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# An Historical Analysis of the Doctrine of the Ministry in the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Until 1962

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AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY  
IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH--MISSOURI SYNOD  
UNTIL 1962

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A dissertation presented to the faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis  
Department of Historical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Theology

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by

John C. Wohlrabe, Jr.

May 1987

Approved by: George Robbert  
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Reader

Dedicated to my wife, Julie,  
who patiently tolerated me  
while I wrote this paper.

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PART I

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY IN  
THE MISSOURI SYNOD UNTIL 1932



## INTRODUCTION

### Statement of Problem

In a series of lectures on The Doctrine of the Church in American Lutheranism, Conrad Bergendoff noted: "More fully than in any other Lutheran group in America the doctrine of the ministry has been examined and expressed in the Missouri Synod."<sup>1</sup> Similarly, James Pragman, in his 1983 publication entitled Traditions of Ministry, stated:

The study of the doctrine of the ministry has been a continuing characteristic of the Synod. The Synod's interest in this particular doctrine began in the 19th century when the founders of the Synod had to deal with the problem of Martin Stephan and the relationship between the church's public ministry and the congregation of believers.<sup>2</sup>

This study will analyze the historical background of statements on the doctrine of the ministry within The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (hereafter identified as the Missouri Synod) until 1962. Such statements on the doctrine of the ministry will include declarations and resolutions which were officially adopted by the Synod at its conventions, books, articles and essays published or delivered by Missouri Synod theologians, statements drafted in attempts at reaching doctrinal unity with other Lutherans, and the personal papers and minutes of certain individuals, boards or agencies which had a decided impact upon the position of the Synod with respect to the doctrine of the ministry.

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<sup>1</sup>Conrad J. I. Bergendoff, The Doctrine of the Church in American Lutheranism (Philadelphia: Muhlenburg Press, 1956), p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>James H. Pragman, Traditions of Ministry (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), p. 168.

Statements on the doctrine of the ministry by those in other Lutheran church bodies will be noted only if and when they affected the Missouri Synod. It is understood that the term "doctrine" here specifically refers to dogmatic statements which were held to represent the teaching of Holy Scripture.

From its formative period onward, discussions of and statements on the doctrine of ministry within the Missouri Synod centered around the relation of the office (the public office of the ministry) to congregation (the local congregation of believers gathered around Word and Sacrament). In 1949, Herman Sasse noted:

Of all Lutheran churches there can hardly be another in which the office of the ministry is so highly honored as in the Missouri Synod, where the congregation is so much the center of churchly thinking and activity. Office and congregation are piped together. The life of the one is also the life of the other. If the office falters, so does the congregation. If the congregation falters, so does the office.<sup>3</sup>

Sasse was, of course, referring to the relation of the doctrine of the church to the doctrine of the ministry within the Synod. This will not be specifically addressed here. However, within the doctrine of the ministry itself there was a twofold relation as well which corresponds to the relation of office to congregation: the relation of office (for Confessional Lutherans this was viewed in light of Augsburg Confession, Article XIV<sup>4</sup>) and function (as seen in terms of Augsburg Confession,

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<sup>3</sup>Herman Sasse, We Confess the Church, translated by Norman Nagel (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1986), pp. 78-79.

<sup>4</sup>"XIV. Order in the Church. It is taught among us that nobody should publicly teach or preach or administer the sacraments in the church without a regular call." The Book of Concord, translated and edited by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), p. 36.

Article V<sup>5</sup>). Another way of expressing it was in terms of the public office of the ministry in abstracto (Augsburg Confession, Article V) and the public office of the ministry in concreto (Augsburg Confession, Article XIV). This relation of office to function will be the focal point for this study of the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod until 1962. More specifically, did individuals within the Missouri Synod or members of the Missouri Synod as a whole change their understanding of the relation of office to function (and therefore, also office to congregation) between its formation in 1847 and 1962? If they did change, what was the nature of the change? Also, how and why did change, if any, come about?

This study will limit itself specifically to published statements on the doctrine of the ministry, essays delivered on the doctrine of the ministry, and the historical background or reason for such statements from the events leading to the formation of the Missouri Synod in 1847 to the 1962 Missouri Synod convention. It will also, to some extent, consider other subjects intricately related to the doctrine of the ministry, such as the call, ordination, and auxiliary offices. The doctrines of the church, the priesthood of all believers, the Office of the Keys, and the means of grace will be brought in only as they relate to statements on the doctrine of the ministry itself. What will not be

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<sup>5</sup>v. The Office of the Ministry. To obtain such faith God instituted the office of the ministry, that is, provided the Gospel and the sacraments. Through these, as through means, he gives the Holy Spirit, who works faith, when and where he pleases, in those who hear the Gospel. And the Gospel teaches that we have a gracious God, not by our own merits but by the merit of Christ, when we believe this. Condemned are the Anabaptists and others who teach that the Holy Spirit comes to us through our own preparations, thoughts, and works without the external word of the Gospel." Ibid., p. 31.

analyzed is how the statements on the doctrine of the ministry were put into practice on the congregational and district levels. Throughout the history of the Missouri Synod, there has been a strong emphasis upon uniformity in doctrine and practice. Therefore, because of this strong emphasis and in an effort to provide some limit in scope, this study will confine itself to the doctrine of the ministry as set forth in specific statements and resolutions and the historical developments that led to the issuing of such statements or resolutions. The study concludes with the 1962 synodical convention for two reasons. First, the use of synodical records at the Synod's archives bears a twenty-five year restriction. Thus, without special permission, no archival materials could be considered that were dated from 1961 to the present. Secondly, one must decide to end somewhere and the 1962 Missouri Synod convention passed three resolutions which had a significant effect upon the Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry.

#### Methodology

Because this is a study in historical theology, it has been determined to examine the historic materials with primarily a theological interest in mind. Although the major emphasis of the work is on the history, there is also a decided systematic or doctrinal aspect as well.

Based, in part, on an article by Carl S. Meyer,<sup>6</sup> this paper will divide the historical study of the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod into three periods (each approximately the span of a generation). The first, or the formative period, continued until C. F. W. Walther's death in 1887. During this era, Walther was the Synod's leading

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<sup>6</sup>Carl S. Meyer, "The Historical Background of 'A Brief Statement,'" Concordia Theological Monthly 32 (July 1961):403-428.

theologian and his understanding of the doctrine of the ministry was adopted as the official position of the Synod. The second period went from 1887 to the adoption of the Brief Statement in 1932. Francis Pieper was the church body's leading theologian during this era and the primary author of the Brief Statement. The third period continued from about 1932 to approximately 1969. At that time, a reversal of many of the trends that had developed in the Synod's third period began. However, as mentioned above, this study will conclude at 1962. As Meyer pointed out, "the periodization of history is hazardous."<sup>7</sup> Thus, it should be noted that there were influences and movements that began in one period and developed or expanded in another. Also, periodization may vary, depending upon what aspect of the Synod's history one is studying. However, for the purposes of this doctrinal analysis, the Synod's history best fits into the above mentioned eras.

Part I of this study includes this introduction, the chapter on the doctrine of the ministry during the formative period (until 1887), and the chapter on the doctrine of the ministry during the Synod's second era (1887 to 1932). Because of the basic consensus and consistency with respect to the doctrine of the ministry in the Synod until 1932, this grouping seemed most logical. Part II of this study deals with the doctrine of the ministry in the Missouri Synod from 1932 to 1962 in seven different chapters. Because of numerous changes that occurred within the Synod during this period and numerous factors that affected the Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry at this time, much more detail is given to this period. Chapter III deals with the growing dissatisfaction that had developed within the Synod and the beginning of

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 405.

political maneuvering at synodical conventions. The development of the Liturgical Movement and the high understanding of ordination and office is the topic of Chapter IV. Chapters V and VI deal with a differing understanding of the doctrine of the ministry which first developed within the Wisconsin Synod. The traditional Missouri Synod understanding of the doctrine of the ministry between 1932 and 1962 is discussed in Chapter VII. Chapter VIII addresses itself to the doctrine of the ministry as it was set forth in doctrinal unity discussions between the Missouri Synod and Lutherans outside of the Synodical Conference between 1932 and 1962. Finally, Chapter IX analyzes the growing bureaucracy within the Synod and the way that the Synod's College of Presidents dealt with the issue of ordination.

#### Related Research and the Relevance of this Study

Several works have been published which consider general aspects of the doctrine of the ministry in the history of the Missouri Synod. In 1956, Conrad Bergendoff published The Doctrine of the Church in American Lutheranism.<sup>8</sup> Richard Caemmerer and Erwin L. Lueker issued Church and Ministry in Transition in 1964.<sup>9</sup> In 1969, Erwin Lueker wrote a book entitled Change and the Church<sup>10</sup> and an article entitled "Church and Ministry in the Thought and Policies of Lutherans in America."<sup>11</sup> Most re-

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<sup>8</sup>Conrad Bergendoff, The Doctrine of the Church in American Lutheranism (Philadelphia: Muhlenburg Press, 1956), pp. 19-36.

<sup>9</sup>Richard R. Caemmerer and Erwin L. Lueker, Church and Ministry in Transition (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 64-80.

<sup>10</sup>Erwin Lueker, Change and the Church (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1969), pp. 83-102.

<sup>11</sup>Erwin Lueker, "Church and Ministry in the Thought and Policies of Lutherans in America," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 42 (August 1969):99-112.

cently, James Pragman published Traditions of Ministry.<sup>12</sup> Yet, the specific study of the doctrine of the ministry as such in the Missouri Synod was not the primary purpose for any of these publications. Therefore, they do not deal with the complete historical background which brought about certain doctrinal statements within the Missouri Synod. Also, by only briefly discussing the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod within the context of a larger study, many of the above publications do not note important points of deviation or change within the Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry during its history.

The doctrine of the ministry within the history of the Missouri Synod was analyzed by Clyde Nehrenz in his work The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and The Church and the Ministry: A Dramatic Shift.<sup>13</sup> However, Nehrenz was again studying the doctrine of the ministry within the context of a somewhat wider study, and therefore was not detailed with respect to all influences and changes that occurred. Plus, his analysis, along with all those mentioned above, was confined to published materials, with no consideration of private papers and letters in the Missouri Synod's Department of Archives and History, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri.

Finally, there have been numerous detailed studies on specific controversies or issues that involved some aspect of the doctrine of ministry within the Missouri Synod. These specific studies will be noted throughout this paper at the appropriate points.

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<sup>12</sup>James Pragman, Traditions of Ministry (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983).

<sup>13</sup>Clyde Nehrenz, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and the Church and the Ministry: A Dramatic Shift (Lakewood, OH: Private Printing, 2nd edition, 1983).

Besides providing a more detailed and in-depth analysis into the doctrine of the ministry based on primary sources, which, in turn, will shed new light on changes that have occurred during the course of the Synod's history, it is hoped that this paper will be beneficial to all areas of theology within the Missouri Synod as well. Confessional Lutherans maintain that Scripture, as the Word of God, is the sole rule and norm for faith and life, and that the Lutheran Confessions are a true and unadulterated statement and exposition of Scripture. Therefore, an historical analysis, in and of itself, cannot provide the answers to questions of doctrine. However, historical theology can help raise pertinent questions by noting the reasons why positions were maintained in the past and why changes have occurred over the course of time. Then, it is the role of exegetical and systematic theology to interpret Scripture with regard to those questions, and it is the role of practical theology to make appropriate application to the life of the church. It is hoped that this historical analysis will help toward a clearer and more uniform understanding of the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod.

It is also hoped that this study will better outline the historical differences between the Missouri Synod and the Wisconsin Synod with regard to the doctrine of the ministry. Undoubtedly, if conferences are again held between the two church bodies in an effort to establish church fellowship, the doctrine of the ministry will be a topic for discussion.

However, this study is not intended to be entirely parochial. The formation of a new Lutheran church body in 1988 will involve the merger of three different Lutheran groups, two of which have been influenced by the Missouri Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the min-



istry. It will be seen that the Ohio Synod adopted the Missouri Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry in the late 1860s. The Norwegian Synod had already adopted the Missouri Synod's understanding in the 1850s. By the time of the formation of the American Lutheran Church in 1930, the Ohio Synod had influenced the Iowa and Buffalo Synods in this regard. The Norwegian Synod had an influence within the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, formed by a merger of the Norwegian Synod, the Hauge Synod and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America in 1917, which then became the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1946. The Evangelical Lutheran Church and the American Lutheran Church merged, together with a small Danish group called the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, to form The American Lutheran Church in 1960. In many ways, The American Lutheran Church shares a common understanding of the doctrine of the ministry with the Missouri Synod. Also, the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, which formed as a breakaway group from the Missouri Synod in 1976, shares this historical background as well. Therefore, it is hoped that this study will also help toward a better understanding of the doctrine of the ministry by Lutherans outside of the Missouri Synod.

#### Resume of Conclusions

During its formative period, the Missouri Synod's position on the doctrine of the ministry was formulated in the face of tremendous struggles, controversies, and rapid expansion. It took on form amidst two extremes. Some Lutherans exhibited hierarchical tendencies by stressing the office almost to the exclusion of the congregation and the call to function in that office. Here, ordination according to the proper rite was stressed. On the other hand, others exhibited either an anticleri-

calism or they rejected the divine institution of the office. Here the stress was either totally upon the priesthood of all believers or the function of the office in the abstract. In the face of these extremes, one may view the position that developed within the Missouri Synod as a mediating one.

Walther set forth a set of theses that were adopted by the Synod in 1851. He maintained the divine institution of the office of the public ministry. This office, in its full sense, was identified with the pastorate in a local congregation. A congregation was obligated to establish this office in its midst. The power and authority of this office, to proclaim God's Word and administer the Sacraments, belongs to all believers. However, they cannot all perform the functions of the office publicly. Therefore, this authority is transferred to a pastor by way of the call. This full office of the ministry, or the pastoral office in a congregation, is the highest office in the church. The church is free to create other offices, but they are branches of the pastoral office or auxiliary offices. People called to serve in auxiliary offices were considered to have a divine call and were partakers of the public office of the ministry. However, they did not have the full office of the ministry. By identifying the full public office of the ministry with the pastor of a local congregation and by maintaining the divine institution of this office along with the transfer of power and authority from the priesthood of all believers to the pastor through the call, the Missouri Synod, during its formative period, attempted to maintain the relation and balance between office and function as well as office and congregation.

Although this position became a standard within the Synod, it was

not a totally rigid dogma during the formative period. The first change in the Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry came about when it was deciding the best way to reach out to the unchurched immigrants on the frontier. With respect to an itinerant ministry, the Law of Love was placed above the concept of transference. For the sake of the salvation of souls, the Law of Love compelled the Synod to forsake the established order and send ministers to places from which they had no call. Itinerants were "sent" by the collection of congregations in the Synod or in a district. Also, during its formative period, there was not complete agreement on the doctrine of the ministry with respect to auxiliary offices. There were some who maintained that a parochial school teacher did not have a divine call into the ministry, despite the fact that the Synod had adopted that position in 1851. Also, some maintained that the Lutheran teacher had a dual call (partly divine, partly secular).

While there was little deviation from the position that the pastorate in a local congregation was the full office of the public ministry during the Synod's second era, there were still those who maintained that the parochial school teacher had no divine call. Others continued to maintain that the Lutheran teacher had a dual call. This brought about a reaction at certain pastoral and teacher conferences and caused two theologians of the Wisconsin Synod to reevaluate their position on the doctrine of the ministry. They concluded that Walther was wrong in identifying the public office of the ministry with the pastorate in a local congregation. They believed that God had instituted only the public office of the ministry in the abstract, not in the concrete. How the church assigned the functions of this abstract office was the

church's affair. Everyone who is called to and participates in this (abstract) office of proclaiming the Word (pastor, teacher, synodical official) participates in the highest office of the church. It is the church that determines the functions of each office holder.

Growing dissatisfaction and disagreement with traditional understandings and positions within the Missouri Synod characterized the Synod's third period. It was an era of rapid Americanization for a heretofore German enclave. During the Synod's third period, the new view on the doctrine of the ministry from within the Wisconsin Synod was adopted by influential members of the Missouri Synod's Board for Parish Education. In a case involving the Internal Revenue Service and a Missouri Synod school teacher, this understanding was presented to the government as representing the Synod's official position so that male teachers could have certain tax advantages. Through the efforts of certain members of the Board for Parish Education at teacher's conferences and at the Synod's teacher colleges, what became known as the functional view of the ministry was readily accepted by many of the Synod's parochial school teachers. In addition, the Liturgical Movement developed during this period within the Missouri Synod. Some members of this Movement wished to establish an episcopacy within the Synod. Some also maintained that ordination was more than the ratification of the call into the pastoral office. In the face of those who held to the divine institution of only the function of the ministry and those who wished to establish a higher understanding of the office and ordination, many, perhaps most, within the Synod continued to maintain the traditional Missouri Synod understanding established in 1851. Also, this traditional position seems to have been maintained in the Missouri Synod's discussions with

other Lutherans outside of the Synodical Conference.

Between 1932 and 1962, the synod doubled in size and the number of full-time synodical staff positions increased by 650 percent. Districts also increased their full-time staff positions dramatically. In addition, the Synod's involvement in the military chaplaincy during World War II and increased state regulations on certification to perform marriages presented the church body with a different definition of ordination. For what appear to be mainly pragmatic reasons, the Synod's College of Presidents decided to redefine the Synod's long-held understanding of ordination and adopted the view of the government. This new understanding was approved by the 1962 Missouri Synod convention.

The new understanding of ordination adopted by the 1962 Missouri Synod convention brought about a new understanding of the pastoral office and of the church within the Synod. The pastoral office was no longer identified with the call of a local congregation to function in that office. Instead, it was identified with the fulfillment of all the qualifications for the office, ordination, and a call to any church related agency. Thus, the 1962 decision separated the pastoral office from the full function of that office and from the local congregation. The Synod's position on the doctrine of the ministry had changed. Also, in two instances during the Synod's third period, the theology of the doctrine of the ministry was formulated to correspond to the government's understanding.

## CHAPTER I

### THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY IN THE MISSOURI SYNOD'S FORMATIVE YEARS

The formative period of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod's<sup>1</sup> history was in many ways a time of turmoil, development, establishment, and growth. Not only had two different immigrant groups, the Saxons and the Loehe Sendlinge ("sent ones"), come together on April 26, 1847, to form the church body known as the Missouri Synod; not only did this small synod grow from sixteen congregations and twelve pastors in 1847 to 984 pastors in 1887 serving 678 congregations belonging to the Synod, 746 congregations that had not yet joined the Synod, and 544 preaching stations; but also the Synod's doctrinal position on several important theological issues was established in the face of traumatic events and controversies, both from within and without.<sup>2</sup> Because of the events that

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<sup>1</sup>The original name was "Die Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten," Erster Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1847 (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, second edition, 1876), p. 1. This was changed in 1917 to "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States," Proceedings of the Thirtieth Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States, Assembled at Milwaukee, Wis., as the Fifteenth Delegate Synod, June 20-29, 1917 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), p. 43; and the current name was adopted in 1947. Proceedings of the Fortieth Regular Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled at Cleveland, Ohio as the Twenty-Fifth Delegate Synod, June 20-29, 1947 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 442-443. Hereafter The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod will be designated LCMS.

<sup>2</sup>LCMS, 1847 Proceedings, second edition, 1876, p. 24. LCMS, Statistisches Jahrbuch (St. Louis: Luth. Concordia Verlag, 1888), pp.

occurred, the Missouri Synod examined and expressed itself on the doctrine of the ministry more fully than any other Lutheran group in America,<sup>3</sup> and had come to an established position that would shape its understanding to the present time. Upon this position later expressions and views would be evaluated.<sup>4</sup> During this early period, one man came to the fore as the Synod's theological leader--Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. His theological analysis and expression on the doctrine of the ministry became the model for the Missouri Synod.

This position on the doctrine of the ministry can be seen as a mediating position between two extremes. It favored neither those who

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58-59. The Synod's doctrinal position was established in its first constitution: "II. Conditions under which a congregation may join Synod and remain a member. 1. Acceptance of Holy Scripture, both the Old and New Testament, as the written word of God and as the only rule and norm of faith and life. 2. Acceptance of all the symbolical books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church . . . as the pure and unadulterated explanation and presentation of the Word of God." "Our First Synodical Constitution," translated by Roy Suelflow, Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 16 (April 1943):3. By 1887, the Missouri Synod had also adopted doctrinal statements with respect to church and ministry [LCMS, Fuenfter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jarhe 1851, Zweite Auflage (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten, 1876), pp. 169-173], chiliasm [Ibid., Neunter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1857, pp. 381-387], and predestination [LCMS, Achtzehnter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Dritte Delegaten-Synode zu Fort Wayne, Indiana, im Jahre 1881 (St. Louis: Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1881), p. 41], which established the synodical position in response to several controversies.

<sup>3</sup>Conrad Bergendoff, The Doctrine of the Church in American Lutheranism (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1956), p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Waldemar W. Wehmeier, "Public Doctrine in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod." Unpublished Th.D. Dissertation, Concordia Seminary, 1973, pp. 34, 38-41, 55-56. Wehmeier appears to be somewhat critical of this approach toward doctrine within the Missouri Synod. Yet, no such judgment is implied in this dissertation.

would place the ministry over the church and the priesthood of all believers, nor those who would place the church and the priesthood of all believers over the ministry. Both the church and the ministry stood side by side, and to a certain extent, both the church and the ministry stood in tension. However, there was also a close relation between the office of the ministry and the congregation and between the office of the ministry and the function of that office.

### The First Struggle

During the early 19th century, German Lutherans who emigrated to the United States, with its pluralistic and voluntaristic religious culture, faced an ecclesiological dilemma which also had a profound affect upon their understanding of the ministry. In the Fatherland they were accustomed to the well established and regulated consistorial form of state-church polity as set forth in the centuries old Kirchenordnungen.<sup>5</sup> The pastor was a representative of both the state and the church. He was placed in a congregation by the collator, a member of the landed aristocracy, or his appointed Consistorium. Thus, the pastor was responsible first and foremost to the state and not to his own appointed congregation. The congregation had little, if any, voice in the call of

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<sup>5</sup>Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," The Graduate School of Concordia Seminary. Studies in Church and Ministry. Edited by Erwin L. Lueker et. al. Vol. 3. St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1967, p. 18. In Germany, there was almost an endless variety of Kirchenordnungen. These were rules for government, worship, liturgy, discipline, marital relations, education, eleemosynary work, and property rights of the church. Ermil Sehling, Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen der 16. Jahrhunderts, 5 vol. (Leipzig: Verlag von O.R. Reisland, 1902). It is interesting to note that when Nikolaus Herman had written a Kirchenordnung for Dessau, Martin Luther advised him not to publish it for fear that it might assume the character of a legal instrument. Ibid., 1:i.



their pastor.<sup>6</sup>

Theological debate on the doctrine of the ministry in early 19th century Germany centered around the writings of two men: Richard Rothe, who published Die Anfaenge der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung in 1837, and Julius Stahl, who wrote Die kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protestanten in 1840. Rothe, a disciple of Frederick Schleiermacher and J. A. W. Neander, determined, by way of what has become known as historical-criticism, that originally there had been no real church in Christianity, that the church emerged gradually, and that the ministry grew out of the needs of the church.<sup>7</sup> Stahl countered that both church and ministry were present from the beginning and had immediate divine origin.<sup>8</sup> He also maintained that the pastoral office came into existence apart from the church or the local congregation. The pastoral office was separated and distinguished from both the church and from the priesthood of all believers. There was a threefold order [Standen] in society: the governmental authorities, the public office of the ministry, and the family. The public office of the ministry, or the Predigerstand, was a divinely instituted order in society, separate from the order of the government and the family. One enters the Stand of the ministry through the call to the pastoral office. However, this call is not possessed by the priesthood of believers or the local congregation. It comes from God

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<sup>6</sup>Carl S. Munding, Government in the Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 26, 29-31.

<sup>7</sup>Richard Rothe, Die Anfaehnge der Christliche Kirche und ihrer Verfassung, Vol. I (Wittenberg: Zimmermann'schen Buchhandlung, 1837), p. 310. Holsten Fagerberg, Bekentnis, Kirche und Amt in der deutschen konfessionellen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts (Uppsala: Almqvist und Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1952), p. 101.

<sup>8</sup>F. J. Stahl, Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protestanten (Erlangen, Verlag von Theodor Blaesing, 1840), pp. 58-61.

through the governing authorities. Ordination was a necessary part of the call to the public office of the ministry. Ordination conferred the pastoral office upon qualified individuals so that Word and Sacraments could be administered properly. On the one hand, Stahl rejected a character indelibilis; on the other hand, ordination was not an optional aspect of the ministry.<sup>9</sup> James Pragmann has summed up Julius Stahl's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry in this way:

In Stahl's view the ministry is part of God's divine order for society; that order must not be violated. The ministry is entered through the call, and an essential part of that call is ordination. Both call and its component parts rest on the mandate of God, independent of the congregation or the community of universal priests or Christians.<sup>10</sup>

This position would be further developed and defended by Wilhelm Loehe, an important figure in the formation of the Missouri Synod, as well as by A. F. C. Vilmar, another prominent theologian in Germany.<sup>11</sup> Together with J. A. A. Grabau of the Buffalo Synod in the United States, these men represented the hierarchical view on the doctrine of the ministry in the controversy that follows as the second struggle over the

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 95-112, 125-144. Fagerberg, pp. 101-102. James H. Pragmann, Traditions of Ministry: A History of the Doctrine of the Ministry in Lutheran Theology (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), pp. 129-132.

<sup>10</sup>Pragman, p. 132.

<sup>11</sup>A. F. C. Vilmar published Die Lehre vom geistlichen Amt in 1870. Here he maintained that the office of the ministry was an immediate institution of the Lord Jesus which lasts forever in the function of the pastor in the church. This shepherd is the center of the congregation. It is the shepherd who gathers the congregation around himself. The pastor, not the congregation, has received the mandate to preach the Gospel so that the church can be gathered. The congregation does not possess the mandate to preach the Word but instead has the mandate to hear the Word. The pastor has the mandate to administer the sacraments while the congregation has the mandate to receive the sacraments. The pastor has the office of the keys, not the congregation. Ibid., p. 136.

doctrine of the ministry in the Missouri Synod (see below, pages 30-50).

Yet, the distinctive understanding of the doctrine of the ministry that would become the position of the Missouri Synod developed out of the experiences of a group of Saxon emigrants who followed a Dresden pastor, named Martin Stephan, to St. Louis and the wilderness of Perry County, Missouri.<sup>12</sup> In the fall of 1838, about 700 Lutherans from various parts of Saxony departed Bremerhaven in five small sailing vessels. The immigration included five pastors, ten theological candidates and four teachers, all closely attached to their leader. Among this group were Pastor C. F. W. Walther and his older brother, Otto Herman.<sup>13</sup> Prior to their departure, extensive plans had been made and a Gesellschaft ([emigration] company) was formed.<sup>14</sup> It was determined that the ecclesiastical structure of the colony would be strictly hierarchical.<sup>15</sup> From a comprehensive set of emigration codes, a semiautonomous theocratic community was planned. Power was to be divided between the clergy and a privileged wealthy class of laymen, with the balance of power lying pre-

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<sup>12</sup>A detailed analysis of the Stephanite Emigration from Saxony to the United States is set forth in Walter O. Forster, Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri 1839-1841 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), *passim*. Also consider Mundinger, pp. 41-199; J. Frederick Ferdinand Winter, "Mr. J. Frederick Winter's Account of the Stephanite Emigration," translated by Paul H. Burgdoff, Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly [hereafter cited CHIQ] 12 (July 1939):48-57; 12 (October 1939):83-88; 12 (January 1940):123-127; Christian Hochstetter, Die Geschichte der Evangelische-lutherischen Missouri Synode in Nord-Amerika und ihrer Lehrkaempfe (Dresden: Verlag von Heinrich J. Naumann, 1885), pp. 1-18; and Walter A. Baepfer, A Century of Grace: A History of the Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 15-52.

<sup>13</sup>Forster, pp. 187-203. Hochstetter, pp. 1-18.

<sup>14</sup>These plans began already in 1834 but were formalized between December 1837 and October 1838. Forster, pp. 113-170.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

dominantly with the clergy. Within the ministerium, the final authority was to rest with "the primate" or "first divine," Martin Stephan.<sup>16</sup>

It was on board the Olbers, January 14, 1839, that Martin Stephan was officially declared "bishop" through the signing of a document called "Stephan's Investiture" (see Appendix A). This document also gave the reasons for the group's departure, their understanding of church and ministry, and secured formal recognition of the absolute control which Martin Stephan had already come to enjoy.<sup>17</sup>

On February 16, 1839, aboard the riverboat Selma between New Orleans and St. Louis, the "Pledge of Subjection to Stephan" was endorsed (see Appendix B). This document gave the "bishop" control over both the ecclesiastical and temporal affairs of the immigrants, further illustrating the Stephanite's understanding of the ministry.<sup>18</sup>

Only a few months after their arrival in Missouri, the Saxon

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<sup>16</sup>Prior to the journey to America, Stephan had not assumed the title of "bishop." Ibid., p. 135. However, by September 1838, members of the Gesellschaft were making direct references to Stephan as the "bishop." Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>17</sup>Stephan's Investiture, MS., Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo. [hereafter cited CHI]. Translated by Forster, pp. 288-290. A copy of the original document was then signed by a delegation of laymen on board the Olbers. Ibid., p. 290. Other translations may be found in Carl S. Meyer, ed., Moving Frontiers (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 134-135. Herman O. A. Keinath, ed., Documents Illustrating the History of the Lutheran Church in America with Special Emphasis on the Missouri Synod (River Forest, IL: Concordia Teachers College, 1947), pp. 16a-16c.

<sup>18</sup>"Pledge of Subjection to Stephan," Selma, February 16, 1839, MS., CHI, translated by Forster, pp. 293-296. "Although the different groups of emigrants on the several ships were frequently referred to by the Saxons themselves as 'congregations,' they were not such in the true sense of the term. The clergymen who served them were not, properly speaking, their pastors; they had not received a call from these people and presumably held their 'office' only on the strength of appointment by Stephan." Ibid., p. 279.

immigrants deposed and excommunicated their "bishop" (see Appendix C).<sup>19</sup> This, in turn, was the beginning of difficult and turbulent times for the Saxons that would last approximately two years. Almost immediately, many of the lay people began making unwarranted insinuations and accusations against the remaining clergy. The ministers did, however, manage to secure "calls" issued them orally on June 1, 1839, by the Gesellschaft as a body.<sup>20</sup> An influential layman among the Saxons, Dr. Carl Vehse, reported that the clergy wished to continue with an episcopal system and that they even considered appealing for ordination to the Swedish Lutheran Church.<sup>21</sup> Another layman, Dr. Franz Adolph Marbach, maintained that "After the fall of Stephan, the ministerium took his place."<sup>22</sup> The pastors still clung to an hierarchical system that commanded obedience by virtue of the Amt (office) of the ministry. Yet, while some of the laity began to protest, others despaired of their situation taking on a defeatist attitude. Carl S. Munding's comments should be noted:

They had emigrated because they believed that their faith could no longer be maintained in the Sodom of Saxony. To them purity of Lutheran doctrine and Christian living meant everything. Luther's teaching concerning the means of grace had taught them to honor those who proclaimed the Gospel and administered the Sacraments. For years Stephan had adroitly manipulated this doctrine so that very many of the colonists were of the firm conviction that Stephan was their chief means of grace ["Hauptgnadenmittel"] and that outside, and apart from, him there was no hope. He and, to a lesser degree, die Herrn Amtsbrueder were the basis of their spiritual life. Though misguided and utterly unscriptural, the respect which these people entertained over against the Amt was sincere. Overnight this Amt

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<sup>19</sup>"Sentence of Deposition Pronounced upon Stephan," MS., CHI, translated by Forster, p. 418.

<sup>20</sup>Forster, pp. 428-431.

<sup>21</sup>Carl E. Vehse, Die Stephan'sche Auswanderung nach Amerika. Mit Actenstuecken (Dresden: P. H. Sillig, 1840), pp. 24, 35, and 111.

<sup>22</sup>Franz Marbach, "An Meine . . . Landsleute," MS., CHI, in Forster, p. 438.

fell into disrepute, yea, stank to the highest heavens. The "Hochwuerdigster Erzbischof," stripped of the last thread of his glory, had been put aboard a boat and, together with his concubine, had been shipped across the Mississippi, to a point near Kaskaskia, Illinois, there to shift for himself as well as he could. That men and women who had been so suddenly disillusioned should lose all confidence in the Church and in the clergy, yea, that they should make nasty accusations against the clergy, was but natural.<sup>23</sup>

What followed were confessions of guilt, called Reinigung durch ein Bekenntnis,<sup>24</sup> the resignation of some pastorates, including that of C. F. W. Walther,<sup>25</sup> and persistent questions on the part of the people: Did their pastors have valid calls? Had the emigration deprived the colonists of their claim to be Christians? Were they a church or not? Did their congregations have the right to call pastors? Did they have the right to depose the pastors now in office?<sup>26</sup>

Carl Vehse came forward with a set of six propositions that offered a solution to the problems which beset the colony. These propositions were submitted to Pastor O. H. Walther on August 5, 1839. Here Vehse asserted the Lutheran doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers. He argued that the office of the ministry is only a public service, and only when it is committed to an individual by a congregation is it valid.<sup>27</sup> To this, the clergy responded by warning the members of the St. Louis congregation against those "who would unfairly abuse this declaration in order to discredit our office, maliciously sow the seeds of distrust against us, and bring about dissension and offense in the

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<sup>23</sup>Mundinger, p. 94.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 98-102. Forster, pp. 511-516.

<sup>25</sup>Mundinger, pp. 94-96. Forster, pp. 512-513. Hochstetter, p. 29.

<sup>26</sup>William Schmelder, "The Altenburg Debate," Unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1960.

<sup>27</sup>Vehse, pp. 103-105. Mundinger, pp. 95-96.

congregation."<sup>28</sup> Vehse and two other laymen responded September 19, 1839, with a formal, detailed "Protest" that consisted of three chapters:

I. Evidence concerning the rights of the congregation in relation to the clergy in religious and ecclesiastical matters; II. Evidence against the wrong Stephanite system, in which the rights of the congregation are not respected, but suppressed; III. Evidence from Luther and [a statement of] our private opinion on the justifiability of the emigration (headings for Chapter I. can be found in Appendix D).<sup>29</sup> This "Protest" maintained a firm juxtaposition of laity and clergy, strenuously asserted the rights of the congregation as opposed to those of the clergy, and assumed the supremacy of the congregation. Vehse and his two cohorts also came to the conclusion that the emigration was wrong from the start and urged that everyone return to Germany.<sup>30</sup>

Most of the colonists were not prepared to accept the solution offered by Vehse, least of all the clergy.<sup>31</sup> The departure of Vehse on December 16, 1839, marked the end of the first major period of crisis which followed the expulsion of Stephan. But, Vehse's protests were soon replaced by those of Dr. Franz Adolph Marbach, Vehse's brother-in-law. There were others who shared Marbach's views, particularly Ferdinand Sproede. However, Marbach was the leading spokesman for the lay party in attempting to find a solution to the problems which plagued the colony.

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<sup>28</sup>Forster, p. 463.

<sup>29</sup>Vehse, pp. 56-60. Forster, p. 464. Munding, p. 97.

<sup>30</sup>Vehse, pp. 54-141. This Vehse himself did as soon as he was able to raise the necessary finances. However, most of the other Saxon immigrants were unable to do this because Stephan had depleted their financial resources. Forster, p. 471. Munding, p. 109.

<sup>31</sup>Forster, p. 470.

On March 3, 1841, Marbach issued a manifesto in which he maintained that the entire foundation on which their church polity had been erected was sinful and that the blessings of God could not be expected until they repented and returned to Germany.<sup>32</sup> Shortly after Marbach issued his manifesto, a conference was held in Dresden, Perry County, Missouri, including Pastors Loeber, Keyl, Gruber, and Buerger, Candidate Brohm, Magister Wege, and Marbach. Little was settled at this meeting and it appeared that the situation was deteriorating quickly. Munding characterized the situation in this way:

Evidences of accelerated disintegration were piling up on all sides. At the end of March 1841 the whole colony was fast approaching a state of complete disintegration. The spirit and influence of the clerics seems to have reached its lowest mark. Something had to be done and that something had to be drastic and dramatic.<sup>33</sup>

A public debate was arranged for April 15 and 20, 1841, in Perry County, Missouri.<sup>34</sup> The site chosen for the disputation was the log cabin college which had been founded December 9, 1839, in Altenburg. On the whole, the debate, chiefly between C. F. W. Walther and Franz Adolph Marbach, was a relatively calm theological discussion.<sup>35</sup> Marbach offered basically the same solution he had proposed in his manifesto. He saw the problem as simply a moral issue.<sup>36</sup> Munding's summary of Walther's reaction to Marbach's view is worth noting:

Walther was violently opposed to those who saw only a moral issue in their problem and who made the intensity of their own contrition a

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<sup>32</sup>Munding, pp. 110-111. . . . <sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>34</sup>Walter Baepler stated that Pastor Buerger arranged for the debate. Baepler, p. 47. Yet, W. G. Polack believed that Walther, Keyl and Loeber set up the meeting. W. G. Polack, The Story of C. F. W. Walther (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935), p. 47. Munding held that Walther's involvement in arranging for the debate cannot be determined. Munding, p. 112.

<sup>35</sup>Forster, p. 523.

<sup>36</sup>Munding, pp. 115-117.



yardstick with which to measure the sincerity of other people's confession. . . . Walther sensed in Marbach's position the effects of early-nineteenth-century Pietism, the movement which laid so much stress on the intensity and depth of the acknowledgement of sin which tried to externalize the Church. The habit of identifying the invisible Church with the visible had been the source of much confusion and much unnecessary heartache among the Pietists. Walther would have none of it.<sup>37</sup>

In order to solve the problems of the colony, Walther tried to push personality and morals into the background and attack the issue from the viewpoint of sixteenth century Lutheran theology. The questions for Walther were not ones of guilt and confession, but of the nature of the church, the call into the ministry, and the validity of the call.<sup>38</sup> Walther set forth a series of propositions that have become known as the Altenburg Theses. Of special importance here is Thesis VI (a translation of all the Altenburg Theses is set forth in Appendix E).

3. Even heterodox companies have church power; even among them the goods of the Church may be validly administered, the ministry established, the Sacraments validly administered, and the keys of the kingdom of heaven exercised.<sup>39</sup>

Walther proceeded to show that the colonists were indeed a church, that they could call pastors, and that they could function as the church. He based his conclusions on the teaching of Holy Scriptures, the Lutheran Confessions, Luther, and other prominent Lutheran theologians.<sup>40</sup> In the

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 119-120.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>39</sup>The German original is found in J. F. Koesterling, Auswanderung der saechsischen Lutheraner im Jahre 1839, ihre Niederlassung in Perry-Co., Mo., und damit zusammenhaengende interessante Nachrichten (St. Louis: A. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1867), pp. 51-52. Translations may be found in Forster, pp. 523-525; Polack, Walther, pp. 49-50; and Louis Fuerbringer, Theodore Engelder, and Paul E. Kretzmann, eds., The Concordia Encyclopedia (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927), p. 15.

<sup>40</sup>This approach toward presenting a doctrinal position would be characteristic of Walther's theological method. It was first of all centered in the doctrine of justification by grace through faith. Erwin L. Lueker, "Church and Ministry in the Thought and Policies of Lutherans in America," CHIQ 42 (August, 1969):104. His understanding of church and

notes which Walther prepared for the debate, he acknowledged his indebtedness to Vehse.<sup>41</sup> However, Walther did not adopt the same line of argumentation which Vehse had used. Vehse had advocated extreme congregationalism and had leveled his attack on the members of the clergy. Walther started with the same premise as Vehse, the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, but his aim was constructive rather than destructive.

Walter O. Forster gave the following analysis:

It was vital to remember, furthermore, that belonging to an organized church body did not constitute one a Christian, but that a body of Christians could organize at any time to constitute a church. "A church," the word which seemed to have become the shibboleth of the controversy--"a church" was still extant among them. If this were so, they must possess all the rights of such a body and could exercise all its functions; specifically, they could call pastors and teachers and provide for the administration of the Sacraments and other rites normally connected with the existence of an organized congregation, of "a church." In practical application it meant the identification of the characteristics and powers of a congregation and "the church."<sup>42</sup>

In the Altenburg Theses, Walther did not set forth his complete understanding of the doctrine of the ministry. This would come later. Yet, the propositions established and accepted by all at Altenburg had a profound effect on the Saxon colony. Out of the confusion and chaos which had characterized the thinking and actions of the colonists, Walther had set forth an acceptable solution. Even Marbach became convinced that Walther was correct. Munding offered the following assessment of

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ministry had a soteriological context in the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. From the vantage point of the believer's relationship to God through Jesus Christ, Walther would move on to other points or theses that had Scriptural and confessional support and which were the logical consequence of the previous thesis.

<sup>41</sup>Koesterling, pp. 42-52.

<sup>42</sup>Forster, p. 522. Munding maintained that Walther's Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt was an expansion of the Altenburg Theses. Munding, p. 123.

the debate:

The conviction grew generally that they were a part of the invisible Christian Church [una sancta ecclesia], that as such they had the power to call ministers, and that ministerial acts of such properly called ministers were valid also in the sight of God. A few individuals, including Pastor E. M. Buerger, were still confused. A few laymen were tired of strife and occupied themselves with the hard task of making a living in the backwoods of Missouri or in the frontier town of St. Louis rather than engage in theological discussions. The individual congregations did not hesitate to call pastors, and a healthy church life began to develop.<sup>43</sup>

After the Altenburg Debate Walther emerged as the unquestioned spiritual and theological leader of the colony. From the disputation in 1841 until his death in 1887, C. F. W. Walther remained the outstanding theologian and leader of the Saxon colonists and of the church body which they helped to organize.<sup>44</sup>

On April 26, 1841, C. F. W. Walther accepted a call to serve as pastor to the Saxon Lutheran congregation in St. Louis. Two years later, he suggested the name Trinity, which was adopted, and persuaded the parish to adopt a constitution which became the pattern or model for hundreds of other congregations that would eventually join the Missouri Synod. In 1847, a new congregation was formed in St. Louis named Immanuel. At that time, instead of organizing completely separate and independent parishes, the Gesamtgemeinde (Joint Congregation) was established. A third congregation, Holy Cross, was added in 1858, and a fourth, Zion, in 1860. Walther remained the head pastor of all four "branch congregations" until the time of his death. Division of jurisdiction and business among the branch or district congregations was arranged in a way similar to the District division of the Missouri Synod which took place in 1854. Matters pertaining to all four parishes were handled in joint

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 125.    <sup>44</sup>Schmelder, "The Altenburg Debate," p. 99.

voters' meetings; affairs pertaining to an individual parish were handled by the smaller group. This arrangement came to an end in January 1889, when the combined congregation was dissolved and the previous district or branch congregations became independent.<sup>45</sup>

Of special interest for the doctrine of the ministry, is the larger unit concept of congregation that the Gesamtgemeinde presented, particularly with respect to the calling and discharge of pastors and teachers, church discipline, reception of new members, and the termination of district boundaries. The constitution maintained the following stipulations:

1. The calling and election of the Pfarrer of the combined congregation, including the drawing up of the list of candidates, will be carried out by the combined congregation.

2. For the purpose of filling vacant pastor and school teacher positions the combined congregation first of all comes to an accord concerning the candidates to be proposed; from the candidates unanimously proposed by the congregation the district in question then carries out the actual election. School teachers, which as such are already members of the synod, can be elected, called, and installed forthwith by the district congregation.

3. All other offices of the district congregations, such as trustees, school visitors, elders, almoners, sextons, bellow-blowers, etc., are elected by the district congregation alone.

4. Suspension and removal of preachers and school teachers from their office, as well as the execution of the reception of new congregational members and of [their] exclusion are matters of the combined congregation alone, while it behooves the district congregations to begin the necessary proceedings in a church discipline case and, when they are fruitless, to indicate this to the combined congregation, which in this case is to continue the proceedings and decide.

5. The combined congregation determines the boundary limits of the individual districts.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Moving Frontiers, pp. 166-170. Erich B. Allwardt, "The St. Louis Gesamtgemeinde - Its Demise," CHIQ 57 (Summer 1984):60-80.

<sup>46</sup>Carl Lawrenz, "An Evaluation of Walther's Theses on the Church and Its Ministry," Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly 79 (1982):137-139. Lawrenz translates this excerpt from the "Constitution of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis" as found in Verfassungsformen der Lutherischen Kirche Amerikas by Ch. Otto Kraushaar.

Thus, according to the understanding of Walther and the Saxon immigrants, the word "Gemeinde" (congregation) did not necessarily mean only one independent parish. Several independent congregations could band together and call pastors, teachers, and other church officers, exercise church discipline, and carry on other churchly functions.

#### The Second Struggle

Karl Wyneken has noted that: "The historical development of the Missouri Synod's doctrine of the ministry is most intimately associated with the twenty-five year long controversy with the Synod of the Lutheran Church Emigrated from Prussia, commonly known as the Buffalo Synod."<sup>47</sup> In 1839, about the same time that the Saxons were settling in Missouri, a group of Prussians under the leadership of Pastor Johann Andreas August Grabau and a group of Silesians under the leadership of Pastor Leberecht Friedrich Ehregott Krause were emigrating to the United States. The Prussians settled in the area around Buffalo, New York, while the Silesians chose the territory of Wisconsin near Milwaukee and Freistadt.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," p. 23. The following survey is drawn largely from Roy A. Suelflow, "The Relations of the Missouri Synod with the Buffalo Synod up to 1866," Unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1945, published in CHIQ 27 (April 1954):1-19; 27 (July 1954):57-73; 27 (October 1954):97-132; Roy A. Suelflow, "The First Years of Trinity Congregation Freistadt, Wisconsin," CHIQ 18 (October 1945):83-94; 19 (April 1946):42-47; and Johann A. Grabau, "Johann Andreas August Grabau," translated by E. M. Biegenger, CHIQ 23 (April 1950):10-17; 23 (July 1950):66-74; 23 (January 1951):176-181; 24 (April 1951):35-39; 24 (July 1951):74-79; 24 (October 1951):124-132; 25 (July 1952):49-71.

<sup>48</sup>There had been some contact between the Saxons and the Prussian-Silesians while both groups were still in Germany. Roy Suelflow, "The Relations of the Missouri Synod with the Buffalo Synod up to 1866," CHIQ 27 (April 1954):2-3; Grabau, CHIQ 24 (October 1951):124-128; Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," p. 24.

While the Silesians were settling in Wisconsin, Krause had to make a sudden return to Germany. With their pastor gone, a leading layman (who later became an ordained clergyman), Heinrich von Rohr, wrote to Grabau, Senior Ministerii, asking permission to elect a layman who would temporarily conduct services and administer the Sacraments. Grabau gave a negative response in the form of his so-called Hirtenbrief (Pastoral Letter) of December 1, 1840. This letter was also sent to various other German Lutheran immigrants for their inspection and approval, including the Saxons of Missouri.<sup>49</sup>

In his Hirtenbrief, Grabau rejected the request of the Silesian immigrants of Wisconsin, defending this position with his own analysis of Augsburg Confession, Article XIV. Due to his fear of sectarians and vagabond preachers, which were common on the American frontier, Grabau put special emphasis on the word rite (vocatus). He also maintained that only an episcopal form of polity was proper for the church according to the old, accepted Kirchenordnungen of Germany. For Grabau, both the call and ordination were indispensable for the proper administration of the Sacraments. A wicked or hypocritical ordained minister would not invalidate baptism and the Lord's Supper, but a layman selected by a congregation would only dispense the physical elements and not a proper Sacrament.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Roy Suelflow, "The Relations of the Missouri Synod with the Buffalo Synod up to 1866," CHIQ 27 (April 1954):4. Der Hirtenbrief des Herrn Pastors Grabau zu Buffalo vom Jahre 1840. Nebst den zwischen ihm und mehreren lutherischen Pastoren von Missouri gewechselten Schriften. Der Deffentlichkeit uebergeben als eine Protestation gegen Geltendmachung hierarchischer Grundsaesse innerhalb der lutherischen Kirche (New York: H. Ludwig and Co., 1849). This is apparently the only edition of the Hirtenbrief extant today and is an edition published by the Saxons, together with other documents of the controversy that ensued, as part of a polemic against Grabau's position.

<sup>50</sup>Hirtenbrief, pp. 11-15. Roy Suelflow, "The Relations of the Missouri Synod with the Buffalo Synod up to 1866," CHIQ 27 (April 1954):

Because of the problems that arose after the expulsion of Martin Stephan, the Saxon Lutherans of Missouri did not respond to Grabau's Hirtenbrief until more than two years after it was written. Instead, the Saxons apparently submitted their own document to Grabau for his inspection. Exactly when this was done is unknown. The only extant copy of what was called "Missouri Church Principles and Parish Constitution of 1839 and 1840," (a translation of the first part appears as Appendix F)<sup>51</sup> is one that the Buffalo Synod later printed for polemical purposes against the Missouri Synod. It probably can be trusted to be original to the same extent as the publication of the Hirtenbrief by the Saxons. Also, it is not known whether Grabau ever responded to this document. As late as 1843 the Saxons were still requesting a reply. Once the Missourians

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6. Also see [C. F. W. Walther ?], "Das Gemeindewahlrecht," Der Lutheraner 17 (September 18, 1860):17. Grabau did soften this position somewhat by adding that in the emergency of a pastor's illness a layman could administer the sacraments. Yet, congregations without a pastor were to wait until one came before the Sacraments could be administered. Grabau believed that the Smalcald Articles supported this understanding of the Amt. Hirtenbrief, pp. 16-19. In addition to his diverging views on the doctrine of the ministry, Grabau had differences with the Saxons with respect to the nature of the church. Grabau maintained that the one holy Christian church, outside of which there is not salvation, is the visible church of the pure Word and Sacrament, the Lutheran Church. Lawrenz, "An Evaluation of Walther's Theses on the Church and Its Ministry," p. 96. Pollock, The Story of C. F. W. Walther, pp. 93-95.

<sup>51</sup>Unfortunately, no author for these theses is given. Since it seemingly was written between 1839 and 1840, well before the Altenburg Debate, it is very unlikely that the Saxon clergy had anything to do with writing it. Also, since Vehse left for Germany in December 1839, it is not likely that he was the author. Also, Vehse was somewhat anticlerical in his position, whereas "Missouri Church Principles" maintains the distinct divine institution of the office of the ministry. Possibly this document was drawn up by other laymen based, in part, upon the position already set forth by Vehse. The source for the translation of "Missouri Church Principles" is Buffalo Synod, Fifth Proceedings, 1856, pp. 49-52, translated by Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," pp. 25-27. The second part of the document was an exposition of the Saxon's concept of the office of elder, who together with the ministers were to form a council of elders in the congregation. Buffalo Synod, Fifth Proceedings, 1856, pp. 50-52.

answered the Hirtenbrief, their document seems to have been neglected until it was published by the Buffalo Synod in 1856.<sup>52</sup>

Like Vehse's propositions and the Altenburg Theses, the "Missouri Church Principles" strongly emphasized the priesthood of all believers with all its privileges. The rights and properties which the priesthood of all believers possess properly belong in a local congregation. However, the divine institution of the office of the ministry was also stressed. What is important to note is use of the term "transfer" (uebertragen) with respect to the call to the ministry and the authority of the minister to teach publicly and administer the sacraments. The office of the keys, the public proclamation of God's Word and administration of the Sacraments, is "transferred" from the priesthood of all believers, to whom they originally belong, to the minister through the regular call. If this document is accurate, it is the first use of the term "transfer" by the Saxons and would represent the position set forth by Walther in Die Stimme Unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt (see below, pages 42-47).

On June 22, 1843, Pastors C. F. W. Walther, T. C. F. Gruber, G. H. Loeber, O. Fuerbringer, and G. A. Schieferdecker finally met in St. Louis to discuss Grabau's Hirtenbrief. Walther wrote the following about this meeting and the Saxon's reaction to the Hirtenbrief:

As we read the Hirtenbrief, we became not a little afraid. For we found in it the same incorrect tenets whose destructive consequences we had but recently experienced, and from which only the overwhelming grace and patience of God has saved us. If this Hirtenbrief had come to us at that time when we still embraced the tenets of Stephan, we would no doubt have immediately subscribed to it, and on this basis have achieved a union with the author [Grabau] and his congregation. But now, after God had mightily opened our eyes, this was not possible. We read here what we had but recently recognized

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<sup>52</sup>Roy Suelflow, CHIQ 27 (April 1954):9.



in ourselves as abominable errors, having prayed to God for forgiveness with tears of repentance, and having openly recanted before the whole Church. But we recognize in the request made to us to subscribe to the Hirtenbrief a test whether we would again permit ourselves to be overcome by this error or whether we would guard that light which God has given us through His grace. We were at that time so helpless and without counsel and so despised that the temptation was great to be quiet to the errors of Grabau and to go in on the union Grabau has proposed. But previously we had embraced his errors, and they had led us to the rim of destruction, for which reason we could not now again agree to these errors intentionally. We [the Saxon pastors] came together in St. Louis for discussion, compared Grabau's Hirtenbrief with the Word of God, with the Lutheran Confessions, and particularly with Luther's writings, and thereupon designated Pastor Loeber in Altenburg, Mo., to write a critique of the Hirtenbrief, which we, the other Saxon pastors, then signed also.<sup>53</sup>

In his response to Grabau with regard to the Hirtenbrief Loeber stated:

In the first place, should we give a summary opinion of the contents of the Hirtenbrief, it appears to us that one part, in view of so much stress on the old church ordinance, the essentials are confused with the non-essentials, and the divine with the human, so that Christian freedom is curtailed. In the other part, more is ascribed to the preaching office [pastoral office] than is proper, so that the spiritual priesthood of the congregation becomes neglected.<sup>54</sup>

Ordination, wrote Loeber, is not a divine command, nor is ordination according to an old Lutheran order part of the essence of a proper call, or even necessary. To prescribe a certain order is a violation of Christian freedom. In addition, rather than saying, as Grabau did, that the congregation is to be obedient to the pastor in all things not against

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<sup>53</sup>Dr. E. Deneff of the Buffalo Synod has written a brief history of his church-body which was published serially in the official church paper, Wachende Kirche, volumes 54 and 55. Deneff quotes this section in Wachende Kirche, 55:4. The translation is by Roy Suelflow, CHIQ 27 (April 1954):10.

<sup>54</sup>"Sollen wir zuvoerdest ein summarisches Urtheil ueber den Inhalt des Hirtenbriefes geben, so scheint uns dabei eines Theils hinsichtlich der so sehr hervorgehobenen alten Kirchenordnungen Wesentliches und Unwesentliches, Goettliches und Menschliches verwechselt und somit die christliche Freiheit beschaenkt, andern Theils aber dem Predigamt mehr, also ihm zukommt, zugeschrieben und somit das geistliche Priesterthum der Gemeinden hintangesesst zu werden." Hirtenbrief, pp. 21-22.

God's Word, it should instead be that the congregation owes obedience only when and so far as the pastor proclaims God's Word. God deals with man in His Word, Loeber wrote, by means of the ministry. The Sacraments, therefore, have their power in the Word, not in the office of the ministry. Finally, Loeber asserted that the congregation has every right to issue a proper call without the necessity of help or advice from other pastors.<sup>55</sup>

Grabau replied to the Saxons of Missouri on July 12, 1844. Here he admitted that the congregation has the right to call a pastor and that this right is connected with the priesthood of all believers. But, Grabau insisted that the call from the congregation was not enough to make a man validly called. For this ordination by a servant of the church was necessary. Ordination was not an adiaphoron, as the Saxons stated. Grabau also accused the Saxons of a long list of errors which were not well received in Missouri. To this the Saxons replied on January 15, 1845, and the controversy began.<sup>56</sup> Beginning at its founding convention in June 1845, and continuing in subsequent meetings, the Buffalo Synod condemned the Saxons of Missouri and then the Missouri Synod, calling upon them to retract their congregational constitution ("Missouri Church Principles") of 1839 and 1840, to desist from their loose doctrine of the call into the ministry and their disregard for the office of the ministry as a whole, and to repent of various other "errors."<sup>57</sup> As time went on, Buffalo's main accusation against Missouri

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-36.

<sup>56</sup>For more detail see Roy Suelflow, CHIQ 27 (April 1954):12-14.

<sup>57</sup>Buffalo Synod, 1845 Proceedings, pp. 4-5. Roy Suelflow, CHIQ 27 (July 1954):61-62.

became one of "sheepstealing," as various Saxon, and then Missouri Synod, pastors accepted calls to congregations which Grabau had placed under his ban.<sup>58</sup>

Yet, before getting too deeply into the Missouri-Buffalo controversy over the doctrine of the ministry, another very important element must be introduced. Even before the Saxons had departed Germany to settle in the United States, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken, the "Father of Home Missions" in the Missouri Synod, had arrived during the summer of 1838 to minister to the spiritual needs of German Lutheran immigrants. While serving congregations in Friedheim and Fort Wayne, Indiana, Wyneken made several personal appeals to mission societies in Germany, requesting more pastors and financial assistance. In addition, he produced a tract entitled "Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nord-Amerika," which was widely circulated throughout Germany.<sup>59</sup> In 1841, Wyneken returned to Germany, traveling throughout the country and making a personal appeal for the "German heathen" in North America. On one occasion he met with Wilhelm Loehe, pastor of the village church in Neuendettelsau, Bavaria. Loehe then became the one largely responsible for answering Wyneken's appeal. Although he never visited America himself, Loehe trained and sent numerous Nothhelfer ("emergency helpers") or Sendlinge ("sent ones"), as well as financial resources, furthering the mission activities of both

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., pp. 70-71. See the satirical cartoon of the Buffalo-Missouri controversy (Appendix G) by F. Ruhland, CHIQ 27 (January 1955): 168-169.

<sup>59</sup>F. C. D. Wyneken, "The Distress of the German Lutherans in North America," translated by S. Edgar Schmidt, edited by R. F. Rehmer (Fort Wayne, IN: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1982). A partial translation may be found in Meyer, ed., Moving Frontiers, pp. 91-97. For an analysis of Wyneken's life, see Edward John Saleska, "Frederich Conrad Dieterich Wyneken: 1810-1876," Unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1946.

the Missouri and Iowa Synods.<sup>60</sup> Loehe sent men to German Lutheran congregations in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, helped establish a theological seminary in Fort Wayne, Indiana (1846), developed mission work among the Chippewas in Michigan (1844), and organized a deaconess society in Bavaria.<sup>61</sup>

A hand-written document was prepared by Loehe and given to each of his emissaries upon their departure for America, which provides the most complete understanding available for the view of the Sendlinge on the doctrine of the ministry:

You are leaving the fatherland and are going across to North America to serve emigrant brethren in the faith as pastor. You have prepared yourself for this at various places, and appropriate to the conditions there we regard you qualified for the holy office. No one has prevailed on you to choose the calling of pastor to the German Lutheran Church in North America, nor can anyone over here send you. That you are going to North America to present yourself to the Lord and to His congregations is a risk which you are taking out of a freely given love. . . .

2. You are seeking the office of servant of the German Lutheran Church. You also renounce the fellowship of all sects and false churches. You embrace with deep devotion the Confessions and doctrine of the Lutheran Church, and it is your holy resolve to choose the old regulations of this church [Kirchenordnung] for the conduct of your office, to make no use of the notoriously bad new regulations of the Methodists.

3. A German Lutheran candidate for the ministry seeks office with a church of his confession. Therefore for conscience' sake you cannot accept a mixed [Lutheran and Reformed] congregation. . . .

4. A German Lutheran candidate for the ministry . . . recognizes the full importance of the German language for the German faith. . . . Over there German language and customs are the vanguard of the Evangelical Lutheran faith.

5. If you connect yourself with a congregation, then you will not let yourself be hired for a year, as one may hire a servant, but for as long as it shall please God.

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<sup>60</sup>For more information on the life of Wilhelm Loehe, see Erich H. Heintzen, Love Leaves Home: Wilhelm Loehe and the Missouri Synod, condensed by Frank Starr (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1973). James Lewis Schaff, "Wilhelm Loehe's Relation to the American Church: A Study in the History of Lutheran Mission," Unpublished Th.D. Dissertation, Universitaet zu Heidelberg, 1961.

<sup>61</sup>Meyer, ed., Moving Frontiers, p. 97.

6. When a congregation has properly called you, seek examination and ordination by a German Lutheran synod, and if possible, permit yourself to be ordained before the eyes and ears of your congregation. . . .<sup>62</sup>

Of note here is the fact that Loehe and his Sendlinge, on the one hand, strongly maintained the necessity of a call from a congregation. This position they shared with the Saxons. Yet, Loehe would soon change his view on this point. Also, the call was in no way to be temporary, and ordination was to take place, if possible, in the presence of the calling congregation. Both of these positions would be adopted in the first constitution of the Missouri Synod.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, Loehe also pledged his emissaries to the old regulations (Kirchenordnung) of the Lutheran Church for the conduct of their office. Even though many of his Sendlinge did not hold strictly to this, Loehe's allegiance to the Kirchenordnungen profoundly affected his doctrine of the ministry, which in turn affected his relations with the Missouri Synod.

Loehe sent Candidate Georg Wilhelm Hattstaedt to America and instructed him to contact the Saxons of Missouri.<sup>64</sup> When circumstances prevented Hattstaedt from carrying out this mission, Pastors Sihler and Ernst, two other Loehe men, corresponded with Walther, proposing that the Loehe Sendlinge and the Saxons of Missouri form a synod. Walther responded favorably on January 2, 1845. Of specific interest is Walther's desire that the Synod exist, not so much as a powerful court, but rather as an advisory body, to which a perplexed congregation may take recourse;

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<sup>62</sup>"Georg Wilhelm Hattstaedt," Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, 1844, no. 6, col. 1-5. Translated by August R. Suel-flow in Meyer, ed., Moving Frontiers, p. 99. Another translation of a different instruction can be found in Keinath, pp. 24-25.

<sup>63</sup>"Our First Synodical Constitution," pp. 3, 10.

<sup>64</sup>"Georg Wilhelm Hattstaedt," in Moving Frontiers, p. 100.

it must particularly abstain from all encroachments upon the congregation's right to call.<sup>65</sup> An exploratory meeting was held in May 1846, in St. Louis, with Sihler, Ernst, and Lochner representing the Easterners. Here they worked on the first draft of a proposed constitution for the new synod.<sup>66</sup> In July 1846, the Saxons and the Loehe men met as planned in Fort Wayne to finalize the constitution. The first convention of Die Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten was held in Chicago, April 25 to May 6, 1847. The constitution was ratified on April 26. Twelve pastors and sixteen congregations became charter members (some pastors having more than one congregation). In addition, ten pastors and one parish school teacher were admitted as advisory members. C. F. W. Walther was elected as the Synod's first President (Praeses Amt). The new synod also resolved "that Pfarrer Loehe be invited to the next year's meeting." Unfortunately, Loehe was unable to accept either this invitation, or a second extended to him in 1850.<sup>67</sup>

The first constitution of the Missouri Synod contained several articles which demonstrated or had a bearing on its understanding of the

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<sup>65</sup>Baepler, p. 86.

<sup>66</sup>Concerning this meeting, F. Lochner is reported to have said: "I most gratefully confess that, although we--some more and some less--were very unclear in points of doctrine, especially regarding the Church and the ministry, yea, had weaknesses in us, yet we received very kind consideration from these brethren, who did not withdraw the hand of fellowship because they saw that we were honest and upright in our attitudes toward the Lord's Word and the Church." "Potpurri," CHIQ 43 (November 1970):192.

<sup>67</sup>LCMS, zweiter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1848, Zweite Auflage (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1876), pp. 46-47. Vierter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode vom Jahre 1850, Ibid., p. 151.

doctrine of the ministry (see Appendix H).<sup>68</sup> Concerning the first constitution of the Missouri Synod and the polity established there, Munding noted:

By putting real power into the laymen's hands the founders of the Missouri Synod nurtured and developed a sturdy and informed laity. . . .

The power and authority given to the laymen, on the other hand, was not permitted in any way to undermine or affect adversely the authority and dignity of the holy ministry. The principle of pastoral leadership was honored. The provisions of congregational and synodical polity not only made effective leadership on the part of the pastor possible, but probable. Thus, the polity initiated by the Saxon laymen in the isolation of the frontier amidst trial and struggle a few months after their arrival on American soil was an important factor in the growth of the immigrant Church.<sup>69</sup>

Wilhelm Loehe was not happy with the constitution of the Missouri Synod. In his Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nordamerika, he wrote:

Finally we do not wish to keep you in ignorance concerning something which has cut us to the quick and which also is of importance for the seminary at Fort Wayne. We notice with growing concern ["mit herzlichem Bedauern"] that your synodical constitution, as it has now been adopted, does not follow the example of the first Christian con-

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<sup>68</sup>Die Verfassung der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, nebst einer Einleitung und erlaeutern den Bemerkungen (St. Louis: Weber und Olshausen, 1846), pp. 5-12; cf. Der Lutheraner 3 (September 5, 1846):3-4, and *Ibid.* 3 (September 19, 1846):8-9. Translated in "Our First Synodical Constitution," pp. 2-18. For an analysis of the Missouri Synod's polity as set forth in its first constitution, see Munding, pp. 163-198. Also, with respect to Walther's understanding of ecclesiastical polity, see his address at the 1848 synodical convention entitled "Why should we and can we carry on our work with joy, even though we possess no power other than the power of the Word?" LCMS, 1848 Proceedings, second edition, 1876, pp. 30-38. In 1854, the Missouri Synod established a new constitution which divided the Synod into four geographical districts. However, this constitution did not make any changes to the doctrine of ministry or polity cited above. See Moving Frontiers, pp. 149-161.

<sup>69</sup>Munding, pp. 218-219. Munding also noted: "The authority and power believed to be inherent in the Word of God, the permanent tenure of office for all ministers of the Gospel, the doctrine that all pastors are divinely called when properly called by the congregation--these doctrines served as very effective checks upon any mob rule or any 'shameful rule of the people.'" *Ibid.*, p. 202.

gregations. We have good reason to fear that the strong admixture of democratic, independent, and congregational principles in your constitution will do greater damage than the interference of princes and governmental agencies in the Church of our homeland.<sup>70</sup>

In 1849, Loehe published a book entitled Aphorismen ueber die Neutestamentlichen Aemter und ihr Verhaeltnis zur Gemeinde. This book furthered the debate on the doctrine of the ministry both in Europe and America. Here Loehe stated:

Look at the composition of our congregations. How can it be said that they are competent to judge the ability and worthiness of candidates for the holy ministry? The candidates do not even come from their midst, to say nothing of the fact that the spirit of our times might drive laymen to apply the same pernicious tactics in the selection of a pastor which they now use in the election of a representative in the legislature. No; the unlimited right of suffrage on the part of the congregation is not only nonapostolic but also downright dangerous.<sup>71</sup>

Then, two years later, Loehe published a revised edition of his work entitled Kirche und Amt: Neue Aphorismen.<sup>72</sup> This book amplified the views set forth in the 1849 publication of the Aphorismen.

Loehe maintained that no clear text of Scripture speaks of the office (Amt) as derived from the congregation. The congregation does not

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<sup>70</sup>Wilhelm Loehe, Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nordamerika 6 (September 8, 1847):44. Loehe called the government organization of the Missouri Synod's constitution "amerikanische Peobelherrschaft." He feared that the tactics used in political elections would soon be applied in the selection of pastors if laymen were given the right of suffrage in the calling of a pastor. Munding, p. 200. In Der Lutheraner, VIII, 1852, p. 97, Walther said that he was genuinely sorry that Loehe harbored the erroneous notion that "wir haetten dan falsch demokratischen Grundsuetzen die goettliche Wuerde des Predigtamtes geopfert." Munding, p. 209.

<sup>71</sup>Wilhelm Loehe, Aphorismen ueber die Neutestamentlichen Aemter und ihr Verhaeltnis zur Gemeinde (Nuernberg: Verlag der Joh. Phil. Raw'schen Buchhandlung, 1849), p. 59. Translated by Munding, p. 200.

<sup>72</sup>Wilhelm Loehe, Kirche und Amt: Neue Aphorismen (Erlangen: Verlag von Theodore Blaesing, 1851).



and cannot hand its authority over to the Amt. The Amt does not originate from the congregation, but rather the congregation originates from the Amt. The Lord Jesus Himself instituted the New Testament office. Thus, the public ministry must be separated and distinguished from the universal priesthood of all believers. The public office of the ministry stems from the apostolic office (1 Cor. 12:28; 3:5-10; 2 Cor. 3:6-11; 5:19-21). Although the various titles of ministry in the New Testament have changed, the functions of ministry exercised by apostles, prophets, evangelists and teachers are exercised by the surviving presbyter-bishop. The one office of the presbyter-bishop is the one public office of the ministry (Acts 20:28; Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:1-7; 4:14; 5:17, 19, 20-21; and Titus 1:5-9). This office is above every human calling. Furthermore, the election of ministers as recorded in the New Testament (Acts 14:23; Titus 1:5-9) did not rest with the congregations, but rather with the apostles. The right to vote in the election of a minister on the part of the members of a congregation was seen as an unapostolic practice. Ordination is necessary for the public office of the ministry because it is the apostolic practice of the New Testament. It is the rite by which the office is conferred upon qualified individuals, and that rite is properly performed only by holders of that public office.<sup>73</sup>

In the face of opposition from both Europe and the United States,

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<sup>73</sup>For a more detailed analysis of Loehe's understanding see Kenneth Frederick Korby, "The Theology of Pastoral Care in Wilhelm Loehe with Special Attention to the Function of the Liturgy and the Laity," Unpublished Th.D. Dissertation, Concordia Seminary in Exile in Cooperation with Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago, pp. 222-235; and Pragmann, pp. 132-136. Also consider: [Arthur C.] D[ahms ?], "Loehe's Conception of the Church and the Ministry," The Confessional Lutheran 13 (December 1952):137-139; Carl Bergen, "Loehe's Concept of the Ministry," Una Sancta 12 (St. Michael's Day, 1955):18-24; Ernst W. Seybold, "Wilhelm Loehe," Una Sancta 14 (Pentecost, 1957):11-15.

the Missouri Synod attempted to deal with the situation at their 1850 synodical convention. C. F. W. Walther opened the convention with a synodical address which lamented the diverging views on the doctrine of the ministry. He stated that this was not a matter of adiaphora, but concerned doctrine which was not in their power to dismiss or relax. Although the point of contention was not a fundamental article of the Christian faith, Walther believed that it stood in such close connection with the basic articles of Christian doctrine that departure would finally and necessarily invalidate the ground of faith.<sup>74</sup> The convention resolved that Lochner, Buerger, and Keyl were to draw up a detailed report of the controversy with Grabau.<sup>75</sup> It was then decided to have a book written and published which would represent the Missouri Synod's position and serve as a defense against the Buffalo Synod's attacks. C. F. W. Walther was chosen to author this work. By 1851, Walther had prepared an outline for the book which was then presented to the convention in the form of theses. These were adopted by the synodical convention and the Synod resolved to have the book published in Germany.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>LCMS, 1850 Proceedings, 2nd edition, 1876, pp. 118-121.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., pp. 144-145.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 1851 Proceedings, pp. 169-173. This book was published as Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt (Erlangen: Verlag von Andreas Deichert, 1852). Translations may be found in C. F. W. Walther, 6 vols., August R. Suelflow, Series Editor (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), Walther on the Church, translated by John M. Drickamer; and C. F. W. Walther, Walther and the Church, Wm. Dallmann, W. H. T. Dau, and Th. Engelder, eds. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938). In "Vorwort des Redakteurs," Der Lutheraner 9 (August 31, 1852):1-3, the year Die Stimme Unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt was first published, Walther expressed himself concerning the historical background of his theses. Walther stated that the battle which he and his synod were now waging against Grabau was not easy and he then went on to give several reasons. First, Grabau sought to discredit the person of his opponents and misrepresented their teachings. Second, Walther believed that he was dealing with doctrinal points which called

Part One of Die Stimme Unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt offered nine theses on the doctrine of the church. In the second part, Walther treated the Office of the Ministry (see Appendix I for the ten theses on the ministry). After each thesis was stated, Walther set forth his support in three parts: proof from the Word of God, testimonies of the church in its official confessions, and testimonies of the church in the private writings of its teachers.<sup>77</sup>

The first three theses on the ministry were very firm in maintaining that the office of the public ministry exists solely by virtue of an explicit command of God. It is distinct from the office which all be-

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for an earnest and spiritual understanding that many of his day lacked. They saw it only as an idle squabbling and wrangling about insignificant matters. Third, Grabau's erroneous views had crept into the Lutheran Church a long time ago and would be difficult to change. Fourth, Grabau's views concerning church and ministry agree much more with what appeals to human reason than does the true scriptural doctrine.

<sup>77</sup>In defending his theses, it should be noted that Walther's sections offering proof from Scripture are much shorter than his sections from the Confessions, which are in turn shorter than his sections from Luther and other 16th and 17th century Lutheran church fathers. The criticism was then voiced that while Walther always began with the support from Scripture, God's Word didn't actually form his main argumentation. It is true that Walther did not unfold the Scriptural passages which he adduced. Here he was content to offer only terse expository remarks. The elaboration of the various points made in the individual theses is given in the support offered from the Lutheran Confessions and church fathers, particularly Luther's exposition on pertinent Bible passage. Yet, the Missouri Synod had been charged with a doctrinal position that was un-Lutheran. Thus Walther sought to show that both Missouri's doctrinal position and its polity were indeed Lutheran, were in accordance with the Lutheran understanding of the Scriptures as set forth in the Confessions and the writings of orthodox teachers. Lawrenz, pp. 105-106. Lawrenz goes on to add: "What we find regrettable, however, is that Walther's method of argumentation became a model frequently followed for doctrinal presentations within the Missouri Synod. His method of argumentation ought not to be followed generally as a model when new doctrinal questions and issues arise and call for a thorough study. As a rule such studies ought to be carried out by working first and foremost with the Holy Scriptures, the only normative source of scriptural doctrine. . . ." Ibid., p. 106.

lievers have. Because it is divinely mandated, it is not optional but must be established within a congregation.<sup>78</sup> Yet, Walther also stressed that the office of the ministry is not a special order that could lord itself over others. It is an office of service. The office deserved respect and absolute obedience only because and as far as the pastor proclaimed the Word of God. Even excommunication was not the pastor's exclusive right, but was to be brought before the congregation. Likewise, ceremonies and other adiaphora were to be decided by the congregation and not exclusively by the pastor.<sup>79</sup> Walther did consider the Predigtamt the

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<sup>78</sup>Die Stimme Unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt, pp. 174-221. Some had associated Walther and the position of the Missouri Synod with a group of Lutherans in Germany who set forth a contrasting position to that of Stahl, Loehe and Vilmar. This group included Rudolph Sohm, Adolf von Harless, and J. W. F. Hoefling. Their position was more congregational, and even, to an extent, anti-institutional. Order and structure were of subordinate importance. The Amt does not exist independently of a congregation and is derived from the spiritual priesthood. The minister is only relatively necessary. Extreme advocates (at least according to their opponents) held that the office of the ministry is entirely a human arrangement, a sociological expediency, its very existence a matter of human discretion and therefore dispensable. This was the particular position of Johann Wilhelm Friedrich Hoefling, Grundsatz evang-lutherischer Kirchenverfassung, 3rd edition (Erlangen: Theodor Blaesing, 1853), p. 63. Walther's first three theses on the ministry remove him categorically from the position of these German theologians. Thus, Walther's position is most accurately described as a mediating one, an attempt to avoid both the one extreme of Stahl, Loehe, Grabau and Vilmar and the other of Sohm, Harless, and Hoefling. Karl Wyneken, "Missouri Molds a Ministry for Mission," CHIQ 45 (May 1972):72-73.

<sup>79</sup>Die Stimme Unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt, pp. 221-237, 360-398. In a sermon delivered at the jubilee convention of the Missouri Synod's twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding, Walther said, "Reverence and implicate obedience are due the ministry when the pastor teaches the Word of God." Polack, The Story of C. F. W. Walther, p. 128. In his Synodalrede at the 1848 synodical convention, Walther stated: "Whenever the pastor preaches, he stands before his congregation with the power of the Word, not as a hired servant but as an ambassador of the most high God. He speaks as Christ's representative." The title of this sermon was "Why should and why can we do the work of our Lord cheerfully even though we have no power but the power of the Word." LCMS, 1848 Proceedings, second edition, 1876, pp. 36-37.

highest office in the church.<sup>80</sup> Yet, this was not the height of status or worldly power. In one sense it was the height of service (or servanthood). It was also the height of responsibility, because the pastor has the call, and therefore the authority and responsibility, to proclaim the Word, administer the Sacraments, and pass spiritual judgment; in other words, the full office of the public ministry.<sup>81</sup> Walther maintained that this office is transferred (uebertragen may also be translated "transmit" or "confer") from the priesthood of all believers in a congregation to the minister through the call. The office is none other than the authority of the congregation to practice the rights of the priesthood of believers in public. Ordination is not divinely mandated according to Walther's understanding. Rather, it is an apostolic and good churchly institution by which the congregation's call is ratified.<sup>82</sup>

Besides being an office of service, the preaching office (what is now referred to as the pastoral office in a congregation) is the highest office because any other offices the church may create flow from it. To this preaching office alone is entrusted the whole authority of the church: the keys and the full proclamation of the Word and administration of the Sacraments. The church may create other offices, and people who serve in these offices are involved in or partakers of the office of the ministry, but they do not have the full office of the public ministry which alone is divinely mandated.<sup>83</sup> Walther concluded his theses on the

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<sup>80</sup>Die Stimme Unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt, p. 342.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., pp. 238-244.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., pp. 245-341.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., pp. 342-343. These other offices that are partakers in the office of the ministry, but not the full office of the ministry, have come to be known as "auxiliary" offices. It should be noted that here James Pragmann makes a false distinction by saying "such 'auxiliary' of-

ministry by saying that both pastors and laymen have the right to judge doctrine, to attend and vote at church courts and councils.<sup>84</sup>

This understanding became the accepted position of the Missouri Synod. Put another way, it became part of the doctrinal criteria both for those pastors and congregations who wished to join the Missouri Synod and for those synods who wished to establish fellowship with the Missouri Synod.<sup>85</sup>

The fact that the Missouri Synod had firmly established its position did not end the controversy. The Buffalo Synod continued to use its printed synodical proceedings to attack Missouri's position. Then, in 1851, Grabau began publication of Kirchliches Informatorium, ein geistliches Lehrblatt fuer alle Christen, in order to carry on his warfare against the Missouri Synod. Missouri responded in Der Lutheraner and in its own convention proceedings. Then, in January 1855, Walther began publishing Lehre und Wehre, a general theological journal.<sup>86</sup> Its first

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fices are those elders who do not labor in the Word and doctrine." Pragmann, p. 146. Walther clearly states: "Die Aemter der Schullehrer, welche Gottes Wort in ihren Schulen zu lehren haben, der Almosenpfleger, der Kuester, der Vorsaeuger in den oeffentlichen Gottesdiensten u.s.w. sind daher saemtlich als Kirchliche heilige Aemter anzusehen, welche einen Teil des Einen Kirchenamtes tragen und dem Predigtamte zur Seite stehen." Die Stimme Unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt, pp. 342-343. This, then, would include any office in the church that supports the public office of the ministry, but is not the "Predigtamt," the pastoral office in a congregation.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., pp. 398-424.

<sup>85</sup>Wehmeier, p. 56.

<sup>86</sup>For an analysis of the doctrine of the ministry in Lehre und Wehre, see Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," pp. 41-47. Throughout, Missouri Synod theologians did not waver from the position established in 1851. The articles were either an apology for that position or a polemic against those who differed. Here Walther, as editor, probably had an influence upon what was included in Lehre und Wehre.

two issues carried a major article by Ottomar Fuerbringer on the doctrine of the ministry.<sup>87</sup>

This controversy had ramifications which carried over to Germany and then back to America. Both the Missouri Synod and the Buffalo Synod appealed to Loehe for support. At first Loehe attempted a mediating position. When the Neuendettelsau pastor was unable to come to the United States, Walther and Wyneken visited Loehe in Germany between 1851 and 1852.<sup>88</sup> On the basis of their personal contact, the three men reached a great measure of unity. However, on the issue of the doctrine of church and ministry, no agreement was reached. Yet, in Loehe's opinion, this disagreement did not warrant the cessation of supplying men to the Missouri Synod. He saw the matter as an open question. During 1853, Grabau and von Rohr (who had now been ordained as a pastor) made a trip to Germany as well. After meeting with Loehe and a conference of pastors, Grabau agreed to acknowledge the matter of the exact nature of the ministry as an open question, if only Walther would do the same. Yet, this was not to be. Walther believed that both Scripture and the confessions were clear on the matter and that any compromise would be a denial of Scriptural doctrine and would ultimately affect the teaching of justification by grace through faith.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>O. Fuerbringer, "Zur Lehre vom heiligen Predigtamt," Lehre und Wehre 1 (January 1855):1-13; 1 (February 1855):33-57. The article was directed against the views of Johann Friedrich Wucherer, an associate of Wilhelm Loehe in Germany.

<sup>88</sup>A long series of articles by Walther on the trip appeared in Der Lutheraner. C. F. W. Walther, "Reisebericht des Redacteurs," Der Lutheraner 8 (February 17, 1852):97 through Der Lutheraner 8 (June 8, 1852):165. For a complete analysis of this trip see Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," pp. 48-56.

<sup>89</sup>James Schaff, "Loehe and the Missouri Synod," CHIQ 45 (May 1972):63. C. F. W. Walther, "Synodalrede," LCMS, Vierter Synodal-Bericht

In Saginaw, Michigan, Loehe had attempted to establish a teachers seminary. Professor G. M. Grossmann, the head of the new school, supported Loehe's position on church and ministry. Because of this, he came into sharp disagreement with the Missouri Synod pastor in Saginaw, Ottomar Cloeter. Wyneken, who had been elected as the second president of the Missouri Synod in 1850, visited the Saginaw area in order to effect a reconciliation. When no agreement could be reached, Wyneken suggested that the best solution would be for the teachers seminary to move to another area where it would not come into conflict with Missouri Synod congregations and institutions. This Grossmann did, moving to Dubuque, Iowa in September 1853. On August 24, 1854, the Iowa Synod was formed.<sup>90</sup> Yet, even before the formation of the Iowa Synod, on August 4, 1853, Wilhelm Loehe sent a letter, edged in black, to the congregations he had helped organize in the Saginaw, Michigan area. From that point on, Loehe would work for the organization, establishment, and growth of the Iowa Synod.<sup>91</sup>

The controversy between the Buffalo and Missouri Synods over the doctrine of the ministry continued despite attempts by "Missourians" to set up a meeting and settle the differences. Finally, in October 1866, a meeting was arranged. During this colloquy, it became evident that dissension was developing within the Buffalo Synod's ranks. Roy Suelflow has stated it this way:

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der deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1850. Zweite Auflage. (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1876), pp. 118-121.

<sup>90</sup>Schaff, "Wilhelm Loehe's Relation to the American Church: A Study in the History of Lutheran Mission," pp. 169-177.

<sup>91</sup>A translation of Loehe's letter can be found in Moving Frontiers, pp. 122-125.



Von Rohr was dissatisfied with Grabau, but did not want to accept the doctrine of Missouri; and Hochstetter and eleven other Buffalo pastors, equally dissatisfied with Grabau, were willing to accept the position. Therefore this latter group disbanded and joined the Missouri Synod.<sup>92</sup>

Although no agreement was reached between the few pastors who remained in the Buffalo Synod<sup>93</sup> and the constantly expanding Missouri Synod,<sup>94</sup> the Missouri Synod had come to an established position on the doctrine of the ministry which in turn shaped its understanding of synodical polity, congregational polity and life, and mission outreach.

#### Missions, Growth and the Doctrine of the Ministry in Practice

Already in 1847, the newly organized Missouri Synod confronted a challenge with respect to missions, growth and its understanding of the doctrine of the ministry. Other Lutheran synods and ministeria of the eastern states had used the practice of licensing theological candidates in an effort to meet the desperate need for clergymen.<sup>95</sup> Yet, both the Saxons and the Loehe Sendlinge vigorously rejected this practice. During its first year of publication, Der Lutheraner carried at least one major article on the subject.<sup>96</sup> The Missouri Synod's first constitution explic-

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<sup>92</sup>Roy Suelflow, CHIQ 27 (October 1954):131.

<sup>93</sup>Grabau, "Johann Andreas August Grabau," pp. 51-62.

<sup>94</sup>The 1864 synodical report lists 271 pastors and 123 teachers in attendance at the synodical convention. Also, 181 pastors submitted a parochial report with a total of 209 congregations belonging to synod listed. LCMS, Zwoelfter und Dreizehnter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1864 u. 1866 (St. Louis: Druck von Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1867), pp. 9-19 and 94-99. The Synod's statistical yearbook did not begin until 1884.

<sup>95</sup>Bergendoff, p. 22.

<sup>96</sup>Th. Brohm, "Vom ordentlichen Beruf zum Predigtamt," Der Lutheraner 1 (April 5, 1845):61-62, and Ibid., 1 (April 19, 1845):65-66.

itly rejected the practice as well (see Appendix H). The main complaint against it was that it detracted from the divine honor of the call. Because the licensee was usually accepted on a probationary basis, the divinity of the call was obscured. Only if the licensee did well and the congregation was pleased with his services was his period of service renewed or extended. From the Missouri Synod perspective this left too much to the arbitrary discretion of the congregation. There were certain features of the office which were not to be left to arbitrary human arrangements, but were divinely prescribed.<sup>97</sup>

After 1850, German immigration in the United States often exceeded 100,000 persons per year.<sup>98</sup> The Synod sought to make efficient use of the available professional manpower. But it was always shorthanded. Attempts were made to restrict the scattering process by drawing German Lutheran immigrants into planned colonies or to meet them at the port cities with immigrant missionaries who could direct them to areas where Missouri Synod congregations were already in existence. Yet, these methods carried only limited success.<sup>99</sup> Another way of using the available manpower was the multiple parish, a rural form of the St. Louis Gesamtge-

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<sup>97</sup>Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," pp. 33-34. Wyneken notes that the attitude of the Missouri Synod toward the licentiate was one of the best practical examples of the high regard and esteem in which the public ministry was held.

<sup>98</sup>Carl S. Meyer, "Lutheran Immigrant Churches Face the Problems of the Frontier," Church History 29 (December 1960):443.

<sup>99</sup>Karl Wyneken, "Missouri Molds a Ministry for Mission," p. 69. In 1867, the Eastern District of the Missouri Synod began an immigrant mission in New York City. By 1869, the Lutherisches Pilgerhaus was passed over to synodical control and Pastor Stephanus Keyl was called to serve as missionary. He provided for the spiritual and physical needs of immigrants and directed them to Missouri Synod congregations throughout the United States. Theo. S. Keyl, "The Life and Activities of Pastor Stephanus Keyl," CHIQ 22 (July 1949):70-72.

meinde, in which a Muttergemeinde started branches (Filialen) and gradually outreach would be extended. Often the Muttergemeinde would call an assistant pastor (Gehueilfe or Hilfsprediger) and he would then work at establishing the branch congregations. This system was readily accepted because it did not conflict with the Synod's doctrine of the ministry. Yet, it provided only a slowly advancing growth. New territories and states were opening to settlement almost overnight, particularly after the Homestead Act of 1862, and the Missouri Synod was simply unable to reach them fast enough.<sup>100</sup>

Other methods proved to be more controversial. One reason for reluctance toward an itinerant ministry on the part of Missouri Synod members was the fact that the German immigrants were used to the well-ordered parish system of the fatherland where they had personal pastoral care (Privatseelsorge), and firm discipline. An itinerant minister would have to spread himself too thin. Another major objection was of a more theological nature. Karl Wyneken provided the following analysis:

At its inception the Missouri Synod committed itself to a thoroughly congregational ecclesiology and church polity. The authority to preach the Word and to administer the sacraments was seen as residing theoretically at least in the congregation, the "spiritual priesthood," to whom corporately those church powers had been entrusted. The "possessors" of these powers, however, were not necessarily their "dispensors," except on an individual basis and in certain emergency situations. Normally for public or corporate action the theoretical possessors "transferred" or committed them [the German uebertragen was usually used] to certain designated office holders. Strictly interpreted this meant that the office of the ministry could exist only where there was a congregation which then extended a proper call.

Rigid application of this doctrine of "transference" [Uebertragungslehre] as it came to be called affected the development of itinerant forms of ministry. . . . The Synod committed itself to a view

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<sup>100</sup>Karl Wyneken, "The Development of the Itinerant Ministries in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, 1847-1865," unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1963, pp. 27-34.

which, in effect, said, first a congregation, then the office of the ministry.<sup>101</sup>

However, the Missouri Synod did have an itinerant ministry from its very inception. In the Synod's first Constitution, Article V.8 (see Appendix H), the position of Besucher (Visitor or Explorer) was established. At the 1847 Chicago convention Candidate Carl Fricke was sent out to tour southeastern Wisconsin. The Besucher was to gather information which would lead to the organization of congregations and the calling of resident pastors. Because he was not ordained, the Besucher was a layman. He could do some preaching and teaching, as well as emergency baptisms. However, his instructions set limitations on the actual pastoral duties he could perform. Fricke completed one tour and then accepted a call to a congregation in Indiana.<sup>102</sup> The 1848 convention proposed that Pastor Fricke be sent out again (a neighboring pastor would fill in for him while he was gone), but this provoked a "long and many-sided discussion." Should a formal call be extended by the Synod so that an ordained Besucher could "serve the scattered Lutherans with Word and Sacrament?" This proposal was opposed by those who maintained that such a call could only be extended by those who would be served. It was finally decided that:

. . . a Besucher might consider himself called to work among the scattered and forsaken Lutherans only to the extent that the law of brotherly or neighborly love and the authorization of Synod gave him a call to help them fulfill in their stead the duty incumbent upon them.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>Karl Wyneken, "Missouri Molds a Ministry for Mission," p. 71.

<sup>102</sup>LCMS, 1847 Proceedings, second edition, 1876, pp. 13-14.  
Ibid., 1848 Proceedings, second edition, 1876, pp. 51-52.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid. Translated by Karl Wyneken, "Missouri Molds a Ministry for Mission," p. 76.

The 1848 convention resolved to send out Pastor Fricke and two other pastors as Besucher, who would take a leave-of-absence from their congregations. Yet, none of the three was able to fulfill this appointment. Instead, Pastor Friedrich Lochner was commissioned by the St. Louis Pastoral Conference to make an exploratory trip up the Mississippi. Lochner's method was typical of what became the standard procedure for itinerants of the Missouri Synod. The visitor first looked for Germans; then he asked if they were Lutheran; finally he tried to convince them of the benefits of being pure, confessional Lutherans.<sup>104</sup> The 1849 synodical convention heard Lochner's report and again decided to send out Carl Fricke and two other men. Again, the official appointees were unable to leave their parish duties. Thus, the 1850 synodical convention resolved to create the office of lay colporteur and urged individual pastors to assume personal responsibility for home mission work in their areas.<sup>105</sup>

In 1852, Mr. Gustav Pfau became the first synodical appointee to the position of a traveling distributor and salesman of religious literature. This office was used off-and-on within the Missouri Synod until around 1879. Because the colporteur was a layman, he needed no call from a congregation. Yet, he was able to do everything that the Besucher had been instructed to do in 1847.<sup>106</sup>

At the 1856 Western District convention of the Missouri Synod, Pastor C. A. T. Selle of Crete, Illinois, proposed an "office of Evangel-

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>105</sup>LCMS, Dritter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1849, Zweite Auflage (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1876), p. 85. LCMS, 1850 Proceedings, second edition, 1876, pp. 132-133.

