

**SING TO THE LORD A NEW SONG!
A BRIEF HISTORY OF
OUR LCMS HYMNALS**

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Introduction

In 1545, Martin Luther was nearing the end of his pilgrimage of faith, and it was during this, his penultimate year, that he wrote a brief preface to a hymnal published by Valentin Babst in Leipzig. As it turned out, this hymnal would become the most carefully edited hymnal published during Luther’s lifetime. In fact, for all intents and purposes, Lutherans invented hymnals to begin with, and they only seemed to get better at producing them in Luther’s day. And yet, they must not have quite “arrived,” since Luther in his preface rather undiplomatically points out a couple of irritating errors in his hymns from previous hymnals, which were never corrected—even when they appeared in the very hymnal for which he was writing this preface!¹

All of this historical minutia aside, the most significant factor about Luther’s preface to the Babst Hymnal of 1545 is the proper distinction he makes between the Law and the Gospel as it pertains to the church’s song:

The 96th Psalm says, “Sing to the Lord a new song. Sing to the Lord all the earth.” For in the Old Covenant under the law of Moses, divine service [*Gottesdienst*] was tedious and tiresome as the people had to offer so many and varied sacrifices of all they possessed, both in house and field. And since they were restive and selfish, they performed this service unwillingly or only for the sake of temporal gain . . . [But] there is now in the New Testament a better service of God [*Gottes dienst*], of which the Psalm here says: “Sing to the Lord a *new* song . . .” For God has cheered our hearts and minds through his dear Son, whom he gave for us to redeem us from sin, death, and the devil. He who believes this earnestly cannot be quiet about it. But he must gladly and willingly sing and speak about it so that others also may come and hear it. And whoever does not want to sing and speak of it shows that he does not believe and that he does not belong under the new and joyful testament, but under the old, lazy, and tedious testament.²

So what’s “new” in Luther’s reading of the psalmist’s declaration, “Sing to the Lord a *new* song!”? For Luther, what was new was nothing other than the Gospel itself—that Christ suffered, died, and rose again for the salvation of the whole world. Such a Gospel cannot and will not remain silent in us as Christians, but will, of its own course, break forth in songs of faith and praise. Why? “So,” as Luther puts it, “others may come and hear it.” Yes, because Luther knew the church’s song to be a *Gospel* song, he therefore knew it to be a *missional* song—a song that draws others from outside of the church to hear and believe that Gospel. As Carl Schalk describes it:

For Luther . . . the Gospel determined the self-identity of the Christian community; if the community’s proclamation was something other than the Gospel, it ceased to be a *Christian* community. To speak of music as *viva vox evangelii* (“living voice of the Gospel”) was to state unequivocally that for the song to be “living,” the content of the song must be the Gospel. . . . For Luther, music was the vehicle for that doxological proclamation—proclamation both to the world as “good news” and to God, praising Him for it and pleading it before Him.³

¹Ulrich S. Leupold, ed., *Luther’s Works*, American Edition (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 53:192, notes: “In the sixteenth century, it must be remembered, there were no copyright laws. A hymn was in the public domain almost as soon as it was written, and every printer was free to print it, however faulty his copy might be. This oldest Lutheran hymnal is usually known in hymnological research as the *Achtliederbuch* (*Hymnal of Eight*); it contains eight hymns, three by Paul Speratus, one by an unnamed author, and . . . four by Luther . . .”

²Martin Luther, “Preface to the Babst Hymnal” (1545), AE 53:332–33. Emphasis added. WA 35:476–77.

³Carl Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism: Shaping the Tradition (1524–1672)* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001), 16–17. Emphasis original.

As Bethany Lutheran celebrates 50 years of blessings from the Lord, it is appropriate that we consider the many blessings our Lord has given her through the church’s song, and in particular her hymnals. Now with her ^{history} genesis in the old ALC, I am well aware that the story of Bethany’s hymnals is a somewhat different story than that of Missouri’s, and the story of the “other Lutheran” hymnals in this country is certainly also worthy of pursuing at some time. But as you will soon see, the story of Missouri’s hymnals is intertwined with the various “other Lutheran” hymnals, just as is the rest of Missouri’s history in general is intertwined, and even interdependent.

“Why history?”

But before I begin to tell the story of hymnals in the LCMS, however, I need to get something out of the way, and that is my little soap box titled: “Why history?” After all, Henry Ford is said to have once declared that “History is bunk,” and we live in a world (and yes, even sometimes a church) where what has happened in the past is often portrayed as boring and basically irrelevant to what’s happening in our lives today. It is my contention that nothing could be further from the truth.

“Why history?” The first reason has to do with me, myself, and I. I am, after all, an historian by training (at least my doctoral supervisor keeps telling me that I should be!). So when Pastor Trouten ^{asked} me to come and speak about “something historical,” history came as part of the deal.

But a much more important reason for looking at history—and, in particular *church* history—is the acknowledgment as Lutherans of our *catholicity*. Now by “catholicity,” I don’t mean “Roman Catholic”—that is catholic with a big “C.” As confessing Lutherans, we are not Roman Catholic. But we are “catholic” with a little “c”—that is, we are part of the “one, holy, catholic [or universal] and apostolic church” (Nicene Creed). And such “catholicity” has to do not only with understanding ourselves to be a part of the universal or catholic church today (the church catholic of space), but also that we follow that “great cloud of witnesses” (Heb. 12:1) from the church catholic of time. What that means is that God’s story of salvation in history did not end with the last chapter of Acts or Revelation. In other words, God’s story did not end with the last character or historical event recounted in the Bible. Rather, the story of God’s salvation in the lives of his beloved people has continued beyond the apostolic era, through the early church, the middle ages, the Renaissance and Reformation, the period of Pietism and Rationalism, the Confessional Revival, and yes, right on down into our modern and post-modern lives during the 20th and 21st centuries.⁴ And so, it is the church historian’s job to tell that story—even when it “ain’t pretty”!⁵

But the third and most practical reason for taking seriously the church’s history is the fact that there is so much to be learned from our past which can impact our future. I am told that famous

⁴The Augsburg Confession repeatedly confesses our catholicity as Lutherans, and in particular the continuity of the church throughout history, when it declares: “Likewise, [our teachers] teach that the one holy church will remain forever (*perpetuo mansura*).” AC VII, 1, as translated in Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, eds., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 43.

⁵The early church historian, Cyril Richardson, notes that the one “cannot, if he tries to write sacred history in its fullest sense, be content to confine himself to that bare record of events which we know as scientific history. . . . he has to tell the story against the background of ultimate meanings.” As quoted in James E. Bradley and Richard A. Mueller, *Church History: An Introduction to Research, Reference Works, and Methods* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 23.

battles—even from the Greek and Roman periods—are studied to this day at West Point. Somebody once said that the past is a wonderful classroom . . . but it’s not a great place to live. Our tendency today is to focus on the second part of that aphorism and to ignore the first part. I would advocate that to do so is to our great peril as a church.

