

Paul Gerhardt in America 1743–2007

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Abstract

German Hymnwriter Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676), often described as the most important Lutheran hymnwriter other than Martin Luther, has had an impact in America. His hymns helped shape the faith and ministry of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711–1787), often described as the “father” of the Lutheran church in America. His hymns helped Lutherans to face the crisis of World War I. Since the eighteenth century Gerhardt hymns have appeared in North American Lutheran hymnals. Even today they appear in both Lutheran hymnals and the hymnals of other Christian groups. Lutherans observed the 300th anniversary of his birth in 1907 with celebrations for laity and clergy featuring Gerhardt’s hymns. Many articles in church periodicals described Gerhardt and his hymns. The 400th anniversary of his birth in 2007 gained some attention, in church publications and academic conferences, but generally less attention than in 1907.

Paul Gerhardt (1607–76) is commonly acknowledged as, after Martin Luther, the greatest hymnwriter of the Lutheran tradition.¹ The author of over 100 hymns, many still sung today, his life was marked by many difficulties, including confessional strife leading to the loss of his call in Berlin² as well as the deaths of his wife and four children. Yet “the quality of his hymns in terms of both poetry and doctrine has impressed them upon the hearts and minds of all who share in his Lutheran confessional heritage.”³ In 2007 we marked not only the 400th anniversary of the birth of Paul Gerhardt but also the 400th anniversary of the first continuous English settlement in what is now the United States, namely, Jamestown, Virginia. Much has changed in the intervening 400 years! What has been (and is) the reception, influence, and impact of Paul Gerhardt in America?

Even if one could count the number of times his hymns have been sung by American Lutherans and Christians in America in general, one could not adequately gauge his impact. This essay is an attempt

to approach the questions of Gerhardt's reception and influence in several ways. First, it will look at how Gerhardt's hymns have functioned to shape personal faith and ministerial practice among American Lutherans. Second, it will give an overview of the occurrence of Gerhardt's hymns in some hymnals used among Lutherans and other Christian groups. Third, it will examine how the 300th anniversary of Gerhardt's birth in 1907 was observed by Lutherans in America. Fourth, it will describe briefly how the 400th anniversary of his birth was celebrated in 2007.

*Gerhardt's Impact on Personal Faith, Pastoral Practice,
and Reaction to Crisis*

This essay will first consider Gerhardt's reception and effect by looking at Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711–87), a pastor and leader of Lutherans who came in the first wave of immigration. Then it will look at how Lutherans in the second wave of immigration used Gerhardt's hymns during the First World War to offer consolation and hope.

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, born in Einbeck in Lower Saxony in 1711 and sent out from Halle in 1742 to be a pastor to German Lutherans in Pennsylvania, is generally recognized as the "father" of the Lutheran Church on American soil. While Lutherans had been present for about 100 years in North America, congregations were scattered, many Lutheran immigrants had no church connection, and pastors were few. Muhlenberg travelled extensively through colonial Pennsylvania and parts of other colonies. He organized congregations and helped organize the first Lutheran synod in North America, the Pennsylvania ministerium. He never returned to Europe. During his forty-five years in America, he kept a journal and also sent regular reports to Halle.

An examination of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's journals and his correspondence reveals that his piety was deeply shaped by German hymnody. Quotations from and allusions to many hymns—not only those by Paul Gerhardt—are frequent.⁴ Perhaps the most moving example from the journals is the account of the death of his five-year-old son, Enoch, in 1764. The entry for February 16, 1764

records that for the sick boy “the best restorative was to sit on his father’s or his mother’s lap and to hear them tell him, in accord with his little understanding, about the loving Savior and heaven and blessedness. When we sang several stanzas of the powerful Halle hymns for him, he expressed his sorrow that he could not sing with us, but showed his joy nevertheless.” Muhlenberg continued,

Near 10 o’clock, when I had him on my lap for the last time and was about to put him back in bed, he lovingly kissed me good-bye, and after both of his parents had sung the hymn, “Breit aus die Flügel beyde, O Jesu mein Freude, etc.” he fell quietly asleep in his Redeemer upon whose all-holy merit he had been baptized.⁵

The line is from the Gerhardt hymn “Nun ruhen alle Wälder,” translated in American hymnals as “Now all the Woods are Sleeping,” or “Now Rest beneath Night’s Shadow.” It is the beginning of the verse meant especially for children: “Lord Jesus, since you love me, now spread your wings above me and shield me from alarm. Though Satan would devour me, your angels shall sing o’er me: ‘This child of God shall meet no harm.’”⁶ In the long list of hymns cited in Muhlenberg’s journals, Gerhardt’s hymns are frequent. The first stanza of “Befiehl du deine Wege” (“Entrust your way”)⁷ is referred to at least nine times.⁸

Muhlenberg’s correspondence gives additional evidence of how hymnody—and especially Gerhardt’s hymns—shaped his approach to ministry and his own life in faith.⁹ Muhlenberg used Gerhardt’s hymnody to console himself in moments of uncertainty both in his ministry and his personal life. He also used that hymnody to console others, and, by teaching Gerhardt’s hymns to children, helped to shape the faith of others.

Muhlenberg cited the Gerhardt hymn “Entrust your way” in a letter written March 17, 1743 to Halle. He complained about an illness hindering his work and stated, “What purpose it serves, that only our dear God knows best. He does not need me and can also do his work without me. He has a way amidst the ways, he never lacks the means.”¹⁰ The last sentence is a quotation from the fourth stanza of “Entrust your ways.” He cited the same hymn in March of 1777 when he recorded the trials of living in Pennsylvania in time of war and the fact that he could not leave his wife alone due to her epilepsy.

Without a doubt Pennsylvania this time will be the field of war and experience unheard of cruelties. I am weak and miserable and do not myself know what to do about our sick Mama. What do my dearest friends advise? Can I with a good conscience leave Philadelphia and go to Virginia, when the misery here becomes greatest? Wouldn't it then be said that the hireling sees the wolf coming and flees? I cannot do anything more, and what is the worst, I may hardly ever leave Mama alone, because of her illness, and cannot conveniently take her where there is danger or even just disorder and noise. So it may also be said here: Entrust your way . . .¹¹

Muhlenberg used Gerhardt hymns to comfort others in distress. A 1783 letter to a friend gives evidence of this. After reporting on the epileptic seizures of his own wife and the continued failures of doctors and medicines to help, Muhlenberg cited the final line "Everything has its time; God's love is eternal," ("Alles Ding wär't seine Zeit; Gottes Lieb in Ewigkeit!") from the Gerhardt hymn "Sollt ich meinem Gott nicht singen?" ("Should I not praise my God").¹² He then went on to express his regret about the condition of the addressee's wife. He referred to the Gerhardt hymn "Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen" ("Why should I then grieve") and quoted from the fourth verse "when he sends me a cross to bear . . ." ("schickt er mir ein Creutz zu tragen . . .") and ended with "etc." Muhlenberg's sometimes fragmentary references to hymns (ending with etc.) indicate he assumed that his correspondents would know the hymns themselves and thus be able to complete the thought.

That Muhlenberg used the hymns of Paul Gerhardt to instruct others in the Christian faith is evidenced by a 1784 letter to him from his son Gotthilf (also a pastor). The younger Muhlenberg reported that he visited a very sick young woman who, regretting the sins of her youth, was now struggling with her past and was practically without hope but earnestly sought grace. Gotthilf had with great effort endeavored to show her that the Spirit was working on her, otherwise she would have no desire for grace.

At the end she was quite open and two days before her end she said joyfully to me: I have found Jesus! She complained before and after frequently about the temptations of the devil and the verse "Lord Jesus since you love me Now spread your wings above me" etc. was her chief weapon against this. This stanza she had learned when she was eight years old, that is, 14 years ago, from you in

children's instruction, and now again it should be blessed. Be consoled when our teaching office does not immediately bear fruit—it comes certainly—and eternity will reveal it!¹³

Gerhardt's hymns helped shape both Muhlenberg's personal faith and his pastoral practice.¹⁴ Muhlenberg's great love of Gerhardt's hymns would show itself again when he selected the hymns for the first Lutheran hymnal produced in America, to which this essay will return.

In World War I the hymns of Paul Gerhardt played a role in providing consolation and encouragement to German-Americans. A number of articles in *Der Lutheraner*, the German-language periodical of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LCMS) aimed at laity, show this. In the first issue of 1918 a devotional article titled "Fear not" ("Fürchte dich nicht!")¹⁵ reviews many Bible verses which say "Fear not!" and comments "Also the faithful of our dear Evangelical-Lutheran Church were free from fear of the world, her hostility, her dangers, and her oppression. So sings . . . Paul Gerhardt 'Unverzagt und ohne Grauen' ('Unshrinking and without fear')."¹⁶ The article cites the entire stanza from "Why should I then grieve?"

