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The growth of interest in liturgical music in the Lutheran church

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THE GROWTH OF INTEREST IN LITURGICAL MUSIC
IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

By

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to describe the trend towards interest in liturgical music in the modern Lutheran Church, to point out its relationship to the entire history of Lutheran worship, and to attempt to analyze its sources, causes, and development. Indeed, this is not a trend peculiar to Lutheran churches, but a general movement that has influenced all churches from the extremely ritualistic Roman Catholic to the churches using non-liturgical forms of worship. It should be kept in mind that this discussion deals only with one small phase of a great movement.

If the modern trend towards liturgical ideas is to be fully appreciated, the early history of Lutheran liturgies must be understood, for the growth of interest in liturgies and liturgical music is founded in and derives inspiration from these early orders of worship. Also, to understand why there was a need for and a wide acceptance of increased liturgical usages, the conditions of the 17th and 18th Centuries must be known. Thus, it is that this paper, before discussing the modern American situation, gives a brief view of the entire history of Lutheran liturgies and liturgical music.

The method by which this paper attempts to describe the growth of interest in liturgical music in the Lutheran Church is threefold. First, the history of the improvement
in the orders of service of American Lutheran churches is described; secondly, the published settings of these services, as they appear in Lutheran hymnals and other publications are discussed; finally, the extent of extra usages of liturgical music, such as plainsong, liturgical motets, etc. is investigated.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Reverends Mr. Arlin A. Maas and Henry C. Wolk, for their encouragement, suggestions and aid in finding material. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Reverend Mr. Theodore W. Paiderwieden of the Grace Lutheran Church, Teaneck, New Jersey and Herbert D. Bruening, organist of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Luke in Chicago for their aid in helping to supply the examples for proof of the ideas expressed in this paper.
CHAPTER I

The History of the Lutheran Liturgies and Liturgical Music as it Leads up to the Period of Liturgical Revival in America

To understand the liturgies and liturgical music of the Reformation, we must understand the conservative nature of the whole Reformation. The Reformation did not mean a complete and radical revolution; it meant only a purifying, an abolishing of the evils that had come into the church during the middle ages. This conservative nature is reflected in the liturgies and the liturgical music of the Reformation.

Any important change is followed of necessity by confusion until definite new principles are established. The disagreements and attempts at radical changes on the part of the reformers inspired Luther to produce in 1523, the Formula Missae which was intended for use at the church at Wittenberg. It represents only an attempt to revise the Latin Mass in accordance with Lutheran principles. For example, the canon, with its long series of prayers including intercessions for the Pope, Bishop, Church, souls of the living, addresses to the Virgin Mary, Apostles, Martyrs, adoration of the Sacred Host and Chalice, offering of the spotless Victim, and commemoration of the dead, was considered an abomination. Such parts of the canon as the following could never be accepted by the Reformers:

"Wherefore, O Lord, we thy servants......offer
unto Thy most excellent Majesty, of Thy
gifts and presents, a pure Victim, a holy
Victim, a spotless Victim, the holy Bread
of eternal life, and the Chalice of ever­
lasting salvation."

".....that many of us who, by participa­
tion at this altar, shall receive the most
sacred Body and Blood of Thy Son may be
filled with every heavenly blessing and
grace......"

Transubstantiation as exemplified in these words was
changed to the Lutheran theory of consubstantiation, the
theory that the body of Christ is present with the bread
and wine.

In close connection with this, the Lutherans argued
that the Roman conception fo the sacrifice of the Mass,
in which the body of Christ is offered up at every execu­
tion of the Mass, was wrong. The Roman offering of
material things and good works was renounced. The reformed
idea of sacrifice was that the individual offered himself
with prayer and, praise, and thanksgiving through Christ,
his guide and priest who would present them to God.

Another concept introduced by the reforming Lutherans
was that the"Word"(Gospel) should be the sole basis for
all religion instead of the Pope and Catholic hierarchy.

However, despite the changes, much of the Latin Mass
and much of the liturgical music was retained in the
Formula Missae. The only parts of the new service in the
vernacular were the hymns and the sermon.

The doctrine of the universal priesthood of all
worshippers induced Luther to find a way of having the congregation take a more active part in the service. Thus the congregational chorale came into the liturgy.\textsuperscript{1} Luther states his ideas on this subject in the \textit{Formula Missae}:

"I desire also that we have more songs which might be sung in the vernacular of the people and which the people might sing during the celebration of the Mass after the chanting (in Latian) of the Gradual, the Sanctus, and the Agnus Dei. For who doubts that these liturgical parts which to-day only the choir sings and with which it responds to the bishop who pronounces the benediction, were at one time sung by all the people? In fact, the singing of these songs may be so arranged by the Bishop that they are sung either immediately after the Latin chants have been sung, or interchangeably, in Latin one day (Sunday), and in the vernacular the other. Finally the entire Mass will be then sung in the vernacular of the people."\textsuperscript{2} Thus in the first important revision of the Roman liturgy we see the germ that was to grow in later orders of worship.

\textsuperscript{1}Walter Buszin, \textit{Luther on Music} in the \textit{Musical Quarterly}, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, January, 1940

\textsuperscript{2}Translated by Buszin from the commentary written by Luther for the \textit{Formula Missae} in op. cit.
The Lutheran ideal of a service in which all could participate inspired many attempts as services in the German. This growing tide towards vernacular worship forced Luther to produce his German Mass in 1525. It was similar to other contemporary vernacular Masses and the basis for many later Lutheran orders of worship. Luther himself states that this Mass was not replace or change the earlier Formula Missae but only to offer another form of worship for the people.

The German Mass did not depend on the historic and traditional Mass as much as the Formula Missae. It substituted a hymn or a German psalm for the Introit, a threefold for the ninefold Kyrie, omitted the Gloria, substituted a German hymn for the Gradual and changed the Nicene Creed and Sanctus into versified German chorales.

The music for this service was prepared by Luther himself with the aid of Johann Walther and Conrad Rupff. It is mainly an adaptation of Gregorian chant to the new German texts except for the parts that were made into German chorales. For example, the German psalm that opened the service, if a hymn was not used, was set to the first Gregorian psalm tone; the melodic formula for the Epistle was similar to the Roman Catholic tone for the Epistle with various cadences for the beginnings, the commas, the colons, the period, and the questions; and the Sanctus
was a simplified and adapted Gregorian chant.

Opening Psalm:

Ich will den Herrn loben alle Zeit; sein Lob soll

immerdar in meinem Munde sein.

Epistle:

Initium

So beginnt man die Epistle,

Comma alius

das zweite Komma so,

Comma

und so singt man das Komma

Colon

so aber ein colon;

Quaestio

das Fragezeichen so,

Periodus

in dieser Weise den Funct

Finale

den schluss der Epistle aber so

Sanctus:

Heilig ist Gott, der Herre Zebaoth!

Heilig ist Gott, der Herre Zebaoth! etc.
It is significant that all of Luther's services emphasize a new democratic spirit. Ritual and much of the Latin Mass was characterized as adiophora, or, usable if wanted but not necessary. It was the spirit of the Reform that all should not hold necessarily to the exact same form of worship so long as basic principles were the same. The Augsburg Confession states: "For the true unity of the Christian Church it is not necessary that uniform ceremonies, instituted by men, should everywhere be observed."

The Masses of Luther were by no means the only important orders of worship. Orders of all types from radical to conservative appeared all over Germany and the Scandinavian countries. In general they can be classified into three groups. The first group was the ultra-conservative which retained as much of the Latin Mass as possible. In this category were the liturgies of Pfalz-Nueburg, 1543, Austria, 1571, and the Strasbourg Kirchenant of 1524. The second and most important group consisted of the liturgies that followed generally but not ultra-conservatively, the order of the Latin Mass. These were the orders of central and Northern Germany including the Saxon orders, the two of Luther, that of Lübeck, 1531, of Hanover, 1536, of Hamburg, 1529, and of Brandenburg-Nuremburg, 1523. Also in this category are the Denmark Service, 1527 and the Swedish Mass of 1531. In South and West Germany where Zwingli and Calvin held great influence,
the orders were radical and non-liturgical. Among these were the orders of Halle, 1525-26, Baden, and Worms, 1560.¹

Despite the extremes the general attitude of the Lutheran Church was that it "regarded itself as the legitimate heir to the liturgical and musical culture of the medieval centuries and the conserver of all that was good, pure, and beautiful in the great tradition of faith, worship, and life of Western Christendom." We must remember that Luther was familiar with and interested in the ancient Liturgy and also both Latin and German hymnody, plainchant, and the great polyphonic music of his time and had no desire to abolish these things with the exception of those details which he felt were in error.

