

THE EARLY FORMS OF WORSHIP IN NORTH AMERICA

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THE subject here presented is a part of a wider interest pursued for a number of years, which embraces North American Church architecture and the forms of worship, beginning in the sixteenth century. From an initial interest in the architecture I began to consider the ceremonies within the structure, including the music, the garb of the priest or minister, and other related features. This field I found increasingly important and difficult. There are comprehensive works on the development of liturgy down to the Protestant Reformation, but in America most studies are fragmentary. It is surprising how few church histories give any definite consideration to the subject of worship, and the old church records which survive offer even less. On the whole, early source material is scant or unknown; what survives is scattered.

It seemed to me desirable that as far as possible records of all forms of worship in North America should be brought together in one library, and I am doing what I can to supplement the mass of material on this subject in the library of our Society. I have been able to determine all the main forms employed in worship here on this continent during the last four centuries, and most of their varieties. This sketch, which covers the period only to about 1825, will serve to show what these forms are and what reference material is available, as well as to indicate what remains to be done.

These forms of worship may be included in three groups: (a) liturgical—Catholic, Church of England,

Lutheran, and Jewish; (b) partially liturgical—Reformed (Dutch, French, and others), Moravian, New Church, and Methodist; (c) non-liturgical—Congregationalist, Baptist, and others. The interesting liturgies of the Greek and Armenian churches are not included here because their use in America has developed in the last half century.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

After the backgrounds are understood the study of the Roman Mass in American concerns mostly minor details and the musical parts of the service in the different periods and localities. The missal, which in 1570, Pope Pius V. ordered should be used wherever the Roman rite was celebrated, was at most a revision and correction. No new element was added unless we except the celebrant's preparation, for centuries a custom and ordered in the 1550 missal, which was fixed in its present form. Hence we may say that since the discovery of America there has been no essential change in the order, and little in the content of the Mass.¹

The question of what the Mass was in Santo Domingo, Panama, or Mexico in the sixteenth century, or in Quebec and the English colonies in the following century, is simply a matter of local conditions, especially affecting the music upon which the highest expression of the service depends. The religious Orders may have followed their own customs, since the Bull of 1570 allowed that any rite which could show a prescription of, at least, two centuries might be retained. Yet any variation in the celebration of Mass by the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Augustinians, and other Orders, interesting as it would be, would not be important. The Roman rite had been dominant in Spain and elsewhere for centuries before America was discovered. The Jesuits were not formally organized till 1540, and of course used the Roman order.

¹See "Missale Romanum Ordinarium," Mexico, 1561. Copies, Huntington Library; New York Public; John Carter Brown.

It should be understood by anyone not familiar with the Mass that the Introit, the Gradual, and other parts sung by the choir, as well as the Collect, the Epistle, the Gospel, and other parts vary according to the calendar, and that the Canon is always the same. The Introit, which is the first element of the Mass and sung at the entrance, consists of (a) an antiphon, (b) a verse of a psalm, (c) the doxology—*Gloria Patri*, (d) the antiphon repeated.

When the celebrant arrives at the altar he says, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen," which begins the preparatory service, said alternately with the Minister or server. This includes Psalm 42 (the Protestant 43), the words, "Our help is in the name of the Lord. R/. Who made heaven and earth," and the Confession and Absolution. Then follow versicles with responses.

Saying, *Oremus* (Let us pray), the priest goes up to the altar and says silently two petitions. Then the choir sings the *Kyrie*, consisting of *Kyrie eleison* (Lord have mercy), *Christie eleison*, *Kyrie eleison* (each three times); and the *Gloria in excelsis* (Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will. We praise thee, we bless thee . . . etc.).

The salutations—"The Lord be with you. R/. And with thy spirit," precede the Collect. Then comes the Epistle, after which the choir sings the Gradual with Alleluia. In Lent, Tract is sung instead of Alleluia. Also there are five sequences, one for Easter, for Pentecost, for Corpus Christi, for a feast of the Virgin Mary, and a Mass for the dead.

The reading of the Gospel is attended with ceremony, and the people stand. If there is a sermon it comes at this point; and then follows (when the Creed is used) the Nicene Creed. The priest sings, "Credo in unum Deum," and the choir continues. Formerly the Mass of the catechumens ended here; now there is no indication.

What was called the Mass of the faithful begins with the salutations—"The Lord be with you. R/. And

with thy spirit," preceding the Offertory prayer and the chant by the choir. After the "Secret" (a short Collect), the Canon actually (not nominally) begins with the salutations and responses—"The Lord be with you. R/. And with thy spirit. Lift up your hearts. R/. We lift them up unto the Lord. Let us give thanks unto the Lord. R/. It is meet and just. It is truly meet and just . . ." etc. with the proper Preface, and ending with "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Hosannah in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosannah in the highest." This is the Sanctus, and is sung by the choir.

The Canon proper is one long prayer of consecration. The words of Institution are preceded by the petition, "Which offering do thou, O God, vouchsafe in all things, to bless, consecrate, approve, make reasonable and acceptable (with the sign of the cross three times), that it may become for us the Body and Blood of thy most beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ." Both host and chalice are elevated.

All of the Canon is said silently, and is followed by the Lord's Prayer, and then by petitions, during which the host is broken (the Fraction) and a particle of it is put into the chalice. When the chalice is covered the Agnus Dei is sung by the choir. Then comes the Pax, a prayer for peace with the salutations, "Peace be with you. R/. And with thy spirit." The rubric for the Canon and what immediately follows is of especial significance.

At the Communion there is a choir chant or antiphon. Then follows the post-communion (usually a short Collect), the salutations, and "Ite missa est." (Go you are dismissed). Or the service may continue with "Let us bless the Lord. R/. Thanks be to God"; a short petition, and the blessing "May God almighty bless you, (turning to the people) Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. R/. Amen." The priest reads the last Gospel, and the R/. "Thanks be to God" concludes the Mass.

Roman Catholic authorities emphasize the fact that High Mass with choir is the normal service, and that Low Mass is a curtailed substitute made necessary by local conditions. The latter, which is perfectly valid, must have been used to a large extent in all American settlements and missions in the early centuries as it is today in small communities.

The full content of the foregoing order may be found in the Roman Missal (Copy: C.A.P.). The music sung by the choir is given in the Roman Gradual (C.A.P.), where it will be seen that the music for the Introit, Gradual, Offertory, and Communion varies, as do the words, according to the calendar. There is less variety for the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, etc. The celebrant's chants and intonations are explained in "A New School of Gregorian Chant," Rev. Dom Dominic Johner, English translation (C.A.P.).¹

All the music is Gregorian, now believed to be restored in the present Gradual according to the melodies prior to the thirteenth century. Catholic authorities assert that no other music has been authorized by the Church. Yet polyphonic and modern figured music, more or less based on the Gregorian melodies, have been tolerated. The task now is to determine what music actually was used in Mexico, Canada, and the English colonies. No research has been made, and no adequate history has been written. We need a copy of the Midicæan Gradual, 1614-15, especially, and a copy of the Mechlin Gradual, 1848, would help. These show what changes have been made in the Gregorian forms previous to the present restoration. Beyond that there is need of American source material of music used in the Mass.

In the later period after the American Revolution in the English colonies, we have "A Compilation of Litanies, Vesper Hymns, and Anthems for the Catholic

¹For books with music on the Mass printed in Mexico, including the "Graduale Dominicale," 1576, see article by Lota M. Spell in "The Musical Quarterly," January, 1929.

Church." by John Aitken. Philadelphia, 1787 (A.A.S.). Music for the Mass in this book includes the Kyrie, hymn at the Elevation, Gloria in excelsis, Credo, Agnus Dei. B. Carr's Masses, Vespers, etc. for the use of the Catholic churches in the United States was printed in Baltimore in 1805. (Library of Congress).

One of the best books on the order and content of the Mass is "The Mass, A Study of the Roman Liturgy," by Adrian Fortescue (C.A.P.). See also "Geschichte der Messe," by Peter Wagner, Leipzig, 1913, which considers the music in relation to the celebration.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The use of the Prayer Book in the English colonies involves only local questions. The 1549 book, which in some respects follows the Roman order closer than Luther's Latin Mass, 1523, was short lived. The books which succeeded had Reformed elements, and mainly are of the same pattern. Of these the 1662 Prayer Book had the widest use, continuing till after the American Revolution.

The order for Daily Morning Prayer is as follows:

Sentences of Scripture, one or more to be read by the Minister.

Exhortation by the Minister; a general Confession by Minister and people; and a Declaration of Absolution by the Minister, the people answering here and after every prayer, Amen.

The Lord's Prayer, Minister and people.