In the June 4, 1918 issue the lead article is "Our Treasury of hymns in this time of War."¹⁷ The article begins by declaring "Time of Suffering—Time of Blessing! ('Leidenszeit—Segenszeit!') It is wonderful how war and the suffering of war teach us to pay attention to the Word."¹⁸ The article reviewed the LCMS hymnal, highlighting those songs most appropriate in time of war. It declared: "The most wonderful of our wonderful hymns originated in the early and difficult years of the Reformation century and in the great time of suffering of the Thirty-Years War. At that time they comforted and lifted up thousands and thousands of people. Even today they prove their power."¹⁹

The article continued with "a brief journey through our hymnal" and pointed to "some of the especially beautiful and suitable hymns and hymn stanzas."

It is entirely natural, that one in the times of sufferings reaches for the so-called hymns of faith, cross and consolation. What a treasury our hymnal shows! We name only the incomparably beautiful hymn by Paul Gerhardt Nr. 355:

“Entrust Your Way” that again and again proves its effective power, along with Nr. 366 “If God Himself Be for Me, I May a Host Defy,” Nr. 375: “Why should I then grieve” . . . ”²⁰

The article recommends different hymns, including many Gerhardt hymns, for different purposes. While discussing “proper fervent songs of prayer” (“rechte, innige Gebetslieder”) the article comments

Even many festival hymns belong here, especially stanzas 8 through 14 of the New Year’s hymn Nr. 54: “Now Let Us Come Before the Lord.” This is an incomparable prayer in time of war, from which one can take closing verses for the worship service. No one can do it better than what Paul Gerhardt here has expressed based on the experiences of the Thirty-Years War.²¹

A brief item titled “From a soldier’s letter” (“Aus einem Soldatenbrief”) in the November 5, 1918 issue of *Der Lutheraner* illustrates the use of Paul Gerhardt by soldiers,

A soldier wrote from the battlefield to his family: “How thankful I am to my mother, that she taught me to pray . . . when the bullets zing to the left and right, when comrades beside me fall, then one sees, how small one is, and one learns to pray and trust God. How often the hymn ‘Entrust your way . . .’ has given me consolation!”²²

In the first issue after the end of the war, *Der Lutheraner* placed on its front page a headline “Hymn of Thanks for the Announcement of Peace” (“Danklied für die Ankündigung des Friedens”) and printed stanzas 1 through 3 and 6 of Gerhardt’s hymn “Praise God! Now Rings forth . . .” (“Gottlob! Nun ist erschollen”).²³ However the first stanza was changed so that the appeal “O Deutschland” (“Oh Germany!”) in the third line became a reference to “O God’s people” (“O Gottesvolk”): “Arise take down your lyre. O people of God, sing songs of high praise.”²⁴

The period of American involvement in World War I was a very difficult one for German-Americans and a time in which they in many respects had to deny or reject their German heritage. The pages of *Der Lutheraner* offer evidence that the hymns of Paul Gerhardt provided consolation and hope for both soldier and civilian at this time. Ironically, they give no indication that the hymns of Paul

Gerhardt were probably also used by the enemy, German soldiers and civilians, for the same purpose in the same war.

North American Lutheran Hymnals

Another perspective on Paul Gerhardt's reception is the presence of his hymns in American hymnals. A complete survey of this would have to include the numerous hymnals in many languages used by Lutherans and/or published by Lutheran synods over the past 370 years. This is too broad a task for the scope of this essay, so an overview that highlights relevant trends will have to suffice.

The first Lutherans in North America came from Sweden, the Netherlands, and Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They brought with them and used the hymnals of their homelands. Two of the most popular,²⁵ were various editions of the "*Vollständiges Marburger Gesang-Buch*" and the Pietist hymnal of Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen published in Halle, known respectively as the "Marburg hymnal" and the "Halle book."²⁶ The first English language hymnal known to be used by Lutherans in North America was the *Psalmodia Germanica* translated and compiled by John Christian Jacobi, organist at St. James' Palace, London.²⁷ Eight hymns by Gerhardt appeared in the first edition in 1722.²⁸

The first official hymnal produced by a Lutheran synod in America was the *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* published by the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1786.²⁹ In 1782 the 35th convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in North America unanimously resolved to have a new hymnbook printed. The committee editing the hymnal was instructed "Not to omit any of the old standard hymns, especially of Luther and Paul Gerhard."³⁰ With Henry Melchior Muhlenberg as chair, a committee decided on the hymns. The Halle hymnal "provided both the pattern for the arrangement of the hymnal as well as the source for the bulk of the hymnody itself."³¹ The *Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung* in its first edition of 1786 had 706 hymns of which 37 were Gerhardt hymns.³² Gerhardt's hymns comprised over 5% of the hymnal. Looked at another way, it contained over one-quarter of the hymns Gerhardt wrote.

The growing influence of rationalism and unionism had an impact on hymnals in the early nineteenth century. *Das Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch, zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformierten Gemeinden in Nord-America* appeared in 1817. Of 494 hymns, only one was by Luther and eleven by Gerhardt.³³ One twentieth-century scholar commented, “the incapacity of the editors was revealed . . . in the omission of the classic hymns of the church and the insertion of weak and frivolous hymns . . .”³⁴ In 1828 the General Synod, a loose federation of almost all Lutheran synods then present in the United States, published an English-language hymnbook, *Hymns, selected and original, for public and private worship*. This hymnal reflected less the influence of rationalism and more the influence of American revivalism. Revised several times, the 1850 edition included approximately 1,000 hymns but only three by Paul Gerhardt.³⁵

By the mid-nineteenth century the confessional movement in Germany was also influencing the descendants of the first wave of Lutheran immigrants, still located primarily on the East Coast of the United States.³⁶ Lutherans began to produce both English and German-language hymnals that contained more hymns of Gerhardt. One example: The General Council’s *Kirchenbuch* of 1877 contained 44 Gerhardt hymns of a total of 595.³⁷ Instead of providing further details on the hymnals produced in the nineteenth century by the descendants of the first wave of Lutheran immigrants, this essay will rather concentrate on the effects of the second wave of immigration.

The new wave of immigration from northern Europe that began in about 1840 and extended until the beginning of World War I brought Paul Gerhardt to America in several languages. Lutheran immigrants from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and Germany came primarily to the Midwest and Northwest but also to few places on the East Coast. They formed a number of Lutheran synods and published a number of hymnals. Initially these immigrants used hymnals they brought with them from their homelands. A hymnal was one of the books most likely to be in immigrant baggage. Paul Gerhardt came to America in many languages during this period. Immigrants who remained Lutheran in North America (many became adherents of other Christian groups or left the

church completely) usually attended worship services in their mother tongues and formed ethnic synods. These synods published hymnals, first in the mother tongue and then, as immigrant children demanded English resources, in English. A few used hymnals (either in English or German) printed by the Lutheran groups that had been in North America longer. Because of the variety of hymnals available (each congregation made its own decision on what hymnals to acquire) and because we do not know how often a particular hymn was actually sung, it is difficult to get a clear picture of Gerhardt's reception during this period.

Rather than review these hymnals comprehensively, mention will be made of several to give an impression of the availability of Gerhardt's hymnody. When Norwegian immigration began in the mid-nineteenth century, many Norwegian immigrants used a hymnal edited by Magnus Landstad (1802–1880).³⁸ This hymnal was republished in the Norwegian language in America with added hymns many times in the following decades. An 1898 version has sixteen hymns attributed to Paul Gerhardt.³⁹ In 1915 the synod of Finnish-American Lutherans published a hymnal in Finnish. It contained fourteen hymns by Gerhardt.⁴⁰ In 1884 *Svenska Psalm-Boken*,⁴¹ a hymnal used by the Swedish-American Augustana Synod, was published. It contained at least two hymns attributed to Gerhardt. When the same synod published an English language hymnal in 1901, it contained ten Gerhardt hymns.⁴² Its 1925 hymnal⁴³ described Paul Gerhardt as the “greatest of German and Lutheran hymnwriters”⁴⁴ and contained nine of his hymns. Two Danish synods published an English-language hymnal in 1927; it has seven entries by Gerhardt.⁴⁵ The new wave of German immigration resulted in the formation of several new synods in the mid-nineteenth century. Named for geographic locations—for example, the Missouri synod, the Iowa synod—but extending beyond them, these synods, located predominantly in the Midwest, were heavily influenced by the confessional movement in Germany. The hymnals they developed reflected a return to the hymnic heritage of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁶ This emphasis continued when these synods began publishing English-language hymnals.⁴⁷ For example, the Iowa Synod's *Wartburg Hymnal* of 1918 contained fifteen Gerhardt hymns of a total of 375 hymns.⁴⁸

Lutherans published three important English (American) language hymnals in the first decades of the twentieth century. All three offered a fairly large number of Gerhardt hymns. Several Norwegian-American synods published the *Lutheran Hymnary* in 1913, the first major English-language hymnbook among Norwegian-Americans. It had eighteen entries attributed to Gerhardt (of 618 total).⁴⁹ The *Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church with Hymnal* was published in 1917 by three synods that represented chiefly the descendants of the first wave of Lutheran immigration.⁵⁰ Of 578 hymns, fifteen were attributed to Gerhardt. By comparison, only seven are attributed to Martin Luther. Three synods founded by German immigrants (Iowa, Ohio, and Buffalo) cooperated to produce a hymnal that was intended to include the classic hymns of all ethnic traditions present in America. This *American Lutheran Hymnal* of 1930 contained eighteen hymns attributed to Gerhardt (of a total 650 hymns).⁵¹ All three of these contained the following Gerhardt hymns: "How Shall I Receive You" ("Wie soll ich dich empfangen,") "All My Heart This Day Rejoices" ("Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen,") "Immanuel, to Thee We Sing" ("Wir singen dir, Immanuel,") "O Sacred Head Now Wounded" ("O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,") "O Enter Lord Thy Temple" ("Zeuch ein zu deinen Toren,") "If God Himself Be for Me" ("Ist Gott für mich so trete,") "Entrust Your Way" ("Befiehl du deine Wege,") "Now Rest Beneath Night's Shadows" ("Nun ruhen alle Wälder,") and "A Pilgrim and a Stranger" ("Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden"). The following appear in two of the three: "O World, See Here Suspended," ("O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben"), "The Sun Ascending" ("Die güldne Sonne"), "O Jesus Christ, My Most Beautiful Light" ("O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht"), "Why Should I Then Grieve," ("Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen?"), "O You Sweetest Joy" ("O du allersüszste Freude!"), "O Lord, I Sing with Voice and Heart" ("Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund"), and "A Lamb Goes Forth Our Grievs to Share" ("Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld").

