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THE CONSENSUS OF PURE LUTHERAN LITURGIES: A COMPARISON
AND ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST GERMAN AND FIRST ENGLISH
SERVICE ORDERS OF HOLY COMMUNION IN THE
LUTHERAN CHURCH--MISSOURI SYNOD

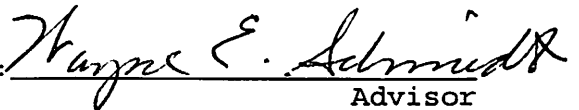
A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Practical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

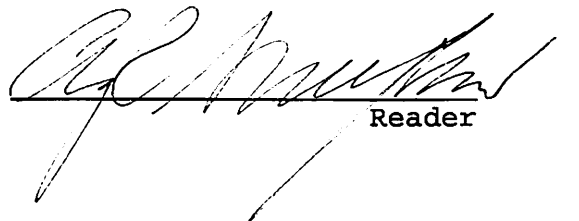
by

Mark C. Kufahl

May 1995

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to determine the source or sources upon which the "Order of Morning Service or the Communion" of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* is based.¹ Issued by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in 1912, the *Hymn-Book* was the first English hymnal of this type published by the Missouri Synod. This particular publication, rather than a more recent hymnal, has been chosen as representative of the present liturgical usage of the Missouri Synod for two reasons. First, it is the first "official" English hymnal used by the Synod. Second, the communion liturgies currently employed by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod are based upon the original version and revisions of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*. In this study it will be demonstrated which Lutheran liturgies exerted the greatest influence upon the communion liturgy of the 1912 *Hymn-Book*. The question of most significant interest is: Did the 1912 English service order of the Missouri Synod receive greater influence from the German *Kirchen-Agende* of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod or was the greater influence from a source or sources found outside

¹*Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1912).

of the Missouri Synod?² In other words, what is the heritage of the service order of 1912? In the end it will be demonstrated that the Order of Holy Communion presently employed by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod has its origins outside of the Missouri Synod. It will be illustrated that the immediate roots of the present service order lie within organizations viewed with suspicion and distrust by the Missouri Synod.

The motivation for such a study is one of curiosity, a curiosity based upon a felicitous inconsistency and an ironic conclusion. The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is a church body that originally consisted of German immigrants. One of the intentions of the founding fathers of the Synod was that the Synod should always retain its Germanic heritage and flavor. In so doing it was stipulated in the first synodical constitution and in subsequent editions of the constitution that the German language should be used exclusively at synodical conventions.³ The fear was that if

²*The Kirchen-Agende für Evangelisch Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession. Zusammengestellt aus den alten rechtgläubigen Sächsischen Kirchenagenden und herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen deutschen evangelischen lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Deutschen ev.-luth. Synode v. Missouri, O. u. a. St., 1856) was the first agenda published by the Missouri Synod and one might expect would be the basis of subsequent agendas and liturgical works published by that synod.

³Roy Arthur Suelflow, trans., "Our First Synodical Constitution," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 16 (1943), 4.

any other language were to be used, especially the English language, the doctrinal purity and evangelical teachings of the Synod would surely be at stake and at risk of being tainted or corrupted.⁴ All official business at synodical and district gatherings, as well as the instruction at the seminaries, the education in the Christian day schools and Sunday schools, church services, textbooks, catechisms, hymnbooks and liturgies were all in the German language. The hymnal of 1912 was in the English language. This, then, piques one's curiosity and raises several questions. First, why did the Missouri Synod convert from German to English? Second, and more importantly, since the 1912 *Evangelical Hymn-Book* was published in the English language, what was its most immediate source or sources?

The study of worship forms and practices, the study of liturgy and ritual, is indeed a broad realm in which one can become lost. To narrow the study to include only the history and development of Lutheran liturgies would also be a ponderous task. Many changes and revisions, some great and some subtle, have occurred in the history of liturgies within the Lutheran Church. Many of the liturgies produced, both in English and in German, are interrelated and closely connected, drawing upon one another and upon certain common sources for guidance and counsel. The two sources common to

⁴Everette Meier and Herbert T. Mayer, "The Process of Americanization," *Moving Frontiers*, ed., Carl S. Meyer (St. Louis: Concordia, 1964), 355.

all Lutheran communion liturgies are the two orders of service produced by Martin Luther, the *Formula Missae et Communionis* (1523) and the *Deutsche Messe* (1526).⁵ One can, therefore, scarcely consider any study of Lutheran liturgies complete without some discussion and analysis of these two cornerstones of Lutheran worship. In order to entertain a sensible discussion of recent Lutheran liturgical formulations, i.e., the *Kirchen-Agende* (1856) of the Missouri Synod and the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912), it will be necessary to compare them with Luther's two service orders.

One must also include in such a study information concerning the first Agenda of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, the *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856. The compulsion of such an incorporation is twofold. First, the nature of this study demands a comparison between the first German liturgy and the first English liturgy produced by the Missouri Synod in order to demonstrate significantly the fact that the communion liturgy of the 1912 *Hymn-Book* differs in many points from that of the 1856 *Kirchen-Agende*. In the final analysis it will be shown that the 1856 Agenda contains elements of both the *Formula Missae* and the *Deutsche Messe*

⁵These two works as translated into English are in: Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Luther's Works: American Edition*, vol. 53, *Liturgy and Hymns*, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 15-40, hereafter cited as *Amer. Ed.* and Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," (1526), *Ibid.*, 51-90.

favoring the latter while the 1912 order of service decidedly favors the *Formula Missae*. Second, the nature of the church body itself and the fact that it gradually converted from the German language to the English language requires that such a comparison be made.

This study will demonstrate that there is a decided and close connection between the Missouri Synod's 1912 Order of Communion and the Agenda produced by Wilhelm Löhe in 1844.⁶ In fact and ironically, the 1912 Order of Communion owes a greater debt to Wilhelm Löhe and the Franconian Lutherans than to C. F. W. Walther and the Saxon Lutherans, the founding fathers of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. It then becomes incumbent upon this paper to briefly discuss Wilhelm Löhe, his relationship with the Saxons and give a brief history and analysis of the Agenda produced by Löhe in 1844.

This study will also explore the character of the Order of Communion of the 1912 *Hymn-Book* with regard to its English heritage. It will be necessary, therefore, to include a brief discussion of the correlation between the history of the English District of the Missouri Synod and the introduction of the English language into the 1912 *Hymn-Book*. It is noteworthy that the English Conference of Missouri, Ohio and Other States, merged with the Missouri

⁶Wilhelm Löhe, *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses* (Nordlingen: Verlag der C. H. Beckschen Buchhandlung, 1844).

Synod as the English District in 1911, just one year prior to the appearance of the first English hymnal in the Missouri Synod. The English brought with them a hymnal which contained The Common Service produced in 1888 by the General Synod, General Synod South and the General Council.⁷ These English, American Lutheran church bodies were deemed by the Missouri Synod to be doctrinally unsound, espousing a departure from the unaltered and pure Lutheran Confessions. Great literary polemical battles were waged between the so-called "American Lutherans" and the Missouri Synod. Yet it is the order of service produced by these American Lutheran church bodies that found its way into the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*.

When The Common Service of 1888 was produced it was stipulated by the men who created The Common Service that the work undertaken should be guided by "the common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the Sixteenth

⁷The standard text and outline of the *Common Service* can be found in: United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South, *The Book of Worship* (Columbia, South Carolina: W. J. Duffie, 1888). The first edition of the *Common Service* set to music is in: The General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, *The Common Service With Music for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1888). It is called the *Common Service* for two reasons. The first reason is because it, "...sets forth 'the common consent of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the Sixteenth Century.'" Edward T. Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 21 (1891), 239. The second reason is because it was to be "common" to the English speaking Lutherans in America. Edward T. Horn, "Feasibility of a Service for All English-Speaking Lutherans," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 11 (1881), 163.

of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the Sixteenth Century."⁸ It is also stated by the men who produced The Common Service that the service was intended to reproduce in English the consensus of these "pure" Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century. If it is understood that the "common consensus" or "common consent" of the pure Lutheran liturgies is meant to indicate a reproduction or duplication of sixteenth century church orders with the strictest possible adherence to their outline and form, then it can be demonstrated that The Common Service is a unique and original work. Along with other liturgies, it relies upon and draws from Löhe's Agenda which was itself an uncommon and unique liturgy. The Common Service is an ornate and detailed service order in comparison to the rather simple liturgies of the sixteenth century. Neither The Common Service nor Löhe's service order achieve a "common consensus." In several instances these two liturgies reach back to primitive Christian service orders and the Roman Mass for their material.

The Saxon Agenda of 1856, however, is simpler and achieves a greater consensus with the "old" Lutheran liturgies. As stated by J. W. Richard in an article entitled "The Liturgical Question:" "The liturgy of the Missourians is founded on the old Saxon Liturgies, but it is

⁸*Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: The Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1917), 306.

essentially a new work, and is characterized by brevity and simplicity."⁹

In summary, then, this paper purports to demonstrate the ironic and somewhat interesting conclusion that the most immediate and major sources for the 1912 "Service of Holy Communion" are not in accordance with a strict German, Saxon heritage. Rather, the 1912 *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* received greater influence from the liturgy of the American, English Lutheran Church and the liturgy of Wilhelm Löhe. The origins of the 1912 service order, then, are from outside of the Missouri Synod and from groups viewed with distrust and misgiving by the same Missouri Synod. The final conclusion reached is that the Missouri Synod can remain liturgically pure and doctrinally sound without (or perhaps despite) remaining "rigidly German" and "dogmatically Saxon."

⁹J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 20 (Jan., 1890), 124. Richard was a leading theologian at the Gettysburg Seminary of the General Synod.

CHAPTER 1.

LUTHERAN LITURGICAL FOUNDATIONS

It was noted in the Introduction to this study that the two sources common to all Lutheran communion liturgies are the two orders of service produced by Martin Luther, the *Formula Missae et Communionis* (1523) and the *Deutsche Messe* (1526). One can, therefore, scarcely consider any study of Lutheran liturgies complete without some discussion and examination of these two cornerstones of Lutheran worship. In order to entertain a sensible discussion of recent Lutheran liturgical formulations, for example, the *Kirchen-Agende* (1856) of the Missouri Synod and the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912), it will be necessary to compare them with Luther's two service orders.

That which is set forth below, then, has the primary intention of presenting a brief historical sketch and examination of Luther's two communion service orders. This is done in order that the reader may have a framework or point of reference against which to compare and consider more completely the other Lutheran service orders discussed in this paper.

The Formula Missae, 1523

It was not until December of 1523 that Luther issued

the *Formula Missae et Communionis*. Luther sent the first copy of his *Formula* to his good friend Nicholas Hausmann, pastor at the Marienkirche at Zwickau. Hausmann had repeatedly petitioned Luther to aid him with advice and direction in matters concerning church worship. In the introductory paragraphs of the *Formula* Luther states his conviction that the time is right for such a liturgical formulation. He writes:

But now since there is hope that the hearts of many have been enlightened and strengthened by the grace of God, and since the matter itself demands that the scandals be removed from the kingdom of Christ, something must be dared in the name of Christ. For it is right that we provide for the few, lest while we fear constantly the levity and abuse of some others we provide for none at all, and while we wish to guard against the future scandals of such as these, we strengthen all of their abominations. Therefore, most excellent Nicholaus, since you have requested it so frequently, we will busy ourself concerning some pious form of saying mass (as they say) and of administering Communion.¹

Below is Table One which places side-by-side the conventional Roman Mass in use in Luther's day, Luther's *Formula Missae* and his *Deutsche Messe*. This table is included in order to aid the reader.²

¹Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Works of Martin Luther*, vol. 6, trans. and ed. Paul Zeller Strodach (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932), 84, hereafter cited as *Phil. Ed.*

²The general outline of the *Missale Romanum* is taken from Table B "The Mass," Carl Halter and Carl Schalk, eds., *A Handbook of Church Music* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1978), 279-281. Some of the detailed matter may be viewed in: Catholic Church, *Missale Romanum, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii tridentini restitutum* (Antverpiae: Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Ioannem Moretum, 1598).

TABLE 1

| <u>Missale Romanum</u> | <u>Formula Missae</u> | <u>Deutsche Messe</u> |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Invocation | (Sermon) | |
| Introibo | | |
| Judica me | | |
| Gloria Patri | | |
| Antiphon | | |
| Confession | | |
| Adjutorium | | |
| Confiteor | | |
| Confession | | |
| "Absolution" | | |
| Misereatur Vestri | | |
| Indulgentiam | | |
| Deus tu Conversus | | |
| Salutation | | |
| Oremus | | |
| Introit | Introit | German Hymn or Psalm |
| Kyrie | Kyrie | Kyrie |
| Gloria in Excelsis | Gloria in Excelsis | |
| Collects | Collect | Collect |
| Epistle | Epistle | Epistle |
| Gradual/Alleluia or Tract | Gradual/Alleluia | German Hymn |
| Salutation | | |
| Gospel with Acclamations | Gospel | Gospel |
| (Sermon) | | |
| Nicene Creed | Nicene Creed | Creed |
| Offertory | Sermon | Sermon |
| Offertory Antiphon | | |
| Salutation | | |
| Collect | | |
| Suscipe, sancte Pater... | | |
| Deus, qui humanae... | | |
| (Mixing of water and wine) | | |
| Offerimus tibi... | Preparation of Bread and Wine | |
| In spiritu humilitatis... | | |
| Veni, sanctificator... | | |
| (Incensing of altar) | | |
| Lavabo inter innocentes | | |
| Suscipe, sancta Trinitas... | | |
| Orate, fratres... | | |
| Prayer over the gifts | | |
| Canon | | |
| Preface | Preface | |
| Salutation/Response | Salutation/Response | |
| Sursum Corda | Sursum Corda | |
| Vere Dignum | Vere Dignum | |
| Proper Preface | Proper Preface | |
| Sanctus/Benedictus | Consecration | |
| Te igitur... | Sanctus | |
| In primis... | | |
| Memento, Domine, | | |
| famulorum... | | |
| Communicantes... | | |
| Hanc igitur... | | |
| Quam oblationem... | | |
| Verba | | |
| Unde et memores... | | |
| Supra quae propitio... | | |
| Supplices te rogamus... | | |
| Memento etiam, Domine... | | |
| Nobis quoque... | | |
| Per quem... | | |
| Doxology: Per ipsum... | | |
| Communion: | | |
| Lord's Prayer | Lord's Prayer | Lord's Prayer Paraphrase |
| Pax Domini... | Pax Domini | Admonition |
| Fraction and Commixture | | Consecration |
| Agnus Dei | | |
| Domine, Jesu Christi, qui... | | |
| (Kiss of peace) | | |
| Domine Jesu Christe... | | |
| Perceptio corporis tui... | | |
| Domine, non sum dignus... | | |
| Distribution | Distribution | Distribution |
| Ablutions | Agnus Dei | |
| Communion Antiphon | | |
| Post Communion: | | |
| Salutation/ Response | Salutation/Response | |
| Collect | Collect | Collect |
| Salutation | | |
| Ite, Missa est or | Benedicamus | |
| Benedicamus | | |
| Placeat tibi... | Benediction | Benediction |
| Benediction | | |
| Last Gospel | | |

In his *Formula* Luther confines himself entirely to the order of the Mass and does not consider other matters of liturgical character unless they are related specifically to the Mass. Luther bypasses the traditional preparation of the priest as was customary in the Roman rite.³ He begins with the Introit and allows that the Sermon may precede the Introit if one should desire. Luther states that he approves and retains the traditional Introits for the Lord's Day and for the Festivals of Christ, although he prefers the Psalms from which the Introits are taken. Luther does not condemn Introits for Apostles' Days, Feasts of the Virgin or of other saints as long as they have been chosen from the Psalms and other scriptures.⁴

Luther also approves of the use of the Kyrie Eleison followed by the Gloria in Excelsis. Nevertheless, as with other parts of the service, Luther does not command that these components be retained nor necessarily preserved in the traditional order⁵. It is a matter of adiaphoron and open to the judgement of the learned and well-informed bishop or pastor.

³The outline visible in Table One above begins with the priest's actions before the altar. There was a more lengthy preparation done by the priest in the sacristy prior to the Mass itself. For more information see: *Ceremonial for the Use of the Catholic Churches In the United States of America* (Baltimore: Kelly Piatt and Co., 1871).

⁴Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Phil. Ed.*, 6, 86.

⁵*Ibid.*, 87.

Luther says that the Collect or Prayer should be preserved according to its accustomed usage, but only one, as opposed to the three or more in the Roman Mass, followed by the reading of the Epistle. Luther expresses, at this point, his displeasure with the lectionary system and the appointed Epistles noting that whoever appointed the particular readings must have been an "unlearned and superstitious friend of works."⁶ He, however, comments that the system in use should be retained for the time being.

Luther notes that the Gradual should be sung but only limited to two verses since anything longer may become tedious. The Gradual is followed by the joyful Alleluia.⁷

The traditional Mass includes Sequences and or Proses at this point in the service.⁸ Luther says that

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*, 87-88.

⁸Sequences and Proses are virtually synonymous and nearly used interchangeably. The Sequence originated from the prolongation of the final "A" in the Alleluia of the Festival Graduals. These prolonged musical notes were called *neumes* which were named the *sequentia* as following the Alleluia. After a period of time words, or prose compositions, were set to each of the notes in the rather lengthy and ornate *sequentia* melodies which had developed. In the twelfth century the "Proses" developed into metrical hymns known as "Sequences." As long as the pieces are rhythmical they are known as Proses. When they are metrical, conforming to a metrical hymn form, they are known as Sequences. For more information see: Georg Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard, 1900), 467f. See also: Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959), 296-297.

the Nativity of Christ. He feels that they are not particularly edifying for the people.

Following the Gradual and Alleluia Luther places the Gospel. He states concerning the reading of the Gospel:

In the sixth place, the Gospel lection follows, where we prohibit neither candles nor censuring. But we do not demand this; let this be free.⁹

After the reading of the Gospel Luther calls for the singing of the Nicene Creed the custom of which he says is "not displeasing."¹⁰ The singing of the Creed may be followed by the Sermon preached in the vernacular. Luther, however, allows that the Sermon may be preached prior to the Introit "because the Gospel is the voice calling into the wilderness and bidding unbelievers to faith".¹¹ In his earlier writing, "Concerning the Ordering of Divine Worship in the Congregation," Luther suggests that the Sermon be preached on the Gospel lesson if it is a morning service and preached on the Epistle lesson if it is an evening service. In his later German Mass Luther simply states that the Sermon preached is to be based on the Gospel lesson.

The Offertory followed the recitation of the Creed in the Roman Mass. For the purpose of better understanding what is said concerning the Offertory in the later chapters

⁹Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Phil. Ed.*, 6, 88.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 88.

¹¹*Ibid.*

of this thesis it is fitting to read what Luther thought of the Offertory. He states:

In the eighth place, there follows that complete abomination, into the service of which all that precedes in the Mass has been forced, whence it is called *Offertorium*, and on account of which nearly everything sounds and reeks of oblation. In the midst of these things those words of life and salvation have been placed, just like in times past the ark of the Lord was placed in the temple of idols next to Dagon. And there is no Israelite there who is able either to approach or lead back the ark, until it has made its enemies infamous, smiting them on the back with eternal shame, and has compelled them to send it away, which is a parable for the present time. Therefore repudiating all those things which smack of sacrifice and of the Offertory, together with the entire *Canon*, let us retain those things which are pure and holy, and then we will order our mass in this fashion.¹²

Luther says that during the Creed or after the Sermon the wine and bread can be prepared for consecration. The wine he prefers to have unmixed with water but to remain pure.¹³

After the preparation the pastor intones the Salutation. The congregation responds. This is followed by the *Sursum Corda* (lift up your hearts) and the congregational Response (we lift them to the Lord). After the *Sursum Corda* follows the Thanksgiving and the *Vere Dignum* (it is meet and right so to do). Then follows the Proper Preface and immediately the Consecration. In the

¹²*Ibid.*, 88-89.

¹³Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Luther's Works*, American Edition, vol. 53, *Liturgy and Hymns*, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965), 26, hereafter cited as *Amer. Ed.*

Roman Mass, the Canon of the Mass follows the Preface. In the midst of the Canon are recited the Words of Consecration. Luther eliminates the Canon noting that it is "that abominable concoction drawn from everyone's sewer and cesspool."¹⁴

After the Consecration of the elements the choir is to sing the Sanctus. Luther shows his pastoral concern and thoughtfulness by here retaining the custom of elevating the host and chalice. He says:

Let the bread and chalice be elevated according to the rite in use up to this time, chiefly on account of the infirm who might be greatly offended by the sudden change in this more noted rite in the Mass, especially where they have been taught through vernacular sermons what is sought by this elevation.¹⁵

Luther states that after the elevation of the host should follow the Lord's Prayer with the elimination of all intermittent additions of words, signs and actions as was customary in the Roman Rite. Immediately following the Lord's Prayer is to be said the Pax Domini.

¹⁴Martin Luther, "Formula Missae et Communionis," (1523), *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Weimar Edition, vol. 12 (Weimar: Hermann Boehlaus Nachfolger, 1904), 207.

¹⁵Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Phil. Ed.*, 6, 90. The customary elevation of the host and chalice accompanied by the ringing of a bell indicated to the people that they were to adore and worship the transubstantiated bread and wine, the sacrifice of Christ's true body and blood. For more information see: Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950), pp. 337-345, or Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1955), 206-212.

The pastor is to give himself Communion first while the congregation sings the Agnus Dei. Luther grants that the pastor can recite several of the conventional prayers prior to communing himself.

Luther says that the pastor may sing the Communion if he desires to do so. It was common for the priest to chant a short chant usually consisting of a few verses of scripture. He did this at the first of the Communion and immediately following the conclusion.¹⁶ Luther adds:

But in place of the *ad complendam* or final Collect which so frequently savors of sacrifice, let this prayer be read in the same tone: What we have taken with the mouth, O Lord. This one also may be read: Thy Body, O Lord, which we have received, etc., changing to the plural number. Who livest and reignest, etc. The Lord be with you, etc. In place of the *Ite missa*, let *Benedicamus domino* be said, adding alleluia according to its own melodies where and when desired; or the *Benedicamus* may be borrowed from Vespers.¹⁷

Luther then instructs that the customary Benediction, "May God Almighty bless you, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit," be given. Luther gives the Aaronic Benediction as the alternative.¹⁸

Luther concludes his writing, *Formula Missae et Communionis*, with a discussion of Christian liberty, love

¹⁶Paul Zeller Strodach in Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Phil. Ed.*, 6, 111 n107.

