Volume 71 • No. 2 • Spring 2020

THE HYMN

A Journal of Congregational Song

2020

The Hymn Society Annual Conference

2020


Kim **Harris**


Alisha Lola **Jones**


Diana **Sanchez-Bushong**


Saya **Ojiri**


Miriam Therese **Winter**


Tom **Trenney**


Donald **Schell**

Why We Sing:
The Song,
The Singer,
The Singing

4 Hymn Festivals,
free and public
3 plenary addresses
Over 40 breakout sessions

July 12—16 2020
Emory University
Atlanta
Georgia

Volume 71 • No. 2 • Spring 2020

THE HYMN

A Journal of Congregational Song

Cover: Singing a choral arrangement of a Cuban "Aleluya" by Perla Moré, as an introduction to the plenary session with Amós Lopez, Annual Conference, July 17, 2018, St. Louis. Photo credit: Glen Richardson

Editor's Notes

I write this just after I received word that my school is moving all face-to-face classes online through Easter because of the coronavirus. Many of you have seen or posted notes on social media to wash your hands to any one of a number of hymns and spiritual songs. Others are pointing out the uncertainties that are suddenly a part of the everyday lives of those of us who are privileged enough to know where we will sleep whether we are sick or not, to know that chicken soup and other foods are readily available to us, and who can buy what we need in case of two weeks of quarantine, compared to those who currently either don't know where they will sleep or who sleep in cages, who are food-insecure, or who are afraid to take sick leave because they will lose their job (or one of their multiple jobs). The Hymn Society has published songs to remind us of God's immense compassion and to call us to love and care for each other, all the time, everywhere. We believe that singing songs old and new can bring hope and change lives. In these days, may you each continue to live out your best beliefs, be borne up by the songs we have been given, and share them wherever you can.

On the more usual topic of this column: this issue contains a wonderful variety of reminders of congregational song in past days—Mennonite singing in colonial America, a gospel composer from the early 1900s in the Midwest, and a British composer's use of use of hymns in a 1921 cantata based on the passion story in the gospel of Mark. The Hymn Interpretation column takes us back to the early days of psalm singing, while the Hymn Performance column names some of the reasons why spirituals are so powerful. Hymns in Periodical Literature discusses a 1562 psalter, 1700 and 1701 hymnals of Andreas Rudman, and hymnwriters from World War I. Plus one of the 2019 Emerging Scholars has written about the formational power of congregational song from the perspective of speech act theory.

The News column is particularly fulsome in this issue, beginning with nominations for offices on The Hymn Society Executive Committee. You may be surprised to see the biographies of those who will be named at this summer's Annual Conference as Fellows—we hope it adds to your desire to attend the conference to greet and congratulate these remarkable women. Do look at news of the opportunities around our Annual Conference and the hymn search going on.

Colin Gibson has graciously shared with us his speech from Shirley Erena Murray's funeral this winter; he has included many of her texts that may sing through your mind as you read that piece. One of my favorites is this refrain from "Our life has its seasons":

> There's never a time to stop believing,
> there's never a time for hope to die,
> there's never a time to stop loving,
> these three things go on.

Robin Knowles Wallace
editor@thehymnsociety.org

 The Hymn (ISSN 0018-8271) is published in Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn by The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada, Inc., 5 Thomas Circle, NW, 4th Floor, Washington, DC 20005-4153. Call toll-free at (800) *The Hymn*. Periodical postage paid at Independence, MO, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Hymn*, 5 Thomas Circle, NW, 4th Floor, Washington, DC 20005-4153.

MEMBERSHIP/SUBSCRIPTION
Regular membership (individual), $87 per year; Reduced (Student, Active Military, Retired), $47 per year; Institutional subscription, $102 per year; Life membership, $1500. Single copies of past issues of *The Hymn*, $8 per copy for members of The Hymn Society; $10 for non-members.

EDITORIAL POLICY
The Hymn is a peer-reviewed journal of congregational song for church musicians, clergy, scholars, poets, and others with varied backgrounds and interests. A journal of research and opinion, containing practical and scholarly articles, *The Hymn* reflects diverse cultural and theological identities, and also provides exemplary hymn texts and tunes in various styles. Opinions expressed in *The Hymn* are not necessarily those of the Editor or of The Hymn Society.

CORRESPONDENCE
Correspondence, according to its nature, should be directed to either the Executive Director at The Hymn Society's offices or directly to the Editor.

J. Michael McMahon, Executive Director (mike@thehymnsociety.org):
Permission to reproduce materials
Membership
Literature of The Hymn Society
Back issues of *The Hymn*
Change of address
Materials for "The Stanza"

Robin Knowles Wallace, Editor, *The Hymn* (editor@thehymnsociety.org):
Content of *The Hymn*
Submission of articles
Style sheets for writers

Articles, columns, and book reviews in *The Hymn* are available in their entirety through *ProQuest Religion* and *International Index to Music Periodicals*. Articles, columns, and book reviews are indexed in the *Religion Database* published by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA). Articles and columns are indexed and abstracted in *Religious and Theological Abstracts* and *RILM (Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale)*. Articles and columns are indexed in *Christian Periodical Index* and *Music Index*. Full text content is available electronically through *RILM Abstracts of Music Literature with Full Text*. Back issues up through 2013 may be found at *Hathi Trust Digital Library*.

From the Executive Director

Dear Members and Friends,

Recently I've experienced a great deal of enthusiasm for The Hymn Society, its community of colleagues and friends, and its mission of encouraging, promoting, and enlivening congregational song.

In January, for example, I attended a worship conference that afforded me the opportunity for personal conversations. It was exhilarating to speak with conference participants about The Hymn Society and The Center for Congregational Song. Many people had already heard of us and some were even aware of specific aspects of our work. Others were surprised but pleased to learn that there is an ecumenical organization that seeks to encourage, promote, and enliven congregational song. I even met two students who are planning to apply for Lovelace scholarships and were excited about the opportunity to experience our Annual Conference in Atlanta.

Some of my conversations during that conference were with members. As usual, I was struck by the way in which our members speak about The Hymn Society—with passion for our work, with affection and respect for other members, and with zeal for inviting and drawing others to join us. They clearly love being part of a community where others share their belief in the power of congregational song.

I once again encountered the enthusiasm of our members when I returned from the conference and received a report of financial support for The Hymn Society in 2019. During the past year we received more than $112,000 in donations from individuals and an additional $25,000 through a foundation grant. Contributions to the Annual Fund totaled nearly $64,000, while conference sponsorships exceeded $35,000. In addition, the Lovelace Scholarship program received nearly $3,600 to support the presence and participation of students in our Annual Conference. These gifts represent concrete and generous expressions of enthusiasm for The Hymn Society.

Yet another example of members' enthusiasm can be seen in the results of a membership campaign entitled The Power of One that we conducted in the last four months of 2019. We invited members to sponsor or invite just one person to be a new member of The Hymn Society. We more than exceeded our modest goal of 50 new members by enrolling 67 persons during the campaign.

Our members show their enthusiasm for congregational song in the works they create or lead, through scholarship and learning, and by the remarkable work that they do in churches, schools, and other communities. I for one am grateful to be part of this group of committed and generous people who carry out the mission of The Hymn Society in their own settings and support one another through their enthusiasm for this exceptional community.

Sing a new song!

J. Michael McMahon
Executive Director

From the President

"We believe that the holy act of singing together . . . transforms lives."

In these latter days, I have been thinking about church musicians and pastors who choose hymns for congregations to sing during days of despair for some and triumph for others. People come to pray and seek strength "for the facing of this hour" (or days and weeks) when verbal exhaustion, exasperation, and frustration seem to rule. They want reassurance that the real news for Christians is the Good News of the Gospel. No matter which side of the political divide members of a congregation choose, their needs are similar. They come to church asking to be reminded of the goodness of God, not as a panacea or haven from the human world, but as a friend who walks the road with them, knows their weaknesses, and loves them anyway. They also want to be challenged to think about their life choices as they participate. The selection of hymns is critical and challenging these days, and one component of this work is the commitment of those doing the choosing.

To be sensitive to the needs of the congregation, to the lections, and to the shape of the liturgy, one needs not only training in scripture, exegesis, interpreting life events through the gospel, and the flow of liturgy, but also a spiritual discipline—a growing faith. Congregations expect their pastors to have a daily practice of reading, meditation, and/or prayer. Do they have a similar expectation of musicians? The seeds of a spiritual life may bear fruit as the musician plays the organ or piano, conducts the choir, and leads the congregation in singing. And if the spiritual life is growing it will become more and more evident in the work of the musician.

The translation of music to Word is probably something you have noticed from time to time, but didn't know how to articulate what you just learned. The ability to move sacred music beyond technical proficiency and artistic rendition is often the manifestation of an inner spiritual life. In fact, this ability isn't always dependent on exceptional musical skill. When the music transforms a congregation that is singing, one knows the Spirit is present. The key is that the Spirit is known. The Spirit is always present, but sometimes, in the midst of tribulation, not acknowledged. The musician can be a mediating force for transformation through the singing of hymns.

What is surprising is that committees formulating musician search processes often do not ask a candidate to lead the committee in singing a hymn. Why not ask the candidate to pick a hymn for Maundy Thursday, one for a baptism, and one for a funeral and sing them together. This would exhibit not only how well a candidate has been trained in the academic sense, but would also open the interview to a possible conversation about the hymns, and how they speak to the musician. Musicians are often asked, "What's your favorite hymn?" as if the answer indicates something relevant about the musician. How much more could be learned if a candidate were asked "What is it about the text 'All my hope on God is founded' set to the tune MICHAEL that led you to choose it for . . ." A following question could be "What significance does that text hold for you personally?"

Of course being able to play a hymn well and teach the choir are important skills that are relevant queries, but if a congregation seeks the transformation of lives in the singing of hymns, a musician must be able to envision that as well. Maintaining a spiritual discipline is essential and can be challenging to sustain alone. If you are a musician and have not established a time of reading, praying, and/or meditating, do so and test yourself about your best chance at maintaining it whether alone, with a colleague, or in a colleague group. You'll value the time and so will your congregation.

Marilyn Haskel
President

News

Nominations

For President-Elect

Hilary Seraph Donaldson is a church musician, researcher, and teacher specializing in enlivening the voice of the singing community. She holds a Master of Sacred Music degree from Perkins School of Theology, and is a doctoral candidate in Musicology at the University of Toronto, Canada, where her research is focused on English musical modernism and the sacred music of Benjamin Britten. Hilary is Worship Music & Arts Director for East End United Regional Ministry in Toronto. She is a presenter with Music that Makes Community, and shares her own resources on congregational song at www.breakintosong.ca.

Hilary has been an active member of The Hymn Society since attending as a Lovelace Scholar in Northfield, Minnesota, in 2009. In 2010 she presented her paper "Toward a Musical Praxis of Justice: A Survey of Global and Indigenous Canadian Song in the Hymnals of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada through their History" in the Emerging Scholars Forum. In 2013 she co-led, with Tony Alonso, the closing hymn festival in Richmond, Virginia. She has served the Society as an Editorial Board member for *Singing Welcome: Hymns and Songs of Hospitality to Refugees and Immigrants*, and as chair of the Program Committee for the 2017 conference in Waterloo, Ontario.

Hilary is motivated by the idea that singing together can have a transformative effect in communities; it deepens prayer, shapes faith, and helps us find our place within the Body of Christ. Her emerging work as a community song enlivener has been shaped and inspired by the mission of The Hymn Society. Hilary is married to David Kopulos, and is mother to one-year-old Hazel.

For Treasurer

The Rev. Martin A. Seltz is vice president and publisher for congregational resources at 1517 Media, the publishing ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. There his publishing and editorial responsibilities have included the Evangelical Lutheran Worship family—the principal worship resources of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada—as well as earlier worship books including *With One Voice, This Far by Faith,* and *Libro de Liturgia y Cántico*. In the course of this work, he has prepared more than thirty hymn texts and translations, and he has brought to publication assembly song collections by Herbert Brokering, Susan Palo Cherwien, Rusty Edwards, Ray Makeever, Thomas Pavlechko, and Jeremy Young.

Martin served for six years on the executive committee of the North American Academy of Liturgy as treasurer and participates in NAAL's liturgical language seminar. He has also served on the advisory council of the Institute of Liturgical Studies at Valparaiso University and as a member of the Consultation on Common Texts, and he has been a Hymn Society member for 35 years. He received the Berakah Award from the North American Academy of Liturgy in 2019, the Distinguished Alumni Award from the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago in 2015, and the Living Loehe Award from Wartburg Theological Seminary in 2008.

A minister of word and sacrament in the ELCA, Martin served a congregation in Livonia, Michigan, and is currently one of the cantors at Christ Church Lutheran, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

For Director of Research

Stephanie A. Budwey is the Luce Dean's Faculty Fellow Assistant Professor of the History and Practice of Christian Worship and the Arts and Director of the Religion in the Arts and Contemporary Culture Program at Vanderbilt Divinity School. Her teaching and research focus on the relationships between social justice issues, liturgy, and the arts. Before coming to Vanderbilt, she worked on a post-doc project at the Kirchliche Hochschule Wuppertal/Bethel in Germany entitled "Letting the Entire Body of Christ Speak: Practical Theological Reflections on Intersex Christian Narratives." This research is the foundation for her current book project, tentatively entitled *Religion and Intersex: Perspectives from Science, Law, Culture, and Theology* which will be published as part of the *Routledge New Critical Thinking in Religion, Theology and Biblical Studies* series.

Originally from Boston, Massachusetts, Stephanie completed her ThD at the Boston University School of Theology in 2012 in liturgical studies and church music. Her dissertation on Marian congregational song was published in 2014 by Liturgical Press as *Sing of Mary: Giving Voice to Marian Theology and Devotion*. Stephanie has presented lectures and papers throughout North America and Europe, and she has articles and book chapters published on such

topics as intersex and theology, Marian hymnody, and queer hymnody.

An active member of The Hymn Society, she was a Lovelace Scholar in 2010 and won the Emerging Scholar Forum in 2011 for her work on Marian congregational song. In addition to her articles on queer and Marian hymnody in *The Hymn*, she was the author of the Hymns in Periodical Literature column for *The Hymn* from 2013 to 2015. Stephanie recently served as a member of the working group for The Hymn Society's collection *Songs for the Holy Other: Hymns Affirming the LGBTQIA2S+ Community*. She currently serves as Organist/Parish Musician at St. David's Episcopal Church in Nashville.

For Member-at-Large

Adam Perez, a native of Miami, Florida, is a ThD candidate at Duke Divinity School in liturgical studies. His primary research focuses on the recent history and theology of contemporary worship and praise and worship. His secondary research includes theology and the arts and the intersection of worship and culture. Adam's recent work includes serving on the teaching staff at Calvin Theological Seminary, Western Theological Seminary, and Duke Divinity School, as well as worship and music leadership at Duke Divinity as interim worship director of Goodson Chapel and worship director for the Center for Reconciliation.

Adam holds degrees from Trinity Christian College (BA, music education), and Yale Divinity School and the Yale Institute of Sacred Music (MA, religion and the arts). As a multi-instrumentalist (guitar, euphonium, percussion, voice), he is a regular contributor to the church music scene in the Durham, North Carolina area. Adam also serves the Christian Reformed Church in North America as an endorsed worship coach.

Adam was a Lovelace Scholar in 2018 and was awarded the Emerging Scholar's Forum Prize that year. His prize-winning essay, "Beyond the Guitar: The Keyboard as a Lens into the History of Contemporary Praise and Worship" was published in *The Hymn* 69, no. 1 (Spring 2019). Adam is a regular contributor to the Center for Congregational Song blog and is a contributing author to two forthcoming collections: *Essays in the History of Contemporary Praise and Worship* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2020) and *Flow: An Ancient Way to Do Contemporary Worship* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2020). You can follow Adam's work on Twitter: **@adam_adrian_perez**.

Fellows of The Hymn Society

Mary Louise Bringle To Be Honored as Fellow by The Hymn Society

Mary Louise (Mel) Bringle will be honored by The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada (THS) at its Annual Conference in Atlanta, Georgia, in July 2020. This award, the highest honor given by the organization, is being conferred because of her work as a hymnwriter, translator, educator, scholar, hymnal committee chair, and for her service to The Hymn Society.

Bringle was born in Ripley, Tennessee. Her family was active in the Presbyterian Church U.S. where her mother taught Sunday School and her father was a deacon and a ruling elder. Mel participated in children's and youth choirs before leaving home for college. Her A.B. in French and in Religion was obtained from Guildford College, Greensboro, North Carolina. Subsequently she was an auditing student in Christianity and Culture at the Institut de Sciences et de Théologie des Religions, Institut Catholique de Paris. Her PhD in Theological Studies was awarded by the Division of Religion at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, with an emphasis in pastoral and practical theology.

Bringle is first and foremost a teacher. Currently a Professor of Religious Studies at Brevard College, Brevard, North Carolina, she has been chair of the Humanities Division, and is the Coordinator of the Integrated Studies Major. Before she arrived at Brevard College in 2000, she taught at St. Andrews Presbyterian College, Laurinburg, North Carolina, and was a consultant on eating disorder issues with the Office of Health Ministries, Presbyterian Church USA.

In addition to her teaching at Brevard, Bringle has delivered the Erik Routley Lectures at three Presbyterian Association of Musicians Worship and Music Conferences at Montreat, North Carolina, and once for the conference at Mo-Ranch, Texas. She will again be the Routley Lecturer for the 2020 Worship and Music Conference at Montreat. Bringle has also been invited to deliver guest lectures for the Institute of Liturgical Studies at Valparaiso University, The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada, Samford University, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Furman University, Bangor Theological Seminary, Calvin Institute of Christian Worship, St. Olaf College, Columbia Theological Seminary, and Princeton Theological Seminary, among others.

Bringle began hymnwriting in 1998 and won three international hymn competitions in 1999. She was presented as an Emerging Text Writer at the 2002 conference of THS in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Two collections of her texts have been published by GIA: *Joy and Wonder*,

Love and Longing in 2002, and *In Wind and Wonder* in 2007. She is currently translating Spanish-language texts into English for GIA. Bringle says translations are "a particular passion of mine" and has declared Catherine Winkworth, "another impassioned translator," as "my hymnological hero." Mel served as President-Elect, President, and Immediate Past President of THS from 2006–2012.

As Chair of the Presbyterian Committee on Congregational Song, Bringle steered the process of selecting content for the 2013 hymnal *Glory to God* (Westminster John Knox Press [WJK]). That work led to the publication of *Introducing Glory to God* (Geneva Press, 2014), as well as articles and study series on hymnody for *The Presbyterian Leader*, *Presbyterians Today*, and *Horizons: The Magazine for Presbyterian Women*.

In the area of pastoral theology, Bringle has published books exploring three of the seven cardinal (or deadly) sins: *Despair: Sickness or Sin?* (Abingdon, 1990), *The God of Thinness: Gluttony and Other Weighty Matters* (Abingdon, 1992), and *Envy: Exposing a Secret Sin* (WJK, 2016). She is also a contributor to *Feasting on the Word* (WJK, 2008), a twelve-volume series of pastoral and theological reflections on the three-year Revised Common Lectionary, and her articles frequently appear in such journals as *The Christian Century*, *Christian Reflection*, *Word and World: Theology for Christian Ministry*, and *The Journal of Pastoral Care*.

A recipient of a Fribourg Foundation Grant and a Danforth Fellowship in her student days, Bringle has also been honored with awards for her teaching. Chosen as the Faculty Member of the Year at Brevard College in 2004, she twice received the Brevard College Humanities Faculty Member of the Year (2006, 2007), and in 2012 was awarded the Johnie H. Jones Sabbatical Award for Teaching Excellence. Her other awards include the "Unsung Heroine" Award from the Emory University Women's Center, and the Sam Ragan Award for Contributions to the Arts in North Carolina.

Speaking of his friend and colleague, David Eicher said "Mel Bringle brings a passionate joy to everything she does. From her skills at PowerPoint to her love of hymnody and its history, Mel is able to teach and enrich the lives of so many. I count my work with her on *Glory to God* as among my most treasured experiences."

Submitted by David Eicher, Staff Assistant and Accompanist for the Department of Music, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, and Editor for *Glory to God: The Presbyterian Hymnal* (2013).

Nancy Rosenberger Faus-Mullen To Be Honored as Fellow by The Hymn Society

Nancy Rosenberger Faus-Mullen will be honored by The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada at its Annual Conference in Atlanta, Georgia, in July 2020. This award, the highest honor given by the organization, is being conferred because of her work as a hymnal editor, an educator, and a researcher in the area of Brethren hymnody; for continuously promoting the voice of the congregation through song, and for her service to The Hymn Society.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Faus-Mullen studied at the University of Pennsylvania (BA), Columbia University (MA), and Chicago Theological Seminary (DMin). She is Brightbill Professor Emeritus of Ministry Studies at Bethany Theological Seminary (BTS) in Richmond, Indiana. She began her tenure at the seminary in 1976 as campus pastor, the first woman to serve on the faculty in several decades. After 1977 Faus-Mullen became Instructor in Church Music; in the 1980s, she revitalized the seminary's music program. As Seminary Choir Director, she led a thirty-voice choir which sang regularly at chapel services and toured over spring break. Faus-Mullen is an ordained minister in the Church of the Brethren, and was the first ordained woman to serve on the BTS faculty. Prior to her seminary position, she served as Minister of Music in Kansas and Pennsylvania, taught at Juniata College as an English instructor, and was a music teacher at the elementary, junior, and senior high school levels. A life member of The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada, Faus-Mullen served on its Executive Committee as Member-at-Large (1988-1992) and President (2000-2002), presented several times at Hymn Society conferences, and is a past contributor to *The Hymn*. Faus-Mullen joined THS when she was a seminary student in the late 1950s when one of her professors, Dr. Alvin Brightbill, an active Society member, told her that THS was a "mostly male organization and they needed some women in it!"[1]

Faus-Mullen's published work is centered around worship and congregational song. She chaired the committee that produced *We Gather Together* (1979), a worship resource book for the Church of the Brethren. She has written and edited several articles for *Brethren Life and Thought* on Brethren worship, spirituality, and hymnody. In 1986 she compiled and edited *Singing for Peace*, a book of hymns and folk songs for peace. From 1986 to 1992 Faus-Mullen chaired the Hymnal Project that produced *Hymnal: A Worship Book* (Church of Brethren, General Conference Mennonite Church, and Mennonite Church in North America); she also chaired the committee that prepared its Church of the Brethren supplement, *Hymnal Supplement* (2001–2005). Faus-Mullen is a gifted preacher and is well known as an effective leader of workshops on music and worship.

1. Nancy Rosenberger Faus-Mullen, e-mail message to author, February 9, 2020.

Throughout her career, Faus-Mullen embodied the core Church of the Brethren values of peace and justice. She was passionate about the rights of women, particularly women in ministry, and was an early advocate for inclusive language in Bethany's worship services. The collection *Singing for Peace* was a natural outgrowth of her own commitment to peacemaking. She concludes her foreword to the collection with these words: "God's peace and peace among nations come not simply from the absence of war but as we live and work and walk together in love and compassion. As we yearn for peace, pray for peace, and work for peace, may we do so Singing for Peace!"[2]

For Faus-Mullen, the importance of congregational singing in worship cannot be overstated. Eileen M. Johnson notes, "From Nancy, I learned the importance of promoting and enabling the *congregation's* voice in worship. During the years I went on tour with her as part of the Bethany Seminary choir, she was always intentional in having the congregation participate in at least one of our pieces. Now, each time I invite my congregation to sing together with the choir, I remember Nancy with great appreciation and thanks."

Submitted by Eileen M. Johnson, Music Director at El Sobrante United Methodist Church, El Sobrante, California, who is currently pursuing ordination as a vocational deacon in The United Methodist Church.

Gracia Marie Grindal To Be Honored as Fellow by The Hymn Society

Gracia Marie Grindal will be honored by The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada at its Annual Conference in Atlanta, Georgia, in July 2020. This award, the highest honor given by the organization, is being conferred because in recognition of her gifts as hymnwriter, translator, teacher, and writer.

Born into a Norwegian American Lutheran family in Powers Lake, North Dakota, Grindal attended school in Oregon and studied at Augsburg College, Minneapolis (BA 1965), with summer jobs as an editorial assistant for Augsburg Fortress Press. At the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville she completed a Master of Fine Arts in poetry (1969); followed by an MA in theology and history at Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary, St. Paul (1983).

Her teaching career started at Luther College in Decorah, Iowa, where she was professor of English, creative writing, and poet-in-residence (1968–84). Professor and students published their hymns in *Singing the Story* (1983). The texts reflected her primary focus on writing hymns from the Bible.

She subsequently taught pastoral theology, ministry, and communication, and in 1992 was appointed professor of rhetoric, at Luther Seminary (St. Paul, Minnesota, 1984–2013). She initiated a series of Reformation hymn festivals and "Singing the Faith," services for Reformation Day based on Luther's Catechism. She served on the hymn-text committee of the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship for the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978), on the language/theology sub-committee for the *United Methodist Hymnal* (1989), on the ecumenical committee of the American Lutheran Church and of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and on the Task Force for the Study of Ministry in the ELCA. Her hymns are included in hymnals in the United States, Canada, and around the world. She edited *Wellwoman*, a newsletter for the Lutheran Women's Caucus, and *The Rose* magazine. She served on the Editorial Advisory Board for *The Hymn* (1987–1989), as well as writing the "Hymn Interpretation" column and other articles for this journal.

Her publications include poetry, *Pulpit Rock* (1976) and *Sketches Against the Dark* (1982), *A Revelry of Harvest: New and Selected Poems* (2002), *The Sword of Eden: Eve and Mary Speak* (2018); song translations, *Scandinavian Folksongs* (1986); practical theology, *Speaking of God* (1986); a biography, with co-author John Jansen, of *Lina Sandell: The Story of Her Hymns* (2001); and *Preaching from Home: The Stories of Seven Lutheran Women Hymn Writers* (2011). Her hymnic publications include *Lessons in Hymnwriting*; *We are One in Christ*; *Hymns, Paraphrases, and Translations* (1996); *Hymns of Grace* (2002); a series of hymns on the Revised Common Lectionary published by Wayne Leupold Editions: *A Treasury of Faith: A B C Hymns on the Revised Common Lectionary* (Gospel texts, 2006, 2008, 2009), *Old Testament Series A B C* (2012), *Epistle Series* (2015); *Hymns and Spiritual Songs from the North: Nordic Christians Sing their Faith* (2012); and *ReClaim: Lutheran Hymnal for Church and Home* (2013).