M. O Lord, open thou our lips. Ans. And our mouth shall show forth thy praise.

M. O God, make speed to save us. Ans. O Lord, make haste to help us.

M. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Ans. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.

M. Praise ye the Lord. Ans. The Lord's name be praised.

Venite, exultimus Domino, (Ps. 95), said or sung, (except on Easter and on the 19th day of the month.)

Then the Psalms in order as they are appointed, with Gloria Patri.

The first Lesson from the Old Testament; followed by the Te Deum laudamus, or the Benedicite, with Gloria Patri.

The second Lesson from the New Testament; followed by the Benedictus, or Jubilate Deo, with Gloria Patri.

The Apostles' Creed, M. and people, said or sung.

The Lord be with you. Ans. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Lord have mercy upon us. Christ have mercy upon us.
Lord have mercy upon us.

Lord's Prayer, M. and people.

Short Litany.

Collects, for the day, for peace, and for grace.

In Quires and places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.

Prayers, for the King, Royal Family, Clergy and people, S. Chrysostum.

Benediction.

For the Holy Communion.

The Lord's Prayer, said by the Minister.

The Collect, (from the 1549 book), "Almighty God unto whom all hearts are open. . . ."

The Ten Commandments, each with the answer, "Lord have mercy upon us and incline our hearts to keep this law."

Collect for the King, and for the day.

The Epistle, and the Gospel. (There is no Gradual or hymn.)

The Creed.

Sermon.

Offertory sentences. (There is no offertory prayer.)

Prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church.

Exhortation; Confession; Absolution, with Comfortable words of Christ.

Lift up your hearts. Ans. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord. Ans. It is meet and right so to do. It is very meet and right and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father (not used on Trinity Sunday), Almighty, everlasting God, (proper Preface for Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, Trinity),—then said or sung—Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name; evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Glory be to thee, O Lord Most High. Amen.

Prayer, beginning "We do not presume . . ."

The Prayer of Consecration includes the words of Institution, remembrance of the passion, and the significant words of

invocation "to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood." (There is no elevation, and no fraction. The Communion followed, but was never received by the priest alone.)

The Lord's Prayer.

A Collect of Thanksgiving.

The Gloria in excelsis.

Benediction.

Copies of the following Prayer Books are at the A.A.S.—earliest London, 1605; two small books, 1626, 1628; examples of the 1662 book—London 1732 and 1735, Cambridge, 1760; number of small books of the later period.)

The Episcopal Church of the United States was organized at the convention held in Philadelphia, September 27–October 7, 1785, at which time "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies, as Revised and Proposed to the use of The Protestant Episcopal Church" was submitted. This book was printed in Philadelphia in 1786.¹ Used in a few churches for a short time, it soon gave way to the first standard Prayer Book authorized in 1789 and printed in the following year.²

A Liturgy Collected Principally from the Book of Common Prayer for the use of the First Episcopal Church of Boston (King's Chapel) with the Psalms of David," Boston, 1785, differs from the "proposed" book mainly in the theological character of its content. (Copy A.A.S.)

The order of these three books follows closely that of 1662. Of the changes the most important is a Prayer for the President of the United States, and all in Civil Authority.

Awaiting further research on the development of music in the English Church in America, the present consensus of judgment is that into the nineteenth

¹Copy, London, 1789, A.A.S.

²See also for the order and contents of the "Proposed" and 1790 books "Liturgical Americanae," William McGarvey, Philadelphia, 1895. (A.A.S.)

century the service was *read*, and the music limited, with little development. Evidence is lacking to show any early influence in America or Merbeck's "Book of Common Prayer," 1550, in which the plainsong of the earlier rituals was adapted to the 1549 Prayer Book, or of the compositions by Day and Tallis in the contrapuntal style.

The 1604 authorized Prayer Book, (1605, A.A.S.), contained "The Whole Book of Psalms," collected into English metre by Thomas Sternyard, John Hopkins, and others, and allowed to be sung after Morning and Evening Prayer, and before and after sermons. Besides the 150 Psalms with 40 tunes, there are the *Veni Creator*, *Venite exultemus*, *Te Deum*, Song of the three Children, Song of Zachariah, Magnificat, *Nunc Dimittis*, Athanasian Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, a Thanksgiving after receiving the Lord's Supper, and some others, with tunes given or suggested.

The character of these versions and the tunes was the same as that in the Reformed churches. Only the melody was printed. In 1621 appeared Ravencroft's book of tunes, "The Whole Booke of Psalms: With the Hymns Evangelical and Spiritual. Composed into 4 parts by Sundry Authors with severall Tunes as have been and are usually sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France, and the Netherlands." These tunes were of a higher order than those in Playford's Psalter published in 1671 under the title, "Psalms and Hymns in solemn musick of four parts on the Common Tunes to the Psalms in Metre: used in Parish Churches." Tate and Brady's "new version" was published in 1696, and gradually gained in influence.

Trinity Church, New York, furnishes an example of the slow development of music in the service. The majority of the churches were less advanced. On August 21, 1707 the church voted that Tate and Brady's "new version" should be sung "next Sunday, and no other version." The records for April 25, 1733 mentions "Mr. Man who officiates in setting and sing-

ing the Psalms." The first mention of the employment of youth in connection with church music is dated April 24, 1739. By 1761 there was a boy choir; unvested and seated in the gallery. In 1741 the first organ was installed, probably the fifth in American churches using the English Prayer Book. The engagement on January 31, 1753 of William Tuckey, lately of Bristol Cathedral, England, as director of church music registers an important advance for Trinity. Tuckey's compositions included anthems which doubtless were sung in the church. On one occasion the *Te Deum* was sung. In 1771 Tuckey advertised "Two Select Pieces of Church Music," one of which was "An Hymn (by way of Anthem), consisting of Solos, Duets, Trio and 4 Choruses, together with a Psalm Tune."¹

St. Michael's, Marblehead, Mass., offers the first proof known of chanting, beginning on Christmas, 1787 and continuing for some time. About the same time the *Venite* was chanted once at least, in St. Paul's, Narragansett, R. I. Actual evidence of chanting in Trinity, New York, is found in "The Churchman's Choral Companion to his Prayer Book," published by the parish in 1809. The chants for Morning Prayer include *Venite*, *Te Deum*, *Benedicete*, *Jubilate*, *Benedictus*, For the Communion Office there is given *Kyrie 1.*, *Kyrie 2.*—Proper for high Festivals, *Gloria Tibi*, *Trisagion*, *Gloria in Excelsis*.²

In the "Proposed" Prayer Book, 1786, a few tunes are given, less than twenty, under seven metres. Under Chants is the proper tune for the 96th Psalm, seventh metre.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES

There were three national groups of Lutherans in America—Swedish, Dutch, and German. The earliest Lutheran service was conducted by the Swedish

¹See Dix, "History of Trinity Church," vol. 1.

²Messiter, A. H., "A History of the Choir and Music of Trinity Church, New York (N.Y., 1906) (C.A.P.)

minister on the lower Delaware river in 1639, doubtless using the Swedish Church Book of 1614, which continued to be the standard in both Sweden and America till 1811. Acrelius, who returned to Sweden in 1756, reports two Sunday services, Matins and High Mass, and the use of the chausable, adding that the English "cannot be reconciled to the chausable," and that the singing of the Creed seemed strange to them.

The general order of this High Mass was very nearly the same as that used in the Lutheran churches of north Germany in the sixteenth century. It had no Introit or hymn, but began with an Allocution which was an exhortation before the Confession of Sins. This Allocution, translated, is as follows: "Dear friends, brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus. As we are now assembled to worship God, to thank Him for all His divine benefits, and to petition Him for all that we need of things spiritual and temporal, and as we realize that we are all without doubt burdened with sins and also anxious to be rid of the sins; therefore let us fall upon our knees and humble ourselves before God our heavenly Father with heart and mouth, and acknowledge ourselves as the poor, miserable sinners we are, beseeching Him for grace and forgiveness, so saying each for himself:" Then follows the Confession, which begins, "I a poor, sinful being . . ."

Then came the Kyrie, and the Gloria; but instead of the *Laudamus* (We praise thee . . . etc.) hymn No. 9 in the Church Book (All Glory be to God on High, by Dacius) was given as an alternative. Salutations preceded the Collect, which was followed by the Epistle, all to be said or sung. There was no Gradual but a hymn was sung; one for each Sunday in the year was given in the Church Book.