The liturgical music of the Western churches can be divided into three groups, the altar chant of the priest, the congregational responses and hymns, and the choral music. By the time of the Reformation, the congregational portion of the liturgical music had been taken over by the choir and one of the important works of Luther and the Reformers was to restore to the congregation its rightful part in church worship. As a result of this a unique situation was created in the Lutheran Church. The priest and choir could no longer monopolize the music of the

service since the liturgical music of the congregation became important once again. This revival of interest in the participation of the people in the service led to a new type of music for the reformed Mass for the plainsong of the ancient rite had long ceased to be within the grasp of the congregation and the polyphonic settings of the ordinary were, of course, for choirs only.

The new liturgical music of the time of the Reformation bore heavily on tradition. Musicians, taking the example of Luther in the Deutsche Messe, went to work adapting the plainsong to the vernacular, simplifying it for the congregational use and sometimes harmonizing it. After the purification of the Mass they had left the Introits, Kyrie, Gloria, Collects, Versicles and Responses, sometimes the Graduals, Hallelujah, Creed, Preface, Sanctus, Verba, Lord's Prayer, Pax Vobiscum, Agrus Dei, Benedictamus, Litany, Antiphons, Psalms, and Canticles with which to work. Many of these, especially those portions for the priest, could be kept pretty much as in the Roman Catholic Mass. It was only natural for the Lutherans of the sixteenth century to hold to a traditional music to which they had been accustomed for years as Roman Catholics. Many churches used the same service books that had been used previously and many Gregorian melodies were carried over into the Lutheran church still in original form and notation. Only the radical reformers threw out much of the traditional
music.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, 132 different Kirchenordnungen were produced after the example of the Deutsche Messe but none were as successful in adapting the old chant to the new services. Men such as Eler, Keucherthal, Lossius, Ludicus, Spangenburg and Praetorius were among those who helped to provide musical settings for Lutheran worship. The Kirchenordnungen of Saxony, Brandenburg-Nurmberg, Mecklenberg, Braunschweig, and Pomerania are only a few of those that provide examples of musical settings.¹

The dependence on the traditional chant of the church, besides being illustrated in the widespread use of Gregorian melodies by the musicians in the settings of the liturgy can be seen in many orders of worship which indicate that certain portions of the service are to be sung but provide no music for them thus insinuating a general familiarity with a traditional melody. Also it can be seen in several works produced in the sixteenth century which were designed to promulgate, encourage, and teach the use of Gregorian chant in Lutheran churches. Among these are the Psalmodia hoc est Cantica Sacra Veteris Ecclesiae Selecta by Lossius and the Cantiones Ecclesiasticæ Latinæ by Johann Spangenberg a work which has been heavily drawn

¹Harry S. Archer and Luther D. Reed, preface to the Choral Service Book, Phila. General Council Pub. Board, 1901. ²Archer and Reed, preface to the Choral Service Book
upon by later generations. There are many other similar works based on the Roman liturgical music heritage which are used even to-day as sources and guides in providing settings of the Lutheran services.

A unique feature in the liturgical music of the Lutheran Church was the use of chorale settings of versified forms of the ordinary of the Mass. This was a new innovation in the field of liturgical music. Examples of this are the versified settings of the Gloria in Excelsis, "Allein Gott in der Hoh sei Ehr" and "All Ehr' und Lob soll Gottes sein," the Creed, "Wir glauben all 'an einen Gott", and the Agnus Dei", O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig" and Christe, su Lamm Gottes." This, as is obvious, was part of the desire to make available to the congregation, the portion of the Mass to which it was entitled.

It can hardly be said that composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced any truly original liturgical music. All of the originally composed settings were very much in the spirit of either the plainsong adaptations, simple motets or were chorales.

Examples of typical sixteenth and seventeenth century settings of the Lutheran Liturgy:
Mel. Kirchengesänge von
Keuchenthal, Wittenburg.

Ky-ri-e

Ky-ri-e, Ky-ri-e, e-le-i-son, e-le-i-son!

Hei- lig ist Gott der Vater.

Gott der Sohn. Hei- lig ist Gott der Hei- ge Geist.

K.O. = Kirchenordnung

From Schoebelrein's Schatz des Liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs.
Before the Reformation was scarcely over, serious tendencies, destructive to the liturgy and liturgical music, set in. The most important of these were the theological controversies, the Thirty Years' War, Orthodoxy, Pietism, and Rationalism. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these weakening influences succeeded in almost completely destroying the rich musical-liturgical heritage which the reformers had always recognized and retained in the evangelical services. Though the effects of the Reformation on the Liturgy were somewhat negative, the main attempts were not to abolish but only to revise it as has been seen. These ideals, however, were soon lost and the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shows only increasing barrenness and deemphasis of the traditional form of worship. For example, the idea of substituting hymns for Latin propers made rapid progress at the time of the Counter-Reformation.¹

While the sixteenth century was still in progress and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Lutheran Church was faced with serious theological controversies within itself, with other reformed churches such as the churches of Calvin and Zwingli, as well as with the Roman Catholic Church which was staging a Counter-Reformation. The result

¹ Dr. Friederick Blume, Die Evangelische Kirchenmusik in Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, F. W. Kistner and C. F. W. Siegel, 1935.
of some of these controversies was the Thirty Years' War. It is needless to enlarge upon the terrible effect of the war. Civilization in Germany was severely shaken at the roots; the population was reduced by continuous ravaging, plundering, starvation, murder, and wanton destruction to approximately one-third its previous size; cities and towns were reduced to ashes, sheep and cattle were lost to plundering armies; churches and liturgical and music books were destroyed; and in general, the whole progress of German culture was forcefully stopped and even pushed backwards. Many of the destroyed church orders, missals, graduals etc. were books retained from Reformation and pre-Reformation days. They were used by the clergy and choir-directors for finding the progress for the divine services.\(^1\) Protestant schools were destroyed and no liturgical, musical, or religious training was effectively carried on for the long duration of the war. These factors resulted obviously in the destruction of much that was in the traditional liturgy.

To answer the Roman Catholics who accused them of heresy, to counteract the force of the Counter-Reformation, and to restore order from the chaos, ignorance, and lawlessness of the Thirty Years' War, the Lutheran leaders resorted to orthodoxy. The main interest was in clearly

\(^1\) Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, 1947, P. 140.
defined precepts, beliefs, legalistic ideas, and scholasticism. Even the government stepped into church affairs helping to make the Lutheran Church less spiritual. All this meant an external, mechanical worship-formalism. Musically, the only good that came out of this period was the hymn writing which seems to constantly come to the fore producing strengthening and sustaining words when all other art is starved out by war and destruction. It was during this era that Paul Gerhardt produced his famous hymns.

Such a trend as the orthodoxy of the post-Reformation period, which some even claim degenerated into orthodoxism, could not last long without a reaction. This natural reaction was "Pietism". A leading figure in this movement was Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1706). He emphasized the devotional, the simple, the homely, and the subjective and soft-pedaled learned and erudite sermons. In 1675 he published his Pia Desideria which contained six major reforms. In his home he instituted private devotions which he called collegia pietatis. These were intended to augment the regular Sunday worship. Even the sacrament came to be celebrated at these devotions. The new movement, since it answered a definite need, became very popular and

1 Op. cit. P. 141
widespread. Carried to an extreme it resulted in the formation of the community of Moravians under the leadership of Zinzendorf.

Count Zinzendorf gave Christian David, a Moravian convert from Roman Catholicism, a haven on his estate. This man here built a house which developed into the famous community of Herrnhut. Zinzendorf's extreme Pietism and his "Christ and Him Crucified" are typical of the Moravian ideas. Hymns played a great role in the life and worship of the Moravian Brethren and consequently large numbers of them were written by such leaders as Louisa von Hayn, Christian Gregor, Albertini and Garve. These hymns built up the Pietistic elements in the Moravian life such as, to quote Winkworth, "a fervid affection and gratitude to the Saviour, a spirit of happy, childlike confidence, and a strong sentiment of Christian fellowship."¹

The emphasis on non-liturgical devotions outside the church, the "personal experiences", the emotionalism with emphasis on "wounds", "blood", "suffering", and other excesses led to a lack of interest in a liturgical Sunday worship and the confining calendar of the church year. Musically, the only interest of Pietism was sentimental solos of a subjective nature instead of the fine old chorales, Gregorian melodies, and impersonal polyphonic compositions.²

²Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, P. 145.
These spiritual subjective songs even stifled the last remaining source of German chorales, the German folk-song. The work of Frank, Vulpius, Schein, Cruger, and many others in adapting and arranging sacred paraphrases and parodies now gave way to the secular and subjective art song which had been knocking on the door of religious music for a long time and which now found an entrance into the religious world through the solo arias and songs of the Pietists.

