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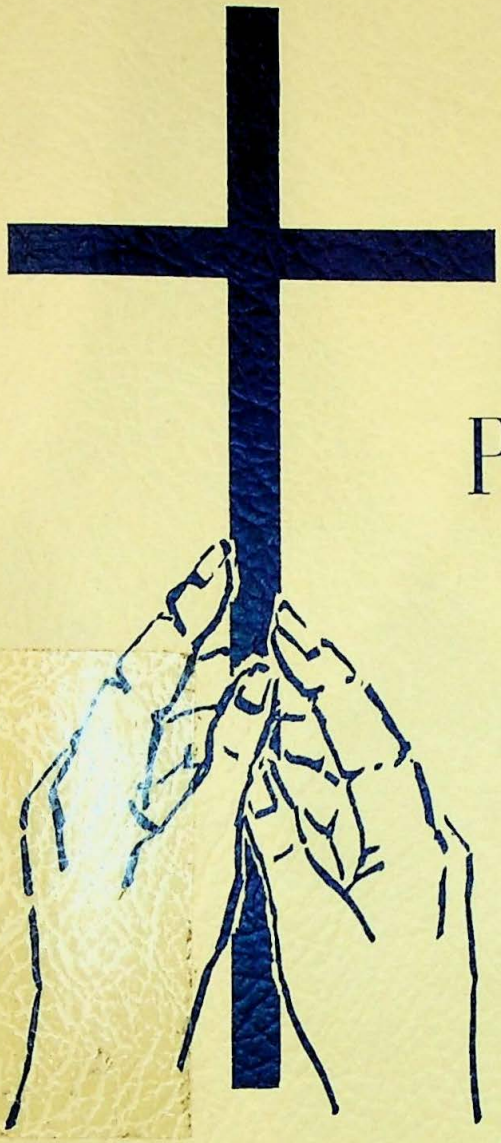
Pioneers Find Friends

Carl S. Meyer
Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir_meyerc@csl.edu



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Luther College Lectures
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TO
THE YLVISAKERS

Foreword

It is customary to think of the Nineteenth Century in the history of American Lutheranism as a period of bitter controversy and hopeless division. It is said that only in our own times has the movement toward reunion succeeded in overcoming the ethnic barriers which formerly divided us. This is quite true, as far as it goes. But there is another side to the picture.

It is both fitting and refreshing that, as a part of the observance of the centennial of Luther College, Dr. Carl Meyer of Concordia Seminary should illuminate that notable exception to the rule, the collaboration between the old Norwegian Synod and the Missouri Synod. While this collaboration never led to organic union, it was both intimate and wholehearted. For twenty-five years, pastors of the Norwegian Synod (a total of 127 men) were trained at St. Louis. For eleven years from its inception in 1872, the two synods were allied in the Synodical Conference. Ever since, a particular spirit of goodwill has existed between Luther College, the pioneer institution of the Norwegian Synod, and Concordia Seminary and the Missouri Synod. With gratitude for the past and with a hope and a prayer for greater Lutheran unity in the future, the Luther College Press is pleased to present these lectures by Dr. Meyer.

The appendices contain important source materials, here published for the first time in English. The translation of the Brandt-Ottesen report is my own. Dr. Meyer has translated the Missouri Synod documents pertaining to the establishment of a Norwegian professorate in St. Louis. The three letters from Prof. Walther to Pastor Koren were translated by Dr. Robert Jenson, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Luther College. The editing of this volume was a cooperative effort, in which Dr. John C. Bale, Prof. Oivind Hovde, and Acting President David T. Nelson rendered invaluable assistance.

A special vote of thanks is due the Lutheran Brotherhood Insurance Society, whose generous financial support has made possible the publication of this volume as well as the others in the Martin Luther Lecture Series.

Harris E. Kaasa
Chairman, Department of Religion
Luther College

Preface

The gracious invitation by the committee of Luther College to deliver these lectures in connection with the hundredth anniversary of that institution is a deeply cherished honor. That these lectures had to be postponed to 1962, instead of being given in 1961, does not detract from the tribute they pay to one of America's outstanding church-related liberal arts colleges. In her tradition, her reputation, and her achievements Luther College has made notable contributions to Lutheranism in America. Her place is an honored one among the schools of the country.

The roots of Luther College were intertwined with those of Concordia Seminary in her early history. It was, therefore, not a personal recognition, but an acknowledgement of early ties that brought about these lectures.

To Dr. David T. Nelson, author of the centennial history of Luther College and chairman of the committee, the author extends his thanks for the kindnesses shown him as a guest at Luther College and as the writer of these essays. His personal interest and suggestions have been very helpful. President J. W. Ylvisaker, Mr. Karl M. Torgerson and Dr. Robert W. Jenson of the Luther College staff, the faculty and the students, made the occasion of these lectures a most happy

one for the lecturer and his wife. The munificence of the Lutheran Brotherhood Insurance Society of Minneapolis in its sponsorship of the lectures is herewith acknowledged.

To the following who read the manuscript the author wishes to extend his thanks, absolving them of all blame for any errors or views with which they might disagree: Dr. Robert D. Preus, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis; Dr. Lorenz Blankenbuehler, editor emeritus of *The Lutheran Witness,* St. Louis; the Rev. Marcus R. Kluender, Melrose Park, Illinois; Dr. Neelak S. Tjernagel, Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois; the Rev. Torald N. Teigen, Minneapolis; and Dr. Gerhard L. Belgum, Hacienda Heights, California. The last two rendered special services. The Rev. Mr. Teigen gave some detailed criticisms that were especially helpful. Dr. Belgum, as chairman of the Department of Religion of Luther College before going to California, had preliminary correspondence and conferences with the author. To him these lectures owe much for the shape and direction they took.

A considerable part of the first lecture was used as the presidential address for the Historical Association of Greater St. Louis on May 26, 1962. The kind reception given to this lecture by this group must not go unnoted.

The dedication of this volume is meant in part for President J. W. Ylvisaker of Luther College, who resigned his office because of ill health in 1962, and for his wife. A tribute to them for the services they rendered Luther College comes from a heart warmed by their devotion to the school they loved. The dedication is meant in part, too, for the Ylvisakers of Mankato, Minnesota. Dr. Sigurd C. Ylvisaker was president of Bethany Lutheran College during the years this writer taught there, 1934-1943. He and his wife, Norma, were friends as well as co-workers. Elizabeth, John, Paul, Barbara, and David, their five children, were all students of the writer at one time or another. All of them are included in the dedication. The father of the two presidents was Dr. Johannes Th. Ylvisaker, author of *The Life of Christ,* and recipient of an honorary D.D. degree from Concordia Seminary. He should be included in the dedication.

To his companion on a snowy ride to Decorah, who loves the North, his companion, too, during the years spent among the Norwegians, Lucille, his wife, goes the final word of thanks—typist and adviser.

CARL S. MEYER

October 14, 1962
St. Louis, Missouri

Contents

Introduction

1857—The Norwegian Synod and the Missouri Synod reach an accord on theological training.

1858—The first Norwegian Synod student enrolls at Concordia College in Saint Louis.

1859—The Rev. Laur. Larsen begins his duties as professor at Concordia College.

1861—The outbreak of the Civil War temporarily disrupts the work at Concordia College. Luther College is opened at Halfway Creek, Wisconsin.

This brief chronology gives the skeletal framework of the three lectures delivered at Luther College in commemoration of its founding. These lectures focused on the years at St. Louis, the "tune-up" period, so to speak, for the launching of Luther College.

The first of the lectures is largely sociological in nature. It takes a look at St. Louis, a Mississippi River town on the urban frontier at midcentury. It surveys the economic life of the city, its cultural activities, its religious pattern, and the political situation in the late 1850s. Into this "river town" the students from Wisconsin and Iowa came, Norwegians who were strangers alike to the Germans at Concordia College and to the inhabitants of St. Louis. The life of the col-

lege was almost separate from that of the city. The sociological aspects of that life deserve a quick overview.

The second lecture is largely concerned with educational questions. Who were the men on the faculty who surrounded the Rev. Laur. Larsen in 1859? What were their personalities and what were their viewpoints? Professor Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther was the most prominent among them. His prestige and personality might cause us to overlook some of the other men, lesser figures, it is true, but important nevertheless. Dr. Gustav Seyffarth was in St. Louis only a few months while Larsen was there. Rector Schick and Professor Lange, Director Saxer and J. J. Goenner, not to neglect mention of the Rev. Th. Brohm, were closely connected with the school. They had definite convictions about the nature of a theological training. The classical tradition was theirs and Larsen shared it with them.

The third lecture moves on to theological considerations. It attempts to probe some of the factors which drew the Norwegians and the Missourians together. It seeks to get behind superficial contacts and immediate causes. The surge of confessionalism in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century is the broad theological backdrop for this friendship among the heirs of the Lutheran Reformation. The complex pattern that emerges is a reminder that the Lord of the Church moves many individuals and uses complex forces in furthering the work of His hand.

These three lectures betray the interests of the author. His interests as a social scientist have found their outlet in the first lecture. His interests as an educator are evident in the second. In the third he shows his theological concerns. As a bit of social science, a contribution to education, and a look at church history the author presents these lectures.

Crystal, Catfish, and Concordia

Catfish and Crystal is the title of a history of St. Louis published in 1960 and written by Ernst Kirschten, a staff writer of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. In his foreword the author says:

> There are no geographic bounds on the St. Louis story. Its citizens never kept themselves within city limits. St. Louis never was parochial. From the earliest days St. Louisians regarded it primarily as a base for wide-ranging activities, commercial and political.[1]

And, we might add, for some of them, "ecclesiastical."

St. Louis was the city to which the first students from the Norwegian Synod came before Luther College was founded in 1861. It was the home of Professor Peter Laurentius Larsen between November 1, 1859 and April 26, 1861. St. Louis has been the home of Concordia College, better known as Concordia Seminary, since December 16, 1849. It is proper to link the city, founded in 1764, and the seminary.

The outbreak of the Civil War was crucial for the college, not because the Norwegian students moved out, but because the preparatory department, the so-called *Gymnasium,* was transferred to the campus of the "practical seminary" in Fort Wayne and the "practical seminary" was moved to St. Louis.

The two theological schools of the Missouri Synod existed together for fourteen years; the preparatory department never returned to St. Louis. The outbreak of the Civil War meant also that the Norwegian Synod founded its own institution of higher learning.

Concordia has been very much a part of the city of St. Louis and of its fortunes. It is fitting to take a closer look at the crucial period between 1858 and 1861 in the history of both Concordia and St. Louis.

St. Louis was the metropolis of the Middle West at mid-century a hundred years ago. Between 1840 and 1870 the population of Missouri increased almost as rapidly as the population of Illinois.

TABLE 1
POPULATION GROWTH IN MISSOURI AND ILLINOIS
1840-1870

Year	Illinois	Missouri
1840	476,183	383,702
1850	851,470	682,044
1860	1,711,470	1,182,012
1870	2,539,891	1,721,295

By 1860 Missouri ranked in population as the eighth state in the Union. Its leading city, St. Louis, had numbered only 16,469 in 1840—the year after the Lutherans from Saxony had arrived, some for a brief stay before going on to Perry County, Missouri, some to make it their permanent home. Between 1840 and 1850 it increased to a city of 77,860 inhabitants, a figure to be doubled to 160,773 by 1860. It was a pulsating, rapidly growing city to which these Norwegian students came in 1858, 1859, and in 1860. St. Louis was on the urban frontier during these two decades. In spite of Turner's frontier thesis we must count urbanization and the role of the Midwest cities as no less important than the frontier of the explorer or of the farmer.

The Norwegian students came into a city that had no Scandinavian population to speak of. The German element was strong. In 1860 St. Louis and the territory immediately surrounding it contained 50,510 inhabitants "born in Germany." Kennedy's *St. Louis Directory, 1859*, lists neither a "Larsen"

nor a "Larson." The 1860 *Directory* lists one lone "Louis Larsen, teacher, residence Clara near Miama." The listing, however, it should be pointed out, is not complete, for neither *Directory* lists Rudolph Lange, G. A. Saxer, G. Seyffarth, George Schick, or J. J. Goenner, the members of the staff of Concordia College in those years. However, "Rev. C. T. *[sic]* W. Walther, president of Concordia College, residence at Jefferson Ave., near 2d Carondelet Ave.," is listed.

The cover of these directories is ornate, with pictures of the levee, a steamboat, the courthouse, a locomotive, Christ Church Episcopal, the Central Presbyterian Church, the Merchant's Exchange, the High School (there was only one public high school), the Mercantile Library, and a cut labeled "Ten Buildings."

The cover is revealing. After all, St. Louis was and is a river town—"Catfish and Crystal" tells you that. On one day during January 1858, according to the advertisements, eight packets left for New Orleans, seven for Keokuk, Iowa. On the 14th of April in that same year five steamboats left St. Louis for St. Paul, Minnesota—if we can believe that all those advertised as leaving actually left. The traffic on the Missouri River was considerable during the 1850s before railroads reached the Western boundary of Missouri. A Norwegian visitor to St. Louis in 1858 reported that he counted "fifty steamers, each with two smoke stacks, lying side by side along the levee in St. Louis." During the week he spent in the city he was certain there were at least one hundred different steamers that tied up at the St. Louis levee.[2] Almost certainly, the three Norwegian students who came to Concordia College in September 1858 came down the river on a riverboat.

In the decade before the Civil War St. Louis, if viewed from the air, resembled a "hot dog," "very long on the river front and quite narrow from the river westward." Nor was a view from the air in 1860 impossible. Capt. John Wise had made a balloon flight in 1859 from St. Louis to Henderson, New York, a distance of 1,150 miles.

To keep things in perspective, however, let us remind ourselves that the first horse car in St. Louis began its initial run from Fourth and Olive Streets on July 4, 1859. We are

told: "Before it reached . . . Eighth Street, this pioneer car had been lifted on the rails three times by the directors who were making the trial trip, with the president of the company holding the reins." The horse car introduced a new era in 1859. Omnibuses had served as means of public transportation within the city since 1843. Now in 1859 the omnibus era came to an end, although eighty-seven omnibuses had been in regular use daily in the previous year, the year in which fare boxes were introduced. Perhaps the eight Norwegian students in St. Louis in 1859 were not particularly excited about horse cars or fare boxes on omnibuses, but Erastus Wells was—as president of the company he held the reins on July 4, 1859.

There were other signs in those days of the beginning of a new era. How much our Norwegian friends, or for that matter the German students at Concordia College, knew of these events or appreciated their significance is problematical. The first telegraph line came to St. Louis in December 1847. The first locomotive whistle west of the Mississippi river sounded at 7:00 a.m. December 1, 1852. On November 1, 1855 the first trainload of passengers west from St. Louis to Jefferson City, the capital of Missouri, left at 9:00 a.m., only to meet with a fatal accident in crossing the trestle of the Gasconade River. The first overland mail reached St. Louis October 9, 1858; it had taken twenty-four days and twenty hours to bring it from San Francisco. The arrival of the Butterfield Overland Mail was celebrated by a parade and acknowledged by a telegram from President Buchanan. One wonders whether some of the students in that German Lutheran college on Jefferson Avenue got in on the excitement.

The seven railroads entering St. Louis in 1860 gave promise, according to a writer of that day, of making it a great city. He wrote:

> With a rich back-country, with facilities of building to any extent, her natural advantages, her rivers, her railroads, and manufactories *[sic]*, she can find no rival, and must always be the emporium of trade and the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley.

Ten years later another writer, Logan U. Reavis, published a work in both a German and an English edition with the

fantastic title *Saint Louis: the Future Great City of the World.* The publication was authorized by the St. Louis County Court. In it the author projected a population figure for St. Louis in 1950 of 17,437,553 or perhaps even 19,000,200. It sounds almost incredible even for a Chamber of Commerce publicity release.

In the opinion of that writer, the railroads, the manufacturing, the mineral wealth of Missouri, the wine-producing (not beer) possibilities, all pointed to the future greatness of the city.

The St. Louis Chamber of Commerce was organized in 1836. In 1860 the grain dealers got together. In the year ending June 30, 1851 St. Louis exported 648,520 barrels of flour, 415,624 sacks of oats, 472,438 pigs of lead. Wheat, barley, pork, lard, sugar, molasses, whiskey, nails, glass, salt, and wrought iron were shipped. Richard Smith Elliott, who was sent from St. Louis to Boston by the Chamber of Commerce in 1856 described St. Louis in the following terms:

> Our paved and macadamized streets would more than reach from Boston to Worcester. There are eighteen miles of public street sewers. The wharf stretches one mile and a quarter on the Mississippi, is several hundred feet wide, and, during the season of navigation is crowded with the products of every clime and soil. In 1855 there were 600,000 barrels of flour manufactured in St. Louis and over 400,000 received from other places, making a million of barrels, equaling the flour trade of Philadelphia. About 140,000 bags of coffee were received in 1855, enough to make a string of coffee bags more than fifty miles in length. The hemp, tobacco, pork, lard, wheat, bale-rope, flour, coffee, sugar and salt passing through the hands of St. Louis merchants in 1855 would, allowing the actual space occupied by each article, reach in one grand line from St. Louis to Boston. In 1840 St. Louis had 16,000 people; in 1855, she had 125,000.

St. Louis, as the students of Concordia might have learned to know it about 1860, was not only a shipping center but also a manufacturing and industrial city. Beginning in 1850 it was a center of stove manufacturing. For a full generation after the cooking stove became general in St. Louis homes, lament was loud and universal that things did not taste as well as

they did when done in the old way. By 1860 St. Louis supplied agricultural machinery for the South and the East. Although St. Louis had a cotton factory in 1854, it never became a center of cotton manufacturing. The sugar-refining industry, however, developed greatly in the decade from 1850 to 1860. This industry stimulated cooperage (the manufacture of barrels) as a major industry in St. Louis.

Barrels were used also for products other than molasses. Fruit orchards and extensive vineyards were important for the economy of the region about 1860. The brewing of lager beer in St. Louis began in 1840. In 1860 the Mississippi *Handels-Zeitung* gave a list of forty breweries in operation in St. Louis, making 23,000 barrels of beer a year with a capital of $600,000. In 1860, too, Eberhard Anheuser acquired interest in a Bavarian brewery.

Stoves and beer and soap (these were the major manufacturing interests of Anheuser in 1860) were not the only products of St. Louis labor. August and Leopold Gast started a lithograph shop in St. Louis in 1852; in 1854 the city had a type foundry. A year later glass works went into operation. After 1854, too, the building of locomotives was a promising industry. In 1850 2,800 barrels of flour per day were produced by twenty-two mills. Between 1840 and 1860 furniture manufacturing came to the fore in St. Louis. These are illustrations of the varied industries found in the city to which our Norwegian friends came to attend Concordia College. In 1860, St. Louis had 1,126 manufacturing industries with $12,733,948 capital, giving employment to 11,737 people and producing goods worth $27,000,000. This city was surpassed only by Boston, Cincinnati, Newark, New York, Philadelphia, Providence and Pittsburgh in manufactures.

"The oil of commerce lights the lamp of culture," James Westfall Thompson has said. Centers of commerce and industry are frequently also centers of culture and learning. St. Louis ranked below half a dozen Eastern cities in these respects; only Cincinnati in the Middle West was a serious economic or cultural rival.

Forty-nine "academies and schools" are listed in St. Louis in 1860. Five had the designation "German" in their names;

one, for instance, was called "German School of the Holy Ghost." Twenty-four of these schools and academies can be identified as Roman Catholic by their names—this includes the separate schools for boys and girls.

Jones' Commercial College was a going concern, offering a variety of courses to the young citizens of the city. Bryant and Stratton's Commercial College was another such school. St. Louis University was incorporated in 1832, although its founding actually goes back to 1818. In 1829 the Society of Jesus took over the school, and November 2, 1829 is regarded as its founders' day. This was ten years before the Saxons opened their log-cabin college in Perry County, Missouri. Concordia, however, is older than Washington University. That school was not inaugurated until April 22, 1857, about two and a half years before Laur. Larsen came to St. Louis. Six months before his arrival Mary Institute was opened. Perhaps Larsen did not know about these events. He may have learned about the Miller Academy, an English Lutheran academy sponsored by Missouri Synod members, which was in existence from 1855 to 1857. He surely knew about the Immanuel Academy founded in 1857, under Johann Wilhelm Albach, a graduate of Gettysburg Seminary. This institution was maintained by the Missouri Synod Immanuel Lutheran Church, of which Albach was a member.

