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FREDERICH CONRAD DIETERICH WYNEKEN

1810 - 1876

A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary
Department of Historical Theology

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Sacred Theology

by

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F. C. D. WYNEKEN 1810-1876

"Father of Lutheran Home Missions"

INTRODUCTION

The life of F. C. D. Wyneken is closely interwoven with the history of confessional Lutheranism in America. Not only has he been rightly called the "Father of Lutheran Home Missions in the Missouri Synod", but, together with the leader of the Saxon Lutherans of Missouri, C. F. W. Walther, he was one of the early champions of strict confessional Lutheranism wherever he was privileged to work in the Lord's Kingdom. He was conservative to a fault, but this had not always been the case. Time, Teachers, and, especially, God's Word tempered, matured, and molded the early Christian training which rationalism had failed to undermine in his early youth in Germany.

Wyneken's span of life covers one of the most important periods in American Lutheran Church History. It was a formative period, a period which had brought Lutheranism in America to the crossroads. Wyneken, as missionary, pastor, organizer, moderator and defender of the faith,

threw the weight of his whole being into the life and development of the Lutheran Church (which God, in His wise Providence, had planted on our shores almost a century before), particularly in the middle West. And the influence of Wyneken's mighty stature both as pioneer missionary and "defensor fidei" has been abiding and effective in the entire Lutheran Church to the present.

The period in which this man of God labored so effectually was one of searching, sounding and sifting, a period of adaptation to the difficult barriers of language and environment. The overcoming of these obstacles meant the solving of many perplexing problems. Now that the Lutheran Church had survived implantation and the rigors of practically 100 years of existence on American soil she was confronted with these questions in this era:

- 1) In how far was the establishment of a strict confessional Lutheranism possible in the face of American sectarianism?
- 2) Could this type of Lutheranism become a proper child of the new homeland and play a part in the making and conserving of it?
- 3) Could she become thoroughly American in character and yet remain thoroughly Lutheran in consciousness?
- 4) Was it possible to throw off the shackles of continental alliances, or was an intimate connection vital to solid American growth?
- 5) Might the time be ripe to cast aside all hallowed traditions and associations, repudiate her distinctive life and faith and be content to be recognized as just one of the many American denominations and more or less gradually lose her distinctive identity?
- 6) Was this a time for the uniting into one strong

body all the different elements of Lutheranism in America, and was this possible?

7) What of the Reformed tendencies which seemed to be gaining strength in the Church? Should they be accepted?

8) Would it be possible by some sort of united front to control or entirely eliminate the doctrinal laxity which had become so evident?

Hemmed in on all sides by strong Evangelical, Methodist and Presbyterian entrenchments, American idealism seemed to demand the strength of a united Lutheran front. All churches and synods were imbued with this idea, but with different basic principles of union. Able and aggressive men took opposing sides. The names of the Schmuckers, Kurz, Passavant, the Krauths and others come to mind. Controversy was inevitable. Wyneken was one who stood with the conservative element against the opposing tide of unionistic tendencies which would have seriously undermined true Lutheranism in America. He fought tooth and nail in his congregations and in the synods to which he belonged for the establishment of truly Lutheran principles.

Coming from a land where the evils of rationalism and the alliance of Church and State were so apparent, it was natural that he should be opposed to ANY tendency which might weaken and undermine the bulwarks of a Church which should be known for its strength. And, by the grace of God, he succeeded, together with those with whom he later

became associated, in successfully transplanting the old orthodoxy into new surroundings as a living and vital Church, though often hampered by much opposition.

We believe that Wyneken may rightly be called "the nineteenth century patriarch of the American Lutheran Church" in the same measure in which Muehlenberg is recognized as such in the preceding century. It is the life, work and influence of this man of God which speaks to us from the pages of the past in this brief history, speaking as one of the organizers and founders, to his first love, a Church, which, by God's grace, celebrates its first centennial.

German Theology in the Early Nineteenth Century

An examination of the period of German theological thought into which Wyneken was born reveals the fact that it was a time in which pietism had lapsed into a disregard, even into contempt, for the confessions of the Lutheran Church. Within the German universities, including Halle, scepticism had displaced the fundamentals of revealed religion. Biblical criticism strengthened scepticism, and historical criticism did much to relegate the Bible stories into the category of mythology. It is said that a majority of the preachers of the time endeavored to satisfy the spiritual cravings of their hearers with shallow rationalistic discourses on morality.¹

However, rationalism though generally accepted by the intellectuals and burgher class, had no appeal to the "Junker" and peasantry of Germany. Spiritual nourishment was still to be found in the religious literature of their fathers, in the Bible, in Luther's postils, in prayer books and hymnals, rather than in the aforementioned moralizing "sermons" of their pastors. The common people, it seems, either failed to understand their pastors or thought them entirely lacking in an understanding of spiritual matters.² A peasant woman aptly expresses this sentiment when she says: "Es plaudert sich ja soveit ganz gut mit dem Pastor,

1. Seeberg, Reihhold, Die Kirche Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, pp. 21 & 22.

2. Ibid., p. 22.

nur nicht ueber Religion, denn das versteit he nicht."

In the last quarter of the 18th century and well into the 19th, the German people had experienced a national and spiritual rejuvenation, surpassing in importance any previous period in German history except the Reformation. In these years a decided reaction against the bonds of classicism and rationalism set in. New emphasis was placed on aesthetic and moral values; the pietism of Spener and Francke, which had almost succumbed to rationalism, took on new life. This new movement began battering down the bulwarks of rationalistic influences and tended more decidedly toward confession³alism. In the field of religion Schleiermacher's "Discourses on Religion" produced a crisis in Germany's spiritual outlook.⁴

F. D. E. Schleiermacher (1786-1834) was the first great national and political preacher since Luther. He is numbered among the greatest scholars that Germany ever produced, and in the field of theology his influence was at its peak. In 1806 he had the sad experience of seeing the University of Halle closed by Napoleon. In his capacity of court preacher to the king of Prussia at Berlin, his eloquence did much to awaken a new spiritual attitude. And as professor of theology at the great national university

3. Seeberg, R., Die Kirche Deutschlands im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert, p. 21.

4. Franke, K., A History of German Literature as Determined by Social Forces, p. 319.

of Berlin his influence stimulated an interest in theological studies that extended beyond the borders of Germany.⁵

In universities and urban centers, once strongholds of rationalism, small groups or "circles", such as that to which C. F. W. Walther and other leaders belonged, began organizing for the study of old church doctrines. These movements were in full swing by the year 1817. From the University of Erlangen, Rudelbach, Guericke, Harless, Loehe and others spread the doctrines of Luther, Gerhardt, and Bengel.⁶

However, incidents from Wyneken's gymnasium and university life, especially his appearance before the Church consistory for his examination as ministerial candidate bear out the fact that rationalism was still a powerful factor to be dealt with in the inner life of the Church.⁷ And it was against this changing background of events and spiritual awakening in Germany that Wyneken now steps upon the pages of history to give some impetus to this religious regeneration, especially through his later contacts with Pfar-
rer Wm. Loehe.

5. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. XXXI, pp. 422-456.

6. Princeton Review: Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, Vol. XXV, pp. 446-449.

7. Morris, J. G., Sources of Information on the History of the Lutheran Church in America, in "The Lutheran Church Review XIV", pp. 620-621.

II

Wyneken's Birth and Early Life 1810-1838

Friederich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken was born on the 13th day of May in the year 1810 at Verden in Hanover Province, Germany. His father served as pastor of the Lutheran congregation at that place. He was the youngest of six sons and he had five sisters. Little is known of Wyneken's father except for the fact that he died when Wyneken was still a young lad. Thus there was thrust upon the mother the entire responsibility for the care and provision of the children. From the few facts gleaned, she must have been an energetic and resolute woman. With the help of a meager government pension and by taking in boarding students who came to Verden to pursue their studies at the gymnasium, she seems to have provided well for the entire family. Her rugged determination and character influenced greatly the training of all her children and her wholesome strictness made for exemplary obedience. It is said that by a simple gesture or a sidelong glance she held even the six boys in leash and a mere rustle of her skirt quieted the entire group.¹

God blessed her stewardship so richly that she was enabled to give all of her six sons an excellent education. Three of them studied law and the other three, including young Frederick, studied theology. One of the daughters later became the mother of Justus Ruperti, pastor of St.

1. Der Lutheraner, Vol. XXXII, No. 14, p. 103.

Matthew's Lutheran Church in New York City, while another was the mother of Dr. H. C. Schwan, for many years President of the Missouri Synod and author of the exposition of Luther's Small Catechism.²

Until the age of seventeen Wyneken pursued his studies at the local gymnasium in Verden and then matriculated at the University of Goettingen. However, the attitude and general character of the student life at Goettingen became unbearable for him and at the end of the first semester he left to enter the University of Halle. Here he completed his course of study at the end of two and a half years. The leaders of the theological faculty at that time were, for the most part, rationalists and included such men as J. A. L. Wegscheider³ and Wilhelm Gesenius.⁴ It was fortunate for young Wyneken that the rationalistic philosophies and humanistic views of these men made little or no impression upon him, despite the fact that there were many things still lacking in his religious character and make-up.⁵

As far as we are able to discern, the only member of the theological faculty at Halle who was firmly grounded in

2. Men and Missions (edited by L. Fuerbringer), Vol. III "Friederich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken" by G. E. Hagemann, p. 8.