Her "advice to authors, contained in an article in *Church Music 79* entitled 'On Writing Hymns at the End of the Twentieth Century' was used by the Text Committee of the SCCM (Standing Commission on Church Music), *The Hymnal 1982*, as a source of guidelines for poets writing for H82."[3]

Grindal concluded her Hymn Society monograph on *Lessons in Hymnwriting*: "Happy writing, and God's blessings on all of your efforts in the future! Maybe this could be an age of great renaissance of hymns as people

2. Carol Stream, IL: Hope Pub., 1986, inside cover.

3. *The Hymnal 1982 Companion*, Raymond F. Glover, ed., *Volume 2: Service Music and Biographies* (New York: Church Hymnal Corp., 1994), 447

turn again to the Word and find it to be richer than they had ever thought. Wouldn't that be wonderful?"[4]

Submitted by Margaret Leask, Waterloo, Ontario, co-author with Paul Richardson, FHS, of the forthcoming centennial history of The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada. She encourages Hymn Society members to submit the membership survey linked in *The Stanza*, for a research update to be presented at Atlanta, Georgia, in July 2020.

Additional News

Annual Conference: Register Early and Save!

Be sure to register for The Hymn Society Annual Conference before June 1 to save $50 off the regular registration rates.

The Annual Conference will be held at Emory University in Atlanta, July 12-16. This year's theme is "Why We Sing: The Song, The Singer, The Singing." Plenary speakers include Miriam Therese Winter, Alisha Lola Jones, and Donald Schell. A rich variety of hymn festivals will be led by Tom Trenney, Kim Harris, Saya Ojiri, and Diana Sanchez-Bushong. In addition to forty sectional workshops, the conference will include featured sessions by Tom Trenney, Monique Ingalls, and D. J. Bulls, and an organ recital by Charlie Frost. The conference will conclude with two optional Serve & Sing opportunities on Thursday morning.

To register for the Annual Conference, visit **www.thehymnsociety.org/event**.

Sponsorship Opportunities for The Annual Conference

Whether or not you're able to attend this year's Annual Conference, you can help support The Hymn Society's mission with a conference sponsorship.

A conference sponsorship may be the ideal way to honor a significant person, to remember a loved one or mentor, or to mark a significant life event. For a donation of US$1,200 you can sponsor one of the hymn festivals that demonstrate the breadth of community song. For as little as US$250 you may sponsor one of the dozens of sectionals that focus on various aspects of congregational singing. For a complete list of sponsorship opportunities, please visit **www.thehymnsociety.org/**event, scroll about halfway down the page, and click on "Sponsorships."

Make The Hymn Society a Trusted Domain

Are you receiving *The Stanza* and other e-mail communications from The Hymn Society? If not, be sure to include **www.thehymnsociety.org** as a trusted domain in your e-mail system. If you're still not receiving e-mails from us, send a message to office@thehymnsociety.org to make sure that we have your current e-mail address on file.

Search for a Hymn or Song Text: "Death, Dying, and Song"

The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada is conducting a competition for a theologically rich hymn or song text for congregational singing that engages the themes of death and dying. The search is for a text, whether written for an existing or a new musical setting. The writer of the winning entry will receive a US$500 prize. Deadline for submissions is May 15, 2020.

This search is inspired by a call for new texts by Mary Louise Bringle at the 2019 Annual Conference during her plenary address, "Final Breath: Death, Dying, and Song." In her presentation, Bringle noted the need for new texts that engage themes that have emerged through dialogue with natural and social sciences. Writers are encouraged to read the complete text of this address, which was published in *The Hymn* 70, No. 4 (Autumn 2019), 17–24. You may also find online a summary of Bringle's major points as she issued a call for new texts.

While we encourage writers of texts to engage with the themes identified by Bringle in her presentation, we will also accept texts on death and dying based on other perspectives.

For complete information, including guidelines and instructions for submitting entries, please visit **www.thehymnsociety.org** or contact **office@thehymnsociety.org**.

In Memoriam

Pablo Sosa, FHS, composer, professor, choral conductor, practitioner of church music, and advocate for the inclusion of global hymnody in the church's song worldwide, died on January 12, 2020, in Argentina. We mourn his loss but rejoice in the contributions he has made to the church's song and to the work of The Hymn Society. When Sosa was named Fellow of THS, his friend and colleague, Andrew Donaldson, FHS (former worship consultant for the World Council of Churches), noted that "as the conductor of 'Musica para todos', Sosa worked to break down the cultural walls between 'popular' and 'classical' music, to make different genres of music accessible across cultural and denominational divides." You may read more about Pablo Sosa's many contributions at **https://thehymnsociety.org/pablo-sosa-honored-as-fellow-by-the-hymn-society/**.

4. Boston: The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada, 1986, 1991, and 3rd ed., 2000, 38.

ACDA 2021

March 17-20 Dallas, Texas

Featured Choirs!

Dallas Symphony Orchestra and Chorus
Entre Voces, Coro Nacional de Cuba
GALA Collaboration Concert
- Our Song: The Atlanta Gay and Lesbian Choir (SATB)
- Austin Gay Men's Chorus (TTBB)
- San Diego Women's Chorus (SSAA)

Tenebrae
Texas All State Mixed Chorus
Texas Collegiate combined Choirs with Simon Halsey
The World Youth Choir
Voctave
And More...

Honor Choirs!

Children
- Fernando Malvar-Ruiz

HS/SATB
- Maria Guinand

MS/JH SATB
- Andrea Ramsey

Multicultural HS/Collegiate SSAA
- Eugene Rogers
- Pearl Shangkuan

Conference Hotels

Sheraton Dallas Hotel
Hotel Fairmont Dallas

Pre-Conference "Welcome to Dallas" Event

The Dallas Chamber Choir
Turtle Creek Chorale
St. John's Baptist Church

Great Venues!

First United Methodist Church
Moody Performance Hall
Morton H. Meyerson Symphony Center
Winspear Opera House

Funeral Speech for Shirley Erena Murray, FHS (1931–2020)

COLIN GIBSON

Dear friend, where shall I begin? Shall I begin with the bald fact that, almost completely ignored by the media (who were too busy lamenting the death of an American basketball player), New Zealand's greatest hymnwriter, member of the New Zealand Order of Merit, honorary Fellow of the Royal School of Church Music London, Fellow of The Hymn Society of the United States and Canada, Erik Routley Fellow of the Presbyterian Church of America, and University of Otago Honorary Doctor of Literature, you died at Wellington Public Hospital on 25 January 2020.

You were never one for titles, and I am sure this list of some of the international awards you have won and the honours you have received will keep you smiling. As Professor Kevin Clements, your longtime friend, recalls, your smile always lit up every room you were in; your entire life was a love for and a blessing of others.

Shirley, you lived a life of deliberate commitment to the perfection of your craft—your intricate metrical and rhyme schemes were often the despair of your musicians—and you lived a life of intelligent dedication to the service of God and the Church.

Every day I will offer you, loving God, my heart and mind;
every way I discover you in the work your hand has signed.
Help me see I'm your image and you have dreamed what I might be,
every day in your Spirit, I'll find the love and energy. (1992)[1]

In your poem 'Something beautiful for God', which you yourself said you wrote as a hymn of personal dedication, occur the lines:

Something beautiful for God,
in my seeing,
in my being,
something beautiful for God
let the Spirit make of me.
Something meaningful and true,
in my living
and believing,
something meaningful and true,
something beautiful and new. (2000, 2008)

It is the measure of your achievement that you did indeed create a body of hymns and songs whose

1. All quoted Shirley Erena Murray texts © Hope Publishing Company, Carol Stream, IL 60188. All rights reserved. Used by permission.

integrity, beauty, truth, and originality have won you a world-wide reputation. I am the bearer of too many messages to read them all out: messages of admiration and sadness from Australia, from England and Scotland (in particular the Iona community), from Sweden, from Canada, and from the United States.

Having tried teaching languages, producing radio programmes, acting as Religious Affairs Coordinator for the New Zealand branch of Amnesty, and doing parliamentary research work for the Labour Party, you found the truest way to express your inner life as well as your major life's work when you took up your ministry of hymnwriting at the Presbyterian church of St Andrews on The Terrace, responding to John your dearly-loved husband's urgent need for modern hymns that would address the contemporary issues with which both of you were passionately concerned.

And you discovered that you were good at it. Your very first little publication, privately printed at Wellington and provocatively titled *In Every Corner Sing: New Hymns to Familiar Tunes in Inclusive Language,* already contained:

> Come to this Christmas singing!
> Come to a birthday, bringing
> gifts from our country's treasure,
> beauty of shell and stone. (1992)

as well as 'Faith has set us on a journey past the landmarks that we know' and

> Now to your table spread
> we come, each one, in faith
> that you alone provide the words of life and death: . . .
> Here is our common wealth
> in sharing what is good,
> as though all humankind around one table stood. (1987)

> God of freedom, God of justice,
> you whose love is strong as death . . .
> touch our world of sad oppression
> with your Spirit's healing breath. (1992)

> O God, we bear the imprint of your face:
> the colours of our skin are your design,
> and what we have of beauty in our race
> as man or woman, you alone define. (1987)

> Loving Spirit, loving Spirit,
> you have chosen me to be—
> you have drawn me to your wonder,
> you have set your sign on me. (1987)

In the same little book, you set out your first manifesto:

> Singing our faith in the present tense means having to stock some corners of the Christian household with new themes. For me, human rights and racism, women and peacemaking all need singing out, and words to sing are hard to find. . . . Some corners need refurbishing, since the words of the past do not always express the theological emphasis we now value. . . . I take it for granted that inclusive language is the mode in which Christian people must express belief.[2]

You went on to write words that have rung true for modern Christians throughout the world, creating new classics, and a whole new landscape of hymns for us New Zealanders and, in turn, the world to sing. I think of 'Honour the dead', undoubtedly our country's greatest war hymn, and one that daringly for its time upholds the conscientious objectors we treated so shamefully. I think of 'Where mountains rise to open skies', your noble Hymn for Waitangi Day the nearest we have to a truly contemporary national anthem:

> Where mountains rise to open skies,
> your name, O God, is echoed far,
> from island beach to kauri's reach,
> in water's light, in lake and star.
> Your people's heart, your people's part
> be in our caring for this land,
> for faith to flower, for aroha[3]
> to let each other's mana[4] stand. (1993)

I think of that universal musicians' song, 'For the music of creation' now set by a positive crowd of international composers. And I think of 'Touch the earth lightly', one of the finest hymns advocating for the respectful treatment of the environment we and the world have.

And in all of this what shines through is your heartfelt love for your own country. Not some distant anonymous heavenly landscape, but the clear skies, the mountains and lakes of this bush-clad, bird-rich land, our own Aotearoa[5] New Zealand.

2. *In Every Corner Sing: New Hymns to Familiar Tunes in Inclusive Language* (Wellington, NZ: S. Murray, 1987).
3. *Aroha* = Māori word for *all-embracing love*
4. *Mana* = Māori word for *dignity, prestige*
5. *Aotearoa* = Māori name for New Zealand

Carol our Christmas, an upside-down Christmas.
Snow is not falling and trees are not bare.
Carol the summer, and welcome the Christ child,
warm in our sunshine and sweetness of air. (1992)

Come to our land, come to our hearts,
Spirit of life, breath of new birth,
teach us to care for water and air,
nourish the seed and cherish the earth. (1992)

(How prophetic that sounds now, as we scramble to remediate our human impact on pristine nature!)

And you laid open your own heart of compassion and maternal care, for all to see—

Like a mother you enfold me,
hold my life within your own,
feed me with your very body,
form me of your flesh and bone.
St. 2 of 'Loving Spirit, loving Spirit' (1987)

For everyone born a place at the table,
for everyone born clean water and bread,
a shelter, a space, a safe place for growing,
for everyone born a star overhead.
And God will delight when we are creators of justice and joy,
compassion and peace;
yes, God will delight when we are creators of justice and joy,
compassion and peace. (1998)

And you shared with us your keen-sighted faith—a faith that faced the world as it really is, singing your song of love into its darkness:

Shine through our winter grey,
break through depression's day,
live in the little deaths we die in growing:
meaning for whom we grope,
home of our strongest hope,
power and peace through all creation flowing.
St. 3 of 'God of our every day' (1992)

Rid the earth of torture's terror,
you whose hands were nailed to wood;
hear the cries of pain and protest,
you who shed the tears and blood;
move in us the power of pity,
restless for the common good.
St. 2 of 'God of freedom, God of justice' (1992)

Peace Child, in the sleep of the night,
in the dark before light you come;
in the silence of stars,
in the violence of wars,
Saviour, your name.
Peace Child, to our dark and our sleep,
to the conflicts we reap, now come;
be your dream born alive,
held in hope, wrapped in love,
God's true Shalom. (1992)

In the end, you wrote hundreds of hymns, whose quality and precisely- directed passion are acknowledged throughout the Christian world, ranking you with the best in our whole heritage of Christian religious song. You showed us that the languages of science and *te reo* (the language of our native Māori people) could meet and kiss in poetry, poetry that is full of beauty and truth, but also sparkling with brilliant new metaphors, from small paper lanterns to lasers and lovers.

And you memorably urged us never to give up on the faith, even though you were often personally ashamed of the behaviour of individuals and groups within its institutions:

There's never a time to stop believing,
there's never a time for hope to die,
there's never a time to stop loving,
these three things go on.
Refrain from 'Our life has its seasons' (1992)

Shirley, you may have been taken into the Presence of the loving God you trusted to the end, but your spirit (in the words of another old hymn) goes marching on. Your friend and fellow hymnwriter Marnie Barrell has said, 'You have left a legacy of hymns for the Church that is to be.' Let us continue to sing them. There is no better response to the grief we feel at your passing.

Kua hinga te Totara i te wao nui a Tane/Indeed, a very great Totora has fallen in the forest of Tane.

Colin Gibson, MNZM (New Zealand Order of Merit for services to education and music), is University of Otago Emeritus Professor of English, an accredited lay preacher in the Methodist Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, and for fifty years organist and choirmaster at the Mornington Methodist Church, Dunedin. His work as editor, hymnwriter, and composer is known through American and English collections of his own writing, more than sixty overseas hymnals, and ten national hymnbooks. A personal friend of Shirley Murray, FHS, he collaborated with her in setting her texts to music for almost thirty years.

Charles Wood's Fascination with Antiquity

Figure 1. Charles Wood in his garden in 1925

The Significance of Four Hymn Tune Selections in The Passion of Our Lord according to Saint Mark

MATTHEW HOCH

This year marks the one hundredth anniversary of *The Passion of Our Lord according to Saint Mark* by Anglican composer Charles Wood (1846–1926). Written in the immediate aftermath of World War I, the *St Mark Passion*—as I will refer to it throughout this article to avoid repetitions of the work's lengthy title—was written during the first nine days of August in 1920. It was premiered in King's Chapel on Good Friday the following year: March 25, 1921. In Anglican circles, it is widely considered to be the finest Passion setting in the Victorian tradition that began with John Stainer's *The Crucifixion* in 1887 and declined into decay after Eric Thiman's *The Last Supper*, which was written in 1930.

Wood's *St Mark Passion* stands in stark contrast to the major settings of the Anglican Passion that preceded it—namely those by Stainer, John Henry Maunder, and Arthur Somervell.[1] Like these antecedent works, Wood's *Passion* observes the Bach-inspired tradition of casting a tenor soloist as the Evangelist and a bass as Jesus, as well as the insertion of congregational hymns to punctuate the narrative. Beyond these basic rubrics, however, Wood ventures into new territory in several key respects. First, the *St Mark Passion* is the only major setting of an Anglican Passion that is based on a particular Gospel; Wood drew his libretto directly from Chapters 14 and 15 of the King James Version of the Gospel of Mark.[2] But even more important is the *style* in which Wood composed his Passion, which evokes antiquity and represents a harmony and counterpoint that has more in common with the music of William Byrd and Thomas Tallis than that of Charles Villiers Stanford

1. Maunder's *Olivet to Calvary* was written in 1904 and Somervell's *The Passion of Christ* in 1914.

2. The narrative of Wood's Passion begins at Mark 14:12 and ends at Mark 15:37.

and Hubert Parry, who were Wood's composition teachers at the Royal College of Music.

Perhaps most significant, however, is Wood's use of four congregational hymns that serve as structural pillars in the five parts of the *St Mark Passion*, delineating one section from another and commenting upon the drama: PANGE LINGUA (MODE III)/"Sing, my soul, the glorious battle"; VERBUM SUPERNUM (MODE VIII)/"The Heav'nly Word proceeding forth"; CHESHIRE/"Lord, when we bow before Thy throne"; and FIRST MODE MELODY/"My God, I love Thee." These choices represent a major break in tradition; Stainer and Maunder composed their own tunes for their respective Passions, and Somervell offered his own tune (CHORUS ANGELORUM) alongside German chorales (EISENACH) and other standard Anglican fare (WINCHESTER NEW and ROCKINGHAM).[3] Wood's deliberate decision to include none of his own tunes, and to instead incorporate medieval plainchant and Renaissance modality—as well as texts from antiquity by Fortunatus, Thomas Aquinas, and Francis Xavier—distinguishes the *St Mark Passion* as one of the most interesting and evocative choral works composed during the interwar years in Britain.

The scope of this article is threefold: First, there will be a brief overview of Charles Wood and his oeuvre with particular emphasis on his contribution to sacred music and hymnody. Second, the *St Mark Passion* itself will be examined, highlighting importance of the congregational hymns and their contribution to the work's overall form and structure. Finally, and most important, the individual hymns will be analyzed and discussed. The author believes studying Wood's work through the lens of its hymnody will lead to a greater understanding and appreciation of the *St Mark Passion* and its unique blending of *ars antiqua* and *stile antico* with Anglican modernity.

Wood's Contributions to Anglican Church Music and Hymnody

Although Wood's name is not mentioned often in musicological circles or music history textbooks, he is a major figure in the history of English church music. In Episcopal and Anglican churches, his anthems are part of the core repertory and are still performed with regularity, particularly "Oculi omnium" (1905), "O Thou, the Central Orb" (1915), and "Expectans Expectavi" (1919).

Figure 2. Charles Wood's grave in the Parish of the Ascension burial ground in Cambridge

Wood's *Phos Hilaron* setting, "Hail, Gladdening Light" (1919) is a staple of evensong, and his many settings of the evening service—the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis canticles—are still programmed on occasion, particularly his settings in C, D, E♭ (of which there are two), G, A, and F ("Collegium Regale"). His communion service in the Phrygian mode (1923) is also heard in high-church arenas.

Perhaps Wood is best known, however, as the "link" between two mighty generations of Anglican composers: he was the pupil of both Hubert Parry and Charles Villiers Stanford, and he was the teacher of Ralph Vaughan Williams and Herbert Howells. Like Gabriel Fauré, his renown and influence as a teacher eclipsed his success as a composer during his lifetime. Wood spent most of his career teaching at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he became the college's first director of music and organist in 1894. Wood maintained

3. EISENACH is composed by Johann Hermann Schein and WINCHESTER NEW by Bartholomäus Crasselius. ROCKINGHAM is from Aaron Williams's *Second Supplement to Psalmody in Miniature* (ca. 1780). All were frequently-sung hymn tunes in England during the second decade of the twentieth century.

a particularly close friendship with Stanford throughout his life, and Stanford's compositional style had a strong influence on Wood's music. Kenneth R. Long in *The Music of the English Church* writes that "he and Stanford were not only colleagues but close friends and the older man's influence is strong in Wood's work; for this reason, some comparisons are inevitable."[4] When Stanford died in 1924, Wood succeeded his mentor as professor of music at the University of Cambridge.

Wood was not a prolific composer of hymn tunes. Ian Copley, in *The Music of Charles Wood* (the only full-length monograph devoted to Wood's oeuvre), lists a total of only seventeen:[5] RANGOON, GONVILLE, CRANMER, and FINITA IAM SUNT PRAELIA (*Hymns Ancient and Modern*);[6] ARMAGH and EMAIN MACHA (*Irish Hymnal*);[7] RECESSIONAL (*The Public School Hymn Book*);[8] CAMBRIDGE (*Songs of Praise*, an anthem collection);[9] and ALDERLEY, AUTUMN, HANS, MICHAELMAS, CAMEL KINGS, AGNUS, HARVEST FIELDS, MORNING, and CONFESSION (*Hosanna*).[10] D. DeWitt Wasson, in his three-volume *Hymntune Index and Related Hymn Materials*, acknowledges an additional two hymn tunes composed by Wood: PETERSEN and POUR UN MONDE AU PÉCHÉ VENDU.[11] Copley acknowledges that there are still others that were unnamed and unpublished at the composer's death. In spite of their appearance in several prominent hymnals, most notably *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, few of Wood's hymn tunes appear in contemporary hymnals.[12] Most conspicuous is the absence of a single hymn tune in the current hymnals of the Church of England and the Episcopal Church; neither *The New English Hymnal* nor *The Hymnal 1982* offer a single tune composed by Wood, although several of his harmonizations do appear.[13]

Overview of the St Mark Passion

Written at the request of Eric Milner-White, the Dean of King's College from 1918 to 1941, the *St Mark Passion* stands out among Wood's works as not only one of his most unique contributions to sacred music, but also one of his most significant. Copley writes:

> The *St Mark Passion* is perhaps Wood's crowning achievement in the field of church music. It was conceived in terms of liturgical use as an act of devotion, and its mood is wholly appropriate to this purpose. In a sense, Wood and Milner-White had reverted to an older, pre-Bachian tradition of Passion writing, for the *St Mark Passion* differs from other Bachian and post-Bachian settings in that there are no arias. The Gospel narrative is divided into five "lessons" in which soloists and chorus present the unadorned biblical text to fitting music. Some of the choruses, only a few bars long, have a rare and expressive beauty.[14]

The next portion of the article will briefly discuss the circumstances surrounding the original composition of the work and define its overall structure.

Genesis of the Work

Immediately after Easter in 1920, Milner-White penned a letter to Wood, a portion of which reads as follows:

> Dear Dr. Wood,

4. Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (New York: St. Martin's, 1971), 377.

5. Ian Copley, *The Music of Charles Wood* (London: Thames Pub., 1978), 211.

6. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, new and revised, ed. Bertram Luard Selby (London: Novello, 1904).

7. *Irish Hymnal*, ed. Charles Herbert Kitson and Charles George Marchant (Dublin: General Synod of the Church of Ireland, 1919).

8. *The Public School Hymn Book* (London: Novello, 1919). This hymnal was "edited by a committee of the Headmasters' Conference."

9. *Songs of Praise*, ed. Ralph Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925).

10. *Hosanna: A Book of Praise for Young Children* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [SPCK], 1930). The editor of this hymnal is unknown.

11. D. DeWitt Wasson, *Hymntune Index and Related Hymn Materials* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998), 139. According to Wasson, PETERSEN appears in three hymnals: the 1930 *Christian Science Hymnal* (Hymn 103), *The Hymnal 1940* (Hymn 216), and the 1975 revised version of the *Vatican II Hymnal* (Hymn 217). PETERSEN is also sometimes called GLÜCK ZU KREUZ. The other tune, POUR UN MONDE AU PÉCHÉ VENDU, appears only in the 1938 hymnal *Louange et Prière* (Hymn 152), a French ecumenical hymnal published by the Protestant Churches of France and Belgium.

12. The most recent edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*—called *Hymns Ancient and Modern New Standard*—was published in 1983. It contains one hymn tune by Wood (CAMBRIDGE) and one harmonization (IRIS, a French or Flemish melody that is a variant of GLORIA).

13. These harmonizations include Hymns 4 (GABRIEL'S MESSAGE), 111 (TRIER), and 121 (THIS JOYFUL EASTERTIDE) in *The New English Hymnal*, and, in *The Hymnal 1982*, Hymn 192 (VRUECHTEN, which is the same tune as THIS JOYFUL EASTERTIDE).

14. Copley, 173.

> We wanted badly this year during Holy Week to do some Passion Music at King's. [Arthur Henry] Mann and I went through everything that exists . . . and could find nothing. The Bach Passions are far too vast for an ordinary choir, however good. The Bach Cantatas are unsuitable, not in length but in words and idea; further, Mann holds v. strongly that the Cantatas are impossible of satisfactory accompaniment on the organ.
>
> So the College asked me to invent a Passion Cantata or a Passion Chorale. . . [It] is about time that the bigger parish churches superceded Stainer's *Crucifixion*—or at least had an alternative.[15]

Milner-White goes on to suggest to Wood that the Gospel of Mark would be particularly suitable, remarking that the Passion according to St Mark falls into five obvious parts:

Part I. The Last Supper – The Upper Room
Part II. Gethsemane – The Garden
Part III. The Jewish Trial – The Jewish Council Chamber
Part IV. The Roman Trial – The "Pavement"
Part V. The Crucifixion – Calvary[16]

Overall Form and Musical Structure

Following Milner-White's recommendation, Wood set about composing five self-contained cantatas, each one a "vignette" of the five scenes described above. The Evangelist (a tenor) and Jesus (a bass) are each given their own recitatives and short ariosos, and smaller roles, such as Pilate and Judas (both basses), are cast from the chorus. The chorus primarily assumes a narrative role, moving the drama forward and commenting upon the action. There are times, however, where it assumes the role of playing groups of characters, such as the apostles (Part I), the bystanders who confront Peter (Part III), and the angry mob of Jews who cry out when Jesus is presented to Pilate (Part IV). The entire Passion is accompanied by the organ with the exception of Part V—the Crucifixion itself—which is unaccompanied.