Most Lutheran synods—the most important exception was the Missouri Synod—merged, first in the early 1960s into two bodies (the American Lutheran Church or ALC and the Lutheran Church in America or LCA) and then in 1988 into the Evangelical Lutheran

Church in America (ELCA). These synods published in 1958—even before their first merger—the *Service Book and Hymnal* (SBH).⁵² Here one sees a great drop in the number of Gerhardt hymns—only eight (out of a total of 602). When the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (LBW) appeared in 1978 only eleven hymns (of 569) were by Gerhardt.⁵³ In the newest book, *Evangelical Lutheran Worship* (ELW), published in 2006, only nine (of 893) appear.⁵⁴ The ELW contains the following hymns by Gerhardt: ELW 241 “O Lord, How Shall I Meet You,” ELW 273 “All My Heart Again Rejoices,” ELW 340 “A Lamb Goes Uncomplaining Forth,” ELW 351/352 “O Sacred Head, Now Wounded,” ELW 378 “Awake, My Heart, with Gladness,” ELW 568 “Now Rest beneath Night’s Shadow,” ELW 761 “Evening and Morning,” ELW 788 “If God My Lord Be for Me.”⁵⁵

One large Lutheran synod, the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod (LCMS), did not merge with other Lutheran synods. This synod, formed in the mid-nineteenth century by Saxons fleeing the Prussian Union Church, sought to maintain a strong confessional identity. Its hymnals reflected and still reflect a love for German hymnody. *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941) had twenty hymns attributed to Gerhardt; *Lutheran Worship* (1982) had sixteen. The most recent LCMS hymnal, *Lutheran Service Book* (2006) has seventeen.⁵⁶

Generally, the number of stanzas of each hymn has declined. Already the *Common Service Book* (1917) had only three to six stanzas for each Gerhardt hymn. In the *SBH* (1958) only one hymn “Since Jesus is my Friend” (another translation of “If God Himself Be for Me” “Ist Gott für mich so trete”) had seven stanzas and one other had six. All others had only three or four stanzas. The *LBW* (1978) allowed only two Gerhardt hymns to have six stanzas; all others had three or four. The *ELW* (2006) has only one Gerhardt hymn with five stanzas and one with three; all others have four. LCMS hymnals exhibit another phenomenon—reduction of stanzas in the 1982 hymnal and expansion in 2006. The 1941 hymnal had from six to fifteen stanzas of each Gerhardt hymn but the 1982 hymnal reduced this to four to seven stanzas for each hymn. The 2006 hymnal returns to allowing more stanzas of each hymn. The most striking example of this is “If God Himself Be for Me” for which the 1941 hymnal had fifteen, the 1982 hymnal four, and the 2006 hymnal ten stanzas.

More typical are “O Lord, How Shall I Meet Thee,” “O Sacred Head now Wounded,” and “Awake, My Heart, with Gladness” with nine, ten, and eight stanzas respectively in the 1941 hymnal. Each had six stanzas in 1982 and seven in 2006.

Worthy of note also is which hymns are no longer represented in the hymnbooks. All three major hymnals of the first half of the twentieth century contained one translation or another of “Entrust your Way.” Some parts of these translations re-appear in 1958 in SBH 579 which begins “Put thou thy trust in God . . .” The hymn appears neither in the LBW (1978) nor in the ELW (2006). It does appear however in the hymnals of the Missouri Synod: twelve stanzas in the 1941 hymnal, and, though with a different translation, six stanzas in 1982 and 2006. “A Pilgrim and A Stranger,” (“Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden”) present in both the 1917 *Common Service Book* and the LCMS 1941 *Lutheran Hymnal* was dropped in both Lutheran traditions and did not appear after 1941. Part of the problem may be the translation. A “Gast”—guest—certainly has a different connotation than “Pilgrim” or “Stranger.” Gerhardt’s beloved song of summer “Go Forth, My Heart, and Seek Delight” (“Geh aus mein Herz und suche Freud”) appears in no recent hymnals; I found it last in the *American Lutheran Hymnal* of 1930.

Other Christian groups in North America also use Gerhardt’s hymns, as an examination of the current hymnals of the Episcopal Church, the United Church of Christ, the United Methodist Church, and the Moravian Church shows. Of these, the Moravian Book of Worship of 1995 has the most Gerhardt hymns—eight. All four hymnals included “O Sacred Head Now Wounded.” Ironically, “Entrust Your Way” (“Befiehl du deine Wege”) seems much more popular among non-Lutheran groups than among Lutherans—some version of it is included in the Episcopalian, United Church of Christ, and Methodist hymnals. Another hymn that appears frequently is one translation or another of “Nun ruhen alle Wälder”—only the Methodist hymnal fails to include it. In the *Episcopal Hymnal 1982* (1985) five hymns (actually four—“O Sacred Head” is counted twice) are Gerhardt’s.⁵⁷ Twentieth-century Methodist hymnals have also included Gerhardt’s hymns. The 1932⁵⁸ hymnbook included three, the 1964 hymnal⁵⁹ had five, and the most recent

work, *The United Methodist Hymnal: Book of United Methodist Worship* (1989)⁶⁰ has four (actually three—O Sacred Head is counted twice). John Wesley’s “Jesus Thy Boundless Love to Me,” a translation of “O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht,” appeared in all three of these Methodist hymnals. The most recent hymnal of the United Church of Christ (a union of German Reformed and English congregational groups) *The New Century Hymnal* (1995)⁶¹ includes five Gerhardt hymns, though two are in translations so free as to no longer be recognizably Gerhardt.⁶² John Wesley’s translation “Give to the Winds Thy Fears” in the 1958 hymnal was replaced by Madeleine Forell Marshall’s “Give up Your Anxious Pains” in 1995. The third stanza of this new translation of “Entrust Your Way” makes clear that the social justice agenda has affected even the hymnody:

Don’t let us be dismayed by grievous social wrong;
Responsive, active, unafraid, may we be brave and strong.
Extend your loving care through all our lifelong days;
And when we die, bring us to where bright angels sing your praise.⁶³

In Canada *Voices United: The Hymn and Worship Book of the United Church of Canada* (1996)⁶⁴ contains four Gerhardt hymns, including four verses of John Wesley’s translation of “Entrust Your Way.” Canadian Lutherans have generally used the same hymnals as Lutherans in the United States.

Most translations in American hymnals come from nineteenth-century English translators, such as Catherine Winkworth and Richard Massie. A few translations originated from John Wesley. Some Gerhardt hymns have several different translations in use. Theodore Brown Hewitt discusses and compares different translations into English of eighty-four Gerhardt hymns in his work *Paul Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer and his Influence on English Hymnody* (1918).⁶⁵ John Wesley’s use and translation of Gerhardt hymns have already been discussed by other scholars.⁶⁶

Hymns of Paul Gerhardt have been present in hymnbooks used in America for over 200—possibly 300—years. Their presence has waxed and waned. Currently, it appears, with a few exceptions, to be waning.

The 300th Anniversary of Gerhardt's Birth in 1907

In 1907 Lutherans in America demonstrated their esteem for Paul Gerhardt by honoring him on the 300th anniversary of his birth. Numerous articles in church periodicals described Gerhardt and his hymnody. The same publications reviewed and recommended books about Gerhardt. They also described festive celebrations of the anniversary in congregational, seminary, and other settings.

Periodicals published by a number of Lutheran synods, not only German-language or German-heritage synods, presented Gerhardt to readers. These articles described Paul Gerhardt's life and his hymns, but with different emphases. Typically, these articles stressed the trials and difficulties of Gerhardt's life, and pointed how his hymnody revealed a radiant faith through those trials. Gerhardt was portrayed as a fearless defender of the Lutheran faith. Often these articles compared Paul Gerhardt to Martin Luther. However, these comparisons differed. Sometimes Luther was viewed as one who prepared the ground for Gerhardt. Sometimes Luther was seen as the great combative hero and Gerhardt as the gentle poet. Sometimes Luther was regarded as one who wrote for the church while Gerhardt was more devoted to the individual.

