

**“An Enterprise Calculated To Knit The Union”:
Evangelical Hymnody and Church Union
in Canada, 1925-1931**

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In the early spring of 1931 dignitaries and assembled leaders of the United Church of Canada – in a celebratory mood – met for an evening on the Roof Garden of the Royal York Hotel in downtown Toronto to recognize a much-anticipated achievement in the liturgical life of their young Protestant denomination. After guests had dined, a special presentation by the General Council of the United Church honoured the labours of the Reverend Alexander MacMillan and of the church’s Committee on Church Worship and Ritual; it was under MacMillan’s leadership that the Committee published the first official hymnal for use in the United Church.

Officially known as *The Hymnary of the United Church of Canada*, this new worship volume was intended to serve as a harbinger of the 1925 church union between the majority of Canadian Presbyterians, Canadian Methodists, and the smaller Canadian Congregational church.¹ Quite fittingly, the congratulatory evening at the Royal York Hotel concluded with a rousing “hymn sing” (led by Reverend MacMillan himself) from the crisp bindings of the new hymnal. To its passionate, if not idealistic, promoters *The Hymnary* offered the very best of three worship traditions now comprised in the United Church; in the words of its Preface, the hymnal exemplified “the stateliness and tenderness of the Scottish Psalter, the glowing passion and evangelical fervour of the Wesleys, and the lyrical

qualities by which Congregational Hymnody has been ever distinguished.”² By introducing a standardized hymnal for use by United Church congregations across Canada, the Committee’s deliberations to that end are pertinent to any meaningful analysis of the church’s formative years not only as a prominent social institution in twentieth-century Canada, but also as a particular theological community.

Not surprisingly, forging a cohesive canon of worship music – let alone its predication on a coherent theology and social ethic – required a five-year deliberative process involving clergy, church musicians, engaged laity, and seminary professors. It was the stated aim of the Committee on Worship and Ritual “that all worshippers within the United Church of Canada . . . be provided with a book of common praise, whereby they may continue the gracious patience of singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord.”³ In order that this vision might be realized it was the hope of the Committee that the new hymnal be put to widespread denominational use in pews and Sunday School classrooms across the nation; in this manner it would serve as a representative anthology of the disparate modes of worship and hymn traditions now joined in a single church communion.⁴

What is at first striking about *The Hymnary* of 1930 are the solid evangelistic overtones throughout the many hymns chosen to be representative of the new United Church. This may come as a surprise to the contemporary observer accustomed to a so-called “liberal” United Church occupying (self-professedly) the opposite end of the Protestant spectrum from so-called “conservative” evangelicalism. And it would be artificial, of course, to extract the production of *The Hymnary* from a consideration of the broader context surrounding church union: Its centrality to the trajectory of Canadian Protestantism in the twentieth century and a confluence of Canadian nationalism and a postmillennial optimism. Yet the trajectory of the church’s theological convictions (particularly of its nineteenth-century “evangelical” roots) has not enjoyed the same level of agreement among historians as has the United Church’s social influence in English Canada.⁵ Amidst a scholarly climate that contests the chronology of the inescapable decline of an “evangelical” identity for the United Church, hymnody may well demonstrate itself to be a religious modality with considerable explanatory power.⁶

Hymnody long has been central to the worship life of Christian communities, particularly in the life of revivalist and evangelical church

movements. The emotive and lyrical qualities of many hymns are at their apex when dealing with such intricacies as atonement theology, lucidly espoused in William Cowper's well-known eighteenth-century stanza (*The Hymnary*, #491):

There is a fountain filled with blood
Drawn from Immanuel's veins
And sinners, plunged beneath that flood,
Lose all their guilty stains.⁷

One recent academic study observes the striking ability of hymns to comment "at unexpected length on relations between church and society, particularly as a barometer of shifting cultural standards."⁸ Put another way, hymns possess significance beyond their doxological function in the worship life of a congregation. This latent power of hymnody prompted one Congregationalist minister to state bluntly: "Let me write the hymns of a Church and I care not who writes the theology."⁹

There is, to be sure, a potential fallacy in affording hymns too much interpretive weight. Hymns themselves are imbued with various interpretive frameworks beyond operating as a theological bellwether such as their musical or literary qualities. Yet it is often the case within studies of institutional church history to focus on the intellectual and theological debates of church leaders rather than synthesizing them with the modes through which the formation and internalization of those beliefs take place. When hymns are seen as a compelling nexus of clerical/institutional authority and the spiritual formation of the faithful they gain a particular gravity in explaining the theological commitments of those who sing them.

