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Liturgies and Hymnology in the American Lutheran Church Until 1820

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LITURGIES AND HYMNOLOGY
In The
AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH
Until 1820

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H.W. Romoser

May 1, 1929

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INTRODUCTION

In the analysis and consideration of any liturgical form or group of liturgies the student must from the beginning set down for himself certain principles and accepted norms of judgment to guide him in such study and to form for him a definite, logical and true basis for comparison and evaluation of the material treated.

Primarily the ancient form of Christian service must serve as the basis for much of the comparison. Only naturally we must and should take into account the form of worship as it began, developed and crystallized in its final order in the Church. The various portions of the liturgy are certainly meant to induce a definite idea and attitude. As the order of service grew with the development of the Church there was evidently good and sufficient reason for the addition of the various parts as we now know them. Any change or variation from the ancient models, then, must be examined closely to determine whether there is any good and sufficient reason for the change and whether such change is for the better. A historical study is essential for consideration of all later forms.

Of no less importance is the question of doctrine presented in the cultus. Though a service be perfect aesthetically and formally it is useless - and worse - if by its form and order it does not present clearly the pure teaching of the Church. Regardless of its beauty, euphony and appeal to the artistic sensibilities, it must be discarded as unworthy. At the same time, however, beauty in form and expression must be reckoned with in evaluating a liturgy. The order should be clothed in a manner worthy of the body religious. Though it be pure and correct

doctrinally and yet be wanting in ordinary good taste, common, or disturbing to the spirit of worship it cannot be properly accepted. Horn, p.7, on the task of the Protestant liturgist says: "It is not the task of the Protestant student of Liturgics merely to discover the present order and traditional parts of the Christian worship, that he may submit them, nor has he to invent a service agreeable to the idea of Christian worship. He has simply to ascertain the service of the Church, which has been developed by its own inherent life, to try it by Holy Scripture and by history, to correct it where necessary upon these principles, and, where the occasion demands, to serve its further development on principles accordant with its idea and in harmony with its past history."

The same is to be said of a study of the Church's hymns. Of primary importance is the content of the hymns. They must reflect faithfully, most faithfully, the teaching of the Church. They dare not, by content or connotation, imply any idea or belief in variance with correct theology. In a study of later hymnology the use or non-use of the older, accepted, treasured hymns must be noted. If it is found that these heritages of the Church have been discarded it is the task of the hymnologist to ascertain whether or not such action was justified. The old, doctrinal songs of the Church must serve as the basis for all later hymn-writing. An attempt, then, to discard entirely the old and to start a new school of hymnody must be viewed with suspicion.

It is self-understood that the literary form, the poetical expression must conform to at least a moderate standard of good style. The mere fact that a religious thought is receiving expression provides no license for violence to language or commission of poetical ^{-cal} monstrosities. Here, too, the mere outward expression, though of

secondary importance, must be given its due place.

The question of pure doctrine and worthiness of subject matter is most weighty. Though a poem be most exquisitely turned, if it contain insufficient religious thought, or, worse, incorrect doctrine it is valueless for ecclesiastical use. Nor are all subjects, true though they be in themselves, worthy or fitting for use in the congregation. A prosy reproduction, for example, of sections of Leviticus can hardly be considered a contribution to hymnology.

Having laid down the general principles, let us proceed to a more definite discussion of the matter. As to the basic principle and purpose of the liturgy, Horn, p. 10, summarizes: "As every act of the worship of the O.T. rested on the typical offering for sin, so Christian worship is based on the offering of Jesus Christ once for all. It celebrates and appropriates that complete and sufficient Atonement; and also aims at the edification of the worshipping congregation. Christian worship is not simply a means to an end. Its object is not primarily missionary or symbolical. It is a real communion between God and His people." He says further, p. 13: The worship of God "must be historical and free; not ossified, nor arbitrary, nor yet subject to 'taste'. It must be common worship; not the separate act of a single congregation or of the ministry alone. It must be characterized by order and solemnity; excluding not only all disorder, but all that is suggestive of other spheres of life. Finally, it must be truthful; that is, it must not only be real worship, not a mere form of it; but it must be clear and intelligible and sufficient expression of that real worship."

The form, then, must be historical, must have the authority of the entire church and its history behind it. It must be dignified,

worthy of the subject and object of its being. It must be distinctive and characteristic of the use for which it is employed. Yet it must be simple and intelligible to all. Its meaning dare not be hidden under a weight of non-essential externals. Its parts must be defined clearly, that the whole body of worshippers may realize and be influenced by its significance. Yet it must not be vulgar or crude. And vulgarity includes artificiality. If any one thing must characterize the service in particular it must be the utter sincerity of all its parts.

The various divisions of the order must flow from each other naturally and spontaneously. Vogt, p.152, says: "The order of service for public worship cannot be much improved until we discover or ^{select} a principle to go upon. The theory here proposed is a very simple one - that the outward expression in the order of worship should parallel the inner course of the experience of worship. The ^{-ties} difficulties are many and great. - - - Nevertheless through all the innumerable variations of stimulus, tone, intensity, content of ideas, duration, conclusion, there would appear to be always in its normal course something of each of the elements suggested - Vision, Humility, Exaltation, Illumination, Dedication. This is precisely what all the old liturgies of the Christian church contain - Confiteor, Kyrie Eleison, General Confession." Discounting to a degree his emphasis on necessary change and the stressing of psychology perhaps beyond its due, Vogt's general thought is evidently true.

The liturgy occupies a very definite and important place in the life of the church. We need but observe the churches which are definitely non-liturgical to realize the value of an accepted order of service. The true liturgical form adds immeasurably both to

the dignity and beauty of worship - in fact, is very largely responsible for these characteristics. Nor dare we pass over its actual spiritual value in the life of the church and the individual too lightly. We cannot deny the fact that the individual is sensible to external stimuli also in his religious reactions. The orderly service, well-conducted will affect the man in the pew far more profoundly than a poorly-conceived, ill-executed and ever-changing mixture of illogical devotions, though the Scripture and sermon presented be the same. Vogt, p.72, says that the sermon alone is insufficient, that there is a need of cultus to color and deepen the religious experience. We dare not subscribe to such a sweeping statement for we know full well that the Word alone is sufficient and that preaching alone will accomplish its aims. But we may agree that the fullest fruits of such preaching are much more liable to attainment when surrounded by a fitting cultus. Unquestionably the cultus does deepen or color religious experience. Haas says (L.L.A., Memoirs III, 101): "If liturgy is considered in its place in the church, it is with no necessary theory of the Church as a presupposition, but simply for the reason that in the Church liturgy has its place. This is to be marked in the thought of the Church, i.e., its theology; in the life of the Church, which theology comprehends in its intellectual unfolding and which it influences through its divine content; and in the art of the Church, which, in the beautiful, gives expression of the truth of thought and life."