3. 1771-1849. His "Institutiones Theologiae Christianae Dogmaticae" is considered the standard dogmatic work of rationalism.

4. 1786-1842. Renowned Hebraist, author of Hebrew grammar and dictionary. Wrote "Der Prophet Jesaia".

5. Der Lutheraner, Vol. XXXII, No. 14, p. 104.

Christian orthodoxy was the younger Friederich A. G. Tholuck, and he was ostracized by the majority of faculty members for his convictions.⁶ By his clear and unwavering testimony for Christ he brought the real Gospel light, not only to Wyneken, but to countless others who came under his influence. His was the first direct influence on Wyneken for true spiritual understanding. That Wyneken was still far from the full truth is attested by his own statement that while engaged as a tutor in those early days he had so little knowledge of Scriptural truth that he began his instruction in Biblical history with an exposition of the Book of the Maccabees.⁷

It was during the years he was serving as private tutor that he finally came under the influence of Pastor von Hanfstengel in Leesum, near Bremen, where he taught for four years. It was von Hanfstengel who directed his attention to the real worth of the Bible as the Word of God and to Christ as his Savior from sin. This was the turning point of his life, for it is here that his definite religious understanding begins. His associations with a number of orthodox pastors in this vicinity were also instrumental in influencing him to search the Scriptures. And it was this intense love for the Holy Scriptures, and his constant

6. 1799-1877. Converted to faith in Christ by Baron von Kottwitz; wrote commentaries on John, Romans and Hebrews. "Students' Father".

7. Amerikanischer Kalendar, 1877, p. 16.

and concentrated study which provided the deep theological understanding. This, by God's Holy Spirit, ultimately made of him the truly great theologian that he was.

A short time later he held the position as Rector in the Latin School at Bremerford. Then for some two years he became the private tutor of the son of a wealthy nobleman. This young lad, for reasons of health, was forced to seek a southern climate and, as a result, Wyneken was privileged to accompany him through southern France and Italy.⁸

Following his return to Germany in the fall of 1837 his attention was called to the pitiful spiritual conditions among the German settlers in North America through his reading of a number of missionary journals which came into his hands. These reports made such a deep impression upon the young man that, unmindful of his aged mother, sisters and brothers, a life of ease which might have been his through several influential positions which had been offered him at this time, he promptly made up his mind, out of deep love for the Savior, to serve these fellow Christians in America.⁹

Since he was inured to sacrifice and for some time had been accustomed to making his own way in the world, the responsibility of such a decision held no terrors for him. To this might also be added the fact that he was encouraged

8. Der Lutheraner, XXXII, 14, p. 105.

9. Ibidem.

in his resolution by many of the God-fearing pastors of the vicinity. Thus it came about that Wyneken embarked for America in May of 1838 as a young man of 28 years.¹⁰

That Wyneken was eminently qualified for the task which lay before him cannot be denied. He was endowed with a most charming personality. From his mother he had acquired unbounded energy, resoluteness and rugged determination. He was clear-cut in his convictions and of good, sound judgment. His education was beyond question, with Goettingen and Halle as background. As a linguist he had a ready command of his native German, French, and English. His travels as tutor had broadened and matured him. Physically he had a powerful frame, capable of enduring any hardships. Difficulties never dismayed him for he had been used to facing them. He was well able to take care of himself in any emergency. Once he had made up his mind to do a thing he was determined to carry it through, regardless of cost. In short, he was well equipped for the difficult task which the Lord had placed before him.¹¹

In his theology and religious equipage he had come quite some distance since Goettingen and Halle, thanks to the God-fearing pastors who had taken him under their wing. The firmness of Wyneken's faith at this time, his deep conviction of the truth of Scripture, and the determination

10. Amerikanischer Kalendar, 1887, J. C. W. L. Lindemann, p. 15.

11. Men and Missions, op. cit., p. 9.

with which he confessed it, is admirably attested in his exemplary conduct at an examination of ministerial candidates which he attended shortly before his departure for America.

The unbelieving, Consistorial Court Officer, M., to whom Wyneken's decided Christian character was well known, had selected the doctrine of miracles with the intention of sounding the stability of his faith and perplexing his mind. He opened the examination somewhat as follows: "Evidently miracles do not occur now. The only question therefore is, whether miracles really did occur in former times." Thereupon he put the question to Wyneken: "What do you say to this?"

Without hesitation he replied: "God is a God whose miraculous works are of daily occurrence, and I'm surprised that you, sir, of the Consistorial Court, deny this."

Astonished at such an answer, M. proceeded: "But you certainly know what Spinoza has written on this subject?"

With cheerful good humor, but decided firmness, Wyneken replied: "Well, but what have you and I to do with the philosophical speculations of this atheistic Jew? The Scriptures, the Scriptures, my dear sir, are our rule!!"

This high spiritual dignitary had never before met with such courage, for all other candidates, who had appeared before him were much more inclined to tremble than to contradict him. He hurriedly rose from his chair and

appealed to a mass of seeming proof, by which he expected to justify his position.

When Wyheken found opportunity to speak again, he also was carried away with excitement, and, likewise springing to his feet, refuted in terms of eloquence all that the examiner had adduced.

So the examination was changed into a discussion, to the immense astonishment of the gentlemen at the green table and the hearers assembled in the ante-room. The most remarkable fact of all, however, was this, that the modesty, the affable manner, and the good humor of the candidate, that characterized his entire heroic defense, so won the heart of the examiner, that he openly commended him and gave him his certificate "summa cum laude".¹²

12. Amerikanischer Kalender, 1877, p. 16. Men and Missions, op. cit., p. 1ff. Morris, J. G., Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry, pp. 620-621.

III

Lutheranism in America in the Early 19th Century

At the time Wyneken landed in America, late in the summer of 1838, he was well aware of the spiritual conditions which prevailed among his German brethren, but unaware of the conditions which had brought them about. Not only had many Lutherans in the East been seized by the lure of the West, but their number was steadily augmented by a stream of immigrants pouring directly into the Midwest. Thousands of these settled in the Mississippi Valley, in Illinois, Michigan, Indiana and Ohio, where they frequently displaced the American population in widely scattered communities and became, as it were, islands of Germans in a vast western sea with scarcely a contact with the outside world.¹ And there were those who settled in the larger cities of the Middle West where language, national pride, religious convictions, and social customs were, for a time made effective use of in maintaining aloofness from the population² and served as an effective barrier against assimilation. All of the above may be better understood when one realizes that the potential Lutheran population increased three times as rapidly as the population of the United States in the

1. The Lutheran Observer, Vol. II, May 15, 1835, p. 149.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, May 23, 1834, p. 274.

years from 1830 to 1870.³

It is also true that, unlike other churches, the Lutheran Church generally emphasized unity of faith rather than organization and uniformity of worship. Jacobs describes it thus: "The Lutheran Church was not transplanted to America as a homogeneous and thoroughly organized body. The task confronting other religious bodies which have found a home here has been far less difficult. Coming from various nationalities and even within these nationalities, the multiplicity of small states into which Germany was divided gave to each its own separate church constitution and particular church regulations."⁴

From its very beginning on American soil the Lutheran Church was thus an incoherent body. Even with the founding of the General Synod in 1820 and other organized synods it was at best but a loose synodical organization or federation, wholly unprepared to minister to the spiritual needs of a rapidly increasing and expanding Lutheran population. Had the church in the East fully realized and been able to cope with the golden opportunities confronting the church in the West, the growth, expansion and solidarity of the Lutheran Church in America would have been assured.

3. Fern, Vergilius, What Is Biblical Lutheranism? A Symposium in Interpretation, p. 3.

4. Jacobs, Henry Eyster, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, Vol. IV of the "American Church History Series", 1907, p. 21.

