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“Grant Us Wisdom, Grant Us Courage:” Theology in the Organ Music of Paul Manz

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"Grant us Wisdom, Grant Us Courage:"
Theology in the Organ Music of Paul Manz

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Terminology

A note on nomenclature – In referring to the various Lutheran church bodies throughout this paper, I will use the following abbreviations:

AELC - Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches
ALC – American Lutheran Church
ELIM – Evangelical Lutherans in Mission
ELCA – Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
LCA – Lutheran Church of America
LCMS/Missouri Synod – Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod
WELS – Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod

Introduction

On February 19, 1974, students and faculty at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis – the flagship seminary of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod – gathered in the quad and walked out of campus to great fanfare in front of the media. The moderate president of the seminary, the Rev. John Tietjen, had just been removed from his office and replaced with the more conservative Martin Scharlemann by the Synod's president, the Rev. Jack A. O. Preus, to curb the (perceived) growing influence of theological liberalism within the (conservative) denomination's educational institutions. This was the climax of years of acrimony between theological moderates and conservatives within the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, particularly around issues of ecumenism, the authority of Scripture, and adherence to traditional doctrines.

Not surprisingly, this event sent shock waves throughout the Missouri Synod and its membership. This included Paul Manz (1919-2009), an organist, composer, and educator renowned not just throughout the Missouri Synod but throughout the American musical world, living and working within the Synod's institutions in the Minneapolis area. Known for his virtuosic organ improvisation skills and as the chair of the music department at Concordia College, St. Paul (a LCMS college) and as the organist/choirmaster at Mount Olive Lutheran Church in Minneapolis (a LCMS congregation), Manz had been invited to serve as the featured organist on multiple occasions for the Missouri Synod's conventions, as well as for numerous regional and national conventions of the American Guild of Organists. His position in the

Missouri Synod's schism would become a defining moment both in his life and in the direction of American Lutheranism moving forwards.[1]

Manz's many chorale-based (hymn-based) compositions for the Lutheran liturgy have made them staples in the standard repertoire of organ music and comprise the bulk of his published works. However, Manz is perhaps best known for his Advent motet *E'en So, Lord Jesus, Quickly Come*, which has been performed in venues from small parish churches to the annual Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols at King's College, Cambridge, broadcast to millions of listeners worldwide on Christmas Eve. His fame for his organ works and *E'en So, Lord Jesus*, have made his name at least recognizable to many church musicians; however, very little research has been conducted on his theological convictions, particularly how he represents them in his performances and compositions.

Thus, the research question of this project is twofold: how do the organ works of Paul Manz reflect the theological and political circumstances of mid- to late-20th-century American Lutheranism, and what impact did he have on sacred music in contemporary American churches? To answer this question, this study will proceed in several different directions. First, by analyzing the rich heritage of chorale-based composition for the organ – both in the Lutheran tradition and in other Protestant churches – since the Reformation, I will establish the traditions which Manz would have been familiar with as a performer and sources from which he drew in his work. Second, I examine Manz's life in conversation with his relationship with the Missouri Synod. Third, I turn to a discussion of church music's significance in its performed contexts as well as the role of musicians in liturgical churches in order to discuss how Manz utilized his influence to the benefit of Seminex (Christ Seminary in Exile, the seminary formed by the

[1] See below (Contributions to Existing Scholarship) for sources that discuss Manz's life and work.

former moderate/liberal camp at Concordia) and its realigning Lutheran allies. Finally, I will discuss Manz's music itself, discussing his compositional practices and representations of the Divine as well as analyzing the inscriptions he placed on his organ chorales. These factors work together to demonstrate his sympathies for the moderate theological camp, thus drawing the ire of the conservative Missouri Synod's leadership.

Contributions to Existing Scholarship

To date, there are three significant works dedicated to Manz's life and output: Becky Parker Lombard's 1992 dissertation from the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, *A Study of the Life of Paul Otto Manz as Church Musician, with an Analytical Study of His Organ Compositions*; Scott M. Hyslop's *The Journey Was Chosen: The Life and Work of Paul Manz*; and James W. Freese's *Paul O. Manz: The Enduring Legacy of the Hymn Festival*.[2] Lombard and Hyslop highlight a need for further study into Manz's impact on the practice of Lutheran hymnody. While Freese outlines Manz's contributions to the creation of the "hymn festival" (one of his innovations),[3] there has not been significant work yet linking his organ works to his position within the church. This study seeks to expand on the analysis of Manz's chorale improvisations in *The Journey Was Chosen* and seek to link Manz's theological views to his work as a musician.

This study additionally seeks to build, more broadly, on the understanding of music's role in worship and the use of music as protest speech while simultaneously being an act of worship. Building on the work of Marcell Silva Steuernagel of Southern Methodist University and acclaimed ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon, I seek to analyze the role of performed music

[2] See the bibliography for full references to these three items.

[3] According to Freese (2014, 32-35), the hymn festival began as Manz interspersed his chorale improvisations with congregational hymns and scripture readings within organ recitals.

within the Lutheran liturgy, examining the pedagogical, catechetical, and liturgical roles that musical pieces and performers play within a community's experience of worship. In discussing Manz's relationship with the Missouri Synod, I draw on primary sources that include his correspondence from 1970-1976, currently held by the university archives of Concordia University-St. Paul (Minnesota); in researching his compositional practices his manuscripts, currently held by the Center for Church Music on the campus of Concordia University-Chicago (River Forest, Illinois), were invaluable. These sources demonstrate shifts in Manz's theological beliefs as his relationship with the Missouri Synod changed, as well as the development of his tonal language as he matured as a composer.

Chapter 1: Music in the Lutheran Tradition

Perhaps the most obvious liturgical shifts in the Protestant Reformation are found in the changes of the role of the laity in worship. One of Luther's earliest moves after his break from Rome was the translation of the Bible and Mass liturgy into German, aided by the mass production of Luther's works by the printing press (an innovation that separated Luther's Reformation from those of John Wycliffe and Jan Hus, ultimately contributing to its success).[4] With this came the move from Gregorian chant, sung by a choir, to the chorale, sung by the congregation. Luther advocated for congregational singing because, in his view, it hearkened back to the days of the early church. By singing Latin chants and German hymns and chorales on alternating Sundays, he reasoned, a gradual transition could be made until the entire liturgy was sung in the vernacular.[5]

Some chorales evolved from pre-Reformation plainsong hymns and sequences taken from the Latin Mass. For example, Luther's chorale *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (Christ Lay in Death's Strong Bonds) bears similarities to the earlier German hymn *Christ ist erstanden* (Christ is Arisen), which in turn is derived from the medieval Easter sequence *Victimae paschali laudes* (Praises to the Paschal Victim). The figure below shows some formal similarities of these two German hymns with the plainsong sequence.

[4] Peter Marshall, *Reformation: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 26.
[5] Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg (1523)." In *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, ed. William R. Russell and Timothy F. Lull (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 319-320.

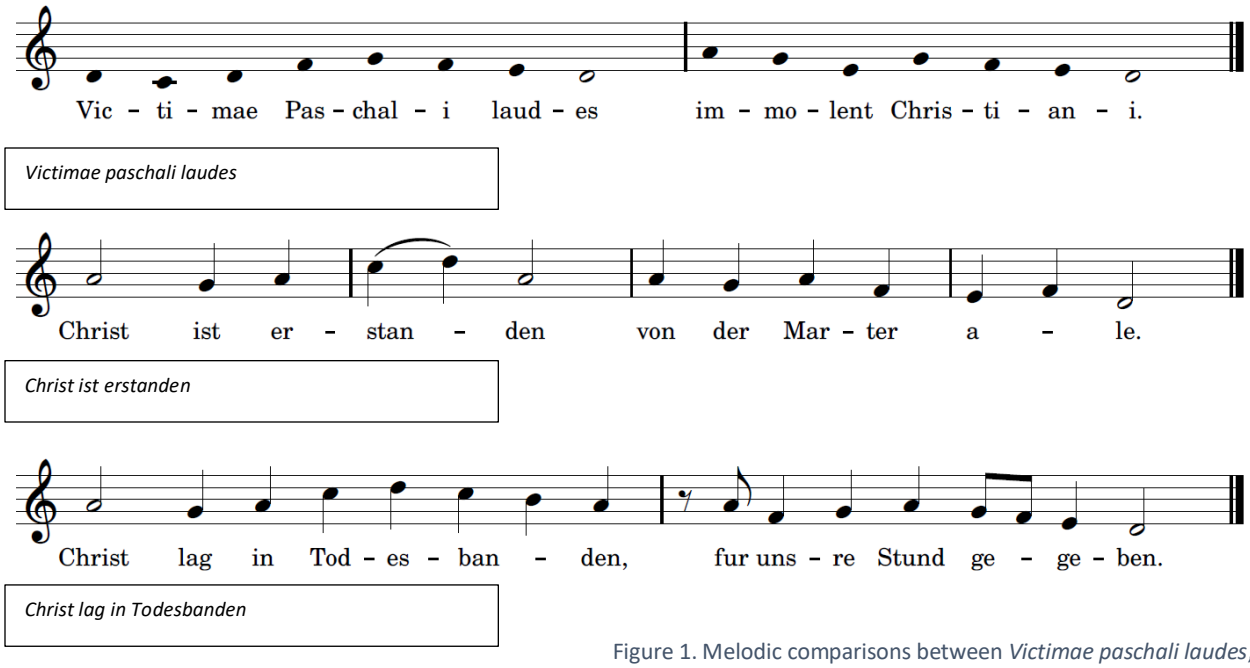

Figure 1. Melodic comparisons between *Victimae paschali laudes*, *Christ ist erstanden*, and *Christ lag in Todesbanden*. Text for *Victimae paschali laudes* from Gather Comprehensive (1994), hymn #438; texts for *Christ ist erstanden* and *Christ lag in Todesbanden* from Terry, *The Four-Part Chorals of J.S. Bach* (2009).

Borrowing pre-existing material in this instance not only serves to strengthen the connection between a given hymn/chorale and its place in the liturgical year, but also to affirm the continuity of Church traditions after a significant, and at times acrimonious and uncertain, break from the Pope. Indeed, as Zebulon Highben notes, Luther encouraged the continued use of Latin texts in worship alongside pre-Reformation chants and choral music.[6] For example, Luther, his contemporaries, and their successors not only borrowed from plainsong chants and hymns, but from German folk songs and the sacred songs of other nascent Protestant churches on the Continent (particularly Calvinist metrical psalmody and the hymns of the Bohemian Brethren).[7] For example, the melody of the chorale *Freu dich sehr, O meine Seele* (Rejoice Greatly, My Soul), which appears in several of Bach's sacred cantatas, is derived from the Geneva Psalter's

[6] Zebulon Highben, "Reviving Sacred Song: 500 Years of the Lutheran Chorale in its Congregational and Choral Contexts." *The Choral Journal* 58, no. 1 (August 2017), 41-42.
[7] Robert L. Marshall, rev. Robin Leaver, "Chorale." *Grove Music Online*, accessed 3 November 2022. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05652.

metrical setting of Psalm 42.[8] Similarly, the tune of the penitential chorale *O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß* (O Man, Bewail Your Grievous Sins; text by Sebald Heyd) was used in Calvinist Strasbourg as the tune for a metrical version of Psalm 119.[9] Another Reformation-era chorale tune, *O Welt, ich muß dich lassen* (O World, I Must Now Leave You) adapts the text of Heinrich Isaac's secular song *Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen* (a farewell to the city of Innsbruck, Austria) to speak of the Christian's desire for heaven.[10]

In time these chorales were adapted for instrumental performance, particularly on the organ (such pieces appropriately became known as organ chorales, or chorale preludes). In the earliest days of the Lutheran Reformation, congregational singing was unaccompanied, with the entire congregation singing in unison.[11] While in other traditions (particularly the Calvinist tradition in Geneva) this meant eschewing instrumental music during services, the Lutheran church retained the pre-Reformation practice of *alternatim* performance, where the organist would play instrumental verses of a chorale between the congregational verses.[12] This practice persisted despite the length of some sacred songs in order to preserve the integrity of the chorale.[13] For example, Martin Luther's hymn *Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot* (These are the Holy Ten Commandments) boasts no less than twelve stanzas, nine of which paraphrase the Ten Commandments.[14] Since chorales served as an important catechetical tool in a largely illiterate society, in which the literacy rate is projected to only have approached 30% in urban areas and

[8] "Freu dich sehr, O meine Seele." In *The Four Part Chorales of J. S. Bach*, edited by Charles Sanford Terry (London: Travis and Emery, 2009), 103.
[9] "O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde gross." In Terry (ed), *The Four Part Chorales of J. S. Bach*, 317.
[10] Allan Atlas, *Renaissance Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 517.
[11] Robert L. Marshall, rev. Robin Leaver, "Chorale Settings." *Grove Music Online*, accessed 3 November 2022. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05663.
[12] Marshall and Leaver, "Chorale Settings"
[13] Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), 105-106.
[14] Peter C. Reske, ed., *The Hymns of Martin Luther* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2016), 62-63.