The academy movement was still strong in the Middle West when Larsen went to St. Louis. The first public high school west of the Mississippi was opened February 7, 1853 on Sixth Street in the Benton Building. This was less than seven years before Larsen's arrival is St. Louis. (The year 1853, too, is the year of the organization of the old Norwegian Synod.) On April 2, 1838, the year in which the Saxons sailed for Missouri, the first public elementary school in St. Louis was opened. St. Louis was very educationally minded even a decade before William Torrey Harris became Superintendent of Schools (1868-1880) and made the St. Louis system pre-eminent in the country.

It was also a decade before Harris began publishing the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* in 1867. Both he and Henry Brockmeyer had come to St. Louis in 1857. The St. Louis

Philosophical Society, which they founded, had little or no immediate significance for the people on the Concordia campus. Not so with the St. Louis Academy of Science, of which Gustav Seyffarth was an active member; it printed three papers by him in 1859-60 in its *Transactions*. Adolph Biewend was an associate member of the Academy, which was founded in 1856 by Friedrich Adolph Wislizensus, a fur trader.

The Germans were a cultural and an ethnic force in St. Louis. Two German newspapers were printed in St. Louis during this period, the *Anzeiger des Westens*, founded in 1835, and the *Westliche Post*, founded in 1857, the year before the first Norwegian students came to Concordia. How much influence these newspapers may have had on the Concordia students is problematical. There is a statement in one of Walther's unpublished letters that the students were not permitted to read newspapers.[3]

Nor were the students permitted to attend the theater. In the 1850s the Varieties Theater was popular, but we need not suppose that many Concordia students had the time, money, or inclination to patronize it. In 1856 the St. Louis Fair, an institution that lasted for half a century, was begun. To illustrate the extent to which St. Louis promoted the arts in those days, it might be mentioned that Jenny Lind sang in St. Louis in 1851. The visit of the Prince of Wales in St. Louis in 1860 could scarcely have failed to attract the attention and interest even of the German Lutheran theological students on Jefferson Avenue.

An account of that visit will tell us something about St. Louis in 1860:

> After visiting Detroit and Chicago, the Prince and his entourage boarded a steamer at Alton for St. Louis. The firing of cannon announced his arrival about 6 p.m., September 26, 1860.
>
> People crowded the levee to see the young Prince, described in the *Missouri Republican* the next day as "a young man of fine address, intelligent, modest, and retiring in his manner." As the royal party arrived, a military band on board the steamer *Florence* played "God Save the Queen" and the American national anthem. No public reception was held, but from the levee to Barnum's hotel where the party was to stay in St. Louis, the crowd "thrust their

heads into the carriage, and hung upon it like bees." The *London Times* correspondent wrote that "in the evening there were civil serenades from really good bands of music and from some execrable performances on drums and fifes." He also recorded that "if it is true that the worst hats in the world are worn in America it is equally beyond a doubt that the worst hats in America are worn in St. Louis."

For 2 hours the next morning the Prince was driven through the city, finally ending at the fairgrounds where the St. Louis agricultural fair had been in progress two days. Since 8 a.m. crowds had formed there to see the Prince. The royal carriage was driven into the amphitheater and then around the arena while the crowd cheered lustily. Attendance at the fair reached 100,000 that day. The exhibitions of livestock pleased the Prince, and he and the Duke of Newcastle each purchased a fast trotting horse.[4]

This excitement was on St. Louis' North Side; Concordia is on St. Louis' South Side.

The Concordia students of 1860 likely were little interested in the over-all religious life of the city. In that year seventy-two churches flourished in St. Louis. Fifteen were Roman Catholic; fifteen were Methodist, including Methodist Episcopal, two Methodist Episcopal South, one Methodist, three African Methodist Episcopal, and three German Methodist Episcopal. There were eleven Presbyterian churches in the city and eleven churches were listed as "Evangelical." Among these "Evangelical" were four "Evangelical Lutheran" (Missouri Synod); the Lutherans were not given separate listing. Of the eleven Presbyterian churches four belonged to the Old School and three to the New School; one was called the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and one had the name "First German Cumberland Presbyterian." One was Reformed Presbyterian and one United Presbyterian. The seven Episcopal parishes in the city were equaled by seven Baptist churches, one of which was a German Baptist church. Six other denominations were represented by one church each: Christian, Disciples, Unitarian, Universalist, Hebrew, and Congregational.

Several outstanding religious leaders were active in St. Louis a century ago. Between 1847 and 1861 Truman M. Post was a pastor in the city, associated especially with the

First Congregational Church. His was a strong anti-slavery voice. Dr. James H. Brookes, editor of *The Truth*, founder of Brookes Bible Institute, was a Presbyterian pastor in St. Louis from 1855 to 1894. Montgomery Schuyler, Episcopal, was rector here for forty-four years. Dr. Joseph Bole was the presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church in St. Louis in 1860. In 1847 Peter Richard Kenrick was appointed Roman Catholic Archbishop in St. Louis. With his ordination on October 8, 1847 he became the first Archbishop of St. Louis; he held this post until his death on March 4, 1896. Kenrick, it may be noted, was among the original opponents of the pronouncement *Pastor Aeternus* (1870) on papal infallibility.

One of the instructors at Concordia College, Professor A. Biewend, before his death in 1858 had made it a practice to attend an English service, generally in the evening, every other Sunday. There is no known record of a similar practice on the part of other professors or of the students.

They knew and enjoyed some of the advantages of being in St. Louis. A diary of one student, Stephanus Keyl, reports that they hiked to the city on a Wednesday afternoon when they had no classes.[5]

We need now to look at the community life on the Concordia campus. A description of the activities at the college itself in 1853 fits five years later. A bell at 5:00 a.m. told those "not yet at work" that it was time to get up. After morning devotions, in which all joined, breakfast was served. Class periods were scheduled from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon; the period between breakfast and classes was used largely for study. Afternoon classes lasted from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. Evening devotions were held at 8:45 p.m.; the younger students retired at 9:00 p.m.; the older, an hour later. Games and exercises filled what free time there was, although each student, at least in 1853, kept a garden on the college grounds. The Mississippi, only a mile away, took care of the lack of shower facilities in the dormitory.

Professor C. F. W. Walther accompanied the students on their weekly bath on only one occasion. When all were in the river, suddenly a shout came from young Adolph Biewend.

Walther had gone under and had not come up again. The elder Biewend came to the rescue and with the help of a student, Otto Hanser, brought Walther to shore. Young Biewend received a silver loving-cup as a gift from Walther; Lutheranism in America retained a much greater God-given gift.

During the winter months, that is, between Michaelmas (September 29) and Easter, the rising bell rang at 5:30 a.m. In the spring and during the month of September it rang half an hour earlier. There was a "break" (not for coffee but for tidying the rooms) of a half hour in the morning before classes and again after dinner (served at noon). After supper there was a free period and a study period.

If the schedule was rigorous, the cost for room and board was low. There was no tuition; however, there were "educational fees." Room and board cost $16.50 per quarter (figured on the basis of four quarters between the beginning of September and the end of June, each of about eleven weeks), or a total of $66.00 per year. The educational fees were $8.00, $10.00, or $12.00 per quarter; higher education commanded higher prices. The matriculation fee, paid once, was $5.00. The students paid an additional $2.00 to $4.00 for heat for the season. A total of $118 covered the student's costs, except books, clothing, transportation, and personal spending money.

As to discipline at the school, Christian ethics prevailed. Hearts, it was supposed, were governed by the Word of God. Diligence, faithfulness, mutual consideration, and obedience were expected. Supervision was exercised; instruction was given; admonitions were imparted. If all of that failed, punishment was meted out. There were scoldings, if need be before the assembled *coetus* (student body) and faculty. Students might be deprived of some meals and, of course, of free time. Parents and guardians would be notified if the offenses became too flagrant. Expulsion was always a possibility for severe breaches. Corporal punishment was not administered. All instructors were expected to lend a hand in maintaining the moral tone of the school. The director and the president of the institution, nevertheless, had the ultimate responsibility.[6]

In 1859, because of the large number of newcomers, the rooms for the students were reassigned. Professors and students, in separate quarters of course, occupied the building complex. C. F. W. Walther and Rector Goenner with their families occupied two floors of the south wing in separate living units; a third family found room in the same wing (Biewend's later Lange's). The Schick and Saxer families lived in the north wing. The center of the complex had rooms which doubled as classrooms and living quarters. The first floor was an *aula*, a hall which served as chapel, auditorium, music room, and library. This middle portion of the building was new—it was ready to be dedicated in April 1858. The seminary students lived in the north wing on the second floor; the students in the *gymnasium* in the four lower classes occupied the second floor of the middle building, which Dr. G. Seyffarth had vacated.

The autumn in which Laur. Larsen came to St. Louis was a beautiful one. Within six weeks after he came, winter's cold had set in. On December 7, 1859 it was cold enough for the students to go skating.

The students had other social affairs. On October 25, 1859 they celebrated Prof. C. F. W. Walther's birthday. Walther, on this occasion, was presented with a copy of the Old Testament in a polyglot edition.[7] There was, it seems, one literary society among the students, but there is no evidence that any of the Norwegian students belonged to it. Somewhat older on the average and deficient in the *Umgangssprache*, the language in common use, German, they were not always and fully a part of the activities even within this small student body.

One of the events in the academic life of Concordia during the first months of Larsen's tenure that stirred the student body, including the Norwegian Synod students, was an anonymous letter from California—not a Macedonian cry but a Teutonic cry for spiritual help for the *Glaubensbrüder* on the West Coast. Walther published the letter within six weeks after it had been written (it was dated from San Francisco on November 2, 1859). A "Christmas gift" of $10.00 is evidence of the immediate interest the letter aroused. Before he left for Germany at the beginning of February 1860, Walther des-

ignated Pastor Th. Brohm as the man to whom further gifts should be sent for the *Californische Mission.* Walther personally chose Jacob J. M. Buehler to become the Lutheran missionary in this field. Buehler's diary supplies the evidence that Mrs. Elizabeth Schreiber's letter (the name of the anonymous writer was revealed later) caused a great stir among the students. In some measure Larsen, too, was excited about these events, for he reported about the German Lutheran mission in California to the members of his Synod.

As indicated, Buehler was chosen for this mission shortly before C. F. W. Walther left for Europe for reasons of health. This trip, we can be sure, deeply stirred the Concordia student body. Their concern is reflected also in the *"Tagebuch"* of Stephanus Keyl, who was Walther's nephew and who accompanied Walther on this trip. During January 1860 Walther's cough and catarrh were such that the students despaired of his health. They wrote to Pastor Friedrich Wyneken, president of the Missouri Synod, and informed him of conditions. Posthaste Wyneken and Professor August Craemer came to St. Louis, persuaded Walther, his congregation, and whoever else needed to be persuaded, that Walther ought to go to Europe before he should be broken in health altogether. If nothing else, the forty-eight-year-old president of the institution might look for a successor in Germany. Walther returned, restored to health, in August. He lived another twenty-seven years. Little imagination is needed to sense the excitement caused among the eighty-four students—of whom eight were Norwegians—by Walther's trip down the river to New Orleans and across the ocean to Germany and Switzerland.

For the Norwegian students the absence of Laur. Larsen from September 1860 to January 1861 was less dramatic, but nevertheless it was even more important for them than Walther's absence in the months from February to August 1860. Larsen had been sent to Norway to recruit pastors for the growing number of congregations made up of Norwegian immigrants in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. His students meanwhile had their difficulties with the German language and perhaps also with the Germans.

Norway, Germany, California—far away places. But the excitement of the California Mission, or Larsen's or Walther's trip, was surpassed by the exciting events of April 1861. "Catfish and Crystal" sensed blood and thunder; the fall of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor brought about the temporary closing of Concordia. The Civil War came to St. Louis, Missouri.

Missouri was a border state. On its Western border was "bloody Kansas." The Lincoln-Douglas Debates in 1858 in Illinois, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, had aroused a great deal of interest in St. Louis, especially the debate in Alton. John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry on October 16, 1859 and his hanging on December 2 of that same year were at a greater distance, but they had repercussions also in St. Louis. Two years before (1857), the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case upheld the decision of the Circuit Court in St. Louis, which had been reversed by the Missouri State Supreme Court.

In 1860, Missouri elected Claiborne F. Jackson governor; he took office January 3, 1861. He succeeded Robert M. Stewart, a loyal Union supporter, who warned against "unwise and hasty action" in his farewell address. Jackson, however, in his address on taking office exhorted Missouri "to stand by the South." It was not until June 12, 1861 that he called for troops to support the South. By that time St. Louis had experienced its one local "battle" of the war.

In the meanwhile a state convention, not the state legislature, meeting first in Jefferson City (February 28-March 2, 1861) and then in St. Louis (March 4-22, 1861), grappled with the problems of a secessionist state government. On the 11th of June the Planters' House Conference failed to obtain an agreement from the opposing political factions. In July 1861 the state convention declared the state offices and the seats in the state legislature vacant. Union sympathizers were appointed to the state offices by this body, while it continued to act as a legislative group. Hamilton R. Gamble was the new governor. In October a "rump" session of the legislature declared Missouri's secession from the Union. The events of March and April 1861, however, are the events

which stirred the students of Concordia rather than those from June to October 1861.

On March 4, 1861 Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as President of the United States of America. The election had taken place in November 1860. Frank Blair and the *Daily Missouri Democrat*, published in St. Louis, campaigned for Lincoln. Lincoln carried only ten per cent (10.3%) of the popular vote in Missouri; Stephen A. Douglas received 35.5 per cent, followed closely by John Bell with 35.3 per cent. This, of course, left 18.9 per cent for John C. Breckinridge, the secessionist candidate. In the state legislature (elected in August), Breckinridge commanded 37.6 per cent of the vote; Douglas, 27.8 per cent; Bell, 26.6 per cent; Lincoln, only eight per cent. Missouri stood for conservatism and compromise, for peace and the preservation of the Union. Radicals were generally mistrusted, and few mistrusted them more than the German theologian on Jefferson Avenue in St. Louis, Professor C. F. W. Walther.

In northwestern Missouri a significant number felt compelled to move to Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana. The 1860 crop failure, the poor spring, and "the still more gloomy future for free labor in the state" were the compelling causes for this "alarming" condition. Walther, however, was not disturbed about this, if indeed he knew about it. There were events even closer to home that troubled him.

On February 6, 1861 Co. B. of the 2nd U. S. Infantry was stationed in St. Louis under the command of Nathaniel Lyon.

At the time of Lyon's advent, affairs in St. Louis were in a turbulent and excited state, and the Union men, though vastly in the majority, were extremely anxious lest they should fall into the power of the secessionists before the government would come to their assistance.

The arsenal, located in south St. Louis less than a mile from Concordia College, had 500 men quartered in it in February 1861, an ordnance corps besides the infantry corps. Six companies of infantry, with seventy men each, were well capable, a contemporary declared, of holding the arsenal against ten times their number.

The "St. Louis Wide Awakers," a political group which favored the Republican Party in 1860, had developed into the Union Guards, which held secret drills in secluded halls at night throughout the city. The "Minute Men" also drilled; they favored the Secessionists. There is no evidence that Walther or the Concordia students knew about these organizations or that they added to the uneasiness of the president of Concordia.

He did know about the city elections which took place April 1, 1861. Daniel G. Taylor defeated the Unconditional Union Party, the beneficiary of the "disunion vote." In his inaugural address as mayor April 9, 1861 he endorsed the compromise Crittenden resolutions in the Congress of the United States.

Evidently there was little fear during the first half of April on the part of Walther and the professors at Concordia College that any untoward happening would disturb the institution. They were in attendance at the convention of the Western District of the Missouri Synod, which held its opening session April 11, 1861 in Altenburg, Perry County, Missouri. The sessions continued over the weekend; there is no indication that Walther and R. Lange and Laur. Larsen left before the end of the sessions. Goenner and Schick had remained in St. Louis, but this need not be interpreted as more than someone staying at home "to keep the store."

While these men were in Altenburg, Fort Sumter was fired on. On April 15 (the convention in Altenburg was not quite ready to break up; a pastoral conference followed on the seventeenth) Abraham Lincoln issued a proclamation in which he called for 75,000 state militia; Missouri's quota was 3,123 officers and men. Two days later, April 17, Governor Claiborne Foxe Jackson replied to Secretary of War Simon Cameron with a denial of the requisition, calling it "illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary in its object, inhuman and diabolical."

Into the tensions of this situation Walther and Larsen returned from peaceful, quiet Altenburg. On April 20 the first aggressive act in Missouri against the Union government occurred with the capture of the military depot at Liberty, on

the western edge of the state. Two days later Governor Jackson issued a call for a special session of the Missouri legislature, to assemble on May 2.

There were fears that the arsenal in St. Louis would be attacked. "If it is attacked, there is danger of civil war in our streets," the *Missouri Democrat* declared. There were rumors afloat in the city that Captain Lyon had threatened to shell the city in case of an attack on the arsenal, rumors of disturbances within the arsenal, rumors about the build-up of troops within the arsenal. There were, according to one account, 2,500 troops under arms; according to another, 2,800. It was at this point that the officials decided to close Concordia College and to send the students home.

The exact date of this move is difficult to determine. Perhaps it was on the 26th of April.[8] Walther wrote on the 27th that it had been done. He said:

> The immediate surroundings of our college threaten to become the area of the conflict between the power of the administration and our state government. For that reason we have closed the institution. To this precipice the Abolitionist-Republican Party has brought us; what to me is most horrible is that even our Lutherans, yes our pastors, have brought this to pass. That is coming home to us fearfully now and can lead to the destruction of our entire church. Let us cry day and night to the Lord that He would have mercy upon us and turn aside the great evil which we have deserved. Pray also for us here. We are in grave danger, since we do not go along with the Republican mob, this revolutionary party, which has now hoisted the banner of loyalty with unspeakable hypocrisy. We simply rely on the Word: "Be subject unto the government, which has *power* over you,"—not *right;* then where would we be?[9]

On the same day on which Walther wrote this letter an editorial appeared in a St. Louis newspaper, the *Daily Missouri Democrat,* with the caption "Quiet of the City." It declared:

> We are happy to be able to express the belief that at this moment St. Louis is the quietest and least agitated city in the Union, notwithstanding that abominable nuisance, the telegraph.

One day during this week the headings in the *Democrat* under "City News" read:

Fiercely Attacked by a Dog
A Young Man Missing
Lost His Bacon
For Perjury
For the State Penitentiary
Narrow Escape from Drowning
Justice Schneider Arrested for Alleged Oppression
Descent on A Dance Hall
Heavy Squall
Outrage at the Express Office

How quiet or how insecure it was in St. Louis during that week of April 20, 1861 is difficult to establish. The notion current in the country of a "reign of terror in St. Louis" was ridiculed in an editorial in the *Democrat* on May 4. About a week earlier this same newspaper had asked:

> Does anybody believe that the United States government is coming here to make war on us? Or is there any danger of invasion by the Confederate States, with whom our Governor is in constant and most affectionate correspondence?

At any rate, about a week before, the students of Concordia College were sent home. Walther sent his family out of the city. So did the other professors. Saxer stayed with Walther in the college buildings for some time; he saw him three times daily at Reinke's, where they ate their meals. He felt as lonely, he wrote, as a kitten on a roof. Larsen, too, hurried away from St. Louis with his family, probably on a packet.