The Gospel, followed by the Apostles' Creed (the Nicene Creed or Luther's Credo Hymn given as alternatives) were sung. Another hymn was sung before the sermon, which closed with the general prayer, and the Lord's Prayer. Different forms of

prayer are given; or the Litany might be used. Also at this point there is a new Confession of Sins, to be used if the minister so desired. This Confession, which is also a prayer for pardon and forgiveness, is a translation from the Brandenburg-Nuernberg ritual. "O most merciful God and Father, Whose grace endureth from generation to generation! Thou art patient and long-suffering, and forgivest all who are truly penitent, their sins and transgressions. Look with compassion upon Thy people and hear their supplications. We poor sinners confess unto Thee that we are by nature sinful and unworthy of Thy goodness and love. Against Thee have we sinned and done wickedness in Thy sight. Remember not our transgressions; have mercy upon us; help us, O God, our Saviour! For Thy Name's sake, grant us remission of all our sins and save us. Give us the grace of Thy Holy Spirit that we may amend our sinful lives and obtain with Thee everlasting life; through Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Then follow Salutations, the Preface (one of two forms), the Consecration (using the words of Institution, the form used by all Lutheran churches), the Sanctus (to be said or sung), the Lord's Prayer (to be sung by the minister), the Admonition to the communicants, and the Pax (Peace be with you . . .) In Sweden there was the Elevation at the time of the Sanctus.

During the Distribution (the people knelt in Sweden), the *Agnus Dei* was sung by the congregation. The words used were, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your body and soul unto everlasting life." and "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your body and soul unto everlasting life."

After the communion there followed, Salutation, the Collect of Thanksgiving, Salutation with response, *Benedicamus*, and the Benediction. The Aaronic benediction is specified in the Church Book (the Temple form). The service closed with the singing of a verse of a hymn.

A copy of the *Mess-bok*, Upsala, 1620, in the Denkmann Memorial Library, Augustana College and Theological Seminary, which I have seen through the kindness of the librarian, Rev. Ira O. Nothstein, D.D., is the only known source of information in America of the nature of the music of the early Swedish services here. There is no positive proof of the use of the book here, yet that is possible. Photostat copies (C. A. P.) of the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei show the variation of the music in the Gregorian modes, but with the use of only two note forms, the punctum and the virga, the latter used very little. Doubtless all or nearly all of the altar service was intoned. This was the custom in all the Scandinavian churches, was continued in the Icelandic liturgy of 1801, and in the Norwegian liturgy of 1887 and 1912.¹

Besides the music mentioned above with Swedish words there are other pieces, including "I know that my Redeemer liveth." With Latin words the book contains two sequences with Alleluia, Venite exultemus Domino, ending with Gloria Patri (seven in all), and a number of canticles.

The melodies are characterized generally by the use of one note to a syllable, differing from the more florid Gregorian. When Acrelius arrived in Christina (now Wilmington, Del.) in 1749 he states that the people "sang their Swedish hymns without a leader, and some of them astonishingly well." In the church were two number tablets, "one for Bishop Svedberg's edition, and the other for the common edition of the hymns." Of the 644 Hymn and Psalm books which Acrelius records as sent over from 1696 to 1750, probably all without tunes no copies have been located. Two Swedish Manuals in the Augustana College and Theological Seminary Library, one printed in 1675 and the other in Stockholm, 1691, contain the Psalms of

¹See for the music now used in America in the Swedish churches the *Common Service* (C.A.P.) and in the Norwegian churches *The Lutheran Hymnary* (C.A.P.).

David, and a Hymnal, without music; also the Church Order of 1614.¹

As yet I am unable to determine what the Dutch Lutheran service was at New York and Albany in the last half of the seventeenth century. Probably there was no public service earlier than 1669. One minister served both Albany and New York from 1671 to 1691, after which there was no minister till the coming of the Swedish pastor, Rudman in 1702, who remained till the following year. Henry E. Jacobs in his "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States" says that in Holland the service was very similar to that of their Reformed neighbors. Beginning in 1725 at Albany the entire service was in English, and conducted in the English church. Then or earlier the Book of Common Prayer may have been used, but this is inference.

In the eighteenth century various congregations of Dutch Lutherans in New Jersey and New York were served by German Lutheran pastors. What liturgies were used in these places or in Pennsylvania, which was the German Lutheran stronghold, is unknown.

The first known German Lutheran liturgy used in America was that composed by Muhlenburg and adopted in 1748. The order and content differed somewhat from the form in the Swedish Church Book of 1614. This liturgy, based on those of Saxony and north Germany, never was printed, and exists today in a few manuscripts which vary slightly. The service opened with the singing of one of two hymns,—“Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist”; or “Komm Heiliger Geist.”

Then the pastor goes to the altar; turning to the people he gives the exhortation. The Confession, beginning with “I a poor sinner,” is followed by a form of the Kyrie,—“Lord God the Father in heaven,

¹See “A History of New Sweden; or The Settlements on the River Delaware,” by Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Churches in America, and Rector of the Old Swedish Church, Wilmington, Del. Translated from the Swedish, with an Introduction and Notes, by William M. Reynolds, D.D. Phil., 1874.

have mercy upon us. Lord God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us. Lord God the Holy Ghost, have mercy upon us and grant us Thy peace. Amen." Then the hymn, "Allein Gott in der Höh Sei Ehr." "The Lord be with you. R/. And with thy spirit. Let us pray," precedes the Collect for the day.

The Epistle is followed by a hymn selected from the Marburg Hymn Book. Then come the Gospel, the Creed, another hymn, and the sermon. The general prayer follows, "the appointed church-prayer here following, or the litany instead of it, by way of change." Then petitions for the sick, if any; the Lord's Prayer; notices. The benediction was "The peace of God, which passes all understanding, keep your hearts and minds, through Christ Jesus, unto eternal life. Amen."

Another manuscript gives a hymn after the sermon; then "The Lord be with you. R/. And with thy spirit. Let us pray." (short prayer), and the benediction in the following form, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee, and give thee peace, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." Then a verse shall be sung at the close.

For the Holy Communion the service continues with: "The Lord be with you. R/. And with thy spirit; Let us lift up our hearts. R/. We lift them up unto the Lord; Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth. R/. The whole world is full of his glory. Then follows an address to the communicants, and Luther's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, exactly as in the *Deutsche Messe*, 1526. Turning his "face to the bread and wine," the pastor repeats the Lord's Prayer and the words of Institution.

Turning to the people, "Now let all those who are found to be prepared, by the experience of sincere repentance and faith, approach, in the name of the Lord, and receive the Holy Supper." In giving the bread the words used are, "Take and eat: this is the true body of your Lord Jesus Christ, given unto

death for you; may this strengthen you in the true faith unto everlasting life. Amen." In giving the cup, "Take and drink: this is the true blood of your Lord Jesus Christ, of the New Testament, shed for you for forgiveness of your sins, unto everlasting life. Amen."

After the Communion the pastor says, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: Hallelujah. R/. And his mercy endureth forever; Hallelujah." Then a Collect of thanksgiving; and the pastor says, "Receive the blessing of the Lord. The Lord bless thee and keep thee, and give thee the peace, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

If there were children to be baptized, the Gospel and the Creed were omitted. Only those were admitted to Communion who had attended a preparation service and whose names were written. The service included question and answers of faith, and confession and absolution. Two of the manuscripts are significant in having a German translation of Morning Prayer, and the marriage ceremony from the Book of Common Prayer. The translation given above is by Dr. Schaeffer, and used by Jacobs in his history.

The Communion service conducted by Zinzendorf in the Philadelphia Lutheran church on Easter Monday, as reported by him, is interesting in its variation. After the sermon in which he declared himself a Lutheran, he gave an exposition of "our Lutheran Confession," and the absolution. Then followed,—(1) the Lord's Prayer; (2) The words of Institution concerning the bread; (3) Choir: "Wir glauben all und bekenen frie."; (4) The words of Institution concerning the wine; (5) "O Welt, seir hier dein Leben"; during which (6) the Communion; (7) Thanksgiving Collect; (8) Benediction. This division of the words of Institution is a Moravian characteristic.

The 1748 liturgy, which the ministers were pledged to use, was the basis of that printed in 1786—the *Kirchen Agenda* (A.A.S.)—with a second edition in 1795. The essential changes were the substitution of

an extemporaneous prayer or one of the morning prayers for the Collect from the Marburg Hymn Book, and a new general prayer. This liturgy continued in use till 1818, when there were more marked changes.