The hymns frame the lessons, delineating the five parts of the Passion from one another with PANGE LINGUA (MODE III) playing a particularly important role. Copley writes:

> Each "lesson" is rounded off by a congregational hymn, the whole work, as Milner-White suggested in his original letter, being introduced and concluded by extended settings of the plainsong PANGE LINGUA [MODE III]. (It is characteristic of Wood that the other hymn melodies, CHESTER and Tallis's FIRST MODE MELODY, are metrical psalm-tunes. There is, however, no ambiguity—the whole work is truly ecumenical).[17]

Thus, the structural organization of the Passion, musically speaking, is as follows:

Hymn: PANGE LINGUA (MODE III)
  Vignette: *Jesus shares a final meal with his disciples.*
Hymn: VERBUM SUPERNUM (MODE II)
  Vignette: *Jesus prays and is arrested in the garden of Gethsemane.*
Hymn: CHESHIRE
  Vignette: *Jesus is taken before the high priests. Peter denies knowing Jesus.*
Hymn: FIRST MODE MELODY
  Vignette: *Jesus is brought before Pilate, who convicts him. Jesus is taken away.*
Hymn: PANGE LINGUA (MODE III)
  Vignette: *Jesus is crucified at Golgotha.*
Hymn: PANGE LINGUA (MODE III)

The remainder of this article will be devoted to the specific role of these hymns within the *St Mark Passion*. After briefly discussing the hymn tunes and their origin, discussion will pivot to the hymn texts and how they interweave with and comment upon the Passion narrative as told by the Gospel of Mark.

The Four Hymn Tunes of the St Mark Passion

An entire article could be devoted to the music that sets the narrative portion of the *St Mark Passion*: the recitatives and ariosos of the Evangelist and Jesus and the choral moments—which feature everything from lush homophonic choral textures to ferocious polyphonic *turbae* (crowd) scenes preceding the Crucifixion—represent sophisticated music that perfectly complements the text and enlivens the drama. This article, however, will focus on the hymns and their role within the Passion.

15. Copley, 171–172. Arthur Henry Mann was organist and director of music at King's College Chapel from 1876 to 1929.
16. These designations are by Milner-White as outlined in his letter, which is reprinted in Copley.
17. Copley, 174.

As stated above, Wood broke with tradition and reached into antiquity with his hymn selections, selecting two plainchants—PANGE LINGUA (MODE III) and VERBUM SUPERNUM (MODE VIII)—and two Renaissance-era tunes: CHESHIRE and FIRST MODE MELODY. Wood's interest in medieval and Renaissance music emerged later in his career, when his musical ties to Stanford seemed to loosen. Long remarks upon this:

> Later a more individual style emerged derived partly from [Wood's] interest in older forms of music. Thus his affect for plainsong led him to write faux-bourdon type Services like those on Tones V and VI and Tones I and IV, his unison setting of Psalm 114 and the *Pange lingua* variations in his Passion setting. His love of the ancient modal system bore fruit in an outstanding work, his unaccompanied Mass mainly in the Phrygian Mode (irreverently known in choir schools as "Wood in the fridge").[18]

The following paragraphs will discuss the specific origins of the four hymn tunes in the *St Mark Passion*, all of which are harmonized by the composer.

PANGE LINGUA (MODE III): "Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle"

PANGE LINGUA (MODE III) is sung three times in the *St Mark Passion*: at the beginning and both before and after the fifth and final section of the work. It thus frames both the entire Passion as well as the Crucifixion itself. Wood seems to have taken this idea directly from Milner-White, who writes:

> [Perhaps we could] intersperse the scenes (and indeed begin the whole Passion) with stanzas of the splendid hymn "Sing my tongue the glorious battle" . . . We would not get short of verses, because it is traditional to use the stanza "Faithful Cross, above all other" as often as we like. Thus, throughout the whole Passion, that one cd. keep recurring . . . Perhaps indeed the theme of "Sing my tongue" might be the motif them on which the whole singing of the free prose of the Gospel were subtly based. The tune is so well known and popular that I am sure it would help in winning popular favour for such a "Passion."[19]

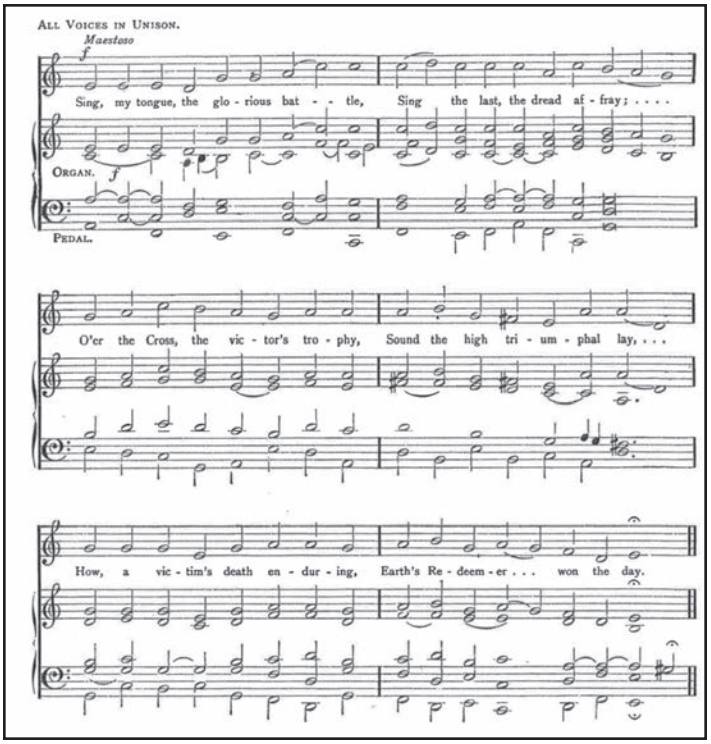


Figure 3. PANGE LINGUA (MODE III) before Part I of the *St Mark Passion*

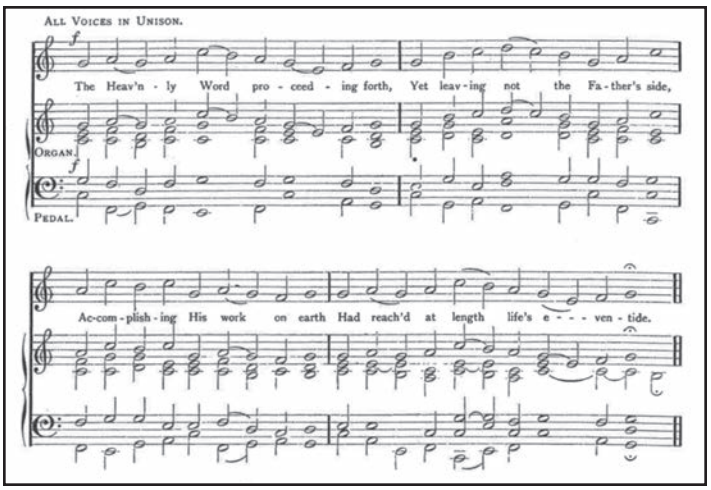


Figure 4. VERBUM SUPERNUM (MODE VIII) between Parts I and II of the *St Mark Passion*

Wood chose the well-known (and congregationally singable) Sarum form of PANGE LINGUA that was published in *Hymn Melodies for the Whole Year from the Sarum Service Books* (1903), a collection of plainchant melodies that drew from a number of medieval sources. He wrote a twenty-one-measure introduction before a unison first verse. The second verse moves the melody to tenor and harmonizes the tune in a fauxbourdon style. The last two verses are sung in unison, the men alone on verse three followed by the entire choir on verse four. The

18. Long, 378.
19. Copley, 172–173.

organ accompanies throughout the entire hymn. The congregation is invited to join in singing the first and fourth verses, while the interior ones are sung by the choir alone.

PANGE LINGUA (MODE III) is sung again at the conclusion of Part IV, where it is set in four-part harmony with just the trebles and altos. It then closes the work after Part V with two unison verses: first sung by the tenors and basses only and the next with the entire choir, repeating the first verse of text from the opening of the Passion. The congregation is invited to join in on the final verse. Although Part V of the Passion is unaccompanied, the organ always supports the hymns.

VERBUM SUPERNUM (MODE VIII): "The Heav'nly Word proceeding forth"

This version of VERBUM SUPERNUM (MODE III) is a thirteenth-century Mechlin plainsong. The monastery at Mechlin (also spelled Mechelen) was originally built by St Rumbold in the Flanders region of modern Belgium during the medieval era. Wood's source for this tune would have been the 1838 edition of the *Aniphonarium Romanum*. This version was printed at the same pitch level as Wood's in the 1906 edition of *The English Hymnal* edited by Vaughan Williams. In the *St Mark Passion*, the tenors and basses sing the second verse and the trebles the third. The entire congregation as invited to join the choir on the first and fourth verses. All verses are sung in unison.

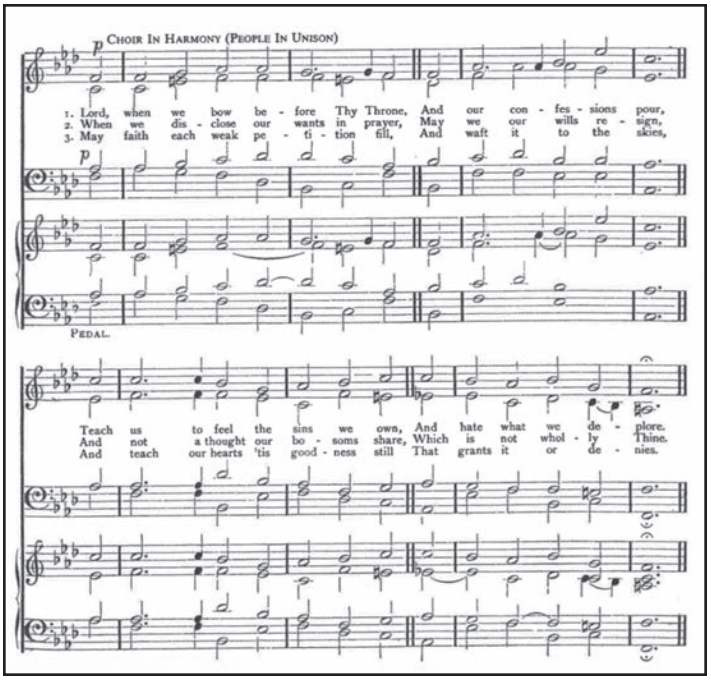


Figure 5. CHESHIRE between Parts II and III of the *St Mark Passion*

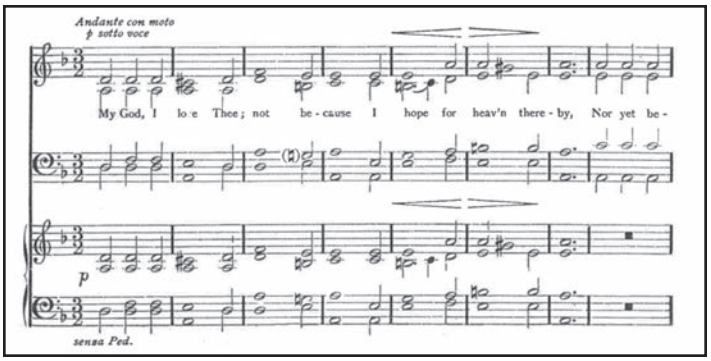


Figure 6. FIRST MODE MELODY (mm. 1–8) between Parts III and IV of the *St Mark Passion*

CHESHIRE: "Lord, when we bow before Thy Throne"

The tune CHESHIRE first appears in the *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, a 1592 Anglo-Genevan psalter compiled by Thomas East. After East's death, the hymn tune fell into obscurity until it was revived in the 1861 edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Wood would have known CHESHIRE as a Passiontide hymn (No. 109) in the 1906 edition of *The English Hymnal*. The hymn tune made its first appearance in an Episcopal hymnal as hymn No. 581 in *The Hymnal 1982*, where it sets an English translation of "Ubi caritas" by J. Clifford Evers. In the *St Mark Passion*, the choir is instructed to sing in harmony with the people in unison.

FIRST MODE MELODY: "My God I love Thee, not because"

Out of the four hymns that Wood selected for the *St Mark Passion*, FIRST MODE MELODY is the only one that was written by a major English composer. Thomas Tallis was a Tudor musician who served during the reign of Henry VIII, where he was court composer and organist from 1543 until his death in 1585. Vaughan Williams included FIRST MODE MELODY in his 1906 edition of *The English Hymnal* (as Hymn No. 78), and it is probable that Wood encountered this tune through this volume. Sung by the choir alone at the conclusion of Part III of the *St Mark Passion*, Wood writes a poignant soprano descant which is sung on the third and final verse.

The Narrative Role of the Hymns

Wood's evocation of antiquity goes beyond his hymn tune selection, extending to the texts he selected for inclusion in the *St Mark Passion*. As stated previously, the entire Passion is framed with the PANGE LINGUA (MODE III) tune, which sets seven verses by Fortunatus in an English translation by nineteenth-century hymnwriter John Mason Neale. The other three

hymns—stationed between Parts II, III, and IV, respectively—are texts by Francis Xavier (translated by Edward Caswall), Joseph D. Carlyle, and Thomas Aquinas (again translated by Neale). Thus, the overall narrative structure is as follows:

Hymn: "Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle"
Fortunatus/Neale

Part I: Mark 14:12–26 KJV
Hymn: "The Heav'nly Word proceeding forth"
Francis Xavier/Caswall

Part II: Mark 14:32–50 KJV
Hymn: "Lord, when we bow before Thy throne"
Carlyle

Part III: Mark 14:53–72 KJV
Hymn: "My God, I love Thee"
Thomas Aquinas/Neale

Part IV: Mark 15:1–20 KJV
Hymn: "Faithful Cross! above all other"
Fortunatus/Neale

Part V: Mark 15:22–37 KJV
Hymn: "Bend thy boughs, O Tree of Glory!
Fortunatus/Neale

Before the Passion narrative begins, the following four verses of the PANGE LINGUA hymn are sung by the choir, joined in by the congregation on verses 1 and 4. As the quintessential Good Friday hymn, these verses perfectly set the tone for the drama that follows.

Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle,
  Sing the last, the dread affray;
O'er the Cross, the victor's trophy,
  Sound the high triumphal lay,
How, a victim's death enduring,
  Earth's Redeemer won the day.

God, man's Maker, sorely grieving
  That the first man, Adam, fell,
When he ate the fruit of sorrow,
  Whose reward was death and hell;
Mark'd e'en then this Wood, the ruin
  Of the ancient wood to quell.

Thus the scheme of our salvation
  Was of old in order laid,
That the manifold deceiver's
  Art by art might be outweighed,
And the lure the foe put forward
  Into means of healing made.

To the Trinity be glory
  Everlasting, as is meet;
Equal to the Father, equal
  To the Son, and Paraclete:
Trinal Unity, whose praises
  All created things repeat. Amen.

The Evangelist then begins his narration. The disciples go forth into the city to prepare the Passover meal. Later that night, as they are eating, Jesus announces that one of the disciples will betray him. Nervously, the chorus sings the question, "Is it I?" Jesus then celebrates the Last Supper, first with the bread and then the wine. Afterwards, they sing a hymn and journey toward the Mount of Olives. The second hymn, VERBUM SUPERNUM, then begins. Note how appropriately the first stanza complements the action of the narrative.

The Heavenly Word proceeding forth,
  Yet leaving not the Father's side,
Accomplishing His work on earth,
  Had reached at length life's eventide.

By false disciple to be given
  To foemen for His life athirst,
Himself, the very Bread of heaven,
  He gave to His disciples first.

He gave himself in either kind,
  His precious Flesh, His precious Blood;
In Love's own fullness thus designed
  Of the whole man to be the Food.

O Saving Victim, opening wide
  The gate of heaven for men below,
Our foes press on from every side;
  Thine aid supply, Thy strength bestow. Amen.

Jesus enters the Garden of Gethsemane and instructs his disciples to sit while he prays, asking Peter, James, and John to keep watch. Jesus falls to the ground and prays. After praying, he finds his disciples sleeping and upbraids them. He prays twice more, and each time the disciples again fall asleep. Judas enters, along with a great multitude with swords and staves. All the disciples forsake Jesus and flee. To the tune of CHESHIRE, the following three confessional stanzas are then sung:

Lord, when we bow before Thy Throne,
  And our confessions pour,

Teach us to feel the sins we own,
And hate what we deplore.

When we disclose our wants in prayer,
May we our wills resign,
And not a thought our bosoms share,
Which is not wholly Thine.

May faith each weak petition fill,
And waft it to the skies,
And teach our hearts 'tis goodness still
That grants it or denies.

Jesus is taken before the high priests, elders, and scribes, who question Jesus and seek witnesses against him. Jesus maintains that he is indeed the Christ, and they renounce him for his blasphemy and condemn him to death. Meanwhile, Peter is asked three times whether he knows Jesus and all three times denies knowing him. The cock crows, and Peter begins to weep. The following three stanzas are then sung to Tallis's FIRST MODE MELODY:

My God, I love Thee: not because
I hope for heaven thereby,
Nor yet because who love Thee not
Are lost eternally.
Thou, O my Jesus, Thou didst me
Upon the Cross embrace;
For me didst bear the nails, and spear,
And manifold disgrace,

And griefs and torments numberless,
And sweat of agony;
Yea, death itself; and all for me
Who wast Thine enemy.
Then why, most loving Jesus Christ,
Should I not love Thee well?
Not for the sake of winning heaven,
Or of escaping hell;

Not from the hope of gaining aught,
Not seeking a reward;
But as Thyself has lovèd me,
O ever-loving Lord?
So do I love Thee, and will love,
Who such a love hast showed
Only because Thou art my King,
Because Thou art my God.

Jesus is brought before Pilate, who asks Jesus if he is King of the Jews, to which Jesus replies, "Thou sayest it." The chief priests accuse Jesus of many things, but Jesus responds only with silence. Pilate turns to the multitude to ask which prisoner he should release, but the crowd demands that the murderer Barabbas be released, crying aloud that Jesus should be crucified. The soldiers lead Jesus away into the hall, where they clothe him in purple and give him a crown of thorns, spitting on him, beating him, and mocking him. They then lead Jesus out to be crucified before a single verse of PANGE LINGUA is sung by the treble voices:

Faithful Cross! above all other,
One and only noble tree!
None in foliage, none in blossom,
None in fruit thy peer may be;
Sweetest Wood and sweetest Iron!
Sweetest Weight is hung on thee.[20]

Jesus is brought to Golgotha and crucified between two thieves. The soldiers cast lots for his clothing. The crowd mocks him, saying that Jesus could save others but not himself. When the sixth hour comes, darkness covers the land until the ninth hour, when Jesus cries out, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Jesus is given drink in the form of a sponge soaked in vinegar, after which he takes his final breaths and dies. After a final spoken confession and prayer, two verses of PANGE LINGUA conclude Wood's Passion:

Bend thy boughs, O Tree of Glory!
Thy relaxing sinews bend;
For awhile the ancient rigour
That thy birth bestow'd suspend;
And the King of heav'nly beauty
On thy bosom gently tend.

Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle,
Sing the last, the dread affray;
O'er the Cross, the victor's trophy,
Sound the high triumphal lay,
How a victim's death enduring,
Earth's Redeemer won the day. Amen.

Final Thoughts

As a pupil of Stanford who also respected Stainer, one might reasonably ask why Wood would choose to write such a strikingly unique setting as his contribution to

20. The word "Wood" appears prominently in two stanzas of PANGE LINGUA, which is quite possibly a reference to the composer himself.

the Anglican Passion repertory. Perhaps the *St Mark Passion* reflects the weariness of England in 1920, which had been affected greatly by the horrors of World War I. This author believes, however, that the answer lies within the biblical material itself. The Gospel of St Mark is the oldest of the four Gospels, written between the years 66 and 70 CE. At sixteen chapters, it is also the shortest of the four Gospels. Mark has less of a narrative "flow" than the other Gospels, favoring instead a series of vignettes of Jesus's life. It is perhaps this vignette-like structure that has been a deterrent to other composers, resulting in a dearth of musical realizations of the *St Mark Passion*.[21] Wood, however, welcomed the challenge, composing a spare setting that movingly recreates the circumstances surrounding the final hours of Jesus's life.

The *St Mark Passion* is an unjustly neglected work in the Anglican choral repertory. Long makes the following remarks:

> [Wood's *St Mark Passion*] is more difficult than Stainer's *Crucifixion* but still well within the range of any competent church choir willing to take a little trouble—and it is very well worth the effort. It is a work that grows on one as one becomes more familiar with it. In religious feeling, sense of drama, and high level of musical inspiration it is unquestionably one of the best pieces of its type. It has been quite unjustifiably neglected and choirs and small choral societies unfamiliar with it will find it a most valuable addition to the repertory.[22]

Programming the work in my parish on Palm Sunday in 2019 and noting its positive reception by both the choir and the congregation, I concur with Long's observations. *The Passion of Our Lord according to Saint Mark* by Charles Wood is an extraordinary piece of sacred choral music, and the four hymns selected and harmonized by the composer are an indispensable aspect of this magnificent work. Wood's Passion never ceases to profoundly affect those who are fortunate enough to experience it.

Matthew Hoch is Choirmaster and Minister of Music at Holy Trinity Episcopal Church in Auburn, Alabama, as well as Associate Professor of Voice at Auburn University. He is the author of *Welcome to Church Music & "The Hymnal 1982"* (Church Publishing, 2015) and editor of *So You Want to Sing Sacred Music* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

21. We do know that Johann Sebastian Bach wrote a Passion setting of all four Gospels, but in the case of Mark, the music has been completely lost.
22. Long, 381.

O. A. Miller: Singing Evangelist and Hymnwriter

MYRNA LAYTON

Figure 1: O. A. Miller in *The St. Louis Republic*, October 11, 1902

In hymnals from the early part of the twentieth century published by entities such as the Moody Bible Institute, the name O. A. Miller appears occasionally as a composer, and less frequently also as a textwriter. Miller's tunes are pleasant, usually quite vibrant and joyful, and easy to remember. While the poetry of the texts can seem a bit dated, tending toward the language of the King James Version of the Bible, the ideas expressed in the hymns are still relevant. Because Miller's last composition dates to 1918, all of his music lies in the public domain. It may be worth examining these old gospel hymns. Some may deserve a revival, and others may be good subjects for the creation of arrangements or derivative works.

"Fear not, O child of mine/I Will Take Care of Thee," a hymn with both text and tune written by O. A. Miller, is in a collection called *Songs of Grace and Glory* (1918).[1] I sponsored a Hymn Sing event in October 2015 at the library at Brigham Young University where I work, and chose to include this hymn on one of the programs. Participants liked the joyful tune; the tenors and basses especially relished the alternate rhythms provided for them in the chorus. The tune was "sticky" (when you hear it, it keeps coming back to you, on instant replay in your head) and as I replayed it in my mind, I heard it as rejoicing, with flutes tootling along in countermelodies. However, the text felt more somber than the mood of the tune, so I decided to write a new Christmas-related text to pair with it, and collaborated with a composer, Michael Biancardi, to create an arrangement for SATB, two flutes, and piano.

The new piece, "Jesus is Born, the Lord is Born," enjoyed one performance at a library event in 2016, and that might have been the end of it had the score not been made available for purchase through Sheet Music Plus, and had we not added a copy of it to the music library. This copy languished in the music backlog for several years, until the summer of 2019, when the cataloguer, in an effort to create a Library of Congress name authority file for O. A. Miller, was unable to locate needed information. Thus, a research project was born for me; my initial research allowed me to provide her the dates and particulars she needed, as well as share this information with online sources such as Hymnary.org and CyberHymnal. Then I kept going because I had become very interested in this composer of hymn tunes.

Thanks to the Internet Archive, Google Books, and Hathi Trust, I located references to O. A. Miller in issues of an official publication of Chicago's Moody Bible Institute, *The Institute Tie*, which ran from 1900–1911. An article written by Miller in the 1905 issue of this publication outlined his conversion from church-going Presbyterian to evangelistic worker after he read *The Way to God* by Dwight L. Moody, while living in Great Falls, Montana.[2] From that start, I was able to piece together much of Miller's life and work using journals and newspapers of the era.

Great Falls, Montana

Oscar Adolph Miller was born in Wisconsin in about 1868 to Frederich and Louisa Miller, the middle child of their nine offspring. The 1870 census places the family in Richland, Wisconsin; but by the 1885 census, they were living in Nebraska. While little is known about Miller's early life, we do know that by 1892, he was living in Great Falls, Montana, as was his sister Lydia (Mrs. J. A. Taylor), while their mother lived in North Loup, Nebraska.[3] Miller's name appears in many articles in Montana newspapers of the time, though he is almost exclusively referred to by his initials, O. A. From these accounts, two things are made abundantly clear: firstly, that O. A. Miller was a young man of faith, involved in

1. A. L. Byers, ed., *Songs of Grace and Glory: A New and Inspiring Selection of Sacred Songs* (Anderson, IN: Gospel Trumpet Co., 1918).
2. O. A. Miller, "What a Good Book May Do," *The Institute Tie* 6 (1905–1906), 83–84.
3. *Great Falls Tribune* (Montana), Jan. 30, 1893, 3.

his Presbyterian Church and as an officer of the Great Falls Bible Society, which was busy fundraising in order to purchase Bibles for distribution in the area.[4] Secondly, that O. A. Miller was a musician.

O. A. Miller was noted for his "excellent bass voice," heard in both sacred and secular events sponsored by the Presbyterian Church.[5] Sometimes he used that voice in SATB quartet singing; he sang in the church choir; he performed in cantatas (as a lead, according to newspaper accounts, in each of 1893, 1894 and 1895) and other community entertainments. In at least one instance, in 1893, young Miller also conducted a cantata: "Santa Claus & Co." was so popular that people had to be turned away because no seats remained in the audience for this "very pleasant entertainment."[6] In 1895, Miller was one of the soloists who participated in a benefit concert sponsored by "the union and confederate [sic] veterans of the war of 1861-5," the proceeds of which went toward the "erection of a monument to the memory of the dead soldiers of both armies."[7] In short, Miller was heavily involved in the musical scene in Great Falls during the years he lived there.