Within less than two weeks the "Battle of Camp Jackson" on the Western edge of the city had been fought. It took place on May 10, 1861. "Some Twenty Killed—Others Wounded" the headlines announced. The details cannot occupy us. Here was war, and it was close to home. There was intense excitement in Missouri in the month of May. It declined to some extent. Walther's family came back to St. Louis on June 6, but even in October Walther excused himself for not attend-

ing a pastoral conference because he had to remain in St. Louis as president of the institution and as *Hausvater*.[10]

Thus the outbreak of the Civil War caused the temporary closing of Concordia. Indirectly with the slavery question as an issue, the move on the part of the Norwegians to found an institution of their own became more urgent. The Seminary reopened in September. The *gymnasium* was moved to Fort Wayne, and the "practical" seminary was moved from Fort Wayne to St. Louis. In September 1861 Luther College opened in Halfway Creek, Wisconsin.

Crystal, Catfish, and Concordia were part of the labor pains which accompanied the birth of this institution.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ernst Kirschten, *Catfish and Crystal* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1960), p. 12.

2. O. F. Duus, *Frontier Parsonage* (Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1947), pp. 109-10.

3. C. F. W. Walther to Georg Schick, St. Louis, June 8, 1861, "Korrespondenz Rektor G. Schick—Ft. Wayne (1831-1915)," copied by Theo. Buenger (1935) from papers in the possession of Martin Schick, M.D., in Schick file at Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis.

4. Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri Day by Day* (Columbia, Mo.: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942-43), II, 202-03.

5. Stephanus Keyl, *Tagebuch, 1854-1860,* bound, paginated diary, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis.

6. "Program der Evang.-lutherischen Concordia-Collegiums der Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. St.," *Der Lutheraner,* XVI (June 12, 1860), 169-171. G. Alex. Saxer seems to have been responsible for drawing up this program and for having it published; cf. his "Kurze Geschichte," *Der Lutheraner,* XVI (May 29, 1860), 164.

7. Keyl, *Tagebuch,* pp. 68, 69, under date of September 24, 1859.

8. *Emigranten* (Madison, Wisconsin), May 6, 1861, p. 3, col. 1, does not give the exact date of the closing. The notice by L. Larsen was sent in on April 26, 1961. The 26th was on a Friday.

9. C. F. W. Walther to J. C. W. Lindemann, St. Louis, April 27, 1861, *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther an seine Freunde, Synodalgenossen und Familienglieder,* ed. by L. Fuerbringer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1915), I, 163-64.

10. C. F. W. Walther to the Hon. German Ev. Luth. District Conference at Collinsville, Ill., St. Louis, October 3, 1861, *Walthers Briefe,* I, 169-70.

Cordiality at Concordia

The story of the resolve of the young Norwegian Synod in 1855 to send delegates to Capital University in Columbus, Ohio, Buffalo University (Martin Luther College in Buffalo, N. Y.), and the Lutheran University in St. Louis has often been told. When Pastor J. A. Ottesen, as the representative of the Church Council of the Norwegian Synod, and the Reverend U. V. Koren, his companion, appeared at the convention of the Missouri Synod in Fort Wayne on October 14, 1857, (the date has not been invented; it coincides with the traditional date given for the founding of Luther College), they were greeted with joy. The "right hand of fellowship" was extended to them.

This convention of the Missouri Synod came only ten years after the organization of that body; the Norwegian Synod was not yet five years old. Incidentally, this gathering in Fort Wayne was an "educationally minded" Synod meeting; the "English Lutheran Academy" was dedicated at its conclusion. Only ten years after its founding, the Missouri Synod had two seminaries—the "university" in St. Louis and the "practical" Seminary in Fort Wayne. In St. Louis it also conducted a preparatory school, a *gymnasium*. Now it dared to erect a $7,000 structure in Fort Wayne for an English academy. Be-

sides that, this convention of the Missouri Synod voted to open a "teachers' seminary" on the same campus. This "normal school" had been started in Milwaukee in 1855; in 1857, the Synod decided, it was to be housed on the same campus with the seminary founded in Fort Wayne in 1846. It meant the addition of one professor to the staff at Fort Wayne. This 1857 Synod convention also made provisions for strengthening the faculty at the institution in St. Louis and for increasing the facilities there.

The Missouri Synod numbered 144 pastors and professors in 1857, at least that many congregations, and some 20,000 members. The support of these schools did not come from a large church body.

MISSOURI SYNOD MINISTERS AND TEACHERS IN 1857

Synodical District	Voting Pastors	Advisory Pastors and Professors	Teachers
Western	28	27	16
Central	34	14	10
Northern	20	7	12
Eastern	14	0	3
Total	96	48	41

The readiness of the Missouri Synod to welcome the delegation of the Norwegian Synod and to concur in its desire to use the St. Louis institution for the training of its pastors can be counted as a noble act when evaluated in the light of the extensive educational commitments which the Missouri Synod had at that time. Moreover, 1857 was the year of the panic; a church that was growing almost too rapidly was faced with adverse economic conditions in the country at large. It was more than just friendship among pioneers that led the Missouri Synod and her leaders to concur so readily in the proposed arrangements with the Norwegian Synod.

After the manner of all good conventions, the convention of the Missouri Synod set up a committee to examine the proposals of the Norwegian Synod and to make its recommendations to the convention. The members were: Wilhelm Sihler, president of the Central District, *Praeses* of the Seminary in

Fort Wayne and pastor of the congregation acting as host to the convention; Ottomar Fuerbringer, president of the Northern District and pastor of the congregation in Freistatt and Kirchhein, Wisconsin; E. G. W. Keyl, president of the Eastern District and pastor in Baltimore, Maryland; Gustav Seyffarth, professor at Concordia College, St. Louis; C. F. W. Walther, president of that institution and pastor of the Lutheran congregation in that city; Friedrich Wyneken, president of the Missouri Synod; and Adolph Biewend, director of the *gymnasium* in St. Louis. The heavy freighting of that committee with the VIP's of the Missouri Synod shows the importance this convention attached to the proposals being made.

Each of these men had been trained in a German university: Walther, Seyffarth, Fuerbringer, and Keyl at the University of Leipzig; Sihler at Berlin; Wyneken and Biewend at Goettingen, although Wyneken completed his training at the University of Halle. They appreciated the worth of an educated ministry and the place of scholarship and learning in the training of pastors.

This was an ideal which Laur. Larsen shared. When he began teaching in St. Louis two years later, he joined a group that had educational goals in line with his own. It was a small circle of faculty members which he entered on November 1, 1859.[1] For the institution it was regarded as an important event that this young man joined the faculty, one hailed with the hope that it presaged momentous developments for the progress of the Kingdom of Christ. For Larsen himself it was important personally, as it was for his church body.

The professors who greeted him on that day were: C. F. W. Walther, president; Rudolph Lange; J. J. Goenner; Georg Schick; and G. A. Saxer. Gustav Seyffarth was there, too, and was still listed as a member of the staff. Adolph Biewend had died at the early age of forty-one. He could easily have become the best friend Larsen had on the faculty; it was not to be. Pastor Th. Brohm also taught in the seminary on a part-time basis.

In November 1859, when Laur. Larsen began his duties at Concordia College, eighty-four students were enrolled in the institution; of these, seven were Norwegians. Before the end

of the school year eight Norwegians were listed in the student body. Three Norwegian students had entered in the fall of 1858; four more in the fall of 1859; one student entered later, some weeks after the school year had begun. The three who entered in 1858, now members of *Quarta* in 1859-60, were: L. Samson (Lasse Fosse) of Dane County, Wisconsin; Torger Torgerson of Waupaca County, Wisconsin; and Jacob D. Jakobsen of Waukesha County, Wisconsin. The others, except one, were enrolled in *Quinta*: Iver Larsen of Winneshiek County, Iowa; Thomas Johnson, likewise of Winneshiek County, Iowa; Ole Hagestad, Dane County, Wisconsin; Lars Folkestad, Columbia County, Wisconsin; and Jacob Fleischer, Madison, Wisconsin, a member of *Sexta*.

Among the 88 students at Concordia College in 1859-60 (4 left during the school year) only 14 were in the seminary division. Of these, 10 passed their theological examination on February 15, 1860, and were found fit candidates for the ministry. They would enter the ministry during the coming months; one student began studying at a German university before the beginning of June. None of the Norwegian students were in the seminary division at any time in the period between September 1858 and April 1861; in fact, the most advanced of these would study several years more before they were ready to matriculate as theological students. To be sure, they had their vocational goals set already; that goal obviously was to become ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Before that goal could be reached, they had years of preparation ahead of them, first in the *gymnasium* and then in the seminary proper.

In the *gymnasium* during those last years of the 1850s and the first years of the 1860s there were at most six men who served on the faculty. More will be said about each one presently. Each carried a load of more than 20 hours a week. The students attended classes from 24 to 28 hours per week; they spent, so the catalog stated, 28 to 42 hours a week in preparation for their classes. The student-teacher ratio was 14 to 1.

Their objectives were spelled out clearly. They were to obtain a Christian training and a general classical preparation for scholarly study, after the pattern of the German *gymna-*

sium. In the first instance, therefore, they were required to study religion, the classical languages, modern languages (English and German, and Norwegian for the Norwegian students) and literature, and history with geography. In the second instance there were the exact sciences, natural history, physics, geography (educators even today do not know where to list geography, among the social sciences or the natural sciences), and mathematics.

Chorus work, instrumental music, drawing, the study of French, physical education (they did not call it that) were extra-curricular.

The German language was the medium of instruction, except that English was used in the classes for the study of English language and literature and, in part, for the study of mathematics and geography. So the catalog stated, although Ollendorf's *Englische Grammatik* is listed with the *Common School Speller,* Swan's *Reader,* Bullion's *Grammar,* Parker's *Aids to English Composition,* and Spalding's *History of English Literature.* An English *History of the United States,* too, is listed, without author, together with two books in English dealing with geography and one each dealing with arithmetic and algebra.

Six textbooks were listed especially for Norwegian students: A Norwegian Bible, Pontoppidan's catechism, Bojesen's Danish grammar, Jensen's Norwegian reader, Autenrietz' German grammar, and Petersen's history of Norway. The listing indicates that the Norwegian students were given differentiated assignments or homogeneous grouping or something of that sort in German, history, and religion, and of course, they had to learn Norwegian, too. In their segregated classes they used Norwegian as a medium of instruction; in the other classes they were expected to use German or (which was much easier) English.[2]

Other Scandinavians were asking why the Norwegians should patronize a German school rather than Illinois State University, where Lars Esbjørn was teaching. They disparaged the use of German rather than English for instructional purposes. These Norwegian students would be learning dead languages, Greek and Latin, in a foreign tongue, whether Ger-

man or Norwegian. English, of course, was the language of the country and would have been more functional. But German was then the language of brethren in the faith. Moreover, it was the language of confessional Lutheranism.

The one man on the staff at Concordia College who had been conversant with German and English (as well as French, Italian, and Spanish, but especially French), and who understood Norwegian, was Adolph Biewend. He had died, it will be recalled, five months before the first small contingent of Norwegian students came to St. Louis. On the day of Biewend's death Walther wrote his friend Ottomar Fuerbringer that he was deeply shaken, because God in His inscrutable counsel had taken Biewend to Himself. To us, too, that counsel must remain unfathomable. To us it would appear that Biewend might have been the agent to weld the Norwegians and German Missourians together. The historian, however, must not indulge in speculations of what might have been.

Among those on the faculty, one man might have become a closer friend of the Norwegians, and especially of Larsen, than he did. This is Rudolph Lange (1825-1892). A German, born in Poland, he came to this country in 1846 because of the influence of Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau. He first attended the practical seminary in Fort Wayne, but transferred to the seminary in Altenburg, Perry County, Missouri. Here he successfully completed his theological examinations. On September 24, 1848 he was ordained and installed as pastor in St. Charles, Missouri. The congregation there had suffered "unspeakably much at the hands of *unirt*-evangelical, rationalistic, and methodistic preachers up to this time." It is a tribute to the ability of the young candidate, as well as a testimony to the shortage of pastors, that this buffeted but important congregation was entrusted to a twenty-three-year-old pastor. He served for ten years until he came to St. Louis as professor, where he was installed on December 7, 1858.

Lange was called specifically to teach English, both in the *gymnasium* and in the seminary. He was also to teach philosophy in the seminary: logic, metaphysics, and history of philosophy. The reporter (presumably Walther himself) in *Der Lutheraner* editorialized:

We rejoice about this call all the more because in this way a capable instructor in the English language and the philosophical subjects was obtained. He is at the same time dedicated to our church and thoroughly at home in her doctrine and practices. The Rev. Mr. *Lange* was an instructor at an English college for a longer period of years. As such he served with special distinction. We have, therefore, in him an assurance that the English language will be cultivated in our institution as it ought to be in the present situation.

Any charge, therefore, that English was neglected must be modified by the high hopes entertained for Professor Lange.

Lange, however, does not seem to have had an outgoing personality. He was a student and a thinker. He did not cultivate, it seems, a social life, at least not with students, be they German or Norwegian. A former student, who later made his mark as an educator within the Missouri Synod, said of Lange:

Rudolph Lange read philosophy, listened to our debates, and taught logic, . . . I consider Lange one of the most profound thinkers our Synod has ever had, a fine classical scholar and English philologist. His philosophical lectures were taken directly from the sources.

He means, of course, that his teacher had read the philosophers, not merely that he had read about them. Another student remembered that Lange did not capture the interest of his students; he read his lectures, and they tended to be dull. Still a third student—this one, too, from a period later than 1860—perhaps explained the different opinions of the first two men when he stated: "Lange, one of the deepest thinkers Synod ever had, was almost beyond our comprehension." Whether this was true in 1860 is another question. In 1864 Walther expressed the opinion that Lange was "too speculative." In 1881, at the suggestion of President H. Schwan, Lange was made editor of an English theological journal of the Missouri Synod, a new venture that did not survive its second year. It was called *The St. Louis Theological Monthly;* its purposes were chiefly to serve as a polemical publication in the controversy then raging about the doctrine of predestination, or election, the *Gnadenwahlstreit.*

Lange was one of the younger members of the faculty when Larsen arrived, both in age and in service. The oldest member was Gustav Seyffarth.

Larsen's acquaintance with Seyffarth was slight, although Seyffarth was carried on the roster of faculty members for the entire 1859-1860 school year. The letter in which the Board of Control granted him a release is dated October 19, 1859.[3] He did not leave before Larsen's arrival in St. Louis, but remained in the city until about the middle of December. Larsen took over the instruction in archaeology, which was Seyffarth's forte.

Seyffarth (1796-1885) had been a professor at the University of Leipzig from 1824 to 1854. He was Champollion's most serious rival as an authority on ancient Egypt; he claimed that Champollion made use of his system in deciphering the hieroglyphics. The fierce pride of German professional scholarship is evident in his feud with the French scholar. In his autobiographical sketch Seyffarth said his writings were "published for the purpose of diffusing knowledge and refuting falsehoods. They treat of the following subjects: Egyptian philology and palaeography; the ancient astronomy of the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and Cyprietes; universal history and chronology, especially of the Old and New Testaments, of the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Babylonians, Chinese, etc., mythology, ancient geography, apologetics, etc." The listing of the titles of his published works exceeds ten printed pages. The students from the Norwegian Synod enrolled in Concordia College in 1858 knew him; Larsen scarcely had an opportunity to become well acquainted with him. If he had (and again, the historian is not permitted to deal with "if's"; he must deal with facts) if he had, he might have had some interesting discussions with him on the question of slavery.

Seyffarth is important as an illustration of the educational climate at Concordia in 1857, the year in which the Norwegian Synod arranged to send students there. Seyffarth was a scholar sought after by several institutions. When he came to this country (December 1855), Walther wrote to him and invited him to teach isagogics, archaeology, and church history at Concordia Seminary. Seyffarth's services were sought after at

that time also as librarian and director of an oriental museum in New York. The authorities at the Lutheran seminary in Columbus, Ohio, offered him a salary of $600 a year to join the staff there. Walther acted on his own and requested the members of the Board to appoint Seyffarth on a temporary basis. Later the Synod itself could act on adding this man of fabulous scholarship and humble faith (so Walther himself characterized him) to the faculty. When in 1857 the ratification of his appointment came before the Synod—this was the same convention that reacted favorably to the request of the Norwegian Synod—Seyffarth told the body that he was a man of independent means and would ask no salary for his time and services. His offer was accepted with thanks; the appointment was ratified. On July 7, 1862 he was given his formal release, although he had not taught at the Seminary since October or November 1859. Seyffarth never returned to St. Louis as professor; his differences with Walther on the slavery question were aggravated by attacks by the latter on his scholarship. Both his learning and his conservative Lutheranism, it should be emphasized, had moved Walther to seek him for the faculty of Concordia College.

It is evident that Larsen in 1859 entered a circle that knew the rigors of German scholarship. Larsen, then twenty-eight, could not match the scholarship of the sixty-three year old savant, nor was this expected of him.

Another scholar among the members of the St. Louis faculty was Johann Jakob Goenner. Goenner (1807-1864) came to the United States with the Saxon immigrants in 1839 as a candidate of theology. Between 1840 and 1843 he apparently earned his living as a barber. Then in 1843 he was called as rector of the Altenburg, Missouri, school, later known as Concordia College and then as Concordia Seminary. He accompanied the school when it relocated in St. Louis in December 1849.[4]

Goenner was an excellent linguist. In the seminary in the early 1850s he read the Hebrew Scriptures in the original with the students, especially the Book of Genesis, portions of other historical books of the Old Testament, selections from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah and the Psalter, and the

New Testament Gospels in a Hebrew version. In the *gymnasium* he taught Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Bible history, and the history of the Reformation.

Goenner retained the title "Rector" after Adolph Biewend was elected or called as "Director" in 1855. The Director had the immediate supervision of the students.

In 1856 Goenner was given a leave of absence to edit the *Altenburger Bibelwerk*. The New Testament appeared in June 1857, the Old Testament in January 1858. Goenner's illness about this time limited his availability as an instructor. However, he resumed his classroom activity again early in 1860. Shortly after the close of the school in April 1861 Walther wrote a revealing letter concerning Goenner. Goenner, Walther had learned, often told stories in his classes and read *Die Westliche Post* to them. The students had been forbidden to read newspapers, but Goenner took delight in reading excerpts to them from the *Post* under the guise of illustrating the classical style of the editor. This greatly pleased the students. Goenner favored abolitionism, Walther did not. Goenner was willing to change his opinion, Walther wrote, when the Southern cause seemed to be on the upswing after Beauregard's victory. According to Walther, Goenner curried favor with the students.[5] Perhaps it was just as well that he retired for reasons of health when the *gymnasium* was removed to Fort Wayne.

Walther had a disparaging word about G. A. Saxer, too. He lacked practical, pastoral training, Walther wrote.[6] Saxer held the office of director, to which he was elected in 1858, after Biewend's death. He was installed on the same day, December 7, on which Lange was installed. The records about him are comparatively meager. He served on a committee which was to keep the hymnal up to date, which Walther and others had compiled. He came from Hanover, Germany, and was asked to serve as substitute for Goenner, while the former was on leave of absence. In the following year (1857) he received permanent tenure with the title "Subrector."

Accordingly, in that year the six-man staff used the following official titles: President, Professor of Theology, Director, Rector, Conrector, Subrector. Consciousness of rank was very

marked. Speculation on how this attitude may have affected Larsen, this stranger of almost boyish years, and how it may have colored the relationship between him and other members of the staff must remain speculation because of the absence of conclusive evidence about its influence. There can be no question, however, of the existence of this attitude. Larsen understood this rank-consciousness and was tolerant of it; more than that we cannot say.

To return to Saxer. He is responsible for publishing a short history of the school and a catalog. However, he is reticent about himself. He is not listed as teaching in the theological division; he does not list the instructors in the *gymnasium* separately with the courses which they taught. When the school was moved to Fort Wayne, he moved with it and continued to serve as director until 1872, when he resigned.