¹⁷Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Phil. Ed.*, 6, 91.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

and responsibility. He sets forth his preferences concerning the communing of the people, how and when it should be done. He also expresses his desire that the people be communed in both kinds, i.e., with the bread and wine, not simply the bread alone as was previously customary. Luther further states concerning singing:

I also wish as many of the songs as possible to be in the vernacular, which the people should sing during the Mass either immediately after the *Gradual*, and immediately after *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*.¹⁹

The endnote which accompanies this statement explains:

Active participation by the common people in the Mass as far as Response or Hymn was concerned amounted to little or nothing at this period, although during the late middle ages the people in Germany had been permitted to sing vernacular "hymns" immediately after certain parts of the Mass. Luther's effort to restore congregational participation in distinctive liturgical responses and songs took form from his suggested Orders and what was more to the point, in versifications of certain parts of the services and in a variety of hymns.²⁰

Luther followed the customary order of the Mass in use during his lifetime. He eliminated or revised the parts that he saw as objectionable and unscriptural. The portions of the Mass advancing and fostering the notion of Mass as sacrifice and a meritorious work were removed. It is evident, however, that he did not simply excise portions of

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 98.

²⁰Paul Zeller Strodach in Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Phil. Ed.*, 6, 114 n137.

the Mass simply because they may have had negative connotations (such as the elevation of the host). He retained as much as was practical and necessary in his pastoral and evangelical concern for the people and for the Word of God. He was careful in his changes, "always being hesitant and fearful on account of those souls weak in the faith from whom the old and accustomed is not to be taken away suddenly or among whom a new and untried method of worshipping God is to be introduced."²¹

The Deutsche Messe, 1526

Luther's German Mass was not a novelty when it was first issued in 1526. As early as 1522 other men had begun producing German service orders. By 1526 several were in existence.²² Some of the attempts were unsatisfactory in character and simply sought to translate the already existing Latin masses into the German language.²³ As one can readily imagine it is a difficult thing to retain the original Latin melodies and chants and fit them with an accurate German translation. Luther was concerned that a German Mass be theologically sound, shaped artistically and received in a correct spirit. Thomas M nzer and Andreas

²¹Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Phil. Ed.*, 6, 84.

²²Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," (1526), *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 53.

²³*Ibid.*, 54.

Karlstadt had made the adoption of a German Mass a matter of compulsion.²⁴ It was Luther's desire that a German Mass not be seen as something that a congregation would adopt under compulsion but that it be received in a spirit of educated and well-informed Christian liberty.²⁵ In his treatise against the radical reformers entitled "Against the Heavenly Prophets, 1525," Luther expresses his desire to create and publish a German Mass. He also speaks to those who have produced German Masses and issued them to the people under compulsion and demand. He writes:

I would gladly have a German mass today. I am also occupied with it. But I would very much like it to have a true German character. For to translate the Latin text and retain the Latin tone or notes has my sanction, though it doesn't sound polished or well done. Both the text and notes, accent, melody, and manner of rendering ought to grow out of the true mother tongue and its inflection, otherwise all of it becomes an imitation in the manner of the apes. Now since the enthusiast spirit presses that it must be, and will again burden the conscience with law, works, and sins, I will take my time and hurry less in this direction than before, only to spite the sin-master and soul-murderer, who presses upon us works, as if they were commanded by God, though they are not.²⁶

The *Deutsche Messe* was actually first used on October 29, 1525, on a trial basis in the church at Wittenberg. It was officially adopted on December 25, 1525 by Luther's

²⁴Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," (1526), *Phil. Ed.*, 6, 167.

²⁵Martin Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets," (1525), *Amer. Ed.*, 40, 141.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 141-142.

Wittenberg congregation.²⁷ Luther's own Preface to the order of service reveals the tenor in which the Mass was presented and the manner in which he wished it to be received. He states:

In the first place, I want to make a request, in all kindness, and in God's name, too, that all who see this Order of Service of desire to adopt it, shall not impose it as a law or cause anyone's conscience to be distressed or bound by it, but shall use it in Christian freedom as they may please, as, where, when and as long as conditions warrant or call for it.

Although the exercise of such freedom is a matter for everyone's conscience and no one should seek to forbid or limit it, yet we must see to it that freedom is and shall ever be the servant of love and of the neighbor.

This is not to say that those who are already provided with a proper Order, or by God's grace can do better than I, shall abandon theirs and give place to ours. For it is not my thought that all Germany must immediately adopt our Wittenberg Order.²⁸

It was noted above that the *Missale Romanum* or conventional Roman Mass begins with the preparation of the priest followed by the Introit. Luther eliminated the preparation of the priest in his *Formula Missae* and began with the Introit. Here, in the German Mass, he begins the service with a Hymn or a German Psalm. This is a substitute for the Latin Introit.²⁹ The Psalm was to be chanted in the first tone also known as the first ecclesiastical or Dorian mode. By indicating that a Hymn or German Psalm be used it

²⁷Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," 1526), *Phil. Ed.*, 6, 168.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 170.

²⁹Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 77.

may have been Luther's intent to restore the entire Psalm as opposed merely to a portion of the Psalm as found in the Introits of his day.³⁰ The desire to have a complete Psalm had already been expressed by Luther in the *Formula Missae*.³¹

The Roman Mass and Luther's Latin Mass had both retained a ninefold Kyrie following the Introit. Luther calls for a threefold Kyrie in the German Mass. The Gloria in Excelsis is not mentioned. It is possible that Luther took it for granted as belonging to the Kyrie.³² Both the Kyrie and Introit were chanted.

Luther directs that the Collect be read by the priest in a monotone.³³ The Salutation prior to the Collect is eliminated.

Luther places the chanting of the Epistle after the Collect. Luther sets forth in detail, with accompanying musical notation, how the Epistle is to be chanted.

The customary Gradual and Alleluia following the Epistle are eliminated and Luther replaces them with "a German Hymn, either 'Now Let Us Pray to the Holy Ghost' or

³⁰M. Alfred Bichsel, *Lutheran Liturgy From the Reformation to the Present*, Unpublished manuscript (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary Library, no date), 10.

³¹Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 22.

³²Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 77.

³³Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," (1526), *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 72.

any other, sung with the whole choir."³⁴

The Gospel "reading" follows the Hymn. Again, the musical notation for the chanting of the Gospel is set forth by Luther in detail.³⁵

The Gospel is followed by the Creed. Whereas the Roman Mass and the Latin Mass call for the recitation of the Nicene Creed, the German Mass instructs that the chorale "Wir glauben all an einen Gott" be sung.

Luther directs that the Sermon follow the Creed. He indicates that the Sermon for the Mass should be based on the Gospel for the Sunday or feast. At Matins the Sermon should be based on the Epistle and at Vespers on the Old Testament lection.³⁶ As was noted above, the Roman Mass does not specifically indicate that a Sermon is to be preached, whereas Luther expressly notes in the Latin Mass that a Sermon is to be preached.

The Offertory, which was discussed briefly above (p. 7), again has no place in Luther's service order.

After the Sermon Luther calls for a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer followed by an admonition or *Vermahnung* for those who would partake of the Lord's Supper.³⁷ The Roman

³⁴*Ibid.*, 74.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 74-78.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 78.

³⁷For more information on the Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer see footnote 17, p. 57 of this paper.

Mass imbeds the Lord's Prayer, as well as the Words of Institution, in the Canon of the Mass.³⁸ In the *Formula Missae*, the Lord's Prayer follows the Preface, the Consecration and the Sanctus. Luther says regarding the paraphrase and admonition:

Whether such paraphrase or admonition would be read in the pulpit immediately after the Sermon or at the altar, I would leave to everyone's judgement. It seems that the ancients did so in the pulpit, so that it is still the custom to read general prayers or to repeat the Lord's Prayer in the pulpit. But the admonition itself has since become a public confession.³⁹

The Words of Institution which follow make use of the same elaborate melodic form as the Gospel. Luther gives specific instructions for the communication of the people. He says:

It seems to me that it would be in accord with the institution of the Lord's Supper to administer the sacrament immediately after the Consecration of the bread, before the cup is blessed; for both Luke and Paul say: He took the cup after they had supped, etc. Meanwhile, the German Sanctus or Hymn, "Let God Be Blest," or the Hymn of John Huss, "Jesus Christ, Our God and Savior," could be sung. Then shall the cup be blessed and administered, while the remainder of these hymns are sung, or the German Agnus Dei.⁴⁰

³⁸The Canon of the Mass is the consecration prayer of the Roman liturgy which includes prayers for the church, prayers to the Virgin Mary, Apostles and other saints, the commemoration of the living, the elevation and adoration of the host and other various prayers of a sacrificial nature. It includes the section which begins immediately after the Sanctus and ends just prior to the Lord's Prayer.

³⁹Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," (1526), *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 80.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 81-82.

The German Sanctus is Luther's own chorale "Jesaia, dem Propheten das geschah."

When the Communion is ended Luther directs that the following Collect of Thanksgiving be said:

We give thanks to thee, Almighty God, that thou hast refreshed us with this thy salutary gift; and we beseech thee, of thy mercy, to strengthen us through the same in faith toward thee and in fervent love toward one another; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.⁴¹

One may immediately recognize this as the post-Communion Collect still used in many Lutheran service orders today.⁴²

Luther concludes the service with the Aaronic Benediction taken from Numbers 6:24-26.

One can note upon examination and comparison of Luther's two service orders with one another and with the conventional Roman Mass of the sixteenth century the various changes and alterations made by Luther. While the Latin Mass retains much of the Roman rite, various "objectionable" portions have been removed by Luther. It is noted by some critics that Luther engaged in liturgical surgery.⁴³

⁴¹Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," (1526), *Phil. Ed.*, 184.

⁴²See: The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1941), 30.

⁴³Bryan Spinks identifies several authors, including Luther Reed, who give their unhappy assessments of Luther's liturgical workmanship. Bryan Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass* (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1982), 9-11.

Another commentator notes that it is unfortunate and even a weakness that Luther made certain deletions without offering substitutions to replace the omitted material.⁴⁴ The suggestion is made that "evangelical" substitutions could have been made for the parts expunged. This was apparently done by later Lutheran liturgies, most notably the Döber (Nürnberg), 1525, and the Mecklenburg (1552) which both restored the confiteor or material prior to the Introit.⁴⁵ The *Agende für christliche Gemeinden*, 1844 of Wilhelm Löhe proposed an evangelical form of the Offertory.⁴⁶ The confiteor and Offertory are parts of the conventional Lutheran Order of Holy Communion today. What today is known as the "Prayer of the Church" in some Lutheran service orders is also an "addition" to Luther's service orders. These restorations, so to speak, may serve as "evangelical substitutions" for the parts removed by Luther.

Many Lutheran orders of Holy Communion between Luther's time and today have been patterned after the *Formula Missae*. The Common Service, 1888, and the Order of Holy Communion of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* of 1912, as will be discussed elsewhere in this paper, both share the common heritage of the *Formula Missae*. It is

⁴⁴M. Alfred Bichsel, *The Lutheran Liturgy from the Reformation to the Present*, 7, 11.

⁴⁵See footnote 18, p. 59 below for an explanation of the confiteor.

⁴⁶This is discussed on pp. 69-72 below.

noted that these two orders are "nothing else than an English version of Luther's *Formula Missae* with slight changes, some additions, and a few omissions."⁴⁷

The Deutsche Messe, while still used occasionally, has not had the widespread appeal or usage of the *Formula Missae* in contemporary American Lutheranism. "The basic type of Lutheran service was and remained the *Formula Missae* of 1523 and not the German Mass."⁴⁸

As will be noted in the following chapter, the *Kirchen-Agende für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession*, 1856, of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, does not specifically follow either the German Mass or the Latin Mass but contains a mixture of both.

⁴⁷M. Alfred Bichsel, *The Lutheran Liturgy from the Reformation to the Present*, 16.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

CHAPTER 2.

A BRIEF EXCURSUS OF THE SAXON LITURGICAL TRADITION

Between the year 1523, the year that Luther produced the *Formula Missae*, and the year 1856, the year that the first Missouri Synod Agenda was completed, there is an intricate and complex web of Lutheran liturgical production. In some instances it is rather easy to trace the line of a particular liturgy as it was passed from church to church, from age to age.

In other liturgical traditions it is more difficult to trace the history of a particular liturgy. Such is the case with the 1856 Agenda of the Missouri Synod. A succession of liturgies can be traced from Luther's time to the production of the Saxon Agenda of 1771, the last "conservative," orthodox liturgy to be used in Saxony prior to the Saxon emigration of 1839. (The Saxon emigrants of 1839 are the founders of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and the focal point of this particular study). Although the 1856 Agenda may trace its lineage through its Saxon antecedents, including the Saxon Agenda of 1771, there is sufficient variance from the 1771 to warrant further investigation. This particular chapter sets forth a brief

history of liturgical development tracing the Saxon liturgical experience as it pertains to the liturgy in question, that of the Missouri Synod Agenda of 1856.

The date of 1771 is important to note for the purposes of this study. It is the 1771 Agenda that was very probably in use in Dresden as well as in Leipzig. Dresden and the surrounding towns are the area from which the first Missouri Synod Lutherans emigrated. Current available records do not indicate precisely what liturgical material the Saxon Lutherans brought with them when they immigrated to the United States in 1839. The Concordia Historical Institute in St. Louis houses a copy of the Agenda published in Leipzig, Saxony in 1771. The particular copy possessed by the Institute is personally autographed by J. Friedrich Buenger, one of the pastoral candidates who sailed to the United States with the Saxon immigrants. It is, therefore, possible that it was the 1771 edition of the Old Saxon Agenda, as well as similar agendas that were used prior to 1856 by the Lutheran Churches that formed the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. C. F. W. Walther, one of the founding fathers and first president of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, was baptized according to this Agenda.¹ It is likely that the 1771 edition of the Saxon Agenda was one of "the old orthodox Saxon Kirchen-Agenden" used as a

¹Norman E. Nagel, "Holy Baptism and Pastor Walther," *Light for Our World*, ed., John Klotz (St. Louis: Concordia, 1989), 61.

foundation for the 1856 Agenda.

The 1812 Saxon Agenda

In 1812 a new Agenda was issued in Saxony. It was called the *Kirchenbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst der Königlich Sächsischen Lande*.² This particular Agenda was assembled as the result of a politically ambitious Saxon prince who wished to bring about unity in and uniformity of liturgical practice. The 1812 Agenda, however, was so tainted by the Enlightenment movement and rationalistic philosophies that it was unsuitable to and unusable by Orthodox Lutherans.³ Certain church leaders would not compromise the evangelical teachings of Luther and other Lutheran Church fathers simply for the sake of fellowship and unity amongst Christian churches. The various forms included in the new Agenda called for pastors and their congregations to abandon or concede certain teachings and doctrines that were in total agreement with Scripture. The forms of the orders of service had been changed without any consideration for Luther's three principal criteria: God's Word, Christian freedom and Christian love. The mandate that required the use of the 1812 Agenda was enforced in

²A brief description and assessment is given by Fred Precht, "Worship Resources in Missouri Synod's History," *Lutheran Worship History and Practice* (St. Louis, Concordia, 1993), 86-88.

³Walter Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1953), 81.

Dresden by the Dresden Consistory. All Lutheran churches were required to employ it in regular service. According to Walter Forster, Lutheran historian, the church Agenda was filled with doctrinal errors.⁴

The Saxon Emigration

A group of conservative, orthodox pastors in and around the area of Dresden, Saxony, realizing that they could not, in good conscience, abide by the regulations set forth by the Dresden Consistory, formed an informal alliance under the leadership of Pastor Martin Stephan.⁵ This group of people grew to become the company of Lutherans that set sail for America in 1839. Included with this band of Lutheran conservatives was one C. F. W. Walther, a learned theologian who would have a great influence upon Lutheranism in America.⁶

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵For more information concerning the history of the Saxon emigration and Martin Stephan see Walter Baepler, *A Century of Grace* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1947); Walter Forster, *Zion On the Mississippi* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1953); E. Hochstetter, *Die Geschichte der Evangelisch-lutherischen Missouri-Synod in Nord-Amerika* (Dresden: Verlag von Heinrich F Naumann, 1885); Friederich J. Koesterling, *Auswanderung der Saechsischen Lutheraner im Jahre 1838* (St. Louis: Druck und Verlag von A. Wiebusch und Sohn, 1867); Carl S. Meyer, ed., *Moving Frontiers* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1986).

⁶For more information Concerning C. F. W. Walther, see: D. H. Steffens, *Doctor Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther* (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1917); Lewis Spitz, *The Life of C. F. W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1961); W. G. Polack, *The Story of C. F. W.*

It is reported by Lewis Spitz that as a young pastoral candidate, Walther was concerned that his ordination would not be conducted according to the orthodox Lutheran rite contained in the Old Saxon Agenda but would be conducted in accordance with the ordination ceremony in the 1812 Agenda. Walther was, nevertheless, much to his own relief, ordained according to the Old Saxon form.⁷ Walther, Stephan and the other orthodox Lutherans had been reared with the Old Saxon Agenda. It was the one that they presumably used in their own ministries as pastors in Saxony. It was also undoubtedly one of the major sources used by Walther and others in the compilation of the 1856 *Kirchen-Agende*.⁸

Despite persecution, Walther, Stephan and other pastors refused to use the Agenda of 1812 and continued to use the old Saxon Agendas, including the 1771 Saxon Agenda. Eventually the pressures and demands of the government began to weigh heavily upon these men. Stephan had even been incarcerated for a time. Various measures of persuasion and coercion were used to induce pastors and congregations to comply with the prevailing governmental policies. Pastors and people alike consequently grew weary of the persecution

Walther (St. Louis: Concordia, 1935).

⁷Lewis Spitz, *The Life of C. F. W. Walther*, 34.

⁸Fred Precht, "Worship Resources in Missouri Synod's History," 87.

and state interference in matters of religious freedom. It was decided that the only option to remedy the existing situation was to seek political and religious toleration in the United States. "Many regarded emigration to a country in which religious liberty prevailed as the only means to escape from the oppression of conscience, which consequently grew more and more unbearable and which threatened to suffocate in them all life of faith."⁹

Luther did not consider lightly the task of reforming the liturgy and liturgical practices of the Church.¹⁰ Neither did the Saxons who immigrated to Missouri in 1839 consider the liturgy to be a matter of little importance. Indeed, it was the 1812 Agenda which had evidenced a change with little or no regard for Scriptural principles or proper form. The Saxon immigrants were intent on retaining the liturgical heritage delivered to them by Luther himself via the Agenda of 1771.

Ernst Moritz Buerger writes in his memoirs concerning the condition in Saxony during the time prior to the emigration:

In the Saxon Agenda, a miserable piece of bungling, also the correct form of Absolution had been distorted, and the words, "I forgive unto you all of

⁹Lewis Spitz, *The Life of C. F. W. Walther*, 40. See also Lewis Spitz, 38-40 and Steffens, *Doctor Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther*, 29-31, 79-86 for a discussion of the 1812 Agenda.

¹⁰Martin Luther, "Formula Missae et Communionis," (1523), *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 19.

your sins" were changed to, "I declare unto you the forgiveness of your sins." I, however, used both from the pulpit and in the confessional, the old form: "I forgive unto you your sins." Because of this I was accused by the town representative before the Consistorium, and soon received from that body the command that I give Absolution according to the new Agenda. In a written defense I referred to the Holy Scriptures, in which Christ speaks: "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them," and to the symbolical books, where we read: "Do you believe that my forgiveness is God's forgiveness?" and to the testimony of the old teachers of the Church, e.g., Ambrosius. I could naturally expect that the Consistorium would abide by its original ruling, so sought the counsel of Pastor Stephan as to how I should meet the situation. Stephan gave me the poor counsel that, if it were demanded that I use the new form of Absolution, I should say: "If the congregation does not desire the correct form of Absolution then it shall not receive the same." It did not take long ere two superintendents, sent by the Consistorium, came and demanded of me that I make use of the form of Absolution in the new Agenda. My conscience was uneasy, but finally I gave the answer Stephan advised. Yes, O shame! I signed my name, when writing was placed before me, in which I promised henceforth to be guided by the new Agenda.¹¹

The above selection is only one example of the changes that threatened the orthodox nature of the liturgy and the very faith of the Christian worshipper. As can be seen from this brief selection, Buerger was concerned about the retention of the correct and orthodox Lutheran liturgical formulae. He desired to avoid anything that was doubtful or questionable in relation to the sound teachings of Scripture, the exposition of the Lutheran Confessions and the evangelical understanding of the Word of God. In the

¹¹Ernst Moritz Buerger, *Memoirs of Ernst Moritz Buerger*, trans. Edgar Joachim Buerger, (Philadelphia: Martin Julian Buerger, 1953), 39-40.

formula of Absolution the cornerstone of Lutheran doctrine, that of justification by grace through faith, the righteousness of the individual before God and the forgiveness of sins, was blurred and distorted in the Agenda of 1812.

The First Missouri-Saxon Hymnal, 1847

The Saxons who emigrated to Missouri came from a variety of cities in Saxony. The Lutheran churches in the various cities used divers editions of the "Old Saxon" Agenda, although in basic form the various editions were virtually identical, especially where was concerned the *Hauptgottesdienst*, or "chief service," the Order of Holy Communion. The emigrants brought with them to America a variety of hymnals and editions of the orthodox Saxon Agenda. Between 1839 and 1847 there was no uniformity of liturgical practice within the group of Saxons because of the multiplicity of available, orthodox liturgical and hymnological material.¹² At times four, five or even six different hymnals were in use at one service in a given congregation.¹³ C. F. W. Walther was pastor of Trinity Lutheran, the oldest established congregation in the Missouri Synod, the church upon whose constitution (1842)

¹²August R. Suelflow, "The Missouri Synod Organized," *Moving Frontiers*, ed., Carl S. Meyer, 181-182.

¹³*Ibid.* It is not clear whether or not all the hymnbooks were of Saxon origin.

the Synodical constitution (1847) was based. Walther, with the help of his congregation, compiled and published in 1847 a hymnal to be used by the congregation. That same year, 1847, was also the year in which the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod was established and constituted. It was not until 1862 that the hymnal and its republication rights were given as a gift to the Synod and adopted by the same.¹⁴ The first publication of 1,500 copies sold out almost immediately and a second printing was undertaken in 1849.¹⁵ The criteria for this venture were published in the Synod's official organ, *Der Lutheraner*:

In the selection of the adopted hymns the chief consideration was that they be pure in doctrine; that they have found almost universal acceptance within the orthodox German Lutheran Church and have thus received the almost unanimous testimony that they have come forth from the true spirit [of Lutheranism]; that they express not so much the changing circumstances of individual persons but rather contain the language of the whole church, because the book is to be used primarily in public worship; and finally that they, though bearing the imprint of Christian simplicity, be not merely rhymed prose but the creation of truly Christian poetry.¹⁶

As with Luther, one of the criteria was "universal acceptance." Luther did not wish to leave the established, catholic forms behind nor did he wish to offend the

¹⁴August R. Suelflow, "The Missouri Synod Organized," 182.