“Back In the Good Old Days . . .” [1847-1888]

To get started, let me begin by sketching for you the worship situation for Missouri’s Saxon forefathers at the beginning of the 19th century. Suffice it to say, things were pretty bleak—both in theology and practice—at least as far as we are able to tell from their own accounts.

For starters, the church in Germany had been completely overrun and inundated by the effects of the Enlightenment, otherwise known as Rationalism. What this meant for worship was that the orders of service, hymns, baptismal rites, and you name it had to be revised and “updated” to fit the rationalistic notions of the day. In particular, Rationalists didn’t have much use for the deity of Christ, for superstitious talk of the devil, or for miracles in the Bible—to one degree or another. So when you take the supernatural out of the Bible, what do you have left? Ethics, with a moralizing imperative to parish preaching. And so one notices sermon topics during this period ranging from such spiritually weighty matters as “On the Hardiness of Shepherds and a Warning against the Use of Fur-Caps,” to “On Going for Walks: A Sermon for Hypochondriacs.”⁶ Likewise, the worship books at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries were almost inevitably revised away from orthodox, Lutheran doctrine toward the free-thinking and moralizing notions of rationalistic idealism.⁷

A second major effect on the worship life of our Saxon forefathers was that of Pietism. What Pietism meant for the worship life of the day was that the means of grace—especially the sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Lord’s Supper—were played down in favor of personal renewal and holiness. Pietism represented a kind of radical internalization of Lutheranism, which therefore eschewed external liturgical forms and church dogma. The observance of the church year, formal liturgy, and Christian ceremony gave way to a more relaxed, “from the heart” kind of worship, so that the more subjective and emotional elements of corporate worship began to hold sway and predominate.

Needless to say, “real time” worship was pretty abysmal in early 19th-century Germany. Carl Schalk describes the practice of *Zwischenspiele*—lengthy organ interludes at the end of each line of a hymn—as having “a deleterious effect on congregational singing.”⁸ He also notes that:

⁶Frank C. Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1997): 540.

⁷For a sampler of source readings on the effects of Rationalism and Pietism on German Lutheranism, see Robert C. Schultz, “The European Background,” in *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*, ed. Carl S. Meyer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 47–89. For further reading see August R. Suelflow and E. Clifford Nelson, “Following the Frontier,” in *The Lutherans in North America*, rev. edition (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 147–159; and for a primary source in 19th-century European historiography, see C.F.A. Kahnis, *Internal History of German Protestantism Since the Middle of the the Last Century*, tr. Theodore Meyer (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1856; Philadelphia: Smith & English), passim.

⁸Carl Halter and Carl Schalk, eds., *A Handbook of Church Music* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 92.

The deterioration of many [hymn] melodies from their original rhythmic form to that of all equal-note melodies, together with the filling out of melodic steps with passing tones, and the slow dragging tempos had made congregational singing a dull and uninspiring affair.⁹

When C.F.W. Walther and the Saxon immigrants finally got their feet on the ground in St. Louis and surrounding environs, they sought to reform all of this—both theologically and musically.¹⁰ They became a part of a Lutheran Confessional Revival movement that manifested itself simultaneously in both America and Europe.¹¹ Thus, on November 11, 1845, Trinity Congregation of St. Louis, where Walther was pastor, resolved to produce their own hymnal, as follows:

1. That the congregation introduce the hymnbook. 2. That the congregation handle the project. 3. That the hymnbook contain 500 pages. 4. That in order to raise the money, Messrs. Nieman and Graeber are to gather subscriptions, which are to be paid in advance. 5. That the price of a bound copy is to be 75 cents, unbound, 50 cents.¹²

The following January, a hymnbook committee was appointed by the congregation, consisting of Walther and six laymen. The laymen were there to keep all of the financial arrangements straight. Later, several area pastors were added to the editorial team, with Walther as unofficial editor-in-chief. When it came time for printing the hymnal two years later, a debate ensued in the congregation as to whether to print it in St. Louis or elsewhere. Eventually it was printed in New York City, by the same printer who had earlier printed some volumes of Luther’s House-Postils. Theodore J. Brohm, whose successor (and Walther’s son-in-law), Stephanus Keyl, later ran the Lutheran mission station near Ellis Island (another very interesting story!),¹³ handled these arrangements with the local printer and served as proofreader for later editions.¹⁴

⁹*Handbook of Church Music*, 90.

¹⁰For further reading on C.F.W. Walther and the first LCMS hymnal, see Jon D. Vieker, “C.F.W. Walther, Editor of Missouri’s First and Only German Hymnal,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1992): 53–69.

¹¹On the Confessional Revival and its European connections, see Theodore G. Tappert, ed., *Lutheran Confessional Theology in America, 1840–1880*, A Library of Protestant Thought (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

¹²O.A. Dorn, “Early Printing in the Missouri Synod,” *CHIQ* 24 (April 1951):6, as quoted and translated from “Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Missouri,” TD, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri.

¹³See Walter A. Baepler, *A Century of Grace: A History of the Missouri Synod, 1847–1947* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 136–137: “Keyl was to serve all Lutheran immigrants who came to New York. He was to see them immediately upon their arrival and provide them with suitable dwelling places where they could remain until they were forwarded to their destination in the West . . . He was, furthermore, to aid them in any way that was needful and especially to turn their attention toward their moral and spiritual interests . . . Keyl’s work was done in a wonderful manner. From 1870–1883 he cared for 27,000 immigrants. For years his correspondence was very extensive; for instance, in 1882 he received 5,376 letters and wrote 3,951. . . . In 1885 a five-story building was purchased by the Immigrant Board on State Street for \$45,000. It was known as ‘Das Lutherische Pilgerhaus.’ A chapel was arranged in the building for services, conducted for the immigrants. In Baltimore, the Eastern District also opened an immigrant mission, for which Synod assumed responsibility in 1872.”¹⁴

¹⁴The hymnal was titled *Kirchengesangbuch für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession* (New York: G. Ludwig, 1847).

Finally, June 15, 1847, Walther wrote in *Der Lutheraner* (the German lay-periodical he had founded in 1844), describing the chief considerations used in selecting the hymns included in this hymnal:

In the selection of the adopted hymns the chief consideration was that they be pure in doctrine; that they have almost universal acceptance within the orthodox German Lutheran Church and have thus received the almost unanimous testimony that they had come forth from the true spirit [of Lutheranism]; that they express not so much the changing circumstances of individual persons but rather contain the language of the whole church, because the book is to be used primarily in public worship; and finally that they, though bearing the imprint of Christian simplicity, be not merely rhymed prose but the creations of a truly Christian poetry.¹⁵

Several factors here bear comment. First, it was fully in keeping with the tenets of the Confessional Revival that the first consideration, “pure in doctrine,” be the primary consideration in any hymnal; the second consideration flowed naturally from it: that the hymns be universally accepted by “the orthodox German Lutheran Church.” In other words, Walther wanted to restore what had been lost in the periods of Rationalism and Pietism to the soundness of Lutheran orthodoxy which had preceded it.