A lengthy lead article in the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* described the life and contributions of Paul Gerhardt extensively in six parts.⁶⁷ The article covered eight and one-half large magazine sized pages and included pictures of the Gerhardt Monument at Luebben and other sites related to Gerhardt's life. In each section the author quoted stanzas from Gerhardt's hymns to tell and interpret the story of Gerhardt's life. A separate article in the same issue on "Paul Gerhardt, the Hymnic Prince of Our Church" covers two pages.⁶⁸ After that came articles such as "Paul Gerhardt's Contemporaries," "The Value of Christian Hymns," "Paul Gerhardt's testament," and commentaries concerning certain hymns.⁶⁹ The corresponding English-language edition of this periodical did not have as much.⁷⁰ Though it had the longer opening article about Gerhardt,⁷¹ after that it only had a short article "Paul Gerhardt's Hymns."⁷² This article compared Martin Luther and Paul Gerhardt, noting that they "belonged to two different centuries" and "represented two somewhat different types

of hymnographers.” Luther is described as “a Christian warrior.” “. . . there was strength in his words and deeds” and “a martial spirit pervades many of his hymns.” The article described Gerhardt as “more mild than Luther, but none the less true to God’s Word . . .” Luther and his co-laborers had prepared the way for Gerhardt and “much good soil was ready for the gentle showers and warm sunshine. Gerhardt’s labors were of that nature, and his hymns became especially helpful in building up the kingdom of the Lord.” The concluding remarks noted that the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Paul Gerhardt’s birth “is not only a tribute to the memory of this sacred poet, but it will direct special attention to his hymns and result in a better appreciation of them.”

An article in the German language newsletter *Kirchen-Blatt*, aimed at members of the Iowa Synod, had a different emphasis. It focused primarily on the impact of Gerhardt’s hymnody and said little of his life.⁷³

so too it is as if Paul Gerhardt’s songs were written from the hearts of all true children of God and are also recognized by all as written precisely for them. Many Christians, who have rarely heard the name Paul Gerhardt and know nothing of his life, live in his songs and the Paradise garden of his spiritual hymnody is as familiar to them as their catechism. A proper church song is a gospel sermon and such a sermon, that builds upon experience, so that it, so to speak, sees and connects prophecy and fulfilment, promise and consolation, and sings in one tone. Such a song brings the Word of God near to the heart . . . then however the song becomes the property of the other and because they all have life, consolation, strength, joy, love, and hope in the same faith, so the whole congregation sings the same song as her confession and her experience.⁷⁴

For this writer, Gerhardt himself was not so important but his hymns were irreplaceable. The article declared that Gerhardt’s hymns “have become songs of our church and so grown so closely with her that church and song will belong together in all times.” It claimed that one cannot “conceive of our church without Paul Gerhardt’s hymns . . .” and continued “even when thousands use the Gerhardt hymns, without thinking of the poet, they all proclaim his praise and weave for him a celebratory wreath.” It is only for this reason, the article concluded, that on his anniversary we celebrate his memory.

Even publications aimed specifically at youth encouraged participation in the Gerhardt anniversary. The English-language *Luther League Review* noted the Gerhardt anniversary in the lead article in its March 1907 issue.⁷⁵ The article spent almost no time discussing Gerhardt's hymns and instead focused on his life, describing Gerhardt as "the man who ranks next to Luther and whom the Evangelical Church will always regard as her greatest religious poet, the faithful confessor of Luther in suffering and persecution."⁷⁶ Throughout, the article portrayed Gerhardt as a model of confessional faithfulness. At the end it cited the rules of life that Gerhardt wrote for his son. For this youth magazine, Gerhardt teaches less through his hymns than through his life's example. A German-language publication for youth reported on both Gerhardt's life and hymnody. *Das Festbüchlein zur 300jährigen Geburtstagsfeier Paulus Gerhardts, des Assaphs der lutherischen Kirche: Unser lutherischen Schuljugend dargeboten*⁷⁷ ("The Festival Pamphlet for the Celebration of the 300th Birthday of Paul Gerhardt, the Asaph of the Lutheran Church") published by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, devoted six pages to Gerhardt's life and four to his hymnody. It surveyed his hymnody, citing by title 36 hymns appropriate for the seasons of the church year, for teaching purposes, for praise and thanksgiving, and for other purposes. The author then asked "How does it come to be that Gerhardt's songs are so gladly sung?" ("Woher kommt es nun wohl dass Gerhardts Lieder so gerne gesungen werden?") He compared Gerhardt to Luther, seeing them both as heroes of faith, and claimed "Luther was the leader of the church, the combative hero, who sang the song of confession and the defiant battle song. Gerhardt however sings a edifying song for the individual soul and a song of consolation for the room at home."⁷⁸ Assuming his young audience knew the hymns of both Luther and Gerhardt, the author continued, "You certainly have already noticed that you more easily learn a Gerhardt song than a Luther song. That is because Gerhardt's speech and manner of expression is easier and more easily known than Luthers."⁷⁹ The author praised Gerhardt's "beautiful skilled language" ("schöne gewandte Sprache") and stated that his speech was "Fresh, natural, healthy and joyous, folksy and yet pure".⁸⁰ But most important is the fact that Gerhardt's hymns encouraged and consoled the troubled.⁸¹ The author concluded with an admonition, "We should put on and adorn ourselves with these

jewels, in that we learn them in school and use and sing them gladly and diligently at home and in church. So this jubilee will serve God's honor and our continued blessing."⁸²

Telling the story of Gerhardt's life, noting his many sufferings and trials, comparing him with Luther, quoting his hymns, encouraging people to learn them and use them—these were all common themes of popular articles about Gerhardt.

Scholarly articles and articles aimed at pastors had similar themes. *The Lutheran Church Review* published a lengthy two-part article on Paul Gerhardt by Prof. Dr. Adolph Spaeth of Philadelphia Seminary.⁸³ He devoted the first part of his article to Gerhardt's life and the second to Gerhardt's hymns. The ten-page discussion of hymns did not discuss particular hymns but rather described Gerhardt's hymnody in general terms. Much space is devoted to comparing Luther's and Gerhardt's hymnody. The article claimed that Luther wrote his hymns for use of the congregation in public worship while Gerhardt "wrote his hymns without any idea of making provision for the necessities of the Church. He simply sings out what is in his heart . . . Others took care of the publication of his songs and made them accessible to the Church at large . . ."⁸⁴

The author rejected the claim that Gerhardt's hymnody was "subjective, devotional and pietistic" in contrast to Luther's "objective, churchly and confessional" hymns, finding the claim "without much foundation" and of "no practical import."⁸⁵ Spaeth opined that the differences between Luther's "A Mighty Fortress" ("Ein fest Burg") and Gerhardt's "If God Himself be for me" ("Ist Gott fuer mich, so trete") best illustrated the real difference between them.

Luther sings as the hero and warrior, the leader in battle, bravely fighting for the City of his God, as it is assailed on all sides by deadly enemies. Gerhardt sings as the child resting on the bosom of the Father, peacefully and even joyfully looking down upon all his assailants, sin, death and hell, that cannot possibly touch and harm him. With the former it is the great battle for God's everlasting truth, the Word, the Kingdom. With the latter it is the deepest, sweetest personal enjoyment of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.⁸⁶

Spaeth concluded his article by bringing together the person and the hymns of Paul Gerhardt, stating that they are a "striking and forceful refutation" of "the charge that strict, unbending orthodoxy

is incompatible with true living spirituality.” “There is absolutely no place for such a conflict in Paul Gerhardt, the unyielding adherent of his beloved, ‘divine’ Formula of Concord, and the devout, inspiring singer.”⁸⁷

The *Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende*, a periodical for pastors of the Norwegian Synod, contained a lengthy two-part article on Gerhardt. The first part of the article described Gerhardt’s life, the second his hymnody.⁸⁸ This synod was known for its strict confessionalism so it is not surprising that this article celebrated Gerhardt’s strict confessional orthodoxy. But the article clearly saw the pastoral uses of Gerhardt’s hymns.

[Gerhardt’s hymns are] rich and manifold [in] content. They span all of the church year’s high festivals along with churchly ceremonies (baptism, communion, etc.), they treat Christ’s life and suffering together with the Christian life with its tribulations, they sing of nature and country (patriotism—Vaterland), of the household and the estate of marriage, cradle and grave, joy and sorrow, praise and thanksgiving, on the situation of the life of the soul in repentance and faith, time and eternity. A rich number are hymns on the cross and its comfort together with praise and thanksgiving hymns.⁸⁹

It was not only German-Americans who celebrated Gerhardt in 1907!

