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**A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHERAN CHURCH--CANADA
AND THE PURPOSES FOR ITS AUTONOMY**

**Research Elective H-200
Concordia Seminary
St. Louis, Missouri**

by

Paul Langohr

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ABBREVIATIONS

A., Alta.	- Alberta
ABC or A-BC	- Alberta-British Columbia District of LC-MS
ALC	- American Lutheran Church
B.C. or Br. Col.	- British Columbia
Can.	- Canada
CLC	- Canadian Lutheran Council
CS	- Canada Synod
Dist.	- District
ELCC	- Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada
Engl.	- English District of LC-MS
fed.	- federation
LCA	- Lutheran Church in America
LCA-CS	- Lutheran Church in America—Canada Section
LC-C	- Lutheran Church—Canada
LCIC	- Lutheran Council In Canada
LCMS or LC-MS	- Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod
LCUSA	- Lutheran Council in United States of America
Man.	- Manitoba
Man.-Sask.	- Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the LC-MS
Mich.	- Michigan
Minn.	- Minnesota
MS	- Missouri Synod
N.S.	- Nova Scotia
N.Y.	- New York
Ont.	- Ontario
Penn.	- Pennsylvania
Que.	- Quebec
Sask.	- Saskatchewan
Wis.	- Wisconsin

INTRODUCTION

Unlike the United States, which imbibed a tradition of secularism from its founding fathers, Canada grew up in the nineteenth century under the tutelage of its Churches. The pulpit, the school and the Press were the leading forces in moulding the Canadian character. Almost all the well-known educators of the period were clergymen, and many leading newspapers were in effect organs of particular religious groups. The influence of the Churches was sometimes divisive, but they were far too closely integrated into the national life to conceive their role exclusively as the saving of individual souls.¹

Since 1534, when Jacques Cartier erected a thirty foot cross at the entrance to the Gaspé Harbour, the cross of Christianity has continued to cast its shadow across the vast Dominion of Canada. Its presence was a significant and important factor in the development of the Kingdom of Canada and the Kingdom of God in Canada. But significant numbers of Canadians have not felt the presence of that cross nor are they aware of the importance it holds for their life. Therefore, the cross is still a cross of mission to Canada.

The story of the Lutheran Church in Canada was and still is today, a story of mission. Unlike many of the other churches in Canada before her, the Lutheran Church was there primarily, and almost exclusively, for the sake of saving individual souls. Even before Confederation, the Lutheran Church came into Canada to minister to the needs of Lutherans immigrating into Canada, and for over one hundred years this has been the express purpose of her mission in Canada—to minister to the needs of existing Lutherans in Canada.

But now she is confronting the question of her purpose in

Canada. She is asking herself whether she is doing all within her power to meet the command of her Lord to minister to the needs of all people, both in- and outside of Canada. She is asking how she, as a church, can more effectively carry out the Mission of the Church to the opportunities which confront her.

In searching for an answer to her dilemma, she has arrived at the conclusion that as an independent, autonomous church, she could most adequately carry on her mission in Canada, by meeting Canadian needs as a Canadian church. In the area of world mission, she also feels that as an independent, autonomous church, she could work through avenues which would be open only to a Canadian church.

The purpose of this paper is an attempt to understand why autonomy is such an appealing and satisfying answer to the question of Canadian and world mission for a Canadian Lutheran Church. It is an attempt to prove that as an American-based Church working in Canada she cannot work to her fullest potential nor to her most effective capacity.

To demonstrate this, in chapter one, I present a cursory history of Lutheranism in Canada until around the 1940's with the hope that the reader will see that the Lutheran Church in Canada, particularly the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, does have a flavour peculiarly Canadian, and that often circumstances confronting the Lutheran Church in Canada were typical of only the Canadian situation. In chapter two I present how the idea of an autonomous Lutheran church crept into the Canadian church and received momentum as the only way in which the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod could operate in Canada to its maximum. Though the first two chapters

are basically historical in nature, chapter three delves into the most significant reasons put forth as valid justification for the autonomy of the Lutheran Church—Canada. The majority of those sources quoted and cited in this paper I believe are of a very authoritative nature. They are for the most part, individuals who have the greatest possible concern for the mission of God in Canada, many of whom have served as officials in the Lutheran Church—Canada. I trust that I have done justice to these men in quoting them, and it is my earnest intent, as it is theirs, to insure that the Lutheran Church—Canada functions to its most effective advantage as an instrument in the Mission of God in Canada.

¹John Webster Grant, The Canadian Experience of Church Union (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1967), p. 23.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF LUTHERANISM IN CANADA AND FOUNDATIONS OF LUTHERAN CHURCH—CANADA

Although not every aspect of the history of Lutheranism in Canada may be fundamental to an understanding of the development of the Lutheran Church—Canada (LC-C), a cursory presentation of Lutheran history in Canada may however, provide some understanding to the development of the LC-C and may perhaps shed some light for the reader on peculiar circumstances of Lutheranism in Canada which assist and warrant, perhaps even dictate, the need of an indigenous Lutheran Church in Canada.

Formal histories of Lutheranism in Canada are not abundant. Until recently, the majority of Lutheran history in Canada was to be found primarily in local congregational histories, and briefly in anniversary booklets published by the individual Districts of the Missouri Synod in Canada. In September, 1969, the Rev. Dr. Albert H. Schwermann was commissioned by resolution of the 12th Annual Convention of the Lutheran Church—Canada to write and publish a history of the origin and early development of LC-C. This work, The Beginnings of Lutheran Church—Canada, sketches the early development of Lutheranism in Canada with the primary emphasis on the period between 1941 to 1969 when plans for a self-governing Canadian Church were being developed and implemented. Because the LC-C is a Federation of Missouri Synod Districts in Canada, Schwermann's book deals

almost exclusively with the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in Canada. To date, I have not been able to find a thorough, up-to-date work on the whole topic of Lutheranism in Canada, much less specifically, on the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in Canada.

This first chapter then shall deal primarily with the beginnings of Lutheranism in Canada and shall attempt to show what role the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod has played in the development of Lutheranism in Canada.

The first trace of Lutheranism to be documented in Canada was the site of Fort Churchill, Man. On Sept. 7, 1619 Jens Munck, a Danish Lutheran sea-captain, landed his ship at the present site of Fort Churchill. Along with him was a crew of 65 men, the majority of whom were adherents of the Lutheran faith, and one Lutheran pastor by the name of Erasmus Jensen.¹ The first Lutheran sermon on Canadian soil was delivered by Jensen on Christmas Day of that same year. In his diary Munck recorded the event:

We had a sermon and communion; and our offerings to the minister after the sermon were in accordance with our means. The crew had very little money, nevertheless, they gave what they had; some gave white fox furs, so that the minister had enough wherewith to line a coat.²

As with many of the crew, Jensen became sick with dysentery. On Jan. 23 of the next year Jensen sat in bed and delivered his last sermon to the crew. On Feb. 20, 1620 Jensen died and was buried with the other sailors who had died on Canadian soil. Munck returned to Denmark having failed to find a Northwest Passage to India as he had intended.³

The next record we have of any Lutherans in Canada is in 1629. It is possible that there were Lutherans with the Huguenots

in Quebec, but it is a certainty that there was a Lutheran chaplain with the Kirke brothers when they captured Quebec. It is also recorded that while he was there, this Lutheran chaplain performed the first Lutheran baptism of a child of a colonist family on Canadian soil.⁴

In the summer of 1749 German Lutheran farmers and wine-dressers from Württemberg and Saxony settled in Halifax. In 1750 they were joined by 300 more German Lutherans, one of whom was a German Swiss Lutheran, Burger by name, who served as the first resident Lutheran pastor in Canada. In 1755 these German Lutherans in Halifax erected the first Lutheran Church in Canada, St. George's Lutheran.⁵ In the same year that these German Lutherans settled in Halifax, a number of Lutheran soldiers assisted in the founding of Halifax.⁶

In 1758 a Lutheran chaplain ministered to the soldiers who were with General Wolfe when he took the fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island.⁷ A number of these soldiers joined the congregation at Louisburg and became Lutherans.

Shortly before this in 1756 a Lutheran congregation was organized at Louisburg, Nova Scotia.⁸ In the early history of Nova Scotia a goodly number of Lutheran settlements were established, but many opportunities to build Lutheran congregations were lost because no Lutheran pastors were available. Many switched to Anglicanism. Only the Lunenburg parish survived, and is still in existence, and even today, most of the Lutheran churches are to be found in the County of Lunenburg.⁹

On October 4, 1761, seventeen children were confirmed in the congregation at Louisburg, the first Lutheran Confirmation Service

in Canada.¹⁰

A great deal of immigration after the American Revolutionary War, c.a., 1776, assisted in establishing many Lutheran settlements in Ontario. Overpopulation, frequent wars, heavy taxation, compulsory military service and religious persecution exerted pressure and caused many Europeans to come to America. Those immigrants who are important for this paper came to New York and Pennsylvania, but there they also experienced pressure within their bounds. It was the nature of some of the German people. They wanted to colonize rather than to be absorbed. They felt secure in colonies; they felt they could best cultivate their language, customs and religion in colonies. For these reasons they sought large tracts of land. Because of a scarcity of land in New York and Pennsylvania, they were attracted to either Ontario or to more westerly states where large tracts of land were available. Consequently we find many Lutheran ancestors settling along the north shore of Lake Erie.¹¹

After the American Revolution large numbers of immigrants came to Canada. In the War of Independence, many loyal British subjects in America were invited by the British Government to come to Canada. Grants of land were given them in the Maritimes, Lower Canada (Quebec), and Upper Canada (Ontario). These immigrants were called United Empire Loyalists. Most came from the New England States. Many of the Lutherans brought their bibles, catechisms, and their pastors with them.¹² Forty Loyalist Lutheran families settled in the area of the city of Kingston, Ont. Another group established a German settlement near the Bay of Quinte and, in 1783, the first Lutheran congregation in Ontario.¹³

In 1793 there was a second large Lutheran emigration from New York state to Ontario. Lord Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Canada by King George III, realized that there were still many loyalist families in the United States. He again offered free land to those loyal Britons in the United States who were willing to come to Ontario. In this emigration were 60 Lutheran families, 350 souls, who settled in the county of York and brought with them their own pastor, Rev. John Petersen.¹⁴

During the period from 1830 to 1850 Lutheran immigrants poured into Ontario from Central Europe and settled in the counties of Brant, Bruce, Waterloo, and Welland.¹⁵

After each of the two Great World Wars, large numbers of Lutheran people from the eastern provinces of Germany, from Poland and Russia, from the Baltic Provinces and from Southeastern Europe immigrated to Ontario. Many of these were received into the existing congregations and, since World War II especially, a number of new congregations were organized, consisting almost entirely of New Canadians.¹⁶

Much of the work among Lutherans in Eastern Canada done before Confederation in 1867 was carried out by three synods in the United States: the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1748, the Ministerium of New York, 1786, and the Pittsburg Synod, 1845.¹⁷ The Missouri Synod did not appear upon the Canadian scene until around 1854, and even then, the majority of their work centred around the area of Ontario; then into Western Canada. Much work among the Lutherans in Ontario had already been done by other Lutheran bodies. Until this time much work among the Lutherans was impeded by the fact that there

were not enough professional clergy to serve all the Lutherans and often men who did serve the congregations were impostors, men who could perform the most common ritual functions of ministry, and whose only personal interests were in finding an easy life.¹⁸ Since the Missouri men were not the first to arrive in Canada, their coming when it did occur, was not always welcomed by the clergy who were already on the scene. They accused the Missouri men of "intruding" (Volksblatt Vol. 2, p. 27). As late as 1879 President Ernst, in his first address to the newly-organized Ontario District states:

Our opponents who could and should be our brethren in the faith have persistently labelled us as "foreigners who really have no business in Canada" and in that way caused simple folk to be suspicious of us.¹⁹

Those people who opposed the Missouri men and referred to them as "foreigners" could not have objected to the nationality of these Missouri men, since they themselves were not natives of Canada. The label must have implied objection to the connection which these early Missouri pastors had with "Missouri". It was from the State of Missouri that leadership in their Synod came.²⁰ It should be remembered that many of the Lutherans and general population in Ontario were Loyalists who had remained loyal to Britain and had escaped the United States and the pressure which Revolutionary Americans had exerted on them.