Secondly, and most significantly, it is striking to note that the hymns were to reflect not so much the fleeting circumstances of the individual, but rather “the language of the whole church.” Here is a catholic sensitivity—both a catholicity of time and space—over against a more sectarian individualism prevalent in Pietist hymnody of the period. The final consideration, “truly Christian poetry,” then, would find its controlling center in the desire for the hymnody to be “the language of the whole church”—that is, poetry which had enough substance to have sustained the test of time.

Walther’s desire to plant solid, orthodox Lutheran hymnody on American soil is evidenced all the more when we begin to consider what he may have used as a model for his hymnal of 1847. The first place I began to look for this was the hymnal Walther would have brought with him—the Dresden Hymnal of 1837.¹⁶ Tracing that backwards, I noticed that the same basic outline of that hymnal was in place all the way back to the 1798 edition,¹⁷ and it did not resemble the outline of Walther’s hymnal. But when I got to the 1791 edition,¹⁸ I noticed a radical change—a change from what had come after 1798. [See Appendix, Table I.]

Notice how in the 1791 edition of the Dresden Hymnal, the hymnody runs by way of the church year; only secondarily do hymns having to do with ethics and morals (such as “Christian Life and Conduct”) play any role. Here the primary emphasis is on what God gives out by way of the liturgy and its church year propers, not on what man does.

The 1798 edition of the Dresden hymnal, however, does not utilize the church year as its central organizing factor. Instead of beginning with the concrete liturgical expressions of the church year, it

¹⁵C.F.W. Walther, *Der Lutheraner* 3 (June 15, 1847): 84, as translated in Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 182.

¹⁶*Dresdner Gesangbuch auf höchsten Befehl herausgegeben* (Dresden and Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1837).

¹⁷*Dresdnisches Gesangbuch auf höchstem Befehl herausgegeben* (Dresden: Churfürstl. Hofbuchdruckerey, 1798).

¹⁸*Das Privilegirte Ordentliche und verkehrte Dresdnische Gesang-Buch* (Dresden and Leipzig: Verlegts D. Carl Christian Richter, 1791).

starts with rather abstract concepts concerning the nature and attributes of God. Instead of beginning with the Jesus Christ, the one whose concrete Incarnation is celebrated with the season of Advent, it begins with God the Father, who can only be known through Jesus Christ—a rather un-lutheran and un-catholic way of approaching hymnody. Only secondarily does the church year play any role. Indeed, it has been taken over by a table of contents which runs by logical compulsion—each section proceeding by necessity from the previous—rather than by the Gospel way in which the church year flows from season to season.

The second section of the 1798 hymnal is an example of the moralism which so dominated the period of Rationalism. Here, the entire focus of the Christian Life is severed from Christian doctrine and faith. Ethics becomes a separate enterprise of its own without reference to the concrete, biblical and liturgical grounding characteristic of traditional Lutheran doctrinal theology. The primary focus shifts from God’s activity through Word and Sacrament, to man’s activity in the moral realm.

Now when we compare the outline of the older 1791 Dresden Hymnal with Walther’s hymnal of 1847, the similarity is striking. [See Appendix, Table II.]

First of all, it is remarkable that although Walther had to accomplish considerable paring down of the 804 hymns in the 1791 hymnal in order to work within the physical parameters of “500 pages” set by Trinity Congregation, he was able to keep almost all of the Dresden hymnal’s categories intact, conflating some and slightly re-arranging others.

Of the thirty-eight headings in the Dresden hymnal, two of them, “Worldly Vanity and Human Hardship” and “Hymns in Latin” were not included in Walther’s hymnal. The lack of Latin hymns is not surprising due to the fact that it was most likely no longer in use among anyone but the clergy. Of the sub-headings in the Dresden hymnal, the only ones that differ from the 1847 are those of “Plague,” “Scarcity and Famine,” “Catastrophe,” and “Summertime.” These minor differences are most likely due to the change in society and the change in “needs” between 1791 to 1847. Comparing the two hymnals from the other perspective, of the thirty-one headings which Walther includes in the 1847 hymnal, three of them add something new to the categories of the 1791 hymnal: “Reformation Day;” “Commemoration of the Holy Apostles;” and “Hymns on One’s Station and Calling.”

Some summarizing is probably in order at this point. First of all, it is safe to observe that Walther considered the Dresden hymnals after 1791 to be a wrong turning from the catholic/Lutheran legacy which had previously guided Dresden hymnody. They were inherently contaminated with the shallow Rationalism of the day and were therefore inadequate as a model for an American Lutheran hymnal. With this recognition, he chose to reach back behind the hymnals of the Enlightenment to the solid line of Dresden hymnody prior to 1798, to restore that legacy, and to plant it in American soil.

Secondly, although Walther was involved as “editor” of the hymnal, he actually did very little “original” work. One could cite this as a lack of creativity; perhaps it would have been more “creative” to come up with a completely new schema under which the hymns might be placed.

Is that not, however, precisely the point? Walther was doing the liturgy (and its hymnody) as it has always been done. He sought no new approach to an old matter; the church year was good enough for him. He did not try to revolutionize the liturgy. He simply took what was given him in the 1791 Dresden hymnal and fine-tuned it to engage the contemporary scene: the “new” along

side the “old.” In this way the liturgy and its hymnody were to remain vital and growing, avoiding the curses of stagnation and irrelevance as well as the blights of trendiness and superficiality.

Finally, Walther’s organization of his 1847 hymnal does not operate by way of the Law, but by way of the Gospel. The Gospel freedom of the church year (grounded in the historical and incarnational *loci* of Scripture), rather than an externally imposed “system” running by logical compulsion, is the operative agenda. In this hymnal, all the pieces fit because the pieces themselves decide the “system.”

Then They Started Speaking English [1888-1912]

The reason I’ve spent so much time on Walther’s hymnal of 1847 is because what began as a modest little hymnal for Trinity Congregation in St. Louis, eventually became the first and only German hymnal the LCMS would ever have. Although it was edited and published before there even was a Missouri Synod, it was printed in various editions for nearly 100 years—until *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941 virtually replaced it. But the most important reason for spending some time on this first hymnal is that if you take a look at the outline of hymns in both *TLH* and *Lutheran Worship*, you will notice the profound dependence on and similarity to this first hymnal of our synod. Its rich and valuable outline forms the backbone of our English hymnals to this very day. Its legacy is still very much with us.

But we really do need to move on, because the most interesting part of the story of our synod’s hymnals (at least interesting for us today) is the line of English hymnals, and how they assisted in our synod’s growth and transition from German to English. It is interesting for many reasons, but most interesting because the key players and their congregations were not in St. Louis or Chicago, but rather out on the east coast. But before we get there, let me briefly sketch the situation in the Missouri Synod, and more generally in the United States toward the end of the 19th century.

First of all, we really need to distinguish between what we might call “German Missouri” and “English Missouri.” By “German Missouri,” I mean the synod founded by Walther back in 1847, which was, for all intents and purposes, entirely German-speaking and German-worshipping. But by “English Missouri,” I mean the English Synod of Missouri, founded in 1872. It spoke and worshipped in English, seeking to reach out to English speakers in America. It began to grow significantly in the 1890’s, and by 1911, was accepted into “German Missouri” as what we know today as the “English District.”