Perhaps he was a colorless man; his students, it seems, did not write about him, favorably or unfavorably. Presumably he was a faithful, even though unsung, teacher. In his official capacity as director he had direct dealings with the Norwegian students, although *de facto* Larsen had them under supervision. Larsen's relationship with Saxer presumably was correct, although not overly cordial. Saxer seems to have been rather independent, an individualist. When, for example, in 1869 the new building at Fort Wayne burned, Saxer did not notify the president of Synod, C. F. W. Walther.[7]

Walther's relationship with Georg Schick was better than it was with Saxer. Schick, too, was born in Germany (February 25, 1831) and was educated at Erlangen, Berlin, Heidelberg, and at the Sorbonne in Paris. He came to America at the age of twenty-three, arriving in New York April 23, 1854. On March 31, 1856 he was inducted into office as a professor of Concordia College by Walther. He went to Fort Wayne when the institution was moved to that place and remained there for fifty-three years, until the time of his death early in January 1915.

A man who has taught at the same institution for almost sixty years is almost certain to become legendary. Such was the case with Schick. A street in Fort Wayne was named after him. Rector Schick is remembered as an exacting teacher.

Years later (ca. 1880), a former student wrote of him as *Gymnasium-Lehrer* at Fort Wayne:

> We learned the most from Rector Schick. He was not a man to be fooled with. He demanded hard, hard labor, and whoever did not meet his requirements was sure to get a 5 ["F"].

Another student had this to say about him:

> He taught Latin and Greek . . . ancient and modern history . . . for some years he taught Hebrew, also in a very effective way. . . . But above all, Schick's masterful instruction and exposition of the works of Livy, Vergil, and Horace, of Homer, Demosthenes, and Sophocles were never to be forgotten, . . . Rector Schick was always very kind to those students that showed an interest in classical studies, . . . On the other hand, he grew rather impatient with those who had no such interest and who also had great difficulty in reading the more elaborate classic works. . . .

He himself was able to learn languages easily. He learned Norwegian and translated Norwegian news reports into German for the benefit of Missouri Synod readers. That he had a reputation as an able teacher can be learned from a letter which he addressed to Dr. Mann, President of Mount Airy Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, at the latter's request, about his methodology. He tells how he changed off in the upper classes between Latin and Greek in order to stimulate the interest of the students. He would teach twelve hours of Latin one week; the next week he would teach this class twelve hours of Greek. One surmises that his exacting demands, rather than the alternation of subject matter, produced the results he desired.

Schick served also as librarian at this time (1859-1860). The library, containing over 5,000 volumes, was continually being augmented for the use and "reaction" (in the language of the college catalog of that day) of the students.

About 1860 the Conrector—for that was his title at this time —was active as a preacher or lecturer at some of the earliest "mission festivals" held in the Missouri Synod. On the second Sunday after Pentecost, 1858, he lectured at Collinsville, Illinois, on St. Boniface, the apostle to the Germans. On the four-

teenth Sunday after Trinity of the previous church year he preached at a mission festival in Olivette, Missouri, using Psalm 23 as his text. He told his hearers that Jesus, the Good Shepherd, is our joy, our comfort, our salvation; therefore, we must be mindful of those who do not have this Good Shepherd. In a printed sermon, possibly one of the very few sermons of his which appeared in print, he inveighed against materialism.

Schick might well preach against materialism. His salary was such that he was not greatly tempted to idolize his own possessions. Larsen presumably received a salary of $1,000 a year, but he had difficulty in collecting it.[8] In 1860 the Missouri Synod decided to raise professors' salaries. Rector Goenner's salary was raised $150 a year, from $300 to $450; R. Lange's $200, from $400 to $600. Director Saxer's stipend was set at $700—this was a $300 raise over his previous salary of $400; Rector Schick was to receive the same amount that Lange was promised. C. F. W. Walther got a handsome increase; his salary was doubled; he was to receive $1,000 instead of $500. The delegates at the convention were told that practically all of the men had to earn additional income in order to provide the necessities of life and that they even went into debt. Except for Seyffarth, who was not dependent on a salary, and perhaps Goenner, these men were fathers of growing families.

Schick was of an age with Larsen; in 1861 he was thirty years old; Larsen was twenty-seven. Larsen was the youngest man on the staff. Seyffarth, it will be remembered, was the oldest. Other members ranged in age between these two.

The pastor of the new Concordia District congregation, the Rev. Th. Brohm, was a part-time instructor on the staff. This congregation is known today as Holy Cross Lutheran Church. Brohm was the first pastor of this congregation, having been installed on the first Sunday in Advent (November 28, 1858), less than a year before Larsen came to St. Louis. He belongs to the number of those who came to Perry County, Missouri, in 1839. Erstwhile private secretary of Pastor Martin Stephan, he was one of the four young men who built the log cabin college in Perry County. Like the others who

were instrumental in starting that school (Walther, Fuerbringer, Buenger) he was a graduate of the University of Leipzig. (His interest in the welfare of Concordia College is almost a self-evident one.) His impact on the student at the time of Larsen is not so apparent, although his election as vice-president of the Missouri Synod in 1860 might indicate that he was influential in the inner circles of the Missouri Synod.

The hub of the inner circle was Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. No attempt will be made in this connection to enlarge on the history of his life, to recount his writings, or to tell about the committees and boards he served on and the offices he held. A definitive biography of this outstanding Lutheran leader in nineteenth-century America is still a desideratum. His works have not been collected in a critical or even a popular edition, and translations of them—such as exist—are scattered and uneven in quality. Physically Walther was a small man, five foot five or six, "rather lean," weighing about 140 pounds. His portraits prove that he was rather homely, with a prominent nose, a bald head, fiery, piercing eyes. That he left a deep impression on his students is not doubted. The Norwegian students who attended his classes also felt the impact of his personality. The influence which his work and theology had or may have had on the theological development of the Norwegian Synod belongs to another presentation.

In his classroom activities he was concerned with virtually all the theological disciplines. In 1859-1860 he taught: theological encyclopedia and methodology, with which he combined the history of theological literature; hermeneutics; interpretation of the New Testament; church history, combined with the history of dogma; dogmatics, combined with ethics; symbolics, combined with polemics and apologetics; liturgics with chorus practice; and Latin disputation. These were subjects in the seminary department. The Norwegian students, it will be remembered, were not enrolled in this department in 1859-1860. Walther may have taught some subjects in the *gymnasium* between 1858 and 1861; the records are incomplete.

The educational philosophy, at least that which pertained

to ministerial education, which prevailed at Concordia Seminary about 1857 can be constructed out of two bits of writing that come from this period. The one is a translation of a Latin treatise made by Georg Schick; the other is an address delivered by Walther.

Schick translated *Dr. Martin Luther's Directive for the Proper Study of Theology,* originally written by Hieronymous Weller (1499-1572). It was a reconstruction of some of Luther's ideas and a systematization of them into a reasoned treatise. It advocated the reverent and prayerful study of the Holy Scriptures as the *sine qua non* of theological study. Early morning was the best time for studying the Psalms and the Gospels; the late morning for the prophets and the epistles. The other books of the Old Testament were to be studied in the afternoon. In meditating on the divine Word the student should try to find divine comfort in it. Weller, who himself, like Luther, knew the nature of *tentationes, Anfechtungen,* trials, urged this point strongly. The reading of the church fathers was advocated. Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose were singled out. Jerome's style, Origen's allegorizing, Basil the Great's monastic tendencies were disparaged. Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Lombard were praised. Weller urged that Luther be read, especially his commentary on Genesis. Explicit directions were given about the art of sermonizing—careful preparation, prayerful application, chaste speech, and brevity. On this note Weller ended his short treatise, written in 1561, and studied three hundred years later by Schick and Walther. Somewhere in the treatise Weller urged the study of church history, "for," he said, "the knowledge of history is very necessary for the theologian."

Weller did not cite what Luther had to say about the study of languages. Schick and Walther already knew this from Luther. In addition, they were ready to promote the study of the fine arts. In the address which Walther delivered for the cornerstone laying of the new seminary building in St. Louis in 1849, he spoke of the church as the patroness of the arts and the sciences. There is no need to recapitulate his speech. Suffice it to say that in this address Walther spoke as a Christian humanist.

The Melanchthonian tradition, stemming from the leaders of northern humanism, Reuchlin and Rudolph Agricola, influenced by Johannes Sturm and Erasmus, was the tradition which these men, Schick and Walther and Laur. Larsen, knew and which they were ready to transmit. For the study of theology they wanted to go beyond the directive of sixteenth-century Weller. They emphasized the reading of Gerhard and Chemnitz and Baier, church fathers of the seventeenth century, instead of Peter Lombard and Bernard of Clairvaux. The study of the Scriptures in the original languages, with meditation and prayer, dared not be slighted. For the students the preparation of sermons thus became a major concern, as can be seen, e.g., from Stephanus Keyl's "Tagebuch."

The translation of Weller's work was dedicated "to the German students of theology in America." Walther commended it to pastors already in office and to laymen for perusal, study, and reflection; he asked the pastors to practice its precepts. "We allow ourselves," he added, "to remind those who have the opportunity to make this small book in an English translation available to the members of the English-speaking ministerium, how they would further the cause of our church under the blessing of God if they were to do this." He called Weller's work "a true quintessence, a true extract of the best that has ever been written about the proper study of theology." We need not hesitate, therefore, to regard this essay as an expression of some of the principles of theological education advocated at the St. Louis school during Larsen's stay there.

Schick believed that the humanities *(humaniora)* should be taught in the *gymnasium* in such a manner that the school would be a narthex of the theological sanctuary. Walther counseled Schick to read Luther's exposition of the Psalms; such reading would help meet a real spiritual need for him in his constant preoccupation with the pagan classics.[9] Walther himself advocated the reading of the Greek New Testament even in *tertia* and *secunda*.

Walther exalted the glories of the office of the holy ministry. He had dedicated his life to the training of pastors, ministers of the Word. The *gymnasium* with its classical curriculum and its emphasis on learning must contribute to the mak-

ing of good ministers. The men around Walther, who were also the men around Larsen between 1859 and 1861, concurred in this educational and vocational thinking.

These were the pedagogical professional labor pains that contributed to the birth of Luther College at Halfway Creek, Wisconsin, in September 1861.

FOOTNOTES

1. In a report dated St. Louis, December 22, 1854, *Kirkelig Maanedstidende,* V. (January, 1860), 29: Larsen states: "I have not yet communicated through *Maanedstidende* that on the 14th of last month I began my work as teacher here, . . ."

That Larsen began his actual duties on November 1, 1859 is substantiated by the news item in *Der Lutheraner,* XVI (November 15, 1859), 55.

2. *Program der Evangelisch-lutherischen Concordia-Collegiums der Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. St. zu St. Louis, Mo.* (St. Louis: Synodaldruckerei von Aug. Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1860).

3. It was signed by Fr. Wyneken, August B. Tschripe, G. Schaller, A. Francke. MS. Seyffarth file, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis. In this same file is the letter, dated October 15, 1859, urging Seyffarth to remain in St. Louis, signed by C. F. W. Walther, R. Lange, G. Alex. Saxer, G. Schick. For the Board letter see also Karl Knortz, *Gustav Seyffarth: Eine Biographische Skizze* (New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1886), p. 16.

4. Stephanus Keyl, *Tagebuch, 1854-1860,* bound, paginated diary, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, p. 80, under date of December 14, 1859, notes that this is the tenth anniversary of their leaving Perry County, Missouri, with Rector Goenner; they arrived according to this entry, in St. Louis on December 16, 1849. This is the only record known to the present writer which fixes the actual date of the transfer from Altenburg to St. Louis.

5. C. F. W. Walther to G. Schick, St. Louis, June 3, 1861, "Schick Korrespondenz," second section, pp. 3f.

6. C. F. W. Walther to G. Schick, St. Louis, June 11, 1864, "Schick Korrespondenz," second section, p. 13.

7. C. F. W. Walther to W. Sihler, St. Louis, January 27, 1870, Fuerbringer, ed., *Walthers Briefe,* II, 180.

In another letter Walther says that he is *ingrata persona,* because he did not agree with Saxer's judgment in a discipline case. Walther to Sihler, St. Louis, July 10, 1871, *Walthers Briefe,* II, 219.

8. H. A. Preus, "Kirkeraadsforhandlinger," *Kirkelig Maanedstidende,* (September, 1859), 131; this, at any rate was the amount set by the Council.

9. C. F. W. Walther to G. Schick, St. Louis, April 11, 1864, "Korrespondenz Schicks" second section, pp. 12, 13. Walther wrote (p. 12): "Mit inniger Freude habe ich aus Ihrem lieben Schreiben vom 31. vorigen Montats ersehen, wie herzlich es Ihnen anliegt, in unserem Gymnasium so die Humaniora zu treiben, dass das Gymnasium wirklich ein Vorhof des theologischen Sanktuariums werde."

3

Theological Concord with Concordia

Laur. Larsen, U. V. Koren, J. A. Ottesen, C. F. W. Walther, W. Sihler, A. Craemer were pastors and educators, immigrant citizens in an adopted country. Primarily, however, they regarded themselves as churchmen and theologians, building a Lutheran Zion in America's Midwest.

Many writers who wished to explain the conservatism of the Norwegian Synod have asserted that its early leaders were dependent on the Missouri Synod. A modification of this interpretation, at least for the period before 1861, is in order. An interpretation that makes the Norwegian Synod strongly dependent on the Missouri Synod for its theology (this is an oversimplification of the interpretation) does not take into consideration multiple interactions. Even when the influence of Caspari and Johnson during the formative period of these early Synod leaders is acknowledged, the complete background is not recognized.

The present attempt to give a sweeping picture and a broad interpretation emphasizes the historical perspective in depth. It would set forth that there are common elements that have not been given sufficient weight; that there are interrelationships, both horizontal and vertical, calling for greater recog-

nition; and that there are cohesive forces in the historical processes that need additional emphasis. Some of these forces were unknown, unrecognized, or unacknowledged by those who played their roles in these interrelationships and processes. They cannot all be documented from contemporary sources; some need no documentation; others the historian admittedly projects as conjecture. In none of these interpretative comments dare overstatements violate plausibility or the canons of common sense. The complexities of modern life lead many to minimize the number of different social trends a century earlier. The multiplicity of impinging forces in any age is matched by the complexity of the social factors of the age.

These abstract generalizations depend on the drives and motives, the wants and needs, the emotions and ideals, the prayers and faith of living men and women to make them vibrate with the vital drama of history—God active through people.

None of these pioneers, Norwegian or German, who found friends in each other, would have denied that God is active through people. Walther, for instance, wrote about Friedrich Wyneken:

> The thought that we might lose this man, who was an especially precious jewel of our Synod, that we might lose him soon, is scarcely endurable for me. With such a prospect it first becomes really evident what we have in such an individual. However, even if his condition is as serious as you describe it, it is not yet hopeless, not even for men, certainly not for God. I believe not only that God can permit us to retain this noble instrument, but I also hope that He will do that. . . .[1]

This kind of thinking was common to these men. God gave gifts to His Church; God ordered events and regulated movements. They did not wear these sentiments on their sleeves nor proclaim them as did the New England Puritans in proclaiming "The wonder-working Providence."

This basic outlook on which these Norwegian and German theologians agreed directed their approach in dealings with each another, although they did not formulate it as a mutual covenant. It set a larger frame of reference, a *Gestalt,* which

shaped their action patterns, and made them mutually acceptable. Cultural traits and variations arising out of differing ethnic environments were therefore of secondary consideration. This postulate was not articulated by these pioneer friends in their dealings with others, but the absence of an articulation does not negate its presence. The leaders among both the Norwegians and the Missourians operated on this assumption.

Mutually they recognized the claims that God had on them as individuals, as members of their groups, as members in the Body of Christ. Larsen was greeted on his arrival in St. Louis with a public avowal that his presence meant the building of the Kingdom of Christ, for which the prayers of the well-wishers of Concordia were solicited. The dedication to their work, the poverty they endured and the hardships which they suffered, their zeal and nobleness in pursuing uncharted courses side by side are a testimony that they, Germans and Norwegians alike, understood these hallowed relationships.

They recognized Christ as the cornerstone of the temple which God was building, with the testimony of the prophets and apostles as the foundation. They were conscious of the essence of the Church and of its fundamental unity in the Lord of the Church. The report of Ottesen and Brandt to the Norwegian Synod was translated into German for the benefit of the Missouri Synod readers that they "who pray 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Christian church, etc.' with joy and praise to God may behold how the seed of the Sower grows luxuriantly." God had done great things for them, they said in all humility, in leading them to a recognition of their oneness in the Body of Christ. The salutations of their letters, "In Christ dearly beloved brother," is more than an ecclesiastical politeness. The dimension which they saw in this relationship was not merely one of agreement or of fraternal spirit or of readiness to cooperate. It was a dimension which transcended external circumstances. They looked to Him, as U. V. Koren told the Missouri Synod in 1863, who sat at the right hand of the majesty of God, the Son of God, who is the Ruler and Guide of His Church, who for our sake became the *Servus Servorum Dei.* Kindly old Friedrich Wyneken, the

president of the Missouri Synod, noted the presence of the Norwegian visitors at this convention in 1863 and prayed: "May our faithful God and Father maintain and graciously further this [fraternal unity of faith and love] for the sake of His dear Son."

This is a spiritual force, however, which no documentation or illustration can fully substantiate. It goes beyond the measurable and the tangible. Nevertheless, it is as dynamic as it is real, as practical as it is transcendental. This spiritual force, we contend, is purposeful, powerful, and pragmatic and must be reckoned with. This interpretation goes beyond the contention that the one group was dependent on the other or that both groups learned from mutually respected teachers. They had *one* Lord, and in this one Lord they found a cohesion and a mutual attraction.

They accepted the Scriptures as the basis for ecclesiastical learning and sanctified living. By the end of the nineteenth century the onslaughts against their position on the Scriptures would be heavier than it was at mid-century. Nevertheless, in 1858 Walther pleaded:

> Since Christ, therefore, speaks to His believers: "If you continue in my word, you are truly my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free" John 8:31,32; furthermore: ". . . the sheep hear his voice, . . . A stranger they will not follow, . . ." John 10:3.5—briefly, since Christ desires that His true Church be recognized, that she continue in His teachings, that is, His Word, and hearken to His voice in all things, we flee away from all sects which do not do this (although we do not doubt that among them also are simple children of God, who err only because of weakness), and cleave to our beloved Lutheran church, which is faithful to the Word of God in all things, cleave to her tenaciously and desire to serve her only as the one true Bible church until our end.[2]

A study of the theology of the Word in Walther and Koren and the other leaders of the Norwegian and Missouri Synods in 1860 would be instructive. It would demonstrate a regard for the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the norm and rule and judge of doctrine as the authentic, authori-

tative, inspired Word of the living God. It would accent the power of this Word as a means whereby God leads men to faith in Him, a knowledge of His saving will for all mankind. The Norwegian Synod leaders had already faced Grundtvigianism in their native country, and they knew what answer they must give, as they showed in the demand for the reorganization of the temporary Norwegian Synod and a redrafting of its constitution in 1853. Largely, however, this fundamental agreement as to the nature and purpose of the Scriptures was recognized without being verbalized in this formative period of both Synods (at least so it seems). Biblicistic attitudes can be detected among a few of them. The attitude of all of them to the Scripture, however, was one of reverence before the Almighty and humility before His revelation in the Word.

In common, too, these men went to the great leader of the Reformation whose name they proudly bore. They were Lutherans. This is so self-evident that it seems trite to mention it, and surely we do not want to belabor it. Both the Saxons and the Norwegians had emigrated out of societies which allowed only the Lutheran Church, for both in Saxony and in Norway the Lutheran Church was the legally established church, yet they knew of other persuasions. In their new home, the land of religious liberty, they were made more conscious of denominational affiliations. Their Lutheranism was much more, however, than a denominational tag or label. It was a solid devotion to Luther and to that for which he had stood. The Missourians organized *Der amerikanische Luther-Verein zur Herausgabe Lutherscher Schriften für das Volk* in 1859; Larsen promoted a similar organization among the Norwegians which began functioning a few years later. The "Luther Renaissance" had not begun; the publication of the *Weimar Ausgabe* did not get under way until 1883. The valued "St. Louis edition" of Luther's works under the later editorship of A. H. Hoppe was begun in 1880. The German and Norwegian Lutheran leaders not only honored Luther and republished his writings; they read them. His thinking entered into the bone and marrow of their theology. If the Norwegians —without attempting to strain the simile—received a theological blood transfusion from the Missourians in the first decade

of their Synod's existence and if this transfusion was successful, it was because both had the same type blood—the healthy product of Luther's theology. Walther was acknowledged as the greatest Luther scholar among all of them, Missourians or Norwegians. The rest were extensively acquainted with their common spiritual father. As such they honored, revered, used, and followed him. He was to them a common bond, a common authority, and a common source of their theological thinking.

