 1958), 321-343.

⁸⁶H. P. Eckhardt, The English District (Published by the English District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1946), footnote, p. 27.

⁸⁷Minutes of the Synodical Conference Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, April 14, 1941, p. 145.

⁸⁸W. G. Polack, "Excerpts from Reviews on The Lutheran Hymnal," The American Lutheran, XXV (April 1942), 10.

who was an "outstanding hymnologist of the Methodist-Episcopal Church," as follows:

I write to express my appreciation of the fine work done by yourself and your associates in the preparation of The Lutheran Hymnal. I possess, and have made myself fairly familiar with, many of the Lutheran hymnals published in America and in Germany Comparing your work with the other American Lutheran hymn-books, one must recognize a number of points of peculiar excellence. As to the tunes I count the selection decidedly good in the main As to the hymns I cordially recognize the merits of most of those included, but deplore the omission of various English classics. In general I commend your self-restraint in the matter of alterations, but deplore just a few changes But let it be understood: my praise of your work immeasurably exceeds the blame.⁸⁹

These comments by a non-Lutheran are a fair, studied evaluation of the hymnal within the spectrum of other American hymnals used by Lutherans. The comments made by reviewers within synodical circles were generally quite glowing or else somewhat critical about less important matters.⁹⁰

Since there was a movement to provide a collection of hymns for use in institutions and mission work, the committee decided to publish The Chapel Hymnal.⁹¹ The hymnal was to contain a few more hymns of the gospel hymn variety and be

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Some of these reviews and evaluations may be found in The Lutheran Witness, LX (May 27, 1941), 194; LX (December 9, 1941), 416; LXI (January 20, 1942), 21; and LXI (June 9, 1942), 200.

⁹¹The Chapel Hymnal, Authorized by the Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944).

useful for situations in which the larger official hymnal would be impractical. It appeared in a tune edition (with full four-part harmonization for each hymn) and contained 103 hymns. Ninety of these were from The Lutheran Hymnal, 8 were from the Sunday School Hymnal and 5 were from other sources. It was designed, therefore, especially for use "in city and institutional mission work, in Army camps, at home and abroad, in industrial centers, hospitals, on shipboard, in young people's summer camps, etc."⁹²

In 1956 a Concordance to The Lutheran Hymnal, compiled by E. V. Haserodt, was published in order to make even more accessible the contents of the hymnal to those who had to lead in worship.⁹³

Summary

The Lutheran Hymnal, then, was a collection of hymns that brought together the best hymns in English for Lutheran worship. The project of preparing such a hymnal was initiated by the Missouri Synod because it felt that a revision was needed in its Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes. The

⁹²W. G. Polack, "Report of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics," Reports and Memorials for the Twenty-Fourth Delegate Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), p. 176.

⁹³E. V. Haserodt, Concordance to The Lutheran Hymnal (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956).

synod therefore appointed a Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics in 1929 and invited the other member synods of the Synodical Conference to join in the project. The basic guidelines for selecting the hymns included these items: that the hymns be distinctively Christian, that the translations be idiomatic English and that the tunes represent good church music. The work of studying the hymns was divided according to a hymn's national origin, but both the text in its final form and the tune were adopted by the intersynodical committee. Recommendations from outside the committee stressed the preservation of the Lutheran chorale and the inclusion of at least some of the gospel hymns. Though the tunes were selected by the whole committee, the harmonizations were apparently prepared by Bernard Schumacher. When The Lutheran Hymnal was published it received general praise for its ecumenical selection of hymns that were Lutheran and American and was soon used throughout the Synodical Conference congregations.

CHAPTER V

HYMNODY IN THE MISSOURI SYNOD

The history of the three Missouri Synod hymnals reveals a pattern in the use of hymnody: the preservation of hymn texts and tunes which had proved their worthiness. In general, these hymnals have provided hymns which square with the Lutheran understanding of Scripture and which have tunes that are suitable for corporate worship of all age groups. The first hymnal provided some unity for the German Lutheran settlers' worship, the second helped bridge the transition to English, and the third provided for Lutheran worship a collection of hymns representing many traditions within hymnology.

The Kirchengesangbuch

The Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden was carefully compiled and edited to be doctrinally pure. The strong desire to do this was a result of the experiences which the Saxon settlers suffered at the hands of Pietism, Rationalism and Unionism in Germany before they emigrated to America. They took a very confessional stance also in the matter of hymnody and relied on the work of Karl von Raumer, Friedrich Layritz and others in Germany who had

published hymnals containing the Kernlieder. After the immigrants settled in America they were unable to find a pure Lutheran hymnal for their use. Finally, it was Trinity congregation in St. Louis, Missouri that prepared a hymnal to fill the need.