More generally in the United States at large, we see three critical factors affecting what we might call the “Americanization” of the Missouri Synod—both German Missouri and English Missouri. The first was a spirit of nativism and anti-German sentiment which took shape in several states through the overt political action of its legislatures. A number of laws that were enacted—most infamously, the Bennet Law of Wisconsin and the Edwards Law of Illinois, both passed in 1889—which sought to restrict the use of the German language in both public and parochial schools, of which German Missouri had many.¹⁹

A second critical factor was the vast number of German immigrants received during that time. Professor Cameron A. MacKenzie notes that the decade of 1881-1890 showed the greatest increase in the German population in the United States—some 1,452,970 immigrants during that decade, the

¹⁹Nelson, *The Lutherans*, 297.

highest ever.²⁰ He also notes that during this decade, German Missouri showed its greatest numerical increase in the nineteenth century—from 122,627 baptized members in 1880 to 521,763 in 1890—an increase of 325.5%!²¹ Thus, while the American public at large was exhibiting an anti-German temperament, hordes of Germans were flooding the American midwest and, consequently, German Missouri.

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

At German Missouri’s 1890 Convention, President H.C. Schwan’s report cogently clarified the issue and likewise warned of its attendant dangers:

It is not the English language in itself which contains the danger. The danger rests in something . . . very apt . . . to appear in the train of the English language. It is the American spirit, the now prevailing American sentiment, that shallow, slick indifferent, business-tainted spirit in which also spiritual matters are handled in this country; that sentiment which has no knowledge of the real essence of Christianity and therefore deems the maintenance of pure doctrine ridiculous, holds the fight for the one faith to be sheer blasphemy, but seeks the salvation in sweet sensations and in a much busied workery of all kinds.²²

Here we see the concerns of German Missouri honed to a razor-fine edge: the rejection of an American penchant for slick and sensational spiritual titillation and busy works-righteousness, over and against the bedrock security of Christ and his righteousness bestowed through Word and sacraments, ever at work in one’s God-given calling. This was, in fact, the issue of Augustana V: a rejection of any spirit at work through “our own preparations, thoughts and works” and an affirmation the Spirit of Truth at work through the means of grace.²³

How did all of this work itself out in terms of the English hymnals produced during this period? The first major English hymnal produced by English Missouri was published in 1889 in Baltimore as the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book*.²⁴ It was a text-only edition containing 400 hymns, the three ecumenical creeds, the Augsburg Confession, and orders for morning and evening services. When it was reprinted in 1893, it was augmented with fifty additional hymns, and with the Common Service materials produced in 1888 by the “other Lutherans” (General Synod, General Council, and the General Synod of the South) replacing the 1889 orders of morning and evening services. This is very significant because it shows an emerging pattern as to how English Missouri would procure its hymn and worship resources—by culling through what other English-speaking

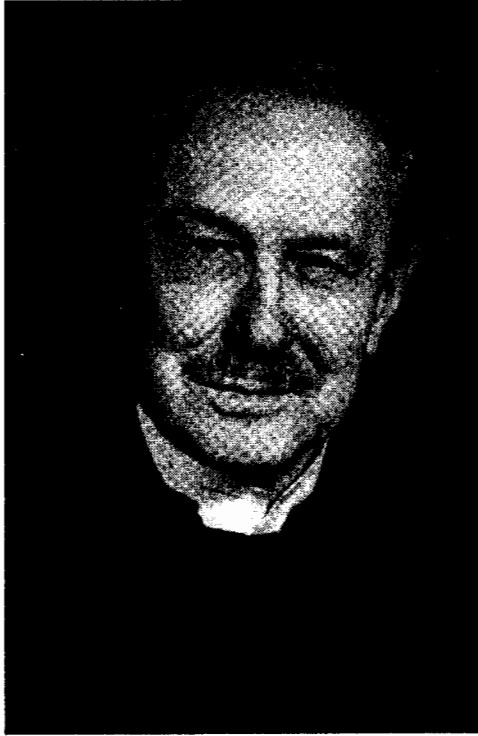
²⁰Cameron A. MacKenzie, “The Missouri Synod Accepts English,” Unpublished Manuscript, 1985, 4. Table 13, p. 48.

²¹MacKenzie, “Missouri Accepts English,” 6–7.

²²Meyer, *Moving Frontiers*, 356.

²³AC V, 4. Kolb/Wengert, 40.

²⁴*Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book*, Published by Order of the General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States (Baltimore: Harry Lang, Printer, 1889).



Lutherans of the day were already using . . . and indeed, even from surrounding Protestant sources.²⁵

The story of the development of the Common Service materials by those "other Lutherans," published in 1888, is told most fabulously in Luther D. Reed's magnum opus *The Lutheran Liturgy*.²⁶ However, what is little known is the fact that once these liturgical materials were produced, the committee went on to produce an English translation of the Small Catechism and other such materials. Here is where Pastor William Dallmann, of English Missouri's St. Martini Mission in Baltimore, Maryland, enters the scene.

Dallmann was quite a character, and quite a pastor. Someone once said that if he didn't have something to do with planting at least one church a year, he was dissatisfied. Born in 1862 in Pomerania, he graduated from Concordia, St. Louis, in 1886, a student of C.F.W. Walther, and undoubtedly one who sat at his feet during the famous *Law and Gospel* lectures. When Dallmann returned in 1887 to visit his dying professor, the venerable Dr. Walther

declared when Dallmann entered the room: "Ach, da kommt auch unserer lieber Englisher!" ("Ah, there comes also our dear Englishman.") You see, Dallmann had emigrated to the United States when he was only four, became completely bilingual, and was therefore pegged by the leaders of German Missouri to be a great missionary to English speaking America. And that he was.

When Dallmann accepted a call to the English Synod's Baltimore mission, it put him in close proximity to the work of the "other Lutherans" and the post-Common Service Small Catechism confabs. Dallmann was invited therefore to be an "observer," and humorously describes his first encounter with those "other Lutherans":

The Joint Committee was composed of Dr. H.E. Jacobs of the General Council. Dr. E.J. Wolf of the General Synod, Dr. Horn of the United Synod of the South, and the Washington Tressel of the Ohio Synod. After finishing the Common Service they worked on a common version in English of Luther's Small Catechism. I could get no credentials for this purely literary work—unionism? The Committee, however, let me sit in for two summers in Wernersville, Pa., and treated the youngster with the utmost kindness as if he were a full-fledged member. Dr. Horn from the deep South had never seen a Missourian in the flesh, and so he looked me over and asked dubiously: "Are you really a Missourian?" I owned "the soft impeachment." Still wonderingly: "Then where are your horns and cloven hoof?" Sometimes it is good to get acquainted.