A common bond, authority, and source they found, too, in the theologians of the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy. Martin Chemnitz and Johann Gerhard were required reading even at the "practical" seminary in Fort Wayne. Ottesen and Brandt praised the instructors at Saint Louis in 1857 because "the old Lutheran theology" was the basis of their instruction. By way of illustration, Pastors Ottesen and Koren heard a thoroughgoing exploration of chiliasm at the 1857 convention of the Missouri Synod, for the Chiliastic Controversy was at its height at that time. The convention of the Western District of the Missouri Synod had, likewise, ventilated the question in the previous year (1856). The interpretation of Revelation 20, Acts 1, Psalm 67, Daniel 2, Daniel 7, etc., was crucial; Article XVII of the Augsburg Confession was cited. In addition an excerpt from Chemnitz in the original Latin appeared as an appendix in the printed *Proceedings*. This is only one illustration out of hundreds to show that Walther and his fellows of the Missouri Synod had an exceedingly high regard for the Lutheran church fathers of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

This regard was shared by Larsen and Ottesen and Koren and their fellows of the Norwegian Synod. However, they did not heap up citations and excerpts as Walther was wont to do in his essays. Nor did the *Kirkelig Maanedstidende* carry any articles of the kind and length that *Der Lutheraner* did, for example, about Seidenbecher. Yet, it did carry an article about Hofacker, an exhortation to study the catechism with a good sprinkling of quotations from Luther, and an article on the confessional principle. A short letter of consolation from Johann Arndt to Johann Gerhard can also be cited.

Chemnitz and Gerhard and Quenstedt were valued most highly. These theologians were among the formative factors of the theological thinking of both Germans and Norwegians and tended to make theological thought patterns and expressions almost uniform among these theologians of differing nationalistic backgrounds. They would not have denied this mutual heritage, even though historians of a later period have failed to emphasize it.

Norwegian and German alike prized most highly their common heritage of the Lutheran Confessions. In 1853 Walther read to the Western District of the Missouri Synod his essay detailing reasons why subscription to the Confessions must not be conditional but unconditional, *quia* not *quatenus*. Among those who heard this essay was Pastor O. F. Duus of Waupaca, Wisconsin, although he did not comment on it in his letters.[3] Five years later in a Missouri Synod convention attended by sixteen members of the Norwegian Synod, various questions were raised about the Lutheran symbols. A specific question was: "If, then, we require that our congregations acknowledge *all symbols* (at least *indirectly*), when the servants of the Church are pledged to all symbols, do we thereby regard it as necessary that the same pledge must be made also in other churches, e.g., in the Norwegian, if they wish to be recognized as truly Lutheran churches?" The answer came quickly: "We do not wish to state that a church is not really Lutheran if it does not proclaim the entire *Convolut* of our symbols as their confession." The Danish-Norwegian churches, it was recognized, had not accepted Luther's Large Catechism, the Smalcald Articles, or the Formula of Concord. They had not been confronted with the same doctrinal controversies with which the churches in Germany had been confronted. The speaker contended (Walther seems to have been the speaker):

> If the Danish-Norwegian Church had wished to introduce this confession [The Formula of Concord], it would have run the risk of evoking the gravest controversies and unrest. This, too, is also the reason why this confession was not accepted officially in that church. It is false and erroneous, as one so often reads, that the Norwegian Church is *not confessionally constituted* as is the German; for, even

if the Symbols *have not all been accepted officially* there, theologians such as Brockmann [sic], Lassenius, et al., prove, nevertheless, that the Book of Concord has always been regarded *as the book of Lutheran faith and confession.* Besides that, not only are the present faithful Norwegians trying to have the complete Book of Concord accepted, but it is also being translated in Norway into the vernacular itself.[4]

The Norwegians from the beginning had a regard for the confessions. The constitution of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America explicitly stated that it held to the symbols as the "unadulterated explanation and presentation of God's Word" and enumerated these confessions as: the three ecumenical creeds, the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and Luther's Small Catechism. This statement is significant, since it comes from a document formulated before any great influence on the Norwegian Synod by Walther or the Missouri Synod is demonstrable. That Luther's Small Catechism was emphasized to a greater extent than the other confessions was true in both the Norwegian and Missouri Synods. The explanations of the catechism used in the separate synods differed; Pontoppidan was used in the Norwegian Synod; Dieterich, in the Missouri Synod.

Walther had made the unaltered Augsburg Confession the basis for the discussions in the free conferences. The invitation for the first of these was extended specifically to "all Lutherans who acknowledged without reservation the unaltered Augsburg Confession." No member of the Norwegian Synod attended the first free conference in Columbus, Ohio, in October 1856, although it was publicized beforehand and fully reported on afterwards in the synod's journal. A. C. Preus told his readers: "Good news! It will be interesting to many of *Maanedstidende's* readers to learn from the following report that there is still a Lutheran Church which, as far as the discussions have gone on our basic Confession *(Grundbekjendelse),* teaches the same doctrine as we." Walther reported that he had received one letter, among others, from a Scandinavian in Wisconsin, commending the purposes and goals of the conference.

At the second free conference, held in Pittsburgh October

28-November 4, 1857, Pastor U. V. Koren from Decorah, Iowa, and Pastor J. A. Ottesen from Manitowoc, Wisconsin, were present. Were they attracted because the Augsburg Confession was being discussed? Did they wish to further the cause of Lutheran unity? Did they wish to become closer acquainted with the Missouri Synod leaders, with whom they had just completed arrangements for training their young men for the ministry? Were they anxious to gain a broader acquaintance with Lutheranism in America than they could get in Iowa or Wisconsin? Perhaps all of these factors motivated their attendance at this conference. Ottesen gave a full report of the conference to his brethren. Ottesen rejoiced in the witness the Norwegians heard at this conference. "I am sure our readers," he wrote, "in reading the discussion of this meeting will be happy to see how clearly and purely our dear childhood faith is set forth with competence and zealous earnestness and love of the truth."[6]

A partial answer to these questions may be found in the endorsement which Ottesen sent in the name of the Norwegian pastoral conference to the third free conference, which met in Cleveland, August 5-11, 1858. No member of the Norwegian Synod was present at this conference.

J. A. Ottesen was present at the fourth and last of these free conferences, held in Fort Wayne, July 14, 1859. In person he delivered the fraternal greetings from the pastoral conference of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America. The assembly rejoiced because of these greetings, and the secretary was instructed to acknowledge and return them. Ottesen was accorded the honor of being elected vice-president of this conference.

The purpose in detailing these contacts with the free conferences is not simply to tell about the Norwegian participation in two of them, but to indicate the regard in which these men held the Augsburg Confession. Obviously Ottesen was vitally concerned. Obviously the interest in these free conferences was not wide-spread even among the pastors of the Synod. Distance and the high cost of traveling (in a day when expense accounts for preachers were non-existent) will account for the fact that others did not attend. The third and fourth

conferences were not fully reported on in *Kirkelig Maanedstidende.*

The Confessionalism of both the Norwegian and the Missouri Synod was a factor in their support of the free conferences. That this Confessionalism had many other ramifications cannot be doubted. It was one of the prime factors in drawing the leaders of these two bodies together. The language barrier did not prevent the university-trained pastors among the Norwegians from communicating freely with their German brethren.

Confessionalism was under sharp attack during these years between 1853 and 1859. Samuel S. Schmucker issued the *Definite Platform* in 1855. It was a day in which the forces of Confessionalism felt compelled to close ranks, especially against the loose subscription to the Confessions by the General Synod. Internal reaction against the recessionists within the General Synod did not seem to warrant an optimistic outlook for a return to Lutheran Confessionalism in that body. *Lutheraner* stated:

> That the confession of the General Synod is *not a Lutheran* confession is readily evident, for the Lutheran Church has never had the Augsburg Confession as only "substantially correct" as her confession. That is an entirely new, American confession, wherein just that which is characteristically Lutheran—the firm, joyful, impregnable certainty of faith—is totally lacking. All of the sects know what they believe; the "Lutheran" General Synod does not [know what it believes].[7]

A recognizable position of unqualified subscription to the Augsburg Confession on the part of the General Synod was called for, too, within the Norwegian Synod, whose pastors feared the laxity in doctrine and practice of the General Synod.

Of greater concern on the part of the Norwegian pastors was a similar vagueness regarding the Confessions among members of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Conference. A false concept of union underlay the approach of the Conference to the Confessions, according to A. C. Preus, Koren, Larsen, and Ottesen, and others of the Synod's pastors.

Our enemies help us to consolidate our friendships. Oppos-

ing ideologies make us examine our own and drive us closer to those who share our views. This happened, too, in the struggle for Confessionalism. It played its part in shaping American Lutheranism. This Confessionalism, it must be emphasized, was a common heritage of the Missouri Synod and the Norwegian Synod and not a trait which was transmitted to the Norwegian Synod by the Missouri Synod.

This Confessionalism was a product among both the Norwegians and the Germans of the Confessional movement of the nineteenth century, which produced Claus Harms, Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, Carl Paul Caspari, Franz Delitzsch, Wilhelm Loehe, Gisle Johnson, and even Martin Stephan and J. A. A. Grabau. This movement was in part a reaction to Rationalism and Idealism; in part it shared elements of the Romantic movement. In England it took the form of the Oxford Movement as shaped by E. B. Pusey, and in Russia it produced an Alexey Khomiakov. The seed of Confessionalism among several groups grew in a common soil.

The influence of Carl Paul Caspari and Gisle Johnson on early clerical leaders of the Norwegian Synod will not be denied. Karen Larsen has given a brilliant interpretation of their impact on theology in Norway in the late 1840s and early 1850s, the years in which these leaders were trained at the University of Christiania.[8] A. C. Preus and H. A. Preus, Nils Brandt and U. V. Koren, J. A. Ottesen and Laur. Larsen were trained there.[9]

The "first and most abiding religious influence" on Larsen was Christian Thistedahl of the Cathedral School in Christiansand.[10] So he himself testified in his eightieth year. Thistedahl valued Johann Gerhard very highly.

> Thistedahl's views were characterized by conservative orthodoxy, implicit acceptance of the doctrine of inspiration, confessional devotion to the Lutheran church, and an appreciation as well of the ecumenical character of the church.[11]

What were the influences which shaped Thistedahl's theological thinking? He was influenced, Gerhard Belgum points out, by Gottfried Christian Friedrich Luecke. Is there anything here in common with the influences which shaped the

thinking of, let us say, Wilhelm Sihler in the Missouri Synod? The question remains unanswered; the possibility that there were such common factors demands further investigation.

Caspari's influence on Larsen was second only to that of Thistedahl. Caspari had, as noted, a deep and lasting influence on men like U. V. Koren, too. What influences shaped Caspari's theological thinking and were these influences perhaps closely related to those which shaped the thinking of Walther, Buenger, Fuerbringer, and other Missourians?

It may help us to understand the complicated interaction of historical forces if we examine in some detail Caspari's life with a view to discovering the currents which specially influenced some of the Missouri Synod leaders.

Carl Paul Caspari was born February 8, 1814; he died April 11, 1892. His father, Joseph, a German Jew, was a merchant; his mother was Rebecca, nee Schwabe. At the age of six Carl attended a Jewish school in Dessau; by the age of eight he could read the Pentateuch in the original Hebrew. He studied at Dessau until he was fourteen. Since he did not want to become a merchant, he was sent to a *gymnasium* to study the classical languages. After six years he went in 1834 to the University of Leipzig, the university from which Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther had graduated in 1833, one year before Caspari matriculated there. Caspari studied Oriental languages under Professor H. O. Fleischer. A fellow student was Franz Delitzsch, who spoke to him about his inability to please God; but Delitzsch had difficulty in getting through to Caspari. Carl Graul, another fellow student, led Caspari into the New Testament. Caspari attended catechetical lectures with Pastor Wolff, and on Pentecost Day in 1838 he was baptized into the Christian faith.

During the period in which he was being instructed, he developed a close friendship with Friedrich Brunn, years later the leader of the Free Church movement in Hesse-Nassau and a staunch supporter of the Missouri Synod. Brunn and Walther developed a close friendship; Brunn in 1861 began a "pro-seminar" in which he prepared more than two hundred men for further training and eventual service in the Missouri Synod.

Carl Graul, too, was known and respected by the Missouri Synod leader. Graul is important as the director of the Dresden *Missionsgesellschaft.* He is characterized as *ein Altlutheraner im guten Sinne,* a man who was certain of his theological convictions. He was on friendly terms with Brunn. Here are, it is plain, strands in the web which years later joined Norwegians and Germans in a far-off land.

Other strands reached these immigrant American Lutherans through Franz Delitzsch. We told of his earlier connections with Caspari, but this is not the whole story. Delitzsch (1813-1890) entered Leipzig in 1831 and began his study of theology. Here he joined the circle of men most of whom became the founders of a strong Confessional movement in the Lutheran Church of North America. Walther, Th. Brohm (Larsen's pastor in St. Louis), J. F. Buenger, and Franz Delitzsch were members of a kind of "Holy Club" at the University. Delitzsch remained in Leipzig until 1842, long after he had earned his Ph.D. degree. Here he helped the oppressed, the depressed, the sorrowful, the struggling. He was an open and warmhearted man, who had a high regard for "little people," *die Stillen im Lande,* with whom he met in their homes. The religious trends in these gatherings was toward a strong Lutheran Confessionalism not uninfluenced by a wholesome Pietism. During these years Caspari and Delitzsch were very close friends. Here is a decisive influence which molded Caspari and made his students bearers of Lutheran Confessionalism blended with Pietism, the same mixture (albeit with a stronger strain of Confessionalism) that we find in Walther, Brohm, Buenger, and other Missourians. The pastor who baptized Caspari, F. A. Wolff, characterized by Walther as *ein gläubiger Mann,*[12] exercised this same kind of influence on both Caspari and Delitzsch.

The close relationship between Caspari and Delitzsch came about because both embraced the same Confessional position, because they shared similar religious experiences, and because they were of the same race. This relationship was furthered also by their mutual scholarly interests. Caspari collaborated with Franz Delitzsch in an exegetical treatment of two of the minor prophets. Delitzsch wrote the commentary

on Habakkuk; Caspari, on Obadiah. Walther at one time tried to secure Franz Delitzsch's services for the seminary in St. Louis. One would like to read a recognition of these mutual influences in the gracious gesture which Pastor O. F. Duus made when he presented a copy of Caspari's commentary to Walther, autographed *taknemmeligst og forbundilegst* (most gratefully and in true fellowship).[13]

We have not yet told the complete story of Caspari's relationships with the men and movements which influenced the men of the Missouri Synod. Professor A. Tholuck advised Caspari to go to Berlin to study under Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg. Hengstenberg (1802-1869) was in the very forefront of the movement which gave impetus to Confessionalism in Germany. In 1827 he began the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. The frequent use made of this journal in *Lehre und Wehre* is an indication of the influence it had on the Missouri Synod. With Hengstenberg's name, it is true, all sorts of sinister theological trends were associated: Pietism, dead orthodoxy, obscurantism, fanaticism, reaction. Caspari, nonetheless, entered into a close association with him. When Caspari had an opportunity to go to Koenigsberg in 1844, he declined the offer, because he did not wish to serve in Prussia—he opposed the Prussian Union of 1817 which asked for a syncretizing of Reformed and Lutheran theology.

Hengstenberg recommended Caspari to Gisle Johnson when Johnson came to Germany for further study. Thus Hengstenberg is at least partially responsible for Caspari's coming to Norway, for his influence on the religious life of that country and for his influence on the Confessional trend in the Norwegian Synod.

Hengstenberg's journal characterized Caspari in 1858 as a noted Old Testament exegete and a staunch Confessional Lutheran. It reported that he was friendly and warm in his relations with his students, that he had gained their confidence and enjoyed their love and esteem. It did not note that he was a man of small stature physically. Spiritually he was a giant in his adopted country.

His influence was greater in the university than it was in the country as a whole. His lasting contribution was the trans-

lation of the Old Testament and the Book of Concord into Norwegian with Gisle Johnson (assisted by Christian Thistedahl and J. Kaurin). His effective refutation of Grundtvigianism, his editorial labors, can only be referred to here. The emphasis which he placed on the integrity and authority of the Scriptures, especially on the authenticity of the books of the Old Testament, had a profound influence on his students, at least on those who came to America as the clerical leaders of the Norwegian Synod.

These men were influenced, too, by Gisle Johnson. But whatever his influence may have been on them, it was not as great as Caspari's. Hengstenberg's journal said of Johnson that he was noted for his prudence, his clarity of thought and expression, his mildness, and his devotion to sound Lutheranism, "which to him is the church with the pure Word and Sacraments."

The Johnsonian revival had a pietistic tinge; it was strongly Confessional, emphasizing the "Lutheran" aspects of this Confessionalism. Grundtvigianism was to Johnson un-Lutheran; his opposition to this movement, together with the scholarly studies of Caspari, prevented it from having a large following among the Norwegians in America. Johnson had no primary or even secondary contacts with the Missourians except through Hengstenberg, and even these seem not to have been crucial. What influence his stay in Leipzig had on Johnson is extremely difficult to estimate. His leadership in a movement, whatever its variations may have been in Norway, out of which the Missouri Synod grew, if looked at in its wider aspects, is attested by collaboration with Caspari and then with J. W. Bugge in the translation of the Bible, the translation with Caspari of the Book of Concord, and the founding of *Den Norske Lutherstiftelse* (1868).

Given this background, the direct influence of Thistedahl (it must not be under-estimated), of Johnson, and especially of Caspari, the indirect influences of German Confessionalism which came through these men, the mutual regard for Gerhard and Chemnitz, the high respect for Luther by all of them, the veneration of the Scriptures which they shared, and their consciousness of the meaning of oneness in Christ,

we need not be surprised by the influence which Walther exercised on the theologians of the Norwegian Synod. Belgum expressed the opinion: "The conclusion that Walther was even more influential than hitherto realized is incontrovertible." Complex, intertwined forces in a complicated web of circumstances made that influence great; it was not due simply to Walther's learning, piety, personality, or political skills. The readiness of Nelson and Fevold to make almost a whipping boy out of the Missouri Synod because it exerted such far-reaching influences on the Norwegian Synod[14] must be questioned in the light of the interpretation here presented.

This judgment does not deny direct influences. There were horizontal, largely unilateral forces which impinged on the Norwegian Synod; these came from the Missouri Synod. We must turn to an examination of some of the direct contacts.

Shortly before the organization of the Missouri Synod the Saxons in St. Louis took note of the Norwegians settling in Wisconsin. A correspondent to *Der Lutheraner,* getting his information from the *Lutheran Standard,* reported in 1846 that 20,000 Norwegians had settled in southern Wisconsin in the past two or more years. They were without a pastor, he wrote, except that the Anglican Bishop Kemper ordained Gustav Unonius in 1845 to serve them. The Presbyterians were permitting another Norwegian to study in Beloit. This young man had been converted—there is a question mark in the account after *bekehrt geworden*—by reading a publication of the American Tract Society. The writer of this report stated that he would not be surprised if the Baptists and Swedish Methodists would soon become active among the Norwegians. He remarked: "In this report of the *Standard* is contained a not undeserved reproach to our Lutheran Zion, whose tragic separateness *[Zerrissenheit]* has made every cooperation on the home mission field impossible up to this time; but at the same time a powerful exhortation to action before it is too late." No other group, he stated, can gather the Norwegians as successfully as can the Lutheran church. The East Pennsylvania Synod at its convention in Milton in October 1845 resolved to work among the Norwegians. The correspondent therefore asked: "Ought not the German Lutheran

Synod of Missouri actively befriend these abandoned confessionally related people in Wisconsin, finding the occasion thereto both in their close connection with the European mother church as well as in their geographical position?"[15] The plea was not heeded; perhaps it was forgotten entirely. Yet it had been made, and it was prophetic, in a sense, of later developments.