In the two decades after 1830, controversies over language, charges and counter-charges of intolerance, oppression and insincerity, coupled with the westward movement, gave rise to added synodical bodies, still but loosely knit. The financial problems with which the church wrestled, the great lack of ministers and of an adequate supply of ministerial candidates from the seminaries, widely scattered communities, lack of synodical supervision and contact, all helped toward an unsuccessful cooperation for missionary endeavor among the immigrants of the West.⁵

It may also be understood that these German immigrants were in constant danger of losing their spiritual heritage. A lack of contact with the outside world, churches, and pastors made them a constant prey to every conceivable type of religious imposter and vagabond. For

"in the absence of faithful ministers, those Germans, always accustomed in their native land to Gospel ministrations and unwilling to be deprived of them now, are liable to be imposed upon by every expelled student or banished demagogue who flies to this country to escape disgrace or legal penalties of the law he has violated in Germany. In this way German churches of America have been brought into disrepute and become the byword of reproach among their observant neighbors."⁶

As an example of the above conditions we might merely mention some of the things which came to light in the course of some of Wyneken's missionary trips through the West. In

5. Evangelical Review, I, p. 18.

6. The Lutheran Observer, XIII, Nov. 13, 1840, p. 2.

Wheeling he exposed a sodomite, who had been expelled from one of the best teacher's seminaries of Germany, serving in the capacity of a preacher. In Indianapolis an army gunner or artilleryman was preaching to a German congregation, while in another locality farther west a cooper had taken to preaching. After ministering to the people for six weeks he was driven from the town for cruelty to his wife and child. When the people were asked why they had not investigated his character, Wyneken was told: "He could speak quite well, we had to have a pastor, and he served for little money." (Er konnte gar erbaermlich schwaetzen, einen Pfarrer mussten wir haben, und billig war er auch).⁷ These conditions had become so common that Wyneken and other sincere missionaries were looked upon with suspicion in the early years of their missionary work in the West. This may also account for the attitude of Pastor Haesbart of Baltimore when Wyneken and Wolf first approached him.

That the brethren of the East were appealed to for help is evidenced by letters appearing in The Home Missionary of 1835, such as: "Will our brethren of the East listen to the Macedonian cry, come over and help us?" (p. 126) "Oh, dear brother, it would be heart-rending to you and other friends of Lutheranism to see how the poor

7. Zeitschrift fuer Protestantismus und Kirche, 1843, p. 137.

people of our church are misled." (p. 147) "We want a host of pious young men to rise up in the strength of the Lord who shall feed the perishing thousands with the Bread of Life." (p. 58) "For God's sake, take up our cause in your paper and send us a preacher if at all possible." (July 18, 1834) But, for the greater part, these and similar appeals fell on deaf ears.

While the Lutherans were neglecting the German communities of the West, the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians vied with each other to "save the West for Protestantism", and were also making their way among many of the Germans. They were hampered, neither by a lack of competent men, nor the necessary financial support.⁸ The success of the Methodists and others in typically Lutheran communities in the second quarter of the nineteenth century shows only too well that the craving for religious guidance outweighed any prejudice against so-called "new measures".^{9 10}

Roman Catholic strength among the German settlers of the West was remarkably evident. Free from language barriers they were prepared to pursue an aggressive policy from the very beginning. Wyneken recognized this at once

8. Der Lutheraner, Dec. 13, 1845, p. 18.

9. Methodistic tendencies of revivalism and conversion were gaining strength in the Lutheran Church under S. S. Schmucker and B. Kurtz.

10. The Missionary, Vol. II, 1849, p. 66.

when he wrote:

"From Europe they are receiving a large number of workers. Their churches in the cities are beautiful, and convents, seminaries, and schools are being erected in the West. Well-trained teachers, both male and female, from all sections of Europe are directing educational institutions and are becoming the educators of the most influential people."¹¹

In the matter of effective support from abroad, the divided condition of the Church in America was a contributing factor. Conditions in the General Synod were well known as is evidenced by Loehe's statement in the Kirchliche Mitteilungen Aus und Ueber Nord Amerika:

"Our readers know....that the Lutheran Church of North America is divided into English and German Lutherans. Not only has the English Lutheran departed from the German language, but also from the Lutheran doctrines, and certain professors of Gettysburg Seminary head this movement....In fact, we have never expected very much from the General Synod. We are separated from it for we were never united with it. Wyneken, and with him no doubt, several honest souls, have separated. We regard this as quite a gain."¹²

During the first half of the nineteenth century it was Loehe who realized the needs and did more than any other single person to rally the Lutherans of Germany to the support of the orthodox brethren in the New World. Wyneken was the gad-fly who kept these needs before him. Through Loehe's efforts missionary societies were founded, and religious periodicals published for the express purpose of keeping alive and financing the new enterprise. Beginning with the impetus given by Wyneken in 1841 until the last

11. Zeitschrift fuer Protestantismus und Kirche, 1843, p. 137.

12. Fritschel, G. J., Quellen und Dokumente zur Geschichte und Lehrstellung der Ev. Luth. Synode von Iowa u. a. Staaten, Chicago, Ill.

decades of the 19th century the flow of Lutheran theological students and teachers to America to perpetuate the German language and through it German Lutheran orthodoxy, continued with few interruptions.

13

It was against this background that Wyneken appears on the scene in 1838 and it was his organizational ability, enthusiasm for the Lord's work, deep understanding of the needs of the people and his love for them, which enabled him to organize the Lutheran missionary program in the West so as to gain the best results with the few men available for the task. Rather than have the Synod of the West, with which he became associated, send its missionaries into widely scattered areas, he proposed the establishment of definite missionary posts, from which, as centers of operation, the missionaries were to extend their operations into outlying communities and methodically push from outpost to outpost until the field had been thoroughly covered. This system was later adopted by the Missouri Synod and is still in operation up to the present time. And it was Wyneken who was largely instrumental in gaining the support of the Lutherans in Germany to supply men and means for this project.

That Wyneken was well equipped and qualified for the

13. Beve, J. L., A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 271.

tremendous task of revitalizing and organizing the Lutheran Church in the West cannot be denied. His charming personality, resolute character, devotion to his calling, and his sense of humor won for him alike the respect of Lutherans and non-Lutherans wherever he worked. Within the wide area of his labors his ready command of the Low German dialect helped him win the good will and confidence of the Low German peasantry. At all times he proved himself a true pastor in the highest sense of the term, entering whole-heartedly into the life of the people with whom he associated. Many interesting anecdotes are extant in testimony of this. Not only was he versed in religious matters, but on all occasions he was able to speak intelligently upon the farming and other problems in the life of his parishioners. He considered no sacrifice too great in the performance of his pastoral duties.

14

14. Men and Missions, op. cit., p. 9.

Wyneken as Pioneer Missionary 1838-1845

Wyneken landed in Baltimore late in July, 1838. He was accompanied by his friend, candidate C. W. Wolf.¹ They had been befriended on board ship by Captain Stuerje, who saw in these two men added strength for the church in America. He himself was a sincere Christian. Stuerje was to stand them in good stead a short time later for it appears he was a friend of Pastor Haesbert and vouched for them when Haesbert was reticent about accepting them without proper credentials from the Church authorities in Germany.

Neither Wyneken nor Wolf was acquainted with any person in America; all that was known to them was what had been read of the conditions prevailing among their brethren. As a result, we find them tramping the streets of the said city of Baltimore in search of Lutherans, or better still, a Lutheran Church or parsonage. After quite some search and much inquiry they met persons who claimed to be Lutheran. They readily accepted an invitation to accompany them to their church. They were given a cordial reception and at "Brother Numsen's" request Wyneken gladly led the prayer meeting. A hymn was sung, the Scripture lesson read, and Wyneken offered prayer. Queer sounds began emanating from the audience, moans and groans as though in pain and anguish. Gradually increasing, they culminated in cries of "Amen!" At the

1. Little is known of Wolf after Baltimore except for the fact that he was proposed as missionary by Wyneken then in Ft. Wayne, to the Mission Committee of the Penn. Synod.

close, being asked how he liked it, Wyneken responded with: "I don't know whether it was of God or of the devil. But it certainly isn't Lutheran." It seems that they had innocently strayed into an~~x~~ Otterbein (Methodist) prayer meeting. This experience later played an important part in Wyneken's² life.

Deeply disappointed, the two men continued their search which ended when they were finally directed to the parsonage of Rev. Johann Haesbert, pastor of Second Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, later known as St. Paul's Lutheran Church.³ Introducing themselves to Haesbert as Lutheran missionaries who had come to minister to the spiritual needs of destitute German settlers in America, they were not immediately received with the cordiality they might have expected. In view of the fact that many such strangers, without credentials, had swindled and betrayed many of the settlers and were but vagabonds, tramps and adventurers, Haesbert's attitude is easily understood. Added to this was the fact that they informed him of their previous experience and their lodgings with the Methodist

1 (cont) At that time Wolf was in Seline, Marion Co., Ohio. He turned down the call which was sent him and from that time disappears from the scene. Kirchliche Zeitschrift, I, 76. 93.

2. Amerikanischer Kalender, 1877, p. 16.

3. The organization of this church had resulted from a break with Zion Church (Uniert) on Nov. 1, 1835. The site, at Saratoga & Holiday Sts., is now occupied by the Maryland Meter Co. The Eastern Dist. of the Mo. Synod met here for organization, Sept. 12-18, 1855, called "Die Sakristei Synode" because the 9 pastors, 2 teachers, and 6 laymen met in the church sacristy.

pastor. However, the candor and openheartedness of Wyneken impressed Haesbert and his mistrust was soon cast entirely aside when Captain Stuerje vouched for them. A firm friendship was established and Wolf was given the opportunity of preaching at one of the services the following Sunday.