In 1847 the present Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod was organized in Chicago under the name of "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States." The Missouri Synod did not begin its work in Canada until 1854. The Rev. John Adam Ernst is rightly deserving of the title "The Father of Missouri Lutheranism

in Canada."²¹ Ernst himself was a follower of Loehe and a devout student of Dr. C. F. W. Walther. He was a charter member of the Synod in 1847. He was called to a congregation in Eden, N.Y., and from there he made mission tours into the surrounding districts and also into Ontario where he either organized, or assisted in organizing, several congregations.²² In 1854 Ernst organized the congregations of St. Peter's Rhineland (Delhi), and Fisherville, Ont. Both congregations are still very much in existence, St. Peter's, Delhi, being the oldest Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod Congregation in Canada. From here many congregations formed in southern and western Ontario.²³ In 1873 a Pastor F. W. Franke organized a congregation, Grace Lutheran, in Locksley in the Ottawa Valley. It is because of the work done in these two areas that Rhineland (Delhi) is known as the mother church of Western Ontario, and Locksley as the mother church of the Ottawa Valley.²⁴

The Canada District (now Ontario District) of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States was formed in 1879 with Ernst as its first president. In that year it had 14 pastors, 28 congregations, and 2,036 communicant members.²⁵ When the organization had been effected, Pastor Ernst made a President's Address in which he recounted the circumstances which had led up to the organization of what was then the Canada District. He said:

We in Canada are confronted with many conditions that are different from those facing our brethren beyond the border. Because of political and geographical differences between us and the States there is a certain antipathy in our congregations toward what members feel is "foreign." Our dear Missouri Synod has often been called a "foreign body," and it has been practically impossible to arouse any inclination to join Synod.

Attendance on the part of Canadians at conventions "over there" has always been very slim.²⁶

So in 1879 the Ontario District was formulated with the hopes that the Missouri Synod could further the cause of Lutheranism in Canada and better serve the Lutherans residing there. When the Ontario District was organized, only nine congregations were entirely organized by Missouri Lutheran pastors—the remainder had previously been served by Canada Synod pastors (LCA) or from other Synods such as the Buffalo Synod.²⁷ As Pastor Malinsky says in his history of the Ontario District, these pastors of the Missouri Synod entered Ontario which was already served by other Lutheran pastors because they felt a deep concern for Lutheranism which they saw so seriously threatened. This threat to Lutheranism in the eyes of Missouri was what they felt a laxity in their confessional stance and their lack of insistence to uphold pure, sound, Biblical doctrine.²⁸ The Missouri Synod itself did no work in the Atlantic provinces; this area was and is still served almost exclusively by the Canada Synod.

At any rate, several attempts were undertaken in Ontario to unite the Lutheran bodies in Canada for more effective ministry and mission to the country. The Canada Synod and the Missouri Synod were involved in several Free Conferences to discuss their differences and to attempt to seek union. Mutual discussions and papers of the issues in doctrine and practice between the two bodies were discussed. These meetings went on for several years: Jan. 1872, Kitchener; July 1872, Kitchener; 1882, Kitchener; 1892, several conferences; 1909, Kitchener; 1909, New Hamburg; several conferences in the Ottawa Valley; 1911, Kitchener. By 1912 it appeared that the differences between the Canada Synod and the Missouri Synod were not

being resolved. A question then arose among the Missouri men as to whether or not it was proper to pray with the Canada Synod men at the beginnings of the conferences considering the circumstances. This caused very hard feelings as it appeared to the Canada Synod that Missouri men now did not regard them as Christians. In response the Canada Synod questioned the right of the Missouri men to open up a mission in Stratford, apparently because the Canada Synod was already serving that community. With this then, the series of Free Conferences was ended.²⁹

It is quite a fascinating story of the Missouri Synod in the West of Canada, for Lutheranism there has always been one of mission. Although the Missouri Synod had men in western Canada for a number of years, the two western districts were not formed until after 1920—the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District in 1922, and the Alberta-British Columbia District in 1921. All Missouri work done was a result of mission endeavours by Missouri's Minnesota District. The opening of the West by early Missouri missionaries is a tremendous story of the missionary zeal and devotion and dedication to the Gospel. The hardships they faced were many, both physical, mental, and spiritual. Very vivid accounts are given in histories written by the two districts. Much of the history, unfortunately, is unknown. Rev. L. W. Koehler writes in the "Foreward" to the Origin and Development of The Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of The LC-MS:

The first congregation of the Missouri Synod here in the Canadian West was organized in 1892, twenty-two years after Manitoba and thirteen years before Saskatchewan became provinces. The Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod was organized in 1922. These dates show that our church here on the praries is still a young church but already some of our history lies buried in sundry cemeteries, because some of the pioneers

failed to realize the importance of written records carefully preserved.³⁰

There was little if any work done in Western Canada by the Lutheran Church simply because there was no emigration to this area. When people did begin to emigrate to the Canadian West, it was simply because they had been offered a quarter section of land for ten dollars by the Canadian government and had come from far off to make their homes in Western Canada.³¹ The building of the railroad was a great contributing factor to the opening of the West. In 1881 the Canadian Pacific Railroad reached Winnipeg, the "Gateway to the West." By 1885 the same railroad had reached clear across the country to the Pacific Coast.³² In spite of the fact that new immigrants had to suffer a great deal because of natural forces which make homesteading difficult, Canada attempted to relieve them of as many undue hardships as possible. A benevolent government was ruling the Canadian West from Ottawa, and its well trained and disciplined Mounted Police early spread its network of barracks over the whole wide West, partly to enforce law and order in the new country, partly also to see to it that incoming settlers would suffer no undue hardship.³³

Contributing to the opening of the West was the work of Clifford Sifton, a federal Minister of Immigration. He saw the need to have thousands of people come to the West, so he introduced a vigorous and persistent advertising campaign in many parts of Europe. Some peasants came from Germany. But the great majority of Lutheran immigrants in Western Canada migrated from non-German countries, Russia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Bukowina, Balicia, Bessarabia, the Volga territory, and the Scandinavian countries.³⁴

In 1879, Rev. E. Rolf of St. Paul, Minnesota became the

first Missouri Synod missionary to Western Canada. He had been asked by the mission board to serve a group of settlers in Town Berlin, Manitoba, a town about forty miles west of Winnipeg. The congregation had continually requested a resident pastor of its own, but had been denied its request. It was visited by pastors from the Missouri Synod until 1887. By then the congregation had disbanded and left the area. From 1879 to 1887 this was the only place in Western Canada visited by Missouri pastors.³⁵

In 1891 Candidate H. Buegel was called as a full-time missionary to Canada, an answer to a request made by Rev. H. Brauer who had traveled the area for the Minnesota Mission Commission. His call specified that he was to be a "missionary to Manitoba and surrounding territory" which in the mind of Buegel covered the area west to Vancouver and north to the North Pole.³⁶

During the six weeks that he had been in Canada, Missionary Buegel had organized 12 to 15 congregations and preaching-places. In 1892 he was given an assistant, Theo. Hahn. In 1909 six candidates and two pastors were added to the field. Lutheran mission gradually spread until finally in 1922 the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Missouri Synod was formed. By then it had 43 pastors, 75 congregations and 69 preaching stations.³⁷

The history of Lutheranism in the westernmost provinces of Alberta and British Columbia is quite similar to that of the Man.-Sask. District. An immigrant agent working for the Canadian Pacific Railroad informed the Board of Missions of Minnesota that in the province of Alberta, five settlements of Norwegian and German Lutherans had been established. Minnesota then commissioned a Montana missionary

to make a tour of exploration through Alberta. His report was so favourable that in 1894 Candidate E. Eberhardt was commissioned as a travelling missionary for Alberta.³⁸ In the same year he organized the congregation of St. Matthew at Stony Plain, near Edmonton. This is the oldest and "mother church" for the whole Alberta-British Columbia District.³⁹

Around the turn on the century, c.a. 1904, there was such an inrush of immigrants, that there was no way the six missionaries already there could handle the opportunities. These men were shifted to more strategic positions to be in better contact with the pulse of immigration because they were unable to get more help. Around 1914 thirty more candidates were added to the mission field in the Canadian North-West.⁴⁰ But during the war years when Canada and the empire were at war there was a regression and rest in immigration. There was time for the churches to establish themselves. From 1917 to 1920 congregations and stations had grown numerically and spiritually. By 1921, when the Alberta-British Columbia District was organized, there were 45 congregations and 92 preaching stations served by 30 pastors.⁴¹ Since then the Alberta-British Columbia District has grown with increased immigration to the West.

The work of the Missouri Synod in Western Canada began in 1879. The Finns arrived around the turn of the century and after 1906 sought their pastors from Suomi College in Hancock, Michigan. The American Lutheran Church entered upon work in Canada in 1905. The work of the Norwegian Lutheran Church began in Alberta in 1895, in Saskatchewan in 1903, and in Manitoba in 1904. The Swedes first held services in Winnipeg but the oldest congregation is that of

Stockholm, Saskatchewan, organized in 1889. The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church began work in Dickeson, Alberta, in 1904 and the earliest of the five congregations belonging to the Lutheran Free Church was organized in 1895.⁴²

The proliferation of church bodies in the early days is quite understandable from the viewpoint of language. Most of these bodies published church papers for their members and were later organized into districts and/or conferences with parental bodies in the United States. These settlers were also interested in education, establishing colleges and theological schools, as had been done by the Canada Synod in Ontario at Waterloo. The west has always been more interested in social missions than the east. Many of these church bodies began orphanages and homes for the aged which are still maintained.⁴³

Throughout the history of the Lutheran Church in the west there is a great deal of "crossfiring," shifts from one body to another when pastors were not available or when the desire for English language services became particularly strong.⁴⁴

As was mentioned earlier in this paper, the first World War had reduced the number of immigrants coming into Canada considerably. But after the war, by 1925, problems of the Lutheran Church in Canada in connection with renewed immigration from Europe, had brought members of both the Canada and Missouri Synods together so often that the conviction grew among members of both organizations that renewed efforts ought to be made, by means of conferences, to bring about unity and, if possible, a Canadian Lutheran Church (without strings attaching it to any Lutheran Synod in the United States or elsewhere).

Because of this, a lengthy series of conferences resulted.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, and consequently, plans and talks were undertaken at unifying Lutheranism in Canada for a more forceful thrust in mission to the Dominion. The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church under "Canadian Lutheran Council" states this:

Churchmen of vision had long recognized the need of a cooperative agency for Lutherans in Canada. In a land where economic and, to a lesser degree, political cooperatives had erupted from necessity, emergency events impelled the development of the council. Divisions between Lutheran churches in Canada had grown out of and paralleled the main groupings of Lutherans in the United States. Weak congregations, scattered over a vast territory, were forced to seek mission aid from Lutheran bodies in the USA. Acceptance of subsidies and pastoral supplies brought them into the fold. Because the demarcations were transplanted extensions, the barriers had little or no meaning to the pioneer and much less to the Canadian scene.⁴⁶

In 1946 members of the various Lutheran church bodies assembled in Winnipeg and drew up a proposed constitution for a Canadian Lutheran Council. Then the constitution was taken to the individual conferences and districts of their respective church body and they were encouraged to submit revisions to the constitution. The Missouri Synod Districts in Canada had difficulty in accepting two of the clauses in the constitution: 1. The participating bodies that were to approve the constitution had to be the general, or parental, bodies and not the synods, districts or conferences in Canada; and 2. The objectives of the Council that there should be participation in spiritual as well as external matters. According to Pastor Malinsky, the same reason kept the Missouri Synod from participation in the National Lutheran Council and the Lutheran World Federation.⁴⁷ Missouri presented its objections to the constitution, but they were not heeded. Therefore

the constitution was not presented to the Missouri Synod for approval.⁴⁸ The Canadian Lutheran Council was organized on Dec. 4, 1952, but the Missouri Synod was not one of the members.

After World War II there was a tremendous influx of immigrants from war-torn Europe in Canada. The Ontario District was presented with a great challenge. To meet this great missionary opportunity, European Lutheran pastors were engaged to serve these Lutherans in their own language. There were four Estonians, five Latvians, and two German-speaking pastors, one of whom also preached in Lithuanian, placed into service.⁴⁹ One Jan. 1, 1954, approximately one-third of the membership of the Ontario District consisted of new Canadians.⁵⁰

For the most part I have attempted to show how the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod began its work in Canada, and how it developed up to about the 1940's. Greater depth could be reported, but this is not the intent of this paper. This historical sketch attempts to give an overview of Missouri Lutheran development and the problems and circumstances which shaped its development from a historical point of view. The story is not unique in that similar circumstances could be cited in other countries as well, yet it does have a national colouring and flavour peculiar to the vast dominion of Canada. This sketch concentrates primarily on the development of the Missouri Synod, since this paper deals with the Lutheran Church—Canada, a federation of Missouri Synod Districts in Canada. Actually the Missouri Synod only represents one-third of the Lutheran work in Canada. According to the figures of the Lutheran Council in the U. S. A., the baptized membership of the LCA-Canada Section is 121,212,

the Lutheran Church—Canada (LC-MS) is 98,097, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ALC) is 83,274, and all other Lutheran bodies in Canada is 1,917, for a total of 304,500. These are the 1971 figures.⁵¹ This varies considerably from the 1961 Canadian Census figures in which 662,744 people claimed to be Lutheran.⁵²

In this chapter I have deliberately neglected to add the history from about 1941, as this material begins to deal with the formation of the Lutheran Church—Canada. This will be covered in a later chapter.

CHAPTER I FOOTNOTES

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²Erich R. W. Schultz, "Tragedy and Triumph in Canadian Lutheranism," The Lutheran Historical Conference, Essays and Minutes 1962 - 1964, (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Press, 1966), Vol. 1, 1966, p. 115.

³Ibid., p. 116.