Of the musical portion of the Mass, only the Kyrie and Gloria survived to form the Lutheran Missa Brevis. The Eucharist was often omitted and used as a separate service resulting in the lack of need for music for any of the ordinary or proper following the sermon. In the liturgy of the "Word", the part of the service before the sermon, introits had fallen into abuse and disuse, concerted music had been substituted for the graduallys and alleluias, and the Creed had been put in versified form as a chorale. Many services consisted only of a few prayers, the main hymn or series of hymns that introduced the sermon, and the sermon.

All the effects of Pietism were not bad, however, for out of it, following the great spiritual works of Gerhardt a short while before, flowed much poetry. This new lyricism fed the musicians of the time; in fact, the musicians

1 Lang, Musik in the History of Western Civilization W. W. Norton and Co. New York, 1941, P. 473.
could not keep up with the output of the poets. Many of these hymns remain down to the present.

Thanks to a great school of composers including such men as Rosenmüller, Buxtehude, Zachow, and Johann Michael Bach and culminating in the great Johann Sebastian Bach, great church music continued to be written including complete masses, oratorios, and cantatas. Among the works of these composers are to be found many compositions of the true, fervent, Lutheran spirit but unfortunately they are not really intended for liturgical use but for concert use as is indicated by the common use of instruments, the increasing instrumental nature of the voice parts, neglect of the *stile antico*, which, if used, was accompanied by instruments and spoiled by the influence of Italian opera (although old style a capella masses and motets were still written and sung in some places in the traditional manner.)¹

The great works of this period include the cantatas of Buxtehude, the numerous chorale motets of Johann Cristoph and Johann Michael Bach, the huge works such as the *St. Matthew Passion* and the *B Minor Mass* of Johann Sebastian Bach, the oratorios of Handel, such as *The Messiah* and many others. The tradition of great religious musical works continued after the time of Bach and Handel into the later classical period and even into the Romantic era. We have

¹ Ibid.
as examples (even though these are not necessarily Lutheran works) The Creation and The Seasons of Haydn, the Masses and Requiems of Mozart, the Missa Solemnis of Beethoven, and the Masses of Schubert.

Around 1700, a new Rationalistic philosophy started. This was known as Deism in England where it started among the now socially important middle classes. It spread to France and then to Germany where it was known as the "Awakening" or "Enlightenment" ("Aufklärung" or "Empfindsamkeit"). There it had an easy time spreading for the intellectual fields had been left vacant by Pietism. This new philosophy was a humanistic trend that was based on reason. The world exists so there must be a cause. Hence there was a God.\(^1\) Miracles were explained as natural phenomena. Human reason, exalted above scripture, became the source and foundation of theology.\(^2\) Descartes, with his "Cogito ergo sum" and Bacon with his introduction of inductive thinking had anticipated this new scientific era.

The new trend made the already weak liturgical situation even worse. Because of the new thinking, the church year and festivals had no meaning and hence went pretty much unobserved. Communion was changed and neglected. In places


\(^2\) Article on Rationalism, Concordia Encyclopedia, Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo., 1927.
it was celebrated only four times a year or less. Pastors were allowed to make "alterations and improvements" after "consulting the more cultured members of their congregations." This was, of course, a completely destructive tendency and resulted in services ranging "in character from empty sentimentality to moralizing soliloquy and verbosity."1

The musical situation of the era following Pietism and Rationalism can be seen in the following words of Lang:

"But while Bach was still a musical apostle of Protestantism, summing up the essence of Luther's Church, composers were merely setting religious texts. Theirs was no longer church music. As man became emancipated from ritual, proclaiming his right to worship in his own fashion, the music supplied for his devotion divorced from the bonds of liturgy. Even when Latin songs were composed by Protestant musicians they were no longer liturgic, although they had a certain spiritual tone- the tone of religious musical pieces. ......... The Lack of a liturgy, the theological and philosophical insecurity, and the retention of tradition without compelling convictions led to a well-nigh complete disintegration of Protestant church music."

"Spiritual song" that led to "arbitrarily set, gloomy, and dragging congregational singing" instead of the noble chorale, the "Heart" instead of "external splendour", the resulting decline in organ music, where the chorale prelude degenerated and good organ composition continued only

1Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, P. 147.
in freely composed non liturgic pieces, the disappearance of able cantors, the increase in use of instrumental music instead of choral music, since training for good chorus singing was neglected and student choirs were discontinued, all demonstrate forcefully the decline of the music as well as of the liturgy.\(^1\)

Thus it was that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the European Lutheran Churches were ripe for liturgical and musical reform.

There were several causes that started a religious revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The terrible spectacle of the French Revolution and the humiliation of Napoleon's conquest impressed the Germans with undesirable effects of the rationalistic, the atheistic and the indifferent which permeated the eighteenth century.\(^2\) The new modern philosophy of the most influential of modern religious thinkers, Schleiermacher, helped considerably. The Romantic Movement, then gaining great momentum and sweeping the cold, empty rationalistic school away before it and influencing all of Western Civilization, was probably the greatest single force for the religious revival.

\(^1\)Lang, *Music in Western Civilization*, Pp. 701, 2.

The first results of these forces appropriately came at the tercentenary celebration fo the Reformation. First there was the work of Claus Harms, archdeacon of St. Michael's Church in Kiel, who, influenced by Schleiermacher, published "to the honor of God and the welfare of the Church, and in grateful memory of Luther"¹ Luther's ninety-five Theses and ninety-five of his own in protest against the rationalistic philosophies of that time.²

An important development was taking place at this time in Prussia, which had become an important power in Europe. Its Protestant population greatly out-numbered the Roman Catholic but was split into two factions, the Lutheran and the Reformed. The time was ripe for a union of the two Protestant groups for two reasons. First, the King Frederick William wanted a union to strengthen the Protestant position. Secondly, the differences of the two Protestant groups had almost been forgotten.³ The King himself studied the Reformation orders of worship and produced the Prussian Agenda in 1822 based on them.⁴ This,

¹Trans. by W. A. Lambert in article Theses in Lutheran Encyclopedia.
²Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, P. 150.
³Richard and Painter, Christian Worship, P. 305.
⁴Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, P. 151.
although many opposed it because of its connection with the attempt at uniting the Lutheran and Reformed churches, was the spark plug that started the interest in historical considerations in connection with the liturgy. This service was by no means perfect but it was remarkable in comparison with the individualistic, plain services of the day. Despite the opposition it was used and had an important influence in restoring interest in the liturgy in Germany during the remainder of the nineteenth century. There followed a flood of literature on the Lutheran liturgy.

In 1823, churches in Bavaria began to show improvement in their orders of worship. Pastors in Munich in 1836 prepared services based on Reformation orders. The year 1844 saw the publication of Wilhelm Loewe's *Agende für Christliche Gemeinden*, a thorough and complete study of the Lutheran liturgy giving details on the history and sources of every part of it. This work greatly influenced the American orders of worship in the nineteenth century. Another important work was the *Mecklenburg Cantionale*, 1884-7, a four volume work produced by Theodor Kleifoth with the aid of the musician, Otto Kade. Several important treatises on the Lutheran services were produced.¹

Thus, all over Europe the historical services were revived, proper introits, graduals, and collects were

restored, the church year regained its importance and the sacrament was rediscovered.