Miller worked as a clerk at Murphy, Maclay & Co.'s, a hardware and grocery store that operated in the same building in Great Falls from 1886 into the 1960s.[8] Perhaps he might have stayed there, enjoying both his job and his music, but reading the Moody book referenced earlier changed his life. Miller explained that the elderly sexton of the Presbyterian Church attended a revival meeting, where he obtained the book. Having read it, the elderly sexton passed it on to Miller, saying "It will help you as it has helped me."[9] Miller then "began to want to win others for Christ, and in less than a year I was on my way to the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago to be trained for Christian work in the school of the very man who wrote the book."[10]

When he left in the spring of 1896, in addition to the newspapers in the immediate Great Falls area, newspapers from as far away as Butte and Helena carried news of his departure.[11] He was popular enough that when he married Elizabeth "Lizzie" Bohne (1873-1917), a fellow student at the Moody Bible Institute, in September 1896, at her home in Nebraska, the Great Falls paper picked up the story and published it twice, noting that the groom "has a large number of friends in Great Falls, all of whom will unite in congratulations."[12]

Moody Bible Institute (1896–1902)

The objective of the Moody Bible Institute was to "educate, maintain, and send forth Christian workers, Bible teachers, gospel singers, teachers and evangelists, to preach and teach the gospel of Jesus Christ."[13] The training undertaken there by Miller and his wife Lizzie would have fallen into three categories: biblical, practical, and musical.[14] In Dwight L. Moody's own words:

> First, I shall aim to have given a sufficient knowledge of the English Bible; so far as may be, a practical mastery of it. Second, I would have workers trained in everything that will give them access practically to the soul of the people, especially the neglected classes. Third, I would give a great prominence to the study of music, both vocal and instrumental. I believe that music is one of the most powerful agents for good or evil.[15]

Daniel B. Towner, music director for the Institute, would have directed the musical training that Miller received. Towner taught that music should follow "the basic revival service format of lively, culturally relevant singing."[16] This is what Miller would have been expecting, what he had heard at revival meetings in Montana, music intended for congregational singing, with tunes and lyrics that were easy to learn and remember. This kind of music was what had prompted Miller to view himself as "especially fitted" for the work that evangelists do.[17] Clearly, the education that Miller received at the Moody Institute would have been highly influential in future music endeavors throughout his career.

Miller completed the two-year Moody Institute coursework in 1898. We can assume that he stayed in the Chicago area involved in evangelistic work, with a particular focus on music, during that time, because

4. *Great Falls Tribune*, Sept. 13, 1892, 5.
5. "News of our Neighbors: Great Falls," *Helena Independent*, March 19, 1896, 3.
6. *Anaconda Standard* (Montana), Dec. 28, 1893, 7.
7. "Card of Thanks," *Great Falls Tribune*, April 26, 1895, 4.
8. Murphy Maclay Hardware Store, http://digitalvault.mhs.mt.gov/items/show/20847, accessed Aug. 12, 2019.
9. O. A. Miller, 83–84.
10. Ibid.
11. *Great Falls Tribune*, *Butte Miner*, *Helena Independent* and *Anaconda Standard* all carried reports of Miller's departure from Montana.
12. "Miller/Bohne: Former Resident of Great Falls Married in Nebraska," *Great Falls Tribune*, Sept. 30, 1896, 4.
13. Safara Austin Witmer, *The Bible College Story: Education with Dimension* (Manhasset: Channel Press, 1962), 37.
14. *The Institute Tie* 1, no.1 (Sept. 1900), 31.
15. Gene A. Getz, "Music and Christian Education," *The Church Musician* 19 (April 1968), 12.
16. Greg Scheer, "A Musical Ichthus: Praise & Worship and Evangelical identity." *International Journal of Community Music* 2, no.1 (2009), 92.
17. *Great Falls Tribune*, Feb. 11, 1896, 3.

in the first issue of *The Institute Tie* in September, 1900, we learn that Miller had spent the summer of that year conducting the choir of the Chicago Avenue Church, substituting for Towner. The choir members enjoyed working with Miller so much that they gave him a gift—a roll-top desk.[18]

In addition to enjoying popularity as a choir director, Miller was a gifted music teacher. The November 1900 issue of *The Institute Tie* states, "With the opening of the winter season comes also the organization of evening music classes. Last year O. A. Miller '98-'99, held such a class in the lecture room every Wednesday evening from October to April. So great was its success that this fall requests were sent in for similar classes in other sections of the city."[19] Over the next few months of late 1900 and early 1901, programs were set up at a Presbyterian Church, a Congregational Church, a Baptist Church, and in Englewood on the south side of Chicago. There was so much demand for music classes taught by O. A. Miller that class sizes sometimes numbered between 150 to 300 people.[20] Miller taught note-reading, sight-reading, conducting, and "how best to use (their) voices in the service and worship of God."[21]

So impressive had Miller been in his music classes, beginning from at least the fall of 1899 and perhaps earlier, that in May 1901 he was invited to join the permanent faculty of the music department at the Moody Institute.[22] With a new instructor on board, the music department did not need to take a summer break, as it had in the past. The summer course offered "instruction in elementary and advanced notation, sight reading, elementary and advanced harmony, solo and part singing, vocal training, conducting, normal training for teachers, and composition."[23]

Miller was not only teaching composition; he was composing. The October 1900 issue of *The Institute Tie* contains a hymn tune composed by O. A. Miller, set to a text by David Conn, "Blessed Jesus, thou will save me." This is a reprint of hymn #136 from *The Gospel Pilot Hymnal*, copyright 1899, which appears to be the earliest publication of a hymn by Miller.[24] Towner was one of two editors and publishers of this hymnal. That he chose a hymn by his pupil is a testament to his respect for Miller's work, and that Miller had learned well as a student of music at the Moody Institute. The style of this hymn is of short verse with chorus, reflecting the principles of liveliness, cultural relevance, and simplicity—enough for the untrained to learn the hymn quickly. This style is indicative of most Miller hymns. The text of this hymn, like most of the texts Miller would pair with his tunes throughout his life, promotes the theme of Jesus as the Savior.

Within the next few years, Miller had hymns published in several other books compiled by Towner, including *Hymns of Faith and Praise* (1901)[25] in which four Miller hymns can be found; *Class and Chorus* (1901)[26] with five Miller hymns; and *Gospel Hymn Book* (1903)[27] with an additional two Miller hymns. The November 1900 issue of *The Institute Tie* notes that Mr. and Mrs. O. A. Miller together wrote a hymn for Rally Day at the Chicago Avenue Church, called "With joy we rally here today."[28] I have found no evidence that this hymn found its way into a hymnal, but two copies were submitted to the Library of Congress.[29] The June 1903 issue of *The Institute Tie* carries a hymn by Mr. and Mrs. Miller, "Have you ever heard the Savior?" which appears to be the only publication of this hymn.[30] Altogether, I have identified fourteen hymn tunes composed by O. A. Miller between 1899 and 1903.

Texts of the First Fourteen Hymn Tunes

Many of the texts to Miller's early hymns were written by his wife, Elizabeth, known informally as Lizzie and in hymnbooks frequently as Mrs. O. A. Miller. Elizabeth Bohne was the daughter of Alfred and Elisa (Craig) Bohne, who had settled with their family in Grand Island, Nebraska. Alfred Bohne was a "prominent business man" who died of "la grippe" in 1891.[31]

18. "The Music Department," *The Institute Tie* 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1900), 11.
19. "The Music Department," *The Institute Tie* 1, no. 3 (Nov. 1900), 88.
20. "The Music Department," *The Institute Tie* 1, no. 7 (March 1901), 220.
21. "The Music Department," *The Institute Tie* 1, no. 3 (Nov. 1900), 88.
22. List of faculty at the Moody Institute in *The Institute Tie* 1, no. 9 (May 1901), 292.
23. "The Special Summer Course," *The Institute Tie* 1, no. 10 (June 1901), 322.
24. Daniel B. Towner and French E. Oliver, ed., *The Gospel Pilot Hymnal* (Chicago: Towner & Oliver, 1899).
25. D. B. Towner, ed., *Hymns of Faith and Praise* (Dayton, OH: Lorenz Pub., 1901).
26. D. B. Towner, ed., *Class and Chorus: A Text Book for Chorus Classes, Singing Schools, Public Schools and Institutes* (Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Assoc., 1901).
27. D. B. Towner, ed., *The Gospel Hymn Book* (Dayton, OH: Lorenz Pub., 1903).
28. "The Music Department," *The Institute Tie* 1, no. 3 (Nov. 1900), 88.
29. *Library of Congress Catalog of Entry of Books Etc.* 26, no. 1 (Jan.–March 1901), 42.
30. "Have you ever heard the Savior?" *The Institute Tie* 3, no. 10 (June 1903), 378.
31. "The Death Roll," *Lincoln Daily Nebraska State Journal*, July 22, 1891, 5.

Elisa supported her family as a schoolteacher after her husband's death.[32] Lizzie authored nine of the fourteen hymn texts set to music by her husband between 1899 and 1903. Her mother authored the text to "Weary and worn, I long for rest" which first appeared in *Hymns of Faith and Praise*, under the name Mrs. E. M. Bohne.

The other hymn texts paired with Miller's compositions between 1899 and 1903 were by David Conn (noted earlier), Philip Doddridge, A. Johnson, and W. R. Newell. I have been unable to locate biographical information about David Conn or A. Johnson. Philip Doddridge was an English hymnist who lived from 1702 to 1751, and Miller provided a new setting to his text "Now let our voices join."[33] William R. Newell, the author of the text "At God's right hand my Savior stands" which appeared with Miller's setting in *Gospel Hymn Book*, was the assistant superintendent of the Moody Bible Institute, and he would become an important man in Miller's future, as they evangelized together at various cities in the Midwest, though principally in St. Louis.[34]

The Cleansing Blood

In 1903, the Lorenz Publishing Company of Dayton, Ohio, published a selection of hymns edited by Towner called *The Gospel Hymn Book*.[35] Two Miller compositions were included: the aforementioned "At God's right hand my Savior stands" (161) and "When they crucified my Savior" (166) with text by Lizzie. Popularly known as "The Cleansing Blood," this would become the most popular O. A. Miller composition. This sixteen-bar hymn has an eight-bar verse coupled with an eight-bar chorus. Both verse and chorus have an *abac* pattern, with the music of the first and third phrases of each section exactly replicated. Written in 4/4 time, the melody moves quickly, using mostly eight notes, except at the ending of the final *c* phrase. The chorus is more sedate: each of the *a* phrases is comprised mostly of quarter notes, with the *b* and *c* phrases returning to the spritely eighth notes of the verse.

Mrs. Miller's rhyme scheme is AABB for the verse. The chorus is comprised of two phrases which are repeated:

When they crucified my Savior of the cross of Calvary,
There a blessed fount was opened for my cleansing full and free,
And my sins were all forgiven just by faith in His shed blood—
They are wash'd away forever by the crimson flood!

Refrain
It cleanseth me, it cleanseth me!
The precious blood of Jesus fully cleanseth me!
It cleanseth me, it cleanseth me!
The precious blood of Jesus fully cleanseth me!

Now I plead the blood of Jesus, and He's with me all the way;
I am happy and rejoicing in his favor ev'ry day;
In the burden and the trial there is none so kind as He;
My Redeemer is my kinsman, and his blood saves me!
Refrain

He will robe me with white raiment when my pilgrimage is past,
And present me pure and spotless with the sanctified at last;
I will sing His praise and glory unto all eternity,
Telling evermore the story how His blood saved me!
Refrain [36]

This hymn has been published in more than a dozen hymnals found so far. While most were in the first few decades of the twentieth century, the last was in a Singspiration publication in 1954 called *Choir Favorites: Inspiring Song*.[37] By this time, the Singspiration imprint had moved to the Zondervan publishing house. They were looking for "choral music with strong evangelical texts, and with attractive singable arrangements that could be learned quickly and performed capably by even a small group of volunteer singers."[38]

While "The Cleansing Blood" has fallen out of use, no longer present in recently published hymnals, a similar message is contained in the older but still popular "Are you washed in the blood" (1878), so the message of the hymn is not necessarily outdated. Like most Miller tunes, "The Cleansing Blood" has a vigorous and spunky feel to it. The chorus needs a robust bass section, since the lower voices need to divide into three parts for the best effect. Not a great deal is expected of the altos, who mostly are a third lower than the sopranos, but there is a bit more creativity shown in the chorus. The hymn has

32. *Nebraska State Journal*, July 11, 1897, 7.
33. "Now let our voices join," Hymnary.org, https://hymnary.org/text/now_let_our_voices_join accessed Aug. 13, 2019.
34. See for example the list of faculty at the Moody Institute in *The Institute Tie* 1, no. 2 (Oct. 1900), 64.
35. See footnote 27.
36. "The Cleansing Blood," *The Voice of Thanksgiving* no.4 (Chicago: The Bible Institute Colportage Assoc., 1928), #128.
37. Alfred B. Smith, ed., *Choir Favorites: Inspiring Songs for Volunteer and Rally Choirs*, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1954).
38. John W. Peterson, *The Miracle Goes On* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1976), 167.

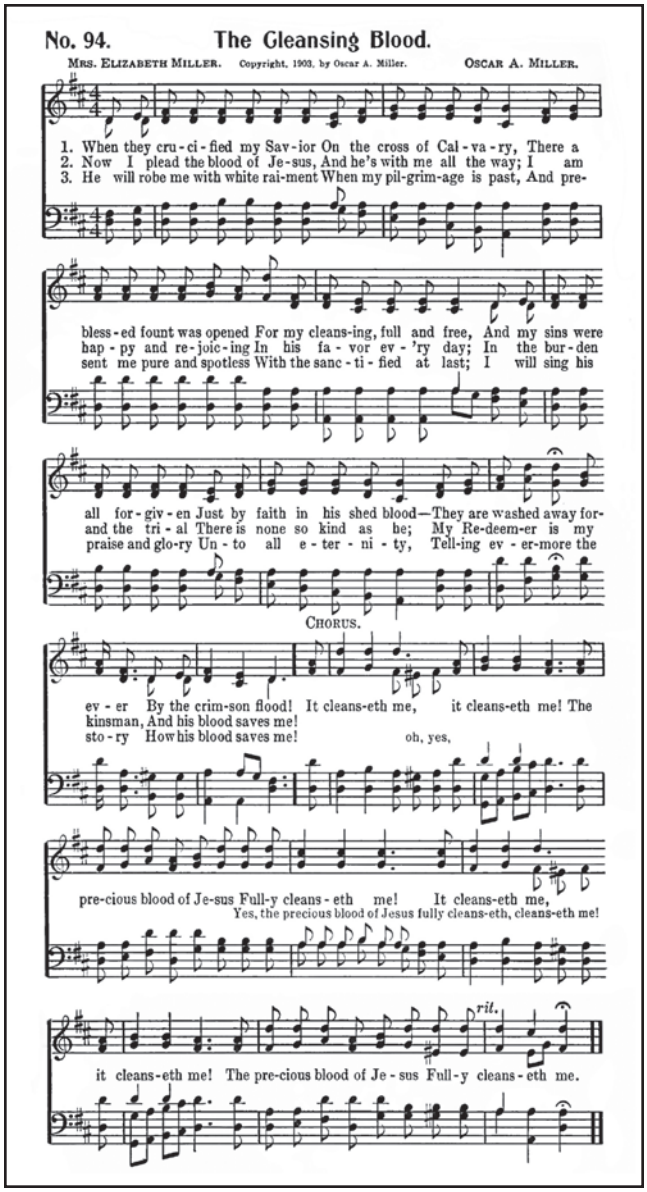


Figure 2: "The Cleansing Blood" from *The Gospel Hymn Book 1903*

a pleasant melody and harmony, and is a good example of the gospel enthusiasm one would expect in a hymn created by graduates of the Moody Institute.

Union Bible Classes

The appearance of the two Miller hymns in *The Gospel Hymn Book* came just months after Miller left the employ of the Moody Institute to work as a traveling evangelist. The August 1902 issue of *The Institute Tie* carried the announcement that O. A. Miller had resigned his full-time faculty position effective October 1, 1902, because Newell had asked Miller to join with him "as leader of the singing in his Union Bible class work."[39] This work commenced in St. Louis, Missouri, on October 10. A notice in the St. Louis newspaper the day before advised, "This class now numbers over a thousand and is composed of members from the various denominations of the city. The Odeon [a large theatre] has been secured for the fall and winter, and meetings will be held every Friday afternoon and evening."[40] Special mention was made that Professor O. A. Miller of Chicago would be leading the singing. The day after the meeting, the paper ran a large photo of Miller in conjunction with an advertisement for the Union Bible Class.[41]

The Singing Evangelist

After spending a successful year evangelizing with Newell in Missouri, Miller seems to have struck out on his own, although his wife Lizzie sometimes accompanied him.[42] His evangelical travels took him to Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, Indiana, and Wisconsin, as well as to multiple locations in his now-home state of Illinois. He became known as a "singing evangelist."[43] Not only did Miller sing and preach, but he put on quite an entertainment for his audiences. "He uses the stereopticon, guitar and any number of colored charts to help in the work," reads one report.[44] The stereopticon was a slide projector or type of "magic lantern" used to tell a story or illustrate a message, and it became integral to Miller's evangelical work. A good description of what a service lead by O. A. Miller with his stereopticon might have been like is given in this report, "Mr. Miller is a large man with an equally large personality, and has an unusually splendid voice. He leads the song service with his cornet, and plays the accompaniments of his solos on the guitar. In the evenings he shows from fifteen to sixty beautifully colored slides through the stereopticon, illustrating the song features and also giving little glimpses into Bible history."[45]

When looking back at young O. A. Miller of Great Falls, Montana, whose life was built around musical entertainment coupled with religious devotion, a "singing evangelist" seems to be exactly what he was looking to become. But where does O. A. Miller the composer fit

39. "J. B. Trowbridge," *The Institute Tie* 2, no.12 (Aug. 1902), 454.
40. "Union Bible Class Meeting To-Morrow at the Odeon," *St. Louis Republic*, Oct. 9, 1902, 9.
41. "Professor O. A. Miller," *St. Louis Republic*, Oct. 11, 1902, 11.
42. *The Ottumwa Tri-Weekly Courier*, June 15, 1907, 2.
43. "Singing Evangelist," *Macomb Journal* (Macomb, IL), Oct. 18, 1906, 1.
44. "Elwood," *The Joliet News* (Joliet, IL), Sept. 2, 1908, 6.
45. "Unity Revival is in Progress Now," *Iowa City Press*, Feb. 10, 1911, 5.

into this career? While evangelizing, did he sing his own songs? How did he continue to compose hymns once he left the comfort of his faculty position at the Moody Institute? It is hard to know for sure. Not all hymnbooks have indexes; not all hymnbooks that are in the public domain are available online—therefore, I am not sure that I have found every instance of hymn tunes composed by Miller. However, I know for sure that Miller wrote six more hymn tunes between 1906 and 1914. Of these four, three appeared in print for the first time in the hymnal *Songs of Grace and Glory* (1918), with earlier copyright dates supplied on their individual pages.[46] This publication contained a total of ten Miller hymns, and marked the point at which O. A. Miller himself began to write the texts for his compositions.

O. A. Miller as Author

Miller's most usual collaborator, his wife Lizzie, would not have been available to write lyrics for any new hymns published in 1918—she died in 1917, leaving Miller to finish raising their daughters Elizabeth and Ruth Margaret. And apparently, without Lizzie to collaborate with, O. A. continued to write hymns on his own, both music and text. With an understanding that Miller's family had lost their wife and mother, the text of the 1918 hymn "Fear not, O child of mine" becomes much more poignant, and could be construed to contain a promise from father to daughters, as well as from God to his children, that "I will take care of thee." The second verse reads:

> Fear not, when sorrow like sea-billows roll,
> I will take care of thee;
> Fear not when troubles dash over thy soul,
> I will take care, take care of thee.[47]

These sentiments reflect an awareness of the grief his daughters would have felt in the loss of their mother, and the responsibility Miller felt as a father to care for his children.

Miller married his second wife, Edna Decker (1878–1959), on June 24, 1920. Her hometown newspaper describes their meeting thusly: "[Miss Decker] has been identified with the Fairview Methodist Episcopal church for several years. Mr. Miller is an evangelist. It was while conducting a series of meetings in the little Fairview chapel last winter that he first met his bride."[48] The new Mrs. Miller seems to have enjoyed a close relationship with O. A.'s daughters: Elizabeth was her maid of honor, and Ruth played the wedding march on the piano as the bride entered the room.[49] Edna Miller, with her husband, seems to have taken seriously the promise to "take care of thee" given to the Miller daughters.

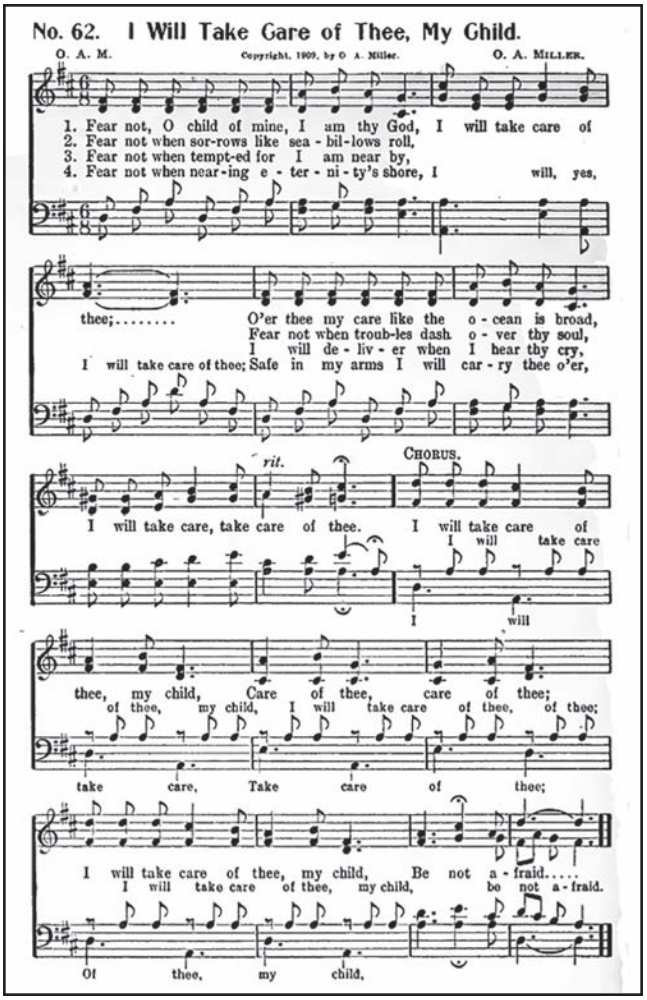


Figure 3: "I Will Take Care of Thee" from *Songs of Grace and Glory 1918*

Miller's Death

Revivals continued to occupy O. A. Miller's life. Sometimes Edna accompanied him, just as sometimes Lizzie had in the past.[50] Revivals also figured in Miller's death: he met his end in the midst of a revival. It was January 25, 1923. O. A. Miller was holding revival meetings at the Methodist Episcopal Church in Blackstone, Illinois. While having a dinner break at the home of his host, Mr. A.W. Applegate, Miller mentioned slight chest pains, which he attributed to indigestion. Mr. Applegate

46. See footnote 1.
47. "I Will Take Care of Thee," *Songs of Grace and Glory* #62.
48. "Romance of Revival Results in Wedding," *The Pantagraph* (Bloomington, IL), June 25, 1920, 7.
49. Ibid.
50. *The Decatur Herald*, Dec. 9, 1921, 7.

walked to the nearby church to open the doors for the public, and soon after, "Mr. Miller arrived and started the opening hymns, afterwards preparing to show moving pictures of Bible scenes [using his stereopticon.] By a strange coincidence, according to Mr. Applegate, a picture of two angels descending from heaven had just been thrown on the screen when Mr. Miller had difficulty with the machine. He explained that he thought it needed to be cleaned and he would take it outdoors while the congregation went on singing a few hymns."[51] The hymn singing continued. And continued. There were very likely whispers of "Where is he?" as those in attendance became anxious; then Raymond Applegate (a different Applegate from the host) went outside to locate Miller and offer help with the machine. However, "not far away from the front of the church and lying between two parked automobiles he found the still form of the evangelist lying upon the ground."[52]

The fourth verse of Miller's text in "I Will Take Care of Thee" codifies his faith that God's care would be evident in death as also in life:

> Fear not when nearing eternity's shore,
> I will take care of thee;
> Safe in my arms I will carry thee o'er,
> I will take care, take care of thee.[53]

Miller's faith seems to have been rewarded in the swiftness of his death—he was safely and instantly carried from life to death. Though his daughters were now young women, Edna continued to parent Elizabeth and Ruth, who lived with her for many years: Elizabeth until her marriage in 1943; Ruth until Edna's death in 1959.[54] Edna Miller invested the rest of her life in fulfilling her husband's words: "I will take care of thee, my child / Be not afraid."[55]

Legacy

The accompanying chart lists the hymns with music by O. A. Miller that I have been able to locate so far. Two hymns have never been published in a hymnal, and 20 appear only in one hymnal each, all with publication dates between 1899 and 1918. Four of the hymns have been published in several hymnals each: "Weary and worn, I long for rest," "I long for that beautiful home," "Tis the sweetest name that the angels know," and "When you pass thro' sorrow, Jesus is standing close by." The Miller composition that has been the most widely published is "When they crucified my Savior on the cross of Calvary/The Cleansing Blood," as discussed earlier.