One publication even offered homiletical assistance. The German-language periodical *Magazin für ev.=luth. Homiletik und Pastoral Theologie* (published by the LCMS) provided encouragement and homiletical help for marking the anniversary. An article “Concerning the three hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Paul Gerhardt”⁹⁰ observed that it is “right and fitting that we observe (on March 12) . . . this anniversary, whether it be through a special worship service, perhaps with our children, or that we honor this precious man in our sermon in the main worship service”⁹¹ As did other publications, the introductory remarks stated that Gerhardt’s significance was twofold.

First he is, next to Luther, the greatest hymn writer of our church. The other significance of Gerhardt is that he left us a model of a faithful, unfearing confessor of divine truth, the pure teaching, a confessor who let go of office and income and entered a dark and uncertain future rather than deny even in the

slightest the known truth. How necessary it is for us to have such a model shown to us especially in these times that shy from the cross and offer a paucity of confession.⁹²

The homiletical helps revolved around the following themes. The lengthiest one is the first, centered on Joel 2:23, “Be glad, O children of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord, your God . . .” Introductory remarks note that this festival is of a special kind. In Paul Gerhardt God gave to the church a teacher who led many to righteousness not only in his time but “who continually was a teacher of righteousness in our church and many others and continues to be it now.” The main theme of the sermon is “Paul Gerhardt is also for us a teacher unto righteousness.” The sermon has two main points. The first point, “He is this in his precious hymns” (“Das ist er in seinen köstlichen Kirchenliedern”) is divided into five subpoints.⁹³ Throughout the first point references to Gerhardt’s hymns are given. A footnote encourages pastors to use, not all but rather “the best known and most beautiful” of these in their sermons. In this way Gerhardt’s hymns were used to convey the preacher’s message of the preacher. The second part is shorter. Titled “Paul Gerhardt is for us a teacher unto righteousness. He teaches us, secondly, through his whole life, especially through his courageous, joyous confession of true doctrine.”⁹⁴ Here the preacher should first describe the chief occasions of Gerhardt’s life, “especially his confessional courage in Berlin” and second raise up Gerhardt as an example. Gerhardt’s true confession teaches us to stand firm in the truth and give up all things rather than deviate from the truth of the word of God. “We especially need such an example, such encouragement, in our time, in which so many do not want to know anything about a confession of truth, who even slander it as stubbornness and a lack of love.”⁹⁵

The article gives four further sketches (“Dispositionen”) but the themes remain the same. Two contain only a biblical text, main theme, and two subpoints: Psalm 103:1.2, “Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name!” and I Corinthians 12:7, “To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good.” The subpoints given for these mirror the subpoints in the first. A fourth sketch, on Proverbs 10:7, “The memory of the righteous is a blessing,” is longer and more detailed but also mirrors the two main

themes of the other sermons. Paul Gerhardt's memory is blessed 1. Because of his precious hymns, and 2. Because of his Christian righteousness. A fifth sketch, on Hebrews 13:7, "Remember your leaders, those who spoke the word of God," poses the question "Why are we celebrating the Paul Gerhardt anniversary?" And states three reasons: "because we should 1. Commemorate our teachers (our teacher in his hymns), 2. Cling to their faith, and 3. Contemplate their end."⁹⁶

Church publications in 1907 also contained reviews of books on Gerhardt and assistance for those planning Gerhardt celebrations. Immediately beneath the sermon helps cited above two such books are reviewed.⁹⁷

Celebrations of the anniversary took place in many settings. The March 30, 1907 issue of the *Lutheran Standard*, the periodical of the Ohio Synod, mentioned Paul Gerhardt celebrations at a congregation and at a seminary. A short notice records that in the congregation of Pastor H.J. Schuh of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, a Paul Gerhardt celebration was held. "The celebration was a liturgical one, in which Gerhardt's hymns sung by school children, the choir, and the congregation, alternated with the readings of scriptural texts."⁹⁸ Later the periodical reports a "beautiful Gerhardt celebration" in the "assembly hall of our Woodville seminary." Attendance was good, student choruses sang, and professors delivered several addresses.⁹⁹

The 300th anniversary of Paul Gerhardt's birth was noticed and celebrated by American Lutherans. Certainly the presence of a second wave of Lutheran immigrants and the influence of the nineteenth century confessional revival were factors in this. Lutheran publications show that many efforts were made to inform both pastors and laity of the significance of both Gerhardt's hymns and his person.

Paul Gerhardt in 2007

In 2007 few articles on Gerhardt appeared in church periodicals and scholarly journals, and, compared to those published in 1907, these were considerably shorter. Generally, the picture they offer of Gerhardt is not that of a fearless defender of the Lutheran confession of faith but rather that of a poet who, beset with personal adversity, found consolation in the Bible and created texts for spiritual songs that conveyed this biblical consolation.

The Lutheran, a magazine for members of the largest Lutheran body, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA), had as of June 2007 no articles on Gerhardt. *The Lutheran Witness*, for members of the LCMS, had one short (one and a half pages) article.¹⁰⁰ The article emphasized Gerhardt's doctrinal clarity amidst a life of personal suffering. Gerhardt's steadfast adherence to the Lutheran confession is seen as presaging the origins of the Missouri Synod in the refusal of some Saxon Lutherans to join the Prussian union church. The author also contrasted Gerhardt's hymns to much sung today in American worship services, "We live at a time when in many Sunday services, saccharine platitudes take the place of the traditional chorale with its theological weight, choice of words, and musical splendor. So it seems timely to ponder the exquisite beauty of Gerhardt's song . . ." (A translation of the first stanza of "Entrust your way" follows.)¹⁰¹

Lutheran Partners, a magazine for pastors of the ELCA, devoted its May/June 2007 issue to "Singing and Teaching the Faith." The lead article (two pages) was "If God Be for Me—the Life of Paul Gerhardt."¹⁰² The article very briefly described Gerhardt as a theologian. Though it noted that Gerhardt "faced inter-confessional conflict among Lutheran and Reformed Christians" it did not, like the 1907 articles, praise him for his firm Lutheran confessional stance. Commenting only briefly on his hymnody, the article emphasized the scriptural foundation for Gerhardt's hymns and cited four stanzas of "If God Himself Be for Me" as an example of how Gerhardt used biblical texts, here Romans 8. A sidebar listed "Gerhardt Resources" including many available on the internet. Unfortunately, the other articles in this issue did not appropriate the Gerhardt heritage. Even the article "Music that Teaches: The Hymns of our Faith"¹⁰³ did not mention Gerhardt at all.

One academic journal that dealt with Gerhardt's heritage is *Word & World*, published by Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota. Its winter issue in 2007 contained two articles on Gerhardt: "Paul Gerhardt: Who He Was and Why We Care" praised Gerhardt's hymns because they tell the Christian story. It too cited "If God Himself Be for Me," claiming it sings of the "peace and comfort God's love supplies."¹⁰⁴ A second article, on translating Paul Gerhardt's hymns,¹⁰⁵ contained an original English translation of "Was soll ich doch,

O Ephraim” (“How Can I Give You Up, My Child”). The article noted that approximately forty-one of Gerhardt’s hymns have not been translated into English; a disproportionate number of these are paraphrases of lengthier biblical texts.¹⁰⁶ It presented Gerhardt as a preacher of biblical texts and pointed to the number of Gerhardt’s hymns that are based on biblical texts. The journal offered one new translation in each of its four issues that year. The spring issue contained an article on Paul Gerhardt and the Psalms accompanied by a translation of “Ich preise dich und singe” (“I Sing to You and Praise You”), Gerhardt’s paraphrase of Psalm 30.¹⁰⁷

In 2007 events were held to honor Paul Gerhardt. Luther Seminary, a theological seminary of the ELCA in St. Paul, in February held a one-day symposium on “Paul Gerhardt: Hymnwriter for the Church.”¹⁰⁸ It included a hymn sing, a plenary address on “Gerhardt and Crüger: Partners in the Creation of a New Lutheran Hymnody” and workshops on such themes as “Helping German Hymnody Come Alive Today.” Two LCMS seminaries also held gatherings. Concordia Seminary–St. Louis, held a Paul Gerhardt hymn festival on March 18, 2007. The celebration included seminary choirs, eight guest organists, commentaries, and readings in addition to the hymns.¹⁰⁹ The annual Good Shepherd Institute at Concordia Theological Seminary–Fort Wayne focused on Paul Gerhardt.¹¹⁰ Another conference related to the Gerhardt anniversary was sponsored by Bethany Lutheran College and Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and held October 25–26, 2007 in Mankato, Minnesota.¹¹¹ In Canada, Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary of St. Catharines, Ontario, sponsored a conference related to the anniversary May 7–9, 2007.¹¹²

Conclusion

Practically speaking, most American Lutherans know little or nothing of Paul Gerhardt. My own experience—I visit many congregations every year in the course of my work—is that his hymns are rarely sung. Certainly his diminishing presence in hymnbooks both causes and reflects a decline in appreciation and use.