A revival of interest in church music followed naturally. Bach became popular due to the efforts of Mendelssohn; Bach societies were formed, church music societies were founded, men such as Schoeberlein and Winterfeld published collections and works based on sixteenth and seventeenth century Lutheran Music, and standards of music and worship were raised everywhere to keep pace with the new movement.¹

Unfortunately, the nineteenth century produced no great Lutheran composers such as the Baroque age or the Reformation century had. It is regrettable that after Bach, Protestant church music lost its position of importance in the field of music and never again regained it. For the nineteenth century original German Protestant church music

¹Some of the nineteenth century works of importance resulting from the nineteenth century revival:

H. A. Koestlin, Geschichte des Christlichen Gottesdienstes, 1887.


L. Schoeberlein, Der Liturgische Auslaim des Gemeindagottesdienstes.


J. Zahn, Die Melodien der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchenlieder.
we can mention only Mendelssohn and Brahms whose main interests were not church music at all and hence made only limited contributions. These contributions, however, include some great works like the Mendelssohn oratorios, especially Elijah, one of the greatest works in the oratorio form and the well known German Requiem of Brahms (both really concert music) and, in addition, several worthwhile motets and anthems. There were many other composers of Lutheran and Protestant church music in this era but none really gained prominence. I do not mean to insinuate that the general field of church music composition in this era was barren for we have several great works based on the Roman Catholic traditions such as the Masses of Schubert, mentioned earlier, the giant Berlioz Requiem, The Beatitudes of Cesar Franck, the Liszt oratorios such as St. Elizabeth and Christus, the Masses, The Redemption, and other choral works of Gounod, and the Masses of Bruckner.

Now that the history of the Lutheran liturgies and music has been traced up to the period of European revival, it is time to see what developments were taking place in America. For the most part early colonial Americans had little church music. In New England, the Ainsworth Psalter and the Bay Psalm Book, prepared by a group of ministers in Boston and vicinity, and a few other metrical psalm books were about the only church music to be had. The singing of the psalms from these books and consequently the general
condition of church music was so poor that Gould, writing on the history of church music in the new world, says of it: "About the commencement of the eighteenth century music had been so neglected that few congregations could sing more than four or five tunes."1 A few years after 1700, however, improvement began as several ministers in and around Boston published new music books and the colonial people started seeking new types of hymn tunes and other music. In general, the Protestant musical situation in the other colonies followed by a few years the development in New England.2

Somewhat in contrast to this general condition of Protestant church music was the situation in the colonial Lutheran churches which soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century were becoming prominent in several places in Pennsylvania. Although the conditions of their churches cannot be called more than primitive, many of the immigrant Lutherans did have the heritage of chorales and other church music which they brought from Europe. Even though this was a period of decline in European church music, what was retained by the early Lutheran settlers was far in excess of what can be seen in the church music of other colonial Protestant denominations. It is from this period on that history of Lutheran

1Gould, Nathaniel D., Church Music in America, Boston, A. N. Johnson, 1853, P. 34

liturgies and liturgical music can be traced.

The Lutherans in America, refugees from the ravages of war and deplorable conditions in Europe, were in a state of poverty and disorganization in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Churches were small, poor, and inadequate. There were too few ordained and well trained pastors. Lutheran communities were scattered, making care and organization even more difficult. Into this situation Melchior Muhlenberg came in 1742. He had been called as pastor for the three congregations of New Harover, Philadelphia, and Trappe through their European representatives. On his arrival in this country, he was confronted with the difficulty of establishing himself, for no advance notice of his coming had been given, as well as fighting for recognition against Zinzendorf, who had come close to gathering all German Lutherans under him, and finally establishing synodical organization where there had only been congregational organization.¹ In 1748, German and Swedish congregations in Pennsylvania united to better able themselves to solve their problems which were pretty much the same. The three congregations that had called Muhlenberg had named themselves "the United Congregations."

They expanded to include Lutheran congregations in several other Pennsylvania towns forming the nucleus for a synod. When the time came for the dedication of St. Michael's church in Philadelphia, the opportunity for the Germans and Swedes to come together presented itself for all the prominent Lutheran men in America were in attendance. Pastors and laymen from both Swedish and German churches, pressed by mutual difficulties, joined in an informal synod without a constitution. The union was based on their pledges to the same faith. This was the beginning of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. For this new organization, Muhlenberg, with the aid of Pastors Brunnholz and Handschuh, prepared a liturgy which would make worship in all the congregations of the synod uniform. The problems that had to be overcome in the preparation of this service are shown in the following excerpt from Muhlenberg's Journal:

"April 28. We consulted together in Providence with regard to a suitable liturgy (agenda) which we could introduce for use in our congregations. True, we had been using a small formulary heretofore, but had nothing definite and harmonious in all its parts, since we had thought it best to wait for the arrival of more laborers and also until we had acquired a better knowledge of conditions in this country. To adopt the Swedish liturgy did not either suitable or necessary since most of our congregations came from the districts on the Rhine and the Main and considered singing of collects to be papistical. Nor yet could we select a liturgy with regard to every individual's accustomed use, since almost every country town and village has its own. We therefore, took the liturgy of the Savoy Church in London as
the basis, cut out parts and added to it according to what seemed to us to be profitable and edifying in these circumstances. This we adopted tentatively until we had a better understanding of the matter in order that the same ceremonies, forms, and words might be used in all our congregations. But notwithstanding this, Pastors, Wagner, Stover, and other contrary-minded men took occasion to instigate some simple-hearted people against us under the pretext that we sought to introduce the liturgy of Wurttemberg or of Zweibrucken, and they also tried to make the people believe that we intended to lead them away from Lutheran doctrine and church order etc."

This liturgy was never published but used in manuscript copies by pastors.

Dr. B. M. Schmucker, who has done extensive research in finding the sources of this liturgy\textsuperscript{2} states that the compilers of this service did not depend on the Savoy liturgy as they had professed to do but on Saxon and North German liturgies with which they had been familiar with in Germany. The result was, as Dr. Schmucker states:

\textit{"The old, well defined, conservative service of the Saxon 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 its modifications given it by the Saxon Reformers. It is the service of widest acceptation in the Lutheran Church of middle and north Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden."}\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy,} Pp. 163, 4.


\textsuperscript{3}\textit{Lutheran Church Review,} Vol. I, P. 171 sq.
The orders on which this service is built are those of Lunenburg, 1643, Calenberg, 1569, Brandenburg-Magdeburg, 1739, and the Saxon, 1712. The first of these Muhlenberg was familiar with from its use at his home town of Elmbeck, the second, from his student years at Gottingen, the third from his stay in Halle, and the last, from his pastorate at Grosshennersdorf. Material from these liturgies had to be produced from memory.1

The Liturgy of 1748 in outline is as follows:

A Hymn of Invocation to the Holy Spirit.
Confession of Sins - Exhortation, Confession, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, in metrical form.
Collect - Salutation and Response with Collect of the day from the Marburgergesangbuch.
Epistle for the Day (from the Marburgergesangbuch.
Hymn, substituted for the gradual Gospel for the Day
Nicene Creed (Luther's metrical version "Wir Glauben All an Einem Gott)
Hymn
Sermon
The General Prayer concluding with the Lord's Prayer. (Litany permitted in the place of this.)

Announcements
Votum: "The peace of God which passeth all understanding" etc.

Hymn
Salutation, Responses, and closing Collect.
Benediction followed by Invocation: "In the name of the Father" etc. (Invocation in this position a feature of the Swedish liturgy.)

The order for Communion was as follows:

Preface - Salutation and Response
Sursum Corda
Sanctus, abbreviated
Exhortation (from Luther's Deutsche Messe beginning with a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer)
The Lord's Prayer
Words of Institution
Invitation to Communion (from the London Liturgy)
Distribution
Versicle and Luther's Thanksgiving Collect
Old Testament Benediction followed by
Invocation: "In the name of the Father", etc. ¹

Dr. Schmucker derived the above from a consensus of
two manuscripts of the original 1748 liturgy, one made by
Jacob Van Buskirk in 1763, and one by Peter Muhlenberg in
1769. The original work was divided into five sections,
the first containing the order for public worship, the
second, for Baptism, the third, for Marriage, the fourth
for Confession and Communion, and the fifth for Burial. ²

This provided the early American Lutherans with a his-
torically sound order of worship. Unfortunately, the ef-
facts of Rationalism and Pietism made their effects felt
in America and the first published version of this service
(1786) omitted much of the valuable material such as the
Gloria in Excelsis, Collects for the day, Creed, Gospels,
and Epistles. Some of this was restored in a supplement in
1790. ³

Dr. Schmucker says of this 1786 publication:

"These alterations in the morning
service are all of a piece. Every one of
them is an injury to the pure Lutheran type

¹Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, Pp. 166,7.
²Ibid.
³op. cit., P. 169
of the old service. The chaste liturgical taste for 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 toward the immeasurable depths into which it afterward 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.1

Successive liturgies showed less and less respect for the traditional ideals in church worship which is not too surprising when we remember that the Muhlenberg liturgy was used by pastors used to the then low standards of Europe and among people not particularly interested in liturgies such as the Pietists and the members of the Reformed Church. This was an era of degeneration in Europe as far as the Church was concerned and the early American settlers were the children of this decline. It is thus easily understandable that the order of Muhlenberg could not last long. To make matters worse, the growing tendency to change to the English language only helped to introduce the non-liturgical ideas to the Protestants in the American colonies.2

The only music indicated to be used in the Muhlenberg liturgy is the chorales.