Another such prophetic note came from Chicago in 1846 in a report by August Selle. Pastor Gustavus Schmidt, he wrote, was serving a congregation of about 120 Norwegians who were holding their services in the German church in Chicago,[16] probably the same church in which the Missouri Synod had been organized. A few months later the Reverend Gustavus Schmidt, "pastor of the First Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. John in Chicago, Illinois," acknowledged with thanks a gift of $600 from the German Ev. Luth. Congregation U. A. C. in St. Louis, of which C. F. W. Walther was pastor. This gift enabled the Chicago Norwegians to liquidate most of the debt on their church building and gave them hope, they said, "that in spite of the ragings of Satan the Word of God would remain among them."[17]

This financial aid had no bearing on the relationship between the Norwegian Synod, after it was organized, and the Missouri Synod. It indicates, nevertheless, that the Missourians felt an affinity with the Norwegian Lutherans even before the delegation came to Concordia in 1857. That the Missouri Synod did not follow up these early leads may be ascribed in part to the overwhelming demands made by the German immigration of the early 1850s which reached a high point in 1854, in part to the fact that men like C. F. W. Walther were too preoccupied or too lacking in perspective. That the Missouri Synod deliberately tried to prevent the reaching of an agreement between the Ohio Synod and the Norwegians in 1851 is a conjecture[18] that is not warranted by any evidence.

Although the Missouri Synod lost direct contact with the Norwegians in the early 1850s, the Norwegians, likewise coming to America in increasingly greater numbers, did not lose sight of the Missourians. Peter A. Rasmussen studied at the

"practical" Seminary of the Missouri Synod in Fort Wayne, where he came under the influence of Wilhelm Sihler and August Craemer. Rasmussen, however, was not one of the founding fathers of the Norwegian Synod.

Exactly how the founding fathers of the Norwegian Synod learned about the Missouri Synod cannot be determined. They were alert to the theological and ecclesiastical happenings in this country. They read *Der Lutheraner* and *Der Lutherische Kalender* and *Lehre und Wehre.* It cannot be determined, for instance, when they first came in contact with *Der Lutheraner,* or what its influence was on them.

The greatest single direct avenue came via personal communications when Brandt and Ottesen visited Concordia in St. Louis and Concordia in Fort Wayne in 1857. Only after that event does the evidence for the impact of Missouri on the Norwegian Synod begin to accumulate to sizable proportions.

Then it begins to look like a propaganda campaign. Translations of articles from *Der Lutheraner,* the publication of President Wyneken's letter, the account of the free conference in Pittsburgh, a series of articles by Ottesen to provide a closer view of the Missouri Synod, a sermon by Walther rendered into Norwegian, and occasional news items were all published in 1858.

The efforts of Ottomar Fuerbringer, F. Steinbach, and Fr. Lochner in June 1858 in a meeting with J. A. Ottesen and H. L. Thalberg to reconcile the long-standing question of the meaning of the third article of the Creed, was followed by another meeting in October 1858 at which C. F. W. Walther acted as secretary and A. Craemer as chairman; it was attended by A. C. Preus, G. F. Dietrichson, J. A. Ottesen, U. V. Koren, H. A. Stub, O. F. Duus, N. Brandt, H. A. Preus, J. St. Munch, P. M. Brodahl, Laur. Larsen, P. A. Rasmussen, and H. L. Thalberg. This was the first opportunity for the majority of these Norwegian pastors to meet and become acquainted with C. F. W. Walther. That this meeting, therefore, had a far-reaching effect in determining the attitude of these men toward Walther and the Missouri Synod, must be taken for granted.

One of the men present there, O. F. Duus, had made previous contacts with the St. Louis Lutherans. He is an unknown emissary, an unrecognized ambassador of good will. Because he returned to Norway in 1859, his reaction to Missouri's orthodoxy was not decisive in determining the continuing attitudes of the Norwegian Synod. His reaction, nevertheless, illustrates the readiness with which the Norwegians approached the Missourians.

Olaus Fredrik Duus (1824-1893), who spent the years from 1854 to 1859 as pastor in this country, first at Waupaca, Wisconsin, and then at Whitewater in the same state before his return to Norway, did not belong to the "inner circle" of the Norwegian Synod, (if one may speak of a group within a group). He decided to visit the German Lutheran Congregation in St. Louis, and even before he made the visit, he expressed great admiration for it. He wrote:

> If I live and all goes well, I intend to go to St. Louis immediately after Easter [1858] for a meeting of the Synod.[19] The congregation there offers the best evidence of Christian brotherhood and harmony. It consists of only three hundred persons (all Germans), who are mostly day laborers but who raise a yearly budget of three thousand dollars or more. It is an ideal congregation in every respect. It promises new life in our blessed old Lutheran Church, where Christianity in name only has prevailed for so long. I shall be happy indeed to go there to see such a blessed sight. God help me and all of us that we may always be living Christians, vital members of Christ's body, so that we may both live and die with Him.[20]

He made the trip in April 1858 and evidently was not disappointed in what he learned. He attended the meeting of the Synod about which he had written. There he was welcomed as a guest and given the privileges of an advisory member of the convention. No record tells how he availed himself of these privileges. The convention itself was steeped in gloom because of the death April 10 of the brilliant and beloved Director of the *gymnasium,* Adolph Biewend, whose expansive interest whole-heartedly embraced the Norwegians. Among those in attendance at this convention were Goenner, Schick, Saxer, Seyffarth, Brohm (as visitor), and Pastor J. Kilian of Texas. Walther was very much in evidence during these

days, for he presented the doctrinal essay to the convention on subscription to the symbols of the Lutheran Church. One would like to have Duus' reaction to this paper especially; presumably it was favorable. Duus also heard a presentation on private confession, a topic in controversy within the Missouri Synod at this time. Other items were discussed by this convention of the Western District, of course. Duus also spent some time with the *Sachsen-Gemeinde* in St. Louis. From these visits he went his way rejoicing. He reported:

> About three weeks ago I returned from St. Louis after having spent a week in a congregation made up exclusively of Germans, as likable a congregation as one could hope to find. It was organized about twenty years ago by a group of eight hundred Germans from all parts of this country who had emigrated solely for religious freedom, because as old Lutherans they were continually oppressed.[21] It was a real blessing to see their Christian way of life, and I hope that the benefit and joy I experienced will enrich my own living.[22]

He made one contribution, a translation of an article in *Der Lutheraner*.[23]

This forgotten bearer of good will was interested in the training of men for the ministry. The fact that the Norwegian Synod had decided to use Concordia College for the education of its future ministers drew Duus to St. Louis. He himself had been tutoring a young man with the hope that he would become a pastor. But let Duus tell his own story:

> Our Norwegian Synod—that is, the Norwegian Lutheran congregations which have united under a joint governing board—has decided to set up a professorship in the Norwegian language at the University in St. Louis, in order to educate pastors there. For some time now I have tutored an amiable, pious young man, the son of Jacob Aall's old gardener [J. Torgerson], and I hope that with God's help he will become a clergyman. The plan is to have him complete his education in Missouri.[24]

His interest in the St. Louis school prompted him to donate several books to the library. He wrote to Norway:

> Jens, I wish that you would get J. Dybwad, the publisher, to send me the following books with one of the ministers who I trust will

be coming here this summer: Reisler's *Danish-German Dictionary*, and the best Bible text concordance found in the Norwegian or Danish language. Write him briefly about it. In addition send me the largest and best school geography and three copies of a German-Norwegian or Danish grammar if either is obtainable. I have presented my own Danish-German dictionary to Concordia College in St. Louis, and I also want to send a couple of grammars if they are available.[25]

Are we doing Olaus Duus an injustice if we surmise that this aggressive individual would like to have been the Norwegian professor at St. Louis? After all, he had a Master of Arts Degree from the Royal Fredrik University in Christiania; he had taught for three years at the Nissen Latin School in the same city. If he did want to teach among those German "living Christians" in St. Louis, although he does not say so, we will not find fault with him. Be that as it may, the dictionary he donated is not listed in 1874 among the holdings of the Concordia Library. The book which he presented as a gift to Walther, however, is still on the shelves of the Concordia Seminary library.

The story of Duus' contacts with the Missourians, although he was not one of the "big five" whom Larsen calls "the architects of the Norwegian Synod," is significant as an illustration of the attraction which Missouri had for these Norwegians. It should help to dispel some of the misinterpretations that have so readily been made about the dominance of Missouri over the Norwegians.

In the period from 1847 to 1861—and here our story must end[26]—the Missouri Synod did not exercise a dominance over the Norwegian Synod. It was an attraction to each other, not the dominance of one over the other. The magnetic field which attracted the Norwegians to the Missourians lay in the theology of Caspari, Hengstenberg, the young Franz Delitzsch, Friedrich Brunn, Gisle Johnson, Thistedahl, and others. This attraction was reinforced by a mutual dependence on the Lutheran fathers of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries. It was deeply imbedded in a mutual respect and reverence for the Lutheran Confessions and the Bible. Concordia and Luther meant for them theological concord.

These complex and complicated interrelationships eased the birth pangs of the "college" at Halfway Creek, Wisconsin, in September 1861.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. F. W. Walther to H. C. Schwan, St. Louis, December 30, 1865, *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther an seine Freunde, Synodalgenossen und Familienglieder*, ed. by Ludwig E. Fuerbringer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1916), II, 4f.

2. [C. F. W. Walther], "Vorwort der Redaction zum fünfzehnten Jahrgang des 'Lutheraner,'" *Der Lutheraner*, XV (August 24, 1858), 3. The Scripture quotations are in italics in the original; they have been translated in the RSV. Walther quoted John 10:3: "My sheep hear my voice."

3. O. F. Duus, *Frontier Parsonage* (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1947), pp. 107-08.

4. Mo. Synod, *Proceedings*, 1863, p. 42, italics in the original. Walther cited both Brochmand and Lassenius.

C. F. W. Walther, *Die rechte Gestalt einer vom Staate unabhängigen Evangelische-Lutherischen Ortsgemeinde* (Fifth edition; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1885), p. v. and p. vi.

Casper Erasmus Brochmand (1585-1652) was Bishop of Zeeland.

Pastor Magelsen, "Dr. Johannes Lassenius," *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, VII (December 15, 1862), 369-75.

5. "Uddrag af Forhandlingerne i den frie lutherske Conference, holden i Columbus, Ohio, fra 1ste till 7de October 1856," *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, II (December 1856), 289-295. A. C. Preus also recommended the purchase of the Augsburg Confession to the readers, p. 288.

For the report in German see *Der Lutheraner*, XIII (November 18, 1856), 49-52.

6. J. A. Ottesen, "Udtog af Forhandlingerne, . . ." *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, III (April 1858), 56-64. The quotation is from p. 56.

7. "Ein Wort der Verständigung, . . ." *Der Lutheraner*, XV (October 19, 1858), 34. Italics in the original.

8. Karen Larsen, *Laur. Larsen: Pioneer College President* (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1936), pp. 29-30.

9. Oystein Ore, "Norwegian Emigrants with University Training, 1830-1880," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records* (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1956), XIX, 163-67.

Laurence M. Larsen says: "These five men, Preus, Ottesen, Koren, Larsen, and Muus, were the architects of the Norwgian Synod. For more than a generation they were the trusted guides. They had many things in common. Their families belonged to the educated, one may say to the

aristocratic, class. With one possible exception they had ancestors of Danish or German origin, as such names as Preus, Koren, and Muus abundantly testify. Most of them had grown up in the homes of civil officials, clergymen, school administrators, or officers in the army. All had degrees from the national university. In their theological studies all had been guided, if not by the same teachers, at least by teachers who were of the same general theological tendency. In the New World they became close personal friends and found much enjoyment in their reciprocal social relations." Laurence M. Larsen, *The Changing West and Other Essays* (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1937), p. 117.

10. Gerhard L. Belgum, "The Old Norwegian Synod in America, 1853-1890," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 1957, microfilm copy in Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, p. 258.

11. Larsen, *Laur. Larsen*, p. 15.

12. C. F. W. Walther, *Kurzer Lebenslauf des weiland ehrwürdigen Pastor Joh. Fried. Bünger, . . .* (St. Louis: Verlag von F. Dette, 1882), p. 16.

13. The copy is in the Concordia Seminary Library, St. Louis, BS 1615, C3. Duus, however, did not add the date of presentation. The translation of the autograph was suggested by T. N. Teigen.

C. P. Caspari, *Ueber Micha den Morasthiten und seine prophetische Schrift*, (Christiania: P. T. Malling, 1852). The work extends to 458 printed pages.

14. E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, *The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian-Americans* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), I, 172: "The answer lies in the fateful connection of the Norwegian Synod with Missouri Lutheranism."

15. R., "Die Norweger in Wisconsin," *Der Lutheraner*, III (December 1, 1846), 42. He calls these Norwegians "der verlassenen Confessions-Verwandten in Wisconsin."

16. August Selle, "Die Norwegischen Lutheraner in Chicago," *Der Lutheraner*, IV (December 28, 1847), 67.

17. Johannes Gustavus Schmidt, "Dank," *Der Lutheraner*, IV (March 21, 1848), 120.

18. Carl Mauelshagen, *American Lutheranism Surrenders to Forces of Conservatism* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia, Division of Publication, 1936), p. 175. He says: "What part the Missouri Synod had in preventing such an arrangement is, of course, a question, but we do know that the Joint Synod of Ohio was frequently singled out in *Der Lutheraner* for its Reformed tendencies and un-Lutheran practices." Towards the end of this same paragraph he says: "This interest of 'Missouri' in the Norwegian Lutherans was not purely negative, . . ."

19. The reference is to the Western District of the Missouri Synod which held its convention in St. Louis April 15-21, 1858. Mo. Synod,

Western District, *Proceedings*, 1858, p. 3; *Der Lutheraner*, XIV (March 23, 1858), 128.

20. Duus, *Frontier Parsonage*, p. 103.

21. The "eight hundred" included those who settled in Perry Co., Mo. These Saxon immigrants had reached St. Louis early in 1839; Duus' date is approximately correct. It is hardly correct to say that they "came from all parts of this country," whether the "country" spoken of is Germany or the United States of America. For the most complete account of the immigration see Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953).

22. Duus, *Frontier Parsonage*, pp. 107-08.

23. O. F. Duus, "Col. 3, 17: Og Alt hvad I gjøre i Ord eller Handling, der gjører Alt i den Herre Jesu Navn, takkende Gud og Faderen formedelst ham," *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, IV (January, 1859), 24-26; from "Coloss. 3, 17," *Der Lutheraner*, XV (October 19, 1858), 37, 38.

24. Duus, *Frontier Parsonage*, p. 103. The "pious young man" was T. A. Torgerson, pastor in Northwood, Iowa, after his graduation from St. Louis, until his death in 1907.

25. Duus, *Frontier Parsonage*, p. 113.

26. Belgum, op. cit., passim.

S. C. Ylvisaker, "The Missouri Synod and the Norwegians," *Ebenezer*, ed. W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922), pp. 264-277, has also told the story in broader outline.

Belgum's judgment is: "In brief, there is no room for doubt that C. F. W. Walther was the unseen force behind the Norwegian Synod from 1858 to 1886. Whether that force was a blessing or a curse upon Norwegian-American Lutheranism is still a controverted question. Certainly the encounter with Walther was fateful." (p. 411)

The present writer's hypothesis would demonstrate that this encounter was "inevitable."

APPENDIX A

Report of Pastors Ottesen and Brandt on Their Visit to St. Louis, Missouri Columbus, Ohio and Buffalo, New York [1]

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

To the Church Council of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Last fall, we submitted a plan for our visit to the Lutheran universities. It received the approval of the honorable church council. In accordance with the proposals made in the plan and approved by the council, we have visited the three universities in St. Louis, Columbus, and Buffalo. The good Lord has graciously led us on our way and has now brought us safely home. We hereby respectfully offer this report on the results of our investigations, as we were directed to do by the Synod, in order that the council may bring it to the knowledge of the congregations.

Our first trip took us to St. Louis, Missouri, where the so-called "Concordia College" is the theological seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States.

In the plan we submitted, we indicated that, in recognition of the importance of a vital interaction between church and university, we would pay special attention to this point. In this regard, our experience in St. Louis was a very happy one. To describe this, it will be helpful to give a brief summary of the history of this institution.

In the year 1838 a number of Saxon congregations, pastors, and theological candidates emigrated, solely because religious developments in Germany at that time denied them sufficient freedom for their dear Lutheran Church. Their primary and most earnest efforts have been directed at establishing firmly the true Lutheran doctrine and order. This emigration constitutes the nucleus of the now flourishing congregations in and around St. Louis. Among them, the name "Lutheran" not only appears as of old in letters of call and above church doors. Almost every adult layman is thoroughly familiar with the Augsburg Confession and espouses Lutheran faith and doctrine with a love and fidelity that feels joy and honor in working for its preservation for himself and his, for the present and the future.

The pastors who accompanied these faithful Lutherans, not

out of temporal considerations but to seek free asylum for true Lutheranism, soon established small congregations on a genuinely Lutheran basis. Meanwhile, the young theological candidates who were not immediately needed as pastors, began to instruct in various subjects young boys who were interested and had ability, with a view toward preparing them for theological study.

Thus originated the institution in St. Louis. For the first ten years, it had no building of its own. The Lutheran parsonage in Perry County housed the school, and both teachers and pupils stayed with the members of the congregation. Mention must be made of the extraordinary zeal and ability, tenacity and tirelessness these teachers displayed in founding and maintaining this institution under especially trying circumstances. But also worthy of note is the great zeal and self-sacrifice shown by these few, small, scattered congregations. Despite the greatest misery, resulting from cholera and other trials which continually dogged them in the beginning, they managed both to support the instructors and to contribute toward the support of the pupils. Thus from the beginning the participation and cooperation of the congregations was the sole support as well as the finest treasure and most beautiful adornment of the institution.

So passed the first ten years. Meanwhile, the Lord had visibly blessed these zealous pastors and the diligence and fervor of the congregations. Not only did they make significant progress in temporal affairs, but the Lord aided these Saxon pastors in their church life as well and confirmed their efforts to establish true Lutheranism. Additional pastors, from Germany and from other parts of America, as well as the earliest graduates of the new seminary, had joined the pioneers and their congregations in the formation of a synodical organization. Now a meeting of the synod in 1849 resolved to erect a building of its own for the seminary. By pooling the resources of the congregations, it was possible to erect a large and spacious building, costing about $25,000. Five teachers (three professors and two lecturers) have been engaged. They are paid out of voluntary contributions from the congregations.

At this point we must mention, as evidence of what living

faith and love can accomplish for the furtherance of the Word, what zeal and self-sacrifice the little congregation in and around St. Louis has shown and continues to show toward the seminary and the entire church.

Its members consist mainly of day laborers and artisans who live from hand to mouth. They have often been tested by the chastisement of the Lord. They have suffered from cholera and fires and unusually difficult circumstances. Yet this congregation of scarcely 300 voting members gave the seminary two acres of land as a building site (now worth several thousand dollars) and more than $2000 (two thousand dollars) in cash to the building fund, and it continues to pay the salary of one of the professors. Moreover, it has built two churches and supports three pastors and 10 teachers, altogether an annual expenditure of over four thousand dollars.

In addition, the congregation contributes liberally to the regular budget of the synod. But this model congregation's most beautiful display of love and boundless zeal for God's Word and the faith of our fathers is the way in which all the students are regarded as its adopted children. Among its families they find loving homes in which they are admonished and encouraged as well as provided with the necessities of life, such as clothing, books, etc. Truly, this congregation shows loving concern and a mother's care to the entire institution. The blessed effect this must have upon the pastors of the future will be evident to all. From the start, they enjoy the strengthening influence of a vital and sincere parish life. And from what we both saw and heard, it must be said that the Word of God dwells richly among them. In family devotions morning and evening, the head of the house reads a chapter from Holy Scripture, the children recite the commandments, the creed, and prayers, and all join in thanksgiving and praise and prayer to the God of grace.