The hymns are of no less importance. It is a safe estimate to say that they rank second only to the spoken and written Word. They are in the main paraphrases and resetttings of Scriptural thoughts. Their continual use both in the service and home, in public and private devotion, for comfort and assurance makes it impossible to

overstate their value. Their use as a religious exercise and consequent-ly as a missionary agency is surpassed only by the Bible itself. Ninde, p. 60, remarks: "Beranger, the French lyric writer, once exclaimed, 'Let me make the songs of the people, and I care not who makes the laws.' We can well believe that more than one poet whose productions have enriched the hymnology of the world would have been ready to say, 'Let me make the hymns of the people and I care not who makes their creeds'; which is only another way of expressing the fact that no creed or set of creeds, however venerable and complete, can exert as great an influence in shaping the religious faith and life of the masses as can a collection of popular hymns. The hymns in turn are the outgrowth of human belief and experience and very often reflect ~~with remarkable fidelity~~ the religious and theological mind of the times in which they were written with remarkable fidelity. Indeed, if all other sources of information were closed, quite a full and accurate account of the general trend of religious thought and feeling during the past 400 years could be written from simply studying the hymns of these centuries. The militant verses of M. Luther and G. Adolphus, the rapturous songs of Charles Wesley, the missionary outburst of the early nineteenth century and the flood of social service hymns of the last two decades only illustrate in a notable way how promptly and accurately the religious faith and experience of a period are reflected and interpreted in the hymns of that period."

That there is a most close interrelation between doctrine and hymns and the consequent intereffect between the two is unquestionably true. The hymn, then, must be on a high plane, must be minutely correct theologically and must reproduce the purity of the Church's position. Likewise is this true of the subject and form. The Lutheran Church requires a dignified hymnology, compatible with the high message: it

offers. There is no place in our Church for the "Gospel song", and little more for the common "anthem". The hymns of the Lutheran Church must be fundamentally doctrinal and consequently, largely objective in the presentation of their subject. We must note this particularly in a study of our hymnology, must note emphasis upon these points and must point out and guard against serious deviation from these principles.

The present paper purposes to deal with the hymnology and liturgies of the American Lutheran Church from approximately 1732, the time of the introduction of the first English hymnal into the Lutheran Church in this country, to 1820, or more closely, to 1818, at which time the Agenda of the Pennsylvania Ministerium made its appearance. The body of the paper will be found to be a discussion of the nine hymnals and liturgies which appeared during this time. It will be found that after the appearance of the first two volumes there was a steady and grievous decline in both hymnody and liturgies. The reader will note that during this period practically all the productions came from the English Lutheran Church. The Swedes, Norwegians, and other Lutheran bodies were not as yet active.

Unfortunately copies of all the works could not be obtained. In one or two cases the volumes are so rare as to be unobtainable; others seem to be no longer extant. In these instances the discussion is necessarily brief, Benson and the Memoirs of the L.L.A. being practically the only sources. Outside of these volumes there seems to be a regrettable paucity of material bearing upon the circumstances of this period. Practically all incidental historical data is supplied from Benson and the Memoirs. The writer has considered it best to treat, first, of the hymnology of the time and, secondly, of the liturgical forms. Each publication will be discussed separately, then correlated with the other sources by comparison.

I. HYMNOLOGY

For proper orientation and understanding of the period under discussion it will first be necessary to trace briefly the history of hymn-writing through New Testament times. We may readily suppose that in the early church there was a use of sacred songs, fashioned on Scriptural thoughts and particularly on the Psalms. Pliny's statements would seem to bear out this contention. In the fourth century we find a comparatively widespread growth of religious poetry, with such outstanding authors as Hilarius, Ambrosius, Prudentius, Sedulius and others. In later years the names of Gregory the Great, the Venerable Bede, Paul the Deacon, ^{the} St. Gall ^{school}, Bernard of Clairvaux, and a half dozen others are to be noted. In general, however, there was little hymn-writing during the days of the growth and supremacy of the Roman church. Quite naturally, for the Catholic church never fostered, but rather discouraged sacred psalmody. With the gradual reawakening throughout the world songs of the people and sacred compositions did creep into the order of service, but hymn singing and widespread hymn-writing was practically unknown until the days of the Lutheran Reformation.

With the flowering of the Reformation came the development and culmination of the church hymn. With the reintroduction of the people into the service and the emphasis placed upon their participation there was a demand and a desire to furnish sacred songs suitable for the general worship. Among the first and greatest of all Lutheran authors was, of course, Martin Luther. With and after him rose a host of composers and lyricists of first rank. We need but mention the names of Nicolai, Jonas, Selnecker, Eber, Herberger, Heerman^v and Rist as typical. And finally came the greatest of all, the greatest of all time, Paul Gerhardt.

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The hymns of these men were intensively devotional and spiritual. Yet devotion did not degenerate into sentimentality. There was overwhelming emotion, yet emotion restrained and tempered by the dignified purpose which the hymns were to serve. The majority of these men's productions were strong doctrinally. Powerful instruction^{-tion} marks their songs. So they were of an objective character in the main, particularly in the earlier groups. True, Gerhardt became more subjective at times, but his was a subjectivity most happily combined with the great objective truths of the Church.

From the close of this period on we find a gradual, but steady decline. With the growth of pietism and rationalism the congregational songs became weak and emasculated. A.H. Francke, Deszler, Rothe, and Schmolck are fairly representative of the better type in a poor period. Though some of these later hymns bring actual false doctrine and emphasize in false proportion the various parts of the Christian life, the majority suffer chiefly from weakness of thought and lack of understanding of the message to be conveyed.

English hymnody was handicapped for many years by the prohibition of any forms in the Church other than the psalms. The result was a number of rimed psalters, which offered little in the way of inspiration or beauty. Coverdale's work, the English Psalter and Tate and Brady's Psalter are typical of this period.

In time a break was made from this rigid rule and an English school of hymnwriting arose, Bishop Ken being among the forerunners. Among the preeminent names in this school may be mentioned the Wesleys, Charles and John, Doddridge, Newton and Cowper, Heber, Keble and Lyte. The English hymns, however, differ greatly from the German. Primarily, of course, they differ in theological background. The German hymn was Lutheran, the English Calvinistic and Reformed. The German hymn was

objective, the English, for the most part, subjective and emotional. The English hymn was far more liable to degeneration than the German - as was proved later - because of its very subjectivity and appeal to emotion and feeling. It oftentimes lacked the dignity and reverence of the true Lutheran chorale. But it is not to be denied that a number of truly great hymns rose from the men mentioned for which the Church is greatly indebted and still holds among its cherished possessions today. Yet because of the weaknesses noted the English hymn was later to weaken and sink and thus serve as a vehicle for unworthy and untrue doctrine throughout the Church, also in Lutheran circles.

Such was the material from which the fathers of the American Lutheran Church had to draw their material. Of English Lutheran hymns there were none worthy of mention. It was a question either of translating the traditional German chorales or of drawing upon English sources which were in their essence not indigenous to the Lutheran faith. Both courses were followed with results which were not particularly happy.

The hymnbooks used in this period, in their order, were: Psalmodia Germanica, collections by Kunze, Strebeck, Williston, Quitman, ^{and} Henkel. In each case the occasion, purpose and usage of the work as to place and time and the man editing will be briefly discussed. Greater consideration will, of course, be given to the content of the work, as to doctrine, poetical form and source of material, closing with a brief evaluation of each.

Psalmodia Germanica

Psalmodia Germanica was an English publication, reprinted for use in America. A first edition was unobtainable. The copy used is a third edition by J. Haberkorn, London, 1765. There seems to be a discrepancy

here, for Benson lists the third edition as "re-printed, and sold by H. Gaine, at the Bible & Crown, in Queen-Street, 1756." As far as the writer has been able to ascertain, however, the editions are the same. An interesting note is found on the inside cover of the copy used: "Part 1, London 1722 - Part 11, London 1725 - 2 ed. in one vol. 1732 by J. C. Jacobi - Third Edition Dedicated to the Queen of England." The collection was a "rather crude version of German hymns, mostly by John Christian Jacobi, Keeper of the Royal German Chapel at St. James' Palace, London." (Benson, p. 410) The dedication is by John Haberkorn, the Editor. In the preface we read:

"To Translate Spiritual Hymns out of one Language into another in preserving the Metres and by course the Tunes as well as the Spirit of the Original, must be allowed to be a very difficult Task: but to execute this Task in a number of them sufficient for the different purposes of private and public devotion, seems to me a merit equal, if not superior to that of many original works, and an unexceptionable proof of an uncommon perseverance and piety in the Author.