5% overall,[15] the idea of omitting stanzas struck at the very core of the chorale itself.[16] Thus, *alternatim* performance arose as a solution, allowing the congregation a respite during long chorales while still performing the entire, lengthy hymn. In addition to stanzas performed by the organist alone throughout the chorale, a choir might sing stanzas in alternation with the congregation. To facilitate this singing, in addition to supporting the teaching of reading and writing, Luther supported the development of musical literacy. One of Luther's early hymn books, the *Wittenberg Gesangbuch* of 1524, notes that the hymns therein are set in four-voice harmony because Luther "wished the young…should and must be trained in music and in other proper arts."[17]

Whether accompanied by the organ or instruments or sung a cappella, the introduction of congregational singing in the Protestant world represents a watershed moment in the Western church. Singing became a way for the lay faithful not just to *hear* the service and observe passively, but to *participate fully* in the act of worship. Since the chorale's most basic structures included a strophic text and rhythmic tune, congregations were able to learn them quickly and sing them heartily.[18] This return to active congregational participation, rather than passivity, also was reflected throughout other liturgical reforms in the Lutheran reformation. Worship was now often led in the vernacular, and the Eucharist – which in the Catholic church was only

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[15] Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 37-38.
[16] Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 105.
[17] Martin Luther, Foreward to the *Wittemberg Gesangbuch*. In *Source Readings in Music History: The Renaissance*, ed. Oliver Strunk (New York: W.W. Norton, 1965), 152.
[18] J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2019), 232.

administered to the congregation in one species, the bread[19] – was now administered in both kinds. Ultimately, this marks a radical shift in the expected roles for both clergy and laity.

The organ chorale continued to flourish, although in his expansive study of the history of Protestant music Friedrich Blume notes that gratuitous embellishment of the chorale was frowned upon in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries so "that the organ…not impede congregational singing."[20] Many surviving examples from the turn of the seventeenth century are therefore primarily homophonic organ tablature settings of chorales.[21] These settings would be better suited to introduce or insert into hymns rather than serve as standalone compositions because of their brevity, and perhaps even to function as the accompaniment to a choral stanza of a hymn.[22] It is not until the turn to the high Baroque in the eighteenth century that these organ chorales become consistently ornamented and expanded in the North German compositional style; indeed, in their introduction to Bach's *Orgelbüchlein*, Robert Clark and John David Peterson note that "it was doubtful that the organist in the Lutheran service used composed music at any point in the 16th century"[23] as much of the necessary solo repertory was improvised.

Despite the early emphasis on simple organ music, late Baroque composer Johann Sebastian Bach's (1685-1750) organ chorales are markedly different from those of earlier ones, such as Samuel Scheidt (c. 1587-1654) or Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621). Of the organ chorales he composed, most of Bach's feature significant ornamentation and/or polyphonic treatment to demonstrate the virtuosity of the performer. Such composition was not without

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[19] Mark E. Wedig, "Reception of the Eucharist Under Two Species." *Pastoral Liturgy*, accessed 27 February 2023. http://www.pastoralliturgy.org/resources/0705ReceptionEucharistTwoSpecies.php.
[20] Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 247.
[21] See, for example, Samuel Scheidt's *Gorlitz Tablature Book* or *Tablatura Nova*.
[22] Mark Ryan Paisar, *Lutheran Alternatim Practices in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries: A Narrative of Liturgical Artistry and Accessibility*. DMA diss., University of Kansas, 2017 (21).
[23] Robert Clark and John David Peterson, *Orgelbüchlein* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1984), 9.

controversy, and Bach was scolded by the church establishment for this, as well as other compositional innovations he introduced upon his return from the famed trip to hear Dietrich Buxtehude perform at the *Marienkirche* in Lübeck.[24] Compare, for example, these two organ settings of Luther's chorale *Ein feste Burg* (A Mighty Fortress is Our God). The first excerpt is from Scheidt's *Gorlitz Organ Book* (1650); the second excerpt is from a setting by Bach (BWV 720 mm 1-8, attributed to Bach's time in Mülhausen):[25]

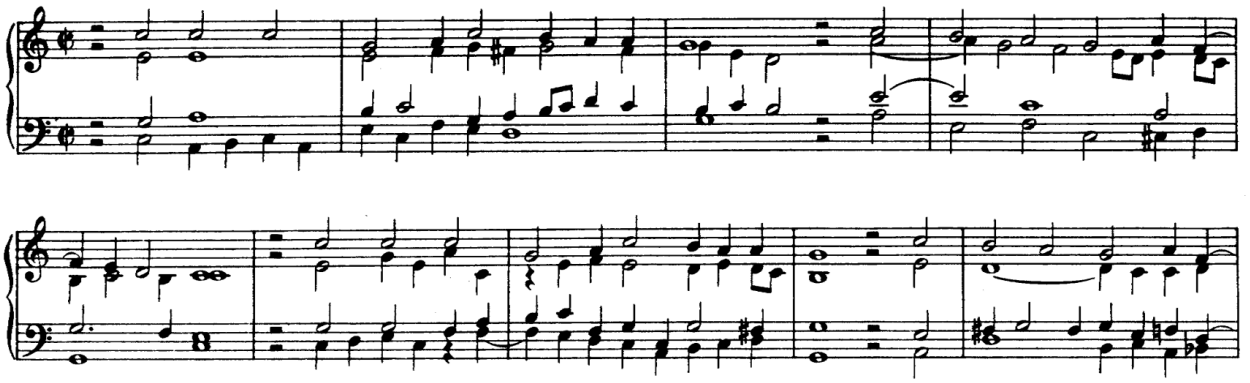

Figure 2. A setting of *Ein feste Burg* from Samuel Scheidt's *Gorlitzer Tablaturbuch* (1650). E. F. Kalmus, 1965.

[24] *Actum* (minutes) of the Arnstadt Consistory, February 21, 1706. In *The New Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. Christoph Wolff (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 46.

[25] *Bach Digital*, a project of the Leipzig Bach Archive, notes that an early source dates to 1720, but this piece could have been composed as early as 1709 as a test piece for the new organ at the Divi Blasii church in Mülhausen. See https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalWork_work_00000842?lang=en.

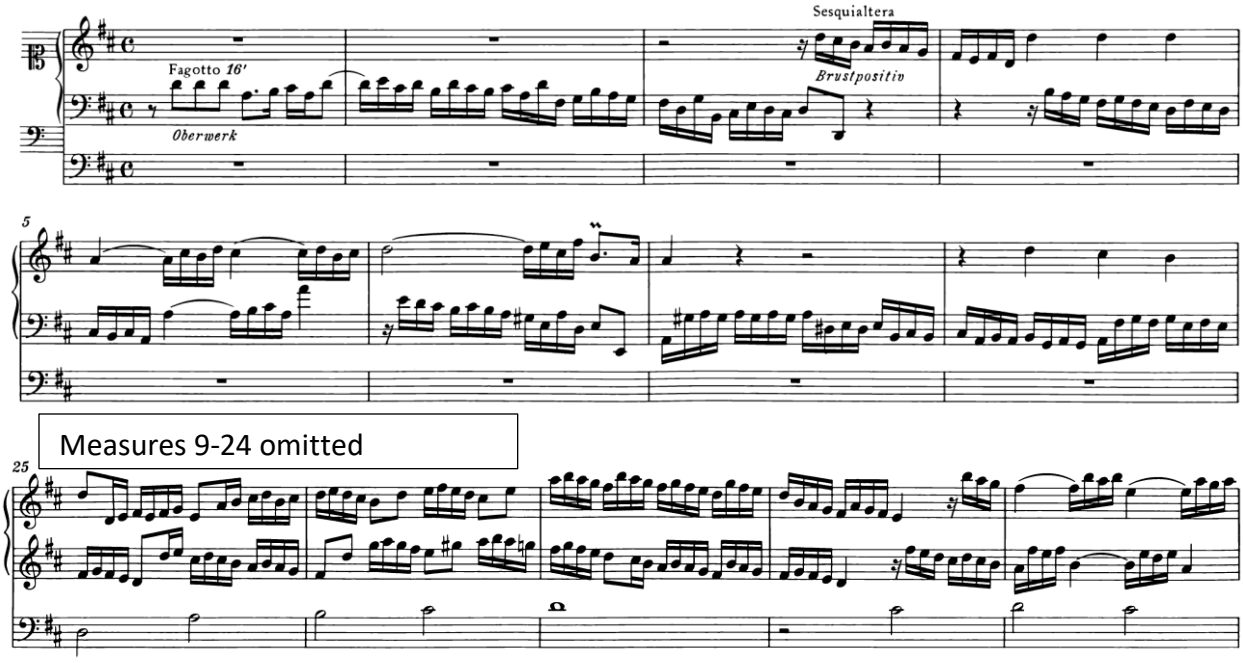

Figure 3. Measures 1-8 and 25-29 of *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, BWV 720. From J. S. Bach, *Orgelwerke, Band 3*. Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1961.

Scheidt's setting is homophonic in nature, serving perhaps as a simple harmonization of the original chorale. In contrast, Bach creates a fantasia, interspersing ornamented statements of the chorale melody on one manual in the right hand with a fast-moving accompaniment line in the left hand on another manual (which also includes references to the chorale melody). Continuing throughout the piece, these statements introduce the primary theme of the chorale, which eventually appears in the pedal line as well with extended note values. The technical demands for the organist are vastly different – while the first setting might be playable on a smaller instrument, or perhaps even on a harpsichord or clavichord in the home by a relative amateur, Bach's setting demands complete independence of the left and right hands as well as the feet – skills that require practice and study. A further, larger-scale example can be found in Bach's setting of the penitential chorale *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*, BWV 686 (Out of the Depths I Cry unto Thee, based on Psalm 130), in which Bach creates a fugue for six voices based

on the chorale tune. In addition to four voices in the hands, Bach takes the exceptional step of scoring this composition with a double pedal line, with both feet playing simultaneously.