Markedly absent from the extensive committee work on the hymnal of 1930 is any coordinated effort to induce a departure from the nineteenth-century hymnody that was the veritable lifeblood of revivalist and evangelical spirituality well known to the United Church's denominational predecessors. To be sure, there were dissenting voices to the notion that the hymnal was a tool of preservation; for some concerned parties, the new United Church could not move away fast enough from what were perceived to be archaic, even irrelevant beliefs and styles to often-referenced "modern sensibilities" of the twentieth century.

The formative years of the United Church are best interpreted through the lens of the hymn traditions it perpetuated and maintained –

more significantly than those it abandoned – in the early-twentieth century. By interrogating the specific publication process of *The Hymnary* one encounters, perhaps surprisingly, an overtly evangelical worldview centred on the authority of the Bible, the centrality of Christ’s atoning death, and the importance of conversionism. In contrast to the minority that saw gospel hymnody as archaic, the words of the mandate from the General Council of the United Church actively encouraged the production of

a collection of spiritual songs widely representative of the Hymnody of the Church Universal . . . for there is no surer link with our fathers of generations past, and with our fellow Christians today than is provided by the psalms and hymns and spiritual songs which are our common heritage.¹⁰

When declared in such an unambiguous fashion, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the production of *The Hymnary* was nothing if not a *conservative* endeavour. Despite subsequent developments within the United Church in particular and Protestant Canada at large (as has been aptly noted already at this conference), *The Hymnary* positioned itself neither as a militant evangelical entrenchment against that ominous “modernism” nor as a resurgence of a evangelical mode that had been slipping away. I would suggest that it *maintained* a position of evangelical prominence in many of the church communities now united in the new denomination.

It is striking to note the extent to which *The Hymnary* retained hymn material from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries – a span of time where religious growth and dynamism was fuelled by prolific hymn-writing. In contrast to one North American Methodist hymnal of 1884, which cut out many of the original hymns penned by and for the Wesley brothers’ original *Collection Of Hymns For The Use Of The People Called Methodists*, the United Church hymnal appears to have gone out of its way to reinstate the old hymns of the faith.¹¹ And in spite of fears that the hymnal might be perceived as competing with existing liturgical orders of individual congregations, it was a prevalent opinion that the hymnal was very much needed. As W.S. Dingman, a committee member from St. Thomas, Ontario later recalled in the United Church’s publication, the *New Outlook*: “Besides the value of [*The Hymnary*] as a unifying force it has been sorely need by churches which have been struggling with the

inconvenience of two different [hymn]books, sometimes more, in their services.”¹² And Reverend Alexander MacMillan’s oversight of the committee work allowed him to proclaim boldly an optimistic spirit about the ecumenical promise of the new hymnal to meet particular needs of United Church congregations around the nation:

One congregation may find its heart expression in Charles Wesley’s splendid hymn – O for a Thousand Tongues to sing”; another may feel the impulse to sing the 145th Psalm in the stately Scottish version: “O Lord Thou art my God and King,” while still another may turn to Isaac Watts, the first and greatest of Congregationalist hymn-writers, and sing: “Jesus shall reign.” A golden opportunity will be afforded ministers preaching on the place and power of song in the worship and life of the Church . . .¹³

While this may appear an idealistic and lofty goal, the index of the 1930 volume indicates that, at least in publication, the Committee succeeded in their goal for balance and equitable representation. Were there a concerted effort to craft a major departure from a normative nineteenth-century theological disposition within the United Church, the Committee on Worship and Ritual was not a site of major doctrinal shift. In order to demonstrate the spirit of evangelical faith maintained in *The Hymnary*, it would be profitable to display some of the best examples from the volume.

In the extended version of this paper I employ examples framed through the grid of David Bebbington’s familiar quadrilateral for delineating aspects of evangelicalism: conversionism, activism, crucicentrism, and biblicism.¹⁴ It should be stated that the Bebbington model is by no means the authoritative rubric for defining evangelicalism; his model is, however, both widely accepted and concise that it serves to aid rather than impoverish analysis of evangelicalism in the context of hymnody. For the sake of brevity in this present context I will limit my observations to “conversionism” and “biblicism,” two aspects of evangelical identity that I feel best sum up the emphases that were maintained in *The Hymnary* of 1930.