⁴Ibid., p. 117.

⁵Ibid., pp. 118-119.

⁶Schwermann, p. 1.

⁷Ibid., p. 1.

⁸Ibid., p. 1.

⁹Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁰Schultz, p. 120.

¹¹Frank Malinsky, Grace and Blessing, (Kitchener: By the author, 1954), p. 9.

¹²Schwermann, p. 2.

¹³Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁶Malinsky, p. 9.

¹⁷Schwermann, p. 3.

¹⁸Malinsky, p. 10.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 13.

²⁰Ibid., p. 13.

21 Ibid., p. 17.

22 Ibid., p. 16.

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26 Malinsky, p. 22.

27 Schultz, p. 135.

28 Malinsky, p. 17.

29 Ibid., pp. 45-46.

30 L. W. Koehler, "Foreward" in The Origin and Development of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, author Paul E. Wiegner, (Published for the 35th Anniversary of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District, 1957).

31 Paul E. Wiegner, The Origin and Development of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, (Published for the 35th Anniversary of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District, 1957), p. 6.

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40 Herzer, pp. 23-25.

41 Ibid., p. 44.

42 Schultz, pp. 137-138.

43 Ibid., p. 138.

44 Ibid., p. 138.

⁴⁵Malinsky, p. 46.

⁴⁶W. A. Mehlenbacher, "Canadian Lutheran Council," The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, ed. J. H. Bodensieck, Vol. I (1965), p. 361.

⁴⁷Schultz, p. 142.

⁴⁸Malinsky, p. 47.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 91.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 92.

⁵¹Ralph L. Reinke, ed., The Lutheran Annual 1973 of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1972), p. 53.

⁵²Canada One Hundred 1867-1967, Prepared in the Canada Year Book Handbook and Library Division Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, and published under the authority of The Honourable Robert H. Winters Minister of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa, Canada: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1967, p. 427.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH—CANADA

In the preceding chapter I laid the groundwork and development of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in Canada. Although this history recounts several attempts of the Missouri Synod and the Canada Synod (LCA) to become unified, there wasn't much of an attempt to bring the districts of the Missouri Synod in Canada into a unified body. The Lutheran Church in Canada has been sharply divided into east and west and only until recently has this separation begun to crumble. This is a problem in Canada which affects many areas of Canadian life, and is not simply a problem of Lutheranism. From the historical account in the first chapter it is quite noticeable that Ontario did little to assist in the development of the West as far as providing missionaries, particularly so because Ontario was still itself a mission and depended on its supply of pastors from the United States. The West of Canada was opened up as a mission field largely because of the work of the Minnesota District of the Missouri Synod. Besides this aspect, the whole geographical characteristics of Canada have naturally supported this type of regionalism. In a recent letter from Dr. Thomas L. Ristine, a former President of the Lutheran Church—Canada and a member of the Lutheran Council in Canada (LCIC), he speaks of how the Lutheran Church—Canada was an attempt to breach this gap between Lutherans of the Missouri Synod in Canada. He states:

The LC-C is a good forum for the three Missouri Synod Districts in Canada. Eastern and Western Lutherans still have not interchanged and gotten together sufficiently to fully understand each other. Regionalism in Canada is real and it has affected the church as well. For this reason LC-C is a necessity. It must continue to act as a catalyst for Canadian Lutheranism and the LCIC has the same function involving all three Synods of course.¹

The need has been felt for some time in Canada to have a church which is "Canadian," self-governing and in a position in which it can better speak to and meet the demands of mission work in Canada. This was a very popular topic for conversation at pastoral conferences and District conventions in the early decades after the turn of the century. But the same notion had been expressed earlier by some of the Fathers of Lutheranism in Canada. In 1879 Pres. John Adam Ernst addressed the newly organized Canada District, in which address he stated:

We in Canada are confronted with many conditions that are different from those facing our brethren beyond the border. Because of political and geographical differences between us and the States there is a certain antipathy in our congregations toward what members feel is "foreign." Our dear Missouri Synod has often been called a "foreign body," and it has been practically impossible to arouse any inclination to join the Synod. Attendance on the part of Canadians at conventions "over there" has always been very slim.²

For Ernst and others with similar sentiments, the formation of the Canada (now Ontario) District was an answer, if only partial, nevertheless, an answer to this Canadian dilemma.

Again in Western Canada this same sentiment was evident in 1911 that the administration of Canadian church affairs ought to be based in Canada. At a General Pastoral Conference of Western Canada, in session at Stony Plain, Alberta, a motion was made and

seconded "that we separate ourselves from the Minnesota District and organize our own synodical District in Western Canada."3 A committee was then appointed to study the matter. But a fulfillment to their desires did not come until ten years later when, in 1921, the two provinces of Alberta and British Columbia joined to make one district and in 1922, the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan organized themselves into a district of Synod.

So by 1922 immediate expectations had been reached as far as achieving the status of a Canadian District, in Canada, within the Missouri Synod. This however did nothing to help bridge the gap between Eastern and Western Lutheranism in Canada. Though the matter was still being discussed in conferences and conventions nothing concrete had been planned.

Finally on August 26, 1941 things began to take shape and become more official. At the Joint Pastoral Conference of the pastors of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan and of the Alberta-British Columbia District in Edmonton, an overture was directed to the conference under the title Change of Name of the Three Districts of the Evangelical Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in Canada. Because I believe this document to be a turning point in Canadian Lutheranism, I will include the whole overture. The document reads as follows:

WHEREAS, We are endeavouring to build a Canadian Lutheran Church;

And the official name of the Missouri Synod is foreign and meaningless to the general public in Canada;

And the present official name of our church is not helpful to mission work, since it is sectional and must be explained to the average Canadian;

And it would add greatly to the prestige of our church in times like these (World War II) if it were known by a "Canadian" name;

And the present official name is not and never can be national and international;

Therefore be it resolved, That this pastoral conference petition the three Canadian Districts to take this matter into serious consideration at their next District conventions for the purpose of forming a corporate body known by a name such as The Canadian Evangelical Lutheran Church, or The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada;

And that a committee be appointed to study the legal side of such a change;

And that we hereby do not wish to indicate that we in any way even think of severing our connection and affiliation with the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States;

And that detailed information concerning this overture be submitted to the officials of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States.⁴

This proposal was accepted by the conference and accordingly, appointed a committee to carry out the resolution of the conference.

Dr. Harold Merklinger, a co-author with the Rev. Christian T. Wetzstein of the overture, in a recent letter, gives some insight into the reason he felt a need for such action. He writes:

In 1941, when I first opened the subject, I did so because as a home missionary in the Vancouver area I was continually running into opposition from unchurched Canadians on the grounds that we are a "foreign" church, often even a "German" church. After four years of that I was convinced that we had to change our image if we hoped to gain the Canadian unchurched for the Lord in greater numbers. I am still of this opinion, only more so, largely because of my service in the Canadian Army as a Chaplain (1942-1967). In the Forces people speak their mind openly on things Canadian.⁵

The Edmonton resolution was thoroughly studied at the Eastern Pastoral Conference at Ottawa, Feb. 3-5, 1942, but the members could not convince themselves that a change of name was desirable at this time. They were convinced that the name "Missouri" represented something good—it had "something to do with the United States of America, and friends of the British Empire, including Canada"—and that a sudden change of name might arouse suspicions in the fickle public mind.⁶

Consequently, this matter was submitted to the three District presidents, but it did not go to the floor of the District conventions. Undoubtedly the stresses and strains of the war years contributed to this.⁷

After joining the Canadian Army as a chaplain in 1942, Pastor H. Merklinger returned from Europe in 1945 to renew interest. In a letter to the three District presidents he spoke of Plan A and Plan B. Plan A dealt with the changing of the name for a more national flavour. Such a precedent, he stated, had already been set with our sister Lutheran churches in Australia and England who had both deemed it necessary to have a distinctive national name. Also he used the examples of international businesses in Canada who also changed their names to a more national one which assisted in their profits, e.g., the Du Pont interests are incorporated in Canada as the Canadian Industries Limited. Plan B in his letter of March 3, 1949, he introduced "the subject of forming an entirely autonomous Canadian church or synod as part of the Synodical Conference similar to the Australian Church." To offer encouragement he continued: "Many of the obstacles to both plans should be overcome relatively easily. The matter of finances usually comes up. I am quite certain that as long as we adhere to the Scriptural principles of our Synod, we shall merit their financial support. The mother synod supports work among other synods, and I am sure would not forsake its work in Canada."⁸

In the July 1949 convention of the Alberta-British Columbia District, interest was once again revived in the matter of changing the name of the Lutheran Church in Canada. Sentiments again ran high

that the present name was not advantageous to work of the church in Canada. Resolutions were passed to the same affect, and the President, William C. Eifert, was instructed to appoint a committee which was to keep in touch with the other two Districts and report again to the next District convention.⁹

Action in the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District was not taken until 1954, when President L. W. Koehler presented the following:

"Memorial Re Incorporation of the Three Canadian Districts of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod":

WHEREAS the Christians of the three Canadian Districts of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod are Canadian people;

And it may be in the best interest of the Lutheran Church to be a corporate body in Canada at some time in the future because of political, economic, or even religious conditions;

Therefore be it resolved that this convention instruct its District Board of Directors to appoint a committee of three to study the matter of forming a corporate body of the three Canadian Districts with a distinctive name;

And that this committee present a concrete proposal re incorporation to the next convention.

The memorial was adopted.¹⁰

This "Koehler Memorial" was brought to the attention of the 1954 District Convention of the Alberta-British Columbia District. Special attention was given to the points that Canada and the U.S. have two different types of government and that Missouri is not always able to act on Canadian matters; that publications, promotional materials, etc., should speak for a Canadian organization of the Districts; and that it would be in the best interest of the Canadian Districts to become a corporate body because of the political, economic, and religious conditions. They also appointed a committee to meet with the sister Districts and report in 1955 on their findings.¹¹

At the following convention of the A-BC District in 1955,

opinions were varied and vague as to what course of action should be pursued. Many wanted to incorporate the three Canadian Districts so as to act jointly in planning the future, and also to give them legal standing before the federal government. Another opinion was that immediate work should begin to form an independent Canadian Synod, but to remain in close association with the Missouri Synod. It was deemed advisable by the study committee that much work would be needed in order to become independent and that at the present time such action would be premature. The convention concurred with this, but advised that incorporation would be advantageous and would not change the administrative set-up, nor the relation to the Missouri Synod. Therefore the study committee was instructed to continue its work and to meet with the other two Districts.¹²

The committee of the Alberta-British Columbia District seemed to be the driving force in pursuing the issues expressed in the District Conventions and in pushing for action. They wrote letters to the Presidents of the Districts and as a result, representatives were appointed by each, and they met in conference at the Marlborough Hotel in Winnipeg, April 4-5, 1956. Besides representatives from the districts, there was also one representative from the English District congregations in Ontario.¹³

The meeting of those days in Winnipeg holds a good deal of historical significance and importance. This was virtually the first time that the districts, through their representatives, had come together to discuss and plan their mutual interests and concerns—Lutherans in the East meeting Lutherans in the West. The thousand miles of wilderness between Winnipeg and Toronto were a barrier

precluding common interests in Canadian church work. Hence this meeting in Winnipeg was in a real sense of the term, a get-acquainted meeting, in which it was discovered that East and West had similar problems.¹⁴

The conference discussed a few of the significant advantages that incorporation of the three Canadian Districts would have— incorporation would bind these districts more closely together; in the eyes of the Canadian government the Canadian Missouri Church was foreign, American; in matters of chaplaincy, the government preferred to deal with a Canadian body; congregations in Quebec could benefit, because incorporation in Quebec for a congregation cost \$1,500 to \$2,000 because Missouri congregations in Quebec were classified as a foreign body; it would also benefit Canadian congregations of such Districts as are not incorporated in Canada, e.g., the Minnesota District, the English District, etc. Incorporation would assist in the exchange of ideas of mutual encouragement which would aid the Canadian church to abound more and more in the work of the Lord. Incorporation, with its consequent annual meetings, would assist for study purposes, in formulating a self-governing Lutheran church in Canada.