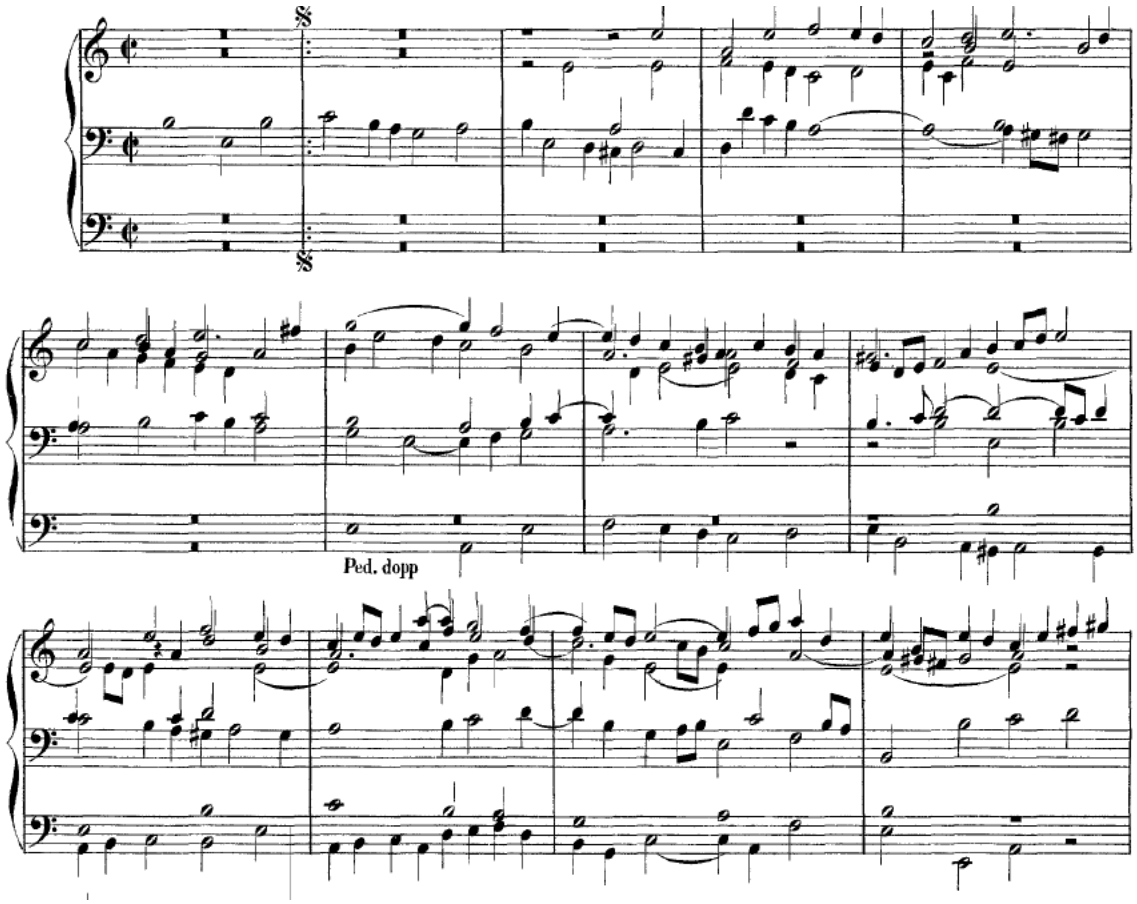

Figure 4. The opening of *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*, BWV 686. From the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*.

Another genre of church music that arose from the Reformation was the sacred cantata. At its core, a cantata is simply a vocal work – not necessarily a sacred one – with soloists and basso continuo, often employing alternation between recitative and aria.[26] While other Baroque composers composed cantatas (for example, Dietrich Buxtehude and his cycle *Membra Jesu Nostri*), like the organ chorale, the genre of the church cantata has become synonymous with Johann Sebastian Bach. Many of Bach's church cantatas include chorales in various

[26] Richard Crocker, *A History of Musical Style* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1986), 267.

interpretations, from choral fantasies to more straightforward presentations in homophonic, four-part harmony. During his career as a church musician in Leipzig, Bach is said to have written five cycles of cantatas for the church year,[27] of which three are still extant in what Christoph Wolff calls "recognizable and relatively intact form."[28] These massive undertakings, requiring an orchestra, soloists, and a full choir and easily lasting for twenty minutes or more, provided new music for most Sundays of the church year, plus cantatas on additional feast days and for civic services.

Bach writes on the *Orgelbüchlein*'s title page that he intended the pieces in this collection to be used "in praise of the Almighty's will / and for my neighbor's greater skill."[29] This speaks to a broader point on the catechetical, as well as artistic, role of sacred music in the Lutheran tradition. In many cases, the primary end of hymnody was catechetical: many early chorales illustrate points from the *Small Catechism* on prayer and doctrine, selections from the Bible, and Christian living, as well as to provide music for the rites of the Church. The contents of the *Orgelbüchlein*, both those planned and completed,[30] reflect a robust selection of organ chorales for the Sundays and seasons liturgical year, the *Small Catechism*, and other Lutheran chorales, with a focus on early Reformation hymns.[31]

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[27] C. P. E. Bach and Johann Friedrich Agricola, obituary for J. S. Bach. In *The New Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. Christoph Wolff (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 304.
[28] Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 268.
[29] Title page to the *Orgelbüchlein*. In *The New Bach Reader*, 80.
[30] Although the published *Orgelbüchlein* contains forty-eight completed chorales, Bach's initial plans reveal the intent to compose 166 total organ chorales for that collection. See the preface to Clark and Peterson's edition of the *Orgelbüchlein* (Concordia, 1984). In recent years, the *Orgelbuchlein Project* has endeavored to complete the remaining chorales. See Hugh Morris, "Finishing Bach's Organ Music, With Help from 118 Composers." *The New York Times*, 24 October 2022, accessed 27 February 2023. https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/arts/music/bach-orgelbuchlein-project.html.
[31] Russell Stinson, *Bach: The Orgelbüchlein* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), 3-10. Stinson notes that 70% of the *Orgelbüchlein*'s proposed contents are settings of hymns from the 16th century; with almost all of the rest being from the first half of the 17th century.

While the Baroque era was arguably the zenith for Lutheran church music, the composition of chorale- and hymn-based organ works and large-scale, liturgical, choral works continued nonetheless. It is likely that Bach's work could have become a footnote in musical history were it not for its revival by Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809-1847). In 1829, Mendelssohn led a performance of the *Matthäus-Passion* (St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244) for the first time since Bach's death – and his compositional output also shows a distinct Bachian tendency. While not nearly as extensive as Bach, Mendelssohn composed several chorale cantatas on Lutheran hymns including *Jesu, meine Freude* (Jesus, All My Gladness) and *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* (Christ, Thou Lamb of God).[32] Furthermore, two of Mendelssohn's organ sonatas are based on chorale melodies. His *Sonata III in A Major* utilizes the melody of *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*, while *Sonata VI in D minor* creates a set of variations on the chorale *Vater unser im Himmelreich*.[33] His Fifth Symphony (sometimes called the *Reformation Symphony* given its composition to honor the tercentennial of the Augsburg Confession, one of the foundational documents of the Lutheran faith)[34] uses the melodies of the famous *Dresden Amen* and chorale *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (A Mighty Fortress is Our God).[35]

The organ chorale became popular beyond the Lutheran tradition. English composer Ethel Smyth (1858-1944) composed a set of five *Short Chorale Preludes* in the early 1880s, which set several Lutheran chorales which were not present in contemporary Church of England

[32] R. Larry Todd, "Mendelssohn (-Bartholdy), (Jakob-Ludwig) Felix." *Grove Music Online*, accessed 23 February 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.51795.
[33] See Johannes Brahms, Felix Mendelssohn, and Robert Schumann, *Organ Works* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1991), 100-107 and 127-138.
[34] Judith Silber, "Mendelssohn and his 'Reformation' Symphony." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40, no. 2 (Summer, 1987), 310.
[35] Felix Mendelssohn, *Symphony No. 5 ("Reformation")* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1994).

hymnals.[36] Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958) published his famed *Three Preludes Founded on Welsh Hymn Tunes* in 1920, part of his broader tendencies to incorporate British folk music in his own compositions.[37] While not based on Lutheran chorales, Vaughan Williams' *Three Preludes* serve similar purposes to the other examples. Within the German Lutheran tradition at the turn of the twentieth century were such composers as Sigfrid Karg-Elert (1877-1933) and Max Reger (1873-1916). Many of their compositions reveal a more Romantic compositional style, as revealed in the following excerpt from Karg-Elert's setting of *Nun danket alle Gott.* Rather than a straightforward presentation of the chorale tune, Karg-Elert opts to use the opening of the chorale as a recurring motive throughout the piece.

[36] See Sarah M. Moon, *The Organ Music of Ethel Smyth: A Guide to its History and Performance Practice* (D.Mus. diss., Indiana University, 2014)

[37] Sarah Thomas, "Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958)." In Ralph Vaughan Williams, *Three Preludes (Founded on Welsh Hymn Tunes)* (Colfax: Leupold Editions, 2020), ii-iii.

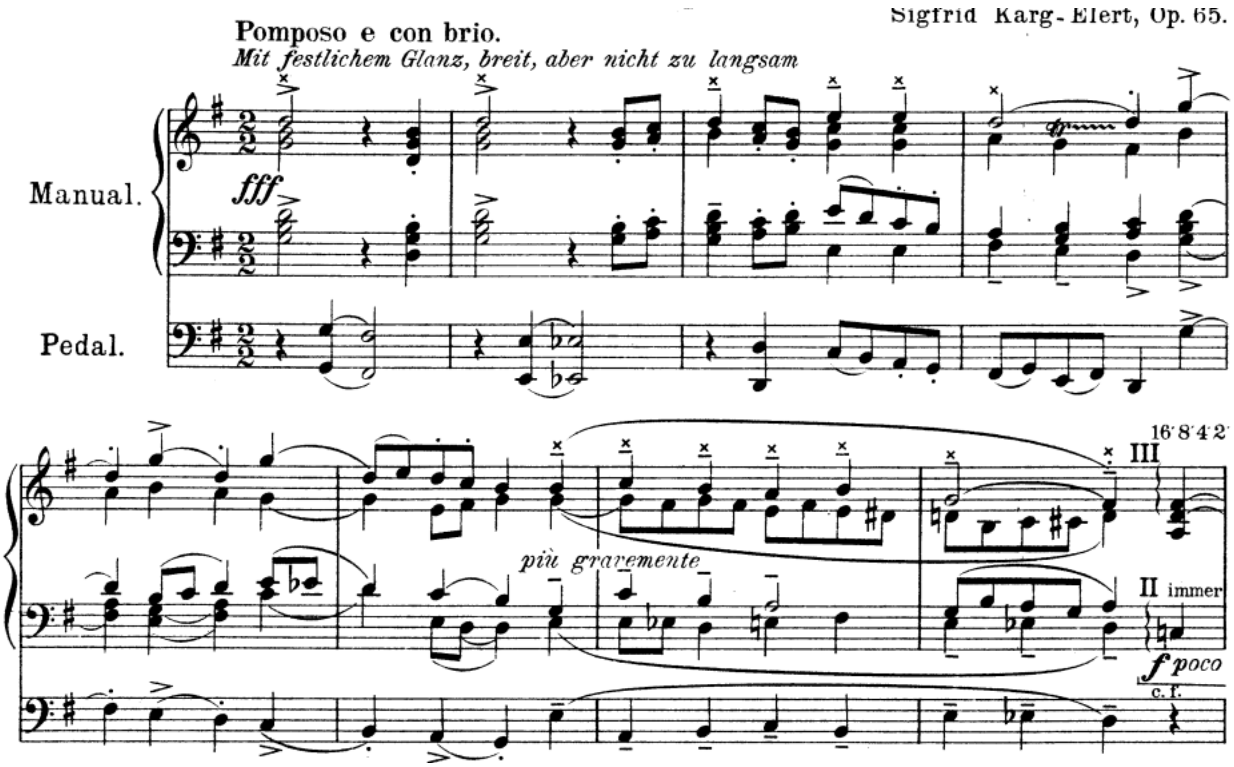

Figure 5. The opening of Sigfrid Karg-Elert's *Marche Triomphale on Nun danket alle Gott*, Op. 105, No. 59. The x's above notes indicate, in these excerpted measures, the melody of the chorale in the uppermost voice. From *65 Chorale Improvisations*, vol. 6.