What should we do with the hymns of O. A. Miller? As for myself, I co-wrote a derivative work of one of them, "Jesus is Born," referred to earlier in this article. It recently enjoyed its second performance at a public event in December 2019. It was well-received; many positive comments were made verbally to the performers (SATB quartet, a pianist, and two flutists) and one audience member located my e-mail and sent me this comment: "I was so impressed with the opening number in today's Christmas Carol Festival that I decided that I would try to obtain a performance online . . . I was so impressed! I love this song. Is there any way that I could find a recording for purchase?"[56] Of course, she could not find a performance online, because there isn't one, and there is no recording to purchase at this point. However, her interest helped me to realize that I am not alone in my admiration of O. A. Miller's ability to compose a delightful tune. Since none of his works has been published since 1918 except for the outlier "When they crucified my Savior/The Cleansing Blood," I feel it is time to bring this composer of hymn tunes back into the light. Perhaps current choir directors or church music leaders might like his hymns as they are. Perhaps some of the hymns could be updated with more modern language usage—they are, after all, 100 years old or more at this point. There they languish, part of the public domain, waiting for people to find them, to give them new life, and to enable them to continue with their appointed task: acting as hymns in praise of Jesus as the Savior.

Myrna Layton is the representative for the Primrose International Viola Archive and Performing Arts Librarian at Brigham Young University. Her education includes MLIS (University of Wisconsin) and DLitt Phil (University of South Africa). Myrna teaches a Music Topics class at BYU and enjoys playing with the Balinese gamelan Bintang Wah Yu at BYU.

51. "Singing Evangelist Drops Dead While at Service, Blackstone," *The Pantagraph* (Bloomington, IL), Jan. 27, 1923, 2.
52. "Evangelist Dies During Services," *The Times* (Streator, IL), Jan. 26, 1923, 1.
53. "I Will Take Care of Thee," *Songs of Grace and Glory* #62.
54. "Mrs. Edna Miller," *The Pantagraph* (Bloomington, IL), Aug. 10, 1959, 2.
55. "I Will Take Care of Thee," *Songs of Grace and Glory* #62.
56. E-mail to the author from Karen Abbott, Dec. 4, 2019.

Appendix: Hymn Tunes Composed by O. A. Miller, listed by copyright date

Title	Author	Date	Where Found
Blessed Jesus, Thou wilt save me / I Will Tell of His Goodness to Me	David Conn	1899 © Towner	*Gospel Pilot Hymnal* #136
I long for that beautiful home	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1899	*Hymns of Faith & Praise* #162 *Choice Songs* (1902) #24 *Melodies of Salvation* (US) #91 *Melodies of Salvation* (CA)#219
With joy we rally here today	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1900–01	Library of Congress
In memory I often roam / Sweet Memories of Home	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1901	*Class and Chorus* #56
O harvest time, O time of joy / Harvest Home	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1901	*Class and Chorus* #58
O'er the glittering snow we are gliding along / Merrily, Merrily O	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1901	*Class and Chorus* #84
Now let our voices join	Philip Doddridge	1901	*Class and Chorus* #24
Balmy springtime now is here / Springtime, Happy Time	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1901	*Class and Chorus* #28
Weary and worn I long for rest / Evening Hymn	Mrs. E. M. Bohne	1901	*Hymns of Faith & Praise* #27 *Revival Hymns* #137
To all the world this song I'll sing / Jesus Is My Savior	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1901	*Hymns of Faith & Praise* #98
Hear the loving Savior pleading / Hear the Savior Pleading	A. Johnson	1901	*Hymns of Faith & Praise* #78
Have you ever heard the Savior	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1902	*The Institute Tie* 3, pg. 378
When they crucified my Savior on the cross of Calvary / The Cleansing Blood	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1903	*Gospel Hymn Book* #166 *Songs of Grace and Glory* #94 *Revival Hymns* #164 *Famous Hymns* #68 *Hymns Tried & True* #153 *Songs of the Century* *Hymns for the People* #17 *Pentecostal Hymns Nos. 5 and 6 Combined* #202 *The Cyber Hymnal* #887 *The Voice of Thanksgiving* #120 *The Voice of Thanksgiving* #2 #120 *The Voice of Thanksgiving* #3 #119 *The Voice of Thanksgiving* #4 *Choir Favorites: Inspiring Songs* #70
At God's right hand my Savior stands / My Sins Have All Been Washed Away	W. R. Newell	1903	*Gospel Hymn Book* #161
When you pass thro' sorrow, Jesus is standing close by / When He Hears Your Cry	O. A. Miller	1908	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #85 *Hymns for the People* #92
Keep step with Jesus	Mrs. O. A. Miller	1908	*Hymns for the People* #188

Title	Author	Date	Where Found
Fear not, O child of mine, I am thy God / I Will Take Care of Thee, My Child	O. A. Miller	1909	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #62
Jesus, Jesus, lover and Savior of men	O. A. Miller	1911	*Hymns for the People* #52
No one knows the burdens many hearts must ever bear / No One Knows Like Jesus	O. A. Miller	1914	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #58
'Tis the sweetest name that the angels know	O. A. Miller	1918	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #32 *Melodies of Zion* #257 *Timeless Truths* #789
Jesus is the dearest, sweetest friend I have	O. A. Miller	1918	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #34
My heart now has a song / Tis Victory through Christ	O. A. Miller	1918	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #70
Are you sin-burdened and weary today? / Jesus Is Waiting To Save You	O. A. Miller	1918	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #71
Are thy sins like clouds that gather 'round thee more and more? / Look unto Me and Be Ye Saved (Music written with C. W. Naylor)	O. A. Miller	1918	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #82
Thy Savior is tenderly saying to thee / Give Jesus Thy Heart Today	O. A. Miller	1918	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #90
Do you know why I am satisfied with Jesus? / Why I'm Satisfied with Jesus	O. A. Miller	1918	*Songs of Grace and Glory* #108

Citations for hymnals other than those found in article:

Choice Songs: A Collection of Sunday School and Gospel Songs. C.C. Case, ed. Philadelphia: American Baptist Pub., 1902.

Famous Hymns. E. O. Excell and D. B. Towner, eds. Chicago: The Bible Institute Colportage Assoc., 1907.

Hymns for the People for Services of Song in Christian Work. H. T. Crossley, ed. Chicago: Evangelical Pub., 1912.

Hymns Tried and True. D. B. Towner, ed. Chicago: The Bible Institute Colportage Assoc., 1911.

Melodies of Salvation (US). J. R. Sweney and Hugh E. Smith, eds. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1900.

Melodies of Salvation: A Collection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs for Use in All Church and Evangelistic Services (CA). J. Sweney, ed. Toronto: Briggs, 1900.

Melodies of Zion. A. L. Byers and, B. E. Warren, eds. Anderson, Indiana: Gospel Trumpet Press, 1926.

Pentecostal Hymns #5 and 6 Combined. Henry Date, ed. Chicago: Hope Pub., 1911.

Revival Hymns. D. B. Towner and, C. M. Alexander, eds. Chicago: The Bible Institute Colportage Assoc., 1905.

Songs of the Century #2. G. D. Elderkin and W. J. Kirkpatrick, eds. Chicago: George E. Elderkin Pub., 1910.

The Cyber Hymnal. Dick Adams, ed. 1996. www.hymntime.com/tch

Timeless Truths. 2020. http://library.timelesstruths.org/music/

Voice of Thanksgiving. D. B Towner, ed. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1913.

Voice of Thanksgiving #2. D. B Towner, ed Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1916.

Voice of Thanksgiving #3. D. B Towner, ed Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1921.

Finding and Singing Colonial Mennonite Tunes

GLENN LEHMAN

Introduction

What tunes did Mennonites in colonial southeastern Pennsylvania sing before their hymnals had notes? I searched for an answer when I was preparing a concert on colonial congregational singing. This concert would complete a series which had begun with twentieth-century hymnals and went back in time, hymnal by hymnal, until when the Mennonites first debarked in Philadelphia in 1683.

The hymn texts used are known, since the hymnals survive. What tunes they sang is another matter. Granted, the text-only hymnals often suggest tunes and a few tunes are printed. But some tune names are obsolete or untraceable. Moreover, the evidence is strong that tunes were not sung as they were printed. So, what melodies, what series of pitches, were sung?

Yet, even the tunes themselves would not suffice to present a historically informed performance. I had to discover how they sang whatever they sang. I needed to know factors of colonial life which would have had an impact on hymn singing and church life. Some of that is common knowledge—e.g., illiteracy, subsistence agrarian economy, and infrequent worship. But I needed to know more to enter this world unlike mine.

While I focused on the tunes Mennonites sang, I soon noticed commonalities with other German-speaking settlers in the vicinity. These common traits, in turn, were shared to some degree by English-speaking (and other) communities up and down the Atlantic seaboard. That singing culture, which in some areas and to some degree existed from 1620 to 1840, while not homogenous, would have had a bearing on the tunes I was looking for and how they would have been sung.

The Meetinghouse Culture: The Context of Colonial Hymn Tunes

In colonial southeastern Pennsylvania, whatever tunes the Mennonites sang took place first in the context of their German-speaking Protestant neighbors. This population, along with the population of all the colonies, remained small for many years[1] and stayed close to the coast until 1840 when massive immigrations began, swelled the numbers, and pushed families west.[2] That German-speaking colonial world itself was a segment of the thirteen English colonies.

The worship patterns and congregational singing style among the colonial churches I call the "meetinghouse culture." It implies some shared theology of worship as well as small congregations and primitive buildings. I borrow "meetinghouse" from Cotton Mather, who wrote: "A meeting house is the term that is most commonly used. . . . (there being) no just ground in Scripture to apply such a trope as *church* to a place for assembly."[3]

Although conditions varied by location and decade, the average settler who went to church walked or rode a horse to a rural meetinghouse where these tunes thrived. These primitive buildings measured on average about 600 square feet, judging from the few which survive. The log or stone buildings built for worship were often shared by two or several churches. Hard wooden or dirt floors, drape-free windows, low ceilings, and bare walls created a very live acoustic, favorable to slow, unison singing.

Worship services were generally held fortnightly, weather and disease epidemic permitting. With only about two hymns per service a typical congregation sang at most four hymns a month.[4] The number of different tunes were even fewer as each tune served several texts. Large metric indexes attest the same, with some tunes

1. Various scholars estimate the 1776 total population of the thirteen colonies to be two-and-a-half million, with the population of Philadelphia at 40,000.

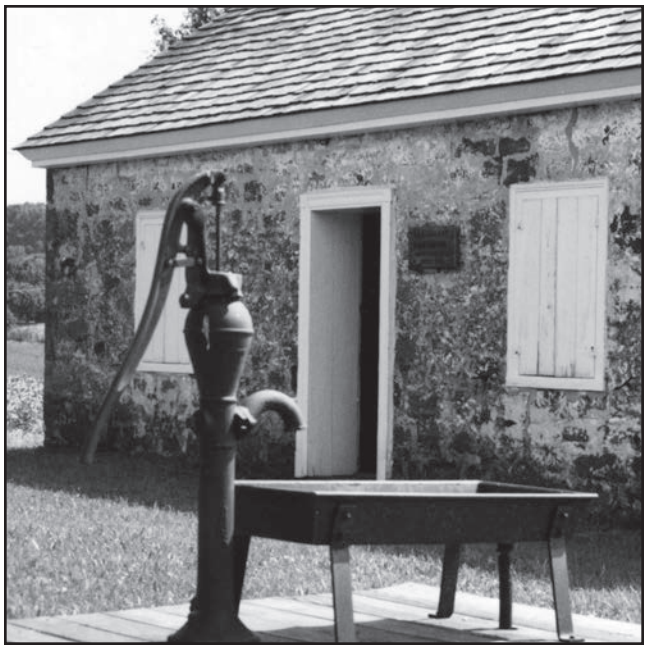
2. Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West* (New York: Vintage, 1986), 10-15. "In 1760, after eighty years of settlement, the population was still almost completely confined to the gentle rolling plains in the southeastern corner of the colony [of Pennsylvania]."

3. John Ogasapian, *Church Music in America 1620–2000* (Macon, GA; Mercer Univ. Press, 2007), 5.

4. Steve Friesen, *A Modest Mennonite Home* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1990), 86.

offered for over forty-five texts.[5] All ages sang together as the children learned by rote. Intergenerational memory worked in favor of the tunes not changing while infrequency suggests reliance on the tried and true.

Whatever the denomination, the church style tended to be "free." Leadership was often lay or itinerant among these pioneers in the pre-industrial colonies. Whether Reformed, Presbyterian, or Mennonite, not that many decades after the Reformation, singing took a secondary role in worship, far behind scripture and preaching. In fact, for "dissenting" church people—the majority—the theological rationales and cultural bent of Calvin and Zwingli (for Mennonites, also Conrad Grebel), held music in a bit of suspicion.



The meetinghouse culture was economically a subsistence culture. Bartering was common for these backwater pioneers located mostly in farmhouses. The population was young, self-reliant, and preoccupied with farming and raising children, many of whom died in infancy. Villages and institutions, such as schools, if they even existed in the vicinity, played a minor, sporadic role. The mere assembling of a group, such as a congregation gathered for worship, was itself a socially significant event. Some families brought a Bible and a hymnal to worship, although many were illiterate and could not afford books.

All of these factors—such as reluctance to include singing in worship, few books, and untrained leadership—would have a negative impact, I thought, on the tunes I wanted to find. Nonetheless, congregational singing seriously mattered. But *mattering* did not mean frequent. Not frequent, in fact, could mean *rare*. "Congregational singing had in some parts of the church

Figures 1 and 2: Exterior (top) and interior of Alleghenyville, Pennsylvania, meetinghouse built in 1855

5. *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch,* (Lancaster, PA; published by Mennonites in 1804, 1841 John Bear edition), 13, in "Register" appended at end.

almost become a lost art," the Reformed leader, Joseph H. Dubbs, wrote in about 1830.[6] In rare cases it disappeared.[7] Still, sing the people surely did. And the unison, oral, melismatic style was a Sunday morning colonial trademark. In his diary entry for Sunday, August 21, 1774, recounting his visit to a church in New York City, the future President John Adams wrote to his wife, Abigail, that the singing that morning was "in the Old Way, as we call it—all the drawling, quavering, Discord in the World."[8] Cosmopolitan Adams could call it "old" because he knew of new options.

The Context of Colonial Mennonite Hymns

Given these general conditions up and down the Atlantic seaboard, what tunes were the Mennonites, specifically, actually singing on the benches in the context and decades I intended to represent? Whatever they sang they had learned in Europe before migration. Whatever they sang had been sung at sea within a few feet of other passengers; jam-packed, passengers were hearing each other, likely sharing.

When the first "Mennists," as Mennonites were known then, arrived in Philadelphia in 1683, along with essentials, some families brought an *Ausbund*, a hymnal whose first edition dates to 1562.[9] Hymns recounting persecution and martyrdom dominate that book. Although Anabaptists wrote the texts, the historical record suggests that they used tunes in general circulation at the time.

In only a few decades, though, nestled persecution-free in William Penn's experiment in religious freedom, Mennonites put the *Ausbund* aside and began using Pietist hymns in worship. Scholars assume that they kept the tunes and merely changed the texts, since tune and text interchangeability was the order of the day. The first hymnal Mennonites published in America, in 1803, *Zion's Harpf* included none of the *Ausbund* hymns. That was the work of churches north of Philadelphia around what is now Montgomery County. The next year, in 1804, the churches west of Philadelphia, in what is now Chester and Lancaster Counties, published a similar hymnal, *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch,* which did include several from the *Ausbund*.

Retiring the *Ausbund* marked a watershed. After 1804, only the Amish, an Anabaptist group formed from the Mennonites near Colmar, France, in 1693, used it. The remaining Mennonites changed to hymns not written by themselves, as the *Ausbund* had been. Having made the change to the 1804 *Gesangbuch*, one sub-set of Mennonites stuck with it until today, and there is no evidence they changed the tunes significantly.

Could I find the tunes among this remnant?

Finding the Music: The Encounter with Amish Slow Tunes

Before I could pursue that thought, an Amish neighbor invited me to his daughter's wedding. On backless benches, cramped shoulder-tight in a farmhouse, I was prepared to politely listen to two hours of singsong preaching in German. A few minutes in, the congregation started to sing from the *Ausbund,* a words-only hymnal, which a bench-mate kindly shared. They sang unison, notes by memory, in a modality vaguely major and minor at once, phrased syllable-by-syllable, slower than *larghissimo*, non-metric chant. A leader cast out the first several notes of each line. Then a full sonority followed. I timed a full twenty minutes to sing four stanzas. Their extravagant tunes of seven-some notes per syllable and five minutes per stanza, were indeed "slow tunes." If they were elaborations on a simple quarter-note tune, it was anyone's guess which notes lay as a skeleton beneath.

Scholars such as Hedwig Durnbaugh have tried to identify the sources of the Amish tunes.[10] Another thorough summary of Amish singing, by Lee R.

6. Joseph Dubbs, "Early German Hymnology of Pennsylvania," in *Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the 18th Century*, three volumes in four. National Society of the Colonial Dames of America. (New York: AMS, 1972).

7. David W. Music and Paul A Richardson, *I Will Sing the Wondrous Story: A History of Baptist Hymnody in North America* (Macon, GA: Mercer Univ. Press, 2008), 4. First Baptist Church in Providence "remained songless for nearly 120 years . . . until 1771."

8. Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1987), 72. Quoted from the *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams,* 2:104.

9. Robert Friedman, "Ausbund" in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online,* 1953, 2020. https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Ausbund. Accessed Feb. 10, 2020. The *Ausbund* is the longest-used Christian hymnal ever, still being used. Myron Sauder, "A Hymn of the Old Order," *The Hymn* 62, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2011), 58.

10. Hedwig T. Durnbaugh, "The Amish Sing Style: Theories of Its Origin and Description of Its Singularity," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 22 (April 1999), 24–31.

Bartel, appeared in *The Hymn* in 1986.[11] Whether the origin can be attributed to isolation, persecution, refusal to sing hymns which might sound like amusement to the guards in prison, refusal to sing in a way that evoked dance or military marching, subconscious memories of chant heard in the nearby monasteries in Alsace, France, or just musical genius, remains a matter of speculation.

The Amish singing sounded to me like spirituality set to music, with its languorous and subtle restraint, its walking humbly with God, more than marching triumphantly to Zion or clinching a theological argument. I heard a mature, nonmetric, non-modal, non-directed chant, able to sustain all lyrics, from the most exultant psalm to the deepest lament. If wisdom is heart, mind, and head integrated with the universal, then this music does that, with the body (heart) element expressed as communal, kinetic breathing.

Finding Remnants in Old Order Mennonite Worship

Had I found in my own backyard the tunes I needed for the colonial concert? Not quite. The Amish singing indeed shared traits (e.g., monodic, non-directed, nonmetric, melismatic) with the meetinghouse style common in all the colonies. But the elaborate Amish version is a genre unto itself as noted above by Durnbaugh.

So, to find the tunes I needed, it was back to the 1804 *Gesangbuch*, back to a time when accelerating acculturation persuaded a group of Mennonites to preserve their church culture and not accommodate to singing schools, Sunday school, and electricity. In 1893, those churches, now often referred to as Old Orders, opted to stay with German and the slow tunes. The *Gesangbuch* remains their worship hymnal today, although others hymns are known outside of worship.[12]

420 Von der wahren Gemeine.

ſtille ſtehen, Bis daß ein jeder ſagen kann: Gott lob! auch mich nimmt Jeſus an!

5. Mel. Wie freuet ſich m. (15)

Spar deine buße nicht Von einem jahr zum andern, Du weißt nicht, wann du mußt Aus dieſer welt weg wandern; Du mußt nach deinem tod Vor Gottes angeſicht; Ach! denke fleißig dran: Spar deine buße nicht!

2. Spar deine buße nicht, Bis daß du alt wirſt werden; Du weiſt nicht zeit und ſtund, Wie lang du lebſt auf erden: Wie bald verlöſchet doch Der menſchen lebens-licht! Wie bald iſt es geſchehn! Spar deine buße nicht!

3. Spar deine buße nicht Bis auf das todes-bette; Zerreiſſe doch in zeit Die ſtarke ſündenkette. Denk an die todesangſt, Wie da das herze bricht, Mach dich von ſünden los: Spar deine buße nicht!

4. Spar deine buße nicht, Weil du biſt jung von jahren, Da du erſt luſt und freud Willſt in der welt erfahren; Die jungen ſterben auch, Und müſſen vors gericht: Drum ändre dich bey zeit, Spar deine buße nicht!

5. Spar deine buße nicht, Dein leben wird ſich enden; Drum laß den ſatan doch Dich nicht ſo gar verblenden; Dann wer da in der welt Viel böſes angericht, Der muß zur höllen gehn. Spar deine buße nicht!

6. Spar deine buße nicht, Dieweil du noch kannſt bäten, So laß nicht ab vor Gott In wahrer buß zu treten; Bereue deine ſünd; Wann dieſes nicht geſchicht, Weh deiner armen ſeel! Spar deine buße nicht!

7. Spar deine buße nicht; Ach! ändre heut dein leben, Und ſprich: ich hab mein herz Nun meinem Gott gegeben, Ich ſetz auf Jeſum Chriſt All meine zuverſicht; So wirſt du ſelig ſeyn: Spar deine buße nicht!

Von der wahren Gemeine.

6. Mel. Ach was ſoll ich ſünder. (46)

Jeſu, der du biſt alleine Haupt und König der gemeine, Segne mich, dein armes glied; Wollſt mir neuen einfluß geben Deines geiſtes, dir zu leben, Stärke mich durch deine güt.

2. Ach! dein lebens-geiſt durchdringe, Gnade, kraft und ſegen bringe Deinen gliedern allzumal, Wo ſie hier zerſtreuet wohnen Unter allen

Figure 3: *Unpartheysiches Gesangbuch*, published by Mennonites in 1804 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania

11. Lee R. Bartell, "The Tradition of the Amish in Music." *The Hymn* 37, no. 4 (Oct. 1986), 20.

12. Lucid and concise information on Amish music and on one particular Old Order stream (the Old Order River Brethren) can be found in Sauder.

The director of Muddy Creek Farm Library, Ephrata, Pennsylvania, a center of Old Order Mennonite faith and life, explained that although many Old Orders now sing by notes, a few of the churches, the ones devoted to horsepower generated by actual horses, still sing the slow tunes. One of their song leaders, a gracious, spirited "Jeffersonian" farmer, his kitchen replete with a library, several almanacs and fat, dog-eared genealogies (one in which he found me—a seventh? cousin), offered me a seat on a straw bale in the forebay of his barn. There he sang me some hymns. Being generous, and glad that someone was interested, he gathered several members of his church who allowed me to record anonymously while they sang. Now my search was getting traction.

They sang, for example, slow tune versions of PASSION CHORALE, GROSSER GOTT, and LIEBSTER JESU. They also sang slow versions of GENEVAN 42 and OLD HUNDREDTH. The *Gesangbuch* texts included: "O Gott Vater, wir loben dich"; "Zeuch uns nach dir"; "O Jesu du mein bräutigam"; "Nun lobet alle Gottes Sohn"; "Aus der tiefe rufe ich zu dir"; "Wachet auf, ruft uns die stimme"; and "Wie schön leucht uns der Morgenstern." These represent a variety of worship events, including baptism, ordination, and burial.

All of the hymn texts are found in the 1804 *Gesangbuch* as well as in the 1803 *Zion's Harpf*. That the texts came from their neighbors became clear when I searched the collections at the Evangelical and Reformed Historical Library at the Lancaster (Pennsylvania) Theological Seminary campus; I found nine of these German texts in the 1797 *Reformed Gesang-Buch* and nine in the Lutheran 1803 *Lieder-Sammlung*, to mention just a sampling. This is not surprising, since "denominational boundaries were indistinct at that time (1797)," writes Paul Westermeyer. "Some German Reformed and Lutheran churches shared common buildings called 'union' churches."[13] Mennonites shared meetinghouses, too.

To determine if melodies from the group I befriended were broadly shared, I went to several *ad hoc* singings to compare the tunes of various groups separated doctrinally over a century ago. Some are also geographically distant.[14] These disparate groups may have disagreed on some doctrines, but they had not fought over their tunes, which had not changed. While not proof, this is convincing evidence that these tunes changed very little during the past century since these streams had separated. Hymns are part of their list of settled things not to change. So, if the tunes did not change much for the past century, I deduced that these were very close to the tunes people sang in colonial times, even as far back as the first years.

Examples of What I Found

Finally, from this melismatic repertoire I transcribed twenty-some tunes for my concert. Some of the slow tunes are based on quarter-note tunes now obsolete, such as: SETZE DICH, MEIN GEIST, EIN WENIG RICHTET EUCH SELBST ALLEZEIT, and WER WEISS, WIE NAHE MIR MEIN ENDE?[15] Some tunes are still used today: e.g., O GOTT VATER, WIR LOBEN DICH, AUS DER TIEFE RUFE ICH ZU DIR, and NUN LOBET ALLE GOTTES SOHN. (See examples, below, 37.) Some Old Order song leaders have transcribed slow tunes to help young song leaders learn them. These correspond exactly with the notations I had made.

The Old Orders who sang for me are not the only repository of remnants of colonial music. One can find online, through the Smithsonian Institute, recordings of Old Regular Baptist and Primitive and other Baptist tunes similar to what I had found. There are a few other groups in remote Appalachian areas preserving slow colonial tunes. The Library of Congress made recordings in the early twentieth century. As I write this, one can listen to "Old Order Mennonites Singing" on YouTube for a hymn such as I describe.