With this help and under this influence, a spacious and comfortable building has now been erected. Truly it seems that the Lord has acknowledged the sincerity with which the widow's mite and the poor laborer's hard-earned pay have been prayerfully laid on the altar, receiving them as contributions to the spread of His Kingdom, and ensuring not only

that a building of architectural beauty was erected, but also that its walls would echo with the profound and vital proclamation of the pure doctrine.

It does indeed seem that the Lord heard and answered the prayers which accompanied the many small gifts toward this building, in humble gratitude to the Lord who provided both the will and the ability to give them.

He who both calls laborers and provides them each with the necessary gifts and the proper faithfulness has gathered in this institution teachers and overseers who in addition to profound learning and extraordinary ability combine childlike faith and sound Christian life with a most unwavering love for the Lutheran faith and Lutheran doctrine.

This theological seminary is the fruit of a vital, churchly, Christian life, a fruit of the clear realization on the part of clergy and laity that it must be the desire and the duty of all true Christians in gratitude and obedience to contribute to the establishment and spread of the true faith and doctrine. It will easily be recognized that such an institution will in turn exercise vital leadership and will nurture the life of faith among the congregations whence it has sprung and by whom it is supported.

These zealous and able teachers are therefore embraced with the deepest love and respect and trust throughout the church. Their advice and counsel are sought in every ecclesiastical question, listened to attentively, and followed lovingly.

Agreement in matters of faith and doctrine, life and work gives to this church body—at any rate to its pastors and teachers—a profound unity. It is true in purely worldly matters that unity is strength; it is even more true in the life of the church. The approximately 200 pastors and perhaps twice as many teachers[2] in this church are united in one faith and one exposition of the same faith. They work with sincere love and vital zeal for the establishment and spread of this faith. Within the congregations, the fruits of these labors will appear. We venture to hope that they may, with God's help, bring a rich blessing to the entire Lutheran Church in this part of the world, even to people of other tongues.

Surely one of the greatest obstacles to the true and sound development of the church in America as well as in Europe is the fact that the teachers of the church often present varying and even opposing interpretations of doctrine. How confusing it must be when teachers within the same church present varying views, when in print and in public gatherings they oppose instead of supporting and helping one another! Who can witness this spectacle without pain and sorrow?

In this church we have met perhaps more than 50 pastors and teachers during these trips and otherwise at various conferences of pastors and teachers. It is a real joy to be able to say, in gratitude to God, that we have invariably got the impression that they are all possessed of the same spirit that prevails in the university: a heartfelt trust in God, a sincere love for the symbols and the doctrines of the fathers, and a belief that in them His holy Word is rightly explained and interpreted, and therefore a sacrificial, burning zeal to apply these old-Lutheran principles of doctrine and order.[3] May the Lord graciously revive this spirit throughout the entire Lutheran church, so that those who call themselves Lutherans may no longer wrangle over questions settled by the Lutheran Confessions. May they rather show their true Lutheranism by truly believing that God's Word is taught rightly and without error in the Lutheran Confessions. Otherwise, the Lutheran name is but duplicity and hypocrisy.

The genuine old-Lutheran spirit is upheld and disseminated with equal fidelity at the other institution of this church, the Fort Wayne Seminary, which we visited outside our prearranged itinerary. Here future pastors and teachers do not receive the same strict scholarly training as in St. Louis, but rather a more exclusively practical education. Yet this institution also is founded and sustained by the faith of the congregations and their sincere love for true Lutheranism. Here too the Lord has called faithful teachers of excellent ability, vital and strong watchmen and preservers of the faith of our fathers, able to transmit to students insight and ability as well as zeal and love for the faith.

Fort Wayne also trains teachers of religion for the parochial schools. It is easy to imagine what a blessed support for pas-

tor and parish these carefully trained teachers can be. For they too are possessed of fidelity to the Confessions and have the stability and fervor necessary to impress them upon the hearts of the young.

What we said about the sacrificial concern of the congregation in St. Louis for the seminary there is equally true of the congregation in Fort Wayne in relation to the Fort Wayne Seminary. The way in which the Lord has richly blessed the zeal and fidelity of teachers and congregations in the Fort Wayne area is illustrated by the fact that where 15 years ago there was only one pastor and teacher, there are today 21 pastors, old and young. All are united in the deepest love for pure and genuine Lutheranism.

Next to the grace of God, credit for this fortunate expansion must be given to that very profound and staunchly Lutheran pastor Dr. Sihler. For a long time the only pastor in the district, he has since organized a total of 21 congregations. This vital and zealous teacher is now assisted at the Seminary by the equally beloved and zealous and able Professor Cramer.

We hope that we may be excused for including Fort Wayne in our trip and our report. The honorable church council will no doubt accept our excuse because of the fervor and fidelity we saw there and what we have reported. For it is always a joy to find such good reason to thank and praise the gracious Lord of the church for his unspeakable mercy toward His little flock, who love His truth and fight for it as for the most glorious treasure.

We turn again to Concordia College in St. Louis. After what we have already stated, we need not emphasize further how unspeakably dear it was for us to find such a blessed and beloved nursery for our dear Lutheran church.

We were kindly allowed to attend any lectures we wished. In those we heard, we noted in every case how the professors laid a foundation in classical Lutheran theology. Thus the Confessions constituted the basis for all instruction in dogmatics, together with several of the best-known classical works in Lutheran dogmatics. In the lower classes, several of the ancient classics were read in Latin and Greek. The students

receive a thorough knowledge of Hebrew. In Bible classes, both Testaments were read in the original languages, and a great deal of effort was devoted to thorough and scholarly exegesis. Church history, symbolics and ethics were taught in a very clear manner. The class in world history was a lively one. Dogmatics and to some extent exegesis were taught in Latin, and certain lectures in philosophy in English. Of course, German was the language in which most of the instruction was carried out.

Board costs the student about $50 per year. The charge for tuition is 8, 10, and 12 dollars per quarter in the respective divisions. Theological and pre-theological students receive free tuition.

We have described the zeal with which the young theologians are indoctrinated in the pure old-Lutheran faith at this university. The same situation obtains in the congregations throughout the entire church. The complete old-Lutheran ritual and altarbooks from the days of the Reformation are very faithfully followed. The lovely old Lutheran hymns, chanting from the altar, lighted candles at Holy Communion, intercessions for the sick, publishing of the bans, vestments—in short, their whole worship life is marked by a deep love for the fidelity to the traditions of the fathers. In this regard, their worship life has much in common with our own.

Besides this fidelity to Lutheran usage, that which (next to genuine Lutheran preaching, of course) best serves to awaken and nurture vital Christian living in the parishes is the earnestness and zeal with which this church has sought to revive genuine Lutheran (or rather apostolic) church discipline. They have done this, not merely by means of outward rules and regulations, but by training and instructing the congregations to see that it is their Christian duty to carry out that admonition and discipline which the Lord has clearly commanded in His Word.

As is everywhere the case, this has required a great deal of effort. In this country as in Germany and Norway, the unbelief and lukewarmness of the times has made many hearts unwilling to submit obediently to the Lord's order. They refuse to be admonished, convinced or disciplined (cf. Matt. 18:15 f.)

or to show that loving concern for others which the Lord commands in His Word: "Discipline your sinful brother, lest you bear his sins upon your conscience!"

Much remains to be done here and there in this church. But we must say that in its older congregations, where the laity have been educated in part through churchly movements and in part through the leadership of able and level-headed pastors, we saw a fine display of genuine apostolic discipline on the part of both clergy and laity.

The Lord's prescription in Matt. 18:15 is followed to the letter. The offender is first privately admonished. If this fails, he is again admonished in the presence of a couple of witnesses (usually two of the deacons); the matter is still kept secret. If the offender admits his sin and repents, no more is said. But if this too fails, the matter is brought before the congregation. In the congregation, some one of the members then tries in love to reason with the offender. This is especially significant. It is particularly quickening and gripping to see both young and old, lay and learned, high and low lovingly remind the sinner of the divine command and plead with him for God's sake and for the sake of his own salvation to repent. If even this fails, he is excluded from the congregation. As the Word of God says, he is regarded as a heathen or a publican. He is denied the Lord's Supper. He is further reminded that the verdict of the congregation, given as the Scripture prescribes, is not a mere human denial of forgiveness: For God himself has said, "Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." Of course, before this extreme is reached, the offender is given plenty of time between steps to think things over. In fact, the preliminary steps can be repeated before excommunication. In difficult cases, the congregations and pastors customarily consult with the theological faculty, the district pastoral conference, or the synod. In the meeting of the congregation, a unanimous vote is necessary for excommunication.

After excommunication, the rest of the congregation ceases to associate with the offender. This is natural enough among vital Christians. The only intercourse possible in a Christian spirit is for individuals—usually the oldest and most stable

members—occasionally to admonish the offender to repentance. Should he later decide to repent, the congregation meets to hear his public confession. Often he is placed on probation for a time, but if the congregation is convinced of the sincerity of his repentance, he is forgiven and absolved in the Lord's Name. Christ has said, "Whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." The penitent is again received into the congregation and admitted to the Sacrament.

This church has introduced the genuine Lutheran custom, required by our *Ritual* too, that all communicants must speak privately with their pastor prior to receiving the Sacrament. This represents an important preliminary step to the revival and carrying out of real church discipline, as well as private soul-care in general, including warning and admonition, correction and persuasion. Anyone can see what a great blessing this can be. The hearts of men often hide things from themselves as from others. If they are ever to be made receptive to loving admonition, instruction and correction, it most naturally should occur as the sincere Christian prepares to meet his Lord at His Table. The sincere Christian will acknowledge his great unworthiness and failure. At that moment he is most willing to listen to a friendly reminder and to receive the guidance and counsel of a Christian pastor. He is ready to listen to the advice and comfort of one who according to God's ordinance is placed in the congregation to bring the awakening and admonition of the Word to the hearts of men. It is therefore unthinkable that sincere Christians could oppose such a genuine Christian custom. It is all too reasonable to expect false Christians and hypocrites to reject private confession. They take Communion only for the sake of appearances or, unrepentant, trust blindly in the act itself. Our beloved Missourian brethren have had their troubles with confession. All the more reason for a Christian congregation dutifully to ensure that such people are not admitted to the Sacrament without private admonition. Pastors and congregations must not lay themselves open to the justifiable charge that they admitted anyone and everyone to the most holy treasure the Lord has entrusted to His church on earth without so much as an attempt at admonition. Despite the express command

of the Lutheran Confessions and the authorized ritual books, through the unbelief and laxity of later centuries this custom was allowed to lapse. The Missouri Synod has managed to reintroduce it. So far as we can determine, it is now accepted throughout the synod. No one is admitted to Holy Communion without prior private conversation with his pastor.

The practice of private confession is closely related. This has not yet been introduced everywhere, although it is becoming more and more widespread.

We have discussed this matter at some length because the idea of church discipline and a proper preparation for Holy Communion is still rather unclear among several of our congregations. It was a joy to observe the progress of the Missouri Synod in this regard. At the same time, we can report that the German professors and pastors listened with great sympathy as we told how we too are trying to make our congregations aware of these things, how several of our own congregations have introduced private confession, and how we too were attempting to revive genuine church discipline. In the Missouri Synod and its seminary we can truly say that we found the same faith in which we were raised, as well as the same idea of how a Lutheran free church ought to be ordered. We have not confined ourselves in this report to a short official statement regarding church and seminary, but we have ventured to describe in more detail the things we thought might be of interest and perhaps of enlightenment to our congregations in their own particular situation. We also feel constrained to mention one further point about which many, perhaps our most sincere members, might especially desire information: the Missouri Synod's official exposition of the doctrine of the Church and related matters. This question has caused a great deal of controversy among us, both here and in Norway, as well as in Germany and among the German-American congregations. Let us say quite simply that with regard to baptism, regeneration, the church, and the ministry, the Missouri Synod teaches exactly the same as Pontoppidan and our older dogmaticians and profoundly and strenuously opposes the newer teachings on these subjects. We have emphasized in general the genuine old-Lutheran spirit of this church. It is our joy-

ous conviction that in this matter too they have the symbols and the writings of the oldest and most famous Lutheran dogmaticians on their side.

With this we conclude our report on the Missouri Synod. We will always remember with loving gratitude the friendliness and the spirit of brotherhood of all the teachers at this university, the kindness and good-will with which they received us into their lectures, conferences and family circles. We should also mention that Professor Walther and President Wyneken, besides showing loving concern for our church, courteously invited us to be guests in their homes during our entire stay in St. Louis. This kindness, which will always be remembered with affection and gratitude, not only made our stay pleasant and happy, but also helped us in many ways to carry out the purpose of our mission. Both we personally and our church owe them our appreciation and thanks for their courtesy and concern. We cannot repay all their love and kindness except to pray to God for their zealous and esteemed teachers and their church. May God graciously bless them in their work and guide and preserve them and us in all truth, to the praise of His glory and the salvation of souls. Amen!

COLUMBUS, OHIO

Our arrival in Columbus happened to coincide with the district convention of the Ohio Synod's western district, which was held about 20 miles from Columbus. Here we had the pleasure of meeting about 30 pastors. In a spirit of brotherhood and courtesy, the convention received us as "advisory members." Here too we had reason to thank God for the revival of a greater confessional fidelity which, by the grace of God, was discernible particularly among most of the younger leaders of this church.

Not more than ten years ago, it could be said that the Ohio Synod was "Lutheran" in name only. None of the symbolical books were formally adopted, and teachers were not required to subscribe to them. Most pastors were members of various un-churchly societies, some of which were downright godless. It became necessary to rule that no pastor might be a member

of any godless society. Now the Synod not only accepts all the Lutheran symbols; it has recently resolved not to accept any pastor who is a member of a secret society. All in all, the younger leaders display an ever-increasing zeal for Lutheran doctrine and order in the congregations.

In liturgy and polity they are returning more and more to Lutheran usage; hitherto this was virtually abandoned in most congregations. By means of instructing and educating the congregations, several of the younger pastors have begun gently to introduce church discipline in the form of private conversation prior to Holy Communion as well as private confession generally. But most important and fortunate of all is the way in which Lutheran doctrine is ever more powerfully being proclaimed in preaching and in print. The pallor of indifferentism seems to be disappearing.

In general, a certain vagueness and indecision is still discernible in this synod. Certain un-Lutheran views or interpretations must still be tolerated in the synod. But there is a gratifying hope that the Ohio Synod may progress steadily toward a stable and decisive Lutheran position. Most of the young pastors and especially the theological faculty at Columbus seem determined to lead it in that direction. We pray to God, who has graciously quickened hearts to see in the Lutheran Confessions the correct and unimprovable exposition of His own Word, that He may strengthen and bless their efforts.

The president of the joint Synod of Ohio, Professor Lehmann, paid us and our church the courtesy of inviting us to be his house guests. This gave us a doubly good opportunity to get acquainted with the situation in church and seminary. Lectures were not in full swing while we were in Columbus. A couple of the teachers had recently resigned, and they had not yet been replaced. It was a good sign that the administration of the seminary had approached one of the professors in St. Louis, the beloved, able and thoroughly Lutheran Professor Biewend (M.A.) and asked him to accept the position of president of the Columbus university.

Because of these vacancies we had a chance to hear only a few lectures. These were given mostly in English, especially in the lower classes, although the theological lectures were

given in German. The statutes of the seminary provide for the use of either language, according to the needs of the students. Jenny Lind has bequeathed to this university a legacy of $1,000 dollars, the income to be used for the support of Swedish students. None of these funds have so far been used.

The university has a splendid and spacious building, paid for in part by large gifts from wealthy citizens in and around Columbus, in part by contributions from the congregations of the synod. Students are charged $1.75 per week for board, $6.00 per year for a single room, and $1 per month for laundry. The tuition cost is $20 per year in the lowest class, $30 in the higher classes. Theological students receive free tuition. The subjects include Latin, Greek, German, world history, Bible, history, chemistry, astronomy, physics, anatomy, philosophy, and mathematics. The theological seminary offers instruction in the usual theological disciplines, primarily of course exegesis. At the moment, five theological students were enrolled.

The seminary already possesses zealous and able teachers, who long have labored hard and ardently. Should the Lord now graciously call to the vacant professorates teachers who are both able and faithful to the Confessions, it is to be hoped that the seminary could in the Lord's hand become a blessed nursery for future pastors in this large church. May He place His blessing upon the labors of these brethren in the faith and make truth victorious in every conflict. We have a double reason to pray for this synod. It is in process of becoming more and more exclusively English-speaking. If is is victorious in its fight for fidelity to the Confessions, it could lead and influence for the better the other English-speaking Lutheran synods here in America. Unfortunately, little Lutheranism remains in some of these except the name.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

In Buffalo we visited Martin Luther College, the institution of the so-called Buffalo Synod.

The nucleus of this synod is made up of Prussian Lutherans who emigrated about 1838 because of religious oppression:

the Prussian king and government tried forcibly to compel a union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches.

The senior pastor of the ministerium and president of the synod, pastor Grabau welcomed us in a kindly and hospitable manner. Having been imprisoned for two years in Prussia for his loyalty to the Lutheran Church, he became the leader of the original migration.

Pastor Grabau is pastor of the church in Buffalo. Despite his many duties as pastor and president of the synod and his advanced age, he also serves with tireless zeal as instructor in the university, where he teaches 5 or 6 hours a day. There are two other teachers. It can truly be said that the students here receive a thorough training for their vocation, in both theoretical and practical aspects.

In addition to the regular school subjects, the younger classes also study the ancient Greek and Latin classics. In the theological department exegesis is taught in the original languages and dogmatics in Latin, as well as church history, symbolics, ethics, and music. There is also a teacher training course.

This church has strictly preserved the old-Lutheran liturgical usage. Church discipline is taken very seriously. However, it emanates less from the congregation and more from its officers, the pastor and the deacons. The latter are elected for life. Private confession and private conversation with the pastor prior to Holy Communion are practiced without exception.

This synod has sought with great zeal and care to preserve and defend old-Lutheranism. However, it has regrettably been unable to unite in love and cooperation with the genuinely old-Lutheran Missouri Synod. On the contrary, the two from the first have been involved in the most bitter controversy. In the hand of God, this may have served to revive and purify the churches. But surely it has served more to offend and confuse and to cause many to fall away from true Lutheranism to other sects or to abandon church and Christianity entirely.

We shall attempt briefly to outline the main points at issue.

The Buffalo Synod emphasizes the idea of the visible character of the church, in its confession and in a particular form

of order as well as in Word and Sacrament. The Missouri Synod stresses the notion that the church is invisible and discernible only in Word and Sacrament.

The Buffalo Synod further asserts that the ministry of Word and Sacrament (the office of the keys) is not given to the whole church—as the Missouri Synod in accordance with the Symbols and the older fathers teaches—but only to the apostles and through them to their properly appointed and ordained successors, the clergy.

These views are revealed in the entire polity of the Buffalo Synod, which might therefore be described as more hierarchical, while the Missouri Synod could be described as more democratic in the good sense of the term.

The Buffalo Synod undeniably possesses an able and zealous clergy and faithful congregations. It is devoutly to be wished that they might find it possible to agree in love and brotherhood with their assuredly more confessional brethren in the Missouri Synod. Under God, the establishment and extension of genuine Lutheranism in this country would thereby be greatly promoted.

And so we conclude our most humble report. To the best of our ability and in all sincerity we have undertaken these investigations as an errand in the service of God. It is our prayer that He may make them of some blessing and use to us and our dear church. May He guide the deliberations of Council and Synod in connection with our report to His honor and to the happiness and benefit of us all!

May the Lord who has graciously stood by our dear church continue to abide with us all and help us to grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ! To Him be glory now and forever!