<sup>106</sup>Karl Wyneken, "Missouri Molds a Ministry for Mission," p. 78.

ist." Selle addressed the delegates, reminding them of the attempts that had died (he used the term Reiseprediger rather than Besucher), whether unordained candidates or regular pastors had been used. An Evangelist would travel about and visit various settlements. He would not only locate, but also serve the Lutheran settlers on a rotating basis. Unfortunately, the 1857 synodical convention failed to act on Selle's proposal; the evangelist never became a reality.<sup>107</sup> However, the 1860 convention of the Missouri Synod did create a treasury for home missions. This fund would enable frontier pastors with even barely-established congregations to secure candidates as assistants so that one could go out to more remote areas.<sup>108</sup>

The 1860s proved to be a period of struggle and establishment for itinerant mission work in the Missouri Synod. At the 1863 synodical convention a lively discussion arose when a question about Reiseprediger (traveling preachers) came up during the reading of the twenty-first thesis of C. F. W. Walther's essay on "The Proper Form of an Evangelical Lutheran Congregation Independent of the State."<sup>109</sup> One side believed

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<sup>107</sup>LCMS, Neunter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1857, Zweite Auflage (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten, 1876), p. 361.

<sup>108</sup>LCMS, Zehnter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1860. (St. Louis: Synodaldruckerei von Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1861), pp. 70-71. Karl Wyneken, "Missouri Molds a Ministry for Mission," pp. 80-81.

<sup>109</sup>LCMS, Elfter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1863 (St. Louis: Synodaldruckerei von Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1863), pp. 56-58. Thesis XXI states: "The first step in the necessary care for the establishment and maintenance of the public ministry in a congregation is the election and calling of a pastor. In order properly to carry out this most important transaction according to God's Word and with common, heartfelt invocation of God, the congregation, if possible, should seek the advice of one or more pastors who already have gained experience in the minis-

that an itinerant could perform most if not all acts of the pastoral office, including the administration of both Sacraments, provided he did not usurp someone else's office. The basis for the position was "the call of love." The opponents to this view rejected any broadening of the Reiseprediger's job description (actually that of the Besucher), except in the case of extreme emergencies. Even though no consensus was reached, it is interesting to note that by this time the necessity of some form of itinerancy seemed to have been accepted by almost all.<sup>110</sup>

After the 1863 synodical convention, the discussion and resolution of the itinerant ministry controversy moved back to the district conventions where it remained. At the 1865 Western District convention "Twenty-Eight Theses Concerning the Call and Position of a Reiseprediger" were discussed (see Appendix J). Theses one through eight restated the basic position of the Missouri Synod on the ministry. The significant additions were set forth in theses nine through eleven:

9. Love is the queen of all laws, more so than all regulations [Ordnungen], i.e., in cases of necessity it knows no commandment, much less any regulation. Matt. 12:7; Rom. 13:10.

10. There are cases of necessity in which also the regulation [Ordnung] of the public office of the ministry cannot and should not be observed. Exodus 4:24-26.

11. A case of necessity occurs when, by legalistic observance of the regulation, souls would be lost instead of saved and love would thereby be violated.

The realization was being expressed that strict adherence to the idea of transference could result in an incongruity where the very goal

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try, take advantage of their advice, and entrust them with the management of the public election, provided they can be present." C. F. W. Walther, "The Proper Form of an Evangelical Lutheran Local Congregation Independent of the State," in Walther on the Church, translated by John M. Drickamer, Selected Writings of C. F. W. Walther, 6 vols., August R. Suel-flow, Series Editor (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), p. 136.

<sup>110</sup>LCMS, 1863 Proceedings, pp. 56-58. Karl Wyneken, "Missouri Molds a Ministry for Mission," pp. 82-83.

for which God had established the order (the establishment of the ministry) would be discarded, namely, the salvation of souls. A number of theses followed which explained why it was necessary to avoid "usurping someone else's office" ("in ein fremdes Amt zu greifen") even if that someone was a heterodox minister.<sup>111</sup> Theses seventeen and eighteen reinforced the position that love will allow one to preach and baptize, even if those served are already Christians. Thesis twenty-three forbade the administration of Holy Communion as one of the Reiseprediger's normal functions, except in extreme cases of spiritual need, because it presupposes the existence of a congregation and greater Privatseelsorge. It is interesting to note that theses nineteen through twenty-one repudiated the idea that the Synod or one of its districts could extend a call by virtue of the fact that it was the church-at-large or congregations acting collectively through the Synod. Even though this had been done on a smaller scale through the Gesamtgemeinde, it was maintained that the Synod must guard itself from the tyranny of the papal system. It was granted that the Synod or the church collectively (die Kirche ueberhaupt) could authorize such ministries, but only on the same grounds of the law of love that would in an emergency give an individual cause to violate the proper order. Thesis twenty-eight allowed for the possibility that the Reiseprediger might receive a formal call from one or more of the congregations he had gathered. He could then exercise the full office including the administration of the Lord's Supper. However, such a call should not deter him from his primary calling, that of Reise-

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<sup>111</sup>Karl Wyneken sees this as an attempt to transpose a modified version of the European principle of cuius regio, eius religio to American soil. "Missouri Molds a Ministry for Mission," p. 84.



prediger. He should encourage the congregations to call a resident pastor and then continue his rounds.<sup>112</sup>

The result of the 1865 Western District convention was that Friedrich Liebe was sent out as a Reiseprediger. The other three districts of the Missouri Synod then followed the Western District's lead.<sup>113</sup>

One other form of ministry (which in some ways is itinerant) should be noted. In March 1862, Friedrich Wilhelm Richmann, while serving as pastor of a congregation in Schaumburg, Illinois, received a call to serve as chaplain to the 58th Regiment of the Ohio Volunteers of the U. S. Army. Apparently it was the custom of the volunteer regiments to choose their own chaplains and there were a number of German regiments among the Ohio Volunteers. The congregation at Schaumburg, in a meeting on April 3, 1862, granted Richmann a leave of absence, with the understanding that it would be free to call another pastor in his place if conditions necessitated it and he could not be released from his duties as a chaplain. C. F. W. Walther announced Richmann's call as a chaplain and offered regular reports of his activities in Der Lutheraner. Richmann was the only Missouri Synod chaplain to serve in either the Union or Confederate armies during the Civil War. He regularly held worship services, funerals, and baptized. After only three months of service, F. W. Richmann

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<sup>112</sup>LCMS, Western District, Verhandlungen der Elften Jahresversammlung des Westlichen Districts der deutschen ev.=luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten im Jahre 1865 (St. Louis: Druck von Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1865), pp. 57-72. Karl Wyneken, "The Development of the Itinerant Ministries in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, 1847-1865," pp. 158-168.

<sup>113</sup>Karl Wyneken, "Missouri Molds a Ministry for Mission, pp. 85-86.

returned to his congregation in Schaumburg, Illinois.<sup>114</sup>

Walther's attitude toward the itinerant ministry within the Missouri Synod is hard to determine. As editor of Der Lutheraner he readily printed reports of the Besucher, Reiseprediger and Chaplain.<sup>115</sup> At the same time, there is no evidence that Walther was a fervent champion of the itinerant ministry as others were. Karl Wyneken notes:

Walther was, it appears, cautious or hesitant lest the itinerant ministry should detract from the divine honor and dignity of the ministry. At any rate, he does appear to have been satisfied with the settlement that was reached on these issues at the 1865 convention of the Western District, there being no evidence to the contrary.<sup>116</sup>

#### Pastors, Teachers, and the Doctrine of the Ministry

Even before the Missouri Synod was formed, both the Loehe Sendlinge and the Saxon colonists were extremely interested in Christian education for the young. Both the Sendlinge and the Saxons had professional educators. Friedrich Wilhelm Husmann, a scholarly Lutheran teacher, was Wyneken's first recruit to Fort Wayne in 1840 and was therefore the first professional Lutheran teacher in the Northwest Territory. The Saxon immigrants had a similar man in J. F. Ferdinand Winter.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>Karl Kretzmann, "A Lutheran Army Chaplain in the Civil War," CHIQ 17 (January 1945):97-102.

<sup>115</sup>Among the earliest of these reports are Fr. Lochner's, "Briefe des 'Besuchers' (einheimischen Missionars) der deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. St. an den Redakteur," letters to W[alther], Der Lutheraner 5 (February 6, 1849):93-95; *ibid.*, 5 (February 20, 1849):100-102; *ibid.*, 5 (March 20, 1849):116-117.

<sup>116</sup>Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," p. 35.

<sup>117</sup>August Conrad Stellhorn, Schools of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), p. 35 [hereafter cited as Stellhorn, Schools]. Hussman later became an ordained Lutheran pastor and was a charter member of the Missouri Synod.

Within a few days of their arrival in St. Louis, the Saxons opened a parochial school for their children. When many of the immigrants settled in Perry County and the colony had been divided into congregations, each congregation maintained its own school, including the congregation in St. Louis. On December 9, 1839, Pastor C. F. W. Walther and three candidates opened a "Higher School of Learning" in a log cabin in Altenburg, Missouri.<sup>118</sup> A seminary for pastors and teachers was also started in Fort Wayne, Indiana in the fall of 1846 by Dr. Wilhelm Sihler.<sup>119</sup>

When the Missouri Synod was formed, its first constitution maintained as a condition for membership "II.6. Provision of a Christian education for the children of the congregation."<sup>120</sup> Of the seventy-seven congregations established before 1847, which eventually joined the Missouri Synod (only sixteen of which joined at its founding convention in 1847), almost without an exception all maintained a school for their children.<sup>121</sup> The Synod's first constitution classified teachers as advisory ministerial members of the Synod. They were to attend the conventions, and they could voice their opinion. However, they could not vote (see excerpts from the first synodical constitution in Appendix H). Other regulations governing the office of the teacher were also set forth, including the authority of the pastor in examining a teacher candidate for the congregational school. Once a call was extended, the teacher was to

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<sup>118</sup>Ibid., pp. 49-50.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>120</sup>"Our First Synodical Constitution," p. 3. These provisions remained unchanged in the revised constitution of 1854 when the Synod was divided into districts. See the translation of this constitution in Moving Frontiers, pp. 149-161. It should also be noted that the German text here makes it clear that the congregations were to establish parochial schools.

<sup>121</sup>Stellhorn, Schools, p. 66.

be installed into office in a public and solemn service.<sup>122</sup>

In 1851, C. F. W. Walther's The Voice of Our Church on the Question of Church and Ministry was adopted as the Missouri Synod's position in the face of opposing views from the Buffalo Synod and certain theologians in Germany. Thesis VIII on the Ministry (see Appendix I) pointed out that incumbents of the public office of the ministry have in their office the administration of the keys of the kingdom of heaven which the priesthood of all believers has originally, and which they transmit to the public office of the ministry by way of a call. This office embraces the entire authority of the church and is therefore the highest office in the church. Walther maintained that every other public office in the church is only a part of this one public office of the ministry. The other offices that the church may create are auxiliary offices [Hilfaemter]. These would include schoolteacher, almoner, sexton, precentor in public worship, and other similar offices. They are all to be considered sacred offices of the church and all have a portion of the one office of the church; all are aids to the ministry of preaching (Predigtamt or

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<sup>122</sup>A. C. Stelhorn notes: "In that respect he [the teacher as an advisory synodical member] was on an equality basis with pastors and professors who were not pastors of member congregations. . . . Moreover, the Synod gave the office of the teacher ministerial status when, in the beginning, it did not differentiate between the training of pastors and teachers in the same institutions, and instituted special teacher training at Fort Wayne Teachers Seminary in 1857. Though no longer trained as a pastor, but given more particularized training, his status remained unchanged. . . . It was synodical policy that he should receive a formal call, a Diploma of Vocation. . . . Formal ordination was reserved for the parish pastor; yet, in effect the teacher's first installation was his ordination, for it initiated his official status as a public servant of the church." Stelhorn, Schools, p. 210. Stelhorn is fairly accurate on everything but this last point. Never has this writer found a teacher's installation associated with ordination during this formative period.

Pfarramt--the present pastoral office).<sup>123</sup>

On March 31, 1856, Walther preached for the installation service of Professor Adolph Biewend and the Reverend George Schick as director and assistant director of the Gymnasium in St. Louis. The sermon, entitled "What can comfort us, when men, who have prepared themselves for the office of rescuing souls, yes, who have already administered this office with blessing, assume the office of teaching at our institutions of learning?," based on Isaiah 49:3-4, is important because it has become the classic statement about the status of a teacher or professor at a synodical institution of the Missouri Synod. Walther believed that such men should be confident that their office is a divine office, part of the ministerial office established by God, and that their calls are divine calls. The professor was treated as a teacher of the church. Yet, he also had a pastoral role and pastoral responsibilities in his position. It will be helpful to consider extensive quotations from this sermon because of the understanding it provides into Walther's view:

God has actually instituted only one office, namely the office of gathering, building, governing, serving, and keeping the church on earth in His name. This office the Lord has ordained and given to his church when He gave Peter the Keys to heaven and finally said to all his disciples: . . . [Matt. 28:18-20].

This office does not only have such a large sphere of duties and such a great variety of obligations, but also requires so many various and outstanding gifts, that no man is able to carry out all its phases alone, even in a limited sphere of activity. Just as the Messiah's office as mediator is divided into three different offices, the prophetic, the high-priestly, and the kingly, so the office of the church is divided into the greatest variety of offices, calling for the most manifold gifts of the Spirit. Fully carrying out the

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<sup>123</sup>Die Stimme Unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt, pp. 342-343. This understanding was questioned first by August Pieper, "Was lehren wir im Artikel von der Kirche und ihrem Amt?" Theologische Quartalschrift 21 (January 1921):108; and then within the Missouri Synod by Arnold C. Mueller, The Ministry of the Lutheran Teacher (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 78-101; and Pragmann, p. 146.

office of the church requires among other things not only that those filling this office feed the flock of Christ in every way and do battle for it, but above all also this, that they take care that after them there will always be new faithful shepherds and well-equipped warriors, who will take up the lead with the shepherd staff when it has fallen from them and who will wield the sword which death has wrenched from their hand. . . .

It is, therefore, not a man-made arrangement that there are men in the church who train and instruct young boys so that they may some day carry out the office which preaches reconciliation. Their office is a holy, divine office--a branch of the office which Christ once established and ordained when He gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Not only the gifts required to ground a boy ever more deeply in the divine truth, but also the gifts necessary to educate the spirit of the boy in general, and to teach him the various dead and living languages: also these gifts are gifts of the Holy Spirit, which the ascended Savior has poured out upon His church for the establishment and preservation of holy offices. As it is written: [then follow quotes from Eph. 4:8, 11, 12; 1 Cor. 12:4-8, 10].

Our office is not only a divine institution, but all of its functions have no other purpose, no other final aim, than the glorification of God and the salvation of the lost world. . . .

Not only are particularly you, esteemed Director, from now on in the real sense the guardian, the spiritual father and house pastor of the boys and young men in our college; not only are they in a real sense a house church and house congregation of precious, immortal souls, purchased at a high price, who have been laid as a trust upon your soul from this day on, who are here not only to be educated, but also to be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord and to be trained for heaven; but whatsoever we may pursue here, apart from the word of God itself, be it the original languages of the Holy Scriptures or those of profane authors, be it the history of the church or of the world, be it geography, or the mathematical or natural sciences, or the fine arts, music and painting--everything, everything must be taught for the same purpose and in consideration of the fact that men are here being trained who must have the necessary general education and special ability, the necessary spirit, the necessary love, self-denial, and self-sacrifice to call men of all classes, walks of life, and stages of education into Christ's kingdom to feed the flock of Christ and to fight the Lord's battles.<sup>124</sup>

Two other statements of Walther should be considered in gaining a more complete understanding of his position. Between 1865 and 1871, Wal-

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<sup>124</sup>[C. F. W. Walther], "Rede, gehalten bei Gelegenheit der Einfuehrung des Direktors und Conrektors am Concordia-Gymnasium zu St. Louis, Mo., den 31. Maerz 1856," Der Lutheraner 12 (June 3, 1856):164-166; reprinted in C. F. W. Walther, Lutherische Brosamen (St. Louis: M. C. Barthel, 1876), pp. 346-352. Other translations may be found in Lawrenz, pp. 128-130; Stellhorn, Schools, pp. 212-213; and C. F. W. Walther, "Sermon at the Installation of Two Professors," translated by John W. Klotz, Lutheran Sentinel 32 (March 28, 1949):82-89.

ther published a series of articles in Lehre und Wehre which were then printed in their entirety as Amerikanisch-Lutherische Pastoraltheologie in 1875. In this book Walther stressed that a pastor should never forget that a teacher also has a divine office in the church. Walther again categorized this as an auxiliary office that is branched off from the pastor's office. In this connection, the teacher is a colleague of the pastor and thus is in the same office.<sup>125</sup> Then, in 1879, Walther delivered an essay at the Iowa District convention. In discussing the chief responsibilities of the Synod, he stressed that the first duty of the Synod was to remain true to the Lutheran Confessions and see that pastors, teachers and congregations of the Synod remain true to the Confessions of the Lutheran church. After discussing the confessional pledge of the pastors, Walther stated that everything which had been said concerning pastors also applied to the teachers. They were in a church office, called to teach the Word of God. Because of this, no teacher should be accepted into membership who has not been pledged to the Confessions. There should be a solemn installation ceremony in which the congregation hears that the individual teacher has been pledged to the Confessions.<sup>126</sup>

Several other leading Missouri Synod theologians endorsed and elaborated on Walther's position. In the 1863 volume of Lehre und Wehre,

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<sup>125</sup>C. F. W. Walther, Amerikanisch-Lutherische Pastoraltheologie (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 4th edition, 1897), p. 391.

<sup>126</sup>C. F. W. Walther, "Ueber einige Hauptpflichten, welche eine Synode hat, wenn sie den Namen einer evangelisch-lutherischen Synode mit Recht tragen will," LCMS, Iowa District, Erster Synodal-Bericht des Iowa-Districts der deutschen evang.=luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten im Jahre 1879 (St. Louis: Druckerei des Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1879), pp. 31-32.

Dr. William Sihler discussed the relation of the teacher to the pastor. Sihler maintained that the teacher is an assistant of the pastor in teaching and training God's children. The pastor, according to Sihler, is to supervise the office of the teacher. Yet, he also emphasized that this subordination of the teacher to the pastor should be a schooling in humility for both pastor and teacher. The pastor should recognize and honor the teacher's spiritual gifts, and the teacher should recognize the pastor as his superior even though he may have more formal knowledge and skill than the pastor. The relationship of the pastor and the teacher should include not only cordial respect, but also brotherly love. This includes both mutual admonition and mutual comfort.<sup>127</sup>

One of the strongest supporters of the teacher's office in the church was Pastor C. A. T. Selle (whose Chicago congregation hosted the founding convention of the Missouri Synod in 1847 and who was later called to serve as a professor at the Fort Wayne institution in 1861). Selle published a paper presented at the 1868 General Teachers Conference in the January 1869 issue of the teacher's publication, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt. Here he asserted that the teacher belongs to the clergy. Selle argued that the teachers in Germany had the same privileged position as the pastors under the consistory, and Selle maintained that the Missouri Synod had continued this understanding in its synodical constitution. He believed that the public teaching of the Word of God was a matter of the public ministry in the narrower sense (Pfarramt). Thus, for Selle, as for Walther and Sihler, the teacher's office was a

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<sup>127</sup>Wilhelm Sihler, "Ueber das evangelische Verhalten eines christlichgesinnten Gemeindegemeindeführers theils gegen seine Schulkinder, theils gegen die Gemeinde, theils gegen den Pastor," Lehre und Wehre 9 (January 1863):12-14.



branch office of the holy ministry. The teacher has been placed under the supervision of the pastor in the history of the Lutheran Church because it has been correctly recognized as a branch office of the holy ministry. Yet, Selle maintained that this supervision of the pastor over the teacher was restricted to religious instruction, the exercise of Christian discipline, the teaching of reading, singing, penmanship, and the observance of error that might occur in other subjects. Purely secular subjects like arithmetic, geography, grammar, and the like, do not belong to the area over which the pastor supervises.<sup>128</sup>

The understanding on the part of several leading Missouri Synod theologians that the teacher was a member of the clergy had no bearing upon whether or not the teacher could vote in synodical conventions. In the first synodical constitution they were given advisory status. At the 1874 Delegate Synod, the question arose as to whether or not the teacher could be a lay delegate at a synodical convention. It was resolved that no Delegate Synod is permitted to recognize a teacher of a congregational school or of a synodical institution as a lay delegate of a congregation. This rule was to be incorporated into the by-laws of the constitution. It was held that the teachers were to appear as advisory delegates representing the Schulamt (teacher's office). It was also maintained that a congregation was duty bound to send a delegate who was neither pastor or teacher.<sup>129</sup> Although the teachers were not given the right of suffrage, it was clear from the 1874 synodical convention that teachers were not to

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<sup>128</sup>C. A. T. Selle, "Das Amt des Pastors als Schulaufseher," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt 4 (January 1869):132-139.

<sup>129</sup>LCMS, Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang.=Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten versammelt als Erste Delegaten-Synode zu Fort Wayne, Ind. im Jahre 1874 (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten, 1874), p. 79.

be considered laymen.

With the rise of the Sunday School Movement,<sup>130</sup> the relation between the parochial school teacher and the Sunday school teacher became an issue. At the 1880 Canada District convention, Pastor W. Linsenmann delivered an essay in which he emphasized that the parochial school teacher's office was not in the same category as the Sunday school teacher's. Sunday school teachers were not called to perform the function of the pastorate (Predigtamt), while the parochial school teacher has had conferred on him a part of the pastorate; namely, that he should teach the children, especially the Word of God.<sup>131</sup>

The generally accepted and officially adopted position of the Missouri Synod was that the office of teacher in the church, with all its functions and responsibilities (teaching the children both the Word of God and secular subjects), was a divine office. It was a part or branch of the public office of the ministry, the Predigtamt, which was held in its entirety by the pastor of a congregation. The teacher was a colleague of the pastor because they shared in the same office. The pastor was given supervisory responsibility over the teacher. Although the teacher was not given the right to vote in synodical conventions, he was not considered a layman. He was an advisory member of the Synod and a member of the clergy. Yet, he was not a holder of the full public office of the

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<sup>130</sup>See Martin A. Haendschke, "The Historical Development of the Sunday School Movement in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod," Unpublished Th.D. Dissertation, Concordia Seminary, 1961, passim.

<sup>131</sup>W. Linsenmann, "Ueber den Beruf zum heiligen Predigtamt (Pfarramt)," LCMS, Canada District, Verhandlungen der ersten Sitzungen des Canada-Districts der deutschen ev.=luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten im Jahre 1879 (St. Louis: Druckerei des Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1879), p. 20.

ministry. This understanding, however, was not held by all within the Missouri Synod, even during its formative years.

Johann Christoph Wilhelm Lindemann was called to be director of the Addison Teachers Seminary, Addison, Illinois, after it was moved from Fort Wayne, Indiana in 1864.<sup>132</sup> Lindemann, himself first a teacher, modified his view on the office of the teacher several times during his career. While serving as a pastor in Cleveland, yet already having received the call to be director of the Teachers Seminary, Lindemann submitted a series of articles to Der Lutheraner. Yet, C. F. W. Walther returned the articles to Lindemann for correction because he had based the office of the teacher solely on the office of parents. Walther asserted that the teacher had a branch office of the pastorate.<sup>133</sup>

In a series of articles appearing in the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt of 1867, apparently written by J. C. W. Lindemann, it was first maintained that the teacher, because he taught the Word of God, was a servant of the word and a spiritual pastor (Seelsorger). The author pointed out that as a rule teachers were not called to teach adults, nor called to administer the Sacraments, nor called to assist in ruling the church like elders, but they were called to teach in the school, and this was to be done under the supervision of the pastor. It was mentioned that teachers could be asked to read the sermon, conduct catechetical classes, read a word of comfort at funerals, and other such duties in the absence of the pastor. However, these were not the primary responsibility of the teacher. The teacher was called to teach the children.

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<sup>132</sup>For a biography of J. C. W. Lindemann see August Conrad Stellhorn, "J. C. W. Lindemann," CHI 14 (October 1941):65-92.

<sup>133</sup>C. F. W. Walther, Briefe von C. F. W. Walther, Vol. I (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1915), p. 203.

Here the congregation had removed from the sphere of activities of the pastor the service in the school and for this purpose called special persons who were to be assistants of the pastor. However, the pastor still remained also the pastor of the children as he was pastor of the teacher and the entire congregation. Since the teacher is called by the entire congregation, like the pastor, and since he is called to teach God's Word, his office is a divine office and part of the public ministry.<sup>134</sup>

So far Lindemann apparently agreed with the position of Walther, Sihler, Selle and others. Yet, in the next issue of the Schulblatt, he presented the idea that the Lutheran teacher has a twofold calling. He has both a spiritual office and a civic or worldly office in which he teaches his pupils subjects which concern only secular things.<sup>135</sup> This position Lindemann continued to maintain, despite the fact that it did not coincide with that of Walther and other leading Missouri Synod theologians. Lindemann's understanding of the two-fold calling of a school teacher was best summarized in his Amerikanisch-Lutherische Schul-Praxis of 1879:

The office of a teacher is twofold in nature--in part public-churchly, and in part private-civic. First and foremost, it is a public-churchly office; for, because the Lutheran teacher performs a part of the public ministry in behalf of all, teaching the congregation's children of school age Law and Gospel during certain hours of the day, originally the duty of the pastor, he is the pastor's co-worker and a servant of the Word. At the same time he takes the place of parents, since in their stead he brings up the children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

And then the office of the Lutheran teachers is also a private-civic office. Civic, insofar as the teacher represents and assists the parents, who entrust their children to him, and teaches the latter the knowledge and abilities that are needed in the life of

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<sup>134</sup>"Pastor and Schullehrer," Part 3 [This series of articles was unsigned, but is apparently by J. C. W. Lindemann] Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt 2 (January 1867):133-138.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., Part 4, 2 (February 1867):165-178.

citizens, and for which parents are responsible, even if they are not Christians. Private, inasmuch as he is not appointed by the state . . . and the Christians of a congregation act as private persons, not as representatives of the state.<sup>136</sup>

Lindemann's understanding of a two-fold calling for parochial school teachers was carried on by the second director of the Addison Teachers Seminary, E. A. W. Krauss. In a paper presented at the Northwestern Teachers Conference, Krauss maintained that insofar as the teacher is engaged in teaching secular school subjects and the general training of children, he is to regard his office as similar to any other God-pleasing secular occupation. If he was engaged entirely in this kind of work, he would be at liberty to exchange his office for any other God-pleasing secular line of work, that is, a baker, tailor, or shoemaker. But insofar as the teacher is a co-worker in the Word and doctrine, he is to look upon his office as a branch office of the pastorate and a divine calling. As such he is subject to the same rules and order that apply to the pastor with respect to accepting a call, transferring to another congregation, resigning from office, and engaging in another calling.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup>Johann Christoph Wilhelm Lindemann, Amerikanisch-Lutherische Schul-Praxis (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1879), pp. 7-8. Translated by Stellhorn, Schools, pp. 211-212. Stellhorn also notes: "The view of the twofold call was held by some leaders in the Synod up to the 1920s. When pressed for proof, especially Biblical proof, they could not answer; it had become more or less a tradition. Lindemann, it will be noted, contradicts himself. Walther, in his lengthy favorable review of the Schul-Praxis, quotes the statement on the twofold nature of the teacher's office and, strangely enough, does not criticize it. ([C. F. W.] W[alther], "Buecher Auzeigen," Der Lutheraner 25 (April 15, 1879):64). He certainly disagreed. . . . [Walther's sermon at the installation of Biewend and Schick, his Pastoraltheologie, and other writings]." Stellhorn, Schools, p. 212.

<sup>137</sup>E. A. W. Krauss, "Etliche Thesen ueber das Amt eines lutherischen Gemeindegemeinschullehrers," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt 19 (August 1884):127. This position was also repeated by Ch. Luecke, "Wann darf ein evangelisch-lutherischer Schullehrer sein Amt niederlegen?" Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt 21 (Drittes Quartal, 1886):104-105. Luecke quoted with approval the statements of Lindemann in which he main-

With respect to the doctrine of the ministry as it relates to the office of teacher in the church, one cannot say that there was a uniform position during the formative years of the Missouri Synod, nor in the years that followed. In this regard, A. C. Stelthorn noted the following:

Whether the varying and in part contradictory views expressed during this period concerning the office of the Lutheran teacher were particularly discouraging to the teachers, and even puzzling to the pastors, we do not know. History is practically silent on that point. . . . Later history teaches that the question of the teacher's status persisted, and for many years was not satisfactorily answered.<sup>138</sup>

During the 1887 synodical convention, on May 7, Dr. C. F. W. Walther was called to his eternal home. It was during that convention that a change was made in the examination of teachers. Originally the pastor of the local congregation was charged with the examination of teacher candidates. In 1864 a Pruefungscommission (examining committee) was appointed for the Addison Teachers Seminary. Then, in 1887, the Synod resolved that for the colloquium of non-synodically trained teachers the Examining Committee of the Addison Teachers Seminary was the only rightful committee of examination.<sup>139</sup> Although this provided a more uniform policy for the examination of teachers, it removed from the pastor an important aspect of his "overseer" role in the congregation and its school.

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tained that the office of the teacher is a public church office, that he is an assistant of the pastor and servant of the Word, and that he also occupies the position of the parents.

<sup>138</sup>Stelthorn, Schools, p. 218.

<sup>139</sup>LCMS, Zwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Fuenfte Delegaten-Synode zu Fort Wayne, Ind., im Jahre 1887 (St. Louis: Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1887), p. 44.

Other Factors Concerning the Missouri Synod's  
Doctrine of the Ministry

During its formative period, several other factors must be considered with respect to the Missouri Synod's doctrine of the ministry. Of particular importance were the Synod's attempts toward Lutheran unity and how the doctrine of the ministry was treated in these endeavors. Also, Missouri's ongoing polemic against those who disagreed with its position should not be ignored. What becomes apparent is that the Missouri Synod either influenced other Lutheran synods or sought to influence other Lutheran synods toward its understanding. Although the doctrine of the ministry was not the only doctrinal consideration in unity endeavors, nor in the ongoing polemics, it was almost always a consideration. Where fellowship was established between the Missouri Synod and other Lutheran synods, full agreement was reached with respect to the doctrine of the ministry. Where fellowship was not established, the doctrine of the ministry was not always an issue. However, if it was an issue, sharp disagreement usually continued and no fellowship was achieved.

Despite the fact that the Missouri Synod was embroiled in controversy from the time of its formation, its members, especially C. F. W. Walther, were interested in Lutheran unity. However, no concerted effort was made until the mid 1850s when the Definite Synodical Platform appeared within the General Synod of the East. This was an attempt instigated by Samuel Schmucker, Benjamin Kurtz and Samuel Sprecher to overthrow the Unaltered Augsburg Confession by substituting for it an American recension which denied important Lutheran teachings (particularly baptismal regeneration and the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper) and made relations with Reformed church bodies more easily attainable. When only

three small eastern Lutheran synods accepted this attempt at "American Lutheranism" and the vast majority of the eastern Lutherans opposed it, Walther was hopeful that a united orthodox Lutheran Church of America could be formed. In order to hasten the establishment of such a united Lutheran church, Walther published a series of appeals in Lehre und Wehre calling for Free Lutheran Conferences to discuss the Augsburg Confession.<sup>140</sup>

Fifty-four pastors and nineteen laymen attended the first Free Conference at Columbus, Ohio, October 1-7, 1856. Subsequent conferences were held at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1857, Cleveland, Ohio in 1858, and Fort Wayne, Indiana in 1859. The Augsburg Confession was discussed article by article, with agreement on disputed points being determined by way of a standing vote. Walther published the minutes of the conferences in Der Lutheraner.<sup>141</sup>

The doctrine of the ministry came up at the first Free Conference when Augsburg Confession, Article V was discussed. Differences of opinion were evident from the start. Apparently, many of the participants held that Predigtamt and Pfarramt had the same meaning. Other participants, however, held that the two did not have the same meaning in this article. They pointed out that the fifth article explained the means through which the saving faith, which was described in the fourth article, was attained, namely, through the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments.

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<sup>140</sup>"Vorwort zu Jahrgang 1856," Lehre und Wehre 2 (Januar 1856): 3-5; "Eine freie Conferenz," Ibid., 2 (Maerz 1856):84-85; "Eine allgemeine Conferenz der lutherischen Prediger in America," Ibid., 2 (Mai 1856):148-152. "Augruf," Ibid., 2 (August 1856):245-247.

<sup>141</sup>For a complete analysis of the Free Conferences see Erwin L. Lueker, "Walther and the Free Lutheran Conferences of 1856-1859," Concordia Theological Monthly 15 (August 1949):529-563.



The issue was discussed for three full sessions, after which it was decided to postpone further discussion on the relationship between Predigtamt and Pfarramt until the fourteenth article was evaluated. It was then resolved that the Conference interpreted the term Predigtamt to mean services within the church, or the administration of the means of grace.<sup>142</sup>

Augsburg Confession, Article XIV was not discussed until the fourth Free Conference in 1859. Because of illness, Walther was absent. Also missing at this Conference was Professor W. F. Lehmann of the Ohio Synod, who had served as chairman for all the Free Conferences to this point. The discussion of the fourteenth article was divided into four parts: title and heading, the necessity of the ministry, the function of the ministry, and the persons who hold the office of the ministry. It was agreed that the fifth article spoke of the ministry in abstracto and the fourteenth in concreto. It was also agreed that the fifth article treats the ministry of the means of grace in general while the fourteenth article treats the ministry in the narrow sense. It was then resolved that:

When the fourteenth article states that "no one should publicly teach in the Church, etc.," it means that no one should practice the rights of the spiritual priesthood in a public office in behalf of the congregation without a regular call.<sup>143</sup>

An objection was then raised that doctrine and practice would contradict one another if a person maintained that, on the one hand, all rights belong to the congregation and that, on the other hand, only ministers could preach, administer the Sacraments, examine, and so forth. This point was resolved by stating that there is a difference between

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<sup>142</sup>Ibid., pp. 547-548.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., pp. 559-560.

possessing a certain right and using that right wisely and in the proper way. There are both divine and human arrangements involved. That the public ministrations of Word and Sacrament should be done by a specially called person is a divine arrangement. Human arrangements have their basis in the command of God to do all things decently and in order. Such human arrangements would include the delegation of the examining and ordaining of ministers by the church to those who have the ability, as well as the outward maintaining of unity on the part of individual congregations by joining a synod.

The functions of the public ministry included the following: preaching, administration of the Sacraments, public prayer, public admonition, and the exercise of the divine Word in regulating congregational meetings. Yet, the private use of the Word, discussion and consolation among Christian brethren from God's Word, emergencies or necessities, and disseminating the Word among those who are not Christian were not considered to be part of the public office of the ministry.

The Conference maintained that the establishment of the public office of the ministry was a divine institution. God Himself was the real sender of the call, mediated through a local congregation. The term rite vocatus with respect to the call as used in article fourteen was given special attention by the Conference. It was resolved that a call was rite not only when it was extended by those who had the power to do so, but also when the act of calling had been done in accordance with the order customary in the congregation extending the call. Also, a distinction was made between recte (legitimate or proper) and rate (recommended or valid). A call may be issued rate without being recte. In order for a call to be recte it must be extended by those who have the

right to call and it must be a call to the ministry of the means of grace. It was also determined that ordination was nothing else than a confirmation of the call. Missionaries and traveling preachers who do not have a call to a specific congregation should not be ordained.<sup>144</sup>

A Fifth Free Conference, planned for Cleveland, Ohio in 1860 was not held. Walther was in Germany and participants from the Ohio Synod decided that they did not wish to attend. With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the Free Conferences were not continued. Yet, at these Conferences, basic agreement had been reached, particularly on the doctrine of the ministry. One of the results of these endeavors was the formation of the Synodical Conference in 1872.<sup>145</sup>

While the Free Conferences were being conducted, the controversy between the Missouri Synod and the Buffalo Synod, Wilhem Loehe and the Iowa Synod continued. With respect to Loehe and the Iowa Synod, the issue over the doctrine of the ministry spread to the matter of "open questions" and confessional subscription. For Iowa, the doctrine of church and ministry in the Confessions was valid insofar as (so weit) it was found to be in agreement with Scriptures. Members of the Missouri Synod accused the Iowa Synod of having a mere quatenus subscription, while Iowa accused Missouri of a mechanical interpretation of the Confessions.<sup>146</sup> Walther maintained that his position was both Biblical and Confessional, even if the precise language (particularly the Uebertragungslehre) did not occur in the Scriptures or the Lutheran Symbols. With regard to the doctrine of the ministry, Walther held that there were no

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., pp. 560-562.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., pp. 562-563.

<sup>146</sup> "Vorwort zu Jahrgang 1858," Lehre und Wehre 4 (January 1858): 4-5.

"open questions" in the Confessions in the sense that the Iowa Synod and Wilhelm Loehe claimed.<sup>147</sup>

As time went on, the Iowa Synod position changed to some extent. By 1863, the Iowans no longer maintained that the public office of the ministry was self-perpetuating. In addition, Iowa now admitted that the congregation had the right and duty to call ministers. However, the Iowa Synod still held that the office of the ministry did not emanate from the spiritual priesthood, but instead was a special office unique unto itself. Iowa theologians believed that the office of the ministry was given to the church as a whole and its possession by the church was not to be considered in terms of individual believers. This proved to be an inconsistency because the congregation then transferred or transmitted an office which it actually never itself possessed. Iowa also continued to insist that this doctrine belonged to the realm of "open questions."<sup>148</sup> Whether it was the influence from the Missouri Synod or merely adapting itself to the American situation, the Iowa Synod was changing. Major differences between Missouri and Iowa, however, still remained.

Despite the controversy with the Buffalo and Iowa Synods, the Missouri Synod continued to attract the attention of other American Lutheran church bodies and cordial relations were established. In 1857, the convention of the Norwegian Synod recommended the St. Louis seminary of the Missouri Synod for the training of its ministerial candidates. The Rev. Lauritz Larsen served as the first Norwegian Professor at this

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<sup>147</sup> Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," pp. 66-67.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., pp. 70-71.

institution from 1859 to 1861.<sup>149</sup> During this time, C. F. W. Walther was called on to mediate a dispute within the Norwegian Synod regarding the ministry and lay preachers.

The problem was to reconcile the practical inferences from the scriptural teaching of the universal priesthood with a strict interpretation of Article XIV of the Augsburg Confession. How and when could a layman preach and teach God's Word? If no one should "publicly teach" unless "regularly called" [Article XIV], what was meant by "public" teaching? Did it mean merely in public or on behalf of the public, i.e., the congregation, the people of God? If laymen were not "public" teachers in the latter sense but had the right and duty to edify and admonish each other mutually, what was meant by "mutual edification"? Was not "public" teaching involved, and hence a violation of the Augsburg Confession? Moreover<sup>150</sup> was "teaching" to be extended to include public prayer by laymen?

In 1862, the Norwegian Synod called a special convention in which Walther presented theses that were agreeable to all. Here Walther suggested that the ministry was to be seen from three viewpoints: 1) as belonging to the universal priesthood, 2) as being the special office of the ministry in the congregation, and 3) as conditioned by necessity which knows no law, that is, as in an emergency ministry.<sup>151</sup> Basically, Walther's solution was a combination of the position set forth in his Kirche und Amt and the resolution reached within the Missouri Synod over itinerant ministries.

As time went on, other synods were attracted to Missouri, particularly after problems arose with the formation of the General Council in 1867.<sup>152</sup> Of particular import was the Ohio Synod and its struggle

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<sup>149</sup> Moving Frontiers, p. 279.

<sup>150</sup> E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), p. 165.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>152</sup> See Richard C. Wolf, Documents of Lutheran Unity in America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 137-178. A leader in the

over the doctrine of the ministry. In time Walther seemed to discover more like-minded theologians in the Ohio Synod. In 1860, he noted that four pastors of the Western District of the Ohio Synod had protested against the practice of ordaining candidates who had not yet received calls from congregations, the so-called practice of "absolute ordination." Walther saw this as an indication of change away from the previous "Romanizing" tendency in Ohio. Yet, he believed it would be some years before the leaven of Grabauism would be entirely removed from the Ohio Synod.<sup>153</sup>

Between 1868 and 1872, a number of colloquies were held that involved the Missouri Synod and several other midwestern Lutheran church bodies (the Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois, and Minnesota Synods). In each case, complete doctrinal agreement was reached. Of particular interest are the meetings between the Missouri Synod and the Joint Synod of Ohio. Colloquiums were conducted in 1868 and "Articles of Agreement" were drawn up. However, pulpit and altar fellowship were not established until the Ohio Synod had satisfactorily clarified its position regarding the doctrine of the ministry. By 1870, the Ohio Synod accepted seven theses on the doctrine of the ministry which corresponded to the Missouri

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formation of this Lutheran church body was Charles Porterfield Krauth. A major contribution to the formation of the General Council was his "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity." See *Ibid.*, pp. 143-148 and Theodore G. Tappert, ed. Lutheran Confessional Theology in America 1840-1880 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 246-251. In this document, Krauth treats the ministry only in abstracto. The Missouri synod did not participate in the formation of the General Council because it desired to engage in free conferences first so that agreement in doctrine and practice could be reached.

<sup>153</sup>"Kirchlich Zeitgeschichtliches," Lehre und Wehre 6 (March 1860):93-94; *Ibid.*, 6 (December 1860):381; *Ibid.*, 8 (August 1862):252; cited in Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," p. 50.

Synod position (see Appendix K). That same year, the Ohio Synod proposed a plan of co-operation with the Synods of Missouri, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Together with the Minnesota Synod and the Norwegian Synod, these church bodies formed the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference in North America in 1872.<sup>154</sup>

Although the Missouri Synod had joined in a loose federation with several American Lutheran synods through the formation of the Synodical Conference, controversy with other Lutherans, both in America and in Germany, over the doctrine of the ministry continued through the 1870s. A polemic against Pastor Julius Diedrich of the Immanuel Synod, a free church in Prussia, was waged in the pages of Lehre und Wehre during the early 1870s. The Immanuel Synod had advocated a firm type of church discipline, with the pastors in control, as a counter measure to the doctrinal laxity of the state church in Germany. Yet, this was unacceptable to Missouri Synod theologians and a sharp controversy ensued.<sup>155</sup>

In 1874, the publication, Lutheran and Missionary, of the General Synod published an English translation of a portion of Friedrich Julius Stahl's book, Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protestanten, in which Stahl critically analyzed Walther's position on the doctrine of the ministry.<sup>156</sup> In response, the January 1875 Lehre und

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<sup>154</sup>The translation of the "Ohio Theses on the Ministry" is found in Wolf, pp. 184-185. For more information on the formation of the Synodical Conference consider Moving Frontiers, pp. 260-267, and Wolf, pp. 179-198.

<sup>155</sup>[C. F. W.] W[alther], "Die Uebertragungstheorie und die Immanuel-synode," Lehre und Wehre 19 (December 1873):363-367. C. F. Th. Ruhland, "Pastor J. Diedrichs zufaellige Gedanken ueber die Lehre vom Amt der Schluessel," Ibid. 20 (June 1874):161-173.

<sup>156</sup>Lutheran and Missionary 14 (December 3 and 10, 1874):

Wehre carried an article signed by "S" (probably F. A. Schmidt), entitled, "Stahl und die Missouriier."<sup>157</sup> This was followed by another article by "S" in the September 1875 issue.<sup>158</sup> Throughout the 1870s, the Missouri Synod continued to defend its position of transference (Uebertragungslehre) and attack those who took issue with it.<sup>159</sup> However, after 1880 there was a definite lull in the literature of the Missouri Synod on the subject of the ministry. The primary reason for this was

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30, 34. F. J. Stahl had died in 1861. Yet, his work was used as a polemic against Missouri's position in the 1870s. Karl Wyneken provides the following excerpt from the translation in Lutheran and Missionary: "[Walther] teaches consequently the Divine institution of the office, and yet, at the same time, the derivation of its rights and powers by assignment on the part of the congregation as original possessor of them. In this doctrine the idea of a congregational assignment is totally unnecessary. Hoefling had need of it, because he recognizes no office as of God, and considers the office as given in the universal priesthood. But if the office be one distinct from the priesthood, and is as such instituted by God Himself, what need is there of a derivation of its authority from the congregational assignment? Is it not, in the case supposed, more simple and natural to derive it from the institution and command of God? . . ." Karl Wyneken, "Later Developments in the Missouri Synod Doctrine of the Ministry, 1870-1900," The Graduate School of Concordia Seminary. Studies in Church and Ministry. Edited by Erwin L. Lueker et al. Vol. 3. (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1967), p. 13.

<sup>157</sup>[F. A.] S[chmidt], "Stahl und die Missouriier," Lehre und Wehre 21 (January 1875):14-24.

<sup>158</sup>[F. A.] S[chmidt], "Pastor Dietrich und die Uebertragungslehre," Ibid. 21 (September 1875):263-272. Dietrich had apparently noted the appearance of Stahl's critique and had taken advantage of the situation to polemicize against the Missouri Synod.

<sup>159</sup>For a thorough analysis of the controversy see Karl Wyneken, "Later Developments in the Missouri Synod Doctrine of the Ministry, 1870-1900," pp. 12-29. Of particular interest are the District Essays of 1879 and 1880. Rev. W. Linsenmann presented ten theses on the doctrine of the ministry to the Canada District Convention while Pastor C. C. Schmidt presented seven theses to the Central District Convention. In content, both sets of theses differed little, if at all, from Walther's theses of 1851. Only the wording varied. In response to the challenges of Stahl and Dietrich against the Uebertragungslehre, it was emphasized that God transfers this ministry or office to individual persons through the church or the local congregation. Ibid., p. 28.



the fact that the Missouri Synod's attention was drawn to a new controversy over the doctrine of Predestination; also, Dr. C. F. W. Walther died May 7, 1887. Although Walther himself seldom authored articles on the ministry, his editorial hand may be assumed. Undoubtedly, because of the Gnadenwahl Lehrstreit ("Election unto Grace Controversy" or Predestinarian Controversy), articles on election and conversion took precedence.<sup>160</sup>

Analysis of the Doctrine of the Ministry  
in the Formative Period

The Missouri Synod's position on the doctrine of the ministry was shaped in the face of turmoil, controversy, development and rapid expansion. It was maintained that this position was founded upon Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions, with added support from various Lutheran church fathers, particularly Martin Luther. However, it took on form amidst several extreme positions. In that sense, it was a mediating position between the hierarchical tendencies of Martin Stephan, J. A. A. Grabau, Wilhelm Loehe, F. J. Stahl, and A. F. C. Vilmar on the one hand, and the anticlericalism of Carl Vehse or the disregard for the divine institution of the public office of the ministry by Richard Rothe and J. W. F. Hoefling on the other hand.

Because the Missouri Synod's doctrine of the ministry was grounded in the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, it had a soteriological context centering first and foremost on the believer's relationship to God as he is justified [declared righteous] by grace through faith in Jesus Christ. Through this relationship, all believers have all churchly authority and power, that is, the office of the keys,

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid., pp. 32-34.

the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments. Yet, God does not will that all believers exercise this authority publicly. For this, God instituted the public office of the ministry. It is distinct from the office that all believers have in that its function is to exercise the power and authority of all believers publicly on behalf of all. This power and authority is transferred to the office by way of the call. The Missouri Synod maintained that God established this office and He calls an individual to this office, but He works mediately through the call of a congregation. Because it is divinely mandated, this office is not optional but must be established within a congregation (a local gathering of believers). The office of the public ministry, which in its full sense is characterized by the pastoral office in a congregation, was considered to be the highest office in the church. This was maintained because any other offices the church may create were seen to flow from this one public office. As branches of the public office of the ministry, people called to fill these auxiliary or helping offices were considered partakers in the office of the ministry. They had divine calls and were to be seen as ministers. Finally, it was stressed that the public office of the ministry was not a special order [Stand] in society, but instead an office of service. Its authority and responsibility rested solely in the area of Word and Sacrament. However, both laymen and ministers were given the responsibility for judging doctrine and determining other matters in the church, even excommunication.

The Missouri Synod's position on the doctrine of the ministry attempted to maintain an equilibrium and a tension between the doctrine of the church and the doctrine of the ministry. However, there was a

close relation between the office of the public ministry and the congregation. There was also a close relation between the office of the ministry and the function of that office.

This position on the doctrine of the ministry was adopted by the Missouri Synod in the face of fierce controversy, and thus, it became a doctrinal standard. Agreement on this and other doctrines was necessary before fellowship could be established with other Lutheran church bodies. Probably the best example of this was the Missouri Synod's early relations with the Ohio Synod.

What has become especially clear by way of an historical analysis of the doctrine of the ministry during the Missouri Synod's formative years is that although the Synod's doctrinal position was established, it did not become rigid and legalistic. Particularly with respect to the idea of an itinerant ministry, the Law of Love was placed above any set order. There was much discussion on the issue. Because of the Synod's understanding of transference [Uebertragungslehre], many were reluctant toward the establishment of a traveling ministry or home missionary. Some today may view this as a weakness in the Missouri Synod's position as set forth in Kirche und Amt. Undoubtedly, the members of the Synod at that time did not think so. While maintaining the understanding of transference with respect to the full public office of the ministry, or the pastoral office, they were willing to change, and itinerant offices were established. For the sake of the salvation of souls, the Law of Love compelled them to forsake the established order within certain prescribed limits.

This was, however, the first change in the Missouri Synod's doctrine of the ministry. Not only was the order of "transference" laid

aside in this case, but also an office was established apart from a local congregation. The office of professor was also separate from a local congregation. However, holders of this office, who had been ordained, continued to serve as pastors or assistant pastors in local congregations. This also held true for district and synodical officers. The itinerant minister, on the other hand, was separated from a congregation. He was called by many congregations in order to establish new congregations. Although the first change in the Missouri Synod's understanding did separate an office of the public ministry from a local congregation, it did not separate what was considered the full public office of the ministry, or the pastoral office, from a local congregation. In this way, the close relation between the pastoral office and the congregation and between the pastoral office and the function of the office continued.

It is also important to note that the understanding of a local congregation, wherein the transference of the public office of the ministry was to take place, was not fixed to one local, independent congregation during this early period. Often several local congregations banded together and functioned as one. Yet, at this time, both the Synod and its districts were reluctant to act as the church-at-large [die Kirche ueberhaupt] in extending calls for the full public office of the ministry (yet, there seems to have been no reservation with respect to the Synod calling professors for synodical institutions). It was not denied that Synod could act in this way. However, it was maintained that the Synod must guard itself against any form of papistic tyranny.

Finally, even though the Synod had an established position with

respect to the public office of the ministry and auxiliary offices, a differing view began to emerge through J. C. W. Lindemann, the director of the Synod's teachers seminary. It appears to be clear that Walther, Sihler, Selle and others considered parochial school teachers and professors at synodical institutions to be partakers in the ministerial office, regardless of the subjects taught (whether it was instruction in God's Word or the teaching of secular subjects). They were not called to the full public office of the ministry, but they were called by the church to teach, and every aspect of their teaching was considered a form of ministry. Yet, Lindemann introduced the idea of a two-fold calling which split the calling and service of the teacher into partially divine and partially secular aspects. This view would be perpetuated and modified by others and in turn would cause further reactions with respect to this particular aspect of the doctrine of the ministry and the position of teachers in the church.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY DURING THE MISSOURI SYNOD'S SECOND PERIOD OF HISTORY: 1887-1932

In his presidential address to the 1887 convention of the Missouri Synod, Heinrich Christian Schwan stated: "Approximately with this year's meeting we are beginning a new period in the history of our Synod."<sup>1</sup> This convention chose Francis Pieper as the president of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis and elected George Stoeckhardt as professor of the same institution.<sup>2</sup> Both men would serve as theological leaders during this second period of the Missouri Synod's history, particularly Francis Pieper. Symbolic of the continuing growth of the Synod, the 1887 synodical convention also created two new districts: the Kansas

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<sup>1</sup>Heinrich Schwan, "Synodalrede," Zwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev.=luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio and andern Staaten, versammelt als fuenfte Delegaten-Synode zu Fort Wayne, Ind., im Jahre 1887 (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1887), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 30. Francis Pieper had been chosen as Walther's understudy by the 1878 synodical convention. LCMS, Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten, versammelt als Zweite Delegaten-Synode zu St. Louis, Mo., im Jahre 1878 (St. Louis: Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1878), p. 21. This, however, may have precipitated what became known as the Predestinarian Controversy. Shortly thereafter, F. A. Schmidt, who may have desired the position that Pieper received, began attacking C. F. W. Walther's position on eternal election. See Roy A. Suelflow, "The History of the Missouri Synod during the Second Twenty-Five Years of Its Existence 1872-1897," unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Concordia Seminary, January 1946, pp. 68-203; William J. Schmelder, "The Predestinarian Controversy: Review and Reflection," Concordia Journal 1 (January 1975): 21-33.

District and the California-Oregon District.<sup>3</sup> Between 1887 and 1932, the membership of Missouri Synod congregations would grow from 531,357 to 1,163,666.<sup>4</sup>

By 1932, the Missouri Synod had adopted "A Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States" reflecting the theological concerns of the church body during the second period of its history.<sup>5</sup> It also witnessed the death of several of its leading second generation theologians, including that of Francis Pieper on June 3, 1931.<sup>6</sup> And, it found itself in the midst of the Great Depression. "Es mangelt an Geld" (money is lacking) was a recurrent statement during the 1932 convention.<sup>7</sup>

During this second period, the German Missouri Synod confronted a growing anti-Germanism brought on by the First World War, which, in turn, hastened the Synod's Americanization, particularly the language

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<sup>3</sup>LCMS, Zwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Fuenfte Delegaten-Synode zu Fort Wayne, Ind., im Jahre 1887 (St. Louis: Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1887), p. 81.

<sup>4</sup>Carl S. Meyer, "The Historical Background of 'A Brief Statement,'" Concordia Theological Monthly [hereafter cited CTM] 32 (July 1961):408. The membership in congregations of the Missouri Synod increased by 133.24% between 1890 and 1932. During that same period the population of the country increased by 185%. In 1890, 22% of the population of the United States was churched; of this number the Missouri Synod made up 3.8%. In 1930, 43% of the population of the country was churched; the Missouri Synod made up only 2.2 per cent of this number. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Regular Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as the Twentieth Delegate Synod June 15-24, 1932 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932), pp. 154-155.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 244. Theodore Graebner, "Francis August Otto Pieper," The Lutheran Witness 50 (June 9, 1931):197-198.

<sup>7</sup>Meyer, "The Historical Background of 'A Brief Statement,'" p. 406. LCMS, 1932 Proceedings, pp. 34, 49, 55, 59, 61, 115.

transition.<sup>8</sup> In addition, due largely to its growth, the Synod experienced the first trend toward a centralization of ecclesiological function. The 1908 synodical convention established the Allegemeine Aufsichtssbehoerde (General Supervisory Council) consisting of three men.<sup>9</sup> In 1911, the President was made a full-time official of the Synod.<sup>10</sup> With the new constitution of 1917, a synodical Board of Directors was established.<sup>11</sup> And finally, in 1932 there was a realignment of boards and committees which provided a consolidation and strengthening of the structure.<sup>12</sup>

For the most part, the doctrine of the ministry within the

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<sup>8</sup> Frederick Nohl, "The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Reacts to United States Anti-Germanism during World War I," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly [hereafter cited as CHIQ] 35 (July 1962):49-66.

<sup>9</sup> LCMS, Siebenundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Zwoelfte Delegatensynode zu Fort Wayne, Ind., im Jahre 1908 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1908), pp. 61-63.

<sup>10</sup> LCMS, Achtundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Dreizehnte Delegatensynode zu St. Louis, Mo., im Jahre 1911, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1911), pp. 133-134, 192. Friedrich Pfotenhauer, the President of the Missouri Synod from 1911-1935, conducted synodical business from an office in his home located in Chicago, Illinois. During this time he also served as an assistant pastor at local congregations in Chicago. E. A. Mayer, "Dr. Friedrich Pfotenhauer (1859-1939)," CHIQ 13 (April 1940):1-32.

<sup>11</sup> LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirtieth Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled as the Fifteenth Delegate Synod at Milwaukee, Wis., June 20-29, 1917 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), pp. 43-52.

<sup>12</sup> LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Regular Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as the Twentieth Delegate Synod June 15-24, 1932. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932), pp. 98-99, 110-111, 160.



Missouri Synod during this second period of its history remained consistent with that established during the Synod's formative period. One exception was the understanding of the relation of the parochial school teacher to the public office of the ministry as expressed by various Missouri Synod theologians. Also, a profound change took place in the clergy roster of the Synod, a change which seems to have gone unnoticed. However, the most obvious shift occurred within a sister church body of the Missouri Synod. Members of the faculty at the Wisconsin Synod's seminary in Wauwatosa set forth a new understanding with respect to both the doctrine of the church and the ministry which would eventually affect relations between these two members of the Synodical Conference and have an influence upon certain individuals within the Missouri Synod as well.

A General Overview of the Doctrine of the Ministry in  
the Missouri Synod from 1887 to 1932

As noted above, the Missouri Synod's leading theologian during the second period of its history was Francis Pieper. His work in systematic theology has had a tremendous impact upon the understanding of Missouri Synod pastors to the present day. Because of this influence, and because of his leading involvement in the drafting of "A Brief Statement," which in some ways represents a culmination of Missouri Synod's thinking during this entire period, an analysis of Francis Pieper's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry will be reserved for the end of this chapter. An overview of selected general statements on the doctrine of the ministry by various Missouri Synod theologians will be offered here. This survey is representative rather than exhaustive. Articles which deal with different facets of the doctrine

of the ministry will appear in other sections of this chapter.

With the Predestinarian Controversy beginning to simmer down, the 1890s witnessed a slightly increased interest in the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod. On the whole, no old controversies were revived, nor were fresh issues introduced.<sup>13</sup> One possible exception would be an article on the doctrine of ordination in Der Lutheraner of May 10, 1892, probably by A. L. Graebner. The author took issue with F. Berkenmeyer of the General Synod who wrote a book called Pastor and People. Apparently, Berkenmeyer had asserted that one could be ordained and could officiate as an ordained minister without a call. The Der Lutheraner writer rejected this view, stating that Berkenmeyer's position would imply an apostolic succession and an indelible character conferred through ordination. Ordination was nothing more than the public recognition of the congregation's call. However, it appears that no controversy arose because of this article.<sup>14</sup>

Somewhat of an exception to the traditional wording of the Missouri Synod's doctrine of the ministry was set forth by F. Lochner in a set of theses at the 1892 Wisconsin District convention entitled "Thesen fuer die Lehrverhandlungen" (Theses for Doctrinal Discussion) under the general theme "What Are the Properties (Eigenschaften) of a Well Founded, True Lutheran Congregation, After Which Lutheran Ministers Together with Their Congregations Are to Strive as Their Goals?" Here Lochner maintained a view which had some similarities to that of Julius Stahl (see

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<sup>13</sup>Karl Wyneken, "Later Developments in the Missouri Synod Doctrine of the Ministry, 1870-1900," The Graduate School of Concordia Seminary. Studies in Church and Ministry. Edited by Erwin L. Lueker et. al. Vol. 3. St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1967, p. 34.

<sup>14</sup>[A. L.] G[raebner ?], "Zur Lehre von der Ordination," Der Lutheraner 48 (May 10, 1892):77-78.

above, pages 18-19). Lochner stated that there are three estates (Staende) in the world which are instituted by God: the family, church, and state. These three estates yield three offices which Christians are to honor and respect: the father of the household, the public office of the ministry, and secular authority. On the one hand, in contrast to prior Missouri Synod statements, Lochner made no connection between the priesthood of all believers and the public office of the ministry by way of a transfer of authority and power through the call. On the other hand, he did not deny any such connection either. Also, the established position of the Missouri Synod in Walther's Kirche und Amt of 1851 maintained that the public office of the ministry is not a special order or class [Ordnung] apart from the spiritual priesthood. While Lochner maintained that the public office of the ministry is a distinct estate [Stand], he did so in order to emphasize the divine institution of the pastoral office and apparently his presentation created no opposition.<sup>15</sup>

In 1893, attention was drawn to what became known as the "Michigan City Theses" of the Ohio and Iowa Synods. In a colloquy of July 1893 at Michigan City, Indiana, representatives from the two church bodies reached agreement with the hope that this would lead to altar and pulpit fellowship between the two synods. Although the Theses failed to be accepted officially by both church bodies, they did serve as the basis for continuing discussions. Thesis II, "The Office of the Ministry," is of special interest:

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<sup>15</sup>F. Lochner, "Thesen fuer die Lehrverhandlungen," LCMS, Verhandlungen der achten Jahresversammlung des Wisconsin-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt zu Milwaukee, Wis., von 23. bis 29. Juni 1892 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892), p. 19.

a. The administration of the means of grace is not the privilege of a special class, but is a right which Christ originally and immediately gave to His whole Church, i.e. every believing Christian.

b. The Ministry is an office based upon a special command of the Lord, in force for all times, and by the call transferred to certain persons to administer the means of grace publicly in the name of the congregation.

c. The call is a right of that congregation in which the minister is to exercise the functions of the office. Ordination is only a public and solemn confirmation of the call and only an apostolico-ecclesiastical order.<sup>16</sup>

Commenting on the Theses, Francis Pieper could hardly believe that the representatives from the Iowa Synod were accepting this statement without mental reservations. Pieper stated, "Here truth has won the victory over error."<sup>17</sup>

Although his specialty was exegetical theology, George Stoekhardt wrote several essays on the doctrine of the ministry utilizing a

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<sup>16</sup> Rich Wolf, Documents of Lutheran Unity in America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 208, 213. F[rancis] P[ieper], "Das Colloquium der Synoden von Ohio und Iowa," Lehre und Wehre 39 (September 1893):257-260. In 1907, the Ohio and Iowa Synods drafted the Toledo Theses which served as a further step toward unity. Concerning the doctrine of the ministry, the Toledo Theses maintained:

"1) The rights and duties of the spiritual priesthood comprehend not only the general command and call that believers reduce to practice their fellowship in the Gospel and their right and title to the means of grace and accordingly teach and admonish one another in every manner, but also that without special call they preach the Word to heathens and unbelievers and in case of necessity administer the Sacrament of Baptism; and then also, that they establish the office of the Ministry, inasmuch as this office has been originally and immediately given by Christ to the whole Church.

"2) The office of the Ministry rests upon a special command of the Lord, valid throughout all time, and consists in the right and power conferred by special call to administer the means of grace publicly and by commission of the congregation.

"3) The call (to the pastorate) is a right of the congregation within whose bounds the minister is to discharge his office. Ordination is a public and solemn confirmation of the call and is but an apostolic churchly custom or order." Wolf, pp. 216-217. F[rancis] P[ieper], "Die Toledoer Unionsthesen," Lehre und Wehre 53 (June 1907):278-286.

<sup>17</sup> F[rancis] P[ieper], "Das Colloquium der Synoden von Ohio und Iowa," Lehre und Wehre 39 (September 1893):260.

format more typical of systematic theology. In an article on the establishment and maintaining of the public office of the ministry, Stoeckhardt held that congregations have God's command to establish the office of the pastorate. Yet, he also reminded people that when this is done, they should not think that they have turned over or relinquished their priestly rights and duties.<sup>18</sup> At the 1895 Central District convention, Stoeckhardt set forth a series of theses, one of which particularly pertained to the doctrine of the ministry. Thesis VI stated that the Missouri Synod teaches and confesses in accord with Scripture:

That the keys to the kingdom of heaven are given by Christ to the whole church, all believing Christians, and that the church in each locale has the power and the command from God to establish the public office of the ministry.<sup>19</sup>

In August of the same year Stoeckhardt gave an exegetical essay in which he discussed the events related in Acts, offering their application to the present situation of the church. With respect to the commissioning of Paul and Barnabas, he noted that all Christians have the call and command to proclaim the Gospel to heathen and unbelievers. However, within the Christian congregation there is a limitation. Because all Christians have equal rights, one would harm the rights of his brother if he took it upon himself to teach and preach. Therefore, "where all have the same right, there one can and may teach publicly

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<sup>18</sup>G. St[oeckhardt], "Von der Aufrichtung und Erhaltung des oeffentlichen Predigtamts," Der Lutheraner 51 (January 29, 1895):17-19.

<sup>19</sup>George Stoeckhardt, "Unsere Missourisynode ist eine wahrhaft evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinschaft, denn sie schoepft alle ihre Lehren aus dem Klaren Schriftwort," LCMS, Verhandlungen der dreiunddreiszigsten Jahresversammlung des Mittleren Districts der deutschen evang.= lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt zu Indianapolis, Indiana, vom 17. bis 23 April 1895 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895), pp. 9-11. Translated by Karl Wyneken, "Later Developments in the Missouri Synod Doctrine of the Ministry, 1870-1900," pp. 37-38.

only with the consent of all."<sup>20</sup>

In the late 1890s, the Missouri Synod's attention was drawn to foreign missions. On October 13, 1894, at a meeting of the Synod's Board for Foreign Missions in St. Charles, Missouri, two German missionaries from India, formerly of the Leipzig Mission Society, became members of the Missouri Synod. The next day Theodore Naether and F. J. Mohn were officially commissioned by President Schwan and the Missouri Synod's foreign mission work began.<sup>21</sup>

Very few articles or convention essays at this time discussed the relation of missionaries to the public office of the ministry. In 1895, Professor A. W. Meyer of St. John's College, Winfield, Kansas, delivered an essay to the Missouri Synod's sister English Synod. Much discussion was devoted to the proper procedure in calling a pastor. Meyer believed that congregations were to consult the president of synod, neighboring pastors, and theological professors in order to avoid the practice of trial sermons and the licentiate. He also reaffirmed that ordination was not of divine institution. Whenever possible, however, ordination should take place in the congregation that called the candidate. Meyer then offered the following exception:

Circumstances may make the ordination necessary in the presence of some other congregation; for instance, in the case of missionaries going to the heathen or scattered brethren in this country. A call

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<sup>20</sup>George Stoeckhardt, "The First Christian Congregations as Reported in the Acts of the Apostles, Patterns and Models for Our Congregations," LCMS, Verhandlungen der deutschen evang.=luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten Nebraska=Districts, Anno Domini 1895 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895), pp. 10-79. Cited in Karl Wyneken, "Later Developments in the Missouri Synod Doctrine of the Ministry, 1870-1900," p. 38.

<sup>21</sup>Waltar A. Baepler, A Century of Grace: A History of the Missouri Synod 1847-1947 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 182-183.

by some board always precedes; which is at the earliest possible opportunity substituted for the call of some congregation organized on the field, this again followed by installation as soon as practicable.<sup>22</sup>

The question of the authority for the "call by some board" was not discussed.

In 1897, at the first convention of the new Oregon and Washington District, J. M. Buehler presented an essay entitled, "The Extension of the Kingdom of God--the Highest and Most Precious Task of the Orthodox Evangelical Lutheran Church." In Thesis V, Buehler stated that the commissioning of missionaries was actually the duty of each individual congregation. However, this seldom occurred because congregations were too weak and so it was more practical for a number of congregations to work together in calling a missionary.<sup>23</sup> In this regard, Karl Wyneken has noted the following:

. . . this was reflective of the rationale behind Synod's, and districts', authority to send out missionaries, both domestic and foreign. Synod was a voluntary association of congregations; therefore, what Synod did it was doing on behalf of the particular congregations. This is another interesting ramification of the Missouri Synod concept of the ministry--one which does not seem too prominent, however, in the literature.<sup>24</sup>

Apparently August Graebner (again identified only as A. G.), wrote an article on the doctrine of the church and the ministry in

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<sup>22</sup>A. W. Meyer, "Lutheran Church Polity and Policy," Proceedings of the Fourth Convention of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States Held at Fort Wayne, Ind., Aug. 7-14, 1895 (Chicago: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1895), pp. 13-26.

<sup>23</sup>J. M. Buehler, "The Extension of the Kingdom of God--the Highest and Most Precious Task of the Orthodox Evangelical Lutheran Church," LCMS, Verhandlungen der deutschen evang.=luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten Oregon und Washington=Districts, Anno Domini 1899 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1900), pp. 6-25.

<sup>24</sup>Karl Wyneken, "Later Developments in the Missouri Synod Doctrine of the Ministry, 1870-1900," p. 41.

1902. Graebner offered both a systematic and exegetical presentation, establishing the divine institution of the public office of the ministry and also discussing the twofold relation of the pastorate to Christ and to the church. As was basic to many Missouri Synod presentations on the doctrine of the ministry, Graebner began his article with the priesthood of all believers, in this case the rights and powers of the church vested in each local congregation of believers. However, he noted that the spiritual priesthood does not empower a believer to exercise the office of the ministry on behalf of others. For this, God has established the public office of the ministry which is ordained for all time. The work of this office is the preaching of the gospel and administration of the Sacraments on behalf of all. The holders of this office, who are called by God through the priesthood of all believers in a congregation, stand in a twofold relation. They are ministers of Christ, performing Christ's work on earth, and they are responsible to Christ for faithful execution of His instructions. Yet, they are also ministers of the church, performing the work primarily entrusted to the church and are responsible to the church for the faithful discharge of their duties. Graebner further stressed that because the ministry is conferred upon its incumbents by the call of a local congregation, the holder of the office is the minister only of the congregation or congregations to which he is called. Graebner then devoted a portion of the article to the qualifications for and the functions of the ministry. He concluded by noting that ordination is not of divine institution but an apostolic rite in which the call of the congregation is solemnly



recognized.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from the work of Francis Pieper, little was written on the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod until 1918. That year a conference paper appeared in Lehre und Wehre on this subject, the author identified only as "H-h." Although no names are mentioned, the writer undoubtedly had in mind a recent position set forth by the theologians from the Wisconsin Synod's Wauwatosa seminary (see below, pages 119-121). The author began by referring to earlier articles of Missouri Synod theologians on the doctrine of the ministry, particularly C. F. W. Walther's Kirche und Amt, and said that it was now his purpose to establish and prove as correct this old Lutheran position concerning the present (current) ministerial office (Pfarramt). With respect to the current ministerial office, the author stated that it is essentially the apostolic office established by Christ, which was also the office of bishop and the diakonia discussed in the Pauline Epistles. The author then went on to maintain that the office (Amt) of the apostle, evangelist, pastor (Hirt) and teacher (Lehrer) in Ephesians 4 is one and the same office and is the same as the preaching office (Predigtamt) or pastoral office today. This office is to be with the church until the end of the world. Its function is the proclamation of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. All Christians have the office of the keys. But they cannot exercise this publicly. In an orderly manner they are to call a man to the public office of the ministry (oeffentliche Predigtamt). The church, specifically each congregation (Ortsgemeinde), is required to have this office in its midst. The author

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<sup>25</sup>A[ugust] G[raebner], "The Church and Ministry," Theological Quarterly 6 (January 1902):1-36.

provided Scriptural support for these assertions based on an exegetical analysis of key verses (Matt. 28:18-20; Mark 16:15; John 20:21-23; Acts 14:23; 13:47; 20:28; 1 Cor. 3:5; 4:1, 2; 12:28-29; 14:34; 2 Cor. 1:1, 19; 3:9, 11; 5:18-20; Eph. 3:2; 4:11-12; Col. 4:17; 1 Tim. 1:12; 2:3, 7; 3:1-13; 2 Tim. 1:11; 4:5; Titus 1:5; 1 Peter 5:1, 2). The author concluded that the pastoral office in a local congregation (Ortsgemeinde) is the New Testament office and the holder of this office receives it through the call (Beruf) of the congregation wherein the office is transferred (uebertragen). The author maintained that this was Luther's position, the position of the Symbolic books, and that of Walther.<sup>26</sup>

The following year, J. Herzer presented an essay at a conference in Canada on the correct evangelical practice in the administration of the public preaching office and in the conducting of the congregation. This was then published in Lehre und Wehre. The author began by stating his understanding of the doctrine of the ministry. Here he basically followed the view established in Walther's Kirche und Amt. The public office of the ministry (Predigtamt oder Pfarramt) is in clear distinction (Unterschied) from the priestly office of all believers by which they transfer (uebertragen) all churchly authority, the public proclamation of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments. Herzer maintained that this public preaching office is the sum or complete sphere of functions or performances which God has ordained and commanded. Then followed four theses on the evangelical practice of the public office of the ministry with an elaboration and explanation of each thesis. It was emphasized that both pastor and congregational

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<sup>26</sup>H-h., "Die goettliche Stiftung des heutigen Pfarramts," Lehre und Wehre 64 (April 1918):151-161.

members should, above all, be evangelically minded Christians. Evangelical practice is so broad as to avoid the establishment of antinomian practice; above all, it is the proper distinction between Law and Gospel. Finally, proper evangelical practice in the public office of the ministry takes place in the public proclamation of the Word, the administration of the Sacraments, in pastoral care (Seelsorge), among the congregational members, and in cultivating the church (Kirchenezucht).<sup>27</sup>

In 1920, C. C. Schmidt published an article on the divinity of the ministerial office. He began by stating that the highest order or state of a man is that of a Christian. All Christians are kings and priests before God. Yet, this does not mean that Christians may disregard the office of the ministry. Schmidt stated that the office of a Christian minister is the highest and most valuable office in the world because it is divine, of the church, and not of the world. He then went on to demonstrate by way of Scriptural evidence that the office of the ministry is divinely established and ordained. "In short, pastors, the called ministers, in the performance of their office, are servants and helpers in the Lord's great work of salvation."<sup>28</sup>

One final article that should be considered at this point was written by P. E. Kretzmann in January 1932. Here Kretzmann discussed the apostolic office, preaching office, ministerial office, and synodical office. The author applied the Biblical distinction between apostles and disciples to the present distinction between pastor and

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<sup>27</sup>J. Herzer, "Rechte evangelische Praxis in der Verwaltung des oeffentlichen Predigtamtes und in der Leitung der Gemeinden," Lehre und Wehre 65 (October 1919):433-454.

<sup>28</sup>C. C. Schmidt, "The Ministerial Office a Divine Office," Theological Quarterly 24 (January 1920):1-10.

believers. According to Kretzmann, every believer possesses the office of preaching (Predigtamt), but only one man is called by a congregation for the office of pastor (Pfarramt). He based this on a distinction between the office of preaching in abstracto (which the whole congregation of believers possesses) and the office of preaching in concreto (which only the called pastor possesses). Both are related to each other. The authority to proclaim the Word and administer the Sacraments is transferred (uebertragen) to the pastor by the congregation through the call. The congregation needs the pastor and the pastor is called only for the congregation's sake. He is the pastor because of the need of the congregation. This Pfarramt is the only divinely mandated and instituted office in the church. The holder of this office has the entire office of the ministry, with all its functions. The church may establish auxiliary offices (Hilfsaemter). However, these are not divinely mandated and ordained; only the Pfarramt was established and instituted by God. Auxiliary offices are branches of this one office of the ministry and are designated to certain functions of this office by the call and discretion of the congregation. Holders of an auxiliary office have a divine call because they assist the one public office of the ministry. Such offices include parochial school teachers, deacons and deaconesses, assistant pastors, professors, and synodical officials. They serve in fulfilling some function of a congregation or on behalf of congregations, but the full administration of Word and Sacrament in a congregation is not transferred to them. Kretzmann made a further distinction between auxiliary offices which serve within a congregation and synodical offices (Synodalaemter) because he considered a synod to be a human but churchly organization in which congregations freely agree to

work together based on apostolic example. Within the synodical offices, the author made still a further distinction between those who serve the synodical organization and those who teach God's Word and serve as an example. In the first category he placed the synodical and district presidents, vice-presidents, and visitors (what are now referred to as circuit counselors). In the second category were found professors. All of these offices are filled by virtue of gifts that God gives. All of these auxiliary offices have their focus in the ministerial office (Pfarramt) in a single congregation (Einzelgemeinde).<sup>29</sup>

Based on the articles selected, it can be seen that a fairly consistent understanding of the doctrine of the ministry was set forth in the second period of the Missouri Synod's history. The position maintained during this period corresponded to that established by C. F. W. Walther in Kirche und Amt. The public office of the ministry was divinely ordained and mandated and was identified with the pastoral office in a local congregation. The priesthood of all believers have all churchly power and transfer this to the pastoral office through the call. A congregation (or congregations) also has (have) the freedom to establish auxiliary offices. Although not divinely mandated, these offices are partakers in some aspect or function of the public office of the ministry in a congregation or for congregations. Although this understanding was held by many (perhaps most) within the Missouri Synod, it was not shared by all. This becomes evident when specific viewpoints on the office of the parochial school teacher are considered.

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<sup>29</sup>P. E. Kretzmann, "Apostelamt, Predigtamt, Pfarramt, Synodalamt," Concordia Theological Monthly 3 (January 1932):23-33.

Pastors, Teachers and the Doctrine of the Ministry

Probably the most confusing issue with regard to the doctrine of the ministry in the Missouri Synod concerned the place of the teacher in the public office of the ministry. The confusion that began during the formative period of the synod's history continued and even intensified during the period from 1887 to 1932.

The twofold-office understanding begun by J. C. W. Lindemann, the first director of the Addison Teachers Seminary, was perpetuated by E. A. W. Krauss, the second director at Addison.<sup>30</sup> Yet, a tension between this understanding and the understanding established in Walther's Kirche und Amt persisted. A good example of this tension can be seen in an article by A. J. Buenger in an 1893 issue of the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt, the official teachers journal of the Missouri Synod. Like Lindemann, Buenger asserted that the teacher was a representative of the parents in training the children in the fear and admonition of the Lord. However, Buenger stressed that the teacher's office was not only a parental office. He maintained that the teacher's office branched off from the ministry. Yet, in saying this he carefully asserted that this was not an office alongside the ministry, nor an office co-ordinate with the ministry. It was an office of assisting the pastor in carrying out a portion of his office. Because of this, the teacher had a portion of the public ministry; he was an assistant of the pastor; and he was a servant of the Word. Whereas the pastoral office was not an optional office, the establishment of the teacher's office in the congregation was a matter of Christian liberty. For Buenger, the

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<sup>30</sup> August C. Stellhorn, Schools of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), p. 214. [hereafter cited Stellhorn, Schools].

teacher's office was the most important auxiliary office in the ministry. As proof for this position, Buenger maintained that teachers are those of whom 1 Timothy 5:17 refers, and are therefore worthy of double honor. He also asserted that the high purpose of the office of the teacher was to bring children to Christ. Because the teacher's office was the most important office in the church next to that of the pastor, a person should leave the office only if he is going into the pastoral office, or if his position has become impossible. For Buenger, the teacher held a divine office because he had received his office from God through a congregation. Here Buenger cited 1 Corinthians 12:28, where he considered the teachers among the "helps."<sup>31</sup> Although Buenger held to a twofold-office understanding, he placed more emphasis on the divine calling of the parochial school teacher.

A differing approach, in fact, one that corresponded to the understanding first set forth by J. C. W. Lindemann but then rejected by C. F. W. Walther (see above, page 68), was apparently maintained by Reinhold Pieper, older brother of Francis and August. The only available record of this is found in The History of the Wisconsin Synod by John Philip Koehler. According to Koehler, Reinhold Pieper read a paper dealing with the teacher's call at a joint pastors and teachers conference of the Synodical Conference members in the state of Wisconsin sometime in the mid 1880s. Here Reinhold Pieper held that there is only

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<sup>31</sup>A. J. Buenger, "Das Amt eines lutherischen Gemeindeschullehrers," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt 28 (September-October 1893):280-289. Cited in a report on "The Historical Background of the Teacher's Status in The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod," LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Second Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church --Missouri Synod Assembled at Houston, Texas, as the Twenty-Seventh Delegate Synod, June 17-26, 1953 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 307-308.

one office of the ministry in the church, that of the pastor or preacher. In this office all the gifts, powers, and functions of the Gospel are embodied, and it alone is of divine ordinance. The office of the teacher stems entirely from the parents on whom God has enjoined the training of their children. Reinhold maintained that it was not wrong for the teachers to look upon their calling as divine, but their calling belonged in the same category as that of a Christian cobbler or tailor.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> John Philipp Koehler, The History of the Wisconsin Synod, translated and edited by Leigh D. Jordahl (St. Cloud, MN: Sentinel Publishing Company, 1970), p. 231. A search of the Concordia Historical Institute and available publications has produced no further documentation for this. Koehler offered an analysis of the argumentation used by both those who held that teachers had a divine calling, a branch of the pastoral office, and those who maintained that they had a calling that corresponded to that of parents, a secular calling. Those who held that the teaching office was a branch or auxiliary of the pastoral office acknowledged that there is no direct Scriptural ordinance regarding the parochial school, apart from Acts 13:1 and Eph. 4:11 where 'pastors' and 'teachers' are mentioned. Most turned for support to Christ's saying "Suffer little children to come unto me" and "Feed my lambs." These sayings were interpreted to indicate a difference between the pastor and teacher and the teacher's dependence upon the pastor. It was held that the Apostle's mission was the pastor's calling while the teacher's office received its divineness through the office of the pastor.

Those who maintained that the teacher had only a secular calling stated that it is the parent's business to bring up their children and train them in the Word (Eph. 6:4). When a congregation establishes a school it does so as a matter of free choice on behalf of the parents. Nowhere does Scripture command the establishment of parochial schools. Therefore, the teacher's calling is the same as any secular calling.

Koehler maintained that both sides were guilty of basing their conclusions on medieval scholastic logic and both failed to conduct intensive linguistic-historical Bible study. He accused both sides of merely operating with the sound of the Biblical words: "To adduce Christ's sayings 'Suffer little children to come to me' (Matth. 19:14) and 'Feed my lambs' (John 21:15) in support of the pastoral office was a miscue. The first saying involved a rebuke of the Disciples, and to take the second saying as a reference to the first, is doubly awkward, in view of the rebuke. Besides, according to the best manuscripts, the original has not the distinction between lambs and sheep, as of age, but two diminutives (Laemmer, Schaefflein), indicating that they are endearing terms of the Lord's for the flock that He has chosen as His own, and expressive of the tender love for Peter too, after his denial, as He confers on him the high calling of the ministry. Of course, the children are a part of the flock; but just as much a matter of course, the



Continuing in this view was an article by Hermann Speckhard in an 1897 issue of the Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt. It was originally presented at the North and West Michigan Conference of pastors and teachers. Speckhard maintained that the teacher was not in the public ministry or the pastorate. The teacher was not a pastor, yet he was a public servant of the Word. Speckhard stated that the confusion about the office of the teacher had come from considering the public office of the ministry in abstracto. A Christian congregation has the Pfarramt in the abstract from the time of its organization since it has God's command to establish the pastorate according to divine regulation. In Speckhard's view, however, one cannot speak of the teacher's office in the abstract because it does not exist in the congregation as a special office in the abstract. The Bible nowhere commands a congregation to establish the office of teacher. However, Speckhard still maintained that the teacher had a divine call because the congregation, in Christian liberty, had established the office according to the will of God. Because the teacher is a fellow worker in the Word, the pastor is to deal with him accordingly. Speckhard also held that the teacher's office is seriously harmed by the congregation when a woman teacher is appointed without good reason. Women teachers may be engaged, but they should not teach religion, especially to older boys.<sup>33</sup>

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ministry belongs to the teacher and to every Christian as well as to the pastor." Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>33</sup> H. Speckhard, "Thesen, den Beruf der Gemeindeschullehrer unserer Synode und die Anstellung von Lehrerinnen innerhalb derselben betreffend," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt 32 (November 1897): 330-332. Cited in LCMS, 1953 Proceedings, pp. 308-309. Concerning this, A. C. Stellhorn noted the following: "The author must have felt that his presentation was not too encouraging, for he closes with the statement: 'May God give and maintain for His church teachers who are

From the available literature, it appears that many within the Missouri Synod continued to support the view that the teacher's office was a part or portion of the pastorate or the public office of the ministry. In 1889, R. Wagemann stressed that the call and office of the teacher was a part of the pastorate and was therefore divine. In addition, like the call of the pastor, the teacher's call was lifelong.<sup>34</sup>

L. Dornseif, in 1907, wrote that the office of the teacher is a branch of the pastorate and is a part of the pastorate. The office of the teacher is an auxiliary office to the public ministry and teachers are public servants of the Word. Dornseif held that because the priesthood of all believers in a congregation creates a special position and calls someone apart from the pastor to teach the children God's Word, the congregation thereby creates a branch office or an auxiliary office to the public ministry. The teacher becomes a public servant of the Word and a partaker of the public ministry through the call of the congregation and through the discharge of his duties. This office is a divine office, not because God has established it in exactly this form, but because the office is a branch of the public office of the ministry which God did ordain. Teachers who have been called by the congregation are in a divine calling, according to Dornseif, and so are co-workers with the pastors in Word and doctrine. The author held that teachers are servants of the Word to children and are undershepherds of the con-

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faithful, conscientious, humble, and merciful, and are content with their office!" Stellhorn, Schools, p. 215.

<sup>34</sup>R. Wagemann, "Wie kann das Verhaeltnis eines Lehrers zu seiner Gemeinde in gottgefaelliger Weise geloest werden?" Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt 24 (March 1889):66. Cited in LCMS, 1953 Proceedings, p. 307.

gregation's shepherd, the pastor.<sup>35</sup>

In 1916, R. F. Nimmer wrote an article on the authority of the Christian school teacher. He maintained that the teacher discharges a part of the public ministry. The pastor is indeed the supervisor of the school, but has no right to reach into schoolwork and school training directly and recklessly. This would take away from the teacher the authority that he has over his pupils. In the school, the teacher has the highest authority and the right to rule there alone. Yet, the teacher is to give the pastor an accounting of his office as the one to whom he is responsible before God.<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps the most complete definition of the teacher's office and calling during this period was set forth by L. G. Zobel in six "Theses on the Call of the Lutheran Day School Teacher" appearing in a 1921 article in the Lutheran School Journal. Each thesis included Scriptural support, the overriding purpose of which was to verify the proposition that the Lutheran teacher has a divine call:

- I. The ministerial office is of divine institution.
- II. The ministerial office is the only and highest office instituted by God in the Christian Church.
- III. The office of the Lutheran teacher is not an office which the Church is enjoined to establish, and to which the Church to the end of time is ordinarily obligated.
- IV. The Christian congregation has the authority to establish an auxiliary office to meet a certain want in its midst, i.e., to call an assistant who is entrusted with certain functions of the ministerial office in order that the Word of God may richly dwell in its midst.
- V. 1. The essential of a divine call to the office of the Word is a valid and rightful call to a definite charge.

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<sup>35</sup>L. Dornseif, "Die Stellung des Pastors und Lehrers zueinander," Lehre und Wehre 53 (June 1907):246. Cited in LCMS, 1953 Proceedings, pp. 309-310.

<sup>36</sup>R. F. Nimmer, "Die Autoritaet des christlichen Gemeindeschul-lehreress," Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt 51 (October 1916):306. Cited in LCMS, 1953 Proceedings, p. 310.

2. To issue such a call is the duty of, and a right vested in, the Christian congregation.

3. The call being accepted, the office is to be considered as for lifetime, i.e., a servant in the Lord's vineyard should remain in office until it is evident that it pleases God to dismiss him from service.

VI. The office of the Lutheran teacher, as it is established by our Christian congregations, is a limited service in the Word and doctrine in training children, which service has been conferred to him for lifetime by the Christian congregation,<sup>37</sup> HENCE THE LUTHERAN TEACHER HAS A DIVINE CALL [Zobel's emphasis].

The confusion over the understanding of the call and office of the parochial school teacher was intensified by an apparent disregard for the teacher's services on the part of some pastors and congregations. This caused someone, identified only as W. A. (possibly William Arndt), to write an article in a 1921 issue of Der Lutheraner. The article contained the following points:

1. A teacher of a Christian parochial school performs the most blessed work on earth--he spreads the gospel. He instructs his pupil daily in the Word of God, and thus transmits the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ. . . .

2. The parochial school teacher's field of activity is the most promising on earth. He deals with children. The hearts of children are, of course, also sinners' hearts, but the thorns and thistles do not yet flourish as badly as with adults.

3. A parochial school teacher lays the foundation for the congregation of the next generation. . . .

4. The teacher of a Lutheran parochial school performs said work by virtue of an office. He is called to do it. It is already a precious thing to have an earthly calling, and here and there to be casting a kernel of divine truth about; but much more precious it certainly is to be doing this regularly by virtue of a special call.

5. The office which a parochial school teacher holds has been instituted by God Himself. Of course, God did not say: I institute the office of a parochial school teacher. But the matter itself is named in the Scriptures. When the Savior says: "Feed My sheep!" "Feed my lambs!" John 21:15-17, we may rightly apply this also to the school office, a branch office of the public ministry.

6. Finally, it is God Himself who places the parochial school teachers in their office. Of course, He does not do so directly. In the New Testament times, in which we live, He calls the servants of the Word through the congregation. That this, however, does not

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<sup>37</sup> L. G. Zobel, "Theses on the Call of the Lutheran Day School Teacher," Lutheran School Journal 56 (April and June 1921):102-108 and 170-174.

detract from the divinity of the call, we see from Acts 20:28, where Paul says to the elders of Ephesus that the Holy Ghost had made them overseers.

Shall we not, in view of the foregoing, improve our attitude, and appraise the faithful work of our teachers higher than we have often done heretofore, in order that we may not make their already difficult work still more difficult by a low regard for it.<sup>38</sup>

In 1930, William C. Kohn, president of Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois from 1911-1939, wrote an article in which he expressed his views on the teacher's office. Kohn maintained that the teacher's office is an auxiliary office which flows from the public ministry. He held that the teacher has a divine call. He further stated:

A call is divine when God says to a certain person, 'You shall be My servant.' God does not do this directly any more, but He does it mediately. The Christian congregation that has been given the Office of the Keys by the Savior is the agency through which God says to a person, 'You shall be My servant.' Although there is this difference between the pastorate and the office of the Christian teacher, that the pastorate was instituted by God and the office of the teacher has issued out of this office as an auxiliary, nonetheless there is no difference between the call of the teacher and the call of the pastor: both are called by that body through which God calls His servants. Both are called by God through the congregation, and both are assigned their offices by the congregation, the pastor the entire office that has been instituted by God, the teacher<sup>39</sup> the important part of this office to feed the lambs of Jesus.

Toward the close of the second period in the history of the Missouri Synod, L. August Heerboth published an article which appears to be fairly representative of the view held by many (and perhaps most) within the Synod at that time, although as has been seen, it certainly was not the understanding of all. Heerboth maintained that the office of the parochial school teacher is not only God-pleasing but, like that

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<sup>38</sup>W[illiam] A[rndt ?], "Ein Unvergleichlich herrliches Amt," Der Lutheraner 77 (January 25, 1921):19.

<sup>39</sup>William C. Kohn, "Eine herzliche Bitte an die Lehrer zum Wohl unserer Gemeindeschulen," Lutheran School Journal 66 (September 1930): 2. Translated in LCMS, 1953 Proceedings, p. 311.

of a pastor, is truly divine. A divine office is one into which God calls a person to carry out the work which He has commanded. When this work is done on behalf of other Christians, it is a public ministry. The offices of the parish school teacher, the professor at a church institution, and other synodical officials are branches of this ministry and are therefore divine offices. Yet, there is a difference between the office of a pastor and that of a teacher. A pastor is called for the entire parish ministry of Word and Sacrament. The requirements and authority for the establishment and function of this call are laid down in Scripture. The teacher is called only for a certain part of this office. That precise part of the ministry is stated in the teacher's call, as are the duties of a professor and other church servants. Heerboth maintained that a teacher is not a pastor, nor an assistant pastor. However, he does perform a part of the parish ministry. The call of the teacher, and the call to any other auxiliary office, is as divine as that of the pastor.<sup>40</sup>

While many within the Missouri Synod considered parochial school teachers to be partakers in the public office of the ministry, others did not, which precipitated confusion in this aspect of the doctrine of the ministry. However, it appears that no controversy over this issue occurred. Other factors also served in continuing the confusion at this time as well.