¹⁵O. A. Dorn, "Early Printing in the Missouri Synod," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 24 (1951), 6-9.

¹⁶C. F. W. Walther, "Lutherisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch," *Der Lutheraner*, III (15 June 1847), 84.

consciences of the weak in faith. As stated above, he merely wished to purify the forms in keeping with an evangelical faith. He wished to avoid any changes made in haste simply for the sake of change or at the whim of those who would exchange liturgical forms in an effort to demonstrate a radical "anti-Romanism." The Saxons expressed the same concerns.

The hymnal of 1847 met the pressing need for a hymnal that would bring about uniformity among the Saxons. After the appearance of the hymnal, however, the need for a new Agenda was not immediate. The hymnal contained enough liturgical material to provide for a full Lutheran order of service: many prayers, a form of emergency baptism, the Epistles and Gospels for each Sunday and festival, the Antiphons and Collects for the church year, the Small Catechism, the Augsburg Confession, the three Ecumenical Creeds, and the Preface and Sanctus of the Holy Communion Service.¹⁷ Pastors supplemented the hymnal by using the Saxon Agendas brought with them and the Agenda published by Wilhelm Löhe in 1844.¹⁸

¹⁷*Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession*, (St. Louis: Verlag der deutsche evang. luth. Gemeinde A.C., 1847).

¹⁸Wilhelm Löhe, *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses* (Nordlingen: Verlag der C.H. Beck'schen Buchhandlung, 1844). Wilhelm Löhe was a pastor in Bavaria, Germany, who had amicable relations with the leaders of the Missouri Synod. Pastor Löhe trained and sent many pastors to the United States and to the Missouri Synod.

The constitution of the Missouri Synod makes reference to the type of hymnals and agendas that should be produced and/or used by the congregations of Synod. The particular constitutional article which treats these criteria is also an article of primary importance in the consideration of eligible congregations petitioning to join the Missouri Synod. It is explicitly stated in chapter two, paragraph four that a congregation wishing to join Synod should employ:

The exclusive use of doctrinally pure church and school books agendas, hymnbooks, catechisms, textbooks, etc.). If it is impossible in some congregations to replace immediately unorthodox ones, then the pastor of such a congregation can become a member of Synod only under open protest and is to strive in all seriousness for the introduction of an orthodox hymnal.¹⁹

The First Missouri-Saxon Agenda, 1856

It was not until 1856 that the first Missouri Synod

The Agenda that he published in 1844 was dedicated to one of his pupils, the Rev. Friedrich Wyneken, a missionary and pastor in the Missouri Synod and founder of several Lutheran congregations. For more information about Löhe see Eric Hugo Heintzen, "Wilhelm Löhe and the Missouri Synod," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1964); Victor Frank, *The Work of Wm. Löhe in North America* (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1932); Walter Baepler, *A Century of Grace*, 65-75. For information about Wyneken see Edward Saleska, *Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken* (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1946); Walter Baepler, *A Century of Grace*, 53-65.

¹⁹Roy Arthur Suelflow, trans., "Our First Synodical Constitution," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 16 (1943), 3. The German language original is recorded in: *Der Lutheraner*, III (5 Sept. 1846), 3.

Agenda was published. One of the most obvious questions might be, "What did the Missouri Synod Saxons specifically use as their basis for the 1856 Agenda?" The question is not easily answered. It is quite regrettable that there is such a dearth of readily attainable information available concerning the 1856 Agenda and the liturgical thought of C. F. W. Walther. It is quite certain that it was he who was a major voice and influence in the formation of the Missouri Synod's *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856. Much of C. F. W. Walther's writings have not been systematized in any coherent fashion. It is possible that the information desired is available. To gather the information is quite a different matter altogether. One can merely conjecture based upon the facts at hand and an evaluation of the accessible information thus far retrieved. That is what is done in this chapter.

As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, Wilhelm Löhe's Agenda (1844) does not strictly correspond to any previous Lutheran liturgy. It is, rather, a compilation and accumulation of various liturgies (over 200 according to the author himself) including Lutheran service orders from Germany, Scandinavia and ancient Roman service orders as well.

The Lutheran Saxon Agenda, as Löhe's, does not correspond to any particular previous liturgy. Upon a cursory examination one can note the influence of both Luther's German Mass and the *Formula Missae*. It is quite

likely that there was a certain influence of European Saxon liturgies. Edward Traill Horn, in his *Outlines of Liturgics*, 1890, speaking of classes of Lutheran Kirchenordnungen notes:

The Saxon-Lutheran type, represented by the Formula Missae, 1523, which was the model for ducal Prussia, 1525, Electoral Saxony, and for all the Orders of Bugenhagen: Brunswick, 1528; Hamburg 1529; Münden and Göttingen, 1530, Lübeck, 1531; Soest, 1532; Bremen, 1534; Pomerania, 1535; Brandenburg-Nürnberg, 1533 (by Osiander and Brenz); for Duke Henry of Saxony, 1539 (by Justus Jonas); for Mecklenburg, 1540 and 1552 (by Aurifaber, Riebling, Melanchthon, later Chytraeus); for Brunswick-Wolffenbüttel (1543 and 1569, by Chemnitz and Andreae); for Riga, 1531 (by Brieszmann); for Kurland, 1570 (by Eichhorn); and others.²⁰

Some of the liturgies listed above are noted by other authors to be the ones that, in part, influenced the compilers of the 1856 *Kirchen-Agende*. It is simply noted by Horn in an article entitled, "The Feasibility of a Service for all English-Speaking Lutherans," that the *Kirchen-Agende* was "composed from the old orthodox Saxon Kirchen-Agenden."²¹

In an article entitled "Liturgical Development in the United States," in *The Lutheran Church Review*, Charles Abbetmeyer writes about the development within the Synodical Conference. He states:

²⁰Edward T. Horn, *Outlines of Liturgics* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Publication Society, 1890), 120-121.

²¹Edward T. Horn, "The Feasibility of a Service for All English-Speaking Lutherans," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 11 (1881) 168.

In the early days of all the synods now united in the Synodical Conference no uniform liturgy was in use. The Saxon immigrants brought with them to Missouri the Saxon Agenda, which even in the days of rationalism had retained the old fundamental form of the service, and used it until the Mo. Agenda appeared. The Frankish colonies and the ministers sent over by Löhe used Löhe's Agenda, which in 1843 he had written especially for use in America and had dedicated it to Fr. Wyneken. (Preface, First Ed., 1844). Other Mo. congregations no doubt had brought other service books with them, and some ministers had no Agenda at all (I. Report, Middle District, 1855, p. 26). The need for a suitable book of forms was keenly and early felt. In 1853 the Synod instructed the St. Louis Pastoral Conference (to which belonged C. F. W. Walther, Fr. Lochner, H. Fick, and others) to undertake a revision of the Saxon Agenda preliminary to the publication of a suitable new Agenda. In 1854 Synod discussed the manuscript revision submitted to it, made suggestions, and finally returned it to the St. Louis conference for further consideration and for publication (*Minutes*, 1854, p.10). The Middle District in 1855 urged a speedy publication. In 1856 the Mo. Agenda appeared. According to Fr. Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst der Evang. Luth. Kirche*, p. IV, the new Agenda followed the simple lines of the Saxon services rather than the more elaborate liturgical works of Löhe and Hommel because many congregations were not as yet accustomed to a full liturgical service.²²

In his *Hauptgottesdienst*, 1895, Friederich Lochner, one of the men on the St. Louis Pastoral conference Committee responsible for the compilation of the 1856 Agenda, notes the liturgies that provided him with counsel in the development of his book. He notes that first and foremost he relied upon Luther's *Formula Missae* (1523) and his *Deutsche Messe* (1526). Closely related in importance and distinction are the Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533); the

²²Carl Abbetmeyer, "Liturgical Development Within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States," *The Lutheran Church Review*, 36 (1917) 494.

Agendbüchlein of Veit Dietrich; the Agenda of Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1657); the Oelser Agende (1664); the Schwartzburg Agenda (1675); the Duke Henry Agenda (1539), Leipzig edition, 1681; and Magdeburg (1685).²³ The particular agendas listed, aside from Luther's two orders and the Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533), are notably later and more elaborate agendas. This is in line with Lochner's desire to set forth a full form of liturgical service in contrast to the earlier 1856 Missouri Synod Agenda. Nevertheless, the particular agendas listed may provide some insight as to what the Saxons considered to be "old" and "orthodox" agendas.

The St. Louis Pastoral Conference used, in part, the 1771 Saxon Agenda as a basis for their own 1856, *Kirchen-Agende*. At least one recent scholar has noted, in a writing concerning the order of Holy Baptism in the 1856 Agenda, that the Missouri Saxon Agenda of 1856 was heir of the Saxon Agenda of 1771 and others. He states:

In Missouri 1856 the language is somewhat updated and smoothed out, just as had earlier been done in Pomerania in 1542, Prussia in 1568, Mecklenburg in 1552, Wolfenbüttel in 1569, Mansfield in 1580 and Lauenburg in 1585. The 1856 Missouri Agenda was in principle the heir of Saxon antecedents. The influence of Löhe should be noted--not so much theoretically as in supplying particular liturgical pieces which filled out the gap. The Agenda of 1771 lacked ordination. This omission was supplied by Löhe's second order (his

²³Friedrich Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1895), VIII.

first was the old Saxon one).²⁴

As was demonstrated in the previous chapter and will be shown in the chapters to follow, the best way of making comparison is by creating a table in which the outlines of the service orders are placed side-by-side. Below, then, is Table Two which places the 1771 Saxon Agenda, the 1856 Missouri Synod Agenda, Luther's *Formula Missae* and his *Deutsche Messe* side by side.

²⁴Norman E. Nagel, "Holy Baptism and Pastor Walther," 68.

TABLE 2

| <u>Formula Missae</u> | <u>Deutsche Messe</u> | <u>Old Saxon (1771)</u> | <u>Missouri Synod (1856)</u> |
|---|---|---|--|
| (Sermon) Introit Kyrie Gloria in Excelsis | German Hymn or Psalm Kyrie | Introit dominica oder festo) Kyrie (Latin) Gloria in Excelsis (Latin) | Kyrie (Kyrie, Gott Vater) Gloria (Allein gott in der) Salutation Antiphon Collect Epistle Chief Hymn |
| Collect Epistle Gradual/Alleluia | Collect Epistle German Hymn | Collect (German or Latin) Epistle Sequence, Psalm or Hymn | Gospel Creed (Wir glauben all) |
| Gospel Nicene Creed | Gospel Creed | Gospel Creed (Latin) Creedal Hymn (Wir glauben) | Gospel Creed (Wir glauben all) |
| Sermon Preparation of Bread and Wine | Sermon | Sermon | Sermon Confession Absolution Prayers: of the Church of intercession of thanksgiving Announcements Vater Unser Votum Hymn (Schaffe in mir) Preface |
| Preface Salutation/Response Sursum Corda Vere Dignum Proper Preface | | Preface (Latin) | Salutation/Response Sursum Corda Vere Dignum Proper Preface |
| Consecration Sanctus Lord's Prayer Pax Domini | Lord's Prayer Paraphrase Admonition Consecration | Sanctus (Latin) Vater Unser Consecration Agnus Dei (Latin) German Hymn (Jesus Christus) | Sanctus Lord's Prayer, sung Consecration Agnus Dei (Christe, du Lamm) |
| Distribution Agnus Dei Salutation/Response Collect Benedicamus Benediction | Distribution Collect Benediction | Distribution (during singing of hymns) Collect Benediction | Distribution (during which hymns are sung) Collect Benediction Closing Hymn (Gott sei gelobet) |

It can be noted that there is a general correspondence between the basic outlines of the 1771 Old Saxon Agenda and the 1856 Missouri-Saxon. However, several questions must be posed. Why do some of the authors mentioned above, Lochner, Horn, and Abbetmeyer not mention the 1771 Agenda specifically as one of the agendas used by Walther and the Saxons? What factor or factors account for the divergence between the 1771 and the 1856? Which

liturgies offered the material used by the St. Louis Pastoral Conference? Again, any answers given to these questions is merely a supposition gleaned from the information presently available.

The initial question is unanswerable. It is impossible to know why Lochner, Horn and Abbetmeyer do not mention the 1771 Saxon Agenda in their writings. The answer to the second question posed is rather simple. The divergence exists as a result of a reshaping and restyling the 1771 and the other agendas that may have been available to the St. Louis Pastoral Conference. The answer to the third question may be seen in Lochner's *Der Hauptgottesdienst Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche*. In a comparative table he places side by side the Roman Mass, Weise, christlich Mess zu halten, lateinisch 1523, deutsch 1524, the *Deutsche Messe* (1526), the Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533), the Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1657), the Duke Henry (1681), the Agenda Schwartzburg (1675) and the *Kirchen-Agende von Missouri* (1866).²⁵ As one views the table it can be noted that there is a striking similarity

²⁵Lochner notes that the Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533) is from the pen of Chytraeus and used mainly in "Franken" and Austria. The Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1657) is a revision of the 1528 order of Bugenhagen used mainly in Niedersacshsen and Pommerania. The Duke Henry (1681) is a revision of the Duke Henry (1539) of Justus Jonas, Spalatin, Creutziger, and Myconius and is the standard church order used in Saxony. It is also nearly identical to the 1771 Saxon order. The Schwartzburg is also a Saxon service order and is merely an improved (gebesserte) version of the Duke Henry.

between the Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1657) and the Missouri Synod Agenda.

The St. Louis Pastoral Conference may have used the Braunschweig-Lüneburg or other orders as a basis for reference or they may have simply been innovative. Below is Table Three which compares the 1771 Saxon Agenda, the Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1657) and the Missouri Synod Agenda (1856). It may be that the Braunschweig-Lüneburg is one of the liturgies if not the liturgy from which the Missouri Saxons garnered the material for the 1856 Agenda. It also may be that there are others. Nevertheless, the preeminent matter is that the St. Louis Pastoral Conference used more than simply the Saxon Agenda of 1771.

TABLE 3

| <u>Old Saxon (1771)</u> | <u>Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1657)</u> | <u>Missouri Synod (1856)</u> |
|--|--|--|
| Introit (dominica oder festo) | | |
| Kyrie (Latin) | Kyrie | Kyrie (Kyrie, Gott Vater) |
| Gloria in Excelsis (Latin) | Gloria in Excelsis Deo | Gloria (Allein Gott in der) |
| | | Salutation |
| | | Antiphon |
| Collect (German or Latin) | Collect | Collect |
| Epistle | Epistle | Epistle |
| Sequence, Psalm or Hymn | Deutschen Psalm oder Gesang | Chief Hymn |
| Gospel | Gospel | Gospel |
| Creed (Latin) | Creed | |
| Creedal Hymn (Wir glauben) | Creedal Hymn (Wir glauben) | Creed (Wir glauben all) |
| Sermon | Sermon | Sermon |
| | Confession | Confession |
| | Absolution with retention | Absolution w/out retention |
| | Prayer of the Church | Prayers: |
| | Prayer of intercession | of the church |
| | Possible excommunication under certain circumstances | of intercession |
| | | of thanksgiving |
| | | Announcements |
| | Vater Unser | Vater Unser |
| | Votum | Votum |
| | Psalm sung | Hymn (Schaffe in mir) |
| Preface (Latin) | Preface | Preface |
| | Introduction | Salutation/Response |
| | Sanctus | Sursum Corda |
| | Kurze Vehrmahnung | Vere Dignum |
| | Gebet | Proper Preface |
| Sanctus (Latin) | | Sanctus |
| Vater Unser | Lord's Prayer (sung) | Lord's Prayer (sung) |
| Consecration of elements | Consecration of elements | Consecration of elements |
| Agnus Dei (Latin) | O Lamm Gottes | Agnus Dei (Christe, du Lamm) |
| German Hymn (Jesus Christus) | | |
| Distribution (during which hymns are sung) | Distribution (during which hymns are sung) | Distribution (during which hymns are sung) |
| Collect | Psalm 23 (read) | |
| Benediction | Collect | Collect |
| | Benediction | Benediction |
| | Nunc Dimittis | Closing Hymn (Gott sei gelobet) |

It was in 1856 that the *Kirchen-Agende für Evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession, Zusammengestellt aus den alten rechtgläubigen Sächsischen Kirchenagenden und herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten* was published.²⁶ As one can note from the title itself reference is made to the fact that this Agenda was based upon the "Old Orthodox Saxon Agendas." This particular Agenda was the basis of the liturgical life in the Missouri Synod until the 1880s and a portion of the Wisconsin Synod until the second decade of the twentieth century.²⁷

The *Kirchen-Agende* was a successful endeavor to adhere to the Reformation principles set forth for liturgy by Martin Luther. As is evidenced, in the first place, by the Saxon emigration, and in the second place, by the principles enunciated by the various Saxons who did emigrate, the Agenda was to maintain and protect that evangelical heritage won by Luther during the Reformation. Luther's intent, as stated in his own words, was not to

²⁶*Kirchen-Agende für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession, Zusammengestellt aus den alten rechtgläubigen Sächsischen Kirchenagenden und herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten* (St. Louis: Druckerei der evang. lutherischen Synod von Missouri, Ohio u.a. St.) 1856.

²⁷John Philip Koehler, *The History of the Wisconsin Synod* (St. Cloud: Sentinel Publishing, 1970), 163-164.

destroy or replace the liturgical heritage of the Roman Church, the catholic and apostolic church, but to reform and purify.²⁸ The goal of Walther and the Saxon emigrants was to retain the "purified" forms of the Church universal. It was their desire to protect the liturgical heritage from Rationalism and Unionism stemming from the age of the Enlightenment.

It may be helpful for the reader to refer to Tables Two and Three which allow one to view in columnar arrangement the component parts of the liturgies discussed below.

The *Formula Missae* allows one to begin the service with the option of a Sermon. The other liturgies, the *Deutsche Messe*, the Old Saxon (1771) and the Missouri-Saxon (1856) do not allow for that option. The *Formula Missae*, which appears upon cursory examination, to be quite similar to the 1771 Saxon Agenda begins with the Introit as was the common practice in the Roman Catholic Church. The reader may recall that the liturgical material prior to the Introit in the Roman rite was considered to be the confiteor, or material that was introductory to the actual beginning of the service. The divine service itself began with the priests entrance into the chancel or the "Introit." The *Deutsche Messe* begins with a German Hymn or Psalm, the

²⁸Martin Luther, "Formula Missae et Communionis," (1523) *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 19.

German vernacular equivalent of the Introit.

Unlike the *Deutsche Messe*, the *Formula Missae* and the Old Saxon, the 1856 Missouri Agenda begins with the Kyrie. The Kyrie suggested in the 1856 Agenda itself is "Kyrie, Gott Vater," a German Hymn. The use of familiar German Hymns as substitutes for the various parts of the liturgy is reminiscent of the *Deutsche Messe*.

The next component of the majority of liturgies in the present discussion is the Gloria in Excelsis. The *Deutsche Messe* does not contain the Gloria. One may once again note that the 1856 suggests the singing of a German Hymn, "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr," as a suitable alternative for the Gloria.

The 1856 Missouri-Saxon Agenda places a Salutation after the singing of the hymn "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr." The Salutation is not, however, a component of the *Deutsche Messe*, the *Formula Missae*, the Old Saxon of 1771 or the Braunschweig-Lüneburg.

Following the Salutation, the Missouri Agenda calls for an Antiphon. This is not common to the general type of German communion liturgy used since the time of Luther. It is possible that the Antiphon was an "import" from one of the liturgies familiar to the Missouri Saxons since Walther was not one to invent or devise new liturgical formulations but would rather select material from existing liturgies.²⁹

²⁹Norman Nagel, "Holy Baptism and Pastor Walther," 68.

Following the Antiphon in the 1856 Agenda is the Collect. This element of the liturgy is common to nearly every Lutheran communion liturgy. It is readily discernible in the *Formula Missae*, the *Deutsche Messe* and the Old Saxon (1771).

Most Lutheran liturgies also place the reading of the first lesson, generally an Epistle, immediately following the Collect. The 1856 places the Chief Hymn following the reading of the Epistle. Although it is not entitled the *Chief Hymn* in the other liturgies under present examination, the general structure is the same from liturgy to liturgy. The *Formula Missae* calls for the chanting of the Gradual and the affixed "alleluias." The *Deutsche Messe* replaces the Gradual with a German Hymn. The Old Saxon (1771) calls for a Sequence, a Psalm or a Hymn to be used. The Braunschweig-Lüneburg calls for a German Psalm or Hymn to be sung. The Missouri Agenda, then, appears to be more in keeping with the *Deutsche Messe*, the Braunschweig-Lüneburg and the Old Saxon on this matter.

All service orders in the present discussion place the reading of the Gospel immediately following the Gradual, the Sequence, the Psalm or the Hymn. This is followed immediately by the recitation of the Creed. One may here note the similarity between the Missouri-Saxon Agenda, the Braunschweig-Lüneburg and the Old Saxon of 1771 which call for the recitation of the Creed followed by the singing of

the hymn "Wir Glauben All."

The various liturgies presently under consideration all place the Sermon directly after the Creed, the exception being the *Formula Missae* which allows, as an option, that the Sermon be placed at the start of the service.

After the Sermon the 1856 Missouri Agenda notes that there should be the Confession of sins and Absolution without retention. The *Deutsche Messe*, *Formula Missae* and the Old Saxon (1771) contain no corporate Confession of sins (although the Duke Henry of 1681 does contain a Confession of sins and Absolution without retention). The Braunschweig-Lüneburg, on the other hand, contains the Confession of sins and Absolution *with* retention. This apparently corresponds to the possibility that excommunication may take place under certain circumstances and if necessary. It should be observed that the inclusion of such an element is somewhat rare.

Following the Confession and Absolution the Missouri Agenda places the Prayers. The inclusion of the Prayers as such is not noted in the other liturgies mentioned, *Formula Missae*, the *Deutsche Messe* or the Old Saxon (1771).

After the Prayers and before the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, the Braunschweig-Lüneburg allows a position for possible excommunication proceedings to take place if circumstances dictate.