Shortly thereafter Haesbert became ill and Wyneken took over full charge of the Baltimore parish while Haesbert sought relief and recovery in the nearby countryside. That the congregation deeply appreciated Wyneken's ministrations during this period is indicated by the fact that not many years later he was to be called as pastor upon Haesbert's resignation. When Haesbert had sufficiently recovered to return to his pastoral duties Wyneken became restive. He was eager to be on his way to the West. Haesbert was reluctant to have him go and tried to persuade him to accept a post in the East, but to no avail. He hereupon advised Wyneken to wait until he communicated with the Mission Society of the Pennsylvania Synod for the necessary call or credentials and be assigned a field in which to labor. The result was that Wyneken received a call with instructions to locate in Indiana and gather the many scattered "Protestants" into congregations. Thus was realized the dream which had brought this man of God so many miles from home. He was now ready for work in the Lord's Kingdom. Not long af-

4. Men and Missions, op. cit., p. 11.

ter Haesbert gave this estimate of Wyneken:

"He is a hero of the faith of that type for which a person, as a rule, looks in ancient times, long past. Oh, how this example shames many of us who live in peace and comfort, having abundance of all things, and who are not ready to make the least sacrifice for the Lord and his poor brethren."⁵

Early in September, 1838, Wyneken left Baltimore in company with Haesbert who journeyed with him as far as Havre de Grace, thence by rail to the end of the steel at Pittsburg. In Pittsburg he made the acquaintance of Pastor Friederich Schmidt, editor and publisher of the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, with whom a lasting friendship was established.⁶

Wyneken continued on his way West by canal boat as far as Zellenople where he purchased a horse and provisions for this journey through the wilderness of Ohio. Unaccustomed to riding, ignorant of the roads and trails, he struck across country in the general direction of Indiana. With the Lord's watchful eye over him his journey was safe and uneventful. Some forty miles from the Indiana and Ohio State line, in Allen and Putnam Counties, Ohio, he came upon the first German settlers. The exact location of this settlement cannot be determined today, but it may have been in the vicinity of Wapakoneta, where Germans are known to have settled as early as 1833. Wyneken tarried for eight days

5. Ebenezer, Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century, p. 61.

6. Men and Missions, p. 13. Shortly after hearing of Wyneken's death in 1876 Schmidt wrote to a friend in Baltimore: "I can still recall, as if it were but yesterday, Wyneken's visit with me in 1838 on his first journey to the

with these people, preaching the Word of Life every day, instructing and baptizing their children of all ages. He later wrote of these experiences: "I cannot thank God enough that He, in His great love, led me to these hungry hearts at the very outset of my ministry." The spiritual condition of these settlers was indescribable. For years they had existed in these backwoods, without Word or Sacrament, ekeing out a bare existence. The people begged him with tears in their eyes to stay and minister to their needs, but even larger fields were in the offing.⁷

Wyneken first set foot on Indiana soil late in September 1838. He reached Decatur, Adams County, Indiana, and was prepared to make this the center of operations for his missionary endeavor. But again the hand of the Lord is evident and the field of his labors had already been prepared.⁸

Wyneken was by no means the first Lutheran missionary and pastor in these regions. The precursor of all was the

West. Vigorous, courageous, and with firm trust in the Lord he placed his hand to the plow and the Lord blessed his efforts richly. Such a self-sacrificing person as he was is hard to find today."

7. Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XI, p. 101. While he pressed on his way to Indiana another settlement was in the making which he was to add to his field in this territory the following year. This was the so-called Schumm settlement near Willshire, Ohio. The first settlers arrived in May and June, 1838, and Wyneken began serving them in 1839.

8. Men and Missions, op. cit., pp. 13 & 14.

celebrated "Father" C. F. Heyer, who had explored certain sections of Indiana some eighteen years before, under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the oldest Lutheran Synod in the United States. The Rev. Paul Henkel, synonymous with English work in the Lutheran Church, had also traveled extensively as home missionary in Indiana. Among other early German pastors on record were J. and J. F. Isensee, brothers from Halle, J. J. Meissner and Jesse Hoover.⁹

It might also be noted here that there were two Lutheran Synods in existence in Indiana before Wyneken's arrival. One was the Synod of the West, organized at Louisville, Kentucky in 1835, and covering parts of Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois and Indiana. This Synod joined the General Synod in 1841. It was quite lax as far as Lutheran doctrine was concerned. Wyneken joined this body shortly after his arrival in Ft. Wayne. The other group was the Synod of Indiana, organized in Johnson County, Indiana, 1835. It was more conservative in character and headed by the Henkels and others from the Tennessee Synod. As far as we are able to ascertain, Wyneken had no contacts with this group.¹⁰

Regarding the epidemic of revivals found in the majority of church bodies at this time we might state that Lutheranism in the West was also effected. A close con-

9. Wagner, Martin L., The Chicago Synod and Its Antecedents, p. 22.

10. Wagner, Martin L., op. cit., p. 51.

tact with sectarianism had brought it into being on the frontier. When the Synod of the West had convened at Hillsboro, Indiana, in 1840, the controversy regarding this practice in the church began to gather strength. The German Lutherans especially recognized it as dangerous and subversive to the essence and spirit of Lutheranism. The peak of this practice in the Lutheran Church of the West was reached in 1842, the year after the Synod of the West had joined the General Synod. By the year 1843 a strong reaction had set in, due largely to the influence and testimony of Wyncken, who at this time had returned from Germany to be present at the sessions, ripened in power, matured in judgment and with confirmed convictions as to Lutheran practice. He had no sooner become a member of the Synod of the West when he raised his voice against revivalism. He had published a portraiture of Methodism in which he had shown clearly his opposition to such subjectivism and emotionalism. For this he had been bitterly assailed by both Lutherans and Methodists. Now again he lifted his voice on the floor of Synod for pure faith and churchly order and practice. This provoked a spirited and lengthy discussion and took precedence for a time over all other business. The effect of this is noticeable, for after that year no further allusions to the subject are to be found in the minutes. The practice began
11
dying out.

11. Wagner, Martin L., op. cit., p. 89.

To resume the story, Wyneken started out from Decatur to search for those "Protestants" to whom he must minister and whom he must instruct. Riding through a stretch of forest he came upon a German settler busy with his ax. Once more he met the same suspicious attitude which he had encountered when he first met Haesbert. "If you are like the majority of those preachers from Germany then you will find what you are looking for over there in the home of that rich trucker," he was advised by this settler; "however, if you are a sincere minister of the Gospel, then there is a sick man over in that cabin who needs your ministrations." Wyneken visited and comforted the sick man at once and Loeffler, upon recovery, became a close friend. It was in this home that he learned of the whereabouts of other settlers.¹²

He was first directed to a family by the name of Buuck, which lived some miles away and was deeply interested in the church. About fifteen miles from Ft. Wayne he met a little girl in the woods, of whom he inquired the way. She replied with the fact that "Father Buuck" was her own father; thus Louise Buuck led the missionary to her home where he received a most cordial welcome. This area was later known as Friedheim and the parish had been served by Pastor Jesse Hoover¹³ until his untimely death shortly be-

¹². Amerikanischer Kalendar, 1877, pp. 17 & 18.

¹³. The name Hoover has been anglicized from the German Huber; his ancestors were Pennsylvania Dutch.

fore. From the Buucks he received the information that another congregation which Hoover had served was vacant in Ft. Wayne. It was not many days after this that Wyneken was on his way to minister to these people also. Thus Wyneken reached Ft. Wayne in the waning days of September 1838, and established himself in the place which was to be his home for some seven years. There he also received many blessings from his arduous labors.¹⁴

Ft. Wayne at Wyneken's Time

Among the pioneers of Ft. Wayne were a number of staunch Lutherans who were willing to make sacrifices that the church of their fathers might be established in their midst. Among these was Henry Rudisill, a Pennsylvanian, whose wife was a descendant of the Henkels.¹⁵ He had settled in Ft. Wayne in the year 1829, when the town had a population of but 150 persons, chiefly French and Indians. He was so successful in persuading Lutheran Immigrants to locate in this frontier community, that it was not long until they could prevail upon the Pennsylvania Synod to send them a pastor.¹⁶ Through their entreaties the Rev. Jesse Hoover of Woodstock, Virginia, came to serve them in July 1836. They laid the foundations of the Lutheran Church in that city. He organized First Ev. Lutheran Church in Ft. Wayne, later called St.

14. Men and Missions, op. cit., pp. 15 & 16.

15. Wagner, Martin L., op. cit., p. 22.

16. Manuelshagen, Carl, The Effect of German Immigration upon the Lutheran Church in America, p. 68.

Paul's, and also the congregation at Friedheim. ¹⁷ He preached both in the English and German language and his brother, David Hoover, taught the parochial school. As a result of a heart attack aggravated by his arduous missionary travels throughout this section of Indiana, and weakened by fever common in the swamps of Indiana at that time, Jesse Hoover passed away on May 23, 1838, after serving his congregations about two years. His ashes repose near the place where he ¹⁸ so faithfully labored.