"This Task was formerly undertaken by the late pious Mr. Jacobi, and the success of his Labors, and of those of his Successor, in the Supplement, here in London and in the British settlements in the West Indies, bears no inconsiderable Testimony to the candour, the piety and the indulgence of the Public: a consideration which has determined the present Editor of this work to satisfy the Public demand with a Third Edition."

The varying tongues of the early Lutherans in the eastern section of our country made common divine service a difficult matter. In an attempt to meet all demands H. M. Muhlenberg, the outstanding figure in American Lutheranism of the period, held services in New York in Dutch, German and English. Practically the only available, suitable

work for the English service was the *Psalmodia Germanica*, from which Muhlenberg lined out the hymns. When it was found that there was a reasonable demand for this work a third edition was issued, this, then, becoming the 'first English hymn book of American Lutheranism.'

"It was used at the English services of the (Dutch) Trinity Church, at Hackensack, and probably in other churches along the Hudson. It included many of the best Lutheran hymns; and, had the English versions been of better quality, might have afforded a nucleus for the development here of a characteristic Lutheran Hymnody." (Benson, p.411)

The entire work is a translation of the German chorales, with no attempt at the injection of any original poetry. A list of the material translated looks like a collection of the best of the German chorales. 94 hymns are found in the body of the work, with a supplement of 33 more, two of which are Latin. The first section of the *Psalmodia* proper follows the church year; the second is, in general, arranged dogmatically.

As before remarked, the chief obstacle to the spread of the Psalmody was the reoccurring roughness and crudity of expression.

For example, p.19:

"Th~~e~~ wounding spear doth pierce my heart:
When Thou are nail'd, I feel the smart:
Thy dying groans my sighs display;
Thou bow'st Thy head, I faint away.

"Ye hearts of stone, come melt to see,
That this was done for you and me.
His griefs procur'd, that we're forgiven;
And on His blood we swim to heav'n."

Again in the same hymn:

"For tho' I can't words worthy speak.
Yet stop my tongue, my heart will break
Big with Thy love, I must to joy
Give vent lest I in pieces fly.

"For when Thy charms crowd in my mind,
I split, unless a vent I find:
Thy merits in my memory roll;
They sooth my thoughts and raise my soul.

"The love of Christ's stupendous meat;
It fills me, yet I still could eat;
With this His food I'm never cloy'd;
Still hungry, tho' I'm ever fed."

So it goes for forty-one stanzas. A section of an attempt to rime
the Passion Story: (P.24)

"Sentenc'd early by this crew,
As the worst of sinners,
Came to Pilate, who foreknew
This tumult's beginners:
Though he judged Him innocent
Of their accusation,
Yet to Herod He was sent
For his arbitration."

In a number of cases too close a reproduction of the original produces
an odd effect: (P.162)

"My choicest Pearl, and precious Crown,
God and the virgin Mary's Son,
Thou King of endless glory!
Thou art compared to Sharon's flower;
Thy Gospel and its saving power
Excels what's transitory.
Lovely Lily,
O Hosanna, heavenly Manna,
Thy sweet flavour
Be mine everlasting Saviour."

However, there are a large numbers of translations of more
than passing merit: (P.35)

"And oh! apply the merit
And comfort of Thy blood,
When I give up my spirit
To Thee, my Judge and God.
Then let my hope its power display,
And rest upon Thy promise,
To save me in that day."

The rendering of Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend is rather free but
quite poetical! (P.69)

"Lord Christ, reveal Thy holy face,
And send the Spirit of Thy grace,
To fill our hearts with fervent zeal
To learn Thy truth, and do Thy will."

A number of these versions have served as the basis of our present-day translations. To illustrate with a few examples: P.131 compare 345 in our hymnal:

"Soul, what return has thy Creator
For all He gives, and all thou hast?
What is in all thy needy nature,
That can delight His holy breast?
The best of off'rings He requires,
Is thy whole heart with its desires."

The first lines of the succeeding stanzas follow:

"Give God, His own, if thou'lt be giving"
"Accept, O Lord, what Thou requirest"
"Where can my heart be best improved"

P.167 on Wach auf mein Herz und singe:

"My soul, awake and tender
To God, thy great Defender,
Thy prayer and thanksgiving,
Because thou still art living."

"Thou, Lord, hast kept Thy promise;
In vain was Satan's malice;
With joy I now discover
Thy light, O Lord, my Lover.

"My thanks shall be the spices
Of morning sacrifices;
My deep humiliation
Sues for Thine acceptation."

Both the Psalmody proper and the appendix draw heavily upon Paul Gerhard for material. The Appendix represents a slight improvement over the best of the main work. Parts of it have been taken over bodily by later translators. To illustrate: P.41 on Die, Dir, Jehovah -

"To Thee, Jehovah, I'll be singing,
For where is such a glorious God like Thee?
To Thee my hymns I will be bringing,
Do Thou but grant Thy Spirit's aid to me;
That I may sing in my Redeemer's name,
And Thou may'st condescend to hear the same.

"O Father, draw me to my Saviour,
That Thy dear Son may draw me unto Thee,
Thy Spirit guide my whole behaviour,
And rule both sense and reason thus in me:
That Lord, Thy peace, I taste, may ne'er depart,
But make sweet melody within my heart."

P.13 on Ein Laemmlein geht:

"This Lamb is Christ, the greatest Friend,
 And Saviour of our spirits,
 Whom God the Father chose to send,
 To save us by His merits:
 My Son! says He, go down and bail
 The children which are doom'd to hell
 Without Thine intercession:
 The sentence is without rerieve,
 Thou canst and shalt be their Relief,
 By Thy own blood's oblation."

Throughout we note a frequent direct address to God. There is a strong, positive teaching of sin and of forgiveness solely through Christ's merit. A sound theological background and coloring is evident at all times.

It is a pity that this essentially meritorious work did not serve as the foundation for the development of future hymnology. Though it cannot be denied that the verse and expression are oftentimes unpolished and stilted, the general value of the work so overshadows these deficiencies that there was no excuse for its summary discarding. Its emphasis upon sound doctrine and its true Lutheran spirit were far too vital to justify the Church in disregarding it. Throughout the period of a hundred years of subsequent hymnology it stands out as the one product of the whole time which is of a definitely Lutheran character. It stands practically alone in that time as the one example of true evangelical spirit in the hymnody of the English Lutheran Church.

Kunze, A Hymn and Prayer-Book

This work could not be located. All notes are taken from Benson, pp.411-412.

Dr. Kunze's work is titled: A Hymn and Prayer-Book: for the use of such Lutheran Churches as use the English language. Collected by John C. Kunze, D.D., Senior of the Lutheran clergy in the State of New York. N.Y. Hurtin & Commandinger. 1795.

Kunze, pastor of the united New York congregations, Christ Church and Trinity, found it necessary in the '90s to issue a new hymnal. For this work it would be necessary to find songs which might be fitted to tunes which were known. His available sources were Psalm^{-dia} Germanica and the Moravian Collection of 1789. Kunze's lack of knowledge of English hampered him in his work. Of the 150 hymns chosen 70 were from the English with Watts supplying the majority. The rest were compositions of Charles Wesley, Newton, Bishop Ken, Kunze himself, Strebeck, J.F. Ernst, and Erskine.