Presumably, when deemed necessary, relevant

announcements were included before, after or during the worship services. The Missouri Agenda makes specific provision for the announcements to be made following the Prayers and prior to the recitation of the Lord's Prayer or *Vater Unser*. Löhe also provides a place during the service for the announcements to be made following the Sermon. This is actually quite an appropriate place within the liturgy to have the announcements. The "Service of the Word" has just come to a conclusion after the Sermon and the "Service of Holy Communion" has not yet begun.

The Lord's Prayer is included in all Lutheran communion service orders. Luther's German Mass has a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer in lieu of actually reciting the Prayer verbatim. A Votum follows the *Vater Unser* in the Missouri Agenda. The Missouri Agenda, as does Löhe, gives great detail concerning the pastor's conduct in the chancel prior to and following the Sermon.

On Sunday's when Communion is celebrated, the pastor is instructed to go into the chancel during the singing of *Schaffe in mir* in order to prepare the altar for the Communion. The hymn, *Schaffe in mir* is nothing more than an Offertory. As will be noted in the following chapter of this thesis, the insertion of an Offertory is not a part of the common Lutheran service order. The Brandenburg-Nürnberg of 1533, however, does call for a Hymn or an Offertory to be sung as does Löhe in his Agenda of 1844.

Following the Offertory the Missouri-Saxon Agenda calls for the Preface. The *Formula Missae*, the Old Saxon and the Braunschweig-Lüneburg also call for a Preface. The Braunschweig-Lüneburg adds a brief admonition following the Preface. The *Deutsche Messe* opts for an admonition to replace the Preface. The Old Saxon (1771) simply states that there is to be a Preface. The *Formula Missae*, however, like Löhe's Agenda and the Missouri Agenda, calls for the Salutation and Response, the Sursum Corda and the *vere Dignum* followed by the Proper Preface. All three service orders specify the same sequence.

The Old Saxon and the Braunschweig-Lüneburg specify that there is to be a Sanctus sung after the Preface. The simpler more modest *Deutsche Messe* does not have the Preface. The older *Formula Missae*, in keeping with the traditional Roman order, places the Consecration of the elements between the Preface and the Sanctus.

The 1856 and the Braunschweig-Lüneburg place a hymnic version of the Lord's Prayer immediately after the Sanctus. The *Formula Missae* and the Old Saxon both have the spoken form of the Lord's Prayer immediately following the singing of the Sanctus.

The Missouri Agenda, The Braunschweig-Lüneburg and the Old Saxon place the Consecration of the elements following the Lord's Prayer. The *Deutsche Messe* has the Consecration of the elements following the admonition and,

as noted above, omits the Preface.

The 1856 Missouri Agenda calls for the hymn, "Christe, du Lamm Gottes," to be sung as the Agnus Dei after the Consecration. The *Formula Missae* places the Agnus Dei during the Distribution. The other service orders that contain the Agnus Dei place it prior to the Distribution. While the Missouri, the Braunschweig-Lüneburg and Old Saxon orders of service contain nearly all of the elements of the *Formula Missae*, the Missouri order of service most closely duplicates that of the Braunschweig-Lüneburg and the Old Saxon in respect to the order in which the Service of Holy Communion proper is arranged. They both follow this general outline: Preface, Sanctus, Lord's Prayer, Consecration, Agnus Dei, Distribution, Collect and Benediction. The Old Saxon calls for the singing of a German Hymn "Jesus Christus" following the Agnus Dei and prior to the Distribution. The Missouri order also calls for the singing of hymns except that they are sung during the Distribution. Following the Distribution the *Formula Missae* calls for the Agnus Dei which, in the other service orders, is sung prior to the Distribution, the only exception being the *Deutsche Messe* where the agnus is omitted entirely. The *Formula Missae* also calls for a Salutation and Response. The Pax Domini is an element absent in the other liturgies included in our present discussion. Löhe (1844) and the Braunschweig-Lüneburg also, uncharacteristically, include

the Nunc Dimittis. This is appropriated from the service of Compline, and later the Lutheran order of Vespers. It knows little place in the communion order and is not widely used in the communion order until the English Common Service of 1888, as Reed notes concerning the origin of the Nunc Dimittis:

The Nunc Dimittis is a canticle which properly belongs to Compline, from which office it came into the Lutheran Vespers. It is found in the Greek church at the close of the liturgy, but is not given in the Roman or Anglican services of Holy Communion. It is appointed, however, at this place in the Spanish (Mozarabic) Liturgy. Luther's orders for the Holy Communion do not mention it, but it is given in the Swedish liturgy (1531) and in some of the earliest German orders of the sixteenth century (Nuremberg [1525], Strassbourg [1525]).³⁰

Following the Distribution in the *Deutsche Messe*, the Old Saxon and the Missouri-Saxon is a Collect. The Collect is also present in the *Formula Missae* after the Distribution, Agnus Dei and the Salutation.

The *Formula Missae* as well as Löhe include a Benedicamus between the Collect and the Benediction. The *Deutsche Messe*, the Braunschweig-Lüneburg, the Old Saxon and the Missouri-Saxon Agenda simply close the service with the pronouncement of the Benediction after the Collect. The Braunschweig-Lüneburg, as noted above, calls for the singing of the Nunc Dimittis. The Missouri Agenda calls for the singing of a concluding Hymn such as, "Gott sei gelobet," after the Benediction. Horn, quoting Kliefoth, notes that

³⁰Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 379.

such an ending arrangement is of the "regular type" of liturgy.³¹

As one examines the nature of the 1856 Agenda one can note the influence of the liturgical orders which preceded it. It contains components of the *Deutsche Messe* especially in its use of hymns to replace various parts of the liturgy. In this respect, the first portion of the Missouri-Saxon order, or what is known as the "Service of the Word," more closely resembles the *Deutsche Messe* than the *Formula Missae*.

The second portion of the service or the "Service of Holy Communion" more closely allies itself with the *Formula Missae*. The Missouri-Saxon order includes the Salutation and Response, the Sursum Corda, the Vere Dignum, the Proper Preface, the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei, all of which are components of the *Formula Missae* but not of the *Deutsche Messe*. There is also a Versicle and Response which corresponds to the Salutation and Response in the *Formula Missae* prior to the closing Collect.

One can also note the influence of the Old Saxon (1771) and the Braunschweig-Lüneburg in the order in which fall the Sanctus, Vater Unser, Consecration, Agnus Dei, Distribution, Collect and Benediction in the Missouri-Saxon. It may also be noted that the service orders include the

³¹Edward T. Horn, "The Feasibility of a Service for All English-Speaking Lutherans," 167, 169.

singing of the Creedal Hymn, "Wir glauben all." The three service orders call for the singing of a German Hymn immediately prior to or during the Distribution.

There are several unusual practices included in the Missouri-Saxon Agenda that are not often found in the Lutheran liturgies prior to 1856: Corporate Confession and Absolution, the Antiphon between the Salutation and the initial Collect, the detail given concerning the pastor's conduct in the chancel, the inclusion of an Offertory and the actual inclusion of announcements in the liturgical instructions.

In summary, then, it can be said that the Missouri-Saxon Agenda of 1856 does not correspond precisely with any previously existing Lutheran liturgical order. It is a unique compilation of liturgies which may trace its history through the "old" and "orthodox" Saxon liturgies.³² Last but not least, the Missouri Agenda, as all Lutheran liturgical orders, is based upon the liturgical formulations of Martin Luther.

³²Norman Nagel, "Holy Baptism and Pastor Walther," 68.

CHAPTER 3.

WILHELM LÖHE: HIS LITURGICAL THOUGHT, WORK AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MISSOURI SYNOD

As a means of assisting the reader to develop a better appreciation for the sources of the present communion liturgy commonly in use in the Missouri Synod, it is desirable to include a chapter on Wilhelm Löhe. His influence upon the formation of the Lutheran liturgy presently employed by the majority of Lutherans in the United States is no small matter. The liturgical life of Lutheranism in America owes a great deal to his *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses* (1844), which was especially prepared for Lutherans in North America.¹

As will be demonstrated in this chapter, it is through Löhe's liturgical work, passed on through The Common Service, that Lutherans in America have realized the partial fulfillment of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's desire for a common liturgy.²

¹*Lutheran Cyclopedia*, 1975 ed., s.v. "Löhe, Johann Konrad Wilhelm."

²See page 83 of this paper for information on Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.

Wilhelm Löhe and the Missouri Synod

Wilhelm Löhe was a pastor in Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, in Germany. He was instrumental in training and sending numerous Lutheran pastors to the United States, many of whom became pastors of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Löhe had fraternal relations with the Missouri Synod for many years. Unfortunately, Löhe and Missouri had differing viewpoints concerning the doctrine of the office of the ministry and, most specifically, ordination.³ Löhe also expressed his misgivings concerning some of the provisions and stipulations set forth in the constituting documents of the Saxons as they sought to form a synodical body. He was especially uneasy concerning the power and authority that would be placed in the hands of the congregations.⁴

The event that precipitated the break between Missouri and Löhe, however, came about as the result of a controversy concerning a seminary in Saginaw, Michigan. Löhe did not wish for the Missouri Synod to have any control over the seminary which had been established in 1852 under his auspices. The Missouri Synod, however, desired to have control of the seminary since it was in the Synod's "territory" and because of the doctrinal difference

³Erich Hugo Heintzen, "Wilhelm Löhe and the Missouri Synod," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1964), 192.

⁴*Ibid.*, 151.

concerning ordination. Missouri Synod men in Michigan were uneasy about the possible consequences of the seminary's location. Confusion could come about as a result of the doctrine of the Church and Ministry that would be taught there, a doctrine dissimilar to that espoused by the Missouri Synod. Wyneken, then president of the Missouri Synod, requested that the seminary be moved to a location outside of Michigan as the Synod had already established itself in that area of Michigan where the seminary was located. He felt that Löhe, should he allow the seminary to remain, would be working against the Missouri Synod.⁵ Missouri in turn was accused by Löhe of displaying a "papistical territorialism."⁶ In a letter dated August 4, 1853, Löhe regretfully severed his relationship with the Missouri Synod.⁷

The above paragraphs have been set forth in an effort to briefly disclose the climate that existed between Wilhelm Löhe and the Missouri Synod. The aura of mistrust and apprehension that existed between the two and which precipitated the decline of diplomatic relations was indeed very disheartening. The particular element to be stressed is the uncomfortable situation that existed between Missouri and Löhe. The above paragraphs are included to aid the

⁵*Ibid.*, 232.

⁶*Ibid.*, 233.

⁷*Ibid.*, 233-234.

reader in gaining an appreciation for the ironic fact that the communion liturgy employed today by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is related to the one produced by Wilhelm Löhe. Further explanation is set forth below.

Wilhelm Löhe's Agenda, 1844

The request of Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken and Johann Adam Ernst, one of Löhe's *Sendlinge*, for a German Agenda furnished the occasion for the publication of Löhe's Agenda in 1844.⁸ The Forward to Löhe's Agenda indicates that it was dedicated to Friedrich Wyneken. In the Forward Löhe sets forth some of the principles that guided his work in compiling this Agenda. He carefully studied and weighed the old liturgies of the Lutheran Church. Löhe valued continuity with the traditions of the historical community of the church. He held in high regard forms of worship rooted in the church's past, an ecumenical and united church. He measured and weighed the old liturgies against the Lutheran Confessions. Löhe studied and compared some 200 Lutheran orders of service. He looked to the past, not because "ancient" automatically denotes the "best," but because history bears the traces of the fellowship that is

⁸Kenneth Korby, "Löhe's *Seelsorge* for his Fellow Lutherans in America," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 45 (1972), 239.

the church.⁹ Löhe states: "I have refrained completely from taking something from the Roman liturgies which has not already been found in the old Lutheran agendas."¹⁰

Löhe took into account the history and teachings of the Christian church universal as well as the Lutheran Church when he compiled his *Agende für christliche Gemeinden* (1844). He sought after a common Christian consensus in the older liturgical formulations of the Lutheran Church.¹¹ Unfortunately it does not appear that he achieved a great deal of consensus with the old Lutheran liturgies.¹² The

⁹Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke* (Neuendettelsau: Freimund Verlag, 1956), vol. 7, p. 10.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 12.

¹¹Hans Kressel, *Wilhelm Löhe als Liturgik und Liturgiker* (Neuendettelsau: Freimund Verlag, 1952), 137.

¹²An imaginative phrase was employed by the men who created The Common Service (1888). It was stipulated that the work undertaken should be guided by "the common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century." It is also stated in the same document: "The Common Service here presented is intended to reproduce in English the *consensus* of these pure Lutheran Liturgies." The Common Service bears a striking resemblance to Löhe's liturgy. If it is understood that the "common consensus" or "common consent" of the pure Lutheran liturgies is meant to indicate a reproduction or duplication of sixteenth century Lutheran liturgies with the strictest possible adherence to their outline and form, then it can be demonstrated that neither The Common Service nor Löhe's Agenda is indeed in compliance with the criterion set forth. Both orders of service differ from the liturgies of the sixteenth century. Neither The Common Service nor Löhe's service order achieve a "common consensus." In several instances these two liturgies reach back to primitive Christian service orders and the Roman Mass for their material.

For more concerning this thought see J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," *The Lutheran Quarterly* 15 (1890), 124-185. Richard states on pages 165-167: "Part for part

communion service in his 1844 Agenda is a unique and innovative work. He does not maintain any structure coherent to any *particular* Lutheran liturgy of the past. He, instead, appropriates and combines elements of many different liturgies, including the ancient liturgies of the Roman Church. Löhe reintroduces several elements into Lutheran liturgies that had been rejected by Luther and most other Lutherans since Luther's time.

Löhe is very careful to explain and make manifest his desire to reacquaint Lutherans with parts of the ancient liturgies without reinstating their "Romish" essence and usage.¹³

The newly published Agenda was received warmly by most Lutherans. C. F. W. Walther reacted favorably to it

and form for form, Löhe's Liturgy and the COMMON SERVICE [sic.] are ALMOST IDENTICAL [sic.], so nearly identical that the liturgical scholar would say at once that the former is without the shadow of a doubt or question the presupposition of the latter. An examiner, not a liturgical scholar, but acquainted with the language of each, would say: The latter is, in *almost all* essential parts, a *translation* of the former. A person acquainted with the Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century, on examining and comparing, would say emphatically, that *neither* fairly represents "the Lutheran type in the construction of the Communion Service," but both are *Luthero-Romanizing*."

¹³In many footnotes in his liturgy Löhe attempts to clarify his position concerning the introduction of such things as the Offertory, Invocation, Public Confession and Absolution and the Nunc Dimittis. Löhe strives to have his readers understand that he is by no means espousing any Roman tendencies. He believes that the people can be properly educated to understand and accept the old Roman forms given new Lutheran character. Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 47-76.

and wrote in an 1845 article:

(Until now I have been able only to cursorily view [it]). It appears to contain nothing but the kernel of the old, pure Lutheran agendas. It is dedicated to Pastor Wyneken and certainly proper for the Lutheran Church in America. With godly help it will be an excellent antidote against the newest, local Agenda of 1842. Lord willing, this Agenda of Pastor Löhe will be touched upon later in this publication.¹⁴

In his work *The Lutheran Liturgy*, Luther Reed describes the decline and recovery of liturgical life in Europe during the first years of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ The age of the Enlightenment, Rationalism and Pietism had done great harm to the liturgical life of the church throughout Europe. The early part of the nineteenth century witnessed an effort on the part of European churchmen to recover historic forms of worship. Reed notes the various prominent liturgical scholars who contributed to the liturgical recovery and names Löhe as being among them. In speaking of the liturgical renewal in Bavaria during the first half of the nineteenth century, Reed states: "The most important work, however, was the *Agende für christliche Gemeinden* of Wilhelm Löhe (1844)."¹⁶ The outline of his "Ordnung des Gottesdienstes: Die Communio oder der

¹⁴C. F. W. Walther, "Missionsnachrichten," *Der Lutheraner*, I (July 12, 1845), 90. The 1842 agenda to which Walther refers is in all likelihood the agenda published by the Pennsylvania Ministerium in the same year.

¹⁵Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress press, 1947), 140-160.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 153.

Hauptgottesdienst" is reproduced in Table Four for the convenience of the reader and is placed side-by-side with Luther's service orders as a means of illustrating the differences between Löhe's order and Luther's orders.

TABLE 4

| <u>Löhe</u> | <u>Formula Missae</u> | <u>Deutsche Messe</u> |
|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Hymn | | |
| Invocation | | |
| Confession | | |
| Invitatory | | |
| Adjutorium | | |
| Vers. and resp. | | |
| Confession | | |
| Absolution | (Sermon) | |
| Introit | Introit | Hymn/Psalm |
| Gloria Patri | | |
| Kyrie | Kyrie | Kyrie |
| Gloria in Excelsis | Gloria in Excelsis | |
| Salutation/Response | | |
| Collect | Collect | Collect |
| Epistle | Epistle | Epistle |
| Hallelujah | | |
| Gradual | Gradual w/Alleluia | German Hymn |
| Salutation/Response | | |
| Gospel | Gospel | Gospel |
| Creed | Creed | Creed |
| Sermon | Sermon | Sermon |
| Offertory | Preparation | Lord's Prayer |
| (Offerings) | of table | (paraphrase) ¹⁷ |

¹⁷The paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer reads as follows: "That God, our Father in heaven, may look with mercy on us, His needy children on earth and grant us peace so that His holy Name be hallowed by us and all the world through the pure and righteous teaching of His Word and the fervent love of our lives; that He would graciously turn from us all false doctrine and evil living whereby His precious Name is blasphemed and profaned. That His kingdom may come and be enlarged; that all transgressors, the sin-darkened, and those in the bonds of Satan's kingdom be brought to a knowledge of the true faith in Jesus Christ, His Son, and the number of Christians be increased. That we may be strengthened by His Spirit to do His will and suffer it to be done, both in life and in death, in good things and in evil, ever breaking, offering, slaying our own wills. That

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| General Prayer | | |
| Preface | Preface | Admonition |
| Salutation | Salutation | |
| Sursum corda | Sursum corda | |
| Vere Dignum | Vere Dignum | |
| Proper Preface | Proper Preface | |
| Sanctus | | |
| Consecration | Consecration | Consecration |
| Agnus Dei | Sanctus | |
| Lord's Prayer | Lord's Prayer | |
| Pax Domini | Pax Domini | |
| Distribution | Distribution | Distribution |
| Nunc Dimittis | & Agnus | |
| Salutation/Response | Salutation/Response | |
| Collect | Collect | Collect |
| Benedicamus | Benedicamus | |
| Benediction | Benediction | Benediction |

Placing the three side-by-side one notes that there is a greater correlation between Löhe's Agenda and the *Formula Missae* with Löhe's Agenda being more elaborate. The additions in Löhe's liturgy come from later less weightier liturgies or reach back to the Roman Mass. Löhe's Agenda displays a more elaborate and detailed character than does

He would also give us our daily bread, preserve us from avarice and gluttony, relying upon Him to grant us a sufficiency of all good things. That He would forgive our debts as we forgive our debtors so that our heart may have a calm and joyful conscience before Him and no sin may frighten us nor make us afraid. That He would not lead us into temptation but help us by His Spirit to subdue the flesh, despise the world and its ways and overcome the devil and all his wiles. And finally, that He would deliver us from all evil, bodily and spiritually, in time and in eternity. All those who earnestly desire these things, will say, from their very hearts, Amen, believing without doubt that it is yea, and answered in heaven as Christ hath promised: Whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye shall receive them, and ye shall have them. Amen." Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," (1523), *Works of Martin Luther*, Philadelphia Edition, vol. 6, trans. A. Steimle (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press 1932), 181.

the *Formula Missae*.

The Entrance Hymn or Hymn of Invocation was not a regular part of the Roman Catholic liturgy of Luther's day. As a matter of fact, congregational singing and hymn forms as they are known today in Lutheran circles were virtually unheard of before the time of the Reformation. It was Luther who introduced the idea of regular congregational hymn singing as a part of the liturgical order of service.

It is said by J. W. Richard, nineteenth century Lutheran theologian of the General Synod, that there are very few liturgies indeed that contain an Opening Hymn or any *confiteor* prior to the Introit.¹⁸ According to his analysis, an Opening Hymn or any matter prior to an Introit has not the common consent of even a few Lutheran liturgies. Kliefoth, one of the great German liturgical scholars of his day, however, notes that a few *Kirchenordnungen* (church orders) do indeed place the *confiteor* before the Introit and specifically mention the singing of "Komm, Heiliger Geist," in a few of the liturgies.¹⁹ Although some (Richard) may not see this as the consensus of pure Lutheran liturgies, it represents a fair amount of the liturgies that carry the

¹⁸J. W. Richard notes: "By the *confiteor* we mean all that precedes the Introit. The great majority of Lutheran liturgies following the example of Luther, begin the service with the Introit." "The Liturgical Question," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 20 (1890) 150n.

¹⁹Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 8 (Schwerin: Verlag der Stiller'schen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1861), 4ff.

"greater" weight in terms of their importance. Reed notes: "A Hymn of Invocation of the Holy Spirit is prescribed in Spangenburg and in many church orders."²⁰ Löhe himself gives the Erfurt (1526), the Pfalzgraf Wolfgang (1570), the Baden (1556) and the Austrian (1571) as antecedent liturgies allowing for the singing of a Hymn of Invocation.²¹ Löhe certainly does have precedent for including an Entrance or Invocational Hymn.

The Invocation is not found in the early liturgies of the Church. The Invocation, however, is by no means a recent development nor a rare usage in the older liturgies. "The Lutheran Church orders give the Invocation or take it for granted," says Reed.²²

Löhe begins what he terms the "confiteor" with an Invitatory or Invitation to Confession. He notes that this Invitatory has precedent in the Marburg of 1566, the Döber (1525), Wittenberg (1559), Mecklenburg (1552), Wolfgang (1570) and the Austrian (1571).²³ The Adjutorium, as it is called, "Our help is in the name of the Lord," is contained in the Mecklenburg (1552), the Palatinate (1560) and a few

²⁰Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 251.

²¹Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 47.

²²Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 252. Further explanation concerning liturgical components can be found in Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press), 1952.

²³Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 48.

others.²⁴ It can be located in the Nürnberg (1525) and the Wittenberg (1559).²⁵ It is also found in the Wittenberg of 1565.²⁶ The Versicles, "I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord," and "Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin," are found in the Köln (1543).²⁷ They can also be located in Strassburg (1525) and Austria (1571).²⁸ Reed also notes that the confiteor can be found in Hamburg (1537) and Hesse-Cassel (1566).²⁹

Löhe lists three different possible forms of Confession and Absolution. The first, he says, is from the Nürnberg (1525). The second can be located in the Wittenberg (1559), the Mecklenburg (1552) and the Wolfgang (1570). The third form Löhe takes from the Austrian (1571).³⁰

Löhe next instructs that there be an Introit. The Introit is an integral part of all legitimate Lutheran liturgies from Luther to the present. The choice of a Hymn or Psalm sung in place of the Introit has the precedent of

²⁴J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 149.