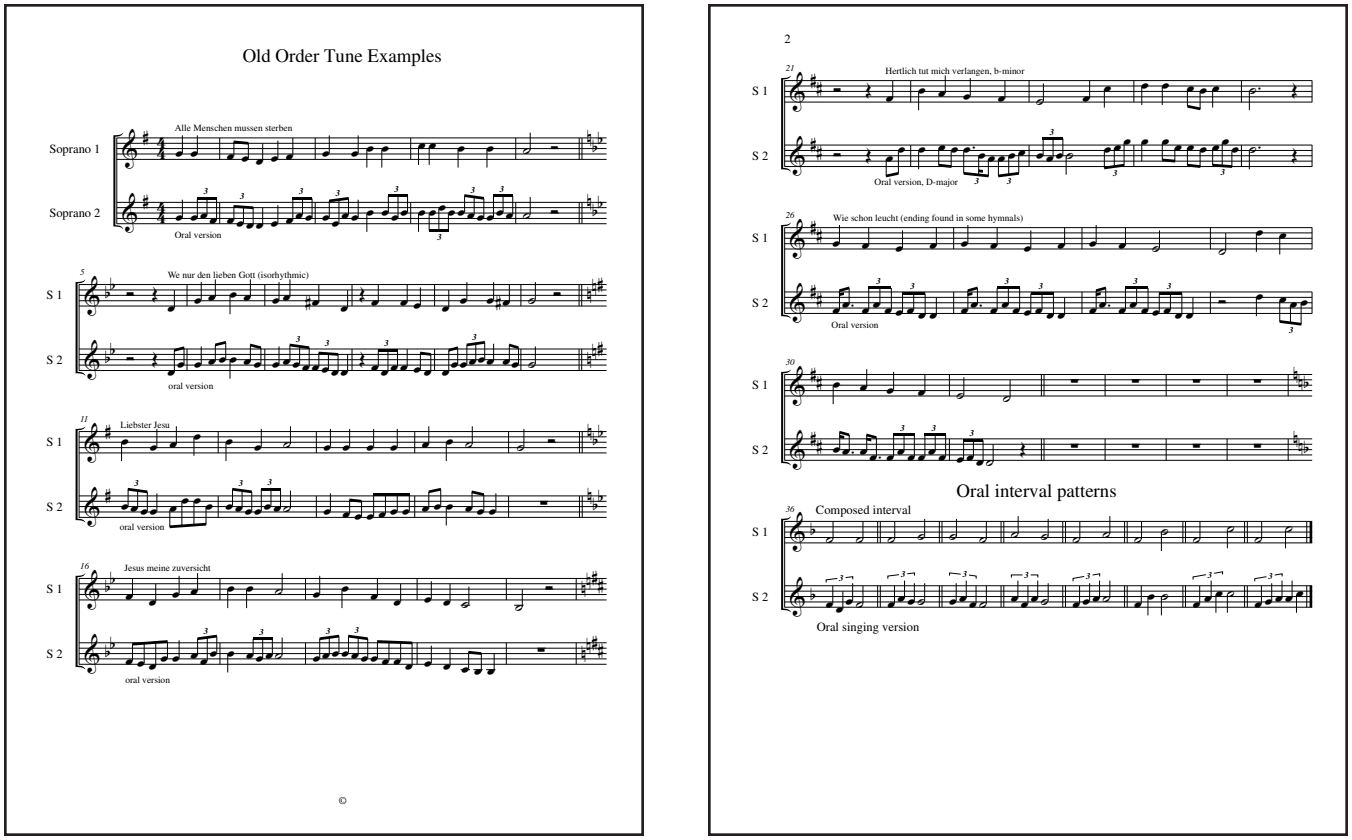
Some Characteristics of Meetinghouse Slow Tunes

The slow, oral tunes of the colonial meetinghouse culture, whether Mennonite or other, derived from tunes that originated in Europe, composed or folk. Taught by rote, the slow versions had already developed into an identifiable subgenre by the time of migration to America. Whatever changes came over time, the skeletal original can still be heard. This modification and elongating seems to fit what Nicholas Temperley reported about singing in general: "In places where congregations are left to sing hymns without musical directions for long periods, a characteristic style of singing tends to

13. Paul Westermeyer, "The Evolution of the Music of German American Protestants in Their Hymnody: A Case Study from an American Perspective," in *Music in American Religious Experience*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith L. Blumhofer, and Maria M. Chow (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006), 156.

14. Two of the singings are occasionally held in the preserved 1854 meetinghouse near Alleghenyville, Pennsylvania. One was sponsored by the Mennonite Historians of Chambersburg, another by the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society.

15. Note that German tunes take their names from the first line of the hymn text, resulting in matching text and tune names.



Figures 4a and 4b: Musical examples

develop. The tempo becomes extremely slow; the sense of rhythm is weakened; extraneous pitches appear."[16]

The modifications made by oral-tradition singing occur in fairly consistent patterns. Notes are always added but never deleted. A frequent example of addition is passing notes, which often fall between thirds. This is not unlike how a popular style would render AMAZING GRACE compared to its printed version: "A-maz-ing grace" written: *sol-do-mi-do-mi*; sung: *sol-la-do-do-mi-mi-re-do-mi*.

Another common pattern is singing triplets as both passing tones and using its third pitch as an anticipatory note. (See *sol-la-do-do* above). The three notes of a triplet are never given equal value. Often the middle note of the triplet is sung quickly. One hears this as roughly a sixteenth followed by a dotted-eighth. On leaps bigger than thirds, one finds appoggiatura, long or short.

In this oral freestyle, unsurprisingly, relying only on memory obviously entails some imprecision and maybe even improvisation. At the sings I attended, I heard some ad-libbing of second parts, treble and bass. Lower male voices might find a pedal point and stay there when the melody goes high for several syllables. Relying completely on memory limits the number of tunes a community can sing. The same tune is then used for many texts, which results in many more texts than tunes used in a congregation. A limited number of tunes limits the metric variety of texts to the metrics of the known tunes.

Leadership as an Influence on Oral Singing

To know how the tunes were sung, how they sounded, I would need to learn about leadership or the lack thereof. In this culture, where bi-vocational pastors rarely had a chance of higher education, music leaders emerged locally and informally, perhaps even reluctantly, and in some churches for life. In other words, their role was to enliven but not to change the music already in the congregation.

A leader at that time did not stand up and use hand and arm gestures. Oral singing was non-directed by non-professional leaders. Their only tool was their voice. The few solo phrases a leader sang at the beginning of each line shaped the tune's overall sound, from tempo to pitch. The use of that one eminent tool is called *lining out*. Its rationale could be as simple as compensating for singers who had short memories or no books—speaking out the next words or singing out the first few notes of the next phrase. Or it could be an integral element of

16. Nicholas Temperley, "The Old Way of Singing: Its Origin and Development," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34, no. 3 (Autumn 1981), 511–544.

the oral style if sung by a spirited leader. This would be a subjective element to emulate in my performance. When rendered with verve and flair, it became the oral style's stellar signature. (One can hear a similar sound when a contemporary band leader shouts out first words to the next stanza or when a cantor leads.)

In addition to being informal and not trained, in meetinghouse culture leadership was usually shared. In some Mennonite churches, song leaders (or foresingers, the English cognate of the German, *Vorsänger*) sat around a table (the singers table) at the front. From the table, the pews (benches, sometimes backless) went out to the right, left, and front. In my performance, the choir would play the role of that shared leadership.

The Critics of Colonial Meetinghouse Slow Tune Singing

Histories today often describe the worship singing in the colonies as a cultural night awaiting the dawn of a new musical day. At the time, laypersons, such as John and Abigail Adams, just took this kind of singing for granted. But not everyone took it as ideal. To those who had been exposed to note singing in colleges such as Princeton (founded 1746), the University of Pennsylvania (1740), or Yale (1701), this oral singing of the countryside, which included nearly everybody, sounded scruffy and chaotic and offended their taste, if not their theology. There were always a privileged few who knew about the high musical art in Europe—when Princeton was founded Bach was working on "The Art of the Fugue." Pamphlets and articles unleashed terms such as "old," "wavering," and "each singing differently."

The proponents of musical literacy believed it was a standoff between the boorish locals and the enlightened musicians. The terms used were *the Usual* and *by Note*. Sometimes it was called *Custom* or *Common* versus *Regular* (regulated by notes).[17] The arguments easiest to access by us today came out of college communities and the Boston area. German-language polemics expressed the same concerns.

The Rev. Thomas Symmes, arguing for learning to read notes, wrote,

> singing by Note is giving every Note its proper Pitch and Turning the Voice in its proper place. . . . Whereas, the Usual Way varies much from this: In it, some Notes are sung too high, others too low, and most too long, and many Turnings of, or Flourishes with the Voice (as they call them) are made where they should not be, and some are wanting where they should have been.[18]

In the 1720s Thomas Walter wrote that "the tunes are now miserably tortured and twisted and quavered in some churches into a horrid medley of confused and disorderly noises." In his opinion, they had

> fallen victim to so many evils, including tone-deaf deacons, slow tempos, lower pitches, inaccurate intervals, improvised part singing, "falling-in" from one tune to another, and vocal ornaments of such "quaverings, turnings, and flourishes" that psalm singing sounded like "five hundred different tunes roared out at the same time."[19]

Surely Thomas doth protest too much: surely he had not visited Pennsylvania, but good hyperbole can make a good read.

Besides their polemics, advocates for Regular singing, including the Mennonites, eventually had the social force of singing schools and the printing press of Joseph Funk on their side. If one uses William Billings' school of 1774 as a date of origin (although teaching sight-reading was occurring sporadically before that), we see how long the Usual Way held unchallenged sway even as the singing school spread rapidly as a social phenomenon. Singing schools quickly flourished, but their influence for a long time stopped at the church door. Change in worship music came slowly, even slower among Mennonites, based on the publication dates of their hymnals. This reluctance to modify memorized tunes has shown up before in other Protestant settings. In Geneva in the 1550s, Karin Maag notes, they "had become so wedded to their psalm tunes that any alteration to these same melodies caused a furor."[20]

To give the critics their due, dissonance surely crept in. But meanwhile, the advocates for the Old way just kept singing the Old way, seeing no reason to advocate for something which had always been there. In addition, the traditionalists thought, the new Regular (by note) way sounded to common folk more like secular

17. Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1987), 22. See chapter 2, "Conflict and Reform," for a thorough discussion.

18. Chase, 22.

19. Chase, 21.

20. Karin Maag, "'No Better Songs': John Calvin and the Genevan Psalter in the Sixteenth Century and Today," *The Hymn* 38, no. 4 (Autumn 2017), 28. In this case, the furor meant throwing Louis Bourgeois in jail overnight.

songs—a beat, a dance, careless abandon—than like spiritual music able to express the ineffable.

Proponents of the Old music delighted in it as natural, a philosophical ideal that fit the freestyle of the isolated farms. It was also more like chant, sublime and spiritual. Plus, they knew it by heart, as comfort music in a hardscrabble life. It could, at its best, rise to transcendental heights like Gregorian chant. "Men and women from every walk of life, including the simplest, hear in the chant something which differs sharply from what they call 'cheap music,' . . . affecting even children" [21]

Performance Choices

A concert requires not only a score but also an interpretation. To present a historically informed performance, after having found the tunes, I enlisted singers willing to tackle German and a vocal style more folk than *bel canto*. We called ourselves the Foresingers. To replicate the small room acoustic and feel the sound, we sang when possible in preserved meetinghouses and historic sites.[22] Writing of oral culture in *The Hymn*, Gracia Grindal noted that "people felt the vibrations of sound physically."[23] Part of the "feeling" comes from vocal timbre, avoiding *bel canto,* and rehearsing an edge of nasality.

We started each hymn in German, a cappella. I wrote optional harp, temple blocks, handbells, flute, and zither parts for some songs. [24] We dressed in period costumes and used a storyline to link songs and give context. The goal was not simply to sing the slow tunes, but to re-create the meetinghouse culture. When a tune or text is still used in hymnals today, such as LIEBSTER JESU, the audience sang a verse to illustrate centuries-long continuity.

We had to resist making long melodic phrases, or indeed much of any phrases at all. The text was meted out by syllable or word rather than by poetic phrase. The style resists meter. Another pattern inherent in the style is cutting short the last note of a line. Why hold it, perhaps the thinking went, if the text has already been expressed?

Lining out regularly returns the music to a solo voice which acts as a motif, like a refrain or a *ritornello.* This ebb and flow creates a slow, tidal rhythm. The community lingers together on a text, a kind of devotional *lectio canticum* (to coin a variation of *lectio divina*). This is echoed by the preaching voice which was often singsong, elevated to reach farther back in the room and further down in the consciousness. Human voices in either a singing or a singsong register, wove together the service into an integrated artistic whole, similar to a sung mass or African-American worship when preaching and singing resemble one another.

Reasons to Engage with This Body of Vocal Art

This music of the meetinghouse culture came to America by uninvited settlers (be they migrants, refugees, or opportunists) who landed in a place far from home, clutching a Bible and a hymnal.[25] I might wish they had been a little more curious and had adopted at least one Native American song into their repertoire, or a little more literate, or had written down their tunes for posterity. But they didn't write much about their tunes and singing. We have a lot to puzzle out.

Our fellow musicians in classical genres, too, have puzzles to solve—e.g., how to perform mordents, trills, and figured bass. They face unknowns, too, as they re-examine early music and ways to present it today. Fortunately, the public for this endeavor is growing.[26]

My study rewarded me in several ways. First, it gave me the music I needed for my historical series. I presented it at the 1719 Herr House, which then was anticipating its tricentennial. Second, my study taught me that where conditions limit one element of music, humans develop beauty in another aspect. Third, I learned to trust a degree of randomness in performance. Charles Ives remembered his father leading singing and encouraging the people "to sing their own way."[27] The oral singing of this era suggests that congregational singing over time—like spoken language—is neither a

21. Dom Jacques Hourlier, *Reflections on the Spirituality of Gregorian Chant* (Orleans, MA: Paraclete, 2004), 44.

22. E.g., Detweiler Meetinghouse in Ontario, Germantown, in Philadelphia; the 1719 Herr House in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and historical museums such as Mercer Museum and West Overton in Pennsylvania.

23. Gracia Grindal, **"**Writing Hymns and Singing Them: Memory and the Oral Culture," *The Hymn* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2019), 24.

24. For an example see "Repent, Do not Delay" at jwpepper.com.

25. In this article, I have focused on the Europeans who came to the early English colonies. The colonies were already inhabited by centuries-old cultures and religions. My search for tunes only looks at one part of North America as a continent.

26. Nicholas Kenyon, *The Guardian*, Nov. 1, 2019. "Early music, once a connoisseur's backwater, has become mainstream. It's half a century since medieval and Renaissance music burst from its cocoon and, through the energy of David Munrow and other pioneers, became a sophisticated, professionalised idiom."

27. Chase, 431.

straight line of progress or of decline. It may be a pendulum swinging instead of a succession of styles, one vanquishing another. While it moves, its fulcrum is fixed.

Enigmatic Amish music captured the attention of scholars beginning in the 1940s, and has since received a lot of attention. But the more common, if a bit lackluster, slow tunes of most of the colonial meetinghouses, including the Mennonites, is under-researched. Recently, some scholarship is using ethnomusicology and folklore to understand that colonial era oral-tradition singing. For example, in April 2007, a conference and concert of line-singing was held in Battell Chapel at Yale. In the New England context, similar singing patterns were discovered by Willie Ruff who hosted the international conference on line-singing. A report of the 2007 conference noted that "the dirge-like chanting . . . continued to be practiced in some remote churches."[28]

No recording of eighteenth-century singing will ever be found. We can hope that someone may discover a Dead-Sea-scrolls-like cache of notation. Until then, I can burrow back into history with the evidence presented here and be satisfied that I know with some certainty what my colonial ancestors sang when they met for worship in small meetinghouses, clutching in their hands and hearts a words-only hymnal and in their heads chant-like oral-tradition tunes.

Glenn Lehman has worked as church music director and organist. He holds an MM from Westminster Choir College where Eric Routley taught him hymnology. He has written *You Can Lead Singing* (Good Books, 1995) and for various Mennonite publications. His Table Singers *a cappella* hymn recordings have enjoyed over two millions hits online; his colonial group, Foresingers, provided music for two PBS documentaries, one directed by Yale Roe and the other by David Grubin.

28. "Conference and Concert of Line-Singing at Yale" (press release), April 9, 2007, https://news.yale.edu/2007/04/09/conference-and-concert-line-singing-yale Accessed Feb. 10, 2020.

Liturgical Speech Acts in Congregational Singing

DAVID CALVERT

Introduction

In 1985, James Litton observed, "Hymns are no longer extra liturgical, but have become necessary for late twentieth century liturgical celebrations."[1] As contemporary church culture has progressed, hymns and contemporary worship music have become necessary for twenty-first-century corporate worship, to the extent that *worship* is colloquially synonymous with the congregational singing in a contemporary service.[2] Because of its prominent place in corporate worship, congregational singing constitutes much of the liturgical language used in a given worship service.

What is said and heard in corporate worship shapes how worshippers understand God and shapes how they may engage with God. As noted, some of the language of corporate worship is *sung* language. Congregational singing has a unique affective potential to influence the spiritual formation of a Christian participating in corporate worship. By combining music that serves the liturgy with the language of the liturgy, congregational singing may affect a worshipper in formative ways more than mere speech. How might we describe the formative effects of congregational singing in corporate worship?

Speech act theory provides a way of understanding performative speech. Speech act theory (hereafter, SAT) consists of locution, illocutionary force, and perlocutionary effect. The locution is an utterance or statement. Illocutionary force is performed *in* speech when speaking occurs, and perlocutionary effects are accomplished *by* speaking, in response to or as result of the speaking. Using the categories of speech act theory and applying them to the corporate worship context, this paper will demonstrate how the lyrical content and the musical content both bring illocutionary force to bear on the hearer or participant.

This paper will explore how to *do* things with the words sung in congregational singing, towards the end of spiritual formation. Beginning with speech act categories, this exploration will interact with Nicholas Wolterstorff's expertise in art and expression and James K. A. Smith's description of liturgy, the social imaginary, and formative potential. This paper will then propose a framework for recognizing the illocutionary force or intent of sung language. By conceiving congregational singing in terms of liturgical speech acts, worship leaders may contribute to accomplishing the perlocutionary effect of spiritual formation in the congregation through congregational singing.

Speech Act Theory Categories

First articulated by J. L. Austin and further developed by John Searle, SAT consists of the three main parts: locution, illocutionary force, and perlocutionary effect.[3] These acts and effects both shape and are shaped by their context of use. Although initially used primarily in the realm of philosophy of language and philosophy of mind, SAT has proven useful in theology—especially in hermeneutics. The three parts of SAT are tools to investigate the meaning of language, and particularly the intent of the speaker.

A speaker's intent is described in SAT as the illocutionary force. Although it may seem that SAT is equipped for examining lyrical content alone, the concept of illocutionary force can be applied to the musical component of congregational singing as well. Both the lyrical content and the musical content of song have illocutionary force, and congregational singing combines the intentions of author, composer, singers, and hearers in ways that move beyond Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts.

Searle proposed five categories for speech acts: Expressive, Assertive, Commissive, Directive, and Declarative. The inseparability of music and lyrics in congregational singing is an inseparability of intentions that is

1. James H. Litton, "The Hymn in the Anglican Liturgy," in *Duty and Delight: Routley Remembered*, ed. Robin Leaver, James Litton, and Carlton Young (Carol Stream, IL: Hope, 1985), 168.

2. For reference on this development, see Swee Hong Lim and Lester Ruth, *Lovin' on Jesus: A Concise History of Contemporary Worship* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2017).

3. For the primary sources in speech act theory, see J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 1962) and John R. Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969).

Chart 1: Searle's Taxonomy

This chart is an abbreviated reference to Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts.

Type of Act	Assertive	Directive	Commissive	Expressive	Declarative
Illocutionary Point	S commits to *p* being the case	S attempts to get H to do something	S commits to future action	Expresses internal, psychological state	Brings about correspondence between reality and propositional content
Sincerity Condition	belief	desire	intention	none	Contingent to institutional facts
Direction of Fit	Word to world	World to word	World to word	None	Both directions
Example sentence	It is raining.	Open the door.	I will begin at 6 p.m.	I love the rain!	I now baptize you.
Liturgical cases	testify, confess, praise, boast, lament	ask, command, pray	commit, covenant, promise	thank, boast, praise, lament	bless, consecrate, name

S = speaker, p = propositional content, H = hearer
Adapted from Richard Briggs' taxonomical table of illocutionary acts that distills into one page John R. Searle's first chapter from *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1–29. Richard Briggs, *Words in Action: Speech Act Theory and Biblical Interpretation* (Edinburgh: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2004), 51.

illuminated by liturgical speech acts or speech acts that particularly combine forces in the context of Christian corporate worship. These acts are Celebrative, Participative, and Re-presentative, also included in a chart for reference (below, 43).

Every speech act in corporate worship is expressive in response to God's self-revelation. As noted above, an Expressive is one of Searle's five illocutionary acts. Congregational singing adds another level of pervasive expression, namely the musical or aesthetic expression. As will be explained below, art such as music may do more than merely express, but even if it *only* expresses it brings another level of illocutionary complexity to congregational singing that is helpfully summarized in liturgical speech acts. In congregational song, music as art brings another level of Expressive illocutionary force to be combined with the illocutionary force(s) of the lyrical content.

Liturgy and Formativity

The event of corporate worship performs the texts of corporate worship or liturgies, and over time the repeated events will have formative effect on participants. The continuous events of corporate worship, enacting liturgies, connect worshippers today with all those who have gone before. James K. A. Smith describes *liturgies* in ways that could directly be applied to congregational song(s). For example, Smith says, "Liturgies are compressed, repeated, performed narratives that, over time, conscript us is into the story they 'tell' by showing, by performing."[4] One might easily substitute *songs* for *liturgies* in this statement, since congregational songs are indeed compressed, repeated, performed narratives that have formative effect over time. The lyrics of a congregational hymn or song compress complex theological ideas together and the songs are repeated over the course of time in regular gatherings of worship. Whereas preaching, praying, and public reading can be passive participatory elements, congregational singing is a liturgical element that necessitates active congregational participation or performance.

The language of corporate worship emerges from, and reinforces, a specific narrative of "the way things should be." Smith's "Christian social imaginary" is an appropriate description for the background of meaning in liturgical speech acts.[5] The Christian social imaginary is "a distinctly Christian understanding of the world that is implicit in the practices of Christian worship,"

4. James K. A. Smith, *Imagining the Kingdom: How Worship Works* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013), 109.

5. James K. A. Smith, *Desiring the Kingdom: Worship, Worldview, and Cultural Formation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2009), 68.

Chart 2: Taxonomy of Liturgical Speech Acts

Type of Act	Celebrative	Participative	Re-presentative
Illocutionary Point(s)	S simultaneously expresses and asserts	S simultaneously expresses, commits and/or directs	S simultaneously expresses, asserts, and declares
Direction(s) of Fit	Word to world and none	World to word and none	Both directions and none
Example Sentence	The love of the Lord never fails.	Praise the Lord, O my soul.	He took the bread, and broke it, saying, 'This is my body.'
Liturgical cases	Congregational song, proclamation, prayer	Proclamation, confession, creedal statements, congregational song	Proclamation, baptism, the Lord's Supper, prayer
Liturgical Verbs	Celebrate, praise, rejoice, teach	Promise, ask, seek, command, confess, repent	Consecrate, bless, baptize, institute

S = speaker
Adapted from David Calvert, "Liturgical Speech Acts: How to Do Things with Words in Worship" (PhD dissertation, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2018).

and it is a philosophical way of framing Jesus's teaching of the kin-dom or realm of God's reign.[6] Congregational singing often makes the implicit *explicit* as compressed ideas about God and humanity are given voice.

Congregational Singing and the Christian Social Imaginary

The music and lyrics of congregational singing have an interactive relationship with the Christian social imaginary. Nicholas Wolterstorff, a theologian and philosopher well acquainted with SAT, proposes that art is involved in "world-projection," which is a way of articulating how congregational song participates in the Christian social imaginary—states of affairs are included in a song's world.[7] Wolterstorff explains that the world that art projects is a state of affairs, a way things can or cannot be. Both the lyrics and the music of a song may project the world of the art of congregational song.

Music carries with it the world it is projecting and the world behind and surrounding the work of art. This occurs through both the musical and the non-musical elements in the context of corporate worship. Jeremy Begbie indirectly applies the concept of the Christian social imaginary to music when he explains,

> Music is never heard on its own but as a part of a perceptual complex that includes a range of non-musical phenomena: for example, the physical setting in which we hear the music, memories of people associated with it, artificial images (as in the case of film and video), words (the lyrics of a song, program notes, the title of a piece, what someone said about the piece on the radio), and so on.[8]

This *perceptual complex*, and the included non-musical phenomena, may be more succinctly referred to as the Christian social imaginary, the background of meaning for liturgical speech acts. Begbie comments, "I come to hear music in some ways and not others because of my social and cultural setting."[9] Participation in the music of congregational song, as well as the lyrics, is shaped by the Christian social imaginary.

Congregational Singing and the Illocutionary Relationship between Music and Lyrics

Congregational singing is a clear example of multiple, simultaneous illocutionary forces, as the text and the music may irreducibly combine several of Searle's original categories. The music of a congregational song may

6. Ibid. The parables of the "kingdom of God" shape the social imaginary of Jesus's followers in the gospel accounts, reframing "the good life" for them.

7. See the definition of "world projection" in Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Art in Action: Toward a Christian Aesthetic* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 126. For the groundwork on this idea, see Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Works and Worlds of Art* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980).

8. Jeremy S. Begbie, "Faithful Feelings" in *Resonant Witness: Conversations between Music and Theology,* ed. Steven R. Guthrie and Jeremy Begbie (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), 339.

9. Jeremy Begbie, *Resounding Truth: Christian Wisdom in the World of Music* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 43.

assist in intending the content a certain way. John Witvliet suggests as much when he illustrates, "Take the three-word text 'Eat this Bread.' Music can make that single text mysterious, sentimental, celebratory, funereal, or meditative."[10] Judith Kubicki notes the illocutionary potential of music as it interacts with text in singing, explaining that music "assists especially in providing those elements of stress and intonation contour which empower the singers to *do something* in the act of singing."[11] Music has the potential to bring meaning to a text, "but its role goes beyond that of being a vehicle for the words."[12] The illocutionary force of the words may be combined with the illocutionary force of the music to do something beyond merely asserting facts or committing a promise. Congregational singing is a liturgical speech act that empowers worshippers to celebrate, participate, and make states of affairs present in the context of corporate worship.