Muhlenberg was disturbed by the number of different hymn books which he found on his arrival, but what these were is not known. The Marburg Hymn Book was to be used with the 1748 liturgy. This Marburger Gesangbuch was published as early as 1549. In America five editions are recorded, 1759, 1762, 1770, 1774, 1777. The copies at the A.A.S., 1762, 1770, 1777, have no music. Also at the A. A.S. a Lutheran Gesang-Buch (Phil. 1774) and a Marburg (Mar. and Frankfurt 1790), no music. Nor is there music in the "Erbaulicher Lieder-Sammlung" of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania (Germantown, 1786, 1795). At the Krauth Memorial Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, there is a copy of the "Psalmodia Germanica" published in New York in 1756, printed from the London editions of 1722-1725. The character of the old German melodies to which the hymns may have been sung may be found in Endlich's Korallbuch (C.A.P.).

Besides the above there were four other books in English: "A Hymn and Prayer-Book," by Dr. Johann C. Kunze, (1795); "A Collection of Evangelical Hymns" for the English Church in New York, by Rev. George Strebeck, New York, 1797; "A Choice Selection of Evangelical Hymns," by Rev. Ralph Williston, also for the New York Church, N. Y., 1806; "A Collection of Hymns, and a Liturgy," by order of the New York Synod, Phil., 1817.

It is doubtful, however, if more than hymns were attempted in the German services till into the nineteenth century. There are records of organs in the Philadelphia church in 1750, and at Trapp in the following year, both made in Germany. As yet I have no record of organs in the nine other churches, which with Philadelphia and Trapp constituted the Ministerium of Philadelphia in 1748.

When Muhlenberg was in New York for a few months each in 1751 and 1752 he used the German Psalmody (London, 1772-25). On one occasion, at least, he is said to have "lined out" a hymn, an indication of lack of hymn books. Hence the demand for an American edition, as noted above.

THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE

The early Jews in America were Portuguese and Spanish who used the Sephardic ritual which differed only in non-essentials from the Ashkenazic rite of the Germans, Poles, and other northern Jews. For centuries there has been one standard Prayer Book, and this in various editions has been used in New York, Newport, and elsewhere. The early editions were published in Amsterdam, in Hebrew;¹ later there were English translations with the Hebrew, the earliest London, 1771-76, and the earliest American, Philadelphia, 1837. This American edition is the Leeser Prayer Book in Hebrew, six volumes (C.A.P.) from which I take the order here given.

The three services in the prayer book to be used every day in the year, and varying according to the Jewish calendar, especially for Passover, the Day of Atonement, and other sacred days, have a sacrificial foundation. I shall describe only the order for the usual Sabbath morning service.

There is a preparation order of considerable length, originally not a part of the regular service, which includes prayers, reading of Scripture concerning the sacrifice, etc., and a number of Psalms. The formal worship opens with a prayer and the Kaddish, which is a doxology repeated in the service and at the close. It begins, "May his great name be exalted, and sanctified throughout the world, which he has created," . . . and so on. The congregation responds, "My his great name be blessed, and glorified for ever and ever" . . . Then the Reader, "Bless ye the Lord, who is ever blessed. "

¹Prayer Book for the Day of Atonement, Amsterdam, 1770-71.

Then follow two benedictions, one concerning light beginning, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, our God! King of the universe, who formest light, and createst darkness; makest peace, and createst all things" . . . etc. . . ; and the other called the *Ahaba*, the love prayer, which opens with the words, "with everlasting love hast thou loved us, O Lord, our God!" . . .

These benedictions precede the great Jewish Credo which must be repeated twice each day, called the *Shema*, "Hear, O Israel the Lord our God! the Lord is one." The congregation respond, "Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever. The Reader continues, "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thy heart. And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and speak of them" . . . etc.

A passage follows concerning the fringes (of the prayer shawl). Then comes the Redemption prayer to God who delivered Israel from Egypt and bondage.

After that the *Amidah*, the ancient prayer called *Tephillah*, sometimes *Shemonehesreh*, which consists of eighteen or nineteen benedictions, the original parts of which were used in the Temple service, especially the first three and the last three. The *Amidah* begins with, "O Lord! open thou my lips, and my mouth shall declare thy praise." Praise is the keynote of the first three benedictions—praise of the God of the fathers; of powers, creative forces; the congregation joining in "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts! the whole earth is full of his glory;" and a little later saying, "The Lord shall reign for ever; even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. *Hallelujah*."

The last three benedictions clearly show connection with the Temple ritual, especially in the petition "that the burnt offerings of Israel, and their prayers, may be speedily accepted by thee with love and favor"; . . . , and in the thanksgiving for "thy miraculous providence" received daily . . . etc. The three-fold

blessing followed, "The Lord bless and preserve thee! The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee! The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."

Now comes the ceremony of taking the Law from the Ark. As it is taken out the Reader says, "O magnify the Lord with me, and let us together extol his name." The congregation responds, and at the elevation of the Law say, "And this is the Law" . . . etc. In the Ashkenazic ritual the elevation comes after the reading of the Law. Three men are called to the desk, a priest (descendant of a priest), a Levite, and an Israelite, who say, "The Lord be with you." The Reader responds. Each section read is followed by a blessing, and at the close the Kaddish is said. Then the Prophets are read, with benedictions and blessings. At this point come petitions, a prayer for the Government, and another for the congregation. The Reader and the congregation then say, "The Lord shall reign for ever; even thy God, O Zion! unto all generations, Hallelujah." This is repeated. As the Law is returned to the Ark the congregation chant the 39th Psalm. Then, after a few words, the Kaddish is repeated, and the service is concluded.

The service for the Day of Atonement, longer and with many repetitions, is notable for a confession of sins said by the Reader, and then by the congregation; and for a form of pardon said by the Reader. Also there are a number of litanies with congregational responses.

The service in the New York Synagogue (and probably elsewhere), always has been chanted according to the traditional music, and in Hebrew, except a few prayers which are in Aramaic.

It is difficult to determine how the services were chanted in the few small Sephardic congregations which existed down to the time of the American Revolution, when there were only about three thousand Jews in the country. There was no music book similar to the Roman Gradual, but it is assumed that

the chazzan, who was both reader and rabbi, followed the custom of London or Amsterdam. Some idea of the music is given in "The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews," London, 1857. The historical introduction is by Rabbi David de Sola, and the music is by Emanuel Abraham Aguilar. The most authentic music of the ritual is in "The Book of Prayer and Order of Service according to the practice of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of London." Edited by M. Gaster. (In five volumes, 1904.)

A number of examples of Sephardic music are given in "Jewish Music, in its Historical Development," by A. Z. Idelsohn, Professor of Music, Hebrew Union College, 1929. (C.A.P.) These sources help to determine what music may have been used, or its general character.

At its highest, Sephardic music was less melodic than the Ashkenazic, and the Hebrew accents for the Bible texts, which indicate musical phrases and when grouped make something like a tune, were read much like the Oriental chant, moving mostly with five tones, often in chromatic intervals. A Jewish authority states that from the eighth century onward the Spanish Sephardic melodies were influenced strongly by Moorish music.

Belonging to a later period and not included here is the worship of the rapidly increasing Jewish population in America, that of the Russian, Polish Orthodox, conforming to old traditions, and the Ashkenazic (mostly Germans) divided into "reformed" and "conservative." (See Prayer and Music books, C.A.P.)

THE NATURE OF JEWISH AND GREGORIAN MUSIC

A few facts may help in understanding Jewish and Gregorian music. Music has its foundation in two forms, the rhythmical of the dance and march, and the free modal used in text interpretation. The latter predominated among the Oriental peoples, including the Jews. Oriental music is unrhythmical, without har-

mony, and has free tonality with a strong tendency to improvisation. There are many modes composed of groups of tones, called motives. Of the many scales, based on the quarter-tone system, four are prominent. These are: (1) beginning on *d*, corresponding to the old Greek Phrygian (the Gregorian Dorian), minor in character; (2) beginning with *e*, like the old Greek Dorian (Gregorian Phrygian); (3) tonic *f* and *b* flat, almost major in character, and similar to the old Greek Lydian; (4) also beginning on *d*, but with different step values, the same as the Greek Aulos. This scale probably was not used by the Jews till later times.

This music was vocal. Instrumental accompaniment was limited; among nearly all Jews as well as in the Oriental Christian Church it has been prohibited to the present time. Whenever there is any rhythm it is derived from the text, and is unlike European music with its small measures. It should be understood that the minor scale is not considered sad, nor the major joyful. Their character has a wider interpretation.

The Oriental characteristics apply to early Jewish music which is based almost wholly on the first three scales given above. In the Occident the half-step system is used which, by the way, can be traced back more than three thousand years. It is believed that the spirit of the Temple music, the tunes and scales of which are unknown, survive to some extent in the early melodies of the Synagogue and the Christian Church. There are modes older than the Christian Era common to both Jews and Christians, as are antiphonal and responsorial singing.