Hoover had written about his work and parish shortly before his death as follows:

"I am laboring here to build the Church, but it is hard work. I have a few good substantial members; but many who call themselves Lutherans are a disgrace to the Church....I sometimes think of giving up the work and retiring to the East; but as I came out here to raise the standard of Lutheranism, by the help of God I'll do it."¹⁹

Wyneken found these facts to be true.

At the urgent request of the Ft. Wayne congregation Wyneken established his headquarters there. The Lutheran Church had neither church building nor parsonage; services

17. Sauer, H. G., Geschichte der St. Paul's Gemeinde zu Ft. Wayne, Indiana, vom Jahre 1837-1887. On Saturday evening, Oct. 14, 1837, in a meeting assembled in the Allen County court house, Ft. Wayne, First Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ft. Wayne was organized. (The first in Indiana). After a confessional address the "Formula for the Discipline of the Ev. Luth. Church" was accepted. (This was the congregational and synodical constitution adopted by the Gen. Synod in 1827). 65 persons-23 heads of families-were present and entered upon the congregational register as communicants. Hoover was pastor, a member of the Pennsylvania Synod and the first church officers included Adam Wefel and Henry Trier. Henry Rudisill and Konrad Mid were chosen elders.

18. Ebenezer, op. cit., p. 98.

19. Concordia Hist. Inst. Quat., IV, p. 117-118.

were held in the county courthouse until the building threatened to cave in upon the worshippers. Then homes and other suitable buildings were used until a little frame church was erected in 1839. From Ft. Wayne as a base, his missionary endeavor, which carried him into northwestern Ohio and southern Michigan, enabled him to obtain a real insight into the physical and spiritual needs of the German frontiersmen.

On October 1, 1838, he wrote to his friend Haesbert in Baltimore:

"Eight days ago I arrived in Ft. Wayne. Here as well as in two neighboring settlements I have already preached five times, baptized children, and read burial services. And now these people want me to stay.. ..I advised the vestry of the church here to write to the committee of their church body about this. Tomorrow I intend to continue my journey, and I expect to return in four weeks to receive the answer. I am ready to do the Lord's will, and I shall leave it to Him to direct the hearts of the members of the committee as He sees fit. I am satisfied with everything as long as I am certain that the Lord wants me to work here."^{20 21}

The next day, as indicated, he left Ft. Wayne on the first of many missionary journeys which were to follow. In all probability he followed the course of the St. Joseph River out of Ft. Wayne, passed through the west central part of Williams County, Ohio, entered Michigan and continued in a westerly direction to St. Joseph and Michigan City on the lake. From here he turned back to South Bend and Elkhart, again entering Michigan and journeying from Mottville to

20. Wolf, Edmund J., The Lutherans in America, p. 417.
 21. Congregations in Allen, Adams, Noble, Dekalb, White-ly & Marschall counties owe their origin to the work of Wyneken.
 22. Amerikanischer Kalendar, 1877, p. 18.

Niles. Turning south, he went as far as Crawfordsville, Montgomery County, Indiana, and returned through Clinton County along the Wabash River reaching Ft. Wayne November 16.²³ His experiences are graphically recorded in his little pamphlet The Distress of the German Lutherans in North America²⁴ which was later published both in Germany and in the United States. We shall quote from it at length in another section.

At this time the congregation in Ft. Wayne numbered about 65 members. For the beginning Wyneken lived in a room of the Rudisill household which had been placed at his disposal. During the interim between his two missionary journeys Wyneken established a parochial school for the education of the children. Here his days of tutoring in Germany stood him in good stead. He taught four days each week while carrying on his other parish activities. Wyneken's room was too small for that purpose; therefore, he instructed the children in any place where shelter could be found, even out in the open. Frequently the neighbors would open their homes to him. The instruction of children seemed of primary importance to him in the building of God's kingdom. This work was carried on conscientiously until the arrival of his

23. Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XI, p. 102.

24. Der Lutheraner, 1, 31; 3, 10; 10, 32; reviewed 33, 5. 45.

25

first teacher, F. W. Hussmann in May of 1840.

About three weeks before Christmas in 1838 Wyneken decided to make another missionary trek. This trip had to be postponed due to the fact that both his horse and that of Rudisill were lame at the time. On January 2, 1839, he set out to visit South Bend, Elkhart and Mottville. ²⁶ Traveling conditions at that time of the year were perilous and difficult, yet Wyneken did not wish to disappoint the people he had promised to serve. But the hardship of winter travel wore him down to such an extent that he was compelled to give up his journey two miles beyond Elkhart, too ill to go any farther. Since he had promised to return to Ft. Wayne at a given time he despondently retraced his steps despite his illness.

25. Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, I, 2, p. 6. F. W. Hussmann, 1807-1881. Teacher in Germany who had studied at the Seminary in Hanover. The appeal for Lutheran teachers and preachers reached his ears and he sailed for America in 1840. Arrived in Ft. Wayne May 17. Wyneken and Hussmann became intimate and lifelong friends. He taught not only in Ft. Wayne, but in two other mission outposts as time permitted. Studied theology privately under Wyneken's supervision. In 1841, during Wyneken's absence on his trip to Germany, St. Paul's was served by Pastor G. Jensen, sent by the State Mission Society. It happened that a part of the congregation wanted to call Jensen as its regular pastor to replace the absent Wyneken. Largely due to the efforts of Hussmann a split in the congregation was avoided and they remained faithful to their pastor. Jensen accepted a call, in 1842, to Pittsburg and Hussmann helped with the preaching until Wyneken returned.

26. Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, I. p. 69. On November 19th he reported to the Mission Society of the Pennsylvania Ministerium which had sent him regarding his work in this new field.

27. Amerikanischer Kalendar, 1877, p. 18.

Wyneken now realized the magnitude of the task which confronted him. On January 25, 1839, he wrote to Pastor F. Schmidt in Pittsburg:

"I believe that the only way to accomplish anything worthwhile in the vineyard of the Lord is to call missionaries for smaller sections of the country. The General Synod ought to make an appeal to all the Lutheran congregations. It is certainly not right that two thousand churches, and perhaps more, cannot support more missionaries. The occasional attacks and skirmishes on the field of the devil, I fear, are practically worthless. We must get a firm hold and wrest the country step by step from the devil and place outposts on the boundaries. If we have not sufficient warriors of Christ in this country, then I am convinced that a strong appeal to the brethren in Germany, especially to the new mission societies there (for the consistories cannot supply us with the kind of men that we want), will bring us enough recruits to fill the ranks. However, may the Lord help! If we but hang the need around His neck in fervent prayer, or as old Luther says, throw the beggar's bag at His feet, the Church will receive help. Thank God that the Church has at last awakened and has begun to move and rub her eyes. No doubt she will then also begin to look around and see where she has landed during her slumbers, and be thoroughly ashamed of herself. It is indeed fortunate that the Lord reigns and neither slumbers nor sleeps, the faithful shepherd of Israel."²⁸

From the above it is evident that Wyneken possessed a superhuman energy and determination which refused to give up in the face of any odds. That he refused to stand idly by and wait for assistance is noted from the fact that even with his numerous other tasks he found time to prepare two²⁹ young men for the ministry right there in the field. However, his appeals for assistance continued widespread and unabated.

28. Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, I, p. 136.

29. J. Jaebker and C. Frinke, first Lutheran students at Ft. Wayne. Men and Missions, op. cit., pp. 44 & 46.

On January 30 he reports by letter to Dr. F. C. Becker, member of the Mission Society in Philadelphia, on certain
30
problems in his parish.

Things were primitive in Ft. Wayne in those early days. Not all the members of Wyneken's congregation lived in the village. Most of them were farmers, some living eight or ten miles from town. Roads were bad and any kind of transportation lacking. They attended church services afoot. Visiting his members was a task. Money was scarce. Trade was carried on by barter for the most part. Though Wyneken received little or no salary, he never bothered much about it. Whatever he did receive in salary was soon given to those in greater need. It was not unusual for him to give away the very shirt from his back. Numerous anecdotes are extant concerning his charity and liberality. Withal he was happy and satisfied. He ate what God provided through his members and was content to sleep on hay or straw if necessary. Often his daily fare consisted of black bread and coffee. In his deep love for his work he utterly forgot
31
his own personal needs.

As Rudisill befriended him by taking him into his own home, so later "Father" Buuck out in Adam's county also made provision for him. He presented him with a small log cabin, his first parsonage. It was sixteen by ten feet, the cracks

30. Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, I. p. 116.

31. Men and Missions, op. cit., p. 21.

between the logs were stuffed with moss and the floor was of crudely hewn logs. It had no window and studying or writing was done by candle light or the light which came through the open door. Furnishing consisted of a home made bedstead with a straw tick and bed-clothes, and a chair and table roughly hewn from wood and log blocks. As he himself later related, some of the happiest days of his life were spent in these bare surroundings.³²

When not teaching school he was always on the go, visiting, searching for those who needed his ministrations, traveling from settlement to settlement by night and day, often relying entirely on his horse's sense of direction.