1Lutheran Church Review, Vol. 1., P. 171, sq.
2Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, P. 168.
CHAPTER II

The Revival of Interest in Liturgy in the United States

The causes of the liturgical revival in this country are numerous. One of the most important was the religious revival in Germany. The large numbers of German Lutherans in America undoubtedly felt the effects of events in Germany especially since the language tie was still strong.

Also closely connected with the new interest was the vitalizing influence of the immigration in the first half of the nineteenth century of many Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes. Many of the newcomers to America were people seeking a chance to worship in a truly religious manner and return to strict, undefiled confessional standards. An example of this type of immigrant was Pastor C. F. W. Walther, one of the most important men in American Lutheranism, who helped to lead a congregation from Saxony to a new settlement in St. Louis in 1839 in an effort to escape the rationalistic philosophies with which he was constantly in contention in Germany. The hope of this band was to form an ideal church in the New World.

An intense Pietist by the name of Martin Stephan had planned this expedition of clergymen and eight hundred laymen. This opportunity to escape the cold empty church life of Europe Walther eagerly accepted. Five ships sailed
but only four ever reached the destination. Those that arrived safely settled in Missouri. One group formed a congregation in St. Louis which was eventually headed by Pastor Walther. Under him it became the nucleus of the great Missouri Synod. Among the immigrants who came to the U. S. during this period were many, similarly firm in their religious convictions, in their poverty desirous of a true Lutheran religious life. The immigrations resulted in a great expansion of the various Lutheran groups in America as well as a beginning of the correcting of the barren condition of church life left over from Rationalism.

Along with effect of immigration came the effect of German literature of this time which was read by the small but important number of Lutheran leaders. The great volume of German literature in the direction of religious reform has already been mentioned. Also, German theology was becoming important in America because of the influence of many men of other denominations as well as Lutherans who had studied in Germany. This helped turn the American Lutherans towards their true heritage instead of English and American influences.

2op. cit. P. 415.
3Ibid.
All the above mentioned forces resulted in a trend towards a conservative attitude in the church, i.e., a feeling for the desirability of getting back to the pure confessional standards of the sixteenth century Lutheran Church. The people of this era themselves realized that a change was at hand. The statement by Dr. C. P. Krauth that "the time has perhaps arrived in which it becomes the duty of the Lutheran Church in the U. S. to examine its position and determine its future course" shows this.

The conservative tendencies, a desire for pure religious principles, continued through the second half of the nineteenth century. The revival expressed itself in the founding of many colleges and schools such as the Missionary Institute at Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, The Collegiate Institute at Allentown, Pennsylvania, Muhlenberg College, and Roanoke College. Previously operated institutions such as Wittenburg and Gettysburg were expanded. Widespread missionary activity took place. It was at this time that the mission in India became a synod. Missionary work at home was also great. The General Synod alone carried on sixty-seven of them during the 1850's. A society was founded for the aiding of poor churches. The Philadelphia Publication Society was started and used to swell the number of English publications. Dr. J. A. Seiss produced several important publications including

1Op. Cit. P. 420
The Evangelical Psalmist one of the predecessors of The Church Book which will be discussed later. The Early History of the Lutheran Church, and several other significant books were published by Dr. C. W. Schaeffer. A translation of Kurtz's Sacred History, was prepared by Dr. C. F. Schaeffer. These are only some of the many important works of this period. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the trend began to show itself in other Protestant denominations.

Immigrations in the second half of the century were even greater than those of the first half and several states had as many Lutherans in 1890 as the entire United States had at the beginning of the century. The great effect of the newcomers can be appreciated because of this fact.

Another great influence in bringing about reform in America was the Oxford movement in England. This had started in England under conditions similar to those of the religious revival in Germany. From the great work in England in reviving plainsong, good choral music, hymnology, and church music in general; from the translations from the ancient Latin and Greek by Neale and others, from German, by Winkworth and others; from the new hymns, the American Lutheran Church benefited greatly.

1Ibid.
For good examples of the type of work done in England that was beneficial to English-speaking American Lutherans, one of the translators mentioned can be investigated a little more closely. Catherine Winkworth and her sister Susanna had been introduced early in life to German art and literature on a visit to relatives in Dresden. Susanna grew more and more interested in German literature and after her knowledge of it increased sufficiently, started making translations. In this work Catherine helped. Seeing her older sister's success, Catherine decided to do some translations on her own. Susanna had planned a translation of Tauler's sermons and urged her sister to prepare a companion volume of sacred German poetry. Inspired by this suggestion and also by the Andachtsbuch of Chevalier Bunsen, which introduced her to German hymnology, she set to work. This volume of poetry became the Lyra Germanica, Catherine Winkworth's first major publication. It met with widespread approval and immediately selections from it were in demand for collections of hymns being produced at that time. Thus it was that the translated hymns quickly became an important force in the religious revival. Later the hymns from the Lyra Germanica were set to German chorales by Stemdale Bennett and Otto Goldschmidt in the Chorale Book of England. This work was important because it helped to introduce German melodies into the English hymnals. Catherine Winkworth after the success of her first major work,
continued with her translating and produced besides translations, The Christian Singers of Germany, a history of German hymnology. Among the more famous contributions by this translator are "Wake, a-wake, for night is flying, ("Wachet Auf") "Deck thyself, my soul, with gladness, ("Schmucke dich"), and "Now thank we all our God", ("Nun danket").

The conservative tendency naturally could not confine itself to religious life and confessional arguments. Anything hitting at the foundations of Lutheranism could not help but influence other fields within the church. Among these fields are the ones important to this paper, liturgies and the accompanying field of liturgical music.

No exact date can be put down as the actual start of the change but the middle of the nineteenth century seems to be the best approximate date from which to start an account of the renewal of interest in liturgy and liturgical music in America.

One of the first signs of improvement that can be pinned down to an exact date is the Liturgy of 1855 prepared by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the synods of New York and Ohio under the leadership of Dr. Charles F. Demme. This work restored the principle parts of the traditional service but had many incorrect features such as

the placing of the Introit after the Gloria in Excelsis and
the combining of the Confiteor and the Kyrie. This order
of service was improved when the Ministerium of Pennsyl-
vania produced an English version in 1860. Changes from
the German Liturgy were made "for the purpose of securing
a stricter conformity to the general usage of the ancient
and purest liturgies of the Lutheran Church."\(^1\) The influ-
ence of reform was felt through the men of the committee,
Drs. C. F. Schaeffer, C. W. Schaeffer, C. F. Weldon,
G. F. Krotel, and B. M. Schmucker all of whom were appreci-
ciative of finer things liturgically speaking.\(^2\)

It was at this time that a confessional war was rag-
ing. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdrew from the
General Synod in 1866 over the question of admittance of a
synod not holding strictly to the Augsburg Confession.
Other synods followed. This feeling towards strict adher-
ence to confessions led to the organization in 1866 of the
General Council, a body of churches accepting the principles
of Lutheranism unaltered. This council immediately
appointed a committee to work with the men of the Minister-
ium of Pennsylvania on the preparation of a new English
Church Book and another committee to work on a German
Kirchenbuch. The men who worked on the new Church Book were

\(^1\) As stated in the preface, Lindsay and Blakiston,
Philadelphia, 1860.

\(^2\) Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, P. 172.
the same ones who prepared the books of 1855 and 1860 with the addition of Revs. A. T. Geisenhainer and Frederick M. Bird and the Drs. Charles P. Krauth and Joseph A. Seiss. Among those responsible for the Kirchenbuch were Drs. A. Spaeth, E. M. Schmucker, S. Fritschel, and E. F. Moldenke.  