Conversionism

Perhaps no other aspect of evangelicalism has been more influential

in the shaping of its hymnody than spiritual conversion. Evangelical parlance has many names for this crucial moment in a Christian's life: "getting saved," being "born again," "accepting Christ," or the more sentimental (if not theologically suspect) "asking Jesus into your heart." These attitudes are abundantly employed in the lyrical selections of early United Church hymnody. The first verse of one eighteenth-century hymn evokes the language of an evangelical conversion experience:

Come, ye sinners, poor and wretched,
Weak and wounded, sick and sore;
Jesus ready stands to save you,
Full of pity joined with power:
He is able, He is willing,
Doubt no more.¹⁵

There is no doubt in the wording above that the individual sinner is in need of a saviour: "Weak and wounded" one must come to Jesus who stands with both pity (empathy) for the sinner who believes as well as the divine power to remedy the spiritual malaise. The stately lyrics of Charles Wesley express a similar outlook:

Long my imprisoned spirit lay
Fast bound in sin and nature's night;
Thine eye diffused a quickening ray;
I woke; the dungeon flamed with light;
My chains fell off, my heart was free,
I rose, went forth, and followed Thee.¹⁶

Often times lyrics melded the personal aspect of conversion with the "crucicentric" aspect of atonement for sin through the crucifixion. Hymn #476, Frederick Whitfield's "I Need Thee, Precious Jesus" is emblematic of such multi-layered themes:

I need Thee, precious Jesus,
For I am full of sin;
My soul is dark and guilty,
My heart is dead within:
I need the cleansing fountain,
Where I can always flee,

The blood of Christ most precious,
The sinner's perfect plea.

And nearly two decades before the evangelist Billy Graham and his musical counterpart, George Beverly Shea, made "Just As I Am" the most famous evangelical anthem of the conversionism, it was published as a gospel chorus in the United Church hymnal of 1930:

Just as I am without one plea,
But that Thy blood was shed for me,
And that thou bidd'st me come to Thee
O Lamb of God, I come.¹⁷

Biblicism

Where it may be difficult to readily identify other universal or uniquely "evangelical" characteristics, little ambiguity exists in the high regard that is held for the Bible. It is therefore interesting to note the rich biblical mandate for the use of hymns as a mode of worship to God. The Psalms of David in the Old Testament are flooded with calls for songs, musical instruments, etc. The Apostle Paul, in his New Testament letters to young Christian churches, spoke of joyfully offering up "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" as a communitarian worship ritual.¹⁸ Similarly, a hymn reflecting on the truth and normative authority of the Bible in the Christian's life was listed in *The Hymnary's* index with an opening chorus:

Lord, Thy Word abideth
And our footsteps guideth;
Who its truth believeth
Light and Joy receiveth.¹⁹

Perhaps no other hymn embodies the belief in the verities of biblical revelation than William Walsham How's *O Word of God Incarnate*. It is worth quoting at length given its high view of the Bible in an era in which more modernist voices were also challenging these claims. That these lines of text would appear in the first hymnal of the United Church suggests that there was a preservation of a biblically-centric creed:

O Word of God Incarnate
 O Wisdom from on high
 O Truth unchanged, unchanging
 O Light of our dark sky,
 We praise Thee for the radiance
 That from the hallow page,
 A lantern to our footsteps
 Shines on from age to age.

It floateth like a banner
 Before God's host unfurled
 It shineth like a beacon,
 Above a darkling world;
 It is the chart and compass
 That o'er life's surging sea,
 'Mid mists and rocks and quicksands,
 Still guide, O Christ, to Thee.²⁰

It is important to note, however, that the hymnal was not an uncontested sphere; there was a tangible struggle to find balance between evangelical doctrinal orthodoxy and the updating of hymn lyrics that appealed to so-called “modern sensibilities.” One of the more telling cases demonstrating conservation over innovation was the rejection of the Reverend W.G. Colgrove’s copy-edit of one of *The Hymnary*’s drafts. What Colgrove described as an effort “for the sake of clearer understanding and more intelligent singing” was, in effect, a theological overhaul of the hymnal’s most evangelical hymns. In his own words Colgrove offered “over 400 corrections” for *The Hymnary* ranging from “Theology and Bible reference, Psychology and Philosophy, [as well as] Science and History.”²¹ Admittedly, only conjecture can be made in this instance: Colgrove’s entire contribution to the hymnal draft – indicative of many laborious hours – was ignored for the final publication; not a single suggestion was adopted from Colgrove’s edits. One can speculate that this was rejected by the Committee in light of its considerable revisions and the type of hymnal that would have been the inevitable result.