The oldest modes, as we should expect, are from the Bible, and the prayer modes are derived from them. The Pentateuch mode is based on the Greek Dorian scale *e*, that of the Prophets on Greek Phrygian *d*, and the Psalms modes on Dorian, Hypophrygian, and Lydian. The scale of the Tefilla (prayer) mode, originally derived from the Pentateuch mode, is Hypo-

dorian, while the mode for intercessions and petitions is based on the Prophetic mode.

All these modes are certainly prior to the ninth century, probably many centuries older, and are the most genuine of Jewish music. They were unwritten and transmitted almost entirely by memory. Even the Bible accents, which appear in the ninth century, were in the nature of reminders to those who understood the modes. It is notable that the Hebrew accents in general agree with the Greek system, and that the Byzantine system was adopted by the Christian Church, which in the eleventh century had the beginning of notation.

By the tenth century both meter and rhythm are found in Jewish music, and in the following centuries there was a growing reciprocal modification by Christian and Jew. Particularly is this true in Europe and in the development of Ashkenazic music in Germany. Increasingly, music was emphasized not as an interpretation of the text but for its own beauty. As late as the eleventh century the Biblical and prayer modes maintained their hold in Germany, but gradually German (and Christian) melodies gained, resulting in the "Ashkenazic song," which by the seventeenth century was well established. Especially noteworthy was the idea of the Ashkenazic rabbis to express the significance of each day or feast by distinctive melodies or motives, seeking thus to enrich and deepen the interpretation of the services. Modern music based more or less on the ancient melodies has displaced largely the modes of the Psalms and the prayers. The Pentateuch mode continues, but in the Ashkenazic Synagogues the Pentateuch mode is that of the old Lydian scale with major characteristics.

Besides some other Jewish authorities, I have drawn freely from Idelsohn, "Jewish Music," acknowledging here my debt and appreciation. No other book on this subject is as valuable. A most important feature is the 106 pages of musical illustrations. Many of these show the similarity of Gregorian music to Oriental and Jewish.

Gregorian music arose out of an obscure past. Whether or not it adopted Jewish melodies, many of its tunes are very similar. It has four authentic modes or scales, beginning on *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g*; and four plagal modes which were new versions of the authentic. These constitute the eight modes or tones used in the service of the Mass. Through an error the mode beginning on *d* was called Dorian, and that on *e* Phrygian.

The Gregorian chant was authorized by a Synod of Bishops in 774, and continued to develop and dominate till the thirteenth century when it began to decline under the influence of polyphony. Its revival beginning in the last century was due chiefly to the Benedictines of Soleme. Their extended comparison of old manuscripts has resulted in the music of the present Roman Gradual, which in all essentials is believed to be the Gregorian of the tenth century or earlier.

There are two clefs, *do* and *fa*; no sharp is used, and only *b* is flatted. As generally understood the music is rhythmical but unmeasured, and with equal time values for the notes. This is the interpretation and use of the Roman Church. However, ample evidence shows that proportional long and short notes and measure are basic principles. Neumes or signs written over the words were used as late as the eleventh century. These are used still in the Greek Churches, to some extent in America. (See music books, C.A.P.)

The influence of the Gregorian and plain chant continued in the Protestant Church, and may be found still in America, especially in the Lutheran Churches. Of the many books on plain chant an excellent one giving full explanation of its use is "A New School of Gregorian Chant," by Rev. Dom. Dominic Johner. English translation, 1925 (C.A.P.).

For the Greek scales and the development of Church music see "Critical and Historical Essays," Edward Macdowell, 1912. (C.A.P.) See also "Music in the History of the Western Church," Edward Dickinson, 1902, 1927 (C.A.P.).

THE MORAVIANS

The order of worship used by the Moravians when they first settled in America a little prior to 1750 has not been established in spite of repeated efforts. "A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Protestant Church of the United Bretheren, New and Revised Edition," Philadelphia, 1813 (A.A.S.), is a reprint of the 1801 book published in England. This book contains a short liturgy which includes The Church Litany beginning with "Lord, Have Mercy upon us! Christ, Have mercy upon us! Lord, Have mercy upon us! Christ, Hear us!" Then follows: "Lord God, our Father, which art in heaven! Hallowed be thy name," extending for six pages and ending with, "O Christ, Hear us! Lord, Have mercy upon us! Christ, Have mercy upon us! Lord, Have mercy upon us!"

There also is a Creed in litany form and a Doxology for solemn occasions. A benediction concludes the service.

According to a note there is no prescribed form of words used at the administration of the Holy Communion. The service opens with the singing of verses expressive of a penitent, contrite heart, after which a prayer for absolution is offered. The congregation then rise and sing, and the bread is consecrated by pronouncing the words of Institution. The bread is then distributed during the singing of hymns. When all have received, the minister repeats the words, "Take, eat, this is the Lord's body given for you." The people partake together kneeling, either in silence or while a verse is sung. The congregation rises and sings verses of thanksgiving.

Then the wine is consecrated in the same way; the minister partakes, and the cup is given to the people while hymns are sung. The service is closed with the singing of hymns.

The Hymn Book contains 1200 hymns, and 143 tunes. An organ, violin, and other instruments were used at the dedication of the new church in Bethlehem

in 1751. The Moravians are noted for their musical interest and ability.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

There had been preaching services for more than forty years before the Methodist Church was organized in American on December 24, 1784. Wesley sent over a Liturgy entitled "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America," Preface dated Sept. 9, 1784 (A.A.S.) which simply was the English Book of Common Prayer, deleted and changed but with few additions to the content. Never widely accepted, "The Order for Morning Prayer every Lord's Day" was soon given up, and in 1792 the Church became non-liturgical, except in the administration of the Lord's Supper.¹

The order for Morning Prayer differs so little from that in the English Prayer Book that it is not given here. A hymn or anthem was permitted after the collects, but there is no provision for music in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The rubric in the 1662 book which reads for the Gloria "then shall be said or sung," Wesley changed to "then shall be said." Doubtless the Gloria Patri and other parts were to be said also.

For the Lord's Supper in Wesley's liturgy, in 1792 and later see Nolan B. Harmon, "The Rites and Ritual of Episcopal Methodism," 1927 (C.A.P.). The variations of these from the order in the 1662 Prayer Book are shown in parallel columns. This work by Harmon is a valuable contribution, and an example of what should be done for other churches.

THE NEW CHURCH

The first Liturgy of the New Church (often called Swedenborgian), was published in England in 1778. The fourth edition was published in 1792, in Baltimore, and has been followed by a number of later American

¹Wesley printed at the same time as the Sunday Service "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for the Lord's Day."

editions in the nineteenth century. The following order is taken from the 1792 edition (A.A.S.)

The Morning Service is opened with one or more verses. Then followed an exhortation, and a prayer of confession and for remission of sins. The people answer Amen, and join in the Lord's Prayer. Then a short prayer for the reading of the Word is followed by the Ten Commandments, the people answering, "Lord have mercy upon us, and write all these Laws in our hearts, we beseech thee."

The minister then reads Precepts of Doctrine and of Life, comprising sum and substance of all Religions. After this comes the First Lesson, and the Doxology, "To Jesus Christ be Glory and Dominion for ever and ever." The people answer "For he is Jehovah of Hosts, and in Him alone dwelleth all the Fulness of the Godhead bodily."

The service then proceeds with a Psalm or hymn; a prayer for the New Church; the Psalms in order as appointed, followed by the Doxology as above; prayer for the President of the United States. Then the Second Lesson with the Doxology (as above); prayer for all conditions of men; the Creed of the New Church (long); prayer of Thanksgiving; Extracts from the writings of Swedenborg, to be read at the discretion of the minister; Lord's Prayer; and the blessing (Rev. 22:21).

The order for The Holy Supper follows: Lord's Prayer; minister reads concerning the Marriage Supper; short prayer; minister reads at length; then prayer, and Consecration of the Elements, using the words of Institution. Then the Communion; Lord's Prayer; Psalm or hymn; prayer of Thanksgiving with the Doxology (as above), and the Blessing.

In giving the bread the words used are, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the Divine Good of his Divine Love, nourish and preserve you unto eternal life. Take and eat this, in Remembrance that the Lord Glorified his Humanity, and thereby became

the God of Heaven and Earth." The words in giving the cup are similar.

There are 304 hymns in the book, without music.

THE REFORMED CHURCHES

For a better understanding of the Reformed services in America, particularly in the Dutch, French, and German churches, I give the order of public worship used by Calvin, making mention also of the important liturgies which followed his order. I have considered the development more fully in my sketch of the Early Forms of Worship which is brought down to the seventeenth century. There is a common motive in all the Reformed services, but considerable variation; and because of this variation it is difficult to determine just what was used early in America, since direct evidence thus far is lacking.