A detailed account of the work that went into the Church Book can be obtained from The Lutheran Liturgy by Luther D. Reed. Two hymnals were in general use at the time of the formation of the General Council, the New York Hymnal of 1814, and the hymnal of the General Synod, published in 1828. Neither of these was satisfactory, the first being too subjective and the second being too rationalistic. With this scarcity of good hymnals as a driving force and the work of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania as a first step, the project was begun. Advantage was taken of the improvements in England, careful revisions of texts sought, and reference made to the sixteenth century Reformation liturgies. Proper introits based on the ancient ones as well as collects were provided for every Sunday. The new hymns of Bishop Heber, John Keble, Christopher Wordsworth, and William Walsham How, the translations of John Mason Neale, Edward Caswall, John Henry Newman, and Catherine Winkworth all were investigated thoroughly. It is reported that extreme care was taken in seeking accuracy.

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1Jacobs, A History of the English Lutheran Church in the United States.
of texts. Convenient for this was the availability of two fine hymnological libraries, that of the Rev. Frederick M. Bird, one of the members of the committee for preparation of this book and that of Mr. David Cremer of Baltimore. Later editions improved and expanded the original. In the Kirchenbuch the first complete Matins and Vespers in the American Lutheran Church appeared.\(^1\)

The English Church Book appeared in 1868 and the German, in 1877. Reaction to these works was quick as praise came from those interested in the encouragement of higher standards in liturgy. The hymnological portion of the English book was so highly considered that Benson said of it, "English speaking Lutheranism had at last expressed itself in a hymnal worthy of its traditions, and on a plane where no other American denomination could hope to meet it. Beside the Lutheran Hymnal of 1868 the Protestant Episcopal Hymnal of 1872 seems like an amateur performance."\(^2\) The German work received recognition and acclaim in Germany where it was highly enough thought of to have some of its material used in Lobe's Agenda and the Allgemeines Gebetbuch of the Lutheran General Conference in Germany. Much of the reaction was unfavorable, coming from people whose favorite hymns had been ruled unworthy, the South Germans,

\(^1\) Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, Pp. 178,9

who were not particularly interested in liturgical matters, and enemies of the conservative trend in general.¹

Improvements were taking place similarly in other synods all over the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Ohio synod worked with the synods of New York and Pennsylvania on liturgical improvement in 1842 and 1862. It revised its German agenda in 1884, its English in 1894, and combined them in 1909. After many attempts at producing a liturgy, the General Synod finally settled for one based on the Pennsylvania service of 1860. In 1870, the Swedish Lutherans revised their liturgy following a liturgical revival in Sweden.

Dr. Friederich Lochner produced Der Hauptgottesdienst in 1895 in the interest of liturgical improvement in the Missouri Synod.²

Finally in 1899, the most important development of all came. Along with the "conservative Reformation" the desire for unity, present among American Lutherans since Muhlenberg, also grew, and now, in the second half of the nineteenth century, took advantage of the revival to express itself.

The immediate cause of a start in work towards an expression of this desire for unity was a letter from Dr. John Bachman of St. John's Church, Charleston, S. C.,

¹Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, P. 484.
²Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, Pp. 173-75.
to the meeting of the General Synod of the South in 1870. In this letter was a suggestion that the synod work with other synods in preparing a common service. Although the idea was approved, action did not come for six years since the synod feared that others would not like the idea. At Stanton, Va. in 1876, the Rev. Junius E. Remensnyder made the following resolution which was adopted by the synod:

"Resolved, that with the view to promote uniformity in worship and strengthen the bonds of unity throughout all our churches, the committee on the revision of the Book of Worship be instructed to confer with the Evangelical Lutheran General Synod in the United States, and with the Evangelical Lutheran General Council in America, in regard to the feasibility of adapting but one book containing the same order of services and liturgic forms to be used in the public worship of God in all the English-speaking Evangelical Churches in the United States."

Jacobs, a leading Lutheran historian, states that little result was expected in view of the disunified situation of that day. However, the General Council in 1879 agreed on joining in the project "provided the rule which shall decide all questions in its preparation shall be: The common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century, and when there is not an entire agreement upon them, the consent of the largest number of those of the greatest weight." The General Synod having just adopted its Book of Worship

1 Op. cit., p. 182
2 Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, p. 506
hesitated to join the project but in 1881 appointed a committee to confer with the others "in order to ascertain whether an agreement upon any common basis is practicable."

In the session of May 1883, when several pastors petitioned for a more historically sound liturgy, the General Synod suggested that those interested make a thorough study of the subject and also at the same time adopted the resolution "That we hail as one of the most auspicious outlooks of our church in America, the prospect of securing a 'common service for all English-speaking Lutherans'. And that, believing such a service to be feasible upon the general and well defined basis of the 'common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century,' we hereby declare our readiness to labor to this end."1

In May, 1885, the committee met in Philadelphia.2 A subcommittee of Drs. B. W. Schmucker, E. T. How, and

1 Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, P. 183.

2 Workers on Common Service:


G. V. Wenner had prepared a first draft of the service for the meeting. This subcommittee did most of the work submitting it to the committees from each synod for approval.

The Memoirs of Dr. Henry E. Jacobs and The Lutheran Liturgy of Reed give detailed accounts of the work of preparing the new order of worship.

The Common Service in brief outline is as follows:

Invocation
Confession
Address
Versicles
Confession
Prayer for Grace
Declaration of Grace
Office of the Word:
Introit (with Gloria Patri)
Kyrie
Gloria in Excelsis
Salutation and Response
Collect
Epistle
Gradual
Gospel
Creed
Hymn
Sermon
Offertory:
Offertory
General Prayer
Hymn
Office of the Holy Communion:
Preface
Salutation
Sursum Corda
Eucharistic Prayer
Proper Preface
Sanctus
Consecration and Administration
Lord’s Prayer
Words of Institution
Pax
Agnus Dei
Distribution
Blessing
The General Synod unanimously accepted the not quite finished *Common Service* in 1885 and ordered its committee to continue the work and publish the service when finally completed and approved by the other synods. The General Council in the same year also accepted the work with ease since the new work was similar in all important details. Both works had been based on the same principles. The General Synod of the South had reorganized as part of a new United Synod in the South. This body also approved the *Common Service* in 1886.¹

The joint committee met in March, 1887, in Philadelphia, and worked out a final agreement. The versions, as published by each of the synods differed slightly and as a result, the joint committee met again in 1888 and accepted the version of the United Synod of the South as the standard.² There was some opposition, especially in the General Synod, where many criticized the close agreement with the General Council's *Church Book*.³ However all opposition was soon surmounted and the *Common Service* was accepted even in synods not involved in its preparation.

³ Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the U. S.*
The significance of this work cannot be overestimated.

In the words of Dr. Schmucker:

"If the coming generations of Lutherans have put in their mouths and hearts the pure, strong, moving words of our Church's Service, from week to week and year to year, they will be brought up in the pure teaching of the Church, and the Church of the future will be a genuine Lutheran Church."

According to Luther D. Reed:

"It provided a liturgy of universal scope and influence. It was not partially developed as were most Reformation orders, but was complete. It was thoroughly American in breadth of view and provision for practical use by the people, and yet it was not merely American in any provincial or exclusive sense. It was in fact the typical historic Lutheran liturgy in the English language, more fully representative of Lutheran­ism in its best estate than any other order of service that can be named."

Its effect in the trend towards unity in the Lutheran Church was very important. Important to this paper is the fact that the Common Service supplies a unified, sound, framework on which to place liturgical embellishments, among them, litur­

music.

In 1910, the General Synod, the United Synod in the South and the General Council, came together to standardize a few details that had been left up to the individual synods, prepare orders for the lesser services, (a difficult job for there was not as much historical foundation from which to work), to select the finest hymns, and provide adequate music:

1 Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, P. 186.
2 Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, P. 197.
In 1917, the completed *Common Service Book* appeared. It contained in addition to the material mentioned above, directions and tables for vestments, seasonal colors and liturgical ceremony in general.

Thus the American Lutherans had made great strides in recovering their liturgical heritage.
CHAPTER III

The Musical Settings of the Services in the Age of Liturgical Revival

It is only natural to expect that when the liturgists of the late nineteenth century were improving their services after the "common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century" that the musicians of the same era would follow suit. Although they could find no better inspiration and models than the settings of the sixteenth century liturgies with their respect for the best of the Roman liturgical heritage, they did not fall back on these as much as was desirable. We find in the music for the service as provided in most of the hymnals and publications of the last half of the nineteenth century the influence of the Victorian Anglican music and the general effect of the period of disinterest. For settings of the Gloria Patri, Gloria in Excelsis, Canticles, etc., Anglican chants were used in place of the far more appropriate settings that could be found in plainsong and settings of the old Lutheran liturgies. This was mainly because the old traditions that associated a German melody with a German text did not carry over into English as strongly as might have been expected. Thus the door was opened to innovations in Lutheran liturgies such as Anglican chants and other adaptations from the Anglican
Another reason for weakness was that when traditional melodies were used, they were taken from European settings already adapted two or three times since the Reformation, the original itself probably being an adaptation from the music of the Roman Mass. It can be readily seen how much room there was for abuses to creep in. Successive arrangements could easily get farther and farther away from the original thus bringing about distortions that would ruin the original strength and beauty.