In 1896, a Pastoral Conference of Minnesota and the Dakotas submitted a memorial to the synodical convention requesting that the Synod do something so that teachers could receive half-fare permits on the

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<sup>40</sup>L. August Heerboth, "Beruf und Amt eines Gemeindegemeindepflegerers," Lutheran School Journal 67 (October 1931):49-65.

railroads. The report to the convention maintained that the teachers held a "kirchliches Amt" (churchly office), but the railroads did not recognize this. The report further stated that "unsere Lehrer Diener der Kirche und Gehuelfen im Predigtamt sind und als solche zu 'half fare permits' berechtigt sind" (our teachers are servants of the church and assistants in the preaching office, and as such are entitled to half-fare permits). It was then resolved to appoint a committee of three pastors to negotiate with the railroads in order to secure such permits for the teachers.<sup>41</sup> These were granted for a period of about twenty years.

At the 1899 synodical convention it was reported that a number of teachers had complained about having to pay two dollars per year for the Synod's administrative expenses, for which they received the synodical reports. Yet, the teachers, as advisory members of the Synod, had no vote. To many teachers this was seen as 'taxation without representation.' The synodical convention responded by stating that the contribution was required by the Synod's Constitution, and not by a majority vote of the convention.<sup>42</sup>

Then, in 1920, several teachers' conferences requested that Synod list parochial school teachers as "assistant pastors" in the synodical Kalender. It was hoped that this action would persuade the railroads again to grant clergy fares to the teachers. The report to

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<sup>41</sup>LCMS, Dreiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Achte Delegatensynode zu Fort Wayne, Ind., im Jahre 1896 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1896), p. 133.

<sup>42</sup>LCMS, Vierundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Neunte Delegatensynode zu St. Louis, Mo., im Jahre 1899 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1899), pp. 127-129.

the convention stated that an investigation demonstrated that this action would not grant clergy rates to the teachers. Thereupon, the teachers' request was denied by the convention. It was recommended that the railroad secretary be encouraged to secure the desired rates for the Synod's parochial school teachers as soon as possible.<sup>43</sup>

During the second period of the Missouri Synod's history, the place of the teacher in the doctrine of the ministry was, to some extent, in a state of confusion. Articles in synodical publications, essays at conventions and conferences, synodical polity and actions of synodical conventions all contributed to this unfortunate situation. The established position of the Synod from 1851 was maintained by many, and with respect to clergy rates on the railroads, the Synod seemed to make every effort to facilitate the understanding that teachers were a part of the public office of the ministry so that they could receive the same benefits as pastors in the secular realm. However, the publication of differing positions sent mixed signals to congregations, pastors and teachers alike, and left the issue unclear.

#### A New Position Develops Within the Wisconsin Synod

The question of the teacher's office and call was not only an issue raised within the Missouri Synod. Discussions over this issue took place within the Wisconsin Synod as well. For example, in 1892, at a general pastoral conference of the Wisconsin Synod in Milwaukee, Professor O. Hoenecke of the Wisconsin Synod's Seminary discussed the relation between the pastoral office and that of the Lutheran teacher.

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<sup>43</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-First National Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled at Detroit, Mich., as the Sixteenth Delegate Synod June 16-25, 1920 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1920), p. 242.



Hoenecke maintained that the teacher's office was a branch of the pastoral office, or the public office of the ministry. Therefore, the teacher should receive a regular call according to Augsburg Confession, Article XIV. The teacher's call is to be considered divine, like that of the pastor. The work of the teacher, however, is to be subject to the pastor's supervision.

Apparently, Hoenecke's understanding was then questioned at the conference. By whom is unknown, since the only available record appears in John Philip Koehler's The History of the Wisconsin Synod, and he does not mention who questioned Hoenecke. According to Koehler, the following issue was raised:

Why detour thru [sic] the office of the pastor in order to establish the divine character of the teacher's call? That which distinguishes the pastor's call and exalts it above others is the fact that he 'labors in the word and doctrine.' That is what the Twelve asserted of themselves (Acts 6:2-4), and the same Paul says of the elders (1 Tim. 5:17). It is likewise true of the parochial school teacher; and he is called thereto by the congregation. Why then should not Acts 20:28: 'The Holy Ghost hath made you overseers over the flock' apply to teachers as well as to pastors, and to the other church officers whose work does not constitute laboring in the Word in its specific sense, but who are also to be classed with the elders and bishops (the 'elders' of Ephesus are called 'bishops' Acts 20, and there were 'elders' who did not labor in the Word, 1 Tim. 5:17).<sup>44</sup>

Apparently, Professor Hoenecke acknowledged the comment as novel and worthy of careful study.

However, it was a congregational disciplinary matter within the Missouri Synod and the intersynodical dealings with the Wisconsin Synod growing out of this situation that brought on a reevaluation and re-statement of the doctrine of the church and the ministry by leading Wis-

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<sup>44</sup>Koehler, p. 232. In view of his later discussion, it may well have been Koehler himself who raised this point. However, at other places in his history, Koehler identified himself and he does not do so here. It may also have been August Pieper, in view of his later articles.

consin Synod theologians. In 1899, a Mr. Schlueter of Trinity Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod) in Cincinnati, Ohio, was excommunicated (the congregation maintained that he excommunicated himself) because he desired to send his son to the public school instead of the congregation's parochial school. Missouri Synod officials did not approve of this action and Pastors A. and E. von Schlichten and the Trinity congregation were suspended by the Missouri Synod's Central District.<sup>45</sup> In 1904, A. and E. von Schlichten and their congregation applied for membership to the Wisconsin Synod. Wisconsin reported that the application would not be considered because the situation between the ousted pastors, their congregation and the Missouri Synod had not been settled.<sup>46</sup> The 1905 Missouri Synod convention required that the suspended parties retract their accusations against the Synod which they had aired by way of pamphlets and in the public press.<sup>47</sup> The von Schlichtens and their congregation then reapplied for membership in the Wisconsin Synod. Committees from both the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods discussed the issue for several years. However, in the meantime, several Wisconsin Synod pas-

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 233. LCMS, Verhandlungen der achtunddreiszigsten Jahresversammlung der Mittleren Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt zu Cleveland, Ohio, vom 12. bis 18. August 1903 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903), p. 55. LCMS, Verhandlungen der neununddreiszigsten Jahresversammlung der Mittleren Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt zu Indianapolis, Ind., vom 3. bis 9. August 1904 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1904), pp. 80-112.

<sup>46</sup>Die Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin u.a. St., Synodal-Bericht Verhandlungen der sechsundfuenfzigsten Versammlung gehalten zu Milwaukee, Wis., vom 20-26 Juni 1906 (Milwaukee: Druck des Northwestern Publishing House, 1906), p. 25. President von Rohr reported that the von Schlichtens had been applying for membership for two years to that point.

<sup>47</sup>LCMS, 1905 Proceedings, pp. 158-164.

tors were engaging in fellowship with the former Missouri Synod congregation, despite warnings from Wisconsin Synod officials, particularly the faculty of the Wisconsin Synod's Wauwatosa seminary. By 1911, the Trinity congregation deposed the von Schlichtens and the council which supported them and then returned to the Missouri Synod.<sup>48</sup>

The "Cincinnati Case" did not have an immediate impact upon the Wisconsin Synod's position. This can be seen by way of a paper presented by professor J. Schaller (a graduate of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis and former Missouri Synod pastor), the new Director of the Wisconsin Synod's Wauwatosa Seminary, at a 1909 pastors and teachers conference in Milwaukee. Here Schaller maintained that there is only one office in the church, that of the pastorate, which is divinely ordained. This office embodies every service that is necessary for the building of the kingdom of God, the ministry of Word and Sacrament. All other offices that are created by the church are deaconate offices or auxiliary offices, not ordained by God, but branched off from the pastoral office as the church exercises its Christian liberty. Such auxiliary offices included parochial school teachers, the church council, high school,

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<sup>48</sup> Wisconsin Synod, Synodal-Bericht Verhandlungen der siebenundfuenfzigsten Versammlung gehalten zu Fond du Lac, Wis., vom 19.-25. Juni 1907 (Milwaukee: Druck des Northwestern Publishing House, 1907), p. 119. Synodal-Bericht Verhandlungen achtundfuenfzigsten Versammlung gehalten zu Milwaukee, Wis., vom 24-30 Juni 1908 (Milwaukee: Druck des Northwestern Publishing House, 1908), p. 127. Synodal-Bericht Verhandlungen der neunundfuenfzigsten Versammlung gehalten zu Milwaukee, Wis., vom 23-29 Juni 1909 (Milwaukee: Druck des Northwestern Publishing House, 1909), p. 135. Synodal-Bericht Verhandlungen der sechzigsten Versammlung gehalten zu Columbus, Wis., vom 22-28 Juni 1910 (Milwaukee: Druck des Northwestern Publishing House, 1910, p. 101. LCMS, Siebenundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Zwoelfte Delegatensynode zu Fort Wayne, Ind., im Jahre 1908 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1908), p. 148. LCMS, 1911 Proceedings, pp. 185-186. Koehler, pp. 233-234.

college, and seminary professors, the synodical and district presidents, visitors, and missionaries. Schaller based this presentation on the organization of the deaconate in Acts 6.

Apparently, Professor John Koehler challenged Schaller's position at this 1909 conference. Koehler maintained that this understanding was based on "a falsely so-called dogmatical method of determining a doctrine by citing doctrinal statements of the Scriptures without paying attention to the historical context and its way of presenting things."<sup>49</sup> Koehler stated that his own views at this conference "did not meet with vigorous denial; they were tolerantly received, but not

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 232. Koehler went on to state: "In the statements about prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, miracle workers, healers, rulers, those gifted with tongues, elders, bishops, they are mentioned alongside of the apostles and deacons in that order, so their successive appearance in order of time is indicated thereby; and all these activities are of divine origin, so the 'God hath set some in the church . . .' (1 Cor. 12:28) is not simply identical with the institution of the ministry of the Word and Sacraments (Matth. 28:19). 'The Holy Ghost hath made you overseers' (Acts 20:28) is a figurative expression for divine providence in the propagation of the Gospel, which may differ according to time, place and circumstances, and pertains to the ministry (diakonia, both as to commission and execution; translated by Luther with "Amt") which Paul claims for himself Gal. 1 and 2 Cor. 3 and 5. The 'elders' of Ephesus, some of whom may not at all have 'labored in the word and doctrine,' according to 1 Tim. 5:17, are called 'bishops' (overseers) Acts 20:28, which would go to show that pastors have no monopoly on that title; in fact, however, it is no title here at all but descriptive of their shepherding of the flock as the English translation well reveals. And as to the deaconate, all the Greek commentators of the early church identify the 'helpers' of 1 Cor. 12:28 with the deacons whom the Apostles asked to have appointed for serving at the table (Acts 6). About the development, organization, and functioning of all the other offices or institutions nothing has been delivered to us, excepting the simple record that St. Paul made the arrangement or instructed Titus to that effect, and the mention twice of congregational election (by the raising of hands, cheirotonein, which the AV unfortunately in the first instance translates with 'ordain' and the reader of today therefor [sic] is apt to invest with the confused notions of present-day ordination of pastors)." Ibid., pp. 232-233.

followed up."<sup>50</sup>

After this discussion, and because of the Cincinnati Case, Professors Koehler, Schaller, and August Pieper, all from the Wisconsin Synod's Seminary, worked together in order to clarify their understanding of the doctrine of the church and the ministry. And, according to Koehler, all three men "stood shoulder to shoulder."<sup>51</sup>

However, it was August Pieper, albeit with the complete agreement and support of Koehler and Schaller, who pushed the issue forward, beginning with a series of articles in the 1911 issues of the Wisconsin Synod's Theologische Quartalschrift. With the background of the Cincinnati case in mind, August Pieper discussed "Lording It Over Others in the Church." Here Pieper maintained that suspension from synodical fellowship is synonymous with excommunication ("der Idee nach Bann"). Pieper felt that an entire congregation could be subject to this action.<sup>52</sup>

An intense discussion followed. At a pastoral conference in

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>52</sup> August Pieper, "Menschenherrschaft in der Kirche," Theologische Quartalschrift 8 (Januar and April 1911):30-44, 98-123. August Pieper, "Die Suspension noch einmal," Theologische Quartalschrift 8 (Juli 1911):131-164. Pieper held that a suspension ordered in accordance with a synodical constitution should be respected by withdrawing from the accused. This was maintained in opposition to those Wisconsin Synod pastors who continued to fellowship with the ousted Missouri Synod congregation in Cincinnati, Ohio. He, as well as Koehler, maintained that the church referred to in Matthew 18:17 was not only a so-called "Ortsgemeinde" (local congregation) but any gathering of believers, large or small, congregation or synod. The office of the keys, therefore, was not only to be administered in a local congregation. It depended on specific circumstances of time and place, and could be properly administered within either a congregation or a larger body. Also, excommunication was not considered as an enforcement of damnation, but was to serve the sinner's or sinners' ultimate salvation by bringing him/them around. Koehler, p. 236.

Manitowoc, Wisconsin, Professor Ernst, President of the Wisconsin Synod's Northwestern College, set forth a rebuttal to August Pieper's position in the form of sixteen theses. Each of the theses was implemented with Scriptural proof-texts, statements from the Confessions, Luther, Hoenecke and Walther. Ernst maintained that a synod is not church in the strict sense of the word and has no right to excommunicate. Suspension from synodical fellowship is not excommunication but a breaking of fellowship. Only a local congregation with its pastor can excommunicate, and then only its own members.<sup>53</sup>

The three members of the Wauwatosa faculty continued to defend their position. However, it was August Pieper who served as the leading advocate in the Wisconsin Synod's Quartalschrift. In 1912, August Pieper published an article on C. F. W. Walther's book Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt. Pieper held that because of Walther's method of quoting from the Confessions and the church fathers, there was much room left for misunderstanding the fathers and for misunderstanding Walther. Pieper also maintained that at times Walther himself misunderstood Scripture, the confessions and the church fathers. Pieper went on to defend his own understanding with respect to the church, particularly the view that any gathering of believers, whether a congregation or synod, could properly be considered church, and thus hold all churchly authority. With respect to the ministry, August Pieper believed that not only the office of preaching in a local congregation, but every form of the public preaching ministry is instituted

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 237.

and established by God.<sup>54</sup>

After the 1914 meeting of the Synodical Conference in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Professors Francis Pieper, George Metzger, and Ludwig Fuerbringer of the Missouri Synod's St. Louis seminary met privately with the Wauwatosa men to discuss their views on the doctrine of the church and ministry. There are no records of this meeting apart from John Koehler's account. Apparently it was an informal discussion in which the Wauwatosa men replied to the objections of the St. Louis theologians. Koehler stated that no agreement was reached, and apparently the issue was dropped for the time being.<sup>55</sup>

However, August Pieper continued to set forth his position openly through the Wisconsin Synod's Quartalschrift. In 1917, he published an article on Luther's doctrine of the church and the ministry. With respect to the doctrine of the ministry, August Pieper maintained that Luther held to the following points:

1. There is one office in the Church, the office of the spiritual priesthood. The public ministry is only another phase of

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<sup>54</sup> August Pieper, "Zur Verstaendigung in der gegenwaertigen Diskussion ueber Kirche und Amt," Theologische Quartalschrift 9 (Juli 1912): 182-208. See particularly pp. 205-208. Concerning the doctrine of the ministry, August Pieper maintained that the pastoral office was not THE true and only form of the public office of the ministry. For him, there was not one form. Rather, it was up to the discretion of the church to decide what form and function it would take in a given time and situation. Also consider August Pieper, "Die Lehre von der Kirche und ihren Keuntzeichen in Anwendung auf die Synode," Theologische Quartalschrift 9 (April 1912):83-106.

<sup>55</sup> Koehler went on to say: "The upshot, however, was that there was no agreement, both in regard to the formation of the doctrine and the method, as well, by which it is to be derived from the Scriptures. That will always happen when the dogmatician, the exegete, the historian, the practical theologian allow the method which is peculiar to their particular discipline to make them one-sided, even though all are agreed that all teaching is to be derived from the Scriptures alone." Koehler, p. 238.

this same priesthood.

2. This office, the command and authority to preach the Gospel, is not an official rank which from the very beginning has been established by Christ for public dispensation, but rather it is the common possession of all Christians, who are reborn and ordained priests by God, yes, even so far as the use or practice is concerned.

3. The rights of the entire communion and the command to good order demand that within the congregation such functions of the ministry as cannot be carried out by all at the same time without disorder and also such functions for which all Christians are not equally capable be relinquished and turned over to capable persons so that they may carry them out in the name of the congregation.

4. The Lord gives the Church special gifts for the public administration of the ministry, that is, capable people, and it is only to such that this office should be entrusted.

5. Whoever is called to the public ministry by a congregation of spiritual priests in a Christian way is called by God, and the faithful administrator of the office of the ministry should be granted the honor prescribed by God.

6. Not only the one species, the local pastorate, but the public ministry of the Word in general is a divine institution. It takes its specific forms according to circumstance.<sup>56</sup>

Other articles on the doctrine of the church and ministry appeared as well, and in each case the same position was reiterated.<sup>57</sup> In

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<sup>56</sup> August Pieper, "Luthers Lehre von Kirche und Amt," Theologische Quartalschrift 14 (Juli 1917):211-241; 15 (Januar 1918):65-80; 15 (April 1918):101-126. Translated by Harold R. Johne, "Luther's Doctrine of Church and Ministry," Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly 60 (January, April, October 1963):13-47, 81-110, 247-265. See particularly pp. 247-265. The theses offered by Pieper were not Luther's own. They were Pieper's interpretation. It is the opinion of this writer that this interpretation was based on Pieper's own established position. In other words, it is believed that August Pieper read into Luther his own understanding. Because Luther did not discuss the doctrine of the ministry in a systematic or dogmatic manner, it is somewhat easy to take various statements of his and shape them to a preconceived notion. Also, Pieper offers few extended quotes from Luther and the majority of the presentation is his own commentary. For example, Pieper states: "Beilaeufig sei hier bemerkt, dass wir Walthers Identifizierung vom oeffentlichen Predigtamt und Pfarramt nicht fuer gluecklich halten." ("Incidentally, one should mention here that we do not consider Walther's identification of the public preaching office with the pastoral office as a happy one.") August Pieper, Theologische Quartalschrift 15 (April 1918):111.

<sup>57</sup> August Pieper, "Was lehren wir im Artikel von der Kirche und ihrem Amt?" Theologische Quartalschrift 18 (April 1921):95-109. August Pieper, "Zur Lehre von der Kirche und ihrem Amt, mit besonderer Znwendung auf die Synode und ihre Zucht," Theologische Quartalschrift 26 (Oktober 1929):202-249. A. Pieper continued to maintain that the use of the word "church" in the New Testament never denotes anything else than the com-



time this would bring about tension between the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods (see below, pages 144-146, 197-219). Yet, the position of the Wauwatosa men as expounded by August Pieper in print would become the established position of the Wisconsin Synod. And, it would also have its adherents within the Missouri Synod as well.

#### Other Factors and the Doctrine of the Ministry

In an analysis of the doctrine of the ministry during the second period of the Missouri Synod's history, several peripheral matters need to be considered which have a bearing upon the Synod's overall understanding at this time. The place of Sunday schools, establishment of a full-time synodical presidency, the listing of pastors, professors, full-time synodical officials and teachers in the Synod's Kalendar and Annual, the calling of ministers by agencies not directly associated with the Missouri Synod, the work of chaplains, the Americanization brought on by World War I, the Synod's position on statements made in its official publications, and women in full-time church work, although not direct statements on the Synod's position of the doctrine of the ministry in each and every case, are indeed important considerations.

The Sunday School movement was slow in coming to the Missouri

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munion of saints or believers in general (the una sancta); that any gathering of believers, be it a congregation, district, or synod, is church in the proper sense of the word with all churchly functions; that the public office of the ministry instituted by God is the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments in an abstract sense or in general and therefore it is up to the church to determine what forms this ministry should take and how these functions are to be administered.

<sup>58</sup>M. Lehninger, "The Development of the Doctrinal Position of the Wisconsin Synod During the Century of Its History," Wisconsin Theological Quarterly 47 (January and April 1950):1-15, 88-107 (see below, pages 213-215).

Synod. Concordia Publishing House did not begin publishing Sunday school materials until 1911,<sup>59</sup> and a synodical Sunday-school Board was not appointed until 1920.<sup>60</sup> Yet, already in 1899, August Graebner felt that it was an important enough issue to address in a synodical publication. Concerning the office of the ministry and the Sunday School, Graebner wrote:

As an institution the Sunday-school is not of divine ordinance. The ministry, or the pastoral office, is of divine institution (Mark 16:15, 16; Matt. 28:19, 20; Eph. 4:11; Acts 20:28). It is not only because of its necessity or expediency that congregations maintain the ministerial office in their midst, but because of the expressed will of God that His word should be preached and the sacraments should be administered, and not promiscuously by all, but by men who have been properly called and through that call constituted ministers of Christ, made overseers of the flock, by the Holy Ghost, to be pastors and teachers of the congregation (1 Cor. 4:1; 12:28; Acts 20:28; Eph. 4:11). This, however, that the ministerial office is of divine institution and is as such the only office ordained by Christ for and in his church, does not bar a congregation from making special provision for special wants arising in its midst or its environments. . . .<sup>61</sup>

The author went on to point out that the Sunday school can be a very valuable missionary endeavor, as long as it does not take the place of the Christian day school. He also provided a practical discussion on the nature, personnel, methods and equipment needed for maintaining a Sunday school. However, throughout the article, August Graebner was careful to place the Sunday school in what he considered to be a proper perspective to the public office of the ministry.<sup>62</sup>

In 1881, the Missouri Synod's President, H. C. Schwann, suggested

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<sup>59</sup>LCMS, 1911 Proceedings, p. 150.

<sup>60</sup>LCMS, 1920 Proceedings, pp. 71-72.

<sup>61</sup>A[ugust] G[raebner], "Sunday-Schools," Theological Quarterly 3 (January 1899):78.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 3:78-97.

that the Synod make the general presidency a full-time position. It was resolved, after a thorough discussion, that the congregation served by the president should not demand any more from him than to serve them when he was not involved with synodical duties.<sup>63</sup> From 1899 to 1911, Francis Pieper served as President of the Missouri Synod (Praesesamt). In addition, he continued to serve as full-time president and professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis and assistant pastor at Immanuel Lutheran Church, St. Louis.<sup>64</sup> Yet, this was not unusual. C. F. W. Walther had served as senior pastor to four congregations in St. Louis, as well as seminary president and professor while also maintaining the responsibility of the synodical presidency. Likewise, F. C. D. Wyneken and H. C. Schwan had served as full-time parish pastors while filling the role of synodical president.<sup>65</sup> In almost every case, the burden of so many responsibilities had eroded the synodical president's health, and Francis Pieper was no exception.<sup>66</sup> Thus, the college of presidents (Praeseskollegium) recommended that the 1911 synodical convention change the Synod's constitution in order to make the synodical presidency a full-time position and to disallow the synodical president from holding any other full office (volles Amt). The following resolution passed and, in 1911, Friedrich Pfotenhauer became the first full-time President of the Missouri Synod:

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<sup>63</sup>LCMS, Achtzehnter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Dritte Delegaten-Synode zu Fort Wayne, Indiana, im Jahre 1881 (St. Louis: Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1881), pp. 67-69.

<sup>64</sup>Theodore Graebner, Dr. Francis Pieper: A Biographical Sketch (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1931), pp. 25, 45-47.

<sup>65</sup>Baepler, pp. 49, 116, 120, 169, 218.

<sup>66</sup>Theodore Graebner, Dr. Francis Pieper, p. 47.

The General President may not be invested with a pastoral or professorial office. Nevertheless, he may be engaged in the capacity of a primary or secondary pastor, as he whom the congregation or congregations as such, in view of this, has or have engaged. He will have no other obligation than in time to serve the congregation, respectively the congregations, by his attendance [presence] therein, wherein he can and will serve without injury to his presidential duties.<sup>67</sup>

The implication of this resolution seems to be that the synodical president was not to occupy the pastoral or professorial office, although he could be engaged (or employed) as a pastor in a limited sense, as long as this did not interfere with his responsibilities in the Praesesamt. According to the established synodical position on the doctrine of the ministry, which was still maintained by many, the office of synodical president was an auxiliary office of the public office of the ministry or the pastoral office within a local congregation.

Although not a direct statement of the Missouri Synod's doctrine of the ministry, another important factor was the listing of pastors, professors, synodical officials and parochial school teachers on the Synod's roster. Beginning in 1870, the Missouri Synod began publishing the Amerikanischer Kalender fuer deutsche Lutheraner, listing all pastors of the Missouri Synod and other synods with which the Missouri Synod was in fellowship. In the first issue, professors of Missouri Synod institutions who were not serving congregations were listed separately under the individual institutions. Parochial school teachers

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<sup>67</sup> "Der Allgemeine Praeses darf kein Pfarr- oder Professorenamt bekleiden, aber doch in der Eigenschaft eines Pastor primarius oder secundarius angestellt sein, als welcher er der Gemeinde oder den Gemeinden gegenueber, die ihn als solchen angestellt hat oder haben, keine weiteren Verpflichtungen hat, als in der Zeit seiner Anwesenheit der Gemeinde, resp. den Gemeinden darin zu dienen, worin er ohne Schaedigung seiner Praesidialpflichten dienen kann und will." LCMS, 1911 Proceedings, pp. 133-134. As noted above, Pfothenhauer did serve as an assistant pastor at local congregations in Chicago. Mayer, p. 17.

were not included in this first issue.<sup>68</sup> Then, in 1871, the Kalender began listing pastors and professors together under the heading "Pastoren und Professoren." That same year, parochial school teachers were included under a separate listing.<sup>69</sup> The 1912 Kalender continued to list professors and pastors together, and also included the name of F. Pfothenhauer in this list, despite the fact that he was now considered the full-time president.<sup>70</sup> Then, in 1927, the word "Professoren" was dropped from the title of the list. Yet, professors and full-time ordained synodical officials were still listed, now under the heading of "Pastoren." Parochial school teachers continued to be listed separately.<sup>71</sup>

In 1910, the Missouri Synod began publication of The Lutheran Annual (the English version of the Kalender). Like the Kalender, the first issue of the Annual listed pastors and professors together under the title "Pastors and Professors." Also, parochial school teachers were given a separate listing.<sup>72</sup> In 1912, President Pfothenhauer was still listed under "Pastors and Professors."<sup>73</sup> Then, in 1927, as was the case in the Kalender, the word "Professor" was dropped from the

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<sup>68</sup> LCMS, Amerikanischer Kalender fuer deutsche Lutheraner (St. Louis: Herausgegeben im Auftrage der ev.=luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten, 1870), pp. 26-33. In 1853 C. R. Brobst began publishing the first Lutheran annual: Der Lutherische Kalender auf das Jahr 1853 (Allentown, PA: Heransgegeben von C. R. Brobst und Co., 1853). Brobst listed all Lutheran pastors with no differentiation among synodical affiliations.

<sup>69</sup> LCMS, Amerikanischer Kalender fuer deutsche Lutheraner, 1871, pp. 24-30.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 1912, p. 62.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 1927, pp. 55-86.

<sup>72</sup> LCMS, Lutheran Annual (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1910), pp. 33-60.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 1912, p. 62.

title and all pastors, professors, and full-time ordained synodical officials were listed under the heading "Pastors."<sup>74</sup> No report or memorial appears in the 1926 Missouri Synod convention Proceedings authorizing this change.

Even though the roster of a synod is not an official doctrinal statement, it does reflect an understanding, or it can help shape an understanding. The change that was made in the 1927 rosters of the Missouri Synod no longer reflected the Synod's most frequently enunciated position on the doctrine of the ministry. This understanding maintained that the pastoral office is associated with a local congregation; that it is conferred or transferred by the priesthood of all believers in a local congregation to an individual through their call; that this pastoral office is the full office of the ministry, of Word and Sacrament; that auxiliary offices did not have the full public office of the ministry but only a part of it determined at the discretion of the church; that there is a distinction between the divinely mandated pastoral office and the auxiliary offices created by the church. Granted, it could be that the roster wished only to convey that these men were qualified for a call to the public office of the ministry, but after 1927 no such distinction was made. The impression seemed to be that all ordained men, whether called to the full public office of the ministry in a congregation or not, were in the pastoral office. The question then arises: What determines the pastoral office, the call of a congregation or ordination, the full function of Seelsorger through Word and Sacrament or some other smaller factor?

At the same convention that established the synodical presidency

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 1927, pp. 55-76.

as a full-time position, another situation was unfolding which also had profound implications with respect to the practice of the doctrine of the ministry in the Missouri Synod. The 1911 synodical convention reported on the "Appeal of Professor E. L. Arndt." It appears that Arndt, who had served as a pastor in Saginaw, Michigan and as a professor of science for fourteen years at Concordia College, St. Paul, Minnesota, was relieved of his teaching position in February 1910, and forced to resign his call because "he could not keep discipline" in his classes.<sup>75</sup>

The report of the committee appointed for the appeal read:

Appeal of Prof. E. L. Arndt. This matter was settled in that Prof. Arndt submitted his resignation. The resolution drafted on the matter has already been recorded among the resolutions on the institution in St. Paul, Minn.<sup>76</sup>

The report of Concordia College, St. Paul, Minnesota stated:

The special report of this institution's board of directors lay before a committee [16a], which brought in the following report: 'Through the resignation of Prof. E. L. Arndt, now in the hands of the Honorable General Praesidium, in the opinion of the committee the entire report has lost its purpose. Therefore we recommend to the Honorable Delegate Synod only that it grant Prof. E. L. Arndt an allowance and assist him so that he may again receive a pastorate, in which he earlier proved himself so well.' This committee report was accepted by the Synod.<sup>77</sup>

According to his son, Karl Arndt, Professor E. L. Arndt felt that he had been forced to resign his divine call, an action which he believed was not in keeping with the Synod's position on the divinity of the call. Arndt waited six months for another divine call to come through the official synodical channels. When none came, he issued the

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<sup>75</sup>Karl J. R. Arndt, "The Birth of Our China Mission (1912-62)," CHI Q 35 (January 1963):113.

<sup>76</sup>LCMS, 1911 Proceedings, p. 185. Translated in Karl Arndt, p. 113.

<sup>77</sup>LCMS, 1911 Proceedings, p. 62. Translated in Karl Arndt, p. 114.

first of his "Mission Letters for China." These were mailed out by Professor Arndt in the hope that a China mission society could be formed (the Missouri Synod at this time conducted foreign mission work only in India and South America). In order to support this new mission effort, E. L. Arndt published two sermon books.<sup>78</sup>

Apparently objections were raised within the Missouri Synod to Arndt's efforts. First, it was said that he had no divine call to start a China mission and secondly, the need for pastors in America was still so great. In the third issue of his "Missionsbrief" ("Mission Letter"), Arndt answered both objections. In response to the first, he cited Matt. 28:19 and Mark 16:15:

There need be no other call. This is not a new discovery but old Lutheran doctrine. See Luther, St. L. Ed., III, 723; X, 1544; J. Quenstedt, Theol. did. pol., C. XII, Q. 1, 3; J. L. Hartmann, Pastorale evangelicum, L. I., C. IV, XI; and countless others.

To the second objection, he replied:

Why have I not been called? Six months passed after the delegate synod before "Missionbriefe" were sent out, but no call came. As far as the need for pastors is concerned, there is a simple and tried method for relief. Sharpen the conscience concerning the divinity of the call. If so many students would not give up their studies and so very many pastors their office or in any case their important mission post so lightheartedly and if here and there congregations would not find it rather easy to get rid of pastors recognized as faithful, we would have an abundance of men at our disposal for heathen missions.

On May 1, 1912 the Evangelisch Lutherisch Missionsgesellschaft fuer China (Evangelical Lutheran Mission Company for China) was organized. Officers were elected and the society was officially registered with the state of Minnesota on May 29, 1912. That same day, the officers of the Evangelical Lutheran China Mission Society issued calls to Professor Arndt and Pastor O. E. Heilmann as missionaries to China.

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<sup>78</sup> Karl Arndt, pp. 114-118.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 119-120.



Even though Arndt did not have the official approval of the Missouri Synod, he was supported by 314 pastors and teachers in the Synodical Conference. By February 25, 1913, Arndt had arrived in Shanghai, and on March 3, 1913 he reached Hankow, China.<sup>80</sup> Three months later, Arndt had preached his first sermon in Chinese. The first Baptism was performed on March 29, 1914, and the first Holy Communion administered on April 9, 1914.<sup>81</sup> Then, at the 1917 Missouri Synod convention, President Pfotenhauer made the following announcement:

The China Mission, having been duly offered us by the Commission of the Evangelical Lutheran Society for Foreign Missions in China, has been taken over by the Missouri<sup>82</sup> Synod and placed under the direction of the Foreign Mission Board.

By 1922, the Missouri Synod's China mission included fourteen missionaries and one woman teacher, as well as the following indigenous workers: nine evangelists, forty-two teachers and other helpers.<sup>83</sup>

This situation raises several questions with respect to the doctrine of the ministry as well. Is a divine call, even to an auxiliary office of the public ministry, temporary and can an individual be compelled to resign from that office? According to the Missouri Synod's established position on the doctrine of the ministry, only the pastoral office (Pfarramt) was divinely mandated and auxiliary offices could be created and dissolved at the discretion of the church. But is that appropriate? It appears that Professor E. L. Arndt believed that it was not.

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp. 124-126.

<sup>81</sup> Baepler, p. 234.

<sup>82</sup> LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirtieth Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled at Milwaukee, Wis., as the Fifteenth Delegate Synod, June 20-29, 1917 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), p. 42.

<sup>83</sup> Baepler, p. 235.

A more burning issue had to do with a call extended apart from a congregation or a synodical agency. Can an independent agency, made up of pastors and teachers working together apart from their own synodical affiliation, extend divine calls into the public office of the ministry or one of its branch offices? Certainly, synodical and district boards and agencies had been doing this since the debate over itinerant ministries in the Synod's formative period. The rationale for this was the law of love and the fact that they were acting on behalf of all the synodical or district congregations. But, what about an agency independent of any synodical affiliation? This was not the first time this had occurred within the Missouri Synod, nor would it be the last.<sup>84</sup>

Another factor with respect to the Synod's doctrine of the

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<sup>84</sup>In the late 1800s and early 1900s numerous congregations banded together to form agencies. Concerning this, F. Dean Lueking wrote: "No official, deliberate Synodical effort sparked these hospital, orphanage, homes for the aged, and child placement ministries which multiplied at such an unprecedented rate during the decades preceding the turn of the century, and the few years immediately after 1900." F. Dean Lueking, A Century of Caring 1868-1968 (St. Louis: Board of Social Ministry, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, 1968), p. 21. At the 1899 synodical convention, there was a petition to establish the Missouri Synod as the coordinating agency for the benevolent ministries. The matter was tabled. LCMS, Vierundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt als Neunte Delegatensynode zu St. Louis, Mo., im Jahre 1899 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), p. 132. In November 1904, seventeen men met in Ft. Wayne and established the Lutherische Wohltätigkeits Konferenz (Associated Lutheran Charities). In 1905 the association discussed calling a former pastor to serve a home-finding society. The question arose whether this would be a valid divine call because it was not associated with one local congregation, but rather an association made up of representatives from various congregations. It was decided that on the basis of Matt. 28:19 this would be a divine call and any pastor who is thus called to a ministry to children and families has the right to baptize, remit and retain sins, and administer the Lord's Supper to those under the care of the institution or agency. Lueking, pp. 23-26. Although the Missouri Synod established the Board for Social Welfare in 1950, the Associated Lutheran Charities agency continued until 1966. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

ministry concerned military chaplains. Even before the initial shots were fired in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, and the outbreak of war in Europe in August, the Missouri Synod discussed the need for chaplains in the Army and Navy (Heer und Flotte). The Philadelphia pastoral conference had requested that the Synod provide chaplains for "unsere Arme und Marine." Whereupon the May 1914, synodical convention instructed the General Board of Home Missions to ascertain how many Missouri Synod members were serving in the army and navy.<sup>85</sup> By the June 1917, synodical convention, the United States of America was at war with Germany (the homeland for many Missouri Synod members). At this convention, the delegates directed President Pfoth to appoint an Army and Navy Board to care for Missouri Synod service men. The matter of chaplains was given to this board "with power to act according to their conscience and best judgment."<sup>86</sup> When the United States became involved in World War I, the Missouri Synod had three chaplains already serving in the military.<sup>87</sup> It appears that the committee had no real problem with the idea of military chaplains. The real problem was how the Missouri Synod's "Lutheran Church Board for Army and Navy" (first named "Evangelische Lutherische Missionsbehoerde fuer Heer und Flotte" but then wisely translated into the English) was going to deal with other Lutheran

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<sup>85</sup> LCMS, Neunundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und Andern Staaten, Versammelt als vierzehnte Delegatensynode zu Chicago, Illinois, im Jahre 1914 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1914), p. 75.

<sup>86</sup> LCMS, 1917 Proceedings, p. 35.

<sup>87</sup> Fred Wambsganns, Sr., "Five Decades of Pastoral Activity," CHIQ 30 (Winter 1958):150.

agencies with which the Missouri Synod was not in fellowship.<sup>88</sup> The committee resolved to work independently of other Lutheran bodies and denominations. The Board called and supported 194 "camp" (civilian) pastors, seventy of whom were full-time, who visited the various military installations. The Board regretted that only thirteen of some one hundred Missouri Synod pastors offering their services were appointed as chaplains in the United States Army or Navy. These thirteen were salaried by the Government and commissioned as Second Lieutenants or Ensigns.<sup>89</sup> Apparently, any opposition with respect to the concept of military chaplains had nothing to do with the doctrine of the ministry, but instead it was an issue of separation between church and state and the understanding of church fellowship.<sup>90</sup> Chaplains were considered one

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<sup>88</sup> Alan Graebner, "World War I and Lutheran Union: Documents from the Army and Navy Board, 1917 and 1918," CHIQ 41 (February 1968):51-64.

<sup>89</sup> LCMS, 1920 Proceedings, p. 106.

<sup>90</sup> Theodore Graebner, "The Burden of Infallibility: A Study in the History of Dogma," CHIQ 38 (July 1965):92. Graebner's article is undocumented, although he was active in the Missouri Synod during this period and was certainly in a position to know what was going on. The article is, however, at times inaccurate. For example, he stated, "We went ahead in World War II and called chaplains. We never admitted that in World War I our position had been a mistaken one. Strangely enough it was Wisconsin that during the Spanish American War had the first Lutheran chaplain with the armed forces." Ibid. Here Graebner is incorrect on several counts. The Missouri Synod had a chaplain in the Civil War, F. A. Richmann, and the Spanish American War, F. Broders. It also had commissioned chaplains in World War I (in addition to LCMS, 1920 Proceedings, p. 106, see Editorial, The Lutheran Witness 36 (November 13, 1917):358). In view of the fact that Graebner was editor of The Lutheran Witness during this period, his inaccuracies and his overall attitude in "Burden of Infallibility" are hard to explain. He certainly demonstrated a changed position over the years. This same inaccuracy was repeated by Arthur C. Repp, "Changes in the Missouri Synod," CTM 38 (July-August 1967):465, who made virtually the same statement and cited Graebner as documentation. It seems that both men were seeking to justify present and possible future (planned) doctrinal changes within the Missouri Synod. Graebner was correct in his statement about the Wisconsin Synod chaplain in the Spanish-American War. See "Appointment of

more auxiliary office of the one public office of the ministry which could be created at the discretion of the church.

World War I and the anti-Germanism that ensued did not affect the Missouri Synod's doctrine of the ministry directly. However, it did affect the practice of ministry on the part of individual pastors and congregations. The War forced a rapid transition to English throughout the Synod. Because of anti-German language legislation in some states and violence on the part of some fanatic Americans, many Missouri Synod German parochial schools were closed. The conflict in Europe that involved the United States between 1917 and 1918 caused many in the Missouri Synod to conform more closely to American life and thought.<sup>91</sup>

Another factor for important consideration with respect to statements made on the doctrine of the ministry in official publications of the Missouri Synod was a resolution passed at the 1926 synodical convention. The Northwestern Conference of the English District asked the delegate synod whether or not doctrinal positions contained in official organs of the Synod and Synodical Reports are actually official teachings of the Synod. The delegate synod adopted the following answer:

Synod is responsible for every doctrinal statement made in its official publications. If any statement be made therein deviating from the Word of God and the Confessions of our Church, every member of Synod perceiving such error is held to bring it to the attention

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a Chaplain in the Army by Wisconsin Synod during the Spanish-American War," CHIQ 19 (April 1946):16-19.

<sup>91</sup>Neil M. Johnson, "The Patriotism and Anti-Prussianism of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod 1914-1918," CHIQ 39 (October 1966): 99-118; Frederick Nohl, "The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Reacts to United States Anti-Germanism During World War I," CHIQ 35 (July 1962): 49-66; Robert N. Manley, "Language, Loyalty and Liberty: The Nebraska State Council of Defense and the Lutheran Churches, 1917-1918," CHIQ 37 (April 1964):1-16.

of the responsible editors and insist upon the necessary correction.<sup>92</sup>

This resolution offers the proper perspective with which to weigh the various articles on the doctrine of the ministry after 1926.

In addition to what has been noted above, one other factor should be considered: the role of women and the doctrine of the ministry in the Missouri Synod. Already during Missouri Synod's formative period, women were teaching in its parish schools. In 1872, J. C. W. Lindemann advocated more extensive use of women teachers.<sup>93</sup> However, it was not until 1897 that the question of women as teachers was officially addressed. George Stoeckhardt published an article about the calling of women teachers to a parish school. Stoeckhardt maintained that it was proper to employ women as teachers because the church can institute new offices which are auxiliary to the pastor. These offices are to be filled according to the gifts God gives His people and many women have the gift to teach children, especially young children.<sup>94</sup>

By 1913, there were 252 women teachers in Missouri Synod parochial

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<sup>92</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Regular Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled at St. Louis, Mo., as the Eighteenth Delegate Synod June 9-18, 1926 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1926), p. 144.

<sup>93</sup>Lindemann believed that this would be a mission endeavor. Carl S. Meyer, ed., Moving Frontiers (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), p. 374. George Gude notes that this would imply that already in 1872 women were teaching in parish schools. He also notes that from 1860 to 1923, Holy Cross Lutheran School in Collinsville, Illinois, had women teachers. George J. Gude, Jr., "Women Teachers in the Missouri Synod," CHIQ 44 (November 1971):163-170.

<sup>94</sup>George Stoeckhardt, "Von dem Beruf der Lehrerinnen an christlichen Gemeindeschulen," Lehre und Wehre 43 (March 1897):65-74. Translated in CTM 5 (October 1934):764-773.

schools, none of whom was trained in a synodical institution.<sup>95</sup> Not until 1919 were any women enrolled in a Missouri Synod teachers college. That year five women began studying at Concordia Teachers College, Seward, Nebraska.<sup>96</sup>

At a convention of the Southern Illinois District in 1913, Dr. Francis Pieper presented a paper on "The Laymen's Movement in the Light of God's Word" in which he also discussed the preaching of God's Word by Christian women. He maintained that it is a clear teaching of Holy Scripture that Christian women should also teach God's Word. Yet, he stated that it is also very true that Holy Scripture excludes Christian women from all public teaching in the presence of men. He based this position on a discussion of 1 Tim. 2:11-14 and 1 Corinthians 14:34-35. Pieper further stated:

Even in our own circles the question has often been raised as to whether women and girls may teach in our Christian day-schools. Our answer is that they certainly may do so provided they are to teach children; for women dare not in any case be barred from instructing children. But if religious instruction is to be given to grown men or even to adolescents, she cannot be permitted to teach.

Concerning woman's suffrage, Pieper made this statement:

Since woman's suffrage in the State implies participation in the rule over men, it is contrary to the natural order which God has established to govern the relation between man and woman. . . . We are bound to the order which God has instituted, Gen. 2,18; 1 Tim. 2, 12.13; and wherever this order is perverted, His punishments are sure to follow.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup>W. H. T. Dau, Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, Progress and Condition of Lutheran Parochial Schools during the Current Year (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), p. 406. Cited in Gude, p. 164.

<sup>96</sup>LCMS, 1920 Proceedings, p. 21.

<sup>97</sup>Francis Pieper, What is Christianity? And Other Essays, translated by John Theodore Mueller (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1933), pp. 154-157.

In 1920, Paul Lindemann wrote an article on women in the church which dealt mainly with the issue of women voting in congregational meetings. He noted:

The woman in the Church, her rights and privileges, the restrictions which limit her activity, etc., are questions about which there has been much discussion, and about which the widest divergence of opinion prevails.

Lindemann provided an analysis of the standing of women in the Church, in light of Scripture, with particular reference to the passages from St. Paul. He also considered several statements from various church fathers. Lindemann offered the following conclusion:

1. That women shall be subject to men;
2. That there is no express Bible-passage which denies woman a vote;
3. That wherever the voting of woman is a stepping out of her subordinate position, it is contrary to Scripture.

Only this question may be variously judged and interpreted, whether the voting of woman in certain cases and under certain conditions is a departure from the station which God has assigned her. . . .<sup>98</sup>

During the 1920s, there was some opposition to the increase in the number of women teachers in Missouri Synod parochial schools. John

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<sup>98</sup>Paul Lindemann, "The Woman in the Church," Theological Quarterly 24 (January and April 1920):30-48, 103-121. Paul Lindemann was a member of the American Lutheran Publicity Bureau and editor of the American Lutheran, which was started in 1918 to help correct misunderstandings concerning the Missouri Synod's situation during World War I. Johnson, pp. 105-106. He was also a vocal opponent of the positions of the Missouri Synod's Army and Navy Board with respect to relations with other Lutheran church bodies during the First World War. Alan Graebner, pp. 51-57. Finally, he would be an advocate for change and engage in politicking at the 1935 Missouri Synod convention (see below, pages 166-177).

It is also interesting to note that in 1923, the Missouri Synod began negotiations with the Finnish National Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. Agreement was reached on everything except women's suffrage in the church. The Finnish church body had allowed this since 1911. Finnish National Evangelical Lutheran Church of America and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States, Minutes of a Meeting of Representatives, February 20, 1923, National Evangelical Lutheran church papers, Box 4, File - "Missouri Synod Relations 1924-1947," Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo., [hereafter cited as C.H.I.].



Eiselmeier complained in a 1925 article that there were not enough male teachers. He claimed that the large number of women teachers was a danger because the feminine example of a woman teacher would hinder the development of male qualities in boys.<sup>99</sup>

In 1926, the Nebraska District petitioned the Missouri Synod convention to prepare women teachers at one of the synodical schools. It was basically asking permission for what it had been doing already for seven years. The convention resolved that women may properly be employed as teachers and approved the training of women at the schools in Seward, Nebraska and Edmonton, Canada.<sup>100</sup>

A letter of objection to the employment of women teachers was submitted to the 1929 Missouri Synod convention. The delegate synod stated that the calling of men must remain the rule and order in the Synod. If there are not enough men, however, it may be necessary to call a woman teacher temporarily until she can be replaced by a man. The report to the convention also stated that there will always be some women teachers, and sometimes women are especially adapted to teach the lower grades. However, a man is to be preferred.<sup>101</sup> By 1929, there were 490 women teachers in the Missouri Synod while there were 1,309 male teachers.<sup>102</sup>

In 1931, an article by L. G. Bickel appeared in the Lutheran

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<sup>99</sup>John Eiselmeier, "The Feminization of the Teaching Profession," Lutheran School Journal 60 (January 1925):17-20.

<sup>100</sup>LCMS, 1926 Proceedings, pp. 76-77.

<sup>101</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Regular Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled at River Forest, Illinois, as the Nineteenth Delegate Synod June 19-28, 1929 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1929), pp. 73-74.

<sup>102</sup>Stellhorn, Schools, p. 401.

School Journal. Bickel concluded that there are only two options to the issue of women teachers in the Synod: allow no more women teachers in our Lutheran schools or train the women teachers and allow them to teach. Although there were some who held to the first view, Bickel maintained that this would be extremely harmful to the schools, since at that time one fourth of the teachers were women. Therefore, the Synod was left only with the second option.<sup>103</sup>

Another area of ministry was opened up for women within the Missouri Synod in 1919 through the efforts of Fredrick W. Herzberger. As one of the founders of Associated Lutheran Charities, Herzberger was also interested in establishing a deaconess program within the Missouri Synod. At a meeting of the Associated Lutheran Charities at Fort Wayne, Indiana in 1911, Herzberger set forth a proposed deaconess program under eight theses. In the first thesis he stressed that there is only one office instituted by God in the church, the public office of the ministry or the pastorate of a local congregation. However, the church, in Christian liberty, can create auxiliary offices of the ministry, and the diaconate is one such office. Herzberger went on in the subsequent theses to outline the work of the deaconess based, in part, on the work of the German Lutheran deaconess program begun by Wilhelm Loehe. He maintained that a Lutheran deaconess could perform a wide range of services: attendants, nurses, matrons in charitable institutions, teachers and parish workers in congregations, assistants to missionaries at home and overseas. Herzberger also carefully delineated the female diaconate as separate from the public office of the ministry of the Word. He maintained that women

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<sup>103</sup>L. G. Bickel, "Woman Teachers," Lutheran School Journal 66 (May 1931):406-408.

are not to be active in the church as teachers of men.

The conference to which Herzberger spoke took no action on his proposals in 1911. However, one of the attendants at the meeting, Philip Wambsganss, continued to keep the subject alive in subsequent meetings of this group. Finally, the Lutheran Deaconess Association was formed in 1919 at Fort Wayne. The organization initially included 635 individual members and 72 congregational memberships. Reverend Herman B. Kohlmeier was called as director of the program at the organizational meeting. By 1920, five women were studying at Fort Wayne Lutheran Hospital in the newly established deaconess program.<sup>104</sup>

With women now serving in two auxiliary offices of the public ministry within the Missouri Synod, P. E. Kretzmann addressed "The Position of the Christian Woman, Especially as Worker in the Church," in a 1930 article in the newly formed Concordia Theological Monthly. His understanding, based on a Scriptural and historical analysis, was summarized as follows:

On the basis of all these passages and the historical evidence adduced it is evident that the sphere of the Christian women in the Apostolic Church was not nearly as circumscribed as certain champions of emancipation would have us believe. Within the bounds of womanly modesty, sobriety, and retirement a wide range of activities in the services of the church was offered to every believing woman. Her natural and chief circle of activity remained, as it had been of old, the home, and her chief function and glory was that of a wife and mother. . . .

And if the Lord has not given her this highest position, for which He created woman in the beginning, then He has indicated clearly where her ambition may find a legitimate outlet. It is in teaching positions in the Church where any lordship or leadership of men is not involved (and we find that women, from the beginning, were used as teachers of little children); it is in works of love, such as those which have made the name of Tabitha, or Dorcas, Acts 9, 36. 39, a synonym of the finest charitable endeavor in unobtrusive service; it is in the labors of deaconesses within the circle of one

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<sup>104</sup>Lueking, pp. 15-18. Baepler, p. 353. Meyer, ed., Moving Frontiers, p. 390.

or more congregations (as was the case with Phoebe); it is in ministering to the Lord of their substance, according to the example of the consecrated women in the circle of Jesus' disciples. To this list we may well add the ministry which is noted with such approval in the Old Testament, namely, that which provides vestments for the sanctuary of the Lord.<sup>105</sup>

While the Missouri Synod witnessed many changes during the second period of its history, only one of these may have precipitated a change in its basic position on the doctrine of the ministry, and this was such a small change that it seems to have gone unnoticed. The classifying of professors and full-time ordained synodical officials as pastors in the 1927 rosters and in those that followed appears as a redefinition of the entire concept of the public office of the ministry or the pastoral office, the function of this office, and the role of ordination. Although no such redefinition came forth in synodical publications at this time, the door was left open.

During this period, several new auxiliary or helping offices of the public office of the ministry were created. These actions, however, did not alter the position that the pastoral office in a local congregation was the divinely mandated public office of the ministry. The Synod and its congregations were taking advantage of what was considered to be Christian liberty in creating new branch offices. What was innovative during this period was the establishment of some offices apart from the synodical structure. Yet, even in these cases, individual congregations, or their representatives, were involved. Also, the question of the appropriateness of terminating a divine call to an auxiliary office was raised. Although this did not conflict with the Synod's understanding of

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<sup>105</sup>p. E. Kretzmann, "The Position of the Christian Woman, Especially as Worker in the Church," CTM 1 (May 1930):351-360.

the church's right to establish and dissolve such offices based on the needs of the church, it did conflict with the Synod's understanding that a divine call was not temporary.

#### The Intersynodical Movement

Between the years of 1887 and 1932, the Missouri Synod was engaged in several attempts toward Lutheran unity. A series of five free conferences was held between 1903 and 1906 which involved members of the Missouri (both German and English), Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Iowa, Buffalo, and Norwegian Synods and members from the General Council. At these conferences, discussions centered around the doctrines of conversion and election and the nature of the analogy of faith. At the end of these conferences, no doctrinal unity was achieved.<sup>106</sup> In 1902, fellowship was established between the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church and the German Missouri Synod.<sup>107</sup> Then, in 1911, the General Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States (English Missouri Synod) merged with Die Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten (the German Missouri Synod).<sup>108</sup> Between 1914

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<sup>106</sup>Koehler, pp. 242-250. Charles F. Bunzel, "The Missouri Synod and the Chicago (Intersynodical) Theses," unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1964, pp. 10-20. John H. Tietjen, Which Way to Lutheran Unity? (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, reprinted 1975), pp. 103-106. Moving Frontiers, p. 286. Fred W. Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church (Columbus: The Wartburg Press, 1958), p. 115. J. L. Neve and Willard D. Allbeck, History of the Lutheran Church in America, 3rd ed. (Burlington, IA: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1934), p. 249.

<sup>107</sup>George Dolak, "A History of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America: 1902-1927," unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1953, p. 98. At its formation on September 2, 1902, the Slovak Synod declared itself to be one in doctrine with the German Missouri Synod.

<sup>108</sup>Baepler, p. 254-257. LCMS, 1911 Proceedings, pp. 31-40. Also consider John C. Wohlrahe, Jr., "The Missouri Synod's Unity Attempts

and 1917, an attempt was made formally to merge the members of the Synodical Conference. This attempt, however, failed.<sup>109</sup> Then, in 1923, fellowship discussions were begun between the Missouri Synod and Finnish National Evangelical Lutheran Church.<sup>110</sup> Finally, between 1917 and 1929 the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods were engaged in fellowship negotiations with the Ohio, Iowa, and Buffalo Synods in what has become known as the Intersynodical Movement. This movement is of special concern for this study because here the doctrine of the ministry became an issue of discussion.

Beginning at the grass roots level in rural Minnesota, the Intersynodical Movement was formally recognized when committees from the Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Ohio Synods were elected or appointed in 1917 to begin formal discussions.<sup>111</sup> Between 1918 and 1923, theses were drafted on the doctrines of conversion and election.<sup>112</sup> It was then decided that theses on other doctrines which had been a point of controversy

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During the Pfotenhauer Presidency, 1911-1935," unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1982, pp. 48-53 [hereafter cited as "Unity Attempts"].

<sup>109</sup>Koehler, pp. 239-241. LCMS, 1914 Proceedings, p. 53. LCMS, 1917 Proceedings, pp. 75-76. Wohlrabe, "Unity Attempts," pp. 66-70. David Schmiel, "The History of the Relationship of the Wisconsin Synod to the Missouri Synod until 1925," unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1958, pp. 101-102.

<sup>110</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Regular Meeting of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled at Fort Wayne, Indiana, as the Seventeenth Delegate Synod June 20-29, 1923 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1923), pp. 84-85. Wohlrabe, "Unity Attempts," pp. 137-143.

<sup>111</sup>LCMS, 1917 Proceedings, p. 77. See also John C. Wohlrabe, Jr., "Zur Einigung: The St. Paul Theses - A Document Study," CHIQ 56 (Fall 1983):133-140; Wohlrabe, "Unity Attempts," pp. 76-80, 111-112; Koehler, p. 253; Bunzel, pp. 27-28; Wolf, pp. 360-361.

<sup>112</sup>LCMS, 1923 Proceedings, p. 83.

between the various synods should be drafted. Also, in 1924, the Buffalo Synod joined the discussions.

During the summer of 1924 (July 15 in Chicago and July 29 and 30 in Dubuque), the Intersynodical Committee met again and completed the supposedly "final copy" of the Intersynodical Theses. Unfortunately, because of other commitments, two of the Missouri Synod's representatives, Professors Theodore Graebner and William Arndt, could not attend. In their absences, Missouri's third representative, Pastor J. G. F. Kleinhans, signed for the whole committee. However, when both Graebner and Arndt received copies of the document, they found they could not agree with the statement on the doctrine of the ministry because it had been "rewritten with the view of the Wisconsinites." Under the influence of the Wisconsin Synod's representative, Professor John Philip Koehler, the document had made no distinction between the office of Bishop (Seelsorger, Pastoren) and other forms of ministry (professor, teacher, synodical official, lay leader--those offices which the Missouri Synod considered as auxiliary offices). Graebner sent a letter to President Pfotenhauer, with a copy to Arndt, asking: "Was nun tun? . . . Was raten Sie?" (What do we do now? . . . What do you advise?)<sup>113</sup>

In his response, Pfotenhauer stated that he could not understand how "Pastor Kleinhans would have dared to represent us alone out there . . ." and went on to advise:

You should decidedly refuse to sign both rows of theses, instead you should request another assembly. The first row of theses you could not sign in view of Dr. Lenski's criticism and the fact that some

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<sup>113</sup>Letter from Theodore Graebner to F. Pfotenhauer dated August 11, 1924. Theodore Graebner papers, Box 113, File 3, C.H.I.

opposition has arisen in our own Synod. The second row of theses also shows many faults.<sup>114</sup>

On September 1, 1924, the Missouri Synod's Intersynodical Committee sent the following telegram to Dr. C. C. Hein, President of the Ohio Synod:

Missouri Synod Committee regrets necessity of withholding unanimous consent from second series of union theses. While criticism of points there treated involves no differences with Ohio Synod it will be necessary to revise portions which have not received sufficient discussion. Further meeting should result in perfect agreement. On first set of theses we are anxiously awaiting Synod's stand on Lenski articles. [signed] Arndt, Kleinhans, Graebner.<sup>115</sup>

The fall 1924, meeting of the Intersynodical Conference was to be held on November 20-21 at the Hotel Atlantic in Chicago, Illinois. However, so that differences on the doctrine of the ministry could be straightened out, the Committee members from the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods were to meet the day before, November 19.<sup>116</sup> Apparently, the theses on the doctrine of the ministry were rewritten and some compromise was reached. Yet, in his report to President Pfothhauer, Graebner acknowledged that differences remained:

This is the difference that remains between us and the Wisconsinites: the office of the ministry in the congregation is a form of the common office of the public preaching of the Word. Christ had founded this,

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<sup>114</sup>Letter from F. Pfothhauer to Theodore Graebner dated August 15, 1924. Theodore Graebner papers, Box 113, File 5, C.H.I. Between the Fall of 1923 through the Spring of 1924, Dr. R. C. H. Lenski of the Ohio Synod published a series of articles in the Ohio Synod's official German organ, Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, which set forth a doctrinal position that differed from the Intersynodical Theses on conversion and election. He continued to maintain the intuitu fidei position and basically resurrected the old Predestinarian Controversy. See Wohlrabe, "Unity Attempts," pp. 118-127.

<sup>115</sup>Western Union Telegram to Dr. C. C. Hein dated September 1, 1924. William Arndt papers, Supplement I, Box 16, File 10, C.H.I.

<sup>116</sup>Notice to all Intersynodical Committee members from Secretary A. C. Haase, dated October 13, 1924. Theodore Graebner papers, Box 113, File 3, C.H.I.



but not each office of the ministry. It is not denied that this should exist until the end of the world and is the highest office. Also, we see that we have rightly understood Wisconsin by [their use of] the term "congregation," that is Wisconsin [specifically Wauwatosa] is speaking about the term "Ortsgemeinde" which they see as a certain kind of congregation.<sup>117</sup>

As the fall 1924, meeting of the Intersynodical Conference went on, articles were drafted on Chiliasm, Open Questions, and the Antichrist. By spring 1925, the revised text of the complete Intersynodical Theses (also referred to as the Chicago Theses) were finished and signed by all the members of the Intersynodical Committee. Article VI, "The Pastoral Office," stated the following:

18. As distinct from the universal priesthood, the pastoral office, as regards its essence and purpose, consists in this, that a person qualified for this office and duly called to the same edifies, teaches, and governs a certain congregation in Christ's stead by means of God's Word, and administers the Sacraments in its midst.

19. This office is of divine institution, and its functions, aforementioned, are precisely defined in God's Word. Accordingly it is the right and duty of every Christian congregation to establish this office, and this is done by means of calling a pastor. Such action is a function of the universal priesthood.

20. The calling of a pastor is a right of that congregation in which the minister is to discharge the duties of the office, and by such calling Christ appoints His ministers for the congregation. Ordination is not a divine, but an ecclesiastical ordinance for the public solemn confirmation of the pastor's call.<sup>118</sup>

Already in 1923, opposition to the theses had arisen within the Synodical Conference, particularly the statements on conversion and election. The Missouri Synod had appointed a separate committee to evaluate the document and report to the 1926 synodical convention.<sup>119</sup> This Examining Committee requested that many changes be made, especially with respect to the doctrines of election and conversion. However, with respect to Thesis 18 on the doctrine of the ministry, the committee re-

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<sup>117</sup>Letter from Theodore Graebner to F. Pfotenhauer dated December 4, 1924. Ibid.

<sup>118</sup>Wolf, p. 367.

<sup>119</sup>LCMS, 1923 Proceedings, p. 83.

requested that the following be added: "and in this manner publicly exercises, in the name of the congregation, the office belonging to it."<sup>120</sup> The Examining Committee maintained that because many points of Lutheran doctrine had not yet received clear, precise, adequate, and exclusive expression, they could not be recommended to the Synod in their present form. It was then recommended that the Intersynodical discussions continue.<sup>121</sup>

Because the Ohio Synod had established fellowship with the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church, which continued to hold a different position on the doctrine of election (also, in part due to the fact that the Lenski issue was never resolved)<sup>122</sup> and because the Examining Committee of the Missouri Synod believed that the Intersynodical Theses were unclear and even erred on several points, they were rejected by the 1929 Missouri Synod convention.<sup>123</sup> It was resolved that Synod elect a committee which, beginning with the status controversiae, was to present the doctrine of the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions in the shortest, most simple manner. President Pfotenhauer appointed a committee of Dr. Francis Pieper, Prof. W. Wenger, Rev. E. A. Mayer, Rev. L. A. Heerboth, and Dr. Th. Engelder to carry out this resolution of the delegate synod.<sup>124</sup>

The Intersynodical Movement had ended in failure in that it did not achieve the unity desired. Of special interest here is that a difference over the doctrine of the ministry occurred, not between the Mis-

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<sup>120</sup>LCMS, 1926 Proceedings, p. 139.

<sup>121</sup>LCMS, 1929 Proceedings, pp. 112-113. See also Wohlrabe, "Unity Attempts," pp. 127-135; Bunzel, pp. 42-81.

<sup>122</sup>See note 114. <sup>123</sup>LCMS, 1929 Proceedings, pp. 112-113.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid. LCMS, 1932 Proceedings, pp. 154-155.

souri Synod and the Iowa and Buffalo Synods wherein it had long been a controverted issue, but rather between the representatives of the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods wherein church fellowship already existed. This is now the second time that the issue was raised in private meetings and apparently the second time it was smoothed over. It should especially be noted that members of the Missouri Synod did not issue a public statement concerning their disagreement with members of their sister synod and therefore church fellowship was not endangered. It may be, however, that some members in the Missouri Synod viewed this as a sanctioning of the position that was emerging within the Wisconsin Synod, or at least a view that it was a matter of adiaphoron. In time, this understanding would find its adherents within the Missouri Synod as well.

#### Francis Pieper and the "Brief Statement"

Francis Pieper, elected by the 1878 Missouri Synod convention to be professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis and Walther's understudy, was in many ways a student of Walther all his life in that Francis did not really deviate from Walther's doctrinal understanding (despite the fact that his brother August had). Yet, Francis Pieper was an extremely competent theologian who did not go through life merely following Walther's coat tails. He was a voluminous writer who authored the dogmatics text that Walther was unable to write.<sup>125</sup> In many ways Francis Pieper was the leading theologian of the Missouri Synod during the second period of its history and so his understanding deserves special attention.

In 1889, Francis wrote a series of articles on C. F. W. Walther as a theologian, discussing Walther's understanding of various Bible

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<sup>125</sup>For a brief analysis of some of Francis Pieper's writings see Theodore Graebner, Dr. Francis Pieper, pp. 33-44.

doctrines. Here he also reiterated Walther's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry. Pieper discussed Walther's dispute with the two extremes of the "Romanizing Lutherans" and Hoefling (see above, Chapter I, note 78). He also made particular reference to Walther's ten theses from part two of Kirche und Amt. However, he stated that Walther never intended the theory of transference (Uebertragen) to become a shibboleth, provided the sense of the doctrine was preserved.<sup>126</sup>

In the year of the Missouri Synod's Jubilee, 1897, Francis Pieper published "A Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod" in order to demonstrate that the teaching of his church body was not a new teaching, but rather was based on Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions.<sup>127</sup> Concerning the doctrine of the ministry, Pieper wrote the following article:

Regarding the office of the ministry we teach that it is a divine ordinance, i.e., the Christians at a certain place are enjoined by divine precept to put to use the Word of God not only privately and within the circle of their families, but it is their duty also to have the Word preached among them publicly by persons qualified for such work, and to have the sacraments administered according to the institution of Christ, Matt. 28, 18-20. Acts 14, 23. 2 Tim. 2, 2.

However, the office of the ministry possesses no other power than the power of the Word, 1 Pet. 4, 11, i.e., it is the duty of Christians to yield an unconditional obedience to the office of the ministry, whenever and wherever the minister proclaims to them the Word of God, Hebr. 13, 17; Luke 10, 16, on the other hand, if the minister in his teachings and injunctions goes beyond the Word of God, it would not be the duty of Christians to obey, but to disobey him, so as to remain faithful to Christ, in accordance with the word of Christ: "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren," Matt. 23, 8. Accordingly, we reject with all our heart the erroneous doctrine by which the office of the ministry is given the power to impose a yoke upon the neck of the disciples in matters which Christ

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<sup>126</sup>Francis Pieper, "Dr. C. F. W. Walther als Theologe" (portion dealing with Walther on Church and Ministry), Lehre und Wehre 35 (July-August 1889):220-233.

<sup>127</sup>Francis Pieper, A Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod, translated by W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1897), p. 1.

has not commanded.

We also profess that the right to judge in matters of doctrine does not only belong to pastors, synods, councils, etc., but to all believers, because all believers are commanded to avoid false teachers, a warning which Christ inculcates on all children of God, saying: "Beware of false prophets," Matt. 7, 15. Any person who infringes the right of Christians to judge in matters of doctrine gives the Christians over into the power of men, and makes them subject, as regards their faith, to men, instead of subjecting them to God alone. From the right, however, of Christians to decide matters results the duty to diligently study the Word of God, so as to be able to discharge this important office. For they are to decide doctrines not according to their own notion, but according to what is written. Christians shall and may decide doctrine in accordance with the Word of God.<sup>128</sup>

From a paper delivered at a Southern Illinois District convention in 1913, Francis Pieper published an article on "The Divine Ordinance of the Public Office of the Ministry (Preaching)" in a 1914 issue of Lehre und Wehre. The convention essay was meant to address the so-called "Laymen's Movement" that had arisen within the Protestant denominations of America in the early 1900s. Yet, the article dealt specifically with the doctrine of the ministry. Since his brother, August, had been publishing his position for three years, Francis' article seems rather timely, especially in view of the 1914 meeting of the St. Louis and Wauwatosa seminary professors (see above, page 120). Although Francis does not mention his brother by name, nor any of the Wauwatosa faculty, it appears that he had the Wisconsin theologians' view in mind, wishing to maintain the Missouri Synod's traditional understanding. However, the article was in no way polemical against the new position arising within the Wisconsin

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<sup>128</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-23. The same document was reproduced in several forms: Francis Pieper, "A Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod (1897)," Theological Quarterly 8 (January 1904):1-24. In 1903 it was published as F. Pieper, "Ich glaube, darum rede ich." Eine kurze Darlegung derr Lehrstellung der Missouri-Synode (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903). An even briefer form was printed in 1922 as: Francis Pieper, Was die Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten waehrend ihres fuenfundsiebzigjaehrigen Bestehens gelehrt had und noch lehrt (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922).

Synod and was ultimately very practical in nature.

In this article, Francis Pieper sought to demonstrate that the pastoral office in a local congregation is the public office of the ministry which God has ordained and established. The establishment of this office does not negate the responsibility of the spiritual priesthood to proclaim God's Word. Yet, only the public office of the ministry is called to do this publicly on behalf of the congregation. Pieper further stressed that this office was instituted by God's command; it is timeless in that it is established until the end of time; and it is mandatory for a congregation to have this public office of the ministry in its midst. The function of the pastoral office is to serve the whole congregation through Word and Sacrament. Pieper especially stressed that the pastoral office is the only office that is responsible for all the souls within the congregation. No other office in the church is such a Seelsorger. In discussing the public office of the ministry, Pieper cites Walther's Kirche und Amt in several places and quotes Thesis VII which refers to the transferring (uebertragen) of authority from the priesthood of all believers to the holder of the public office of the ministry through the call.

He also discussed the question of whether a congregation should appoint people who would not teach and rule the entire congregation in all activities, but who would have special gifts to serve the congregation as rulers, elders, teachers, and almoners. Pieper believed that a congregation could and should do this, because all the gifts which God had given to Christians should be used in the service of all (Romans 12; 1 Corinthians 12). Yet, these services, according to Pieper, are neither singly nor together the Bischofsamt, or the public ministry that

should watch over the entire congregation and that should rule the entire congregation and serve it with God's Word. Pieper believed that 1 Timothy 3 showed that people who served in the congregation as counselors, rulers, elders, teachers, and the like, remained under the supervision of the bishop or the public ministry, because to the ministry belongs the supervision of the entire flock and the responsibility for the entire flock. Neither the congregation, nor a holder of the public office of the ministry should change the full scope of the pastoral office. All these qualifications and functions must be found in the person of the pastor.

Francis Pieper then noted six similarities and four differences between the general priesthood of all believers and the specific pastoral office. The six similarities included the following: both are made possible by Christ's redemptive work; both presuppose faith in Christ (there is no theologia irrogenitorum); both are bound to the Word of God; both have the same efficacy; both are equally obligatory upon all hearers (Heb. 13:17; Matt. 18:17); both have identical goals, the salvation of souls. The four differences between the spiritual priesthood and the pastoral office included: the public office of the ministry requires a higher ability for teaching and presupposes a more adequate training; the public office of the ministry requires a proper call for the public office from the congregation; the scope and kind of work is different in that the pastor serves the whole congregation and is responsible for the spiritual welfare of the whole congregation; and the pastor earns his livelihood through his full-time service and should be occupied with nothing else.

Finally, Francis Pieper discussed the importance for emphasizing

the divine nature of the public office of the ministry. It is important for the pastor so that he may be confident in his call, so that he will be assured that he is under God's care at all times, so that he will not fear rebuke or attack in fulfilling his calling, so that he will not suffer under the pressures for worldly success, so that he will avoid replacing God's Word with human words, so that he will not be lazy in his responsibilities, and so that the pastor will be circumspect in his conduct. It is important for the congregation so that they think that their pastor is the best man for them, so that they will attend church regularly and listen to the Word of God through their pastor, and so that they provide for the training of future pastors.<sup>129</sup>

Between 1917 and 1924, Francis Pieper published his magnum opus, Christliche Dogmatik, in three volumes. Actually, Volume II was the first completed because "the wish had been expressed that the opening volume should be that containing the doctrine of God's Grace in Christ, of Christ's Person and Work, and of Justification."<sup>130</sup> Throughout all three volumes of his Christian Dogmatics, Francis Pieper followed the basic outline set forth in C. F. W. Walther's edition of Baier's Compendium. Yet, Pieper's work is not a translation, but instead a fresh

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<sup>129</sup>Francis Pieper, "Die goettliche Ordnung des oeffentlichen Predigtamts," Lehre und Wehre 60 (April 1914):145-159. A translation of the complete convention essay is found in Francis Pieper, What Is Christianity? And Other Essays, translated by John Theodore Mueller (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1933), pp. 100-114.

<sup>130</sup>Theodore Graebner, Dr. Francis Pieper, p. 40. Franz Pieper, Christliche Dogmatik, 3 Vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917, 1920, 1924). Francis Pieper, Christian Dogmatics, 3 Vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950).



restatement of classic Lutheran orthodox doctrine applied to the life of the church in Pieper's day.<sup>131</sup>

The discussion of the public office of the ministry in Pieper's dogmatics work is found in the same volume as the doctrines of sanctification, final perseverance, the means of grace, Law and Gospel, Holy Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Christian Church, eternal election and eschatology. His presentation of the doctrine of the ministry is divided into eleven sections: 1. Nature of the Public Ministry, 2. The Relation of the Public Ministry to the Spiritual Priesthood of All Christians, 3. The Public Ministry Not a Human but a Divine Institution, 4. The Necessity of the Public Ministry, 5. The Call into the Public Ministry, 6. The Rite of Ordination, 7. The Ministry No Special Spiritual Order Superior to That of the Christians, 8. The Authority (Potestas) of the Public Ministry, 9. The Equality of the Servants of the Church, 10. The Ministry the Highest Office in the Church, and 11. The Anti-christ.<sup>132</sup>

Pieper begins his discussion of the doctrine of the ministry in his Christian Dogmatics by distinguishing between the "ministry" in the wide and the narrow sense.<sup>133</sup> All Christians are spiritual priests and

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<sup>131</sup>Johann Wilhelm Baier, Compendium Theologiae Positivae, edited by C. F. W. Walther, 3 Vols. (St. Louis: Luth. Concordia-Verlag, 1879), passim.

<sup>132</sup>Pieper, Christliche Dogmatik, 3:501-527. Pieper, Christian Dogmatics 3:439-462.

<sup>133</sup>Pieper maintained that the ministry in the wide sense embraces every form of preaching the Gospel or administering the means of grace. The public ministry in the narrow sense is the office by which the means of grace, given originally to all Christians, are administered on behalf of Christians (a basic distinction between the public office of the ministry in abstracto and in concreto--Augsburg Confession, Article V and Article XIV). The office is public because it is performed on behalf of

have the call to proclaim the Gospel. The Christian can and should proclaim the Gospel to individuals and in an emergency baptize. Yet, in a congregation, where the privilege is common property, no one should undertake this without a call by the congregation.<sup>134</sup> It is a divine command that Christians in a local area form a congregation and establish the public office of the ministry.<sup>135</sup> Yet, even though it is God's will that the public office of the ministry be established in a congregation, it is not absolutely necessary for the salvation of souls. The Holy Spirit also works through laymen as they proclaim the Gospel. However, this should not be made an excuse for despising the public office of the ministry.<sup>136</sup> God works mediately in calling someone to the public office of the ministry by means of the election and appointment of a local congregation.<sup>137</sup> This call is then publicly recognized in the solemn apostolic rite of ordination. However, this is not a divine ordinance, but an adiaphorus practice. It is nothing more than the ratification of the call, and it is through the call that the public office of the ministry is conferred.<sup>138</sup> This public office of the ministry is not a special order superior to other Christians. It is an office of service. All that a pastor does in a congregation as a pastor is delegated by the congregation. This is particularly true in the pronouncing of excommu-

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and by the command of the congregation. Where there are no Christian congregations, as in a pagan country, there is no public ministry. Ibid., pp. 439-440.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., pp. 440-441.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., pp. 443-449. Here Pieper especially takes issue with the position of Hoefling.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., pp. 449-450.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., pp. 450-454.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., pp. 454-456.

nication.<sup>139</sup> The pastor is to be obeyed by the congregation insofar as he proclaims the Word of God.<sup>140</sup> And just as the servants of the church are not lords in their congregations, neither are they lords of one another.<sup>141</sup> Finally, the public ministry is the highest office in the church because the one holding this office is to teach how all other offices in the congregation are to be administered.<sup>142</sup>

Francis Pieper's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry was basically the same as that of Walther. The only difference appears to be in the discussion of auxiliary offices. From the writings considered, it appears that Pieper did not use the term Hilfsaemter. Also, when discussing other offices he did not speak of a divine call. In Pieper's published articles that have been considered in this analysis, any references to a divine call seemed to be reserved for the full public office of the ministry in a local congregation or the pastoral office. Not that he denied the right of the church to create auxiliary offices, or the divinity of a call to such an office. In the writings considered, it simply was not mentioned. In discussing the authority of the public office of the ministry, Francis Pieper stressed the divine mandate for this office.

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<sup>139</sup>Ibid., pp. 456-459.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., pp. 459-460.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., pp. 460-461.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., pp. 461-462. Here, Pieper does not mention the precise nature of "other offices" and only makes reference to Walther's Thesis VIII on the ministry in Kirche und Amt by way of a footnote. Walther had stated that the public office of the ministry or the pastoral office is the highest office in the church because all other offices the church may create flow from it (see above). It seems as though Pieper avoided a discussion of auxiliary offices in print.

As mentioned above in the section on the Intersynodical Movement, the 1929 Missouri Synod convention called for the formulation of a document which presented the doctrine of the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions in the shortest, most simple manner.<sup>143</sup> This document would then serve as the basis for future intersynodical discussions. Immediately after the 1929 convention, President Pfotenhauer appointed a committee of Dr. F. Pieper, Prof. W. Wenger, the Rev. E. A. Mayer, the Rev. L. A. Heerboth, and Prof. Th. Engelder to draw up the document.<sup>144</sup> The "Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod" was published in the June 1931, issue of the Concordia Theological Monthly.<sup>145</sup> At the 1932 synodical convention, the Missouri Synod adopted the document "as a brief Scriptural statement of the doctrinal position of the Missouri Synod."<sup>146</sup> The fact that this document, both in form and content, is very similar to Francis Pieper's 1897 document, which bore the same name, demonstrates Pieper's leading role in drafting the 1932 statement. The "Brief Statement" of 1932 treated all primary matters of Christian faith with special emphasis on the plenary verbal inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, election, conversion, and the doctrine of the church. Other issues which had long been controverted among the various Lutheran church bodies were also included.

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<sup>143</sup>LCMS, 1929 Proceedings, pp. 112-113.

<sup>144</sup>LCMS, 1932 Proceedings, pp. 154-155.

<sup>145</sup>F. Pieper, W. Wenger, E. A. Mayer, L. A. Heerboth, and Th. Engelder, "Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod," CTM 2 (June 1931):401-416.

<sup>146</sup>LCMS, 1932 Proceedings, pp. 154-155.

However, the 1932 "Brief Statement" was not totally dependent on the 1897 publication. With respect to the doctrine of the ministry, the "Brief Statement" of 1932 also bore similarities to Pieper's presentation in his dogmatics text and to the Intersynodical Theses, particularly with the recommended addition from the Missouri Synod's Examining Committee (see above, page 147). Concerning the doctrine "Of the Public Ministry," the 1932 "Brief Statement" maintained the following:

31. By the public ministry we mean the office by which the Word of God is preached and the Sacraments are administered by order and in the name of a Christian congregation. Concerning this office we teach that it is a divine ordinance; that is, the Christians of a certain locality must apply the means of grace not only privately and within the circle of their families nor merely in their common intercourse with fellow-Christians, John 5, 39; Eph. 6, 6; Col. 3, 16, but they are also required, by the divine order, to make provision that the Word of God be publicly preached in their midst, and the Sacraments administered according to the institution of Christ, by persons qualified for such work, whose qualifications and official functions are exactly defined in Scripture, Titus 1, 5; Acts 14, 23; 20, 28; 2 Tim. 2, 2.

32. Although the office of the ministry is a divine ordinance, it possesses no other power than the power of the Word of God, 1 Pet. 4, 11; that is to say, it is the duty of Christians to yield unconditional obedience to the office of the ministry whenever, and as long as, the minister proclaims to them the Word of God, Heb. 13, 17; Luke 10, 16. If, however, the minister, in his teachings, and injunctions, were to go beyond the Word of God, it would be the duty of Christians, not to obey, but to disobey him, so as to remain faithful to Christ, Matt. 23, 8. Accordingly, we reject the false doctrine ascribing to the office of the ministry the right to demand obedience and submission in matters which Christ has not commanded.

33. Regarding ordination we teach that it is not a divine, but a commendable ecclesiastical ordinance [Triglot, p. 525, 70; M., p. 342].<sup>147</sup>

With the adopting of the "Brief Statment" in 1932, the Missouri Synod not only had a document for future fellowship negotiations, but for many members of the Synod it now had another statement of its doctrinal position which would serve as a criterion for evaluating other

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<sup>147</sup>"Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod," CTM 2 (June 1931):410-411.

statements both within and without the Synod. No major change was made with respect to the doctrine of the ministry from the position established in 1851 when Walther's Kirche und Amt was adopted. It should be noted, however, that the "Brief Statement" makes no mention that churchly authority and power is transferred by the spiritual priesthood in a congregation to the pastoral office by means of a call. Also, the word "call" is not even used in the 1932 document. Probably the closest the "Brief Statement" comes to the concept of the "call" are the phrases "by order and in the name of a Christian congregation" and "to make provision." Yet, both the 1851 and the 1932 statements stress the divine ordinance of the ministerial office in a congregation. They both reject a hierarchical understanding of the ministerial office and both maintain that ordination is not a divine institution. Yet, the 1932 position stresses the divine mandate for the establishment and authority of the office to a greater extent than does the document of 1851. The "Brief Statement" says nothing about the ministerial office being the highest office in the church, nor does it mention anything about auxiliary offices. Yet, it must also be remembered that this document was meant to be as concise as possible. It was not intended to be an exhaustive treatment of any one doctrine. Therefore, the "Brief Statement" can not be seen as rejecting the position that had been adopted in 1851. It was merely not as complete as it could (or maybe even should) have been. The primary purpose of the 1932 position was for fellowship negotiations.

Concluding Comments

For the most part, the Missouri Synod maintained a fairly consistent position on the doctrine of the ministry between 1887 and 1932. However, history shows that there is no reason to be nostalgic. Differing views during this period can be found in several statements on the parochial school teacher's relationship to the public office of the ministry and the divinity of a call to this office of the Christian day school teacher. Also, it should be noted that after 1927, the Missouri Synod's clergy roster did not reflect its understanding of the doctrine of the ministry. By listing all those who had been ordained, but who were serving in auxiliary offices, as "Pastors," the roster did not reflect the view that the pastoral office was conferred by a local congregation through the call and involved the functioning in the office of Word and Sacrament in a local congregation. Also, during this period the first full-time presidency was instituted, new auxiliary offices were created, the calling of individuals to auxiliary offices by organizations outside the synodical structure had begun, the question of the right to terminate a divine call to an auxiliary office was raised, the role of women in auxiliary offices was discussed, and a new understanding of the church and ministry was developed within a sister synod of the Missouri Synod.

PART II

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY IN THE  
MISSOURI SYNOD, 1932-1962



## INTRODUCTION

Between 1932 and 1935, a third period in the Missouri Synod's history began. With the impact of the Great Depression being felt throughout the country, a growing dissatisfaction was building within the Missouri Synod and many would be involved in a movement for change. Finances, however, were only a part of the perceived problem. Many were dissatisfied with the home-mission approach of their church body which still focused on German immigrants; the parochial German attitude of their Synod which still clung to a language that was alien to their country; the mind set of their leaders who were confronting a changing society with what were considered to be antiquated ideas. At the 1935 synodical convention, some would engage in political maneuvering and the first American-born president of the Missouri Synod would be elected. This was a new generation within the Missouri Synod which desired to make their church body a vital force in American society. It was a movement of Missouri Synod progressives who sought to Americanize their synod. Before the end of this third historical epoch, they would seek to change the Synod not only culturally, but doctrinally as well. The result would be a major disruption at one of the Synod's seminaries in 1974 and approximately 75,000 people leaving the Synod to form a new Lutheran church body in 1976.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The third period in the Missouri Synod's history came to an end between 1969 and 1976. In 1969, politicking was again used in the Synod's presidential election. After several important resolutions were adopted at the 1973 synodical convention and after the president of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, was temporarily suspended from office on January 20,

During the third period in the Missouri Synod's history the church body grew from 1,210,206 baptized congregational members and 3,133 pastors in 1932 to 2,456,856 baptized congregational members and 6,192 pastors in 1962.<sup>2</sup> In thirty years, the synod had doubled in size, which in turn meant a substantial growth in the church body's bureaucratic structure. During this period, full-time synodical staff positions would increase by 650 percent. This increase and the understanding of state and national government with respect to ordination and the pastoral office would have a profound impact upon the way the doctrine of the ministry was practiced within the Missouri Synod. From 1932 to 1962, the Missouri Synod's College of Presidents would engage in an ongoing study of ordination and by 1962, the College of Presidents and the Synod would resolve to change the church body's long-standing definition and practice of ordination. This, in turn, would change the understanding of the pastoral office within the Synod.

During this time, the Missouri Synod also confronted not only a

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1974, a majority of the faculty and students at that school "walked out" and formed a seminary in exile. On December 3-4, 1976, the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches was organized by those from the Missouri Synod who were dissatisfied with the turn of events that occurred between 1969 and 1976. Consider: Board of Control, Concordia Seminary, Exodus from Concordia (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary Publicity Office, 1977), passim; Frederick Danker, No Room in the Brotherhood; the Preus - Otten Purge of Missouri (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1977), passim; Tom Baker, Watershed at the Rivergate (Sturgis, MI: Private Printing, 1973), passim; James E. Adams, Preus of Missouri and the Great Lutheran Civil War (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1977), passim; Laurie Ann Schultz Hayes, "The Rhetoric of Controversy in The Lutheran Church-- Missouri Synod with Particular Emphasis on the Years 1969-1976," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1980, pp. 223-556.

<sup>2</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, 1932 Statistical Year-Book (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1933), p. 138. 1962 Statistical Year-Book (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), pp. 240-243.

growing dissatisfaction from within, which would culminate in "A Statement" of forty-four pastors and synodical officials in 1945, but the Synod also had to face a second world war that again involved the ancestral homeland of many of its members. As a result, secular influences impacted upon the Synod's position, particularly the Selective Service Act and an Internal Revenue Service ruling during the 1940s. These influences would cause the Synod to attempt to define more carefully its position on the relation of pastors and teachers with respect to the doctrine of the ministry. Discussions with other Lutheran church bodies in America and abroad would also have an influence. It was during this period that the Wisconsin Synod's position became an open issue and some within the Missouri Synod would adopt and promote this position publicly. Negotiations between the American Lutheran Church and the Missouri Synod in the United States and between European Lutherans and the Missouri Synod at the Bad Boll Conferences were another important factor to be considered. And finally, it was at this time that the Liturgical Movement within the Missouri Synod began to take shape. The position on the ministry of certain members within this Movement cannot be ignored.

Three distinct views on the doctrine of the ministry would be maintained by various individuals within the Missouri Synod during this third period in the Synod's history: the traditional mediating position as set forth in Walther's Kirche und Amt, the low view maintained by Wisconsin Synod theologians and adopted by certain members on the Missouri Synod's Board for Parish Education, and a high view corresponding to that of Wilhelm Loehe which was held by certain individuals within the Liturgical Movement. Far from resolving the various differences, the 1962 change in the definition and practice of ordination and the

pastoral office would lend further confusion to the understanding of the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE RISE OF DISSATISFACTION WITHIN THE MISSOURI SYNOD

#### The Beginnings of Dissatisfaction

The roots of the dissatisfaction that emerged within the Missouri Synod during its third period of history can be traced to problems that arose during World War I. The American Lutheran Publicity Bureau (ALPB) was organized in 1914 by Missouri Synod pastors and laymen, some of whom had participated in a pan Lutheran group called the New York Lutheran Society. The ALPB had been formed in order to promote Lutheranism in a positive way in the face of American anti-Germanism. In January 1918, the Bureau began publishing the American Lutheran under the editorial guidance of Pastor Paul Lindemann, carrying the slogan "A Changeless Christ for a Changing World." The publication offered pastors ideas on evangelism (then referred to as home missions), worship, finances, Christian education, and other related topics.<sup>1</sup>

During the United States' involvement in World War I, several of the men associated with the ALPB, particularly Paul Lindemann, as well as others, reacted strongly to the actions of the Missouri Synod's Army and Navy Board when it refused to cooperate with the National Lu-

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<sup>1</sup>Erwin L. Lueker, ed., Lutheran Cyclopedia, rev. ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1975), pp. 28-29. See also John C. Wohlrabe, Jr., "The Missouri Synod's Unity Attempts During the Pfotenhauer Presidency, 1911-1935," unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1982, pp. 56-57, 92-93, 157-158.

theran Commission for Soldier and Sailor Welfare (a pan Lutheran agency created to facilitate Lutheran ministry to those serving in the armed forces). In January 1918, the New York Pastoral Conference of the Missouri Synod held a "mass meeting" to protest the synodical boards' action.<sup>2</sup> The Eastern Missouri Synod Lutherans then appointed their own Army and Navy Board which called its own camp pastors and cooperated independently with the National Lutheran Commission for Soldier and Sailor Welfare.<sup>3</sup> Tension was eventually alleviated after the Armistice of November 11, 1918, when the 1920 convention of the Missouri Synod dissolved the Army and Navy Boards.<sup>4</sup>

The 1935 Synodical Convention, Political Maneuvering  
and the Doctrine of the Ministry

Further unrest did not arise until just before the 1935 Missouri Synod convention. By 1934, a group of pastors and professors connected with the American Lutheran were growing more and more discontent with the way the Missouri Synod was being run and devised a plan to bring about change. This group included Paul Lindemann, editor of the American Lutheran and now pastor of Redeemer Lutheran in St. Paul, Minnesota, Professor E. J. Friedrich of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Professor

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<sup>2</sup>Minutes of the Board for Army and Navy, January 14, 1918, Concordia Historical Institute [hereafter cited C.H.I.], St. Louis, Mo. Also see Alan Graebner, "World War I and Lutheran Union: Documents from the Army and Navy Board, 1917 and 1918," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly [hereafter cited CHIQ] 41 (February 1968):49-57. Wohlrabe, pp. 95-99.

<sup>3</sup>Minutes of the Board for Army and Navy, February 18, 1918; Alan Graebner, pp. 57-59; Wohlrabe, pp. 99-105.

<sup>4</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod [hereafter designated LCMS], Proceedings of the Thirty-First National Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. Assembled at Detroit, Mich., as the Sixteenth Delegate Synod June 16-25, 1920 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1920), pp. 51-52.