²⁵Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 259.

²⁶Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 8, 7-8.

²⁷J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 150.

²⁸Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 259.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 258.

³⁰Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 48-51.

Luther's *Deutsche Messe* which actually begins the service with the singing of a German Hymn or Psalm in place of the historic Introits.

Löhe places the Gloria Patri, or "little doxology," immediately after the Introit. Many of the church orders simply take the Gloria Patri for granted and make no specific mention of it. The following liturgies are examples of ones that also specifically identify the use of the Gloria Patri: Bugenhagen (1524), Döber (1525), Erfurt (1526) and Strassburg (1525).³¹

Löhe then directs that the pastor and the congregation are to sing together the Kyrie Eleison followed by the Gloria in Excelsis. Again, these two components of the liturgy are found in many Lutheran liturgies immediately following the Introit and in the pattern listed.³² Löhe gives the standard option of two different forms of the Kyrie that can or should be used. The German church orders generally retained the Kyrie in the liturgy in its simple Greek form (*Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*).³³ Frequently the option of alternating between

³¹F. W. Conrad, "The Liturgical Question," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 15 (1885), 313.

³²Edward T. Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of The Common Service," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 21 (1890), 251.

³³The customary Roman use was three *Kyrie eleisons*, three *Christe eleisons* and three *Kyrie eleisons*, or a ninefold *Kyrie*. Luther simplified this to a threefold use in his *Deutsche Messe*. Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Works of*

the German and the Greek texts was given. The minister intoned or spoke "Kyrie, eleison" and the people responded "Herr, erbarme dich unser."³⁴ Such is the case with Löhe. He also cites three forms of the Kyrie as examples of ones that could be used if so desired.³⁵ The Gloria in Excelsis as given by Löhe is almost verbatim, the same as that used in The Common Service and, more recently, in *The Lutheran Hymnal*.³⁶ The particular form of the Gloria present in Löhe and in The Common Service, however, is very ancient and is actually a standard text with roots as far back as the Roman Mass of the fourth century.³⁷ Many Lutheran Church orders allow for a metrical version of the Gloria in Excelsis or

Martin Luther, Philadelphia Edition, vol. 6, Luther's Liturgical Writings, trans. and ed., Paul Zeller Strodach (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932), 103 n39.

³⁴Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 271.

³⁵Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 52-54.

³⁶Ehre sei Gott in der höhe. Und auf Erden Fried, den Menschen ein Wohlgefallen. Wir loben Dich, wir benedeien Dich, wir beten Dich an, wir preisen Dich, wir sagen Dir Dank um Deiner großen Ehre willen, Herr Gott, himmlischer König, Gott, allmächtiger Vater; Herr, eingeborner Sohn, Jesu Christe, Du Allerhöchster; und Dir, O Heiliger Geist! Herr Gott, Lamm Gottes, Ein Sohn des Vaters, der Du hinnimmst die Sünd der Welt, erbarm Dich unser. Der Du hinnimmst die Sünde der Welt, nimm auf unser Gebet. Der Du sitztest zur Rechten des Vaters, erbarm Dich unser. Denn Du allein bist heilig, Du bist allein der Herr, Du bist allein der Höchste, Jesu Christe, mit dem Heiligen Geist, in der Herrlichkeit Deines Vaters. Amen. Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 54-55. This, of course, is in English in the English hymnals.

³⁷Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 274.

another suitable Hymn of Praise to be sung in its place.³⁸ Löhe does no less, specifying "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr," or "All Ehr und Lob soll Gottes sein." Löhe states that this option is found, for example, in Westphalia (1585), Austria (1571) and "already in Luther's Hymnbook."³⁹ Luther includes the Latin Gloria in his *Formula Missae*. The *Deutsche Messe* does not specify a Gloria be sung. The Saxon church orders (Duke Henry 1539 and a later edition, 1771) and others call for the Gloria to be in Latin.⁴⁰ The Wittenberg order of 1565 and others allow for the Latin Gloria or the German metrical "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr."⁴¹ As is evidenced above, Löhe remains in concert with ancient custom of the western Church and the standard Lutheran traditions.

The Salutation and Collect form the next unit for consideration. Löhe, with the majority of Lutheran liturgies, instructs that the Salutation be said at this particular point in the service. Almost every Lutheran order of service of the sixteenth century places a Collect at this point in the worship service. Both of Luther's

³⁸*Ibid.*, 275.

³⁹Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 55.

⁴⁰Emil Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1902), vol. 1, 271.

⁴¹*Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit christlicher Lehre* (Wittenberg: Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft, 1550), 82.

service orders include one as well.

What follows the Collect is the Epistle reading. This part of the service needs little comment. All Lutheran liturgies call for the reading of the Epistle. It is a regular part of the worship service. Löhe, as with many of the Lutheran orders of the sixteenth century, allows for the Epistle to be read or sung by the pastor.⁴² Following the Epistle Löhe instructs that the congregation is to sing "Hallelujah" as a response to the words just read. This practice has the authority of such liturgies as Strassburg (1525), Erfurt (1526), Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533), Wittenberg (1533), and Köln (1543).⁴³ Some liturgies prescribe a Hallelujah followed by a Sequence. Others prescribe a Psalm or a Psalm and a Gradual following the Hallelujah. Some liturgies prescribe a Psalm or a Sequence; some a Sequence or Spiritual Song. Some liturgies prescribe only a Gradual after the Hallelujah. There are other combinations that can occur as well.⁴⁴ Löhe prescribes a German song be sung following the Hallelujah.

Since people today cannot sing the old Graduals,

⁴²Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 292, says that it was standard practice in the sixteenth century liturgies for the Epistle to be sung. He gives as examples the Mark Brandenburg (1540), Pommeranian (1563), and the *Deutsche Messe* which all allow for the Epistle to be sung, the latter order indicating in detail a method for the choral reading of the lessons in the vernacular.

⁴³Edward T. Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," 252.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

Sequences and Proses, even when the contents are pure, since they have become unfamiliar and strange, so now the congregation sings at this point a German song.⁴⁵

The precedent of singing a German song as an option in place of a Gradual, Sequence or Psalm is found in such important liturgies as the *Deutsche Messe* (1526), Wittenberg (1559) and (1565), and Westphalia (1585).⁴⁶

That the Gospel should be read (or intoned) is without question in every Lutheran communion service. "It is the uniform and almost invariable custom of the Lutheran liturgies to proceed at once, after the simplest form of announcement, to the reading of the Gospel, and from that to the Creed."⁴⁷ Kliefoth states: "All church orders of the pure Lutheran type always have the reading of the Gospel, the Creed and then the Sermon follows."⁴⁸ In other words, the order in which the reading of the Gospel, the recitation of the Creed and the preaching of the Sermon fall remains constant in the "pure" Lutheran liturgies.

The congregational acclamation prior to the reading of the Gospel, "Glory be to thee, O Lord," and the congregational response after the reading of the Gospel,

⁴⁵Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 57.

⁴⁶F. W. Conrad, "The Liturgical Question," 313.

⁴⁷J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 155.

⁴⁸Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 7, 43. "Alle KOO von reinem lutherischen Typus lassen auf die Vorlesung des Evangelium das Credo und dann die Predigt folgen."

"Praise be to thee, O Christ," is given by Löhe. He notes that it is a very ancient custom from the Roman liturgy. According to Kliefoth and others, however, these congregational responses have very little precedent in the Lutheran Church orders. One of the rare exceptions is the Pommeranian order of 1568.⁴⁹ It is obvious, then, that Löhe departs from the "consensus" of pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century at this point. He, however, does not create something new. Löhe, rather, reaches back to the liturgies of the Roman Church prior to the Reformation, to the tradition that predates Lutheran Church orders and restores a meaningful and important part of ancient Christian worship.

The recitation of the Creed has the unanimous testimony of Lutheran service orders. Some place the Creed immediately after the Gospel. Other church orders allow for it after the Sermon. Most church orders allowed for it to be either spoken or sung. The Creed could either be in Latin or German. Most Lutheran orders use the Nicene Creed. Many Lutheran orders allowed for an alternative choice, the

⁴⁹Kliefoth states that in the masses of the middle ages the Gospel acclamation and response was common as in the Pommeranian Agenda. The majority of church orders, however, had done away with these responses and opted for a simple Gospel announcement. Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 8, 33. It is noted by Horn: "That this was usual in some places, though it is not prescribed in the orders, is rendered probable by the fact that it is given with music by Lossius and Vopelius." Edward T. Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," 253.

Apostles' Creed, to be used.⁵⁰ Löhe says that the Nicene Creed should be used. It can either be spoken or sung. On rare occasions the Apostles' Creed could be sung. It is also not unusual to sing Luther's song "We All Believe."⁵¹

As with many of the Lutheran orders Löhe instructs that the pastor is to go into the pulpit during the recitation of the Creed, after which he greets the congregation with the Votum or apostolic greeting and preaches a Sermon based upon the appointed Gospel lesson.⁵² The position of the Sermon at this place in the service is the standard Lutheran practice, i.e., placing the Sermon just prior to or just after the recitation of the Creed. Luther allowed for the Sermon to be at the beginning of the service prior to the Introit in the *Formula Missae*, or to be placed after the Creed.⁵³ Löhe writes that the pastor should close the Sermon with the Gloria Patri or another acclamation of praise so that the congregation can properly say "Amen."⁵⁴ After the Sermon the pastor is told that he should exhort the congregation to pray and make intercession

⁵⁰Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 302.

⁵¹Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 58.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 59.

⁵³Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Luther's Works*, American Edition, vol. 53, *Liturgy and Hymns*, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965), 25.

⁵⁴Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 59.

for others and for the church and to give thanks to God. The pastor may also make proper and fitting announcements of a spiritual nature. At the close of the exhortations the pastor should speak the Votum to which the congregation responds "Amen."⁵⁵ Then the pastor descends from the pulpit and returns to the chancel.

Löhe places the Offertory after the Sermon and once the pastor has descended into the chancel. This is an unusual element and does not coincide with the consensus of Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century. The reintroduction of an Offertory is actually not in keeping with the Lutheran tradition. Luther himself states in the *Formula Missae*:

In the eighth place there follows that complete abomination, into the service of which all that precedes in the mass has been forced, whence it is called the offertorium, and on account of which nearly everything sounds and reeks of oblation. Therefore repudiating all those things which smack of sacrifice and of the Offertory, together with the entire canon, let us retain those things which are pure and holy.⁵⁶

With perhaps the exception of one Lutheran order, the Mark Brandenburg (1540), the Offertory did not find its way into other Lutheran service orders. Luther Reed presents this brief insight:

Following Luther's example the church orders, with probably the single exception of the Mark

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 25-26.

Brandenburg (1540), omitted the Roman Offertory prayers. Various substitutes were proposed to occupy the time while the communicants came forward and stood in the choir (chancel) and the celebrant ordered the bread and the wine at the altar. Eventually the chanting of appropriate Psalm verses became the general practice.⁵⁷

Löhe defends his choice. He states that he agrees with his friend and fellow liturgiologist Friedrich Hommel that the Offertory, properly composed of scripture, appropriately understood by the people and correctly used in the service of God had a rightful place after the Sermon and during the collection of the alms or offerings of the people for use in the service of Christ's church. Indeed, the people can scarcely properly offer their prayers and gifts correctly without the Offertory.⁵⁸ In the primitive church the Offertory did, indeed, have a proper place in the service. The people of the congregation came forward with food and other gifts for the poor and for the support of the clergy. They came forward in an "Offertory" procession and placed their gifts on a table near the altar. In agreement with the perception that the entire life and all the possessions of the believer were to be dedicated to God, these gifts or offerings came to be consecrated or dedicated in a Prayer of Thanksgiving. This formal act later expanded into elaborate prayers and ceremonies. Bread and wine sufficient for the Communion were selected by the priests

⁵⁷Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 312.

⁵⁸Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 60.

and the other gifts were set aside for later distribution. During the procession the choir sang a Psalm. Over the centuries, the ceremony and the accompanying prayers grew into an elaborate ritual. The original character of the Offertory was lost and ceremonies and prayers of a sacrificial and mystical nature took its place. By the fourteenth century this rite included prayers, the mingling of water with the wine, the offering of the host and chalice (as sacrifice to God), the incensing of the altar and the elements and the washing of hands.⁵⁹

Löhe would have the liturgy avoid the adulterated and perverse nature of the Roman sacrificial Offertory and transport it back to the early Christian understanding and usage. The Offertory, understood in its primitive nature and function, was a beautiful and functional part of the liturgy. Löhe felt that the placement and usage of an Offertory has a scriptural and a historical basis. As long as the congregation understands that it is an offering of praise and thanks that is being rendered and not a sacrifice as the one made by Christ, then it is fitting and suitable to have an Offertory. Löhe even went so far as to say that an Offertory is a liturgical necessity in order to evoke and achieve a proper sense of spiritual and "churchly" dedication of one's offerings. The action of offering one's prayers and gifts should be done in accord with the old

⁵⁹Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 311-312.

custom and in no way be construed as the Roman sacrificial Offertory.⁶⁰

For Löhle to restore the Offertory to the service, however, causes concern for some Lutheran theologians.⁶¹ Löhle allows for the placement of the offerings upon the altar itself. Löhle also calls for the pastor to place or uncover the elements of bread and wine upon the altar during the singing of the Offertory. According to E. T. Horn, this action perhaps brings to mind an act of sacrifice such as in the Roman rite.⁶² The language used by Löhle to defend the reintroduction of the Offertory may also cause concern for some as he relies heavily on the word *Opfer*.⁶³

Löhle then specifies five different offertories that can be used. The second being the one that found its way, in part, into *The Common Service* (1888), the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912) and *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941):⁶⁴

Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herze und gib

⁶⁰Wilhelm Löhle, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 60.

⁶¹J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 147.

⁶²Although not objecting to the restoration of the Offertory itself, E. T. Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," 255-256, rejects Löhle's suggestion of placing the bread and wine on the altar during the singing of the Offertory.

⁶³Wilhelm Löhle, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 60.

⁶⁴See *The Common Service With Music for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1888), *The Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1912) and *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1941).

mir einen neuen gewissen Geist. Verwirf mir nicht von deinem Angesicht, und nimm Deinen heiligen Geist nicht von mir. Tröste mich wieder mit deiner Hilfe, und er, der freudige Geist, enthalte mich. Wasche mich wohl, von meiner Missetat, und reinige mich von meiner Sünde.⁶⁵

Following the Offertory and the collection of offerings is the General or Common Prayer. Luther Reed notes:

The Prayer of the Church is a part of the Offertory in a larger sense, the three parts of which--the offering of gifts, the Offertory Sentences and the Prayer of the Church--must be thought of as a unit. The prayer is the liturgical counterpart of the offering of alms and oblations.⁶⁶

Most sixteenth century liturgies do not have a General Prayer (nor, as discussed above, do they have an Offertory) but continue immediately after the Sermon with the Preface. Very few, such as the Wittenberg liturgies of 1559 and 1565, contain a General Prayer. Very likely this is because, as Luther Reed noted, the General Prayer is a part of the Offertory in a larger sense. The Prayer given by Löhe, divided into several portions with the congregation responding "hear us, beloved Lord, God" after each section, includes many of the same petitions found in The Common Service and in the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*.

⁶⁵Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 60-61. Create in me, God, a pure heart and give me a new (and) true spirit. Throw me not from your countenance, and take your Holy Spirit not from me. Comfort me again with your help, and He, the joyful Spirit, embrace me. Wash me completely of my crime and purify me from my sins.

⁶⁶Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 315.

Following the General Prayer, Löhe places the Preface with the Sanctus. The Preface is introduced by the Salutation, the Sursum Corda and the Thanksgiving. This is the common practice of most Lutheran liturgies.⁶⁷

The Preface follows. It consists of two parts. The Common Preface and the Proper Preface. The Common Preface is a fixed and regular feature consisting of a thanksgiving and an ascription. The thanksgiving, "it is truly good, right and salutary..." guides the worshipper into the Proper Preface. The ascription, "Therefore with angels and archangels and all the company of heaven we laud and magnify your holy name ever more praising you and singing," closes the Proper Preface and leads the worshipper in a most natural transition directly into the Sanctus. The Proper Preface is a variable liturgical Prayer that corresponds to the particular season of the church year.⁶⁸

Löhe gives eight Proper Prefaces, one of a general character or thanksgiving, the other seven corresponding to major festivals of the church year: Christmas, the Epiphany, the Passion season, the Easter season, Ascension, Pentecost and the Feast of the Holy Trinity. After the Preface and Sanctus he calls for a "short but deep silence," as does Luther in the *Formula Missae*.⁶⁹

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 326.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 67.

The portion of the service between the end of the Sermon and the Consecration varies in its construction from liturgy to liturgy. The elements that can and often are included are: the Lord's Prayer, the Preface, the Sanctus, an Exhortation, a Votum and the Consecration. One or more of these features can be omitted from the service as time permits, with the exception of the Consecration of the elements which must always take place. Many sixteenth century liturgies do not contain an Exhortation. Many of the liturgies have this order: Preface, Consecration, Sanctus, Lord's Prayer. Others, such as Löhe, have: Preface, Sanctus, Consecration, Lord's Prayer. Löhe's liturgy does not contain an Exhortation (*Vermahnung*) because the Exhortation is characteristically Lutheran and not a part of general Christian liturgies.⁷⁰ Luther's German Mass has a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, an admonition and the Consecration excluding the Preface and the Sanctus.⁷¹ There are other variations that could be noted as well. Without exception, however, all liturgies contain the Lord's Prayer and the Consecration of the elements.

Following the German Sanctus, Löhe places the

⁷⁰Hans Kressel, *Wilhelm Löhe als Liturg und Liturgiker*, 139.

⁷¹Luther does allow, however, for the singing of the German Sanctus ("Isaiah, Mighty Seer") during the distribution of the host, after which the wine is consecrated. Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 81-82.

Consecration of the elements. The Consecration, as in all Lutheran liturgies, is according to the record of the original institution of the Lord's Supper, 1 Corinthians 11:23-25. The Consecration and Distribution are the central portions of the communion liturgy.

Löhe places the German Agnus Dei after the Consecration but prior to the Lord's Prayer. This does not have the support of many of the weightier Lutheran liturgies including the *Formula Missae* (1523), Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533), Schleswig-Holstein (1542), Duke Henry (1539), Strassburg (1525), Erfurt (1520) and the Mecklenburg (1552). Almost all of the German orders place the Lord's Prayer before the Consecration. Löhe himself notes that his order is not in keeping with the oldest liturgies.⁷² In his German Mass, Luther places a Hymn after the Consecration and Distribution of the host. This is followed by the Consecration and Distribution of the wine during which Distribution hymns may be sung or the German Agnus Dei.⁷³

Löhe places the Lord's Prayer after the Agnus Dei. He claims that this is in keeping with many of the church orders such as Luther's *Weise der Messe* (1524), Bugenhagen (1524), Döber (1525), Strassburg (1525) and Erfurt (1526).

⁷²Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 67-68.

⁷³Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," (1526), *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 82.

This claim, however, cannot be substantiated since all of the above mentioned liturgies place the Lord's Prayer prior to the agnus.⁷⁴

The Lord's Prayer is found in every liturgy in close connection with the Holy Communion. It is not consecratory in nature but is placed in the service as a distinctive prayer of the children of God who are conscious of their fellowship and participation in the Communion of Saints and who are about to join together in fellowship at the table of the Lord. According to Reed, its proper place in the communion liturgy is immediately before the Distribution.⁷⁵ Löhe does not include the liturgical doxology to the Lord's Prayer (For thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory, now and forever). Many of the older Lutheran orders, however, do assign to the Lord's Prayer this doxology, which was probably added in the fourth century.

After the Lord's Prayer, Löhe places the Pax Domini. This has the authority of the entire Nürnberg family of liturgies plus the *Formula Missae* and the Prussian liturgy

⁷⁴Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 67-68. Löhe states: "Diese Stellung des Agnus ist der Antiquität nicht entsprechend," 67. He later states: "Die antike Stellung des Vaterunsers ist die obige, welche auch in vielen lutherischen Ordnungen (z.B. Luthers "weise christl. Messe zu halten" 1523, Bugenhagen 1524, Döber 1525, Straßb. 1525, Erfurt 1526) vor Erscheinen der deutschen Messe Luthers (1526), ja von manchen (Brand.-Nürnb. 1533) auch nach Erscheinen derselben beibehalten wurde," 68.

⁷⁵Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 364.

of 1525.⁷⁶ The Pax is a common Benediction that has the support of many Lutheran liturgies as well as the ancient Roman services. Luther thought rather highly of the Pax and had this to say in his *Formula Missae*:

[The Pax] which is, so to speak, a public Absolution of the sins of the communicants, the true voice of the Gospel announcing remission of sins, and therefore the one and most worthy preparation for the Lord's Table. On this account I would like to have it pronounced facing the people as the bishops were accustomed to do.⁷⁷

The Pax is followed by the Distribution. Löhe gives several possible Distribution formulae and Votum (the blessing the communicant receives after the reception of bread and wine but prior to departing from the Lord's table). The Distribution and reception of the bread and wine, body and blood, marks the individual application and reception of all that has been celebrated and invoked by the entire company of believers during the preceding part of the service. Löhe states that the congregation may sing hymns during the Distribution.⁷⁸

Löhe places the Nunc Dimittis after the Distribution. This, he says, carries the precedent of Bugenhagen (1524), Döber (1525) and Strassburg (1526). Most of the Lutheran service orders of the sixteenth century, however, did not

⁷⁶Edward T. Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," 260.

⁷⁷Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," (1523), *Amer. Ed.*, 53, 28-29.

⁷⁸Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 69-74.

include the Nunc Dimittis.⁷⁹

It is most interesting, then, to note that Löhe's is one of only a few communion liturgies prior to The Common Service to employ the Nunc Dimittis. It is not difficult to understand how some, such as Richard, perceive a connection between The Common Service and Löhe's liturgy.

Following the Nunc Dimittis Löhe instructs that a Thanksgiving Collect preceded by the Salutation be spoken. The majority of Lutheran liturgies, including Luther's orders, place the Collect after the Communion. The few liturgies that insert the Nunc Dimittis, as Löhe, likewise include the Collect after the Nunc Dimittis. Concerning the insertion of a Salutation, Löhe has the support of Bugenhagen (1524), Döber (1525) and Erfurt (1526).⁸⁰ Löhe presents a choice of three possible Post-Communion Collects. The first choice found its way into The Common Service and the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*.⁸¹

⁷⁹Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 379. See also page 114 of this paper for further assessment of the Nunc Dimittis as used by Löhe.