It must therefore be admitted that the producers of musical settings of the service were somewhat behind the liturgists in making improvements. Even some of the settings of to-day have not quite reached the peak that the liturgies have.

The Evangelical Psalmist published in 1860 by Dr. Seiss was an early attempt to improve the hymnals and service music of the mid-nineteenth century. It, however, can be taken as an example of the inferior work of the time if compared with the later improvements. Very simple four part chants of the Anglican variety were used along with a few based very likely on old German melodies. A more striking example of the poorer musical services is the Morning and Evening as Sung at St. Luke's Evangelical Church in Philadelphia, published by Budd in 1883. This publication contains simple four part settings of the ordinary of the service using simple four part chants and
and adaptations from well known composers including Handel and even Verdi. The influence of the Victorian music of England can readily be seen in this work.

The entire picture was not bleak however. A trend towards more historically sound, more purely Lutheran music for the liturgy did start as is demonstrated in the successive editions of the Book of Worship with Tunes.

The editions of 1881 and 1885 of the Book of Worship with Tunes of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States contained two services, one for morning and one for evening, neither of which could be called historically sound. In the morning service, instead of an introit, there was only an opening sentence read by the pastor and answered by an Anglican chant setting of the Gloria Patri. The three petitions of the Kyrie were set to the same Anglican chant and used as responses in the following non-liturgic formula:

"O God the Father in heaven R. Have mercy upon us.
O God the Son, Redeemer of the World R. Have mercy upon us.
O God the Holy Ghost R. Have mercy upon us and grant us thy peace."

The Gloria in Excelsis, set to an Anglican chant, incorrectly followed the Creed and was replaced by the Te Deum. There is no precedent for this in any of the best of the Reformation or Roman Catholic liturgies. The only other
music within the service was a hymn between the scripture reading and offertory. The evening service was very similar in music and form.

The Book of Worship with Tunes of 1899 shows great liturgical and musical improvement over this. As has been seen in the previous chapter, the General Synod had by this time accepted the first version of the Common Service and therefore included it in this edition of its service book. In addition to this main service, a complete Matins and Vespers along with introits, collects, responsories, versicles, responses, and invitatories were provided. The relation with the past probably could not be broken too easily, considering the opposition that many in the General Synod made to the Common Service, so the 1899 edition still contains the old services described above in addition to the new ones.

The new services gave music a much more prominent part in the General Synod's liturgy and opened the way for improvement in liturgical music. Three different settings were provided for the main service and two each for Matins and Vespers. The interest in better liturgical music can be seen in these musical settings. With the exception of several Anglican chants, they use historical German material such as the Kern des Deutschen Kirchengesangs and the Mecklenburg Cantionale.

As has been seen, two of the most important steps
forward in the nineteenth century was the 1168 Church Book and the companion 1877 Kirchenbuch of the General Council. Musical settings for these were provided by Harriet Reynolds Krauth and Dr. Joseph A. Seiss for the English and John Endlich for the German. The 1893 edition of The Church Book with Music by Miss Krauth is an example of the effects of the trend towards improvement in liturgical music. That edition, revised to conform with the Common Service shows an advance over the original 1872 edition. Antiphons and responses for the choir from Endlich's Choral Book and Schoeberlein's Schätz des Liturgische Chor und Gemeinde-gesangs were introduced here. Several settings were provided for each portion of the liturgy, simple ones for ordinary use and elaborate ones for festival occasions.

The music for the Kyrie and the Gloria in Excelsis can be taken as examples of the music of this book. Four settings of the Kyrie are provided. One is based on the "Christe du lammes Gottes" melody, one by Muelhauser, one based on the chorale melody "Heil'ger Geist du Troester mein" and one adapted from Palestrina. One setting of the Gloria in Excelsis, uses the Old Scottish Chant while the other uses a harmonized plainsong melody. Some of the names represented as sources for the music of this book are Mulheuser, Palestrina, Goss, Ahle, Merbecke, Freylinghauser, Gregorian Chant, Bach, Layriz and Endlich.
The Archer - Reed Choral Service Book of 1901, represents an important example in the movement toward more historical liturgical music. It demonstrates the interest in plainsong in the liturgical revival. The chief purpose of this work as stated in the preface was the "restoration of Plainsong responses of the liturgy for the choir and congregation "because the historic responses present their claim upon every congregation that uses the historic liturgy."

The Choral Service Book is also significant because it was one of the most noteworthy and scholarly attempts to bring the music of the service up to the plane equal to that of the liturgy. In this effort it falls back to the best of the sixteenth century services as well as the works of the German nineteenth century revival to support the reintroduction of plainchant to the service.

In addition to supplying music for the congregational and choral parts of the service, this book restored the intonations and other chants of the ministers. Also supplied with plainsong settings are the litany and suffrages. The introits are also provided, set to the Gregorian psalm tones.

Some examples of the work of this book are:
In the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. A - men.

Gloria in Excelsis

And on earth peace, good will towards men.

We worship thee, O God, we bless thy name.

Glorify the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! A - men.
The authors give a long list of sources for their work, a few of which are the Brandenburg-Nuremburg Kirchenordnung of 1533, the Directorium Choir of 1582 and 1899, the Cantica Sacra of Eler, 1588, the Liturgie und Chorgesänge of Endlich, 1879, the Graduale Romanum, 1889, the Book of Common Prayer Noted of Merbecke, the Schätz des liturgische Chor und Gemeindegesangs of Schoebeerlein, 1865-72, and the Cantiones Ecclesiasticae Latinae of Spangenberg, 1545.

The Choral Service Book is but one example of the tremendous contribution made to the liturgy by Luther D. Reed. In addition to this work he has prepared in cooperation with Harry G. Archer, The Psalter and Canticles Pointed for Chanting to the Gregorian Psalm Tones, another work dedicated to the raising of musical standards through the use of the ancient liturgical chant. Also noteworthy is his work on the Common Service of 1917. In the preparation of this work, he was secretary of the joint committee as well as secretary of the liturgical, hymnological, and musical committees and a member of the committee on rubrics. A recent and very significant contribution is his book The Lutheran Liturgy published in 1947. It contains an exhaustive study of the history of Lutheran liturgies in Europe and America, some facts about liturgical music, and also a thorough analysis of the modern Lutheran services with suggestion for their correct performance. A definite need was filled by this work as no such complete treatise in

...
English on Lutheran liturgical matters had heretofore been published.

The music of the *Common Service Book* of 1917 shows the influence of the Choral Service Book probably because of the influence of Luther D. Reed. Two settings each for the main service, Matins, and Vespers, plus one for the litany were provided by a committee consisting of William E. Fischer, Harold E. Leinars, Flit L. Cronk, Michael E. Haberland, Luther D. Reed, Gomer C. Ress, August Steimle, Paul Z. Strodach and the chairman, Jeremiah F. Ohl.¹

¹ Op. cit. P. 208
For the first version of the musical service mainly Merbecke and Anglicam chants were used. Traditional German melodies were used for the Offertory, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei.
Gregorian psalm tones and chants were used for the second version. The Kyrie used was taken from Luther's Deutsche Messe (also plainsong). The Hallelujah and Agnus Dei were set to German melodies. Monotonic chants were used for the versicles and responses.
Matins and Vespers were similarly arranged, using mostly Anglican chant, Tallis and Merbecke for the first, and Gregorian psalm tones for the second.

Contemporary service books still contain much that is not in the best traditions of liturgical music. Even the better hymnals, such as that of the Synodical Conference of North America, supply service music that is not always of the highest order. However, in so much as the trend toward improvement has shown no sign of stopping, and in view of the interest in liturgical music among young organists and choirmasters, future editions of Lutheran church books will undoubtedly provide improved music.
CHAPTER IV

The Use of Additional Liturgical Music

A true measure of the degree of interest in liturgical music in a church is the degree of usage of material not supplied by the regular settings of the service in the hymnals and other published orders of worship. Modern Lutheran liturgies are constructed so similarly to the traditional Roman services, that many of the liturgical details and embellishments can be easily introduced. Pastors and choir-directors have the liberty to use a great deal of the liturgical heritage of the medieval church without in any way interfering with Lutheran principles. All that is necessary is that there be a genuine feeling that the extra material being used is edifying and meaningful and that fears on the part of those fearing "Romanizing" influences be overcome.