Ultimately, as Christopher Anderson of Southern Methodist University notes, "the professional organist of 2000 had to master a repertoire with a longer history than that of any other keyboard instrument, to which twentieth-century composition added significantly."[38] The Lutheran tradition offered twentieth-century composers, such as Paul Manz, a broad corpus of work to draw on. The genres of the chorale, organ chorale, and chorale cantata provided fodder for his organ and vocal compositions: his chorale improvisations blend the mid-century Organ Reform movement – which emphasized neo-Baroque instruments patterned after historic instruments over the catch-all, American Classic organ that contained tonal characteristics of several different organ-building styles without developing its own unique identity[39] – with

[38] Christopher S. Anderson, "Introduction." In *Twentieth-Century Organ Music*, edited by Christopher S. Anderson (New York: Routledge, 2012), 5.
[39] Orpha Ochse, *The History of the Organ in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), 402.

Baroque compositional techniques and a Romantic-inflected language of harmony. In the sections that follow, I will examine Manz's relationship with the various Lutheran denominations in the United States during his lifetime, as well discuss how his compositional techniques serve as theological statements during the tumultuous split in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod during the 1970s.

Chapter 2:
Paul Manz and the Missouri Synod: Conflicts and Music

The Complex Landscape of American Lutheranism

To understand how Paul Manz fits into the Missouri Synod, we must first examine the complex and segmented nature of Lutheranism in the United States. Unlike Anglicanism, which arrived in America as the official state Church of England, American Lutheranism has always had a somewhat fragmented landscape, partially from its original basis in ethnically aligned synods. Lutheranism came to America through immigration from Northern Europe and Scandinavia, and the liturgical and theological expression of Lutherans in America ranged from the more reformed Dutch emigrants in the Hudson River valley to the high-church Swedish congregations in what is now southern New Jersey.[40] Later immigration from Iceland, Central Europe, and the Baltic states led to the importation of these regions' own expressions of Lutheranism, originally under the jurisdiction of the Lutheran body in their homelands. Prior to synodical realignment during the twentieth century, for instance, the Missouri Synod primarily served confessional German-speaking Lutherans, the Suomi Synod was the church established by Finnish expatriates, and the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church became the home of many Norwegian Lutherans.

Despite all being nominally Lutheran, there was not a significant amount of pan-Lutheran cooperation between these churches in their early days, likely due to linguistic and cultural barriers. As immigrant churches, worship services would be conducted in the congregants' mother tongue (as appropriate) and reflecting their homeland's liturgical practices. One example, from the early days of the United States, can be seen from when Swedish Lutheran churches

[40] Mark Granquist, *Lutherans in America: A New History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 35-53.

shifted to the use of English for worship and teaching. Given the lack of English-language liturgical, musical, and catechetical resources, they began to use the Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer* and, ultimately, without Swedish Lutheran pastors proficient enough to conduct English services, became parishioners and congregations of the Episcopal Church, rather than joining with the (German-speaking) Pennsylvania Ministerium.[41]

By the turn of the twentieth century, a myriad of Lutheran synods – many ethnic – existed in the United States. However, the tides of consolidation were beginning to turn. In 1918, three German-heritage synods – the General Synod, the United Synod-South, and the General Council – merged into the United Lutheran Church in America (hereafter, ULCA). In 1920, the Slovak Zion Synod (of Central European heritage) joined the new ULCA, and in 1940 this expanded ULCA further absorbed the Icelandic Synod.[42] In turn, the ULCA would later merge with the (Norwegian) Augustana Synod, the (Finnish) Suomi Synod, and the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church to form the Lutheran Church in America.[43] Three other Norwegian synods – the Hague synod, the Norwegian synod, and the United Norwegian Synod – would combine to form the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church (NELC) in 1917, as four German synods – Ohio, Buffalo, Texas, and Iowa – would combine into the American Lutheran Church (ALC). The NELC and the ALC would later merge with the Lutheran Free Church, of Norwegian heritage, and the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1970 to form The American Lutheran Church (tALC).[44] Thus, given these consolidations, by the 1970s these many disparate,

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[41] Granquist, *Lutherans in America*, 127.
[42] W. Kent Gilbert, *Commitment to Unity: A History of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 68.
[43] Gilbert, *Commitment to Unity*, 68.
[44] Charles P. Lutz, ed., *Church Roots: Stories of Nine Immigrant Groups That Became The American Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1985), 12.

immigrant-heritage churches had merged into the Lutheran Church in America and The American Lutheran Church.

The more theologically conservative Missouri and Wisconsin Synods originated as primarily German-language groups, and remained independent of the LCA and tALC. They did, however, participate in a group called the Synodical Conference, a group of orthodox, confessional Lutheran synods. The members of this conference insisted that, for church unity, "there had to be complete unity in doctrine and practice" rather than just subscription to the Book of Concord, the fundamental doctrinal compendium of the Lutheran faith.[45] (In contrast, the ALC and LCA merely required agreement in essential doctrines, so long as differences were not considered divisive to church unity.)[46] Missouri's conservative outlook stems from the fundamental divisions between pietistic and confessional Lutherans. Pietists stressed personal experiences as the stimulus for the development of one's personal faith, while confessionalists stressed doctrinal orthodoxy as necessary to salvation. Mark Granquist notes that the Pietists sought this living faith over the pursuit of doctrinal orthodoxy, and in the nineteenth century this movement gained stead in Scandinavia and parts of Germany.[47] This became one of the crucial debates sparking the genesis of what would become the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

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[45] John H. Tietjen, *Which Way to Lutheran Unity? A History of Efforts to Unite the Lutherans of America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), 59. The *Book of Concord* is the fundamental doctrinal compendium of the Lutheran church; containing the Creeds (Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian); the *Augsburg Confession* and its apology; the *Smalcald Articles*; a *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope*, Luther's Small and Large Catechisms, and the Formula of Concord. See *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959).

[46] Tietjen, *Which Way to Lutheran Unity?*, 111

[47] Granquist, *Lutherans in America*, 21-27

The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod: Is Doctrinal Purity Possible?

The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod was founded in 1847 by German immigrants, led by a young pastor from Saxony, the Rev. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm (C. F. W.) Walther.[48] Perhaps Walther's greatest theological influence was a German pastor, the Rev. Martin Stephan, who taught at the University of Leipzig but struggled with the rise of rationalism[49] and unionism[50] in the Saxon Lutheran church.[51] Ultimately, Stephan and his followers emigrated to the United States, where they believed that they would be able to practice their religion more freely, and settled in Missouri. With them they brought the *Dresdnisches Gesangbuch* (Dresden Hymnal), which served as their primary worship resource until the publication of *Kirchengesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession* in 1847 (Hymnal for the Evangelical Lutheran Churches of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession).[52]

Stephan and Walther's challenge to the established church in Saxony centered on the authority of Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions of the *Book of Concord*.[53] While Walther's superintendent in Saxony, the Rev. Heinrich Otto Siebenhaar, argued that the *Book of Concord* and the Bible needed to be understood contextually, in opposition to this, Walther advocated for a traditional understanding of these documents to foster doctrinal purity within his congregation.[54] Of particular concern at the time was the literal interpretation of the Bible. For example, one issue that August Suelflow discusses in his book, *Servant of the Word: The Life*

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[48] Mark Granquist, *Lutherans in America*, 161
[49] That is, religious devotion influenced by scientific thought.
[50] The merger between the Lutheran and Reformed churches to form a united church body.
[51] "Saxon Immigration Collection, 1811-1962," Concordia Historical Institute, accessed 6 August 2022. https://concordiahistoricalinstitute.org/m-0015/
[52] John D. Vieker, "Historical Introduction." In *Walther's Hymnal: Church Hymnbook for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession*, trans. Matthew Carver (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2012), xi-xii.
[53] As contained in the *Book of Concord*.
[54] August R. Suelflow, *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C.F.W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000), 26.

and Ministry of C. F. W. Walther, is original sin, and that death came into the world through Adam and Eve's disobedience in the Garden of Eden.[55] While Walther's superiors rejected this as an old-fashioned doctrine, the *Augsburg Confession* declares that "since the fall of Adam all men who are born according to the course of nature are conceived and born in sin."[56] These views are in direct conflict to each other, and Walther in turn found difficulty in teaching his confessional views to his congregation and in the associated school.

This intellectual conflict between faith as a received tradition and faith informed by reason would prove to be a continuing debate for the LCMS after its founding. Even to this day, the publishing and communications arm of the Synod, Concordia Publishing House, requires every one of its publications to undergo a process of doctrinal review by a team of denominationally appointed scholars and clergy "in order to certify that the content is faithful to the Holy Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions."[57] Currently, this means that officially endorsed resources must adhere to principles including the following:

Holy Scripture	The Holy Scriptures are the Word of God, infallible and inspired by the Holy Spirit. The Bible is the Word of God in its entirety; any suggestion it is partially erroneous is "horrible and blasphemous."
Creation	"We teach that God has created heaven and earth, and that in the manner and in the space of time recorded in the Holy Scriptures, especially Gen. 1 and 2, namely, by His almighty creative word, and in six days. We reject every doctrine which denies or limits the work of creation as taught in Scripture. In our days it is denied or limited by those who assert, ostensibly in deference to science, that the world came into existence through a process of evolution; that is, that it has, in immense periods of time, developed more or less of itself."
Faith	"faith in Christ is the only way for men to obtain personal reconciliation with God, that is, forgiveness of sins, as both the Old and the New Testament Scriptures testify"
Works	"We reject as a great folly the assertion, frequently made in our day, that works must be placed in the fore, and "faith in dogmas" -- meaning the Gospel of Christ crucified for the sins of the world -- must be relegated to the rear."
The Church and Interfaith Relations	"Since God ordained that His Word only, without the admixture of human doctrine, be taught and believed in the Christian Church, (1 Pet. 4:11; John 8:31, 32; 1 Tim. 6:3, 4) all Christians are required by God to discriminate

[55] Suelflow, *Servant of the Word*, 35.
[56] *The Augsburg Confession*, Article II. In *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959).
[57] "Doctrinal Review," Concordia Publishing House, accessed 7 August 2022. https://www.cph.org/t-about-dr.aspx

	between orthodox and heterodox church-bodies, (Matt. 7:15), to have church-fellowship only with orthodox church-bodies, and, in case they have strayed into heterodox church-bodies, to leave them (Rom. 16:17). We repudiate unionism, that is, church fellowship with the adherents of false doctrine, as disobedience to God's command, as causing divisions in the Church…" "As to the Antichrist we teach that the prophecies of the Holy Scriptures concerning the Antichrist (2 Thess. 2:3-12; 1 John 2:18) have been fulfilled in the Pope of Rome and his dominion…" "Those desiring to be admitted into the public ministry of the Lutheran Church pledge themselves to teach according to the symbols not "in so far as," but "because," the symbols agree with Scripture. He who is unable to accept as Scriptural the doctrine set forth in the Lutheran symbols and their rejection of the corresponding errors must not be admitted into the ministry of the Lutheran Church."

Table 3.1. Selected doctrinal positions from the LCMS' Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod (1932).[58]

As a result, the Missouri Synod rejects modern methods of biblical scholarship, particularly those which would attempt to understand the Bible through modern eyes. This became the central point in the dispute between conservatives and moderates in the 1970s when professors at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis – the Missouri Synod's flagship institute for training clergy – were accused of teaching heresy.