In a tract of the later years at Geneva, translated by Henry Beveridge, Edinburg, 1849 (A.A.S.), Calvin says, "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth. Amen. Brethren let each of us confess our sins." "O Lord God . . . we acknowledge and confess . . . (the Confession). "Deign, then, to bestow mercy . . ." (the Absolution).

He then goes on to state that a psalm is sung by the whole congregation. The sermon is preceded by a free or selected prayer, and is followed by a composed prayer of considerable length, which concludes with a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. The congregation unites in saying the Apostles' Creed; and the blessing is in the Temple form (The Lord bless you and keep you . . .). There is no mention of Scripture reading, of the Ten Commandments, or of a last psalm.

In Calvin's Strassburg Liturgy used by him, probably after 1538, the order was invocation, confession of sins, and absolution; reading of Scripture, chanting of a Psalm, and a free prayer. Then followed the sermon, and a long general prayer, concluding with the

Lord's Prayer. The service closed with a Psalm and the benediction.

In the tract Calvin says that when the Lord's Supper is celebrated an additional prayer (which he gives) is used with the general prayer after the sermon, and is followed by The Confession of Faith. (In another tract a "Brief Confession of Faith" is given which is very long). The minister then reads at length the recital of the words of Institution, and of the significance of the Supper, and concluding, "Let us be contented, then, to have the bread and wine as signs and evidences, spiritually seeking the reality where the word of God promises that we shall find it."

Then comes the Communion, the minister having warned the people to come forward with reverence and in order. Meanwhile Psalms are sung or Scripture read suitable to the service. The printed form of the thanksgiving prayer is to be used or one similar, and is followed by the blessing.

Calvin's Strassburg Liturgy was published by Valerandus Pollanus, London, 1551. This in Latin, formed the basis of a Liturgy by Joannes a Lasco, also in Latin and published in London, 1553. Marten Micron abridged Lasco's work, and Jan Uytenhove translated it into Dutch, 1554. In 1566 Dathenus (Petrum Dathenum) revised Micron's Liturgy, incorporating a form for the administration of the Lord's Supper. This again was revised by a committee appointed by the Synod of Dort, and was ratified by the Provincial Synods in 1622.¹

The Dathenus Liturgy is not important for the regular service of worship. No order is given; but only a prayer before the sermon, and a longer prayer after the sermon, each concluding with the Lord's Prayer, and the Temple form of blessing. It is said that the prayers were never used exclusively and gradually fell into disuse.

¹See Schaff, P., "History of the Christian Church," vol. 7; Krauth, C. R., "The Sunday Service according to the Liturgies of the Churches of the Reformation," (Krauth Memorial Library); Demarest, D. D., "The Reformed Church in America," 1889 (A.A.S.).

The form for the Heyligh Nachmahl (Lord's Supper) was, and continued to be, obligatory. This opened with "Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, attend to the Words of the Institution of the holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ as they are delivered by the holy Apostle Paul, I. Cor. 11, 23-"; and then continues with an exhortation to personal examination and repentance, and for a true acceptance of the sacrifice once made. The printed form is long. Then follows a prayer, much shorter, which concludes with the Lord's Prayer. The Apostles' Creed is said by the congregation; and then by the minister these words, "That we may now be fed with the true heavenly Bread Jesus Christ, let us not cleave with our Hearts unto the external Bread and Wine, but lift them up on high in Heaven, where Christ Jesus is our Advocate, at the right Hand of his heavenly Father, whither also the Articles of our Faith lead us; not doubting but we shall as certainly be fed and refreshed in our Souls through the working of the Holy Ghost with his Body and Blood, as we receive the holy Bread and Wine in Remembrance of him."

In breaking and distributing the Bread the minister says: "The Bread which we break, is the Communion of the Body of Christ;" and when he giveth the Cup, "The Cup of Blessing, which we bless, is the Communion of the Blood of Christ." During the Communion a psalm was to be sung, or a chapter of Scripture was to be read.

Then the minister invited every one to join in saying the 103rd Psalm, verses 1-4, 8, 10-13; concluding with words concerning God's love. Then follows "Let every one say with an attentive heart" the prayer of thanksgiving, and the Lord's Prayer. This is the end of the printed form. Doubtless there was a blessing.

The translation here used is taken from "The Psalms of David, with the Ten Commandments etc. in metre, also the Catechism, Confession of Faith, Liturgy etc., translated from the Dutch, for the use

of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York," New York, 1767 (A.A.S.).

The Synod of Dort ordered that only the 150 psalms the Ten Commandments, the Song of Zachariah, of the Virgin Mary, and of Simeon, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer should be sung in public worship. These are found in the Dutch Psalter composed of a translation by Dathenus in 1566 of the Marot and Beza version of the Psalms with tunes, and in the English translation (1767) also. The latter however is based on the version by Tate and Brady and has different tunes. The Dathenus Psalter continued in use in the Netherlands till 1773, possibly later; and in America for some time after 1767.

There is general agreement among Dutch Church authorities that the liturgy revised at the Synod of Dort, as noted above, was in use in America from the earliest years, though direct evidence is lacking, and it has continued on through the English editions. An early copy of this is in the Library of the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J., and shows its origin. "Les Pseaumes de David . . . Marot and Beza . . . De CL Psalmen Davids uyt den Francoyschen in Nederlandtschen over geset door Petrum Dathenum," (French and Dutch in parallel columns), with tunes, also the Liturgy and Catechism, Amsterdam, 1672. The latest of the number of copies in that library is dated 1786. Of the seven copies at the A.A.S., all with the New Testament, the earliest is Dordrecht, 1698, a revision by Cornelis de Leeuw.

"The Psalms of David with Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Also The Catechism, Confession of Faith, and Liturgy, of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands. For the use of the Reformed Dutch Church in North America," New York, 1789 (A.A.S.), incorporated the Liturgy of the 1767 book for the New York Church. Besides the Psalms there are 100 hymns, and six doxologies. An edition of this book was published in 1798, with the Liturgy of 1797.

Psalms and Hymns, etc. appeared in 1842 with a

total of 317 hymns, and the doxologies had been increased to seventeen. The Liturgy was continued unchanged (A.A.S.)

The Liturgy and Psalter in use today (edition of 1926, C.A.P.) has a full order for Morning Worship, but The Office for the Administration of the Lord's Supper is the same as in 1767, though there is an abridged form also. Besides the Psalms twelve Ancient Hymns and Canticles are include.

The Dutch language was used almost entirely till 1763, and both Dutch and English till 1820.

Though there is nothing in the Liturgy to help, there are two sources of information on the general order of the regular Sunday service of worship. Dr David D. Demarest in "The Reformed Church in America" describes in part the service in the Netherlands but without reference to sources or to the period. The clerk or voorleser standing in the baptistry under the pulpit opened the service by reading a few texts of Scripture, the Ten Commandments, and a chapter of Scripture; after which he read a Psalm, and led in the singing of it.

The minister then appeared, prayer silently at the foot of the pulpit stairs, then entered the pulpit and made a few remarks on the subject of the sermon. These remarks were called the "Exordium remotum." Then came prayer, singing, and the sermon (frequently an expository lecture in course). The Apostles' Creed after the sermon was soon transferred to the afternoon service. Dr. Demarest does not give the rest of the service, but it is very unlikely that there was a confession of sins. Doubtless there was the general prayer after the sermon, a psalm sung, and the benediction.

This general order was observed in New York in the period 1758-1768, according to a letter dated November 8, 1827, which appeared in the "Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church," Vol. II, p. 275 (1827-28). This letter is given in full in the "Tercentenary History of the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch

Church," New York, 1928 (C.A.P.). The essentials of the letter are here given.

The bell was rung three times, at eight, and nine, and ten o'clock. "The Fore-singer (voorsinger), after having marked the Psalms to be sung, on boards hung up at each side of the pulpit, entered into his desk," and asked the congregation to "attend to the reading of the holy word of the Lord," giving the book and chapter. After this he read the Ten Commandments; and then asked the people to join in singing a verse of a Psalm.

During the singing the Domine usually entered the church, and after a short mental prayer at the foot of the pulpit stairs, he ascended the pulpit. "When the singing was ended, the Domine arose and made a short prayer, in nearly the following words: 'Our only help and powerful support, we expect alone from Thee, the only and triune God, the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost, creator of the heavens, the earth and seas, and who keepeth faith and truth forever. Amen.' He then commenced his exordium remotum, with the Apostolic salutation, 'Grace, mercy and peace, etc.' At the close he frequently added 'But shall I speak, and you hear . . . it is . . . necessary . . . to call upon Him who is Spirit, in spirit and in truth, in the following manner'."