O. P. Kretzmann of Valparaiso University, and Pastor O. A. F. Geiseman of Grace Lutheran Church, River Forest, Illinois. Their plan called for changes in the Synod's home mission policy (particularly the linguistic and nationalistic ties to German immigrants), changes in education (the Missouri Synod had a surplus of ministerial candidates and a change was demanded for quality instead of quantity), changes in financial planning ("much money has been poured into hopeless places"), and a change in the local congregational life ("a cultivation of the spirit of worship" and meeting the needs of a media-crazed age). It was proposed that the American Lutheran run articles from October 1934 until June 1935, calling for these changes (actually the articles ran from November 1934 until June 1935). In its conclusion the plan stated:

The above naturally offers only a sketchy outline of what the editor has in mind. He believes that the Church must be shaken out of its apathy and that first of all it must be brought to a startled recognition of its previous shortcomings and then to an aggressive attempt at rectification. Perhaps the directive influence towards the rehabilitation of our church life should come from above, but we feel that at the present time this directive influence will not be exerted unless it is compelled by sentiment from the rank and file. It is the creation of the sentiment that we have in mind. To this end the above is submitted to you [the Board of Directors for the American Lutheran] for your attention.<sup>5</sup>

Somehow Lawrence (Lorry) Meyer, the Missouri Synod's Director of

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<sup>5</sup>"Plan for the American Lutheran covering the issues from October 1934 to May or June 1935. For the information of the Board of Directors. Not for publication." Lorry B. Meyer papers, Box 1, File 1, C.H.I. The following articles appeared in the American Lutheran: [unsigned, possibly Paul Lindemann], "Awake! Thou That Sleepest!," American Lutheran 17 (November 1934):3-4; Arthur Brunn, "Shall We Scrap our Machinery," Ibid., 17 (November 1934):6; Paul Lindemann, "Today and Tomorrow," Ibid., 18 (January 1935):2-5; Edgar F. Witte, "The Challenge to the Church in the Present Social Order," Ibid., 18 (February 1935):11-13; Arthur Brunn, "Our Home Mission Problems," Ibid., 18 (March 1935):6-7; O. P. Kretzmann, "Youth Faces the Church," Ibid., 18 (April 1935):3-6; O. H. Pannkoke, "An Attempt to Outline a Progressive Program," Ibid., 18 (May 1935):8-10. Paul Lindemann, "The Cleveland Convention," Ibid., 19 (June 1935):3.

Publicity, received a copy of this plan and the synodical administration became somewhat alarmed. Attempts were made to arrange a meeting between synodical officials and those who had formulated the "plan," particularly Paul Lindemann. However, the editor of the American Lutheran declined to engage in a meeting with synodical officials, and in accord with the wishes of President Pfotenhauer the matter was dropped.<sup>6</sup>

In preparation for the 1935 synodical convention, those involved in the "plan" engaged in political maneuvering for the presidential election. When the Second Vice-President of the Synod, Dr. F. J. Lankenau, found out about the "plan" he wrote Lorry Meyer what eventually proved to be a rather prophetic statement:

What is said of the "Changes in Life as they Affect the Church" is not new nor startling. Many of us have noticed these changes and have considered them in our work. Of course, many of our "conservative" brethren may not have done as much as they should to meet changed conditions, but neither would they do so if we had a new regime. But what might happen quite easily is that a too "progressive" administration might bring about a "SPLIT." . . .

In Fort Wayne I heard that Paul Miller is also in with the movement. I was also told that he is pushing Paul Lindemann as THE MAN OF THE HOUR. -- But as I told the brother that gave me this information, are these men that are criticizing Synod's administration so severely showing such a great superiority over others in their work?

Dear Lorry, I see breakers ahead. We need a safe man at the helm, or it may mean the wrecking of the ship; and I feel that the safest man we can possibly find at this crucial hour is the present captain of the ship!<sup>7</sup>

Extensive political maneuvering was going on before and during the 1935 Cleveland convention. In the first draft of his memoir, This I

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<sup>6</sup>Letter from P. Lindemann to L. Meyer dated October 20, 1934. Lorry B. Meyer papers, Box 1, File 1, C.H.I. Letter from L. Meyer to F. J. Lankenau dated October 22, 1934. Ibid. For a more complete analysis of the correspondence involved, see Wohlrabe, "Missouri Synod's Unity Attempts During the Pfotenhauer Presidency, 1911-1935," pp. 160-164.

<sup>7</sup>Letter from F. J. Lankenau to L. Meyer dated October 19, 1934. Lorry B. Meyer papers, Box 1, File 1, C.H.I.



Recall (this information never made it into the final publication), John W. Behnken told of the political maneuvering:

However, in all honesty I must say that if I had known at the time of the Cleveland convention what I learned about five years later, I would not have accepted the Presidency. From a man, whose reliability I cannot doubt, I learned that there was very much electioneering or propaganda. This occurred in the lobby and had also taken place through the mails. It is hardly believable that anyone would resort to such political tactics and maneuverings, against or for a candidate, in church elections. But it happened. The reader will understand, then, why I have warned repeatedly against electioneering at our conventions. It simply is improper and inexcusable in synodical elections. May God graciously preserve our Synod from practices which would make a political football out of our elections. Where this is done the church body is on slippery paths, and these lead downward.<sup>8</sup>

The thirty-sixth Missouri Delegate Synod was opened with a bilingual service in the spacious Convention Hall of the new Cleveland

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<sup>8</sup>John W. Behnken, "First draft" of This I Recall, in the possession of William J. Schmelder, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

Martin Scharlemann had just graduated from Concordia Seminary at this time. Because there were no calls into the ministry readily available, he was serving as the secretary to the Secretary of the Synod, Pastor Martin F. Kretzmann. It was Scharlemann's job to assign lodging for the convention delegates and then to record into German shorthand the minutes of the Cleveland Convention from the English original. Dr. Scharlemann intimated that as the various ballots for the synodical presidency were being conducted, there was much politicking conducted at the Convention and at the parish of Pastor C. W. Spiegel (pastor of St. Paul Lutheran Church of Cleveland, the church in which all the committee meetings were conducted). Yet, Dr. Scharlemann stated that Dr. Behnken had no part in this. Interview with Dr. Martin Scharlemann, December 14, 1981.

In a phone conversation with Dr. C. W. Spiegel on February 22, 1982, (who became a professor at Concordia Seminary, Springfield, Illinois after serving as pastor at St. Paul's in Cleveland and who is now retired in Springfield, Illinois), he intimated to this writer that much pressure was being applied to elect Dr. Behnken for the synodical presidency without the actual knowledge of Dr. Behnken. Some years after the convention at which Behnken was elected President, he told Spiegel that, "If I had known when I was elected president of Synod what I know now, I would have never accepted the position." Dr. Spiegel implied that this statement was made not only in reference to the politicking that had gone on, but also with respect to the people who had engaged in that politicking and the expectations (with reference to change) that they had for Dr. Behnken's presidency.

Auditorium on the morning of Wednesday, June 19, 1935. On the morning of Thursday, June 20, the first ballot was cast in the election for the synodical president. One day later, and after four ballots, Dr. J. W. Behnken was elected the new president of the Missouri Synod, the first American-born synodical president.<sup>9</sup>

The issue of political maneuvering for synodically elected officials raises questions which appear not to have been asked at that time. What place, if any, does politicking or electioneering have in the doctrine of the ministry, particularly if the synodical presidency is considered an auxiliary or branch of the public office of the ministry? Similarly, does such political maneuvering in any way validate Wilhelm Loehe's concern about the Missouri Synod's polity and its relation to the doctrine of the ministry which he expressed upon reading the Synod's first constitution? In several synodical elections since 1935, politicking has taken place; yet these questions have not been adequately addressed.

#### "A Statement"

The movement for change which was spawned by dissatisfaction

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<sup>9</sup>Results of the various ballots were as follows: first ballot - F. Pfotenhauer 263, J. Behnken 157, F. Lankenau 22, H. Grueber 14, Paul Lindemann 14; second ballot - Pfotenhauer 253, Behnken 206, Lankenau 25, Lindemann 16, Grueber 15; third ballot - Pfotenhauer 259, Behnken 257, Lankenau 9, Lindemann 6; fourth ballot - Behnken 263, Pfotenhauer 229, Lankenau 5. Theodore Graebner, "Thirty-Sixth Convention of the Missouri Synod," The Lutheran Witness 54 (July 2, 1935):231-232. Concerning the election, Behnken stated the following: "After a number of ballots and still no majority, I asked President Pfotenhauer whether I might make a statement. 'Not now,' he told me. 'Just wait.'" When finally the balloting was narrowed down to a vote between Dr. Pfotenhauer and me, I again asked him to permit me an opportunity to speak. His answer was: 'You must not say anything. Let God decide the matter by the vote of the convention.'" John Behnken, This I Recall (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), p. 48.

resulted in the 1945 document entitled "A Statement," originally signed by forty-four Missouri Synod pastors (some of whom were synodical officials), professors and laymen. The signers were unhappy with what they considered to be a legalistic spirit and growing loveless attitude within the Synod.<sup>10</sup> The men who called the meeting that resulted in "A Statement" were serving as the editorial board for the American Lutheran: E. J. Friederich, O. A. Geiseman, and O. P. Kretzmann. At a meeting in April 1945, they decided to gather together like-minded men on September

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<sup>10</sup>Richard R. Caemmerer, "Recollections of 'A Statement,'" CHIQ 43 (November 1970):156. This legalistic spirit and loveless attitude was perceived in view of several events prior to 1945. One of these was the Adolph Brux case over the issue of prayer fellowship. Jack Treon Robinson, "The Spirit of Triumphalism in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod: The Role of the 'A Statement' of 1945 in the Missouri Synod," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1972, pp. 132-150. Adolf Brux, An Appeal to Synod (Racine, WI: Private Printing, 1934), passim. Adolf Brux, Re-Appeal to Synod (Racine, WI: Private Printing, 1938), passim. Another issue was the fellowship discussions between the Missouri Synod and the American Lutheran Church. The 1938 Missouri Synod convention maintained that the Missouri Synod's "Brief Statement" and the American Lutheran Church's "Sandusky Declaration" could "be regarded as the doctrinal basis for future church fellowship . . ." and if remaining differences were worked out, and fellowship could be declared, it was to be "announced officially by the President of Synod." LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Regular Convention Assembled at St. Louis, Missouri, June 15-24, 1938 [hereafter cited Proceedings] (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938), pp. 231-232. Yet, this was basically rescinded by the Missouri Synod's 1941 and 1944 conventions. That action was viewed negatively by the signers of the 1945 "A Statement." Robinson, p. 199. Thomas Coates, "'A Statement' --Some Reminiscenes," CHIQ 43 (November 1970):159. Still another factor was the beginning of a second unofficial publication called The Confessional Lutheran in January 1940, by Pastor Paul H. Burgdorf of Red Lake Falls, Minnesota. This publication was opposed to the American Lutheran and the program of its supporters. "An Open Forum?" The Confessional Lutheran 1 (January 1940):4. Finally, there were various synodical positions or positions of independent synodical members which were considered to be legalistic: the position on the part of some against life insurance, lightning rods, dancing and card playing, the synodical position against lodge membership and how that was to be carried out, application of Romans 16:17 to other Lutherans, opposition to the St. James Society, opposition to the Lutheran Laymen's League and the Walther League. Speaking the Truth in Love: Essays Related to A Statement, Chicago Nineteen Forty-Five (Chicago: The Willow Press, no date), passim.

6-7, 1945, at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago. This date and site was chosen because the American Lutheran's editorial board was meeting September 4-5, 1945, at the same location.<sup>11</sup> Apparently, "A Statement" was drafted by O. P. Kretzmann. A Continuation Committee, chaired by E. J. Friederich, was appointed, and on October 9, 1945, this committee mailed out to all clergy of the Missouri Synod "A Statement" with a cover letter. This was also accompanied by a series of articles and editorials in the American Lutheran. The result was considerable unrest and polarity within the Synod which was not totally resolved. After much debate "A Statement" was withdrawn as a basis for discussion, but not retracted.<sup>12</sup>

"A Statement" of the forty-four had little, if anything, to do with the doctrine of the ministry. The central issue for this document was the doctrine of the church, particularly church fellowship.<sup>13</sup> It was, however, the culmination of the movement for change during the first half of the Missouri Synod's third period of history, a movement that had engaged in political maneuvering for an office of the public ministry.

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<sup>11</sup>Robinson, p. 211.

<sup>12</sup>Robinson, pp. 228-252. Herbert Lindemann, "Personal Reflections on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Publication of 'A Statement,'" CHIQ 43 (November 1970):164-166. Harold H. Engelbrecht, "Concerning 'A Statement,'" *Ibid.*, pp. 167-170. Walter E. Bauer, "To Recall as Well as I Can," *Ibid.*, pp. 171-173. Bernard H. Hemmeter, "Reflections on the Missouri Synod," *Ibid.*, pp. 174-177. L. H. Deffner, "'A Statement' Was a Turning Point," *Ibid.*, p. 178. E. W. A. Koehler, "An Agreement," *Ibid.*, pp. 184-187. A. T. Kretzmann, "The Statement of the 44, 1945-1979," CHIQ 55 (Summer 1982):69-81. Behnken, This I Recall, pp. 188-193. F. Dean Lueking, Mission in the Making (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 288-290. LCMS, 1947 Proceedings, pp. 15, 521-523. LCMS, 1950 Proceedings, pp. 13, 597-598, 658.

<sup>13</sup>Herbert Lindemann, p. 165. Speaking the Truth in Love, *passim*.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY

Correlative to but not entirely synonymous with the movement that sought change, engaged in political maneuvering and launched "A Statement" was the rise of the Liturgical Movement within the Missouri Synod.<sup>1</sup> Within this Movement, certain individuals set forth a high view of the doctrine of the ministry that, in some ways, corresponded to certain views of the early Saxon immigrants before the expulsion of Martin Stephan, as well as the views of J. A. A. Grabau and Wilhelm Loehe. This is particularly apparent with respect to the positions espoused within the Liturgical Movement on an episcopacy and on ordination.

#### Early Background of the Liturgical Movement in the Missouri Synod

The Liturgical Movement was brought on, to some extent, by the process of Americanization. J. Jeffrey Zetto provided the following reason for the beginning of the Liturgical Movement within the Missouri

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<sup>1</sup>Several signers of "A Statement" of the 44 were also prominent in the Liturgical Movement, including Theodore Graebner, O. P. Kretzmann, Fred and Herbert Lindemann.

It should also be noted that the Liturgical Movement had gone on for some time within the United Lutheran Church in America and its predecessor bodies. See: Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), pp. 182-228; and Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association, Vols. I-VII (Pittsburgh: D. R. P. Barry Co., 1899-1905), passim.

Synod:

The Missouri Synod had been able to hold off the process of Americanization until the beginning of the twentieth century through clauses in congregational constitutions forbidding the use of English. Acceptance of the English Synod in 1911 and the anti-German persecutions associated with World War I congregated [sic] greatly to Americanization, moving well toward completion by 1929. German was no longer the dominant language of public worship and the use of the English District-adopted Common Service to achieve immediate and broad acceptance and the plethora of home-made English liturgies were stimuli for the beginning of the Liturgical Movement.<sup>2</sup>

Several publications brought liturgical concerns before the pastors and lay people of the Missouri Synod, although the Liturgical Movement was not their primary concern: the American Lutheran, The Lutheran Witness, and the Concordia Theological Monthly. However, the unofficial American Lutheran had a stronger emphasis on art, architecture, music and liturgics than the other two official publications. Frederick Roth Webber and Frederick H. Lindemann were regular contributors in this area.<sup>3</sup> A fourth publication, called Una Sancta (1940-1970), was dedi-

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<sup>2</sup>J. Jeffrey Zetto, "Aspects of Theology in the Liturgical Movement in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, 1930-1960," unpublished Th.D. Dissertation, Christ Seminary--Seminec, St. Louis, Missouri, May, 1982, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>The American Lutheran exerted a significant influence upon the liturgical thinking of members of the Missouri Synod. By 1929 it was read by at least 835 out of 2300 pastors in the Missouri Synod. After World War II it was read by half the clergy of the Synod. Zetto provided the following threads in the editorial policy of the American Lutheran which influenced the liturgical theology and practice of the Missouri Synod: "1. Church decorum and liturgical uniformity; 2. Art and architecture, including a special column by F. R. Webber; 3. Holy Communion, especially the spiritual benefits of the sacrament and the need for frequent celebration; 4. Concern for the person and work of the pastor, his (low) salary and (high) stress load, the care of his family, etc.; 5. The theology and importance [sic] of music in Lutheran worship, the "superiority" of Lutheran church music, general practical information, the church choir, and hymnody; 6. Ecclesiastical theology and inter-Lutheran cooperation; and 7. Specific liturgical matters, rubrics, vestments, the theology of worship, the Liturgical Movement itself." Ibid., pp. 12-13.

cated entirely to the Liturgical Movement and represented the activist wing.<sup>4</sup>

The Liturgical Society of Saint James (1929-1947) was the first formal organization of the Liturgical Movement within the Missouri Synod. In 1925, Berthold von Schenk, Fred Lindemann, and other New York City area clergy began to meet informally to discuss liturgical matters. Then, in 1929, the group officially organized and elected von Schenk, pastor of St. John the Baptist Lutheran Church, Hoboken, New Jersey, as abbot.<sup>5</sup>

Because the majority of the members in the Society of Saint James wished to foster a slow, historical, and academic orientation to liturgical change, and because von Schenk desired a more activist approach, the Hoboken, New Jersey, pastor resigned from the Society of St. James in 1935. In 1937, von Schenk started the short-lived Eucharistic Fellowship of the Augsburg Confession. Von Schenk then began the Fellowship of the Blessed Sacrament in 1946 (lasting until 1970), a group dedicated to the implementation of eucharistic theology within the Liturgical Movement.<sup>6</sup> In 1954, Berthold von Schenk took over the editorship of Una Sancta and from that point on, many of the leaders of the Liturgical Movement in the Missouri Synod published their articles through this organ.<sup>7</sup>

Another group that involved Missouri Synod members was the Lutheran Liturgical Research Society of America founded in Chicago on September 18, 1940. This was a pan-Lutheran organization dedicated to the study of Lutheran liturgy and represented the academic, non-

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 42-44.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-17.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 42-44.

celebrative wing of the Liturgical Movement in the Synod.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the individuals mentioned above, two other men were instrumental to the Liturgical Movement within the Missouri Synod: Arthur Carl Piepkorn and Theodore Graebner. Piepkorn, who was incorrectly identified as a member of the Saint James Society, was actually a member of the Fellowship of the Blessed Sacrament and a close friend of von Schenk.<sup>9</sup> Piepkorn had regular articles on liturgical issues in the American Lutheran, Una Sancta and the Concordia Theological Monthly. Theodore Graebner, on the other hand, was a "card carrying member" of the Saint James Society and actively intervened for the Society with his colleagues at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. As editor of The Lutheran Witness, Graebner furthered liturgical concerns through various articles in this publication.<sup>10</sup>

The Liturgical Society of Saint James held its last convocation at Valparaiso University, May 20-21, 1947. From that point on "Institutes of Liturgical Studies" were carried on annually at Valparaiso University under the direction of President O. P. Kretzmann. In many ways, this then became the focal point for the moderate wing of the Liturgical Movement within the Missouri Synod.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-22. Several other groups or societies, mostly of a pan-Lutheran nature, included: The Society of the Incarnate Word, the Saint Nicholas Society, the Fellowship of Saint Michael, and the Lutheran Society for Worship, Music, and the Arts (LSWMA). Ibid., pp. 39-41.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 19-20, 22-26.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-29.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-37. These Institutes included both an ecumenical and a eucharistic dimension. "The Institutes grew and spread. They were never just Missouri Synod, they became pan-Lutheran and became ecumenical in the sense that there were Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, and others who attended the Institutes as speakers and participants.

The regular feature of the Institute became the celebration of Holy Communion in various forms from the simplest to the most splendid. The University, of course, after the chapel was developed, had facilities



The Liturgical Movement and the Doctrine of the  
Ministry Within the Missouri Synod until 1956

J. Jeffrey Zetto observed: "The Liturgical Movement differed with the official Synodical teaching on the shape of the public ministry, the meaning of ordination, and the structural relationship of pastor and congregation to the Church."<sup>12</sup> The restoration of the episcopacy became a goal for certain individuals in the Movement. Yet, it should be noted that not all within the Movement held this position. It found greatest support only among the more activist wing, primarily those associated with Una Sancta. And even here, there was no consensus.

Early articles in the American Lutheran were interested more in the care of ministers than in the theology of the ministry. This also included a concern for the work load of pastors and the pastors assuming responsibility for many things that the lay people could and should have done.<sup>13</sup>

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that could not be developed elsewhere." Van C. Kussrow, cited in Zetto, p. 37. Zetto goes on to note: "The traditional Missouri Synod barriers to eucharistic participation were relaxed." Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 418.

<sup>13</sup>"The Pastor's Widow," American Lutheran 2 (March 1919):26; August Brunn, "Do Preachers Produce Values?" Ibid.:27-30; [Paul Lindemann], "Using the Minister Uneconomically," Ibid. 4 (July 1921):80; [Paul Lindemann], "Latent Power in our Churches," Ibid., 7 (March 1924):27-28; "Doubling the Preacher's Power," Ibid., 8 (February 1925):14; "Underpaid," Ibid., 9 (August 1926):82; Paul Lindemann's major point of contention with the existing state of the ministry within the Missouri Synod was that almost every congregation maintained the idea that the pastor was called or hired to do the church work while the members maintained an attitude of passivity. Lindemann blamed both the laity and the pastors for this state of affairs. [Paul Lindemann], "The Office of the Ministry," Ibid., 13 (November 1930):1129. Paul Lindemann believed in the growth of lay responsibility. "The Layman and His Time," Ibid., p. 1130. As a parish pastor, District President, executive director of the ALPB, and editor of the American Lutheran, Lindemann continued to stress the delegating of responsibility. Zetto, p. 561, n. 16.

The idea of the episcopacy did not emerge within the pages of the American Lutheran until 1936. That year a United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA) businessman named Harry Hodges presented an account of the history of the episcopacy noting that it was the dominant form of Lutheran polity in Europe. He disagreed with the polity that existed within American Lutheranism because he believed that it was disorganized. Therefore, Hodges urged for the establishment of bishops. The bishop, for Hodges, was to be an administrator and was necessary for proper oversight and better organization, functioning and efficiency.<sup>14</sup>

Stimulated by Hodges' letter, Howard R. Kunkle, then a pastor of the ULCA, wrote a letter to The Lutheran (the ULCA's official organ) which was then reprinted in the American Lutheran. Kunkle believed that there was no congregational discipline in the American Lutheran churches and urged that bishops be established. The bishop would be an administrator with power. He would have a call with indefinite tenure instead of serving in a four year elected office.<sup>15</sup> J. Jeffrey Zetto noted: "Thus, again, the argument for a bishop is utilitarian rather than ecclesiastical, administrative rather than theological." The fact that Kunkle's letter was reprinted in the American Lutheran seemed to show that the editor, Paul Lindemann, who also served as president of the Missouri Synod's English District at this time, was open to questions about the role of bishops and the doctrine of the ministry within the

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<sup>14</sup>Harry Hodges, "The Episcopate and the American Lutheran Church," American Lutheran 19 (June 1936):2700-2701.

<sup>15</sup>Howard R. Kunkel, "Advocates Bishops," American Lutheran 21 (July 1938):3364.

Missouri Synod.<sup>16</sup>

In response to Kunkle's letter came a reply from Rev. Paul H. Burgdorf. The Missouri Synod pastor from Red Lake Falls, Minnesota, recalled the episcopacy of Martin Stephan and maintained that because of this, the episcopacy is too easily subject to abuse. Concerning the polity that emerged within the Missouri Synod, Burgdorf wrote:

So successful did [decentralized government] prove itself in the experience of the early Missourian congregations, that when in 1847 the "Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States" was formally organized, they would have nothing else. And under such a system our church has flourished in an unparalleled way to the present time. But again one fact stands out clearly, and that is: decentralization has spelled success for our church.<sup>17</sup>

It appears that following this the discussion of an episcopacy was dropped in the pages of the American Lutheran until after World War II when E. W. Marquart reopened the argument for bishops in the March

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<sup>16</sup>Zetto, p. 423-424. Paul Lindemann died 12 December 1938. Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>17</sup>Paul H. Burgdorf, "We Have Had a Bishop," American Lutheran 21 (October 1938):3433. In January 1939, W. M. Oesch, a Lutheran pastor for two Missouri Synod congregations in England, began publishing the Crucible, which attacked the Missouri Synod's 1938 position with respect to fellowship with the American Lutheran Church. Because of World War II, the Crucible was short-lived. John Behnken, This I Recall (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 187-188. In reaction to the American Lutheran and to occurrences at the 1935 and 1938 Missouri Synod conventions, Paul Burgdorf began another unofficial publication called The Confessional Lutheran in January 1940. From that point on, the Missouri Synod would have within itself two polarized camps represented by two different unofficial publications: the American Lutheran and The Confessional Lutheran.

It should be noted that here J. Jeffrey Zetto displays a very subjective, biased analysis with regard to Burgdorf's conclusions. Zetto injects his own value judgments by using such phrases as "a-historical approach," "illogical conclusion," and "triumphalistic attitude" with regard to Burgdorf's position. Zetto, p. 424. Whether such is true or not, it is this writer's view that at best this can be only a matter of Zetto's opinion and has not been sufficiently demonstrated to be fact. Furthermore, it is not conducive to good historical analysis to demonstrate one's disagreement with another position by using such derogatory terms.

1947, issue. Marquart maintained that an effectively administered denomination proclaims the Gospel better than an ineffectively administered church body. He further stated that the episcopacy is more efficient than the Missouri Synod's decentralized form of church government and is therefore better for the proclamation of the Gospel. A second point for Marquart was that the title "bishop" is more churchly than "president" which he considered a secular term.<sup>18</sup> Only a positive response was registered to Marquart's article in the May issue of the American Lutheran.<sup>19</sup>

A negative response to Marquart's article came in the May issue of The Confessional Lutheran. Paul Burgdorf, editor of the publication, felt it ironic that the American Lutheran could speak against a hierarchical trend in the Missouri Synod and yet publish an article that advocated the establishment of an episcopacy within the same church body.<sup>20</sup>

Not until the November 1955, issue of the American Lutheran did another letter advocating an episcopal form of government within the Missouri Synod appear. The author, Philip F. Swigart, noted three main points:

1. A Christian congregation is not the Christian Church.
2. God has vested in the Office of the Ministry full authority

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<sup>18</sup>E. W. Marquart, "Bishops in the Lutheran Church," American Lutheran 30 (March 1947):81. Here it seems that in addition to arguing on pragmatic grounds, Marquart also sought to establish a specific and special office of the ministry beyond a functional congregation.

<sup>19</sup>Alfred Froh. Letter to the American Lutheran in "Open Forum," American Lutheran 30 (May 1947):15. Froh, stated: "The American Lutheran is a wonderful magazine because it presents so many progressive ideas that the Synod ought to adopt. . . . The Missouri Synod should inaugurate the episcopacy. Then congregations would not deteriorate because an aged pastor refuses to resign, but the bishop could place such an aged man where he could work according to his ability."

<sup>20</sup>P[aul] H. B[urgdorf], "Concerning a Hierarchy in the Missouri Synod," The Confessional Lutheran 8 (May 1947):59-60.

to preach the Gospel, to administer the Sacraments, and to act as spiritual tribunal . . . the Office of the Ministry is the divinely ordained government of the Visible Church.

3. There is not a single New Testament reference to a minister being called by a congregation, or to a man being called into the Ministry by a congregation.<sup>21</sup>

For Swigart, both the term "episcopacy" and the polity it describes are Scriptural. He also believed that this form of polity was the best way to deal with pastors who have outlived their usefulness in a congregation.<sup>22</sup>

Perhaps the strongest advocate for the episcopacy within the Missouri Synod during this period was Berthold von Schenk. In his 1945 publication, The Presence, von Schenk maintained that Christ had established the holy ministry distinct from the priesthood of all believers. The early church then, by common consent, organized that ministry into the three fold office of the bishop, priest, and deacon. For von Schenk, this threefold ministry is the most desirable because it is Scriptural, has the best tradition behind it, and would do much toward Lutheran unity. Concerning the right of a congregation to call its pastor, von Schenk stated:

This so-called congregational form of government, an abortive attempt to ring in the general priesthood, is neither scriptural nor traditional. It has resulted in a mob rule when consistently carried out. Abuses have come into congregational life which have certainly not built the Church. When congregations presume the right to appoint and call their pastors . . . the Body of Christ must suffer. Nowhere in Scripture are we informed that a group of Christian lay-

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<sup>21</sup>Philip F. Swigart, "Making the Most of Our Ministry," American Lutheran 38 (November 1955):17-18. This article was published in its entirety in The Confessional Lutheran 12 (March 1956):30-31. The editor of The Confessional Lutheran directed his readers to compare this article with the "Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod."

<sup>22</sup>Swigart, 38:18.

men called their pastors and elders, but we know that the apostles appointed bishops, elders and deacons and ordained them by the laying on of hands.<sup>23</sup>

For von Schenk, the basis of the ministry was not the three fold office in and of itself; the basis of the ministry was the blessing of Christ through the Holy Spirit. J. Jeffrey Zetto has noted that: "This, without being said, placed a new emphasis on ordination as both a setting-aside of the individual for a ministerial office and the conferring of a specific spiritual blessing."<sup>24</sup> Berthold von Schenk expressed his understanding of ordination in this way:

The success of the ministry is not through an office, nor by ordination, nor by membership in one specific group, but through the work of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the life of the Church.

Where the Gospel is preached and where the Sacraments are administered there is the presence of Jesus. Whether the pastor or priest has been ordained by a bishop with uninterrupted succession or by the consent of the church group is not the most important question. The important requirement is that he has the unction of the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, for von Schenk, the episcopacy and ordination, which are the external marks of the evangelical ministry, are not absolutely necessary. What are essential for ministry are the Gospel and the power of the Holy Spirit which von Schenk believed were represented in the episcopacy and in ordination.<sup>26</sup>

The issue of the episcopacy was further carried on in the pages of Una Sancta. For example, it was stated that intercommunion between various church bodies could not "have been consummated without the

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<sup>23</sup>Berthold von Schenk, The Presence: An Approach to Holy Communion (New York: Ernst Kaufmann, 1945), p. 153.

<sup>24</sup>Zetto, p. 430.

<sup>25</sup>The Presence, pp. 154-155.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 429.

ministry of the Apostolic Succession."<sup>27</sup> A 1951 Ordination Sermon used even stronger language:

We deplore the absence of a bishop because episcopacy is so incalculably valuable a symbol of Catholic and Apostolic continuity. It could immeasurably fortify our Church's present possession of incontestably Catholic and Apostolic Faith. We observe with profoundest regret that often it was tragic neglect which so unhappily and so needlessly deprived the Church of the Augsburg Confession in so many parts of Europe - and us as well - of the historic episcopate. Yet we ascribe no magical virtue to an unbroken succession of episcopal heads and episcopal hands.<sup>28</sup>

This same sermon also took issue with the Missouri Synod's traditional position on ordination:

We are here to set him apart in the Name of our eternal High Priest for the apostolic priesthood of the New Testament. . . . We do not identify any grace of Order with the grace of reconciliation. We condemn the erroneous doctrine that the priests of the New Covenant perform a ministry of expiatory sacrifice as did their Old Testament counterparts. But we also reject and condemn the error that Ordination is a valueless gesture. Some people may feel that way, because they regard Ordination as being essentially nothing more than the public ratification of the call that the Church has extended to a candidate for the Sacred Ministry.<sup>29</sup>

This and similar statements were noted and criticized in The Confessional Lutheran.<sup>30</sup>

Arthur Carl Piepkorn, who began his professorship at Concordia

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<sup>27</sup>Editorial Staff, "The Aims and Objects of the Liturgical Revival in the Lutheran Church: A Symposium," Una Sancta 7 (St. James the Elder, 1947):13.

<sup>28</sup>William H. Baar, "The Gift That Is Thee: An Ordination Sermon," Una Sancta 10 (The Lutheran Martyrs of Florida, 1951):11.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>30</sup>[Theo.] D[ierks], "The 'Apostolicity' of the Church," The Confessional Lutheran 13 (June 1952):64-65. Other critical articles include: P. H. B[urgdorf], "The 'Lutheran Outlook' on High Churchism in Missouri," The Confessional Lutheran 12 (April 1951):39-41. [Theo.] D[ierks], "The Liturgical Movement Within the Lutheran Church," The Confessional Lutheran 12 (September 1951):106-107.

Seminary, St. Louis, in 1951,<sup>31</sup> preferred an episcopal form of polity, but did not hold as strong a view of the episcopacy as others associated with Una Sancta. Piepkorn did not believe that an Apostolic succession was necessary with respect to the office of the ministry:

Originally, as many grave doctors of the ancient Church have held--notably St. Jerome--there was in the Church only one grade in the Sacred Ministry, variously called presbyter and bishop in the New Testament. The differentiation of prebyter [sic] and bishop into separate grades is post-Apostolic and hence only of human right. (Of the Power and Jurisdiction of Bishops, paras. 61-64). Therefore, while we earnestly desire to retain canonical polity and the ancient ecclesiastical grades (Apology, Article XIV, paras. 24, 28), we can still have a rightful ministry without them, for Holy Ordination administered by a pastor in his own church is by divine right manifestly rightful (Of the Power and Jurisdiction [sic] of Bishops, para. 65).<sup>32</sup>

Where Piepkorn did disagree strongly with the traditional position of the Missouri Synod was with respect to the meaning of ordination. For Piepkorn, ordination was more than the public recognition of the congregation's call:

28. Ordination is effective by divine right (jure divino). . . .  
 29. The term "sacrament" is applicable both to the Sacred Ministry as well as to Holy Ordination, the distinctive element of which is the imposition of hands by a pastor. . . .  
 32. The ordinary administrant of any Sacrament is an ordained clergyman. . . .<sup>33</sup>

That there was no unanimity with respect to the doctrine of the ministry within the pages of Una Sancta becomes quite obvious. Differing

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<sup>31</sup>Carl S. Meyer, Log Cabin to Luther Tower (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), p. 298.

<sup>32</sup>Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "The Catholicity of the Lutheran Church," Una Sancta 11 (St. Athanasius, Bishop, Confessor and Doctor, 1952):8. See also Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "What the Symbols Have to Say About the Church," CTM 26 (October 1955):728.

<sup>33</sup>Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "The Sacred Ministry and Holy Ordination in the Sacred Scriptures and in the Symbols and Liturgy of the Church of the Augsburg Confession," Una Sancta 12 (St. Michael's Day, 1955):8-10.



views with respect to the episcopacy, Apostolic succession, and ordination can be noted. In an effort to address this situation, Peter Brunner wrote a rather insightful article in the pages of Una Sancta which, although using the terminology of the Liturgical Movement, espoused a somewhat more traditional Missouri Synod position. And in so doing, Brunner got to the heart of the problem over the doctrine of the ministry which had been at issue since the Synod's formative period: the relation and tension between office and function:

The Act of the Call (Vocatio, ordinatio) is of great importance for the office of Bishop. In this call the episcopal office appears in a double view. Those who have been called, regardless of who they are and in which manner they have been called, carry out a special episcopal function. He who has been called becomes a bishop after the ministry has been transferred to him in its fullness. Herein lies the root of the problem of episcopus and pastor as being synonymous. Therein also lies a deciding question for the formulating of the episcopal office which can have serious consequences for our church. Before we approach this problem, we should clarify the structure and the form of the basic act of the vocation.<sup>34</sup>

By 1956, the Liturgical Movement within the Synod was well underway. Yet, the Movement had much more than a liturgical emphasis; it also presented a differing theological perspective on the doctrine of the church (which included church fellowship) and the doctrine of the ministry. Some within the Movement asserted that the episcopal form of church government was closer to the Scriptural, Confessional, and ecumenical model of the ministry than the Synod's concept of congregational autonomy. Some also maintained that ordination was more than a good churchly practice in which the call of a congregation is publicly rec-

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<sup>34</sup>Peter Brunner, "Of the Office of the Bishop," Una Sancta 12 (St. Michael's Day, 1955):17. Although Brunner provides no answers and also seems to imply a difference between 'episcopus' and 'pastor,' he does point to the root of the tension in the ongoing dispute over the doctrine of the ministry, a tension between office and function. The difference between "episcopus" and "pastor," according to Brunner, seems to hinge on the word "fulness."

ognized that God has chosen and gifted a person for the public office of the ministry.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the opposition set forth within the pages of The Confessional Lutheran, the issues raised by the Liturgical Movement were observed throughout all areas of the Missouri Synod and even beyond.<sup>36</sup> At the 1956 synodical convention, a resolution was adopted expressing apprehension with respect to "Romanizing Tendencies" that had been arising within the area of liturgical practice (see Appendix L for the full text of the resolution). Pastors, teachers and theological students were warned lest such "Romanizing tendencies" develop. The College of Presidents was instructed to examine the problem of liturgical practices. District and synodical officials were also ordered to deal vigorously with offenses arising in the area of liturgical practices. In a second resolution, it was unanimously adopted that the joint theological faculties of the Synod provide appropriate studies on "The Moment of the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper" and "Intercessory Prayers for the Benefit of the Souls of the Dead."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Zetto, p. 429.

<sup>36</sup>In his address as President of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church at its 1955 convention, the Rev. Dr. Paul Rafaj raised his voice against the inroads of the Liturgical Movement. Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church, Official Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Regular Convention of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America at the Concordia Collegiate Institute, Bronxville, New York, August 20-25, 1955, p. 107.

<sup>37</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod [hereafter designated LCMS], Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Saint Paul, Minnesota As the Twenty-Eighth Delegate Synod June 29-29, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), pp. 550-551.

The Liturgical Movement and the Doctrine of the  
Ministry Within the Missouri Synod until 1959

After the 1956 synodical resolution expressing apprehension over the "Romanizing tendencies" of the Liturgical Movement, liturgical concerns were sharply curtailed in the pages of the American Lutheran. No further mention of an episcopacy or an Apostolic succession was made.

Una Sancta, on the other hand, sharply criticized the St. Paul convention resolutions as "ridiculous" and as having "the odor of Rome." The unsigned article stated:

This matter of dealing vigorously with liturgical offenders must disturb every churchman, for if ever there was a resolution passed by a church body which has the odor of Rome, this is it! . . . The worthy presidents who will take this resolution seriously, will find themselves in a dilemma. . . .<sup>38</sup>

However, between 1956 and 1959, only one article appeared in the Una Sancta which spoke of the ministry. And even this article did not address the public office of the ministry. In 1957, Paul Gerhard Diez published a paper on "The Threefold Ministry of the Congregation of Christ." In light of the modern ecumenical movement and its interest in ecclesiology, Diez observed three functions of the congregation's ministry: leitourgia (sacrificial service to God through worship as a representation of Christ's sacrifice), martyria (Christian witness to others), and diakonia (Christian service, particularly at the communal meal of Holy Communion).<sup>39</sup>

The Confessional Lutheran continued its attack on the Liturgical

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<sup>38</sup>"The St. Paul Resolutions," Una Sancta 13 (St. Matthew, 1956): 5-6. Also see: [Theo.] D[ierks], "UNA SANCTA Labels St. Paul Resolutions 'Ridiculous' and as Having 'the Odor of Rome,'" The Confessional Lutheran 17 (December 1956):124-125.

<sup>39</sup>Paul Gerhard Diez, "The Threefold Ministry of Christ," Una Sancta 15 (The Ascension of Our Lord, 1958):7-13.

Movement. Of special concern for the publication was the influence of the Movement upon seminarians at the Missouri Synod's St. Louis institution. The following opinion was expressed:

Within more recent years Dr. A. C. Piepkorn, who would be known as an "Evangelical Catholic" . . . , has been entrusted with a chair in systematic theology on the faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. This has served to make that seminary to some extent a spawning ground of the High Church Movement,--a fact which is today reflected in the Seminarian, its theological students' journal.<sup>40</sup>

In October 1958, The Confessional Lutheran published a long anonymous letter written by "a world-renowned Lutheran theologian who is not of our own particular fellowship." The letter took issue with Arthur Carl Piepkorn's treatment of the doctrine of the ministry in his 1955 Una Sancta article (see above, page 185). The writer observed that Piepkorn took statements from the Lutheran Confessions out of context and read into them a Roman Catholic understanding of the office of the public ministry and of ordination. The author also took issue with Piepkorn's translation of several important passages.<sup>41</sup>

Piepkorn was again attacked for his position on the doctrine of the public office of the ministry in the March 1959, issue of The Confessional Lutheran. In the April 1958, issue of the Lutheran Layman, Dr. Piepkorn had stated that "No Lutheran will boggle at the word 'priest,' which is a common designation for Lutheran clergymen in the

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<sup>40</sup>"The High Church Movement Among Lutherans in America with Special Reference to Missourians," The Confessional Lutheran 18 (September 1957):95. See also: P. H. B[urgdorf], "Warning Against High-Churchism," The Confessional Lutheran 17 (September 1956):92-93; "The High Church Movement," The Confessional Lutheran 18 (March 1957):25-32. [Theo.] D[ierks], "A 'Roman Catholic' Catechism Published by a Missouri Synod Congregation," The Confessional Lutheran 19 (May 1958):53-58.

<sup>41</sup>"Dr. Piepkorn's Romanistic Doctrine of Ordination and the Ministry," The Confessional Lutheran 19 (October 1958):100-105.

Lutheran Symbols and in many branches of the contemporary Lutheran Church." After discussing Piepkorn's position on the term priest as applied to Lutheran pastors, ordination as a Sacrament, the jurisdiction of bishops, apostolic succession, and other areas, The Confessional Lutheran writer concluded: "Don't you think that is [sic] high time that someone else should take over teaching Symbolics in St. Louis to future pastors of our congregations."<sup>42</sup>

Before the 1959 synodical convention, an article appeared in Concordia Theological Monthly, the journal of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, by Henry W. Reimann, offering an appraisal of the Liturgical Movement.<sup>43</sup> Reimann found six blessings and six dangers in the Movement. The six blessings included the elevation of the importance of worship, a higher regard for the Sacraments, a higher regard for the holy ministry, an increased loyalty to the Lutheran Confessions, an increased interest in ecumenicity, and the fact that certain Lutherans have been willing to "go out on a limb" to recover and achieve these blessings. The dangers included the following: formalism, sacramentalism,

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<sup>42</sup>[Theo.] D[ierks], "Dr. Piepkorn on the Ordination of a Lutheran 'Priest,'" The Confessional Lutheran 20 (March 1959):30-32.

Other articles within the pages of The Confessional Lutheran which criticized the Liturgical Movement included the following: P. H. B[urgdorf], "A Jesuit Appraises the High Church Movement and the Ecumenical Movement," The Confessional Lutheran 20 (January 1959):4-6; Geo. O. Lillegard, "The High Church Movement and the Presidium of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod," The Confessional Lutheran 20 (May 1959):50-51; P. H. B[urgdorf], "Dr. Wm. Oesch on the High Church Movement," The Confessional Lutheran 20 (May 1959):51-52; P. H. B[urgdorf], "Lutheran Pastor Ousted for Catholic Statements," The Confessional Lutheran 20 (October 1959):99.

<sup>43</sup>Henry W. Reimann, "The Liturgical Movement, an Appraisal," Concordia Theological Monthly 30 (June 1959):421-431. A comment on Reimann's article appeared also: [Theo.] D[ierks], "The CTM and the Liturgical Movement," The Confessional Lutheran 20 (September 1959): 88-90.

hierarchicalism, confessionalism, unionism, and factionalism.

For Reimann, the Liturgical Movement had been a blessing to the office of the holy ministry because congregations have been helped to regard their pastor not as their hirelings and "firelings" but as servants of Christ rightly called by the church to the highest office. "An excessive congregationalism, a false emphasis of the priesthood of all believers, has rightly been checked by the liturgical movement." He also added that a few significant changes in the ordination formulary have increased "respect and regard for the holy ministry and for the sacred order in which the church sets aside the candidate rite vocatus."<sup>44</sup>

However, Reimann also noted that whenever one exalts the ministry, one risks the danger of hierarchicalism, of valuing the ministry for the ministry's sake, ordination for the sake of ordination, and not for the sake of Word and Sacraments. There is also the danger of demoting the priests of God, all baptized believing Christians. Reimann added:

There is still the necessity for extolling the apostolate of the laity, and it would be ironical to find Romanists talking about some form of the universal priesthood while we spend our efforts rejecting what some regard as Walther's overemphasis. It seems to me that unless many in the liturgical movement try to become Walthers or Luthers in describing the holiness and sanctity of the calling, marriage, the family, and especially the role of the mutual conversation of the brethren as a form of the Gospel, we are always open to the charge of hierarchicalism.<sup>45</sup>

Certain emphases of the Liturgical Movement were again brought before the triennial convention of the Synod. At the San Francisco Delegate Synod in 1959, intercessory prayers for the benefit of the souls of the dead and "Romanizing tendencies" were again addressed. However, at this convention another issue was added. The following

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 423-424.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 428.

resolution on Apostolic Succession was adopted:

WHEREAS, The Apostolic Succession is being discussed in some Lutheran circles; and

WHEREAS, A lack of clarity and conviction on this question can affect adversely a proper estimate of the nature and primary functions of the holy ministry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the joint theological faculties of the Synod be requested to provide and to make available pertinent statements on this question.<sup>46</sup>

The Liturgical Movement and the Doctrine of the  
Ministry Within the Missouri Synod until 1962

After the 1959 synodical convention, little was heard in response to the resolution on Apostolic succession. Beginning with the November 1959 issue, The Confessional Lutheran began a long and concentrated attack on Dr. Martin Scharlemann of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, for his position on the inerrancy of Scripture.<sup>47</sup> This would dominate the

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<sup>46</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at San Francisco, California As the Twenty-Ninth Delegate Synod, June 17-26, 1959 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), pp. 194-195.

<sup>47</sup>"What the Missouri Synod is Really Facing Today," "Dr. Scharlemann's Rejection of the Inerrancy of Holy Scripture," "Dr. Scharlemann and the Constitution of the Missouri Synod," "The Comedy of Errors in Dr. Scharlemann's Bible," "The Battle of Verbal Inspiration in the Missouri Synod," "Are You Watching Your Seminary?" The Confessional Lutheran 20 (November 1959):109-114.

It should be noted that two articles on the Liturgical Movement did appear in the pages of The Confessional Lutheran during this period. One was a series of quotes from an article by Herman Sasse called "Liturgy and Confession." In this article, Sasse took issue with Arthur Carl Piepkorn, particularly over his Maryology. However, Sasse also pointed out the following: "The deeper reason why High-Churchism has become the ruin of so many seems to me to lie in the fact that we modern Lutherans no more understand the article of Justification. . . . That is why it can happen . . . that the Catholic conception of the priesthood and the idea of Apostolic succession--which is neither Biblical nor Christian--now suddenly appears and that even a man like Prof. Piepkorn (St. Louis) can take over the prayer for the dead out of the Roman canon of the Mass." "Dr. Sasse Exposes Papistic Teaching of Prof. Piepkorn," The Confessional Lutheran 21 (March 1960):26-30.

Another article appeared as well: "News Concerning the High Church Movement Among Lutherans in America," The Confessional Lutheran 22 (November 1961):185-187.

pages of the tabloid for more than three years.

Una Sancta made no comment on the resolution to study Apostolic succession. Instead, it took issue with Dr. John Behnken, President of the Synod, for his statement that "The liturgy is an adiaphoron." The editors of this publication also considered the action of the San Francisco convention to make the "Brief Statement" obligatory upon the Synod's pastors and teachers to be a "real Romanizing tendency."<sup>48</sup>

Issue number four (St. Luke the Evangelist), 1960, of Una Sancta was dedicated to an analysis of the Liturgical Movement within American Lutheranism. Of special interest was the article by Arthur Carl Piepkorn on the history of the Liturgical Movement. With respect to the ministry and church polity, Piepkorn stated the following:

On Church polity, the liturgical movement holds that as long as the sacred Ministry is maintained in the Church, matters of constitution and polity are adiaphora. At the same time, it shares with Apology of the Augsburg Confession the conviction that restoration of the historic episcopate is a desideratum. . . . While it thus regards the historic episcopate as an invaluable symbol of Catholic continuity, comparable to the Catholic formulations of the faith and the Catholic ceremonial and ritual which it has retained, it explicitly holds that the episcopate is at most part of the bene esse of the Church and by no means necessary either to the essence of the Church or to the validity of the sacraments which Lutheran priests administer.<sup>49</sup>

The issue of Apostolic succession was discussed by Otto F. Stahlke in the spring 1962, issue of The Springfielder, the journal of the faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, Illinois.

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<sup>48</sup>"The Echo Resounds," Una Sancta 17 (Circumcision and Name of Jesus, 1960):3-4.

<sup>49</sup>Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "The Lutheran Liturgical Movement," Una Sancta 17 (St. Luke the Evangelist, 1960):10.

Other articles included: Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Liturgical Movement and American Lutheranism," Una Sancta 17 (St. Luke the Evangelist, 1960):13-17; Herman Sasse, "The Liturgical Movement: Reformation or Revolution?" Una Sancta 17 (St. Luke the Evangelist, 1960):18-24.



After analyzing the current writings on the subject and its close association with the ecumenical movement, Stahlke concluded with a warning:

In an age when the voice of syncretism (amalgam of religions) is heard almost as loudly as the voice of unionism (disregard of doctrinal difference) a Christian church which seeks to worship God in the spirit of the ecumenical creeds and the Lutheran confessions may rightly refrain from establishing fellowship merely on the basis of an adiaphoron (apostolic succession), lest it be found in the company of those who deny both the mighty acts of God and the words of Christ.<sup>50</sup>

In April 1962, the faculties of the Missouri Synod's two seminaries finally responded to the request of the 1959 San Francisco convention with respect to Apostolic succession. Eight points were made, supplemented with quotes from Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions (for the complete text see Appendix M). The joint faculty statement maintained that the office of the ministry was established by God for the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. It was further asserted that the New Testament does not provide directives for specific forms of ministerial succession or orders. Thus, a distinction between bishops and pastors is not by divine right but by human authority. Episcopal polity is not necessary for the valid and efficacious ministry of Word and Sacrament. The kind of ministerial succession and the precise kind of ecclesiastical polity are in the strict sense of the term "adiaphora." A particular ministerial succession or a precise polity is not to be made a part of the essence of the church or the ministry and the freedom of the church to devise its polity and forms of ministry is to be preserved.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Otto F. Stahlke, "The Apostolic Succession in Recent Lutheran Discussions," The Springfielder 26 (Spring 1962):36-39.

<sup>51</sup>"Apostolic Succession," Concordia Theological Monthly 33 (April 1962):224-228.

Interestingly enough, what had been an issue at the previous two conventions, did not even appear before the 1962 Cleveland Convention of the Missouri Synod. Not one resolution appeared with respect to Apostolic Succession or any other issue that had been raised by the Liturgical Movement.

Concluding Comments on the Liturgical Movement  
and the Doctrine of the Ministry Within  
the Missouri Synod until 1962

The rise of the Liturgical Movement had a marked influence upon the doctrine of the public office of the ministry within the Missouri Synod. Because of the differing views expressed by those within the Movement, issues were raised at the 1956 and 1959 conventions of the Synod. Yet, the only issue pertaining to the doctrine of the ministry that was addressed at a delegate synod was that of Apostolic succession, and this was already considered to be an adiaphoron by many of the most influential members of the Liturgical Movement.

What was not addressed by a convention of the Synod during this period, but what was an issue in which there was marked difference, was the teaching on ordination. Here Arthur Carl Piepkorn and other members of the Liturgical Movement held to a view that was very different from that which was maintained by Walther, Pieper, other leading Missouri theologians, and which had been adopted by the Synod in 1851 (Kirche und Amt) and in the "Brief Statement" of 1932. As a Professor of Systematic Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Piepkorn would have a decided influence upon the pastors who had attended that seminary. This, in turn, may have had an impact upon a resolution passed at the 1962 Missouri Synod convention which drastically changed the Synod's practice

with respect to ordination, and which would alter its understanding of the doctrine of the public office of the ministry.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE WISCONSIN AND MISSOURI SYNODS AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY UNTIL 1962

In addition to the high view of the public office of the ministry that had developed within the Missouri Synod through the Liturgical Movement, what may be considered a low view, that is, a position that distinct or concrete offices, such as the pastoral office, were not divinely instituted but instead were historically developed, continued to be upheld within the Wisconsin Synod. This low view of the doctrine of the ministry differed from the Missouri Synod's traditional mediating position, as did the high view of some individuals involved in the Liturgical Movement. Because of the Missouri Synod's close association with the Wisconsin Synod through the Synodical Conference, several attempts were made to resolve the difference that had arisen between the two synods over the doctrine of the ministry during the years 1932 to 1962.

#### The Thiensville Theses and the Last Attempt at Merger Within the Synodical Conference

After the failure of the Intersynodical Discussions in 1929 (see above, pages 142-148), Missouri Synod officials turned themselves toward a problem that had developed within the Synodical Conference over the doctrines of the church and the ministry. Ever since 1912, when Prof. August Pieper began publishing articles on the doctrines of church and ministry, and 1924, when the theses on the church and ministry had been drafted for the Intersynodical Theses, there had been open disagreement

between the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods. Concerning the controversy between the two synods, W. F. Dorn wrote:

This difference of doctrine on church and ministry was a cause of discord at many a mixed pastoral conference. Mixed conferences were encouraged by the Synodical Conference for the purpose of fostering fellowship and checking up on the doctrine and practice of the member synods. The heat generated by the papers presented at these conferences and the subsequent discussion of the papers was generally greater than the intensity of the light produced. The discussions were focused (always fuzzily) on the sovereignty of the local congregation and the relationship of the synod to the local congregation; the calls of day school teachers, college and seminary professors, and those in special ministries, the right of any group or board other than the local congregation to sponsor the service of holy communion or pronounce the sentence of excommunication. I know of no pastor whose position was altered as a result of these discussions.<sup>1</sup>

At this time in the dispute, pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (the "Little Norwegian Synod" which was also a member of the Synodical Conference) generally sided with the Missouri Synod because, for the most part, they had received their training in Missouri's preparatory schools and seminaries. However, by the 1950s, the Norwegian pastors reversed their position and sided with the Wisconsin Synod.<sup>2</sup>

On April 16, 1932, the faculties of the Missouri Synod seminaries and the Wisconsin Synod seminary at Thiensville met at Thiensville,

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<sup>1</sup>W. F. Dorn, "The Thirty-Year Controversy Between Missouri and Wisconsin," A mimeograph commentary, 1983, p. 4. [A copy of this document is in the possession of Prof. Wayne Schmidt of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.] W. F. Dorn was a pastor in the Wisconsin Synod who received his training at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, graduating in 1934.

It is interesting to note that certain Missouri Synod officials believed that the disagreement over the doctrine of the church and ministry continued for the most part only between the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods' seminary faculties and was especially stirred up by Prof. August Pieper of the Wisconsin Synod. These individuals felt that among the pastors of both synods no disagreement was noticeable. Interview with Dr. Martin Scharlemann, December 14, 1981. Interview with Dr. Lewis Spitz, Sr., December 15, 1981.

<sup>2</sup>Dorn, p. 4.

Wisconsin, to discuss the points at issue. Concerning this meeting, Theodore Graebner wrote in The Lutheran Witness:

The question of agreement between the faculties of Concordia Seminary and of the Wisconsin Synod's faculty at Thiensville, Wisconsin, regarding the doctrine of the ministry and of the Church has threatened to disturb amicable relations between our own Synod and Wisconsin for a number of years. The College of Presidents therefore was greatly pleased to receive a report on the theses of agreement which had been adopted by both faculties in April of this year. Professor Graebner reported for the faculty.<sup>3</sup>

The official English translation of the Thiensville Theses reads as follows:

I. As we know from Scripture, it is God's will and regulation that Christians who reside in the same area also establish an external connection in order to exercise jointly the obligations of their spiritual priesthood.

II. As we know from Scripture, it is furthermore God's will and regulation that such Christian local congregations have shepherds and teachers, who in the name and on behalf of the congregation carry out the duties of the ministry of the Word in their midst.

III. As we know from Scripture, it is furthermore God's will and regulation that such Christian local congregations give expression to their unity of faith with other congregations and carry on jointly with them the work of the Kingdom of God, as is done among us in the unprescribed form of a Synod.

IV. Because every Christian possesses the keys of the kingdom of heaven, every judgment pronounced in agreement with God's Word by an individual Christian or by more Christians in any kind of combination, is valid also in heaven. But, as we know from Scripture, it is God's will and regulation that proceedings against a brother who has sinned shall not be considered completed until his local congregation has acted. Congregational discipline and synodical discipline, if everything is done properly, cannot cause a conflict, since the local congregation excludes from the local congregation and not from the Synod, and Synod excludes from Synod and not from the local congregation.

NOTE. -- In accordance with ecclesiastical usage we call the exclusion executed by a congregation excommunication (ban).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Theodore Graebner, "Agreement with Thiensville Faculty," Lutheran Witness 51 (June 21, 1932):224.

<sup>4</sup>The original and a translation appear in Proceedings of the Forty-Second Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference Assembled at Concordia College St. Paul, MN, August 12-15, 1952 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 142-143. Other translations can be found in the following: Theodore Graebner, "Agreement with Thiensville Faculty," Lutheran Witness 51 (June 21, 1932):224; and John Philip Koeh-

Members of both the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods claimed that the Thiensville Theses supported their view. Because of this, the Theses settled nothing. W. F. Dorn offered the following reflection on the situation:

In my second year at the seminary, Professor Theodore Graebner interrupted his lecture on Romans to report that a seminary faculty committee, of which he was a member, had just returned from Thiensville (I think) where they had met with a committee of the Wisconsin Seminary to resolve the differences between the two synods on the vexing problem of church and ministry. He reported, not without a modicum of smugness, that Wisconsin had seen the light and accepted Missouri's position as the correct one. Later, I learned from my peers who had attended the Wisconsin Seminary at that time that the Wisconsin faculty committee reported to them that Missouri had capitulated and was now in Wisconsin's camp. Whatever happened at that meeting, no positions were changed. Mixed conferences continued their interminable discussions on church and ministry without any diminishing of intensity.<sup>5</sup>

Yet, despite the disagreement that existed, there was not talk of disbanding the Synodical Conference. George Gude provides the following analysis:

The general impression is that the participants considered the relationship experienced in the Synodical Conference to be a good one. They believed their fellowship was a source of great blessings from God, and the prayer is often expressed that God would grant it to continue.<sup>6</sup>

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ler, The History of the Wisconsin Synod, edited by Leigh D. Jordahl (St. Cloud, MN: Sentinel Publishing Company, 1970), p. 239.

<sup>5</sup>Dorn, p. 4. John Philip Koehler gave the following opinion of the Thiensville Theses: "The Theses are evidently just an intersynodical modus vivendi, a compromise, whether intended so or not, that leaves matters unclear and both sides free to put their own construction on them and to pursue the even tenor of their ways." Koehler, p. 239. At this time Koehler had been removed from the Wisconsin Synod and had joined the Protestant Conference. See: Luther Albrecht, "An Analysis of the History of the Protestant Conference from 1927-1932," unpublished paper, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1966; Charles E. Werth, "The Wauwatosa Theology: J. P. Koehler, His Exegetical Methodology and the Protestant Conference," unpublished paper, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1979. Both papers are located in the Concordia Seminary Library, St. Louis, Missouri.

<sup>6</sup>George Gude, "A Description and Evaluation of the Pressures and Difficulties within the Synodical Conference Which Led to Its Destruc-

In the field, pastors of the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods enjoyed close fraternal relations, and with the apparent agreement of the synods' seminary faculties, some believed the way was cleared for total merger. At the Missouri Synod's 1932 convention, several Missouri Synod congregations located in Wisconsin petitioned the Synod to initiate efforts to bring about a union of the various synods of the Synodical Conference. The convention then resolved that the President appoint a Committee on Organic Union, which was to investigate the feasibility and possibility of the merger of the constituent synods of the Synodical Conference.<sup>7</sup>

However, the merger attempt was doomed before it even began. In a sermon at the release of the graduating class ("bei der Entlassung der diesjaehrigen Klasse") from the Wisconsin Synod's Thiensville seminary, which was then printed in the July 1932, issue of the Theologische Quartalschrift, August Pieper again set forth his old position on the doctrine of the church and the ministry (see above, pages 119-121), basically nullifying the Thiensville Theses.<sup>8</sup> This was followed by an article by John Philipp Koehler in the October 1932 issue of Faith - Life.<sup>9</sup> Concerning this matter, President Pfothenhauer of the Missouri

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tion," unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1986, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod [hereafter designated LCMS], Proceedings of the 35th Regular Meeting at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on June 15-24, 1932 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932), pp. 164-166.

<sup>8</sup>August Pieper, "Unser kirchlicher Tiefstand und seine wahre Heilung," Theologische Quartalschrift 29 (July 1932):161-169.

<sup>9</sup>John Philip Koehler, "Die Lehre von Kirche und Amt," Faith - Life 5 (October 1932):1, 9-13. Faith - Life is the official organ of the Protestant Conference published since 1928. The Protestant Conference was comprised of some 34 pastors and teachers of the Wisconsin Synod who were suspended or withdrew because they supported the histor-



Synod wrote to the St. Louis and Springfield seminary faculties:

Professor Pieper has again published his old position on the Church and Ministry in an article of the Quarterly.

This also has not remained hidden. Faith - Life brings attention to his article and our brothers in North Wisconsin are again alarmed in relation to a synodical report of a district of the Wisconsin Synod. This thing will probably be brought up at the Council of Presidents in St. Louis on the 15th and 16th of February.

We must take notice of the remarks of Dr. Pieper and turn ourselves to the faculty of Thiensville which is responsible for Pieper's article. We stand again at an old point and it will probably be necessary to negotiate with the Wisconsin Synod in Summer. It is a crying shame ["Jammer"].<sup>10</sup>

In reaction to August Pieper's article, Professor W. Arndt wrote him a personal letter. The Concordia Seminary faculty felt it best to deal with Pieper personally instead of going public in one of the Missouri Synod's official organs. It did not surprise the Missouri Synod professors that Pieper had written as he did. But they were "astounded that the other members of the faculty at Thiensville have not protested this passage." It was hoped that Pieper would respond to Arndt's letter

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ical and exegetical emphasis of what was known as Wauwatosa theology from the Wisconsin Synod's former seminary in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. Chief of its theologians, who was forced to resign in 1927, was Prof. John Philip Koehler. Erwin L. Lueker, ed. Lutheran Cyclopedia, rev. ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1975), p. 641. Despite the fact that they shared the same position on the doctrine of church and ministry, John Philip Koehler and August Pieper became involved in a power struggle. Strong personalities were involved. Yet, it was John Philip Koehler who resigned and August Pieper who then became the president of the Wisconsin Synod's seminary and exerted a tremendous influence upon the pastors of that church body. Luther Albrecht, "An Analysis of the History of the Protestant Conference from 1927-1932," unpublished paper presented to the faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, MO, November 1966, located at the Concordia Seminary Library, St. Louis, MO, passim. Charles E. Werth, "The Wauwatosa Theology: J. P. Koehler, His Exegetical Methodology and the Protestant Conference," Unpublished paper presented to the faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, MO, February 1979, located at the Concordia Seminary Library, St. Louis, MO, passim.

<sup>10</sup>Letter from F. Pfothauer to W. Arndt dated January 9, 1933. William Arndt papers, Supplement I, Box 14, File 5, Concordia Historical Institute [hereafter cited C.H.I.]. Translated by Meta Wohlrabe.

and clarify the situation.<sup>11</sup> However, Pieper responded with a caustic, six page letter further defending his position.<sup>12</sup>

Arndt then wrote to Pieper asking if he still held to the Thiensville Theses. By November 1933, Arndt had still not received a reply. Therefore, he wrote to Professor J. P. Meyer of the Thiensville faculty explaining the situation, asking for advice, and asking if the Thiensville faculty still held to the Theses.<sup>13</sup> This last question wounded Professor Meyer who felt that Arndt doubted the honesty of the Thiensville faculty. Meyer assured Arndt that the faculty still agreed with the Theses and said that the matter of Pieper was turned over to the Wisconsin Synod's newly elected president, John Brenner.<sup>14</sup> By November 23, 1933, the Missouri Synod's Council of Presidents had met and Dr. Pfothauer had reported that he had met with President Brenner. It was stated that President Brenner would make Pieper aware that he had not responded to the question of the Missouri Synod's seminary faculty. It was then decided:

. . . that no further steps are to be taken until President Brenner has carried out his plan and . . . the faculty of Thiensville has come together and written something about this.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, after considerable correspondence among themselves,

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<sup>11</sup>Letter from W. Arndt to F. Pfothauer dated January 19, 1933. Ibid. Translated by Meta Wohlrabe.

<sup>12</sup>Letter from A. Pieper to W. Arndt dated March 2, 1933. Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Letter from W. Arndt to J. P. Meyer dated November 3, 1933. Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Letter from J. P. Meyer to W. Arndt dated November 16, 1933. Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Letter from W. Arndt to H. Daib dated November 23, 1933. Ibid.

the Missouri Synod's Committee on Organic Union met for a one-day session at Milwaukee on August 15, 1933. Here various phases of organic union were discussed and a tentative plan was adopted which would serve as a basis for deliberations with similar committees of the other synods in the Synodical Conference. The Missouri Synod's Committee then requested that the other synods of the Synodical Conference submit the names of their representatives. Unfortunately, only the little Norwegian Synod responded and they were reluctant toward merger. In addition, there is no record of August Pieper ever responding to the question of whether he still subscribed to the Thiensville Theses. In view of the negative response, the Committee on Organic Union made the following report to the 1935 Missouri Synod convention:

Since the Committee on Organic Union reports that the Slovak and Norwegian brethren feel that the present language conditions do not permit organic union on their part, and since the Wisconsin brethren are to decide the matter at their convention in August, your Committee recommends that Synod's Committee on Organic Union continue to function until the Wisconsin brethren have taken definite action in August.<sup>16</sup>

The Joint Synod of Wisconsin tabled the report of its Committee on Amalgamation at its 1935 convention. At the Wisconsin Synod's 1937 convention Wisconsin failed to take further action.<sup>17</sup> Wisconsin apparently felt that if the matter was ignored long enough it would go away. This seems to be the case for both the merger proposal and the issue over the doctrine of church and ministry.

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<sup>16</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Regular Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, Assembled at Cleveland, Ohio as the Twenty-First Delegate Synod, June 19-28, 1935 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935), p. 219.

<sup>17</sup>Walther A. Baepler, A Century of Grace (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 340.

The Doctrine of the Ministry and the Synodical  
Conference Interim Committee

Yet, the issue between the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods over the doctrine of the ministry began to emerge in another form within short order. At its 1939 synodical convention, the Wisconsin Synod resolved that the military chaplaincy was not compatible with Lutheran theology. It was held that it involved a violation of the principle of the separation of church and state and that service in the military chaplaincy would necessitate unionism.<sup>18</sup> The Missouri Synod, on the other hand, took an entirely different position and was actively involved in the military chaplaincy.<sup>19</sup>

World War II brought no change in the dispute over the military chaplaincy within the Synodical Conference. Following the War, the 1946 convention of the Synodical Conference resolved:

WHEREAS, A God-pleasing union of individuals and church bodies is based on unity of doctrine and practice; and  
WHEREAS, The Army and Navy chaplaincy and other matters relating to the doctrine of the call, the ministry, and the church have been

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<sup>18</sup>Wisconsin Synod, Report of the Twenty-Fifth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States, 1939 (Milwaukee, WI: Northwestern Publishing House, 1939), pp. 67-68. This was a reversal of the Wisconsin Synod's original position. Rev. F. Eppling of the Wisconsin Synod had been appointed as a chaplain during the Spanish-American War. "Appointment of a Chaplain in the Army by the Wisconsin Synod During the Spanish-American War," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 19 (April 1946):16-19. In 1932, the Northwestern Lutheran published a statistic pertaining to the number of Lutheran pastors serving at that time as chaplains in the Army and Navy. Among the total of ninety-three, two were from the Wisconsin Synod and seven from the Missouri Synod. "Lutheran Chaplains in the Army and the Navy," Northwestern Lutheran 19 (February 28, 1932):78.

<sup>19</sup>In 1941, the Missouri Synod had fifty-eight chaplains, thirty-three of which were on active duty. There were also nineteen men who were awaiting government appointments, having already received ecclesiastical endorsement. LCMS, Reports and Memorials for the Thirty-Eighth Regular Convention Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod 1941 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), p. 143.

a source of disagreement between the constituent synods of the Synodical Conference for a number of years, threatening true unity among us; and

WHEREAS, The Holy Spirit alone, through His Word, can remove these disagreements; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That an Interim Committee of eight men, three from the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States (one layman), three from the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States (one layman), one from the Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, one from the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the United States of America, be chosen by this convention;

That this committee study, in the light of God's Word, the Army and Navy Chaplaincy question and all other matters relating to the doctrine of the call, the ministry, and the Church, where there has been disagreement, with the aim of achieving complete agreement; and

That this committee report its findings to the next convention of the Synodical Conference with the purpose and the hope that some definite progress be made in strengthening the Synodical Conference in its unity of doctrine and practice.

The convention then elected the following to serve in the Interim Committee: Pastors H. J. A. Bouman and Theo. Nickel and Mr. John Kirsch of the Missouri Synod; Pastors H. Eckert and A. Westendorf and Mr. A. Schwantes of the Wisconsin Synod; Pastor Jar. Pelikan, Sr., of the Slovak Synod; Pastor H. A. Theiste of the Norwegian Synod.<sup>20</sup>

Between the 1946 Synodical Conference convention and that of 1948, the Interim Committee held six plenary conferences with three to five sessions at each meeting. The Committee found that disagreement existed within the Synodical Conference over nine questions:

1. What is a Christian congregation?
2. Is the local congregation a specific divine institution, and is it the only divinely instituted unit in the Church?
3. Is a synodical organization divinely instituted, or does it exist purely by human right?
4. Does a synod possess the rights and powers of a congregation, including that of exercising church discipline?
5. Is the office of the public ministry a special divine institution, distinct from the universal priesthood of all believers?

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<sup>20</sup>Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America Assembled at Milwaukee, Wisconsin August 6-9, 1946 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 61.

6. Is the power to call vested solely in the local congregation?
7. May a synod as such, without specific delegation authority by it constituent congregations, extend calls?
8. Is the placement of chaplains by the Government a usurpation of the prerogatives of the Church and a violation of the principle of separation of Church and State?
9. Does the performance of a chaplain's prescribed duties necessarily involve him in unionistic practices?<sup>21</sup>

In order to answer these questions and reach a God pleasing agreement, the Committee decided to consider four underlying principles in light of the Word of God and the Lutheran Confessions:

1. The doctrine of the Church with special reference to synodical organization.
2. The doctrine of the Church with special reference to the office of the ministry.
3. The doctrine of the Church with special reference to the call into the ministry.
4. The doctrine of the Church with special reference to its relation to the State.<sup>22</sup>

Due to the importance of these matters and the limited time, the Interim Committee did not complete its task by the 1948 Synodical Conference Convention. However, the Committee did set forth five theses for this convention which were adopted by seven of the eight members. The only dissenting vote on the committee was that of Rev. H. H. Eckert of the Wisconsin Synod. Eckert then submitted a minority report.

The following was maintained in the majority report:

- I. A thorough study of the question of Church and Synod on the basis of Scripture and the Confessions compels us to the following conclusions:
  - a. That a congregation is a group of professing Christians who by God's command regularly assemble for worship . . . and are united for the purpose of maintaining the ministry of the Word in their midst . . . ;
  - b. That the congregation is the only divinely designated

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<sup>21</sup>Proceedings of the Fortieth Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America Assembled at Concordia College Milwaukee, Wisconsin August 3-6, 1948 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1949), p. 136.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

body or unit of the visible Church . . . ;

c. That the congregation exercises its powers . . . only by virtue of the believers in it. . . .

II. Synods and other co-operative organizations . . . may be formed for the purpose of carrying out certain specific commands of the Lord . . . which the individual congregation, because of human weakness and other limitations, may not be able to carry out by itself. . . . But such organizations are an outgrowth of Christian love and liberty. The work so done is both 'divinely appointed and God-pleasing' . . . so long as it does not violate the authority vested by God in the local congregation. . . .

Synod is not a congregation as defined in Par. I, but an association of such congregations. Synod, therefore, has and exercises only those rights and powers which are delegated to it by the constituent congregations, which, in turn, possess these rights and powers by virtue of the believers in their midst. . . .

III. The formation of a congregation or the exercise of its functions does not deprive the individual believer of any of the inherent rights, duties, or privileges of the royal priesthood. However, the Scriptures clearly indicate that these rights may be exercised publicly . . . only by authority of the local congregation. . . .

While the local congregation may delegate the exercise of some of its functions . . . to such groups it may designate . . . , the exercise of the final step of excommunication can never be so delegated because of the specific command of Christ in Matt. 18:17. . . .

IV. God has instituted also the office of the so-called public ministry of the Word. According to Scripture this office is to be clearly distinguished from the general priesthood of all believers:

a. Since no one may execute this office except he have a proper call thereto. . . .

b. Since a particular aptitude and an exemplary walk of life is required of the incumbents of this office. . . .

V. The calling of ministers of the Word is the obligation and sole right of the local congregation. . . .

A. The obligation to call rests upon the congregation

a. by the express will of God that congregations should maintain the ministry of the Word in their midst . . . ;

b. by the implied will of God which is evident from the description the Bible furnishes of a Christian congregation and the office of the ministry . . . ;

c. by the command of Jesus to preach the Gospel. . . .

B. The authority and validity of the call stems

a. from the universal priesthood of all believers . . . ;

b. from the divine institution of the ministry. . . .

C. In order to expedite the work of the Church, the congregation may delegate its authority and power to call. . . . This includes the calling of pastors, missionaries, professors, teachers, etc., who are gifts of God to the Church. When this is done, it is solely by Christian liberty and in accordance with the law of love.

D. The call may be terminated any time that God removes the

gift, or the field, or when the qualifications demanded are no longer met. . . .<sup>23</sup>

In his minority report, Harold H. Eckert maintained that the differences within the Synodical Conference were not differences in doctrine as such, but rather application. The following reasons were given for this difference of application:

a. Some restrict the concept of a divinely instituted church local . . . to the local congregation and consider all gatherings of believers, groups of Christians beyond the local congregation, such as synods, conferences, etc., a purely human arrangement.

b. Others find in the descriptive name of church . . . a term which applies with equal propriety to the various groupings into which the Holy Spirit has gathered His believers, local congregations as well as larger groups.

c. Some restrict the idea of a divinely instituted ministry to the pastorate of a local congregation and consider such offices as teachers, professors, synodical officials, etc., branches of this office without specific command of God, established in Christian liberty.

d. Others see in "ministry" a comprehensive term which covers the various special offices with which the ascended Lord has endowed His Church.<sup>24</sup>

Eckert then gave reasons for disagreeing with the majority, one of which is given below (his reasons, by and large, dealt solely with the doctrine of the church):

aa. The Scriptures nowhere contain a special word of institution for the local congregation, nor do they record an instance where Christ performed such an institution, nor do they even contain a reference to such an instance. The local congregation, therefore, on the basis of God's Word cannot be taught as being the only form of gathering divinely instituted, an establishment of God by special divine institution. Walther's word written in connection with ordination . . . applies here as well as in the case of ordination: "Whatever cannot be proved by God's Word as having been instituted by God cannot without idolatry be declared to be and accepted as an establishment of God Himself."<sup>25</sup>

The minority of the Interim Committee then suggested that both

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 137-140. Quotes and citings from Scripture, the Lutheran Confessions and leading church fathers and theologians have been deleted.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 141-143.



the majority and minority of the Interim Committee place copies of their essays into the hands of all conferences in the Synodical Conference for their study and that all the conferences then report to the next Synodical Conference convention. The reasons for this, according to Eckert, were that the differences in application were not strictly along synodical lines and could not be dealt with as such by the Synodical Conference, the Interim Committee lacked the necessary time for a thorough study, to take action at the present convention would only be injurious to the body, and such a study would be wholesome to all Synods and to the Synodical Conference in general.<sup>26</sup>

The Synodical Conference Floor Committee on the Interim Committee report submitted the following resolution to the 1948 convention which was then adopted:

WHEREAS, The Interim Committee reports that it has not been able to complete its work; be it

RESOLVED

1. That we commend our committee members for their diligent efforts to attain full harmony;
2. That our committee be requested to continue to function till our next convention and that the Presidents of our constituent Synods be encouraged to appoint additional, advisory representatives to attend their meetings;
3. That the committee shall endeavor to complete its work by the next convention;
4. That individuals and groups of our Synods be urged prayerfully to restudy the doctrine of the Church, in order to obtain the true Scriptural answer to the questions raised in the reports.<sup>27</sup>

This, however, was not the end of this situation at the 1948 Synodical Conference convention. In a later session, the Wisconsin Synod's Standing Committee on Church Union presented a declaration to the convention with respect to the Interim Committee:

In view of the position into which our Wisconsin Synod has been placed by the surprising speedy acceptance of the resolutions per-

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 143-144.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

taining to the report of the so-called Interim Committee, particularly also by the subsequent refusal of the convention to reconsider these resolutions; and

In view of the grave implications of the particular problems which had been assigned to this Interim Committee,

We find ourselves constrained to make the following declaration in behalf of our Wisconsin Synod:

1. We hold that in matters of such importance our Synod should have had the right to name its own representatives, and to name them by any method which in its own judgment it may deem advisable.

2. In order to prevent further delay in this important matter we accept the provisions made by the resolution of the convention for the appointing of advisory members who are to appear before this committee, provided it be clearly understood that these advisory members shall be admitted to all, even to the executive sessions of this Interim Committee.

The convention adopted the resolution to refer this declaration to the Intersynodical Relations Committee with power to act.<sup>28</sup> Apparently, the officials of the Wisconsin Synod were disturbed that even their own representatives on the Interim Committee did not present a united voice on the issue over the doctrines of church and ministry. Thus, they wanted more control in the appointing of their representatives and in the oversight of the Interim Committee.

At the 1950 Synodical Conference convention, the Interim Committee reported that they were unable to complete their assignment due to the fact that they were able to meet only twice during the past two years. The Committee had unanimously adopted a set of specific paragraphs on the church at its May 1950, meeting which it had then hoped to present to the convention. However, a few days later one member of the Committee reversed his position and withdrew his assent on the grounds that he had misunderstood the import of the agreement. Because there was no time for the Committee to meet again, it was impossible for the Committee to present a unanimous statement to the 1950 Synodical

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

Conference convention. The Interim Committee felt that considerable progress had been made, that they were "not deadlocked on any issue," and that the discussions should be continued. The convention agreed and directed the Committee to continue.<sup>29</sup>

With respect to the request of the Wisconsin Synod's Standing Committee on Church Union, the committee on Intersynodical Relations reported that the Wisconsin Synod had eventually declared itself satisfied that the Interim Committee as constituted continue its work so long as other interested parties could attend their meetings.<sup>30</sup>

At the 1952 Synodical Conference Convention, the Interim Committee reported that it had only met once since the last convention. It had reached, however, the unanimous decision that the 1932 Thiensville Theses correctly expressed the Scriptural principle on the doctrines of church and ministry. The Interim Committee also suggested that the Chaplaincy question be referred to the Synodical Conference Committee on Intersynodical Relations. The Floor Committee did recommend that the convention adopt the Thiensville Theses. However, it suggested that the Chaplaincy question be referred to the faculties of the theological seminaries and that the Interim Committee be dismissed with sincere gratitude. This was adopted by the convention.<sup>31</sup> Not only was the issue over the doctrines of church and ministry essentially what it had

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<sup>29</sup>Proceedings of the Forty-First Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America Assembled at Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Ind. August 8-11, 1950 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1951), pp. 125-127.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 127-128.

<sup>31</sup>Proceedings of the Forty-Second Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America Assembled at Concordia College, St. Paul, Mn., August 12-15, 1952 (St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 142-145.

been in 1946, but actually nothing had changed since 1921, or even 1912 for that matter.

Wisconsin and the Development of Its  
Doctrinal Position

Despite the negotiations that were going on between the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods over the doctrines of church and ministry, the Wisconsin Synod did not refrain from going public with its disagreement. At the Centennial Convention of the Wisconsin Synod in August 1949, Professor M. Lehninger read a paper on "The Development of the Doctrinal Position of the Wisconsin Synod During the Century of Its History." This essay was then published in the January and April 1950 issues of the Synod's Theological Quarterly (formerly the Theologische Quartalschrift).<sup>32</sup>

Lehninger explained at the beginning of his paper that he did not agree with modernistic or liberal theologians who maintain that it is the task of the theologian to develop Christian doctrine in order to bring it into harmony with the findings of scientists or to make it acceptable to the man of the present age. The Wisconsin Synod writer then went on to provide an account of the chief factors which led to the doctrinal position held by his church body in 1952.<sup>33</sup>

According to Lehninger, the Wisconsin Synod had not even reached the climax of the development of its doctrinal position when it joined forces with others in the founding of the Synodical Conference in 1872. He then went on to add:

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<sup>32</sup>M. Lehninger, "The Development of the Doctrinal Position of the Wisconsin Synod During the Century of Its History," Theological Quarterly 47 (January and April 1950):1-15, 88-107.

<sup>33</sup>M. Lehninger, "The Development of the Doctrinal Position of the Wisconsin Synod During the Century of Its History," Theological Quarterly 47 (January 1950):2-3.

Church history is replete with examples showing how dangerous it is for the church to become satisfied with a stage it has reached at a given time in the development of its doctrinal position. . . . In the decades following the founding of the Synodical Conference and the controversies thereafter, a weariness in our Church began to manifest itself in a growing tendency to settle questions of doctrine by a reference to the Confessions or to the writings of Luther and old teachers of the Church, or of Walther, the champion of Lutheran orthodoxy in America.<sup>34</sup>

The Wisconsin writer believed that this was the case with respect to the doctrines of church and ministry within the Missouri Synod. He then described how J. P. Koehler and August Pieper had questioned this approach and had come to a "correct" position. He also pointed out that "Through the years a number of conferences between the two faculties [of the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods] were held, but have not resulted in a full agreement to this day."<sup>35</sup>

With respect to the difference over the doctrine of the ministry, Lehninger noted:

Similarly, we look in vain in Holy Writ for a word of institution of the pastorate in a local congregation . . . in contrast to other offices in a congregation or a synod, as teachers in Christian day schools and professors at Christian high schools, colleges, and seminaries. It came as a shock to some members in our synod and in Missouri when, e.g., Professor J. Schaller spoke of the historical development of the pastorate through the centuries into what it is in our congregation today. And yet it is true; and the admission of such a development is in no way contradictory to the divinity of the pastoral call, does not make the pastorate a merely human arrangement. Paul writes: The exalted Lord "gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ" (Eph. 4, 11.12). That should effectively dispose of the idea that only local pastors have a divine call, other church officials in congregation or synod only in so far as they perform some spiritual work as helpers to pastors of local congregations. . . . By what right can we vindicate the divine call of the local pastor and deny it to the teacher who also labors in the

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<sup>34</sup>M. Lehninger, "The Development of the Doctrinal Position of the Wisconsin Synod During the Century of Its History," Theological Quarterly 47 (April 1950):101.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p, 103.

word and doctrine? More, we must admit that also those elders who do not work specially in the word and doctrine but are nevertheless serving in the building of the Kingdom in the government of the congregations or the synod are divinely called. God has made them overseers. He tells us in the Bible what the functions of an elder, bishop, shepherd (pastor), and teacher are, and leaves the rest, the ordering of the details in this frame, to the sanctified common sense of his Christians. . . .<sup>36</sup>

In addition to thanking God for the development of doctrine within the Wisconsin Synod, Lehninger closed with words of concern over the Missouri Synod's current position on church fellowship, Scouting, and other issues.<sup>37</sup>

Lehninger's article was noted in the Missouri Synod's Concordia Theological Monthly and his statements on church and ministry were quoted in their entirety. However, no comment or criticism was given.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 104-105. It should be noted that few Missouri Synod theologians at this time denied the divinity of a call into what was considered by many within the Missouri Synod to be an auxiliary or branch office. It was maintained that the pastoral office in a local congregation was the only divinely mandated office and the holder of the full office of the public ministry. Auxiliary offices were considered to be partakers in this office, and thus, those serving in these offices had a divine call. However, the creation of such auxiliary offices were considered to be matters of Christian liberty. Here, Lehninger overstated or misstated the position of many within the Missouri Synod. On the other hand, there were also some pastors in the Missouri Synod who were denying the divinity of a parochial school teacher's call (see below, pages 228-231).

The understanding of the doctrine of the ministry expressed by Lehninger was officially adopted by the Wisconsin Synod in 1967. Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Convention of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod Held at Michigan Lutheran Seminary, Saginaw, Michigan August 9-16, 1967, pp. 288-291, 294-295. Also see Armin W. Schuetze and Irwin J. Habeck, The Shepherd Under Christ (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1974), pp. 21-22. This understanding has become known as the "functional view" of the doctrine of the ministry because it stressed that God established the function (proclamation of the Word) or the office in abstracto, but not the specific form or the office in concreto.

<sup>37</sup>Lehninger, pp. 105-106.

<sup>38</sup>p. M. B., "Theological Observer: Church and Ministry," Concordia Theological Monthly 21 (July 1951):531-533.

The Joint Union Committee

After the dissolution of the Synodical Conference's Interim Committee, a committee of the Wisconsin and Missouri Synod's seminary faculties met only once.<sup>39</sup> Then, at the 1954 Synodical Conference convention, two papers were presented which addressed the doctrine of the ministry with respect to the chaplaincy, one by Edward C. Fredrich of the Wisconsin Synod and one by Martin Scharlemann of the Missouri Synod.

Fredrich stated that the application for, and appointment to, the military chaplaincy conflicts with the doctrine of the call and that the duties of a military chaplain conflict with the divine call of a Lutheran pastor. This included the candidate for the chaplaincy taking the initiative with respect to the call, the acceptance of the candidate depending on other factors besides his church body's endorsement and call, and the candidate's appointment and salary coming from the government. Fredrich acknowledged that safeguards could be instituted which insure that the legitimacy of the call is maintained. However, dangers still exist which cause the Wisconsin Synod to pause and consider the issue.<sup>40</sup>

Scharlemann responded by avoiding any discussion of the issues pro or con. Instead he used a personal approach based upon his own experiences as a military chaplain. Scharlemann maintained that no chaplain is required to conduct any service or rite contrary to the

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<sup>39</sup>Oscar J. Naumann, president, Standing Committee in Matters of Church Union, A Fraternal Word Examined (1953 ?), p. 14.

<sup>40</sup>Edward C. Fredrich, "The Military Chaplaincy and Scouting," in Proceedings of the Forty-Third Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America Assembled at St. Peter's Church East Detroit, Mich. August 10-13, 1954 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), pp. 57-76.

regulations of his denomination. Unfortunately, at no point in his paper did Scharlemann address the issue of the call.<sup>41</sup>

At the 1956 Synodical Conference convention, a Joint Union Committee was formed in an effort to resolve the various issues which were dividing the member synods. The committee was composed of the union committees of each of the constituent bodies. This Joint Union Committee was to determine the current status controversiae for each issue and then each synod was to present its position thetically and antithetically. When the committee reached agreement on the various controverted issues they were to draw up a joint doctrinal statement.<sup>42</sup>

In order to accomplish their task, the Joint Union Committee reported to the 1958 Synodical Conference convention that they noted six areas of theology that were to be studied:

1. Scripture -- Revelation, Principles of Interpretation
2. Atonement and Justification
3. Grace, Conversion, Election
4. The Dynamic of the Christian Life -- Scouting
5. Church and Ministry -- Fellowship, Unionism, Separatism, Discipline, Military Chaplaincy
6. Eschatology<sup>43</sup>

The Joint Committee also reported that their study of Scripture had been brought to a successful conclusion when a Statement on Scripture

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<sup>41</sup>Martin Scharlemann, "The Boy Scouts of America and the Military Chaplaincy," in Proceedings of the Forty-Third Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America Assembled at St. Peter's Church East Detroit, Mich. August 10-13, 1954 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), pp. 79-87.

<sup>42</sup>Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America Assembled at First St. Paul's Church Chicago, Ill. December 4-7, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957), pp. 144-146.

<sup>43</sup>Proceedings of the Forty-Fifth Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America Assembled at SS. Peter and Paul Lutheran Church Lakewood, Ohio August 5-8, 1958 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), p. 41.



was adopted by the Committee on May 7, 1958. This statement was amended and then adopted by the 1958 Synodical Conference Convention.<sup>44</sup>

By 1960 the Joint Union Committee had reached agreement on the doctrine of the Antichrist. However, the Committee had not been able to proceed further due to disagreements over practices within the Missouri Synod, particularly with respect to church fellowship. Because of this impasse, the Joint Union Committee was never able to take up the issue of church and ministry.<sup>45</sup>

#### The Overseas Brethren

Dissatisfaction had been growing within both the Wisconsin Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod over the Missouri Synod's position on several issues, including church fellowship, prayer fellowship, scouting, and the military chaplaincy. In an attempt to avoid a dissolution of the Synodical Conference, several pastors and theologians from overseas Lutheran congregations in fellowship with the Synodical Conference members attempted to contribute toward overcoming the intersynodical tensions. On June 10-12, 1959, these overseas brethren held a meeting with Synodical Conference representatives at Oakland, California. The theme of this meeting was "The Fellowship Between Our Churches." Evidences of a strong fellowship stand in various overseas churches were noted, and it

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 42-46. This "Statement on Scripture" was also adopted at the 1959 Missouri Synod Convention. LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at San Francisco, California as the Twenty-Ninth Delegate Synod June 17-26, 1959 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), p. 189.

<sup>45</sup>Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference Assembled at Wisconsin Lutheran High School Milwaukee, Wisconsin August 2-5, 1960 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1960), p. 35.

resolved to hold another similar conference before the 1960 Synodical Conference convention.<sup>46</sup>

The second meeting between the Overseas Brethren and members of the Synodical Conference took place July 20-30, 1960, at Thiensville, Wisconsin. Again, church fellowship was the major issue of discussion. However, no agreement was reached.<sup>47</sup>

The Overseas Brethren met once more before the Wisconsin Synod and Evangelical Lutheran Synod left the Synodical Conference in 1963. On August 13-15, 1963, a meeting was held at Caius College, Cambridge, England. While the Missouri Synod and the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church sent representatives to this meeting, the Wisconsin Synod and Evangelical Lutheran Synod sent none. The doctrine of the church was the theme for this meeting. The doctrine of the ministry was not discussed.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>E. Geo. Pearce, Summary of International Lutheran Conferences 1952-1981 (London: International Lutheran Theological Conference, 1981), p. 2. Edward C. Fredrich, "The Great Debate with Missouri," Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly 74 (April 1977):171.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 172. "Participants in the Theologians' Conference Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Thiensville, Wisconsin July 20-30, 1960," in the possession of Norman Nagel, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, MO. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Convention of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod Held at Wisconsin Lutheran High School Milwaukee, Wisconsin August 8-17, 1961, pp. 175-176.

<sup>48</sup>At this meeting the name "International Lutheran Theological Conference" was chosen and a "Continuation Committee" was established. It was agreed that the group would publish a multi-language theological journal and meet regularly on the basis of sound confessional Lutheranism but not to form an organization in opposition to the Lutheran World Federation. Pearce, p. 3.

Concluding Comments on the Missouri and  
Wisconsin Synods and the Doctrine  
of the Ministry until 1962

At its 1961 convention, the Wisconsin Synod suspended fellowship with the Missouri Synod.<sup>49</sup> The Wisconsin Synod then withdrew from the Synodical Conference in 1963.<sup>50</sup> But, despite the disagreement between the Wisconsin and Missouri Synod over the doctrines of church and ministry, this was not the reason for Wisconsin's action. It appears that both the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods viewed their disagreement over the doctrine of the ministry as a difference in doctrine that could be tolerated. For Wisconsin, this was considered a difference of application and not doctrine. However, the issue of prayer fellowship, the chaplaincy, and scouting were matters of doctrine and not application.