Rather than a severe redaction of the years of accrued hymnody, the explicit desire of most people was for an evangelically-inspired volume. A letter from a former Methodist considered *The Hymnary* an opportunity to revive certain hymns with an explicit evangelistic emphasis:

I have a very earnest desire that some more of the old Methodist hymns may be inserted in the new hymn book . . . I refer to some hymns that were left out of our latest Methodist hymn book [1884]. To be more particular, I refer to certain hymns that are most expressive of the old-time evangelical fervour and of the experience of full salvation interpreted in harmony with the doctrine of perfect love as stated in the doctrinal portion of the basis of union.²²

A prominent example of the debate over modern sensibility and queasiness over earlier missionary mentalities is the hymn “From Greenland’s Icy Mountains” written in 1819 by Reginald Heber. This hymn typifies the Anglo mentality of enlightened Christian civilization and the “benighted” non-Christian civilizations in need of salvation. In a November 1928 letter to MacMillan and the Committee on Worship, the head of the Board of Foreign Missions for the United Church, the Reverend A. E. Armstrong, wrote with strong reservation to the racial superiority implicit in certain evangelical missionary hymns:

I hope that care is being taken to see that not only some of the best among the recent missionary hymns are included in the Book of Praise, but that the language of all missionary hymns included will be satisfactory to the people of non-Christian lands who are sensitive concerning the way in which they are described in some of the books and the hymns of years ago. Certain of the old missionary hymns may have to be omitted altogether, but if not, some of the phrases ought to be revised . . . It is offense to all self-respecting peoples of Asia and Africa to be designated “lesser breeds without the law.” I am sure you will be very careful to guard the new book in these particulars.²³

To others, however, these represented zealous sentiments in the midst of religious revival and that attempts to suppress these hymns was tantamount to quelling revivalist fervour: one letter in favour of including the hymn “From Greenland’s Icy Mountains,” albeit with some lyrical modification, appeared in the 29 January 1929 edition of *The New Outlook*:

This great hymn sprang out of the living heart of the revival [in England] and historically the words convey a sense entirely different . . . than the new nationalist and racial consciousness. All historians attest the coarse, brutal, even savage irreligion of England before the

great revival[.]²⁴

In the end it was the “living heart of revival” that won the day, and the hymn found its home in the “Missions” section of *The Hymnary*, #256.

Given the widespread preservation (and, in some cases, re-introduction) of eighteenth and nineteenth-century hymnody, there is little evidence to suggest that there was a concerted effort on the part of the Committee to suppress or limit the scope of hymn subjects within *The Hymnary*. Most of the hymns that were excluded from publication were dropped because of concerns from the music sub-committee; often this meant that there was an instance of obscurity or unpopularity of the tunes, not their lack of theological merit. Of the few examples where contemporary sensitivities did result in a tangible theological shift, one stands out as a tack away from the inherent violence of atonement theology. Lyrics such as “His wounds for me stand open wide” were, upon recommendation by a lay contributor, changed to “The door of grace stands open wide.”²⁵

The editorial decisions of the *New Outlook* balanced criticism of the new hymnal with positive anticipation of the ecumenical volume. A division that should not be overlooked quickly is the divergent cultural and social situations of United Church congregations across Canada. One letter to the *New Outlook* highlighted the divide between “common people” and professional musicians. There needed to be a balance between “professionalized” scoring and familiar, four-part harmonized favourites, the author stated. Both of these types of hymns, it was suggested, could “conform to Scripture and contain accuracy of metaphor and poetic statement.”²⁶ Another letter spoke to the national diversity of Canada, even in the 1920s, suggesting that “we are a composite people, and every race that has taken its place in our [national and church] life has its own traditions of worship. It is our privilege and duty to make room in our hymnals for the best hymns of these races.”²⁷