After the prayer the text was announced with a suitable introduction; but before proceeding he recommended the need of the poor, and the collection was taken by the Deacons. "When the sermon commenced, the Fore-singer turned the hour-glass again, and set it in another place that it might be seen that an hour had elapsed. Immediately after the sermon was ended, the Fore-singer arose, and by means of a white rod with a cleft in the end, into which the papers were put, handed to the Domine the requests of those persons who desired the prayers and thanksgivings of the Church." The prayer followed. Then the Domine gave out a Psalm to be sung. At the close he said, "Receive the blessing of the Lord," which he pronounced.

Valuable as this description is, it is limited by memory and to one church; yet there is reasonable inference that it is fairly typical of the services before the Revolution. It should be noted that the opening service conducted by the voorsinger was a custom not only in the Netherlands but in the French Church in Boston, and probably elsewhere; and that the confession of sins, common in Calvin's service and in the French Churches, is not mentioned in the above description of the Dutch services. The voorsinger's leadership of the singing continued in some of the Dutch churches in America into the nineteenth century.

Further research is necessary to determine when choirs or "singers" were introduced, and how the music of the service developed. It seems clear however that the music of the service was confined to the Psalms and hymns well into the nineteenth century. The Psalms and "hymns" of the 1767 book were set to music, but no music appeared in any other book till 1869.

It is stated that when the Lord's Supper was administered in the early years in New York the communicants stood around the Communion Table. At Albany at the celebration of the Supper as late as the middle of the last century the communicants sat at a long table set in the middle aisle of the church.

It is evident that the regular Sunday service in the French churches conformed closely to the Liturgy which in the various French Synods was based on Calvin's order. Two elements in the Walloon Liturgy of 1554, differing from Calvin's Liturgy, should be noted because they are found in American forms of worship. The service opened with chanting of a Psalm; and at the place of the sermon the Scripture was read and expounded for about an hour. Otherwise this and later Walloon and French Liturgies agree with Calvin's.

The only French church in America till after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 was in New York (1683). C. W. Baird, "The Huguenot Emi-

gration to America," 1895, vol. II, says that the Sunday service at Boston was preceded by reading of Scripture by a "lecture" (who also was the chantre or precentor), and the reading of the Ten Commandments. He does not mention the chanting of a Psalm.

From this point the service was conducted by the minister. The order given is the same as that in "Les Psaumes (sic) de David . . . (from the Marot and Beza version), approved by the French Synods in 1679 . . . avec La Liturgy, le Catechisme, & la Confession de Foi. A Londres . . . MDCCI." A copy of this book was presented to the American Antiquarian Society by Ethan A. Greenwood, Portrait Painter, Boston, June 25, 1818.

La Forme des Prieres Ecclesiastiques begins with these words, the same as those given by Calvin: "Notre aide fait au Nom de Dieu, qui a fait le ciel & la Terre. Amen." A short exhortation precedes the confession of sins. Then a Psalm is to be chanted; and the minister offers prayer in his own words. The sermon is followed by a composed prayer of considerable length, concluding with the Lord's Prayer. There is no mention of the Creed, or of another Psalm. The minister is directed to give the benediction as God directed in Num. VI (the Temple form), but the words, "& en prosperite" are added. "Amen, Go in peace: remember the poor."

The most prosperous period of the French Church in Boston was from 1696 to 1715. It was dissolved in 1748. In the form of "Prayers in Les Pseaumes de David . . . approved by the Wallon Synod of the United Provinces" (A la Haye . . . 1730), there is a direction that the Apostles' Creed shall follow the Lord's Prayer. A copy of this book is at the A.A.S. and a later edition in the library of the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J. (1756). Also in the same library, "Les Pseaumes de David mis en rime Francoise par Clement Marot et Theodore de Beza" . . . with Liturgy (1657).

In contrast with the Dutch Liturgy there is little

given in the French books thus far consulted concerning the Lord's Supper. As in Calvin's Liturgy a composed prayer is to be added to the general prayer after the sermon, but "La Liturgie De l'Eucharistie, ou La maniere de Celebrer la Sainte Cene" gives only the words of Institution, and words concerning the significance of the sacrifice and promises in Jesus Christ etc. There is nothing concerning the distribution; but in the forms of prayers there is printed a "priere d'action de graces" (which is a prayer of thanksgiving) to be said after the Communion. This was to be followed by chanting the canticle of Simeon. Then, of course, would follow the blessing.

Additional information on the order generally observed in the morning service is given in "The Church History of Geneva, etc" by Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, pastor of the French Church, Boston, printed by B. Green, Boston, 1732 (A.A.S.). Le Mercier's description is in agreement with the order reported at New York in the Dutch church, and in the French churches, Boston and Charleston, S. C. He says that a student of Divinity (dressed in minister's habit), first read the Scripture and the Ten Commandments. Then the minister offered a short prayer (a confession of sins and a petition for forgiveness). After that a Psalm was set by a paid leader, who chalked the number on a board. Then followed an extemporaneous prayer; a text was expounded; a long prayer for the congregation and all men; a Psalm, and the blessing. For the Lord's Supper little is given except that there was a prayer before and a prayer after the communion.

There was little development in the music of the service for more than two centuries. The Marot and Beza version of the Psalms, completed by Beza in 1552 and set to old French tunes continued to be the source. There were various revisions. The 1701 book mentioned above has, besides the 150 psalms, only the Ten Commandments and Le Cantique de Simeon; but the 1730 book has also at the back eleven canticles, including the canticle of Zachariah and those for Noel,

Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, New Year, etc. This indicates the range of the musical part of the service.

There were churches of the German Reformed faith in America in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Up to the time of the organization of the first Synod in 1793, these churches were under the jurisdiction of the Church in Holland. In general, the services were conducted according to the Palatinate Liturgy, published in 1563. A copy of this book, "Thur Pfaltzische Kirchen Ordnung," dated Heidelberg, Jan. 29, 1684, is in the Library of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the U. S. From this copy I give what here follows:

In the beginning shall be sung: "Gnade, Fried, and Barmhertzigkeit,"—Grace, peace, and compassion, from God the Father, and his beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, the communion of the Holy Ghost be with us all. Amen. Then is given the prayer before the sermon. After the sermon there is an exhortation, confession of sins, and absolution, including a part of John III, and Unser Vatter. Then the general prayer, and Unser Vatter (Our Father); or also, another prayer, using topics of the Lord's Prayer, and Unser Vatter. Praise the Lord with our song—a Psalm sung. The blessing is the Temple form.

At the Holy Evening-meal (Abenmahl) of the Lord the minister goes to the Table after the general prayer, and begins with an address and the words of Institution from I. Cor. xi. Then follows prayer, and Unser Vatter; foreword and the Apostles' Creed, with a few words added: The minister then bids the communicants to come forward to the Table of the Lord, and breaks the bread. The words used are, "The Bread which we break is the Communion of the Bread of Christ. The Cup of blessing which we bless is the Communion of the Blood of Christ."

A prayer of thanksgiving follows—two forms given. The blessing is in the Temple or Aaronic form.

It is said that the Marburg Hymn Book was used.

Professor J. H. Dubbs, D.D. in his history of the Church says that in some churches congregational singing declined, and because the old chorals were forgotten "each line of the hymn was separately announced and sung." Probably this refers to the period before 1793 when a new hymn book was authorized by the Synod which was published in 1797. The book contains the Psalms with tunes, 700 hymns with 71 melodies, and a few prayers.

To what extent the Palatinate Liturgy was used or when it was given up has not been determined. A number of Liturgies were published after 1850. The Directory of Worship (C.A.P.) is strongly liturgical, and suggests the influence of the English Prayer Book.

THE NON-LITURGICAL CHURCHES

In the non-liturgical churches, prayer, reading of Scripture, sermon, and singing were the essentials and characteristics of worship. Included are the Baptists, many of whom did not sing, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, and others. It is said that a Liturgy was used by the Presbyterian church in Bermuda.

The Ephrata Cloister on the Wissahickon River in Pennsylvania, observed the Sabbath and held services of worship every day at morning and evening. The Swedish Provost Acrelius describes the service which he attended on August 20, 1753.

There was perfect silence for some moments after all had assembled. Then Father Friedsam, the minister, after physical contortions began to sing; sisters, brethren, and choir joined, continuing the hymn for about a quarter of an hour. Brother Jabez (a former German Calvinistic minister) read the third chapter of Isaiah. Father Friedsam, after more contortions, arose and began to speak of man's natural darkness of understanding, "and prayer for enlightenment and a blessing." Then seated he preached, concluding with Amen.