In earlier years (from 1872-1966), the Missouri Synod was open to participating in limited fellowship with other Lutheran churches in America. The LCMS initiated the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (Synodical Conference) in the late 1860s and 1870s, an advisory commission that focused on promoting unity between the confessional, orthodox synods.[59] While this Synodical Conference did not result in an intended pan-orthodox Lutheran church, it did result in the production of the 1941 *Lutheran Hymnal*, one of the first common hymnals among various Lutheran synods – specifically, Missouri and the

[58] *Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod*. In *Creeds and Confessions of the Christian Church*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie Hotchkiss (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 488-503.
[59] "Synodical Conference." *Christian Cyclopedia*, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, accessed 25 August 2022. http://cyclopedia.lcms.org/display.asp?t1=S&word=SYNODICALCONFERENCE.

Norwegian, Wisconsin, and Slovak synods.[60] Around the same time, the LCMS was also exploring entering a relationship of altar and pulpit fellowship (i.e., full communion) with the American Lutheran Church (ALC). In 1938 both the LCMS and the ALC released statements declaring the desire for the clergy of both denominations to discuss "both the doctrinal basis for union and the question of church practice" in smaller groups.[61] Objections from the Synodical Conference stymied full communion between the LCMS and the ALC but provided fodder for Missouri Synod conservatives against unionism.

As the Missouri Synod took steps towards ecumenism, it would soon find itself challenged by the Rev. Herman Otten. As a seminarian at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis from 1952-1958,[62] he began a crusade against what he viewed as pervasive theological liberalism in the church. Filing charges of false doctrine against some of the faculty, Otten engaged in a McCarthyian persecution of faculty that he, along with synod conservatives, viewed as liberal and dangerous to the Synod's identity.[63] Despite the seminary's unwillingness to certify Otten, thus blocking his way towards ordination, he was called to serve as pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in New Haven, Missouri. James Burkee notes that this served as a signal from the congregation to the synodical leadership, calling it a "populist" reaction: the congregation was making the statement that it, not the Synod, had the right to choose its own clergy.[64] Otten would go on to found the *Christian News*, a publication which, according to schism historian James

[60] Carl Schalk, "The Lutheran Hymnal." In *Source Documents in American Lutheran Hymnody* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1996), 129.
[61] "American Lutheran Church on Fellowship with Missouri, 1938." In *Documents of Lutheran Unity in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 400-401.
[62] James C. Burkee, *Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod: A Conflict That Changed American Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 31-34
[63] Burkee, *Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod,* 31.
[64] Burkee, *Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod*, 37.

Adams, became a "right-wing weekly published by an independent Missouri crusader."[65] Quickly becoming the voice of conservatism within American Lutheranism, Otten and the Trinity Lutheran Church were expelled from the Missouri Synod, yet *Christian News* continued to reach households throughout the LCMS.

A full discussion of Otten's role(s) as instigator of the Missouri Synod schism is beyond the scope of this thesis, and James Burkee, a religious historian at Concordia University, St. Paul, covers it thoroughly in his book *Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod*. His status as a minister of the Missouri Synod aside, Otten was instrumental in propelling the Rev. Jacob A. O. Preus to the presidency of the LCMS in 1969, ousting the moderate incumbent president, the Rev. Oliver Harms. Preus set his sights on perceived liberalism at Concordia, the synod's flagship seminary in St. Louis, removing its president, John Tietjen, and spurring a mass walk-out of students and faculty to what became known as Seminex (Christ Seminary in Exile) in 1974.[66]

Despite the tumult in the Missouri Synod's internal politics, it nonetheless managed to cooperate with the American Lutheran Church and Lutheran Church in America in the production of the *Lutheran Book of Worship* (LBW). While the Missouri Synod initiated the project and participated in the formation of the *LBW*, it ultimately rejected the hymnal as an official synodical worship book.[67] Given the substantial contributions of the LCMS, however, and in recognition that they withdrew their support immediately prior to the hymnal going to press, the title page of the *Lutheran Book of Worship* lists the LCMS as a participant and partner in its drafting (as well as a copyright holder to the collection).[68] To add to this confusion, the

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[65] James E. Adams, *Preus of Missouri and the Great Lutheran Civil War* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 99.
[66] Granquist, *Lutherans in America*, 303.
[67] Carl F. Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land: Lutheran Hymnals in America* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 175-177.
[68] *Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1978), title-copyright.

Lutheran Book of Worship was never outright prohibited in the LCMS. The Missouri Synod only prohibited the use of doctrinally impure worship materials,[69] and despite allegations to the contrary, the Synod never found that the materials in the *LBW* were, in fact, doctrinally impure.[70] Nonetheless, the Missouri Synod prepared its own hymnal, *Lutheran Worship*, containing many of the same hymns and two identical service music settings, released in 1982.[71]

Setting the Stage

Paul Manz gave his career in service to the three primary Lutheran denominations currently active in the United Sates. Raised in the Missouri Synod and educated at Concordia Teacher's College in River Forest, Illinois (now Concordia University-Chicago, a LCMS institution); his first call was as organist at St. Peter's Lutheran Church and teacher of all academic subjects at Winnebago Lutheran Academy in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, both institutions of the ultraconservative Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod from 1941-1943.[72] His two primary positions – at Mt. Olive Lutheran Church, Minneapolis (1946-1983), and St. Luke's Church, Chicago (1983-1999) – were at Missouri Synod congregations that have since joined the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (formed 1988).

Important to note is that while Manz was called by the Missouri Synod, he viewed his ministry and scholarship as ecumenical in nature. As early as his freshman year of college at Concordia, in defiance of Missouri Synod doctrine on unionism, Manz played a recital at St. James' Catholic Church in Cleveland, Ohio (and for which he received a reprimand from the

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[69] While it is unclear what exactly would determine "doctrinal impurity," a close reading of Schalk's background listed in *God's Song in a New Land* would imply that it required an affirmative vote at the Synod's annual convention.

[70] Schalk, *God's Song in a New Land*, 177-178. The Missouri Synod would go on to release a modified version of the *LBW*, *Lutheran Worship*, in 1982.

[71] The music provided for Holy Communion, Settings 1 and 2 in the *Lutheran Book of Worship* was reproduced in *Lutheran Worship* for Divine Service II, Settings 1 and 2, respectively.

[72] Scott Hyslop, *The Journey Was Chosen: The Life and Work of Paul Manz* (Fenton: MorningStar Music, 2005), 26-27.

college president threatening expulsion should he do so again).[73] While at home on school breaks, he took the opportunity to study with organist Edwin Kraft at Trinity Cathedral in Cleveland (the cathedral of the Episcopal Diocese of Ohio), supplemented his organ studies at Concordia-River Forest with Edward Eigenschenk at the Second Presbyterian Church in Chicago, and while at St. Peter's, privately studied Gregorian Chant with a local Catholic nun in Fond du Lac.[74] Manz also performed multiple times in service to his profession for conventions and gatherings of the American Guild of Organists, including a famous 1949 double program with famed concert organist Virgil Fox.[75]

In many ways, these acts were deemed subversive: the Missouri Synod continues to restrict fellowship with other denominations, even in ways that might seem pastorally necessary. (For instance, LCMS pastors have received reprimands for participating in interfaith services to this day, even those held in remembrance of the attacks on 9/11[76] and the shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut.)[77] Nevertheless, Manz was still held in high regard as a musician throughout the Missouri Synod, even being invited to serve as organist at the synod's 1967 convention at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York, and its 1969 convention in Denver.[78]

Unfortunately, this would all come to a head soon afterwards – as noted above, President of the Missouri Synod J.A.O. Preus was pressured to open a fact-finding campaign into

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[73] Hyslop, *The Journey Was Chosen*, 21.
[74] Hyslop, *The Journey Was Chosen*, 23-25
[75] Hyslop, *The Journey Was Chosen*, 31.
[76] Associated Press, "Lutheran Panel Reinstates Pastor After Post-9/11 Interfaith Service." *The New York Times*, May 13, 2003, accessed December 2, 2022. https://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/13/nyregion/lutheran-panel-reinstates-pastor-after-post-9-11-interfaith-service.html.
[77] Rachel Zollap, "Newtown Lutheran Pastor Reprimanded Over Sandy Hook Prayer Vigil." *CTInsider*, February 6, 2013, accessed December 2, 2022. https://www.ctinsider.com/news/article/Newtown-Lutheran-Pastor-Reprimanded-Over-Sandy-16895697.php.
[78] Hyslop, *The Journey Was Chosen*, 52 and 55.

allegations of false doctrine being taught at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. On January 20, 1974, the process came to a head when the seminary's president, the Rev. John Tietjen, was removed from his office with the more conservative Martin Scharlemann taking his place.[79] Soon after, a mass walkout by students and faculty of Concordia Seminary would ensue on January 19, 1974. Later that year, Evangelical Lutherans in Mission and Concordia Seminary-in-Exile (popularly known as Seminex), two groups which supported the students and faculty who had gone on strike and demanded they be certified as LCMS pastors, came into being.[80] These groups intended to operate as advocacy bodies for the theologically centrist and progressive members of the Missouri Synod. During the 1975 LCMS convention in Anaheim, California, resolutions were presented both in favor and against ELIM and Seminex; ultimately, the repudiations passed and ELIM and Seminex were declared schismatic.[81] The only way, Synod administration concluded, for Seminex graduates to become pastors of the Missouri Synod was to return to the "official" seminaries in St. Louis or Springfield.[82]

Soon, pressures would be placed on President Harvey Stegemoeller of Concordia College, St. Paul, where Manz was teaching, to fire him for his support of the ELIM and Seminex movements. Manz's son, John, was a recently ordained pastor associated with ELIM, and Paul thus made the difficult decision to support his son and his mentors. An undated issue of *Doctrinal Laity*, a publication sympathetic to Otten's *Christian News*, outs Stegemoeller's and Manz's membership in ELIM.[83] Thus, pressure was exerted to remove them from their

[79] Burkee, *Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod*, 148.
[80] Burkee, *Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod*, 152.
[81] 1975 LCMS Convention Workbook, 39-136
[82] *Lutheran Witness*, April 7, 1974, 47.
[83] *Doctrinal Laity*, n.d.

influential positions within the Synod. Stegemoeller resigned rather than fire supporters of ELIM, and the pressure turned towards Manz to discontinue his support of the organization.[84]

Stegemoeller wrote in a 1975 letter to the Minnesota North and South districts of the LCMS that "[t]he purification process is so tempting. How better to contend for the faith than to evaluate and judge, convict, and evict, those in the church, congregation, or student body?"[85] He held to a belief that the Christian response would be to deal gracefully with those who dissent, rather than to categorically dismiss them as heretics. Similarly, Manz quoted in a letter to the Board of Control of Concordia College Christ's admonition that "the sabbath was made for man – not man for the sabbath."[86] Both opposed the legalistic manner in which they were pushed out of the church that they had served for their entire lives.

This sets the stage for Manz's music as a political act within this schism. Playing many hymn festivals in support of ELIM and Seminex, the impact of the schism on his musical output and his musical output on the beginnings of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC), the successor group of ELIM that would later become part of the ELCA, is significant. By this time, Manz was well-known nationally and internationally as a concert organist, and his departure from the Missouri Synod system represented a significant musical loss.

[84] Hyslop, *The Journey Was Chosen*, 59.
[85] Letter from Harvey Stegemoeller to the LCMS Minnesota North and South Districts, August 19, 1975.
[86] Mark 2:27, quoted by Paul Manz, Letter to the Concordia-St. Paul Board of Control, July 23, 1976.