As a result of their free exchange of discussion, the joint committee resolved without a dissenting vote to recommend that the Districts of the Missouri Synod in Canada form a national corporation. Two committees were appointed, one to draft a charter and the other to draw up a constitution. It was further resolved to send a detailed report to all of the pastors in Canada, to inform officials of the conference and send reports of the progress of their work to all

congregations.¹⁵

As a result of the reports of the meeting, each District gave its approval and instructed the committee appointed in Winnipeg to draw up a constitution for the Federation of Synodical Conference Lutheran Churches in Canada.¹⁶

The constitution committee submitted a tentative draft of a proposed constitution to all churches in Canada in August, 1956. Each congregation was to give it careful study and recommend improvements if possible. The committee attempted to keep the constitution as brief and simple as possible. Because the federation did not disturb the relation of the individual Districts to the Missouri Synod, much of that constitution was not incorporated into the new draft. The constitution was to serve only as a temporary document until a Canadian synod could be organized.¹⁷

At the Winnipeg joint meeting, several names were suggested, but the committee gave preference to The Lutheran Church in Canada, because it left the emphasis on "Lutheran" and not on Canada, but still carried a Canadian quality. The joint committee also set delegate representation at this: the Districts would have one representative for each 4,000 communicants or fraction thereof, and the various other separate groups (English District, Minnesota District, Slovak Ev. Luth. Church, Michigan District, Finnish National Ev. Luth. Ch., and Wisconsin Synod), in all totalling 21 parishes, would be represented by two delegates.¹⁸

The next monumental step came with the announcement by the three District Presidents—W. O. Rathke, C. F. Baase, and L. W. Koehler (Secretary)—of this convention notice:

Whereas the Alberta-British Columbia District, the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District, and the Ontario District of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod each adopted a resolution authorizing the formation of an organization embracing all congregations in Canada that are members of the Synodical Conference; and

Whereas the presidents of the three Districts have been authorized to call the organizational meeting, therefore

It is herewith announced that the organizational meeting of The Lutheran Church in Canada will be held at Winnipeg, Manitoba, on September 11 and 12, 1958, beginning at 9 o'clock a.m. in the Marlborough Hotel.¹⁹

"God-pleasing success in our endeavour requires a church that is founded on the Word, guided by the Word, and that teaches the Word to others." With 2 Tim. 3:14-17 as the basis of his remarks, Rev. Carl F. Baase, President of the A-BC District, opened the founding convention of The Lutheran Church in Canada. Rev. L. W. Koehler, President of the Man.-Sask. District, was elected chairman, and Rev. M. F. Pollex, secretary. Dr. Herman Harms, Vice-President of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, represented President John W. Behnken. Fourteen delegates were present. Dr. Schwermann, chairman of the constitution committee submitted a proposed constitution for adoption. After additions, deletions, and amendments had been made, the proposed constitution was moved for acceptance in its entirety. This motion was unanimously accepted by a rising vote. The motion to establish The Lutheran Church in Canada was made by Dr. A. H. Schwermann and seconded by Mr. David Appelt. This motion also was unanimously adopted.²⁰ Although I feel the Constitution of the Federation of Synodical Conference Lutheran Churches in Canada in its adopted form at the 1958 Winnipeg convention is an important document in this paper, I shall not include it into the corpus of this paper. The more essential sections of the text, with the omission of the

usual references to the duties of the officials, time of meetings, etc., appears in Appendix I.

Now that the Lutheran Church in Canada was official, work began immediately to deal with matters relevant to the incorporation, and perhaps later, the development of an independent synod in Canada. A committee was appointed to study the matter of establishing a seminary in Canada and memorialize the 1959 San Francisco Convention (LC-MS) to seriously study the request for a Canadian Seminary. If feasible, it was advised that Concordia College in Edmonton strive for affiliation and accreditation with the University of Alberta. A detailed report of the founding convention was to be sent to the 1959 San Francisco Convention (LC-MS). Formal proclamations of the formation of The Lutheran Church in Canada were to be read in public services in all local congregations in Canada. It was also resolved that the board of directors proceed immediately with the incorporation of The Lutheran Church in Canada and that a charter be secured. Elections also were held and the following men were to serve as the First Board of Directors of The Lutheran Church in Canada:

President: Dr. Albert H. Schwermann (A-BC)
 Vice-President: Rev. Arne Kristo (Engl)
 Secretary: Rev. Maynard F. Pollex (Ont)
 Treasurer: Mr. Clare Kuhnke (Man.-Sask)
 Member-at-large: Mr. David Appelt (Man.-Sask)²¹

A report of the convention was presented to each of the districts and it met with their approval.

Throughout the Conventions of the Lutheran Church in Canada and the various committee and Board of Director's meetings, it should be noted that the area of communication was strongly emphasized throughout. A great deal of importance was placed on finding out what

pastors and laymen of different areas of the country thought and felt of the various problems which the organization of this independent synod was confronted with. Public relations was stressed. The Board of Directors were consistent in feeling that involvement with and from all members of this new body was essential. They agreed that a new church body must develop from the grass roots up.²²

By resolution of the LC-C convention, the Board of Directors submitted a report to the Forty-fourth Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in San Francisco, June 17-27, 1959.

The report stated:

In view of the phenomenal development of Canada and the steady growth of our church we have felt that a closer association of our Districts would be of benefit to the work in the Saviour's Kingdom.²³

In their report they quoted significant figures involving the LC-C, the objects of the LC-C, their work towards incorporation, the results of the founding convention, and the assurance that this new body was simply a federation. Here they stated:

Hence, in every respect we are and will remain full-fledged members of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod; and even in such matters as chaplaincies for the Armed Forces, public relations and student services, we will remain in close consultation with the respective boards of the Synod.²⁴

In response to the report of the Lutheran Church in Canada, the San Francisco Convention (LC-MS) 1959, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The three Districts of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod located in Canada and also a number of congregations of the Minnesota District and of the English District located in Canada have, with the consent of the Synod, organized on September 11 and 12, 1958, into "The Lutheran Church in Canada"; and

WHEREAS, This organization has been effected because it offers advantages but in no way affects the relationship

with The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod; and
 WHEREAS, Synod's Committee on Constitutional Matters has carefully examined the Constitution of "The Lutheran Church in Canada" and declares it to be in harmony with our Handbook; therefore be it

Resolved,

a) That The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, through its officials and boards, continue to guide and counsel "The Lutheran Church in Canada"; and

b) That we commend "The Lutheran Church in Canada" to the guidance and protection of Almighty God, praying Him that these our brethren will continue loyal to the Scriptures and zealous in ever proclaiming God's grace through the crucified and risen Redeemer of Mankind.²⁵

At the Second Convention of the LC-C the charter committee, composed of Rev. H. H. Erdman, Rev. M. F. Pollex, and Mr. E. J. Schoemaker, reported that the Parliament of Canada had granted a charter to the Lutheran Church—Canada. The bill was presented to the Senate by Senator W. D. Euler and to the House of Commons by Mr. Oscar (Mike) Weichel. The only difficulty, it was reported, was caused by the proposed name "The Lutheran Church in Canada," on the objection that it was too broad and inclusive. Rev. Erdman, chairman of the committee, came to an agreement with some of the members of Parliament that the name of the corporation should be Lutheran Church—Canada. The charter was known as Bill S-18, As Passed By The Senate, 23rd April, 1959. First Reading, April 24, 1959; Second Reading, May 12, 1959; Third Reading, May 12, 1959; Royal Assent, June 4, 1959.²⁶ The document was officially presented to President A. H. Schwermann at the Convention.²⁷ Significant aspects of the Charter are found in Appendix II.

It was reported to the convention that on March 3, 1959, the Board of Regents had issued an invitation to LC-C to co-operate in the operation of Luther Theological Seminary, Saskatoon (ELCC—LCA). The invitation was recommended for study.²⁸

The Board of Directors presented three plans to the convention towards the formation of a self-governing church in Canada. After discussing the plans the convention resolved:

That Lutheran Church—Canada request its constituent members to join in meetings of their boards of directors with the officials of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod and the officials of Lutheran Church—Canada to aim at becoming an independent church in Canada either by first becoming a District across Canada, or becoming independent directly.²⁹

In the 1960 Convention of the LC-C, factfinding committees were chosen to investigate fourteen phases of synodical work including education, publications, pensions, financial independence, etc., and indicate how these would effect the independent church in Canada. In total, there were about eighty people actually engaged in these studies, representing all areas of Canada. The Board of Internal Information and Promotion also reported extensive campaigning and promotion of the LC-C through frequent articles in The Lutheran Witness and The Canadian Lutheran. Also they issued pamphlets entitled Lutheran Church—Canada for all the communicant members in Canada in which it discussed thirty questions pertinent to the organization of a synod in Canada.³⁰

Resolutions at the Third Convention also geared themselves to the fact that, at least for some time to come, working for an autonomous LC-C would be organized as an "interdependent" church rather than a completely "independent" church. Thus in achieving and working towards an organizational structure, the LC-C would rely on assistance and co-operation from the mother church, the LC-MS. It was resolved also that the LC-C strive to submit a request for autonomy to the 1962 convention of the Missouri Synod in Cleveland.³¹

Concerning the matter of the LC-C becoming "independent" in its properly understood sense of administration, the Committee on Internal Information and Promotion of the LC-C, used an article by Rev. C. Thomas Spitz, chairman of the Board for Missions in North and South America of the LC-MS, to assist in their program of making the people aware of what the exact meaning of the action of LC-C implied. His article, appearing in The Canadian Lutheran, stated:

. . . Personally, I believe in the establishment and structuring of the Lutheran Church—Canada and subscribe to further efforts in that direction.

. . . Whatever the degree of our self-administration or financial self-reliance, in Christ's Church we are always interdependent. Our function is interdependent and the form of our structure should enable and encourage and provide for that interdependent function.

The establishment of a self-administrating Lutheran Church—Canada need not mean that fellow Christians in the United States will be less interested in the witness and extension of the church in Canada or less willing to share financial resources. It is probable that the sharing of financial resources should and would increase rather than decrease, particularly in the early years of any Lutheran Church—Canada.

Man-made systems of ecclesiastical government should never and need never be built to control and limit; they should rather enable and facilitate. Sister church structures need not be walls which bar or hinder intercommunication, interchange or interdependence; such walls actually do violence to the nature of Christ's Church.

From my point of view, the Lutherans of Canada are confronted by physical frontiers which do not now exist in the United States. Many of the challenges to mission planning are unique to Canada (e.g. the large proportion of new Canadians). It would seem that the establishment of The Lutheran Church—Canada will help Canadians find better and faster answers to Canadian challenges. That being the case, tomorrow will be none too soon for the completion of that structure.³²

In the resolutions of the Fourth Convention the assertion appeared in many of the whereas's and resolve's that there would indeed be co-operation and interdependence between the LC-C and the LC-MS.

The Fourth Convention also adopted the following resolution which, when a time for a vote would be taken for independence, would serve as the guideline:

Resolved that the secretary of Lutheran Church—Canada solicit information from the congregations on their action, and as soon as 66 2/3 percent approval of all congregations in Canada (providing that there is 66 2/3 majority of the congregations in each District, Alberta-British Columbia, Manitoba-Saskatchewan, Ontario) has been received, then positive action by Lutheran Church—Canada shall be taken.³³

In their submissions to the 1962 Cleveland Convention of LC-MS, the LC-C listed points in which they would need assistance from the LC-MS in working toward a self-governing, interdependent Canadian church body. Assistance was requested in the areas of higher education, home missions, church extension fund, foreign missions, pensions, and it was further proposed that the LC-MS continue to make available to LC-C materials, courses, etc., issued by its various departments; that it will permit representatives of LC-C, at its expense, to attend conferences conducted by its boards, committees, etc.; and that there be free exchange of pastors, teachers, and full-time church workers between the two churches.³⁴

The Board of Missions in North and South America of LC-MS responded favourably to the submissions of the LC-C and offered their assistance, financial and otherwise.³⁵ Officers of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod had often expressed interest in the Canadian scene and had given much support for an indigenous Canadian church. Dr. O. R. Hams, President of the LC-MS, stated in an interview with The Canadian Lutheran that "the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod is fully ready to give assistance to the Lutheran Church-Canada whenever it becomes a self-governing body." He offered every encouragement,

but added that the LC-C should be fully prepared to undertake their independence so that the mission of the church would not be forced any undue setbacks.³⁶

Things seemed to be shaping up fine and progress towards independence looked good. Public relations work had informed constituents across Canada on the progress and development of LC-C; plans had been effected and committees and boards were preparing themselves for independence. The LC-MS officials had added their encouragement and assistance where they were able. Then there came opposition, primarily from the Ontario District, the most established historical district in Canada, and with a reputation of being perhaps the most conservative and "hardnosed." It is difficult to pinpoint the exact reasons for their opposition. Some reasons are spelled out in print, but there may be other reasons which contributed to their opposition.

The Rev. Philip L. Fless, President of the Ontario District at that time, spearheaded the Ontario opposition against an autonomous church.³⁷ In 1961 an article appeared in The Canadian Lutheran written by Rev. Fless entitled, "A Personal Evaluation" in which he laid down the reasons why he opposed an independent church. His first reason for opposition he labelled "spiritual." According to this reason, autonomy for the LC-C is an outgrowth of a trend toward nationalism in Canada. Because, according to Fless, "nationalism is not a good thing" for the Christian as it sets up artificial boundaries and borders which are against God's desires--it hinders the work of the Church and "anything which sets men against men is not of God but of Satan." Fless felt that autonomy would set up an

"artificial church barrier." He felt that "at the present there is certainly nothing in our membership in the Missouri Synod that hinders our spreading of the Gospel; in fact, programs developed in the Missouri Synod often open doors for us for the Gospel, e.g., This is the Life, P.T. R's, The Lutheran Hour, etc."

Fless's second objection to autonomy was that there was no indication of the ability of the LC-C to produce its own clergy. His objection stems from the statistics of that time of the number of Canadian students in the Seminaries of the LC-MS in contrast to the greater demand of pastors in Canada. Besides, the cost of raising Concordia, Edmonton, to the level of a Seminary would be enormous.