When I asked a colleague familiar with hymnological traditions and trends in North America what it would take for Gerhardt to

become more popular, she replied “better tunes.” Many Americans find the German chorale tunes difficult musically. But music—and here one must add also the emphasis on contemporary music styles and the use of instruments other than the organ—is not the only cause of Gerhardt’s decline. Some American Lutherans have moved away from hymns that tell of God’s deeds to hymns that only speak the worshipper’s praise of God. This works against any hymnody, including Gerhardt’s, that focuses on God’s great works for us. Most of my students had never heard of Paul Gerhardt when they began their theological studies. They were regularly surprised at the courage and profundity of Gerhardt’s hymns and usually wanted more of him.

This essay is not a comprehensive survey of Gerhardt’s influence and reception in America but rather a brief examination of several aspects of his influence and reception to gain some insight. Though Gerhardt’s hymns influenced both the first and second great waves of immigration, his influence has waned since the mid-twentieth century. The chief exception appears to be in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. Did the celebration of the Gerhardt anniversary in 2007 perhaps help to facilitate a Gerhardt renaissance in the future? That question I cannot answer.

This essay is a translation and slight revision of “Paul Gerhardt in Amerika,” in Paul Gerhardt—Dichtung, Theologie, Musik: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zum 400. Geburtstag. Edited by Dorothea Wendebourg. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008. 245–267. Published with the cooperation of Mohr Siebeck Tübingen. That essay was based on a lecture given at the symposium of the same name, held in honor of the 400th anniversary of Gerhardt’s birth, on June 15–16, 2007 in Berlin, Germany, sponsored by the theological faculty of the Humboldt University, Berlin.

NOTES

1. Biographical information can be found in Gerald S. Krispin, “Paul Gerhardt (1607–76): A Theologian Sifted in Satan’s Sieve,” in *Lives and Writings of the Great Fathers of the Lutheran Church* ed. by Timothy Schmeling (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2016), 229–42.

2. This conflict is described at length in Johannes M. Ruschke, *Paul Gerhardt und der Berliner Kirchenstreit. Eine Untersuchung der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzungen über die kurfürstlich verordnete mutua tolerantia* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

3. Krispin, "Paul Gerhardt," 230.

4. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, eds., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1942–58). Kurt Aland, ed., *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika*, 5 vols. (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986–2002). Carl F. Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 44. "On his arrival in America, Muhlenberg was confronted by the same variety of hymnals which had been so evident in Germany . . . The Halle hymnal, however, was undoubtedly the most widely known and used. Muhlenberg's journals are replete with references to the Halle hymns and indicate that they were well known and used in many places in the German Lutheran settlements."

5. English translation in Muhlenberg journal, vol. 2, p. 31. "gab Ihm das am besten Labzahl wenn Er auf der Mutter und Vaters Schloss sitzen, und von Ihnen hören konte nach seinen kleinen Begriffen, von dem liebsten Heilande, von Himmel und Seligkeit reden, und wenn man Ihn ein und andern schönen Vers aus den kräftig Hallischen Liedern vorsang." I am grateful to John Peterson, Lutheran Archives Center, Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia for providing me a transcription of the original German.

6. Translation by Timothy J. Wengert. ELW 568, stanza 2, has a slightly different translation.

7. The title of this has been translated in several different ways, for example, "Entrust your way," "Commit your way," or "Commit Thou all that Grieves Thee."

8. David Christian, *Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's Contributions to Lutheran Worship and Music in America*. Master of Church Music Thesis, Graduate School of Concordia College, River Forest, IL, 1981. Appendix B, "Hymn Titles in *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*" lists approximately 250 different hymn titles. Some of the titles listed appear not to be titles but the opening lines of later stanzas of other hymns.

9. Muhlenberg was an organist. Hymns were not only in his head but also in his fingers. See, for example, his journal entry for Sunday, March 24, 1776: "I played the organ to accompany the singing of Lenten hymns and then preached in German . . ." *Journals* 2:719.

10. H.M. Mühlenberg an G.A. Francke und [F.M. Ziegenhagen], 17. März 1743, *Korrespondenz*, Bd. 1, 82. "Wozu es dienet, dass weiss der Liebe Gott am besten. Er brauchet meiner nicht, und kan auch ohne mich sein Werck führen. Wege hat Er aller wegen, an Mitteln fehlt Ihm nicht."

11. H.M. Mühlenberg an Christoph Emanuel Schultze und Familie, 7. März 1777, *Korrespondenz*, Bd. 5, 23. "Pennsylvania wird ohne Zweifel dismal der Tummelplatz des Krieges werden und unerhörte Grausamkeiten erfahren. Ich bin schwach und elend und weiss mir ja selber nicht zu rathen mit der krancken Mama. Was rathen mein theurester Hertzens-Freund, kan ich mit guten Gewissen von Philad[elphia] weg nach Virg[inia] gehen, wenn die Noth hier am grösten wird? Würde es nicht heissen: der Miethling siehet den Wolfe kommen und fleucht? Ich bin zwar nur ein supernumerarius, kan und vermag nichts mehr, und was das schwereste, so darf ich die Mama fast nie allein lassen wegen ihrer Kranckheit, und kan sie auch nicht füglich damit hinnenemen, wo Gefar ist, oder auch nur Unruhe und Lerm. Es mag denn auch hier heissen: Befiel dem Herrn deine Wege . . ."

12. H.M. Mühlenberg an Wilhelm Anton Graaf, 20. February 1783, *Korrespondenz* Bd. 5, 510–11. "also müßen wirs in Demut und Gelaßenheit dem allerhöchsten Artzt und Eigenthums Herrn Leibes und der Seelen empfehlen und seine Hülfsstunde erwarten. Alles Ding wär't seine Zeit: Gottes Lieb in Ewigkeit!"

13. Gotthilf Heinrich Ernst Mühlenberg an Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, 2. Januar, 1784 *Korrespondenz* Bd. 5, 609. “Sie wurde zu letzt recht offenhertzig, und 2 Tage vor ihrem Ende sagte sie mir erfreut: Ich have Jesum gefunden! Sie klagte vor und nachher viel über Anfechtungen des Teufels und der Vers: Breit aus die Flügel beide, o Jesu meine Freude etc. war ihr Hauptmittel dagegen. Diesen Vers hatte sie in ihrem 8ten Jahr, d[as] i[st] vor 14 Jahren von Ihnen in der Kinderlehr gelernt, und jetzt noch muste er gesegnet sein. Getrost wenn unser Lehr=Amt nicht gleich Früchte bringt—es komt doch—and die Ewigkeit wird es offenbaren!”

14. Although not examining his use of Gerhardt's hymns specifically, Mark Oldenburg comments, after surveying hymns that Muhlenberg loved and used, “the centrality of hymns as a devotional tool for Muhlenberg and his contemporaries is remarkable.” Mark Oldenburg, “Henry Melchior Muhlenberg: A Patriarch on his Knees,” *Cross Accent* 13, no. 2 (2005): 21–30.

15. “Fürchte dich nicht!” *Der Lutheraner* 74 (Jan. 1, 1918), 8–9.

16. “Fürchte dich nicht!” “Auch die Gottesmänner und Gotteskinder unserer teuren evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche waren frei von Furcht vor der Welt, ihrer Feindschaft, ihren Gefahren und ihren Drangsalen. So singt . . . Paul Gerhardt “Unverzagt und ohne Grauen.”

17. “Unser Liederschatz in dieser Kriegszeit,” *Der Lutheraner* 74 (June 4, 1918), 189–90.

18. “Unser Liederschatz in dieser Kriegszeit,” Es ist wunderbar, wie Krieg und Kriegsnot aufs Wort merken lehren.”

19. “Unser Liederschatz in dieser Kriegszeit,” Die herrlichsten unserer herrlichen Lieder sind in den ersten und schweren Jahren des Reformationsjahrhunderts entstanden und in der grossen Trübsalszeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Sie haben damals Tausende und aber Tausende getröstet und aufgerichtet. Noch heute beweisen sie ihre Kraft.

20. “Unser Liederschatz in dieser Kriegszeit,” “Wir wollen einmal einen kurzen Gang durch unser Gesangbuch anstellen und auf einige der besonders schönen und passenden Lieder und Liederverse aufmerksam machen. Es ist ganz natürlich, daß man in den Zeiten der Not zunächst zu den sogenannten Vertrauensliedern, den Kreuz- und trostliedern greift. Welch einen Reichtum zeigt da unser Gesangbuch! Wir nennen nur das unvergleichlich schöne Lied von Paul Gerhardt Nr. 355: ‘Befiehl du deine Wege,’ das immer wieder seine durchschlagende Kraft beweisen wird, daneben Nr. 366 ‘Ist Gott für mich, so trete gleich alles wider mich.. Nr. 375: ‘Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen?’”

21. “Unser Liederschatz in dieser Kriegszeit,” “Selbst manche Festlieder gehören hierher, besonders die Verse 8 bis 14 aus dem Neujahrsliede Nr. 54: ‘Nun laßt uns gehn und treten.’ Das ist ein unvergleichliches Kriegsgebet, aus dem man auch Schlußverse für den Gottesdienst nehmen kann. Besser kann es niemand machen, als es Paul Gerhardt hier getroffen hat aus den Erfahrungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges heraus.”