Consequently there were Lutheran, Moravian, Wesleyan and Evangelical strains in the hymnal, with the Moravian predominating in the English section. Benson says: "Kunze was thus the first hymn book editor, and he and his associates the first hymn writers, of English-speaking Lutheranism in America. His book contributed little in the way of materials towards a Lutheran Hymnody; and yet he indicated, and according to his opportunities followed out, the three lines on which such Hymnody must develop:- the Englishing of the best Lutheran hymns, the selection of the most available English hymns and the writing of hymns by American Lutherans."

Strebeck, A Collection of Evangelical Hymns, etc.

Kunze's effort did not seem to meet with general favour. In the Advertisement to Strebeck's hymnal and liturgy we read: "As this small collection of Hymns is published for the use of my own congregat^{-ion} and by its particular request, it needs no apology. The unsuitableness of the metres of our English Lutheran Hymn Book, published in 1795, by Messrs. Hurtin and Commandinger, under the inspection of the Rev. Dr. Kunze, made it peculiarly necessary to provide another collection for the use of the English Lutheran Church. In the present collection I have endeavoured to retain as many of the Hymns published in the former

as could well be done. - - I hope none will be so bigotted to mere name, as to censure us for making selections from authors who are not of our own profession in religion: and who, perhaps, in some points differ from us in sentiment."

George Strebeck was the pastor of the first English-speaking congregation in New York - Zion - which was formed from Dr. Kunze's German church. His work appeared in 1797. Only 48 hymns of Kunze's manual are included, of which only ten are from the German, with three of John Wesley's translations added. The entire volume comprises 299 hymns. Of the new material about one-half is taken from the pen of Watts, a fifth from Charles Wesley and about one-eighth from the Olney Hymns of Newton and Cowper. This may be viewed as tendential, since a few years later Strebeck and the greater part of his congregation swung over to the Protestant Episcopal Church.

It is not to be denied that Strebeck's collection is on a higher plane than the German Psalmody as far as poetical expression is concerned. There is a greater facility and ease in the use of the English. The bare rime is no longer so noticeable. A number of the best of English sacred songs have been included. Among these are to be mentioned:

- Doddridge's "Hark the glad sound, the Saviour comes",
- Wesley's "Hark the herald angels sing",
- Watts' "O God, our help in ages in past",
- "Before Jehovah's awful throne", and
- "How beauteous are their feet",
- Cowper's "There is a fountain filled with blood",
- "God moves in a mysterious way"

and a number of others. They represent a betterment of English hymnody, yet cannot be viewed as distinctive of a Lutheran hymnal.

A considerable proportion of the hymns, moreover, are indicative of a gradual change of attitude and thought in the church. The text is becoming subjective, leaving the solid basis of objective song and introducing the variable feeling and sentiment of the individual.

For example: (P.43,no.48)

"In evil long I took delight,
Unaw'd by shame or fear;
Till a new object struck my sight,
And stopped my wild career.

"I saw One hanging on a tree,
In agonies and blood;
Who fixed His languid eyes on me,
As near His cross I stood."

Here is the seed of the narrative,dramatic,revivalist form which later developed into the great mass of worthless "gospel song" we have today.

Nor was all of a high poetic standard: (P.252,no.198)

"By various maxims,forms and rules,
That pass for wisdom in the schools,
I strove my passions to restrain;
But all my efforts prov'd in vain.

"But since the Saviour I have known,
My rules are all reduced to one;
To keep my Lord by faith in view;
This strength supplies and motives too."

Attempt to rework ideas already present in great beauty in the German were not always successful. Compare,for example,the glorious Komm, Heiliger Geist,Herre Gott with Davies' version: (P.72,no.80)

"Eternal Spirit,source of light
Enliv'ning,consecrating fire,
Descend,and with celestial heat
Our dull,our frozen hearts inspire:
Our souls refine,our dross consume!
Come,condescending Spirit,come!

More serious than any of these objections,though,is the fact that a door was opened for false doctrine to creep in,a vagueness of expression permitted which is in striking contrast to the German hymns. Though the tendency cannot as yet be clearly defined and pointed out in this work there is evidence of a general laxity of definite religious thought and a movement towards a broad hymnody without any distinctive Lutheran characteristics. For example: (P.169,no.6)

"Do this, he cry'd, till time shall end,
 In mem'ry of your dying Friend;
 Meet at My table and record
 The love of your departed Lord.

"Jesus, Thy feast we celebrate,
 We show Thy death, we sing Thy name,
 Till Thou return, and we shall eat
 The marriage supper of the Lamb."

Though yet not outspoken this tendency and opportunity is present for false doctrine, which did assert itself later.

This is the chief fault of the work. It marks a decline in Lutheran spirit and certainly cannot claim an honored place in the history of Lutheran hymnology.

Williston's Selection of Hymns

This work could not be obtained. The notes are again from Benson. The complete title is: A choice Selection of evangelical Hymns, from various authors: for use of the English Evangelical Lutheran Church in New York. By Ralph Williston. N.Y. J.C. Totten. 1806.

Williston was Strebeck's successor, entering office in 1805. Not a copy of his predecessor's book was to be found. In view of its "obvious deficiency" a new work was requested. Williston's labors resulted in a collection composed almost entirely of Watts and Charles Wesley. Only seven selections are made from Kunze. "Notwithstanding Dr. Kunze's certificate that none of its hymns are 'dissonant to our doctrine', neither its arrangements or contents suggests Lutheranism. It was in fact a good evangelical collection and was used widely within the New York Ministerium, and was introduced into the new English-speaking St. John's Church of Philadelphia." (Benson, p. 413)

This work, too, was indicative of subsequent events. A few years later Williston and his congregation joined the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Quitman and Wackerhagen, A Collection of Hymns

With Quitman came a still greater divergence from sound Lutheranism. Williston's book was hardly worthy of reprinting and the New York Synod, under the leadership of Dr. Frederick H. Quitman of Rhinebeck, was becoming increasingly rationalistic. Meeting in his church in 1813 the Synod made arrangements for the printing of a new hymn book.

Though, as Benson says (p.414), it avoided the types of ^{science} experience in the Methodist and Evangelical revival, it offered a vague, indefinite type of hymn hardly more desirable. Benson's statement that the selection "was good and conveniently arranged" is to be challenged. The church year receives secondary consideration, great emphasis being laid on Christian character. We find such headings as "Christian character, Duties of piety, Personal duties, Social duties and Example of Christ" in disproportionate abundance. This and the 'greatness of God' are principally brought into the foreground, no less than 93 of the 520 hymns bearing on the glory and attributes of God. Of prime importance seem to be the omnipotence of God and the duty of man, insufficient emphasis being placed on the Saviour's office and work. There is a general savour of sanctification righteousness. ?

The book, in harmony with the times, achieved considerable popularity, especially after additions had been made in 1734. Bird reports that it was used as late as 1765 in the New York district and in a number of churches in the eastern states.

An odd sequence of thought is found in the Preface: "The singing of hymns is justly considered a delightful and important part of public worship. It was in use even among the ancient heathen. Moses introduced it, by divine command, into his religious institution, etc." Also of interest are the tunes for the four meters - C.M.,

L.M., S.M., and P.M. - entered by hand on the flyleaf. Curious but inexplicable is the slip pasted over the date on the title page.