²⁵For example, a study of English Missouri's *Sunday-School Hymnal* (Pittsburgh: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1901), reveals that over half of its hymns came from existing Lutheran hymnals and Sunday school hymnals. The remainder were from Protestant traditions—Congregational, Episcopal, Frontier Revivalist, and Presbyterian, to name a few. See Jon D. Vieker, "'The Fathers' Faith, the Children's Song': Missouri Meets the Sunday School in the *Sunday-School Hymnal* of 1901," in *Proceedings from the Conference on Archives and History*, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, November 6–8, 1997.

²⁶Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Liturgy of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959).

At the end Professor Wolf said: “We might as well say it before you’re dead: we are glad to have had you with us.”²⁷

From an account in his autobiography, *My Life*, Dallmann apparently did not take much stock in his ability as a musician or even as a having much of a singing voice.²⁸ Nevertheless, he would find himself heading up the editorial committees for successive editions of the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book*, the *Sunday-School Hymnal* of 1901 (which he edited almost single-handedly in his bath tub one hot, Baltimore summer),²⁹ and finally, the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* of 1912. [See Appendix, “LCMS Hymnals and Sunday School Hymnals.”]

The end product of all this labor—the hymnal of 1912—became the gift which the English Synod gave German Missouri when they became the English District in 1911. At that point, then, the *Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book* of 1912 became united Missouri’s very first official English hymnal.

From Liturgical Chaos to Uniformity [1912-1959]

With America’s entry into World War I shortly after, things began to change rapidly for the Missouri Synod. By the 1920s, the “Language Question” was no longer a question. These words from a 1927 pamphlet on “Home Mission Work in a Big City,” describe post-WWI Missouri Synod thinking:

The language question has been one of the “peculiar difficulties” in most of our missions and congregations . . . At first there were English services in the evening every other Sunday, then every Sunday night. But after some time the novelty wore off, and the attendance fell off. . . . English services were transferred to the morning. So called “double-headers” were instituted” German preaching at 9:30 and English preaching at 11:15, Sunday-school being held between the two services. This proved to be the most successful arrangement, although everybody agreed that it was “hard on the minister.” In the German services about 75 per cent. were adults, and 25 per cent. were children, while in the English services the ratio was reversed. . .

The missionary endeavored to follow the traditional policy of the Missouri Synod: Do not retard and do not accelerate the language transition, but accommodate yourself to local conditions. He tried to avoid the position of the extremists, who are found among our people as well as among our pastors, extremists in both directions.

Some have seen a great danger in our “turning English.” They point to the early Swedish and Dutch Lutheran settlers of our country, who lost their Lutheranism together with their language . . . There is danger that our Lutheranism will be adulterated when we turn to English, but this is not the fault of the

²⁷William Dallmann, *My Life: Personal Recollections of a Lutheran Missionary, Pastor, Churchman, Lecturer, Author* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1945), 57.

²⁸Dallmann, *My Life*, 12.

²⁹*My Life*, 62. “In 1897 Synod in my church made me chairman of a committee to get out a music edition of the Hymnal and also a chairman of a committee to get out a Sunday school hymnal, word edition and music edition. Spurgeon liked a committee of three—with one abed and the other out of town. During the very hot summer I often kept cool in the bathtub while examining about 3,000 hymns for a suitable collection, and then the tunes were tried out on my S.S. pupils. Synod said: ‘The prodigious labor expended has brought forth a highly satisfactory book.’ St. Louis called it the best, to be used till they put forth one of their own—which so far they have not done [1945]. Some enthusiastic brethren would even use it instead of the church hymnal.”

change of language. The danger lies in the fact that at the same time we are becoming more and more “conformed to this world.” . . . At the other extreme of this perplexing language question are those for whom the transition is progressing much too slowly . . . But they are in danger of “pouring away the baby together with the bath-water.” Dr. F. Pfothenauer, the president of the Missouri Synod, wrote some years ago that our changing from German to English is like pouring a precious fluid from one vessel into another and that we must be careful not to spill any during the process. And this precious fluid is the pure, unadulterated Gospel of Jesus Christ.³⁰

As the language question had been answered with an affirmative “Ja, we will definitely be mooving to English,” just how this would happen in terms of future hymnals was still a matter of debate. For instance in 1923, Synod received a request from one of the “other Lutheran” synods (non-Synodical Conference synods with whom we were not in fellowship) to join together in publishing an English hymnbook. The request was politely declined, since “our present hymnal [the 1912 hymnal] is so firmly established in our congregations that we cannot introduce a new one at this time.”³¹ And yet three years later, at a meeting of the Synodical Conference, a similar request came from the little Norwegian Synod (ELS) to the members of the Synodical Conference that they produce a hymnal together. It was also about that time that CPH advised the Synod that the plates for the 1912 hymnal would have to be redone (at great expense). Thus, in 1926, our Synod in Convention did what they always do in such situations—they appointed a special committee to investigate the matter. That committee would recommend to the 1929 Convention that the President appoint a standing Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics to begin work on such a revision, and that the other the synods of the Synodical Conference be invited to join in the undertaking. And this, my friends, is the ever humble beginnings of what we have come to know and love today as our Commission on Worship!

The 1929 Convention approved the committee’s recommendation, and the process was begun toward what would eventually become *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941. This was to be a joint project—Missouri and the other synods of the Synodical Conference, specifically, the Wisconsin Synod, Slovak Synod, and little Norwegian Synod. And yet, before these other synods could respond to Missouri’s invitation, the President of Synod appointed a committee of five, which met on November 20, 1929, “to organize the committee and to outline the scope of the work.”³² Needless to say, the “outline and scope” that the Missouri committee developed would eventually become the basic guidelines of the intersynodical committee. In other words, Missouri met to plan the general direction of the project, and *then* the other synods joined the process!

When representatives of the various synods finally did begin meeting jointly, the following principles were developed to guide them:

³⁰Carl A. Geiseler, “The Wide-Open Island City: Home Mission Work in a Big City,” in *Men and Missions* series, ed. L. Fuerbringer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927), 33-35.

³¹*Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Regular Meeting of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1923* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1923), 55, as quoted in James L. Brauer, “The Hymnals of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod” (STM Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1967), 84.

³²“Minutes of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics,” November 20, 1929 (Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis), 1, as quoted in Brauer, “History,” 89.