22. “Aus einem Soldatenbrief,” *Der Lutheraner* 74 (November 5, 1918), 378. Ein Soldat schrieb vom Schlachtfelde aus an die Seinen: “Wie dankbar bin ich meiner Mutter, daß sie mich beten gelehrt hat . . . Wenn links und rechts die Kugeln pfeifen, wenn Kameraden neben mir fallen, dann sieht man, wie wenig man ist, und dann lernt man beten und Gott vertrauen. Wie oft hat mir das Lied—“Befiehl du deine Wege . . .” Wie oft hat es mir Trost gespendet!

23. “Danklied für die Ankündigung des Friedens,” *Der Lutheraner* 74 (November 19, 1918), 385.

24. “Wohlauf! Und nimm nun wieder/ Dein Saitenspiel hervor./ O Gottesvolk, sing Lieder/ Im hohen; vollen Chor!”

25. Carlton York Smith, "Early Lutheran Hymnody in America: From the Colonial Period to the Year 1850," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1956), 41–61. See also Schalk, *God's Song*, 44. "On his arrival in America, Muhlenberg was confronted by the same variety of hymnals which had been so evident in Germany . . . The Halle hymnal . . . was undoubtedly the most widely known and used."

26. The Marburg hymnal first appeared in 1681 with the title *Vollständiges Und Neu-eingerichtetes Marburger Gesangbuch*; from 1742 to 1854 it bore the title *Vollständiges Marburger Gesang-Buch*. At least five editions were printed in Germantown, Pennsylvania (in 1757, 1759, 1762, 1770, and 1777). Freylinghausen's hymnal, *Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch*, was published in 1704; a second volume, *Neues Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch*, appeared in 1714. A combined edition, *Johann Anastasii Freylinghausen. . . . Geistreiches Gesang-Buch*, edited by Gotthilf August Francke, appeared in 1741, after Freylinghausen's death.

27. Smith, "Early Lutheran Hymnody in America," 60–68

28. Schalk, *God's Song*, 54

29. The story of the development of this hymnal, Muhlenberg's role in it, and its relationship to the Marburg hymnal and the Halle book, is very ably told in Mark Oldenburg, "Into the Future: Henry Melchior Mühlenberg and the first American Lutheran Hymnal 1786/1787," in *The Transatlantic World of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg in the Eighteenth Century* ed. Hermann Wellenreuther, Thomas Müller-Bahlke, and A. Gregg Roeber (Halle: Verlag der Frankeschen Stiftung; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2013), 371–83.

30. *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States: Proceedings of the Annual Conventions from 1748 to 1821* (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1898), 183–84.

31. Schalk, *God's Song*, 47.

32. A. Spaeth, "Paulus Gerhardt: Gerhardt's Hymns. Part II." *The Lutheran Church Review* 17 (1907), 758.

33. Schalk, *God's Song*, 77.

34. Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1947), 171.

35. Schalk, *God's Song*, 82–86. Carl Schalk, *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1996), 61.

36. Paul Westermeyer, "What Shall We Sing in a Foreign Land? Theology and Cultic Song in the German Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Pennsylvania, 1830–1900," (Ph.D. Dissertation University of Chicago Divinity School, 1978).

37. Spaeth, "Paulus Gerhardt," 758.

38. Schalk, *God's Song*, 117–18.

39. *Salmebog for Lutherske Kristne I Amerika*. M. B. Landstads Salmebog, Med nogle Forandringer og et Tilloeg, udarbejdet af en Komite (Minneapolis: Den Forenedd Kirkes Forlag, 1898).

40. *Suomalainen Wirsikirja ewankelis-lutherilaisille seurakuunille; Suomen Suuririuhtinaanmaasa ia American Vhdyswalloissa* (Hancock, Michigan: Suomalais-Luteerilainen Kustannusliikkeen Kirjapainossa, 1915).

41. *Svenska Psalm-Boken Af år 1819 Översedd af J.H. thomander och P.Wieselgren* (Chicago: Enander & Bohman, 1884).

42. *Hymnal and Order of Service For Churches and Sunday-Schools. By Authority of the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in North America* (Rock Island, Illinois: Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, 1901).

43. *The Hymnal and Order of Service: Authorized by The Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1925).
44. *The Hymnal and Order of Service*, 880.
45. *Hymnal for Church and Home* (Blair, Nebraska: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1927).
46. Schalk, *God's Song*, 121–52.
47. The translations of Gerhardt by Englishwoman Catherine Winkworth (1827–1878) made the inclusion of Gerhardt's hymns easier. Her *Lyra Germanica*, a collection of German hymns translated into English, was first published in 1854.
48. O. Hardwig, ed., *Wartburg Hymnal for Church, School and Home* (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1918).
49. *The Lutheran Hymnary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1913, 1916, 1919, 1935).
50. *Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church with Hymnal* (Philadelphia: The Board of Publication of The United Lutheran Church in America, 1917 and 1918).
51. *American Lutheran Hymnal* (Columbus, Ohio: The Wartburg Press, 1930).
52. *Service Book and Hymnal* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, et al., 1958).
53. *Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House and Philadelphia: Board of Publication, Lutheran Church in America, 1978).
54. *Evangelical Lutheran Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2006).
55. "Wie Soll ich dich empfangen?" "Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen," "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld," "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" (twice), "Auf Auf mein Herz mit Freuden," "Nun ruhen alle Wälder," "Die güldne Sonne," and "Ist Gott für mich so trete."
56. *Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1941). *Lutheran Worship* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1982). *Lutheran Service Book* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006).
57. *The Hymnal 1982: according to the use of the Episcopal Church* (New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1985).
58. *The Methodist Hymnal: Official Hymnal of the Methodist Church* (Nashville, Tennessee: The Methodist Book Concern, 1932, 1935, 1939).
59. *The Book of Hymns: Official Hymnal of the United Methodist Church*. (Nashville, Tennessee: The United Methodist Publishing House 1964).
60. *The United Methodist Hymnal: Book of United Methodist Worship* (Nashville, Tennessee: The United Methodist Publishing House, 1989).
61. *The New Century Hymnal* (Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, 1995).
62. 269 "Sweet Delight, Most Lovely" and 404 "Give Up Your Anxious Pains," both translated by Madeleine Forell Marshall.
63. *New Century Hymnal*, hymn 404.
64. *Voices United: The Hymn and Worship Book of the United Church of Canada* (Etobicoke, Ontario, Canada: The United Church Publishing House, 1996).
65. Theodore Brown Hewitt, *Paul Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer and his Influence on English Hymnody* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918). See also J.S. Andrews, *A Study of German Hymns in Current English Hymnals* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981).
66. See, for example, Carl Ordnung, "Paul Gerhardt and John Wesley," in >> *Auf Rechten, Guten Wegen << Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkungen von Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676)*, ed. Hans-Joachim Beeskow (Berlin/Basel: Leonhard-Thuyrneysser-Verlag, 2007), 91–96.
67. "1607. Zum Gedächtnis Paulus Gerhardts. 1907," *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung: Organ der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten* 48 (March 9, 1907), 145–52.

68. "Paul Gerhardt, der Liederfürst unserer Kirche," *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung: Organ der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten* 48 (March 9, 1907), 152–54.

69. "Paul Gerhardt, der Liederfürst unserer Kirche," 154–58.

70. The corresponding English language periodical for pastors and laity of the Ohio Synod was the *Lutheran Standard*. "Paul Gerhardt," *Lutheran Standard* LXV, no. 10 (March 9, 1907), 145–149, 156–59.

71. In the English-language edition, "Paul Gerhardt" *Lutheran Standard* LXV, no. 10 (March 9, 1907) 145–149, 156–59, the six parts were "His Melodious Fatherland," "His Youth and Training," "Pastor, Poet and Preacher," "I Cannot do Otherwise," "His Rest a Stone," and "The Sun Gone Down."

72. "Paul Gerhardt's Hymns," *Lutheran Standard* LXV, no. 10 (March 9, 1907), 152–53.

73. "Zur Paul Gerhardt-Feier," *Kirchen-Blatt der evangelisch Lutherischen Synode von Iowa u.a.St.* 50 (March 2, 1907) 67–68.

74. "Zur Paul Gerhardt-Feier," 67. . . . so sind auch Paul Gerhardts Lieder gleichsam aus dem Herzen aller wahren Kinder Gottes geschrieben und werden auch von allen als gerade für sie geschrieben anerkannt. Viele Christen, die den Namen Paul Gerhardt kaum gehört haben und von seinem Leben nichts wissen, leben in seinen Liedern und das Paradiesgärtlein seines geistlichen Gesanges ist ihnen so heimisch, wie ihr Katechismus. Das rechte Kirchenlied ist die Predigt des Evangeliums, und eine solche Predigt, die sich auf die Erfahrung aufbaut, die so zu sagen Weissagung und Erfüllung, Verheissung und Trost zusammenschaut und verbindet und in einem Tone singt. Solch Lied bringt das Wort Gottes dem Herzen so nahe . . . Dann aber wird das Lied das Eigentum des andern und weil sie alle in demselben Glauben Leben, Trost, Kraft, Freude, Liebe und Hoffnung haben, so singt die ganze Gemeinde dasselbe Lied als ihr Bekenntnis und ihre Erfahrung.