In the same issue of the *New Outlook* the Committee published a “viewpoint” to put the opinions and editorial deliberations into context. After stating that denominational openness for such a project was both welcomed and deemed to be important the comment went on to assert that the selection process was indeed an arduous task: “There is a difficulty in the process of eliminating so many hymns . . . [yet] there is no desire to encumber the [new hymnal] with tunes and hymns that are no longer sung by the church.” As a primary goal, the comment concluded, there was a

strong desire to have a balance between “old familiar and favourite tunes [and] new generations of music.”²⁸ And yet amidst this optimism for the future of the church there was a preservationist undertone. A certain A.E. Allin of Invermay, Saskatchewan highlighted the magnitude of this project:

The future of the United Church will depend very much on the hymns we sing or do not sing . . . It is especially important that the new hymnal contain a good supply of the best evangelical hymns and sacred songs suitable for evangelistic services. Since we claim to be an evangelical church this should take first place. It is certainly important to nourish spiritual life once the worshipper possesses it, but first the sinner must be made to “Awake out of sleep and arise from the dead’ that Christ may give [them] light.” Let us have hymn suitable for this purpose.²⁹

Similarly, an anonymous contributor to the editor of the *New Outlook* advocated for an explicitly gospel-oriented hymnody to be the backbone of the new hymnal:

I believe there are in our church hundreds of people who, like myself, would like to have a few more evangelistic hymns and songs . . . I feel there is a need for more good old-fashioned, heart-reaching and stirring hymns with choruses, some new and some old. So often lately I have heard young people speak of attending meetings (not in our church) where they go to sing and enjoy hearing the singing.³⁰

And so it was on 23 July 1929 that the final draft of *The Hymnary* was submitted and approved by the Executive of the General Council for the United Church. In the Church’s annual report of 1930, the Committee on Worship and Ritual gave testimony of its proceedings and concluded with these optimistic words:

It is the confident conviction of the Committee that the book thus provided will be at once widely representative of the hymnody of the Church universal, true to the traditions and genius of the three Communion contained within The United Church of Canada, and adequate to the manifold needs of our people.³¹

Following publication, the *New Outlook* provided one final full-page

exposition on the significance of the new hymnal for United Church life. It was the committee member W.S. Dingman, who tellingly declared that *The Hymnary* of 1930 was “an enterprise calculated to knit the union.” Gauging by the “success” in terms of cultural influence and numeric growth, it is safe to say that *The Hymnary* accomplished its intended goal to knit a cohesive union – regardless of the direction that union would take in subsequent years.

In many ways *The Hymnary* was an ideal that integrated itself into a decade-long resurgence of personal evangelism with the United Church. It is not surprising, therefore, that it found its place in United Church pews at the dawn of an era when evangelical modes in the church were normative. Both the public editorials and opinion pieces as well as private (unpublished) correspondence between United Church ministers or concerned laity and the Committee on Worship and Ritual reveals the production of *The Hymnary* to be a conservative process. The new hymnal was designed to preserve that which was most cherished from the older evangelical traditions.

Wesleyan revivalism – a central component of the Methodist movement – was “toned down” only in that it was melded with less “enthusiastic” expressions of Protestant Christianity (namely, Scottish Presbyterianism and its emphasis on singing the biblical Psalms). Yet in so doing there was no significant loss of what can be rightly called “evangelical fervour.” Put another way, the emphasis on personal transformation and piety towards a more corporate expression of social faith in the hymns sung by United Church parishioners maintained a delicate balance in *The Hymnary* of 1930. An example of this sentiment is found in the printed bulletin from the celebration dinner for the new hymnal included this brief statement: “*The Hymnary*, in the element that is new to us, contains only a limited number of tunes recently composed, but on the contrary *abounds old tunes which have received preference* [emphasis mine] . . .”³²

Where there is a tendency to project the militancy of the fundamentalist-modernist controversies too much towards the mainstream of the Canadian evangelical experience, the hymnody of the early United Church counters with a leavening spirit of Canadian-style evangelical moderation. Conversely, too much emphasis on a social gospel induced liberalism is mitigated by the presence of a strong social ethic of the evangelical Fanny Crosby, whose socially-aware “Rescue the Perishing”

was just as likely to be sung in the new United Church as at a Baptist meeting in 1930. Through the tireless labours of the Committee on Worship and Ritual the United Church of Canada, in its infancy, was given a volume faithful to the hymn traditions it received and relevant for the future it created.