As might be expected when living under such circumstances Wyneken thought little of his personal appearance. Fashions were little thought of. The women attended church in calico dresses and sunbonnets, while the men came in shirt sleeves and jeans. Wyneken tried to preserve his only black suit for ministerial functions, but the wear and tear of such a life didn't give it much of a chance. Often Wyneken preached in patched jeans. But to his members the Word preached was the important thing. In rainy weather he wore a cape of green material. For a long time he was the possessor of a pair of bright yellow trousers which are famous for their well known history.³⁴

32. Amerikanischer Kalendar, 1877, p. 20.

33. Men and Missions, op. cit., pp. 22 & 23.

For all the hardships and labor which he expended, Wyneken was amply repaid by the deep affection and love which was bestowed upon him by young and old. He had a word for all. He spake the language of the people. He was a great friend of children, and his solicitude for them drew them to him wherever he went. But, withal, he never fell out of his roll as pastor, and no matter how jolly the company might be, he always commanded respect.

Wyneken as Pastor

As we have already indicated, Wyneken was an energetic and consecrated pastor, a leader of his flock. The congregation grew, not rapidly, but steadily. He was a stirring preacher, his sermons attractd because they came from the depths of his heart. His preaching of the Law struck deeply the consciences of his hearers; but he could inimitably and winsomely preach the Gospel of forgiveness through Christ. As evangelist he went after the straying and erring with untiring patience and zeal. It is said that he was in the habit of actually buttonholing those with whom he wished to deal. He either seized a man's hand and held it, or taking hold of the button of the coat or vest, or putting his finger through the buttonhole, he held the person until he was finished with the admonition. He spoke earnestly and affectionately, much as a father with children. At other times his methods of dealing with recalcitrant church members seems harsh and rude, but circumstances always justi-

fied the method employed.

Wyneken was deeply interested in working among the young people. He realized that if the religious conditions of the homes were to be improved he must educate and instruct the youth in God's Word and sanctification. Bible Class and Catechism hours were the order for Sunday afternoons and he insisted on the regular attendance of the young people. His stand was firm and decided against all manner of worldliness and he testified and admonished against it publicly and privately.
35

In the summer of 1839 Pastor J. J. Muelson visited Wyneken in Ft. Wayne. He was sent by the Pennsylvania Synod to work in the West as missionary. Two weeks after his arrival he wrote to Haesbert in Baltimore these words, which give an insight into the esteem in which Wyneken was held by his parishioners.

"I greeted Brother Wyneken. He was riding into the village from his home to instruct the children. He lives with a miller by the name of Rudisill, about a mile east of the village. I accompanied him on a visit to one of his congregations in Adams County, where he taught school three days and preached in the forenoon. I preached in the afternoon. The people seem to cling to him and hold him in deep affection, and the Lord has blessed many souls through him. On our return we stopped at a home where two other neighboring families quickly gathered. It was a little circle of eight souls who had been converted through his efforts. His manner of dealing with people is plain and simple. He has a mind to introduce some church discipline because of prevailing worldliness in order to bring about a semblance of order among his own members and those who

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would join the church. He is in favor of getting German school teachers here in several settlements.. ..He also desires to return to Germany in order to secure candidates, at least six, to be placed in territory which he has visited, if they are content with food and clothing. Brother Wyneken, however, does not know whether he has these things. But it doesn't bother him. He is not only content with whatever he has, but also when he receives nothing. He has put me to shame by his faith and trust."³⁷

Though the cause of Home Missions was always nearest to the heart of Wyneken and their needs most evident to him, he never lost sight of the fact that Foreign Missions were also the need of the hour. He incited the congregation to give for this cause and we find Rudisill, in March 1841, dispatching a check to Pastor F. Schmidt in Pittsburg for \$35 for Missions in India or China. The congregation had promised the sum of \$50, but could not raise the entire sum that year due to the fact that they could earn little or nothing in cash working on the canal.

38

It was on September 10, 1839, that Wyneken wrote his friend Schmidt at Pittsburg regarding his work:

"Here in Ft. Wayne the Lord has been so gracious to us that we have been able to build our own little church, a frame building, in which we now worship, though it is not yet completely finished. Ground has

36. Sauer, H. G., Ges. d. St. Paul's Gem. z. Ft. Wayne, Ind., v. Jah. 1837-1887, pp. 22-24. Together with his church council he drew up a constitution which was read to the congregation for the first time on Sunday, April 24, 1839, and had to be signed by any who wished to join the congregation. Strange to say, members of other church bodies were allowed to commune at the Lord's table.

37. Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, II, p. 63.

38. Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, annotated copy of "Amerikanischer Kalender", 1877, C. C. Schmidt, p. 22 a.

also been bought for a parsonage."

The parsonage was not built until sometime later and consisted of but one room. This first building program in Ft. Wayne was the precursor of many to follow.

Wyneken's "Appeal"

For some time Wyneken had been corresponding with Christian friends in Germany regarding the spiritual needs of their countrymen in North America, but with little success. The only tangible results were the coming of F. W. Husemann, already mentioned, and the organizing of a mission society in Bremen, pledging itself to gain men for the ministry in America. To Wyneken this progress was much too slow. Just at this time he began suffering from a throat ailment, which gradually became worse and made it practically impossible for him to continue preaching. He soon applied by letter to the Mission Committee of the General Synod for a leave of absence to seek a cure in Germany. In its May convention this body granted him a leave with the understanding that he go to Germany, not only for reasons of health, but also in the interests of his work. At first Wyneken hesitated to leave his post without a capable substitute to take over his parish. This matter was adjusted by the arrival in May of a young man by the name of August Knappe, who relieved him of his country charges. He continued to serve these parishes during Wyneken's entire absence

and when Wyneken returned in 1843, Knape was called to Ohio.⁴⁰
 In June three other young men arrived in Baltimore, one of
 whom, G. Jensen (see footnote 25, p. 35), came to Ft. Wayne,
 This relieved Wyneken's burdened mind and he immediately⁴¹
 set about making preparations for his journey.

It may be injected at this point that the 11th meeting
 of the Genral Synod convened at Baltimore in May of 1841,
 and mention is made in the minutes that the Synod of the
 West was represented for the first time. It may have been
 that Wyneken was the representative mentioned, although this⁴²
 has not been substantiated.

It was in this year that Wyneken wrote his celebrated
 "Appeal" to the Lutherans of Germany. It was printed and⁴³
 broadcast both in Germany and in the United States, first
 in the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, Pittsburg, by Pastor F.
 Schmidt, then as a separate pamphlet, 1844. It is titled
The Distress of the German Lutherans in North America and
 it graphically described the conditions which existed among

40. Con. Hist. Ins. Quat., II, p. 101.

41. Sauer, H. G., Ges. d. St. Paul's Gem. z. Ft. Wayne, Ind., v. Jah. 1837-1877, p. 27. In a meeting on the 12th of August, 1841, St. Paul's granted Wyneken permission to make the trip to Germany.

42. Morris, J. G., op. cit., p. 263.

43. Deindoerfer, Geschichte der Iowa Synode, p. 7. A mission society in Hanover printed and published this tract and it later found its way into Loche's hands, who at once printed it in the "Noerdlingen Sonntagsblatt", edited by Rev. F. Wueherer. It made an earnest plea in behalf of the spiritual needs of the brethren in the United States.

the German pioneers. We quote in part:

"Either singly or in small groups our brethren go into the forest with their wives and children. In many cases they have no neighbors for miles around, and even if they have such near by, the dense forest so separates them that they live in ignorance of one another. Come and enter one of these log huts of your brethren! Behold, husband, wife, and children must work hard to fell the giant trees, to clear the virgin forest, to plow, to sow, to plant, for their pittance of money runs low or is already gone. Bread must be procured, but can be gotten only from the land which is worked.

"And in their log huts a strange sight meets German eyes; there those things considered most essential in the matter of furniture are entirely lacking, everything is primitive with no thought of comfort. Shoes and clothing wear out, winter is at hand. Small wonder that everyone works in order to support body and life. There is no distinction made between Sunday and week-day, especially since no church bell calls them to the house of God and no neighbor in Sunday clothes calls for his friend.

"It is not to be wondered at that the pioneers' tired limbs seek their couch without prayer and that dire need drives them to leave it and return to work without prayer; even the prayer at meal time has long since vanished because of inveterate infidelity or recent trouble. Bible and hymnal have in most cases been left in the old country, as the people, owing to rationalism, had lost the taste for them. No preacher arrives to rouse them from their carnal thoughts and pursuits, and the sweet voice of the Gospel has been unheard for a long time.

"Thus one month passes after another; material conditions improve, want is relieved, the fields flourish, the log huts disappear and stately mansions take their place. One sees better clothing and more cheerful faces. But their souls? For years they have not tasted of the Bread of Life, no Table of the Lord having been spread for them. They have grown used to spiritual death and can now get along well without their Lord, as their farms seem to provide that which they need in order to enjoy their daily life.