Yet, the differing positions over the doctrine of the ministry were indeed marked. Did God establish the public office of the ministry only in abstracto (in purely a functional aspect, as some members of the Wisconsin Synod understood the doctrine of the ministry and so interpreted the Thiensville Theses), and thus leave the designation of the office in concreto up to the "sanctified common sense" of Christians (as Professor Lehninger maintained, see above, pages 214-215)? Or did God establish the pastoral office in a local congregation as THE public office of the ministry from which all other offices flow (as had been traditionally maintained within the Missouri Synod and as some members of the Missouri Synod interpreted the Thiensville Theses)? Did any

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<sup>49</sup>Wisconsin Synod, 1961 Proceedings, pp. 197-199.

<sup>50</sup>Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Convention of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod Held at Wisconsin Lutheran High School Milwaukee, Wisconsin August 7-14, 1963, p. 221.

gathering of believers have the same right and authority to extend a call to the public office of the ministry as did a local congregation? The issues between the Wisconsin and Missouri Synod were never resolved. During this same period several individuals within the Missouri Synod adopted the Wisconsin Synod's position and attempted to redefine the Missouri Synod's traditional understanding of the doctrine of the ministry.

## CHAPTER VI.

### TEACHERS AND THE PUBLIC OFFICE OF THE MINISTRY

WITHIN THE MISSOURI SYNOD, 1932-1962:

#### INROADS OF THE FUNCTIONAL VIEW

The confusion within the Missouri Synod over the place of the teacher in the doctrine of the ministry intensified dramatically between 1932 and 1962. There were a few who continued to maintain that the parochial school teacher had no divine call. Those who held to this view, however, did not publish it in official Missouri Synod publications. It was primarily set forth vocally at pastors' and teachers' conferences.

Increased confusion came by way of the introduction of a new understanding. Arnold C. Mueller, the Editor of Religious Literature (1933-1966) and August C. Stellhorn, Secretary of Schools for the Missouri Synod (1921-1960), advocated the Wisconsin Synod's position on the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod. This position has become known as the functional view of the doctrine of the ministry. Motivated by a desire to increase the status of the parochial school teacher within the Missouri Synod, Mueller and Stellhorn set forth this functional view as representative of the Missouri Synod's position before the United States government and published it throughout the Synod as the only proper and correct understanding.

The Discussion until 1940

Between 1932 and 1940, the discussion of the position of the parochial school teacher with respect to the doctrine of the ministry continued much as it had from 1867 to 1932. Some continued to maintain that the teacher had a dual calling that corresponded both to the office of the public ministry and the office of parents. The understanding that the parochial school teacher had a divine call and was an auxiliary office of the public office of the ministry (which was considered to be the pastoral office in a local congregation) was the predominant view. Still others continued to maintain that the parochial school teacher had no divine call. Those who held this position usually expressed their views only vocally at various ministerial conferences.

The work of the teacher was defined by C. T. Spitz in an essay delivered to the Southern Illinois District in 1933. Spitz entitled his section that dealt with parochial school teachers "Auxiliary Offices in the Church." Yet, he basically maintained the old position of J. C. W. Lindemann on the dual function and dual calling of a teacher:

The Christian day school teacher is . . . an assistant functionary in the congregation. He is not an assistant pastor and yet an assistant under the pastor in feeding the lambs of Christ. His chief duty is the teaching and training of children. He is called to teach the children in his care the one thing needful and to train them in the fear and admonition of the Lord. In this capacity he is representing not only the pastor, but also the parents of the children, while these children are away from home and under his care. . . .

Christian day-school teachers, being called through the congregation to assume, as directed, part of the functions of the ministerial office which are the functions of Christ's prophetic office, should ever bear in mind that their calling is a sacred one.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>C. Thomas Spitz, "The Doctrine of the Holy Ministry a Component Part of the Prophetic Office of Christ," Sechzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Sued-Illinois Distrikts der Ev. Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt zu Mount Olive, Ill., vom 16. bis zum 20. Oktober 1933 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1933), p. 43.

According to Spitz: "Assistant functionaries of the holy ministry are not ordained. They may be formally introduced to the congregation or even, as in the case of a duly called Christian day school teacher, solemnly installed."<sup>2</sup>

In 1934, P. E. Kretzmann delivered an essay entitled "The Doctrine of the Call with Special Reference to the Auxiliary Offices in the Church" at the Northern Nebraska District of the Missouri Synod. In typical Missouri Synod form, Kretzmann set forth nine theses (see Appendix N). Kretzmann distinguished between the duties of the public ministry and the duties of auxiliary offices by stating that the duties of the public ministry are fixed in Scripture, while the duties of auxiliary offices are fixed by the call of the congregation. Three reasons were given for the divinity of a parochial school teacher's call (male or female): it embraces a function of the public ministry; it is issued by the congregation; it is concerned with the teaching of God's Word. According to Kretzmann, the qualifications for the auxiliary offices of the ministry are the same as for the pastoral office. The essayist also maintained that in the case of the teacher a temporary call may not be objectionable, because the school is not as closely connected to the life of the congregation as is the office of the pastor. However, he considered the office of the teacher to be among those offices which are least susceptible to the temporary arrangement and partake to a very high degree of the nature of the pastoral office. For Kretzmann, a temporary call in such cases does not militate against the essence of the divine call, but only against its most beneficial exercise.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 44

<sup>3</sup>P. E. Kretzmann, "The Doctrine of the Call with Special Refer-

In 1935, Frederick Pfothenauer, then President of the Missouri Synod, wrote that the calling of a Christian day school teacher was a glorious calling. It issues from the ministry which God instituted and is an auxiliary office to the ministry. For Pfothenauer, the teaching office was the most important auxiliary office because it concerned itself with the greatest treasure of the church, the Word of God. Pfothenauer maintained that the Missouri Synod had emphasized this position from the very founding of the Synod since the Synod had made the call of the teacher a permanent call and since teachers were not called for a definite length of time like the incumbents of other auxiliary offices, like elders and trustees. For Pfothenauer, there was a marked distinction between the office of the teacher and other auxiliary offices.<sup>4</sup>

P. T. Buszin, in an article that appeared in the Lutheran School Journal (successor to the Schulblatt), held that the teacher's office is not of divine institution. The reason for this position was that this office was not of such a nature that it could not be separated from a congregation without destroying an essential part of the congregation. Yet, Buszin went on to state:

We must, nevertheless, ever firmly maintain the commanding fact, which is the salient trait of this service, that the functions of that auxiliary office are inherent in the public ministry of the

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ence to the Auxiliary Offices in the Church," Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Northern Nebraska District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Held at Arlington, Nebraska, August 20-24, 1934, Supplement to the Proceedings. It is interesting that Kretzmann includes not only parochial school teachers in the category of auxiliary office, but also assistant pastors, professors in church institutions, presidents of synods or districts, missionaries, chaplains, and others.

<sup>4</sup>F. Pfothenauer, "The Glory of the Teacher's Calling," Lutheran School Journal 70 (February 1935):241.



Word. . . . So wherever or whenever this auxiliary office of a special teacher within the church is abrogated, the functions of the office must again be assumed in their entirety by the incumbent of the complete public ministry within the congregation.<sup>5</sup>

Buszin further maintained that the teacher's call is a divine call, that the teacher's office is included in the office of the ministry, and that the teacher is, therefore, an assistant to the pastor. But, he is not an assistant pastor.<sup>6</sup> With respect to the status of the teacher, Buszin added:

This auxiliary of the ministry is safe, inasmuch as it is sanctioned by the Holy Spirit (Acts 6; 1 Tim. 3:8-13), and it is in the same category with all other auxiliaries of the church. . . . However, it differs from them in the commission and assignment, as the special teacher of the Lutheran school is definitely called to 'labor in the Word and doctrine,' and therefore, his service, being inherent in the public ministry and complementary, not supplementary, to it is registered with those who are to 'be counted worthy of double honor' (1 Tim. 5:17).<sup>7</sup>

Also appearing in 1936, an article by H. Strasen in the Concordia Theological Monthly held that the call of the pastor and the call of the teacher were on the same level because the office of the Christian school teacher was an auxiliary office of the holy ministry.<sup>8</sup>

In 1939, three essays were given at different district conventions dealing with the doctrine of the ministry. All three were based on Walther's position as set forth in Kirche und Amt. H. B. Fehner delivered an essay at the Michigan District convention entitled "The Ministry, the Highest Office in the Church: Based on Theses VIII, IX, and X of Dr. Walther's The Church and the Ministry." With respect to

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<sup>5</sup>P. T. Buszin, "Christian Education," Lutheran School Journal 71 (March 1936):302-303.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 304.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 307.

<sup>8</sup>H. Strasen, "Die Lehre vom Beruf unter gegenwaertigen Verhaeltnissen," Concordia Theological Monthly 7 (February 1936):94. [Hereafter Concordia Theological Monthly cited as CTM.]

the office of Lutheran school teacher, Fehner pointed out that although the teacher does not hold the entire office of the ministry and is not the God-appointed teacher and shepherd of the entire congregation, yet he is a public servant of the Word, called especially for this purpose by the congregation. Fehner maintained that a teacher has a divine call for three reasons: the call is issued by the Christian congregation, the office embraces an activity of the public ministry, and the office is concerned with the teaching of God's Word. Yet, Fehner also held that the teacher's office is subordinate to the office of the minister:

Since the teacher is not the teacher and shepherd of the whole congregation, but merely of the children, it follows that he holds an office subordinate to that of the minister, who has the whole office of the ministry. The spiritual care of the children outside of school hours is not so much the official duty of the teacher as the minister. Indeed, a teacher will, as a token of his affection for the children, show them his interest also outside of school hours by visiting them in time of illness and the like.<sup>9</sup>

At the 1939 Iowa District East convention, an essay delivered by Theo. Buenger stated:

We are glad to see that Dr. Walther in this first book of his plainly states that the office of the schoolteacher who teaches the Word of God in the school, is also a divine and sacred office of the church, which exercises a part of the one office and is an aid to the ministry of preaching. . . . How should we permit a teacher to teach religion if teaching in school were not also a branch of the ministry and thus a sacred office? We could perhaps doubt whether the teacher as far as he teaches secular branches is in a sacred office. But I think that even that can be answered in an affirmative way, because the education of the children is really the task of the parents of the church. But be that as it may, we will always

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<sup>9</sup>H. B. Fehner, "The Ministry, the Highest Office in the Church: Based on Theses VIII, IX, and X of Dr. Walther's The Church and the Ministry," Proceedings of the Sixty-Fourth Convention of the Michigan District of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Held at Saginaw, Mich., June 26-30, 1939 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939), pp. 44-46.

take the standpoint that the teacher teaching in the name of the congregation the Word of God, functions only as a helper to the ministry.<sup>10</sup>

The third essay delivered in 1939 on Walther's Kirche und Amt was by F. E. Mayer at the Southern Illinois District convention. Mayer maintained that the office of the ministry had to perform all of the functions of the spiritual priesthood publicly. The full office is embodied in the pastoral office of a congregation. Yet, wherever it is necessary, auxiliary offices are branched off from the office of the ministry. However, Mayer also made a distinction between branch and auxiliary offices. For Mayer, a branch office is one that had an essential part of the public ministry, for example, teaching, prophesying, admonishing. Holders of a branch office would include assistant pastors, teachers in the parochial school, candidates that teach Saturday school, and able persons who teach in the Sunday School. Auxiliary offices, for Mayer, were offices that dealt with the outward welfare of the congregation. Such offices would include professors, missionaries, mission boards, presidents, and visitors. Mayer maintained that these offices did not flow from the public ministry, but from the priesthood of all believers. As auxiliary offices of the public ministry, they are not over the ministry nor on the same level as the ministry.<sup>11</sup>

Yet, the status of the Lutheran teacher as it related to the

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<sup>10</sup>Theo. Buenger, "The Three Last Theses of Walther's Kirche und Amt," Proceedings of the Second Convention Iowa District East of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Waterloo, Iowa August 13-17, 1939, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup>F. E. Mayer, "Das Predigtamt ist das hoechte Amt in der Kirche," Proceedings of the Twentieth Convention of the Southern Illinois District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Red Bud, Illinois, October 16-20, 1939 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939), pp. 33-37.

doctrine of the ministry had deteriorated in various parts of the Missouri Synod. Although these views were not published, they were vocalized. In a 1934 letter to August C. Stellhorn, A. W. Banke of Fairmont, Minnesota wrote:

There seems to be a growing sentiment throughout our synod, especially in our district, that a Christian day school teacher has no divine call and that our Lutheran teachers therefore should be hired the same as a public school teacher from year to year.

What should be our attitude as individual teachers and as a conference toward this trend of hiring teachers for eight or nine months only?<sup>12</sup>

To this, Stellhorn responded:

As to the divinity of the Lutheran teacher's call, there can be no doubt, all the attacks on this fact notwithstanding. Such divinity has become clearer in recent times than it was to some of our fathers, who held that a teacher had a twofold call -- partly divine and partly civic. How that could ever be argued by Krauss and others, I can simply not get into my head. It militates against all common sense in addition to being anti-Scriptural. Incidentally, old Dr. Lindemann, before assuming his position in Addison, took the stand . . . that a teacher's call was based solely on the office of parents and not on the office of the ministry, and wrote a series of articles on the subject for the "Lutheraner" which Walther rejected.

I think the article of Rev. L. Heerboth in the "Journal" a few years ago settled the divinity of the teacher's call. Your conference should simply insist on this settled fact.

And now the permanence. Divinity does not, so far as I can find, imply permanence as a matter of necessity; but our Church has always taken the stand that a divine call in the special sense should be permanent, as the call of pastors, teachers, professors, mission directors, superintendents, etc., and it is to say the least, disorderly to call regular teachers any other way; it is a despising of their call. Emergencies do exist, but they seem to have been unjustly advanced in many cases as a reason for calling so many teachers temporarily; back of it all, however, is a lack of regard and respect and love for the teacher's calling and the love of money instead, or selfishness. Not only your conference, but everybody else in Synod ought to raise his voice in protest against this evil practice of temporary calling. It is a cancer that will eventually eat itself into the ministerial calling as well, -- if the disre-

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<sup>12</sup>A. W. Banke, Letter to A. C. Stellhorn dated September 4, 1934, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549; Box 2, File 6, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO, [hereafter cited CHI]. Credit for locating the manuscripts in this section must be given to Mr. James Freitag in a paper he wrote for a class taught by this writer.

spectors of the teacher's call should not know it. We ought to stop it before it is too late.<sup>13</sup>

Disregard for the office of the Lutheran teacher could be found elsewhere as well. H. Hillmann, Superintendent of the Missouri Synod School Board of the Northern Nebraska District, wrote to A. C. Stellhorn in 1934:

This question concerning the divinity of the parochial school teacher's call has seemingly been agitated in different sections of our Synodical areas, especially in localities where day-schools were more numerous. These discussions in private circles and at public meetings, such as pastoral conferences and District conventions, have caused much ill-feeling and distrust among pastors and teachers. Such questions are stirred up, if I observe correctly, by such pastors, who do not take the proper attitude toward the parish week-day school, especially by such pastors who do as yet not dare to come out into the open arena with their secret opposition to the time tried institution of our church and synod. More outspoken opponents would not yet be tolerated to discuss such a question publicly. The Evil One always seems to find an opportunity to come from a new direction in his insidious diabolic attempts to destroy the Christian day-school teacher.<sup>14</sup>

Stellhorn responded with the following:

It seems to one that something specific should be done about this situation, as well as every other threatening situation in Synod regarding the schools. Peculiarly enough, we are prompt in combating even the most remote dangers to our schools from the outside (Education Bill, Child Labor Amendment, Language Question), but when it comes to the much more destructive dangers and enemies from within, we throw up our hands in holy horror of possibly wronging a so-called brother or slew of brothers, no matter how plainly they are undermining and tearing down our schools, or in fear of getting licked ourselves.

The time has come, I believe, when this must be changed. We have had too much patience with the wreckers and destroyers of our schools. The result has been that they have taken on more boldness, or, as was said at our last Supts. Conference, that they are not only coming out in the open, but forming in cliques and packs.

The Superintendents Conference and our Board would be the logical

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<sup>13</sup>August C. Stellhorn, Letter to A. W. Banke dated September 11, 1934, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549: Box 2, File 6, CHI.

<sup>14</sup>H. Hillmann, Letter to A. C. Stellhorn dated October 2, 1934, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549: Box 2, File 6, CHI.

bodies to prepare a campaign of defense against the manifest destroyers of the schools and against all enmity from within, of course. A way must be found to do just that. . . . We have respected men more than the work of the Lord; we have capitulated before our worst enemies, -- always in the hope of winning them over some day, but with the result that they are now brazenly treading on us today.<sup>15</sup>

It was such disregard for the office of the Lutheran teacher and the divinity of the teacher's call which seems to have pushed A. C. Stellhorn and others into adopting and promoting the functional view of the doctrine of the ministry already maintained by many in the Wisconsin Synod.

#### The Lutheran Teacher and the Selective Service Act

With the Nazi Blitzkrieg invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, the seizure of Denmark and Norway on April 9, 1940, and the attack on France on May 10, 1940,<sup>16</sup> the United States began to take preparedness measures for possible war with Germany. Congress appropriated large sums of money to strengthen the military services in the summer of 1940. On September 16, 1940, the Selective Service Act was enacted by Congress

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<sup>15</sup>August C. Stellhorn, Letter to H. Hillmann dated October 2, 1934, Board for parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549: Box 2, File 6, CHI.

A. C. Stellhorn also spoke about those who denied the divinity of the Lutheran teacher's call in his book, Schools of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Here he also mentioned how the District Superintendents of Schools had numerous papers presented on the subject at their conferences during the 1930s and early 1940s. Among these papers, there were several presented by Wisconsin Synod professors and pastors. It may well be that this was how A. C. Stellhorn came to adopt the Wisconsin Synod position or the function view. August C. Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), p. 463 [hereafter cited as Stellhorn, Schools].

<sup>16</sup>Robert O. Paxton, Europe in the Twentieth Century (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Atlanta: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), pp. 433-439.

providing for the registration and conscription of men from 21 to 35 years of age.<sup>17</sup>

Exemption was immediately granted to pastors and those studying for the pastoral ministry upon registration. However, the status of Lutheran parochial school teachers and those studying for the teaching ministry was in question.

On October 7, 1940, Lt. Col. Lewis B. Hershey, the Executive of the Selective Service Commission, wrote a letter to Representative John W. Boehne, Jr., a member of the House of Representatives and a Missouri Synod Lutheran. This letter was reprinted and sent as an "open letter" to all the teachers of the Synod by President John W. Behnken. It was suggested that this letter be shown to the proper authorities upon registration for the draft. In his letter, Hershey quoted the regulations regarding Class IV-D status, which was the exemption class for "ministers of religion":

361. Class IV-D -- a. In class IV-D -- shall be placed any registrant who is a regular or duly ordained minister of religion or who is a student preparing for the ministry in a theological or divinity school for more than one year prior to the date of enactment of the Selective Service Act (September 16, 1940).

b. A regular minister of religion is a man who customarily preaches and teaches the principles of religion of a recognized church, religious sect, or religious organization of which he is a member, without having been formally ordained as a minister of religion; and who is recognized by such church, sect, organization as a minister.<sup>18</sup>

Hershey then went on to add:

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<sup>17</sup>Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, The American Pageant, A History of the Republic, Volume II, Sixth Edition (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1979), p. 802. Nelson Klose, American History, 2 Volumes (Woodbury, NY: Barron's Educational Series, 1965), 2:261.

<sup>18</sup>Open Letter to All Missouri Synod Teachers dated October 11, 1940, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 54, File 15, CHI, p. 1.

We believe that the regulations quoted herein above are as comprehensive and inclusive as the language of the Act permits. As a practical matter, it is suggested that your church authorities might call the language of these regulations to the attention of all persons within the categories mentioned. . . .<sup>19</sup>

In the open letter to all teachers, President Behnken closed with these comments: "Your synod and congregations look upon you as a regular minister of religion, (Cfr. 361, Class IV-D-b), and undoubtedly you will be recorded as such when you register."<sup>20</sup>

However, the following year, the Selective Service Commission issued an official statement regarding the status of the Lutheran teacher which contradicted President Behnken's statement. The new statement from Lewis B. Hershey read as follows:

QUESTION 1: Is the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States a "recognized church"?

ANSWER: The Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States is a well-recognized church within the meaning of paragraph 360, Selective Service Regulations, and has been such for a number of years.

QUESTION 2: Are the students in the teachers' colleges maintained by the church, students "preparing for the ministry in theological or divinity school recognized as such for more than one year prior to the date of enactment of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940"?

ANSWER: The students are majoring in educational and natural science subjects rather than in religious subjects. Upon graduation they are not eligible to become ministers in the church since the ministers of the church are prepared in seminaries established for that purpose. The degrees offered by the college are not Doctor of Divinity degrees nor anything closely parallel thereto but are regular Bachelor of Science degrees. The graduates of the teachers' colleges are normally eligible to teach in public schools as well as to teach in the parochial schools. Therefore, these students cannot be considered as students preparing for the ministry while attending the teachers colleges, within the meaning of paragraph 360 (a), Selective Service Regulations.

QUESTION 3: Are these parochial school teachers duly ordained ministers of religion?

ANSWER: These teachers are not ordained in accordance with the ceremonial ritual or discipline of the church but are rather called or assigned to the parishes to teach in the parochial school. They do not customarily perform the duties of an ordained minister.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.



QUESTION 4: Are these teachers regular ministers of religion?

ANSWER: These parochial school teachers do not dedicate their lives to the teaching of religion, although they may teach religion as one of the several courses taught in the parochial school. They are eligible at any time to leave the parochial schools and take up teaching in the public schools. These teachers may teach a few religion courses as an incident to the teaching of general courses of the grade schools, but they do not customarily teach the principles of religion nor do they in any sense preach the principles of religion within the meaning of paragraph 360, Selective Service Regulation. These parochial school teachers are generally recognized to be teachers and not to be ministers of religion.

It is therefore concluded that parochial school teachers of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, who are graduates of the church's teachers' colleges and who are teaching general courses in the parochial school of the church, are not regular ministers of religion and should not be placed in Class IV-D for that reason.<sup>21</sup>

Apparently, Missouri Synod officials responded quickly to this ruling. One month after the publication of Opinion 18, Opinion 18-A was issued:

This supplemental opinion, based on detailed facts submitted to this Headquarters by the above named denomination . . . subsequent to the date of National Headquarters Opinion No. 18, is issued for the following purposes: to restate and correct certain of the facts contained in the original opinion, to restate the answer to Question 2, and to correct the answer to Question 4.

QUESTION 2: Are the students in the teachers colleges maintained by the church, students "preparing for the ministry in a theological or divinity school recognized as such for more than one year prior to the date of enactment of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940"?

ANSWER: No. It is to be noted that the law does not exempt all students who are preparing for the ministry but only those who are doing so in a theological or divinity school recognized as such for more than one year prior to the enactment of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. If Concordia Teachers Colleges are not such theological or divinity schools then it is unnecessary to determine whether individual students therein are, or are not, preparing for the ministry. This Headquarters has held that one of the essential elements of a theological or divinity school within the meaning of the Act is that the course of study offered by such school, when successfully completed, leads to a degree of Doctor of Divinity or its equivalent. The Concordia Teachers Colleges do not offer such degrees. The three year course at Concordia Teachers

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<sup>21</sup>Vol. III, Opinion No. 18 of the National Headquarters Selective Service System, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 54, File 15, CHI.

Colleges leads to a Lutheran Teachers Course Diploma, and the four-year course to a degree of Bachelor of Science in Education or Bachelor of Arts in Education. The fact that the Concordia Teachers Colleges offer or require certain courses in Religious Education or Religion does not in itself constitute Concordia Teachers Colleges theological or divinity schools within the meaning of the Act.

Whether an individual Concordia Teachers College student is entitled to deferment in Class II-A is a matter for decision by the local board in each case.

QUESTION 4: Are any of the teachers of the Christian day-schools of this Church regular ministers of religion?

ANSWER: Yes. Whether the teachers in the Christian day-schools of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, stand in the same relationship as regular ministers in other religious bodies must be determined in each individual case by the local board, based upon whether they devote their lives to the furtherance of the religious beliefs of the church, whether they perform the functions which are set forth in the facts of both the original and this supplemental opinion, and finally, whether they are regarded by other members of the church in the same manner in which regular ministers are ordinarily regarded.

The Church has stated that it specifically recognizes its Christian day-school teachers as being members of "the office of the holy ministry," "assistant to the pastor," that they "have a divine calling," that their "office is, next to that of the pastor of a congregation, the most important."

If the local board is satisfied in an individual case that a Lutheran Christian day-school teacher conforms to the standards set forth above, such registrant may be considered a regular minister of religion and be entitled to a deferment in Class IV-D.<sup>22</sup>

This decision, although providing a deferment for active Lutheran school teachers, left young men preparing for the teaching ministry eligible for the draft. In a 1942 presentation at Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois, A. C. Stellhorn maintained that the present draft status of students was inconsistent and established eight principles demonstrating why exemption for such students was justified. It should be noted that at this time, Stellhorn still held to the more traditional understanding of the office of Lutheran teacher as a branch or auxiliary office.

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<sup>22</sup>Vol. III, Opinion No. 18-A of the National Headquarters of the Selective Service System, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 54, File 15, CHI.

1. The teacher is a church servant, who is trained by the church, formally inducted into office, and expected to devote his whole life to the religious schooling and training of children, and to other branches of church work, such as missions, youth work, Sunday school, Bible classes and church music.

Tenure of office: In the year 1941 twenty-one teachers of the Missouri Synod died. Their average age was 73.6 years, and their average length of service in the Lutheran school was 43.5 years. Synodical Bureau of Statistics, March, 1942.

2. The Lutheran teacher's office has the official status of a branch of the public ministry. It was given that status from the beginning, a hundred years ago, and it has that status today. Hence the Lutheran Church holds that the teacher, like the pastor, has a divine calling, though his office is not that of a pastor.

For this reason, the draft authorities in this war as well as the draft authorities in World War I, have classed the Lutheran teacher as a "minister of religion."

3. Besides the pastor, the Lutheran teacher is the only other person trained and consecrated in the church to take a formal part in carrying out the public ministry.

4. If the local congregation is deprived of a teacher, the teacher's office and work reverts to the local pastor, of whose office the teacher's office is an integral part. But pastors, in a majority of cases, can not resume this additional work, and the removal of a teacher usually means the closing of the school.

5. There is now a serious teacher shortage in our Synod. In the fall of 1942, the two teachers' colleges could not meet the demand for about 55 additional teachers, with the result that schools were closed or otherwise seriously hampered.

6. We are even now calling for a roster of emergency teachers, with little hope for any material results, because of the lucrative employment of available people in war and other work.

7. If the college students at the teachers' colleges are not exempt from military service, we shall have practically no one left in the college departments, and, as a serious consequence, no graduates for the duration of the war, and several years beyond. This would be disastrous for our church-work.

8. Our school system is expanding, and the need for properly trained men is more urgent just now than during the past decade.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, the National Headquarters of the Selective Service System gave a favorable ruling toward the status of students preparing for the teaching ministry at Missouri Synod teachers' colleges. In an official letter to President Behnken, dated February 15, 1943, Director

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<sup>23</sup>A. C. Stelhorn, Manuscript submitted to President John Behnken reviewing the contents of a presentation at Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, IL, 1942, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 54, File 15, CHI.

Hershey wrote:

May I advise you that after consideration, it has been determined by this Headquarters that the Lutheran Teachers' Colleges at River Forest, Illinois and Seward, Nebraska, are considered as theological or divinity schools, recognized as such from more than one year prior to the date of the enactment of the Selective Training and Services Act of 1940.

Any student in such Lutheran Teachers' Colleges now has been found by the local board to be preparing for the ministry should be considered as exempt from military service.

The word "ministry" in the term "preparing for the ministry" is considered to include the calling of such persons by the church to serve as a regular teacher of a Lutheran Day School.<sup>24</sup>

The Selective Service Act of 1940 and the efforts of Missouri Synod officials to achieve the Class IV-D status for male parochial school teachers and those studying at Missouri Synod teachers colleges did much to enhance and firmly establish the status and official position of the teacher within the Missouri Synod. It also gave official sanction to the understanding that the parochial school teacher had a divine call and was a partaker of the public office of the ministry.

Inroads of the Functional View  
Within the Missouri Synod

After Lutheran teachers had officially gained the status of ministers of religion during World War II, the push to solidify and further develop that status began. Two men within the Missouri Synod were at the forefront of that push: August C. Stellhorn, the Secretary for Schools within the Synod, and Arnold C. Mueller, the Synod's Editor for Religious Literature. Concerning August C. Stellhorn, it has been written that he was probably the "most vocal--and certainly the most militant--teacher" in the Missouri Synod. "If ever there was a teacher

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<sup>24</sup>Lewis B. Hershey, Official letter from the National Headquarters of the Selective Service System to President John W. Behnken dated February 15, 1943, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI.

power movement in Missouri, it was in motion with Stelhorn's leadership."<sup>25</sup> Prior to 1946, neither A. C. Stelhorn nor A. C. Mueller set forth a view on the doctrine of the ministry which differed from the more traditional Missouri Synod understanding (the pastoral office fulfills the full office of the public ministry while the teacher serves in an auxiliary office).<sup>26</sup>

In his book, Schools of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Stelhorn wrote:

Dr. Arnold C. Mueller, editor of Sunday school literature, and this writer frequently discussed the need of further clarifying the subject of the public ministry and the status of the Lutheran teacher. Dr. Mueller, a former pastor, forged ahead as another pioneer in this field.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Stephen A. Schmidt, Powerless Pedagogues (River Forest, IL: Lutheran Education Association, 1972), p. 87. See also, William Rietschel, "A. C. Stelhorn and the Lutheran Teacher in Ministry," in Perspectives on Ministry, W. Theophil Janzow, ed. (River Forest, IL: Lutheran Education Association, 1981), p. 23. William Rietschel, "August C. Stelhorn--A Biographical Sketch," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 55 (Summer 1982):52-66.

<sup>26</sup>In 1946, Stelhorn published The Beginning Teacher: Practical Advice on Conducting a School. Here he wrote to the new teacher: "Take comfort from the fact that you have been called. Even if you are a supply teacher, temporarily engaged, you came by your appointment in essentially the same way in which a graduate teacher or pastor is called, that is, the Christian congregation acted in the name and by the command of God when it applied for you, and it has turned over to you a sector of that work which God performs through His Church on earth. You have therefore a divine call. The essence of such a call is not that it is in writing for life, but that it is truly a call from God, particularly a call to 'labor in the Word and doctrine.'" A. C. Stelhorn, The Beginning Teacher: Practical Advice on Conducting a School (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1946), pp. 3-4. Here Stelhorn does not commit himself either to a functional view, nor the more traditional Missouri Synod view. However, he does use phrases that will be more fully developed and emphasized later: same call for pastors and teachers, action of the Christian congregation, the teacher has a sector (the pastor has another sector), and the teacher has a call to "labor in the Word and doctrine."

<sup>27</sup>Stelhorn, Schools, p. 464.

In the March 1948, issue of Lutheran Education (successor to the Lutheran School Journal and the Schulblatt), A. C. Mueller published an article entitled "Do I Have a Divine Call to Teach Arithmetic?"<sup>28</sup> Mueller took issue with those who held that a parochial school teacher has a dual calling. He maintained that parochial school teachers do have a divine call to teach secular subjects because the Lutheran teacher has been called through the church, he always teaches in light of God's Word, and secular subjects aid in the study of God's Word (particularly reading). Mueller also quoted Walther's sermon at the induction of two professors (see above, pages 62-63) in this regard. Dating back to Walther, this position was, of course, not new. However, in his article, Mueller began to demonstrate his agreement with the position held by many in the Wisconsin Synod regarding church and ministry, particularly the institution of the public office the ministry only in the abstract and not in any specific form. Concerning the assurance of a divine call, Mueller wrote:

Those who share in the general office of the ministry--pastors, parochial school teachers, professors at our higher institutions, and the like, must, first of all, be convinced that they have a divine call if they are to fulfill their ministry of service with joy. It is a simple matter to determine this. The Christians, by virtue of their Christian priesthood, have the right, the sole right, to call men to the public office of the ministry. When a man receives a legitimate call from a congregation, . . . or when he receives a call from a federation of congregations known as a synod, and accepts that call, he may have the assurance that God has called him mediately, through the instrumentality of the congregation or congregations. Pastors, parochial school teachers, and professors have a divine call to perform those functions of the public ministry which the Church assigns to them.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>A. C. Mueller, "Do I Have a Divine Call to Teach Arithmetic?" Lutheran Education 83 (March 1948):391-397.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 391.

Yet, already one year earlier, the change in A. C. Stellhorn's position on the doctrine of the ministry had become clear in a personal letter to A. W. Brustat, Executive Secretary of Education for the Missouri Synod's Atlantic District. Here Stellhorn questioned whether a pastor is to be overseer of the congregational school by divine command. He also considered erroneous the long-held Missouri Synod understanding that the public office of the ministry in its concrete form is identified with the pastoral office.

I am not opposed, under the existing order, to the pastor as overseer or supervisor of the school. Not only is it the most logical arrangement; not only is there every indication of right to that position under the present pastor's call and generally accepted functions; but I have also repeatedly defended the right of a congregation to make the pastor the supervisor of the school and teachers, against serious and almost violent objection on the part of some. . . .

What I object to, is that the pastor is said to be the supervisor by divine command or by Biblical precept. Acts 20:28, which is usually cited in proof of it, does not prove this. It does prove that the "elders" at Ephesus (again plural) had been made overseers over the whole flock at Ephesus (again plural). It does not prove that all those elders were pastors, nor that anyone had the head supervision, as we are wont to think today. Those elders, in my opinion, basing on Eph. 4:11, were various types of church servants - all of them made overseers by the Holy Ghost. . . .

I am far from wanting to limit the pastor's position; but I am convinced that our leaders have held or hold views regarding it that can not be proved from Scripture. For instance, it is constantly reiterated that 'the Lord established only one office--that of the pastor', and that all other offices in the Church are branch offices of the pastor's office.

The Lord did indeed establish only one office--that of teaching and preaching and the administration of the sacraments; but He did not decree that all these functions are to be vested in one person, or in one office (position). Far from it. The New Testament emphasizes that the Holy Spirit has given many gifts for the performance of that instituted office. That under present-day conditions a congregation, especially a small congregation, vests all the functions of its (the congregation's) office in one person, is incidental, or, if you will, necessary and eminently practical. But to conclude from such a circumstantial necessity that the Lord has established only the pastor's office and none other, is erroneous.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, Letter to Rev. A. W. Brustat dated March 14, 1947, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI.

This position was given a major thrust by A. C. Mueller one year later, on March 24, 1948, when he issued his paper "The Status of the Parochial School Teacher."<sup>31</sup> Concerning this essay, A. C. Stellhorn wrote:

The paper was meant for study and was eventually mailed to over 500 pastors, teachers, and other servants of the church. It was widely studied and discussed and became the basis for later briefs to the government and for a memorial to the Synod.<sup>32</sup>

In the opening of his paper, Mueller linked the shift in his understanding with respect to the doctrine of the ministry to the low status given to parochial school teachers:

Nothing has caused more dissatisfaction among our parochial school teachers than the Synod's failure to define their status satisfactorily. . . . Our shortage of teachers is often ascribed to the dismal financial outlook. . . . The problem lies deeper than that. It has to do with the status of the parochial school teacher. . . .

Current thinking on the status of office of the parochial school teacher is exceedingly confused. Essayists single out the pastorate, declare it to be the highest office in the church, and assert that it is the only office instituted by God to deal with men through the Word. All other offices in the church, according to this line of reasoning, are established by men and are merely auxiliary offices to the pastorate. The office of parochial school teacher is such an auxiliary office. But teaching is so manifestly a function of the ministry that our essayists are obliged to concede that these auxiliary offices are on the same level as the ministry. Realizing that he may have discouraged the teachers by reducing his office to a mere Hilfsamt of the pastorate, an essayist may seek to undo the mischief by delivering a eulogy on the glory of this auxiliary office.

Now, if teachers are told that theirs is merely an auxiliary office, that is not divinely instituted, that is not part of the ministry, and yet is on a level with the ministry, can we censure them for being dissatisfied and resentful? Teachers have a right to ask, "What is our status anyhow?" and they will not take auxiliary office for an answer unless the theologians give them adequate proof from the Scriptures that the pastorate is the only divinely instituted office and that the teacher's office is merely an auxiliary

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<sup>31</sup>A. C. Mueller, "The Status of the Parochial School Teacher," Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI.

<sup>32</sup>Stellhorn, Schools, pp. 464-465.



office which by some strange unexplained circumstance exists along side of the exalted office known as pastorate.<sup>33</sup>

Mueller concluded from his study of the Bible that:

. . . nowhere in the New Testament is there any mention of auxiliary offices. We might consider the office of the deacons whose appointment is mentioned in Acts 6 as an auxiliary office, but this office was strictly something apart from the ministry of the Word. I am ready to accept the term "auxiliary" for church functions which are an aid to the pastor but do not require proficiency in teaching the Word, but I refuse to apply this term to any servants of the Church who teach the Word, because the very concept is unscriptural. . . .

. . . the term "auxiliary office" has tended to confuse. It has been used to designate the office of teaching as a branch of the pastorate. Like the pastorate, it is in reality one of the offices or branches of the general ministry. Therefore, to avoid confusion, we should discard the term "auxiliary office" altogether and speak only of the office of the teacher, just as we speak of the office of the pastor.<sup>34</sup>

With respect to Thesis VIII of Walther's Kirche und Amt, ("The Ministry is the highest office in the church, from which all other offices of the church issue," see Appendix I), Mueller maintained that Walther lifted the term "highest office" out of context from the Apology of the Augsburg Confession and Luther:

Hearing it here in isolation, we are likely to think of lesser functions, and we may erroneously classify as a lesser function something that is part of this highest function, e.g., the office of the parochial school teacher, women teachers, Sunday school teachers, Bible class teachers. Again, Walther employs the term "Predigtamt" which is often identified with the pastorate. Most readers, when they read the Thesis, at once assume that the pastorate is the highest office, that is where the cardinal mistake is made. If the pas-

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<sup>33</sup>Mueller, "The Status of the Parochial School Teacher," p. 1.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-5. Mueller also appealed to Martin Chemnitz in his Examen: "1. There is no command of God as to which, or how many of such divisions or classes there should be.

2. At the time of the apostles there were not in all churches, and not always the same divisions or classes, nor the same number of classes or divisions, a fact which is manifestly to be inferred from the epistles of Paul written to the various congregations.

3. At the time of the apostles there was no such distribution of those divisions, but that often one and the same person took over and executed all of these offices which pertain to the ministry, as we know from apostolic history," Ibid., p. 13.

torate, as we know it today, is not prescribed by the apostles as the one God-pleasing arrangement for the fulfillment of the charge to preach the Gospel; and if the pastorate is nowhere in the New Testament called the highest office in the Church, we err when we ascribe to the pastorate alone what should be termed the highest function of that all-inclusive office called Ministerium Ecclesiae.<sup>35</sup>

Mueller went on to assert that the term "ministry" in Thesis VIII of Walther's statement on the ministry is used in abstracto and thus includes all the functions of the office of the Word. Therefore, it is not the pastorate exclusively. All who function in the teaching of God's Word exercise the highest office in the Church.<sup>36</sup> Mueller also maintained that the pastorate is the chief species of the ministry of the church which Christ has commanded to every congregation. Yet, the pastorate is only a species of the Ministry, just as the office of school teacher and the office of elder are only species of this ministry.<sup>37</sup>

A. C. Mueller sharply disagreed with the idea that the office of the parochial school teacher stems from or originates in the pastoral office:

It is basic for the determination of the status of a parochial school teacher, to know how to classify him. From our definition of the Ministerium it should be apparent that the parochial school teacher holds an office that stems from the general ministry. It is erroneous to say that the office of the parochial school teacher stems from the pastorate. When this assertion is made, the assumption is that the teacher is the servant of the pastor and at his beck and call. He is not servant to the pastor at all. He is a servant of God and of the congregation in his own right. His office is an independent office, just as truly as is that of the pastor, although like the pastorate it is an integral part of the Ministerium Ecclesiae. . . .<sup>38</sup>

With respect to the subject of permanent and temporary calls, Mueller stated the following:

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

A temporary call is not only warranted, but necessary, in all cases where the assignment of duties will not continue, or is not expected to continue, indefinitely, to wit: (1) a military chaplaincy during a war; (2) any temporary project of the Church. . . .

The practice of issuing a temporary call is evil when the duties are known to be of a permanent nature or when the persons called can be expected to serve indefinitely and are qualified for such service. This includes such positions as the pastorate or regular male teacher's office in the congregation, and the professorship at the college or seminary of the Church, superintendents and other Synodical officials. In such cases the Scriptural evidence is wholly for their permanent call.<sup>39</sup>

Ordination and installation was another issue addressed by Mueller:

Why are pastors first ordained, then installed, while teachers are not ordained but only installed? Pastors have as a rule simply taken the distinctions for granted as a usage of the Church, without going to the trouble of determining the reason for the distinction. Parochial school teachers have likewise taken the distinction for granted, but have wondered on what Scriptural basis it rests.

An arbitrary reason for the distinction will be assigned by those who hold that the office of parochial school teacher is only an auxiliary office to the pastorate. They will say that only those men are ordained who have been called to exercise the entire (?) office; incumbents of auxiliary offices cannot be ordained, they are merely installed. But we maintain that teachers have the highest office in the Church, hence it is erroneous to label the office of the parochial school teacher an auxiliary office.<sup>40</sup>

He further noted:

The prerogative of administering the sacraments and reading the liturgy has sometimes been overemphasized. We are guilty of a Romanizing tendency when we assign too great importance to the administration of the sacraments. An extreme liturgical movement can be dangerous and is bound to be un-Lutheran, that is, inconsistent with Luther's position. As ceremonial is accentuated, the teaching of the Word is minimized, and we may then have the unhealthy situation which Luther tried so hard to remedy.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, Mueller summarized his position on ordination and installation in this way:

It has evidently never been the practice of the Lutheran Church to ordain teachers, although the reason for the practice of ordaining pastors but installing teachers is whimsical, especially since ordination has the same signification as installation. Usage, then, is the only thing that stands in the way of the ordination of teachers, but the Lutheran Church has always been liberal with re-

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., pp. 29-30.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

spect to customs and ceremonies. If we reach a point where we can perceive clearly that teachers, like all other servants of the Word, have the highest office in the Church, we shall entertain no scruples about ordaining parochial school teachers. If pastors need the special prayers of the Church universal for the bestowal of grace to discharge their ministry faithfully and efficiently, why should we not ordain our parochial school teachers and with the imposition of hands invoke the Lord's blessing upon them? Although the scope of their activities is not as broad as that of the pastorate, their office has its particular difficulties, trials and temptations. Moreover, this word "ordain" might turn the trick when teachers apply for clergy booklets.<sup>42</sup>

In November 1948, three months after the Synodical Conference Interim committee had made its first report (see above, pages 206-210), the Board for Parish Education of the Missouri Synod prepared a statement entitled "The Status of the Lutheran Male Teacher." This work was basically the effort of a committee of three: A. C. Mueller, Editor of Religious Literature, S. J. Roth, Superintendent of the Lutheran Schools in Michigan, and A. C. Stellhorn, Secretary of Schools. The similarities between this statement and that issued by A. C. Mueller several months before are very apparent. Both documents challenge the historic position of the Missouri Synod with respect to the doctrine of the ministry and both documents advocate the functional view of the ministry. The Board for Parish Education statement offered the following summary of its discussion:

1. The office of the teacher, like that of pastor, is a branch of the general ministry, or of the one office, which Christ instituted when he gave to His Church the Office of the Keys and the Great Commission.

2. The office of teacher does not issue from the pastorate but from the general ministry. Therefore it is not an auxiliary office in the sense of it being subordinate to the pastorate, but is an office which exists in its own right.

3. Like all other servants of the Word, the parochial school teacher exercises or participates in the highest office of the Church, that is, the teaching and preaching of the Word.

4. Inasmuch as the office of the teacher is a branch of the

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-35.

general ministry which Christ has instituted, it is a divine office, like the pastorate and all other offices of the Word.<sup>43</sup>

This position was further emphasized at the Lutheran Education Conference, Concordia Teachers College, Seward, Nebraska, July 7-8, 1949. Sponsored by the Missouri Synod's Board for Parish Education, this conference was attended by representatives from Synod's thirty-three districts. Among the essays presented was one by A. C. Stellhorn entitled "The Lutheran Teacher's Position in the Ministry of the Congregation." Here Stellhorn continued to maintain the "functional" understanding. The decline in students studying for the teaching ministry was attributed to the low status of the teacher's office within the Missouri Synod. The public office of the ministry was seen only in its general, abstract sense, which was understood to be the only divinely instituted office. Stellhorn also warned about the following errors with respect to the understanding of the pastoral office within the Missouri Synod:

1. That it is the only divinely instituted church position or office. . . .

4. That all other church positions or offices stem from the pastorate, and are auxiliary offices of the pastorate. The fact is that all church offices stem from, and flow out of, the commission of Christ to teach and preach the Word. Because the teacher or a professor also teach and preach the Word, it could be argued that all other offices stem also from their positions. And so it should be with other teachers and preachers of the Word (editors, writers, synodical officials not having a pastorate). . . .

7. That the pastor's supervision of the teacher is prescribed in Scripture, and is . . . a nature of the pastorate or a provision of his and the teacher's call.

8. That a congregation must have one pastor, or one head pastor, according to Scripture.

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<sup>43</sup>A. C. Mueller, S. J. Roth, and A. C. Stellhorn, "The Status of the Lutheran Male Teacher" [November 1948], Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, p. 8.

Tree imagery was often used to describe the Office of the Ministry within the Missouri Synod. A. C. Mueller used this imagery and incorporated it into a diagram explaining the doctrine of the ministry from the historic Missouri Synod understanding and from his own understanding (see Appendix O).

9. That the pastorate is indivisible and unalterable, according to Scripture.

10. That the term "Predigtamt" (used only in Col. 1:25, [Luther's] German) means only the pastorate, and that what Luther and the Confessional Writings say of the "Predigtamt" refers only the the pastorate, instead of the function of teaching and preaching the Word.<sup>44</sup>

Through the efforts of A. C. Mueller, A. C. Stellhorn and because of their influence through the Board for Parish Education, this view was spread throughout the Missouri Synod, becoming particularly popular among Missouri Synod parochial school teachers and at the Synod's teachers colleges.

#### The Eggen Case

Probably the most significant statements on the status of the Lutheran teacher presented before the Federal Government were the documents involved in the Internal Revenue Service versus Eggen Case. Eldor N. Eggen was a teacher at St. Lorenz Lutheran School, Frankenmuth, Michigan. On or about September 8, 1949, his tax records underwent a "spot check" by Revenue Agent Hackett of Saginaw and Eggen's records were then passed on to Collector of Internal Revenue Cummins and other Internal Revenue officials in Detroit. Eggen had not listed the rental value of a dwelling furnished him by the congregation as part of his remuneration. He claimed that he was, like the pastor, a minister of the Gospel. The Internal Revenue Service denied this claim, and the Government assigned an income tax for the rental value of the dwelling. Thereupon, Eggen appealed for assistance to his District President, Andrew Zeile, the Superintendent for Lutheran Schools in the Michigan District,

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<sup>44</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, "The Lutheran Teacher's Position in the Ministry of the Congregation," Report of the 1949 Educational Conference (St. Louis: The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Board for Parish Education, 1949), pp. 45-56.

Samuel J. Roth, and the chairman of the Michigan District Board of Christian Education, L. F. Weber. On September 9, 1949, the District officials appealed to the President of the Synod, John W. Behnken, for assistance in preparing a brief on the status of the Lutheran male teacher for the Detroit IRS office.<sup>45</sup>

President Behnken turned the matter over to the synodical Board of Parish Education. The Board then appointed Paul M. Bretscher, Sr., Arnold C. Mueller, and August C. Stellhorn as a committee to write the requested brief. On September 21, 1949, the committee finished its work. The brief, entitled "The Office of the Teacher in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod," was based largely on A. C. Mueller's essay, "The Status of the Parochial School Teacher."<sup>46</sup> This document was to be a representation of the official position of the Missouri Synod. Concerning the writing of the brief, A. C. Stellhorn wrote to S. J. Roth:

We suggest that Rev. Hertwig [Second Vice-President of the Missouri Synod and President Behnken's representative in the project] refrain from saying that the pastor has the whole local ministry in a congregation where a teacher has been called; because it militates against the idea that the teacher has a part of the ministry in such a case, and it only gives the government men another argument that the teacher is not a minister, but merely an assistant to the minister. He should also not speak of the teacher as being an assistant to the pastor, or the pastor's assistant, for the reason just stated. It is not in agreement with Rev. Hertwig's argumentation otherwise, and will give the government men a lever to upset your argument.<sup>47</sup>

The final draft of the brief was completed on October 19, 1949. The influences of A. C. Mueller and A. C. Stellhorn are apparent. Under the section entitled "The Office of the Ministry," the brief stated:

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<sup>45</sup>Stellhorn, Schools, p. 467.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, Letter to S. J. Roth dated October 7, 1949, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 16, File 11, CHI.

According to the teachings of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, there is but one office in the Church, commonly called the office of the ministry. This one office, however, subdivides into various functions, such as preaching, teaching, administration of the Sacraments, visitation of the sick, care of the young people, and the like. The functions of the ministry are performed privately and publicly, in churches, homes, and parochial or Christian day schools.

The congregation has the authority to designate the functions which the incumbents of the office of the ministry are to perform. If the congregation is small, it assigns the several functions to one person, called the pastor. One of these functions is teaching school. During the century of our synod's existence, hundreds of pastors have taught school. One hundred sixty-five do so today. If a congregation is large enough to support more than one worker in the ministry, it usually calls one or more teachers, thereby relieving the pastor of the teaching and other functions of the one office.

Because of their sacred office, our teachers, like our pastors, are called "Servants of the Word," the equivalent of the term "Ministers of Religion," or "Ministers of the Gospel," used in government documents. As servants of the Word and Ministers of Religion our teachers, like our pastors, were exempted from military service in World War I and World War II. We use the term "servants of the Word" indiscriminately of pastors and teachers, because both participate in the one office; both are teachers of the Word of God. We consider the distinction between teaching and preaching only one of function. The teacher is not only teaching but also preaching when he sets forth God's Word in the classroom and in study groups of young people and adults, even as the pastor is not only preacher but also teaching when he occupies the pulpit.<sup>48</sup>

A "cover letter" was included with the document that was sent to the IRS which claimed that this view was the official position of the Missouri Synod. This letter contained the signatures of A. Zeile, President of the Michigan District, L. F. Weber, Chairman of the Michigan District Board of Christian Education, S. J. Roth, Superintendent of the Michigan District Lutheran schools, F. A. Hertwig, Second Vice-President of the Missouri Synod, Paul Bretscher, Sr., Chairman of the Missouri Synod Board for Parish Education, A. C. Stellhorn, Secretary of

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<sup>48</sup>"The Office of the Teacher in the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, a theological brief prepared for the Commissioner of Internal Revenue by the Board for Parish Education of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod" [October 19, 1949], Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI, p. 2.



Schools for the Missouri Synod, and A. C. Mueller, Editor of Religious Literature for the Missouri Synod. Despite the fact that this view on the office of the ministry had never been officially adopted by a convention of the Missouri Synod (and actually was a different understanding from that set forth in statements which had been so adopted by a synodical convention, that is, particularly Walther's Kirche und Amt), this "functional" understanding of the office of the ministry was now claimed as the "official" position of the Synod.<sup>49</sup>

However, the brief entitled "The Office of the Teacher in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod" proved ineffectual because in March 1950, the Internal Revenue Service issued a negative ruling, declaring that teacher Eggen had to declare his housing allowance on his tax form as income.<sup>50</sup> Concerning this situation, Stellhorn wrote:

The ruling was as saddening and discouraging as it was unexpected. . . . The adverse ruling, as quoted above, appeared to be of such finality that hope for a reversal was extremely slim. But in a conference with the Commissioner, the taxpayer's representatives had been advised "that, in the event of an adverse ruling, the case could be resubmitted upon the presentation of new evidence or to clarify what appears to be a misunderstanding."<sup>51</sup>

In response to the adverse ruling, the Missouri Synod's Board for Parish Education acquired Fred L. Kuhlmann as a member of the Board to fill a vacancy. Kuhlmann was an attorney and a member of the St. Louis law firm of Stolar, Kuhlmann, Heitzmann, and Eder, which specialized in tax cases. It was determined that the Eggen case should be appealed and a supplemental brief prepared by the Board for Parish Edu-

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., "Cover Letter."

<sup>50</sup>Stellhorn, Schools, p. 468.

<sup>51</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, "Resolution re: The Ruling in the Eggen Case," Board of Parish Education Files 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI, pp. 2-3.

cation. The Board appointed Fred Kuhlmann, Paul Bretscher, Arnold Mueller, August Stellhorn, and Arthur Miller to write the new brief. Also, Kuhlmann secured power of attorney from teacher Eggen and was instructed to make the appeal.<sup>52</sup>

The "Supplemental Brief" did not elaborate on the doctrine of the ministry, but instead stressed the customs, procedures, principles, and practices of the Missouri Synod with respect to the Lutheran teacher. The brief was written as a legal rather than a theological document. The brief did, however, set forth the following with respect to the doctrine of the ministry:

As has previously been pointed out, the Lutheran pastor and the Lutheran teacher share the public ministry within the local congregation. This is an outgrowth of the practice in the early church to place a number of elders at the head of a congregation. This college of elders shared the responsibilities of the ministry within the congregation. In like manner, pastors and teachers today are in the relationship of elder to elder.

To some extent the pastor and teacher have different ministerial functions, the teacher's primary function being to teach the gospel and the pastor's to preach it. But their functions also overlap considerably. In fact, in some congregations, particularly in rural areas where there is no teacher, the pastor will teach the Lutheran school, and in congregations which are temporarily without the service of a pastor, or where the pastor is ill, the teacher may assume the pastoral functions.<sup>53</sup>

On June 12, 1950, President John Behnken, Fred Kuhlmann, Samuel Roth and Arthur Miller met with ranking officials of the Internal Revenue Service in Washington, D.C.<sup>54</sup> Two months later, on September 18, Fred Kuhlmann was informed that the IRS had reversed its previous ruling. This ruling, signed on September 26, 1950, stated the following:

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<sup>52</sup>Stellhorn, Schools, p. 469.

<sup>53</sup>Fred L. Kuhlmann, "Supplemental Brief on the Appeal of the Ruling in the Eggen Case," Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI, p. 20.

<sup>54</sup>Stellhorn, Schools, pp. 469-471.

. . . it appears that teaching in a Lutheran parochial school is a function of the public ministry in the Lutheran Church and that a Lutheran teacher has the status of a minister of the Gospel within the Lutheran Church. It further appears that a Lutheran teacher is subject to the same rules and regulations as a pastor with respect to call, installation, discipline, and retirement; performs the same functions as a pastor insofar as the congregation which he serves sees fit to authorize him, and enjoys, as does the pastor, membership in the Synod. It is held, therefore, that Mr. Eggen is a minister of the Gospel within the purview of section 22.b.6 of the Internal Revenue Code. Accordingly, the rental value of living quarters furnished Mr. Eggen is not includible in the gross of Mr. Eggen, for Federal income tax purposes.<sup>55</sup>

In the Eggen Case, the functional view of the office of the ministry was presented as the official position of the Missouri Synod before the United States' government. In actuality, this position was very different from the traditional understanding within the Missouri Synod, particularly that position which was adopted at the 1851 synodical convention (Walther's Kirche und Amt). Also, this new understanding was now set forth as the "official position" of the Synod without having been approved by a synodical convention, nor had it been fully discussed throughout the church body.<sup>56</sup>

Discussions on the Functional View Within the  
Missouri Synod

The functional view, as advocated by A. C. Stelhorn, A. C. Mueller, and others, was not fully accepted within the Missouri Synod. Numerous books and articles continued to maintain the traditional under-

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<sup>55</sup>C. W. Stowe, "Ruling of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in the Eldor N. Eggen Case" [September 26, 1950], Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI, p. 4. Also see, Stelhorn, Schools, pp. 470-471.

<sup>56</sup>It is also interesting to compare the position set forth by the Missouri Synod men serving on the Interim Committee of the Synodical Conference (see above, pages 207-209) and the position being set forth by the committee of the Synod's Board for Parish Education as the "official position" of the Missouri Synod.

standing (see the next chapter below). In addition, criticism was expressed at conferences and by way of private correspondence.

In a letter to Stellhorn dated April 21, 1950, E. J. Friedrich (former professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, member of the editorial board for the American Lutheran, signer of "A Statement" of the forty-four, and Superintendent of the Lutheran Sanatorium in Wheat Ridge, Colorado) stated:

Frankly, I am rather perturbed about some of the actions which Synod's Board for Parish Education and some of the officers of the Synod have taken with regard to the matter under discussion [the status of the Lutheran teacher]. It seems to me that your zeal for a good cause is carrying you to extreme positions which may eventually do irreparable injury to the cause which you are trying to serve. . . . It seems to me that the attitude of quite a few of our teachers plus the policies pursued by some of the Synod's officials and the Board for Parish Education constitute a real danger to the future welfare of our schools.

I know and deplore that many of our teachers have been treated very shabbily by their pastors and their congregations and I want to do everything within my power to secure for them proper recognition, adequate salaries, comfortable living quarters, and everything else to which the dignity of their office entitles them. But, on the other hand, I am opposed to any movement which may result in the removal of the line of demarcation between the office of the pastor and the office of the teacher or which would set up the school as a separate unit not under the pastor's supervision.<sup>57</sup>

In a letter sent to A. C. Stellhorn by P. R. Kuske dated October 27, 1950, exception was taken to the essay "Position of the Lutheran Teacher." Six points were noted:

1. What is said about the failure to appreciate the work of teachers and their ill treatment is true also of the work of pastors and ministry in general.
2. The universal priesthood is overstressed for points to be gained, whereas the apostleship which Christ Himself ordained and for which He chose, trained and appointed the 12 disciples and others, is overlooked, almost entirely ignored.
3. The diversity of gifts for the ministry (1 Cor. 12 & Eph. 4) is made the basis for the point which the paper seeks to prove, but again the admonition of St. Paul that each is to abide by his appro-

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<sup>57</sup>E. J. Friedrich, Letter to A. C. Stellhorn dated April 21, 1950, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 7, CHI.

ropriate calling according to his gifts and into which the Lord called and appointed him (as also designated and prescribed in the call issued them by our congregations according as they have been educated and trained by the church) is left out of the picture, yes almost ignored.

4. Under the point on diversity of gifts, it appears the term "Teacher" is singled out and made almost identical with the term teacher as applied to the teachers in our present day schools; whereas in the Scripture the term "Teachers" along with the other prophets, evangelists, pastors, etc. is applied to those who devote all their time and labors to preaching the Gospel and teaching the Word and whose work was thus more identical with that of pastors and evangelists of our time. Cf. Christ's commission to the twelve: "Preach the Gospel." "Teach all nations." "Teach them to observe, etc." "Feed my lambs." "Apt to teach" and many others. The term "Teacher" is thus applied more closely to the work of the ministry in preaching and teaching the gospel and should not be singled out or made identical with the office of the teachers as we have it in our schools today which did not exist in the days of St. Paul.

5. On the points of difference in church positions there is confusion. Once the differences are pointed out. Then the differences are all but erased and made nearly equal. Cf. under the position of a teacher page 9. If this be true, then why make any difference between calls of pastors and teachers at all. Then we must make them all one and the same kind of call. If teachers are to be ordained, the elders (as done in the first churches) will be next and then others follow. And along with this there will come hopeless divisions in our congregations and anarchy in the church which is already evident today.

6. That God has commanded us to give our children a general education (even in secular subjects) cannot be upheld with the Scriptures.<sup>58</sup>

Stellhorn's position was also attacked by P. E. Kretzmann, professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Kretzmann particularly took issue with Stellhorn's "The Lutheran Teacher in the Ministry of the Congregation" and stated:

The essayist states that he desires "to bring up for consideration and correction a number of apparently faulty assumptions and a good deal of confused thinking regarding the ministry of the Church and the offices of church servants." However, as we carefully and dispassionately read the essay, and then made a careful comparison with the publica doctrina established in our Synod by Walther, F. Pieper, and others, chiefly on the basis of their study of Scriptures and Luther, we were constrained to conclude that the essay exhibits a confusion in thinking as to:

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<sup>58</sup>P. R. Kuske, Letter to A. C. Stellhorn dated October 27, 1950, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 7, CHI.

1. the distinction between the privileges and duties of the universal priesthood and the functions of the pastoral office (parish pastorate);

2. the difference between the Predigtamt (the ministry of the Word in the wider sense) and the Pfarramt (the pastoral office in the local congregation);

3. the proper application of the parish ministry as an office established by Christ and the direct successor of the apostolate, not a mere historical development;

4. the difference between having a divine call, one concerned with the teaching of the Word in general, as a substitute for others, and holding office as a parish minister or pastor;

5. the distinctions to be observed between branch offices and auxiliary offices.<sup>59</sup>

Kretzmann then went on to expound upon these five points, documenting them with citations from Scripture, the Confessions, Luther, Walther, and Pieper. His conclusion was that Stelhorn and the functional view were incorrect and opposed to the traditional historic position of the Missouri Synod.<sup>60</sup>

The first article espousing the functional view of the ministry to appear in the Concordia Theological Monthly was published in the February 1951, issue and was written by H. G. Brueggemann, pastor of Mount Olive Lutheran Church in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The editor, Frederick E. Mayer, gave a lengthy introduction, which included the majority report of the Interim Committee for the 1948 Synodical Conference convention (see above, pages 207-209). This section then concluded with the statement: "As a contribution to the study suggested by the Synodical Conference we are herewith submitting for careful examination the article of 'The Public Ministry in the Apostolic Age.'<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Paul E. Kretzmann, "Reviving a False Position with Regard to the Doctrine of the Call" [no date given] unpublished essay, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>F[rederick] E. M[ayer], "Editorial Preface," CTM 22 (February 1951):81-83.

In his article, Brueggemann maintained that during the first century of the Apostolic Church, ecclesiastical polity (which also included the various forms and functions of the public office of the ministry) was in a fluid and emergent state. Concerning the public ministry and priesthood of believers, the author maintained that Walther was correct in stating that the ministry is conferred by God through the congregation.<sup>62</sup> With regard to ordination, Brueggemann held that the Apostolic tradition was to ordain all who are set apart for the work of the public ministry.<sup>63</sup> The author then went on to analyze the various forms of ministry and polity mentioned in the New Testament, including the Apostolate, prophets, evangelists, teachers, as well as the charismata (gifts) and temporary and permanent ministry, elders-bishops, pastors, the presbyteral college, and deacons.<sup>64</sup> With regard to the pastorate in the contemporary church, Brueggemann stated:

To assume that the pastorate is the only divinely instituted office and that all other offices flow out of the pastorate is a misapprehension. The ministry of the Word is the one divinely instituted office, and the pastorate is a branch of that ministry, just as other church offices are a branch of the same ministry.<sup>65</sup>

Brueggemann concluded by stating:

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<sup>62</sup>H. G. Brueggemann, "The Public Ministry in the Apostolic Age," CTM 22 (February 1951):84.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 85-99.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 99. Brueggemann also maintained that Walther was incorrect in identifying the pastorate with the highest office in the church. For Brueggemann, the highest office in the public ministry is the ministry of the Word. "Thus a pastor is performing the highest office in the church when he preaches a sermon, instructs his catechumens, or brings the Gospel to the deathbed of a sinner. He performs an inferior, an auxiliary, a subordinate, office when he presides over his church council, when he meets with his budget committee, when he distributes alms (and Luther would add, when he administers the Sacraments)." Ibid., p. 100. "In other words, we cannot identify the ministerium ecclesiae with the ministerium verbi." Ibid., p. 101.

However, there is sufficient evidence in the New Testament to justify the conclusion that those who have been called to serve the ecclesia in a representative capacity, and who have been given supervisory responsibility, and who have been charged with the care of souls for the purpose of edifying the saints and building the Body of Christ, are all members of the public ministry, be they pastors, parish teachers, college professors, chaplains, superintendents, synodical officials, or institutional missionaries.

In this matter, as in all matters pertaining to the constitution of the public ministry, it must be remembered and emphasized that the ecclesia has the liberty to determine how, in any given generation, or in any given area, or in any given organization, the public ministry should be constituted. No church body can claim divine sanction for any particular official order or form, and by the same token no church body has the right to condemn all forms of church polity which differ from its own. The functions of the ministry are clearly set forth in Scripture. The basic principles which are to govern the relationship between clergy and laity can be established from the example of the Apostolic times, but the specific form in which the public ministry is constituted in any age, or in any church, must be regarded as an adiaphoron.<sup>66</sup>

The response to Brueggemann's article came from Elmer J. Moeller, professor at Concordia College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the June 1951, issue of the Concordia Theological Monthly. The editor had wished to put both articles in the same issue, but regretted that he was unable to do so. The editor then noted the basic point at issue between the two articles:

Both articles deal with the same basic issue, to wit, Did Christ institute merely the ministry in the abstract, das Predigtamt, the genus of the ministry, or did He institute the pastorate of the local congregation, das Pfarramt, the species of the ministry? The point of departure in both articles is an examination of C. F. W. Walther's statement that the ministry is the highest office in the church from which all other ecclesiastical offices are derived. . . .<sup>67</sup>

In his June 1951, article, "Concerning the Ministry of the Church," Elmer Moeller stated that the purpose of the study is to determine whether the term "ministry," diakonia, as it is used in the New

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>67</sup>F[rederick] E. M[ayer], "Editorial Preface," CTM 22 (June 1951):385-387.



Testament is the public ministry (Predigtamt), the ministry as a comprehensive concept, or whether the ministry is equivalent to our modern pastorate in the local congregation (das Pfarramt).<sup>68</sup> After providing an exegetical analysis of the use of the work diakonia in the New Testament, Moeller concluded:

It is the call, accordingly, which distinguishes the public diakonia of the Word from the preaching of the Word by the individual Christians, Acts 8:4; Col. 3:16, which is the exercising of the privileges and obligations of his universal priesthood, and which we have called the diakonia of the Church. Where there is no evidence of the immediate call with its attendant charismata, there must be the mediate call for public service of the Word. Wherever there is the call by a congregation or group of congregations, the person who proclaims the Word, whether to the congregation itself or on its behalf to others, is participating in the public diakonia of the Church. Such a person may be a pastor, parochial school teacher, a Sunday school teacher . . . or a chaplain in the Armed Forces, a foreign missionary, a theological professor--someone functioning outside a local congregation and on its behalf. All these are positions or offices of the public ministry of the Church. They might be called species of the genus diakonia tou logou, which is the ministry of the Church.<sup>69</sup>

In getting to the heart of the issue, Moeller stated:

On the basis of our discussion thus far it is evident that the office of the public ministry is divinely instituted. The question which now confronts us is: What is the scope of the public ministry? It is at this point the divergent opinions appear. While there is full agreement that the office of the public ministry is a divine institution, some maintain that Christ ordained the office of the congregational ministry, the pastorate, and that all other ecclesiastical offices in the modern Church are derived from this one divinely instituted pastorate. Others maintain that all ecclesiastical offices flow from the public diakonia and that all offices, including the pastorate, are the result of the historical development according to the needs of the Church. All synodical and extracongregational offices must be considered divine because they are derived from the divinely instituted public diakonia. While it is evident that the public diakonia cannot be equated with the congregational pastorate --as Walther apparently did--there is ample Scriptural basis for the

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<sup>68</sup>Elmer J. Moeller, "Concerning the Ministry of the Church," CTM 22 (June 1951):387.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., pp. 392-393.

special institution of the pastoral office within the public ministry of the Word.<sup>70</sup>

Moeller then analyzed the New Testament understanding of presbyteroi and episkopoi. Moeller concluded that both terms refer to one office which was to have spiritual charge of an entire congregation and that this office is a "must" for a congregation. The necessity for this office, according to Moeller, was based on an understanding of Titus 1:5: "It is evident that the words ta leiponta demonstrate a lack in the congregations in Crete, namely, the lack of presbyteroi."<sup>71</sup>

With respect to other offices in the church, Moeller noted:

The claim is made that even if there was only one form of eldership which Titus was commanded to establish, the deacons, deaconesses, and other New Testament offices must also be considered divine institutions and ordinances, along with elders. But St. Paul does not say that these are "wanting"; this applies only to presbyteroi and episkopoi, and only these Titus is commanded to set into office.<sup>72</sup>

Moeller understood that the pastoral office in a local congregation was the only divinely mandated office:

Local congregations are required by God to establish this divinely instituted office, and they do establish it by calling a man who meets the standards set by God in 1 Timothy 3 and Titus 1. By virtue of his call he is "to discharge to all the members of our congregation the functions of a pastor and curate of their souls" and to function as the episkopos, or presbyteros, of the congregation.<sup>73</sup>

Concerning other offices in the church, whether called by a congregation (parochial school teacher) or by a number of congregations (professors, synodical officials, chaplains), Moeller maintained that those called to these offices have a divine call and they are partici-

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 393. Of particular note is that Moeller believed Walther was wrong in identifying the full public office of the ministry with the pastoral office. Yet, Moeller maintained that the pastoral office was the only office divinely mandated.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., pp. 400-401.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 404.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 408.

pants in the public ministry of the Word. "But they are not episkopoi."<sup>74</sup> Finally, Moeller maintained that any ranking of offices in the church is not important. "God has placed the pastor as episkopos, the other ecclesiastical officers as helpers. What is important is that each one prove to be a good diakonos tou theou, that he make full proof of his diakonia."<sup>75</sup>

Despite the disagreement to his position, A. C. Stellhorn and others continued to maintain that the functional understanding of the doctrine of the ministry was the only correct view. At the 1952 Western District Teachers' Conference, Stellhorn delivered a paper entitled "The Lutheran Teacher in the Ministry of the Church." Here he not only set forth the functional understanding of the ministry, but he also claimed C. F. W. Walther in support of this position. Citing Walther's sermon at the installation of two professors (see above pages 62-63), Stellhorn maintained that Walther was thereby ruling out three erroneous conceptions of the pastorate: that only the pastorate is the holy ministry, that only the pastorate is divinely instituted, that all other offices of the congregation or church are branches of the pastorate. For Stellhorn, the office of the ministry was the "preaching and teaching of the Word." Since a Lutheran teacher is involved in these functions, he has the "highest office" as does any other office that has this function.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 409.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 410.

<sup>76</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, "The Lutheran Teacher in the Ministry of the Church," an unpublished essay delivered to the 1952 Western District Teachers Conference, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 8, CHI, pp. 5-9. For a systematic analysis of Stellhorn's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry see: William Rietschel, "A. C. Stellhorn and the Lutheran Teacher in Ministry," in Perspectives on Ministry, W. Theophil Janzow, ed. (River Forest, IL: Lutheran Education Association, 1981), pp. 23-28.

A. C. Mueller also continued to set forth his understanding of the office of the ministry. In the October 1952, issue of Lutheran Education, Mueller wrote a continuation of his 1948 article (see above page 239) called "The Call to Teach Secular Subjects." In addition to maintaining a functional view of the ministry and the position that teachers have a divine call to teach secular subjects, Mueller also referred to Walther's sermon at the installation of two professors in support of his position. He concluded with these two summary statements:

1. The Christians, exercising their God-given prerogative, create whatever offices are deemed necessary for the adequate discharge of the ministry. Although created by men, these offices are a divine institution because they are the one divinely instituted office of the ministry subdivided into branches or offices, or they are parts of the one office Christ has instituted.

2. Whatever belongs to the performance of the ministry falls within the scope of the call given to the incumbent. The preparation of children for the fulfillment of their priestly and stewardship duties belongs to the performance of the ministry. Such preparation includes the teaching of the secular branches; hence, the teaching of the secular branches is embraced in the call the congregation extends to a teacher.<sup>77</sup>

Although the functional view was set forth as the "official" position of the Missouri Synod in the Eggen case and was persistently maintained by A. C. Stellhorn and A. C. Mueller, and others, this view did not go unopposed. Yet, both Mueller and Stellhorn appeared undaunted by such opposition as they persisted in their views and maintained that other positions were erroneous.

#### Official Synodical Convention Actions

At the 1950 Missouri Synod convention, the Synod's Board for Parish Education submitted a report on "The Status of the Teacher." This report did not espouse the functional view of the office of the ministry,

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<sup>77</sup>A. C. Mueller, "The Call to Teach Secular Subjects," Lutheran Education 88 (October 1952):59-65.

nor did it report that this view had been presented to the government in the Eggen case.

Our synodical officials found it necessary during World War I and World War II, and in connection with the late Selective Service Act to clarify the status of the Lutheran teacher to Government officials in connection with the draft. During the past year, problems have arisen in connection with the payment of income tax on a teacherage and with the proposed amendment to the Social Security Act which made it necessary for the Board for Parish Education to prepare statements concerning the official position of the Lutheran male teacher in our Church. These statements were needed by our synodical officials to clarify to the Government the status of the teacher. Our synodical officials and the Board for Parish Education have gone on record in stating the following:

1. That Lutheran teachers are officially defined by our Church as "ministers of religion," "ministers of religious education," "ministers of the Gospel," and "servants of the Word."

2. That they are called upon or may be called upon to perform or to help perform sacerdotal and other pastoral functions.

3. That while they are not commonly called, installed, and consecrated for life as 'pastors', they are formally called, installed, and consecrated for life as "ministers of religion" and devote themselves primarily to teaching and altogether to the spiritual service of the Church.

4. That the main obligation of these men is to conduct and teach Lutheran elementary, secondary, and higher schools and that in the local church they commonly instruct also the confirmed youth and adults and, in general, assist the pastor in ministering to the congregation.

5. That, although these men are popularly known as "teachers," they are in reality members of the clergy.<sup>78</sup>

The following resolution was then passed by the convention:

WHEREAS, The Board for Parish Education has requested Synod officially to approve the clarification given to the Government by Synod's officials; be it therefore

Resolved, That Synod grant approval of this action of its officials in said matters; and be it further

Resolved, That such approval is in no way to be construed as Synod's final acceptance of all statements made on this subject, and be it further

Resolved, That the President of Synod appoint a committee to

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<sup>78</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod [hereafter cited LCMS], Proceedings of the Forty-First Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Milwaukee, Wisconsin as the Twenty-Sixth Delegate Synod, June 21-30, 1950 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), pp. 363-364.

review and study the question of the status of the teacher, said committee to report back to Synod at the next delegate convention.<sup>79</sup>

It appears that certain members of the Board for Parish Education were not happy with this resolution. On June 27, 1950, in the midst of the convention, a "Substitute Resolution" was drafted by A. C. Stellhorn and approved by lawyer Kuhlmann and other members of the Board for Parish Education. This "Substitute Resolution," however, was returned to Stellhorn by Floor Committee Six "without comment." The rejected resolution read as follows:

WHEREAS, Our synodical officials have found it necessary to clarify the status of the Lutheran male teacher to the Federal Government as "ministers of religion," both in World War I and World War II as well as in three other instances, and

WHEREAS, Formal approval of their action in this matter has only tacitly but not expressly been given by the Synod, and

WHEREAS, The people of our Synod have not generally been informed of the details of such clarification, and

WHEREAS, The whole question of the ministry should also be clearly defined for the Synod itself, be it therefore --

RESOLVED, That Synod give its formal approval of the action of its officials in this matter, and be it further --

RESOLVED, That the President of Synod be instructed to appoint a committee that is to study the entire question of the ministry, with particular attention to the status of the regular male teacher, and to prepare a statement for the consideration of conferences and the next synodical convention.<sup>80</sup>

That A. C. Stellhorn did not wish the Missouri Synod to establish the "status" of the Lutheran teacher by synodical convention vote can be seen in a personal letter to E. J. Friedrich:

Dr. A. C. Mueller and I have perhaps written more than anyone else to clarify the Biblical concept of the public ministry with a view to clarifying the status of the teacher. Both of us have held from the beginning that Synod should not by resolution establish the status of the teacher. When the College of Presidents established the move and appointed a sub-committee that was to define the status for the purpose of having its definition adopted by Synod, we made

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. 388-389.

<sup>80</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, "Substitute Resolution," Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI.

a special trip to Omaha to dissuade the committee from recommending such action, and the committee was convinced and so reported to the College of Presidents. Mueller and I felt that the status of the teacher was a subject that needed study, and that Synod at a regular convention was hardly competent to pass on such a question, at least not so soon.

Then, in spite of us and against our recommendation, the Board for Parish Education asked Synod in 1950 to approve the action of Dr. Behnken and other officials in representing our men teachers before certain government agencies as "ministers of religion," "ministers of the Church," "ministers of the Gospel," etc. When we could not hold up this action, Mueller and I recommended, as we had done before the afore-mentioned committee, that study of the question by special committee be recommended, especially a study of the whole question of the public ministry.<sup>81</sup>

The "Committee on the Status of the Teacher," formed by resolution of the 1950 synodical convention, presented a forty-two page report to the 1953 Missouri Synod convention. This report was divided into the following parts:

- I. Introduction
- II. The New Testament Ministry
- III. The Historical Background of the Teacher's Status in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod
- IV. Specific Problems on the Status of the Teacher
- V. Memorial on the Status of the Lutheran Teacher
- VI. Memorial on the Status of the Lutheran High School Teacher
- VII. Conclusion<sup>82</sup>

Neither A. C. Stellhorn nor A. C. Mueller were appointed to this committee. The only representative from the Board for Parish Education was Arthur L. Miller, Executive Secretary of the Board.

The section of the report entitled "The New Testament Ministry" presented thirteen theses with Scriptural proofs (for the text of the theses see Appendix P). Several points were made in support of the traditional position of the Missouri Synod (that which was set forth by

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<sup>81</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, Letter to E. J. Friedrich dated August 5, 1953, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 8, CHI.

<sup>82</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Second Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Houston, Texas, June 17-26, 1953 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 285-326.

Walther in Kirche und Amt), particularly the understanding that the pastoral office (identified with the episkopos and presbyteros of the New Testament) is essential for each Christian congregation. In addition, the theses also spoke against the concept of a dual call for parochial school teachers. All congregational, synodical, and extracongregational offices that are based on a regular call were considered divine.<sup>83</sup>

The section on "The Historical Background of the Teacher's Status in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod" cited examples of writings within the Missouri Synod publications and official documents from 1847 to 1939. The summary at the conclusion of this analysis (the complete text of the summary is found in Appendix Q) noted that there was no historical development with respect to the status of the teacher. Yet, it was also observed that there had been significant departures from the official view in practice. However, the official view had been maintained throughout. The summary stated that the official position of the Missouri Synod has always been that the parochial school teacher held a branch or auxiliary office of the one church office that is divinely instituted. The teacher has a divine call, like that of the pastor. The teacher is an assistant of the pastor, but not an assistant pastor. He is under the official supervision of the pastor because the teacher occupies a branch office of the public ministry.<sup>84</sup>

The Committee then submitted two memorials to the convention, neither of which was adopted: "Memorial on the Status of the Lutheran Teacher" and "Memorial on the Status of the Lutheran High School Teacher" (for the complete text of the "Memorial on the Status of the Lutheran Teacher" see Appendix R). The memorials on the status of Lutheran

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., pp. 288-296.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., pp. 316-317.



teachers recognized parochial school teachers as ministers of the Gospel and ministers of religion. It also stated that those holding these and similar offices have a divine call and are considered clergy of the church. Those called to such positions are to be inducted into office by the rite of installation. The memorials also recommended that the names of those holding such offices be listed in the Lutheran Annual under the heading "Teachers of Missouri Synod--Men, Ministers of Christian Education."<sup>85</sup>

The report concluded by stating:

In this report the committee has endeavored to consider all basic questions related to the status of the teacher in our Synod. Our committee was concerned with finding all the clear statements of the Bible on this question. On some matters, such as the Church, the ministry, and the call, the Bible speaks plainly. On other matters, like the establishment of auxiliary offices, the Bible does not give detailed instructions. The Lord has given the Church in every age Christian liberty to deal with special needs and problems. Our Synod has in its own history used this freedom to form its constitution, to meet its needs and problems, and specifically to advance the cause of Christian education by the establishment of the special office of teacher. In our study of the historical background of the status of the teacher we have found that our Synod has with remarkable consistency held to the position on the status of the teacher presented in this memorial.

Our committee is in unanimous agreement in presenting this report. . . .<sup>86</sup>

Had the "Report of the Committee on the Status of the Teacher" and its proposed memorials been accepted by the convention of the Synod, a decisive blow would have been leveled against those who maintained the functional view of the ministry within the Missouri Synod. One reason why the report and proposed memorials were not accepted by the convention was due to actions which had preceded the 1953 synodical convention. In the May 23, 1953, meeting of the Board for Parish Education, the "Report of the Committee on the Status of the Teacher" was discussed at

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid., pp. 322-324.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 326.

length. Both A. C. Mueller and A. C. Stellhorn set forth severe criticisms concerning the report. In the minutes of that meeting, A. C. Stellhorn made the following comments:

The report indicates much work and an earnest endeavor on the part of the Committee to carry out its mission. It takes a very favorable attitude toward the office of the teacher and other ministerial offices of the Church, and makes pronouncements concerning these offices that have been opposed by many in our Synod.

At the same time, however, the report does not bring its definition of the public ministry and the ministerial offices of the Church in line with Holy Scripture, and lays itself open to the charge of being a compromise between opposing views, and not really settling the basic points at issue.

A discussion of the report on the floor of the Houston Convention, or in its floor committee, could easily develop into a very ugly and harmful situation, since the report will most likely be attacked by persons holding entirely opposite views. There is no time at the Convention to argue out the question, and a majority vote could at this time adopt a statement that would be regretted.<sup>87</sup>

In a letter to E. J. Friedrich, Stellhorn explained why the "Committee on the Status of the Teacher" did not push for final acceptance of its report and memorials:

At Houston we had the report on such a study by a Committee on the Status of the Teacher. Again Mueller and I pleaded that Synod should not adopt this report, but turn it over to pastors and teachers for study, and we persuaded our board to petition Com. 4 and Synod to that effect. But Com. 4 insisted that something, some statement, even if not the report, be adopted. When we saw this determination, we suggested that two parts of the report be recommended for adoption, namely, the "Memorial on the Status of the Teacher" and the "Memorial on the Status of the High School Teacher," with very slight changes; but Com. 4 thought otherwise. It feared that the two memorials might arouse a lengthy discussion and end in an unfavorable resolution. So we got the very general statement.<sup>88</sup>

This "general statement" mentioned by Stellhorn in his letter to

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<sup>87</sup>Minutes of the Plenary Meeting of the Board for Parish Education, May 23, 1953, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 66, File 2, CHI. At this same meeting, A. C. Mueller maintained that there is no prescribed form of the public ministry in the church. Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, Letter to E. J. Friedrich dated August 5, 1953, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 8, CHI.

Friedrich was presented to the 1953 synodical convention by Committee Four. The acceptance of this resolution by the convention did not necessitate acceptance of the "Report of the Committee on the Status of the Teacher" nor the two memorials on the status of the teacher. The following resolution was adopted by the 1953 synodical convention:

WHEREAS, We recognize the extensive and thorough study of the status of the teacher by the committee appointed to make this study; and

WHEREAS, We recognize the need of further study of some of the points contained in the report; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we commend the Committee on the Status of the Teacher for its extensive, thorough, and scholarly report; and be it

RESOLVED, That we urge a continued study especially of the doctrinal content of the report; and be it

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm the position held by our Synod that the individual congregation or group of congregations concerned has the full right and privilege of calling the servants of the Word required to carry on the wide range of activities included in the ministry of the Word; and be it

RESOLVED, That our Synod recognize those called by our congregations for the various activities included in the ministry of the Word as "ministers of the Word," whose specific area of responsibility is determined by the congregation which issues the call; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That this designation be also properly applied to those who are officially called to similar positions by the church at large or any portion thereof.<sup>89</sup>

In a 1958 letter to Richard A. Zimmer, A. C. Stellhorn reflected upon the report and actions of the 1953 convention:

In quoting that unfortunate report of 1953, your report faithfully lists also the distinct errors of the 1953 committee. . . . The report of that committee came before a plenary meeting of our Board, and three of us protested rather violently against the document. The Board itself, including members of the committee, agreed

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<sup>89</sup>LCMS, 1953 Proceedings, p. 327. The 1953 synodical convention resolution declaring Lutheran teachers "ministers of religion" had some practical positive results. The Superintendents Conference in 1955 resolved "that the Conference request the Executive Secretary and Secretary of Schools of the synodical Board for Parish Education to approach the proper synodical and railroad authorities to secure clergy certificates for reduced railway fares for the called teachers as ministers of religion." This effort was successful and in 1956 Lutheran teachers received clergy railroad rates. Stellhorn, Schools, p. 473.

with us that the report was full of errors, and that the Synod should be advised not to take any action on it. The calamity is that the report was printed, and that now persons in error fortify their position with the errors in the report. The basic mistake was that the committee quoted error along with the truth, and did not correct obvious errors.

Such nonsense, for instance, that "the teacher is under the official supervision of the pastor, because the teacher occupies a branch office of the 'public ministry'," meaning the pastorate. The pastorate is here named as the equivalent of the public ministry, whereas it is only a branch of the public ministry, just as is the teacher's office, the professor's office, and all other ministerial offices of the Church. It would make more sense to say "because the teacher occupies a branch of the congregation's ministry, and the pastor has been made responsible for all aspects of the congregation's work."<sup>90</sup>

It appears that A. C. Stellhorn and others were convinced that their position on the functional view of the ministry was the only correct understanding and that those who maintained that the pastoral office was to be identified with the public office of the ministry were in error. This position toward those who held a different understanding was maintained in spite of the fact that the functional view was a decided departure from the traditional position of the Missouri Synod and in spite of the fact that those who held that the pastorate was the only divinely mandated public office of the ministry also claimed Scriptural support for their position. Yet, no charges of false doctrine were ever made. Instead, those who held to a functional view of the ministry discussed their understanding within their own circles, privately lamenting the view that had been maintained within the Synod for so long and which was still held by many pastors within the Synod. Those who held to a functional understanding of the ministry, particularly A. C.

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<sup>90</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, Letter to Richard A. Zimmer dated September 4, 1958, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 6, CHI.

Stellhorn, also were adverse toward any exegetical or historical analysis which was contrary to their understanding.

#### Discussion of the Functional View After 1953

Following the 1953 Missouri Synod convention, it appears that the move to further the functional view of the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod died down, at least until the early 1960s. There were several papers at district teachers' conferences which set forth the functional understanding.<sup>91</sup> However, until 1961, nothing was formally published through official synodical channels. Those who held to a functional view of the office of the ministry continued to express their views within their own circles (primarily at teachers' conferences) and made little or no attempt to change the position of others (particularly the position of the pastors and seminary professors of the Synod). However, beginning in 1961, several publications appeared which openly espoused a functional understanding.

According to Stephen A. Schmidt in his 1972 publication, Powerless Pedagogues:

Professionalism loomed large among some of the teachers by the beginning of the 1960s. They had caught the flavor of teacher professionalism from their public school colleagues. Professionalism and the historical ambiguity of the status of the teacher became the topic of the 1961 yearbook [of the Lutheran Education Association], The Parish Role of the Lutheran Teacher.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>Richard A. Zimmer, "A Brief Report: The Status of the Lutheran Teacher," an unpublished paper presented at the Southern California District Teachers Conference, 1957, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 7, CHI. Alfred J. Freitag, "Ministers of Christ," an unpublished paper presented at the California-Nevada District Teachers Conference, 1957, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 7, CHI.

<sup>92</sup>Stephen A. Schmidt, Powerless Pedagogues (River Forest, IL: Lutheran Education Association, 1972), p. 116.

This study by Gene W. Brockopp was based on an analysis of questionnaires addressed to a random sample of one thousand Lutheran teachers in Missouri Synod schools. From the compiled data, Brockopp maintained that parish teachers spent too much time in parish activities in addition to the time actually spent in classroom teaching, thus hindering their main role as a teacher of children in a specific classroom. The author then proceeded to set forth three main points of action that teachers could take in order to correct the problem of too many duties not related to the classroom: a movement toward professionalism, a movement toward status, and a movement toward leadership. Among the several implications drawn from these three points the position that teachers should be co-equal with pastors was included.<sup>93</sup>

In 1962, there were no statements setting forth a functional view in Missouri Synod publications. However, in 1963 and 1964, two works were issued, one of which had a profound impact on furthering the functional understanding of the doctrine of the ministry within the Synod. And even though this goes beyond the confines of this study, these works will be noted here.

In 1963, A. C. Stellinghorn published his extensive history entitled Schools of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Yet, of the five hundred pages in the volume, there is little which makes any reference to the

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<sup>93</sup>Gene W. Brockopp, The Parish Role of the Lutheran Teacher (River Forest, IL: Lutheran Education Association, 1961), pp. 191-193. Concerning the co-equality of teachers with pastors, Brockopp stated: "The relationship between the pastor and the teacher must be one of mutual respect between professional individuals. While in spiritual matters the pastor is above the teacher, in areas in which professional competence is involved no such delineation is possible, feasible, or realistic. As a leader in parish activities the teacher's function should not be one of being under the pastor but one of being co-equal with the pastor, both working as professional leaders in the church." Ibid., p. 193.

issue over the functional view of the ministry. However, in one of his concluding paragraphs, Stellohorn publicly expressed his position with respect to what he considered errors within the Missouri Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry:

Although much headway was made in clarifying thought on the public ministry and the status of the Lutheran teacher, erroneous views persisted among some people of the Missouri Synod far into the 20th century. This is evident from the fact that the subject was treated time and again in Synodical essays and conference papers. The difficulty seemed to stem from a misunderstanding of the public ministry as such, which was taken in the narrow sense as meaning only the office of a pastor. It is clear from Holy Scripture that the Lord has established the public ministry, but it is also clear that this ministry embraces more than the pastorate. It includes the office of all those who have been called or appointed by the church to carry out the spiritual functions of the church on its behalf--pastors, professors, teachers, and administrators.<sup>94</sup>

No further elaboration on the "erroneous views" and "misunderstandings" or of the clarity of Scripture in this regard was given.

The following year, A. C. Mueller published what was the culmination of his defense of and support for the functional view of the office of the public ministry in his book, The Ministry of the Lutheran Teacher. In his introduction to this work, Mueller points directly to the heart of the issue which had persisted ever since August Pieper first published the understanding in 1912 (see above, pages 119-121):

Two views of the ministry have been propounded among us, and they are mutually exclusive; it is an either--or. According to one view, the pastorate is the one divinely instituted office; all other positions in the ministry stem from the pastorate and are auxiliary offices to the pastorate. According to the other view, which I believe is the Biblical one, God has instituted the office of the ministry, that is, He has commissioned His church to proclaim the Gospel and administer the sacraments, but He has not prescribed the forms in which the church is to fulfill the commission. All forms of the min-

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<sup>94</sup>A. C. Stellohorn, Schools, pp. 460-461.

istry, including the pastorate, stem from the one divinely instituted and all-embracing office of the ministry.<sup>95</sup>

The Status of Women and the Public Office  
of the Ministry until 1962

Between the years 1932 to 1962, the status of women with respect to the doctrine of the ministry in the Missouri Synod experienced virtually no change from that which had been established prior to 1932.

In his 1934 essay at the Northern Nebraska District of the Missouri Synod, entitled "The Doctrine of the Call with Special Reference to the Auxiliary Offices in the Church," P. E. Kretzmann stated: "Not only men, but also women may be called to fill auxiliary offices in the Christian congregation, provided their office does not conflict with restrictions fixed by the Word of God."<sup>96</sup> That same year, George Stoeckhardt's 1897 article advocating the calling of women parochial school teachers was reprinted in the Concordia Theological Monthly (see above page 135).<sup>97</sup>

However, the Great Depression took a decided toll upon the status of women Lutheran teachers. Because of a decreased demand for parochial school teachers during these years, the Synod's teachers colleges maintained a policy of placing male candidates first until 1936.<sup>98</sup> When a

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<sup>95</sup>A. C. Mueller, The Ministry of the Lutheran Teacher (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 11-12.