Congregational Singing, Illocutionary Acts, and Liturgical Speech Acts

How might congregational singing be understood in terms of illocutionary acts? First I will provide examples from Searle's taxonomy, and after explaining a key limitation in describing corporate worship, I will provide examples of liturgical speech acts. Since the idea of *expressing* has been developed already in relation to art, I will begin with the Expressive illocutionary act.

Expressives describe an internal state of affairs. Expressive speech may be as simple as exclaiming "Oh!" in response to a surprise, or "Ouch!" after stepping on something painful. Congregational singing, as a part of corporate worship, "can be understood as an action which *expresses* both faith and praise," according to Kubicki.[13] Congregational singing provides an opportunity for a worshipper to express an inner state of affairs. In fact, congregational singing allows worshippers to express a range of responses: praise, confession, thanksgiving, offering, petition/intercession, and more.[14] When lyrical content is partnered with a fitting melody, the expressive qualities of music enable "a more concentrated emotional engagement with the object or objects with which we are dealing," as Begbie frames it.[15] The Expressive capacity of music (as art) pervades congregational singing.

Congregational singing also may perform an Assertive illocutionary act. Assertives make a claim about a state of affairs in the world, matching what is said with what one observes. "The sky is blue" is a simple Assertive illocutionary act. Teaching is an activity full of Assertive acts. In a song that makes a claim about the world, or about God's action in the world, an Assertive illocutionary act occurs. For example, the line from "Amazing grace," "I once was lost but now I'm found," asserts a state of affairs for the singer. Congregational singing lyrically asserts the narrative of the gospel as it proclaims the propositions of the biblical account of God's creative, redemptive, and restorative activity. Musically, a congregational song may communicate themes of stability, confidence, or triumph in order to fit well with a lyrical assertion.

Congregational singing also performs Commissive and Directive acts. These acts both seek to match the world with what is said. A Commissive represents the speaker's commitment to bring about what is stated, and a Directive expects the hearer to bring about what has been said. For example, a promise is a Commissive act, and many congregational songs recount the promises of God. Some congregational songs include the refrain "I will worship," which commits the singer to the act of worship in a Commissive act. It is rare, however, for a congregational song to include a Commissive that only functions as a Commissive, demonstrating the importance of the categories of liturgical speech acts. A Directive act is typically a command, and some congregational songs recount the commands of God or simply command the worshipper to sing, to praise, or to lift their voice. Musically, a congregational song may perform Commissive or Directive acts with arrangements that fit the mood and momentum of these lyrical illocutionary acts.

Congregational singing may be a Declarative act. A Declarative brings about the truth of an utterance by way of the utterance—a clear example is the phrase, "I now pronounce you husband and wife," when uttered by an officiant. The Declarative speech act has brought

10. John Witvliet, "We Are What We Sing: Searching for a Balanced Diet," Reformed Worship 60 (June 2001), n.p. Available online: https://www.reformedworship.org/article/june-2001/we-are-what-we-sing-searching-balanced-diet.

11. Judith Marie Kubicki, *Liturgical Music as Ritual Symbol: A Case Study of Jacques Berthier's Taizé Music* (Tilburg, Netherlands: Peeters, 1999), 179.

12. Charlotte Kroeker, "Using Music from Other Cultures: A Conversation with Mary K. Oyer," in *Music in Christian Worship: At the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Charlotte Kroeker (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005), 165.

13. Kubicki, 171. Emphasis added.

14. Gary Furr and Milburn Price, *The Dialogue of Worship: Creative Space for Revelation and Response* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 1998), 49.

15. Begbie, "Faithful Feelings," 350.

about the new state of affairs of marriage, witnessed by all those who gather. Consider also an officiant speaking during a baptismal ceremony, "I now baptize you," in which both the words and the action bring about a new state of affairs. In congregational singing, certain songs focused on the themes of the sacraments or ordinances may reference or perform Declarative acts. Another example, "Christ is risen, He is risen indeed" may seem at first to be an Assertive, but the intent of the phrase may also be to declare the Lordship of the risen Christ in the context of the worship service. Musically, a key change that brings about a new musical state of affairs may be an appropriate fit for Declarative illocutionary lyrical content. Dynamic changes in musical arrangements may also reflect Declarative intent in creating new states of affairs.

In the context of corporate worship, with multiple hearers and multiple singers, congregational song may perform with the illocutionary force of the singer's intent, the lyrical author's intent, and the musical author's intent all at the same time. *Liturgical speech acts* as a category provide an account of how those illocutionary forces combine in congregational singing and provide an account for the pervasive Expressive acts of a congregational responding to God's revelation. A Celebrative liturgical speech act simultaneously expresses and asserts. A Participative liturgical speech act simultaneously expresses and commits or directs. A Re-presentative liturgical speech act simultaneously expresses, asserts, and declares.

Conceiving of congregational singing as a liturgical speech act illuminates the function of song. Witvliet explains that the primary purpose or function of hymns is "to allow a gathered community to thank God, confess sin, ask for divine intervention, and express hope for the coming Kingdom of God."[16] Those purposes listed are complex illocutionary acts. Thanking God, for instance, is Celebrative. Confessing sin is Participative. Asking for divine intervention is Participative, and the eschatological hope expressed is Re-presentative as it seeks to bring about God's Kingdom. The music of a congregational song, in particular, has the ability to minister to "[humanity]'s total being" by resonating with the emotional and affective level of the song.[17] Through the simultaneous performance of multiple illocutionary acts, congregational singing has the potential to *express* and more.

Celebrative acts may include many of the songs that describe the attributes of God or proclaim the truths of the gospel. For example, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty" (with the tune NICAEA) is at once a statement of biblical truth and an expression of praise. The powerful, ascending melody for this lyric also has the intent of proclaiming praise. Hymns that tell of Jesus' birth, life, death, and resurrection are also prime examples of Celebrative acts that both express praise and awe at God's plan and assert the true state of affairs explained in the gospel narrative. In the course of a given liturgy, congregational singing is a key location for Celebrative liturgical speech acts. Celebrative acts may be the dominant form of language employed by worshippers who have gathered, as we remember and proclaim what God has done and is doing.

Participative acts draw the singer into relationship with other singers and hearers as promises are made, questions are asked, or commands are given in the context of expressions of praise. An example may be found in any song of invocation in which we sing for worshippers to come into God's presence with thanksgiving. Another example, with a different person addressed, is "Come, thou long-expected Jesus." In this case, the primary hearer is the Triune God, and the singers are asking God to participate in sending Jesus for the second and final Advent. While imploring in this song, worshippers are also expressing their trust in God's faithfulness and even making claims about Jesus as they ask for His return. Musically, the tune HYFRYDOL, sung with "Come, thou long-expected Jesus," is a metered melody that is relatively simple and invites all to join their voices and to participate in singing. Songs of confession or penance may also perform Participative acts as we sing to persuade one another to humble ourselves in the presence of God.

A Re-presentative act seeks to bring about a state of affairs even as it expresses internal realities. Re-presentative acts combine the power of Declarative acts and Expressive acts, and often have Assertive intent as well. A minister performs a Re-presentative act when they seek to make something happen by virtue of their speech. For example, the words "This is my body," used in a liturgy at the Lord's Table, has tremendous illocutionary potential. Congregational songs with lyrical content that communicates the themes of the Lord's Supper, the Declarative acts of Jesus, or the constituting power of worship perform Re-presentative liturgical speech acts.

Re-presentative acts draw on the theological idea of *anamnesis*, in which an action performed in the present draws from and re-presents a previous action and

16. John D. Witvliet, *Worship Seeking Understanding: Windows Into Christian Practice* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 259.

17. In full, "The life of faith demands that the music of the church both express and minister to man's total being." Calvin Johansson, *Music and Ministry: A Biblical Counterpoint* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998), 71.

anticipates future action.[18] Re-presenting allows worshippers to enter into the reality proclaimed in the story of the scriptures, and worshippers "articulate their fundamental relations to one another and to the world."[19] Congregational song functions as a Re-presentative act as it gives worshippers the ability to make present that about which they sing, reshaping the Christian social imaginary and the idea of humanity therein. All of these illocutionary forces are intended to bring about the perlocutionary effect of spiritual formation in those who gather for worship.

Perlocutionary Effects and Congregational Singing

Spiritual formation is the perlocutionary effect of liturgical speech acts. Liturgical speech acts are acts that, in the case of congregational singing, combine multiple simultaneous illocutionary forces. As congregational singing irreducibly combines lyrics and music, both the components contribute to the perlocutionary effect of formation. The spiritual formation that occurs through congregational singing affects the whole person, by virtue of the embodied, affective nature of singing. Constance Cherry explains, "Many elements of worship are vital, but songs of Christian faith are especially well suited as vehicles for spiritual formation simply because music reaches into the depths of our being so readily, so deeply, joining text and tune for incredible impact."[20] The liturgical speech acts of congregational singing form the singers and hearers by celebrating what God has done, drawing worshippers into participation with God in the world, and creating new states of affairs by re-presenting the gospel in song.

By its participative emphasis, congregational song illustrates the formative connection between learning and doing. Charles Taylor frames learning and doing this way: "Learning to name the emotions can't be separated from learning to express them. You can't learn love without caresses, can't learn respect without bowing, can't learn piety without praying."[21] Additionally, in corporate worship contexts, one cannot "learn worship" without singing. In gathered worship, the practice of congregational singing functions as a pedagogy of doctrine and liturgical action.

Using the categories of liturgical speech acts and the terminology of SAT to examine congregational singing has the potential to describe how singing contributes to the spiritual formation of congregants. Leaders in congregational singing during corporate worship "are not only providing words with which members of the congregation express themselves to God, they are also forming the congregation's spirituality in powerful ways."[22] As Smith observes, "Liturgical action, including liturgical speech acts, are a kind of doing and saying that are different from 'doings' and 'sayings' that take place in more didactic contexts."[23] The *doings* and *sayings* of corporate worship contribute to the shape of the Christian social imaginary and the formation of the participants, and one hallmark of corporate worship contexts is congregational singing. Through singing, worshippers celebrate and participate in "the good life" in formative ways.

One formative effect of music in congregational singing is the unifying function of singing. Steven Guthrie observes, "In particular, music articulates a kind of unity in which individual distinctiveness is preserved and even enhanced."[24] The individual worshipper's voice contributes to the corporate voice but the timbre, tone, and volume of the individual voice is maintained and celebrated by the unity in diversity and unity of diversity in congregational singing. Guthrie elsewhere reflects, "Music . . . is a way of gathering the community. More than that, it is a way of manifesting the community."[25] Congregational singing enacts and manifests community by drawing multiple voices together around a shared melody and shared lyrical content.

Another perlocutionary effect of congregational singing may be embodied in the gospel-shaped life of the community outside of corporate worship. The combined illocutionary force of lyrical content and musical content in congregational singing has historically

18. David Power, *Sacrament: The Language of God's Giving* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1999), 67.

19. Don E. Saliers, "The Nature of Worship: Community Lived in Praise of God," in *Duty and Delight,* 41–42.

20. Constance Cherry, *The Music Architect: Blueprints for Engaging Worshipers in Song* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016), 236.

21. Charles Taylor, *The Language Animal: The Full Shape of the Human Linguistic Capacity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2016), 231.

22. Debra Rienstra and Ron Rienstra, *Worship Words: Discipling Language for Faithful Ministry* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2009), 89. Emphasis original.

23. Smith, *Desiring the Kingdom*, 44, n28.

24. Steven R. Guthrie, "Singing in the Body and in the Spirit," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 46 no. 4 (Dec. 2003), 646.

25. Steven R. Guthrie, *Creator Spirit: The Holy Spirit and the Art of Becoming Human* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011), 92.

demonstrable effects on worshipping congregations.[26] Congregations who sing regularly of the compassion of God and the commands of God to care for the outcast may demonstrate that the Christian social imaginary has affected their view of "the good life" such that they find fulfilment in doing as God has commanded. Christians are indeed intended to be doers of the word and not hearers only, so the successful perlocutionary effects of singing about God's Kingdom will be visible in the community.

Congregational singing has the potential to form worshippers both individually and as a worshipping community. Michael Driscoll uses language that points to Re-presentative liturgical speech, saying, "Singing actually constitutes us as a worshipping community. Song gathers us from our individuality and isolation and brings us together into an assembly."[27] The illocutionary forces of the liturgical speech acts are met by the perlocutionary efficacy of the Holy Spirit, who brings about what God intends in God's communicative activity. Isaiah 55:11 (ESV) anticipates the Spirit's work, saying, "so shall my word be that goes out from my mouth; it shall not return to me empty, but it shall accomplish that which I purpose, and shall succeed in the thing for which I sent it." Congregationally singing the word of God has the potential to shape and articulate our faith and provide the impetus for embodying our faith in the world for the glory of God.

David Calvert is the Pastor for Creative Arts at Grace Community Church in Angier, North Carolina. A church musician for over twenty years, he completed his PhD in Theology and Worship from Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in 2018 and desires to bridge the space between academic work and leading music in the local church. This article is adapted from his presentation at the Emerging Scholars Forum at the 2019 Annual Conference.

26. For further consideration, see the examination of Luther's hymnody and the effects on a congregation in Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2005).

27. Michael S. Driscoll, "Musical Mystagogy: Catechizing Through the Sacred Arts," in *Music in Christian Worship*, 30.

Hymns in Periodical Literature

KENNETH R. HULL

Kim-Eric Williams, "America's First Hymnals by Andreas Rudman, Pastor, Gloria Dei (Old Swedes') Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1697–1702", *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 69/1(July 2018): 149–209.

The entire issue of this periodical is taken up by this long, comprehensive article about "the first hymnals ever published in North America, the 1700 and 1701 hymnals by Andreas Rudman. The Rudman hymnals were published in Swedish for use by the descendants of the Colonial New Sweden immigrants along the Delaware River in modern Pennsylvania and Delaware" (147). The article is rich in contextual information about congregational song practices, inter-denominational relations, organs, the career of Andreas Rudman, and the ultimate assimilation of the eight Old Swedish congregations by the Episcopal Church. Complete English translations of the eight hymns found in the two collections are included, as well as the tunes to which they were sung.

Between 1638 and 1655, more than 600 Swedish settlers arrived at the first colony in what is now Wilmington, Delaware, the "first permanent European settlement in the Delaware Valley" (150). The colony's first church was built in 1646, further upriver, and *a cappella* hymn singing was part of worship from the beginning. The Dutch took over administration of the region in 1655, but Swedish remained the dominant language in the Delaware Valley, and the colony was allowed considerable local autonomy. When English dominance replaced the Dutch a decade later, the Swedes were still largely left unmolested.

A census of the colony taken in 1693 resulted in three priests being sent from Sweden along with hymnals and other printed resources. The Swedes were by now a definite minority among their English-speaking neighbours. Hymn singing was very important to the Swedish colonists, but virtually absent from the worship of the English colonists who surrounded them. "No Swedish liturgy," writes Williams, "was complete without the singing of at least six congregational hymns" (163). "It comes as no surprise, then, that Andreas Rudman would have written hymns for the use of his congregation, especially in light of the anticipated completion of the new building for Gloria Dei on 2 July 1700" (165). The two hymnals that Rudman produced were very small, one containing six hymns, and the other just two.

The first and longer of the collections, *Naogra Andeliga Wisor* (*Some Spiritual Songs*) seems to have been designed for liturgical use, containing a strophic version of the *Gloria in excelsis* which was sung at every Swedish High Mass. Three of the hymns are original texts by Rudman himself; the others are translations from the German. While tune names are not given, the unusual metre shared by the second and third hymns fits Neander's LOBE DEN HERREN. The texts show the influence of the Pietist movement. In addition to the metrical Gloria and Rudman's own text, the collection includes a Swedish version of "Jesu, meine Freude/Jesus, joy and gladness."

The shorter collection, *Twenne Andelige Wisor* (*Two Spiritual Songs*), is designed for "personal reflection and devotion" (166). The first hymn seems to be an original composition while the second is a translation of Christian Keimann's "Meinem Jesum lass ich nicht/Jesus I will never leave." Williams provides English translations for all eight of the hymns in the two collections.

The concluding pages of Williams's article describe "final accomplishments of Superintendent Rudman" and the place of music in the worship life of the Swedish mission. Rudman oversaw the movement of the colony to two new locations farther up the Schuylkill River and in Albany, Pennsylvania, when the expansion of the city of Philadelphia required their displacement. When Rudman's replacement arrived from Sweden in 1702, he was persuaded to become pastor of the Dutch Lutheran community, which had congregations in Manhattan; Hackensack, New Jersey; and Albany. Following this, he took up the position of pastor to the Church of England mission congregation of Trinity Church in Oxford County and then as interim rector of Christ Church in Old City Philadelphia.

Although leaders of the Swedish community took steps to promote the use of the Swedish language and the singing of hymns in Swedish, it was a losing battle, and the Swedish congregations were absorbed by the Church of England, with whom the Swedish church had always had close relations. "After the American Revolution only the rural congregation in Swedesboro had members who could still understand Swedish. When the last pastor of the Church of Sweden . . . died in 1831, all of the eight Old Swedes' churches had become functioning members, if not official members, of their nearest diocese of the Episcopal Church. They had made the cultural transition from Swedish mission to American church" (202).

Heather Josselyn-Cranson, "'O God, the strength of those who war': The Hymns and Hymn Writers of World War I", *Lied und populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture* 63 (2018): *Musik im Krieg/Music in War*: 167–188.

The author argues that hymn texts are an overlooked source of understanding the First World War that deserves attention by scholars. "These texts allowed congregations to respond to the war with optimism, frustration, sorrow, confidence, gratitude, and many other attitudes and theological positions" (167). Her focus is on texts written during and immediately after the war, and the authors whose work she surveys fall into three categories: English and Welsh "pastor-poets" (many of whom served as wartime chaplains), British lay people involved in literature and the arts, and Americans.

While some of these texts make direct reference to the war, the connection of others must be inferred from context and language. The first group of authors discussed (followed by the title of their best-known hymn) are: Geoffrey Studdert-Kennedy ("Not here for high and holy things"), Timothy Rees ("O crucified Redeemer, whose life-blood we have spilt"), Philip 'Tubby' Clayton ("Come kindred, upstand in the valor of Jesus"), William Charter Piggott ("For those we love within the veil"), and William Boyd Carpenter ("O God, the strength of those who war"). British poets and playwrights include Laurence Housman ("Eternal Father, ruler of creation"), Clifford Bax ("Turn back, O man, forswear thy foolish ways"), John Oxenham ("Lord God of Hosts, whose mighty hand"), and Mary Christian Dundas Hamilton ("Lord, guard and guide the men who fly"). Finally, the two Americans: hymnologist Louis Benson ("Let freemen's hearts grow bolder") and Florence van Leer Earle Nicholson Coates ("Thou that dost save through pain"). This last text stands apart from the others for its remarkable insensitivity and rose-colored idealism (what the article's author calls "ruthlessly romantic" (187)).

Samantha Arten, "Singing as English Protestants: *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*' Theology of Music," *Yale Journal of Music & Religion* 5/1 (2019): 1–30. https://elischolar.library.yale.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1119&context=yjmr

This thought-provoking article explores John Day's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* of 1562 (texts by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others) as a primary source for an English Protestant theology of music. The author argues that although, unlike the Lutherans and Calvinists, English Protestants lacked official teaching about the place of music in liturgy and private devotion, the *WBP* provided much practical theology through the nature of its contexts (including canticles and non-psalmic scriptural texts), the psalm texts themselves, their music, and its prefatory and closing material. Certainly, the *WBP* had a broad impact; it is estimated that by 1640 around a million copies had been printed.

The author points out that the typical way that scholars understand liturgical music resources such as the *WBP* is something like: 'theological change produces liturgy change produces musical change'. Arten argues that this way of thinking has led to an undervaluing of the *WBP* as a theological resource itself.

Arten explores the theology implicit in the *WBP* under the following headings: versification as interpretation; the songs of a Christian community; genre in the *WBP*; when and where to sing; and aesthetics and instrumentation. Some of the conclusions that she draws: there is a populist (my word) character to English Protestantism that is embodied in the character of the WBP's poetry: it is "accessible, easy to read and understand, and its message is straightforward" (4). The *WBP* versifications support the use of music in worship through introducing words for music even when these are absent in the prose Coverdale Psalter of 1535 on which they are based. The *WBP* also implicitly supports the use if instruments in worship by translating or introducing into its versifications the names of many of the instruments in common use in Elizabethan England. "By not merely naming generic or ancient Hebrew instruments, but noticeably adding Elizabethan ones, this metrical psalter seems to come down strongly in support of the use of instruments in both domestic and church musical worship" (18).

I am not sure that the evidence the author adduces fully supports the breadth of the conclusions that she draws. But the approach is a fresh one and certainly produces fruit that is well worth pondering.

Kenneth R. Hull is Professor Emeritus of Music at Conrad Grebel University College, Waterloo, Ontario. He is currently editing a hymnal supplement to *Common Praise* (1998) for publication.

Hymn Interpretation

Psalms to Hymns and Back Again

DON E. SALIERS

Perhaps it is one of your favorite scripture texts; it certainly is one of mine: Colossians 3:12–17. There we hear what church musicians know in practice: "teach and admonish one another in all wisdom; and with gratitude in your heart sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs to God" (v. 16). Likewise, the letter to the Ephesians admonishes the Christian community to sing and make melody. Be in-Spirited "as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs among yourselves" (Eph. 5:18b–19). While we can certainly distinguish these forms of singing, we realize that all three forms are closely related. This is especially true of the relationships between psalms and hymns. The history of Christian worship and spiritual practice contains the inexhaustible richness of singing psalms and hymns to God. From the beginning faith is both formed and expressed by psalms and hymns.

This essay is a modest riff on the generative relationship between psalms and hymns. Without the ancient Hebrew poetic songs, we would have few Christian hymns. At the same time, singing and studying hymns can lead us back to basic images and themes embedded in the psalms. The great rhythm of doxology and lament, of praise and petition, flow through every age in how psalms and hymns are interrelated. Furthermore, any study of choral anthems, cantatas, and oratorios reveals the presence of the psalms as sources as well as actual texts. The great repertoire of English choral literature owes an immense debt to the psalms, often mediated through hymn texts. Think, for example, of composers such as Orlando Gibbons and Ralph Vaughn Williams who set "O clap your hands" (Psalm 47 or sections thereof).

One of the glories of the history of psalms in Christian worship is the great variety of musical, textual, and liturgical/rhetorical forms that have emerged over time. These in turn are also culturally embedded forms and styles. Apart from translations into differing languages, we now realize how hymns take psalm texts into distinctive cultural expressions of faith. (More of this later.)

Psalms have been transformed into hymns—beginning with metrical psalmody—and continue stretching out through the history of psalm paraphrases. Both of these developments show movement away from the original translations, in interpretation and in musical reframing of images and emotional register. A straight-forward reading or recital of a psalm text keeps the natural flow of the spoken language, as for example "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want" (Psalm 23). Compare this with the Gelineau setting of the antiphon, "My shepherd is the Lord, nothing indeed shall I want." Here the word order is altered congruent with a particular musical line. We come to love both. In comparing unmetrical with metrical texts we immediately notice that word order and rhyming alter both meaning and sense—sometimes subtly, sometimes dramatically. Chanting specific versions of the psalms, for example traditional Anglican four-part chant, already alters the sound and force of the text. This was certainly true of the long history of Latin chant sung to the treasury of chant tones, especially in light of variable antiphons. English hymnody so often has taken its tonal center from the experience of chanted psalms and canticles. At the same time, hymns can set up prophetic tensions with the psalms from which they are drawn.

Let us turn briefly to how metrical settings and paraphrases of psalms show the development of hymns based on psalm texts. Psalm 23, the most beloved of psalms, has given birth to many hymns. In early seventeenth-century England there was no official hymn writing for the church. Yet the versification of Prayer Book scriptural passages and canticles was already laying the foundation. Then came various psalters, influenced by the remarkable tunes to which the French psalters were set. English meter made its own demands, of course.

Here is how the Sternhold and Hopkins ("Old Version") sounded in the *Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1562):

> The Lord is only my support
> and he that doth me feed;
> how can I then lack anything
> whereof I stand in need?
> In pastures green he leadeth me,
> where I do safely lie;

Then lines were revised, as in the *Whole Psalmes of David in English Meter* (1564)[1]

> He doth me fold in coats most safe,
> the tender grass fast by . . .

1. Part of *The Forme Of Prayers And Ministration Of The Sacraments etc. used in the English Church at Geneva, approved and received by the Churche of Scotland.* Nicholas Temperley, "Scottish Psalter," in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* (Canterbury Press online), accessed February 13, 2020.

The tunes for singing remained, but eventually came the musical changes of the later seventeenth century. So, we recognize the text of Psalm 23 from *The Psalmes of David in Meeter* (also known as *Scottish Psalter* 1650):

> The Lord's my shepherd: I'll not want.
> He makes me down to lie
> in pastures green; he leadeth me
> The quiet waters by.

Common Meter (8.6.8.6.) opened up the possibility of multiple hymn tunes, including the famous BROTHER JAMES' AIR (with the additional 8.6). Thus this metrical psalm tradition eventually becomes "official" hymnody. More versions as hymns followed: "My Shepherd will supply my need" by Isaac Watts (1719), sung to the wonderful *Southern Harmony* (1835) tune RESIGNATION. Further moved into paraphrase we find "The King of love my shepherd is" composed by Henry W. Baker in 1868, sung to the lovely Irish melody, ST. COLUMBA. More recently we have Christopher Idle's 1982 hymn, "The Lord, my shepherd, rules my life" set to the tune CRIMOND.

To speak of Isaac Watts is to speak of the true watershed in English hymnody. He set out to give a specific Christian tongue to the psalms, to created newly composed hymns "suited to the present case and experience of Christians."[2] One great example is his treatment of Psalm 146, a unit of the great doxological conclusion to the whole Psalter. "I'll praise my Maker while I've breath" was then adapted by John Wesley in his 1737 collection published in Charleston, South Carolina. The hymn text retained the mention of the poor, the stranger, the prisoner and the fatherless—all this in the context of ecstatic praise. It is no wonder that Wesley is said to have been reciting this extended psalm as a hymn on his deathbed.