Selections from Watts' Psalms and Hymns predominate in Quitman's choice. There is a scarcity of translations from the German. Charles F. Schaeffer, the original owner of the copy used, entered the following notation in the index: "Of the 250 hymns which have been omitted in the New Hymn Book, there are about 120 which had every claim to be retained." Is the reference to Williston's work?

Of the better class in the subjective type are the following:

(P.151, no.216)

"Father of mercies, in Thy word
What endless glory shines!
Forever be Thy name ador'd
For these celestial lines.

"Divine Instructor, gracious Lord!
Be Thou forever near;
Teach me to love Thy sacred Word,
And view my Saviour there."

And p.247, no.363:

"Lord of the worlds above,
How pleasant and how fair,
The dwellings of Thy love,
Thine earthly temples are!
To Thine abode
My heart aspires
With warm desires
To see my God."

Poetically Quitman's was the best of the works of the period.

Yet it, too, has its oddities. For example: (P.142, no.202)

"Let all the heathen writers join,
To form one perfect book:
Great God! if once compared with Thine,
How mean their writings look!"

It has, however, no claim to distinction from a Lutheran viewpoint. In point of clarity of doctrine and clear enunciation of Lutheran principles of faith it is furthest removed from the true concept. It was a result of the religious liberalism growing in the church and an influence on

that movement. It lacks Lutheran character practically in its entirety.^{-ly.}

Henkel, Church Hymn Book

This work is of a more or less aggressive character, intended as a protest and reform against the existent hymnals. It is titled: Church Hymn Book, consisting of newly composed Hymns, with an addition of Hymns and Psalms from other authors, carefully adapted for the use of public worship, and many other occasions. By Paul Henkel, Minister of the Gospel. First edition. New Market: Shenandoah County (Virginia), printed in Solomon Henkel's Printing Office, 1816.

The Henkel family was noted for its Lutheran conservatism and efforts to keep the Church doctrinally pure. The purpose of the work under discussion was noble, but failed in the execution. 347 hymns and a metrical Psalter are presented. A large part of the material is by the editor and has little poetic value. The hymnal never became widely known outside of the Tennessee Synod and its immediate vicinity.^{-ly.} (This material is once again taken from Benson in its entirety.)

Such is the history of this first period of American Lutheran hymnology. Its beginning with the introduction of the German Psalmody by Muhlenberg, was worthy and capable of great development. But the development did not come. True, Henkel made a sincere attempt but it failed largely because of lack of literary merit. There was no real, lasting improvement in the field until considerably later in the century. The record is poor. As sound Lutheranism let down the bars and sacrificed its principles Lutheran hymnology kept step with the decline and aided it. Definition was sacrificed to indecision, clarity to liberalism. The period furnishes no cause for pride. The mass of great, traditional Lutheran music was set aside for the weak, emotional subjectivity of the day.

II. LITURGIES

For the history of the liturgical forms of the Church we must go back to the beginning of the Christian era. The cultus of the Jewish people does not concern us in this discussion since their worship was based on different circumstances from those of the New Dispensation. With the advent of Christ and the founding of the distinctively Christian, New Testament Church a new order was bound to rise.

From earliest days there was some sort of established order of worship in the church. 1 Corinthians 14, 26, 33, 40 we read: "Let all things be done unto edifying -- God is not the author of confusion, but of peace -- Let all things be done decently and in order." From 1 Corinthians we early learn that certain rules were drawn up for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Jacobs (L.L.A., Memoirs VI, 4) gives the order of service for apostolic days as follows: 1) Psalm, 2) Teaching, 3) Prophecy, 4) Tongues and interpretation, 5) Lord's Supper with the agape.

It is self-evident that the development of fixed forms required considerable time. Through the first hundreds of years the Christian cultus was continually growing and changing. Various localities maintained their various forms. Bit by bit the essential elements as we know them today were introduced. In time the various sections of Christendom drew more closely together in their churchly formulae. A study of these many varying institutions of worship, however, would not serve our purpose here.

We skip to the time of Gregory the Great and the introduction and standardization of the Gregorian Mass. This embodied the chief and essential parts of the Christian service and served as the basis for all future orders. It held well-nigh absolute sway in the Church for a thousand years. Though the present order is somewhat changed the old Gregorian serves as the model. Its form was as follows: 1) Introit

2)Kyrie eleison,3)Gloria in excelsis,4)Oratio,5)Apostolum,6)Gradalis seu Alleluia,7)Evangelium,8)Offertorium,or Oratio super oblata, 9)Salutation,10)Sursum corda,11)Vere dignum,12)Prayers for living and dead,13)Words of institution,14)Lord's Prayer,15)Pax,16,Agnus Dei, 17)Communio,18)Antiphona ad communionem,19)Post communio de tempore, 20)Ite missa est. (Found in Kretzmann,p.261)

With the Reformation it was necessary to find a suitable order for the Lutheran Church. The Roman Mass was no longer entirely suitable. With corruption of doctrine the sacramental acts of the service were minimized and the sacrificial portions received undue emphasis. The service was taken away from the congregation and placed entirely in the hands of the priests. In such form it could not be used. The task of drawing up an agreeable form fell to Luther. Proceeding on the principle that nothing should be dropped which has the authority of ancient usage and is not doctrinally incorrect,he drew up his first order of 1523. This did not entirely satisfy so in 1526 he issued his famous "German Mass and Order of Service". This should have been the working model of all later orders. It follows: 1)Hymn,2)Kyrie,3)Collect,4)Epistle,5)Hymn,6)Gospel,7)Creed,8)Sermon, 9)Lord's Prayer (Luther used a paraphrase),10)Admonition to the communicants,11)Office and Consecration,12)Words of institution, 13)Sanctus or hymn,14)Agnus Dei(during the distribution),15)Thanksgiving,16)Collect,17)Aaronic Benediction. (Found in Kretzmann,p.281) Bugenhagen was also notable for his liturgical work in behalf of the Church.

Sadly,deterioration set in liturgically soon after the Thirty Years' War. With conditions everywhere in chaotic state it was all too easy for changes to creep in unnoticed. Under conditions which did not favour the elaborate and beautiful order revisions,ommissions and

variations gradually appeared. By the latter part of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century little was left. At the beginning of the eighteenth century 1744 was left.

of the original form. No longer was church thought in harmony with Luther's liturgical attitude. The reigning theology and the liturgy were no longer compatible. With pietism and rationalism the final blows were struck. The objective character of the cultus was discarded^{ed} and only the subjective and sacrificial remained. Rationalism might now deal the death blow. "What sort of appreciation for the church year could a theology have that based its belief, not on the great historic facts of redemption, but on its own speculations? How could such a religion of reason permit the service on its sacramental side to remain what it originally was in the Lutheran Church - a real communion of divine^y grace through the audible Word? What spiritual pleasure could it find in the hymns and prayers and liturgical formularies in which the living faith, begotten by Word and Sacrament, was once wont to bring its sacrifice of thanksgiving and praise? Or how could it even understand the meaning of a cultus with whose history it did not care to become familiar, and that stood for a past to which it was absolutely indifferent?" (Ohl, quoted in Kretzmann, p. 287)

Such was the condition American Lutheranism had to face when it became necessary to draw up forms for divine worship.