<sup>96</sup>P. E. Kretzmann, "The Doctrine of the Call with Special Reference to the Auxiliary Offices in the Church," p. 9.

<sup>97</sup>George Stoeckhardt, "Von dem Beruf der Lehrerinnen an christlichen Gemeindeschulen," CTM 5 (October 1934):764-773.

<sup>98</sup>It was also reported that the School Commission of the Texas District stated that if no male teachers were available in the district, the congregation should "at least appoint a female teacher." Schmidt, Powerless Pedagogues, p. 100. George Gude reported that in one case a woman was fired so that a male graduate could be hired at a reduced



memorial was brought before the 1935 synodical convention asking that the Board of Control at any synodical college be given the power to make that institution coeducational, no action was taken.<sup>99</sup>

The situation began to change at the 1938 synodical convention. Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois, was granted permission to begin training women as teachers. This same convention also authorized President John Behnken to appoint a committee to define the status of the woman teacher in the Synod's parochial schools.<sup>100</sup> In 1938 there were 362 females and 1,312 males serving as teachers in Missouri Synod schools.<sup>101</sup>

The committee appointed at the 1938 synodical convention reported at the 1941 Delegate Synod. The report maintained that the committee's position was determined solely by the Word of God. Two main points were noted. First, as a teacher a woman is designated by the congregation to function as a religious instructor. In this capacity, she occupies one of the auxiliary offices of the ministry as does a male teacher. Therefore, her position in the classroom is no different from a male

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rate. This woman wrote to A. C. Stellhorn complaining of the unfair treatment and asked his advice. In Stellhorn's answer he referred to the 1929 Proceedings of the Synod, where it was stated that the woman teacher was temporary to fill in during an emergency situation due to the shortage of men teachers. George Gude, "Women Teachers in the Missouri Synod," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 44 (November 1971):167.

<sup>99</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States Assembled at Cleveland, Ohio as the Twenty-First Delegate Synod, June 19-28, 1935 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935), pp. 84-85.

<sup>100</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at St. Louis, Mo., as the Twenty-Second Delegate Synod, June 15-24, 1938 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938), pp. 61-62.

<sup>101</sup>Stellhorn, Schools, p. 401.

teacher. She has a divine call, having been issued by the Lord through the Christian congregation. Secondly, as a woman God places her in a subordinate relation to men in general. God has excluded women from the ministry proper and she may not perform all the functions of the holy ministry. She is barred, particularly, from assuming the leadership of the congregation in the public assembly and from teaching publicly where men are present. The committee also raised the practical question of whether a woman teacher might be installed. The answer was that since the rite of installation was an adiaphoron, the local congregation must use its best judgment in this matter. This understanding on the status of the woman teacher was adopted by the 1941 synodical convention.<sup>102</sup>

In 1947, the College of Presidents asked A. C. Stellhorn to draft a dignified contract for women teachers which was called a "Solemn Agreement." Stellhorn reported that he used the expression so that the congregation would respect the woman teacher "as a participant in the public performance of the office of the ministry at this place." However, this was changed by a committee of the College of Presidents to read "to respect her as a participant in the specified functions of the office of the ministry in this place."<sup>103</sup>

Despite the fact that the 1941 synodical convention maintained that the female teacher held a position in the classroom similar to that of the male teacher, some of the members of the Board for Parish

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<sup>102</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Fort Wayne, Ind. as the Twenty-Third Delegate Synod, June 18-27, 1941 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), pp. 156-159.

<sup>103</sup>Stellhorn, Schools, p. 466.

Education desired to make a stronger distinction. In his 1948 paper, "The Status of the Parochial School Teacher," A. C. Mueller maintained that women teachers could not be placed on the same plane as a male teacher because of the passages of Scripture which prohibit woman from exercising authority over the man. He went on to add:

The Scriptural requirement does not exclude woman altogether from the teaching function or from administrative duties. Women may teach children. A woman may teach a group of women. The teaching activity of women is thus restricted to situations in which they can function without violating the rule laid down in the Scriptures.

If the Church were to extend a call to women teachers as it does to men teachers, it would de facto violate the principle laid down in Genesis and reiterated by St. Paul. Rather than run the risk of violating the Scriptures, our Church enters into a solemn agreement with women to have them participate in the public function of the ministry within the sphere in which it pleases God to use them.<sup>104</sup>

In the 1948 essay, "The Status of the Lutheran Male Teacher," prepared by a committee of the Board for Parish Education of the Missouri Synod, the following points were made with respect to the status of women teachers:

A. Women cannot partake in the office of the pastor and dare not speak in public church assembly.

B. God has placed limitations upon the woman; in relation to men in general God places woman into a subordinate position.

C. Women have a limited divine call which is more restricted than that of the male teacher.

D. Women are not expected to teach life-long but should be able to give up teaching at any time and marry, and engage in household tasks, etc.

E. As the woman occupies a subordinate position with respect to men in general, so also with respect to the male teacher in a Lutheran school.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>A. C. Mueller, "The Status of the Parochial School Teacher," p. 37.

<sup>105</sup>A. C. Mueller, S. J. Roth, and August C. Stellhorn, "The Status of the Lutheran Male Teacher," p. 13. Also cited in Schmidt, Powerless Pedagogues, pp. 105-106. Here it seems like those espousing the functional view of the office of the ministry were more restrictive on the status of women teachers than the 1941 synodical convention report and than those who maintained that teachers held an auxiliary office.

In spite of a rather strong position on the status of the Lutheran male teacher, A. C. Stellhorn maintained a firm view against any equality between male and female parochial school teachers. The 1952 Central District resolved to provide convention accommodations for women teachers and permit their attendance at the teachers' sectional meeting during the district convention.<sup>106</sup> Apparently, A. C. Stellhorn saw this as the establishment of women teachers as advisory delegates, placing them on the same level with male teachers. In a letter to Pastor W. F. Lischtsinn, Stellhorn wrote:

If the report is correct, the Central District established a delegate membership of Synod for which it has no authority, since it is Synod that decides who is to be a delegate to its convention.

Even Synod itself, however, could not establish such a delegate membership, because it would be unscriptural. Men teachers are advisory members of Synod, in a class with professors, pastors of non-member congregations, and synodical officials who are not pastors or teachers of congregations. . . . As such they have a Scriptural right and synodical obligation "to teach" and to exercise authority over fellow delegates who are men. But of the woman, any woman, anywhere, in any position, Scripture says: "Let the woman learn in silence and with all subjection." . . .<sup>107</sup>

The report of the Committee on the Status of the Teacher at the 1953 synodical convention also included a statement on the status of women teachers:

The properly qualified and appointed woman teacher in the Lutheran schools is also a participant in the public ministry of the Word. As such, she has a sacred calling, requiring qualifications comparable to those of the regular male teacher, with respect to both personal faith and character and professional training and competence.

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<sup>106</sup>Proceedings of the Seventy-First Convention of the Central District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Fort Wayne, Indiana, June 16-20, 1952, p. 89.

<sup>107</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, Letter to W. R. Lischtsinn dated July 24, 1952, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 7, CHI.

Her calling does differ in certain respects, however, from the call of the male teacher.<sup>108</sup>

In the October 1953, issue of Lutheran Education, A. C. Mueller published an article entitled "Women Teachers." Based largely on George Stoeckhardt's 1897 article (see above, page 135), Mueller maintained that women parochial school teachers have a divine call to teach women and children. Mueller also maintained that a woman could be principal of a Lutheran school, providing the other teachers under her supervision are also women. Yet, according to Mueller, a woman teacher's call is restricted because she cannot have authority over men and she is called with the understanding that she "may be free at any time to withdraw from the classroom and marry." Finally, Mueller maintained that there are no passages of Scripture which make it binding upon a congregation to engage its workers on a permanent basis. Therefore, a congregation can call a woman teacher for a limited period.<sup>109</sup>

A. C. Stellhorn elaborated his position on the calling of a woman parochial school teacher in the October 1954, issue of the Parish Education Bulletin:

The woman teacher should be given a call, just as the men teachers. That was Dr. Stoeckhardt's position. Then their calls should be presented, considered, and acted on precisely as those of men teachers. 'Contracts' only lead to shopping around for greener pastures. A call would give the women status, and it would help to establish a desirable control!

Stellhorn also explained why a woman teacher received a Solemn Agreement while a male teacher received a Diploma of Vocation:

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<sup>108</sup>LCMS, 1953 Proceedings, p. 319. It must be remembered that this report was not adopted by the convention.

<sup>109</sup>A. C. Mueller, "Women Teachers," Lutheran Education 89 (October 1953):65-68.

About 1949, the College of Presidents appointed a committee to study the matter of a regular call for the woman teacher--and here we mean the document of Diploma of Vocation. The committee asked our Board, and our Board asked the undersigned, to make a recommendation. The question was thoroughly studied, and the recommendation was adopted by our Board, by the committee, and by the College of Presidents. The outcome was the "Solemn Agreement" or dignified, spiritual contract for women teachers. All facts in the case showed that the woman teacher does not qualify for a Teacher's Diploma of Vocation, or life-long call, even though she might, usually as an exception, teach for life. The difference between her and a man teacher does not lie in her training, service, or the divinity of her call from God through the Christian congregation, just as all supply students have such a divine call. Her call is just as divine as that of a pastor, male teacher, professor, and any other public minister of the Church; but she is limited by Holy Scripture to certain functions in the Church on account of being a woman, and she is so limited also as a teacher.<sup>110</sup>

Despite the statements with respect to the divine call for women parochial school teachers, there were still those who maintained that women were forbidden from teaching in parochial schools. Protests were particularly strong among the members of the Pittsburg Lutheran Teachers Conference. However, it was felt by others that these male teachers were concerned that women would gradually replace them and take over the teaching ministry of the parochial schools. By 1954, the number of women teachers in the Missouri Synod surpassed the number of men.<sup>111</sup>

In his 1961 publication, The Parish Role of the Lutheran Teacher, Gene Brockopp made a rather bold assertion with respect to the status of women parochial school teachers, particularly when compared to the position of Stellhorn, Mueller and others:

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<sup>110</sup>A. C. Stellhorn, "The Woman Teacher's Call--An Explanation," Parish Education Bulletin, October 1954, Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 52, File 5, CHI.

<sup>111</sup>Schmidt, Powerless Pedagogues, pp. 102-103. In a study of the professional and general activities of women graduates of Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois, it was noted that in 1956 there were 2,283 women as compared with 1,954 men teaching in Lutheran elementary schools of North America. Albert V. Maurer, "Women Teachers in the Church," Lutheran Education 93 (January 1958):214-221.

The role of the female teacher in the church needs to be redefined. There is no question that the Lutheran teaching profession is going to be more dependent on the female teacher in the foreseeable future and that the lines of demarcation in parish leadership roles between the male and female teachers are quite artificial and in many cases meaningless. The author believes that if the above patterns are followed the question of sex no longer will have a pertinent value in the salary, position, or parish leadership roles of the teacher.<sup>112</sup>

Because the number of women Lutheran parochial school teachers had surpassed that of men and because of the many unanswered questions with respect to the status of women in the public office of the ministry, the 1962 Missouri Synod convention asked a committee of the School for Graduate Studies at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis to study the status of women teachers.<sup>113</sup>

From 1932 to 1962, the status of the woman teacher with respect to the doctrine of the ministry remained remarkably consistent within the Missouri Synod (and although not mentioned, one could also include other women serving in different aspects of church work, particularly the diaconate). The Lutheran woman school teacher was considered to be a partaker of the public office of the ministry and the recipient of a divine call. Yet, because it was firmly believed that Scripture has

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<sup>112</sup>Brockopp, The Parish Role of the Lutheran Teacher, p. 193.

<sup>113</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Fifth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, June 20-29, 1962 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), p. 90. The committee reported to the 1965 synodical convention that the appointment of certified women teachers by the church should be considered a call. It is also appropriate to call their induction into office a "commissioning" or a "consecration," and it is proper to speak of them as being "installed." It was further felt that the orderly transfer of these certified women graduates from one locale to another should follow the same procedure as that used for calling a male teacher. This understanding was adopted. LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Detroit, Michigan, June 16-26, 1965 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), p. 99.

clearly defined the role of women in the church, there were certain restrictions placed upon the function of a woman in the teaching office. She was not permitted to assist in leading the public worship, nor was she permitted to teach men. However, beginning in 1961, this understanding was questioned. And such questioning would increase throughout the decade of the 1960s with the rise of the women's movement.

Concluding Comments on Teachers and the  
Doctrines of the Ministry Within the  
Missouri Synod, 1932-1962

Between 1932 and 1962, the status of the parochial school teacher with respect to the doctrine of the ministry was a controverted issue within the Missouri Synod, more so than it had ever been before 1932. In their effort to improve the status of the Lutheran teacher, A. C. Stelhorn, A. C. Mueller and others adopted the functional view of the ministry which had first been set forth by August Pieper and John Philip Koehler within the Wisconsin Synod. Like August Pieper and John Philip Koehler, A. C. Stelhorn and A. C. Mueller adopted this position in the face of those who denied the parochial school teacher any position in the public office of the ministry and who denied the divinity of the Lutheran teacher's call.

What has been referred to as the functional view of the doctrine of the ministry included the understanding that God established the public office of the ministry only in an abstract form, the public preaching and teaching of the Word. Any concrete form of the ministry was a matter of adiaphoron, and thus, it was up to the discretion of a congregation or group of congregations to decide how it was to be established. The "highest office of the church," according to this understanding, was the public office of the ministry in the general or abstract sense.



Therefore, all forms of ministry (pastor, teacher, professor, and so on), insofar as they were involved in this "highest office," were considered to be on the same level with respect to divine institution and divine mandate.

Yet, many within the Missouri Synod continued to maintain the more traditional Missouri Synod understanding that the pastoral office in a local congregation was the divinely instituted office without which a congregation would be lacking. Because this office was considered to be divinely instituted, it was understood to be the "highest office" in the church (highest in the sense of divine institution, divine mandate, responsibility, and authority). All other offices in the church (teachers, professors, synodical officials, and so on) were believed to have been derived from this pastoral office and were thus referred to as auxiliary or branch offices. A call to an auxiliary or branch office was considered to be divine because such offices were understood to be branches of the one divinely mandated public office of the ministry. Yet, the creation of auxiliary or branch offices was a matter of Christian freedom, whereas it was believed that the pastoral office was divinely mandated.

Those who held to a functional view of the ministry maintained both privately and in their publications that those who held to the more traditional Missouri Synod understanding with respect to the pastoral office were in error. Yet, these same individuals were unwilling to bring the issue out in the open before a synodical convention. Nor did they press charges of false doctrine (on the other hand, neither did those who held that the pastorate was the highest office in the church). As members of the Missouri Synod's Board for Parish Education, individuals

holding to the functional view of the doctrine of the ministry represented their view before the government as the "official" position of the Synod. And when a report and two memorials (which happened to present a differing view) were drafted by a special committee for adoption by a synodical convention, these same individuals endeavored to have a different resolution adopted which did not resolve the basic issues. It was felt by at least some of the Board for Parish Education members that a synodical convention did not have the competence to resolve the issue. The proponents of the functional view within the Missouri Synod instead wished to work through conferences and various publications in order to change the opinion of the majority of the members in the Synod so that they could adopt the "proper" understanding.

During this same period, the status of women teachers with respect to the doctrine of the ministry remained consistent. Yet, as the Synod entered the 1960s, voices were beginning to be heard which raised questions with respect to women's equality within the public office of the ministry. As the 1960s progressed, these voices would become stronger and stronger.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE TRADITIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY WITHIN THE MISSOURI SYNOD, 1932-1962

Despite the variations regarding the doctrine of the ministry that developed between 1932 and 1962 within the Missouri Synod, particularly the high church understanding with respect to an episcopacy and ordination (see Chapter IV) and the functional view (see Chapters V and VI), there were still many, probably most, within the Synod who held to the traditional position as set forth in C. F. W. Walther's Kirche und Amt (the position that had been adopted by the 1851 synodical convention, see above pages 42-47).

According to this traditional understanding, there was a divine mandate in Scripture for the establishment of the pastoral office in a local congregation. Most of those who held the traditional understanding identified the divine establishment of the public office of the ministry in the abstract, that is, proclamation of the Word and administration of the Sacraments, with this divine mandate for the pastoral office in a local congregation. Other offices of the ministry in the church were considered auxiliary offices which branched off from the one public office of the ministry, that is, the pastoral office. These auxiliary offices were not divinely mandated. But, because they participated in the public office of the ministry and because a person serving in one of these auxiliary offices received a call through a congregation or a

collection of congregations, the call to such an auxiliary office was considered divine. In the case of either a call to the pastoral office or a call to an auxiliary office, it was through the call that the authority of the office was conferred or transferred to the individual. Ordination or installation were considered to be good churchly rites, but nothing more than the public recognition of the call.

That this was the predominant view within the Synod can be seen by the fact that this was the position which was set forth in the majority of the articles that appeared in the Concordia Theological Monthly, in essays at the various district conventions, and in the text books that were used at the Synod's theological seminaries and colleges. This chapter will provide an overview of the traditional understanding as it appeared in books, articles, and convention essays within the Synod between 1932 and 1962.

The Traditional Understanding of the Doctrine of the  
Ministry in Theological Books Published Within  
the Missouri Synod, 1932-1962

Within the Missouri Synod, certain theological works became standard text books at the church body's seminaries and colleges, particularly in classes on systematic (or doctrinal) and pastoral (or practical) theology.<sup>1</sup> Because of this, the position on the doctrine of the ministry set forth in these books had a profound influence upon the understanding of many pastors within the Synod.

Prior to the 1930s, the standard text for systematic theology at Missouri Synod seminaries was Francis Pieper's Christliche Dogmatik (see

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<sup>1</sup>Many of these same texts were required reading for this writer when he attended college and seminary at Missouri Synod institutions. And in some cases, this was more than forty years after the books were first published.

above pages 153-156), and the standard text for pastoral theology was C. F. W. Walther's Amerikanisch-Lutherische Pastoraltheologie (see above pages 63-64). Due to the rapid Americanization of the church body after World War I, the 1930s witnessed a number of English Missouri Synod publications which, to a large part, were based on the earlier German works.

In 1932, John H. C. Fritz, Dean of Students at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, published his Pastoral Theology: A Handbook of Scriptural Principles Written Especially for Pastors of the Lutheran Church. In his preface, Fritz openly admitted:

In writing this new Pastoral Theology, I have used Walther's Pastoraltheologie as a basis; I desire at this place to make full acknowledgement of this fact. The principles laid down by Walther in his book on the basis of Holy Scripture have not changed, neither can they change. Nor did I believe that I could really improve on the presentation of the subject matter in Walther's book.<sup>2</sup>

"The Office of the Ministry or the Pastoral Office" was the title of Fritz' chapter on the doctrine of the ministry. He began by noting the distinction between the office of the ministry and the priesthood of all believers. He affirmed the divine institution of the pastoral office, based particularly on Titus 1:5. In addition, Fritz noted a distinction between the ministerial office in abstracto (Predigtamt) and the ministerial office in concreto (Pfarramt). The Fifth Article of the Augsburg Confession speaks of the ministry in abstracto (Predigtamt) while the Fourteenth Article of the Augustana addresses the ecclesiastical, or ministerial, office in concreto (Pfarramt).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>John H. C. Fritz, Pastoral Theology: A Handbook of Scriptural Principles Written Especially for Pastors of the Lutheran Church (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932, revised edition 1945), p. x. Here Fritz also acknowledges that Walther's work was used for many years by students of Missouri Synod seminaries and by the Synod's pastors. *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 32-36. James Pragman noted that: "Again and again throughout its history, scholars, theologians, and the Synod itself have

Fritz also maintained that no one is to serve in the public office of the ministry unless he has a divine call. A call (vocatio) should be both valid (rata) and legitimate (legitima, recta). It is valid when it has been extended by those whom God has given the right to do so, a congregation of Christians. A call is legitimate only if it has been received without one's own initiative and which one accepts for conscience' sake.<sup>4</sup> Ordination and installation are not divine institutions according to Fritz. They are only good custom.<sup>5</sup>

In 1934, John Theodore Mueller published his Christian Dogmatics: A Handbook of Doctrinal Theology for Pastors, Teachers, and Laymen. In his foreward, Mueller admitted that his work was basically an English condensation of Francis Pieper's Christliche Dogmatik.<sup>6</sup>

Mueller's section on "The Doctrine of the Public Ministry," is merely an abridged form of Francis Pieper's presentation (see above pages 153-156). The distinction between the ministry in abstracto (Predigtamt) and in concreto (Pfarramt) is discussed based on Augsburg Confession Articles V and XIV. The public office of the ministry (Pfarramt or pastoral office) is divinely instituted and is a necessary establishment for a Christian congregation. According to Mueller, one cannot serve in the public office of the ministry unless he has a call from a

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reminded the church body of its developed consensus on the understanding of the ministry. John H. C. Fritz . . . affirmed the Synod's tradition and set forth in English the consensus within the Synod." James Pragman, Traditions of Ministry (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), p. 168.

<sup>4</sup>Fritz, Pastoral Theology, pp. 37-45.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>6</sup>Mueller also stated that the reason for his work was due to the request of English speaking students. John Theodore Mueller, Christian Dogmatics: A Handbook of Doctrinal Theology for Pastors, Teachers, and Laymen (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932, reprinted 1955), p. v.

local congregation. The ordination of a called minister is not a divine institution, but a church rite. The public office of the ministry does not constitute a spiritual estate. Rather, the authority to proclaim the Word and administer the Sacraments is conferred upon, or delegated to, the holder of the office through the call. Mueller further maintained that all Christian ministers are equal in rank and dignity. Yet, the public ministry (Pfarramt) is the highest office in the church from which all other offices flow.<sup>7</sup>

In 1934, Theodore Engelder, William Arndt, Theodore Graebner, and Frederick Mayer published Popular Symbolics: The Doctrines of the Churches of Christendom and of Other Religious Bodies Examined in the Light of Scripture.<sup>8</sup> The book begins by setting forth the basic teachings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church before discussing the doctrines maintained in other denominations and other religious groups. With respect to the Lutheran doctrine of the ministry, the authors maintained that the office of the holy ministry was instituted by God. The ministry of the gospel has been committed by Christ to all believers. However, the believers in a local congregation are to delegate the office to an individual through the call. The right to call belongs to the local congregation. Ordination is not a divine institution, but instead an apostolic, ecclesiastical rite and a recognition of the call. It was noted that the office of the public ministry must not be committed to women. It was likewise held by the authors that the apostolate as such

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 563-580.

<sup>8</sup>Th. Engelder, W. Arndt, Th. Graebner, F. E. Mayer, Popular Symbolics: The Doctrines of the Churches of Christendom and of Other Religious Bodies Examined in the Light of Scripture (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934).

ceased with the death of the apostles and the only provisions the apostles made with respect to the public office of the ministry related to the pastoral office. The ministry is the highest office in the church and all other ecclesiastical offices flow from it. In this regard, the authors also held that the establishment of auxiliary offices does not rest upon a divine command but is a matter of Christian liberty, to be regulated by the congregation in accordance with the needs of time, place, and circumstances. Finally, it was noted that the ministry does not constitute a holy "order" or a "priesthood" apart from the spiritual priesthood of all believers. Ministers are distinguished from laymen by the incumbency of the ministerial office which is an office of service.<sup>9</sup>

A third dogmatics text book was published in 1939 by Edward W. A. Koehler, professor at Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois, entitled A Summary of Christian Doctrine: A Popular Presentation of the Teachings of the Bible.<sup>10</sup> Edward Koehler began with a discussion of the priesthood of all Christians and then made the distinction between the personal priesthood of all believers and the public ministry. The office of the ministry was instituted by God and publicly proclaims the Word and administers the Sacraments on behalf of the Christians in a local congregation. The right to call a minister is vested in the local congregation. Ministers are called by God through the congregation. Koehler also held that the office of the ministry may not be committed to women. Ordination is not ordained by God. It is the call of the congregation and the acceptance of this call that makes a person the pastor and

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 107-114.

<sup>10</sup>Edward W. A. Koehler, A Summary of Christian Doctrine: A Popular Presentation of the Teachings of the Bible (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939, revised edition 1952, reprinted 1971).



minister of the congregation. The author also emphasized that the clergy does not constitute an holy "order" or "priesthood," and there are no grades in the ministry. The purpose of the office is the public administration of the means of grace for the saving of souls. Because the office is based on a divine institution, every local congregation should establish the office of the ministry in its midst. Edward Koehler concluded his section on the doctrine of the ministry by asserting that the ministry is the highest office in the church. Other offices may be created, but they are not divinely mandated, nor is the entire work of the ministry transmitted to them. However, because other offices (Koehler did not use the terms auxiliary or branch offices) have a part of the public office of the ministry, those called to these offices have a divine call.<sup>11</sup>

The 1941 Missouri Synod convention instructed President John Behnken to appoint a committee to prepare for a suitable observance of the Synod's centennial anniversary in 1947. One result of the committee's work was the publication of a three volume collection of essays entitled The Abiding Word. The three volumes were set forth as "'the fathers' faith in the children's language"--essays containing the doctrinal treasures laid down in the reports of early synodical conventions."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid. pp. 264-273. Two other popular works appeared in the 1930s. Both had brief sections that dealt with aspects of the doctrine of the ministry. Theodore Graebner, Pastors and People: Letters to a Young Preacher (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932), passim. Karl Kretzschmar, Mutual Obligations of the Ministry and the Congregation (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934), pp. 24-37.

<sup>12</sup>Theodore Laetsch, ed., The Abiding Word, 3 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1946), 1:v.

In an article by Lewis W. Spitz, Sr. on "The Universal Priesthood of Believers," it was noted that all believers have all the rights and privileges that God has given to His church. Believers exercise their priestly powers by calling preachers and teachers. Because God is not the author of confusion, the work of preaching and administering the Sacraments cannot be carried out by the congregation as a body. Therefore, God established the holy ministry. Spitz also stated that the office of the pastor is called the public ministry. "Through him the congregation and every individual represented by him preaches, teaches, baptizes, administers the Sacrament."<sup>13</sup> The believers in a congregation are also responsible to God for the correct practice and the purity of doctrine of their servants of the Word.<sup>14</sup>

Curtis C. Stephan discussed "The Office of the Keys" in his article in The Abiding Word. Here he maintained that although

. . . the Office of the Keys belongs to all believers in Christ, it is to be exercised publicly by the ministers of Christ, to whom the Church delegates and transfers the rights, powers, duties, and privileges of the spiritual priesthood by means of a divine call. This office of the ministry is a divine institution and the highest and most honorable office in the Church, all other offices being subordinate to it.<sup>15</sup>

For Stephan, ordination is not a divine institution and does not qualify men for office, "but it is a good custom of the Church which gives public confirmation of the call."<sup>16</sup>

"The Call into the Holy Ministry" was the article submitted by

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<sup>13</sup>Lewis W. Spitz, Sr., "The Universal Priesthood of Believers," in The Abiding Word, 1:333.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 1:334.

<sup>15</sup>Curtis C. Stephan, "The Office of the Keys," in The Abiding Word, 1:358.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

P. F. Koehneke in The Abiding Word. Here he set forth six theses summarizing his position:

Thesis I. The call to the ministerial office is the act of God operating either immediately or mediately, by which He sends, separates, and chooses men to perform the work necessary for the proper functioning of the ministry of the New Testament either in its pastoral or in its missionary function.

Thesis II. The Lord requires the congregation to establish and maintain the pastoral office in its midst and has given the congregation the right to establish as many auxiliary offices as its needs require. The right to call workers in the congregation is inherent in the congregation.

Thesis III. The missionary activity of the Church and the proper preparation of men for the work of the Church require the services of many workers. The right to call such workers is vested in the group or body to whom such power is delegated by the congregations.

Thesis IV. Since it is the Lord of the Church who gives and places His servants in the Church, a call should not arbitrarily and in advance limit the duration of the service of the person called. However, where the Lord Himself in advance indicates that a certain service in the Kingdom is of a temporary nature, a call may be issued properly for a specific time.

Thesis V. The call may be terminated

- a. by a call to another field of activity;
- b. by deposing from office for persistence in false doctrine or refusal to repent or loss of good reputation;
- c. by dismissal from office or resignation if the ability to serve in a certain field has ceased;
- d. if the need for the services has ceased.

Thesis VI. All persons concerned in the matter of a call should be conscious of the fact that the Lord of the Church is using them as His instruments and should consider this their one objective--to do the will of the Lord.<sup>17</sup>

Mark J. Steege wrote an essay on the qualifications and proper conduct of "The Lutheran Pastor." Yet, he began by emphasizing the divine institution of the pastoral office and the call into this office. The essential Scriptural qualifications for the public office of the ministry which Steege noted included: faithfulness, ability, and blamelessness.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>P. F. Koehneke, "The Call into the Holy Ministry," in The Abiding Word, 1:366-388.

<sup>18</sup>Mark J. Steege, "The Lutheran Pastor," in The Abiding Word, 1:389-401.

In reference to "Authority in the Church with Special Reference to the Call," H. Studtmann specifically addressed the right of a congregation to call their own pastor. This right is a God-given privilege of a congregation. Studtmann warned against encroachments upon this right by synodical officials or other pastors. Studtmann also pointed out that in final analysis, it is the pastor's or teacher's consciences that must be the judge in accepting or declining a call.<sup>19</sup>

The Abiding Word's collection of essays included one more article which addressed the office of the public ministry specifically. Here E. E. Foelber set forth four theses on this topic:

Thesis I. The Office of the Public Ministry is a position of trust conferred by a Christian congregation for the purpose of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ publicly.

Thesis II. The Office of the Public Ministry was instituted by God, and the believers in Christ are obligated to establish and maintain it.

Thesis III. The Christian congregation fills the Office of the Public Ministry by electing and calling into it men adjudged worthy.

Thesis IV. The Office of the Public Ministry is, strictly speaking, the only divinely instituted office in the Church.<sup>20</sup>

With respect to his fourth thesis, Foelber stated:

Wherefore our synodical writings liken the Office of the Public Ministry to a tree with many branches. The preaching of the Word as it is performed by the pastor of the congregation is the trunk of the tree. The preaching as it is carried out by the various auxiliary or ancillary office constitutes the branches.<sup>21</sup>

The 1944 Missouri Synod convention approved the translation and publication of Francis Pieper's Christliche Dogmatik in English. Between 1950 and 1953 the three volumes appeared in print so that the students at

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<sup>19</sup>H. Studtmann, "Authority in the Church with Special Reference to the Call," in The Abiding Word, 1:434-440.

<sup>20</sup>E. E. Foelber, "The Office of the Public Ministry," in The Abiding Word, Theodore Laetsch, ed., 3 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 2:474-492.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 2:490.

Missouri Synod seminaries, many of whom by this time could not read German fluently, could now study Francis Pieper's complete work (for an analysis of the section on the doctrine of the ministry in Francis Pieper's Christian Dogmatics, see above pages 153-156.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, in 1960, another pastoral theology text was published by a committee of the General Literature Board of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, in consultation with a larger number of seminary professors and pastors in the active ministry. This book, entitled The Pastor at Work, was a collection of essays written by clergymen of the Missouri Synod.<sup>23</sup> The majority of the essays were practical in nature setting forth basic principles of pastoral theology. However, Albert H. Schwermann included an article entitled "The Doctrine of the Call" which dealt specifically with the doctrine of the ministry.<sup>24</sup>

Schwermann began by acknowledging his indebtedness to J. H. C. Fritz, whose Pastoral Theology formed the basis for Schwermann's essay. He then centered the doctrine of the call in the doctrine of justification. "The holy ministry exists because Christ would seek and save that which was lost."<sup>25</sup> The public office of the ministry is divinely instituted. It is to be established by the priesthood of all believers in a local congregation who confer the authority and right to exercise the office publicly on behalf of all. Only qualified men may be called to

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<sup>22</sup>Francis Pieper, Christian Dogmatics, 3 vols., Walter W. F. Albrecht, ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 3:v and 439-462.

<sup>23</sup>William H. Eifert, "Preface," Pastor at Work (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1960), p. vi.

<sup>24</sup>Albert H. Schwermann, "The Doctrine of the Call," in Pastor at Work (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1960), pp. 87-124.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

this public office; women are not eligible. Schwermann also maintained that there is no Scriptural warrant for an Apostolic succession.<sup>26</sup> Ordination, for Schwermann, was not a divine institution but the public and solemn ratification of a call legitimately extended. "If there is no call, there can be no ordination."<sup>27</sup> According to the author a valid call is one that is issued by those whom God has given the right to do so, normally only a congregation. A call is legitimate when an individual comes by the call in the right manner, without manipulation.<sup>28</sup> Schwermann held that only the congregation, as possessor of the Office of the Keys, has the authority to train ministers and certify them. However, for the sake of good order, these congregations delegate this to theological faculties.<sup>29</sup> Schwermann also maintained that an ordained pastor without a call is not a pastor in the Scriptural sense of the term. "No flock, no pastor."<sup>30</sup> In this regard, Schwermann noted:

Because of its growing complexity the work of the church requires an ever larger number of men in auxiliary offices. . . . A number of these positions need men with theological training and ministerial experience. Others, however, can be staffed by able, consecrated laymen. Pastors may well hesitate to give up the ministry for the sake of these auxiliary positions.<sup>31</sup>

The author further elaborated his position on auxiliary offices by stating:

As a group of congregations or all of them (Synod) may extend a "call" for positions that involve specific functions of the public ministry, so also groups of Christians may similarly organize for the purpose of taking care of specific endeavors within the sphere of Christian life and service. . . . With the delegation of the discharge of the function, there is delegated the right to call the person or persons who may be required for this special work. However, ministers who accept such calls must confine their activity to

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 86-88.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 113-114.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., pp. 91-104.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

the functions assigned to them; to go beyond them might have as an outcome the establishment of a church within a church (ecclesiola in ecclesia).

We have in modern church life many auxiliary offices. We think of presidents of synods and districts, of superintendents of missions, executive secretaries, editors of Christian literature, writers of radio and TV scripts, and a host of others. Are such people actually performing work which properly belongs to the office of the holy ministry? Are they called into their position by a congregation or groups of congregations to take over specific functions of the public ministry? If the answers are affirmative, they may be assured that they are called to be laborers together with God, even if only in a limited sphere and in those ministerial functions which have been delegated to them.<sup>32</sup>

The Traditional Understanding of the Doctrine of the  
Ministry in Articles Published Within the  
Missouri Synod, 1932-1962

During this period, numerous articles appeared in the Missouri Synod's chief theological journal, the Concordia Theological Monthly, which touched upon the doctrine of the ministry, even though this was not the major emphasis of the articles themselves. In each case, the traditional Missouri Synod understanding of the doctrine of the ministry was maintained.<sup>33</sup> In addition, several articles were written either on the

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>33</sup>Theodore Laetsch, "Sermon Study on Acts 20, 17-38," Concordia Theological Monthly [hereafter cited CTM] 3 (July 1932):518-528. Walter E. Hoehenstein, "The Pastor and Intracongregational Organizations," CTM 8 (July 1937):489-499. John Behnken, "The Pastor and Synod," CTM 8 (October 1937):728-736. Theodore Engelder, "Schrift, Bekenntnis, Theologie, Pfarramt und verwandte Gegenstaende," CTM 8 (October 1937):736-747. P. E. Kretzmann, "Branch Offices--Auxiliary Offices," CTM 8 (December 1937):931-932. A. M. Rewinkle, "The Pastor and Foreign Missions," CTM 9 (December 1938):908-916. Frederick Pfothenauer, "Der Pastor als Synodalglied," CTM 10 (April 1939):250-254. J. T. Mueller, "The Christian Congregation: Its Rights and Duties According to God's Word and the Lutheran Confessions," CTM 10 (May 1939):330-345. Frederick Pfothenauer, "Die Pastorkonferenz zu Milet," CTM 10 (May 1939):345-351. Theodore Laetsch, "The Administration of the Sacraments," CTM 10 (June 1939):401-415. Theodore Laetsch, "The Prophets and Political and Social Problems," CTM 11 (April 1940):241-258, (May 1940):337-351. T[heodore] L[aetsch], "Abuses in the Question of the Call," CTM 12 (January 1941):57. Theodore Laetsch, "Privileges and Obligations," CTM 12 (October 1941):46-743. W[illiam] A[rndt], "Brief Items," CTM 16 (October 1945):714. Richard

doctrine of the ministry specifically, or addressing some specific aspect of the doctrine.

In 1932, John H. C. Fritz wrote an article on "Ordination."<sup>34</sup> After giving the position held within Roman Catholicism and the Reformed church bodies, Fritz cited the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Article XIII, which stated that if ordination is understood as applying to the ministry of the Word, then it could be considered a Sacrament. Fritz noted that the word "Sacrament" is not a Biblical term; its content is that which the church gives it. He went on to add: "But in our accepted meaning of the term, namely, a rite which has the command of God and to which the promise of grace has been added, ordination cannot be called a Sacrament."<sup>35</sup> After analyzing the Scriptural passages that refer to ordination, Fritz maintained that nowhere in the Bible is there given a divine command for ordination; it is merely a symbolic act and a custom of the church. Its purpose is the public ratification of the call to a Christian congregation.<sup>36</sup> Based on his study, Fritz then offered the following conclusions and practical applications:

1. Ordination is not commanded in Scripture. It is an adiaphoron. . . .
2. Ordination is a good custom of the church, dating back to the days of the apostles.
3. The purpose of ordination is not: a) to impart any grace or divine blessing, for it is not a Sacrament; b) nor thereby to make a man a minister or a pastor, for he is made such only by the call extended by a Christian congregation, and there is no such thing as ordination to the ministry as such, no absolute ordination, no im-

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R. Caemmerer, "The Universal Priesthood and the Pastor," CTM 16 (August 1948):561-582. Arnold H. Grumm, "The Pastor and Synod's Handbook," CTM 21 (August 1950):575-581. C. August Hardt, "The Pastor After the Heart of God," CTM 23 (November 1952):797-814. Herbert J. A. Bouman, "Christian Hope," CTM 26 (April 1955):241-255.

<sup>34</sup>John H. C. Fritz, "Ordination," CTM 3 (October 1932):737-745.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 737-739.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 740-742.



printing of a character indelebilis; c) nor to make a man eligible for the work of the ministry, for such eligibility one needs such necessary qualifications as a Christian character, aptness to teach, etc.; d) nor to make the efficacy of the means of grace dependent upon ordination.

4. The purpose of ordination is nothing else than a ratification of the call, received and accepted, to a Christian congregation. . . . Keeping this purpose in mind, ordination should not without good reason be omitted, but be observed as a good custom of the Church, like, e.g., confirmation.

5. Since ordination is a public ratification of the call, a candidate for the ministry should be ordained in the midst of the congregation which has extended the call and which by this call has made his ordination possible. This ought to be self-evident. Otherwise it might appear that ordination is given a 'significance of its own' aside from the call which has been issued and which has made ordination possible.

6. Since ordination is the public ratification of the call, that is, the call to a certain Christian congregation, a man who is sent by the Church at large, directly or through its official boards, as a missionary to home or foreign fields, is, according to our use of the terms, commissioned, not ordained.

7. Candidates who are called as assistant pastors should be ordained, for they have received and accepted a call to a certain Christian congregation. Such candidates, recently graduated from one of our theological seminaries, as are only temporarily engaged to do certain work . . . had better not be ordained, for it is not customary in our Church to ordain such men as are under certain circumstances engaged merely for a time. . . .

8. Since a "temporary call" should not be extended, a congregation should not so engage a candidate of the ministry, unless it be during a pastor's illness, absence, etc. If a candidate is so called, he may be ordained. . . .

9. Ordination may be repeated; as a rule, it is not. There is no essential difference between ordination and installation. We, however, make a distinction in the use of the two terms. Not only do we call a pastor's first installation his ordination, but in using this term and in not repeating his ordination, we mean to say that he who submitted to ordination thereby also declared it to be his intention that the work of the ministry should be his vocation throughout his life here upon earth and that in this sense he has by his ordination been separated from worldly occupations for the special work of a minister of the Gospel. We wish to have it distinctly understood that a man who has been ordained and is qualified for the ministry, but is without a call is not because of his ordination still a pastor; strictly speaking, he should not be addressed as such. If such a one has not chosen some secular occupation, his name may be carried on the clerical list as a candidatus reverendi ministerii.

10. Finally, it may be argued that since ordination is an adia-phoron, no hard and fast rules that are binding upon the conscience can be made in reference to it. We agree. Nevertheless this does not mean that every one is at liberty to do as he pleases. . . . Even so, though ordination is an adia-phoron, we are not free to use

it contrary to the accepted usage of our Church. Our Church has declared in its Confessions that ordination is a public ratification of a call to a Christian congregation; we should therefore not ordain such as have no such call. . . . Even so it is improper that a candidate who has been called to some congregation in South Dakota and has accepted that call should be ordained in one of our congregations somewhere in Michigan, simply because the home folks are there and would like to witness his ordination.

Our Church has declared in its Confessions that ordination is a public ratification of a call to a Christian congregation, and therefore our practice ought in every respect to conform to this accepted usage of the term. Only in this sense can our Church lay down certain rules in reference to ordination, which should by us be observed although they are per se not binding upon the conscience. We should be careful that we do not turn liberty into license; we should not by a careless practice confuse the minds of our people or even instill into their minds wrong ideas.<sup>37</sup>

P. E. Kretzmann wrote "Die Schriftnamen fuer die Inhaber des goettlichen Predigtamtes" ("The Scriptural names for the holder of the Divine Preaching Office") in the January 1937 issue of the Concordia Theological Monthly.<sup>38</sup> Here he maintained that the office of apostle in the specific sense was limited to the original twelve, though in a general sense (Acts 6:7) it can describe those who adhere to the teaching of Christ. All other terms to which Kretzmann referred (disciple, minister, witness, herald, worker, householder, teacher, pastor, elder, and bishop) he applied specifically to the pastoral office. Kretzmann maintained that there are no ranks within the ministerial office. All pastors are bishops or overseers in their congregations and of equal rank.<sup>39</sup>

Dean Fritz wrote a very practical article in 1937, entitled "The Pastor and His Office."<sup>40</sup> In a world filled with unrest, Fritz felt that

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 742-745.

<sup>38</sup>P. E. Kretzmann, "Die Schriftnamen fuer die Inhaber des goettlichen Predigtamtes," CTM 8 (January 1937):1-10.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>John H. C. Fritz, "The Pastor and His Office," CTM 8 (January 1937):10-17.

the congregational members were looking to their pastors more than ever for spiritual leadership. Because of the responsibilities that God and the church have placed upon the pastor, it is good to consider the pastoral office in the terms of God's Word. Fritz maintained that one of the reasons that Christians living in the same locality unite is to call a pastor who would shepherd them. The divine call invests a pastor with divine authority; he is the undershepherd of the Great Shepherd of souls. A pastor must be convinced that there is no higher, nobler, holier calling than that of shepherd of souls, not because of his person, but because of his office. Because of the temptations of the flesh and the world, the pastor must remain faithful. This means that, first of all, he proclaim the Word of God in all its purity. The pastor must be faithful because he must give an account for each soul which has been entrusted to him.<sup>41</sup>

In 1940, J. T. Mueller wrote an article on "The Significance of the Doctrine of the Church and the Ministry."<sup>42</sup> Mueller maintained that Martin Luther had correctly perceived the Scriptural teaching of the church, but lacked the opportunity of organizing the church according to it. "The practical application, or translation into practice of this doctrine, could be witnessed in the small Saxon Lutheran group in the Middle West. . . ."<sup>43</sup> Mueller further stated that in the Saxon group of Lutherans was

. . . the whole Scriptural truth concerning the Holy Trinity, the deity of Christ and His vicarious atonement, the 'sola fide', the

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>John T. Mueller, "The Significance of the Doctrine of the Church and the Ministry," CTM 11 (January 1940):19-36.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

'gratia universalis', and . . . the Scriptural doctrine of the Church and the ministry in perfect maturation.<sup>44</sup>

After reviewing C. F. W. Walther's position on the doctrines of church and ministry from his Kirche und Amt (see above pages 42-47), Mueller then provided four points of significance for maintaining this understanding: it helps one have the right orientation when considering Romanism and Calvinism; it helps one have the right orientation in solving the numerous problems confronting the church today (unionism, millennialism, the recognition of the Antichrist, the relation of church and state); it helps one have the right orientation in Christian work (missions and Christian education); and it helps one have the right orientation in facing questions of adiaphora.<sup>45</sup>

Elmer J. Moeller's 1951 article, "Concerning the Ministry of the Church," has already been discussed (see above pages 257-260). Yet, an important point should be noted. Here one can find a slight shift within the traditional Missouri Synod position. While Moeller maintained that the pastoral office was divinely instituted and divinely mandated in a local congregation (in opposition to those who held that all offices, including the pastorate, are the result of historical development according to the needs of the Church), he disagreed with Walther and others in equating the public diakonia with the pastorate. Moeller maintained that both the public ministry, from which all other offices flow, and the pastoral office were divinely instituted and divinely mandated. The public ministry was identified by the call of a congregation or group of congregations. Whoever is called to proclaim the Word, "whether to the congregation itself or on its behalf to others, is participating in the

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., pp. 23-36.

public diakonia of the Church."<sup>46</sup> Also, local congregations are required by God to establish the divinely instituted pastoral office (episkopos or presbyteros). Those called to congregational offices other than the pastoral office (parochial school teachers) or extracongregational offices (missionaries and chaplains) are called by God through the congregations. But they are not pastors (episkopoi).<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately, in asserting a distinction between the public ministry and the pastoral office, Moeller provided no further substantiation for his position. Nor did he address the questions of how the pastoral office then relates to the public ministry if it is not to be equated with it, of the relationship of other offices of the public ministry to the pastoral office, and of the distinction between divine institution and divine mandate.

In May 1954, a conference paper by William F. Arndt was published under the title "The Doctrine of the Call into the Holy Ministry."<sup>48</sup> Arndt began by noting that there was little agreement within Christendom on the doctrine of the call. One reason is that Scripture does not contain many statements on the subject. Another reason is that this is a field belonging not to abstract, absolute doctrine, but to practice and life where gifts differ enormously. Arndt then set forth twenty-six statements based upon his study of Scripture concerning the doctrine of

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<sup>46</sup>Elmer Moeller, "Concerning the Ministry of the Church," CTM 22 (June 1951):392-393.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 408-409. In a phone conversation with Pastor Elmer Moeller on December 11, 1986, he observed that this was an inconsistency within his article for which he had no explanation. He stated that when a congregation has established the pastoral office, it has the full public office of the ministry. However, it also has the freedom to create other offices.

<sup>48</sup>William F. Arndt, "The Doctrine of the Call into the Holy Ministry," CTM 25 (May 1954):337-352.

the call. The following is a summary of some of the points Arndt made:

I. . . . the blessed Gospel of Jesus Christ has to be preached.

II. . . . it is the duty of every Christian to help in the spreading of the Gospel.

III. . . . To propagate the Gospel, Jesus called twelve men to whom He gave the title "Apostles."

IV. . . . the Apostolic office was not continued when these special witnesses of Christ went to their heavenly reward.

V. In the early Christian Church God called other people directly and endowed them with special so-called charismatic gifts for the spreading of the Gospel, but their positions were not continued when the charismatic gifts ceased to be bestowed.

VI. There is one office, not a charismatic one, which the Holy Scriptures indicate the Church must have. It is the office of elder. . . . Titus 1:5. . . .

VII. . . . whoever wishes to occupy the position of pastor must be called into this office.

VIII. It is a contradiction in terms to call a person a minister of Christ whom the heavenly Master has not honored with a call into this precious service.

IX. There is such a thing as an inner call. It is the conviction that God wants me to be a minister of the Gospel.

X. It is evident that when we speak of an inner call, we are dealing with something that is altogether subjective.

XI. The inner call, precisely because it is entirely subjective, is not sufficient. . . . We have to have something nonmiraculous, objective. . . . We have it in the action of Christian congregations extending calls.

XII. When Christians call a minister, they act as spiritual priests.

XIII. . . . the congregation . . . [has] the right and authority to call a pastor. But now let us not forget that in this area there is a large degree of liberty when the manner in which the calling is to be done comes into consideration. . . . It [the congregation] may even delegate it to a person, a bishop.

XIV. The position of the Lutheran Church has always been that iure humano we may have bishops. . . . The Missouri Synod has not favored the appointment of bishops, because we have the example of the Roman Catholic Church before our eyes, where this position has been used most flagrantly for the oppression of consciences.

XXII. The Church has the right to create offices beside that of the pastoral office. While Paul informs us that the pastoral office should be established, he does not say that it is the only one which the Church has the right to introduce in its midst.

XXIII. With full assurance we look upon such offices as those of our synodical presidents, professors, missionaries, mission secretaries, parish school teachers, as offices the call into which is a divine call.

XXV. . . . ordination and the laying on of hands . . . was simply a solemn ceremony indicating the deep interest felt for those on whom the hands were laid. . . . There is no proof that the cere-

mony was commanded or that it was made a sacrament, as the Roman Catholic Church teaches.

XXVI. In all these matters let the aim of congregations, synods, pastors, and teachers be that of exalting our blessed Savior and of serving His holy cause. Let us not despise proper forms and ceremonies. They are of great value. But let us not forget they are means to an end. The great thing is the exalting of our divine Redeemer and the spreading of His holy gospel.<sup>49</sup>

The Traditional Understanding of the Doctrine of the  
Ministry in Missouri Synod District  
Convention Essays: 1932-1962

The doctrine of the ministry was a topic that came up again and again at Missouri Synod district conventions. As was the case with numerous articles in the Concordia Theological Monthly, many convention essays referred to the traditional Missouri Synod understanding of the doctrine of the ministry although it was not the major topic of the essays themselves.<sup>50</sup> Numerous other essays addressed the topic directly.

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid. In the spring of 1961, Walter J. Bartling delivered a paper to the New York-New Jersey Pastoral Conference which was then published. Walter J. Bartling, "A Ministry to Ministers: An Examination of the New Testament Diakonia," CTM 33 (June 1962):325-336. In many ways, Bartling set forth the traditional mediating position of the Missouri Synod as maintained in tension between two extreme views: a low view which stresses the priesthood of all believers to the exclusion of a special ministry and a high view which stresses a special ministry to the exclusion of all believers. Bartling believed that the tension is resolved by seeing ordained ministers as ministers to ministers. For Bartling, there is no higher status than that. However, Bartling also maintained that the function of ministry is in no way equated with the office of the ministry. "It is the function that gives sanction to the office, not the office to the function." p. 334. By placing the one (function) before the other (office), Bartling was, in reality, taking a low view of the ministry. This, in turn, would pave the way for a further expression of the low view of the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod through the work of Oscar Feucht, Everyone a Minister (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1974).

<sup>50</sup>Ferdinand Oberheu, "Was soll eine Gemeinde bei der Wahl eines Pastors beachten," Proceedings of the Twentieth Convention of the South Dakota District of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Held at Freeman, S. Dak., June 6-12, 1934 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934), pp. 4-34. E. S. Husmann, "The Duties of a Local Congregation," Proceedings of the Sixty-Second Convention of the Central

A cursory analysis of these essays will be given here.

Beginning in 1931 and continuing in 1933, J. Hinck delivered an

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District of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Fort Wayne, Indiana, June 19-23, 1939 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939), pp. 31-52. Paul Schulz, "The Local Congregation," Proceedings of the Twentieth Convention of the Southern Illinois District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Red Bud, Ill., October 16-20, 1939 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939), pp. 11-26. Albert F. Pollex, "The Duties of an Evangelical Lutheran Congregation and Their Performance," Proceedings of the Fortieth Convention of the Ontario District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Fisherville, Ontario, August 24-29, 1939, pp. 14-16. A. P. Marutz, "The Office of the Keys with Especial [sic] Reference to Church Discipline," Proceedings of the Sixty-Fifth Convention of the Michigan District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Bay City, Mich., June 24-28, 1940 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1940), pp. 33-48. Geo. E. Mennen, "The Rights and Duties of an Evangelical Lutheran Congregation," Proceedings of the Second Convention of the Southeastern District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Held at Baltimore, Md., May 13-16, 1940 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1940), pp. 8-21. A. H. A. Loeber, "The Value of a Matured and Experienced Ministry," Proceedings of the Twentieth Convention of the English District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Held at River Forest, Ill., June 16 to 19, 1942 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942), pp. 48-64. [No author given], "Authority in the Church with Special Reference to the Call," Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Convention of the Texas District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Riesel, Tex., July 17-20, 1945 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1945), pp. 16-39. C. W. Luekens, "The Universal Priesthood of the Believers," Proceedings of the Seventy-First Convention of the Central District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Fort Wayne, Indiana, June 16-20, 1952, pp. 18-34. George W. Wittmer, "The Office of the Keys for the Church of Today," Proceedings of the Thirtieth Convention of the Central Illinois District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Springfield, Illinois, August 24-28, 1952, pp. 15-38. A. H. Schwermann, "The Office of the Keys and Its Practical Application to the Royal Priesthood," Proceedings of the Fifth Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Trinity Lutheran Church Kalispell, Montana, October 6-10, 1952, pp. 5-30. A. H. Schmidt, "The Doctrine of the Church, with Special Emphasis on the Rights and Privileges of Individual Congregations," Proceedings of the Colorado District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at St. John's Lutheran Church, Denver, Colorado, August 23-27, 1954, pp. 31-66. Alfred W. Trinklein, "The Concept of the Ministry and Its Function in Today's World," Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Convention of the Atlantic District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Concordia Collegiate Institute, Bronxville, New York, June 24th to June 28th, 1957, pp. 35-37.



essay at two conventions of the Colorado District entitled "Die Gemeinde und das Pfarramt" ("The Congregation and the Pastoral Office").<sup>51</sup> Hinck maintained the traditional Missouri Synod position with respect to both the divine institution of the congregation and the divine institution and mandate for the pastoral office within a congregation. It is God's will that believers in a local area join together to form a congregation and establish the public office of the ministry in their midst. This public office of the ministry was identified with the pastoral office. The pastor is both a servant of Christ and a servant of the congregation. The congregation is to obey the pastor insofar as he proclaims the Word of God.

A doctrinal essay at the 1933 Southern Illinois District by C. Thomas Spitz addressed the topic, "The Doctrine of the Holy Ministry a Component Part of the Prophetic Office of Christ."<sup>52</sup> Spitz maintained that the ministerial office was instituted by Christ for the public performance of the privileges and duties of the church in preaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments. Although the apostolic office ended with the death of the apostles, the holy ministry is the continuation of the work of the apostles. Only qualified men can serve in the

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<sup>51</sup>J. Hinck, "Die Gemeinde und das Pfarramt," Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Colorado District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States Held at Amherst, Colorado, June 17-23, 1931, pp. 50-55 and Proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the Colorado District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States Held at Denver, Colorado, June 21-27, 1933, pp. 27-37.

<sup>52</sup>C. Thomas Spitz, "The Doctrine of the Holy Ministry a Component Part of the Prophetic Office of Christ," Sechzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Sued-Illinois Distrikts der Ev. Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, versammelt zu Mount Olive, Ill., vom 16. bis zum 20. Oktober 1933 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1933), pp. 23-45.

public office of the ministry or the pastoral office, not women. The incumbents of the holy ministry are such by virtue of a divine call. Ordination is not divinely instituted, but rather an ecclesiastical practice and a recognition of the call. A minister's call is valid only if it is a divine call. A divine call is issued mediately today through a congregation or congregations. The call must also be legitimate; that is when the call has sought the man and not the man the call. Even though there is but one divinely instituted ministerial office, congregations may delegate certain functions to assistant functionaries or auxiliary offices. Assistant functionaries of the holy ministry are not ordained for their offices. However, they may be installed.

Auxiliary offices were the specific topic of discussion for two district convention essays. In 1934, P. E. Kretzmann delivered a paper on "The Doctrine of the Call with Special Reference to the Auxiliary Offices in the Church" (see above page 224 and Appendix N).<sup>53</sup> At the 1939 North Wisconsin District convention, N. P. Uhlig spoke on "The Auxiliary Offices in the Christian Congregation."<sup>54</sup> Uhlig maintained the divine institution and mandate for only the pastoral office. Auxiliary offices are created by the will and at the discretion of a Christian congregation. Any office which the congregation chooses to create is auxiliary and subsidiary to the office of the public ministry of the Word which has been delegated to the pastor of the congregation. Auxiliary offices have

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<sup>53</sup>P. E. Kretzmann, "The Doctrine of the Call with Special Reference to the Auxiliary Offices in the Church," Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Northern Nebraska District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Held at Arlington, Nebr., August 20 to 24, 1934 supplement.

<sup>54</sup>N. P. Uhlig, "The Auxiliary Offices in the Christian Congregation," The Messenger 20 (October 1939):3-15.

only the powers that are granted them by the congregation, but these powers can never supersede or nullify the authority of the pastoral office.

At the 1937 Northern Nebraska District Convention, Theodore Graebner delivered an essay on the "Obligations of Pastor and Congregation Under the Ministerial Call."<sup>55</sup> Graebner asserted that the relation of pastor and congregation has been fixed by the Lord of the Church Himself. The ministerial office or the pastoral office is not a priestly office, but a continuation of the prophetic office of Christ. The duties of the pastor to the congregation include teaching the Word of God purely and being a curate of souls. It is the congregation's duty to hear the Word of God, to love and esteem the minister whom God has sent, and to provide for his welfare. Graebner also maintained that there is no temporary call to the pastoral office.

In 1939, four essays were delivered dealing with some aspect of C. F. W. Walther's position on the doctrine of the ministry as set forth in Kirche und Amt. In each case both an historical and doctrinal analysis was given and in each case no disagreement to Walther's understanding was registered. At the Michigan District convention, H. B. Fehner spoke on "The Ministry the Highest Office in the Church: Based on Theses VIII, IX, and X of Dr. Walther's The Church and the Ministry" (see above pages 226-227 and Appendix I).<sup>56</sup> Speaking to the Iowa District East, Theodore

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<sup>55</sup>Theodore Graebner, "Obligations of Pastor and Congregation under the Ministerial Call," Northern Nebraska District Messenger 13 (October 1937):15-23.

<sup>56</sup>H. B. Fehner, "The Ministry the Highest Office in the Church: Based on Theses VIII, IX, and X of Dr. Walther's The Church and the Ministry," Proceedings of the Sixty-Fourth Convention of the Michigan District of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Held

Buenger addressed the topic, "The Three Last Theses of Walther's Kirche und Amt" (see above pages 227-228 and Appendix I).<sup>57</sup> F. E. Mayer gave a German essay at the Southern Illinois District entitled "Das Predigtamt ist das hoechste Amt in der Kirche" ("The Preaching Office is the Highest Office in the Church") (see above page 228 and Appendix I).<sup>58</sup> Finally, Joseph Hannewald discussed Thesis V of Walther's Kirche und Amt at the 1939 Colorado District convention (see Appendix I for the text of Thesis V).<sup>59</sup>

At the 1943 Alberta and British Columbia District convention, C. F. Baase delivered an essay on "The Call to the Ministry."<sup>60</sup> Baase held that the call to the ministry of the Gospel involves primarily two divine institutions: the Christian congregation and the office of the holy ministry. The office of the holy ministry was identified with the pastoral office. Baase also stated that the calling of a minister of

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at Saginaw, Mich., June 26-30, 1939 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939), pp. 24-79.

<sup>57</sup>Theodore Buenger, "The Three Last Theses of Walther's Kirche und Amt," Proceedings of the Second Convention of the Iowa District East of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Waterloo, Iowa, August 13-17, 1939, pp. 13-53.

<sup>58</sup>F. E. Mayer, "Das Predigtamt ist das hoechste Amt in der Kirche," Proceedings of the Twentieth Convention of the Southern Illinois District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States Assembled at Red Bud, Ill., October 16-20, 1939 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939), pp. 24-79.

<sup>59</sup>Joseph Hannewald, "The Church and the Ministry (Part 2, Thesis V)," Proceedings of the Thirteenth Convention of the Colorado District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States Assembled at Denver, Colorado, August 15 to 21, 1939, pp. 22-35.

<sup>60</sup>C. F. Baase, "The Call to the Ministry," Proceedings of the 16th Convention of the Alta. and B.C. District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. June 29th to July 2nd, 1943, Held at Concordia College, Edmonton, Alberta, p. 10. Only an outline of Baase's presentation is given.

the Word is the divine right of a Christian congregation, and the call which a pastor receives from a Christian congregation is a divine call, demanding his earnest consideration.

Mark J. Steege delivered his essay on "The Lutheran Pastor,"<sup>61</sup> which then appeared in The Abiding Word (see above page 292), at the 1945 convention of the Iowa District East. Before elaborating on the essential qualifications for the pastoral office, Steege discussed the divine institution of the pastoral office in a local congregation.

"The Call Into the Glorious Office of the Holy Ministry"<sup>62</sup> was A. H. Schwermann's topic at the 1951 convention of the Northern Nebraska District. Schwermann centered the doctrine of the ministry in the doctrine of justification. In order that the good news of the Gospel may be proclaimed publicly, God instituted the office of the public ministry. God places men into this glorious office of the holy ministry by means of the call of a local congregation. Here Schwermann emphasized that in order to be a pastor, or to have the full office of the public ministry, one must have a call to a parish.

At the 1954 Central Illinois District convention, Henry Eggold delivered an essay specifically on "The Office of the Holy Ministry."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Mark J. Steege, "The Lutheran Pastor," Proceedings of the Sixth Convention of the Iowa District East of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Atkins, Iowa, August 13-16, 1945, pp. 21-40.

<sup>62</sup>A. H. Schwermann, "The Call Into the Glorious Office of the Holy Ministry," Northern Nebraska District Messenger 27 (November 1951): 69-89. A similar essay was given in 1955. Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Convention of the Northern Illinois District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, June 27 to 30, 1955, pp. 7-35.

<sup>63</sup>Henry J. Eggold, "The Office of the Holy Ministry," Proceedings of the Thirty-First Convention of the Central Illinois District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Springfield, Illinois, Aug. 29 to Sept. 2, 1954, pp. 33-38.

Eggold began with the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers and then stated that because a Christian congregation is composed of believers, it has the powers that belong to all Christians (the Office of the Keys). Even though each Christian has the Office of the Keys, he does not have the right to exercise them on behalf of all. Because Christ established the office of the ministry, Christian congregations are duty bound to establish this office in their midst. It is the call of the congregation which gives anyone the authorization for the public preaching of the Word. No women are to be called to the pastoral office according to Eggold. However, a congregation may wish to call more than one pastor. In exercising the office of the ministry, the pastor is not a special priest, but a servant of Christ and of the congregation. Yet, this does not mean that the pastor is a mere hireling. "Implicit in the concept of the divinity of the call is permanency of tenure."<sup>64</sup>

The year 1961 was the 150th anniversary of C. F. W. Walther's birth. As a result, two district conventions had essays discussing Walther's position on the doctrine of the ministry. In Minnesota, Gerhard Michael spoke on "Walther and the Ministry of the Church."<sup>65</sup> In Michigan, Gilbert T. Otte delivered an essay entitled "The Voice of Our Church on the Questions of the Church and the Ministry."<sup>66</sup> In both

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

<sup>65</sup>Gerhard Michael, "Walther and the Ministry of the Church," Proceedings of the Fifty-Fourth Convention of the Minnesota District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Held at Minneapolis, MN., Aug. 14-18, 1961, pp. 12-23.

<sup>66</sup>Gilbert T. Otte, "The Voice of Our Church on the Questions of the Church and The Ministry," Proceedings of the Seventy-Ninth Convention of the Michigan District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI., August 13-17, 1961, pp. 19-23.

cases, the historical background of Walther's Kirche und Amt (the controversy over church and ministry that involved J. A. A. Grabau and Wilhelm Loehe--see above pages 33-50) was discussed and Walther's position on the doctrine of the ministry was upheld as the true, Scriptural position.

Concluding Comments on the Traditional Understanding  
of the Doctrine of the Ministry Within the  
Missouri Synod, 1932-1962

The traditional Missouri Synod understanding of the doctrine of the ministry was strongly maintained even as the Synod entered the decade of the 1960s. It is probably safe to say that it was by and large the predominant view, as can be seen by the books, journal articles and convention essays published between 1932 and 1962.

Apart from those who held to the functional view of the doctrine of the ministry (see above Chapter VI) and those who held to an high church understanding of an episcopacy and ordination (see above Chapter IV), there was only one variation that can be noted within the traditional Missouri Synod understanding. In his 1951 article, "Concerning the Ministry of the Church" (see above pages 257-260, 301-302), Elmer Moeller maintained that the pastoral office in a local congregation and the public office of the ministry cannot be equated. However, no explanation or substantiation for this position was given. Nor was this distinction pursued by others.

In 1962, a synodical resolution was adopted which changed the Missouri Synod's practice with respect to the call into the public office of the ministry, or what many identified as the pastoral office, and ordination (see below Chapter IX). This would also "officially" change the Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry. Yet,

apart from the variations noted in Chapters IV and VI, there was no noticeable shift from the traditional understanding of the doctrine of the ministry in the vast majority of the published books, articles or convention essays by the Synod's pastors and theological professors.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY AND MISSOURI SYNOD DISCUSSIONS WITH LUTHERANS OUTSIDE THE SYNODICAL CONFERENCE, 1932-1962

An important consideration in analyzing the doctrinal position of a church body in any given period is the statements that were issued during negotiations or discussions with other church bodies in an effort to reach doctrinal unity. Between 1932 and 1962, the Missouri Synod was involved in several such discussions, primarily with the American Lutheran Church. Yet, meetings were also held with members of the United Lutheran Church in America, and beginning in 1948, a series of discussions with European Lutherans was conducted that became known as the Bad Boll Conferences.

Because the meetings with the United Lutheran Church were short-lived, the doctrine of the ministry was never addressed. However, in both the negotiations with the American Lutheran Church and at the Bad Boll Conferences, the doctrine of the ministry was a topic for discussion. With respect to the negotiations between the American Lutheran Church and the Missouri Synod, there was little, if any, disagreement over the basic understanding of the office of the public ministry during the twentieth century. Nonetheless, because it had been an issue of disagreement between the Missouri Synod and the Iowa and Buffalo Synods during the nineteenth century, statements on the ministry were drafted. In the case of each doctrinal statement, no departure from the Missouri

Synod's traditional understanding of the doctrine of the ministry can be noted. On the other hand, there was sharp disagreement over the understanding of the place of the public office of the ministry and ordination at the Bad Boll Conferences. It appears that neither the Missouri Synod theologians nor certain European theologians were willing to concede their positions. And thus, no consensus on the doctrine of the ministry was reached at the Bad Boll Conferences with those German Lutherans who were not in fellowship with the members of the Synodical Conference. Throughout the Missouri Synod's discussions with Lutherans outside of the Synodical Conference, no noticeable change in the Synod's traditional understanding can be noted.

#### The "Brief Statement" and the "Declaration"

During the years the intersynodical discussions between the Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa and Buffalo Synods were conducted (see above pages 142-148), the Ohio, Iowa, and Buffalo Synods were engaged in their own negotiations toward a merger. By 1930, the final draft of a constitution was agreed upon, and in August 1930, the Ohio, Iowa, and Buffalo Synods formed the American Lutheran Church.<sup>1</sup> In addition to their own merger discussions, the Ohio, Iowa, and Buffalo Synods had been negotiating with the Norwegian Lutheran Church, the Augustana Synod, the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Lutheran Free Church. In 1925, the synods of Ohio, Iowa and Buffalo, together with the Norwegian Lutheran Church, drafted and adopted an agreement called the Minneapolis Theses. Between 1925 and 1930, the Augustana Synod, the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Free Church gave their en-

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<sup>1</sup>E. Clifford Nelson, ed., The Lutherans in North America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 447-449.

dorsement to the Minneapolis Theses, and on October 31, 1930, these Lutheran synods, together with the American Lutheran Church formed the American Lutheran Conference. The American Lutheran Conference sought fellowship and cooperation following a "middle way" position between the United Lutheran Church of America (formed in 1918 as a merger of the General Synod North, the General Synod South, and the General Council) and the Synodical Conference.<sup>2</sup> By 1931, American Lutherans were primarily divided into three major groups with communicant memberships as follows: the United Lutheran Church in America -- 1,384,975; the American Lutheran Conference -- 1,368,830; and the Synodical Conference -- 1,332,421.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1930 and 1935, the Missouri Synod had no official discussions or relations with either the American Lutheran Church or the United Lutheran Church in America. Although the Missouri Synod had expressed a desire to continue discussions with the Ohio, Iowa, and Buffalo Synods at its 1929 convention, it took no action to initiate these discussions.<sup>4</sup> At its 1932 convention, the Missouri Synod adopted the "Brief Statement" which was then to serve as the church body's official doctrinal position in future negotiations.<sup>5</sup> The final conventions of

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<sup>2</sup>Richard C. Wolf, Documents of Lutheran Unity in America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 338-340.

<sup>3</sup>Theodore Graebner, [Editorial] "Lutheran Statistics for 1931," The Lutheran Witness 51 (June 7, 1932):201.

<sup>4</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod [hereafter cited LCMS], Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at River Forest, Illinois, on June 19-28, 1929 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1929), pp. 112-113.

<sup>5</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Mil-

the Ohio, Iowa, and Buffalo Synods in 1930 completely ignored the question of relations with the Missouri Synod.<sup>6</sup>

In 1935, both the United Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church initiated a proposal for discussions with the Missouri Synod. According to the 1935 Missouri Synod convention, the President of the Missouri Synod was directed to appoint a Committee on Lutheran Church Union who was then to meet with representatives from the other church bodies. This Committee was also to confer with other members of the Synodical Conference so that they would be informed on this matter.<sup>7</sup>

The Missouri Synod's Committee on Lutheran Union held two meetings with representatives of the United Lutheran Church of America. It was reported to the Missouri Synod's 1938 convention that while the two groups found that they were in complete accord on the doctrines of conversion and election, no agreement was reached with regard to the inspiration of Scripture. It was then resolved by the Missouri Synod convention that discussions should continue.<sup>8</sup> However, no further meetings

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waukee, Wisconsin, on June 15-24, 1932 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932), pp. 154-155.

<sup>6</sup>Fred Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church (Columbus, OH: The Wartburg Press, 1958), p. 253.

<sup>7</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, on June 19-28, 1935 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935), p. 221. These meetings involved only the Missouri Synod and the American Lutheran Church or the Missouri Synod and the United Lutheran Church in America. Other members of the Synodical Conference or the American Lutheran Conference were not involved.

<sup>8</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at St. Louis, MO., on June 15-24, 1938 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938), p. 233.

with the commissioners of the United Lutheran Church were held. The Missouri Synod Committee members felt that because there was no agreement on the doctrine of inspiration, it was useless to continue discussions. It also appeared that the members of the United Lutheran Church's committee felt the same.<sup>9</sup>

The discussions between the Missouri Synod and the American Lutheran Church proved to be more productive. Between 1935 and 1938, representatives of both church bodies met six times. The discussions centered around the Missouri Synod's "Brief Statement" and the Minneapolis Theses of the American Lutheran Conference. The commissioners of the American Lutheran Church accepted the doctrinal contents of the "Brief Statement." But, in order to supplement and emphasize their position, the American Lutheran Church negotiators drafted their own official statement entitled the "Declaration of the Representatives of the American Lutheran Church."<sup>10</sup>

Under the title "The Office of the Public Administration of the Means of Grace," the "Declaration" stated the following:

The office of the public administration of the means of grace is a divine institution. The power to forgive or retain sins, to preach the Law and the Gospel, has been committed by Christ not to an individual person, as Peter and his so-called successors, nor only to the

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<sup>9</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Fort Wayne, Indiana, on June 18-27, 1941 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), p. 286.

<sup>10</sup>LCMS, 1938 Proceedings, pp. 221-226. The American Lutheran Church [hereafter cited ALC], Official Minutes of the Fifth Convention of the American Lutheran Church Held in Sandusky, Ohio, October 14-20, 1938, pp. 7-17. For a thorough analysis of the six discussions see: Edward E. Busch, "The Relations Between the American Lutheran Church and The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod from 1930 to 1941, and Their Failure to Establish Church Fellowship," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1973, pp. 155-209.

twelve apostles nor to a special order, but to all Christians, Matt. 16:19; 18:18; John 20:19, 20; to be compared with Luke 24:33-36. In order to have one in its midst who exercises this power publicly, in its name and by its order, the Christian congregation calls a capable person. By the call the congregation erects the public administration of the means of grace in its midst. Ordination is the confirmation of the call; it is not a divine but a commendable human ordinance.<sup>11</sup>

In many respects, the "Brief Statement" (see above page 158) and the "Declaration" are very similar concerning the doctrine of the ministry. Both maintain the divine institution (or that it is a divine ordinance) of the office of the ministry. Both identify this office with a congregation. Both documents maintain that ordination is not a divine institution but a commendable churchly or human ordinance. Both stress that the office of the ministry is not a special order. Also, both statements seem to be referring to the pastoral office. Difference in emphases can be noted as well. Whereas the "Brief Statement" refers to the office as "the public ministry," the "Declaration" calls it "the office of the public administration of the means of grace." Yet, both documents identify the office with the functions of proclaiming the Word and administering the Sacraments (a common Lutheran understanding of the means of grace). Whereas the "Brief Statement" makes no mention of the call of a congregation, the "Declaration" specifically identifies the public function of the office with the call of a Christian congregation. Also, the "Declaration" makes a point of rejecting any idea of an apostolic succession, whereas the "Brief Statement" makes no mention of this. On the other hand, the "Brief Statement" makes a point of stressing that the minister is to be obeyed only insofar as he proclaims the Word of God.

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<sup>11</sup>LCMS, 1938 Proceedings, pp. 223-224.

After discussing the issue of fellowship with the American Lutheran Church in four sessions, the 1938 Missouri Synod convention resolved:

2. That Synod declares that the Brief Statement of the Missouri Synod, together with the Declaration of the representatives of the American Lutheran Church and the provisions of this entire report of Committee No. 16 now being read and with Synod's actions thereupon, be regarded as the doctrinal basis for 'future church-fellowship' between the Missouri Synod and the American Lutheran Church.

6. That regarding the establishment of church-fellowship between the two bodies on this basis, Synod recognizes the following points, which embody and augment the four recommendations of Synod's Committee on Lutheran Union:

a. The establishing of church-fellowship between the American Lutheran Church and the Missouri Synod will depend on the action taken by each body with reference to the Brief Statement, the Declaration of the representatives of the American Lutheran Church, and the report of this Committee as adopted by Synod.

b. The establishing of church-fellowship between the American Lutheran Church and the Missouri Synod will depend also on the establishing on the part of the American Lutheran Church of doctrinal agreement with those church bodies with which the American Lutheran Church is in fellowship.

c. As far as the Missouri Synod is concerned, the whole matter must be submitted for approval to the other synods constituting the Synodical Conference.

d. Until church-fellowship has been officially established, the pastors of both church-bodies are encouraged to meet in smaller circles wherever and as often as possible in order to discuss both the doctrinal basis for union and the question of church practice.

7. That, if by the grace of God fellowship can be established, this fact is to be announced officially by the President of Synod. Until then no action is to be taken by any of our pastors or congregations which would overlook the fact that we are not yet united.<sup>12</sup>

Meeting four months later, the American Lutheran Church voted to accept the "Brief Statement" and the "Declaration" as a sufficient doctrinal basis for church fellowship. It also declared that the "Brief Statement" "viewed in the light of our Declaration is not in contradic-

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 231-232.

tion to the Minneapolis Theses which are the basis for our membership in the American Lutheran Conference."<sup>13</sup>

#### The Doctrinal Affirmation

The general reaction within the Missouri Synod and within the Synodical Conference to establishing church-fellowship on the basis of two separate documents was quite negative. It was believed that true doctrinal unity had not been established. The 1941 Missouri Synod convention resolved to continue negotiations with the American Lutheran Church in an effort to establish doctrinal unity. However, it changed the name of its committee to "The Committee on Doctrinal Unity in the Lutheran Church of America," it encouraged the other members of the Synodical Conference to send their representatives to join in the discussions with the American Lutheran Church, and it resolved that negotiations work toward the formation of one doctrinal statement for the two church bodies.<sup>14</sup>

Before continuing their discussions with the representatives of the American Lutheran Church, the Missouri Synod's Committee on Doctrinal Unity met with other members of the Synodical Conference. However, only the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church agreed to join the Missouri Synod

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<sup>13</sup>ALC, 1938 Official Minutes, p. 255. It should also be noted here that the Minneapolis Theses of 1925 contained no statement on the doctrine of the ministry. Wolf, Documents of Lutheran Unity, pp. 340-342.

<sup>14</sup>LCMS, 1941 Proceedings, pp. 301-302. For an analysis of the opposition within the Synodical Conference see: Edward Busch, "The Relations between the American Lutheran Church and The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod from 1930 to 1941, and Their Failure to Establish Church Fellowship," pp. 218-228. The opposition was not with regard to the statement on the doctrine of the ministry, but instead centered on the American Lutheran Church's position on non-fundamental doctrines and church fellowship.



and participate in discussions with representatives of the American Lutheran Church. The next meeting with the American Lutheran Church's committee did not take place until February 12, 1943.<sup>15</sup> After several meetings, a single document entitled "Doctrinal Affirmation of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States and of the American Lutheran Church" was issued in 1944. However, it did not appear in time for the Missouri Synod's 1944 convention. Concerning the doctrine "Of the Public Ministry," the Doctrinal Affirmation statement was identical to the statement set forth in the "Brief Statement" (see above page 158).<sup>16</sup>

At its October 1944 convention, the American Lutheran Church presented the Doctrinal Affirmation for consideration. It was resolved that all conferences and districts of the church body would study the document and report back to its Commission on Intersynodical Fellowship.<sup>17</sup> However, the reaction to the Doctrinal Affirmation within the American Lutheran Church was quite negative. Many felt that it represented only the position of the Missouri Synod, and not that of the American Lutheran

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<sup>15</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Saginaw, Michigan, June 21-29, 1944 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), p. 228.

<sup>16</sup>"Doctrinal Affirmation of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States and of the American Lutheran Church" (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), pp. 12-13.

<sup>17</sup>ALC, Official Minutes of the Eighth Convention of the American Lutheran Church Held at Sandusky, Ohio, October 9-14, 1944 (Columbus, OH: The Wartburg Press, 1944), pp. 18-19.

Church. Thus, the church body's 1946 convention took no action on the document.<sup>18</sup>

Reaction to the Doctrinal Affirmation within the Missouri Synod and within the Synodical Conference was equally negative.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the 1947 Missouri Synod convention resolved:

1. That Synod declare that the 1938 resolution shall no longer be considered as a basis for the purpose of establishing fellowship with the American Lutheran Church; and
2. That Synod encourage its Committee on Doctrinal Unity to continue discussion on a soundly Scriptural basis, using the Brief

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<sup>18</sup>ALC, Official Minutes of the Ninth Convention of the American Lutheran Church Held at Appleton, Wisconsin, October 10-17, 1946 (Columbus, OH: The Wartburg Press, 1946), pp. 24-25, 262-280.

<sup>19</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Fortieth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Chicago, Illinois, June 20-29, 1947 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 492-509. The only criticism against the position on the office of the ministry came in a private publication by Theodore Dierks (who also wrote regularly for The Confessional Lutheran). Dierks did not criticize the Doctrinal Affirmation itself in this regard (such a criticism would have also been an attack against the Brief Statement). Dierks took issue with the emphasis within the American Lutheran Church on a "visible side" of the invisible Church. He maintained that this understanding "safeguards its peculiar doctrine of the ministry, that the commission to preach the Gospel and to administer the Sacraments was originally vested in the Christians only in conjunction with the clergy as the representatives of the Word and Sacraments, the so-called visible side of the invisible Church." Dierks then referred to the old position of the Iowa Synod. "In Lutheran Dogmatics, Vol. II, p. 195, Dr. Reu says that the office of the public administration of the means of grace was given 'to all believers, that is, to the Church. Since it has been given to the Church, that is, the sum-total of the believers, it is the Church which has the right to establish it. The local congregation is a part of the Church at large, and therefore it must have the same right' (Ibid, II, p. 196). The local congregation 'is ready to have a representative of the Church at large when she extends her call and to verify her call in order that the Church at large knows that the call extended was "valid" and "proper"' (Ibid, II, p. 198). This has been explained that if the clergy is not represented when the call is being extended, then the call is not valid. The congregation of itself and by itself does not have the right to call a pastor." Theodore Dierks, "An Examination of the Proposed Doctrinal Affirmation" (Private Printing, no date), pp. 37-38. Located in Material Relating to Inter-Lutheran Unity and Fellowship Files, 109, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo. [hereafter cited CHI].

Statement and such other documents as are already in existence or as it may be necessary to formulate; and

3. That Synod's Committee on Doctrinal Unity be instructed to make every effort to arrive ultimately at one document which is Scriptural, clear, concise, and unequivocal; and

4. That Synod urge all its members to give thorough and prayerful study to the problems of Lutheran unity for the purpose of achieving greater clarity in its own midst.<sup>20</sup>

#### The Common Confession and Beyond

The Missouri Synod's Committee on Doctrinal Unity met alone on January 9, 1948, in order to organize and to initiate steps in harmony with the Synod's 1947 directives. On January 30, 1948, the Committee met with representatives from the other members of the Synodical Conference. Then, on May 17, 1948, a joint meeting was held between the Missouri Synod's Committee on Doctrinal Unity and the Fellowship Commission of the American Lutheran Church. In June 1948, a subcommittee of the two larger committees was established to draft a suitable document. By August 30, 1949, twelve articles were drawn up and submitted to each member of the larger committees. On December 6, 1949, the document entitled "Common Confession (Part I)" was accepted by all the representatives from both church bodies.<sup>21</sup>

The Common Confession (Part I) was presented before the 1950 convention of the Missouri Synod whereupon the Synod accepted the document "as a statement of these doctrines in harmony with Scriptures." The convention also added that not all phases of the doctrines of the Scriptures are treated in the Common Confession. It therefore asked

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<sup>20</sup>LCMS, 1947 Proceedings, pp. 510-511.

<sup>21</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-First Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Milwaukee, Wisconsin on June 21-30, 1950 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), pp. 566-567.

that additional statements be drafted and submitted to the next convention.<sup>22</sup> At its 1950 convention, the American Lutheran Church also adopted the Common Confession (Part I) "as a correct and concise statement of our faith in the doctrines therein confessed."<sup>23</sup>

Concerning "The Ministry," the Common Confession (Part I) stated:

We believe and teach:

The ministry of the Word and Sacraments exists by divine ordinance. God continues to call men into this holy office and entrusts the spiritual welfare of His congregations to these pastors as His gifts to the Church. It is the will of God that congregations choose as their pastors only such men as have the qualifications outlined in the Holy Scriptures. Pastors are required by God to be faithful and as faithful pastors are entitled to the love and respect of their congregations.

Cf. Acts 20:28; Rom. 10:12-18; I Cor. 4:1-2; II Cor. 4; Eph. 4:11-15; I Tim. 3; 5:17; Heb. 13:7-17.<sup>24</sup>

In some respects the Common Confession (Part I) defined the doctrine of the ministry even more precisely according to the Missouri Synod's traditional understanding than had the previous doctrinal statements. The divine institution of the public office of the ministry was maintained. This office was specifically identified with the office of a pastor in a congregation. However, nothing was said concerning ordination.

After the 1950 Missouri Synod Convention, the Synod's Committee on Doctrinal Unity again met with members of the Synodical Conference. Both the Wisconsin Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod stated that the Common Confession (Part I) was unacceptable because the document did not specifically reject past errors of the American Lutheran Church. The

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 585-586.

<sup>23</sup>ALC, Official Minutes of the Eleventh Convention of the American Lutheran Church Held at Columbus, Ohio, October 5-12, 1950 (Columbus, OH: The Wartburg Press, 1950), p. 352.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 350-351. LCMS, 1950 Proceedings, pp. 571-572.

Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church, on the other hand, had accepted the Common Confession (Part I). The Missouri Synod's Committee then continued to meet several times with representatives of the American Lutheran Church over a two year period. Another document was drafted, and on February 9, 1953, the members of both committees adopted the Common Confession Part II as a supplement to Part I.<sup>25</sup> The Missouri Synod's Committee on Doctrinal Unity then presented the completed document to the 1953 Missouri Synod convention and asked that Parts I and II of the Common Confession henceforth be regarded as one document. Whereupon the 1953 convention adopted the following:

WHEREAS, Part II of the Common Confession is intended as a supplement to Part I; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That for purposes of study, Parts I and II of the Common Confession hereafter be treated as one document with the understanding that Part II has not yet been adopted.<sup>26</sup>

At its 1954 convention, the American Lutheran Church adopted the Common Confession in its entirety.<sup>27</sup>

Under the title "III. The Church and Its Ministrations," the Common Confession, Part II, stated:

1. Universal Priesthood. All members of the Church are royal priests. In calling a pastor to preach the Word of God and to administer the Sacraments on their behalf, the members of a local congregation exercise their royal priesthood and by no means relinquish it. The privilege and the responsibility of ministering to the saints of God remain the privilege and responsibility of all the members of the Church.

2. Individual and United Activity. From the exercise of this

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<sup>25</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Second Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Houston, Texas, on June 17-26, 1953 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 495-496.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 528.

<sup>27</sup>ALC, Official Minutes of the Thirteenth Convention of the American Lutheran Church Held in Beatrice, Nebraska, September 30 - October 7, 1954 (Columbus, OH: The Wartburg Press, 1954), p. 351.

ministry no one is exempt. Every Christian, man or woman, old or young, rich or poor, skilled or unskilled, learned or unlearned, as God gives power and opportunity, is to edify the Church of God; to feed the lambs and the sheep; to instruct and encourage others; to visit the sick and help the needy and distressed; to seek, admonish, rebuke, forgive, and restore the erring; to judge and remove false teaching; to endeavor to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; to speak in defense of all the saints, being ready to give an answer to anyone concerning the hope that is in them; and to support with prayers and gifts the exercise of this ministry in areas and spheres which he himself cannot reach. Christian congregations and synods take counsel and co-operate with each other in seeking God-pleasing and effective ways to perform the work the Lord has assigned to all members of His Church.

3. Universal Application. The blessings of this ministry are meant for all races and conditions of men. From these blessings no one may be excluded, since no one is excluded from the forgiveness spoken by God to the world in the death and resurrection of His Son, Jesus Christ. Christian love, having its source in that forgiving love of God, is spontaneous and unrestricted and knows no barrier of race, class, or color, even as Christ is the Propitiation not only for our sins, but also for the sins of the whole world.<sup>28</sup>

The statement on the ministry in Part II of the Common Confession referred primarily to the ministry of the priesthood of all believers. Only one reference was made to the public office of the ministry and this reference specifically identified the calling of a pastor to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments on behalf of a local congregation.

Following the 1953 Missouri Synod convention, the Synod's Committee on Doctrinal Unity met with the Committee on Union and Fellowship of the American Lutheran Church on March 30, 1954, and November 14, 1955. The joint committees discussed the American Lutheran Church's plans for a merger with other members of the American Lutheran Conference and the future value of the Common Confession. Based on these discussions, the Missouri Synod's Committee on Doctrinal Unity recommended to the Synod's 1956 convention that Part II of the Common Confession be adopted as a statement of doctrine and as a guide for practice in harmony with Scrip-

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<sup>28</sup>LCMS, 1953 Proceedings, pp. 510-511. ALC, 1954 Official Minutes, pp. 334-335.

ture and the Lutheran Confessions. Also, because the American Lutheran Church was planning to merge with the other members of the American Lutheran Conference and because these other Lutheran church bodies had not participated in drafting the Common Confession, it was recommended that the Common Confession (Parts I and II) be regarded as a significant historic statement which may, like other documents of a similar nature, serve in future negotiations.<sup>29</sup>

The 1956 Missouri Synod convention contained numerous resolutions requesting that the Common Confession be rejected, withdrawn, or set aside. In addition, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod had broken fellowship with the Missouri Synod in 1955 and the Wisconsin Synod had adopted a position of "fellowship in protest," in part because of the Missouri Synod's negotiations with the American Lutheran Church and its position on the Common Confession.<sup>30</sup> However, the statements on the doctrine of the ministry in the Common Confession (Parts I and II) were apparently not the reasons for dissatisfaction. With growing pressures confronting it, the 1956 Missouri Synod convention adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The Common Confession represents a sincere attempt on the part of Synod to achieve unity of doctrine with the American Lutheran Church; and

WHEREAS, Honest and painstaking scrutiny of both Part I and Part II of the Common Confession has revealed nothing in conflict with the Sacred Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions; and

WHEREAS, It appears from recent historical developments that the

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<sup>29</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Saint Paul, Minnesota, June 20-29, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), pp. 491-494.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 495-504. Also see: LCMS, "A Fraternal Word on the Questions in Controversy Between the Wisconsin Synod and the Missouri Synod" (St. Louis: The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, 1953), pp. 3-12; "100 Questions and Answers for Lutherans of the Synodical Conference" (Chicago: Private Printing, Chicago Area Church Councils, 1954), pp. 8-17.

Common Confession can no longer serve as a functioning union document, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That hereafter the Common Confession (Parts I and II) be not regarded or employed as a functioning basic document toward the establishment of altar and pulpit fellowship with other church bodies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Common Confession, one document composed of Parts I and II, be recognized as a statement in harmony with the Sacred Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions.<sup>31</sup>

At its 1959 synodical convention, the Missouri Synod resolved to meet with the representatives of the soon-to-be-formed The American Lutheran Church (in 1960, the American Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church merged to form The American Lutheran Church).<sup>32</sup> However, doctrinal discussions between representatives of the Missouri Synod and The American Lutheran Church did not begin officially until 1964.<sup>33</sup>

#### The Bad Boll Conferences and the Doctrine of the Ministry

With the Nazi German surrender on May 7, 1945, and the Japanese surrender on August 14, 1945, World War II came to a close and Missouri Synod Lutherans were naturally concerned for the refugees of the war, particularly about the fate of the Lutheran churches in Europe.<sup>34</sup> In early October of that year, President Behnken and other members of the

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<sup>31</sup>LCMS, 1956 Proceedings, pp. 504-505.

<sup>32</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at San Francisco, CA, June 17-26, 1959 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), pp. 196-197.

<sup>33</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Detroit, Michigan, June 16-26, 1965 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), p. 105.

<sup>34</sup>John W. Behnken, This I Recall (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), p. 87.



Missouri Synod left for Europe to assess the situation and offer what help they could.<sup>35</sup> Upon returning, President Behnken met with President Harry S. Truman at the White House on December 14, 1945. As a result, it became possible for Americans to send aid to war-torn Europe.<sup>36</sup> In 1946, John Behnken appointed the Emergency Planning Council to coordinate synodical aid to the many war refugees with Lawrence (Lorry) Meyer serving as its Executive Director. By the close of 1949 "more than 20 million dollars in cash and kind [had] been contributed for world relief by the members of the Missouri Synod. This is a conservative estimate."<sup>37</sup> The Emergency Planning Council also concerned itself with spiritual matters by distributing ten thousand copies of the Pieper-Mueller Christliche-Dogmatik, Walther's Gesetz und Evangelium (Law and Gospel) and even more copies of Luther's Der Kleine Katechismus (the Small Catechism).<sup>38</sup>

Behnken returned to Germany in 1947 and had the opportunity to meet with numerous German Lutheran pastors and professors. Together with Lorry Meyer and Dr. Karl Arndt (Chief of Religious Affairs for the U. S. Military Government in Europe), it was arranged to hold a series of theological conferences, beginning in 1948 at a health spa in the foothills of the Swabian Alps known as Bad Boll. These conferences continued annually for seven summers and included representatives from the Missouri Synod, the German Free Churches, the German Landeskirche (the United Lutheran Church of Germany - VELKD), as well as other American Lutherans,

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 89-106.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 106-107.