The third objection was that of stewardship (financial feasibility). The amount of money that would be used after autonomy in repaying subsidy from the LC-MS could be used in other mission fields.

Fourthly, because of the geographic size of Canada and the large distances involved, it would cost considerable amounts of man hours and dollars to run such an "unwieldly" organization.

Fifthly, he saw no advantages to the Kingdom by being separate than is already being accomplished as a federation and part of the LC-MS.

Finally, autonomy would mean splitting ties in L.L.L., L.W.M.L., and Walther League. There is no real assurance of the necessary financial subsidy from Synod. We would have to take what we could get. Autonomy would involve a loss of valuable contacts with resource departments of Synod as they would have no obligation to us—they could help, if they wished to, but Missouri Synod needs would have to come first. Also he objects because LC-MS officials are not pushing

the move. He includes in his objections such matters as pension plan transfers, educational questions, and the like, but does not develop these positions.³⁸

Dr. H. A. Merklinger offers a paragraph in his letter to me of Oct. 20, 1973 which may also account for some of the opposition from Ontario. He writes:

The opposition centres largely in the Ontario District, though, in fairness, I must add that there are pastors and congregations in the other two districts that likewise do not feel that we should become independent. It is difficult to pinpoint the reason. Part of it lies in the number of American pastors in the Ontario District and the influence they wield. In the 94 years of the Ontario District (until 1922 the Canada District) it has never elected a Canadian as president, nor until 1972 a Canadian executive secretary. Its secretary and third vice-presidents have normally been Canadians, but no one within immediate reach of the presidency until 1970 when Pastor Lloyd Wentzlaff was elected first vice-president. Ontario has usually objected on financial grounds using the "I can't afford it" argument.³⁹

At any rate, whatever their basic reasons were, there was a sufficient number in Ontario opposing an autonomous LC-C that the cause was stopped when the vote was cast. After intensive preparations had been made by continued dissemination of information through the spoken and written word, the question was put to the vote between January 1 to April 30, 1964. Each congregation in the LC-C had been given a ballot by the secretary of the LC-C, Rev. M. Pollex. According to the resolution of the Fourth Convention, 1961, there had to be 66 2/3% majority of all congregations in Canada and 66 2/3% majority in each of the districts. Incidentally, the original resolution only called for a majority of 66 2/3% of the congregations in Canada, but Ontario objected and called also for 66 2/3% majority in each district, and it was adopted as Ontario had amended it.

The ballot reads:

We vote FOR the establishment of Lutheran Church—Canada as an Independent Church.

We vote AGAINST the establishment of LC-C as an Independent Church.

When the votes were tallied, 94.5% of all voting congregations in Canada exercised the franchise. Of those, 77.6% favoured an independent church body, 22.4% were against. Unfortunately, the District of Ontario was the only district which did not achieve a 2/3 majority, actually only receiving 48.6% in favour. This announcement followed:

I therefore declare that Lutheran Church—Canada will continue to function as a federated church body within The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.

Please forward this information to your congregation.

Thank you for your excellent co-operation.

Maynard F. Pollex
Secretary⁴⁰

Thereafter Lutheran Church—Canada continued to function as a federation of Canadian Districts within The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. And that is its status today.

In 1969 the following memorial appeared from LC-C in the Workbook and Proceedings of the 48th Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod at Denver. Under the heading To Implement Autonomy for Lutheran Church—Canada (4-12), it read:

WHEREAS, The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod has been encouraging its mission churches in all foreign lands to be the church in their homeland in the fullest possible sense;
and

WHEREAS, The three Districts of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in Canada, together with the congregations of the English District in Canada, have been operating these past 10 years as a federation known as Lutheran Church—Canada;
and

WHEREAS, The example of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of

Canada as an autonomous Lutheran Church on Canadian soil has been an encouraging one;
and

WHEREAS, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod has in previous conventions (Cleveland 1962, Resolution 6-36, and Detroit 1965, Resolution 4-28) encouraged Lutheran Church—Canada to proceed with plans to build up a strong indigenous Lutheran Church in Canada; therefore be it

Resolved, That The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod grant authority to Lutheran Church—Canada together with the officials of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod for implementation of autonomy of Lutheran Church—Canada contingent on the favourable result of a forthcoming referendum of congregations of Lutheran Church—Canada.⁴¹

Synod responded favourably to the memorial and indicated their favour with resolution 4-13 as follows:

WHEREAS, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod has in previous conventions (Cleveland 1962, Resolution 6-36, and Detroit 1965, Resolution 4-28) encouraged Lutheran Church—Canada to proceed with plans to build up a strong Lutheran Church in Canada; therefore be it

Resolved, That The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod herewith grants authority to Lutheran Church—Canada together with the officials of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod for the implementation of autonomy of Lutheran Church—Canada in accord with the constitution of each body.⁴²

Again in 1970, following Synod's favourable review (Denver, Res. 4-13), each of the Districts in convention voted on the question of LC-C autonomy. The result closely paralleled that of 1964. This prompted a number of subsequent revisions in structure to facilitate closer consultation between the responsible officials of the Districts and more direct representation in matters requiring joint decision both within LC-C and in its relations with other church bodies.⁴³

Since the 1964 referendum, the LC-C has continued to do the necessary work involved in one day becoming an autonomous church. In 1969, fellowship was declared with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada (ELCC), formerly the Canada District of The American Lutheran

Church, now autonomous since 1967. This in itself has greatly facilitated the ministry of the Lutheran Church in Canada, especially Western Canada. The LC-C has also participated as an active member in the Lutheran Council in Canada (LCIC) since it became operative in 1967 (Detroit, Res. 3-17). LCIC is the Canadian counterpart of Lutheran Council in the United States of America (LCUSA). Upon recommendation by the LC-C, Canadian students are now permitted to receive their theological education in Canada at Luther Theological Seminary at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, (Milwaukee, Res. 6-20). Until 1973 the Missouri Synod students there were served by Concordia College Edmonton's President, Roland A. Frantz, who flew to Saskatoon weekly. Since the 1973 New Orleans Convention, Rev. Walter Koehler is serving as Associate Professor of Practical Theology and as the official LCMS chair at the Saskatoon Seminary.

To these accomplishments, the boards and committees of the LC-C have continued to do extensive work researching and working out programs effective for the Kingdom in Canada, in seeking Lutheran unity in Canada, and in achieving a more extensive basis for an autonomous Church in Canada.

CHAPTER II FOOTNOTES

¹Letter from Dr. Thomas L. Ristine, former President of Lutheran Church—Canada and former member of Lutheran Council in Canada, London, Ontario, Canada, Oct. 10, 1973.

²Frank Malinsky, Grace and Blessing, (Kitchener, Ontario: By the author, 1954), p. 22.

³Albert H. Schwermann, The Beginnings of Lutheran Church—Canada, (Published by resolution of the 12th Annual Convention, Lutheran Church—Canada, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, 1969), p. 6.

⁴Ibid., p. 7.

⁵Letter from Dr. Harold A. Merklinger, former President of Lutheran Church—Canada, Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, Oct. 20, 1973.

⁶Schwermann, p. 8.

⁷Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁸Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁹Alberta-British Columbia District. Proceedings of 20th Annual Convention (Edmonton, Alberta, July 5-8, 1949), p. 69.

¹⁰Manitoba-Saskatchewan District. Proceedings of 22nd Annual Convention (Regina, Sask., July 19-23, 1954), pp. 13-38.

¹¹Alberta-British Columbia District. Proceedings of 23rd Annual Convention (Edmonton, Alberta, June 29-July 2, 1954), p. 63.

¹²Alberta-British Columbia District. Proceedings of 24th Annual Convention (Edmonton, Alberta, July 5-8, 1955), pp. 51; 59a.

¹³Schwermann, p. 13.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁵Minutes of Meeting to Discuss the Incorporation of a Canadian Lutheran Church, Winnipeg, Man., April 4-5, 1956.

¹⁶Schwermann, p. 15.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 16, 17.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 17, 18.

²⁰Lutheran Church—Canada. Minutes of Board of Directors, (Winnipeg, Man., Oct. 13, 1958), cited by Albert H. Schwermann, The Beginnings of Lutheran Church—Canada (Edmonton, Alberta: By the author, 1969), p. 20.

²¹Lutheran Church—Canada. Minutes of the First Convention (Winnipeg, Man., September 11-12, 1958), p. 5.

²²Schwermann, p. 45.

²³Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. Reports and Memorials (San Francisco, 1959), p. 691.

²⁴Ibid., p. 691.

²⁵Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. Proceedings (San Francisco, 1959), p. 318.

²⁶Statutes of Canada, Chapter 68, 1959 edition, as cited by Albert H. Schwermann, The Beginnings of Lutheran Church—Canada (Edmonton, Alberta: By the author, 1969), p. 36.

²⁷Lutheran Church—Canada. Minutes of the 2nd Annual Convention (Winnipeg, Man., Sept. 30-Oct. 1, 1959), p. 3.

²⁸Ibid., p. 3.

²⁹Ibid., p. 5.

³⁰Schwermann, pp. 44, 45.

³¹Lutheran Church—Canada. Minutes of the 3rd Annual Convention (Winnipeg, Man., May 26-27, 1960).

³²C. Thomas Spitz, Jr., "Independent or Interdependent." The Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 27, No. 3, March 1962, pp. 5-6.

³³Lutheran Church—Canada. Minutes of the 4th Annual Convention (Kitchener, Ont., 1961), p. 10.

³⁴Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. Reports and Memorials (Cleveland, 1962), p. 282.

³⁵Ibid., p. 109.

³⁶"An Interview with Dr. Oliver R. Hams." The Canadian Lutheran, July, 1963, p. 2.

³⁷Letter from Dr. Harold A. Merklinger, Oct. 20, 1973.

³⁸Rev. Phil L. Fless, "A Personal Evaluation of the Lutheran Church in Canada," Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 27, No. 1, Jan. 1962, pp. 3-5.

³⁹Letter from Dr. Harold A. Merklinger, Oct. 1961.

⁴⁰Schwermann, p. 99.

⁴¹Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Convention (Denver, 1969), p. 215.

⁴²Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Proceedings (Denver, 1969), p. 104.

⁴³Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Convention (New Orleans, 1973), 4-07 Report Re Lutheran Church—180-182.

CHAPTER III

REASONS FOR AN AUTONOMOUS LUTHERAN CHURCH—CANADA

Article III of the Constitution of the Lutheran Church—

Canada states this:

The objects of LUTHERAN CHURCH—CANADA shall be:

1. To promote the extension of the Kingdom of God and the work of LUTHERAN CHURCH—Canada.
2. To speak unitedly and with authority,
 - a. in matters of public relations,
 - b. in conferring with the Federal and/or Provincial governments,
 - c. in dealing with other church bodies;
3. To work toward doctrinal unity with other church bodies;
4. To study the matter of the formation of an independent LUTHERAN CHURCH—CANADA to be affiliated with THE LUTHERAN CHURCH—MISSOURI SYNOD.

Thus far this paper has dealt with object 4 in relating historically the development of an independent (autonomous, indigenous, self-governing, interdependent) Canadian Lutheran Church. Though several aspects of the Lutheran Church—Canada changed from its conception to the present, matters such as structure and administration, the basic objects, however, have never changed and have remained the same as when they were first applied in 1958.

Thus far we have observed that in 1964 and again in 1970, referendums to the Lutheran congregations in Canada concerning an autonomous LC-C have failed to receive their necessary majority. Both times it failed because the District of Ontario did not achieve a

66 2/3% majority in favour of autonomy. The explicit reasons for this failure to favour autonomy are not exactly known, except for reasons which have been stated by Rev. Phil Fliess of the Ontario District, who seemingly spearheads the opposition against autonomy.

Since 1958, when the LC-C became a federation, until the present, the LC-C has functioned as a federation of Lutheran Districts of the Missouri Synod in Canada. It has functioned as an administrative unit of the LC-MS in Canada. Because the LC-C has failed to become autonomous thus far, the question arises as to whether there are significant reasons for autonomy, and if there are, are they valid.

This is the purpose of this third unit, to discover and evaluate significant reasons and circumstances in Canada (as opposed to the U.S. situation) which would warrant an autonomous Lutheran Church in Canada.

One of the first reasons for an indigenous Lutheran Church in Canada to arise in the early 1940's was that the name of the church, "Missouri Synod," was "foreign and meaningless to the general public in Canada."¹ As was pointed out in chapter two, these same sentiments were expressed in 1879 by Pres. John Adam Ernst,² and again in 1911 at a General Pastoral Conference of Western Canada at Stony Plain, Alberta. To a greater or lesser degree, virtually any Lutheran Pastor of the Missouri Synod in Canada would testify to having experienced similar reactions by individuals toward the Lutheran Church. Rev. Harold Merklinger exemplifies such responses when he writes that "in the Vancouver area I was continually running into opposition from unchurched Canadians on the grounds that we are

a 'foreign' church, often even a 'German' church."3 This title of "foreigners" is by no means limited to the individual Canadian. Often the Missouri Synod in Canada is regarded as "foreign" even by other Lutheran bodies in Canada, as well as other church bodies. A booklet used as a leader's guide to discussing autonomy of the LC-C with congregations in Canada states this:

. . . As members of the LC-MS we are often branded as a "foreign" church by outsiders. It is true that to the average Canadian we do have a foreign colouring, and that on two counts. First of all, the name "Lutheran" denotes foreign extraction to many Canadians just as the name Anglican means "England", Presbyterian means "Scotland", so Lutheran conjures up "German" or "Scandinavia" in many Canadian minds. About this we can do very little.