Chapter 3:
Music, Liturgy, and Performance

This chapter examines the assemblage of music, liturgy, and performance exemplified by the Lutheran church service, and where organ music is situated within this cultural context. In doing so, I posit that music in a sacred context can simultaneously serve as an essential element in worship and as a protest against other ecclesiastical dictates, namely, the schism in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod during the 1970s. Ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon proposes this model[87] to ascertain the effect of music in its performed context:

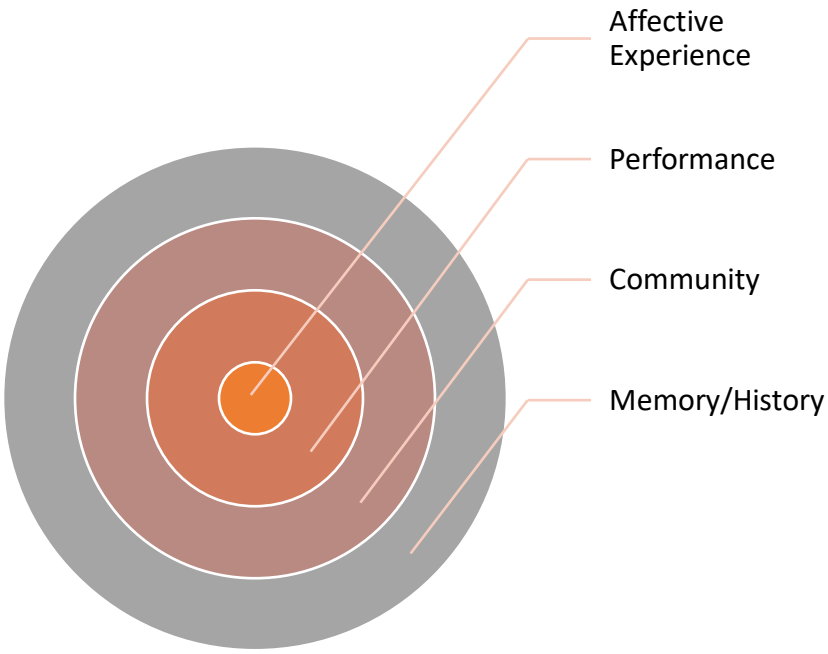

Figure 6. The "music-culture" model proposed by Jeff Todd Titon. Diagram adapted from *Powerhouse for God: Speech, Chant, and Song in an Appalachian Baptist Church*.

Liturgies in the Lutheran tradition (among others) utilize these four elements in the planning and execution of worship services. While church services are usually not intended to be primarily

[87] Jeff Todd Titon, *Powerhouse for God: Speech, Chant, and Song in an Appalachian Baptist Church* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press), 7-10

musical events, for most congregations the principal service on a Sunday will likely include at least some musical elements. These range from the stereotypical norm of hymns being led by a choir and pipe organ to repetitive choruses led by a band. Music is intended, therefore, to support the proclamation of Scripture. Titon also notes that the four elements in the chart above are important in moving from studying the effect of music to the study of music's context. He posits that there are four components to analyzing music in its cultural context: ideas about music (the conceptualizations of music), activities involving music (what communities do with their musics), repertories of music (the genres of music and the pieces that are utilized within each genre), and the material culture of music (the physical items, such as sheet music and musical instruments, which are used in the performance of music).[88] The categories delineated in these two models go together quite well. For instance, the effect of a performance on an audience is directly influenced by the piece's performer and composer and their adoptions (or rejections) of traditional ideas and constructs about music, such as the western tonal system, a particular compositional style, and the listeners' emotional reactions to the music.

Is Worship Performance?

The conceptualization of a church service as a performance is somewhat controversial. Practitioners of church music, such as organists or conductors, will readily claim that they are not performing – they are rather leading the congregation in worshipping God through their music. Yet Marcell Silva Steuernagel notes that, since practitioners are aware that attention is paid to what they do, and that it affects the ways in which they conduct, play, and sing; this therefore constitutes a performance.[89] Additionally, the presence of set ideas, activities,

[88] Titon, *Powerhouse for God*, 7-10.
[89] Marcell Silva Steuernagel, *Church Music Through the Lens of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2021), 2-3.

repertories, and material culture points to an established standard of performance in church music.

In a liturgical tradition, certain elements of the service are fixed (the ordinary of the Mass, for instance, or its German adaptation), while other elements change from service to service (the propers of the Mass). Similarly, the physical church building is often physically arranged in a set fashion, focusing on the altar and pulpit, with decorations based on the seasons of the liturgical year, constituting the setting for each performance. The interaction of space and time with music, scripture, and liturgical texts makes each liturgy a new, living, performance.

The aesthetic foundation for sacred music is, at its core, the creation of beauty and awe to draw the congregation's attention from the immanent – the human elements of liturgy and ritual – to the transcendent, making worship into an encounter with God. The Methodist minister Fred Pratt Green (1903-2000) wrote this hymn text that aptly summarizes some of the principles taken to heart in the creation and performance of sacred music:

> When, in our music, God is glorified,
> and adoration leaves no room for pride,
> it is as though the whole creation cried, "Alleluia!"
>
> How oft, in making music we have found
> a new dimension in the world of sound,
> as worship moved us to a more profound "Alleluia!"
>
> So has the Church, in liturgy and song,
> in faith and love, through centuries of wrong,
> borne witness to the truth in every tongue: Alleluia!
>
> And did not Jesus sing a psalm that night
> when utmost evil strove against the Light?
> Then let us sing, for whom he won the fight: Alleluia!

> Let every instrument be tuned for praise!
> Let all rejoice who have a song to raise;
> and may God give us faith to sing always "Alleluia!"[90]

Music, then, is more than incidental to the experience of worship. It creates community between both those physically gathered in the worship space and others across time and space. An entry in the *Companion to the United Methodist Hymnal* notes that the hymn "celebrates… [sacred music's] potential for faithful, prophetic, and global witness to the truth" and the community that congregational singing creates.[91] Hearing and singing hymns can cause an emotional reaction for congregants – perhaps evoking memories of a particularly important service in their lives or a memory of learning to sing that hymn as a child. Furthermore, as Green writes, sacred music has offered a way for Christians to teach, learn, and share the Christian message throughout the ages.

Instrumental music, while not necessarily performed by the congregation, evokes similar responses. There are understood social norms/expectations for engaging with instrumental music: for example, an organist might play a prelude prior to the beginning of the service in order to call the congregation to worship. Steuernagel notes that "as church music is repeated through the performance of consecutive generations—and as new materials are incorporated into the lattice—worshipers understand themselves in relation to, and as part of, narratives of performed church music."[92] This expectation of ritual is central to the formation of a church's liturgical identity, particularly in churches with formal liturgical structures such as the Lutheran church.

Musicians play a significant role in this conceptualization of sacred music and its performances; indeed, music plays a significant role in the perception of churches and

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[90] Fred Pratt Green, "When in Our Music God is Glorified." In *Evangelical Lutheran Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2006), Hymn 851.
[91] Carlton R. Young, *Companion to the United Methodist Hymnal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 693.
[92] Steuernagel, *Church Music Through the Lens of Performance*, 56.

denominations writ large. For example, many churches in the United States have forgone traditional performances of sacred music by organ and choir for band-led performances of the Contemporary Christian Music (CCM) genre. CCM, as opposed to traditional genres of Christian worship music (e.g., trained choirs and the use of organ for accompaniment), is simply defined as "popular music with Christian lyrics."[93] This is often branded as a way to draw in worshippers who might not engage with so-called "traditional" music, though it also reveals a philosophical difference between the "traditional" and "contemporary" styles. While the lyrics of these songs reveal a clear thread of sacred themes, the performance practices often associated with CCM are much closer to rock or popular music rather than classical music. This creates a different worship experience for attendees while also demanding different performance techniques from musicians.

This conceptualization of worship as performance offers an important perspective for viewing music as a political act. In the secular world, music is often employed during protests as a way of creating community, expressing solidarity, and conveying the core values of the protest. The same is true in the context of the church. Music used during services is chosen to support both the ordinary and proper parts of the liturgy. Hymns and choral music often change to reflect the readings and texts of the day, to call the congregation to action outside the church walls, and to create an assemblage of participants greater than the sum of the participating individuals. As a case study, I will examine the selection and performance of music in a Lutheran church in Norge, Virginia, where I serve as organist.

[93] Don Cusic, "Contemporary Christian Music." In *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music: Pop, Rock, and Worship*, edited by Don Cusic (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO), 77.

Music for the Second Sunday of Lent at Our Saviour's Lutheran Church, Norge, Virginia

Our Saviour's Lutheran Church in Norge, Virginia, is a small congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) on the outskirts of Williamsburg, Virginia. As of 2021, the officially reported onsite average Sunday attendance was thirty-five.[94] The worship style of this congregation is based in the traditional formularies of the Lutheran liturgy, often opting for inclusive-language liturgies from the ELCA's online worship resource, *Sundays and Seasons*. Music is usually led by the organist from a two-manual Allen digital organ, though a baby grand piano and Clavinova digital piano are also available in the sanctuary for use during services. At present, there is no choir offering an anthem or providing musical leadership. Hymns and service music are almost always taken from the 2006 hymnal *Evangelical Lutheran Worship*[95] and its 2020 supplement, *All Creation Sings*.[96]

This service was a service of Holy Communion presided over by the congregation's minister for the Second Sunday in Lent in year A of the *Revised Common Lectionary* (March 5, 2023). The Gospel lesson (proper) appointed for this day was John 3:1-17, which recounts the pharisee Nicodemus' encounter with Jesus and ends with the well-known verses, John 3:16-17, "God so loved the world…". In planning this particular service, the organist, pastor, and Worship and Music Committee usually seek to ensure that all aspects of the service are reflections of the Gospel readings and the liturgical season of Lent, which often focuses on humanity's sinfulness and need for repentance. As such, the hymns selected for the service were chosen to reflect both the overarching theme of Lent and the Gospel lesson for the day, using Augsburg Fortress' (the

[94] Congregational Trend Report for Our Saviour's Lutheran Church, retrieved 6 March 2023 from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. 2022 statistics were not yet available as of this writing.
[95] *Evangelical Lutheran Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2006).
[96] *All Creation Sings* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2020).

official publishing house of the ELCA) *Prelude Music Planner* tool. Attendees were given a physical leaflet containing the entire order of service, including hymns, readings, and spoken components.

To balance the catechetical desires of teaching and learning new music, selecting music that complements the Scriptures of the day, and allowing music to serve as a comforting and uplifting presence in the liturgy, the hymns included several well-known and well-loved selections, as well as a hymn immediately following the sermon based on the Gospel text. These selections, in general, reflect the more traditional worship style of this congregation: while *Evangelical Lutheran Worship* contains a number of more contemporary hymns and worship songs, the majority of the hymns ultimately selected for worship are from "traditional" hymnody. During the service, hymns are sung at the beginning of the service, after a call to worship and corporate confession of sin; after the sermon (the Hymn of the Day); during the distribution of the Eucharist; and at the end of the service as the minister and altar party leave the church. Additional sung portions of the service include sung settings of the Ordinary of the liturgy (*Kyrie, Sanctus,* and *Agnus Dei*) arranged from portions of Franz Schubert's *Deutsche Messe*.

Hymn Position	Selection
Gathering	ELW 608, Softly and Tenderly Jesus is Calling (THOMPSON)
Hymn of the Day	ELW 323, God Loved the World So That He Gave (ROCKINGHAM)
Communion	ELW 601, Savior, When in Dust to Thee (ABERYTSWYTH) ELW 599, Lord Jesus, Think on Me (SOUTHWELL)
Closing	ELW 831, The God of Abraham Praise (LEONI)

Table 4.1.: Hymns for Lent 2, 2023 at Our Saviour's Lutheran, Norge, Virginia.