As the hymn, the liturgy, too, is of prime importance in the public worship of the Church. Its value to the worshipper as a spiritual and devotional agency in heightening the reception and impression the Word itself makes is inestimable. In the Lutheran Church it serves as a vehicle and means of communion between the worshipper and his God. It is not, as in the Roman Church, principally a sacrificial act of the participant, but is an intimate, deeply spiritual^u service between the faithful and their God and Saviour and Sanctifier. In an additional capacity it marks, defines and characterizes the religious beliefs of the group that uses it.

Such being the case, the Lutheran Church should, with great care and diligence ascertain and make use of the pure and correct form. It should always have been its aim to present at once a doctrinally correct, artistically beautiful and historically orderly cultus. The sacramental and sacrificial offices should be clearly distinguished and as large a part of the order as is compatible with the best principles should be participated in actively by all the worshippers. Following these principles the Lutheran Church in this country would much earlier have had the beautiful liturgical forms which it possesses today.

Several minor principles may be conveniently discussed here. On the Confession Vogt, p. 153, remarks: "The most of such exercises do include an expression of penitence. Usually, however, it receives too slight attention, a few phrases in the midst of a long prayer including many other feelings and ideas. Such a brief and incidental expression of humility is altogether inadequate and ineffective." We quote this because of a tendency noted in the liturgies of the period under discussion. Though it is true that all forms contain some type of confession it is noticeable that these confessions of penitence decrease in intensity and force. In addition we quote the Explanation of the Common Service, question 31 on the purpose of confession: "It prepares the hearts of both Minister and congregation for communion with God. Without the sincere confession of sin God does not bestow His grace upon us; nor does He accept our sacrifices of prayer, praise and thanksgiving."

The Creed should certainly be included in every public worship. It serves as a demonstration and definition of the faith of the general body and of the individual worshipper. There can be no excuse for its general omission in the formulae of this time.

The public prayer should be dignified, yet simple. Its tone must show evidence of its gravity, yet it must not be florid. Nor are many ex corde prayers to be encouraged in the church. They do not fulfill the same purpose as the historically-developed, great general prayers of the Church. Horn says, p.67, "It must be childlike and artless. It must not contain phrases which are meant to be "touching", but should be terse and pregnant. - - There must be free prayer; but this is not the liturgical prayer, it is not congregational prayer, and still less are different congregations and the great Congregation bound together in it. ~~The~~ formulated prayer ^g goes forth from all, is known to all, and is acknowledged to all." Flagrant violations of this rule are to be found in many of the forms of the period under discussion.

In general it may be said of the period that the many changes and variations found in the different forms are without excuse. It was, indeed, a grossly presumptuous act for any one man to attempt to set up his ideas and theories against the authority of the Church through the ages. With the liturgies, as with the hymnology, we trace the decline of sound doctrine through the external forms of the church.

Muhlenberg, Kirshen=Agende

To present the situation which confronted the fathers of the American Lutheran Church in these early days we can do no better than quote an extract from Dr. Muhlenberg's diary, found in Dr. Mann's Life of the Patriarch, p.184:-

"April 28th - We held a Conference in Providence and deliberated about a suitable Liturgy to be used by us and introduced into our congregations. Thus far we had used a small formulary, but had nothing definite, in all its parts harmonious, since we thought it best to wait for the arrival of more laborers, and to acquire a better knowledge of the condition of things in this country. To adopt the Swedish Liturgy did not appear to be advantageous or necessary, since most of the member

In 1782 the Synod of Pennsylvania ordered the Agenda published. The result was unfortunate. Before the work appeared in 1786 extensive alterations had been made by the editors. The 1786 version did not approximate the original in true Lutheran form. It ^{-id.} ~~parts~~ ^{-ive} follow:

1. Order of morning and evening service.
2. Baptism.
3. Confession and Holy Supper.
4. Banns and marriage formula.
5. Instruction and confirmation, under which instructions are given for instruction, public examination and confirmation proper.
6. Burial service.

The order of morning worship is thus arranged: 1) Hymn - "any suitable hymn". Note change from the hymn of invocation to the Holy Ghost, previously specified. The rubrics have lost their imperative tone. They no longer present detailed instructions. 2) General Confession. 3) Salutation and response. 4) Prayer - extempore or morning prayer. Note here the introduction of the ex corde prayer. This prayer replaces the Gloria in excelsis in the old form. The Collect is omitted. 5) Epistle lesson. Baptism, if there were any, were to follow this reading. 6) Main hymn of the service. Here there are no specifications as to following the church year such as are found in the 1748 form. 7) Exordium or opening prayer, after which the Lord's Prayer may be said. It is regrettable indeed that any choice should be given in this matter. 8) Sermon, based on the Gospel lesson or a free text. The Gospel lesson is prescribed in the old form. In the present arrangement if the minister chose a free text there was no Gospel ^{for} lection for the day. No direction is given for the people to stand during the reading of the text. The Creed is omitted, a grave violation of liturgical form. Of interest is the note that the sermon should be limited to between 45 minutes and an ^{-any} hour. 9) General Prayer or ^{-any} Litany. This prayer is longer than that ^{of} the old form and differs in ^{content.} content. It is very worthy in parts and some sections has been taken over into the present form of the General Prayer. It is however, a little long-

drawn and verbose. We note the emphasis of the plea for the civil government. Ministers in our circles who omit all prayer for civil authorities from the General Prayer might take note. 10)Votum. 11)Hymn during which the offerings are gathered. 12)Salutation and Response. 13)Collect or ex corde prayer. 14)Benediction. 15)Closing stanza.

The minor services are short, providing for the instruction^{of} of the children, thus: 1)Hymn, 2)Prayer, 3)Sermon(brief), 4)Catechisation, 5)Hymn(alms collected at this time), 6)Collect, 7)Benediction, 8)Closing stanza.

In the following sections we find interesting notes and instructions on pastoral theology. For example, strict rules are laid down as to worthiness of parents whose children are presented for baptism. The baptismal formula contains the following parts: General introductory statement, Address to parents and sponsors(a shorter form is offered for these two), Prayer(two offered), Scripture reading - Mark 10, 13-16, Lord's Prayer, Questions and affirmations, Reading of Luther's explanation of baptism - "Baptism is not simple water only, etc."^{etc.} Baptism proper, Hymn(use of stanza 5 of Nun lasst uns Gott den Herrn or the last stanza of Christ unser Herr directed), Prayer(choose between longer and shorter form).

Confession and Holy Communion are to be held at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and other times if necessary. Preparatory service is held the day before communion in the following order: Hymn of repentance, Admonitory address, Lord's Prayer, Reading of names of communicants(if such is customary), Hymn (while minister enters names^{of} of communicants at the altar), Confession of sins, Prayer, Words of forgiveness, Hymn.

The communion service proper contains the following parts:

- 1) Preface with short Sanctus by minister and congregation.
- 2) Exhortation.
- 3) Lord's Prayer.
- 4) Words of institution (Consecration).
- 5) Invitation to Supper.
- 6) Distribution.
- 7) Antiphons.
- 8) Prayer of thanksgiving.
- 9) Benediction.

The wedding service is brief, being prefaced by elaborate instructions to the minister on publishing the banns and on persons who are qualified to marry. The confirmation service is likewise richly annotated in the preface. The form is brief. The questions placed to the catechumens are substantially the same as those we use today. The burial service is also simple. Job 14,1 is quoted and the hymn, *Mitten wir im Leben sung*. Thereafter follows the formula, "Nachdem es Gott, etc.". Another hymn - *Nun lassen wir ihn hier schlafen*, is sung, a brief exhortation to thanks for the brother's life spoken and the service closes with the Benediction.