Polyphonic Masses, plainsong Masses, and other liturgical compositions of the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches based on texts from the ordinary, are only available in a very limited degree to Lutheran musicians, since the simple settings easily sung by the people must be used. So it is that Lutheran musicians must direct themselves to the propers (and possibly the chants of the pastor) when introducing plainsong and other forms of liturgical music.

The introits and graduals provide the first and most obvious opening for the introduction of additional liturgical
music in Lutheran worship, the introits being standard in practically all the churches and the graduals being used in many, though not as universally as the introits. In many of the "high" Lutheran churches it is common to use the Gregorian melodies for these two propers. Several publications have been prepared to supply these churches with adequate music for these parts of the service among them The Introits for the Church Year, 1942, by Walter E. Buszin, The Graduals for the Church Year, 1944, W. E. Buszin and Erwin Kurth, The Propers of the Service, 1947, by Albert Christensen and Harold E. Schuneman, the publications of the Liturgical Society of St. James, the Introits for Advent and Christmas and the Introits for Lent and Easter, and The Introits and Graduals of the Church Year by H. Alexander Matthews. All but two of these depend mainly on Gregorian psalm tunes. One of the exceptions, The Graduals for the Church Year, uses Anglican chants for all but the graduals of the Easter season which are set to plainchant. The other exception, The Introits and Graduals of the Church Year uses originally composed modern settings. Throughout the work, which is divided into two volumes, one containing the introits and graduals from Advent to Whitsunday and one containing those for the Trinity season, the antiphons are sung by a tenor or soprano solo voice in a semi-recitative manner. The psalm verses are set to short simple four part phrases. Anglican chants are provided for the Gloria Patri. Short
simple four part choruses, which may be sung a capella, form the settings for the graduals.

The only other propers that are open to the use of Lutherans are some Invitatories for use with the Venite, antiphones for use with the Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, and Benedictus, Responsories, and some versicles and responses. All these are for use at the offices of Matins and Vespers. No Lutheran publications of music for these have as yet appeared. Thus, musicians who seek music for these must rely on the Anglican and Episcopalian choir books.

A golden opportunity is presented to liturgically minded organists and choir-directors, when churches use additional ceremony such as the traditional Palm Sunday Rite. An example of this is the Palm Sunday program of the Grace Lutheran Church, Teaneck, New Jersey:

Prelude
Processional Hymn
The Confession of Sins
Absolution
Antiphon: Hosanna filio David, Tone V
Collect
The Lesson, Exodus 15, 7-16, 7.
Gradual: In Monte Oliveti, Tone IV (in faux-bourdon)
Gospel: St. Matthew 21, 1-9
Prayer
Antiphon: Pueri Hebraeorum, Tone I
Procession (Introduced by: P. Let us go forth in Peace C. In the name of Christ, Amen)
Hymn during Procession "Come, Thou precious Ransom, come!"
Choir Hymn during Procession: "Gloria Laus et Honor"
Sermon
Introit: Domine, ne longe facie.
Kyrie
Versicle and Response
The Collect for Palm Sunday
The Epistle: Phil. 2, 5-11
Hymn
The Passion (St. Matthew 27, 1-50) - Gregorian - Vittoria (in the traditional manner)

The Nicene Creed

Offertory: "Create in me a clean heart" etc.

Offering and Offertory Prayer

Sursum Corda

Sanctus

Eucharistic Prayer and Lord's Prayer

Agnus Dei: Braunschweig, 1528

Communion

Post-Communion: Nunc Dimittis Gregorian, Tone I

Thanksgiving

Benedicamus

Benediction

Hymn

Silent Prayer

Postlude

(Although Latin titles are given, the vernacular used throughout.)

This order of worship, except for the position of the sermon and a few omissions follows very closely the ancient traditional service as used in Roman and Anglo-Catholic churches. The music is of a purely liturgical nature, all of that up to the close of the passion being the plainsong and polyphony supplied in The Palm Sunday Rite in the series of Liturgical Choir Books edited by Francis Burgess and published by the Plainchant Publications Committee in London. This program will give an idea of what is being done in the more liturgically minded Lutheran churches.

To-day's higher degree of liturgical interest can be seen in the selection of choir music. Lutheran composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries like Michael Praetorius, Johann Walther, Johann Frank, and Heinrich Schütz produced many polyphonic motets and other choral works of a decidedly liturgical nature. In as much as this character makes them admirably suited to the reconstructed Lutheran
liturgy, choir-directors and organists of to-day have been devoting much attention to them. Pre-Reformation German choral music has also received a share of attention. The choir selections from the following service of music given by the choir of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Luke in Chicago on November 18, 1945, will demonstrate this interest in the early Lutheran musical heritage.

Organ: "Saviour of the Nations, Come".... Anton Kniller (ca. 1700)
Choir: "Arise, This Day Rejoice".........Johann Walther (1496-1570)
       arr. by M. N. Lundquist
"Dearest Lord Jesus".................Johann Sebastian Bach
       arr. by W. E. Euszin
"O Jesus, Grant Me Hope and Comfort"...........
       Johann W. Franck (c. 1641-c. 1695)
       arr. by C. Stein
Organ: "From Heaven Above".............Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706)
Choir: "Rejoice, Rejoice, Ye Christians"...Leonard Schroeter (d. 1595)
       arr. by M. L. Lundquist
"To-day is Born Immanuel"........Michael Praetorius (1571-1621)
       arr. by C. Dickinson
"Lo! To Us is Born an Infant"...Liebold (d. after 1735)
       Ed. by J. F. Williamson
Organ: "Lamb of God"..................George Philip Telemann (1716-1766)
Choir: "Upon the Cross I'll Nail Me"...Heinrich Isaac (1450-1517)
       arr. by M. F. Lundquist
"Praise to Thee, Lord Jesus"...Heinrich Schuetz (1535-1672)
       Ed. by W. H. Harris
Organ: "Christ is Arisen"...............Johann Sebastian Bach
Choir: "Now Christ is Risen"............XIII and XVI Century;
       arr. by M. Phieddemann
"I am the Resurrection........Gallus Dressler (b. 1533)
       arr. by M. N. Lundquist
The Address
Organ: "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring........Bach-Grace
Congregation: Hymn
Collects, Blessing, etc.

Free use of this type of music is made at the place of the Gradual, after the offertory, or after the Creed in many modern churches that have good choirs and depend mainly on the finest type of church music.
CONCLUSION

It is easy to look back on the history of certain periods and draw conclusions as to its importance and direction. To do that with a movement that is still in progress is another matter. So, it is still too soon to see what effects recent and contemporary happenings will have in the growth of interest in liturgical music. Events yet to take place can still determine the extent to which this trend will go and the direction it will take.

Thus, it is hard to decide how permanent the effect of the growth of interest in liturgical music in the Lutheran church will be. Will the "high" Lutheran churches increase greatly in number to predominate over the churches using more moderate forms of worship? How much more will plainsong be accepted? Will the future generations retain what men have worked so hard to reintroduce? To answer this, we must look not only at the facts and findings contained in this paper, but at the opinions and attitudes of pastors, organists, choir directors and parishioners.

The findings in this paper in no way indicate that the trend is over, in fact, there is no indication that it has even lost momentum.

From conversations and general association, I can safely state that among the Lutheran clergy, the interest in liturgical worship does not seem to have lost any ground. Also, modern theological schools are giving future pastors a
good training in the field of plainsong in particular and liturgical music in general. With modern research bringing more and more of the traditional music to publication and with the training in liturgical music being given in most of to-day's music schools, young organists have been indoctrinated with an appreciation for the best in liturgical music and are attempting to put their knowledge to work. The operatic and subjective compositions that contaminate much of church music literature are being gradually discarded to make way for old polyphony and plainsong, as well as better modern works. With the tastes of contemporary and future pastors and church musicians being thus turned towards a type of music so admirably suited to liturgical worship, it hardly seems that the trend will not continue to grow and reach greater extremes than are to-day found in the average Lutheran church. The main obstacle is congregational appreciation which, under bombardment for over fifty years, is falling in line with the trend, although slowly in some places.
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