Of these hymns, the gathering and second communion hymns were sung most heartily by the congregation, indicating that they were perhaps the two that were most familiar. Additionally, this indicates a distinct affective experience for worshippers: the familiarity might have allowed the congregation to move beyond a technical focus on the music to the lyrics, and the lyrics'

relationship to an individual's experiences with worship in the past. Furthermore, by participating in singing (or even by simply taking in the soundscape of a worship service), those present are participating in creating community. Even the less familiar hymns serve as reinforcements of the Gospel and sermon, with "God Loved the World" being particularly effective immediately following the sermon. While this hymn was not as well known by the members of the congregation, the first verse of the hymn is directly based upon the final verses of the appointed Gospel lesson for the day (John 3:16-17).

Jeff Todd Titon's model delineated earlier in this section also posits an alternative analytical framework, consisting of ideas about music, the activities involving music, the repertories of music, and the material cultures of music. The conceptualization of music as an integral part of Christian worship is again a crucial part of this model; indeed, this has influenced the long history of the Church's patronage of music and the arts. While there have been different ideas of *who* participates throughout the history of Christian worship, music nonetheless demands participation, be it from performing or through listening and meditating on the music, allowing it to be a means of worship. While the hymns are often selected by the resident musician or clergy (at Our Saviour's, currently music is selected by both), they can only fully come alive as praises to the Divine as participatory enterprises.

Similarly, the vast historical repertory of sacred music speaks to its centrality in religious practice, ranging from Gregorian Chant to contemporary praise and worship songs. Indeed, in the history of western music, sacred music exists in virtually every major period and musical style. Perhaps most emblematic of this is the continued usage of the organ, an instrument that is so intimately connected with Christian worship that thinking of the organ often conjures up images of its use and location in a church setting. It is perhaps no mistake, then, that the repertoire

available for organists to perform stretches back into the Medieval and Renaissance eras, as opposed to the other instruments of the keyboard family. Similarly, for vocal music, one of the most frequently set texts in Western music is the Ordinary of the Mass. From chant settings of the Mass sung in monastic communities to massive, concerted settings whose performing forces imply that they were never intended to be used in worship anyways, settings of the Mass (or the equivalent Protestant Communion Service) for every combination of voices and instrumentation imaginable provide innumerable ways to sing God's praise.

Finally, the proliferation of physical and digital worship materials – hymnals, instruments, service bulletins, and the use (or lack) of formal vestments for singers and instrumentalists – speaks to music's material culture as an essential part of the western Christian experience. These diverse objects offer a lens into how an individual congregation values music: is music seen as the "main attraction" of worship, or is it just an afterthought? Does this congregation seek a more traditional, or more contemporary, style of worship than what is currently offered? To what extent is the congregation satisfied, or dissatisfied, with the music and worship offered? This all speaks to the many factors that those who lead and plan worship must consider from service to service and week to week.

The Musical Worlds of Paul Manz

The music of Paul Manz offers an exciting avenue for a case study of the music cultures created by a Lutheran church service. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, Manz's relationship with the Lutheran bodies in the United States sadly included an acrimonious schism between moderates and conservatives in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. As perhaps the Synod's most prominent organist and performer at the time, Manz would often be called upon to serve as recitalist to drum up financial donations for the moderates' ecclesial futures, particularly if the Synod would not certify moderate Seminex graduates for ministry within the LCMS.

By improvising on a given hymn or chorale, Manz would evoke memories of the role of the hymn in the listeners' lives. Not only does masterful organ playing and improvisation evoke a sense of wonder and awe for the listener, but by basing his improvisations on well-known (or at least somewhat familiar) hymn tunes, the listener is able to use this time to consider the lyrics of that hymn. Steuernagel's lattice framework – that is, that the understanding of an individual and their relationship to music and worship – also is significant inasmuch as the incorporation of external musical materials allows for the improviser to hint at specific hearings of the hymn in question. In his improvisation on the Epiphany chorale *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*, for example, Manz intersperses motives from J. S. Bach's Fantasia on *Valet will ich dir geben* in D Major – a tune most popularly associated with Holy Week and the text "All glory, laud, and honor." Not only does this demonstrate the performer's virtuosity (especially in an improvised form), but this offers an alternative perspective for the role of this organ piece and its associated chorale. The combined result demonstrates the connection between the Jesus portrayed during the Epiphany season, and that it inevitably leads to the Cross and the Resurrection.

Thus far, I have discussed historical and theoretical positions from which one can analyze the music of Paul Manz. I now turn to a close analysis of some of his published chorale improvisations alongside his compositional techniques. This will demonstrate specific ways in which Manz used his compositional practices to work as a voice of protest within the tumult of the LCMS' division during the 1970s.

Chapter 4:
Manz's Organ Compositions: Dedications and Musical Symbolism

This section looks at a selection of Manz's organ works in order to discuss their theological and musical significance. Composition in the Lutheran tradition has long incorporated musical symbolism, as seen, for example, in the works of Johann Sebastian Bach.[97]

In order to understand the significance of symbolism within each organ chorale, we must also look at the broader context of their composition. Manz composed his chorale improvisations over several decades, spanning each stage of his relationship with the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod from his relative peace and fame within the Synod during the 1960s (when he published his first volume of *Ten Chorale Improvisations*) to the 1990s, when the chorale improvisations were reissued in seasonal volumes by the nascent MorningStar publishing company, along with newly-composed works not previously published in sets 1-10 of *Ten Chorale Improvisations*.

Dedications and Inscriptions

As with many composers, Manz placed inscriptions on his works, and the dedications often correspond to important figures in his life and in the LCMS schism. Manz's early publications contain few dedications. While one of his first published works, an organ setting of the hymn "Jesus, Lead Thou On" (1958), was dedicated to the memory of one of Manz's organ teachers, Arthur B. Jennings (1887-1972),[98] the first set of *Ten Chorale Improvisations* does not include any inscriptions or dedicatory remarks. His second set of *Ten Chorale Improvisations* only contains inscriptions on half of the works: two to Helene Mueller, his brother-in-law's wife

[97] A further treatment of compositional practices in Bach's chorale preludes can be found in Chapter 1.
[98] Jennings became so beloved to Manz that Manz served as his legal guardian in the waning years of Jennings' life. See Hyslop, *The Journey Was Chosen*, 29.

and close member of the Manz family; one to the Rev. David Krause; one to Patricia Manz (presumably a relative); and one to Bishop Herbert Chilstrom of the Lutheran Church in America's Minnesota Synod[99] and his wife Corinne.[100]

Manz later embraced the use of dedications – and indeed, the chorales and hymns which he arranged – as a form of "speech." At the height of the LCMS schism, for example, Manz composed his most famous arrangement on the hymn tune *Cwm Rhondda*, a Welsh hymn tune used for the Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick's text "God of Grace and God of Glory". The final stanza of Fosdick's text implores the following of God:

> Save us from weak resignation to the evil we deplore;
> let the gift of thy salvation be our glory evermore.
> Grant us wisdom, grant us courage, serving thee whom we adore;
> serving thee whom we adore.[101]

This text speaks to the difficult decisions that were being faced by Missouri Synod moderates: should they submit to the dictates of synodical leadership despite their disagreement for the sake of church unity or would standing firm no matter the situation be a more faithful path of action. It is clear that Fosdick believes that capitulation to the societal status quo stands against the church's mission. Given that the composition and publication of this piece was in 1974, when demands were being placed on members of Evangelical Lutherans in Mission to capitulate to the synod's will, it is also clear that this is one way in which Manz responded to the demands to this situation. The dedication on this piece is to the president of Concordia-St. Paul who would soon

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[99] W. Kent Gilbert, *Commitment to Unity: A History of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 588. Chilstrom would later become the inaugural presiding bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

[100] Paul Manz, *Ten Chorale Improvisations, Set II* (Fenton: MorningStar, 2011).

[101] Harry Emerson Fosdick, "God of Grace and God of Glory." In *The Hymnal 1982* (New York: Church Publishing, 1985), 594.

choose to resign rather than fire Manz, perhaps as a token of gratitude for his unwavering support.

Manz also dedicated chorale improvisations to other figures within the Lutheran realignment movement – particularly John Tietjen, ousted president of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis and president of Seminex, and Martin E. Marty, a church historian who supported greater integration of the Missouri Synod with the Lutheran World Federation.[102] Manz's improvisation on the hymn tune *Lasst uns erfreuen* is dedicated to Tietjen,[103] and his first setting of "In Thee is Gladness" (sung to the tune of the German chorale *In dir ist Freude*) is dedicated to Marty.[104] Both of these were ultimately published after the Concordia Seminary walk-out in 1974.

As with his improvisation on *Cwm Rhondda*, there are elements of both text and tune that might have inspired Manz to dedicate these improvisations to these two people. In *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941, used by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod until the 1980s, there were three separate texts paired with *Lasst uns erfreuen*: the Ascension hymn *A Hymn of Glory Let Us Sing*; Isaac Watts' paraphrase of Psalm 117, *From All that Dwell Below the Skies*; and a hymn extolling the communion of saints, *Ye Watchers and Ye Holy Ones*.

After the schism occurred, the Missouri Synod's Concordia Publishing House continued to publish Manz's works for about ten years prior to deciding to place his popular publications out of print;[105] giving the timing of this pronouncement, this may have been related to Manz's realignment with the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches and ultimately the

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[102] Burkee, *Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod*, 34.
[103] Paul Manz, *Ten Chorale Improvisations, Set VI* (Fenton: MorningStar Music, 2011)
[104] Paul Manz, *Ten Chorale Improvisations, Set VIII* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979)
[105] Hyslop, *The Journey was Chosen*, 71.

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Longtime Concordia music editor Rodney Schrank then began the process of purchasing the copyrights and formed a new firm, MorningStar Music, which published works by other composers formerly associated with Concordia Publishing House. Part of this transfer of rights included the re-issue of Manz's publications in seasonal volumes which included both compositions from the original *Ten Chorale Improvisations* series as well as newly composed organ chorales for appropriate seasonal hymns.[106] In Manz's volume of *Six Advent Improvisations*, the chorale on the hymn tune *Gabriel's Message* ("The Angel Gabriel from Heaven Came") is dedicated to Rodney Schrank.[107] Since this hymn references the story of the Annunciation in the Bible (cf. Luke 1:26-38), in which the Virgin Mary learns that she will bear the Christ-Child, perhaps Manz's dedication alludes to the new chapter in Manz's musical life that his transfer to MorningStar signifies?

Symbolism in Manz's Organ Chorales

Manz also employs a significant amount of symbolism in his compositional style. Former Manz student and successor at Mount Olive David Cherwein writes:

> When Paul Manz teaches improvisation, the student is asked as a starting point to read every stanza of a hymn, underlining a phrase which captures the general sense of the entire text and then to explore musical ways to represent it…Often in Manz's music, this representation is then embodied in an accompanying figure, reminiscent of the Baroque *Figurenlehre*.[108]

Many of these techniques were previously explored by Baroque composers, such as Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750). For example, in his organ chorale on the catechism hymn *Dies sind*

[106] Hyslop, *The Journey was Chosen*, 71.
[107] Paul Manz, *Six Advent Improvisations* (Fenton: MorningStar Music), 4.
[108] David Cherwein, "Symbolism in the Organ Chorales of Paul Manz." In *The Journey Was Chosen* by Scott Hyslop (Fenton: MorningStar Music, 2007), 196. Cherwein defines *Figurenlehre* as "the translation of rhetorical concepts into music" (p. 184).

den heiligen zehn Gebot (BWV 679), Bach repeats the same pitch ten times within the first full measure of the fugue subject.