Endnotes

1. At its inception in June 1925 approximately 4,800 Methodist congregations, 3,700 Presbyterian congregations, 166 Congregationalist churches, and a handful of union churches already existing in western Canada comprised the United Church of Canada (see Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992], 281-84).
2. Preface to *The Hymnary of the United Church of Canada* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1930), vi.
3. Preface to *The Hymnary*, v.
4. See the "Prefatory Statement to a Draft of the Hymnary Submitted to the Third General Council of the United Church of Canada, September 1928."
5. A helpful monograph is John Webster Grant's, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, Revised and Expanded (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998). See also N. Keith Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985); and Mark Noll, "What Happened to Christian Canada?" *Church History* 75, no. 2 (2006): 265-70.
6. There exists a formidable corpus of scholarship on the subject of the nineteenth-century evangelical consensus out of which the founding denominations for the United Church emerged. For the Methodist contribution see Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); and Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). Most helpful for Canadian Presbyterian inclinations is Duff Crerar's essay, "'Crackling Sounds from the Burning Bush': The Evangelical Impulse in Canadian Presbyterianism before 1875," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); and a broad perspective on nineteenth-century evangelical Protestantism in Canada is offered by Michael Gauvreau,

The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

7. William Cowper, "There Is A Fountain Filled With Blood," *The Hymnary*, #491.
8. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), xvii. I explicitly state "academic study" as much of hymnology is based in popular works of compilations, "hymn biographies," and devotional literature.
9. Rev. R.D. Wade quoted in Ian Bradley, *Abide With Me: The World of Victorian Hymns* (London: SCM Press, 1997), 81.
10. Mandate from the General Council of the United Church of Canada, quoted in the Preface of *The Hymnary*, v.
11. Nicholas Temperly, *The Hymn Tune Index: A Census of English-Language Hymn Tunes in Printed Sources, Volume 1* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 421-30.
12. W.S. Dingman, "The Making of the Hymnary," *New Outlook* 7, no. 22 (3 June 1931): 517.
13. Alexander MacMillan, "The New Hymnal," *New Outlook*, 7, no 16 (22 April 1931): 367.
14. See Mark Noll, David Bebbington, and George Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, The British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
15. Joseph Hart, "Come Ye Sinners," *The Hymnary*, #476.
16. Charles Wesley, "And Can It Be?" *The Hymnary*, #276.
17. Charlotte Elliott, "Just As I Am," *The Hymnary*, #499.
18. See Ephesians 5:19 and Colossians 3:16.
19. Henry Williams Baker, "Lord, Thy Word Abideth," *The Hymnary*, #186.
20. William Walsham How, "O Word of God Incarnate," *The Hymnary*, #182.
21. W.G. Colgrove Revisions to "Draft of the Hymnary", Box 28-9, General Council / Committee on Worship, United Church Archives, Toronto, ON (hereafter UCA).

22. Thomas Voaden in "Correspondence of the Secretary of the Committee," Box 2-3, GCCW, UCA.
23. Letter to Dr. MacMillan, 14 November 1928, Box 2-3, GCCW, UCA.
24. John MacDougall, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," *New Outlook* 5, no. 4 (24 January 1929): 99.
25. Walter J. Phelps, "The New Hymnal," *New Outlook* 5, no. 3 (15 January 1929): 72.
26. Robert Murray, "The Coming Hymn Book," *New Outlook* 5, no. 1 (2 January 1929): 21.
27. James G. Gorvill, "Criticizing the Critics," *New Outlook* 5, no. 3 (15 January 1929): 74.
28. "The Hymnary Committee Viewpoint," *New Outlook* 5, no. 3 (15 January 1929): 75.
29. A.E. Allin, Letter to the Editor, *New Outlook* 5, no. 4 (24 January 1929): 94.
30. Anonymous Letter to the Editor, *New Outlook* 5, no. 4 (24 January 1929): 90.
31. "Annual Report by the Church Worship and Ritual Committee to the United Church of Canada," in *United Church of Canada Year Book* (1931): 81-82.
32. Brochure, "Dinner to Celebrate the Publication of the Hymnary of the United Church of Canada and to Honour the Rev. Alexander MacMillan, D.D.," 16 April 1931, Committee on Worship and Ritual, 28-9, GCCW, UCA.