Brother Jabez proposed a psalm. "Then Father Friedsam hinted to a brother, who sat on a bench

nearest to him in the church, that he should begin, and himself raised the tune; the said brother began the psalm and led it." Father Friedsam and the choir joined; "but the cloister people, as well as the rest of the congregation, were silent." Then Father Friedsam asked if anyone had anything for the general edification. There was opportunity for anyone to tell what was on his conscience; Father Friedsam giving judgment thereupon. The service was from 6.30 to 8.00 a. m.

There was no printed music. "It is to be observed that to every psalm there are three different melodies, according to which the note-books are written by the sisters of the convent." The tunes of course were German. A hymn book, "Gesang der einsamen Lurtel-Laude" without music was printed at Ephrata, 1762 (A.A.S.).

The Friends had no order of worship. They spoke or prayed as the Spirit moved them. Often they met without uttering a word, sitting in perfect silence.

Probably the earliest record of the order of worship observed in the Puritan churches in New England is that by John Cotton in his "Questions and Answers upon Church Government, dated 25, 11 month, 1634. The order there given is prayer; a Psalm; Reading and expounding the Scripture, to "read the Word and with all Preaching to give the sense, and applying the use, in dispensing whereof the ministers were wont to stand above all the people in a Pulpit of wood, and the Elders on both sides, while the People hearkened to them with Reverence and Attention"; Prophecyng, if there be prophets present besides the Elders and time; Any young or old may speak, (not women); the Seals of baptism, and the Lord's Supper are administered; a Psalm; Collection for the support of the ministry and the poor saints; minister or any of the Prophets to dismiss with a Blessing unto the Lord and putting a Blessing upon the people.

Some additional information on the service is given by Cotton in "The Way of the Churches of Christ in

New England," London, 1645. Here we find prayer; Chapter and expounding by pastor or teacher; before the sermon a Psalm. On the Lord's Supper observed one a month, the people sitting, he mentions extemporaneous prayer, and a Psalm at the close. Nothing is said of the words of Institution.

A description of a Communion service at Dedham, Mass. in 1639, is found in the Dedham Records (1639-1845). Observance was once a month, with examination and preparation in the preceding week. The pastor after the sermon and dismissal of the assembly, inviting the church in the name of Christ unto his table did give them an exhortation concerning present ordinance, being not fully half an hour. After which confession, and prayer suitable to ye time; then consecration of the bread with a short prayer and application of the words of Institution, he brake the bread and taking a piece out of the platter set it towards the rest, with the words, take eat, etc. After all had received he consecrated the cup in the same manner, and drinking of it he delivered it to the next, and bade them all drink of it. The service concluded with a prayer of thanksgiving, a Psalm, and the blessing.

The following account of the order of worship at Boston is from "Plain Dealing or Newes from New-England," by Thomas Lechford, London, 1642. "Every Sabbath or Lords day, they come together at Boston, by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an hour. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a Chapter; Then a Psalm is sung, which ever one of the ruling Elders dictates. After that the Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes ex tempore exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer, and a blessing.

"Once a month is a Sacrament of the Lords Supper, whereof notice is given usually a fortnight before, and then all others departing save the Church, which is a great deal less in number than those that go away, they receive the Sacrament, the Ministers and ruling

Elders sitting at the Table, the rest in their seats, or upon forms: All cannot see the Minister consecrating, unless they stand up, and make a narrow shift. The one of the teaching Elders prays before, and blessth, and consecrates the Bread and Wine, according to the words of Institution; and next Communion, they change turns; he that began at that, ends at this: and the Ministers deliver the Bread in a Charger to some of the chief, and peradventure gives to a few the Bread into their hands, and they deliver the Charger from one to another, till all have eaten; in like manner the cup, till all have drank, goes from one to another. Then a Psalm is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed.

“About two in the after-noon, they repair to the meeting-house again; and then the Pastor begins, as before noon, and a Psalm being sung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to read and expound a Chapter also before his Sermon in the after-noon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

“After that ensues Baptism, if there be any, which is done, by either Pastor or Teacher, in the Deacons seat, the most eminent place in the Church, next under the Elders seat. The Pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the Church, and parents concerning Baptism, and the prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling . . . the Baptism is into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost.

“Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, whereof as God hath prospered you, so freely offer . . . The Magistrates and chief Gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men and most of them that are not of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seat, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if

it be money or papers; if it be any other chattle, they set it or lay it down before the Deacons, and so pass another way to their seats again."¹

There is no direct evidence of the order of worship at Plymouth, though doubtless there was little variation from that followed at Boston. The Pilgrims brought Ainsworth's Book of Psalms (A.A.S.), which they continued to use till 1696 when the Bay Psalm Book was adopted. The tunes—39 in number, 20 from Sternhold and Hopkins, and the others from French and Dutch sources (mostly French), are worthy of careful study. They were more difficult to sing, and by 1692 were confessedly beyond the ability of the Plymouth congregation. The Bay Psalm Book was continued till about 1767. After a few years of trial Tate and Brady's Version of the Psalm was adopted in 1771, with 103 hymns of Watts annexed. Finally, in 1786 the church voted that "Dr. Watts's Version of the Psalms and Hymns united, be sung in future." No further record on the subject appears down to 1859. The outstanding study on this subject is "The Music of the Pilgrims" by Waldo Selden Pratt 1921 (C.A.P.)

It appears that for many years various persons were asked to "set" the tune. In 1764 Brother John May was desired to set the tune; and in 1769, after the former chorister had died, four men were chosen "to be mutually assisting." Then in 1777 four men were chosen to act as choristers. This is about the extent of the information on music in the Plymouth Church records.

The Ainsworth Psalm Book was used in two or three other places (in Salem as late as 1675), but the Sternhold and Hopkins version of the Psalms was used by nearly all the Puritan churches till the Bay Psalm-Book was printed at Cambridge in 1640, though an edition of Sternhold was printed in Cambridge in 1693. The Bay Psalm Book was much revised in 1650, was often reprinted, and continued in use in some churches

¹See also a reprint of *Plain Dealing with Introduction and Notes* by J. Hammond Trumbull, Boston, 1867 (A.A.S.), especially the notes on the above account.

till after 1750, in Old South Church, Boston till 1786. This book had no music until 1698. The tunes probably were taken from the older version, or from Ravenscroft's "The Whole Booke of Psalmes," 1621, or later from Playford's Psalter, 1671. The tunes in Ravenscroft and Playford were in four parts, but Sternhold and Hopkins, and Ainsworth had only the melody. For more than a century the actual number of tunes used was very small.

There was no advance in music in the New England churches till into the eighteenth century when singing by rote developed. This, called the "new way," grew out of the singing schools, and nearly rent in twain many churches. "Lining" continued in some churches very late; for example, the custom was abolished in Worcester in 1779, in Dedham in 1785. "Lining" was the custom of reading one line of a Psalm or hymn, and singing it; then another line and so on. It is mentioned in a tract of John Cotton's in 1647, and was due to the scarcity of books; but it continued years after the cause had been removed.

The earliest record of "singers" yet found is in the East Church, Salem, Mass., in 1718. It would be interesting to know how many other churches had group leaders before 1750. Other records in Massachusetts after that date are: Quincy, 1764; Dedham, 1766; Arlington, 1775; Hingham, 1778. These are fairly typical of the slow development of music in the Puritan churches in New England.

Anthems and anthem books are found in the last quarter of the century, due in large measure to the leadership of William Billings (1746-1800), and others. Billings' "Fuguing Psalm Singer," 1770, contained some anthems. After the Revolution there was an increase of books by various authors. Some of the leaders, like Oliver Holden, were opposed to fugue tunes.

I attempt here no list of the many music books at the A.A.S. in both the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. A good guide is "American Writers and

Composers of Sacred Music," by Frank J. Metcalf, 1925.

When the tuning fork was introduced has not been determined. It is said that Billings introduced the use of the "pitch pipe" and the bass viol in churches, but actual records thus far found of the latter fall towards the close of the century. The Church of England led in the use of organs in the Protestant churches. The King's Chapel, Boston, organ, 1714, was followed by at least five others before 1750. An organ was given to the Dutch church, New York, in 1720, but no other is found among the non-conformists till 1750 when Lutherans and Moravians began to install. In New England nine organs are known before the close of 1800, the first in the First Congregational church, Providence, 1770. These few facts serve to throw light on the development of music in the English colonies.

Ultimately a bibliography of American liturgies, prayer and service books, and music books should be made, a considerable task in itself.

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