This congregation under the direction and encouragement of C. F. W. Walther, its pastor, published its own German hymnal in 1847, the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden. It contained the text of 437 hymns that were pure in doctrine and that had received general use in the Lutheran Church. In 1862 this hymnal was donated to The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

About the same time as Trinity congregation introduced its hymnal the congregation began to introduce the rhythmic form of the chorale melodies to its people. By 1851 a melody book, based on the research of Friedrich Layritz, had appeared to aid in the teaching of these melodies. Despite some misgivings by other congregations at first, the rhythmic form of the chorale melodies became the standard way of singing them in the Missouri Synod and the necessary tune and accompaniment books were subsequently published.

In 1857 six hymns were appended to the Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden. And, in 1917 another appendix of forty-three hymns was added. The basic and original collection of hymns, however, was not altered.

The Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book

This German hymnal served as a model for the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book. As mission work and congregations using the English language continued increasing, so the need for an English hymnal also grew. The group known as the General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States saw the necessity of a pure Lutheran hymnal in English. Although there were some larger collections of hymns in English published by other synods and some smaller hymnals in English published even within the Missouri Synod circles, none of these fully met their needs.

Therefore in 1888 when August Crull presented the English Lutheran Conference with the manuscript of a hymnal they accepted the gift and set up the machinery to see it published. In 1889 the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book appeared; it contained all that was necessary for worship in English. While 169 of the hymns were of English origin, 231 of them were translated from the German. It was a truly Lutheran English hymnal in doctrine. In 1892 the edition was somewhat enlarged so that the total number of hymns was 450, yet it carefully preserved in English the German Kernlieder. Both editions contained only the texts of the hymns.

When a move was made in 1901 to publish a tune-book it was decided to thoroughly revise the hymnal, as well as include the tunes. However, financial considerations prevented it

from being published. In 1911, then, when this synod became the English District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod it had not yet appeared in print. In 1912, therefore, this hymnal became the first official English hymnal for the Missouri Synod, the Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book With Tunes. Out of the 567 hymns in it, 191 were translated from the German and the chorale melodies were printed in their rhythmic forms. This collection of hymns for Lutheran English-speaking congregations was comprehensive yet orthodox.

The Lutheran Hymnal

As more and more congregations began to use English in their worship the English hymnal became more important. By 1926 a special committee was appointed to study the possibilities of revision and in 1929 they recommended revision, in part because the hymnal ignored certain treasures of hymnody. A Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics was then appointed and the other synods of the Synodical Conference were invited to join in preparing a new English hymnal.

In 1930 the intersynodical committee began its work and established basic guidelines for selecting hymns. These guidelines demanded that each hymn must be of intrinsic value, distinctively Christian, of good form and idiomatic English (if a translation), have a tune that was good church music and suited to the text. The committee also divided itself.

into subcommittees in order to study the hymns according to their national origin and make recommendations to the plenary committee.

The committee published periodic reports, including the texts of hymns that were significantly changed, in The Lutheran Witness and, later, in pamphlets. The hymns were selected according to their common use among Lutherans in America. The texts were scrutinized carefully so that they were doctrinally pure, yet a full-fledged effort was made to keep the text in as original a form as possible. By October, 1940 the committee had completed its work on the hymnal. Recommendations had been voiced, at least in periodical articles, to retain the chorales as the core of the hymnal and to include at least some of the gospel hymns.

As the intersynodical committee deliberated on a text of a hymn it also chose a tune for it. The harmonizations, however, were prepared by one person, Bernard Schumacher, as far as can be determined. The committee tried to use only those tunes which had proved their worth or which could not be divorced from the text to which they had become wedded. The chorale tunes were again provided in their rhythmic forms.

The Lutheran Hymnal, then, was published in April of 1941. Synod resolved that only a tune edition would be published. The hymnal, in its final form, contained 644 hymns (plus 16 spiritual songs and carols and 8 canticles

and chants). Of these hymns, 313 were originally in English; 347 were translations (248 from the German). The chorale was again well-represented, as well as the American and English traditions. It was a hymnal which was both Lutheran and American in character. The congregations of the Synodical Conference readily accepted it.

Thus, the hymnals of the Missouri Synod were produced: first, to provide some unity among the settlers from Germany; then, to make the mission work and transition to English possible; and, finally, to provide a rather ecumenical collection of hymns for worship in English-speaking Lutheran congregations of the Synodical Conference.

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