"To be sure, in the beginning, when father and mother looked out with forlorn faces upon the forest from their log hut and hunger or death stalked into the cabin or when a little child was born and the heart for a moment, by the grace of God, had become still and with the longing for home also the memories of beautiful church services of childhood and therewith the longing for heaven softly entered the soul, then per-

haps a sigh was lifted: 'Ah, if we only had a church, a minister, a school! What shall become of our children?' But you quite well know how soon temporal affairs stifle such emotions, especially when people do not hear the Word of God. So the longing which at first was kindled dies away by the cunning of Satan and the inclination of our own flesh and blood.

"Picture to yourselves thousands of families scattered over these extended tracts of land. The parents die without hearing the Word of God, no one arouses and admonishes, no one comforts them. Picture these young and old upon their death beds; with never so much as a thought in preparation of the solemn Judgment. But a servant of the Lord would be able to direct the lost one to the holy God, who outside of Christ is a consuming fire, but in Christ a reconciled Father; He might, by His grace and the power of the Word, lead the heart to repentance and faith, and the dying soul could be saved. How many thousands go forth unprepared and un-comforted into eternity.

"Thus thousands of families, your brethren in the faith, possibly your brothers and sisters according to the flesh, are hungry for the strengthening meat of the Gospel. They cry out and implore you: "Oh, help us! Give us preachers to strengthen us with the Bread of the Gospel and to instruct our children in the teachings of Jesus Christ! Help us or we are undone! Why do you not come to our aid? Consider the words, 'What you have done to the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' Why do you not help us? Is that your love of Jesus? Is it thus you keep His commandments?' It is literally true that many of our German brethren in America thus complain.

"Besides, in many places there has arisen a new danger. In no other country are there so many seats as in North America. Some have even now directed their attention to the settlements of our German brethren and fellow Lutherans. Foreign laborers would harvest where the Lord would call His own. Shall our brethren no longer worship in the church of their fathers, filled with the breath of the Lord, and, instead, recline in the New World under the influence of 'human measures?' I beg of you, for Jesus' sake, take hold, organize speedily, do not waste time in consultations! Hasten, hasten! The salvation of immortal souls is at stake!

"But God be praised, not all forsake their God and the faith of their fathers. There are many souls who thus do crave and receive food. Congregations are formed, churches are built, and schools erected. But probably in all the larger cities the number of orthodox ministers is inadequate for the size of the German population. The ministers have enough, and more than enough, to do with those who voluntarily commit themselves to their spiritual care.

"But who will go forth into the dens of iniquity, into busy factories? Who calls the countless sinners who do not concern themselves about church and the things of God? We need missionaries who are burning with zeal for the Lord and neither dread the scoffing of the worldly wise nor the diabolical ridicule of unbelief but force their way into houses and hearts to win them for Christ. But such missionaries are wanting.

"Thousands upon thousands of Germans immigrate every year; only in the last two years between eighty and one hundred thousand. Five thousand have landed in one week in Philadelphia. There is a great movement westward. The descendants of those who have lived for some generations in the Eastern States follow this westward trek. A territory of increasing vastness is being settled by the members of our race, and ever wider the area is becoming in which there is such great spiritual destitution of which we have spoken. Ever greater become the difficulties in the task of surveying this enormous field and of granting these people spiritual aid, and hence with ever greater insistency the call of the Lord addresses itself to our hearts: 'HELP! HELP IN THE NAME OF JESUS!'"

It is little wonder that this burning and stirring appeal mightily influenced such men as Loche and others. Its effect was far-reaching in providing the personnel which soon added needed strength to the missions in the West.

Wyneken's Marriage and Family Life

At this point a happy occurrence is recorded in the busy life of Wyneken. Before leaving for the East he entered the holy estate of matrimony and his journey to Germany became a honeymoon. His bride was none other than the second oldest daughter of "Father" Buuck of Adams County. On August 31, 1841, Pastor August Knappe, who now served the Adams County parish, read the service which united Wyneken with Marie Sophie Wilhelmine Buuck. Shortly thereafter they left the log cabin parsonage, their first home, and by horse, canal boat,

stage, and train made the journey to Philadelphia from where they sailed in October, 1841.

Wyneken's married life seems to have been a happy one. They were a devoted couple and their home life was pervaded by an earnest Christian spirit. Their children were reared and cared for as precious gifts of God. The eldest, Margaret, was born May 23, 1842 in Leesum near Bremen, where Wyneken had tutored. There were thirteen children in all, eight boys and five girls. Two children died in infancy. The twin sons, Martin and Henry, entered the ministry as did also Arthur and Frederick; Gustave became a parish school teacher.⁴⁴ Henry taught in Germany in the Seminary of Pastor F. Brunn at Steeden and later was called as professor to Concordia Seminary at Springfield, Illinois.

The Wyncken home life is described by one of his daughters:

- "For our evening entertainment Father often showed us pictures in the Weimar Bible, also pictures depicting flowers, plants, costumes, cities, and rivers of various countries of the world. Father had traveled through France, Italy, Germany and England, and his descriptions were always interesting. He possessed valuable pictures, which we handled carefully while he sat in his large, comfortable chair, describing the inhabitants, the customs, the animals, the fruits, and the plant life of different countries.

"I can recall that sometimes my brothers invited the neighbor children in for the evening. Then my brothers would take their leaden soldiers (gifts from loved ones in Germany) and from regiments. We had long

44. Amerikanischer Kalendar, 1877, p. 37. The twins were born Dec. 15, 1844. In a letter to his aged mother in Germany he wrote: "Never was I happier than today. Never did I receive such a precious Christmas gift. Our faithful Father in heaven has given us two baby boys to honor this event. I let something be spent--two wax candles burn on my table!"

tables in the kitchen, where Father would show them how to arrange these soldiers. Then he would tell about the different wars, and if he was smoking, he would purposely blow smoke among the leaden soldiers for effect. During winter evenings Mother sat and quartered apples, which we ate with nuts already cracked, and all listened intently to Father explain or describe interesting events."⁴⁵

Germany Is Awakened to America's Spiritual Needs

Wyneken's trip to Germany was of far-reaching importance not only to himself, but to a greater section of the Lutheran Church in America. Establishing himself in Germany among his relatives he immediately placed himself under the care of competent medical men in order to effect a cure for his throat ailment. No sooner was he on the road to recovery, when he took up the cause for which he had primarily been sent, namely, help for the German brethren in North America. He began by corresponding with many influential people, describing to them the spiritual distress which prevailed in America and appealing for aid in men and money. His first aim was the recruiting of men who were willing to go to America and preach the Gospel. Replies were encouraging. He then, with his throat on the mend, sought engagements to deliver lectures and sermons. As a result, he journeyed through various parts of Germany and was able to obtain personal interviews with influential men among clergy and laity; he lectured wherever the opportunity presented itself.

45. Con. Hist. Inst. Quat., XIV, 2, p. 42.

The high esteem in which his relatives were held in church and government circles in various parts of the country and more particularly in his native province of Hanover, enabled him to succeed where many others might have failed. His messages from America to Germany published in various journals between 1838 and 1842 had begun to bear fruit and needed only this personal enthusiasm and organizing ability of Wyneken, plus the many prominent friends, to unite the missionary societies of Germany in an effort to preserve the German Lutheran element in America. Through this personal influence a scene was enacted in Germany which might be compared with the awakening of the Eastern part of the United States to the spiritual needs of the West shortly before.

Another fact which cannot be denied is that Wyneken's temporary residence in Germany coupled with his close contact with the "Old Lutheran" leaders in that country hastened his trend toward an even stronger confessional conviction than before. Through an article in the Zeitschrift fuer Protestantismus he administered a staggering blow to the General Synod and to certain professors at Gettysburg Seminary. The repercussions of this are evident in the General Synod Convention which he later attended at Philadelphia in 1845.

46. The actions of this Synod will be noted in the next chapter.

47. Mauselshagen, Carl, op. cit., pp. 70 & 71.

It was on one of Wyneken's lecture tours into Bavaria that he met the man who, though never a member of the Missouri Synod, nevertheless in early years wielded tremendous influence in its history and organization. This was William Loehe of Neuendettelsau, Bavaria.⁴⁸ The needs of the Church in America were called to his attention especially by Wyneken's "Appeal", and this personal meeting of these two men brought forth the promise on Loehe's part to prepare and send needed assistance in men and money. His Kirchliche Mittheilungen brought the necessary financial response and he himself trained workers for the field.