⁸⁰F. W. Conrad, "The Liturgical Question," 313.

⁸¹Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 381. The first Collect is from Luther's German Mass (1526) and is found in practically every Lutheran liturgy. It reads as follows: Wir danken Dir, allmächtiger Gott, daß Du uns durch diese heilsame Gabe hast erquicket, und bitten Deine Barmherzigkeit, daß Du uns solches gedeihen lassesst zum starken Glauben gegen Dich und zu brünstiger Liebe unter uns allen, durch unsern Herrn Jesum Christum, Deinen Sohn, der mit Dir in Ewigkeit des Heiligen Geistes, wahrer Gott, lebet und herrschet immer und ewiglich." Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 75.

After the Post-Communion Collect Löhe calls for the *Benedicamus*. In the tradition of the early church and many Lutheran liturgies, including Luther's *Formula Missae* (1523), Nürnberg (1524), Bugenhagen (1524), Döber (1525), Strassburg (1525), Erfurt (1526), Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533) and others, he includes a Salutation preceding the *Benedicamus*.⁸² The *Nunc Dimittis* sounded a definitely individual note of thanks and blessing. In the Salutation and *Benedicamus* a decidedly corporate character is seen as the people bless the Lord and thank God as the gathered assembly of believers. The *Benedicamus* introduces the final sacramental feature of the service, the Benediction.⁸³

Little need be said of the Benediction. It is in all Lutheran liturgies. Many of the liturgies give the Aaronic Benediction (Numbers 6:24-26) as the Benediction of choice. Löhe also gives the Aaronic Benediction. The Benediction imparts God's blessing upon the people. It is not merely a wish or desire that a blessing should accompany the people but is the impartation of God's blessing upon the people. In a practical sense the people are reminded once again that the assurance of God's grace and peace is with them as they go forth from the worship service.

The above has been a brief explanation and analysis of Löhe's communion liturgy. It is not within the intent or

⁸²F. W. Conrad, "The Liturgical Question," 313.

⁸³Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 383.

scope of this paper to discuss the intricacies of Lutheran liturgies of the past or the present. Nor is it the intent of this paper to discuss the structure of the liturgy. Many books have been written concerning worship and liturgy. It is, however, the intent of this paper to set forth Löhe's communion liturgy in comparison and contrast to those Lutheran liturgies which precede it. Special reference has been made to the Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century for reasons previously stated.⁸⁴

As is evidenced by the preceding comparison, Löhe's arrangement is in much closer agreement with Luther's *Formula Missae* than with his *Deutsche Messe*. Thus it can be said that Löhe is neither in complete agreement with Luther concerning his arrangement, nor does Löhe achieve consensus with the "pure" Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century.

The purpose of this chapter was to establish the unique character of Löhe's Order of Holy Communion in comparison with other Lutheran service orders, especially those of the sixteenth century. This was done in order to "lay the groundwork" for the ensuing chapter in which it will be shown that The Common Service is also a unique order of service in comparison to sixteenth century orders, yet bears a striking resemblance to Löhe's Order of Holy Communion. It is important for the purpose of this paper to establish the affinity between Löhe's Agenda and the Order

⁸⁴See footnote 12, page 54.

of Communion in the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* of 1912, the present English Order of Communion used by the Missouri Synod. In so doing, a correlation between The Common Service and Löhe's Agenda must also be shown.

The following chapter will demonstrate that The Common Service was influenced by Löhe's Agenda as a model and an example to follow. It will become apparent to the reader that Löhe had a greater influence than did the Saxons upon the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*.

CHAPTER 4.

THE ENGLISH "CONNECTION"

It was the desire of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787), an early and vital progenitor of American Lutheranism, to unite all American Lutherans in worship forms and practice.¹ This ideal has never been completely achieved. It is of significant interest to note, however, that the communion liturgy of The Common Service (1888), is the order of service that has been most widely used by English speaking Americans since the turn of the twentieth century.² The Common Service is employed by the Lutheran

¹Henry Melchior Muhlenberg is an important figure in the early development of American Lutheranism. Known as the "organizer of American Lutheranism" and the "Patriarch of American Lutheranism," he was the founder of the Pennsylvania Synod, a significant contributor to the formation of other early American synods and an active proponent of mission work in America. For more information concerning Muhlenberg see: *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, edited and translated by Theodore Tappert and John W. Doberstein (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942-58), William Keller Frick, *Henry Melchior Muhlenberg: "Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America"* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1902) and William J. Mann, *The Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1911). It was also Muhlenberg's desire that all Lutherans living in America should become united as one body using one church book and a common liturgy. Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1947), vii, 164.

²Kenneth Korby, "Löhe's Seelsorge for His Fellow Lutherans in America," *Concordia Historical Institute*

Church--Missouri Synod in the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912), *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941) and *Lutheran Worship* (1982). The General Synod, General Council and the United Synod South (merging in 1918 to become the United Lutheran Church in America) employed The Common Service in *The Common Service Book* (1917). The American Evangelical Lutheran Church, the American Lutheran Church, the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Lutheran Free Church, The United Evangelical Lutheran Church and the United Lutheran Church in America cooperating together in the Commission on the Liturgy and Hymnal used The Common Service in *The Service Book and Hymnal* (1958). The American Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church in America, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada and The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod cooperated jointly to produce *The Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978) which also employs the basic outline of The Common Service. Many of the churches of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America and The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, the two largest Lutheran Church organizations in America, presently employ either *The Lutheran Book of Worship* or *Lutheran Worship*.

Chapter four of this thesis will endeavor to show that the standard Order of Holy Communion presently employed by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod can trace its history

Quarterly 45 (1972), 241.

through American Lutheranism and American Lutheran churches of an English nature rather than through the Germanic, Saxon roots of the Missouri Synod. The communion service of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is none other than The Common Service used by the English Synod which became the English District of the Missouri Synod in 1911.

Luther Reed, in *The Lutheran Liturgy*, demonstrates that The Common Service can trace its roots to *The Church Book* of the General Council.

Beale M. Schmucker, prominent churchman in the General Council, illustrates the similarity between the first Pennsylvania Liturgy of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the communion liturgy of *The Church Book*. The successive line of liturgies from the Pennsylvania Liturgy to *The Church Book* and finally The Common Service is noted by Reed.³

J. W. Richard, professor of liturgics for the General Synod, in his article "The Liturgical Question" establishes a relationship between Wilhelm Löhe's 1844 Agenda and The Common Service.⁴

The chapter at hand, then, undertakes to show the relation that exists amongst the present Service of Holy Communion of the Missouri Synod and The Common Service, *The*

³Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 169.

⁴J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 20 (1890), 103-185.

Church Book, the Pennsylvania Liturgy and Wilhelm Löhe's Agenda, all of which look to Lutheran Church orders of the sixteenth century as their source. Other potentially pertinent source materials are mentioned as needed.

The Establishment of the English District
of the Missouri Synod

The English Conference of Missouri, Ohio and other States, an association of English speaking congregations in the United States, was established in 1872. It consisted of a variety of English speaking congregations that were either independent or at one time had been part of larger German-speaking bodies such as the Tennessee Synod. In the early years of the English Conference ties were, indeed, strongest with the Tennessee Synod. Because of the proximity of the German speaking Missouri Synod, however, the English Conference sought closer ties with that Synod and eventually sought to join with the Missouri Synod. As early as 1874 the English Conference made application to the Western District of the Missouri Synod that a pastor who could speak English might be supplied.⁵

In 1879 the English Conference again requested the assistance of the Western District. The Western District in

⁵Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, *Achtzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Westlichen Distrikts der deutschen evang. luth.-Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten. Anno Domini: 1874* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1874), 63, hereafter cited as *Western District Proceedings*.

1880 resolved to send Professor Martin Guenther as a delegate to the meeting of the English Conference. It was also resolved that a special English Mission Board be established, that the committee find a missionary for the undertaking of English work and that a treasury be established for such purposes.⁶ In 1881 the Mission Board called the Reverend A. Baepler from Mobile, Alabama to be an English missionary in the Missouri area. He was installed on March 26, 1882, at Frohna, Missouri, by Pastor Carl L. Janzow of the Missouri Synod.⁷

In 1874 the English Conference resolved to seek eventual union with the Synodical Conference. The Synodical Conference had been formed in 1872.⁸ The response of the Synodical Conference was cordial. It advised the English Conference to possibly seek union with a smaller synod or district of a synod. Barring that possibility, it was deemed advisable for the English Conference to remain independent until such time as it accommodated a larger constituency. As a larger body it would again be able to seek union with the Synodical Conference.⁹

⁶*Western District Proceedings*, 1880, 69.

⁷Clifford Nelson, ed., *The Lutherans In North America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 247.

⁸Walter Baepler, *A Century of Grace* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1947), 193.

⁹Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *Synodal-Bericht. Verhandlungen der dritten Versammlung der Evangelish-Lutherischen Synodal-Conferenz*

In 1877 the English Conference again resolved to apply for admission to the Synodical Conference as soon as it was deemed pragmatic.¹⁰

The English Conference decided to petition for membership in the Missouri Synod at its 1887 convention in Ft. Wayne. In 1887 the English Conference asked to be received as an English Mission District. The constitution of the Missouri Synod, however, clearly set forth the purely Germanic character of that synod. The proposal, therefore, was respectfully and graciously refused. Once again the English Conference was advised that it should seek to establish its own English synod and affiliate with the Synodical Conference.¹¹

Undaunted by the disinclination of the Missouri Synod to accept it into membership, the English Conference, at its fourteenth annual convention, September 2-6, 1887, appointed Pastors Meyer and Dallmann to draw up a

von Nord-Amerika, 1874 (St. Louis: Concordia, 1874), 50, hereafter cited as *Synodical Conference Proceedings*.

¹⁰English Lutheran Conference of Missouri, *Minutes of the Sixth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran English Conference of Missouri, 1877* (New Market: Henkel and Co., Printers, 1877), 3, hereafter cited as *English Conference Proceedings*.

¹¹Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, *Dritten Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1849* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1876), 69-70, hereafter cited as *Missouri Synod Proceedings*.

constitution for general organization.¹² On October 22, 1888, the organization known as the **General** Evangelical Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States was constituted. Three years later the name was amended to include the word "Synod". The new synod received as its official organ of publication *The Lutheran Witness*. The gift of the manuscript of an English hymnal prepared by August Crull of Concordia College, Ft. Wayne, was also received. It was also resolved at this first meeting that the new synod should again apply for admission to the Synodical Conference.¹³ It was finally resolved by the Synodical Conference in 1890 to accept into membership the English Synod.¹⁴

At the second meeting of the English Synod, May 20-26, 1891, the name was changed to the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States. Also adopted at this meeting was The Common Service for use in the English Synod congregations.¹⁵ The Common Service was

¹²According to Walter Cook, "The Development of the English Lutheran Activities in the Ozarks Prior to 1888," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 9 (1936), 58 and the research of the present writer, there are no minutes available concerning the 1887 English Conference convention. *The Proceedings of the First Convention of the General English Evangelical Lutheran Conference, 1888*, 3, however, verify the information cited.

¹³*English Conference Proceedings, 1888*, 15-17.

¹⁴*Synodical Conference Proceedings, 1890*, 32-33.

¹⁵*English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States, Proceedings of the Second Convention of the*

included in subsequent editions of the English Synod hymnals. The appearance of The Common Service had met with unfavorable criticism on the part of the German speaking Missouri Synod, who held that the English congregations ought to use an English translation of the German *Kirchen-Agende*.¹⁶

At the 1897 convention of the English Synod it was again deemed advisable to consider closer ties with the Missouri Synod. A resolution was passed that the congregations should vote on the subject.¹⁷ The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in 1899 appointed a committee to attend the meetings of the English Synod.¹⁸

At the 1899 convention of the English Synod, the vote of the congregations was reported. Sixteen had approved of closer ties with the Missouri Synod and eight had not approved. The resolution having been passed by a majority, however, was presented to the Missouri Synod at its next regular convention year in 1902.¹⁹ It was not until four years later, at the 1906 convention of the

English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States, 1891 (Baltimore: Harry Lang, Printer, 1891), 36, 37. Hereafter cited as *English Synod Proceedings*.

¹⁶Henry Philip Eckhardt, *The English District* (Published by the English District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other states, 1946), 28.

¹⁷*English Synod Proceedings*, 1897, 44.

¹⁸*English Synod Proceedings*, 1899, 15.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 53-54.

English Synod, that an official response was received from the Missouri Synod. The German Synod again pointed to its constitution which held that the language of synod was to be German. There was, however, one concession that was made. The German Synod was now willing to accept into its membership individual English speaking congregations.²⁰

It was resolved in 1908:

That we regard as very worthwhile a merger with the English Synod; that we do not discuss now in what way this merger should happen, but that the German Synod appoint a committee who will discuss this matter with the English Synod and at our next convention present a report as to what exact suggestions have been made.²¹

In 1909, at the English Synod's eleventh convention, word was received that the Missouri Synod had at its last convention (1908), appointed a committee to explore the possibility of absorbing the English Synod as an English District. The English Synod resolved that it was ready to consider becoming a district of the Missouri Synod.²² Included as terms of the Missouri Synod were provisions that publication matters, including *The Lutheran Witness*, were to be turned over to the Missouri Synod with the English District members participating in editorial capacities and serving on publication boards and committees. The usage of the English language by the members of the English District

²⁰*Missouri Synod Proceedings, 1905, 110.*

²¹*Ibid., 108.*

²²*English Synod Proceedings, 1909, 83.*

would be allowed on the floor of the delegate conventions of the Missouri Synod. At least a synopsis of the minutes would be read and published in English. The English District could start English missions wherever it deemed necessary. Only English speaking congregations, with exception, would be allowed to join the English District. The English District was to determine how often it should meet in convention.²³ These proposals were presented to the congregations of the English Synod who were to answer to the Synodical Secretary by January 1, 1911. A display of the confidence in the outcome of the voting is found in this 1909 resolution, "That our next session of Synod be held at the time and place of the German Delegate Synod."²⁴

In May of 1911 the Missouri Synod met in convention at Holy Cross Lutheran Church in St. Louis. The English Synod held its meeting mere blocks away at Redeemer. On Monday, May 15, the English Synod marched *en masse* from Redeemer to Holy Cross. A special committee met the English men at the door of the church and escorted them to seats of honor in the front of the church. President Eckhardt then announced to the German Synod that the English Synod was favorable to union as a district of the Missouri Synod. He

²³Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, *Siebenundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten vom Jahre 1908* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1908), 107-108. Also *English Synod Proceedings, 1909, 82-83.*

²⁴*English Synod Proceedings, 1909, 83.*

stated that it was surely a blessed day for German and English Lutherans in America. He also stated the resolve of the English Synod to ratify the common resolutions of both synods.²⁵ *The Lutheran Witness* was turned over to the Missouri Synod. The Missouri Synod also was given control of Concordia College, Conover.²⁶

The above paragraphs have been set forth with the intention that the reader might become better acquainted with the entrance of the English Synod under the auspices of the Missouri Synod as the English District. In so becoming the English District of the Missouri Synod, the English congregations brought into the Missouri Synod The Common Service and the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*.

Since the English Synod was composed of a number of English speaking congregations from a variety of backgrounds there were also a number of different English hymnals in use between 1872 and 1888. In 1888, when the English Conference became the English Synod, it was decided to pursue the publication of a uniform English hymnal.

In 1889 the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* was published. It contained, for the most part, the order of

²⁵*Missouri Synod Proceedings, 1911, 36. Also Synodal Bericht. Proceedings of the Twelfth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Others States, 1911 (St. Louis: Concordia, 1911), 73.*

²⁶*Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Synodal Bericht. Proceedings of the Twelfth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Others States, 1911, 76.*

service published already in 1868 by the General Council in its *Church Book*.²⁷ The 1889 edition of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* was also known as the "Baltimore Hymnal" by virtue of the location of its publication.²⁸

At the second convention of the English Synod in 1891, it was already indicated that the present form of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* was unsatisfactory. It was resolved that a second edition be printed with the specific instructions that The Common Service be used.²⁹ A committee was appointed to petition the General Synod and the United Synod South for permission to use The Common Service. Dr. Dallmann succeeded in obtaining permission from Edmund J. Wolf of the General Synod.³⁰ The Common Service was included in the 1892 edition of the English Synod's hymnal. In 1899 the records of the English Synod convention indicate that there was not an overwhelming acceptance of The Common Service among the congregations. The report indicates a regular sale of the new hymnal but notes that repeated requests had been received for a hymnal without The Common

²⁷Luther Reed, "Historical Sketch of the Common Service," *The Lutheran Church Review*, 36 (1917), 515. See also Table Six of this paper.

²⁸William Polack, *The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1947), v.

²⁹*English Synod Proceedings*, 1891, 37.

³⁰William Polack, "Historical Background of the Lutheran Hymnal," unpublished manuscript (St. Louis: Concordia Historical Institute), 3.

Service.³¹

The English Synod had also appointed in 1891 a Tune-Book Committee which was to prepare an Edition of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* with tunes.³² Prior to this appointment the hymnal was a text only edition. The English Synod, meeting in convention in 1893, deferred the work until a later time.³³ At the fifth convention in 1897 the revision of the *Hymn-Book* came up again, and it was referred to the Revision Committee with the instructions that the Committee make a detailed report at the next convention.³⁴ The work proceeded slowly and by the time the manuscript was ready for publication it could not be printed because of insufficient funding.³⁵ In 1909 the English Synod resolved to appoint a special committee to secure the necessary funds for the publication of the *Hymn-Book* with tunes.³⁶ The resolution was fulfilled when in 1911 the prepared manuscript was turned over to the Missouri Synod for publication. This was done in accordance with the stipulations made during the incorporation of the English Synod as the English District of The Lutheran

³¹*English Synod Proceedings*, 1899, 44.

³²*English Synod Proceedings*, 1891, 37.

³³*English Synod Proceedings*, 1893, 36.

³⁴*English Synod Proceedings*, 1897, 39.

³⁵*English Synod Proceedings*, 1907, 66.

³⁶*English Synod Proceedings*, 1909, 79.

Church--Missouri Synod.³⁷

The following year, 1912, the revised hymnal complete with tunes and with The Common Service, was published, "Thereby becoming the official English hymnal of the Missouri Synod."³⁸ The "official" character of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* is verified by an article published in the July 1912 issue of *The Theological Quarterly*. In discussing the events of the 1911 convention of the Missouri Synod, the creation of the English District and the adoption of the English Synod's work, the article concludes, "This hymnal, therefore, by reason of these events, becomes the hymnal of the entire Missouri Synod."³⁹ The absolute official character of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, however, was not formally declared until the convention of the Missouri Synod meeting in Chicago in 1914. Synod adopted the following:

The Committee recommends the use of the so-called Common Service, the order of service of the English District, which is to embody an English translation of the customary morning service in use in the Missouri Synod."⁴⁰

It should also be noted at this point that the editions of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* from 1894

³⁷William Polack, *The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal*, vi.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹"Our New English Hymn-Book," *The Theological Quarterly*, 16 (1912), 155.

⁴⁰*Missouri Synod Proceedings*, 1914, 126.

through 1909 expressly identify the order of Morning Service with the title "Common Service (by permission of the Joint Committee)." ⁴¹ No such claim, however, is noted for the Morning Service in the 1912 edition of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*. ⁴² The omission is unfortunate for two reasons. First, the order of Morning Service in the 1912 hymnal is the form from The Common Service. Second, the reliance of the 1912 *Hymn-Book* upon the order of service produced by other English speaking Lutheran bodies is obscured by the omission. Furthermore, the fact that the Missouri Synod was engaged in liturgical practice **common** with its English speaking neighbor synods was ambiguous.

In other words, the appearance is conveyed, whether intentionally or unintentionally, that The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod did not wish to be identified with the Lutheran bodies that produced The Common Service. At the same time the Missouri Synod was claiming, without reservation, The Common Service to be its English service order.

The adoption of The Common Service by the Missouri Synod established an official pattern for the English Lutheran worship services of that Synod from 1912 to the

⁴¹*Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (Baltimore: Lutheran Publication Board, 1894), 1. *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1909), 1.

⁴²*Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1912), 3.

present day. With the espousal of The Common Service the Missouri Synod acquired ownership of the common order of Lutheran service in use by the majority of English Lutherans in America. The Missouri Synod thereby attained, whether it wished to admit it or not, a certain degree of partnership in matters liturgical with the majority of English speaking Lutherans in the United States.

The Common Service of 1888

It was between the years of 1876 and 1883 that the preliminary actions were taken by the General Synod, the General Synod South and the General Council to appoint a committee and establish guidelines for the production of a Common Service Book. Actual work was begun by the joint committee in April of 1884. The selection of material was to be directed by "The common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century, and when there is not an entire agreement among them the consent of the largest number of greatest weight."⁴³ Friedrich W. Conrad expressed the following concerning the guiding principle:

The sixteenth century was the period in which the Lutheran Church was organized and her doctrines formulated, the parts of her Church Service selected, and the principles of her government determined. And her symbolical writers, theologians and liturgists of

⁴³Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 183. For a historical sketch of the production of the Common Service see Reed, *Ibid.*, 182-188 or Luther Reed, "Historical Sketch of the Common Service," *The Lutheran Church Review*, 36 (1917), 501-519.

that period were distinguished by their piety, learning and ability.⁴⁴

While planning the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, with the aid of his assistants Brunholz and Handschuh, prepared a liturgy which was adopted by the Pennsylvania Ministerium at its first convention in 1748. This first "American" liturgy, although never printed, circulated in handwritten copies for nearly forty years. This liturgy is important not only because of its early date but because of its character and influence. Luther Reed, in his work *The Lutheran Liturgy*, notes the great agreement in form and arrangement between the Pennsylvania liturgy and The Common Service. Reed states the following:

The *Church Book* of the General Council, the Common Service and the *Common Service Book* marked successive steps in the effort to return to the historic Lutheran liturgy as represented quite fully by the Muhlenberg Service and more completely by the church orders of the sixteenth century. Careful, scholarly work of this character, though often imitative rather than creative, laid the solid foundations upon which the Common Liturgy of today is built.⁴⁵

It is evident, then, that the liturgy of Muhlenberg warrants at least perfunctory attention in a discussion of The Common Service. As can be seen by examining Table Six below, there is indeed a great similarity between the outline of the Pennsylvania Liturgy and the other orders

⁴⁴George U. Wenner, "An Answer to 'The Liturgical Question,'" *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 20 (1890), 309n.