Of the changes and omissions from the 1748 edition Dr. B.M. Schmucker remarks: "Every one of them is an injury to the pure Lutheran type of the old Service. The chaste liturgical taste of the fathers has become vitiated. The accord of spirit with the Church of the Reformation is dying out gradually. The Service of the Church is sinking slowly towards the immeasurable depths into which it afterwards fell. The order of Service of 1748 is beyond comparison the noblest and purest Lutheran service which the Church in America prepared or possessed until the publication of the Church Book."

It is true that the Liturgy of 1786 did not retain the historical form, logical sequence and beautiful symmetry of parts of the 1748 edition. The alterations and omissions made were arbitrary and unwarranted. The respect due the earlier form and the historical aspect of the whole liturgical question were not properly regarded, yet this work is infinitely more desirable and far more Lutheran than the

most of the works which followed it. Had this service been retained ^{the} the Church might well have been thankful for its possession.

Strebeck, Liturgy

With Strebeck's liturgy, as with his hymnbook, more definite decline in the cultus set in. Kunze had published a translation of the 1786 Liturgy only two years before but it had been so poorly received that Strebeck thought it advisable to offer another form.

The main order of service was arranged in the following ^{manner:} manner:

1) Hymn. No specification is made as to the character of the hymn.

There is a deletion of the rubrics. 2) Exhortation to confession.

Insertions are made throughout the forms which are quite unnecessary.

Witness here the addition: "And for your encouragement therein, remember that His Word declares, that - - if we confess, etc." Also, "Let us therefore, as many as are here present." 3) Confession. The change from

the personal "I" to the more general "we" is quite unnecessary.

Strebeck has a tendency to introduce high-flown phrases with little meaning and to stress sanctification unduly. 4) Salutation and Response.

5) Prayer - set or ex corde. 6) Gospel. 7) Epistle. 8) Hymn. 9) Sermon.

10) Prayer or Litany, of which one or the other must always be used.

The general outline of this prayer is taken from Muhlenberg. The petition for the government is omitted. The oratorical splendour of the prayer does not add to its spiritual value. For example: "Will it

please Thee, O Lord our God, to look upon the world of mankind, as they stand before Thy all comprehensive view; and be pleased to suit and proportion the dispensation of Thy blessings to them according to ^{their} their several exigencies." 11) Lord's Prayer. 12) Votum. 13) Hymn. 14) Response.

15) Short prayer - form or ex corde. 16) Benediction. The afternoon

and evening services are the same except for the omission of the Gospel and Epistle lections and the last prayer.

The baptismal formula is taken over from Muhlenberg; likewise the confirmation service, prefatory instructions being dropped. Preparatory service for communion, held the preceding day, follows: Preparatory address, Questions and answers in the confession of sins, General confession (made by one of the communicants for the congregation. ^{-time} An extempore form is also permitted.), Absolution. The celebration of the Lord's Supper is divested of a number of its most beautiful and historical elements, such as the Agnus Dei, Sanctus, etc. The congregation ^{-time} takes little part. The order: 1) Salutation, 2) Exhortation, 3) Lord's Prayer, 4) Consecration, 5) Distribution, 6) Thanksgiving with prayer, 7) Benediction. In the burial form a short sermon and a number of additional Scriptural quotations are added. Otherwise the form is Muhlenberg's.

In the rear of the work the standard Gregorian pericopes of the Gospels and Epistles have been appended, also twenty-one articles of the Augsburg Confession, the last seven articles 'on abuses' being dropped.

Though Strebeck used much of Muhlenberg's material as the basis for his work, it is nevertheless distinctly inferior. The cultus is deprived of much of its historical and aesthetic beauty. The order is left too much to the discretion and whim of the individual pastor. Too great a freedom is given in the matter of ex corde prayers. Rubrics are cut down too freely. Florid, figurative language with a minimum of spiritual value is employed. The main criticism throughout is a general laxity of the form and regulations.

Williston, The Liturgy

Since Strebeck's work achieved little favour, Williston, under the direction of Dr. Kunze, published his work in 1806. It is adapted from the Liturgy of 1786 and the English Book of Common Prayer.

It does not vary greatly from Strebeck. The service order: Hymn, Address to congregation and Confession, Salutation and Response, Prayer (two forms given) (ex corde prayer also permitted here), Gospel and Epistle, Hymn, Ex corde prayer from the pulpit, Lord's Prayer, Sermon, Litany or Te Deum, Announcement from the pulpit of the hymn, Votum, Collection of alms, Hymn, Responses, Prayer (form or ex tempore), Benediction^{-tion}. The afternoon and evening orders, with the exception of the omission of the Gospel, Epistle and final prayer, are the same.

The baptismal and confirmation forms are practically the same as these in Muhlenberg. Outside of the addition of a Collect after the General Confession the preparatory service is identical with that of Strebeck. To the Strebeck communion form is added the Preface after the Sanctus. The Gloria Patri is inserted. Sections of the Book of Common Prayer are used in the exhortation, consecration, etc. Especially objectionable are the words of distribution: - "Jesus said, Take eat, etc." The burial service inserts a hymn in Strebeck's order and omits the Lord's Prayer. Appended are the standard pericopes for the church year.

There was no excuse for drawing^{upon} the Book of Common Prayer for parts of the communion service. The action illustrates, however, the tendency of the book and the author. This simply meant a further discarding of true Lutheran forms and an obscuring of the Lutheran doctrinal positions. Otherwise we note little variation from Strebeck. The only improvement that can be mentioned is the reintroduction of the Preface into the Lord's Supper. The tendency to take the service out of the hands of the congregation and to place it entirely with the minister becomes more apparent. It is a breaking down of the Lutheran idea of a service primarily for and by the entire body of worshippers.

Quitman, Liturgy

The circumstances of the origin of Quitman's liturgy are the same as those mentioned for the hymnal. In the preface we read: "The same committee (as that on the hymnal) was charged with the preparation of a new and enlarged Liturgy for our churches. Forms of prayer, with the necessary directions and addresses to the congregations are, accordingly, presented in this volume, proper to be employed in divine service generally, in the administration of the sacraments, and in the celebration of other solemn rites customary amongst us. But the use of these forms is left entirely to the discretion of congregations and ministers, the Synod having no design to make them binding upon any in connection with us, but judging that the leaders of the devotions of their brethren should be at perfect liberty to address ^{the} the throne of grace in their own words. It will, perhaps, be found most expedient, that such forms and the free or precomposed prayers of ministers should be used alternately." On the title page is imprinted the quotation of 1 Cor. 14, 15: "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also. Etc." - an excellent passage of Holy Writ, yet here used in an undesirable way. It is clearly indicative of the quality of the whole book. D.M. Kemmerer (Memoirs IV, 90) says: "The liturgical portion of the work, like its eminent author, is rational-^{-al-}istic, liberal and un-Lutheran. It possesses not a single redeeming quality and its chief characteristic is that it is bad all the way through."

Chief among its faults of form is the fact that no order of service whatever is given. Two forms of confession and two prayers are listed as being suitable for the opening service, as are also a number of psalms. Though modified by reference to the redeeming work of Christ, there is in the confessions an underlying thought of work-righteousness. The prayers are wholly undistinguished both in respect

to content and form.