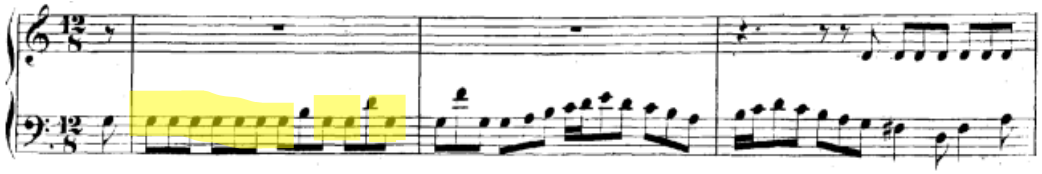

Figure 7. The first three measures of *Dies sind den heiligen zehn Gebot*, BWV 679. From the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*.

Similarly, Manz utilizes the same technique in his improvisation on the Pentecost hymn *Komm, Gott Schopfer* ("Come, Holy Ghost, Our Souls Inspire"), a Lutheran chorale based on the Gregorian chant hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus*.[109] The text of this hymn speaks of the seven fruits of the Holy Spirit, so Manz represents this in the following manner with seven repeated notes interjected into the *cantus firmus*.

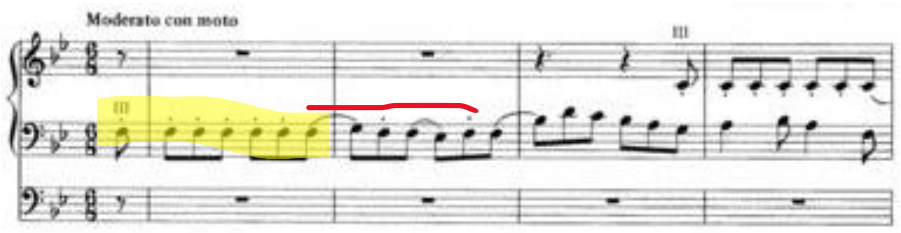

Figure 8. Measures 1-4 of Manz, *Komm, Gott Schopfer*. From *Ten Chorale Improvisations, Set IV*. The seven repeated notes are indicated by the highlight; the red line indicates the beginning of the chorale melody.

Using this framework based on textual inspiration, we can turn to Manz's significant output to investigate how he uses similar figures in his other works. Frequently, he creates quodlibets (the simultaneous performance of two distinct preexistent musical themes) and uses ritornellos in his music (common musical material that returns, either in whole or in part, between phrases of the chorale). These figures allow for Manz, as the composer, to impart additional meaning beyond the notes on the page. For example, in his setting of *Valet will ich dir*

[109] Cherwein introduces this parallel in his chapter from *The Journey Was Chosen*.

geben (in this case used with the text "O Lord, How Shall I Meet Thee"), Manz places a chorale-like setting of the Christmas hymn *Es ist ein Ros entsprungen* ("Lo, How a Rose E'er Blooming") in the manuals while the cantus firmus of *Valet will ich dir geben* appears in the pedal line. By setting these two tunes simultaneously, it is unambiguous that the same Lord who is to be greeted with joy at his coming[110] is Jesus Christ, the only-Begotten Son of God incarnate in the world.[111] Furthermore, placing *Es ist ein Ros* as the more prominent chorale while titling it after the other hymn implies that Manz wants to remind his listener that the Incarnation of Christ is at the center of the Christian faith.

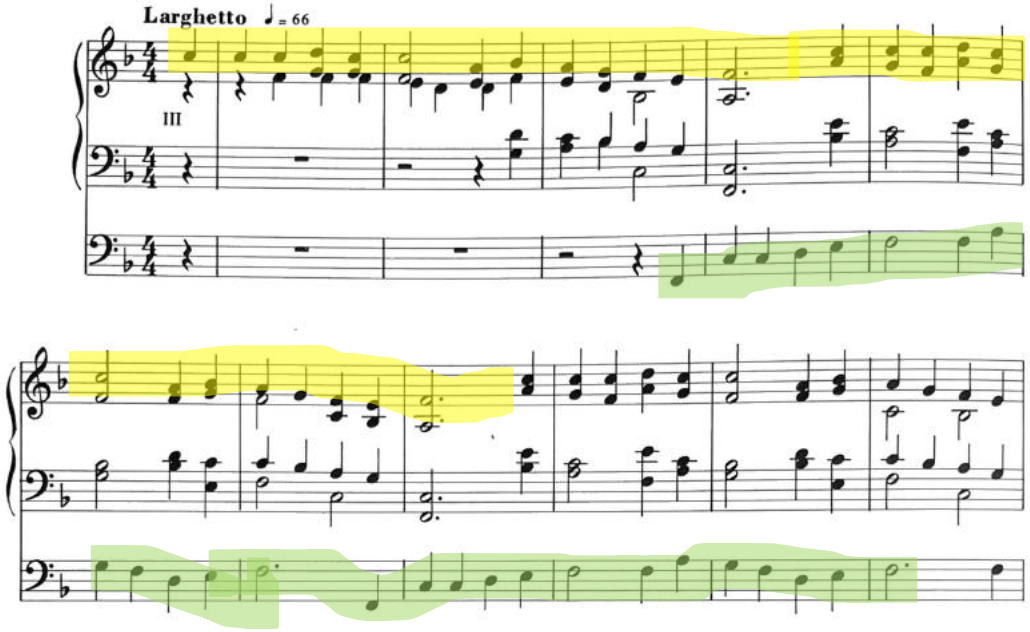

Figure 9. The first eleven measures of "O Lord, How Shall I Greet Thee" from *Ten Chorale Improvisations, Set VIII.* The melody of *Es ist ein Ros* is highlighted in yellow and the melody of *Valet will ich dir geben* in green.

In two of his compositions, Manz incorporates the melody of the Christmas chorale *Ihr Kinderlein, kommet* (O Come, Little Children) for two different chorale settings: once in his improvisation on the Advent hymn "Rejoice, Rejoice Believers" and again in his improvisation

[110] Paul Gerhardt, "O Lord, How Shall I Greet Thee." In *The Lutheran Hymnal* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), Hymn 58
[111] "A Great and Mighty Wonder." In *The Lutheran Hymnal*, Hymn 76.

on a folk hymn of the 1970s entitled "I Want to Walk as a Child of the Light". Unlike the quodlibet setting of *Valet will ich dir geben* and *Es ist ein Ros*, the two settings in which Manz incorporates *Ihr Kinderlein, kommet* borrow from that tune for different purposes and in different manners. Since "Rejoice, Rejoice Believers" is a hymn that alludes to the parable of the wise virgins awaiting the coming of Christ, the Bridegroom, the incorporation of "O Come, Little Children" perhaps speaks to the innocent, pure, and holy joy that the virgins experience when the Bridegroom approaches. Meanwhile, "I Want to Walk as a Child of the Light" speaks to Christ's call to become like little children, adopting their pure and innocent desire to be His disciples.

The most famous example of Manz's use of a ritornello is also one of his most famous examples of musical borrowing. In his improvisation on "God of Grace and God of Glory" (*Cwm Rhondda*), Manz creates an opening ritornello based on Georg Frederick Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus* from *The Messiah*.

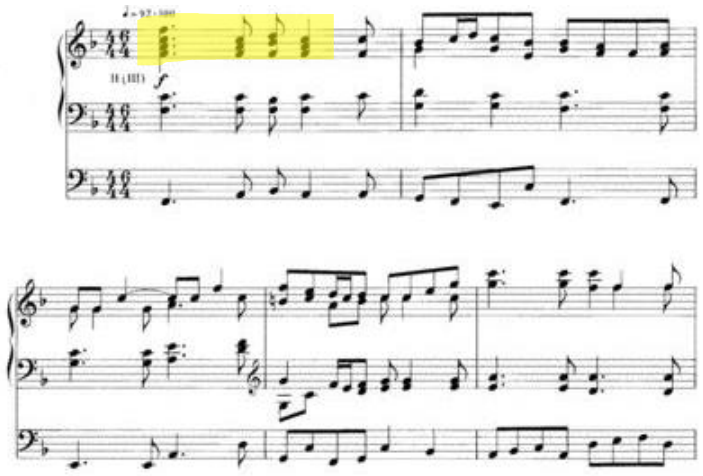

Figure 10. The opening of *God of Grace*, from *Ten Chorale Improvisations, Set V*.

This ritornello reappears between each phrase of the hymn, with snippets of its material in the right hand and pedal while the left hand plays the melody on another manual with a solo reed stop. As previously mentioned, this chorale setting is Manz's way of demonstrating his joy in his

"call to freedom" precipitated by the schism and his realignment. "Hallelujah" (or its Latinized equivalent, "alleluia") is an ancient Hebrew expression of praise that has since been incorporated into Christian liturgy and music and since further expanded to serve as a general expression of praise and thanksgiving. In the original chorus from *Messiah*, Handel sets the following text:

> Hallelujah! For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.
> The kingdom of this world is become the Kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ;
> and He shall reign for ever and ever, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.[112]

The combination of "God of Grace" and the "Hallelujah Chorus" demonstrates the joy derived from following Christ, even when it requires a difficult decision. Manz, in leaving the synod in which he was born, raised, and trained, accepted a new ministry in building the coming Kingdom of God. While his time as an educator at Concordia-St. Paul ended one chapter of his life, it also began a new chapter in his ministry: Mount Olive Lutheran, where he served as the organist and music director, offered him a purposefully broad "call to freedom" that invited him to be not just a resident musician, but a resource and minister to the church at large. The pastor of Mt. Olive, the Rev. Dr. Alton Wedel, wrote in this call that "We believe that God is opening doors to wider fields of Christian ministry than those which have been previously circumscribed and now are being limited by growing legalism and the binding of the Gospel."[113] This new call could truly allow for the growth of God's kingdom, and, as John Tietjen of Seminex would write, indicated the shortsightedness of a relentless pursuit of orthodox theology.[114]

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[112] George Frederic Handel, ed. Watkins Shaw, *Messiah* (London: Novello, 1992), 171-180. Handel sets texts from the book of Revelation (19:6, 11:15, 19:16).
[113] Letter from Alton Wedel to Paul Manz, 17 May 1976.
[114] Letter from John Tietjen to Paul Manz, 7 June 1976.

Conclusions

Manz's use of his high profile as both a performer and composer served him well when communicating his relationship with the Missouri Synod, and in communicating his theological beliefs through his ministry of music. Further research into the relationship between musicians and the Lutheran church in the United States can focus on several prominent twentieth-century composers of organ music including Charles Ore (b. 1936), Richard Hillert (1923-2010), Jan Bender (1909-1994), and Theodore Beck (1929-2003). Unlike Manz, several of these composers remained within the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod during and after the schism, and a parallel study to this one might investigate their individual relationships with the denomination's conservative shift. Richard Hillert's influence is of special note, as his setting of the (English) liturgy for congregational singing is present in both the *Lutheran Book of Worship* and its Missouri Synod counterpart *Lutheran Worship*, and continues to be used in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America's service book, *Evangelical Lutheran Worship*, and within the Missouri Synod's *Lutheran Service Book*. Perhaps this speaks to the paradox of music as a method of drawing battle lines as well as its power to unite Christians across difference.

Additionally, the role of music in ecclesiastical schisms and the influence of musicians as a constituency within church governance deserves further research. In 2023, two major denominations – the United Methodist Church and the Church of England – are either actively in the process of splitting apart or on the verge of a schism over issues of human sexuality. Like the 1974 Missouri schism, this is ultimately boiled down to the cleavage between conservative and moderate/progressive theologies. Is Manz's outsized influence as a musician simply an opportune occurrence given the Lutheran tradition's longtime emphasis on organ and liturgical music? Will parallels manifest themselves in these schisms that are unfolding before our eyes?

While Methodists and Anglicans both place a high value on music and liturgy as important parts of the church's life, the political structure of these churches does not rely as significantly on a set of confessions as the Lutheran tradition does.

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