<sup>37</sup>Lawrence Meyer, "Behind the Iron Curtain," The Lutheran Witness 68 (November 15, 1949):375.

<sup>38</sup>Lawrence Meyer, "Missouri Synod World Relief in 1945," The Lutheran Witness 66 (February 11, 1947):42-45.

Lutherans from other European countries and Australia.<sup>39</sup>

However, immediately after the cessation of hostilities and before the Bad Boll Conferences began, representatives of the two largest German Lutheran Free Churches, the Breslau Synod and the Saxon Free Church, reached full agreement and established fellowship based on the "Union Theses Adopted by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Old Prussia (Breslau Synod) and the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church (Free Church of Saxony and Other States)."<sup>40</sup> With respect to the public ministry, the document was in basic agreement with similar statements set forth by the Missouri Synod. Yet, one can see that the members of the German Free Churches placed a stronger emphasis upon the guidance on the part of the holy ministry over the congregation. Also, the document contained no statement stating that ordination is not a divine institution.

The holy ministry is an office instituted by Christ and is a ministry of service. The Lord has commanded the Church to establish this office, to which the Church is bound until the end of days. . . .

On the one hand, the office of the ministry is not a peculiar state, one distinct from, and superior to, the state of all Christians, nor a self-perpetuating state. . . . On the other hand, the office of the ministry is not a mere human ordinance subject to human caprice (menschlicher Willkuer unterworfen).

2. Although the office to remit and to retain sin, to preach Law and Gospel, was originally and immediately given all Christians by the Lord of the Church . . . , nevertheless, in order properly to exercise this office publicly, the congregation calls a qualified

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<sup>39</sup>Behnken, This I Recall, pp. 108-117. Karl J. R. Arndt, "Missouri and Bad Boll, 1948," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 52 (Spring 1979):2-31. F. E. Mayer, The Story of Bad Boll, Building Theological Bridges (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1949), passim. Martin Franzmann, Bad Boll, 1949 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), passim. Hans Spalteholz, "The Bad Boll Enterprise," Unpublished Bachelor of Divinity Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, June 1955, passim. W. Schmidt, "A Theological Discussion with the Missouri Synod in Bad Boll," The Lutheran Quarterly 1 (February 1949):78-85.

<sup>40</sup>"Union Theses Adopted by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Old Prussia (Breslau Synod) and the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church (Free Church of Saxony and Other States)," translated by F. E. Mayer, Concordia Theological Monthly 19 (November 1948):824-840.

person for this purpose. . . . The person so called feeds the congregation with and rules it through Word and Sacrament . . . , not only by human authority, but at the same time--and therefore mediately--by the command of the Lord. . . . Ordination is the solemn confirmation before the congregation of the call into the holy ministry. . . .

3. Since the Church is one under its Head, Christ, it is the solemn duty of the congregation, though each congregation is the Church . . . , to foster the unity of the Spirit with the entire orthodox Church . . . , and wherever possible to build jointly with other congregations the entire Church of Christ. . . . Such cooperation presupposes proper guidance and direction (gemeinschaftliche Leitung) because the Lord has commanded that everything be done decently and in order. . . . But in such joint activity the spiritual feeding and guiding must always remain the function of the public ministry as the real (eigentliches) and highest office in the Church. . . . Regulations for the offices necessary to carry out the joint functions may vary from time to time. All external arrangements in congregations and in church bodies and all ranking of the ministers are purely of human right. . . .<sup>41</sup>

Already at the first Bad Boll conference in 1948 there was disagreement over the doctrines of church and ministry between the Missouri Synod representatives and some German theologians (particularly those associated with VELKD). F. E. Mayer reported that the German theologians feared that the Missouri Synod's emphasis on the sovereignty of the congregation could lead either to Karl Barth's congregationalism and to enthusiasm or to doctrinal and ecclesiastical chaos. The German theologians also raised numerous questions with regard to the Missouri Synod's position: ". . . who has the Sacraments, the local congregation or the universal Church or the church government? Who is the author of the office? Is the vocatio interna (internal call) a requisite for the validity of the call?"<sup>42</sup> Mayer noted that the American Lutherans held that the validity of the call is determined by the powers vested in the local congregation, while the German theologians emphasized ordination

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 836-837.

<sup>42</sup>F. E. Mayer, The Story of Bad Boll, pp. 36-37.

by the properly constituted authorities. Yet, both groups agreed that the ministry is a divine institution.

The doctrine of the ministry was not a topic for discussion again until the August 10-16, 1950, conference held at Neuendettelsau, Bavaria. Here, J. T. Mueller presented a paper on the ministerial office in its relation to the congregation and the general priesthood of all believers. Mueller discussed the divine institution of the ministerial office in abstracto and in concreto. He maintained that the spiritual priesthood exercises its authority properly in a local congregation (Ortsgemeinde). He also discussed the call into the pastoral office, ordination, and the public office of the ministry as the highest office in the church.<sup>43</sup> In his report to President John Behnken, Dr. Herman Harms (a Missouri Synod pastor and representative to the Bad Boll Conferences) noted that the Germans differed strongly with the Missourians over this doctrine. Dr. Lauerer, a German essayist at the Neuendettelsau Conference in 1950, emphasized the point of disagreement between Walther and Loehe over the doctrine of the ministry: "The office of the ministry does not derive from the congregation, but the congregation derives from the office of the ministry."<sup>44</sup> Harms concluded in his report: "In a later private conversation with Dr. Kinder, he admitted an over-emphasis by Loehe of the office, but thought that Walther had made

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<sup>43</sup>J. T. Mueller, "Das Predigtamt nach der Schrift in seinem Verhaeltnis zur Gemeinde und zum allgemeinen Priestertum biblisch-exegetisch dargelegt," Unpublished paper presented at the Neuendettelsau, Bavaria Conference, August 10-16, 1950, John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 3, File 3, CHI.

<sup>44</sup>Report by Herman Harms to John W. Behnken dated August 12, 1950. John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 3, File 4, CHI.

himself guilty of an over-emphasis on the congregation. No consensus here."<sup>45</sup>

At the August 9-15, 1951, Bad Boll Conference, the doctrine of the ministry was again discussed. On August 15, Praelat Issler, a praelate in the Evangelische Landeskirche who served a congregation in Stuttgart, Wuerttemberg, set forth an essay entitled "In What Way Does Christ Speak Through the Ministry." Herman Harms reported to President Behnken that it was a wonderful presentation. He also stated: "I wish we could have the essay for our Theological Monthly. . . ."<sup>46</sup> The essay appeared in the July 1952 issue of the Concordia Theological Monthly.<sup>47</sup> Issler presented his topic by setting forth ten theses. The first six of Issler's theses spoke either directly or indirectly to the office of the ministry:

Thesis 1. Christ speaks through the office which He has established in the Church because He has committed to it the Word in which, despite the sinfulness of the office bearer, the Spirit of God is actively present. Christ's charge is here the basic factor.

Thesis 2. This office obligates its bearer as one under the constraint of God to yield himself every day of his life to the regenerating power of the Crucified and, himself a hearer, to stand in line with the members of his congregation in the solidarity of guilt, suffering, and obedience.

Thesis 3. Christ can speak to men apart from the ministerial office, through such as are not "rite vocati." But genuine proclamation and genuine hearing always leads to membership in the visible communion of the Church.

Thesis 4. If the voice of Christ in preaching is not to die away without effect, the body of hearers must become a congregation, and each hearer as a member must abide in active confession and in loving service to the brethren.

Thesis 5. Christ's speaking through the ministerial office does

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Report by Herman Harms to John W. Behnken dated August 12, 1951. John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 3, File 5, CHI.

<sup>47</sup>Praelat Issler, "In What Way Does Christ Speak Through the Ministry," translated by Victor Bartling, Concordia Theological Monthly 23 (July 1952):481-497.

not mean that we can discard the words of the Word. . . . On the contrary, it obligates us to search in an ever new effort for the exact meaning of Scripture and how this meaning may best be put into present-day language for the present-day situation.

Thesis 6. In clear correspondence to the divine-human Person of the Word Incarnate, and even more to the human form He has taken in Holy Scripture and to the IN, CUM, and SUB of the Sacrament, Christ through the fully human word of the sermon nevertheless speaks "His" Word. Here we have both the promise and the limitation of our office.<sup>48</sup>

Concerning his first thesis, Issler maintained that although one can find a locus classicus for the establishment of the Apostolic office, it is neither possible nor necessary to adduce a classical location for the institution of the office of the ministry (diakonia, ministerium ecclesiasticum). Yet, the office is divinely instituted. The author further held that this office branches out into a fivefold office: Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers. Yet, even in its various branches it is one office.<sup>49</sup> Concerning the call into this office, Issler maintained that the New Testament provided no prescriptive direction. It can either be elected by the congregation, appointed by an Apostle or his proxy (such as Titus), or decided by the casting of lots. This office is conferred upon him who serves the congregation. The office has been established by God for the sake of order and so that God's Word may be brought to all men.<sup>50</sup>

Although Praelate Issler did not specifically identify the office of the ministry with the pastorate in a local congregation, he appears to make this implication. He also stressed the necessity for the holder of the ministerial office to proclaim only the Word of God. That a member of the Landeskirche would hold such a position seems to have impressed

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 481.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 482.

the Missouri Synod representatives at the Bad Boll Conferences. Yet, Issler's discussion of the office of the ministry was not as precise as statements made by many American Lutherans, particularly those who held to the traditional position of the Missouri Synod.

No further record of the doctrine of the ministry being discussed at a Bad Boll Conference could be found by this writer. The last of the conferences was held in 1954. After that time, discussions continued primarily only with members of the Free Churches.<sup>51</sup> It must be noted that while agreement was reached on the fundamental articles of justification and the means of grace, there was repeated disagreement on the doctrines of the inspiration of Scripture, the church (including church fellowship), and the ministry.<sup>52</sup>

While it appears that the Missouri Synod had some influence upon the understanding of certain members of the Landeskirche (Praelate Issler), no substantial agreement was reached with regard to the doctrine of the ministry. It also seems that the German theologians did not alter the position of the Missouri Synod theologians in this regard. Both groups maintained the divine institution of and the divine mandate for the public office of the ministry. Also, both groups seemed to have identified the public office of the ministry with the pastorate in a local congregation. However, the Missouri Synod representatives, while maintaining the distinct divine institution of the office of the ministry, emphasized the rights and authority of the priesthood of all believers gathered in a local congregation. Many of the German theologians, on the other hand, emphasized the office of the ministry as a distinct

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<sup>51</sup>Hans Spalteholz, "The Bad Boll Enterprise," p. 2.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-44.

institution and then maintained that it is the church which grows out of the office of the ministry. Also the German theologians placed a stronger emphasis upon ordination, while the Missouri Synod representatives emphasized the call of a congregation.

Concluding Comments on the Doctrine of the  
Ministry and Missouri Synod Discussions  
with Lutherans Outside the Synodical  
Conference, 1932-1962

The doctrine of the ministry was addressed again and again in discussions between the Missouri Synod and Lutherans outside of the Synodical Conference. Although some had their doubts, it appears that agreement over this doctrine was reached between the Missouri Synod and the American Lutheran Church at the same time that disagreement existed between the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods. It must be remembered, however, that differing views on the doctrine of the ministry existed within the Missouri Synod itself at this time.

No agreement was reached with respect to the doctrine of the ministry at the Bad Boll Conferences. It seems that many of the German Lutheran theologians continued to hold the old understanding of Grabau and Loehe (see above pages 31, 41-42), while the Missouri Synod representatives maintained the old position of Walther (see above pages 42-47).

It also appears that doctrinal discussions, whether with representatives of the American Lutheran Church or with European Lutherans, did little, if anything, to change the position of Missouri Synod representatives with respect to the doctrine of the ministry. If anything, the observation of such strong differences with respect to the doctrine



of Scripture and the position on subscription to the Lutheran Confessions at the Bad Boll Conferences may have dulled some representatives' desire for precision on the doctrine of the ministry (see above Harm's reaction to Issler's article). However, this is only conjecture. Ultimately, very few Missouri Synod members were exposed to the German-American conferences.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE GROWING BUREAUCRACY, THE COLLEGE OF PRESIDENTS, AND THE 1962 CONVENTION

As noted earlier, between 1932 and 1962, the Missouri Synod almost doubled in size (see above page 163). And with this tremendous increase in congregational and synodical membership came the growth of bureaucracy in synodical government and a marked increase in full-time synodical and district staff positions. This was in addition to the full-time faculty and staff at the fourteen higher educational institutions that the Synod owned and operated in North America during this period.<sup>1</sup>

The Missouri Synod also had closer relations with the United States government at this time, particularly with respect to the military chaplaincy during World War II. Here the Synod had to confront a different understanding of ordination. The government viewed ordination as a church body's endorsement of an individual to perform the functions of the ministry on behalf of the church body in the military. It was basically seen as a statement or act showing that an individual was qualified to serve as a chaplain. The Missouri Synod, on the other hand,

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<sup>1</sup>A. C. Stellhorn listed fourteen Missouri Synod operated institutions for the training of pastors and teachers in North America and five others in foreign countries in existence in 1947. The Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Indiana was closed and the synod's Concordia Senior College, Fort Wayne opened in 1957. August C. Stellhorn, Schools of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), p. 365.

understood ordination to be the public ratification of a call to the full public office of the ministry in a local congregation.

The increase in full-time district and synodical offices, heretofore considered to be auxiliary offices, and the government's different understanding of ordination caused the Missouri Synod's College of Presidents, which served as the Synod's Board of Assignments, to reevaluate the Synod's understanding of and position on ordination. Within an eight year period, the College of Presidents resolved to redefine the Synod's understanding of ordination. This, in turn, brought on a new understanding of the pastoral office and the church. At the 1962 Missouri Synod convention, the College of Presidents presented three resolutions on ordination which brought this new understanding before the entire Synod and which, in turn, after adoption changed the Synod's understanding of the pastoral office and the church.

#### The Growing Bureaucracy

In a 1961 report on the development of the formal administrative structure of the Missouri Synod, August R. Suelflow noted:

Generally, it may be said that Synod (at least prior to the great financial depression) preferred to conduct its work through properly constituted boards and commissions, rather than through a staff of full-time officers and executives. In fact, one detects a decided aversion to the creation of full-time positions in Synod until the last two decades. (The synodical President became full-time by degrees in the 1880's; the Manager of CPH in the 1860's; the first synodical executive positions were created in 1920; although agitation for them began much earlier.) Reluctance on the part of Synod earlier to engage staff and finally to "let the flood gates down" has complicated and confused the matters of administrative structuring. We are currently on the threshold of a transition period in this respect.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Suelflow also observed: "The structural emphasis of Synod, coupled with its pragmatic approach to administrative problems created greater complexity. Among the factors which motivated Synod in establishing its Administration we may list a few essential ones: 1. An

Prior to 1932, the Missouri Synod had only eight full-time staff offices. The first was Mr. M. C. Barthell, the manager of Concordia Publishing House, appointed as General Agent of the Committee on Publications in 1860.<sup>3</sup> The second full-time synodical official was Mr. Johann Traugott Schuricht, elected Treasurer of the Synod in 1878.<sup>4</sup> In 1881, President H. C. Schwann suggested that the Synod make the presidency a full-time position. With the increase of his work load, it was difficult for the synodical president to be both pastor and synodical official. After a thorough discussion, it was resolved that the congregation served by the synodical president should not demand further obligations than to serve them when he was not involved with synodical duties (attending district conventions, conferences, visiting synodical institutions, and so forth).<sup>5</sup> The position of synodical president was supposedly made

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aversion for the creation of full-time officers and executives. 2. A preference for creation of boards and committee [sic] to perform services for Synod in areas of need. 3. An emphasis in the creation of Districts to avoid the use of full-time executives and officers. 4. An emphasis upon congregational autonomy and concomitant aversion to a massive superstructure. 5. Permissiveness and tolerance of Synod to its Districts, and to the District officers, boards and executives." August R. Suelflow, Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports, 1959-1962, Vol. I., p. 506. Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO. [hereafter cited CHI].

<sup>3</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod [hereafter cited LCMS], Zehnter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten von Jahre 1860 (St. Louis: Synodal-druckerei von Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn., 1861), pp. 73-74. August Suelflow, Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports, Vol. I., p. 386.

<sup>4</sup>LCMS, Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten zu St. Louis, Mo., im Jahre 1878 (St. Louis: Druckerei des Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1878), pp. 44-47. August Suelflow, Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports, Vol. I., p. 289.

<sup>5</sup>LCMS, Achtzehnter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten zu Fort Wayne, Indiana im Jahre 1881 (St. Louis: Druckerei des Lutherischen Concordia Ver-

full-time in 1911, after Francis Pieper had gotten ill while serving as synodical president, seminary president, seminary professor, and assistant pastor.<sup>6</sup> Yet, President Frederick Pfothauer continued to serve as an associate pastor at several different congregations in Chicago between the years 1911 and 1935. Pfothauer also conducted all synodical business (apart from his visits to district conventions, conferences, and synodical institutions) from an office in his Chicago home.<sup>7</sup> Yet, the job of transmitting financial resolutions soon became too great for the synodical president to handle alone. Therefore, a financial secretary was appointed for that purpose in 1920.<sup>8</sup> By 1932, four other full-time officials were added to the synodical staff, including a Director of Publicity (Lorry Meyer) in 1929.<sup>9</sup> In the 1920s, districts began to establish their own full-time staff positions. The first such position was that of the District School Superintendent. The 1929 synodical convention urged districts to establish this position wherever possible.<sup>10</sup>

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lags, 1881), pp. 67-69. August Suelflow, Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports, Vol. I., pp. 277-278.

<sup>6</sup>LCMS, Achtundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten zu St. Louis, Mo., im Jahre 1911 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1911), pp. 133-134.

<sup>7</sup>E. A. Meyer, "Dr. Friedrich Pfothauer," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 13 (April 1940):1-22.

<sup>8</sup>LCMS, Einunddreißigster Synodalbericht der Evangelisch Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten im Jahre 1920 vom 16 bis zum 25 Juni in Detroit, Mich. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1920), pp. 75-76. August Suelflow, Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports, Vol. I., pp. 97, 339.

<sup>9</sup>August Suelflow, Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports, Vol. I., pp. 101, 449.

<sup>10</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Regular Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at

In 1932, the Missouri Synod convention maintained that "the office of the District School Superintendent may be created and regulated by the individual District according to its needs and wishes."<sup>11</sup>

Between 1932 and 1962, the bureaucracy of the Synod increased dramatically. During that period, fifty-two additional full-time synodical offices were created, bringing the total to sixty in 1962. By 1962, there were between seventy to seventy-five full-time district executives.<sup>12</sup>

President Behnken followed President Pfoth's example by initially establishing his office in Chicago in 1935. However, by 1947, the synodical Board of Directors had approved the purchase of an office building for full-time synodical staff at 212 North Broadway (the address

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River Forest, Illinois, June 19-28, 1929 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1929), p. 70.

<sup>11</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Regular Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Assembled at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 15-24, 1932 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1932), pp. 158-160.

<sup>12</sup>August Suelflow, Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports, Vol. I., p. 101. Notable full-time offices included: the Secretary of Missions - 1935. Ibid., p. 380; Curator of Concordia Historical Institute - 1941. Ibid., p. 385; Executive Secretary of the Army and Navy Commission - 1941. Ibid., p. 363; Secretary of Schools - 1943. Ibid., p. 447; Secretary of Adult Education - 1946. Ibid., p. 448; Director of Public Relations - 1947. Ibid., p. 450; Stewardship Counselor - 1949. Ibid., p. 456; Comptroller - 1950. Ibid., p. 415; Director of Radio and Television - 1950. Ibid., p. 425; the First Vice-President of Synod as a full-time office - 1950. Ibid., pp. 339, 341-344; Secretary of Social Welfare - 1951-1953. Ibid., p. 459; full-time editor of The Lutheran Witness - 1952. Ibid., p. 409; General Sunday School Secretary - 1956. Ibid., p. 448; Associate Director of Public Relations - 1958. Ibid., p. 450; Research Director - 1959. Ibid., p. 451; Executive Director of Synod - 1959. Ibid., p. 327.

In 1960, the first full-time district presidency was established in the Missouri Synod's Michigan District. LCMS, Michigan District, Proceedings of the Seventy-Eighth Convention of the Michigan District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 21-25, 1960, pp. 45-46.

of which was changed to 210 North Broadway), St. Louis, Missouri, and the President's office was moved there in 1951.<sup>13</sup> From that point on, there would be an official Missouri Synod headquarters building. The official report of the Synodical Survey Commission to the 1962 Missouri Synod convention made an interesting observation in this regard:

Without detailing the long discussions on church polity which have taken place throughout the course of the Missouri Synod's history, it should be pointed out that until the early 1900's Synod was frequently defined as a convention - or a federation of congregations. Later some members viewed Synod as a corporation, or an institution. In recent years, it has been associated in the minds of many with "210"--synodical headquarters in St. Louis.<sup>14</sup>

With the marked increase of full-time synodical and district executives came a new stress on "professional church workers." An excellent example of this can be found in a 1957 Southern Illinois District convention essay by W. F. Wolbrecht, who became the Executive Director of the Synod in 1959.<sup>15</sup> The essay, entitled "To the Edifying of the Church," virtually identified the term "office of the ministry" with "professional church worker," and so redefined the understanding of the office of the ministry: "When these helping functions [from Eph. 4:8ff] are full-time, paid, formally constituted by the church, and standardized,

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<sup>13</sup>John Behnken, This I Recall (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 49-50. LCMS, Proceedings of the Fortieth Regular Convention of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States Assembled at Chicago, Illinois, July 20-29, 1947 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 579.

<sup>14</sup>LCMS, Reports and Memorials to the Forty-Fifth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, June 20-30, 1962 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), p. 230.

<sup>15</sup>W. F. Wolbrecht, "To the Edifying of the Church," Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Southern Illinois District Assembled at Belleville, Illinois, October 21 to October 25, 1957, pp. 90-109.

they form the office of the ministry."<sup>16</sup> Wolbrecht associated the characteristics of the professional church worker with the characteristics of any true profession based on criteria set forth by John Dale Russel for the "Professionalization of College Business Management."<sup>17</sup> However, the professional church worker is different from every other profession in his relationship to God; "he is God's man."<sup>18</sup> The task of all professional church workers is the edification of the congregation. With that in mind, Wolbrecht went on to state:

Then one can distinguish between correct practice and malpractice in church work. It involved accepting God's goals instead of setting false goals of schism or heresy. It calls for the choice of right means instead of the use of false means. It requires the development and necessary redevelopment of an effective organization instead of the total neglect of organization or the cultivation of over-organization or mis-organization in the mistaken conviction that mere business is the equivalent or satisfactory substitute for the Christian congregation, rooted in the Word, nourished by the Sacraments. . . .<sup>19</sup>

Following this, the essayist established basic standards for professional church workers and discussed the church worker's relation to others.<sup>20</sup> Although Wolbrecht emphasized the parish as the center for the professional church worker's focus, his approach and understanding was shaped largely by a study of professional practices and standards in business and other professions. In addition, his understanding of the office of

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 93-94.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 94-99.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 99-109. In an issue of The Confessional Lutheran, comment was made with respect to Dr. Wolbrecht. In 1961, Wolbrecht gave an essay at a National Council of Churches meeting on "Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy, Its Works and Its Ways." It was reported that Wolbrecht defined church leadership "as a process which prevents cleavage between the church and its people." The unnamed reporter took issue with the statement because "We have always held, and we still do, that the Church, and also a church, is people." [no author given], "Dr. Wolbrecht, The NCC, and 'The Church,'" The Confessional Lutheran 23 (March-April 1962): 54-55.



the ministry in no way identified the full public office and the functioning of that office with the pastorate in a local congregation. The office of the ministry was referred to in vague, general terms, and the specific functions were then assigned to the individual offices of pastor, teacher or synodical official.

Concern was being expressed in various areas of the Synod over the growing bureaucracy, the rising budget of the Synod, and the efficiency of the synodical administration.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the 1956 Missouri Synod resolved to establish the Synodical Survey Commission "to study the organizational structure, administration, and operational procedures of Synod with a view toward improving the effectiveness, efficiency, and economy of Synod."<sup>22</sup>

At the 1959 convention, the Synodical Survey Commission submitted its first (majority) report. The report recommended that the Survey Commission continue for another triennium to pursue its study and carry out the directives of the 1959 convention. The Commission also proposed a divisional grouping of synodical agencies according to Operating Divi-

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<sup>21</sup>In 1953, the authority to establish full-time offices in the Synod was questioned. LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Second Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Houston, Texas, June 17-26, 1953 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), p. 492. At the 1956 synodical convention, several resolutions calling for a study of the Synod's administrative structure were submitted. LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at St. Paul, Minnesota, June 20-29, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), pp. 467-471. Also, several articles appeared in The Confessional Lutheran criticizing the growing bureaucracy: [Theodore] D[ierks], "Evils Resulting from the Denial of Simple Catechism Truth Concerning the Church: Papism and Bureaucratism" The Confessional Lutheran 11 (February 1950):19-21. [no author given], "Missouri's Survey Commission Report," The Confessional Lutheran 23 (March-April 1962):52-53.

<sup>22</sup>LCMS, 1956 Proceedings, pp. 471-472.

sions, Service Divisions, Governmental Divisions and Administrative Divisions. Under these general divisions were classified fourteen subdivisions. It was also recommended that all missions outside the continental United States be transferred from the Board for Missions in North America to the Board for Missions in Foreign Countries, that a divisional chairman be appointed for each of the divisions, that the position of Executive Director of the Synod be established as the full-time executive officer under the Board of Directors to establish the necessary relationship with the synodical agencies, that a Council of Administrators be established, that a central Research Department be established, that all executive secretaries and all other salaried personnel be placed in their positions by appointment instead of election, that a nominations committee be established, that the position of Controller be modified, and that the Board of Directors and a Joint Committee from the Survey Commission be authorized to suspend any bylaws which may be in conflict with these proposals. All of these recommendations were passed by the 1959 synodical convention.<sup>23</sup>

Yet, two minority reports were submitted from members of the Survey Commission. Both recommended that the majority report be rejected. John C. Bauer criticized the centralization of power that had begun in 1950 when the synodical Board of Directors was vested with the general management and supervision of the Synod's business affairs. Bauer maintained that the majority report of the Survey Commission "proposes that Synod cut the tie that binds its agencies to direct responsibility to,

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<sup>23</sup>LCMS, Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at San Francisco, California, June 17-26, 1959 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), pp. 249-262.

and control by, Synod." He also held that the majority report gave the Board of Directors even more control and power through the various Divisions. In another minority report, Fred C. Rutz focused on the financial problems of the Synod and the cost of the Survey Commission. He recommended that the Commission be discontinued.<sup>24</sup> By passing the resolutions of the majority report, the convention discounted the reports of the minority.

The Synodical Survey Commission continued its extensive studies, including a detailed history of synodical administration by August R. Suelflow. At the 1962 Missouri Synod convention, a supplemental report of the Synodical Survey Commission was submitted suggesting only minor additional changes.<sup>25</sup> The convention resolved to turn the matter over to the Commission on Constitutional Matters and thanked the Survey Commission for its dedicated work.<sup>26</sup>

Several important observations were made by August R. Suelflow in his 1961 report on the historical development of administration within the Missouri Synod. Three developmental administrative stages were noted:

1. Thus, the first state of "congregational predominance" covering approximately the first fifty years of synodical history indicates that the percentage of growth from the first convention until the turn of the century amounted to 17,690%.
2. The second phase which was roughly ushered in at the close of the first, and concluded by approximately 1930 represents a 61% increase [characterized by district predominance].
3. The third stage of "board and executive predominance," follow-

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<sup>24</sup>LCMS, Reports and Memorials to the Forty-Fourth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Meeting at San Francisco, California, June 17-27, 1959 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), pp. 438-444.

<sup>25</sup>LCMS, 1962 Proceedings, pp. 188-191.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 132, 136.

ing upon the wake of, and having roots in its earlier stages demonstrates an increase of 124%. It is only natural, in view of these figures, that any administrative system would be profoundly confronted with complex problems in view of such phenomenal expansion. What aggravates the situation, however, is the fact that proponents of all stages vigorously defend one phase at the expense of another.<sup>27</sup>

In analyzing the historical development and the administrative structure that had taken shape by 1961, Suelflow noted that the lines of relationships between various structures had not been carefully defined:

This is partially due to the three stages of Synod's development administratively among other factors. The structures existing are defined by their Handbook relationships, vertically and horizontally resulting in a triangular form. These are:

1. The Officer's Structure: (Congregation -- Counselor -- District President -- Synodical President -- Convention)
2. The Academic Structure: (Congregation -- Institution Faculty; Institutional President -- Board of Control -- Board for Higher Education -- Convention)
3. The Executive Structure: (District Executive or Board -- Synodical Executive or Board -- Convention)
4. Auxiliaries also run parallel to the above.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, the historical development of administrative structure in the Synod led to a separation of the congregations from the Synod:

Obviously, the initial personal relationship between the synodical structure and the member congregations could not be maintained over a longer period of time. In fact, already during its first few years of existence, agitation occurred for efforts to bring administration as close as possible to the geographically scattered parishes. In consequence, the Districts were created [1854]. When numerical growth -- a miracle in itself -- continued, other provisions had to be made, this time finding their solutions in the creation of additional officers and staff personnel. The obvious result of these new tendencies was to separate the congregations from the Synod. Lines of association and relationship became elongated. This further produced additional internal structures.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>August Suelflow, Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports, Vol. I., p. 111.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 503.

The College of Presidents and Ordination

The office of district president was created by the 1854 Missouri Synod convention when the church body divided itself into districts for administrative purposes. At that time, district presidents received virtually all of the rights and duties which were originally held by the synodical president. This included the authorization to ordain and install and the power temporarily to suspend.<sup>30</sup> The district presidents began functioning together as a group at least as early as the 1860s. By 1899, the district presidents, together with one lay delegate from each district, served as the Nominating Committee for synodical conventions.<sup>31</sup> The term "Praesidium" became noticeable in synodical literature in the 1860s also. Originally it referred solely to the office of synodical president. However, with the introduction of the vice-presidents the term also referred to them as well.<sup>32</sup> In 1908, President Francis Pieper stated that in view of the growth of the Synod, the functions of the presidency should become the functions of a college.<sup>33</sup> The Fort Wayne Pastoral Conference memorialized the 1911 synodical convention recommending that the Praesidium become a "College of Presidents," with each member charged with responsibility for a given area of synodical affairs and business. Also, the synodical president was to call the College of Presidents together as often as he deemed necessary. This resolution

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<sup>30</sup>LCMS, Achter Synodal Bericht der Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten vom Jahre 1854 (St. Louis: Druckerei der evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a. St., 1854), pp. 19-20. August R. Suelflow, "Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports," p. 350.

<sup>31</sup>August R. Suelflow, "Synodical Survey Commission Research Reports," p. 203.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 336.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 324.

did not pass. However, the spirit of the resolution was maintained by both Presidents Pfothenhauer and Behnken in that they did call the College of Presidents together regularly for consultation.<sup>34</sup>

From the formation of their office in 1854, the district presidents' essential duties included calls, colloquies, placement, ordination, and installation. In 1881, all calls issued within a district required the district president's signature. And in 1893, the assignment of calls to the graduates of Missouri Synod seminaries was placed in the hands of all the district presidents functioning as a Board as Assignments.<sup>35</sup> By the 1920s, the College of Presidents began to assert itself in the area of regulating calls and ceremonies. At the 1920 synodical convention, the presidents insisted that a special resolution be passed so that missionaries returning from foreign service for good reasons be listed as candidates eligible for calls and be assigned at the annual distribution of calls.<sup>36</sup> At the 1929 convention, the College set forth recommendations regarding the commissioning of missionaries to foreign countries. Until that time, the Synod had no uniform regulations in this regard.<sup>37</sup>

Between 1932 and 1962, the College of Presidents discussed the issue of ordination among themselves, apparently going outside of their own body for opinions on only a few occasions; and this was strictly confined to recommendations from the seminary faculties. The result of this thirty years discussion was a resolution to the 1962 convention,

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 338-339.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 139, 350.

<sup>36</sup>LCMS, 1920 Proceedings, p. 51.

<sup>37</sup>LCMS, 1929 Proceedings, p. 124.

the background and rationale for which was never made public (see below, pages 372-374).

On September 14, 1932, the College of Presidents assembled at the close of the Fiscal Conference and discussed whether a candidate, who has received no permanent call, should be ordained. With the Great Depression confronting the country, calls into the pastoral ministry were in short supply and numerous candidates were asked to fill vacancies only on a temporary basis. At this meeting of the College of Presidents, Dr. Ludwig Fuerbringer, President of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, pointed out that an article by Dean Fritz was to appear in the Concordia Theological Monthly which addressed this very issue (see above pages 297-299). At that meeting, the presidents resolved that candidates who were not definitely and permanently located should not be ordained.<sup>38</sup>

The issue was again discussed by the College of Presidents and synodical Board of Directors on February 15-17, 1933. There it was agreed that a candidate who is not ordained as a rule should not be permitted to take over all of the official acts of the ministry. A candidate should not be ordained unless he has a definite call. Also, congregations should not call a candidate except through the regular channels of the district president and the St. Louis Faculty.<sup>39</sup>

At the meeting of the College of Presidents in River Forest, July 19-20, 1933, the following statement was adopted:

1. The office of the ministry consists in this that a local congregation authorize a man publicly to preach the Gospel and administer the holy sacraments in its midst.
2. The right to call a man into the office of the ministry is

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<sup>38</sup>[no author given], Document entitled "Ordination," p. 1. John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 19, File 12, CHI.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

vested in the congregation.

3. The term 'temporary' call ought not be used by us, since ordinarily it means a call by which a congregation in advance limits the time of service.

4. A vicar is not called in the usual sense of the word 'call', but is one who because of unusual conditions that may exist in a congregation during the duration of such conditions substitutes for the regularly called pastor but is not the incumbent of the office of the ministry.

5. Graduates who are assigned as 'interns' under a pastor have no call into the office of the ministry.

6. Graduates who are asked by mission boards to survey prospective mission fields and open preaching stations are thereby not called into the office of the ministry.

7. Since ordination and installation are considered by us a public confirmation of the fact that a congregation has called a man into the office of the ministry in its midst, only they ought to be ordained and installed who have received such a call.

Since Synod has fixed the present order of assigning candidates to calls that have been sent in by congregations it seems impossible at this time to make a change in this regulation.

Since under present conditions many of our pastors are suffering great hardships the presidents ought to inquire into such situations and make a determined effort to relieve them by persuading congregations to call such men.

In the interest of good order we reaffirm our resolution of last year that candidates ought not be called during the course of the year. In exceptional cases the consent of the District President and the respective faculty must be obtained in advance.<sup>40</sup>

The matter still was not settled and was again addressed at the College of Presidents' meeting in St. Louis, May 8-10, 1934.

The question stands, whether the candidates, who have no permanent call, should correctly be added as advisory members of Synod. After a long discussion, it was resolved that the answer to this question be left to a committee. The Chairman, in conclusion, named the following committee: Presidents J. C. Meyer [Minnesota District], W. Mahler [Kansas District], J. F. Boerger [South Wisconsin District].<sup>41</sup>

No record of a report by this committee can be found. The first

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>41</sup>"Es wurde die Frage gestellt, ob den Kandidaten, die keinen permanenten Beruf haben, geraten werden sollte, sich als beratende Glieder der Synode anzuschliessen. Nach laengerer Besprechung wurde bescholssen, die Antwort auf diese Frage durch ein Komitee formulieren zu lassen. Der Vorsitzter ernannte auf Beschluss folgendes Komitee: Praeses J. C. Meyer, W. Mahler, J. F. Boerger." Ibid., p. 3.



report on ordination appeared in 1949 and by this time a new committee was appointed. Yet, in the mean time, President Behnken was asked to resolve a number of questions with respect to ordination: whether a Mission Board has the authority to ordain a candidate who is to serve a charge which has not yet organized as a congregation,<sup>42</sup> whether a vicar can be ordained and installed temporarily to take the place of a pastor who was serving as a chaplain,<sup>43</sup> whether a candidate can be ordained to fill a temporary position. In each case, Behnken maintained basically the same position:

Since ordination is the official public declaration which confirms the call to a congregation and since ordination is not a transfer or transmission of the ministry, but a corroboration or a confirmation of the call, there can be no absolute ordination. See Smalcald Articles, paragraphs 70 to 72.

At the recent meeting, the College of Presidents discussed the question whether or not candidates serving as substitutes for men who have accepted chaplaincies might be ordained. The decision reached was that, for the sake of good order in the Church and in agreement with our Confessions and also our Synodical Constitution, exceptions should not be made. All presidents agreed to follow such practice.<sup>44</sup>

In 1942, Oliver Harms, President of the Texas District, wrote to John H. C. Fritz, asking if a candidate called directly into the chaplaincy of the Army or Navy could be ordained. Fritz replied by stating that sending an inexperienced man into the chaplaincy was not a good idea. Yet, concerning ordination, Fritz set forth the following guiding "facts":

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<sup>42</sup>Letter from A. H. Semmann [Chairman of the Home Mission Board for the Northern Illinois District] to John W. Behnken dated April 8, 1940. John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 19, File 12, CHI.

<sup>43</sup>Letter from Ad. Schwidder [Iowa District West President] to John W. Behnken dated August 2, 1941 and letter from John W. Behnken to Ad. Schwidder dated September 11, 1941. Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Letter from E. T. Lams [Northern Illinois District President] to J. W. Behnken dated October 8, 1941 and letter from J. W. Behnken to E. T. Lams dated October 9, 1941. Ibid.

1. Ordination is not a divine but a 'human' institution.
2. In accordance with our confessions and the usage of our church during the course of many years, ordination is merely the 'public ratification of a call, issued by a Christian congregation'. That is the concept which our church has put into the word 'ordination.'
3. The government does not use the word 'ordination' in our sense. When the government inquires whether a man has been ordained, it merely wants to know whether he has by the church been declared to have the necessary qualifications to perform all the functions of the ministerial office.
4. If under the present extra-ordinary circumstances one of our men must be ordained so that in accordance with government regulations he will be eligible for chaplaincy, there is no good reason why such an ordination should not be authorized. Of course, we are then giving ordination in such a case a concept different from that of ordinary Lutheran usage. But there is nothing to prevent us from doing so, if that must be done so that our men can serve as chaplains in the Army or Navy.
5. A question that is a little puzzling in this case is that in reference to the ordination itself: Shall it be in a public service? and what form shall be used? It may be well that the ordination take place in a public service in such a manner that it be an act by itself distinctly separate from the rest of the service. What I have in mind is that after the sermon the congregation be briefly informed concerning the ordination which is to take place, and that, instead of the regular ordination formula being used, the candidate be merely asked if whenever called upon to perform the duties of the ministerial office he will do so in accordance with Scripture and the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church, and that thereupon the church declare through its officials that he has the necessary qualifications to perform all the functions of the ministerial office. (That is really the testimonial which the church had already given him through the faculty of the institution from which he was graduated, as is expressly stated in the diploma given at the time of graduation.)<sup>45</sup>

By the February 3, 1949, College of Presidents' meeting, a new committee on the question of ordination was appointed: I. C. Heinicke (President of the Southern Nebraska District and Chairman of the Committee), W. E. Homann (President of the Northern Nebraska District), and W. H. Meyer (President of the Kansas District and Secretary for the Committee). In its report, the Committee maintained the traditional Missouri Synod understanding of the office of the ministry and ordination.

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<sup>45</sup>Copy of letter from John H. C. Fritz to O. R. Harms dated January 29, 1942. Ibid.

The office of the ministry is divinely instituted. The pastor who is properly and regularly called by a congregation should consider himself called by God. "A person ceases to be a pastor as soon as he is without a call."<sup>46</sup> Ordination is the public ratification of the call and the first installation ceremony into the office of the ministry. Pastors who resign from office for good reason may be placed in CANDIDATUS REVERENDI MINISTERII (C.R.M.) status. Pastors who retire at the appropriate age (65 or 55 with at least 30 years of service) are classified as pastors EMERITI. Missionaries, itinerant preachers, and chaplains perform the full functions of the ministry. But they are not ordained since they are not called by or for a specific congregation, but they are sent and thus commissioned according to accepted Lutheran forms. Parochial school teachers, professors and full-time executives are neither called by a congregation to exercise the functions of the ministry in a congregation nor are they sent (commissioned). Therefore, they are inducted into office.<sup>47</sup>

At the February 1949, meeting, the Committee was assigned to address the paper by A. C. Mueller on "The Status of the Parochial School Teacher" (see above pages 241-245). The Committee reported at the May 4-6, 1949, meeting of the College of Presidents with an expanded form of the report given in February. In addition to setting forth the same position on the office of the ministry (identified with the pastoral office in a local congregation and the highest office in the church), ordination and installation, c.r.m. status, pastors emeriti, the commissioning of

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<sup>46</sup>Report submitted to the College of Presidents February 3, 1949, by I. C. Heinicke, W. Homann, W. H. Meyer. John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 5, File 6, CHI.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

missionaries, and the induction of teachers, professors and synodical officials, the Committee included a special section on the office of parochial school teacher. It maintained that this office was an auxiliary to the pastorate. To the incumbents of this office is delegated certain functions of the ministry, but not the full office of the ministry. The parochial school teacher is one of the most important auxiliary offices to the pastorate, but the holder of this office performs only a part of the public office of the ministry. The call of a Christian day-school teacher is a divine call since it embraces a function of the public ministry and is issued by a congregation. After setting forth the traditional Missouri Synod understanding of the woman parochial school teacher (see above pages 273-281), the Committee concluded:

The rite of ORDINATION has by the Church been limited to those who perform all functions of the parish ministry, whereas "installation" and "induction" are also used for those in auxiliary offices (cf. Agenda). The Church indeed may change its usage. It appears to be a matter of wisdom that the ecclesiastical usage of ordaining only those called into the full ministry of the Word be continued in order to emphasize the character of the full ministry of the Word. Another consideration is the significance which "ordination" has in the eyes of the State (performing marriage ceremony), conferring certain rights and privileges which it withholds from those serving in auxiliary positions of the Church. Accordingly we hold it to be proper that the present practice be continued with respect to the installation of teachers.<sup>48</sup>

The Committee on Installation, Ordination, Candidatus Reverendi Ministerii, Emeriti, Commissioning, and Induction, reported again at the April 20, 1951, meeting of the College of Presidents. This report was again a reiteration of the previous reports. In addition, the Committee quoted from an April 15, 1947, seminary faculty position entitled "An

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<sup>48</sup>Report submitted to the College of Presidents, May 4-6, 1949, by I. C. Heinicke, W. Homann, W. H. Meyer. Ibid.

Opinion of the Faculty on the 'Call' and 'Installation' of Men in Subsidiary Organizations of the Church."

1. The word "call" is a term which Scripture does not restrict to the call into the pastorate. In churchly usage, the term is applied in the narrower sense to the call to the pastorate. Hence the Diploma of Vocation to the pastorate and the formulary of installation into the pastorate clearly define the unique significance of the parish ministry.

2. Churchly usage also employs the term "call" in the wider sense to functions subsidiary to the pastorate (teachers, professors, missionaries, etc.). The term "call" seems to be more suitable than "engage" since the individuals so called are trained for all or some of the functions of the parish ministry of the Word. Executive secretaries of charitable agencies, executives and staff of boards of education and youth service organizations, when they are so trained and do so serve, may properly be said to be "called." The document signifying this call should make plain the distinction between this position and that of the pastorate.

3. Churchly usage at the present time seems to allow not only such terms as "commissioning", "induction", but also "installation" for the ceremony confirming the call to a position subsidiary to the pastorate. The designation of the ceremony is immaterial, provided that the formulary makes clear the specific duties of the worker and limits them with reference to the pastorate.<sup>49</sup>

It appears that prior to the 1950s, the College of Presidents maintained the traditional Missouri Synod understanding of ordination and the public office of the ministry (particularly with reference to the pastoral office) rather strictly. No significant deviation can be observed. Yet, a new definition of ordination had been noted by Dean Fritz in his letter to President Harms. The government understood ordination to be a statement of qualification or endorsement for the function of the office of the ministry. Fritz had also told Harms that there was no reason why the Missouri Synod could not adopt this understanding. However, Fritz did set forth certain qualifications which would later be ignored.

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<sup>49</sup>Report submitted to the College of Presidents April 20, 1951 by W. E. Homann, W. H. Meyer, W. Nitschke. Ibid. "An Opinion of the Faculty on the 'Call' and 'Installation' of Men in Subsidiary Organizations of the Church," John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 6, File 1, CHI.

On both May 1, 1952, and September 29, 1955, the Committee on Ordination, now consisting of W. E. Homann (Northern Nebraska District President and Committee Chairman), W. H. Meyer (Kansas District President and Committee Secretary), and A. F. Wegener (Southern Nebraska District President), issued identical statements. For the first time, it was suggested that candidates called to synodical agencies and synodical institutions be ordained. After asserting that the incumbent of the office of the ministry is known as "pastor," that the ministry is the highest office in the church, and that a pastor is properly and regularly called by a Christian congregation, the Committee went on to state:

We keep the divinely instituted "Office of the Ministry" in high regard by the INSTALLATION CEREMONY. When a candidate for the ministry is installed for the first time as a pastor of a congregation or if his first installation is for instructor at a synodical institution, such installation is called ORDINATION. Ordination is not a divine institution but an adiaphoron, which may be omitted. "Since ordination is a public ratification of the call, a candidate for the ministry should be ordained in the midst of the congregation which has extended the call. . . ."50

The document concluded by stating:

The rite of ORDINATION (also commissioning) has by the Church been limited to those who perform all functions of the parish ministry, whereas "Installation" and "Induction" are also used for those in auxiliary offices (cf. Agenda). The Church indeed may change its usage. It appears to be a matter of wisdom that the ecclesiastical usage be continued, and also that those be ordained who have qualified for the full ministry of the Word but are assigned by the Church as instructors at Synodical Institutions or are assigned to any other position created by Synod. Another consideration is the significance which "ordination" has in the eyes of the State (performing marriage ceremony), conferring certain rights and priv-

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<sup>50</sup>Report submitted by W. E. Homann, W. H. Meyer, A. R. Wegener to the College of Presidents, May 1, 1952, and September 29, 1955, pp. 1-2. John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 5, File 7, CHI.

ileges which it withholds from those serving in auxiliary positions of the Church.<sup>51</sup>

It appears that the College of Presidents rejected this proposal of the Committee on May 2, 1952. The official minutes only state that the following was adopted:

1. Seminary graduates who are recommended as "qualified candidates for the ministry" by the respective faculty to the Board of Assignment and are assigned to institutions as instructors are recognized as ministerial advisory members of Synod and are under the jurisdiction of the respective District.

2. Seminary graduates who are submitted by the respective faculty to the Board of Assignment as "Graduate Supply" may be assigned as instructors at institutions but are not to function as "ministers" and remain under the jurisdiction of the faculty.<sup>52</sup>

At the September 27-29 meeting of the College of Presidents, W. H. Meyer, speaking for the Committee on Ordination and Installation, submitted the "final paragraphs" of the Committee's report. After a lengthy discussion which centered on the ordination of those "who have qualified for the full ministry of the Word and are assigned by the Church as instructors at Synodical institutions or assigned to any other position created by Synod," it was resolved: "That the report of the committee on ordination and installation be submitted to the faculties of St. Louis and Springfield for further study and for report to the college

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 5. The report seems to contradict itself by maintaining that the full public office of the ministry is identified with the pastoral office in a local congregation and by maintaining that ordination is the first installation for those called into the pastoral office, but then stating that candidates called to synodical institutions or agencies should be ordained. There is strong evidence of the Committee's desire to comply with or adopt the government's understanding of ordination.

<sup>52</sup>Minutes of the April 29-30, May 1-2, 1952, College of Presidents Meeting, p. 7. College of Presidents Reports and Minutes, Box 3, File 1, CHI.

of presidents."<sup>53</sup>

The document submitted to the College of Presidents on February 19 and 20, 1957, by the Joint Faculty Committee (for the complete text see Appendix S) appeared to maintain two contradictory statements. With respect to the purposes of ordination it stated:

Ordination is the ratification of the call. In the Lutheran Church ordination has been reserved for those called to a specific congregation and into the full exercise of the pastoral office, ordination being the ratification of the call. The Smalcald Articles giving the exposition of 1 Pet. 2, 9. . . .

Yet, the faculty committee then recommended:

Ordain those who are qualified for the functions of the pastoral office upon their acceptance of their first call issued by a congregation or by an agency of a church authorized to extend the call. (Among those qualified for ordination are the following: pastors, assistant pastors, associate pastors, some professors, some instructors, missionaries, chaplains, and executive officers of District or Synod. . . .)<sup>54</sup>

In the February 19 and 20, 1957, report of the College of Presidents' Committee on Ordination, the position on ordaining those qualified but not functioning in the pastoral office was again emphasized. It was maintained that the incumbent of the office of the ministry is known as a "pastor." This office is the highest office in the church, from which all other offices issue. The document went on to state:

The pastor who is properly and regularly called by a Christian congregation (such calling may be delegated: "The District Presidents shall annually assign to the graduates of Synod's educational institutions the calls for pastors and teachers which congregations and mission boards have sent them." Handbook, By-Laws 4.09 the 1953 revision) to the public ministry of the Word should regard himself,

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<sup>53</sup>Minutes of the September 27-29, 1955, College of Presidents Meeting, p. 7. Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>G. A. Thiele, H. J. Eggold, A. E. Graf, E. L. Lueker, "Studies and Proposals on Ordination and the Call with Limited Tenure Submitted to the College of Presidents, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod by the Joint Faculty Committee February 19, 20, 1957," John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 5, File 5, CHI.



and should by his congregation or Board be regarded, as being called by God Himself. . . .

That which makes a man a pastor is the divine CALL which has been extended to him by those who have the right to do so (a congregation, groups of congregations, a Synodical District, Synod). . . .

We keep the divinely instituted "Office of the Ministry" in high regard by the INSTALLATION CEREMONY. When a candidate is called for his first time as a pastor of a congregation or is assigned a call by the Board of Assignments to serve any agency authorized to extend a call such installation is called ORDINATION. . . .

Ordination is not a divine institution but an adiaphoron, which may be omitted. Since ordination is a public ratification of the call, a candidate for the ministry should be ordained in the midst of the congregation (or at the place where an agency authorized to extend the call is located) for it is by THIS CALL that the ordination is made possible. This ought to be selfevident. Otherwise it might appear that ordination is GIVEN A SIGNIFICANCE OF ITS OWN aside from the CALL which has been issued and which has made the ordination possible. . . .

Another consideration is the significance which "ordination" has in the eyes of the government (performing marriage ceremony), conferring certain rights and privileges which it withholds from those serving in auxiliary positions of the Church.<sup>55</sup>

Although this report was distributed at the February 19, 1957, College of Presidents meeting, it was not discussed.<sup>56</sup> However, both the Joint Faculty report and the College of Presidents' Committee on Ordination report were discussed at the May 9, 1957, meeting. In addition, the Committee presented "Guidelines for District Presidents Regarding Ordination and Related Questions" (see Appendix T for the complete text). Not only did this document permit ordination for calls apart from a call to a local congregation, but it also stated that the rites of ordination and installation may be separate acts.<sup>57</sup> The offi-

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<sup>55</sup>W. E. Homann and W. H. Meyer, Report on Ordination to the February 19 and 20, 1957, College of Presidents Meeting, pp. 1-2. Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Minutes of the February 19-20, 1957, College of Presidents Meeting, p. 4. College of Presidents Reports and Minutes, Box 3, File 1, CHI.

<sup>57</sup>W. E. Homann and W. H. Meyer, "Guidelines for District Presidents Regarding Ordination and Related Questions," May 9, 1957, John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 5, File 5, CHI.

cial minutes only stated that, "They evoked much discussion which continued until 11:45 a.m." It was eventually resolved to recommit the issue to the Committee for a clear definition of the call and for a statement on the propriety of mass ordination.<sup>58</sup>

The February 3, 1958, minutes of the College of Presidents meeting reported that the "Guidelines for District Presidents Regarding Ordination and Related Questions" were again discussed. Some changes and additions were suggested which would then be embodied in a later report by the Committee.<sup>59</sup> Again, on April 22, 1959, the "Guidelines" were presented and discussed. After a motion was made calling for "the deletion of one word and the adding of others" it was resolved "to refer the section back to the committee for rewording."<sup>60</sup>

At the 1959 Missouri Synod Convention, a resolution was adopted to change the Synod's Handbook 4.19 to read as follows:

a. The ordination of a candidate shall, as a rule, for the sake of good order in the church take place in the presence of the congregation to which he has been called. However, the President of the District in which the calling congregation is located may permit the ordination to take place in the home congregation of the candidate and accordingly, with the permission of the calling congregation, authorize the ordination of the candidate in his home congre-

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<sup>58</sup>Minutes of the May 7-9, 1957, College of Presidents Meeting, pp. 7, 9. College of Presidents Reports and Minutes, Box 3, File 1, CHI.

<sup>59</sup>Minutes of the February 3-5, 1958, College of Presidents Meeting, p. 1. Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Minutes of the April 21-23, 1959, College of Presidents Meeting, p. 6. Ibid. "Guidelines for District Presidents Regarding Ordination and Related Questions," April 1959, John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 6, File 1, CHI. It should be noted that President Homann was no longer serving on the Committee on Ordination at this time. President H. J. Rippe of the Atlantic District had been appointed. The only long-time member of the Committee was President W. H. Meyer (Kansas District). He was also a member of the Synodical Survey Commission in 1959.

gation. The President of the District in which the calling congregation is located shall issue a diploma of ordination.

b. The installation of candidates or pastors shall always take place in the presence of the congregation to which they have been called.

c. Candidates and pastors shall be ordained and installed in accordance with the accepted Lutheran forms for that purpose and shall be solemnly pledged to the Scriptures as the inspired and inerrant Word of God and the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church as a true exposition of the Scriptures.<sup>61</sup>

This resolution was not submitted by the College of Presidents and apparently had nothing to do with their evaluation of ordination.

In 1960, W. H. Meyer, the longest continuing member of the Committee on Ordination, stepped down as President of the Kansas District, as did H. J. Rippe, President of the Atlantic District. However, the College of Presidents, at their September 12, 1960, meeting, resolved that both W. H. Meyer and H. J. Rippe continue as members of the Committee on Ordination to complete their work and then make a presentation at the next meeting of the College of Presidents.<sup>62</sup>

At its November 29, 1960, meeting, the "Guidelines for District Presidents Regarding Ordination and Related Questions" were again presented (see Appendix U for complete text).<sup>63</sup> The minutes of this meeting of the College of Presidents reads as follows:

Pastor W. H. Meyer and Dr. Herman Rippe were present to present, and (so they hoped) to conclude their "Guidelines for District Presidents Regarding Ordination and Related Questions." After the motion was adopted to express our joy at having these men in our midst it was pointed out that the study under question was inaugu-

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<sup>61</sup>LCMS, 1959 Proceedings, p. 242. This memorial was submitted by Zion Lutheran Church, Canistota, S. Dakota, and did not originate within the College of Presidents. LCMS, 1959 Reports and Memorials, pp. 464-465.

<sup>62</sup>Minutes of the September 12, 1960, College of Presidents Meeting, p. 1. College of Presidents Reports and Minutes, Box 3, File 1, CHI.

<sup>63</sup>H. J. Rippe and W. H. Meyer, "Guidelines for Districts Presidents Regarding Ordination and Related Questions - 1960," John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 5, File 7, CHI.

rated in the days when Dr. Pfothenauer was the President of Synod and that the first report of the committee in 1949 was given by Presidents Heinicke, Homann and W. H. Meyer, the latter the sole survivor of the committee. Pastor Meyer stated that the reason for this study which has stretched out over the years was to give district presidents guidelines and to achieve uniformity in practice.

After presenting Section I, points 1-6, a number of suggestions and changes were made from the floor and adopted by common consent. It was then resolved to adopt sections and points of the presentation on which there is agreement and to refer controversial sections and points to a committee to be appointed by the chairman, for further study for report . . . and to adopt points 1, 2, 4, and 5 on page 1 of the Report. Section II:1-A, "Ordination," was read and discussed. That after the words "pastoral office" in A line 2 the following words be inserted "and certified by the college of presidents." That Section II:1-A "Ordination" be adopted with the above insertion.

Some slight changes were made in Section II:1-B ("as such" for "this" in par. 1; a transposition in par. 2; insertion of "military" before "chaplain" in par. 4 and notes e) deletion of sentence in notes a) "If Synod does not.....by that District) and it was resolved to memorialize the Synod for a change in the Handbook 4.43 so that it reads: "The Order for the ordination and commissioning of a missionary called into the foreign fields shall be issued upon the request of the respective Mission Board by the District President of the District in which the missionary resides," and to memorialize the Synod for an addition to the Handbook 8:153c which will incorporate the adopted provision in II:B, par. 4: "The Order for ordination and commission of a military chaplain shall be issued by the president of the district in which the chaplain resides upon the request of the Armed Services Commission since this Commission solicits and processes applications for appointments as chaplains." To adopt II:1-C, "Installations." To adopt II:1-D, "Inductions." To adopt II:1-E, "Ordination - Installation" (Proceedings of 1959 San Francisco convention) for our guidelines.<sup>64</sup>

Other minor changes were made in the Guidelines with respect to lengths of tenure, prospective candidates and the status of ordained persons upon resignation or retirement. Pastor Meyer and Dr. Rippe were given a rising vote of thanks. It was also noted that "Dr. Behnken expressed the hope and the conviction that, though some negative votes were registered on some points, all district presidents will abide by the Guide-

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<sup>64</sup>Minutes of the November 29-30, 1960, College of Presidents Meeting, pp. 1-3. College of Presidents Reports and Minutes, Box 3, File 1, CHI.

lines adopted by majority vote."<sup>65</sup>

Over the course of approximately eight years (1952 to 1960) the College of Presidents had redefined the understanding of ordination, the pastoral office and the church within the Missouri Synod and had resolved to follow the Guidelines which set forth this new understanding before they had been accepted by a synodical convention. (The Guidelines were never published and only certain aspects of the Guidelines were included in resolutions to the 1962 Missouri Synod convention. Also, in the synodical Proceedings these resolutions were set forth in the section on constitutional changes and not in the section on doctrinal issues).

Probably the major influence in adopting a new understanding of ordination was the view of the United States government toward ordination, particularly in the case of military chaplains and certification for performing marriage ceremonies (see Fritz' letter, above pages 354-355, and Guidelines, Appendices T and U). While the traditional Missouri Synod position on ordination was that it was the public ratification of the call into the pastoral office in a local congregation and intricately connected with the function of that full office in what was considered to be the proper setting (the local congregation), the government understood ordination to be the church body's endorsement or sanction of one who is fully qualified to function as a pastor for the church body. The government was not specifically concerned whether or not the office and the function were connected.

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid. The examination of the College of Presidents' Minutes ends here because of a twenty-five year restriction placed on the use of the official synodical archives located at the Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo. No reference to the "Guidelines" could be found in the 1961 College of Presidents' Minutes.

Other influences for adopting a new understanding of ordination included the fact that ordination was considered to be an adiaphoron. Thus, the College of Presidents undoubtedly believed that it did not matter how it was defined. Yet, what apparently was not considered, was the implication that this change would have upon the understanding of the pastoral office (and thus the doctrine of the ministry) and the understanding of the church (or the doctrine of the church). Also, the rapidly growing bureaucracy and the increase of full-time district and synodical positions was another factor that undoubtedly influenced the decision of the College of Presidents (see above, pages 364-366).

By adopting a new understanding of ordination, the College of Presidents also redefined the pastoral office and the church for the Missouri Synod. The traditional Missouri Synod position was that the pastoral office was the full public office of Word and Sacrament. This office was conferred through the call, and that was a call by and to a local congregation. The office and the function were connected. Office and function were also balanced or maintained equally, side by side (Augsburg Confession, Article V and Article XIV; Smalcald Articles 67-72). That is, office did not take precedence over or come before function and function did not take precedence over or come before office. This tension was to be maintained. The congregation was considered the proper place where the public office of the ministry (Word and Sacrament -- Augsburg Confession, Article V) was centered (actually, the priesthood of all believers gathered together in one locale around Word and Sacrament), and was therefore considered to be the proper understanding of church (where churchly functions -- the Office of the Keys, the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments --

took place). By changing the understanding of ordination, the pastoral office was no longer associated with the call to and functioning of that full office of Word and Sacrament in a local congregation. Instead the pastoral office was now identified with ordination or with the qualification or synodical endorsement to serve in the full office, no matter where or in what function the individual was called to serve, such as a professor, instructor, district or synodical executive. The pastoral office was now identified with qualification for the full office and ordination to that qualification, but not necessarily to the call and function of the full office itself. Also, it was the church body at large, not the local congregation, which identified the pastoral office by way of certification and ordination through the College of Presidents. Therefore, the Synod as a whole had taken on the characteristic of church.

#### The 1962 Convention and the Doctrine of the Ministry

In order to understand what took place at the 1962 Missouri Synod convention in Cleveland, Ohio, with respect to ordination and the doctrine of the ministry, one must at least begin with the events that occurred at the 1959 San Francisco convention and even before. This, of course, presupposes a consideration of other developments as well: the growing bureaucracy, increase in synodical staff positions, and the formation of the "Guidelines for District Presidents Regarding Ordination and Related Questions."

Out of a growing concern within both the Missouri Synod and the Synodical Conference over what was considered to be the inroads of liberal theology through the use of historical criticism with respect to the Bible, the 1959 convention of the Missouri Synod reaffirmed the

Synod's traditional position on the inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture. It did this by first adopting the "Statement on Scripture" which had been drafted for and adopted by the Synodical Conference convention in 1958.<sup>66</sup> Secondly, the 1959 synodical convention resolved that "every doctrinal statement of a confessional nature adopted by Synod as a true exposition of the Holy Scriptures is to be regarded as public doctrine (publica doctrina) in Synod," and "Synod's pastors, teachers, and professors are held to teach and act in harmony with such statements."<sup>67</sup>

Yet, even before the 1959 synodical convention, Martin Scharlemann, Graduate Professor of Exegetical Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, had begun a series of "exploratory" essays on the nature of inspiration and revelation with respect to Scripture.<sup>68</sup> Throughout the Missouri Synod and the Synodical Conference, Scharlemann was severely criticized for what many saw as a rejection of the inerrancy and inspiration of Scripture. The criticism began approximately in the fall of 1959, and by the time of the 1962 Missouri Synod convention there were numerous resolutions asking that Professor Scharlemann be removed from

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<sup>66</sup>LCMS, 1959 Proceedings, p. 189. LCMS, 1959 Reports and Memorials, pp. 483-486.

<sup>67</sup>LCMS, 1959 Proceedings, pp. 191-192.

<sup>68</sup>The titles of the essays were "The Inerrancy of Scripture" (1958), "The Bible as Record, Witness, and Medium" (1959), "Revelation and Inspiration" (1959), "God is One" (1959), "God's Acts as Revelation" (1961), and "This Matter of 'Inerrancy' Once Again" (1961). The original manuscripts are located in the Concordia Seminary Library Rare Book Room, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. For a thorough analysis of the controversy over Scharlemann's essays see Richard Donald Labore, "Traditions and Transitions: A Study of the Leadership of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod During a Decade of Theological Change, 1960-1969," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo., 1960, pp. 123-225.



office.<sup>69</sup> For many delegates, this was the primary concern at the 1962 synodical convention.<sup>70</sup>

Other issues faced the Missouri Synod's 1962 Cleveland Convention as well. There were questions with respect to the constitutionality of the 1959 resolution which had established all synodically adopted doctrinal statements as public doctrine and required the Synod's pastors, teachers and professors to live and teach accordingly. Some saw this as the establishment of a new confessional subscription within the Missouri Synod.<sup>71</sup> Also to be considered was the Missouri Synod's relationship to the Wisconsin Synod (the Wisconsin Synod suspended fellowship with the Missouri Synod in 1961) and the future of the Synodical Conference. There were calls for the establishment of a new agency for all Lutheran bodies in America which would include The American Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Church in America. The Synodical Survey Commission submitted another report which recommended changes in the Synod's Bylaws. The creation of a new agency to study doctrinal concerns and interchurch relations was recommended (the Commission on Theology and Church Relations). In the wake of increasing budget deficits, the Board of Directors of the synod was proposing a special offering for synodical needs.

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<sup>69</sup>Beginning with the November 1959 issue, the Scharlemann controversy dominated the pages of The Confessional Lutheran until well after the 1962 convention. LCMS, Reports and Memorials to the Forty-Fifth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, June 20-30, 1962 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), pp. 164-165. Also see John Behnken, This I Recall, p. 199.

<sup>70</sup>Pastor Emeritus Elmer Moeller, a delegate to the 1962 convention, stated that this was his primary concern at that time and also the concern of every delegate he knew. Phone conversation between this writer and Pastor Emeritus Elmer Moeller, May 11, 1986.

<sup>71</sup>[Editorial] "Resolution 9," American Lutheran 45 (April 1962): 5-6.

And finally, the Missouri Synod's President for twenty-seven years, John W. Behnken, was stepping down and the 1962 convention had to elect a new synodical president.<sup>72</sup> All of these issues were addressed in various periodicals throughout the Synod. However, it seems that no one raised a question with respect to resolutions on ordination.<sup>73</sup>

Some were referring to the approaching 1962 synodical meeting in Cleveland as a "crisis convention." Concerning this, Dr. John Behnken wrote:

Already months before the convention I was fully aware that we would be facing an enormous amount of business and particularly that doctrinal and intersynodical matters would necessarily consume a very large portion of our convention time. Anyone who even glanced at the reports and memorials addressed to the convention realized that the doctrinal issues would demand earnest and prayerful deliberation, frank and open discussion, and firm action.

Both I and my associates worked with particular care in selecting the 40 men who were to serve on Committee 3, the floor committee on doctrinal matters. We made it our concern to pick men who were known to be doctrinally sound and intellectually capable. I asked these men to meet for several days about a month before the convention in order that they might organize, for subcommittees, and study in advance the reports and memorials assigned to them. Furthermore, I requested this committee not only to meet in Cleveland a full week prior to the convention opening but also, for the first time in Synod's history, to hold pre-convention open hearings so that all controversial issues could be fully aired.

Practically all the convention delegates -- and hundreds of other interested persons as well -- followed my plea to attend these open hearings.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>[Editorial] "The Cleveland Convention," American Lutheran 45 (April 1962):5. [Editorial] "Cleveland and Lutheran Unity," American Lutheran 45 (May 1962):4-5. [Editorial] "Reports and Memorials," American Lutheran 45 (June 1962):4. LCMS, 1962 Reports and Memorials, passim.

<sup>73</sup>This writer could find no reference to the 1962 resolutions on ordination in any of the official or unofficial publications associated with the Missouri Synod during this time, both before and after, apart from the 1962 Proceedings. By and large, the predominant issue was with respect to Biblical inerrancy and Dr. Martin Scharlemann.

<sup>74</sup>John W. Behnken, This I Recall, pp. 199-200.

The emotion-filled 1962 Cleveland convention elected Oliver Harms as President of Synod,<sup>75</sup> heard Martin Scharlemann ask forgiveness for his actions, withdraw his essays and then voted to forgive him,<sup>76</sup> heard that Resolution 9 was unconstitutional (that all synodical adopted doctrinal statements were public doctrine),<sup>77</sup> voted to reestablish relations with the Wisconsin Synod,<sup>78</sup> voted to work toward the establishment of a new inter-Lutheran agency that would include The American Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Church in America,<sup>79</sup> established the Commission on Theology and Church Relations,<sup>80</sup> and started the "Forward in Faith" funding appeal.<sup>81</sup>

Overshadowed by these and many other resolutions were three resolutions listed under "Committee 6 -- Constitutional Matters" that dealt with ordination. Under the title "Ordination and Commissioning of Military Chaplains, Resolution 6-23," the synodical convention adopted the following:

a. solicit and process applications for appointments as military chaplains and request the President of the District in which the chaplain resides to issue the order for the ordination and commissioning of such chaplains. . . .<sup>82</sup>

With respect to "Ordination and Commissioning of Missionaries to Foreign Fields," the College of Presidents recommended the following, which was adopted:

The order for the ordination and commissioning or commissioning of a missionary called into the foreign fields shall be issued upon

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<sup>75</sup>LCMS, 1962 Proceedings, p. 66.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., pp. 106-107.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., pp. 103-104.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., pp. 123-124.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 130.

the request of the respective Mission Board by the President of the District in which the Missionary resides. The order for the commissioning of missionaries for service within a given District of the Synod shall be issued by the respective District President.<sup>83</sup>

Finally, "Prerequisites for Ordination, Resolution 6-35," stated:

WHEREAS, The College of Presidents has reviewed section 4.15 of the synodical Handbook regarding prerequisites for ordination and submitted a revised statement for acceptance by this convention; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That section 4.15 as it now stands be stricken and replaced by the following statement by the College of Presidents:

#### Prerequisites for Ordination

a. A candidate for the office of the pastoral ministry in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod may be ordained when the following prerequisites have been met:

1. He shall have completed the prescribed courses of study and have received a diploma from one of the church's seminaries, or have fulfilled the requisites for a colloquy according to the synodical Handbook, 4.55 to 4.71.

2. He shall have received endorsement by the proper faculty or the committee on colloquies and in every respect have been declared qualified by them for the office of the ministry of Word and sacrament in the church.

3. He shall have indicated complete dedication to the ministry and the readiness to accept a call extended to him by the Board of Assignments.

4. He shall have received and accepted a call to a position the incumbent of which may be ordained according to the regulations of the Synod.

5. He shall have received and accepted a call extended through the proper channels to assume full-time work in the church.

6. He shall have made application for membership in the Synod and have submitted a request for ordination to the respective District President (or the proper official of the Board through which the call was extended).

b. Graduates of the St. Louis and Springfield seminaries who have fulfilled the prerequisites stated in a, 1-4, and who wish to continue their professional studies shall be assigned and ordained upon their request under the following conditions.

1. A call shall have been extended by a congregation or proper board expressing preference for a particular candidate to be assigned to the function of pastor, or other synodically approved office.

2. The District President shall approve the call, and the candidate shall be assigned by the Board of Assignments.

3. The District President shall approve the request for

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

ordination and receive the candidate upon his application as a member of the Synod and the District.<sup>84</sup>

As with the other two resolutions pertaining to ordination, this one was also adopted.

It appears that no one took issue with these resolutions at this time. No comments were noticed in the official or unofficial press within the Missouri Synod. Also, it seems that at this time, no one saw this as a doctrinal issue.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid. Prior to 1962, section 4.15 of the Synod's Handbook read: "Ordination of Candidates: A candidate for the ministry may be ordained only when he has received a legitimate call from and to a certain congregation and after previous examination has been found to be sound in doctrine, apt to teach, blameless in life, has made application for membership in Synod, and has submitted a request for ordination to the respective District President." LCMS, Handbook of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, 1959 Edition (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), p. 124.

<sup>85</sup>More than ten years after the 1962 convention, a layman named Clyde Nehrenz brought attention to the events of that convention both in the pages of an unofficial paper called Christian News and in a small book entitled A Dramatic Shift. While Mr. Nehrenz made many valid observations with respect to the historical and doctrinal changes that took place in 1962, this writer cannot agree with several other points made in the book. For example, the conclusion is drawn that "false teaching concerning [the doctrine of justification] was the inevitable result of false teaching concerning the doctrine of the church and the ministry." Clyde Nehrenz, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and the Church and the Ministry: A Dramatic Shift, Second Edition (Lakewood, OH: Private Printing, 1983), p. 10. This seems to come very close to making the doctrines of church and ministry the central teaching of the Christian faith instead of the doctrine of justification. In addition, there were problems of false doctrine within the Missouri Synod during its formative period. Holding to the traditional position of the Missouri Synod on the doctrines of church and ministry did not prevent them from arising. Plus, there was not complete uniformity on the doctrine of the ministry during its formative period. Likewise, the Wisconsin Synod has held to a differing position on the doctrines of church and ministry. Yet, this writer can find no evidence of false teaching with respect to the doctrine of justification within that Lutheran synod. Mr. Nehrenz also asserted that in its 1962 resolutions, the Missouri Synod adopted the Wisconsin Synod's doctrine of the church and ministry. Ibid., p. 39. This also is not totally correct. Although in 1962, the Synod did redefine its understanding of ordination, the pastoral office, and the church, it did not adopt a totally functional view of the ministry. The pastoral office was still considered the highest office in the church and

Concluding Comments on the Developments That Led  
to the 1962 Synodical Decision on Ordination

The rapid growth of the Missouri Synod between 1932 and 1962 also brought on a dramatic increase in bureaucracy. The number of full-time synodical staff positions increased by 650 percent, while the Synod as a whole increased by approximately 100 percent. This sharp growth in bureaucracy gave some executives within the Synod a more pragmatic, business-minded attitude toward synodical affairs in an attempt to deal with administrative problems. The growth in bureaucracy also had the effect of separating the local congregation and the synodical administration.

As the Board of Assignments for the Synod, the College of Presidents felt it necessary to deal with questions that arose as a result of this rapid increase in full-time executive and institutional positions. The Synod also had even closer relations with the United States government at this time, particularly with respect to the military chaplaincy during World War II. In addition, certain states had regulations regarding ordination and the eligibility to perform marriage ceremonies. The government maintained a different understanding of ordination than did the Missouri Synod. For the government, ordination

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other offices were still considered to flow from this one office (see Commission on Theology and Church Relations of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, "The Ministry, Offices, Procedures, and Nomenclature," September, 1981, passim.). In 1962, the Missouri Synod did begin identifying the pastoral office with ordination instead of with the call of a local congregation to function in that office. This could well have elements of both a high church understanding of ordination and a semi-functional view of the ministry. However, it appears that the 1962 position was adopted because the College of Presidents considered ordination to be an adiaphoron and because, for pragmatic reasons, they wished to conform to the understanding held by the United States government, which also helped in confronting the Synod's growing bureaucracy.

was a church body's declaration that an individual had the necessary qualifications to perform all the functions of the ministerial office. On the other hand, the traditional position of the Missouri Synod was that ordination was the public ratification of the call into the pastoral office by a local congregation.

For reasons that appear largely pragmatic, the College of Presidents chose to adopt the government's understanding of ordination. Because ordination was believed to be an adiaphoron, the College of Presidents believed that it was the church's prerogative to make this change. Yet, in changing the understanding of ordination, the College of Presidents also changed the Missouri Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry with respect to the pastoral office and the doctrine of the church with respect to the church's identity.

Prior to the change in the understanding of ordination, the Missouri Synod officially maintained that the pastoral office was the full public office of Word and Sacrament (of the ministry). This office was conferred or transferred from the priesthood of all believers gathered in a local congregation to the recipient of the pastoral office through the call of the congregation. In this way, Missouri Synod theologians, dating back to Walther, had attempted to maintain a balance and connection between office and function (that is, in the face of those who had stressed one over against another). This public office of the ministry or the pastoral office was divinely instituted and mandated for a Christian congregation. It was also held that the local congregation of believers was divinely instituted and thus the only proper understanding of church (where all churchly authority and rights were properly exercised). Larger organizations, such as synods, districts, or auxiliary

groups, were considered to be human institutions in that they were not commanded in Scripture. They could exercise some churchly functions. However, the churchly power and authority was properly exercised only in a local congregation (the Office of the Keys, the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments).

By adopting the government's understanding of ordination, the pastoral office was no longer associated with the call to a functioning of the full office of Word and Sacrament in a local congregation. By ordaining those who were qualified for this full office, but who were functioning in only a portion or part of that office, the pastoral office was redefined as well and office and function were separated. Because of the new definition of ordination, the pastoral office was identified with one who was qualified to serve or function in the full office, but who may not necessarily be serving or functioning in that full office (teaching at a synodical school, serving as a synodical or district executive, and so forth). This also necessitated the identification of the pastoral office with ordination, which was still considered to be an adiaphoron, instead of with the call to function in the full office of the public ministry in a congregation. Because it was the church body at large which now had the authority to identify the qualifications for this full office of the public ministry, and thus the qualifications for ordination, the church body at large took on the character of church. The Synod also took on this character by relegating to itself the authority to establish the pastoral office, or full office of Word and Sacrament, apart from the functioning of that office in a local congregation.

The College of Presidents presented its new understanding of ordination before the 1962 Missouri Synod convention as a constitutional



change (not a doctrinal issue). Because of the numerous other doctrinal issues, particularly the essays of Dr. Martin Scharlemann and the issue of the inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture, it appears that no one took serious note of the changes necessitated by the new understanding of ordination, particularly with respect to the doctrine of the ministry and the doctrine of the church. Three resolutions requesting constitutional changes were adopted and the Missouri Synod had not only a new view of ordination, but also a new understanding of the public office of the ministry and a new perspective on the identity of the church.

Some would say that through the 1962 resolutions on ordination the Missouri Synod adopted a high church understanding of ordination (that ordination confers a special character or attribute which the minister carries throughout his life, no matter in what area of church work the minister functions). Others might say that in 1962 the Missouri Synod adopted the Wisconsin Synod's position on church and ministry (that any gathering of believers is church, with all churchly rights and authority, and that the public office of the ministry was divinely instituted only in its abstract form and therefore the church has the right to assign the functions as it wills). Actually, it appears that neither is true, although the 1962 Missouri Synod convention made it easier for one to hold either one of these positions within the Synod itself. It seems that the 1962 resolutions on ordination were nothing more and nothing less than a pragmatic answer to perceived problems on a matter that was considered to be an adiaphoron. Yet, it also appears that the consequences resulting from this answer were not fully considered as well.

## CONCLUSION

### The Changes in the Missouri Synod's Doctrine of the Ministry

Between the Missouri Synod's first convention in 1847 and its 1962 convention, the Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry changed twice. The first change took place during the church body's formative period, in the 1860s, and involved the concept of transference and an itinerant ministry (missionaries). The second change occurred during the Synod's third period of history and involved the definition of ordination, the relation of office to function, and the relation of office to congregation.

The Missouri Synod's position on the doctrine of the ministry, founded upon Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions, with added support from various Lutheran church fathers, was shaped amidst theological controversy. It may be seen as a mediating position between what were considered two extremes. On the one hand there were those who stressed the office of the ministry as a self-perpetuating entity. Those who held to this position placed great stress upon ordination. They also maintained that it was the church that flowed from the ministry. On the other hand, there were those who either carried a strong anti-clericalism, or placed greater emphasis upon the priesthood of all believers and the function of the public ministry in the abstract. Those who held to this position maintained that the ministry flowed from the church.

C. F. W. Walther, the Missouri Synod's leading theologian during

its formative period, maintained both the divine institution of the ministry and the divine institution of the church. Because they were both divinely instituted, one did not come before the other. The public office of the ministry, according to Walther, was identified with the pastoral office in a local congregation. The church was identified as the local gathering of believers around Word and Sacrament in a local congregation. Walther maintained that although the public office of the ministry is divinely instituted, it is not a special or holier class apart from the priesthood of all believers. All believers have been given all churchly power and authority (the Office of the Keys, the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments). However, not everyone can exercise this authority and power publicly. Therefore, the priesthood of all believers in a local congregation transfers its authority and power to a pastor through the call. Ordination was not a divine institution, but instead a good churchly practice and the public ratification of a call to function in the full public office of the ministry in a congregation. This understanding effected a relation and balance between office and function, office and congregation. During this period it was not uncommon for a group of congregations jointly to call a pastor. However, the pastor functioned as such among all the congregations.

According to Walther, this full public office of the ministry was the highest office in the church, and from it all other offices flowed. A congregation or group of congregations (including the Synod) could establish other offices which were considered to be auxiliary or branch offices. These offices performed only a portion of the full office of the ministry and were therefore considered to be branches of

the pastoral office. It was maintained that auxiliary offices (parochial school teacher, professor, synodical official, and so forth) were not divinely mandated. However, because they were part of the public office of the ministry and because the incumbent to such an office was called through a congregation or congregations of believers, the call to an auxiliary office was divine and incumbents to these offices were part of the public office of the ministry or ministers. (Yet, they were made advisory members of the Synod and not full voting members. Only the parish pastor and a lay representative from each congregation were considered voting members of the Synod.)

The first change to this understanding of the doctrine of the ministry came about as the Synod decided how best to reach out to the scattered Lutherans on the frontier who had no pastors and who had formed no congregations. Several forms of itinerant ministry were attempted. The question was, could someone be sent out who did not have a call? How could the authority to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments be transferred when there was no congregation of believers to extend a call? It was eventually determined that the Law of Love and the command of the Savior to preach the Gospel, baptize and make disciples must be placed above the proper order of transference in this instance. However, the individual called into such an itinerant ministry was not ordained and was not considered a pastor. He was considered to be the holder of an auxiliary office which a congregation or group of congregations could establish. Because the itinerant minister was not considered a pastor and because the main responsibility of the itinerant minister was to establish congregations and encourage them to call pastors, the first change in the Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry did

not affect the relation between office and function, nor the relation between office and congregation.

The second period of the Synod's history witnessed an increase in what were considered to be auxiliary offices and an increased involvement of women in the office of parochial school teacher (this would increase even more during the Synod's third period so that by 1959, women teachers outnumbered men). With overseas missions increasing and auxiliary agencies such as hospitals and orphanages developing, men were called to be administrators or chaplains. Also, the synodical presidency was supposed to be a full-time position beginning in 1911. Yet, in that these positions were considered auxiliary offices, there was no change in the Synod's doctrine of the ministry as a result of their formation. The first evidence of any possible change was in 1927, when all ordained clergy, whether or not they were functioning as pastors in a local congregation, were listed as pastors in both the Lutheran Annual and the Amerikanischer Kalendar. Yet, this change of listing did not reflect a change in the Synod's overall understanding of the doctrine of the ministry at this time. The change is not reflected in any statements on the doctrine of the ministry until the 1950s when it was first suggested within the College of Presidents.

Although the position set forth by Walther was the overall accepted synodical position during both the first and second periods of the Synod's history, there were deviations or alterations by some with respect to the holders of auxiliary offices, particularly the office of parochial school teacher. Some held that Lutheran teachers had no divine call. Others maintained that they had a dual calling, part divine and part secular. This understanding, which gave a lower status to parochial

school teachers, caused a reaction and a reformulation of the doctrine of the ministry on the part of certain Wisconsin Synod theologians and then, during the Synod's third period, on the part of certain Missouri Synod members as well. They set forth what may be termed as the functional view of the ministry. This view maintained that God instituted the public office of the ministry only in the abstract and that God nowhere instituted the pastoral office in a local congregation. Concrete forms of the public office of the ministry were an historical development. According to this understanding, the church has the freedom to assign the various functions of the public office of the ministry (in the abstract) as it wills. Thus, all office holders, whether a pastor, teacher, or synodical official, have the highest office of the ministry. This view did not identify teachers or synodical officials as pastors. It simply maintained that all such offices are equally divine and have equal status. The functions are determined by the call of a congregation or a collection of congregations. It should also be noted that those who held to this view set forth a different understanding of the church as well. They maintained that not only a local congregation, but any gathering of believers can properly be understood as church and thus, any gathering of believers (congregation, district, or synod) has all churchly rights and powers. While the functional view of the ministry denied the specific divine institution of the pastoral office as the full public office of the ministry and maintained a differing view on the church, it did not necessarily separate office and function, nor did it necessarily separate office from congregation because it still maintained that the concrete functions of any given office were determined by the call. It did, however, stress function over against office by maintaining

that God had not established any one given office (specifically the pastoral office).

The third period of the Missouri Synod's history was marked by rapid growth and rising dissatisfaction or disagreement. Because of this growing dissatisfaction, some had engaged in political maneuvering for the office of synodical president at the Synod's 1935 convention. This, in turn, raises questions about the propriety of such actions with respect to the dignity of the divine call. And during this period, not only were there those who rejected the Missouri Synod's traditional understanding of the doctrine of the ministry by adopting the functional view, but there were some who again set forth a higher view of the office. With the rise of the Liturgical Movement within the Synod, there were those who maintained that God had established and ordained that the church should have an episcopal form of polity based upon an Apostolic succession. Some also held to a higher understanding of ordination-- that it was more than the public ratification of the call into the full public office of the ministry. Yet, by and large, the majority of the pastors within the Missouri Synod continued to hold to the Synod's traditional understanding of the doctrine of the ministry. This can be observed in theological books and articles and in the many convention essays that were given during this time. It can be seen in the Synod's doctrinal discussions with Lutherans outside of the Synodical Conference. It can also be seen from the fact that no Missouri Synod convention before 1962 made an "official" change in the Synod's traditional understanding of the doctrine of the ministry.

The second, and most significant, change that took place with respect to the Missouri Synod's understanding of the ministry occurred

when the Synod's College of Presidents decided to redefine ordination during the late 1950s. The Missouri Synod had maintained that ordination was not divinely mandated. Yet, it was a good churchly practice that should be maintained. According to the traditional Missouri Synod understanding, ordination was the public ratification of the call to the full public office of the ministry in a congregation. Yet, the government maintained a different understanding of ordination, both with respect to the military chaplaincy and certification to perform marriages. For the government, ordination was the church body's certification that an individual was fully qualified to perform all the functions of the public office of the ministry on behalf of the church body. Because of the government's understanding and because of the rising bureaucracy within the Synod during its third period of history, the College of Presidents, as the Synod's Board of Assignments, decided to adopt Guidelines on Ordination which maintained the government's understanding of ordination. Thus, ordination was no longer the public ratification of the call into the full public office of the ministry in a local congregation, but instead it was the certification that an individual was qualified for the full function of the office of the ministry. Therefore, an individual, as long as he was qualified for the full function of the public office of the ministry, could be ordained, no matter to what office he was called (professor, district or synodical official, chaplaincy, and so forth). The redefining of ordination also brought about a redefining of the pastoral office. Based on this new understanding, one was considered a pastor when he was qualified for the office and ordained, regardless of where he was serving or what functions he was performing. Also, the redefining of ordination brought about a different understand-



ing of church. Now, any gathering of believers (district, synod, or a parachurch organization), and not just the local congregation, could establish the pastoral office or the full office of the public ministry.

The second change in the Missouri Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry was significant because now office and function were separated. Also, office and congregation were separated as well. And, even though the new understanding of ordination did not necessarily mean an adopting of the functional view of the ministry (as held by the Wisconsin Synod), nor an adopting of a high church understanding of ordination (as held by some within the Liturgical Movement), it did make the issue sufficiently unclear so that either understanding could gain stronger support and endorsement within the Missouri Synod.

#### How or Why the Changes Came About

The change in the Synod's doctrine of the ministry with respect to certain non-congregational, itinerant ministries came about as an exception to the "rule" of transference for the sake of love. From its formation in 1847 until 1865, the Synod struggled over this issue and tried various means of reaching out to the unchurched German immigrants on the frontier: visitors, colporteurs, and traveling preachers. For the sake of the salvation of souls and the Law of Love, the "regulations" of the public office of the ministry (particularly the position on the call being extended by a local congregation) were suspended. In time, what was intended to be provisional became permanent and the exception became the rule. Eventually many other special, para-congregational ministries were established: college and seminary professors, missionaries, military chaplains, deaconesses, institutional chaplains, full-time dis-

strict and synodical executives. Yet, this did not necessarily conflict with the traditional Missouri Synod understanding of the doctrine of the ministry insofar as these were considered auxiliary offices of the pastoral office. The conflict arose when ordained clergy who were called to serve in a para-congregational office still wished to be considered pastors. Until 1962, they had to serve also as assistant or associate pastors in a local congregation in order to carry the title or hold the office of pastor.

The change that occurred in 1962 was the result of a thirty year discussion within the Synod's College of Presidents over the subject of ordination. Yet, until 1952, there is no evidence that a change was ever considered. Between 1952 and 1962, the College of Presidents determined to change the Synod's definition of ordination. There are undoubtedly many reasons why this occurred. One of the main reasons was the growing bureaucracy and the increasing number of full-time para-congregational positions within the Synod. By changing the Synod's understanding of ordination, a candidate who had fulfilled all the qualifications for the pastoral office could be ordained, even if he was called to be an administrator. Secondly, the government held a different understanding of ordination, and as a further process of Americanization, it was easier for the Synod to adapt to the government's view than to get the entire United States of America to change. Thirdly, ordination was considered an adiaphoron and therefore it was believed that it really did not matter how it was defined, as long as the definition did not conflict with Scripture. A possible fourth reason was that the many divergent views on the doctrine of the ministry that arose during the Synod's third period caused members of the College of Presidents to

question the Synod's traditional understanding. However, there is no evidence of this apart from the fact that they recommended the change. Still another possible reason was the growing emphasis within the Synod upon professional church workers and upon maintaining standards of professionalism similar to those in other professions, relating the administration of the Synod to the administration of large corporations, and therefore, also adopting the pragmatic ethics and goals of business and other professions. Finally, it could well be that the members of the College of Presidents at this time did not consider all the implications of redefining the understanding of ordination, particularly the change this would bring with respect to the understanding of the doctrine of the ministry and the doctrine of the church.

There seem to be three basic reasons why the new understanding of ordination was adopted by the delegates at the 1962 convention without serious consideration of the consequences and the changes it necessitated with respect to the understanding of the pastoral office and the understanding of the church. First, the resolution was presented as a constitutional change and not a doctrinal issue. Already at the Synod's 1959 convention, the delegates had made sweeping constitutional changes with respect to synodical administration. Thus, it appears that such a change in the practice of ordination seemed rather miniscule. Also, the Synod had already passed one resolution on ordination at the 1959 convention, allowing candidates to be ordained outside of their calling congregation upon the approval of their district president. This exception had been permitted already during the Synod's formative period. Yet, it had been discouraged because it gave a false impression with respect to ordination. Secondly, the College of Presidents had not pub-

licized its ten year discussion over this issue, nor was their rationale set forth in the 1962 Reports and Memorials. Because many of the synodical publications during this time, particularly the 1960 pastoral theology text, The Pastor at Work, continued to maintain the traditional Missouri Synod understanding on ordination, the pastoral office, and the church, one gets the distinct impression that the 1962 resolutions on ordination were unannounced and unexpected. Thirdly, the three resolutions on ordination were overshadowed by more pressing issues at the 1962 synodical convention. These included the inerrancy and inspiration of Scripture, the nature of synodically adopted doctrinal statements, the election of a new synodical president, the breaking of fellowship by the Wisconsin Synod, the suggestion for a new inter-Lutheran agency, the formation of the Commission on Theology and Church Relations, and the approval of a new synod-wide fund appeal. With these weighty issues before them, delegates could easily overlook three small resolutions on ordination.

Questions Raised by the Change in the Missouri Synod's  
Understanding of the Doctrine of the Ministry

The change in the Missouri Synod's understanding of the doctrine of the ministry raises a number of questions which an historical analysis cannot answer in and of itself. For this, one must go back to Scripture.

The first basic question which arises from any observation that a church body's doctrinal position has changed is: Does doctrine change? If something was considered Scriptural and therefore true in 1851 or 1951, is it not also true in 1962? Or were the theologians of the Missouri Synod wrong before 1962, particularly with respect to the pastoral office, the call, and the congregation? Could it possibly be a matter

of a differing application? If so, where is the Scriptural warrant for the new application?

Secondly, is the definition of ordination truly an adiaphoron if, by adopting a new definition, one changes the understanding of the doctrine of the ministry and the doctrine of the church (Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope, 68-72)?

Third, if it is still maintained that the public office of the ministry is divinely instituted in a concrete form and is to be identified with the pastoral office and if Scripture (particularly Titus 1:5) identifies this office with a local congregation, is it appropriate to establish that office apart from a congregation? Or, is it appropriate to separate office and function?