75. "Paul Gerhardt: Tercentary Jubilee, March 12," *Luther League Review* 20/3 (March 1907), 7–10.

76. "Paul Gerhardt: Tercentary Jubilee, March 12," 7.

77. F. Lindemann, *Festbüchlein zur 300jährigen Geburtstagsfeier Paulus Gerhardts, des Assaphs der lutherischen Kirche: Unser lutherischen Schuljugend dargeboten*. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1907).

78. Lindemann, *Festbüchlein zur 300jährigen Geburtstagsfeier Paulus Gerhardts*, 15. "Luther war der Anführer der Kirche, der streitbare Held, der das Bekenntnislied und den trotzigsten Schlachtgesang sang. Gerhardt aber singt das Erbauungslied für die einzelne Seele und den Trostgesang für das Kämmerlein."

79. Lindemann, *Festbüchlein zur 300jährigen Geburtstagsfeier Paulus Gerhardts*, 15. "Ihr habt gewiss auch schon gemerkt, dass ihr ein Gerhardt-Lied leichter lernen könnt als ein Lutherlied. Das kommt daher, weil Gerhardts Sprache und Ausdrucksweise leichter und gefälliger ist als die Luthers."

80. Lindemann, *Festbüchlein zur 300jährigen Geburtstagsfeier Paulus Gerhardts*, 15. "Frisch, natürlich, gesund und fröhlich, volkstümlich und doch rein geht seine Sprache daher"

81. Lindemann, *Festbüchlein zur 300jährigen Geburtstagsfeier Paulus Gerhardts*, 16.

82. Lindemann, *Festbüchlein zur 300jährigen Geburtstagsfeier Paulus Gerhardts*, 16. Diese Juwelen wollen wir aber auch anlegen und uns damit schmücken, indem wir sie in der Schule lernen, im Hause und in der Kirche gerne und fleissig brauchen und singen. So wird auch dieses Jubiläum zu Gottes Ehre und uns zum bleibenden Segen gereichen.

83. Spaeth, "Paulus Gerhardt," 488–500, 757–66.
84. Spaeth, "Paulus Gerhardt," 763.
85. Spaeth, "Paulus Gerhardt," 763–64.
86. Spaeth, "Paulus Gerhardt," 764–65.
87. Spaeth, "Paulus Gerhardt," 766.
88. "Paul Gerhardt I" *Evangelisk Kirketidende* 52 (March 13, 1907) 281–286, and M.F. Wiese, "Paul Gerhardt II," 52 (April 10, 1907), 393–96.
89. Wiese, "Paul Gerhardt II" 393. I am grateful to Prof. Gracia Grindal for the translation from Norwegian into English.
90. "Zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Geburtstages Paul Gerhardts," *Magazin für ev.=luth. Homiletik und Pastoral theologie* 31 (March 1907), 91–96.
91. "Zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Geburtstages Paul Gerhardts," 91. "recht und passend wenn auch wir an (den 12. März] . . . dieser Jubelfeier gedenken, sei es durch einen besonderen Gottesdienst, etwa mit unsern Kindern, oder dass wir in unserer Predigt im Hauptgottesdienst dieses teuren Mann gedenken."
92. "Zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Geburtstages Paul Gerhardts," 91. "Einmal ist er nächst Luther der grösste Liederdichter unserer Kirche . . . Die andere Bedeutung Gerhardts liegt darin, dass er uns ein Vorbild eines treuen, unerschrockenen Bekenners der göttlichen Wahrheit, der reinen Lehre, hinterlassen hat, eines Bekenners, der lieber Amt und Brot fahren liess und einer dunklen, ungewissen Zukunft entgegenging, als dass er auch nur im geringsten die erkannte Wahrheit verleugnet hätte. Wie nötig ist es uns gerade in dieser kreuzesscheuen und bekenntnisarmen Zeit, daß ein solches Vorbild uns vorgehalten wird!"
93. "Zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Geburtstages Paul Gerhardts," 92–93. "a. Wie gewaltig lehrt und preist uns Gerhardt die großen Taten Gottes zu unserem Heil geschehen, so die großen Werke des ersten Artikels, vor allen Dingen aber das Werk der Erlösung . . .
b. Er lehrt uns die rechten Mittel kennen, durch die Gott unser Heil uns anbietet, nämlich Gottes Wort, Taufe und Abendmahl.
c. Er ermahnt, lockt und reizt zum Glauben, als zu dem Mittel die reiche Gnade Gottes anzunehmen.
d. Er lehrt uns ein neues, christliches Leben. Er lehrt recht beten und alles Gott befehlen und Gott zu loben und zu preisen. Er gibt besonders reichen, herrlichen Trost in Leiden, Trübsalen und Anfechtungen und lehrt also Geduld und Ergebung in Gottes Willen.
e. Er lehrt uns endlich ein getrostes, seliges Sterben . . ."
94. "Zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Geburtstages Paul Gerhardts," 93.
95. "Zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Geburtstages Paul Gerhardts," 93. "Wir haben solches Vorbild, solche Aufmunterung besonders nötig in unserer Zeit, da man vom Bekenntnis der Wahrheit nichts Wissen will, ja es wohl verlästert als Halsstarrigkeit und Lieblosigkeit."
96. "Zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Geburtstages Paul Gerhardts," 96.
97. "Zur dreihundertjährigen Jubelfeier des Geburtstages Paul Gerhardts," 96.
98. *Lutheran Standard* LXV (March 30, 1907), 202. "The Paul Gerhardt celebration of the congregation of Pastor H.J. Schuh, of Allegheny, was on a somewhat elaborate scale. It was held on the 17th inst., and an extensive programme was published. The celebration was largely of a musical character."

99. *Lutheran Standard* LXV (March 30, 1907), 202. "On the 12th inst., a most successful Paul Gerhardt celebration was held in the assembly hall of our Woodville seminary. Notwithstanding the exceptionally inclement weather the attendance was good. The student choruses sang very acceptably under the direction of Professor Trapp. Professor Vogel, Pastor Langendorff and Director Hemminghaus each delivered an address on some phase of the life and career of the sweet singer."

100. Uwe Siemon-Netto, "Lutheranism's Sweetest Voice," *The Lutheran Witness* 126/3 (March 2007), 24–25. The magazine of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (a small synod of Norwegian heritage) also had a short article. Harry Bartels, "Paul Gerhardt and J.S. Bach," *Lutheran Sentinel* 90 (March 2007), 6, 14.

101. Siemon-Netto, "Lutheranism's Sweetest Voice," 24.

102. William A. Decker, "If God Be for Me—the Life of Paul Gerhardt," *Lutheran Partners* 23 (May–June 2007), 6–7.

103. Carl F. Schalk, "Music that Teaches: The Hymns of Our Faith," *Lutheran Partners* 23 (May–June 2007), 16–19.

104. Paul Westermeyer, "Paul Gerhardt: Who He Was and Why We Care," *Word & World* 27 (Winter 2007), 69–72.

105. Frederick J. Gaiser, "Translating Paul Gerhardt's Hymns," *Word & World* 27 (Winter 2007), 73–76.

106. Gaiser, "Translating Paul Gerhardt's Hymns," 74. "Of particular interest to me as a teacher of Bible are Gerhardt's hymns based on biblical texts. Not surprisingly, the hymns in general are replete with biblical images, and many of them are poetic expansions of a particular verse or section of Scripture. In addition, however, we find thirty-six more or less direct paraphrases of lengthier biblical texts (mostly psalms). These remain disproportionately untranslated. According to my count, sixteen such paraphrases have been translated and twenty have not."

107. Frederick J. Gaiser, "'I Sing to You and Praise You' (Psalm 30): Paul Gerhardt and the Psalms," *Word & World* 27 (Spring 2007), 195–205. See also Gaiser, "I come with Thanks Most Grateful: Paul Gerhardt and Psalm 111 on Studying God's Works," *Word & World* 27 (Summer 2007), 325–30. Gaiser, "Go Forth My heart and Take Delight: Paul Gerhardt's Summer Song," *Word & World* 27 (Summer 2007), 331–37. Gaiser, "All who seek a Christmas Treasure: Paul Gerhardt's Christmas Lullaby," *Word & World* 27 (Fall 2007), 421–25. Gaiser, "'Come, You Lost in Strife and Sorrow': Paul Gerhardt's Hymn Paraphrase of Hosea 6:1–3," *Word & World* 28 (Spring 2008).

108. <http://www.luthersem.edu/gerhardt/> (accessed in 2007).

109. http://www.csl.edu/CampusLife_Music_HymnFest.aspx (accessed in 2007).

110. The conference proceedings were published as *Celebrating the Life and Hymns of Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676) and Martin Franzmann (1907–1976)*, ed. Daniel Zager, The Good Shepherd Institute, Journal for the Eighth Annual Conference November 4–6, 2007 (Fort Wayne, Indiana: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 2008).

111. See the theological journal of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 48/1 (March 2008).

112. Its proceedings were published in *Lutheran Theological Review* 20 (2007–2008).