In love and brotherhood,

Most respectfully,

Jacob Aall Ottesen
N. Brandt

Manitowoc and Rock River Parsonage
August, 1857.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Indberetning fra Pastorene Ottesen og Brandt om deres Reise til St. Louis, Missouri; Columbus, Ohio; og Buffalo, New York," *Kirkelig Maanedstidende,* II (October, 1857; reprint of 1900), pp. 476-489. A German translation by A. Biewend appears in *Der Lutheraner,* XIV (December 15, 1857), pp. 68-69 and 73-76.

2. Biewend's German translation contains the following note: "These words 'perhaps twice as many' must have gotten into the report through a misunderstanding and should mentally be cancelled."

3. The frequent meetings provided for in the polity of the Synod serve to preserve this unity. The Synod itself, which meets every third year, is divided into four District Synods, which meet annually. There is each year a conference of all the pastors of the district, as well as local pastoral conferences which often meet every sixth week. There are also conferences for teachers, and all teachers have an advisory voice in the Synod meetings. These meetings discuss chiefly the exposition of doctrine according to Scripture, the Confessions and the writings of the fathers, as well as such practical questions as arise. Their reports give evidence of the dedication, zeal and ability with which these discussions are conducted. It is easy to see the value of such meetings for the church.

APPENDIX B

Official Reports Concerning the Establishment of a Norwegian Theological Professorship at St. Louis

1 *Delegation of the Norwegian Synod; Establishment of a Norwegian Theological Professorship at Concordia College in St. Louis.*

Our Synod had the pleasure to be able to enter into closer fraternal fellowship and union with the Synod of the "Norwegian Evang. Lutheran Church in America," which up to this time has had its main field of labor in Wisconsin and Iowa.

The Rev. Mr. [J. A.] Ottesen and the Rev. Mr. [U. V.] Koren, the former as delegate and the latter as his companion, appeared in our midst to extend the hand of brotherhood to us, looking toward friendly relations between the two Synods. Pastor Ottesen was commissioned and empowered at the same time by the Church Council of that Synod to make the proposal to the Directorate of Concordia College in St. Louis to establish a Norwegian professorship at that institution, until they shall have gathered a fund sufficient for them to establish an institution in their own midst.

Synod agreed with this proposal of the Norwegian brothers with joy. After careful consultation with Pastor Ottesen the points contained in the appended report were established as a mutual agreement. (Cf. Exhibit F in the appendix.)

Both of the Norwegian brothers expressed their joy and thanks for the fraternal reception which they received among us and for the readiness with which the Synod agreed to their proposal for the establishment of such a Norwegian theological professorship.

Synod felt moved on its part to express to the Norwegian brothers its genuine pleasure for the fact that they approached us with their fraternal confidence. The Synod expressed its

feeling of obligation to *them*, and said that we would pray to God to unite us with them in an increasingly intimate confession on the basis of one faith and confession.

As delegates from our Synod to the Norwegian Synod which will meet on the second Friday in October 1859 at Coon Prairie, Wisc., Pastor [Ottomar] Fuerbringer and Prof. [Adolph] Biewend were named.

Finally Synod resolved to send an answer to the Norwegian Pastoral Conference in reply to its communication. (Cf. Exhibit G in the Appendix.)

FOOTNOTE

Neunter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1857 (St. Louis: Synodaldruckerei von August Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1858), pp. 53, 54. Translation by Carl S. Meyer.

2 *Report of the Acceptance of the Proposal by the Norwegian Pastors for the Establishment of a Norwegian Theological Professorship at St. Louis Concordia College by the Appointed Committee Consisting of the District Presidents and the Professors of Both Institutions of the Synod.*

Present were: Dr. [Wilhelm] Sihler, Pastor [E. G. W.] Keyl, Pastor [Ottomar] Fuerbringer, Pastor [Friedrich] Wyneken, Prof. [C. F. W.] Walther, Prof. [Gustav] Seyffarth, Pastor [J. A.] Ottesen, Pastor [U. V.] Koren, A. Biewend.

A. BIEWEND, *Secretary.*

Pastor Ottesen presented the content of the document prepared by his synod and here given in translation:

"The Synod resolves to establish its own Norwegian Lutheran institution of learning and calls upon the congregations and their pastors to make an all-out effort for the attainment of this objective by immediately gathering the needed funds. Pending further decision by the Synod, a suitable portion of the interest on the fund so gathered shall be used to establish a Norwegian theological professorship at the St. Louis university, with the understanding that the professor appointed shall be a member of our synod, shall participate in the synodical meetings and pastoral conferences of our church body, and during school vacations shall, so far as possible, visit our Norwegian Lutheran congregations. Likewise, from the interest on that fund, an amount, the size of which the Church Council shall determine, shall be used, after the appointment to the professorship has been assured, to aid

young men desiring to prepare themselves at the university for the ministry of our church. The Synod shall elect a treasurer whose duty it shall be, under the supervision of the Church Council, to account for the funds and give security therefor. When an adequate fund has been gathered and the church's need requires it, the professorship shall be transferred to the new Norwegian Lutheran educational institution which is to be established among us.

"Meanwhile, if before that time circumstances should so change that it might seem preferable to promote a union with the Missouri Synod and not to establish our own institution, the fund gathered shall be used for the extension of the selected German Lutheran institution. In either event, whether our own institution is established or a union with the Missouri Synod is preferred, those in the minority may ask to have their contributions returned to them."*

Pastor Ottesen remarked further that the Norwegian brothers were led to this design by the wish and the hope that they themselves would gain experience by their connection with us, and that their students would obtain a blessing from the congregational life within the Missouri Synod. They had in mind to obtain the services of a young theologian in Norway as professor. Then, too, one student was already at hand.

In regard to the functions of the Norwegian professor of theology it was agreed that he should bring the entering students so far in the German language that they could profitably take part in the general instruction of the institution, instruct them further in Norwegian, and take over one or more disciplines and lecture in the Latin or German language.

In regard to the election of the designated professor of theology it was agreed that election belonged to the Norwegian Synod and ratification to ours. The one to be elected obligates himself to all the symbols of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. In regard to this particular point, it was agreed, that, if our Synod, i.e., its officials, are presented an attested copy of the call-document, they should suppose authority to complete the call in the name of our Synod. Furthermore, the Norwegian brothers were asked to ask the recipient of the call, privately in a letter, if he accepts both appendices to

the Smalcald Articles literally, if he repudiates Chiliasm. Also our Synodical constitution is to be sent him for perusal.

To the question whether the person to be called might be ordained in Norway, because he might serve a congregation in that country sooner or later and on the eventual return to his native country experience difficulties because he is not ordained, it was stated by us that we would not make any objections, that, however, we could not advise that this be done.

Finally, in regard to the (cost of) board for the Norwegian theological students it was agreed that, if the Norwegian congregations support the institution with gifts of love, as the Germans do, the same [cost] should apply as for ours; on the other hand, however, the established (cost of) board for non-theological students should be the same.

F. W. Sihler,
O. Fuerbringer,
W. Keyl,
G. Seyffarth,
F. Walther,
Fr. Wyneken,
A. Biewend.

FOOTNOTES

*Translation from the Norwegian by David T. Nelson, *Luther College, 1861-1961* Decorah, Iowa, 1961, pp. 31-32.

Neunter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1857 (St. Louis: Synodaldruckerei von August Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1858), Exhibit F, pp. 100, 101. Translation by Carl S. Meyer.

3 | *To the Honorable Norwegian Lutheran Pastoral Conference.*

Grace and peace in Christ!
Honorable, in Christ dearly beloved brethren!

We have received the communication in which you greeted our assembled Synod in a most cordial manner, assured us of your unity of faith with us and your intercessions, and offered us fraternally the hand of fellowship for a closer union on the basis of our common confession.

This filled us with such great happiness that we felt compelled to express it to you.

We are conscious that from the very beginning we wished nothing else than, for our salvation's sake, to hold fast to the saving Word of the pure Gospel, as it was brought again to the light of day by the faithful labors of blessed Dr. Luther and set forth in the confessions of our Lutheran Church, to confess it before the world, to defend it against all perversions and falsifications, to disseminate it among our countrymen as God gives grace, and to order and establish all our ecclesiastical affairs according to it and only according to it.

This could not happen without many and fierce battles. On that account we have frequently been misunderstood and mistrusted both here and in our own fatherland.

In spite of that, by the grace of God we have become neither soft nor weary of confessing continuously, of giving reason for the hope that is in us, and of contending for the faith once delivered to the saints. Our gracious and merciful God, too, has not failed to refresh and to encourage us by

various proofs of His glorious aid and of His blessing. Even so, it is a great joy and not a little encouragement for all of us now to learn from your fraternal communication and the personal expressions of your honorable delegates what a few of us have already known, that a not insignificant number of those who bear the same name as we also live the same precious faith in deed and truth, profess the same as we to the world, with us testify and battle for it, rejoice with us in the victory which God has given by our hand, and bear with us the shame which Satan on that account has so richly poured over us.

Where faith and confession are one, as God the Holy Spirit accomplished it already at the time of the blessed Reformation in your and our countries, there language and descent cannot be a wall of separation.

Precious, dearly beloved brethren, we accept the proffered hand of fellowship and extend ours to you, in the joyful confidence that we will more and more acknowledge, strengthen and implement our unity in spirit and faith by continued brotherly relations between both parties.

We hope that the establishment of a Norwegian professorship at our seminary in St. Louis, concerning which the accompanying resolution of Synod will inform you, will also be a blessed means thereto.

We pray God, that He will keep you with us in the acknowledged truth at all times. May He in His grace turn away from you the unfortunate divisions by which our German Lutheran Church is ruptured at the present time. On the contrary may He unite us both more and more for the mutual upbuilding of His Church, so that we all speak the same message and hold fast to each other in one and the same purpose and meaning, to the praise and glory of His glorious Name.

May God grant that in grace! Amen!

The Synod of Missouri, Ohio,
and Other States
Fr. Wyneken

FOOTNOTE

Neunter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1857 (St. Louis: Synodaldruckerei von August Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1858), Exhibit G, pp. 102f. Translation by Carl S. Meyer.

APPENDIX C

Letters of
Walther
to
Koren

CONCORDIA SEMINARY
St. Louis, Missouri

December 19, 1880[1]

Highly honored Mr. President!
Sincerely beloved brother in the Lord!

In your esteemed letter of the 13th of this month you were so gracious as to request me to propose a plan for the conduct of the projected colloquium. Allow me to share my view of the matter as follows:

Our synod is accused of teaching un-Lutheran and indeed Calvinistic doctrine on election. Whether this accusation is well-founded must obviously be shown us from the authentic Confession of the Lutheran Church. To be sure, if our church had not formally expressed itself on the disputed doctrine, then indeed we should have to recur to Scripture, which our church has declared *supremus judex controversiarum.* But as it is, our church has laid down the doctrine of election in her Confession—and not only in passing but *ex professo* and in broad treatment, with the explicit explanation that this was done to serve posterity and prevent disputes over this point in our church. And even if our church had not specifically declared this the goal of the reception of the article on election, it is and remains the purpose of all symbols of a church to be *norma normata* of its teaching; they not only confess that this church acknowledges Holy Scripture as God's Word and the source, rule and measure of all teaching and teachers, but also how it understands Scripture. God has moreover so arranged it that although the Norwegian-Lutheran Church as such has not officially declared the Formula of Concord to have symbolical authority, the Synodical Conference, to which the Norwegian Lutheran Church belongs, has included it among its Confessions, and the Norwegian Synod is thus bound to it. In the conflict which has now broken out over the doctrine of election it would be indeed more than strange to ignore this *norma normata;* it would be a concrete proof that we were not serious in our commitment, that it was only

an empty formality. Precisely in the present situation, other churches should see from our procedure how beneficial, important and (relatively) necessary the symbols are. Moreover, our people can more easily follow us and perceive on which side Lutheran doctrine is taught if we prove this from the Confessions of our church than if we go only into Scripture. For in the latter case we would naturally have to go back to the original, and our poor Christian people would not be able to tell which side to support. If our opponents had only asserted that we taught *falsely* of election, that would [not] have made [nearly] such an impression on the people as the assertion that we taught un-Lutheran, *Calvinistic* doctrine. This is the more so the case as the people have previously heard almost nothing about election except what one [says] on the subject [against] the Calvinists—so that the people have simply thrown out the baby with the bath water. Therefore, in my opinion, the only proper way for our colloquium to take is to begin by studying together Article II of the F. C. and coming to agreement as to what, according to it, the doctrine of our church on the point of election is. For as long as we are not agreed what Lutheran teaching on election is, so long is it useless to try to judge whether our publications contain Lutheran or Calvinistic doctrine. We must necessarily first achieve unity in principle before any judgment of particular cases is possible. In every controversy the controversalists must achieve agreement on certain principles, if the discussion is not to degenerate into a mere issuing of ultimatums. If we do not start with the Confession, the course of the speaking and rebuttal will soon convince us that we must turn to the symbols of our Church, whether we will or no. Obviously I do not mean that we should ignore Scripture. No, the consultation of Scripture and Confession must go hand in hand; only it must not be made a matter of dispute that the doctrine contained in the Confessions is scriptural at all points.

Yet, as firmly as I am convinced that the proper procedure is to study the Confession first, I do *not* wish the above to be understood as saying that I make this procedure a *condition*

of my participation. If what the Wisconsinites propose is adopted, that first the two main points of controversy be judged from Scripture, I will of course conform to it. But I will do so expecting that we will soon discover that understanding cannot be reached without consulting the symbol.

I am entirely at one with the Wisconsinites that the dogmaticians of the time after the Formula of Concord cannot be used as authorities. Whether they expound the doctrine of election in accordance with Scripture and the Confession is after all one of the points of controversy; it belongs to the *status controversiae*. To set them up as judges would therefore be a *petitio principii*. We *Missourians* could of course draw *ad hominum* proofs from the dogmaticians, since our attackers acknowledge their authority and declare they have to abide by their teaching—just as the Lutherans used to smite the papists with the fathers, and so with their own weapons, without themselves acknowledging their authority. But just as little as, at that time, the Lutherans therefore granted the papists the right to try to refute them with the fathers of the ancient Church, so little can we yield our opponents the right to smite us with the fathers of our Church. Beside, it has already become sufficiently clear that our opponents, who advance the dogmaticians against us, do not themselves agree with them. We know well enough what led the dogmaticians to their form of doctrine; it was the two fires between which they found themselves. On the one side were the followers of Huber, who put all men among the elect, the unbelievers included; on the other the Calvinists who taught an election prior to and independent of the decree of redemption and who therefore made faith secondary to election. But our attackers have quite different opponents.

But please forgive my wanderings—and in general that I quite lost sight of the fact that I was writing to the President. Your confidential letter has made me too free—to run on so.

We lay the matter of the course of the negotiations entirely in your hands. I have shared our ideas with you, but also assured you of our willingness to give way to our [. . . . .] colleagues if necessary.

Let us commend the whole matter to the Lord of the Church. May he so guide our hearts that all will come out to his glory and the salvation of his Church.

With sincerest devotion, greetings from

Your humble servant,
C. F. W. WALTHER

FOOTNOTE

1. The date is not easily legible, but the reference of the letter must be to the meeting of theologians at Milwaukee, January 5-11, 1881.

CONCORDIA SEMINARY
St. Louis, Missouri

September 12, 1881

Highly honored friend and brother!

The telegraphic information has just arrived here that the Synod of Ohio and Other States, in its current session at Wheeling, West Virginia, has decided to discontinue its connection with the Synodical Conference. First, because they cannot accept the doctrine of election maintained by Missouri, and second, because the delegates of the Missouri Synod are instructed not to sit with those who accuse our synod of Calvinistic error.[1] I have regarded it as my duty to report this promptly to you as the President of the Synodical Conference. You will judge yourself whether it is advisable or not to postpone the regular meeting of the Conference which should be held this year, until perhaps the fall of next year. Perhaps by that time, through God's grace, the position of the Iowa Synod, as well as of the synods of Wisconsin and Minnesota, on this burning issue will be decided.

With sincere respect, greetings from

Your devoted servant,
C. F. W. WALTHER

P. S.

P. Frenkel of the Ohio Synod writes us that at the present session of that synod twenty members spoke out for the true doctrine and made known their decision to leave the Ohio Synod. Ten other members not present are believed to take the same position.

S. O.

FOOTNOTE

1. The reference is to the instructions passed by the convention of the Missouri Synod at Fort Wayne, May 11-21: "You are not to meet in an ecclesiastical consultation with any individual who has publicly accused us of Calvinism." (Quoted from Meuser, *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church.* Columbus, 1958. p. 67.)

CONCORDIA SEMINARY
St. Louis, Missouri

August 18, 1885[1]

Highly honored and beloved friend and brother in the Lord Jesus!

"Save me, O God; for the waters are come into my soul."—so did the Savior, following Psalm 69:2, cry out in his suffering and beg for succor. Your esteemed letter of the 13th last lets me see how you take his cry and petition for your own. But do you have the same right? Be careful, my friend. Christ bore the reward of our sins. His suffering was punishment. Your suffering is but fatherly discipline, through which you are to be conformed to the image of his Son. (Romans 8:29) Therefore arise from the dust in which you lie. God has always led you from victory to victory. Had it gone on so, you would finally have thought that you yourself had conquered, instead of your God and Savior. You have fought long and your faith has become stronger; now God ordains trial upon trial for you—not to make you falter, but to teach you that if

we confided in our own strength, our striving would be losing. He does not mean us to despair of our final victory, and surely not to despair altogether. The right man, the man of God's own choosing, fights for you also. Do you ask who that may be? It is Christ Jesus, the Lord Sabaoth; there is no other God, and He must win the battle. It does indeed look bad in your synod, if we view the problem with the eyes of reason. But faith sees something altogether different: it sees nothing but victories. For when God wills to give honor, he first lets everything become desperate. He questions us: "How many loaves have ye?" But not that we may begin, like Philip, to calculate, but that we may look to Jesus, who alone can help, and that when help has come we may give him alone the glory. When they tried to worry Luther with the fear that it would soon be all over with the pure doctrine, he said: "What has that to do with me? If Christ lets himself be cast from the throne, that is his business. I, who stick to his Word, lose nothing. If Christ does not wish to preserve himself and his Word, that is his business. He is the only one who loses out." You must behave the same way. When the false brethren employ every device to destroy your work and soil your name, you must sing joyfully: "A mighty fortress is our God; his word they must let ever stand, and have no credit for it." Our task is to confess the faith; the results are in God's hands. Therefore you may go serenely to bed and sleep in perfect peace like a child in the lap of its mother. This is not frivolity; it is faith, faith such as the Lord wills. Because of God's judgment against our stubbornness [?] we often act carelessly and ourselves open our armor, so that our enemies thrust home a few strokes. But do not despair on that account. It is not our wisdom, but God's, that upholds his Word and his Church. Let us allow our churches a bit of glory, a little from time to time. They will reward you in due time.

That your Professor Larsen has sent in his correction, which I must of course cite if its return is not asked, is painful to me. The more so as I am really the guilty one in that I sent on [?] the information I had received too hastily. But do not let your hair turn grayer on that account; Luther and his followers said and wrote a good many things that gave their op-

ponents welcome opportunity [?]. But Luther did not let this take away his cheerfulness. In a great fight only false spirits cling to matters that are not decisive and exploit the rabble. What we do out of weakness as oversight, they do out of malice—and more besides. So do not give the devil the pleasure of our grieving ourselves to death over this.

I am sorry to inform you that my dear wife lies very ill with a heart ailment which causes her difficulty in breathing, so that she often suffers attacks of suffocation. I myself am in no small difficulty on this account.[2] It would be a great sorrow for me to lose my wife and helper. Please pray for her.

With heartfelt affection, greetings from

Your "true yokefellow" (Phil. 4:3),
C. F. W. WALTHER

FOOTNOTES

1. 1885 was the year of bitterest internal controversy in the Norwegian Synod between the "Missourian" and "Anti-Missourian" groups. Koren's theses ("En Redegjørelse") read to the 1884 fall meeting of pastors at Decorah were the focus of controversy.

2. Odd as it may seem to us in such a context, the German seems to intend a pun. ". . . so dass oft Erstickungsanfälle sich ereignen. Ich selbst stecke daher in nicht geringer Noth."