Similarly the name "Missouri Synod" indicates foreign sovereignty and stubbornness. The name is often used against us, even by other Lutherans. The July 1966 issue of the United Church Observer carried an editorial in which we are branded as "foreign missionaries in Canada." This was an unjust and unkind editorial, and it does indicate how others view us.⁴

In connection with this last quote it should be noted that the United Church Observer is an official publication of the United Church of Canada whose membership is in the area of 4,000,000, by far the largest Protestant church in Canada.

In Canadian church history it was felt quite early that in order to be most advantageous and expedient in meeting the spiritual needs of the rapid development of Canada, both in the east and in the west, only a union of Churches could accomplish this broad project with the least amount of competition, man-power, resources and structure. It had to be a church typical of Canadianism and completely Canadian oriented to meet these needs most effectively. For this reason of most advantageous mission work, the United Church of Canada was organized in 1925, composed of three mainline denominations—Presbyterian,

Methodist, and Congregational. Church union was a natural answer to some of the questions raised by the Canadian situation. In attempting to organize a union of churches which would meet this need of Canadianism, all church bodies were included in the talks of union which were Canadian and which would meet the needs of this Canadianism. The Lutheran Church was not one of those chosen because "the Lutherans were completely American in their ecclesiastical connections."⁵

Most pastors of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, either in the United States or in Canada, know that during the Two World Wars and in subsequent times, the German language in our churches posed a real danger in many respects. And many pastors would verify the fact that because the Lutheran Church was known as "a German Church" that it frequently suffered in its mission work as well as in carrying out its regular duties. To a similar extent, Canadian Lutheran churches, especially in this instance, the Missouri Synod churches, have been hindered in their outreach because they in turn have been known as a "foreign" or an "American" body. Therefore it would seem to the best advantage of the Kingdom that the Lutheran Church in Canada have a Canadian identity in which it could genuinely identify with Canadian people. This would also seem to be the general policy of the LC-MS as it "has been encouraging its mission churches in all foreign lands to be the church in their homeland in the fullest possible sense."⁶ This then would include the name and image of the church.

That Canadian people would be more attracted to the Canadian church is stated by Dr. H. A. Merklinger in an article of

The Canadian Lutheran. He states:

. . .the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ draws no national boundaries, but people who do not know the Gospel do make nationalistic distinctions in church affiliation. Given the choice, those citizens of our country who have not yet learned what it means to own the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour, will accept the invitation of a Canadian church in preference to one from outside Canada.

This has been the experience of Canadian church history.⁷

This indeed has been the experience of other church bodies in Canada.

Those who experienced the most rapid growth were those which were Canadian in name and in fact. Many denominations at work in Canada saw fit to be "Canadian" and indicate it so in their name, if not in their structure as well, e.g., Anglican Church of Canada, Baptist Federation of Canada, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, United Church of Canada. It should be noted that since the Anglican and the United churches became indigenous both administratively, financially, and nominally, they have grown at a much faster rate than they did before.⁸ These other church bodies have themselves set a precedent which could be followed by the Lutheran Church—Canada.

A similar precedent has been set by our fellow Lutheran bodies in Canada and even before that in a historical sense, by the fathers of the Missouri Synod in the United States. Rev. Merklinger writes in a letter:

Canadian Lutheranism is American oriented. Only the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada is an autonomous Canadian Body. It was formerly the Canada District of the American Lutheran Church. It became independent on January 1, 1967. The LCA has three synods in Canada. They have banded themselves into a federation similar to LC-C, and call it the Lutheran Church in America-Canada Section. That name displays its orientation and it cannot be regarded as a Canadian church. At

least the name Lutheran Church—Canada indicates an independent Canadian approach, even if at present it is still an integral part of the LC-MS.⁹

Dr. Merklinger also points out that the reason that the Missouri Synod flourished in the United States was that it had to rely on its own resources, and that "with the breakdown of the language barrier, which admittedly two world wars assisted, The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod became an American church in every sense of the word.¹⁰ This is in essence the same as the experience of the Lutheran Church in England. For over 50 years while the Lutheran Church in England was but an outpost for the Missouri Synod it attracted few Britains. But in the past ten years, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of England has virtually boomed.¹¹

It is significant that not only various Lutheran Churches, but also a number of denominations have found this to be advantageous for their ministry and mission work in Canada as well as in other countries, e.g., Lutheran Church of Australia. Were the church in Canada simply dealing with an influx of Lutheran immigrants or with existing congregations in Canada, then perhaps autonomy and a Canadian church such as LC-C would not be necessary. But the church must grow and reach unchurched Canadians. To this purpose, Dr. Merklinger wrote:

In the past one hundred years our Canadian Lutheran Church has grown largely because of the influx of immigrants from Lutheran countries. But the time has come when we must win more of our native Canadians as well. To do this with success our Church must be a truly Canadian Church.¹²

In connection with the preceding reasons for changing the name of the Lutheran Church in Canada and giving it a better Canadian identity, and also becoming autonomous, one has to look at

the circumstances in Canada which "turn off" people to a "foreign" or "American" church.

In the last few decades Canada has experienced a great movement toward nationalism. Canadians are increasingly becoming aware of their individuality—I hesitate to say "identity" as Canadians are very much involved in identifying and defining their identity. It has been only in these last few decades that Canadians have consciously become aware that they do have an identity unlike all others in the world, and they are now in the process of defining that identity. According to William Kilbourn, "Canadians have been accustomed to define themselves by what they are not."¹³ Canadians are English, French, Ukrainian, German, Belgian, Hungarian, etc., but they are none of these—they are Canadian. They said "no" to remaining a colony of England, and they said "no" to the U.S. after the American Revolution. They are Eskimo, Indian, English, and French, but these contribute to their identity. They are not exclusively any of these, nor does the Canadian identity try to leave any of these out. A Canadian identity is made up of a cultural, social, and national mosaic or collage.

Unfortunately, seeking a Canadian identity by defining what it is not, has led to an emphatic denial that it is anything like the American identity. Today many, if not the majority of Canadians, take offense if they are mistaken as an American or even if they are called American or associated with America. Therefore, much of Canadian nationalism today has taken on the form of anti-Americanism. Prime Minister Trudeau's statement that living next to the United States is like sleeping with an elephant indicates the caution with

which Canada and Canadians view American politics and business as it reflects especially upon them.¹⁴ To Canadians it has seemed as though this elephant is hoarding too much of the bed, and poses the continual danger of rolling over and taking it all. Canadians have felt that the United States has become such a part of our Country economically, financially, and otherwise, that Canadians are again saying "no". They do not want Canada to become American, either totally in economics and business, or culturally, socially, nor do they want America to take over their identity. They want to be very emphatic in asserting that there is a difference, a big difference, between Canadianism and Americanism, and that they prefer Canadianism.

As "blacks" are different from "whites," so Americans by being Americans are precluded from understanding Canada and Canadians. Professor Morton says that Americans are basically a covenant people in that Americanization calls for uniformity and a sharp dichotomy between those who conform and those who do not. While there is inherent in the covenant not only uniformity and isolation, there is also the notion that America is to be a messianic country which is to periodically carry the republic into other lands for the liberation of the Gentiles, the lesser breeds without the covenant. In speaking of the difference between America and Canada, he writes:

This fundamental American character, a barrier to understanding any nation, is particularly an obstacle to understanding Canada; for Canada is not the creation of a covenant, or social contract embodied in a Declaration of Independence and written constitution. It is the product of treaty and statute. . . . The moral core of Canadian nationhood is found in the fact that Canada is a monarchy and in the nature of a monarchical allegiance. As America is united at the bottom by the covenant, Canada is a nation founded on allegiance and not on

compact; there is no process of becoming Canadian akin to conversion, there is no pressure to uniformity, there is no one Canadian way of life. Any one French, Irish, Ukrainian, or Eskimo can be subject of the Queen and a citizen of Canada without changing in any way or ceasing to be himself.

Because Canada arrived at freedom through evolution in allegiance and not by revolutionary compact, it had not a mission to perform but a destiny to work out. That destiny has never been manifest, but always exceedingly obscure. It could not be defined, for by definition it was always self defining. But it has been a destiny to create on the harsh northern half of a continent, a new nation, sprung from the ancient traditions of France, nourished by British freedom, and it must gladly be said, fortified by American example. It is not a nation which has sought a separate and equal existence, but an equal existence in free association, and in that principle of free and equal association it would wish to govern its relations with the world power of America.¹⁵

In a letter from Dr. Merklinger, he too expressed that unfortunately, a great deal of nationalism in Canada has taken on a "deplorable" strong, anti-American colouring. The young people, particularly those in the universities are becoming very nationalistic. But they alone are not the only supporters; it runs right across the population; "nor is it a cause propagated solely by the radical wing." As an example, Dr. Merklinger cites a national organization with headquarters in Toronto that calls itself "The Committee For An Independent Canada" (Suite 1105, 67 Yonge St., Toronto, Ont.). The aim of the organization is to achieve a status of independence for Canada in the realm of culture, economics, etc. Among the active members in this organization are included several former cabinet ministers.¹⁶ To cite another instance of how nationalism has taken on such an anti-American flavour he calls attention to a recent best seller in Canada, The Star-Spangled Beaver. The very title gives an insight as to the attitude and flavour of the book.

Thus, because of this trend in Canadian nationalism, it

is deemed most advisable by the LC-C that an autonomous LC-C would best serve the Canadian scene. "The remedy for this unfortunate situation is that we must become a Canadian Church in name and in fact, a Canadian Church that can take its place in this developing Canadian country. Our church must become as much a part of the country as the spread of the Gospel demands."¹⁷

Many have felt that autonomy for the LC-C stems out of this sense of nationalism which is sometimes anti-American.¹⁸ It is quite on the contrary. It is because of nationalism and also because of anti-American sentiment that the majority feel it is necessary to become an autonomous Lutheran Church in Canada, in order to be able to cope with this movement among unchurched in Canada and to more effectively minister to the Canadian people. Nationalism, per se, is not wrong as Rev. Fiess asserts, but it is the abuse and misuse of nationalism which is bad and evil.¹⁹ Whether we like it or not this nationalism is a very real fact. "We cannot dismiss it as unworthy of our notice just because it may have its roots in selfish motives. Whether we like it or not, the presence of nationalism in Canada and abroad, can harm our mission outreach."²⁰ It is therefore because of internal mission in Canada that autonomy should seriously be considered.

But internal mission is not the only area of mission that would benefit by LC-C autonomy. Much of the anti-Americanism in Canada is also quite prevalent in nationalism in other countries and in countries which are not involved in a nationalistic trend. The United States knows very well what its image is throughout the world, often for the same reasons that it is not appreciated in Canada. The Rev. N. Threinen tells of one such incident in which Canadians

had an "in" and the Americans were left out in the cold:

Some weeks ago our news broadcasts and special coverage programs on television vividly brought to our view the Panama crisis. It was noted that the television camera men and news reporters on the scene were allowed to have the privilege of photographing the scenes of violence and destruction because they were Canadians rather than Americans. Other crises have also seen Canadians effectively acting in areas where Americans were resented and therefore restricted. As we look at these situations in secular areas, must we not acknowledge that we have here a "handwriting on the wall" from the Lord which we can well apply to our church.²¹

Such parallels as the instance above can be illustrated time and again, in Cuba, in some South-American countries, in Russia, in Communist block countries, etc., countries across the globe. "We have seen that many countries which are afraid of American influence, have a somewhat more favourable attitude toward Canadians. Because of this, Canadians are frequently allowed greater freedom of movement than a person originating south of the border."²² Knowledge of our present Synodical mission work in some of our foreign mission fields such as India is already being hampered because it is American. Similar conditions could develop in Canada as they have in other countries such as India. "As members of the LC-C, our men might be expected to do even more effective work than they are now doing as Canadians who are members of an American church body."²³ Added to this, the fact that Canada has certain political ties which do not exist in the American political scene, e.g., the British Commonwealth of Nations, which insures that Canadians can move freely in and out of member countries, this in itself presents Canadians with an effective area for foreign missions which the United States does not have.²⁴ Such mission opportunities open to Canadians and not to the

United States, should itself warrant an indigenous Canadian Lutheran Church to take advantage of these inroads.

Aside from the nationalistic and anti-American aspect of Canadian life, an autonomous LC-C would better be able to meet mission work within her borders. Not only is there a great deal of work to be done among unchurched already in Canada, but the continuous incline of immigration into Canada presents a whole new field for mission activity.