⁴⁵Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 169.

represented.

In 1882, Beale M. Schmucker of the General Council, after having made an exhaustive study of the Muhlenberg liturgy, says that he believes the sources to be fourfold, the Lüneburg Agenda (1643), the Calenberg Agenda (1569), the Brandenburg-Magdeburg Agenda (1739) and the Saxon Liturgy (1580, 1712). Luther Reed voices the same opinion. Reed remarks:

His [Muhlenberg's] liturgy of 1748 was based upon the Church Order of St. Mary's German Lutheran Congregation in London and upon the Orders of Saxony, Calenberg, Magdeburg, and Lueneburg, with which he and Brunholz had been familiar. These were typical Lutheran liturgies which had suffered but little change since their preparation in the sixteenth century. Muhlenberg's liturgy, while revealing Pietistic strains in a few places, was an admirable, if concise, example of the historic conservative type of service found throughout northern Germany and Scandinavia in the sixteenth century.⁴⁶

Reed again remarks concerning the four German orders mentioned above:

These were all typical Lutheran orders of the purest type which had changed little since the Reformation. Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Myconius, Spalatin, Chemnitz and John Arndt had assisted in their preparation or later revision. Dr. Schmucker's comparative study of these agenda shows that the Muhlenberg liturgy is in almost complete agreement with them.⁴⁷

There are, however, parts of the Pennsylvania liturgy that do not conform to any of the above stated

⁴⁶Luther Reed, "The Common Service in the Life of the Church," *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, 12 (1939), 7.

⁴⁷Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 166.

service orders. Schmucker says of the Opening Hymn or Hymn of Invocation:

The use of a Hymn of Invocation at the opening of the service is, however, of very early Lutheran use. The *Deutsches Kirchenamt*, Erfurt (1526) prescribes it. Spangenberg's *Kirchengesenge, Deutsch* (1545) prepared at Luther's entreaty [prescribes it].⁴⁸

Schmucker says regarding public Confession of sins:

In place of the Kyrie, a public Confession is introduced. This is not found in any of the four agenda at this place nor in that of the London. The Calenberg and Saxon have such a Confession after the Sermon, before the General Prayer, and the Confession here used is taken in part from the Calenberg... . What led Muhlenberg to introduce it, we do not know, since while public Confession was very familiar to him, and had been used by him as a pastor, it was at another place in the service.⁴⁹

Schmucker makes this statement concerning the use of the Principal Hymn:

The elaborate and somewhat intricate arrangement of the parts just preceding the Sermon is much simplified in the Pennsylvania Service by placing the Hymn before the exordium and the Prayer, with which the Sermon was begun, instead of after them. This change has met with so much approval in later times that the Principal Hymn has dropped out between the Epistle and the Gospel and become the Hymn at this place.⁵⁰

Concerning other parts of the liturgy Schmucker adds:

The Votum: The peace of God, etc., has been introduced. It was probably more frequently used than printed. It is so natural, meet and Biblical that it crept into print from actual use. The Invitation to

⁴⁸Schmucker, Beale M. "The First Pennsylvania Liturgy, Adopted in 1748," *The Lutheran Church Review*, 1 (1882), 169.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 170.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 171.

Communion before the Distribution is taken from the London Liturgy. The use of the 'In Nomine Patris' after the Benediction is without warrant either of use or of fitness.⁵¹

Schmucker voices the following estimation of the Pennsylvania Liturgy of Muhlenberg and associates:

The service produced in Pennsylvania is the old, well defined, conservative service of the Saxon and North German liturgies. It is indeed the pure biblical parts of the service of the Western Church for a thousand years before the Reformation, with the modifications given by the Saxon reformer. It is the service of the widest acceptance in the Lutheran Church of middle and North Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The Introit, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, Collect, Epistle, Hallelujah or Sequence, etc., Gospel, Creed, Prayers, Preface, Sanctus, Consecration, Post Communion, were fixed in this order of succession as early as the time of Gregory the Great about A.D. 600, and while the Lutheran Reformers cast out the mass of irrelevant and unprofitable matter which had come into the service during the time of the papacy, they retained this pure, beautiful, well-tried and long-approved outline of Christian worship, and added to it full provision for the preaching of the Gospel and the singing of hymns, giving people full participation throughout the whole.⁵²

The Pennsylvania Liturgy is a liturgy formed in the tradition of the *Formula Missae*. The Common Service, however, has more than simply the Pennsylvania Liturgy and the *Formula Missae* as its heritage. As was noted by Luther

⁵¹*Ibid.* Luther Reed notes that the Swedish Liturgy immediately follows the Aaronic benediction with "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." The earliest use of the trinitarian formula was as the accompaniment for the sign of the cross. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, in his liturgy for the Ministerium of Pennsylvania (1748), followed the Swedish use, and the Common Liturgy of 1958 [a descendant of the Common Service (1888)] has done the same. Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 385.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 171-172.

Reed, Löhe's Agenda also influenced the liturgical studies of Dr. Krauth, Henry Jacobs and B. M. Schmucker and others who prepared *The Church Book*, 1868, of the General Council.⁵³ The *Agende* (1844) of Wilhelm Löhe may have also influenced the production of *The Common Service*. It is interesting to note, *The Church Book* also uses as its basis the English translation (1860) of the 1855 German *Liturgy and Agende* of the Pennsylvania Ministerium.⁵⁴ Beale M. Schmucker, one of the members of *The Church Book* Committee and *The Common Service* Committee, had been appointed to the translation committee by the Ministerium.

The Order of Communion Service contained in *The Church Book* is, in many ways, the direct forerunner of *The Common Service*. The men who served on the committee to produce *The Church Book* also were appointed to serve on the committee that produced *The Common Service*.⁵⁵ *The Church Book* Committee had these two questions to guide them in their work, "What was the general usage of the ancient and pure liturgies of the Lutheran Church," and, "What concessions and compromises might be made to conform with the general practice of English Lutherans in America?"⁵⁶

⁵³Luther Reed, "The Common Service in the Life of the Church," 7.

⁵⁴Henry Jacobs, "The Making of the Church Book," *The Lutheran Church Review*, 31 (1912), 608.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 609.

One can see the similarity in guiding principles between the making of *The Church Book* and *The Common Service*. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand that *The Common Service* owes a certain debt to *The Church Book*. Concerning *The Common Service* Luther Reed states:

It is only necessary to study the first draft of *The Common Service* prepared by Dr. Horn (130 or more pages) to see how large a use was made of the material previously provided in the *Church Book*. Probably more than four-fifths of the Material in the Morning Service, the Holy Communion, the Introits and Collects, Collects and Prayers, the Litany, Suffrages and Bidding Prayer was prepared by cutting and inserting pages from the *Church Book* with such slight modification as was necessary. The large amount of *Church Book* material entering into *The Common Service* does not in any sense represent the influence of any one personal or of any one general body, but it testifies to the fact that the studies which resulted in the *Church Book* had been directed by precisely the same historical and liturgical principles which of late prevailed in the preparation of *The Common Service* itself.⁵⁷

The *Common Service* was largely the work of three prominent figures of American Lutheranism in the nineteenth century, Edward Traill Horn, Beale M. Schmucker and George U. Wenner. To them must be given the credit for formulating an order of service that has served American Lutherans longer than any other and has provided the essential framework for Lutheran worship in America from 1888 to the present day.⁵⁸ Edward T. Horn, in an article written in 1891, details the sources of the various parts of *The Common*

⁵⁷Luther Reed, "Historical Sketch of the *Common Service*," 515.

⁵⁸Carl Halter and Carl Schalk, eds., *A Handbook of Church Music* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1978), 100.

Service. These sources, in turn, would be considered as the sources that underlie the present liturgical usage of the Missouri Synod. Horn states:

The Common Service is not the transcript of any Lutheran Service of the Sixteenth Century. While it exhibits the consensus of the pure Lutheran liturgies of that age, in strict accordance with the spirit of Christianity embodied in our confessions it freely rejects what was temporary and adapts the whole to this age.⁵⁹

Besides relying upon the above mentioned service orders, The Common Service evidences its relation to a variety of early liturgies, the Wittenberg (1533), the Brunswick (1528), the Saxon (also known as the "Duke Henry") (1539), the Mecklenburg (1552), the Strassburg (1525), Hamburg (1539, Halle (1541), Pfalz-Neuburg (1543), Pommern (1542) and Stralsund (1555). These and many other liturgies are related to one another and to the service orders of Martin Luther.⁶⁰ Much of what was stated in the previous chapter concerning the origins of the various parts of Löhle's service order also holds true for The Common Service.⁶¹

⁵⁹Edward T. Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 21 (1891), 239.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 245.

⁶¹For more information concerning the specific origins of various specific formulations, such as the Collect, etc., one may refer to Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, Edward Traill Horn "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 21 (1891), 239-268 or Adolph Wismar, "The Common Service: Its Origin and Development," *Pro Ecclesia Lutherana*, 2 (1934), 11-101.

The parts of the "normal Lutheran service" are also given by Horn. They are listed in Table Five:

TABLE 5

Introit
 Kyrie
 Gloria in Excelsis
 Collect
 Epistle
 Alleluia
 Gospel
 Creed
 Sermon
 General Prayer
 Preface
 Sanctus and Hosanna
 Exhortation to Communicants
 Lord's Prayer and Verba (or Verba/Lord's Prayer)
 Agnus Dei
 Distribution
 Collect of Thanksgiving
 Benediction.⁶²

The above order is, in its basic form, adhered to by The Common Service and many of the other liturgies also listed above. The Common Service also added parts which were not integral parts of the historical service order. In his Article "The Liturgical Question," Dr. Richard has provided clues as to the origins of these inserted parts. As was noted in the previous chapter, much that was not common to the conventional Lutheran order as defined by Horn can be traced to Löhe's Agenda.

Below is Table Six which produces side-by-side the standard Lutheran order as described by Horn, Löhe's Agenda, the Pennsylvania Liturgy of Muhlenberg, *The Church Book* and

⁶²Edward T. Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," 244.

The Common Service.

TABLE 6

| <u>Standard</u> | <u>Löhe</u> | <u>Pennsylvania Agenda</u> | <u>Church Book</u> | <u>Common Service</u> |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | Hymn of Invocation | Hymn of Invocation | Hymn of Invocation | Hymn of Invocation |
| | Invocation | Invocation | Invocation | Invocation |
| | Confession of sins | Confession | Confession | Confession of sins |
| | Invitation to Confess | Exhortation to Confess | Invitation to Confess | Invitation to Confess |
| | Adjutorium | | Adjutorium | Adjutorium |
| | Versicle/Response | | Versicle /Response | Versicle/Response |
| | Confession of sins | Confession | Confession | Confession |
| | Absolution | Kyrie | Absolution | Absolution |
| Introit | Introit | | Introit | Introit |
| | Gloria Patri | | Gloria Patri | Gloria Patri |
| Kyrie | Kyrie | | Kyrie | Kyrie |
| Gloria in Excelsis | Gloria in Excelsis | Gloria in Excelsis | Gloria in Excelsis | Gloria in Excelsis |
| | Salutation and Response | | Salutation/Response | Salutation/Response |
| Collect | Collect | Collect | Collect | Collect |
| | | | (Old Testament) | (Other Scripture) |
| Epistle | Epistle | Epistle | Epistle | Epistle |
| Alleluia | Hallelujah | | Hallelujah | Hallelujah |
| | Gradual, Sequence or Hymn | Hymn | Psalm or Hymn | Psalm or Hymn |
| | Salutation/Response | | | |
| Gospel | Gospel w/Versa/resp | Gospel | Gospel w/acclamations | Gospel w/acclamations |
| Creed | Creed | Creed | Creed | Creed |
| | Sermon | Hymn | Sermon | Sermon |
| | Offertory (offerings) | Sermon | Offertory | Sermon |
| General Prayer | Prayer of the church | General Prayer | General Prayer | Offertory |
| | | Lord's Prayer | | offerings |
| | | Announcements | | General Prayer |
| | | Votum | | |
| | | Hymn | Hymn | |
| | | offering | | |
| Preface | Preface | Preface | Preparation | Preparation |
| | Salutation | Salutation | Preface | Preface |
| | Sursum Corda | Salutation | Salutation | Salutation |
| | Vere Dignum | Sursum Corda | Sursum Corda | Sursum Corda |
| | Proper Preface | | Vere Dignum | Vere Dignum |
| | | | Proper Preface | Proper Preface |
| Sanctus/Hosanna | Sanctus | Sanctus | Sanctus | Sanctus |
| Exhortation | | | Exhortation | Exhortation |
| Verba | Verba | Lord's Prayer | Lord's Prayer | Lord's Prayer |
| | Agnus Dei | Verba | Verba | Verba |
| Lord's Prayer | Lord's prayer | | | |
| Agnus Dei | Pax Domini | | Agnus Dei | Pax Domini |
| Distribution | Distribution | Distribution | Distribution | Distribution |
| | Misc Dismissis | | Misc Dismissis | Misc Dismissis |
| | Salutation/Response | | Thanksgiving | Thanksgiving |
| Collect | Collect | Benedicamus | Collect | Collect |
| | Benedicamus | Collect | Benedicamus | Benedicamus |
| Benediction | Benediction | Benediction | Benediction | Benediction |
| | | "Invocation" | | |
| | | closing Verse | | |

Whether or not the compilers of The Common Service intentionally used the Pennsylvania Liturgy, *The Church Book* or Löhe as examples from which to glean their material is not the critical question to be explored. The element of significance, however, is the extent of agreement of these liturgies and the fact that they all claim for their sources the Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century and previous catholic liturgies. Also of importance is the degree of agreement that can be seen between these English liturgical orders and the Order of Holy Communion presently employed by the Missouri Synod.

The Common Service and Löhe's Agenda

It was stated in the previous chapter of this thesis that the topic of Löhe's possible influence upon The Common Service would be undertaken in this chapter. Luther Reed notes in an article entitled "The Common Service in the Life of the Church:"

His [Löhe's] Agende, brought to America by his students, strongly **influenced** [emphasis added] the framers of The Common Service and scholars like Krauth, Walther, Henry Jacobs and others.⁶³

As one examines Table Six above, one will notice that the first element common to Löhe and The Common Service (as well as *The Church Book* and the Pennsylvania Liturgy) is the Hymn of Invocation. It is not included in the standard Lutheran order nor is it prescribed by Luther in either one of his communion liturgies.

The Invocation, as one can note, is not in the standard order nor is it in the Pennsylvania but it is in Löhe. Richard notes:

We have not been able to find this as the opening of the Communion Service in any of the many North German liturgies of the sixteenth century, which we have examined. It is not found in Löhe's second edition, 1852, but is in the third edition (1883). It begins the ordinary of the Roman Mass.⁶⁴

Richard does not, however, mention the southern liturgies.

⁶³Luther Reed, "The Common Service in the Life of the Church," 7.

⁶⁴J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 149.

Wismar notes that the Invocation is in the Stassburg mass of 1524 and Döber's Nürnberg mass of 1525.⁶⁵

As one compares the standard order of service to the others in Table Six, one may note an example of what was described in the foregoing chapter as the "confiteor," the material preceding the Introit. The men on the committee to produce The Common Service report that the confiteor chosen was that of Wittenberg (1559) which in turn is from the Mecklenburg of 1552.⁶⁶

The Invitation to Confession can be found in Döber (1525) and in the Mecklenburg order of 1552.⁶⁷ It is also seen in Löhe's liturgy.

Concerning the Adjutorium, Richard states that it came into the Mecklenburg (1552) from the Reformed order of service. He further states:

Alt (p. 282) notices it as a part of the *Weiheformel* of the Romish Mass, and Krauth says it was taken from the Romish Mass. From the Mecklenburg it passed into the Wittenberg of 1559, and into the Palatinate of 1560 and into some others. It does not by any means have "the common consent" of even a few liturgies which begin the service with the *Confiteor*. Of course it is in Löhe.⁶⁸

⁶⁵Adolph Wismar, "The Common Service: Its Origin and Development," *Pro Ecclesia Lutherana*, 2 (1934), 68.

⁶⁶*Proceedings of the Thirty-Second convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, 1885* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1885), 15, hereafter cited as *General Synod Proceedings*.

⁶⁷Adolph Wismar, "The Common Service: Its Origins and Development," 69.

⁶⁸J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 149.

The Versicles and Responses which follow the Adjutorium have the consent of a few Lutheran liturgies from the sixteenth century. Richard notes concerning this:

These Versicles are found in the Austrian of 1571 as an *alternative form*. But this order is one of the most elaborate. Both Kapp and Klöpfer declare that "it closely follows the Roman Mass." We are certain that these Versicles can lay no *shadow* of claim to the "common consent." As might be expected they are in Löhe.⁶⁹

The form of the Confession and Absolution given in The Common Service is the same as that found in Löhe.⁷⁰

Concerning the entire confiteor found in Löhe and in The Common Service, Richard has this to say:

It must be said not only that no such *elaborate and composite Confiteor* can be found among the *standard, representative* Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century, but the *Confiteor* as such lacks the "common consent." The *great majority* of the Lutheran Liturgies are *absolutely* without the *Confiteor*.⁷¹

The committee recognized that the "normal" type of Lutheran service of the sixteenth century begins with the Introit.⁷² The Gloria Patri, as noted by Reed, was often included in the service following the Introit without any specific mention.⁷³

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 150.

⁷⁰Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 7, 48. The Common Service employs the first of three possible forms given by Löhe. Löhe indicates that the first form is from Döber's Nürnberg liturgy, 1525.

⁷¹J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 151.

⁷²*General Synod Proceedings, 1885*, 17.

⁷³Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 264.

The Salutation and Response which precede the Collect is again not specifically mentioned in the Pennsylvania Liturgy or in the standard order. It was, however, apparently a regular part of many liturgies which was included although not distinctively called for.⁷⁴ It is interesting to note the fact that it does appear expressly in Löhe and then in *The Church Book* and *The Common Service*.

The next and most obvious parallel between Löhe and *The Common Service* is the use of the Offertory. Löhe gives several alternative offertories. The fact that *The Common Service* includes the Offertory is indicative that Löhe's liturgy had some influence at this point. J. W. Richard indicates that Löhe is one of the very few who call for an Offertory. The Offertory certainly does not have the consensus of sixteenth century liturgies and can hardly be claimed as such. Richard again speaks to the topic:

It will not be pretended that "the common consent" of the Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century furnishes an *Offertory*. We have found it in only one--the Mark Brandenburg (1540), which is uniformly denominated *Romanizing*. So entirely foreign is it to recognized liturgism of the Lutheran Church that Kliefoth does not even mention it in discussing the parts of this section. Of course Löhe has the *Offertory*.⁷⁵

Löhe calls for the preparation of the bread and wine during the Offertory. *The Church Book* and *Common Service*

⁷⁴Edward T. Horn, "The Lutheran Sources of the Common Service," 251.

⁷⁵J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 156.

place it during the singing of the Hymn just prior to the Preface.

The standard Order of Communion Service as given by Horn and reproduced in Table Five above does not indicate the Salutation, Sursum Corda or the Vere Dignum prior to the Proper Preface. Concerning the matter at hand, the Preface, Reed states:

The preparatory sentences are found in responsive forms in all liturgies. The Salutation, as always, invites attention, imparts a blessing and introduces a sacramental element. "Lift up your hearts" is a strong note, calling for the elevation of the soul above all earthly things. "Let us give thanks" points to the character of the prayer which follows. The phraseology here and in the Response, "It is meet and right to do," suggests Semitic poetry as a source. The words, "It is truly meet, right and salutary," are an invariable thanksgiving.⁷⁶

The Common Service places an Exhortation to the communicants after the Sanctus. It may be noted with reference to Table Six that the Löhe Agenda and the Pennsylvania Liturgy omit the Exhortation. Of this it is said:

It is no unusual thing also for a rubric to direct the omission of the Exhortation. In a word, the KOO. are exceedingly flexible at this point of the service. The Mecklenburg, which ranks as one of the fullest, and which perhaps more than any other after the Brandenburg-Nürnberg, shaped, *through Löhe* [italics added], The Common Service, says: "If there be time (so man Zeit hat), the Priest may read an Exhortation."⁷⁷

The order in which is cast the Lord's Prayer, the

⁷⁶Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 326.

⁷⁷J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 159.

Verba, the Pax Domini and the Agnus Dei differs from service order to service order. This is well evidenced by a comparison of the orders in Table Six. Concerning the arrangement of these elements and the *Kirchenordnungen* from which they are drawn, Richard has this to say:

Only one of these KOO. orders a Pax between the Words of Institution and the Distribution." (Kliefoth, p. 167). It thus appears that three-fourths of the Lutheran Liturgies *von dem ächten Typus*, do, according to Kliefoth, place the Lord's Prayer *before* the Words of Institution. Löhe places it after the words of institution, and thus indulges still further his inclination toward antiquity. The form of the Common Service in hand places it before the Words of Institution, as the great majority require. The form of The Common Service printed by the General Synod either follows Löhe, or returns with a few KOO. to the older usage (the Greek). But it will be observed that the vote is overwhelmingly against Löhe and the Common Service in the use of the Pax.⁷⁸

Following the Distribution is the Nunc Dimittis. Most of the Lutheran orders of the sixteenth century followed the traditional structure of the liturgy and did not include the Nunc Dimittis. A few exceptions are the Kantz Mass of 1522, Döber's Nürnberg (1525), Zwingli's German Communion Service (1523) and the Swedish mass of 1531. According to Reed, then, "It could not therefore become a part of the service under the strict application of the rule which determined the preparation of The Common Service."⁷⁹ Richard also notes concerning the Nunc Dimittis:

Löhe, The Common Service and the Calvinistic

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 161.

⁷⁹Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 379.

liturgies also include in this section the *nunc dimittis*. But the KOO. are against it with the most overwhelming majority. Kliefoth does not even mention it as normal to this section. Löhe (p. 53) says: "the *Nunc Dimittis* stands in this place in the oldest liturgies of the Lutheran Church, (Bugenhagen 1552, Döber 1525, Stassburg 1525)." But what are these, two of them personal orders, and one that of a city which had not yet accepted the Lutheran doctrine in full, and all too quickly supplanted,--what are these three against scores? Even Löhe himself, after giving the form for this part of the mass in widest use in the Lutheran church, and after naming more than a score of the great liturgies belonging to the sixteenth, the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, declares that they celebrate this part of the service without the *Nunc Dimittis* (p. 60). That Löhe, with his expressed determination "to go back to the old, yea to the very old," should restore the *Nunc Dimittis* is not strange; but that it should appear in The Common Service, constructed under the rule: "the common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century" is passing strange indeed. Perhaps it went a *Calvinizing* at this point?⁸⁰

In *The Church Book* and in *The Common Service* the Collect of Thanksgiving following the *Nunc Dimittis* is preceded by the Versicle, "O give thanks unto the Lord for He is good," with the Response, "And His mercy endureth forever." This custom is by no means unusual. Most communion services include the Collect of Thanksgiving. The particular one used in *The Common Service* is from the Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533).⁸¹ The *Benedicamus*, though in Luther's *Formula Missae*, is evidently not a feature common to many of the later Lutheran orders. Richard deduces:

A few more [KOO] have yet between the Collect and the Benediction, the *Benedicamus*, that is, the

⁸⁰J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 162.