Finally, is it appropriate to redefine or reformulate theology and church practice according to government definitions or societal norms?

In order to determine if these questions have been addressed after the 1962 convention, a continuing historical analysis of the doctrine of the ministry within the Missouri Synod is needed, particularly from 1962 to the present. Many of the archival manuscripts from this period will not be accessible for years to come. However, public documents are available and current practice can be readily observed. It is hoped that these questions can and will be addressed anew, based on an informed understanding of the events and positions of the past, and that Scriptural answers will be forthcoming.

SOLI DEO GLORIA

## APPENDIX A

### STEPHAN'S INVESTITURE<sup>1</sup>

Your Reverence has, according to the gracious council of God, remained standing as the last, unshakable pillar on the ruins of the now devastated Lutheran Church in Germany, to which all those having clung in the name of the Lord who have still earnestly cared for the right way to salvation, the true Church, and its holy Confessions. Among these there were also 5 servants of God's Word, by whom you were loved and honored as spiritual father, and approached for counsel and judgment in all important matters which pertained to their own welfare or that of their congregations. Accordingly, you have already for a long time occupied the position of a bishop and performed episcopal functions among us. However, this has become even more apparent since the plan, considered according to God's Word, of transplanting the Lutheran Church from Germany to the United States has been put into execution. You have been recognized by all individual congregations and congregation members as the father of all, as highest shepherd of souls, and as leader; without the name of a bishop you have exercised the office of bishop with paternal kindness, firmness, justice, care, and wisdom. Now that you are about to step on the soil of America, it becomes urgently necessary that this inner, tacit choice receive external and public expression. We have been instructed by you in many things, and from this instruction an abiding conviction has resulted in us that an episcopal form of polity, in accord with the Word of God, with the old Apostolic Church, and with our Symbolical writings, is indispensable. Such a form of polity, in which a greater or smaller number of clergymen are subordinated to a bishop in the government of the Church and form a council with him and under his leadership, is therefore our joint, fervent, and earnest desire. It is also our abiding conviction that the real purpose of our emigration, as it is expressed in Par. 2 of our Emigration Code, can be attained only under a free episcopal form of polity.

In consequence of all this, therefore, we approach you with the reverent, urgent plea: Accept, Reverend Father, also for the future the office of bishop among us, bestowed upon you by God, and grant that we may now already express with this name our unqualified confidence in your fatherly love and pastoral faithfulness toward us, and the assurance of our sincere, complete, and childlike obedience toward you.

We are doing this at the same time in the name of the 4 clergymen who, together with their congregations, have preceded us, in the firm confidence that they fully agree with us in this matter and that we are

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<sup>1</sup>"Stephan's Investiture," MS, Concordia Historical Institute, trans. Walter O. Forster, Zion on the Mississippi (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 288-290.

only expressing what we already heard from them and what you, Right Reverent Sir, if it pleases God, will shortly hear from them personally.

May Jesus Christ, the chief Bishop of all souls, who has bought His Church with His own blood, hear our prayer for you and permit you, as our leader on the way to eternity, to hold the bishop's staff among us until the most distant limit of your--God grant it--very high old age, for our spiritual and temporal welfare, for the building of the ruined Lutheran Zion, for the blessing of all Christendom, and to the glory of the Triune God, to whom alone be praise and honor in the Church which is in Christ Jesus.

On board the Olbers, January 14, in the year of grace 1839.  
Otto Hermann Walther . . . , Gotthold Heinrich Loeber . . . , Ernst  
Gerhard Wilhelm Keyl . . . , Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. . . .

## APPENDIX B

### PLEDGE OF SUBJECTION TO STEPHAN<sup>1</sup>

In the name of the Triune God.

The lamentable spiritual state of a large part of the congregation which emigrated with us--which state has become manifest during our whole journey and has grown ever more pronounced--has filled us with deep sorrow. The sins which hold sway among us and which especially cause us distress are: great indifference to God's Word and despising of the holy office of the ministry, in particular a damnable spirit of mistrust and dissatisfaction toward our Right Reverend Bishop, which has frequently found expression in shocking insolence, utter lack of all Christian love of one's fellow man; on the other hand, a morbid tendency toward slandering, vengefulness, envy and ill will, hypocrisy and disobedience to the orders given by His Reverence, heathenish unbelief and worldly-mindedness, and all in all such behavior as brings shame and discredit upon the Christian name.

If we consider that we are supposed to be a congregation which wished to emigrate for the sake of the pure, Apostolic-Lutheran faith, and had [have] given the definite promise to serve God in pure faith and a godly life, we feel constrained all the more to make the following declaration in writing, lest we, through sinful silence and indifference, become partakers in all the afore-mentioned sins, and in order that our deeply distressed pastor and Bishop may know what he has in us and what he may expect of us.

Above all, we affirm and testify before the countenance of the omniscient God, in agreement with the truth, that we have complete and firm confidence in the wisdom, experience, faithfulness, and well-meaning fatherly love of our Very Reverend Bishop; and we abhor all distrustful, suspicious statements and thoughts, in which he is accused of injustice, harshness, aggrandizement, selfishness, carelessness in the administration of our temporal goods, etc.

We reaffirm with sincere heart that we are determined to adhere steadfastly and firmly to God's Word and the pure old-Lutheran confession of faith. We further declare that we are determined to hold fast with heart and soul, to keep most faithfully, and to live, suffer, and die under the episcopal method of church polity, with the introduction of which among us a beginning has already been made and which, when established according to the Word of God, has been used by the Apostolic Church, has been retained by the Lutheran Church of Sweden until this

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<sup>1</sup>"Pledge of Subjection to Stephan, Feb. 16, 1839," MS, Concordia Historical Institute, trans. Walter O. Forster, Zion on the Mississippi (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 293-296.



very day, and is in accord with the Symbolical Writings of the Lutheran Church.

Further, we solemnly pledge ourselves, as we have already promised by signing the Emigration Code, par. 3, to submit with Christian willingness and sincerity to the ordinances, decrees, and measures of His Reverence in respect to both ecclesiastical and community affairs, and not to regard them as an irksome yoke, but as the means of promoting our temporal and eternal welfare.

We repeat and reaffirm the promise, given in par. 7 of the Emigration Code, to contribute according to ability toward erecting and maintaining church and school, both with financial support and also other, personal service; likewise we shall also, in conjunction with the other congregations, provide with Christian willingness and without murmuring for the maintenance of our Bishop and our other clergymen and schoolteachers as much as the present circumstances permit, in order also thereby to give evidence of our obedience to God's commandments, our due thankfulness, and our deep appreciation of the spiritual gifts bestowed upon us through the holy office of the ministry.

Because of the numerous calumnies which our revered Bishop as well as his spiritual assistants have had to experience from various quarters, we feel obliged to make the declaration that we will always treat him with due respect and will in the future tolerate no calumny, regardless of its source, remembering the words of our Lord Jesus Christ: Whosoever heareth you heareth Me, and whosoever despiseth you despiseth Me, and 1 Tim. 5:17: Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor. As often as we are in need of a reprimand or a correction because of any kind of mistake, we will accept it willingly and thankfully, whether it come directly from the Bishop or through an authorized intermediary, and will altogether conduct ourselves in a sincere, honest, and obedient manner toward our pastors, bearing in mind the word of God: "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you."

Should malicious persons attempt to sow the seeds of dissatisfaction and dissension among us or to form factions, we will earnestly and vigorously oppose them and promptly report them according to the explicit command of God 2 Thess. 3:14: "And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed," and 1 Cor. 5:13: "Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person."

The preceding declaration and vow we have well understood and made voluntarily, without persuasion and haste, after mature consideration, and have signed it with our own hands in the presence of the likewise subscribed witnesses, and we intend to keep it faithfully and honestly; so help us God through Jesus Christ. Amen.

APPENDIX C

[SENTENCE OF DEPOSITION PRONOUNCED UPON STEPHAN]<sup>1</sup>

After you, Martin Stephan, erstwhile Bishop of the evangelical Lutheran congregation which immigrated to North America from Saxony, have been accused before the subscribed Council of the sins of fornication and adultery, committed repeatedly, and of prodigal maladministration of the property of others, also because you have become guilty of false doctrine, but on the other hand have not recognized the Council legitimately placed over you, have thereby not only evaded the investigation pertaining [to these charges] and yourself forfeited the right of defense, but have also, by rejection of the Council, rejected the Word of God, the church, the office [of the ministry], and all divine order: we hereby declare by virtue of our office

That you have forfeited not only your investiture with this spiritual office, but also the rights and privileges of a member of the Christian Church, in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Enacted in Perry County, at the mouth of the Brazo, May 30, 1839. . . .

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<sup>1</sup>"Sentence of Deposition Pronounced upon Stephan," MS, Concordia Historical Institute, trans. Walter O. Forster, Zion on the Mississippi (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), p. 418.

## APPENDIX D

### EXTENT OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CONGREGATION IN RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS<sup>1</sup>

First Right: Appointment, calling, installation and dismissal of the minister (Matt. 18:20, 1 Cor. 14).

Second Right: Supervision, judgment, and discipline of the minister (Matt. 7:15; 1 John 4:1; Col. 4:17).

Third Right: Supervision, judgment, and discipline of the members of the congregation (Matt. 18:15).

Fourth Right: Supervision and judgment of doctrine (1 Thess. 5).

Fifth Right: Final decision in all religious and ecclesiastical matters (Matt. 18:17; Acts 6:2, 5, 6; Acts 15; Acts 21:18, 22).

Sixth Right: Final decision in all private quarrels coming to the attention of the congregation (Matt. 18:17).

Seventh Right: Authorization to appear at councils with the same rights as clergymen (man for man, in the total number) (Acts 4:15, 21; Acts 15).

Eighth Right: The use of the keys of the church indisputed cases and in those of the most serious nature, namely where excommunication is involved (Matt. 18:17, 18; 2 Cor. 2:10).

Ninth Right: Congregations have due power and authority to settle Adia-phora (things neither commanded nor forbidden), thus to regulate the entire liturgy and ritual and to devise their church constitutions.

Tenth Right: Congregations, as congregations, have preference over the clergy.

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<sup>1</sup>Carl Eduard Vehse, Die Stephan'sche Auswanderung nach Amerika (First Edition: Dresden: Verlagsexpedition des Dresdner Wochenblattes, 1840), pp. 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66. Translated by Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," The Graduate School of Concordia Seminary. Studies in Church and Ministry. Edited by Erwin L. Lueker. Vol. 3. St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1967, pp. 22-23.

## APPENDIX E

### THE ALTENBURG THESES<sup>1</sup>

#### I

The true Church, in the most real and most perfect sense, is the totality (Gesammtheit) of all true believers, who from the beginning to the end of the world from among all peoples and tongues have been called and sanctified by the Holy Spirit through the Word. And since God alone knows these true believers (2 Tim. 2:19), the Church is also called invisible. No one belongs to this true Church who is not spiritually united with Christ, for it is the spiritual body of Jesus Christ.

#### II

The name of the true Church belongs also to all those visible companies of men among whom God's Word is purely taught and the holy Sacraments are administered according to the institution of Christ. True, in this Church there are godless men, hypocrites, and heretics, but they are not true members of it, nor do they constitute the Church.

#### III

The name Church, and, in a certain sense, the name true Church, belongs also to those visible companies of men who have united under the confession of a falsified faith and therefore have incurred the guilt of a partial departure from the truth; provided they possess so much of God's Word and the holy Sacraments in purity that children of God may thereby be born. When such companies are called true churches, it is not the intention to state that they are faithful, but only that they are real churches as opposed to all worldly organizations (Gemeinschaften).

#### IV

The name Church is not improperly applied to heterodox companies, but according to the manner of speech of the Word of God itself. It is also not immaterial that this high name is allowed to such communions, for out of this follows: -

1. That members also of such companies may be saved; for without the Church there is no salvation.

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<sup>1</sup>J. F. Koesting, Auswanderung der saechsischen Lutheraner im Jahre 1838, ihre Niederlassung in Perry-Co., Mo., und damit zusammenhaengende interessante Nachrichten (St. Louis: 1967), pp. 51-52, trans. W. G. Polack, The Story of C. F. W. Walther (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), pp. 53-54.

## V

2. The outward separation of a heterodox company from an orthodox Church is not necessarily a separation from the universal Christian Church nor a relapse into heathenism and does not yet deprive that company of the name Church.

## VI

3. Even heterodox companies have church power; even among them the goods of the Church may be validly administered, the ministry established, the Sacraments validly administered, and the keys of the kingdom of heaven exercised.

## VII

4. Even heterodox companies are not to be dissolved, but reformed.

## VIII

The orthodox Church is chiefly to be judged by the common, orthodox, public confession to which its members acknowledge and confess themselves to be pledged.

## APPENDIX F

### MISSOURI CHURCH PRINCIPLES<sup>1</sup>

1. Every Christian congregation is the possessor of all properties and rights which exist in the church. 1 Cor. 2:12; Matt. 18:20.
2. Through Baptism every individual becomes a priest, king, and prophet. Apoc. 1:5, 6; 1 Pet. 2:9.
3. There is therefore in the church of the New Testament no real special priestly class; where there is a congregation there is also the office and every member of a congregation is as such capable of administering the properties of the church and validly performing all activities of the office, of preaching, of baptizing, of administering the holy Supper, of absolving, etc.
4. However, no individual person may or can arrogate for himself the rights which each individual has in a fellowship without damaging the rights of others.
5. God has therefore established the holy office of the ministry and has bidden the church to transfer [uebertragen] through a regular call to one or a number of persons the administration of those rights or of the stewardship of the mysteries of God which it possesses.
6. Therefore, no one should teach publicly or administer the holy sacraments without a regular call.
7. Nevertheless, since all Christians are spiritual priests, in case of necessity also laymen can perform all activities of the office.
8. The right to call servants of the church belongs to the congregation; however, if there are already other ministers in a congregation which calls a minister, these also belong to those who are doing the calling. Acts 6:2, 5.
9. Members of the congregation owe the minister reverence, material sustenance, and obedience as a servant of Jesus Christ, when he teaches

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<sup>1</sup>Buffalo Synod, Fifth Proceedings (Synodal-Brief), 1856, pp. 49-52, trans. Karl Wyneken, "Selected Aspects of C. F. W. Walther's Doctrine of the Ministry," The Graduate School of Concordia Seminary, Studies in Church and Ministry, ed. Erwin L. Lueker, vol. 3. St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1967, 3:25-27.

God's Word and admonishes from it, or warns them of possible temptation and the like.

10. The congregation may place no obstructions in the way of the minister in the necessary and proper exercise of the private care of souls among all its individual members.

11. Members of the congregation indeed have the right to seek mutual edification also outside of the public divine worship, although the supervision of this still belongs to the minister.

12. The minister has no dominion over the members of the congregation and over their consciences (1 Pet. 5:3; Matt. 20:25-27); he may not require that one believe him in something for his own personal sake or for the sake of his office; he has no external power, but that of the Word alone (2 Cor. 10:4); he may not under the subterfuge of private care of souls meddle in worldly affairs and family happenstances; he has no power to arrange the order of divine service and ceremonies himself alone nor to alter those already introduced.

13. The congregation is the highest and final court of appeal [Gericht] in the church; ministers are its servants and are responsible to it; the congregation and every individual member of the congregation has the right to examine the doctrine of the ministers, to supervise their lives and the execution of their office and to admonish and punish them; also to be present at church assemblies and to be active by voice and vote (Acts 15:22).

14. The congregation with its minister has the right to decide according to God's Word in disputes over points of doctrine, to produce public confessions of faith, to prescribe the doctrinal norm and the order of divine worship, to introduce, alter, and abolish church ceremonies, and to arrange the public prayers, days of repentance and festival days.

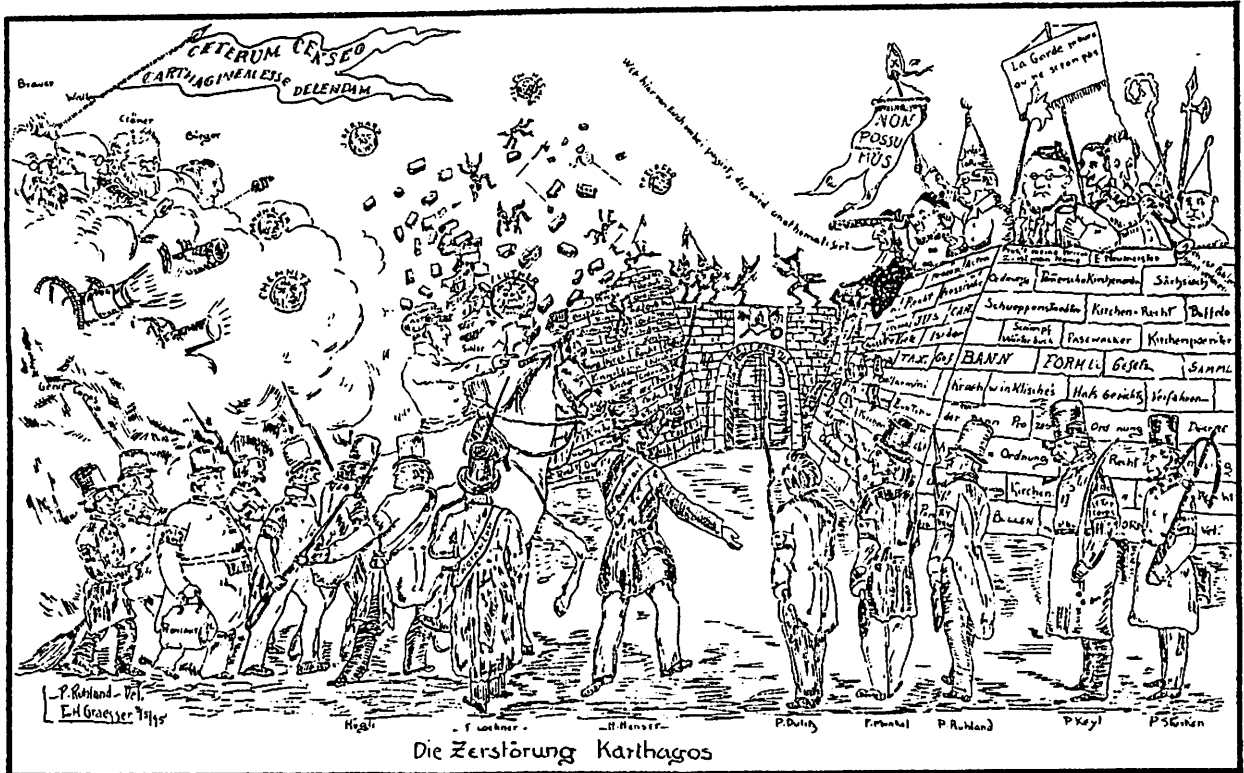
15. Handling of church discipline belongs to the congregation with the cooperation of the pastor. He indeed has the regular administration of the office of the keys and therefore also the power to excommunicate the impenitent according to God's Word and to receive again the penitent, but neither of these without the congregation, to which, especially in disputed cases, the decision belongs.

16. The decision in matters of conscience belongs to the congregation when in certain cases and actions the application of the Word of God is doubtful.

17. The congregation has the right to depose its ministers, though not arbitrarily, but only when it can prove that the minister, according to God's Word, can no longer be tolerated by it.

APPENDIX G

THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE<sup>1</sup>



A satirical cartoon by Pastor F. Ruhland depicting the Missouri-Buffalo relations of a century ago. The fort (right center) is that of the Buffalo Synod, built with the stones of the bans, formulas, laws, bulls, church orders, etc. It is being destroyed by the Missouri Synod's heavy artillery (upper left). The huge cannon fired by the "top brass" of the Missouri Synod, Brauer, Walthier, Craemer, and Bueger, demolish the enemy fort with blasts from Luther, Dannbauer, Chremnitz, Gerhard, Heshusius, and Pfeifer. Grabau (center, right, clothed in black preaching gown) still controls his forces and threatens to anathematize anyone who dares to come too close. Von Rohr is evident just to the right of the

fort's corner. The artist draws a parallel between Cato's undeviating stand on the destruction of Carthage and Missouri's attitude toward Buffalo. Mounted on a white horse, Sihler, a former military man, leads the charge of the infantry (left front), consisting chiefly of the Wisconsin Synod. Note the arm band with "Wisconsin Boys." J. A. Huegli of Detroit spurs them on with upraised sword. F. Lochner, appearing a trifle bedraggled, entered the fray with the *Nothwehrblatt*. H. Hanser of Buffalo, N. Y., incites the "New York infantry," also foot soldiers (right front, Dulitz, Munkel, and Ruhland). The veterans (extreme right front), comprising Keyl and Stuerken, are armed with sword and crossbow.

<sup>1</sup>F. Ruhland, "Die Zerstörung Karthagos," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 27 (January 1955):168-169.



APPENDIX H

SELECTED ARTICLES FROM THE MISSOURI SYNOD'S

FIRST CONSTITUTION<sup>1</sup>

II. Conditions under which a congregation may join Synod and remain a member.

5. Proper [not temporary] calling of the pastors and orderly election of congregational delegates by the congregation. The life of both minister and delegate must be beyond reproof.

III. External organization of Synod.

1. The synodical personnel is made up of the ministers of the Church and the delegates of the congregations. Each congregation has the right to elect one delegate. If pastors or delegates are absent for a good reason they may in a particular case deliver their vote in writing.

IV. Business of Synod.

5. Conscientious examination of candidates for the ministry and teaching profession.

6. To provide for ecclesiastical ordination and induction into office.

7. The preparation of future preachers and teachers for service in the Church.

8. To provide for congregations without pastors, if the former apply to Synod.

12. To support indigent congregations who are members of Synod, that they may obtain the regular service of a pastor.

V. Execution of synodical business.

8. . . . In like manner also Synod is to discuss the needs of the spiritually neglected Lutherans and to supply such needs by supporting those men who out of free Christian love go out among these neglected Lutherans to prepare the way for the organization of sound Lutheran congregations. These visitors [Besucheren] are to be trained for their work and examined as to their fitness before they go out, and commissioned with prayer and benediction. The Visitor is to keep a diary and is to submit to the President detailed reports, who is to include them in his annual report to Synod.

10. a. For examining those who want to become candidates for the ministry, Synod is to appoint through the ministerium two examiners from the best theologians in her midst, to serve for three years. The President of Synod with two examiners constitutes Synod's examining commission, of which the President is chairman.

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<sup>1</sup>"Our First Synodical Constitution," translated by Roy Suelflow, Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 16 (April 1943):2-18.

f. . . . As regards those who wish to become candidates for the teaching profession, they are to be examined by the 'pastor loci', who is to prepare for the candidate a detailed certificate for presentation before Synod. The subjects in which they are to be examined are: knowledge of the Bible and understanding of Scripture; Christian doctrine, with particular reference to the Symbolical Books, especially the two Catechisms of Luther; church and Reformation history; German language; arithmetic; penmanship; geography; history; and music. Besides this the candidate is also to hold a catechization, which is also to be submitted in writing, as also a dissertation on some pedagogical topic assigned by the examiner. Every new teacher is to be inducted into his office by the 'pastor loci', in an open ceremony in the church and in the presence of the congregation.

11. Ordination and induction of newly called pastors shall be performed by the President in accordance with the restrictions placed on him in VI, A, 11 [He may transfer his duties at an ordination, if necessary, to any properly ordained pastor]. Ordinations are to be performed with at least one neighboring pastor assisting, and if possible, before the respective congregation, with a ceremony in which the candidate promises to adhere to the Symbolical Books, and according to the formula of a recognized orthodox agenda.

Ordination shall be accorded only to him who has received a legitimate call from and to a particular congregation and who has by a previous examination been found to be sound in faith, fit to teach, and beyond reproof in his life. The so-called licenses which are in use in this country are not given by Synod, because they are against Scripture and proper church practice.

VI. Rights and duties of the officers and other members of Synod.

E. Each individual member of Synod

3. Only pastors and delegates empowered by the congregations are voting members. Both are to present their letter of introduction from their congregation, first, when they join Synod, and secondly, every time they appear at a convention. If a congregation sends two or more pastors, they have only one vote together.

APPENDIX I

DIE STIMME UNSERER KIRCHE IN DER FRAGE VON KIRCHE UND AMT

ZWEITER TEIL. VOM HEILIGEN PREDIGTAMT ODER PFARRAMT.<sup>1</sup>

I. Das heilige Predigtamt oder Pfarramt ist ein von dem Priesteramt, welches alle Glaebigen haben, verschiedenes Amt.

"The holy preaching office or ministerial office is a distinct office from the priestly office which all believers have."

II. Das Predigtamt oder Pfarramt ist keine menschliche Ordnung, sondern ein von Gott selbst gestiftetes Amt.

"The preaching office or ministerial office is no human ordinance, but an office instituted by God Himself."

III. Das Predigtamt ist kein willkuerliches Amt, sondern ein solches Amt, dessen Aufrichtung der Kirche geboten und an das die Kirche bis an das Ende der Tage ordentlicherweise gebunden ist.

"The preaching office is no casual [optional] office, but one which the church is commanded to establish and to which the church is ordinarily bound to the end of days.

IV. Das Predigtamt ist kein besonderer, dem gemeinen Christenstand gegenueberstehender heiligerer Stand, wie das levitische Priestertum, sondern ein Amt des Dienstes.

"The preaching office is no particular, holier order [estate] over against the ordinary Christian order [estate], as was the Levitical priesthood, but is an office of service."

V. Das Predigtamt hat die Gewalt das Evangelium zu predigen und die heiligen Sakramente zu verwalten und die Gewalt eines geistlichen Gerichts.

"The preaching office has the authority to preach the Gospel and administer the holy sacraments and the authority of spiritual judgment [a spiritual tribunal]."

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<sup>1</sup>Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther, Die Stimme Unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt (Erlangen: Verlag von Andreas Deichert, 1852), pp. 174-221.

VI. Das Predigtamt wird von Gott durch die Gemeinde, als Inhaberin aller Kirchengewalt oder der Schluessel, und durch deren von Gott vorgeschriebenen Beruf uebertragen. Die Ordination der Berufenen mit Handauflegung ist nicht goettlicher Einsetzung, sondern eine apostolische kirchliche Ordnung, und nur eine oeffentliche feierliche Bestaetigung jenes Berufes.

"The preaching office is transferred [uebertragen] by God through the congregation, as possessor of all churchly authority, or the Keys, and through its call as prescribed by God. The ordination of those called, with the laying on of hands, is not a divine institution, but an apostolic, churchly ordinance and only a public, solemn confirmation [ratification] of the call."

VII. Das heilige Predigtamt ist die von Gott durch die Gemeinde als Inhaberin des Priestertums und aller Kirchengewalt uebertragene Gewalt, die Rechte des geistlichen Priestertums in oeffentlichem Amte von Gemeinschafts wegen auszuueben.

"The holy preaching office is the authority transferred [uebertragen] by God through the congregation, as possessor of the priesthood and of all churchly authority, to exercise the rights of the spiritual priesthood in public office for the community [congregation]."

VIII. Das Predigtamt ist das hoechste Amt in der Kirche, aus welchem alle anderen Kirchenaemter fliessen.

"The preaching office is the highest office in the church, from which all other church offices flow."

IX. Dem Predigtamt gebuehrt Ehrfurcht und unbedingter Gehorsam, wenn der Prediger Gottes Wort fuehrt, doch hat der Prediger keine Herrschaft in der Kirche; er had daher dein Recht, neue Gesetze zu machen, die Mitteldinge und ceremonien in der Kirche willkuerlich einzurichten und den Bann allein ohne vorhergehendes Erkenntnis der ganzen Gemeinde zu verhaengen und auszuueben.

"To the preaching office belongs respect and absolute obedience when the preacher expounds [presents] God's Word, yet the preacher has no lordship in the church; he therefore has no right to make new laws, arbitrarily to arrange adiaphora and ceremonies in the church, and to impose and carry out the ban [excommunication] alone, without prior knowledge [recognition] of the whole congregation."

X. Zu dem Predigtamt gehoert zwar nach goettlichem Rechte auch das Amt, Lehre zu urteilen, doch haben das Recht hierzu auch die Laien; daher dieselben auch in den Kirchengerichten und Konzilien mit den Predigern Sitz und Stimme haben.

"To the preaching office indeed belongs by divine right also the office [function] to judge doctrine, yet laymen also have this right as well; therefore these same also have seat and vote in ecclesiastical courts and councils with the preachers."

APPENDIX J

TWENTY-EIGHT THESES CONCERNING THE CALL AND POSITION

OF A REISEPREDIGER, WESTERN DISTRICT, 1865<sup>1</sup>

1. Every New Testament Christian is a true spiritual priest, no longer under tutelage, of which priesthood the sons of Levi and Aaron in the Old Testament were merely the patterns and shadows.

2. Every Christian as a spiritual priest has: (1) the office of the Word, (2) that of baptizing, (3) that of blessing or of consecrating the sacred bread and wine, (4) that of binding and loosing from sins, (5) that of sacrificing, (6) that of praying for others, (7) that of judging and discerning doctrine.

3. The public office of the ministry is the authority transferred through believing Christians to exercise the rights of the spiritual priesthood in the public office in the place of Christ and on behalf of the congregation.

4. The public office of the ministry--and so that no one may administer it unless he is regularly called thereto--is indeed a regulation<sup>2</sup> and not a means of grace, nevertheless not a human, but a divine regulation.

5. Everything which serves the external, indifferent regulation in the church is left by God to the church itself to regulate in Christian freedom.

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<sup>1</sup>"Achtundzwanzig Thesen ueber den Beruf und die Stellung eines Reisepredigers," Verhandlungen der Elften Jahresversammlung des Westlichen Districts der deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u.a. Staaten im Jahre 1865 (St. Louis: Druck von Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1865), pp. 57-72. Trans. by Karl Wyneken, "The Development of the Itinerant Ministries in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, 1847-1865," unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1963, pp. 211-215.

<sup>2</sup>German: Ordnung. This word, its verbal form ordnen, and the adjective and adverb ordentlich present a problem in translation, especially since subtle distinctions surround their use. Ordnung might be translated "ordinance," but sometimes in the theses it has the more general meaning of "order." The single English word which most nearly covers all cases, even the derivative forms, is perhaps "regulation" (hence: "regulate," "regular," "regularly"), and this has been used consistently throughout.

6. Just as all regulations of Almighty God Himself are made not only for the sake of external regulation but at the same time for other reasons which to us are partly revealed, partly hidden, so also the regulation of the public office of the ministry.

7. To depart from the public office of the ministry is in no case permitted to any creature, unless it be that God's Word itself presents a precedent to depart therefrom. Matt. 15:1-6; Rom. 10:15.

8. Just as all regulations of God in the New Testament are not laws but gracious institutions of God for the salvation of souls, so also the regulation of the public office of the ministry.

9. Love is the queen of all laws, so much the more of all regulations, i.e., in cases of necessity it knows no commandment, much less any regulation. Matt. 12:7; Rom. 13:10.

10. There are cases of necessity in which also the regulation of the public office of the ministry cannot and should not be observed. Exodus 4:24-26.

11. A case of necessity occurs when, by legalistic observance of the regulation, souls would be lost instead of saved and love would thereby be violated.

12. In a case of necessity, departure from God's regulation may be made only so far and for so long as the case of necessity exists.

13. Without the preaching of the Word no faith is possible and without Baptism the development of faith is in constant danger of suffering shipwreck in every trial, and with regard to children, Baptism is the only means of grace for them. Rom. 10:14; Mark 10:15, 16.

14. Just as the Fifth Commandment concerning love for the neighbor in general follows the Fourth concerning love for parents [i.e., a specific command], so the call of love in general follows the specific call.

15. Just as the call of love in general does not permit setting aside the specific call of the father and usurping his office, so the former also does not permit setting aside the specific call of a public minister and usurping his office.

16. Love does not give the right to do the work of a public minister in the congregation of an already validly called minister, even one who is heretical, and thus to usurp his office.

17. Love has the call and the duty, where there are no Christians previously and the church must first be planted, to come out publicly and proclaim God's Word to souls and to baptize those who thereupon confess the faith.

18. Love has the call and the duty, even where there are Christians but where the church lacks a public minister and souls would other-

wise be in danger of being lost, also to come out publicly and teach God's Word if it possesses the knowledge and the gift for this.

19. When it is stated that the church has the right to call, this does not mean that the church on the whole can create ministers by its call, but that those Christians to whom the minister is to be sent also have the right to choose and to call this minister themselves.

20. For others than those [to whom the minister is to be sent] to call and place ministers without the latter's consent is a usurpation of an office which does not belong to them and is nothing else but tyranny.

21. If the Christian can request and authorize someone to do a work of love in general in his place, then Christians can also request and authorize someone in their place to search out Christians who lack a minister and to undertake the preaching of the Word of God among them as a work of love in general.

22. It does not constitute a case of necessity where, in observing the divine regulation, souls are forced to assume a merely temporal and physical discomfort.

23. The administration of Holy Communion presupposes the existence of a Christian congregation and personal care of souls; it should not take place therefore where no Christian congregation exists and no personal care of souls can be maintained.

24. No arrangement may be introduced by which the departure from the divine regulation of the public office of the ministry is made a permanent regulation.

25. A case of necessity in the administering of Holy Communion without the divine regulation of the holy office of the ministry is perhaps conceivable but only in very unusual spiritual trial.

26. A Christian capable of teaching who searches out the lost sheep of the house of Christ and preaches the Word of God to them should administer the entire office of the Gospel only where he is called accordingly as regular public minister.

27. Such a traveling minister ought to accept the call of small congregations only on the condition that he thereby retains the freedom always to search out more such small congregations and to serve each one only to the extent that time allows.

28. It is the duty of such a traveling minister to be of assistance to the larger congregations founded by him in acquiring another minister who will reside permanently with them.

## APPENDIX K

### OHIO THESES ON THE MINISTRY

#### THE PASTORAL OFFICE<sup>1</sup>

Thesis 1. In the Christian Church there is a universal priesthood, consisting in this, that it is the right and duty of the entire Christian community to proclaim the virtues of Him, who has called them out of darkness into His marvelous light.

Thesis 2. In the Church there is also a public office of the ministry . . . instituted of God, that the Gospel might be proclaimed, the sacraments administered, and Christian discipline and order maintained.

Thesis 3. There is a distinction to be made between the evangelical pastoral office and the universal priesthood. . . . This distinction, however, consists not in this, that the public office of the ministry possesses a word of God, a Baptism, an Absolution and a Eucharist different from those given to the entire Church, but rather in this, that it publicly administers this word, baptism, absolution and eucharist. But . . . all Christians have the right and duty to make use of God's Holy Word, and, in cases of necessity, also to baptize and to absolve.

Thesis 4. The Church, i.e. all Christians, have the keys (or the power to absolve) originally and immediately through Christ, . . . but it does not follow from this, that each Christian is a pastor.

Thesis 5. The pastoral office is not a human arrangement, but a divine institution, although the external appointment . . . is a work of the spiritual priesthood.

Thesis 6. The call to the pastoral office comes from God, not immediately . . . but mediately, through men, i.e. through the Christian congregation.

Thesis 7. Ordination, in its narrow sense, is not a divine command, although it has been the practice of the Church since the time of the Apostles; there is no absolute necessity for it, and yet it is necessary from a churchly point of view; it is not a bestowal of talents for the office, and yet it is a salutary confirmation of the call that has proceeded from the Church . . . ; and, in the regularly organized condition of the Church, is only to be administered by those who are already in the ministerial office.

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<sup>1</sup>Richard C. Wolf, Documents of Lutheran Unity in America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 183-184.



APPENDIX L

APPREHENSION REGARDING "ROMANIZING TENDENCIES"<sup>1</sup>

Committee 3 gave attention to Unprinted Material Memorial 64 from Emmaus Lutheran Church of Chicago, Ill., and brought in the following resolution, which was adopted by Synod:

Resolution 18

WHEREAS, Most issues regarding "Romanizing tendencies" to which this memorial makes reference have been properly dealt with by the responsible synodical officials, according to information received, and hence call for no special action on the part of this Convention; but

WHEREAS, We recognize that a basis for the concern of the petitioning congregation does exist; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the pastors, teachers, and theological students who have a special interest in liturgics continue to be warned to exercise an appropriate measure of caution in these matters, so that the consciences of our people and clergy be not disturbed, and that our Synod be on guard lest "Romanizing tendencies" develop in our midst; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the College of Presidents examine this problem of liturgical practices for the purpose of providing for "the largest possible uniformity" (Synodical Constitution, Article III, 5); and be it further

RESOLVED, That our District and synodical officials be instructed to deal vigorously with offenses arising in the area of liturgical practices.

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<sup>1</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at St. Paul, Minnesota as the Twenty-Eighth Delegate Synod June 20-29, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), pp. 550-551.

APPENDIX M

APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION<sup>1</sup>

Since the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod at its 1959 San Francisco convention asked the faculties of Concordia Seminary, Springfield, and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, to make available pertinent statements on the subject of "Apostolic Succession" (1959 Proceedings, p. 194), we offer the following brief summation of the Lutheran position together with a few observations.

1. The church is built on Jesus Christ, the Foundation and the Chief Cornerstone. It is the living body of Christ of which our Lord is the Head and of which all who believe in Him are members.

1 Cor. 3:11  
1 Peter 2:6  
Rom. 12:4, 5  
Eph. 1:22, 23  
Eph. 2:19-22

2. God builds and upholds His church through the Gospel and the sacraments. Lutherans, therefore, hold that the pure preaching of the Gospel and the right administration of the sacraments are the "marks of the church."

Eph. 4:4-6  
1 Peter 2:1-5  
Ap VII 20

3. The church is built upon the apostolic doctrine and confession.

Eph. 2:20  
Matt. 16:18, 19  
Tractate 25

God, therefore, instituted the office of the holy ministry for the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments.

Matt. 28:19, 20  
John 20:21-23

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<sup>1</sup>Concordia Theological Monthly 33 (April 1962):224-228. [Scriptural and Confessional quotes have been deleted.]

1 Cor. 4:1  
 2 Cor. 5:18  
 AC V  
 LC II 54, 55

4. The New Testament specifically mentions apostles, prophets, pastors and teachers, bishops, elders and deacons,

Acts 20:28  
 Eph. 4:11  
 Titus 1:7  
 1 Tim. 3:8  
 Acts 6:2-6  
 Matt. 23:8

regards all of them as fellow laborers and brethren in Christ, but it does not provide directives for specific forms of ministerial succession or orders.

5. The Lutheran Confessions recognize that the church as the priesthood of believers possesses the right of calling, electing, and ordaining ministers.

Tractate 67, 69

They assert that the distinction between bishops and pastors is not by divine right but by human authority. They do not differentiate between pastors and bishops as valid ordainers.

Tractate 63-65; 72

Although they treat episcopal polity as a matter of acceptable historic practice, they do not regard episcopal polity as necessary for the valid and efficacious ministry of Word and Sacrament.

Ap XIV. (Ecclesiastical Order) 1-5

6. From these confessional principles and within the frame of these Biblical teachings Lutherans hold that the precise kind of ministerial succession and the precise kind of ecclesiastical polity are in the strict sense of the term adiaphora, i.e., things indifferent, which the Holy Scriptures explicitly neither command nor condemn. It follows that Lutheran churches need not be disturbed as long as a particular ministerial succession or a precise polity is not made a part of the essence either of the church or of the ministry and the freedom of the church to devise its polity and forms of ministry is preserved.

7. In the 20th century most American Lutherans prefer synodical and congregational polity. Many European Lutheran churches have continued the episcopal polity without endorsing a doctrine of the church and ministry which is dependent upon an alleged apostolic succession.

8. Lutherans in America ought to be aware that the question of "apostolic succession" occupies a prominent place in ecumenical discus-

sions, especially in the Asiatic churches, such as the church of South India, and among Lutheran churches of Africa.

Adopted by the faculties of Concordia Seminary of Springfield, Ill., and Concordia Seminary of St. Louis, Mo., on Feb. 3, 1962.

## APPENDIX N

### THE DOCTRINE OF THE CALL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE AUXILIARY OFFICES IN THE CHURCH<sup>1</sup>

#### I.

The call in the true sense of the word has reference to the entire office of the ministry with all its functions.

#### II.

The call, according to the more general usage of the word, embraces all functions or auxiliary offices of the ministry of preaching or of the pastoral office.

#### III.

In the one office established by the Word of God, that of the public ministry of the Word, the duties are plainly fixed in Holy Scriptures; in all auxiliary offices (which do not embrace the entire office in all its functions) the norm for the fixation of the scope of their duties is the call of the congregation.

#### IV.

The privilege and right of calling is vested in the Christian congregation, which, however, may explicitly or tacitly delegate this function to a committee in its own midst or to a larger body with which it is organically connected.

#### V.

Not only men, but also women may be called to fill auxiliary offices in the Christian congregation, provided their office does not conflict with restrictions fixed by the Word of God.

#### VI.

The call of a Christian day-school teacher (male or female) is a divine call, since it embraces a function of the public ministry, is issued by the congregation and concerns the teaching of God's Word.

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<sup>1</sup>P. E. Kretzmann, "The Doctrine of the Call with Special Reference to the Auxiliary Offices of the Church," Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Northern Nebraska District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States Held at Arlington, Nebraska, August 20-24, 1934, Supplement. Kretzmann's description and analysis of each thesis has been omitted.

## VII.

Of other auxiliary offices, or, more exactly, functions of the ministerial office delegated to others, the following may be mentioned: Sunday-school teachers, assistant pastors, elders or deacons, deaconesses (in the congregation), then also professors in church institutions, presidents of synods or districts within a synod, missionaries, directors of missions, chaplains and spiritual heads of hospitals, sanitariums, and similar institutions, superintendents of Christian day-schools, secretaries of church societies, students acting as supplies, etc.

## VIII.

In the case of all auxiliary offices, a temporary call in itself does not conflict with the divinity of the office. But they all partake of the nature of the one office originally instituted, and the office of a Christian day-school teacher and the analagous ministries are least susceptible to the temporary arrangement.

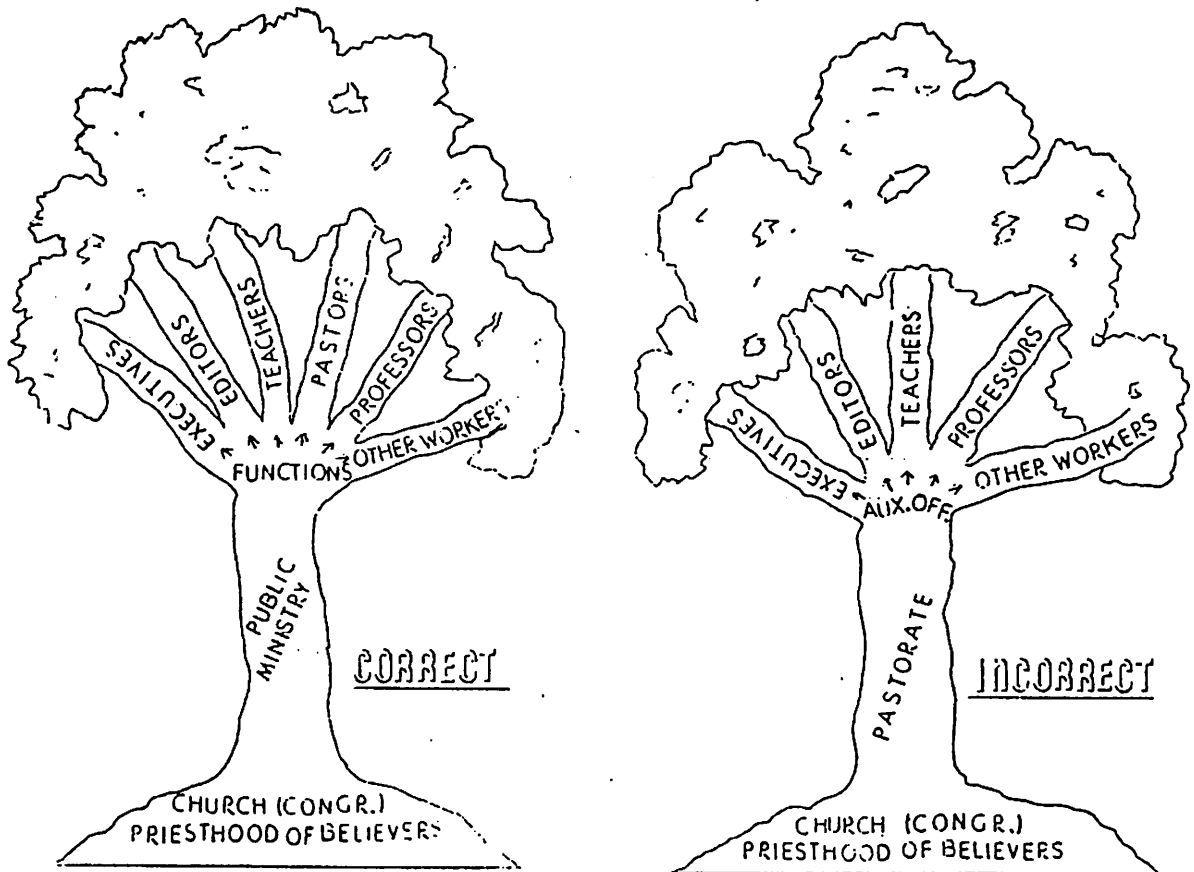
## IX.

The rite of ordination in the Lutheran Church is connected historically with certain usages mentioned in the Bible, namely the laying on of hands. In its significance it is a) a public acknowledgment of the call issued by a congregation or its representatives; b) a declaration on the part of the church of the fitness of a man for the work of the entire office.

APPENDIX O

A. C. MUELLER'S TREES<sup>1</sup>

By A. C. Mueller



<sup>1</sup>Board for Parish Education Files, 111.1-T.0549, Box 2, File 5, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo.

## APPENDIX P

### THE NEW TESTAMENT MINISTRY<sup>1</sup>

- A. All Christians have the spiritual priesthood and with it the call to spread the Gospel.
- B. The Church is the communion of all believers, the sum total of those who are at all times and in all places have been led to faith in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit by the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments.
- C. In the New Testament the name "Church" (ekkleesia) is given by Holy Scriptures to individual local congregations and to groups of congregations in a geographic area as well as to the sum total of believers.
- D. Just as the Church has been called into being and is preserved through the means of grace, so it is to use these same means of grace to strengthen and extend God's Kingdom.
- E. Each congregation is endowed by the Lord of the Church with the Power of the Keys, that is, the same power which is given to the whole Church and to the individual Christians.
- F. The public exercise of the Power of the Keys Christ has reserved to the incumbents of a special office of the ministry which He instituted for the very purpose of building His Church. This office is to be established in and by the Church.
- G. An immediate call, direct from God, or a mediate call, through a local congregation, gives the authorization for the public teaching and preaching of the Word on behalf of the congregation.
- H. It is the call which distinguishes the public ministry of the Word and the preaching of the Word by the individual Christian.
- I. The men who publicly (i.e., officially, for the congregation and in the name of the congregation) exercise the duties of the ministry of the Word are not a special spiritual order apart from the office of all Christians; rather the incumbents of the public ministry are officials and servants under the authority of Christ and His Church.

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<sup>1</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Proceedings of the Forty-Second Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Houston, Texas, June 17-26, 1953 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 288-296.



- J. While God has given a variety of gifts to the Church, as enumerated in 1 Cor. 12:28, 29 and Eph. 4:11, 12, yet He speaks of one office which is essential for each Christian congregation.
- K. A congregation has in Christian liberty the authority to create additional offices, delegating them and limiting for them certain functions of the public ministry.
- L. All congregational, synodical, and extracongregational offices that are based on a regular call from a congregation, a group of congregations, or a group of Christians, must be considered divine, because these offices are derived from the divinely instituted public ministry.
- M. When a congregation calls a parochial school teacher it entrusts to him a portion of the public ministry of the Word.

## APPENDIX Q

### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TEACHER'S STATUS IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH--MISSOURI SYNOD<sup>1</sup>

A careful reading of the preceding paragraphs dealing with the status of the teacher reveals no particular historical development. While there may have been significant departures from the official view in practice, the following points cover substantially the official status of the teacher as reflected in these articles and essays.

1. The teacher, like the pastor, holds individual membership in Synod. Like assistant pastors, professors, synodical officials, and the like, the teacher is an advisory member, not a voting member.
2. The teacher, like the pastor, is subject to the supervision of Synod.
3. Candidates for the office of pastor or teacher are subject to conscientious examination.
4. The teacher is to be installed in his office in a public and solemn service.
5. The teacher's office is a part of the one church office that is divinely instituted, the public ministry, and partakers of its essence. It may be termed a "branch office" or an "auxiliary office."
6. The teacher is an assistant of the pastor, but not an assistant pastor.
7. The teacher is under the official supervision of the pastor, because the teacher occupies a branch office of the public ministry.
8. The teacher is not a layman, he belongs to the clergy.
9. One view held that the Lutheran teacher had a twofold calling--a spiritual office and a civic or worldly office.
10. One view held that the teacher's position is in part parental and in part pastoral.

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<sup>1</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Proceedings of the Forty-Second Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Houston, Texas, June 17-26, 1953 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 316-317.

11. The office of the teacher is a public office; the teacher is an assistant of the pastor and a servant of the Word.
12. The call of the teacher's office in the congregation is a divine call; like the call of the pastor, the teacher's call is ordinarily a lifelong call.
13. The establishment of the teacher's office in the congregation is a matter of Christian liberty. The congregation creates a special position and calls someone else besides the pastor to teach the children God's Word, to give them Christian training, and to perform other duties.
14. The teacher's office is a divine office, not in the sense that God has established it in exactly this form, but because the office is a part and a branch of the public ministry, which God did found and ordain, and because God calls the incumbent through the congregation.

APPENDIX R

MEMORIAL ON THE STATUS OF THE LUTHERAN TEACHER<sup>1</sup>

WHEREAS, (1) The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod has from the time of its organization in 1847 held that the office of a parochial school teacher is part of the public ministry; and

WHEREAS, (2) This body maintains special professional schools for the training of parochial school teachers; and

WHEREAS, (3) This body has the procedure of approving the graduates of the teachers' colleges as ministers of the Church and assigning the first call to the graduates through the College of Presidents (Handbook, 1949, 4.09); and

WHEREAS, (4) This body urges congregations to extend permanent calls to teachers eligible for calls (Handbook, By-Laws, 7.05), thus establishing the position as a regular vocation within the ministry of the Word, meriting a lifetime call; and

WHEREAS, (5) The Diploma of Vocation authorized by this body specifies that the teacher is "elected to the sacred office of a servant of the Word"; specifies that his office is "part of the public ministry at this place"; authorizes and obligates the teacher "to instruct and train the children in his charge diligently and faithfully in the Word of God . . . to accord them also a Christian education and training in the common school branches . . . to work under the supervision of the pastor and the board of education; and by the grace of God, to do everything possible within the sphere of his calling toward the promotion of the school and for the general advancement of the kingdom of Christ, both locally and generally"; and obligates the congregation "to receive our teacher as a servant of the Word"; and

WHEREAS, (6) The order for the installation of a teacher authorized by this body and included in the Lutheran Agenda has the significant paragraph: "Whereas, then, by divine guidance, thou hast recognized in this call the voice of God and art about to enter upon the duties of thine important office, for the faithful performance whereof thou wilt be held accountable to God . . ."; and

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<sup>1</sup>The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Proceedings of the Forty-Second Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod Assembled at Houston, Texas, June 17-26, 1953 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), pp. 322-324.

WHEREAS, (7) This body declares (Handbook, 4.23): "Teachers at Lutheran elementary and secondary schools who have been duly elected and called by a congregation or congregations for full-time service in the Church shall, after having made application for membership in Synod, be installed in accordance with accepted Lutheran forms for that purpose and shall be solemnly pledged to the Scriptures as the inspired and inerrant Word of God and to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church as true exposition of the Scriptures"; and

WHEREAS, (8) The constitutions of the several congregations of this body do specifically state regarding their pastors and teachers that the only valid reasons for their removal from office are "persistent adherence to false doctrine, a scandalous life, or willful neglect of official duties"; and

WHEREAS, (9) This body recognizes all regularly called and installed parochial school teachers as "advisory members of Synod" (Handbook, Constitution, Article V.B.5) and subjects them to the same supervision and disciplinary measures as pastors and extends to them the same protection as to pastors (Handbook, Constitution, Article III, 7.5); therefore be it

Resolved, That The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod define the status of the parochial school teacher as follows:

1. The regularly called parochial school teacher, who has been duly elected and called for full-time service in the church to perform specific functions of the public ministry, is a "minister of Christian education" and therefore is properly classified under the official categories used by our Government--"ministers of the Gospel" and "ministers of religion." These designations are also properly applied to those who are officially appointed to similar positions.

Such a call is a divine call since it embraces a function of the public ministry of the Word, is issued by the congregation, and is concerned primarily with the teaching of God's Word. Accordingly, the regularly called parochial school teacher belongs to the clergy of the Church.

The parochial school teacher who has been trained in Synod's teachers' colleges or has the equivalent qualifications both with respect to character and professional training (the formal colloquy is the synodical procedure for establishing this equivalence) is, upon his acceptance of a valid call, inducted into his office by the solemn rite of "installation."

Because the parochial school teacher performs a basic and very important part of the public ministry of the Word, he belongs to that class of elders who labor in Word and doctrine and who are to be accounted worthy of "double honor" (1 Tim. 5:17). The regularly called teachers are "advisory members of Synod." They are expected to attend and participate in the District synodical conventions and, through their elected representatives, in the general conventions of Synod. They are also expected to attend the regular synodically authorized teachers'

conferences. Their names are to appear in the official roster of Synod as printed in the Lutheran Annual under the heading "Teachers of Missouri Synod--Men, Ministers of Christian Education."

2. The properly appointed woman teacher in a Lutheran school is also a participant in the public ministry of the Word and should be respected as such. She should have qualifications similar to those of the regular male teacher, with respect to both faith and character and professional training and competence. Hers is a sacred calling, differing in its scope from the call of the male teacher or pastor, since she is subject to the restrictions imposed upon the members of her sex by Scripture (1 Cor. 14:24 and 1 Tim. 2:11, 12). Her calling may also differ in tenure, since she is free to withdraw from her professional responsibilities to enter the estate of matrimony.

Women teachers are not advisory members of Synod. They are, however, expected to participate in the regular teachers' conferences and are included in the official roster of Synod as printed in the Lutheran Annual under the heading of "Teachers of Missouri Synod--Women."

APPENDIX S

STUDIES AND PROPOSALS ON ORDINATION

AND

THE CALL WITH LIMITED TENURE

SUBMITTED TO THE

COLLEGE OF PRESIDENTS, THE LUTHERAN CHURCH--MISSOURI SYNOD

BY

THE JOINT FACULTY COMMITTEE

FEBRUARY 19, 20, 1957<sup>1</sup>

These principles guided the committee in the formulation of the proposals submitted for the consideration of the College of Presidents. The members of the committee will elaborate these principles at a meeting of the College of Presidents.

1. The practice of the Church in the area of the call needs clarification so that uniformity may be attained. The recognition of this need led the College of Presidents to initiate studies as contributions toward an ultimate solution. Through their efforts the theological faculties were enlisted in the study of the call, ordination, and related questions. From the numerous contributions of these various groups the committee has endeavored to select those factors which appear to be basic to a final solution.

2. The ministry together with its rights and functions is a gift of God to the Church. Ordination, installation, induction, and commissioning are formal acts, whereby the Church, with prayer for divine blessing and the guidance of the Holy Ghost, entrusts the public exercise of these rights and functions to the individual who accepts this responsibility.

3. According to the Church practice ordination is the formal act whereby a qualified individual is accepted by the Church for the public exercise of all the functions of the ministry. The individual declares his will-

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<sup>1</sup>John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 5, File 5, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo.

ingness to exercise such functions. The terms installation, induction, and commissioning designate the assignment and acceptance of those functions in the service of a specific constituency to a person.

4. The New Testament does not explicitly deal with the question of the temporary call. Some men were ordained to serve the Church at large and served temporarily in various areas. The Church has recognized the importance of the call with unlimited tenure. At the same time she has recognized assignments with limited tenure to certain areas. The New Testament allows such liberty as long as the character and effectiveness of the ministry are preserved.

#### I. A Study of What Our Church Has Been Teaching Concerning Ordination

1. The alleged Scriptural basis for the practice of ordination:
  - a. 1 Tim. 4, 14: "Neglect not the gift that is in thee which was given thee by prophecy by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."
  - b. 2 Tim. 1, 6: "Stir up the gift of God that is in thee by the putting on of hands."
  - c. Acts 13, 3: The church of Antioch separated Paul and Barnabas for their work by the laying on of hands. "And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away."
  - d. Acts 6, 6: "Whom they set before the apostles; and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them."

It is significant to note that in 1 Tim. 4, 14 and 2 Tim. 1, 6, reference is made to the ordination of an elder; Acts 13, 3 refers to the ordination of missionaries; Acts 6, 6 refers to the deacons in the church.
2. Although there is no expressed divine command for ordination, nevertheless the precedent of the church urges us to hold ordination in high regard.
3. The purpose of ordination is not:
  - a. To impart the forgiveness of sins. It is no sacrament.
  - b. To make a man a pastor. Ordination does not confer a character indelibilis.
  - c. To make one eligible for the work of the ministry. The diploma together with the ratification by the District presidents does that.
  - d. To make the means of grace effective.
4. The purposes of ordination:
  - a. Ordination is the ratification of the call. In the Lutheran Church ordination has been reserved for those called to a specific congregation and into the full exercise of the pastoral office, ordination being the ratification of the call. The Smalcald Articles giving the exposition of 1 Pet. 2, 9, "ye are a royal priesthood," declare: "These words pertain to the true church, which certainly has the right to elect and ordain



ministers, since it alone has the priesthood. And this also a most common custom of the church testifies, for formerly the people elected pastors and bishops; then came a bishop, either of that church or a neighboring one, who confirmed the one elected by the laying on of hands; and ordination was nothing else than such a ratification." (Triglott, pp. 523, 525)

- b. By ordination the candidate declares it to be his intention to devote his life to the work of the ministry. (Fritz, "Ordination," Concordia Theological Monthly, III, 739 ff.)
  - c. Ordination is a public testimony of the great importance and sacredness of the office of the ministry.
  - d. Ordination gives the congregation the opportunity to hear its called pastor declare his unqualified loyalty to the sacred Scriptures and to the confessions.
  - e. The ordination rite gives the congregation the opportunity to invoke the Lord's blessing upon the labors of its pastors.
5. Since ordination is a ratification of the call, a person is to be ordained in the presence of the congregation which has called him. Otherwise, it would appear that ordination has a significance of its own.
  6. ". . . Though ordination is an adiaphoron, we are not free to use it contrary to the accepted use of our church. Our church has declared in its confessions that ordination is a public ratification of the call to a Christian congregation; we should, therefore, not ordain such as have no such call." (Fritz, op. cit., p. 745).

## II. The Present Situation

### A. Ordination:

1. Handbook 4.15: "A candidate for the ministry may be ordained only when he has received a legitimate call from and to a certain congregation and after previous examination has been found to be sound in doctrine, apt to teach, etc."
2. Agenda p. 104: The Order for the Ordination of the Minister. The order takes a call to a congregation for granted.

### B. Ordination and Commissioning:

1. Handbook 4.41: "Missionaries and itinerant preachers who are not called by and to a specific congregatin shall be commissioned according to accepted Lutheran forms and shall be pledged to the Scriptures as the inspired and inerrant Word of God and to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church as a true exposition of Scriptures."
2. Agenda p. 126: The order for the ordination and commissioning of missionaries. ("Ordination and commissioning" are in the title of the order.)

### C. Installation:

1. Handbook, 4.21: "Professors at Synod's educational institutions shall be installed in accordance with accepted Lutheran forms

for that purpose and shall be solemnly pledged to the Scriptures as the inspired and inerrant Word of God and to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church as a true exposition of the Scriptures."

2. Handbook, 4.23: "Teachers at Lutheran elementary and secondary schools who have been duly elected and called by a congregation or congregations for full time service in the church shall . . . be installed" and shall be pledged to the Scriptures and confessions.
3. Agenda, p. 102: The order of installation is for called professors.
4. Agenda, p. 132: The order for called teachers.

D. Induction:

1. Handbook: Says nothing about induction.
2. Agenda:
  - a. Induction of woman teachers, p. 136.
  - b. Induction of president and vice-presidents of Synod.
  - c. Induction of Sunday School teachers, p. 138.

E. The Handbook and Agenda say nothing about the following:

1. Instructors and assistant professors at our seminaries and colleges. (Those appointed for a limited number of years).
2. Full time executives of Synod or our Districts, e.g. Executive Secretary of Missions, Stewardship Counselor, etc.
3. Full time workers, serving organizations within Synod, e.g. Lutheran Hour, Valparaiso, Orphans Homes, etc.

F. When do the rights and privileges of ordination cease? (Cf. The Report of the Committee of College of Presidents).

- a. When a man resigns because of sickness he becomes a C. R. M.
- b. When a man resigns and enters a permanent secular calling he is no longer a pastor nor a C. R. M.
- c. When a man retires because of infirmities after the age of 55 or 30 years of service in the church he becomes an emeritus.

#### THE CALL WITH LIMITED TENURE

1. The following principles may serve as a basis for discussion.
  - a. The minister is called by God (1, 2, 4). It is to be noted that this call by God is also ascribed to men who did not remain in one place but were servants in various areas of the Church (4, 2, 7).
  - b. The proper pastor-parishioner relationship must be preserved. The pastor must be free to follow the Word of God even when people desire otherwise (1, 15, 20).
  - c. The pastor must be free to devote himself faithfully to God's task (16, 21, 22, 23).
  - d. The dignity, honor, and authority of the ministry must be preserved by both pastor and people (10, 17, 21).
  - e. In Apostolic times pastors were selected not in view of a time

element, but in view of the church's need. This meant that presbyters were selected from their congregation where they probably remained (1, 17, Titus 3, 2).

2. There is no statement of Holy Scripture which directly addresses itself to the question of the call with limited tenure.
3. In the literature of our church we find a number of statements denying the validity of a "temporary call" to the pastorate of a congregation. Examples: The Article on Membership in earlier editions of the Synodical Handbook lists as one of the conditions of membership: "Ordentlicher (nicht zeitweiliger) Beruf der Prediger." Fritz, Pastoral Theology, p. 45: "Some non-Lutheran congregations have the custom of calling a minister temporarily, so that, whenever it pleases them, they may again dismiss him. A congregation is not justified in extending such a call, not even if it be specified that the call, after a certain time, may be renewed; nor should any preacher accept such a call, since before God it is neither valid nor legitimate."
4. The reasons advanced in the past against this temporary call are the following:
  - a. It is contrary to the nature of the ministry as a calling.
  - b. It conflicts with the divinity of the call.
  - c. It undermines the proper pastor-parishioner relationship.
  - d. It undermines the divinely enjoined faithfulness of the pastor.
  - e. It is contrary to the practice of the apostles.
  - f. It is contrary to the practice of the church at a time when it was not corrupted by false doctrine, ungodliness, and lack of discipline.
5. While not all of the Bible texts referred to (see appended list) in the elaboration of these points (paragraph 4) speak of the call to the ministry and none of them has anything explicit to say about the length of tenure of a valid call, nevertheless, the practice of refusing to countenance such temporary calls to the pastorate of a congregation is proper, since it is in harmony with what the Scriptures have to say about the call to the ministry. In addition this practice contributes to order in the Church, to the respect for, and the effectiveness of the office of the ministry.
6. Our Church has made exceptions ("distinctions") to its practice in situations such as the following: (cf. Fritz, p. 41, Handbook of synod 2:90; 6.79; 6.51; 6.52.).
  - a. "Temporary pastorates" during a vacancy or in other unusual situations.
  - b. "Supply pastorates" on the part of seminary graduates before accepting regular calls.
  - c. "Supply pastorates" in mission fields or congregations when conditions do not warrant the calling of a permanent pastor or missionary at the time being.
  - d. Election of synodical officers for a stated number of years.

- e. Limitation of tenure to the age of 70 in the case of calls to professorships.
  - f. Creation of assistant professorships and instructorships with limited tenure.
7. In order to justify some of the exceptions it has been held that a distinction must be made between "call" and "appointment," in the sense that a person who holds office by appointment has no call to that office. It has also been held that a man who holds an office with limited tenure must simultaneously be a pastor or assistant pastor of a congregation in order to receive or maintain inclusion in the ministry of our Church. The statement of Article XIV of the Augsburg Confession, "of ecclesiastical order they teach that no one should publicly teach in the church or administer the Sacraments unless he be regularly called," invalidates this type of argumentation. No matter what the office or what the activity in it is, a call is essential.

The following proposals are submitted for the consideration of the College of Presidents.

#### I. Ordination, Installation, Induction

1. Ordain those who are qualified for the functions of the pastoral office upon their acceptance of their first call issued by a congregation or by an agency of a church authorized to extend a call. (Among those qualified for ordination are the following: pastors, assistant pastors, associate pastors, some professors, some instructors, missionaries, chaplains, and executive officers of District or Synod, (e.g. Synodical or District stewardship secretaries, executive officers of the Board for Parish Education, etc.).)
2. Installation
  - a. Install those previously ordained upon their acceptance of another call (pastors, the presidents and vice-presidents of Synod who serve full time, executives of Synod and District).
  - b. Install those who are called by the Church for full time service, but have not qualified for the full functions of the pastoral office, (men who are teaching parochial schools, some professors, some assistant professors, some instructors, some ministers of music).
3. Induct those who are engaged in an auxiliary office who are not called. (Women teachers, Sunday School teachers, District officers who are not called (e.g. visitors, board members, etc.), church councils, some ministers of music).
4. The rights and privileges of ordination cease . . .
  - a. When a man resigns because of sickness, he becomes a C. R. M.

- b. When a man resigns and enters a permanent secular call, he is no longer pastor or C. R. M.
  - c. When a man retires because of infirmities after the age of 55 or 30 years of service in the church he becomes an emeritus.
5. The rites of ordination and installation should be separate acts. The act of installation should be held in the presence of those who are to be served.

## II. Length of Tenure

1. A call without limitation of tenure is the proper and orderly thing for the ministry of the local church.
2. Outside of bonafide vacancies, leaves of absence, or "acts of God" situations there should be no exceptions to this rule.
3. When groups of congregations, entire districts, or the whole Synod create offices, to be filled by incumbents of, and candidates for, the ministry, which require unusual aptitudes or a high degree of specialization of knowledge and skill, a limited elective or appointive term is in order and may properly be authorized and instituted.
4. The provisions of a mandatory retirement and modified service if found advantageous in one area, should be considered for related areas.
5. Such arrangements, made with a view to providing a ministry appropriate to the needs of the Church, do not violate the principles given at the beginning of this presentation.

The Joint Faculty Committee

G. A. Thiele, Chairman  
 H. J. Eggold  
 A. E. Graf  
 E. L. Lueker, secretary

St. Louis, Missouri  
 February 8, 1957

APPENDIX T

GUIDELINES FOR DISTRICT PRESIDENTS REGARDING  
ORDINATION AND RELATED QUESTIONS

ST. LOUIS, MAY 9, 1957<sup>1</sup>

- I. The principles which underlies the formation of the proposals herewith submitted are the following.
  1. The practice of the Church in the area of the call needs clarification so that uniformity may be attained. The recognition of this need led the College of Presidents to initiate studies as contributions toward an ultimate solution. Through their efforts the theological faculties were enlisted in the study of the Call, ordination, and related questions. From the numerous contributions of these various groups we have endeavored to select those factors which appear to be basic to a final solution.
  2. The ministry, together with its rights and functions is a gift of God to the Church. Ordination, installation, induction, and commissioning are formal acts, whereby the Church, with prayer for divine blessing and guidance of the Holy Ghost, entrusts the public exercise of these rights and functions to the individual who accepts this responsibility.
  3. According to the church practice Ordination is a ratification of the first call and is at the same time the formal act whereby a qualified individual is accepted by the Church for the public exercise of all the functions of the ministry. The individual declares his willingness to exercise such functions. The terms installation, induction, and commissioning designate the assignment of an acceptance of those functions to a person in the service of a specific constituency.
  4. The New Testament does not explicitly deal with the question of the temporary call. Some men were ordained to serve the church at large and serve temporarily in various areas. The Church has recognized the importance of the Call with unlimited tenure. At the same time she has recognized assignments with limited tenure to certain areas. The New Testament allows such liberty as long as the character and effectiveness of the ministry are preserved.

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<sup>1</sup>John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 5, File 5, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo.

II. The following proposals are submitted as guidelines.

1) Ordination, Commission, Installation, Induction.

- A. Ordain those who are qualified for the functions of the pastoral office upon their acceptance of their first call issued by a congregation or by an agency of the Church authorized to extend a Call. (Among those qualified for ordination are the following: pastors, assistant pastors, associate pastors, missionaries, chaplains, some professors, some assistant professors, some instructors, and executive officers of District or Synod, e.g. Synodical or district stewardship secretaries, executive officers of the Board for Parish Education, etc.)

Another consideration is the significance which "ordination" has in the eyes of the government (e.g. performing marriage ceremony), thus conferring certain rights and privileges, which it withholds from those serving in auxiliary positions of the Church.

The District President shall subsequently issue a diploma of "ordination" (compare Handbook, By-laws 4.19).

B. COMMISSIONING

Missionaries, itinerant preachers (including city and institutional missionaries), and chaplains perform the full functions of the Ministry of the Word. They are not called by or to a specific congregation, but are SENT and thus shall be COMMISSIONED, respectively ORDAINED (see "form" in Agenda) according to accepted Lutheran forms and are thereby pledged to the Scriptures as the inspired and inerrant Word of God and to the Symbolical Books of The Lutheran Church as a true exposition of the Scriptures (see Handbook, By-laws 4.41).

The ORDER for the COMMISSIONING of MISSIONARIES called into the foreign fields shall be issued by the respective Mission Boards.

The ORDER for the COMMISSIONING of ITINERANT PREACHERS (including city and institutional missionaries) within a given District shall be issued by the respective District President (see Handbook, By-laws 4.43).

The ORDER for the COMMISSIONING of CHAPLAINS shall be issued by our Armed Services Commission since they solicit and process applications for appointments as Chaplains (see Handbook, By-laws 8.153b).

NOTE:

- a) The candidate going into Foreign Mission work shall make application for membership in Synod through the Mission Board which has ORDERED his commissioning, respectively ordination. Such application shall be acted upon at the next convention of Synod. The District affiliation of a missionary in a foreign mission

field shall be with the District in which is located his parental home, unless he shall issue a special request for membership in another District. If Synod does not meet in that or the following year, the application for membership shall be presented to the Convention of the "home" District of the applicant and action is to be taken. The signing of the constitution may be done by "proxy" authorized in writing, cf. Handbook, By-laws 1.03 and 4.45.

- b) Should a pastor "from an active pastorate in a given District of Synod" accept a call to the Foreign Mission field, he shall receive order for the commissioning from the Mission Board issuing the call, but he shall retain his Synodical membership within the District in which he has been a member. He may request his membership to be transferred to another district.
- c) The synodical membership of a chaplain shall remain with the home district of a candidate or with the district in which he held membership at the time he entered the chaplaincy. He may be transferred to another district upon special request.
- d) Should a person who has been commissioned to work in the Foreign Mission field or to serve as a chaplain terminate his position by resignation and become a C. R. M. then that applies which will later be stated about C. R. M's. Should he resign and become an EMERITUS then that applies which will later be stated about an EMERITUS.

#### C. INSTALLATION

- a) Those previously ordained are to be INSTALLED upon their acceptance of another call (e.g. pastors, the president and vice-presidents of Synod, who serve full time, executives of Synod and District).
- b) Those men are to be INSTALLED who have been called by the Church for full time service, but have not qualified for the full functions of the pastoral office (e.g. men who are teaching parochial schools, some professors, some assistant professors, some instructors, some ministers of music).

#### D. INDUCTION

Induction is used when persons are engaged in an auxiliary office but are not called (e.g. women teachers, Sunday School teachers, church councils, some ministers of music).

#### E. ORDINATION - INSTALLATION

The rites of ordination and installation may be separate acts. The acts of installation should be held in the presence of those who are to be served. Our present practice is stated in Handbook 4.19: "The ordination or installation shall take



place in the presence of the congregation which has called the candidate or pastor. The pastor shall be ordained or installed in accordance with the accepted Lutheran forms for the purpose and shall be solemnly pledged to the Scriptures as the inspired and inerrant Word of God and to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church as the true exposition of the Scriptures. The District President shall issue a diploma of ordination."

## 2) LENGTH OF TENURE

- A) A call without limitation of tenure is the proper and orderly thing for the ministry of the local church.
- B) Outside of bona fide vacancies, leaves of absence, or situations arising from "Acts of God" there should be no exception to this rule.
- C) When groups of congregations, entire districts, or the whole Synod create offices to be filled by incumbents of, and candidates for, the ministry, which require unusual aptitudes or a high degree of specializataion of knowledge and skill, a limited, elective or appointive term is in order and may properly be authorized and instituted.
- D) The provisions of a mandatory retirement and modified service have been adopted by Synod.
- E) Any arrangements made with a view to provide a ministry appropriate to the needs of the Church do not violate the principals set forth in this document.

## 3) The Status of ordained persons upon resignation or retirement.

### A) Candidatus Reverendi Ministerii

It happens that a pastor must discontinue his work as pastor and resigns. He honestly and seriously intends to reenter the ministerial office. Such a man we call CANDIDATUS REVERENDI MINISTERII. We quote C. T. M. 1932 page 744, No. 9: "Not only do we call a pastor's first installation ordination but in using this term and in not repeating his ordination, we mean to say that he who submitted to ordination thereby also declared it to be his intention that the work of the ministry should be his vocation throughout his life here upon earth and that in this sense he has by his ordination been SEPARATED from worldly occupations for the special work of the minister of the Gospel. We wish to have it distinctly understood that a man who has been ordained and is qualified for the ministry, but is WITHOUT A CALL is not BECAUSE OF HIS ORDINATION still a pastor; strictly speaking, he should not be addressed as such. If such a one has not chosen a secular occupation, his name may be carried on the clerical list as a CANDIDATUS REVERENDI MINISTERII." And Dr. Koehler writes, Christian Doctrine, p. 238: "The difference between laymen and clergy is not one of order, but of office; out of office, the minister is a layman (see Luther, St. Louis Ed. Vol. X, 272)."

The custom in vogue among us is that when a man had to resign from his position in the office of the ministry because of sickness or some other good reason, and if he is honestly waiting for a call or is waiting to reenter the active ministry (and is otherwise still qualified and eligible), he may in the meantime take temporary employment without jeopardizing his status as a C. R. M. (After all, a man must provide for the necessities of life for himself and for those depending upon him.)

It is highly important that the respective District President periodically contacts each C. R. M. of his District to establish the fact that he is still honestly waiting (and is qualified) for a call and desires to reenter the active ministry. "The District President shall annually revise the official roster of pastors and teachers in the Lutheran Annual as far as his District is concerned and remove the names of such as have died, have severed their connections with Synod, are regularly engaged in a secular calling, or have in some way disqualified themselves from service in the church." Handbook By-laws, 3.45. The name of any person who has been carried as a C. R. M. over a period of FIVE years (and/or is engaged in a permanent secular calling) should be removed by the District President from the roster of "Pastors of the Missouri Synod", in the Lutheran Annual. A District President contemplating such action shall duly notify the person concerned before carrying out this procedure.

Erstwhile pastors and teachers having secular employment in C. P. H., KFUO, L. L. L., L. A. A., etc. are to be dealt with according to the provisions above stated. Uniformity in this matter is very important for proper order. The names of former C. R. M's which are no longer carried in the officially published roster "should be kept in the files of the respective District Presidents through the Statistical Bureau." Minutes, College of Presidents, January 15-16, 1946, page 9.

All such bona fide C. R. M's (candidates to reenter the ministry) are to be listed in the roster "Pastors of the Missouri Synod" in the Lutheran Annual or Kalendar, since by established practice, they are recognized as "Advisory Members" of Synod. Handbook, Constitution, Art. V, B. "Advisory members of Synod shall attend the District Conventions. They shall not be elected by any congregation or by any group of congregations (multiple parish) as lay delegates to Synodical convention, nor shall they be accredited as such. Former pastors and teachers who are regularly engaged in a secular calling shall no longer be considered advisory members." Handbook, By-laws, 1.07. All bona fide C. R. M's are consequently required to attend pastoral conferences and District Synods. These may also be called upon to fill preaching engagements or to perform other functions of the ministerial office. However, he who was previously listed as a C. R. M., but whose name has been removed by his District President from the list in the Lutheran Annual and Kalendar shall no longer be recognized as an "Advisory Member," or as a C. R. M. and hence shall no longer be counted among the "Pastors of the Missouri Synod" nor shall they be called upon to preach or to perform other functions of the ministerial office, nor shall they be required to attend pastoral conferences or District Synods.

The same general policy of dealing with C. R. M's shall apply to teachers who are listed in the official roster of Synod as "Candidates."

Seminary graduates who desire to continue their studies after completion of the prescribed courses in our institutions or for other valid reasons are not ready to enter office after their graduation shall be regarded as PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATES as long as they stand approved as such by their respective faculties. Before the faculties enter the name of such PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATES on the official list for a call, they shall ascertain through personal interviews with the candidates or through satisfactory testimonials that such candidates are still qualified for service in the church." Handbook, By-laws, 6.162c. Such a "PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATE" (including graduates from our seminaries or teachers colleges) retains the status of a student of theology (or a student teacher) and his name is not to appear in the roster of "Pastors of Missouri Synod" or "Teachers of Missouri Synod--Men." Such a person remains to be a PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATE until his candidacy is declared by the respective faculty and accepted by the District Presidents as a candidate for assignment.

#### B. EMERITI

For the proper classification of retired pastors (EMERITI) the following regulation shall serve as a guide: "All pastors who retire from active church work at or after the age of 65 (or whatever age Synod may set as retirement age for its Pension Plan), or who after the age of 55 or after at least 30 years of service in the church resign because of mental or physical infirmities, shall be listed in the roster of Synod as EMERITI." College of Presidents, Minutes, January 15-16, 1946, page 9. Such EMERITI are, by established custom, honored for the many years God has permitted them to work in the office of the ministry. Pastors EMERITI may be called upon to preach or to perform other functions of the ministerial office, and shall be expected to attend pastoral conferences and District Synods.

The same general policy of dealing with EMERITI among the pastors shall apply also to teachers in retirement.

The undersigned committee members are deeply thankful to the material offered in a report by a "Joint Faculty Committee" of St. Louis and Springfield, February 1957. We also appreciate much the help and counsel given by the members of the "Joint Faculty Committee" and President H. J. Rippe.

Your Committee

H. E. Homann  
W. H. Meyer

St. Louis, Missouri  
May 9, 1957

APPENDIX U

GUIDELINES FOR DISTRICT PRESIDENTS REGARDING  
ORDINATION AND RELATED QUESTIONS - 1960<sup>1</sup>

I. The principles which underlie the formation of the proposals herewith submitted are the following:

- 1) The practice in the area of the CALL needs clarification so that uniformity may be attained. The recognition of this need led the College of Presidents to initiate studies as contributions toward an ultimate solution. Through their efforts the theological faculties were enlisted in the study of the CALL, ordination and related questions. From the numerous contributions of the various groups we have endeavored to select those factors which appear to be basic to a final solution.
- 2) The ministry, together with its rights and functions, is a gift of God to the Church.
- 3) A CALL is that act whereby a congregation or a group of congregations or a recognized organization within the Church body, authorized to act for a congregation or for a group of congregations, according to established procedure, confers upon a qualified individual the exercise of Word and/or Sacraments.
- 4) ORDINATION, INSTALLATION, AND COMMISSIONING are formal acts whereby the Church, with prayer for divine blessing and guidance of the Holy Spirit publicly ratifies what has transpired when the CALL was issued and accepted.  
INDUCTION is the formal act, whereby the congregation publicly gives recognition to such as enter the service of the congregation in an auxiliary office to which the individual has been appointed or elected.
- 5) ORDINATION is a ratification of the first CALL and is at the same time the formal act whereby a qualified individual is accepted by the Church for the public exercise of all functions of the ministry. By the act of ordination the church publicly accepts an individual as empowered to teach the Word and administer the Sacraments as a minister of Christ in the Church. The exercise of this ministry is determined by the CALL.

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<sup>1</sup>John W. Behnken Papers, Supplement I, Box 5, File 7, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Mo.

- 6) The New Testament does not explicitly deal with the question of the TEMPORARY CALL. Some men were ordained to serve the Church-at-large and serve temporarily in various areas. The Church has recognized the importance of the CALL with unlimited tenure. At the same time she has recognized CALLS with limited tenure to a certain area. The New Testament allows such liberty as long as the character and effectiveness of the ministry is preserved.

II. The following proposals are submitted as guidelines.

1) Ordination, Commissioning, Installation

All who are ordained, commissioned or installed shall be pledged to the Scriptures as the inspired and inerrant Word of God and to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church as a true exposition of the Scriptures. (Cf. Handbook By-laws 4.41)

- A) ORDINATION. We ordain those who are qualified for the function of the pastoral office upon the acceptance of their first call issued by a congregation, a group of congregations, or a recognized organization within the Church body authorized to act for a congregation or for a group of congregations. (Among those qualified for ORDINATION are candidates for the following positions: pastors, assistant pastors, associate pastors, missionaries, chaplains, some professors, some assistant professors, some instructors and some executive officers of District or Synod, e.g. synodical or district stewardship secretaries, executive officers of the Board for Parish Education, etc.)
- B) COMMISSIONING. Missionaries (to foreign countries or in our own country, including itinerant preachers, missionaries to the deaf, city and institutional missionaries) and chaplains perform the full functions of the ministry of the Word. They are not called by and to a specific congregation, but are SENT and thus shall be COMMISSIONED according to accepted Lutheran forms. (Cf. Handbook By-laws 4.41)

The ORDER for the COMMISSIONING of a MISSIONARY called into the foreign fields shall be issued by the District President of the District in which the missionary resides upon the request of the respective Mission Board. (Handbook 4.43 states that the respective Mission Board issues the order for the commissioning).

The ORDER for the COMMISSIONING of ITINERANT PREACHERS and all missionaries called to serve within a given district shall be issued by the respective District President. (Handbook, By-laws 4.43).

The ORDER for the COMMISSIONING of a CHAPLAIN shall be issued by the President of the district in which the chaplain

resides upon the request of the Armed Services Commission since this Commission solicits and processes applications for appointments as Chaplains (Handbook, By-laws 8.153b).

NOTES

- a) The candidate going into Foreign Mission work shall make application for membership in Synod through that District President who is to order his COMMISSIONING. Such application shall be acted upon at the next convention of Synod. The District affiliation of a missionary in a foreign mission field shall be with the District in which his parental home is located unless he shall request membership in another District. If Synod does not meet in that or the following year, then application for membership shall be presented to the convention of the District in which the candidate will have membership and action is to be taken by that District. The signing of the Constitution may be done by "proxy" authorized in writing. (Handbook, By-laws 1.03 and 4.45).
- b) Should a pastor "from an active pastorate in a given District of Synod" accept a call to the foreign mission field, the order for the commissioning is the same as indicated above (II, 1, B) and he shall retain his synodical membership with the District in which he has been a member unless he requests that his membership be transferred to another District.
- c) The synodical membership of a CHAPLAIN shall remain with the home District of a candidate or with the District in which he held membership at the time when he entered the chaplaincy. He may be transferred to another District upon special request.
- d) Should a person who has been COMMISSIONED to work in the foreign mission fields or to serve as a chaplain terminate his position by resignation and become a c.r.m., then that applies which will later be said about c.r.m.'s. Should he resign and become an EMERITUS then that applies which will later be stated about an EMERITUS.

C) INSTALLATIONS

- a) Those who have been previously ordained are to be INSTALLED by authorization of the respective District President upon their acceptance of another call (e.g. pastors, professors, the President and Vice-Presidents of Synod, executives of Synod or District).

- b) Those men are to be INSTALLED who have been called by the Church for full time service, but have not qualified for the full functions of the pastoral office (e.g. men who are teaching in parochial schools, some professors, some instructors, some ministers of music, etc.).
- D) INDUCTION. INDUCTION is used when persons are engaged in an auxiliary office but are not called (e.g. vicars, women teachers, Sunday School teachers, church councils, some ministers of music, etc.). The District President is not involved.
- E) ORDINATION - INSTALLATION (Cf. Proceedings San Francisco 1959 convention, page 242.)
- a) The ordination of a candidate shall, as a rule, for the sake of good order in the church take place in the presence of the congregation to which he has been called. However, the President of the District in which the calling congregation is located may permit the ordination to take place in the home congregation of the candidate and accordingly, with the permission of the calling congregation, authorize the ordination of the candidate in his home congregation. The President of the District in which the calling congregation is located shall issue a diploma of ordination.
- b) The installation of candidates or pastors shall always take place in the presence of the congregation to which they have been called.
- c) Candidates and pastors shall be ordained and installed in accordance with the accepted Lutheran forms for that purpose and shall be solemnly pledged to the Scriptures as the inspired and inerrant Word of God and the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church as a true exposition of the Scriptures. (Adopted at San Francisco convention as an amendment to Handbook, By-laws 4.19.)

## 2) LENGTH OF TENURE

- A) A call without limitation of tenure is a proper and orderly thing for the ministry of the Church.
- B) The needs of the Church may at times require that a call be issued with limited tenure (e.g. leave of absence, "act of God" situations, instructorship, chaplaincy, etc.).
- C) When a ministerial candidate receives such a call of limited tenure he shall be ordained.

D) The provisions of a MANDATORY RETIREMENT and MODIFIED SERVICE have been adopted by Synod.

3) PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATES

"Seminary graduates who desire to continue their studies after their completion of the prescribed courses in our institutions or for other valid reasons are not ready to enter office after graduation shall be regarded as PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATES as long as they stand approved as such by their respective faculties. Before the faculties enter the names of such PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATES on the official list for a call, they shall ascertain through personal interviews with the candidates or through satisfactory testimonials that such candidates are still qualified for service in the Church." (Handbook, By-laws 6.163). Such a PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATE (including graduates from our seminaries or teachers colleges) retains the status of a student of theology (or a student teacher) and his name is not to appear in the roster of "Pastors of the Missouri Synod," or "Teachers of Missouri Synod--Men." Such a person remains a PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATE until his candidacy is declared by the respective faculty and accepted by the District Presidents as a candidate for assignment.

4) THE STATUS OF ORDAINED PERSONS UPON RESIGNATION OR RETIREMENT

A) CANDIDATUS REVERENDI MINISTERII. It happens that a pastor must discontinue his work as pastor and resigns. He honestly and seriously intends to re-enter the ministerial office. Such a man we call CANDIDATUS REVERENDI MINISTERII. We quote C.T.M. 1932 page 744, No. 9: "Not only do we call a pastor's first installation ordination, but in using this term and in not repeating his ordination, we mean to say that he who submitted to ordination thereby also declared it to be his intention that the work of the ministry should be his vocation throughout his life here upon earth and that in this sense he has by his ordination been SEPARATED from worldly occupations for the special work of the minister of the Gospel. We wish to have it distinctly understood that a man who has been ordained and is qualified for the ministry, but is WITHOUT A CALL is not BECAUSE OF HIS ORDINATION still a pastor, strictly speaking, he should not be addressed as such. If such a one has not chosen a secular occupation, his name may be carried on the clerical list as a CANDIDATUS REVERENDI MINISTERII. Dr. Koehler writes, Christian Doctrine, p. 238: "The difference between laymen and clergy is not one of order, but of office, out of office, the minister is a layman (see Luther, St. Louis Ed. Vol X 272)."

The custom in vogue among us is that when a man had to resign from his position in the office of the ministry because of sickness or some other good reason, and if he



is honestly waiting for a call or is waiting to re-enter the active ministry (and is otherwise still qualified and is eligible), he may in the meantime take temporary employment without jeopardizing his status as a C.R.M. (After all a man must provide for the necessities of life for himself and for those depending upon him.)

It is highly important that the respective District President periodically contacts each C.R.M. of his District to establish the fact that he is still honestly waiting (and is qualified) for a call and desires to re-enter the active ministry. "The District President shall annually revise the official roster of pastors and teachers in the Lutheran Annual as far as his District is concerned and remove the names of such as have died, have severed their connections with Synod, are regularly engaged in secular calling, or have in some way disqualified themselves from service in the church." (Handbook, By-laws, 3.45).

The name of any person who has been carried as a C.R.M. over a period of FIVE years (and is engaged in a permanent secular calling) should be removed by the District President from the roster of "PASTORS OF THE MISSOURI SYNOD," in the Lutheran Annual. A District President contemplating such action shall duly notify the person concerned before carrying out this procedure.

Erstwhile pastors and teachers having secular employment in C.P.H., KFUD, the LLL, the LAA, etc., are to be dealt with in accordance with the provision above stated. Uniformity in this matter is very important for proper order. The names of former C.R.M.'s which are no longer carried in the officially published roster "should be kept in the files of the respective District Presidents through the Statistical Bureau," Minutes of College of Presidents, Jan. 1946 p. 9.

All such bona fide C.R.M.'s (Candidates to reenter the ministry) are to be listed in the forster [sic] "Pastors of the Missouri Synod" in the Lutheran Annual, since by established practice, they are recognized as "Advisory Members" of Synod. Handbook, Constitution Article V.B. Furthermore, "Advisory Members of Synod shall attend the District Conventions. They shall not be elected by any congregation or by any group of congregations (multiple parish) as lay delegates to Synodical conventions, nor shall they be accredited as such. Former pastors and teachers who are regularly engaged in a secular calling shall no longer be considered 'Advisory Members.'" Handbook, By-laws 1.07. All bona fide C.R.M.'s are consequently required to attend pastoral conferences and District Synods. These may also be called upon to fill preaching engagements or to perform other functions of the ministerial office. However, he who was previously listed as a C.R.M., but whose name has been removed by his District

President from the list in the Lutheran Annual shall no longer be recognized as an "Advisory Member" or as a C.R.M. and hence shall no longer be counted among the "Pastors of the Missouri Synod" nor shall they be called upon to preach or to perform other functions of the ministerial office, nor shall they be required to attend pastoral conferences or District Synods.

The same general policy of dealing with C.R.M.'s shall also apply to teachers who are listed in the official roster of Synod as "Candidates."

When a C.R.M. or a "Candidate," whose name has been removed from the Lutheran Annual by a District President, requests reinstatement, his case shall be dealt with by that District President. The District President (in consultation with his Vice-Presidents) shall by personal interview and by written testimonials assure himself that the applicant is qualified for reinstatement as pastor or as teacher, whichever the case may be. Having assured himself that the person applying for reinstatement is qualified he shall duly announce the availability of the applicant to all District Presidents through the office of Synod's Statistician.

- B) EMERITI. For the proper classification of retired pastors (EMERITI) the following regulation shall serve as a guide: "All pastors who retire from active church work at or after the age of sixty-five (or whatever age Synod may set as retirement age for its Pension System), or who after the age of fifty-five or after at least thirty years of service in the church resign because of mental or physical infirmities, shall be listed in the roster of Synod as EMERITI." College of Presidents, Minutes, Jan. 1946, p. 9. Pastors EMERITI are, by established custom, honored for the many years God has permitted them to work in the office of the ministry. Pastors EMERITI may be called upon to preach or to perform other functions of the ministerial office, and shall be expected to attend pastoral conferences and District Synods.

The same general policy of dealing with EMERITI among our pastors shall apply to teachers "in retirement."

The undersigned committee members are deeply thankful for the valuable materials offered in a report by a "Joint Faculty Committee" of St. Louis and Springfield, February 1957, as well as subsequent suggestions received from them. We submit at this time the above guidelines for our College of Presidents.

Your Committee,

H. J. RIPPE  
W. H. MEYER

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