- 1) Hymns
 - a) must be of intrinsic value as to their contents;
 - b) must be distinctively Christian.
- 2) Translations:
 - a) must be of good form;
 - b) Must be idiomatic English.
- 3) Tunes:
 - a) Must be suited to the text;
 - b) Must be good church music. (Exceptions may be made in such cases in which text and tune are associated to such an extent that they are inseparable.)³³

Over the next eight years, the joint committee issued a number of reports which were distributed widely throughout the respective synods. By the 1938 Missouri Convention, the following contents were proposed:

Table of Contents and rubrics; prayers (on entering church, etc . . .); liturgical section and psalms for responsive reading; the hymns, doxologies, and chant settings; Small Catechism; Augsburg Confession, Passion history, tables (festivals of the Church Year, lessons, etc. . . .) indices (including author’s dates, professions, etc. . . .) topical index; index of first lines; short form for emergency baptism.³⁴

It is significant to note that in the process of editing, the committee dropped 74 hymns from the 1912 hymnal, and added 166 new ones. Nevertheless, at the 1938 convention, grateful appreciation for the committee’s work was expressed, and the committee was instructed to continue its work, allowing for suggestions until January 1, 1939, and then to issue an advance copy of the text. Three months after the mailing of the advance copy to all pastors and teachers in Synod the committee would have the power to order the publication of the new hymnal. In other words, our beloved *TLH*—the hymnal that some would appear to believe was handed down from heaven on golden plates—was never officially “adopted” by Synod in convention! In fact, the convention essentially said, “Go ahead, get it printed” without ever seeing exactly what was in it! And as it got down to the wire to go to press, the Small Catechism, the Augsburg Confession, and several indices were omitted by last-minute committee or publishing-house decision, in order not to bulk up the book excessively. Plans to publish a “pocket edition” (word and melody-only edition) were eventually abandoned. By synodical mandate, the tune-edition became the only edition of *TLH* ever to be published.³⁵

It may not be apparent to us today, but the advent of *The Lutheran Hymnal* brought about the greatest amount of liturgical uniformity that our Synod has ever known in its English-speaking days—perhaps ever! I say that having studied the entire history of our Synod’s hymnals. If there ever were any “good, old days” in terms of LCMS hymnals and worship practice, they were probably the 1950’s and 60’s. And the period just prior *TLH*—the 1920s and 30s—was probably

³³“Minutes,” 2, as reported in W.G. Polack, *The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal*, 3rd and Revised Edition (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), vii.

³⁴“Minutes of the Synodical Conference Hymn Book Committee,” January 12, 1938 (Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis), 114, as quoted in Brauer, “History,” 102.

³⁵*Proceedings of the Fortieth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 572, as noted in Brauer, “History,” 120.

the period of most disarray in our synod, at least according to a report by Theodore Graebner, who writes in 1932:

We have again made the observation during a trip to Massachusetts and have had it confirmed by a number of others that there are not very many churches in our Synod which have the same English order of service. The 1923 Pilgrim [a tongue-in-cheek reference to himself as a visitor Massachusetts, the home of the Pilgrims] was able to take part in the singing of hymns, but in most cases he was unable to find his way through the chanting of the liturgy. Familiar portions would be omitted, the order of others changed, while in some cases there were no responses by the congregation at all, not even “Amen.” . . . [This] writer, however, as one of those who wrote and compiled the English church book [Missouri’s English Agenda of 1917] . . . that it might have been better not to print the English order of service in book form at all, but to print each part on a separate card, so that pastors or church committees might with the utmost ease arrange them to suit their fancy.³⁶

If the heyday of *TLH* in the 1950s and 60s was the height of liturgical uniformity for Missouri, what has followed right down to the present has become quite another matter. But it didn’t start out that way.

Our Recent Past [1959-2002]

At the 1959 Convention, the Standing Committee on Hymnody and Liturgics left with a new name: The Commission on Worship, Liturgics, and Hymnody, *and* with a new challenge: to produce a successor to *TLH*. Only eighteen years after *TLH*, the need was already anticipated that it was time to begin work on the *next* hymnal. Talent was abundant, and optimism was high—at least on the surface.³⁷

If you’re familiar with the genesis and development of the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship (ILCW) of the 1960s and 70s—and most of us are because we lived through that period—then you probably know the story as it has been commonly told: that the 1965 LCMS convention invited the ALC and LCA to join with Missouri in producing a common hymnal for the three church bodies, the result being *Lutheran Book of Worship* published in 1978. Yet, how does this fit with the 1959 Convention mandate to begin a successor to *TLH*?

Professor Timothy C.J. Quill has been digging around at Concordia Historical Institute and discovered a number of letters from Commission on Worship members which indicate that already as early as 1961, members of the commission and representatives of the ALC and LCA were meeting together to discuss the possibilities of a joint venture. In a 1961 “Progress Report” to the Commission on Worship, Chairman Walter Buszin writes:

The number of those is growing rapidly who believe it to be highly desirable that but one set of official service books and one official hymnal be used by all Lutherans of America. Bearing in mind that advances

³⁶Theodore Graebner, “The Pilgrim Goes to Church,” *Lutheran Witness* 51 (August 30, 1932): 304, as quoted in Michael Hinrichs, “Liturgical Uniformity in Missouri,” *Logia: A Journal of Lutheran Theology* 5, no. 2 (1996): 17. See also Theodore Graebner, “Our Liturgical Chaos,” in *The Problem of Lutheran Union and Other Essays* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935).

³⁷As noted in Timothy C.J. Quill, *The Impact of the Liturgical Movement on American Lutheranism*, Drew Series in the Liturgy, no. 3 (Lanham, Md., & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997), 67.

would be made only with due caution, all present agreed that it would be inadvisable to hurry matters, and that for the time being, no official steps be taken.³⁸

Philip Pfatteicher, in his commentary on *LBW*, confirms these early discussions, as well as the game plan for making it happen:

Conversations between Henry Horn [of the LCA] and Walter Buszin, who chaired the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod commission, explored ways and means for establishing a common commission. The only way this could be accomplished was to have the Missouri Synod commission propose it *de novo* on the floor of the church convention. Then the invitation could be extended to the other two church bodies.³⁹

In other words, the only way to ensure that Missouri would come along with the plan was to have it appear as if the idea originated with Missouri in the first place! And that’s exactly what happened at the 1965 convention. Thus, the ILCW was formed in 1966 with representatives from all three Lutheran bodies, and the work began in earnest.

We do not have time today to examine many of the ins and outs of the ILCW. Much primary research still needs to be done on this relatively recent hymnal project. What is most significant for Missouri, however, is the stark contrast that this joint project presents when compared to the Synodical Conference hymnal of 1941. Whereas in 1941, *TLH* was produced by several Lutheran church bodies already in altar and pulpit fellowship with one another, the work that commenced toward the publication of *LBW* in 1978 was engaged with Lutheran church bodies *not* in altar and pulpit fellowship with one another. Likewise, if there were ever a time for Missouri to pick to do a hymnal, the late 1960s and early 70s couldn’t have been worse. The walkout from Concordia Seminary in 1974, and the schism and confusion that ensued throughout our Synod, created a climate of distrust and of polarized theological positions. None of that was present during the formation of *TLH* in the 1930’s.

Thus, at the 1977 Dallas convention, Resolution 3-04A, “To Deal with the Proposed *Lutheran Book of Worship*,” resolved that, “in light of the many theological questions [raised with regard to *LBW*], a ‘blue ribbon’ committee of seven be appointed” to conduct “a thorough review of the final ILCW draft of the *Lutheran Book of Worship* as it has been reviewed by the doctrinal review process,” and present “its report and recommendations to the next regular synodical convention.”⁴⁰

At the 1979 St. Louis Convention, the report received from the Blue Ribbon Committee recommended that the LCMS produce its own recension of *Lutheran Book of Worship*, to be titled,

³⁸“Progress Report of the Commission on Worship, Liturgics and Hymnology,” by Walther E. Buszin, CWLH chairman, June 3, 1961 (Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, 111.1k.13, Box 1), 2, as quoted in Quill, *The Impact*, 67.