This influx of immigrants into Canada, especially in Ontario, after World War II was a cause for considerable concern to the District as to how to minister to these new Lutheran Canadians. Because most of them did not speak English, the only answer was to give them pastors to minister to them in their own language. The District therefore had to take it upon itself to import pastors to meet this need who could speak Estonian, Latvian, German, and Lithuanian. In Jan. 1, 1954; almost one-third of the Lutherans in Ontario were of such a type of new Canadians.²⁵

There is every reason that such similar circumstances will occur again. Immigration into Canada is not expected to taper off, but to increase more and more as Canada develops more and more.

Unless something drastic occurs Canada's population will greatly increase in the next three decades. Natural, internal growth indicates that it will be so. Canada's industrial development is just in the initial stages. Canada's natural resources are beyond calculation. It is one of the few "have" nations (in natural resources) left in the Western World. Foreign countries are investing billions of dollars annually in Canadian industry and resources. As these develop one can expect new waves of immigration coming into Canada. The "brain drain" is already tapering off and in some fields has already reversed.

All of this means that with the predicted growth of our country we must be ready for that growth with a

strong Canadian church to meet the opportunities that will present themselves.

This means, too, that we must develop mission and outreach policies established to fit our needs, present and future.²⁶

Today we see that this rise in population and immigration is not simply speculative, but is imposing itself as a real fact. In a recent article in the Toronto Globe and Mail, 28 June 1973, a Canadian Press release from Ottawa indicated that in the first quarter of 1973 immigration to Canada was up by 12%. These immigrants were from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds, coming from countries such as United States, England, Portugal, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, Greece, Italy, Scotland, Guyana, St. Vincent, France, Uganda, and Northern Ireland. These were the majority of the immigrants although there were others from several countries. The total number of this immigration for this time period was 26,288.

Previously I quoted Professor Morton on the basic differences in the philosophy of Canada as compared to that of the United States. Again his statements have implications for mission work in Canada. In Canada, its philosophy and government do not exert pressure on immigrants to assimilate. "Any one French, Irish, Ukrainian, or Eskimo can be subject of the Queen and a citizen of Canada without changing in any way or ceasing to be himself."²⁷ This is most vividly brought to life considering the fact that when there was a great deal of immigration following the two World Wars, Canada welcomed it. The word "immigrant" was taboo. The government rather preferred to call these people "new Canadians" attempting to convey the idea that they were accepted as Canadian already without having to conform their language, culture, etc., to any set standard. Their own personal

identity was in itself part of the composite Canadian identity.
 "Canada is not like the United States—a melting pot, but a mosaic,
 a country that, perhaps through necessity, keeps and values its
 diversity."²⁸

The tendency of U.S. history has been to sink the
 minority in the mass. . . . In Canada, the minorities—
 whether cultural, religious, ethnic, whether Bluenoses,
 Soud Islanders, Italians, Ukrainians or God knows, French—
 have always and utterly refused to assimilate.
 This country offers an alternative life style to people
 who do not want to share in the benefits and deficiencies
 of mass society. . . .²⁹

Considering this then, it is conceivable that Canada
 and a Canadian Church will be forced of necessity to meet the demands
 of a multi-ethnic society, moreso than the United States. It must
 therefore confront this type of society with the same type of
 identity to truly meet the demands of ministry there.

A Canadian church can plan a home missions programme
 adapted to Canadian conditions, which will take account
 of all parts of Canada and of large linguistic groups
 such as the French Canadian, Ukrainians, and others.
 A Canadian church can express its message with a Canadian
 flavour in language, publications, and observances.³⁰

In an interview with Dr. O. R. Harms he emphasized that the great
 deciding point on the future course of the LC-C must be "the promotion
 of greater mission outreach."³¹ The readiness of the LC-C to make
 the step toward autonomy, he stated, could well be demonstrated by
 a well thought out program and plan for ever greater missionary
 advance in the Dominion of Canada. Similar sentiments were expressed
 by Rev. C. Thomas Spitz, Jr., Chairman of the Board for North and
 South American Missions. He stated that many of the challenges to
 mission planning are unique to Canada and that "it would seem that
 the establishment of the Lutheran Church—Canada will help Canadians

find better and faster answers to Canadian challenges."³²

Aside from immigration and population increases, the autonomous LC-C would be able to better serve areas of mission in Canada which are not being pursued by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod at the present. "Quebec has only a few churches of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and there are no congregations of this church body in the Maritimes. Nor is work being done among such groups as Indians and Eskimos."³³

Warranting autonomy for the LC-C would be the fact that the Canadian church could direct its complete thrust and mission programme to the Canadian scene in its totality. In the LC-MS, Canadian congregations represent but a small fraction of all of Synod. The LC-MS cannot tailor its policies and programs to meet the demands of the minority. There is little Canadian representation on Synodical Boards where policy is established, simply because our size does not warrant greater representation. Therefore "we must operate under policies not tailored to the Canadian scene and outlook. What works south of the border does not necessarily work north of it."³⁴ To fully meet the needs of the Canadian scene, policy and outlook should be completely geared toward that end.

These mission possibilities, both internal and external, as reasons for autonomy also have implications to the leadership and the training of workers for these missions. The LC-C believes that autonomy would better enable the Canadian church to educate its workers in a manner in which they would be better suited to minister to the Canadian scene. This would be done by facilitating the establishment of educational facilities in Canada. Dave Appelt summarizes his

concern in this area like this:

A Canadian church should expect, by God's grace, eventually to educate its own pastors in Canada as a general rule. The experience of other churches, and indeed of other professions, shows that people trained in the country are easier, on the average, to keep in the country than those trained abroad. Pastors trained in a Canadian church would, moreover, be better equipped for Canadian conditions. For example, in studying the teachings of various denominations, or the relations between church and state, Canadian examples would be presented to the students. In American seminaries, as is perfectly natural, it will be mainly American conditions that are described, and the teaching in this respect will not be particularly helpful to students who are to be called to Canadian congregations. (It is of course taken for granted that a theological course of a high standard would be established.)³⁵

Having been involved in theological training in the United States for the past eleven years, the writer of this paper, being a Canadian, can certainly sympathize and give credence to the statements in the above quote. Courses and illustrations are geared to the American scene, and we Canadians are continually translating this material into the Canadian situation from which we come and into which we hope to return. For a concrete example, a course offered at the St. Louis Seminary S-103, "Religious Bodies in America," never refers to those in Canada. Consequently, the United Church of Canada, the largest Protestant body in Canada, is completely ignored, while some of the smallest church bodies of only a few hundred existing only in the U.S., are to be committed to memory and are assumed "relevant" for our future ministry.

Appelt does not mention such factors as the cost of a Canadian student receiving his theological training in the U.S. Because of the transportation and travelling costs of going in or out of the country, Canadians are forced either to pay considerable amounts or remain on a compass in the U.S. during breaks. Considering

the rates of exchange between Canadian and American currencies, a Canadian Student, as the writer can well testify to, is often paying hundreds of dollars a year more to attend an American institution than does his American counterpart, simply because of currency exchange. Even then, Canadian students are often prohibited from working in the United States during their educational years. These increased burdens on Canadian students often contribute to the reluctance of Canadians to receive theological education, and hinder recruitment of Canadian workers.

Dr. A. O. Fuerbringer also felt that a Canadian Seminary should be established "because I feel that a full ministerial training program in Canada can be much better adapted to the needs of our churches and our mission opportunities there than a large seminary endeavouring to serve the needs of 50 United States and many countries overseas, and that without a Canadian on the faculty."³⁶ He continued to say that a theological faculty in Canada would also have the advantage of offering closer programs to pastors and teachers for continuing education.

Dr. Fuerbringer also felt that recruitment of Canadians for ministerial training would be facilitated.³⁷ One of the reasons often cited for organizing an indigenous church is that it would help in recruiting more persons for the ministry in Canada, simply because it is a Canadian church, independent, and would create an incentive on the part of Canadians to work toward the cause of mission and ministry in Canada.³⁸

Fortunately, resolution 6-20 of the Milwaukee Convention of the LC-MS now permits Missouri Synod students to receive their

theological training in Canada, and in 1973 a full-time Missouri professor was placed on the staff of Luther Theological Seminary at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

However, until a time when an autonomous LC-C could financially support her own educational institutions in Canada, it is conceivable that Canadian students of the LC-C could continue to receive their training in American institutions with Canadian programs on those campuses provided to them by the LC-C.³⁹

The Canadian geography also lends itself to an autonomous LC-C, although it could by the same token provide difficulties in administering such a church body. Canada is a federation of ten provinces and two territories which comprises a land mass greater than that of the continental United States. The land is sharply divided by its geography. The Rocky mountains divide the people of British Columbia on the west coast of Canada from the people on the fertile Canadian praries. The Canadian Shield dips down from the Arctic and cuts Ontario off from Manitoba. Language and culture rather than physical conditions separate the French-Canadians in Quebec from Ontario. The rugged and densely forested land as well as the pull of the Atlantic Ocean separate the Maritimes from the rest of Canada. Crowning the prarie provinces in the frigid sub-Arctic is the Northwest Territories and laying up against Alaska is the Canadian Yukon. Geography as much as anything else divides and regionalizes people and Lutheranism in Canada. This regionalism has affected the church in general. The LC-C provides a good catalyst and a forum of the Missouri Districts in Canada and can assist them in developing not only their own mission developments,

but also a nation-wide mission program.⁴⁰

Often there are occasions when our Lutheran church needs to speak nationally; for example, in dealing with an official capacity with the government of Canada. Here the existence of a self-governing Canadian church would enable itself to act when necessary, without delays and without awkward explanations of our relationship to an American or international church body.⁴¹ Such would be the situation in dealing with chaplaincies, pensions, Canadian moral issues which arise, etc. To cite one example from my own personal experience, vicars in the United States are exempt from personal income taxes on monies made during their vicarages because the LC-MS took up the matter with the U.S. government. Unfortunately, we Canadian vicars who served in Canada had to pay these income taxes because the LC-MS through the Seminary had not dealt with our government.

To these reasons, it has also been added that a sense of national loyalty toward an autonomous LC-C would develop, and because of this, greater participation would evolve, not only as far as recruitment of workers, but also financially.

It should be noted, perhaps in a historical sense, that the Canada District of the American Lutheran Church became an autonomous body known as The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada on Jan. 1, 1967. By doing this, they believed that the following advantages would develop:

1. The church would be more distinctively Canadian, better adapted to the Canadian scene, better able to meet Canadian needs.
2. The Canadian church would not be hindered consciously or unconsciously by a foreign label; possess a sense of national loyalty.

3. A sense of responsibility would challenge to greater effort to meet responsibilities and opportunities.
4. A Canadian church would be free to choose its own course in developing an all-Canadian Lutheran Church.⁴²

Finally, it is held that an autonomous LC-C would be in a better position to deal with other Lutheran bodies, as well as other denominations, if it were independent and could speak with authority on conditions of such relationships in Canada. Rev. Roger Ellis has written an unpublished paper on this exact subject of Lutheran unity and fellowship in Canada as it concerns an autonomous LC-C. Suffice it here to say that, as in many other instances, relationships in Canada are not necessarily the same in the U.S. Historically in Canada, the lines of demarcation between church bodies were transplanted extensions of those existing in the United States and the barriers had little or no meaning to the pioneer and much less to the Canadian scene.⁴³ In many instances, unity among the Lutheran bodies in Canada could have been achieved much sooner if these bodies were not controlled from the U.S. The LC-C, were it autonomous, could make moves toward fellowship and unity based on circumstances and situations in Canada.

These then, are the basic reasons generally put forth as conditions in Canada which warrant an autonomous LC-C. Though other reasons could possibly be contrived, they are usually incorporated in the already stated reasons, or stem from them. Each of the reasons stated above could be more extensive, but I am primarily concerned primarily in acquainting the reader with these issues and not necessarily in exhausting them.

CHAPTER III FOOTNOTES

¹Joint Pastoral Conference Manitoba-Saskatchewan and Alberta-British Columbia Districts. Minutes (Edmonton, Aug. 26, 1941), Overture Re "Change the Name of the Three Districts of the Evangelical Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in Canada," cited by Albert H. Schwermann, The Beginnings of Lutheran Church—Canada, (By the author, 1969), p. 7.

²Frank Malinsky, Grace and Blessing, (Kitchener, Ontario: By the author, 1954), p. 22.

³Letter from Dr. Harold A. Merklinger, Former President of Lutheran Church—Canada, Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, Oct. 20, 1973.

⁴Leader's Guide LC-C, a booklet prepared by approval of Lutheran Church—Canada Board of Directors, 1969.

⁵John Webster Grant, The Canadian Experience of Church Union, (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1967), p. 25.

⁶Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Convention Workbook (Denver, 1969), Resolution 4-12 Re "To Implement Autonomy for Lutheran Church—Canada," p. 215.

⁷Dr. Harold A. Merklinger, "How Shall I Vote." The Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 25, No. 12, Dec. 1963, p. 5.

⁸Ibid., p. 5.

⁹Letter from Dr. Harold A. Merklinger.