Eight general prayers, resplendent in glorious terminology, devoid of spiritual value, occupy the next section. We find such mellifluous addresses as: "Glory and honor be unto Thee, the self-existent and infinite Jehovah", "Supremely exalted and adorable Jehovah, whom angels and archangels delight to worship, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain!" Four prayers to be used after the sermon and six benedictions are offered! A list of the standard pericopes follow with the remarkable foreword: - "But it is necessary to remark concerning them, that there is an impropriety in congregations confining themselves, year after year, to these portions of the sacred volume, and neglecting all the rest, when they meet together for instruction and prayer. Besides, although some of these selections are excellent, not a few of them have been chosen injudiciously, or are so unnaturally torn away from the context, as to be dark and unedifying, instead of exhibiting a clear and connected view of the great facts, truths and lessons, contained in Holy Writ, especially of those which are most interesting to the Christians. It is very desirable, that other and larger sections of the Scriptures should be read in our religious assemblies." P.36.

In the baptismal formula numerous changes have been entered by the original owner. The order: 1) Address with the reading of Mark 10, 13-16. 2) Questions and responses. The alternate form for these is poor. The frequent use of the phrase "divine authority of the religion of Jesus" rouses justifiable suspicion. Schaeffer adds Luther's explanation of baptism. It is to be noted that the sponsors do not answer for the child but simply confess their faith and willingness to guide the child. 3) Baptism proper. 4) Prayer. 5) Exhortation to parents.

In the form for adult baptism there are a number of questionable sections. For instance, in the address: "By the ordinance of Baptism, Christ has most wisely provided for preserving his church and

for maintaining among is a sense of the holiness and regenerating influence of his doctrine. Water was appointed by him to be employed as an emblem of spiritual purity, or of that moral and religious improvement in which all our Christian advantages are to terminate. And it is designed by Him, that it shall be said of all who embrace his religion: "Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God." What does the man mean? In the questions addressed to the applicant for baptism no mention of the creed is made, the chief question being, "Do you sincerely believe in the divine authority of the religion of Jesus?" There can be no mistaking the modernistic coloring.

The forms for confirmation, preparatory service, matrimony and burial follow the general lines of the preceding works. An order for the inauguration of church officers ^{is} added.

The communion service is unsatisfactory. The order: 1) Sanctus by minister. 2) Exhortation. 3) Lord's Prayer. 4) General prayer - a very lengthy one. 5) Consecration. 6) Invitation to communion. Quitman opens the Lord's Table to all with the words: "In the name of Christ our common and only Master, I say to all who own him as their Saviour, and resolve to be his faithful subjects: ye are welcome to this feast of love." 7) Distribution. The offensive words, "Jesus said - Take, etc." are used. Added is the note: "The minister is at liberty to substitute any other words in the place of these; and it is desirable that he should endeavour to keep alive the devotion of the communicants by appropriate addresses to them or by suitable passages of scripture like the following"! 8) Thanksgiving. 9) Prayer. Meaningless phrases reoccur: "O God! grant that we may be made conformable unto His death, and experience more and more perfectly the power of His resurrection." 10) Hymn. 11) Benediction. There is appended a collection of 30 prayers for family and individual use.

Everywhere is noticeable a tendency towards high-flown language with a minimum of actual religious thought. Sanctification is emphasized. The book places itself outside the circle of real liturgies by discarding all forms for the chief worship. This freedom accorded the individual minister is indicative of the movement in the Church. There was to be no dead ritualism, no slavish subordination to set forms, no stubborn insistence upon dogmatic clarity. Yet how much better off the Church would have been had Quitman's work never been published! It is probably the most dangerous of all the liturgies of the period.

Pennsylvania Ministerium, Agenda

The Pennsylvania Liturgy of 1818, though not as dangerous doctrinally, was no more commendable than Quitman's from a formal point of view. It reverts to the German, uses Muhlenberg in a number of parts, but excludes the congregation almost entirely from participation in active worship. Two orders for the chief service are given. The first: 1) Hymn. 2) Exhortation to confession - Muhlenberg's form. 3) Confession of sins and Kyrie - also according to Muhlenberg. There is no absolution. 4) Salutation and Response. 5) Gospel, Epistle or any fit reading. 6) Prayer. 7) Hymn. 8) Sermon. 9) General prayer or Litany. The prayer is taken over practically intact from Muhlenberg. 10) Votum. 11) Hymn. 12) Benediction.

The second form: 1) Sentence. Seven are given, including the versicles for Matins and Vespers and a part of the Venite exultemus. 2) Hymn. 3) Te Deum. This modernized version is spoken by the pastor only. 4) Agnus Dei. The congregation may sing this, or the pastor pray it alone. 5) Any section of Scripture suitable to the sermon. 6) Main hymn. 7) Prayer from the altar. 8) Sermon. 9) Prayer. 10) Hymn. 11) Benediction. The Confession may be omitted at the discretion of the minister. Both forms are a hodge-podge.

The three forms for baptism are und^etinguished - a mixture of preceding orders; likewise the form for adult baptism. The confirmation rites are largely from Muhlenberg. Choice in the sets of questions used and in the prayers is given.

Two formulas for preparatory service, following Muhlenberg, and three for the Lord's Supper are listed. These follow no sound liturgical principles. We find the same offensive words in the distribution - "Jesus said", and the general invitation to communion. The congregation takes small part in the worship. Regulations for marriage (two forms), installation of officers, installation and ordination of ministers, church dedication and burial (two forms) complete the volume.

Nothing can be advanced to comment this work. As regards form it is wholly incorrect and in respect to doctrine it is frequently unsafe. It demonstrates the harmful effects of the preceding handbooks. It is characterized by few marks of Lutheranism.

CONCLUSION *****

In summary, the statement can only be repeated that this period of approximately 80 years traces the steady, at times precipitous, decline of the Lutheran cultus in the American Church as regards both hymnology and liturgies. The works studied are specimens of a vanishing 'Lutheran consciousness'. They are evidences of disappearing doctrinal positivity. They trace the noxious spread of liberalism through the branches of the Lutheran Church in this country. Set prayers and forms were discarded and the congregation deprived of its right of participation in the service. Foreign, un-Lutheran material crept in, and rationalism triumphed. It is not a history of which the Lutheran Church can be proud.

The beginnings made by Muhlenberg were commendable, but from his time on conditions grew ~~good~~ steadily worse. Henkel tried a reform and failed. It was not until many years later - the latter part of the second half of the century that sound Lutheranism reasserted itself, took up and made use of the treasures which were its rightful possession. Had the earlier men been a little less willing to take the easy course, to borrow from other churches, and a little more zealous to develop the true Lutheran forms conditions would have been vastly different. But with the adaptation of the English forms came subjectivity and sentimentality. The reaction of the individual was of prime importance. Not until Loehe, Uhlhorn, Schoeberlein and Kliefoth, and the later men, Lochner and Spaeth, did the Church awake to the glory of her ancient possessions. In hymnology it took Catherine Winkworth to bring back the German chorale to the English Church.

The Lutheran Church in this country today must cling to its old traditional hymns. It must rely upon translations which, it is true, are often crude, until it can develop men who will give us the masterpieces of the German in masterpieces of English. It must develop its poets and hymnologists. But never must it turn to the vapid, revivalistic anthems and "Gospel songs" of the sectarian churches. We have the greatest hymnology in the world today. To that we must hold fast.

Likewise in the field of liturgies, we have the purest, most evangelical and beautiful order of service in existence. We cannot afford to disregard it. Without moralizing, we can draw a salutary warning from the period just studied. No good can be accomplished by every man acting as his own liturgist, nor is everyone equipped for such work. We must stand fast on the approved forms. Why can we not abide by the splendid forms which we have in our Evangelical Hymn-Book?