Both psalms of praise and psalms of lament come over into Christian hymnody. Psalm 103 became the basis of "Praise, my soul, the God of heaven" composed by Henry Frances Lyte (1834) , sung now to John Goss's strong LAUDA ANIMA (1869). Compare this with the lament of Psalm 10, transformed by Ruth Duck in her hymn, "Why stand so far away, my God," set convincingly to the tune from Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music*, 1819. Most recently we find Bernadette Farrell's, "Lord, you search me and you know me," derived from Psalm 139, illustrating how some hymns re-poeticize striking sections of the original psalm. Another example is Martin Leckebusch's 2006 text, "My Lord, you have examined me," set to the great tune RESIGNATION.

In the hands of skillful musicians (composers and performers), psalm texts continue to influence the shape and power of tunes. So, too, the emotive qualities of images, metaphors, and descriptions of God and world call out for varied musical settings. This is precisely where musical and textual creativity meet. In my estimation, the best recent sourcebook, especially for Protestant traditions, for tracing this reciprocity between psalms and hymns is *Psalms for All Seasons*.[3] Nowhere else can be found the complete NRSV texts of all 150 psalms with multiple musical settings, including hymns from various traditions. A thoughtful study of this collection will reveal why the relationships between psalms and hymns have such great spiritual, musical, and theological significance for ecumenical sharing among churches, but also, for faith in action. My remarks here are greatly indebted to that volume.

In a time of uncertainty in our society and in the world, church musicians have a major contribution to make. While remaining faithful to the bedrock of Hebrew psalms in translation, we can enable communities of faith to mature in praise and lament by exploring the musical and textual expansion of the psalms into sung prayer and theology. I am convinced that hymns—so deeply formed in passages and chains of images from the psalms—will yet give us a singing faith, vibrant and relevant to the joy and travail of faithful Christian life and mission. Strong and beautiful hymns will in turn constantly renew our praying the psalms on behalf of the world.

I have barely scratched the surface of this topic. I invite all church musicians, in whatever tradition, to open this treasury to congregations. Even more, this history of the interanimation of psalms and hymns may yet generate new musical forms outside the four walls of our churches. New generations await what may yet emerge from the inexhaustible well of the ancient songs of Israel. The world may still learn to sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs.

Don E. Saliers is currently Theologian-in-Residence at Candler School of Theology, having taught theology and worship at Yale Divinity School and Emory University for forty years. Author of fifteen books and over 150 articles, organist, composer, and founder of Emory Chamber Players, he serves as national Chaplain for the American Guild of Organists.

2. From his "A Short Essay Toward the Improvement of Psalmody" found in *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (London, 1707).
3. Grand Rapids: Calvin Institute, Faith Alive, and Brazos Press, 2012.

Keys to the Power of the Spiritual

EILEEN GUENTHER

Spirituals are, in my opinion, the most powerful body of music ever written, and there are a variety of reasons for this conviction.

> This [certain song] they would sing, as a chorus, to words which to many would seem unmeaning jargon, but which, nevertheless, were full of meaning to themselves. I have sometimes thought that the mere hearing of those songs would do more to impress some minds with the horrible character of slavery, than the reading of whole volumes of philosophy on the subject could do.[1]

To explore some of the keys to their power, we begin with an obvious but critical point: Spirituals offer primary information. Much has been written about slave life by outside observers, but Spirituals give us a view into the life of the slave from the inside, from the perspective of those enslaved. Their hopes and fears, their anger and frustration all practically jump off the pages of the music.[2]

The Spirituals sing of hope in the middle of massive cruelty and profound injustice. The music gave hope in a situation that seemed hopeless, and faith where there would seem to have been no reason for faith.

> Through all the sorrow of the Sorrow Songs there breathes a hope – a faith in the ultimate justice of things. The minor cadences of despair change often to triumph and calm confidence. Sometimes it is faith in life, sometimes a faith in death, sometimes assurance of boundless justice in some fair world beyond. But whichever it is, the meaning is always clear; that sometime, somewhere, men will judge men by their souls and not by their skins.[3]

The Spirituals embody an element of universality: they apply not only to the slave era, but to current situations well outside of slavery. As musician and psychologist Arthur Jones writes, Spirituals are "available to all persons who are prepared to open themselves to the unsettling healing power that inhabits these marvelous songs of life." Jones goes on to assert that they come out of slavery's indisputably "deeply meaningful, archetypally human experiences, relevant not only to the specific circumstances of slavery but also to women and men struggling with issues of justice, freedom, and spiritual wholeness in all times and places."[4] Their language is rich and symbolic, reflective of their African roots, and their ability to address a broad range of issues of the human spirit is "seemingly magical."[5]

Spirituals cover many emotional bases, which is one of the reasons that they connect to peoples' hearts regardless of time or place. There are certainly songs of sadness as Du Bois indicates, but there are also songs of comfort, of hope, liberation, and triumph. Spirituals not only reflected the current situation, they also helped ground the singers spiritually and were powerful forces in helping those enslaved adapt to "the peculiar institution" that was slavery.

Spirituals "affirm a complete trust in God to make right in the next world what was done wrong in this world . . . The Spirituals provided an emotional security for oppressed slaves during turbulent times. Since slaves had no economic or political security in this world, they put their trust in Jesus whom they believed would make everything all right."[6]

The Spiritual rooted the slaves in their own humanity. The individual's self-image was critical to survival, grounding them in a sense of being valued by God, if not others. While society placed little or no value on the enslaved individual, the Spiritual countered that devaluation with the affirmative: "I exist, and I matter. I am somebody."

Being focused on both community and the individual,

1. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave; My Bondage and My Freedom; The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York: The Library of America, 1994), 23–24.
2. The first-person narratives and the interviews from the 1930s provide complementary critical information as to the context in which they were created, offering us a deeper appreciation of the songs and their meaning.
3. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997), 192.
4. Arthur Jones, *Wade in the Water: The Wisdom of the Spirituals* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), xi.
5. Ibid.
6. James Cone, *The Spirituals and the Blues* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1972), 17.

Spirituals address the issues that mattered most to the community. They may have been created by an individual or by the group, but they are ultimately "honed and owned" by the community.

Spirituals invited universal participation. When singing, everyone was equally important, with the only distinct role being that of the leader, as we hear in the most prevalent style, call-and-response. The leadership could change, of course, moving from person to person, further "democratizing" the singing. "Everyone could participate, and the Spiritual form and performance were nonexclusionary," as Whalum notes: "If a member of the group could not sing, he could pat his foot; if he could not pat, he could sway his head; and if he could not do this, he could witness."[7]

Spirituals have very singable melodies and often engaging rhythms that invite participation. Furthermore, being both personal and communal, the first-person singular pronoun often takes on an expanded meaning. *I* appears often and may encompass the communal *we*. This prevalence of *I* affirms personhood, the slaves' ability to exist in the face of destructive forces. *I* might refer to the singer, or, more broadly, to other slaves, including the singer's children or grandchildren.[8] The frequent use of *I* is a construct which people the world over have found it easy to relate to because it references a particular circumstance and a real-life person's response to it. "Singing the spirituals was," said Albert J. Raboteau in *Slave Religion*, "an intensely personal and vividly communal experience in which an individual received consolation for sorrow and gained a heightening of joy because his experience was shared."[9] The call-and-response structure reinforced an individual's relationship to the group. While this does not make Spirituals unique, it does show that they provided a vehicle of communication between the person and God while building community among those who sang them.

Spirituals represent a mirror of daily life, forming a kind of biography in sound that codifies events in the life of the enslaved and the accompanying emotions. "No more auction block," for instance, is not metaphorical; it lists actual components of daily life: household rations (peck of corn, pint of salt), expectations (that they were on call 24/7, particularly those who worked in the owner's residence), and the way they were treated, being vulnerable to both sale and punishment. Furthermore, recent events or issues of current concern also were worked into the Spiritual. This was easy to do, given the improvisational aspect of many of the songs, which allowed verses to be added according to the circumstance of the moment. "Scandalize my name" and "This Train" are examples.

There were many forms of resistance, and singing was one of them. The singers criticized the institution of slavery, slave owners, exploitation, and the life those enslaved were forced to lead. These songs of resistance described slaves' anger at being enslaved and treated so badly, as well as their longing for freedom. They sang what they dared not say. (For instance, one verse in "Go Down, Moses" was cited as one that they could not sing in the presence of someone outside their community.)[10]

Spirituals are motivational. They motivated the slaves to avoid punishment by working harder and longer than they otherwise would have been able to do; the songs also inspired them to attempt a break for freedom. Spirituals with such motivational power include "Free at Last," "Hold On," and "Great Day."

Spirituals tell a story. There are work songs and short choruses, and there are also songs of sufficient depth and complexity that require many verses – such as the twenty-five verses of "Go Down, Moses" and, it is reported, sixty verses to "In that great gettin' up morning!"

Reflecting musical practice in Africa, one aspect of these story-telling songs is the format of call-and-response, which makes the songs both easy to sing and eminently useful. The leader would be someone able to read or someone with a memory for biblical passages that had been read in their presence. The leader offered the narrative, while the group answered in a couple of words or a short phrase. The songs also are easily extendable, which enabled productivity and alleviated the tedium of the work.

Spirituals are powerful, beautiful music of sorrow and of hope, and they enrich the life of the singer as well as the listener. Regardless of the race or circumstance of the singer—or the audience—this is music that speaks to the human condition as it speaks "from the heart to the heart."

Eileen Guenther, Emerita Professor of Church Music at Wesley Theological Seminary (retired) and Lecturer in Music at The George Washington University. She has made ninety-five presentations on her newest book, *In Their Own Words: Slave Life and the Power of Spirituals* (MorningStar Music), since it was published in 2016.

7. Wendell Philips Whalum, "Black Hymnody," *Review and Expositor* 70, no. 3 (Summer, 1973), 341, as quoted in Wyatt Tee Walker, *"Somebody's Calling My Name": Black Sacred Music and Social Change* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1992), 47.

8. John Lovell, Jr., "The Social Implications of the Negro Spiritual," in Bernard Katz, ed., *The Social Implications of Early Negro Music in The United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 135.

9. Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South*, updated ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004), 246.

10. "Ain't gonna let nobody turn me 'round," for instance, was one of many Spirituals that transcended time and place as a song of slave resistance that took on a powerful life in the Civil Rights Movement.

Book Reviews

Prices are in US dollars.

Breath of Christ: Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs

Alan Hommerding
Franklin Park, IL: World Library, 2019. ISBN 978-1-58459-962-3
128 pages. $20.00

In Hommerding's sectional at our 2019 Annual Conference introducing this collection, he noted that some of the structural elements he employs (such as acrostic) will likely go unnoticed, especially when obscured by interlining with a tune. However, the effect of a careful structure is to discipline the writer into the most precise and careful craft. This attention to detail pervades his work. The texts are unfailingly elegant and sonically satisfying. His delight in language is evident throughout, as in "A heart for God," which describes Christ as "Led by compassion infinite / In passion to the cross . . ." Beyond simple word play, the linking of *compassion* and *passion* makes a vivid theological statement.

Hommerding describes the structure of the collection's title hymn as "performative—the word 'breath' always occurs after the singers take a breath" (8). Additionally, stanzas two, three, and four skillfully employ anadiplosis, repeating the final word of a line as the opening word of the following line. Stanzas one through three end with em dashes, propelling the momentum forward, creating a seamless sixteen-line stanza rather than four stanzas of four lines. The effect is amplified by enjambment in stanza three, which concludes with "that we claim—" followed by stanza four, which reveals that the thought continues: "As the Spirit..." Such an innovative form requires the use of a newly composed tune. Lim Swee Hong's BREATH OF CHRIST accommodates the structural needs of the text. The first three stanzas end on a dominant chord, providing the needed impetus back to the top. The final stanza ends on a well-earned tonic.

While many of the texts are ecumenically accessible, Hommerding's writing will appeal most in "higher" church contexts, and especially within his own Catholic tradition. In addition to distinctly Catholic texts such as "By God kept pure" (referring to the heart of Mary), the hymns are often tied closely to the liturgical calendar. His diction leans toward the lofty, frequently including Latin terms and phrases. He relies upon titles and names for God and Christ that are waning in use by more progressive denominations, such as Lord, King, and Father.

Each text is presented in poetic form along with a brief note of context or explanation. They are economically spaced on two columns per each page, with fifty-two texts packed into twenty-seven pages. Musical settings follow, often with multiple tunes in contrasting styles for a single text. The composer index includes thirty-eight entries with an exciting cohort of both established and new tunesmiths. The traditional tunes include genres ranging from chant to gospel. A listing of available choral octavos expands the possible use of the collection. There are additional indexes for tune name, first line/title, and meter; unfortunately, scriptural, liturgical, and topical indexes are not included. A further impediment to the book's usefulness is its binding, which frustrates attempts to play through the music. Spiral binding would make it far more user-friendly in that regard.

Adam M. L. Tice is a widely-published hymn writer, and serves as text editor for the forthcoming Mennonite hymnal, *Voices Together*.

Hymns and Hymnody: Historical and Theological Introductions. Volume 1: From Asia Minor to Western Europe

Edited by Mark A. Lamport, Benjamin K. Forrest, and Vernon M. Whaley
Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2019. ISBN 978-1-4982-9980-0
366 pages. $42.00

Taking seriously the exhortation of the Apostle Paul to admonish one another though psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, this inaugural volume of *Hymns and Hymnody: Historical and Theological Introductions* explores the breadth of sacred music in the Christian tradition: congregational, devotional, liturgical, paraliturgical, sung, instrumental, and everything in between. Editors Mark Lamport, Benjamin Forrest, and Vernon Whaley present a rich and detailed volume that documents and analyzes hymns and hymnists through historical and theological lenses. This particular volume spans the first through fifteenth centuries across the East and West, within reason.

The editors conceive each volume as an introductory and exploratory textbook with an ecumenical focus. The intended audience is laity, clergy, and academics who have an interest in hymnology, liturgics, and/or historical theology. Chronological in organization, the volume is divided into three major parts: the first to ninth centuries, the tenth to thirteenth centuries, and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For the continuing ease of the reader, every chapter follows the same fivefold structure of a) historical background, b) theological analysis, c) contributions to liturgy and worship, d) notable hymns, and e) resources for further reading. Topics include, but are not limited to New Testament worship; early Latin, Syriac, and Byzantine song; Gregorian chant; Insular and Carolingian hymns; medieval sequences; Marian hymnody; Renaissance-era vernacular song; Orthodox song in post-Byzantine times; and

biographical chapters dedicated to Guillaume De Fay and Josquin des Prez.

Lamport, Forrest, and Whaley's first volume accomplishes what it sets out to do, which is to produce an introductory exploration for specialists and non-specialists alike. Anyone looking to enhance their knowledge of hymnody and sacred music will find chapters certain to pique their interests. A particular strength of this volume is both the ecclesial representation within the Editorial Advisory Board and among the contributors themselves. Importantly, the practitioners and scholars who consulted on the project and those who contributed reflect the breadth of liturgical-ecclesial locations and topics addressed. Another strength of the volume is the emphasis on further research. The bibliographies at the conclusion of each chapter are supplemented by Mel Wilhoit's appendix, "For Further Reading," which expands the bibliographic resources for each chapter.

While this project aims for consistency within each chapter's organizational structure, there are certain chapters that could use a reprieve from this schema. Paul Westermeyer's chapter on "Liturgical Patterns and Calendars," for example, would fit better as a component of his introductory chapter to the volume. Similarly, Jim Samra's excellent chapter on hymns and creedal worship in the New Testament could benefit from a different structure. Additionally, there are a few minor inconsistencies worthy of noting from an editorial standpoint. Naming conventions such as "East/Eastern" and "West/Western" are capitalized in some chapters (Preface, Chapters 7 and 13), while made lower case in others (Chapters 6 and 8). A final recommendation is that this project could benefit greatly from a glossary of terms. Although each chapter's contributor saliently defines their terms to non-specialists, a collection at the end of the book would be a great resource for further study and classroom instruction.

Overall, Volume One of *Hymns and Hymnody: Historical and Theological Introductions* would be a welcome addition to any library, church, or educational institution. Students of church music, in particular, will be drawn to and well-served by this important collection.

Nelson Cowan is the senior pastor of First United Methodist Church in High Springs, Florida. An elder in The United Methodist Church, he earned a PhD in Liturgical Studies from Boston University in 2019 and serves on the United Methodist Hymnal Revision Committee.

Songs as Locus for a Lay Theology

Philp K. Mathai
Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2019. ISBN 978-1-62564-550-0
202 pages. $25.00

In the words of the author, "the purpose of this book is to focus on the songs of Moshe Walsalam Sastriyar and Sadhu Kochukunju Upadeshi as the *locus theologicus*, or "locus for lay theology" (2). The book brings to light the works of the two hymnwriters who pioneered Malayalam hymns and how their hymns played a crucial role in sustaining the faith of the community. Writing hymns in the background of colonialism and the Reformation within the Malankara Syrian Church, the author argues that the hymnwriters were the products of their times and these songs were shaped by their historic, religious, and social contexts, and further, these songs formed a definitive role in shaping and communicating the doctrinal faith of the church. Even though the two hymnwriters came from two entirely different backgrounds—Moshe Walsalam from the lower-caste *Nadar* community, and Kochukunju Upadeshi from an upper-caste Syrian Christian family in central Travancore—the author argues that the doxological content of their songs commonly drew from the *bhakti* tradition.

Mathai passionately argues for a principle of *lex orandi, lex credendi*, where the liturgy was not distinct from theology. The hymns and songs of these hymnwriters were the "vehicles of doctrine" in their respective communities since the church communities to which they ministered did not have a well-documented or codified record of their creeds or faith. The author unravels the *bhakti* influence in their songs in the way the lyrics expressed unconditional love, devotion, and complete submission to God. The hymns were not "mere speculation. . . . But they can be understood as doxological speech, speech directed to God" (58). The book devotes two separate chapters to the biographical details and theological explorations of Walsalam and Kochukunju Upadeshi respectively. Each of their songs (written originally in Malayalam) are then carefully translated and studied by the author and categorized into different theological themes, almost suggestive of a work in systematic theology. From his findings, Mathai denotes the term, "The Indian Christian *Bhakta*" to Walsalam and "A Sojourner *Bhakta*" to Kochukunju Upadeshi.

The final chapter of the book does not fare as well, as it takes off on a completely different tangent, almost like an afterthought, as the author introduces a postcolonial reading of the act of songwriting in his concluding remarks. This is seen as an act of defiance and transgression in which both hymnwriters create a liminal "third space" to express their own faith. These arguments though, by way of being lately introduced in

the book and far less detailed, seem cursory and less cohesive than the author's earlier arguments. Also, the book does not say enough or critically investigate the hymnwriters' utilization of "elitist" *ragas* in the Carnatic and Hindustani system of music. Readers seeking a deeper study of music as a genre, the melody, tone *(raga)*, rhythm, etc., could be disappointed. On the other hand, the author does commendable effort in situating these songs in their context, unpacking the entrenched theological themes, and establishing them as locus for lay theology.

Prince Varughese Madathilathu is a PhD student in Practical Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary and is a clergyman of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church.

Table of Grace: Hymns and Short Songs

Barbara Hamm
Carol Stream, IL: Hope, 2018. ISBN 978-1-933710-19-8
85 pages, 46 songs. $9.95

Table of Grace is the second collection by Barbara Hamm, a gifted composer and hymntext writer, whose work appears in denominational hymnals and other collections. A multitalented musician, she has presented workshops and served as pianist and vocalist at denominational conferences and as minister of music in several congregations. She wrote the words and music for most of the forty-six hymns and short songs in this new collection.

It was a delightful experience to play and sing the hymns and short songs in *Table of Grace*. As I read Hamm's story on the back cover of the collection, I also discovered what we have in common. We both have degrees in English, have served as college English professors, and our hymnwriting developed from a love for music as we played gospel hymns at Baptist churches when we were growing up.

Hamm became a composer as well as a lyricist. She excels in writing tunes in varied styles and vocal settings, drawing from Taizé chant and classic hymn styles, including unison and four-part settings. Her tunes flow with simple beauty, making them memorable and easy to sing.

The texts in this collection focus on a wide variety of themes, including social justice, peace, care of creation, grief, and healing, as well as on topics such as depression and refugees, not commonly found in hymnbooks. "We pray for those with empty hands," even more timely today than it was when she wrote it in 2010, begins with this stanza:

We pray for those with empty hands,
whose hopes have all but died,
who search for work in troubled lands,
where walls and wars divide.
We pray for refugees whose bread
is earned at such great cost,
whose work to keep their families fed
means cruel borders crossed.

The message of "Our common home, this planet Earth" is likewise becoming more urgent: "now the earth is in distress from our pursuit of gain."

"Come to the table of grace," the title song for this collection and one of Hamm's best-known songs, is an excellent example of her talent in matching text to tune. She also includes the helpful resource of a communion service created by ritual artist Marcia McFee, which features this song.

Noteworthy as well is the wide range of scriptural references in this collection. The words of some of the short songs, such as "Abide in me" and "Choose this day whom you will serve," come directly from scripture. Hamm could enhance the social justice and inclusive messages of her lyrics by drawing more from the multiplicity of biblical names for the Divine, including female divine names and images.

Collaborating with Ruth Duck, FHS; Brian Wren, FHS; Sharon Allen, and Lim Swee Hong, Hamm has created some fine hymns included in this collection. For example, she composed a vibrant musical setting for Ruth Duck's "The earth and all who breathe."

Thorough topical, scriptural, and metrical indexes make this an excellent resource for worship planners. *Table of Grace*, by an accomplished musician-poet, is a valuable collection for musicians, pastors, and liturgists.

Jann Aldredge-Clanton is an ordained minister, currently serving as co-chair of Equity for Women in the Church and adjunct professor at Richland College, Dallas, Texas. She is a widely published, award-winning hymn-text writer and author of books on inclusive theology and worship.

Please send BOOKS & MEDIA for review to:

Melissa Haupt
Princeton Theological Seminary
64 Mercer Street
Princeton, NJ 08540
melissa.haupt@ptsem.edu

2020 PIPE ORGAN ENCOUNTERS

Pipe Organ Encounters (POEs) offer teenagers and adults a rewarding opportunity to learn about the pipe organ and its construction, receive instruction from experienced faculty, visit, hear, and play outstanding instruments, and meet and interact with peers who share an interest in the King of Instruments.

Photo: Ellen Williams

POE (for ages 13–18)

June 22–27
Kansas State University
Manhattan, Kansas
KSU-Manhattan Chapter
Director: David Pickering
1724 Little Kitten Ave.
Manhattan, KS 66503
785-560-4520 (h)
785-370-6110 (m)
dpickeri@ksu.edu
Website: agohq.org/chapters/kansasstateuniversity

June 28–July 3
Long Beach, California
Long Beach Chapter
Director: Hyunju Hwang
c/o The Neighborhood Church
415 Paseo del Mar
Palo Verdes Estates, CA 90274
213-550-9093 (h/m)
poelb2020@gmail.com
Website: lbago.org/poe-2020

July 19–24
Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Piedmont NC Chapter
Director: Timothy Olsen
UNCSA-School of Music
1533 S. Main St.
336-770-3254 (w)
timothy.jon.olsen@gmail.com
Website: piedmontncago.org/poe.html

August 2–7
Trinity College
Hartford, Connecticut
Greater Hartford Chapter
Director: Christopher Houlihan
Trinity College Chapel
300 Summit St.
Hartford, CT 06106
860-748-3395 (m)
860-297-2014 (w)
christopher.houlihan@trincoll.edu
Website: hartfordago.org

POE–Advanced

(for ages 13–18 and grades 9–12 in fall 2020)

June 28–July 3
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Ann Arbor Chapter
Co-director: James Wagner
1671 Forest Ave.
Ypsilanti, MI 48198
734-645-5360 (h)
jwagner@aacrc.org
Website: annarborago.org

POE+ (for adults 19 and older)

June 14–19
Rockford, Illinois
Rockford Chapter
Director: Trish Rooney
9173 River View Trail
Roscoe, IL 60173
815-985-0143 (m)
tearooney@gmail.com
Website: rockfordago.org/poe

June 28–July 3
Allentown and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
Lehigh Valley Chapter
Co-director: Gloria Snyder
2043 W. Greenleaf St.
Allentown, PA 18104
610-439-1933 (h)
gloriasnyder22@gmail.com
Website: lvago.org/poeplus.html

July 26–31
Richmond, Virginia
Richmond Chapter
Director: Stephen Henley
9201 W. Huguenot Rd.
Richmond, VA 23235-2307
804-272-7514, ext. 312 (w)
804-647-1152 (m)
stephenhenley044@gmail.com
Website: poe2020.richmondago.org

For more information about Pipe Organ Encounters or to apply to attend, please visit: AGOhq.org/education/poe

Pipe Organ Encounters is an educational outreach program of the American Guild of Organists. Major funding is provided by the Associated Pipe Organ Builders of America. Additional support is provided by the American Institute of Organbuilders, the Jordan Organ Endowment, and the National Endowment for the Arts. Permanently endowed AGO scholarships are provided in memory of Charlene Brice Alexander, Robert S. Baker, Seth Bingham, Michael Cohen, Margaret R. Curtin, Clarence Dickinson, Richard and Clara Mae Enright, Virgil Fox, Philip Hahn, Charles N. Henderson, Alfred E. Lunsford, Ruth Milliken, Bruce Prince-Joseph, Douglas Rafter, Ned Siebert, Mary K. Smith, and Martin M. Wick; and in honor of Anthony Baglivi, Philip E. Baker, Gordon and Naomi Rowley, Morgan and Mary Simmons, Frederick Swann, and the Leupold Foundation.

SPONSORS
JORDAN ORGAN ENDOWMENT

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT for the ARTS arts.gov

A·P·O·B·A Associated Pipe Organ Builders of America

THE HYMN SOCIETY

5 Thomas Circle, NW, 4th floor
Washington, DC 20005-4153

PERIODICAL POSTAGE
PAID AT
WASHINGTON, DC
AND
ADDITIONAL
MAILING OFFICES