¹⁰Merklinger, "How Shall I Vote," p. 5.

¹¹Ibid., p. 5.

¹²Ibid., p. 5.

¹³William Kilbourn, The Making of the Nation, The Canadian Centennial Library, ed. Pierre Berton (Toronto: The Canadian Centennial Publishing Co. Ltd., 1965), p. 8.

¹⁴W. L. Morton, The Canadian Identity, (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), p. 84.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 84.

¹⁶Letter from Dr. Merklinger, Oct. 20, 1973.

- 17Merklinger, "How Shall I Vote," p. 6.
- 18Phil L. Fiess, "A Personal Evaluation." The Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 27, No. 1, Jan. 1962, p. 5.
- 19L. W. Koehler, "A Letter to the Editor," Jan. 25, 1962, Winnipeg," The Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 27, No. 3, March 1962, p. 6.
- 20N. Threinen, "Personal Thoughts on LC-C." The Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 29, No. 3, March 1964, p. 12.
- 21Ibid., p. 12.
- 22Ibid., p. 12.
- 23Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- 24"An Interview with Dr. A. O. Fuerbringer." The Canadian Lutheran, July 1963, p. 3.
- 25Malinsky, p. 47.
- 26Leader's Guide LC-C.
- 27Morton, p. 84.
- 28Tom Kelly, Review of Canadian Foreign Policy: Option And Perspectives, by D. Thompson and R. Swanson, Canada Today, Vol. 2, No. 10, (November-December, 1971), p. 4.
- 29William Kilbourn (ed.), Canada, A Guide to the Peaceable Kingdom, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970), p. 32.
- 30D. C. Appelt, "One Layman's Thoughts on an Indigenous Lutheran Church in Canada." The Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 29, No. 11, Dec. 1964, p. 9.
- 31"An Interview with Dr. Oliver R. Harms." The Canadian Lutheran, July 1963, p. 2.
- 32C. Thomas Spitz, Jr., "Independent or Interdependent." The Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 27, No. 3, March 1962, p. 6.
- 33Rev. George Rode, "The Lutheran Church--Canada." The Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 26, No. 9, Sept. 1961, p. 8.
- 34Leader's Guide LC-C.
- 35Appelt, p. 10.
- 36Fuerbringer Interviews, p. 3.
- 37Ibid., p. 3.

38 Rode, p. 8.

39 Spitz, p. 6.

40 Letter from Dr. Thomas L. Ristine, former President of Lutheran Church—Canada and former member of Lutheran Church—Canada and former member of Lutheran Council In Canada, London, Ontario, Canada, Oct. 10, 1973.

41 Appelt, p. 10.

42 Leader's Guide LC-C.

43 W. A. Mehlenbacher, "Canadian Lutheran Council," The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, ed. J. H. Bodensieck, I (1965), p. 361.

CONCLUSION

The Christian Church exists for the express purpose of bringing the saving Gospel of Jesus Christ to all people. This is the Church's supreme privilege and primary duty. Hence, we cannot cast our ballot on the impending issue solely or partially on the "can-we-afford-it" basis. Our decision must be formed on whether an indigenous Lutheran Church—Canada will reduce or increase our opportunities to bring the Gospel to the people of Canada and beyond. This is the determining issue.¹

As can quite easily be seen, the story of Lutheranism in Canada is a story of Mission, a mission often impeded by natural limitations, hardships, frontier conditions, lack of clergy, etc. Those conditions are still prevalent in Canada except in a more technological sense. Lutheranism in Canada, both in the past and in the present has its own peculiar flavour, a flavour which has been brought about by national conditions and circumstances. And the mission of the Lutheran Church in Canada is one which will call for ever greater expansion as the country herself expands and develops. Lutheranism must be prepared to undertake and meet this expansion and challenge head-on. That is her mission; that is her purpose; that is her sole reason for existence. She must use all within her might to tackle this task. To meet the demands and needs of the Canadian scene, she must meet them as a Canadian Church—Canadian in outlook, in out-reach, and in fact. She must look at Canada as a Canadian; she must understand Canada as a Canadian; she must meet Canada as a Canadian. Only then can she do this, if she is independent and autonomous. Not as a Canadian daughter of an American mother; not

as a child still dependent on her parent; but as a full adult, mature and developed, willing to accept her own responsibilities, to set her own goals, to work with her own hands and mind.

This is not to say that the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod has not helped her grow and mature. On the contrary. If it were not for the Missouri Synod, it is sure that the Lutheran Church in Canada would not be of a position and stature which it is today. Nor has the Missouri Synod insisted on keeping the apron-strings tied. They have given every encouragement and assistance to help the Canadian Lutheran Church to stand on her own feet, to walk with her own power. Nor would it be true to say that the Lutheran Church—Canada would become totally unaffiliated with the Missouri Synod after autonomy. This would and never should be the case. But the point has come within Canada herself, that an autonomous Canadian Lutheran Church must become independent in order that she might grow strong in Canada and accomplish her purpose more effectively.

It is highly significant that the greatest difficulty in commencing church work on the basis of complete self support is usually found, not in newly established work but in work that has long been established. Surely this shows the futility of a dependent policy. The dependence in which a Church is cradled tends to confine the Church to the cradle. The best bottle for an infant Church is independence. a dependent Church remains feeble. In this realization lies our real hope as missionaries. A new era in missions begins when this is understood, for the way is then cleared for unfettered advance.²

The reasons for her need to become independent I believe are clearly layed out in chapter three. Almost any one reason itself would include some advantage for mission work in Canada. And we must remember that mission is the primary and express purpose of the Church. It is for the sake of the Gospel and not for the purpose of establishing a

national church for its own sake, that independence must be considered. It is for the sake of the Gospel in the Canadian mission field that independence for the Lutheran Church--Canada must be accomplished.

We must remember that the fruits of the Church belong solely to God, for He alone makes grow what the Church plants. We have seen God's blessings poured out on the Missouri Synod throughout her history. We have seen how God has caused the Lutheran Church in England and Australia to grow. We have seen God's blessings in Canada. Though autonomy is only a human instrument in the working of the Church, we have no reason to believe that God's blessings would not be upon an autonomous Lutheran Church--Canada and that He would not cause it to grow in similar proportions as sister churches have grown. To this end, that when the Lutheran Church--Canada achieves autonomy, may God be glorified and His Kingdom grow.

SOLI DEO GLORIA

¹Rev. Harold A. Merklinger, "How Shall I Vote." The Canadian Lutheran, Vol. 28, No. 12, December 1963, p. 4.

²Sidney J. W. Clark, Indigenous Fruits (London: World Dominion Press, 1933), p. 27.

APPENDIX I

At the 1958 Convention of the Lutheran Church--Canada in Winnipeg the proposed constitution was adopted. Since then a new constitution, basically the same with some revision, was adopted at the 1971 Convention of the LC-C at Milwaukee. Omitting the usual references to the duties of the official, time of meetings, etc., the more essential sections of the original constitution were these:

ARTICLE I. NAME

The name of the body organized under this constitution shall be: **THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA**

ARTICLE II. CONFESSION

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA and all its members accept without reservation:

1. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the written Word of God and the only rule and norm of faith and practice.

2. All the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as a true and unadulterated statement and exposition of the Word of God, to wit, the three Ecumenical Creeds (The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed), the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Large Catechism of Luther, the Small Catechism of Luther, and the Formula of Concord.

ARTICLE III. OBJECTS

The objects of **THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA** shall be:

1. To promote the extension of the Kingdom of God and the work of **THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA**;

2. To speak unitedly and with authority a) in matters of public relations, b) in conferring with the federal and/or provincial governments, c) and in dealing with other church bodies;

3. To work toward doctrinal unity with other church bodies;

4. To study the matter of the formation of an independent **LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA** to be affiliated with The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

ARTICLE V. MEMBERSHIP

Membership in this body shall be held:

1. By the synodical Districts of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in Canada, to wit, the Alberta-British Columbia District;

the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District; and the Ontario District, as constituted by the congregations and pastors holding membership in their respective Districts;

2. By such other individual congregations and pastors in Canada as are members of, or are affiliated with the Synodical Conference, and have been received into membership in this body;

3. Membership in THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA shall in no wise alter the relationship of a District or a congregation to its parent body, nor shall it interfere with the prevailing, constitutional, administrative, or any other regulation of said parent body.

ARTICLE VI. RELATION OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA TO ITS MEMBERS

1. In relation to its members THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA is not an ecclesiastical government exercising legislative or coercive powers; and with respect to the individual District's and congregation's right of self-government, it is but an advisory body. Accordingly, no resolution of THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA imposing anything upon the individual District or congregation is of binding force, if it is not in accordance with the Word of God or if it appears to be inexpedient as far as the condition of a District or congregation is concerned.

2. Membership in THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA gives that body no equity in the property of the Districts or congregations.

ARTICLE VIII. REPRESENTATION

At meetings of THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA:

1. Representation shall be in proportion to communicant membership as specified in the By-laws, and all groups shall be divided as equally as possible between pastors and lay delegates.

2. Each official District of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in Canada shall be represented by at least four delegates, viz., two pastors and two laymen, who are entitled to vote.

3. The group of individual congregations, affiliated with THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA as described in ARTICLE V 2, shall be represented by at least two delegates, viz., one pastor and one layman, who are entitled to vote.

ARTICLE XI. CHANGES IN, AND AMENDMENTS TO, THE CONSTITUTION

Changes in the Constitution and amendments thereto may be made provided they:

1. Do not conflict with the provisions laid down in ARTICLE II;

2. Are presented in writing to THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA through its president, at least two months prior to the date of the convention;

3. Are separately considered and acted upon; and

4. Are passed by two-thirds majority of the votes cast.

BY-LAWS

The expenses of delegates to the convention shall be borne by the respective Districts or groups sending these delegates. However, there shall be equalization of expenses for all delegates.

At the conventions of THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA each member group shall be represented in proportion to communicant membership, viz., one representative for each 4,000 communicants or fraction thereof.

APPENDIX II

The Charter of LUTHERAN CHURCH—CANADA

Second Session, Twenty-Fourth Parliament, 7 - 8 Elizabeth II, 1959

THE SENATE OF CANADA

BILL S-18

An Act to incorporate Lutheran Church-Canada

As passed by the Senate, 23rd April, 1959

WHEREAS a petition has been presented praying that it be enacted as hereinafter set forth, and it is expedient to grant the prayer of the petition: Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enact as follows:-

1. Albert Schwermann, professor, of the city of Edmonton, in the province of Alberta, Arne Kristo, clergyman, of the city of Toronto, in the province of Ontario, Maynard Pollex, clergyman, of the city of Hamilton, in the province of Ontario, Clare Kuhnke, manager, of the city of Winnipeg, in the province of Manitoba, and David Appelt, librarian, of the city of Saskatoon, in the province of Saskatchewan, together with such other persons, synodical districts and congregations as become members of the religious body hereby incorporated, are incorporated under the name of Lutheran Church—Canada, hereinafter called "the Corporation" for the purpose set out in this Act and for the purpose of administering the property, business and other temporal affairs of the Corporation.

2. The persons named in section 1 of this Act shall be the first directors of the Corporation.

3. (1) The head office of the Corporation shall be at the city of Edmonton, in the province of Alberta, or at such other place as may be decided by the Corporation.

(2) Notice in writing shall be given to the Secretary of State by the Corporation of any change of the head office and such notice shall be published forthwith in the Canada Gazette.

4. The objects of the Corporation shall be
- (a) to promote, maintain, superintend and carry on in accordance with the faith, doctrines, constitution, acts, rulings of the Corporation any or all of the work of that body;
 - (b) to advance and increase the diffusion of the faith of the Corporation in all lawful ways;
 - (c) to organize, establish, maintain and carry on residences, missions, churches, places of worship, parsonages, orphanages, homes for the aged, rest homes and institutions and agencies for promoting, teaching, propagating and disseminating the Lutheran faith and doctrine and for training persons for the said purposes;
 - (d) to promote, organize, establish, maintain and carry on social service, welfare and guidance institutions and agencies;
 - (e) to promote education, instruction and culture, and to organize, establish, maintain and carry on schools, colleges, academies, seminaries, institutions of learning, recreational halls, centers and agencies, and industrial, technical and agricultural institutes and farms;
 - (f) to promote charity and to care for the poor, and to organize, establish, maintain and carry on charitable institutions, hospitals, clinics, dispensaries and cemeteries;
 - (g) to organize, establish, maintain and carry on libraries and houses and agencies for printing, publishing and disseminating literature, newspapers, periodicals and works of education, religion, art and science;
 - (h) to promote the spiritual welfare of all the congregations and mission fields of the Corporation.—

Following this are another fourteen sections setting forth the power to make by-laws, investments, borrowing powers, etc.—it is a stereotyped form such as is granted to all churches in Canada desiring to incorporate.

This document is recorded in Chapter 68 of the Statutes of Canada, 1959

edition along with the following:

First reading	April 24, 1959
Second reading	May 12, 1959
Third reading	May 12, 1959
Royal Assent	June 4, 1959

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