³⁹Philip H. Pfatteicher, *Commentary on the Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1990), 4–5.

⁴⁰*Proceedings of the 52nd Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1977), 127-28.

Lutheran Worship. Furthermore, the convention then adopted *LW* “as an official hymnal of the LCMS”—without having ever seen it!⁴¹ A lengthy hymn list was included as part of the resolution.

This hasty adoption of “a pig in a poke” has had lasting repercussions in our Synod. As I began to review the minutes of the *LW* committees in its production between September 1979 and its printing in December 1982, I discovered that those committees had only about fifteen months to decide everything that would go into *LW* before it had to be sent to CPH. Fifteen months, mind you! Now granted, they relied heavily on the dozen years of ILCW work prior to their own. Nevertheless, the haste with which this hymnal was produced shows in many places.

The other lasting repercussion which *LW*’s hasty production has created in our synod is the rise during the 1980’s and 90’s of “contemporary worship” and the Church Growth Movement. Although there are certainly a variety of contributing factors behind the rise of these phenomena in our synod, it is my firm opinion that at least one part of the picture has been the difficulties pastors and musicians have encountered in actually using *LW*. It seems very likely to me that *LW*—with its difficult-to-follow liturgical options, its awkward hymn harmonizations and changes, its poorly executed attempt at providing a revision of *TLH*, page 15—created a climate of liturgical despair among our pastors and musicians, with a resultant search for something more workable and “user-friendly.” Again, there are a number of *other* reasons I can think of for the rise of the “contemporary worship” genre in our synod, but I have to believe that the difficulties in using *LW* have contributed in a significant way to the development of this phenomenon among us.

That brings us to the present scene of a synod with at least three hymnals—*TLH* (36%), *LW* (58%), and *LBW* (6%),⁴² and perhaps 6000 publishing houses! What with the advent of the personal computer and desktop publishing, copyright licenses, and now quality projection systems, each congregation has the potential, in effect, of becoming its own publishing house and video production studio.⁴³

And so it is that we live in an era of “worship wars.” Worship in the Missouri Synod today can vary wildly from congregation to congregation—even within a congregation—and many have gone to war over that fact. The heyday of 1950s *TLH* uniformity is no longer with us.

And yet, the fact that worship has become such a bone of contention within our synod has also caused us to look critically at how we worship—to ask why we worship the way we do. And so I would dare say that many pastors and laity alike are probably better informed today as to the ins

⁴¹*Proceedings of the 53rd Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979), 113.

⁴²Concordia Publishing House/LCMS Commission on Worship Survey, August 1999. This questionnaire was sent to 4,500 senior and sole pastors; 2,506 (55.7%) were returned. Geographically, the returns were extremely close to synodical averages. The survey asks which hymnals are physically available for the worshiper and how often they are used, with the following results for “use regularly”: *LW* 58.2%; *TLH* 36.2%; and *LBW* 6.9%. This totals more than 100% because apparently some congregations have more than one hymnal available for “use regularly.” Various supplements came out as: *HS98* 6.6%; *All God’s People Sing* 6.9%; *With One Voice* 2.3%; *The Other Song Book* 3.9%; Other/local supplements 9.5%; No hymnals or supplements available 6.9%.

⁴³See the thoughtful article by Larry A. Peters, “Why a New Hymnal Now?: ‘And Everyone Did What Was Right in His Own Eyes,’” in *Through the Church the Song Goes On: Preparing a Lutheran Hymnal for the 21st Century*, Paul J. Grime, D. Richard Stuckwisch, and Jon D. Vieker, eds. (St. Louis: Commission on Worship of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, 1999), 86–107.

and out of liturgical worship than pastors and laity were during the heyday of the 1950s. We have *had* to become better informed in order to be able to articulate and defend why it is that we do what we do, what it means theologically, and how it compares to the theology behind the many non-Lutheran worship forms that have found their way into the congregations of our synod.

And now there is a new hymnal on the horizon—yet another chapter in the story we just heard, about to be unfolded. By the grace of God, our synod’s newest hymnal will be born in just four years from now, into a synod that will have worshiped and sung from hymnals for its entire existence—nearly 160 years by that time—and to a confession that invented hymnals nearly half a millennia ago, and hasn’t stopped since. At such a time we are therefore bold to pray the hymn of that Reformation father, Nikolaus Selnecker—a hymn and a prayer that the unsettled times in which we live today bid us to pray just as urgently as did the tumultuous times of our fathers before us.

Let us pray:

Lord Jesus Christ, will You not stay?
It is now toward the end of day.
Oh, let Your Word, that saving light,
Shine forth undimmed into the night.

Rekindle for this end-time stress
Faith’s ancient strength and steadfastness
That we keep pure till life is spent
Your holy Word and Sacrament.

To hope grown dim, to hearts turned cold
Speak tongues of fire and make us bold
To shine Your Word of saving grace
Into each dark and loveless place.

May glorious truths that we have heard,
The bright lance of Your mighty Word,
Spurn Satan that Your Church be strong,
Bold, unified in act and song.

Restrain, O Lord, the human pride
That seeks to thrust Your truth aside
Or with some man-made thoughts or things
Would dim the words Your Spirit sings.

The cause is Yours, the glory too.
Then hear us, Lord, and keep us true,
Your Word alone our heart’s defense,
The Church’s glorious confidence. (*LW* 344)