⁸¹*General Synod Proceedings, 1885, 17.*

minister intones *Benedicamus Domino*, and the choir responds *Deo dicamus Gratias*." (Kliefoth, pp. 168-9). But the *Benedicamus* is found in Löhe, in the Common Service and in the Roman Mass. It must be distinctly understood that it is found in only a few KOO., and that even some of these omit other parts generally included in this section.⁸²

Albeit the Pennsylvania Liturgy is somewhat more detailed and elaborate than the standard Lutheran order, one can note that it is not nearly as elaborate as Löhe or the later *Church Book* and Common Service liturgies. The marked similarity between The Common Service and Löhe undeniably causes one to take note. It is difficult to believe that the creators of The Common Service nearly duplicated Löhe's liturgy part-for-part without having been influenced by it. This conclusion, however, is stated in contradiction to a statement given by one of the men on The Common Service Committee. George Wenner states in rebuttal to Richard:

While Löhe is an authority entitled to the greatest respect, and is a source of inspiration to those who read his works, neither he, nor any other modern author, was allowed to influence our judgment in the construction of the Normal Service. We consulted the original liturgies of the Sixteenth century, and depended upon them only as authority.⁸³

After having examined The Common Service in light of its guiding principle, however, Richard poses this pointed question:

How is it possible for us to reconcile these facts with the statement found in the Preface before us: The

⁸²J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 161.

⁸³George U. Wenner, "An Answer to 'the Liturgical Question,'" 336.

Common Service here presented is intended to reproduce in English the Consensus of these pure liturgies?" The reader may solve the enigma as best he can.⁸⁴

The question is solved by a comparison of The Common Service with that of Wilhelm Löhe. As has been noted previously, Löhe conducted his own liturgical research prior to producing his Agenda in 1844.

The Common Service and Luther's Service Orders

Below is Table Seven comparing Luther's two service orders with that of The Common Service.

TABLE 7

| <u>Common Service</u> | <u>Formula Missae</u> | <u>Deutsche Messe</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Hymn | | |
| Invocation | | |
| Confession | | |
| Invitation | | |
| Adjutorium | | |
| Versicle/ Response | | |
| Confession | | |
| Absolution | (Sermon) | |
| Introit | Introit | |
| Gloria Patri | | Hymn or Psalm |
| Kyrie | Kyrie | Kyrie |
| Gloria in Excelsis | Gloria in Excelsis | |
| Salutation/Response | | |
| Collect | Collect | Collect |
| (Other Scripture) | | |
| Epistle | Epistle | Epistle |
| Hallelujah | Gradual/Alleluia | |
| Psalm or Hymn | | German Hymn |
| Gospel/Responses | Gospel/Responses | Gospel |
| Creed | Creed | Creed |
| Sermon | Sermon | Sermon |
| Offertory | | Lord's Prayer |
| General Prayer | | (Paraphrase) |
| Hymn | | |

⁸⁴J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," 153.

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Preparation/altar | Preparation/altar | |
| Preface | Preface | |
| Salutation | Salutation | |
| Sursum Corda | Sursum Corda | |
| Vere Dignum | Vere Dignum | |
| Proper Preface | Proper Preface | |
| Sanctus | Consecration | |
| Exhortation | Sanctus | Admonition |
| Lord's Prayer | Lord's Prayer | |
| Consecration | | Consecration |
| Pax Domini | Pax Domini | |
| Distribution | Distribution | Distribution |
| Nunc Dimittis | Agnus Dei | |
| Thanksgiving | Salutation/Response | |
| Collect | Collect | Collect |
| Benedicamus | Benedicamus | |
| Benediction | Benediction | Benediction |

Little need be said about Luther's orders in comparison to The Common Service. It is evident that The Common service is of the *Formula Missae* type. As has been previously stated both Löhe and The Common service are more elaborate than the *Formula Missae*. The *Formula* provides the basic framework upon which subsequent Lutheran orders were based.

Adolph Wismar and Luther Reed may serve adequately to summarize what has been presented above:

The Common Service is unquestionably a derivative of the Roman rite. That it should trace its ancestry back to the Roman rite is precisely what we might expect. When Luther set himself the task of purifying the service which he found, of accommodating the existing forms of worship to his doctrine, he had to deal with Roman rites. Looking at the order of service of 1523 we see at once that it follows the Roman mass quite faithfully. When the General Synod, the General Council and the United Synod South published their "Common Service" in 1888, the order of service they offered to their churches was practically Luther's *Formula Missae* done into English. The "Common Service" which enjoys the official approbation and commendation of the Missouri Synod is again nothing else than an

English version of Luther's Formula Missae with slight changes, some additions, and a few omissions. In other words, The Common Service of both the United Lutheran Church and of the Missouri Synod is an unmistakable derivative of the Roman Mass.⁸⁵

Reed states:

It [The Common Service] provided, perhaps beyond the thought of its earliest sponsors, a bond and basis for a common churchly [sic.] development. Appreciation of their common birth-right quickened a common spirit and endeavor. All sections began to study it. Other synods and general bodies, appreciative of the impersonal and objective principles which controlled its preparation, secured permission to use it. The Iowa Synod, the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Missouri Synod, the Norwegian Synods, and the later Augustana Synod and Icelandic Synod provided it for their English Services.⁸⁶

The current chapter of this paper has shown the relationship between the Missouri Synod and the English District. The fact has been demonstrated that the Missouri Synod adopted The Common Service as it was transferred to the Synod through the amalgamation of the English Synod with the Missouri Synod. A brief history of The Common Service has been given along with a cursory examination of the sources of that service order. It has also been demonstrated that The Common Service owes a certain debt to Wilhelm Löhe and his liturgical formulations. It was lastly shown that The Common Service is, in its *basic* outline, no more than Luther's *Formula Missae*. This is in contrast to

⁸⁵Adolph Wismar, "The Common Service: Its Origin and Development," 67.

⁸⁶Luther Reed, "The Common Service in the Life of the Church," 15-16.

the Saxon Agenda of Missouri which relies on a mixture of the *Formula Missae* and the *Deutsche Messe*. Again, the above was presented with the ultimate goal in view of demonstrating that the Missouri Synod service Order of Holy Communion in use today has a greater liturgical debt to American Lutheranism and Wilhelm Löhe than to the German-Saxon Agenda produced by the Missouri Synod.

CHAPTER 5.

THE *EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN HYMN-BOOK* OF 1912

This final chapter will briefly examine the 1912 *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*¹ which was introduced in the preceding chapter. This is done in keeping with the original thesis as stated in the introduction: In order to demonstrate that the Order of Holy Communion presently employed by the Missouri Synod is indeed an order of service gleaned from sources other than the Missouri Synod's first German communion order produced in 1856.²

As has been previously noted the ELH-B contains The Common Service as its own communion service. The communion service of the ELH-B was transferred directly into the Missouri Synod's *Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941 and, with relatively minor alteration, is the same order of service employed in the Synod's 1982 *Lutheran Worship*. Since it is in many ways the very same service order of the 1912 ELH-B that is in use today, it is necessary to look only as far as the 1912 service order for the purposes of this study.

Below then is Table Eight which sets side-by-side the

¹Hereafter referred to as ELH-B

²See pages v and xi of this paper.

Formula Missae, the 1856 Missouri Synod Agenda service order, The Common Service and the order of service in the ELH-B.

TABLE 8

| <u>Formula Missae</u> | <u>Missouri Synod (1856)</u> | <u>Common Service</u> | <u>ELH-B (1912)</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|---|
| | | Hymn of Invocation | Hymn of Invocation |
| | | Invocation | Invocation |
| | | Confession of Sins | Confession of Sins |
| | | Invitation | Invitation |
| | | Adjutorium | Adjutorium |
| | | Versicle/ Response | Versicle/ Response |
| (Sermon) | | | |
| Introit | | Introit | Introit |
| Kyrie | Kyrie (Kyrie, Gott Vater) | Kyrie | Kyrie |
| Gloria in Excelsis | Gloria (Allein Gott) | Gloria in Excelsis | Gloria in Excelsis |
| | Salutation | Salutation/Response | Salutation/Response |
| | Antiphon | | |
| Collect | Collect | Collect (Other scripture option) | Collect (Other scripture option) |
| Epistle | Epistle | Epistle | Epistle |
| Gradual/Alleluia | Chief Hymn | Hallelujah, Sentence, Psalm or Hymn | Hallelujah, Sentence, Psalm or Hymn |
| Gospel | Gospel | Gospel | Gospel |
| Nicene Creed | Creed (Wir glauben) | Creed | Creed |
| Sermon | Sermon | Sermon | Sermon |
| | Confession | | |
| | Absolution | | |
| | Prayers: | | |
| | of the Church | | |
| | of intercession | | |
| | of thanksgiving | | |
| | Announcements | | |
| | Vater Unser | | |
| | Votum | | |
| | Hymn (Schaffe in mir) | Offertory | Offertory |
| | | Offerings | Offerings |
| | | General Prayer | General Prayer |
| | | | Lord's Prayer |
| | | | Hymn |
| Preparation of altar | | Hymn | Hymn |
| | | Preparation of altar | Preparation of altar |
| Preface | Preface | Preface | Preface |
| Salutation | Salutation | Salutation | Salutation |
| Response | Response | Response | Response |
| Sursum Corda | Sursum Corda | Sursum Corda | Sursum Corda |
| Vere Dignum | Vere Dignum | Vere Dignum | Vere Dignum |
| Proper Preface | Proper Preface | Proper Preface | Proper Preface |
| Consecration | Sanctus | Sanctus | Sanctus |
| Sanctus | Lord's Prayer, hymnic | Exhortation | Exhortation |
| Lord's Prayer | Consecration | Lord's Prayer | Lord's Prayer |
| Pax Domini | Agnus Dei (Christi, du) | Consecration | Consecration |
| Distribution | Distribution | Pax Domini | Pax Domini |
| Agnus Dei | | Agnus Dei | Agnus Dei |
| Salutation/Response | | Distribution | Distribution |
| | | Nunc Dimittis | Nunc Dimittis |
| | | Thanksgiving | Thanksgiving |
| Collect | Collect | Collect | Collect |
| Benedicamus | Benediction | Benedicamus | Benedicamus |
| Benediction | Closing Hymn (Gott sei) | Benediction | Benediction |

The four service orders chosen were chosen in order to show the differences and similarities between the ELH-B

and the 1856 Agenda, and to demonstrate the more striking similitude between The Common Service and the ELH-B. The *Formula Missae* is included in the table in order to illustrate the common basis that the *Formula* shares with the other three. One may note, however, that The Common Service and the ELH-B have more in common with the *Formula* than does the 1856 Missouri Synod Agenda. As was observed in the previous chapter, the 1856 contains elements of both the *Formula Missae* and the *Deutsche Messe*.

The Common Service and the order of the ELH-B are identical until just after the Creed and immediately prior to the Sermon. The ELH-B inserts a hymn (what is known today as the "Hymn of the Day" or the "Sermon Hymn") while The Common Service contains no hymn at this particular point.

The *Formula Missae* begins with the Introit or the option of a Sermon. The Common Service and ELH-B both contain an Introit as well while the 1856 Agenda does not. The *Formula Missae*, Common Service and ELH-B all have the Gloria in Excelsis while the 1856 Agenda has the vernacular German Hymn "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr." This is in keeping with the use of hymnody in the *Deutsche Messe*.

A point of agreement between the 1856 Agenda, The Common Service and the ELH-B that is not found in the *Formula Missae* is the Salutation which follows the Gloria. The 1856 has the unusual element of an Antiphon not

contained in the other service orders. The 1856 also places the Chief Hymn between the Epistle and the Gospel whereas the other three service orders have a different transitional element.

All four service orders contain the Collect, the Epistle, the Gospel, the Creed and the Sermon. The 1856 has the Creedal Hymn, "Wir glauben all" whereas the other three service orders simply contain the spoken Creed.

After the Sermon in the 1856 is the Confession and Absolution. In The Common Service and the ELH-B this element is found in the material prior to the Introit and is not found in the *Formula Missae* for reasons noted previously in this thesis.

The Common Service and the ELH-B are identical from the Sermon to the end of the service with the exception of the Lord's Prayer which is used twice in the ELH-B. The first time it is recited immediately following the General Prayers and the second time it is located between the Exhortation and the Verba as in The Common Service.

The Common Service, the *Formula Missae* and the ELH-B all specifically mention the preparation of the altar for Communion. The 1856 Agenda does not. The 1856, however, includes a specific rubric for the announcements to be made after the Prayers. No such rubric exists in the other three service orders.

It is interesting to note that the *Formula Missae*

contains no Offertory whereas the other three service orders do, a point of commonalty between the 1856 and the ELH-B that does not exist between the *Formula* and the ELH-B.

Another element common to the 1856, The Common Service and the ELH-B is the order of the Preface, Sanctus, Lord's Prayer (although it is sung in the 1856 and spoken in The Common Service and the ELH-B) the Consecration of the elements, the Agnus Dei, the Distribution, the Collect and the Benediction. The *Formula* contains all those components and more but not in the same order as the other three.

The *Formula*, Common Service and ELH-B all contain the Pax Domini which the 1856 does not have. The Common Service and the ELH-B also have the Nunc Dimittis (seen also in Löhe's Agenda) and the Thanksgiving which are not included in the *Formula Missae* or the 1856. The *Formula*, The Common Service and ELH-B also have the Benedicamus between the closing Collect and the Benediction. The 1856 does not have this particular element. The 1856, however, has a Closing Hymn which is not evidenced in the other three service orders.

Conclusion

As was demonstrated previously, the order of Common Service is a derivative of Luther's *Formula Missae*. It, therefore, has "legitimacy" as a Lutheran service order. Hence the Service of Holy Communion of the ELH-B, as a

descendant of The Common Service, has as its antecedent Luther's *Formula Missae*. Even though the service order of the 1912 hymnal is not taken directly from the Missouri Synod's own liturgical heritage, namely the *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856, it is nevertheless not an illegitimate child produced at the hands of "Americanized" English Lutherans. The fears of the Synod's forebears, that Americanization and the change to the English language would somehow taint her doctrinal and theological framework, were not realized as the Synod made the liturgical transition from German to English and as it adopted materials from other American, English Lutherans.

It was stated in the introduction to this thesis that the purpose of this thesis is to determine the source or sources upon which the "Order of Morning Service or the Communion" of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* is based.³ Issued by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in 1912, the *Hymn-Book* was the first English hymnal of this type issued by the Missouri Synod. This particular publication, rather than a more recent hymnal, has been chosen as representative of the present liturgical usage of the Missouri Synod for two reasons. First, it is the first "official" English hymnal used by the Synod. Second, the communion liturgies currently employed by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod

³*Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1912).

are based upon the original version and revisions of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*.⁴

It was also noted in the Introduction to this paper that The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is a church body that originally consisted of German immigrants. One of the intentions of the founding fathers of the Synod was that the Synod should always retain its Germanic heritage and flavor. In so doing it was stipulated in the first synodical constitution and in subsequent editions of the constitution that the German language should be used exclusively at synodical conventions.⁵ The fear was that if any other language were to be used, especially the English language, the doctrinal purity and evangelical teachings of the Synod would surely be at stake and at risk of being tainted or corrupted.⁶ All official business at synodical and district gatherings, as well as the instruction at the seminaries, the education in the Christian day schools and Sunday schools, church services, textbooks, catechisms, hymnbooks and liturgies were all in the German language.⁷

The chief question to be answered then is: since the

⁴See page iv of this paper.

⁵Roy Arthur Suelflow, trans., "Our First Synodical Constitution," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 16 (1943), 4.

⁶Everette Meier and Herbert T. Mayer, "The Process of Americanization," ed., Carl S. Meyer, *Moving Frontiers* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1964), 355.

⁷See pages v-vi of this paper.

1912 *Evangelical Hymn-Book* was published in the English language, what was its most immediate source or sources?

In chapter one it was illustrated that the two sources common to all Lutheran communion liturgies are the two orders of service produced by Martin Luther, the *Formula Missae et Communionis* (1523) and the *Deutsche Messe* (1526). They, therefore, must be considered in any serious study of Lutheran liturgies since they are the two cornerstones of Lutheran worship. In order to entertain a sensible discussion of recent Lutheran liturgical formulations, i.e., the *Kirchen-Agende* (1856) of the Missouri Synod and the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* (1912), it is necessary to compare them with Luther's two service orders. Chapter 1, therefore, was included with the primary intention of presenting a brief historical sketch and examination of Luther's two communion service orders. As was stated, this was done in order that the reader may have a framework or point of reference against which to compare and consider more completely the other Lutheran service orders discussed in this paper.

Many Lutheran orders of Holy Communion between Luther's time and today have been patterned after the *Formula Missae*. The Common Service, 1888, and the Order of Holy Communion of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* of 1912, as was discussed in chapter four of this paper, both share the common heritage of the *Formula Missae*. It is

noted that these two orders are "nothing else than an English version of Luther's *Formula Missae* with slight changes, some additions, and a few omissions,"⁸ and, "The basic type of Lutheran service was and remained the *Formula Missae* of 1523 and not the German Mass."⁹

Included in chapter two of this study is information concerning the first Agenda of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, the German *Kirchen-Agende* of 1856. This was done in order to demonstrate the significant fact that the communion liturgy of the 1912 *Hymn-Book* differs in many points from that of the 1856 *Kirchen-Agende*. Chapter two also demonstrates that the Order of Holy Communion in the 1856 Agenda, is in some ways a unique service order and does not correspond directly to any previously existing liturgy. It is not surprising, therefore, that as the Missouri Synod gained more of an American and English flavor as it moved into the twentieth century, the 1856 Agenda should fall by the wayside in favor of an order of service that was more widely used and saw a greater consensus with other Lutheran orders and other Lutheran bodies.

As was explained in chapter three, Wilhelm Löhe's Agenda of 1844 played a part in the formulation of The Common Service of 1888. It owes a certain debt to his

⁸M. Alfred Bichsel, *Lutheran Liturgy From the Reformation to the Present*, unpublished manuscript (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary Library, no date), 16.

⁹*Ibid.*

influence upon American Lutheranism, an influence which still touches the Lutheran Church today.

This study has demonstrated that there is a decided and close connection between the Missouri Synod's 1912 Order of Communion and the Agenda produced by Wilhelm Löhe in 1844. In fact and ironically, the 1912 Order of Communion owes a greater debt to Wilhelm Löhe and the Franconian Lutherans than to C. F. W. Walther and the Saxon Lutherans, the founding fathers of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. It was, therefore, necessary in chapter three to briefly discuss Wilhelm Löhe, his relationship with the Saxons and give a brief history and analysis of the Agenda produced by Löhe in 1844.

It was also shown in chapters three and four that in some points The Common Service is an original and unique work. Along with other liturgies, it relies upon and draws from Löhe's Agenda which was itself a unique and original liturgy. J. W. Richard, professor of liturgics for the General Synod, in his article "The Liturgical Question" establishes a relationship between Wilhelm Löhe's 1844 Agenda and The Common Service.¹⁰

This study also explored the nature of the Order of Communion of the 1912 *Hymn-Book* with regard to its English heritage. Chapter four discussed the correlation between

¹⁰J. W. Richard, "The Liturgical Question," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 20 (1890), 103-185.

the history of the English District of the Missouri Synod and the introduction of the English language into the 1912 *Hymn-Book*. The incorporation of the English Synod as the English District of the LC--MS also marked the incorporation of The Common Service into the liturgical life of the Missouri Synod as the English brought with them The Common Service.

Chapter four of this thesis endeavored to show that the standard Order of Holy Communion presently employed by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod can trace its history through American Lutheranism and American Lutheran churches of an English nature rather than through the Germanic, Saxon roots of the Missouri Synod. The communion service of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is none other than The Common Service used by the English church bodies of America in the closing decade of the nineteenth century.

It was also demonstrated that The Common Service can trace its roots to *The Church Book* of the General Council and the older "Pennsylvania Liturgy" of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Pennsylvania Synod. It was shown that there is a fraternal relation that exists amongst the services of Holy Communion of the Missouri Synod and The Common Service, *The Church Book*, the Pennsylvania Liturgy and Wilhelm Löhe's Agenda.

It was lastly shown that The Common Service is, in its *basic* outline, no more than Luther's *Formula Missae*.

This is in contrast to the Saxon Agenda of Missouri which relies on a mixture of the *Formula Missae* and the *Deutsche Messe*. Again, the above was presented with the ultimate goal in view of demonstrating that the Missouri Synod has a greater liturgical debt to American Lutheranism and Wilhelm Löhe than to its own German Saxon Agenda produced by the Missouri Synod.

Chapter five of this paper was included in order to further solidify the claim that the Order of Holy Communion in the ELH-B is indeed nothing more than The Common Service of 1888. The *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* of 1912 bears little similarity to and has no direct connection with the first Order of Communion produced by the Missouri Synod in the 1856 German language Agenda.

In summary, then, this paper has demonstrated the ironic and interesting conclusion that the most immediate and major sources for the 1912 "Service of Holy Communion" are not in accordance with a strict German, Saxon heritage. Rather, the 1912 *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* received greater influence from the liturgy of the American, English Lutheran churches and the liturgy of Wilhelm Löhe. The origins of the 1912 service order, then, are from outside of the Missouri Synod and from groups viewed with distrust and misgiving by the same Missouri Synod. Yet these service orders are based upon Lutheran antecedents which can trace their roots back to the original service orders of Martin

Luther. Muhlenberg's Pennsylvania Liturgy, the English American Lutheran service orders of the *Church Book* and The Common Service and the order of service in the ELH-B, can therefore lay claim to the legitimacy of Lutheran "orthodoxy" and purity of sound doctrine and liturgical formulation-the consensus of pure Lutheran liturgies. The final conclusion reached is that the Missouri Synod can remain liturgically pure and doctrinally sound without (or perhaps despite) remaining "rigidly German" and "dogmatically Saxon."

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