TABLE I

**Comparison of the 1791 and 1798 Editions
of the Dresden Hymnal**

1791	1798
<p>I. The Incarnation of Jesus Christ: Advent [Nos. 1-23] II. The Nativity of Jesus Christ [Nos. 24-51] III. The New Year: the Name of Jesus [Nos. 52-67] IV. The Epiphany of Jesus Christ [Nos. 68-71] V. The Purification of Mary [Nos. 72-76] VI. The Annunciation [Nos. 77-82] VII. The Suffering and Death of Jesus Christ [Nos. 83-145] VIII. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ [Nos. 146-171] IX. The Ascension of Jesus Christ [Nos. 172-179] X. The Festival of Pentecost [Nos. 180-197] XI. The Festival of the Holy Trinity [Nos. 198-207] XII. John the Baptist [Nos. 208-209] XIII. The Visitation of Mary [Nos. 210-211] XIV. The Festival of St. Michael [Nos. 212-217] XV. Catechism Hymns [Ten Commandments] [Nos. 218-221] XVI. The Creed [No. 222] XVII. The Lord's Prayer [Nos. 223-225] XVIII. Holy Baptism [Nos. 226-228] XIX. Repentance and Confession [Nos. 229-262] XX. The Justification of the Sinner before God [Nos. 263-266] XXI. Holy Absolution [Nos. 267-268] XXII. The Lord's Supper and Jesus Hymns [Nos. 269-310] XXIII. Praise and Thanks [Nos. 311-334] XXIV. Morning [Nos. 335-361] XXV. Evening [Nos. 362-386] XXVI. Table Hymns [Nos. 387-395] XXVII. The Christian Church: God's Word and Religion [Nos. 396-426] XXVIII. Sundays and Festival Days [Nos. 427-435] XXIX. The Christian Life and Conduct [Nos. 436-493] XXX. Lamentations and Hymns of Comfort [Nos. 494-521] 1. General Need [Nos. 494-509] 2. Plague [Nos. 510-512] 3. Scarcity and Famine [Nos. 513-515] 4. Thunder [Nos. 516-518] 5. Flood [Nos. 519-520] 6. Summertime [No. 521] XXXI. The Cross and Terrors of Conscience [Nos. 522-591] XXXII. Particular Hymns of Comfort [Nos. 592-616] XXXIII. Worldly Vanity and Human Hardship [Nos. 617-623] XXXIV. Sickness, Death and Dying [Nos. 624-736] XXXV. The Resurrection of the Dead [Nos. 737-742] XXXVI. Eternity and Hell [Nos. 743-744] XXXVII. Hymns in Latin [Nos. 745-757] XXXVIII. Proper Prefaces [Nos. 758-764] Appendix of Spiritual Songs [Nos. 765-804]</p>	<p>Part I: Christian Doctrine I. God: His Presence, Substance and Qualities [Nos. 1-39] II. God: Father, Son and Holy Spirit [Nos. 40-53] III. Works and Blessings of God in General 1. Creation [Nos. 54-77] 2. Providence, Preservation and Rule [Nos. 78-94] IV. Works and Blessings of Jesus Christ 1. The Way of God concerning the Redemption of the Fallen Human Race through Jesus Christ [Nos. 95-100] 2. The Person of Jesus Christ [Nos. 101-105] 3. The Advent of Jesus in the World [Nos. 106-118] 4. The Birth of Jesus Christ [Nos. 119-140] 5. The Life and Example of Jesus [Nos. 141-151] 6. The Teaching of Jesus [Nos. 152-163] 7. Holy Baptism [Nos. 164-166] 8. Lord's Supper [Nos. 167-192] 9. The Suffering and Death of Jesus: Passion [Nos. 193-234] 10. The Resurrection of Jesus: Easter [Nos. 235-260] 11. The Ascension of Jesus [Nos. 261-267] 12. The Sending of the Holy Spirit: Pentecost [Nos. 268-280] 13. The Life of Jesus in Heaven: His Lordship over all and in particular over his people on earth [Nos. 281-304] 14. The Return of Jesus [Nos. 305-311] 15. Blessedness through Jesus in General [Nos. 312-320] 16. Blessedness through Jesus in This Life [Nos. 321-334] 17. Blessedness through Jesus in Death [Nos. 335-340] 18. Blessedness through Jesus in the Resurrection [Nos. 341-344] 19. Blessedness through Jesus in the Next Life [Nos. 345-354]</p> <p>Part II: Christian Ethics I. Repentance and Improvement [Nos. 355-432] II. Conduct toward God in General and toward Jesus in Particular [Nos. 433-536] III. Conduct toward Ourselves [Nos. 537-589] IV. Conduct toward Others [Nos. 590-619] V. Conduct in Community Life [Nos. 620-642] VI. Conduct in Particular Circumstances [Nos. 643-768] VII. Conduct at Particular Seasons [Nos. 769-878]</p>

TABLE II
Comparison of the 1791 Dresden Hymnal
and Walther's Hymnal of 1847

1791

- I. The Incarnation of Jesus Christ: Advent [Nos. 1-23]
- II. The Nativity of Jesus Christ [Nos. 24-51]
- III. The New Year: the Name of Jesus [Nos. 52-67]
- IV. The Epiphany of Jesus Christ [Nos. 68-71]
- V. The Purification of Mary [Nos. 72-76]
- VI. The Annunciation [Nos. 77-82]
- VII. The Suffering and Death of Jesus Christ [Nos. 83-145]
- VIII. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ [Nos. 146-171]
- IX. The Ascension of Jesus Christ [Nos. 172-179]
- X. The Festival of Pentecost [Nos. 180-197]
- XI. The Festival of the Holy Trinity [Nos. 198-207]
- XII. John the Baptist [Nos. 208-209]
- XIII. The Visitation of Mary [Nos. 210-211]
- XIV. The Festival of St. Michael [Nos. 212-217]
- XV. Catechism Hymns [Ten Commandments] [Nos. 218-221]
- XVI. The Creed [No. 222]
- XVII. The Lord's Prayer [Nos. 223-225]
- XVIII. Holy Baptism [Nos. 226-228]
- XIX. Repentance and Confession [Nos. 229-262]
- XX. The Justification of the Sinner before God [Nos. 263-266]
- XXI. Holy Absolution [Nos. 267-268]
- XXII. The Lord's Supper and Jesus Hymns [Nos. 269-310]
- XXIII. Praise and Thanks [Nos. 311-334]
- XXIV. Morning [Nos. 335-361]
- XXV. Evening [Nos. 362-386]
- XXVI. Table Hymns [Nos. 387-395]
- XXVII. The Christian Church: God's Word and Religion [Nos. 396-426]
- XXVIII. Sundays and Festival Days [Nos. 427-435]
- XXIX. The Christian Life and Conduct [Nos. 436-493]
- XXX. Lamentations and Hymns of Comfort [Nos. 494-521]
 - 1. General Need [Nos. 494-509]
 - 2. Plague [Nos. 510-512]
 - 3. Scarcity and Famine [Nos. 513-515]
 - 4. Thunder [Nos. 516-518]
 - 5. Flood [Nos. 519-520]
 - 6. Summertime [No. 521]
- XXXI. The Cross and Terrors of Conscience [Nos. 522-591]
- XXXII. Particular Hymns of Comfort [Nos. 592-616]
- XXXIII. Worldly Vanity and Human Hardship [Nos. 617-623]
- XXXIV. Sickness, Death and Dying [Nos. 624-736]
- XXXV. The Resurrection of the Dead [Nos. 737-742]
- XXXVI. Eternity and Hell [Nos. 743-744]
- XXXVII. Hymns in Latin [Nos. 745-757]
- XXXVIII. Proper Prefaces [Nos. 758-764]
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SUN. SCHOOL

Sunday-School Hymnal (1901)

The Children's Hymnal (1955)

All God's People Sing (1992)

Joyful Sounds (1977)

ENGLISH

1892 edition
("Pittsburgh Hymnal")

Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book (1889)
("Baltimore Hymnal")

Evangelical Lutheran Hymn-Book (1912)

The Lutheran Hymnal (1941)

Lutheran Worship (1982)

??? (2006)

Worship Supplement (1969)

Hymnal Supplement 98 (1998)

GERMAN

Kirchengesangbuch (1847)
(Walther's Hymnal)

1857 edition
added 6 hymns

1917 edition
added 41 hymns

Dresden Gesangbuch (1798)
(Saxon Enlightenment) → 1837 edition

Dresden Gesangbuch (1791)
(Old Saxon Tradition)

1800

1850

1900

1950

2000