Loeh's men in the beginning were given the most rudimentary practical training. They were volunteers and were dubbed "Nothelfer".⁴⁹ They simply accompanied Loehe on his trips through his parish to minister to the spiritual needs of the sick, dying, and needy. At night seminar instructions were given such as Loehe deemed necessary for efficiently carrying out the work of the ministry in their new field of labor. Loehe was extremely cautious in choosing only men of sterling character and real religious fervor. They were men who had a deep love for Christ and for their work. The caliber of the men who were sent bears this out.⁵⁰

48. Loehe had studied theology at Erlangen and Berling and after serving as vicar became pastor of a rural congregation at Neuendettelsau where he remained until his death in 1872. He is noted for his mission and charitable endeavors, his religious books tending to build the spiritual life of the individual and his training of young men as teachers and pastors. His work in behalf of the Church in America overshadows all his other accomplishments.

49. Concordia Cyclopedia, p. 487. Among these were W.

Wyneken's trips also led him to Nuernberg, as guest of a manufacturer named Volck; through him he became acquainted with a consecrated man named Fabricius, who held mission classes in his home. In Fuerth he delivered an inspiring lecture on the needs in America. Wherever he spoke, he attracted large audiences, who listened with rapt attention. We are indebted to the noted Pastor F. Lochner⁵¹ for the following account of one of these lectures which he attended in Germany:

"The school hall was crowded to the doors when I reached Fuerth. At eight o'clock Wyneken appeared, escorted by the pastors of Fuerth. Pastor Krausshold, consistorial councilor, recited a few lines which the audience sang. Wyneken's lecture followed and all present were intensely interested. He spoke of conditions and of mission work in America. On the basis of Scripture passages he explained the difference in doctrine and practice between the true Church and the sects. He gave special attention to the activities of the Methodists. He was brilliant as he described a camp-meeting. As the climax was reached when individuals were called to the mourner's bench he graphically approached those seated up front and seizing their hands asked, 'Don't you want to be converted also?' I can still picture the faces of those persons as some of them drew back aghast thinking an actual Methodist conversion was to take place. In closing he pleaded for assistance in his difficult work and bewailed the fact that in their own midst theological candidates were waiting eight and ten years for a charge, while oversease souls were perishing for want of spiritual food. It was eleven o'clock when the meeting closed, but no one realized that time had slipped by so quickly."

In Erlangen, the university town, he gained the support

50. Deinzer, Johann, Wilhelm Loehe's Leben, III, 4, 21, 22.

51. Studied liturgies under Hommel in Neuendettelsauß later pastor in Milwaukee and Springfield, noted authority and author on liturgical subjects.

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of Prof. Karl von Raumer. In April of 1842 he visited Dresden, where he was instrumental in organizing a mission society which promised to win men and send both money and books to America. On a second visit he lectured. In Leipzig he started another mission society which later cooperated with that in Dresden. With aid from Loehe and Raumer his celebrated "Appeal" was published and circulated throughout church circles all over Germany.

Immediate and substantial results were not lacking.

Before Wyneken left, candidates A. Ernst and G. Burger had been sent to America by Loehe in 1842. The following year Dr. Sihler⁵³ and Paul Baumgart⁵⁴ arrived. It may be mentioned here that Loehe published and sent to America, following Wyneken's visit, a memorial entitled Greetings from the Homeland to the German Lutheran Church in North America, which was signed by some 950 people from all walks of life. This is an indication of the deep impression which Wyneken had made on the minds of the people in Germany during his two year visit. ✓

52. 1783-1865, professor of minerology and history of education. Turned finally to education. Principle of school for delinquent boys at Nuremberg. Entered public service and professed at Erlangen. Author of a history of education.

53. Con. Cyc., p. 704. Wm. Sihler. One of the triumvirate in early Missouri Synod history, pastor in Pomeroy, Ohio, and later Wyneken's successor at Ft. Wayne.

54. Paul Israel Baumgart, a converted Jew, served first as teacher in Columbus, Ohio, then under Wyneken in Baltimore, later as pastor in Fairfield County, Ohio, Venedy and Darmstadt, Illinois.

In a letter to Schmidt of Pittsburg just before leaving Germany, Wyneken writes as follows:

"God willing, this will be my last letter to you for the time being. May 15th has been set for the date of sailing. We bespeak the prayers of all of you for the safe return of my wife, myself and our child.... Our parting here will be sad and I sometimes shudder at the thought of again entering the arena to fight for the Lord in the West. But my trust is in Him alone.Here also, especially in northern Germany the battle lines are sharp and bitter between Reformed and Lutherans. But the hours of conflict have not been without compensations and blessings....But the Lord will not forsake His own."⁵⁶

The Wyneken's boarded the Isabella together with a group of other German Lutheran missionaries whom he had prevailed upon to devote themselves to the cause of American Lutheran missions. Aboard the Isabella on May 28th, Wyneken performed a marriage ceremony for two of those who were in the ship's group. The wedding certificate in Wyneken's hand is dated June 2nd.⁵⁷ The company landed safely in New York in June⁵⁸ and proceeded immediately to Baltimore where both Wyneken and Biewend⁵⁹ preached in Haesbert's church.⁶⁰

Results of Wyneken's Trip

Not only were the results of Wyneken's trip to Germany noticeable in added personnel and the means to support and

55. Published in Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, # 4.

56. Fritschel, Geo. J., Quellen und Dokumente zur Geschichte und Lehrstellung der Evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Iowa und andere Staaten, p. 13.

57. Concordia Historical Institute, Wyneken File.

58. On the 20th of July, 1843, Pastor F. Schmidt, writes in "Luth. K. Z." V, 128: "Wyneken landed safely in New York and preached the last Sunday in Haesbert's congregation in Baltimore.

59. One of the candidates who accompanied the Wyneken party. Later pastor in Washington D. C. Professor at Ft.

and train others, but the contacts which Wyneken had made with staunch Lutherans had a marked and maturing effect on his own religious convictions and ^{this} became apparent throughout his later life.⁶¹ The insight into the struggle of the staunch Lutheran element in Germany against Prussian Union; the news of the emigration of the Saxons under Stephan and their struggles in Perry County; and many other things learned by mere observation impressed themselves on his mind. He began to see Lutheranism in a different light, by contrast he became aware of the aberrations of his own synod, the principal Lutheran body in America. More than ever before he determined to oppose any who tampered with the confessional standards of the Lutheran Church and to take a decided and emphatic stand against unionistic tendencies

Wayne. First instructor in English at our colleges. Noted scholar.

60. Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, V, 128.

61. Deinzer, J., op. cit., III, 18-20. As a result of Wyneken's campaign in Germany, L. A. Petri, pastor of the city of Hanover organized Wyneken's native province into circles, over each of which was appointed a central committee for raising funds to send young men to the seminary at Ft. Wayne, founded by Loehle in 1846. The women of the respective circles supplied the missionaries with the necessary bedding and clothing. This example was followed by Mecklenburg and other German provinces and was unusually successful, as is evidenced by the forty men sent from Germany to complete their missionary training at Ft. Wayne between 1846 and 1850. The province of Mecklenburg raised 1104 gulden to send two missionaries to America, and a member of the royal family presented each with one hundred thaler in gold. Preceding their embarkation for America the young men sent out by Loehle were entertained and received their final instructions at the home of Petri.

which would undermine sound Lutheranism in America.

The change which Wyneken had undergone in his religious convictions were soon apparent in Ft. Wayne also. Previously, through pietistic leanings, he had followed the practice of other Lutheran pastors in holding prayer meetings, somewhat after Methodistic practice, in which he often asked individual laymen to lead in prayer; he also had allowed sectarian ministers to occupy his pulpit and had frequently allowed those of Reformed conviction to commune at his altar. He had in many ways fellowshiped with the Reformed for he had found this to be the prevailing tendency among other Lutherans. But with his return this was all changed. He continually expounded the doctrinal differences between Reformed and Lutheran confessions, publicly and privately, and devoted all his energies to establishing a truly Lutheran consciousness in his congregation.

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One can easily imagine the effect of this procedure, one entirely new to the great majority of his members. The first result was that the Reformed element broke away and founded their own congregation. Coupled with this was the fact that many good Lutheran members, including Rudisill, were much disturbed by such a direct change of front and began to question his Lutheranism.

Among the members of the Synod of the West, even before his trip to Germany, Wyneken had been hailed as an "old Lu-

62. Sauer, H. G., op. cit., p. 29. Also Maelshagen, C., op. cit., pp. 71 & 72.

theran", while they dubbed themselves "American Lutherans". They refused to be bound by the confessions of a sixteenth century church. Now many of these were referring to him as "a Jesuit in disguise". In order to make his stand clear, both to his congregation and to the Synod of the West, Wyneken invited the Synod to convene in the midst of St. Paul's congregation at Ft. Wayne for its October 1844 convention. He also allowed his congregation, through Rudisill, to bring accusation against him before the Synod. This gave him the opportunity in a two hour statement, both in German and English, to defend his actions on the basis of God's Word and the Lutheran Confessions.⁶³ He hoped by this means, not only to prove to his own congregation his loyalty to the truth, but also to convince others of their error and bring them to search the Scriptures and the Confessions. The direct result was that the Synod itself acknowledged him as a loyal Lutheran pastor and his own congregation made the same discovery. Tangible results were evident in the many accessions to the congregation so that the little church became too small to hold the members.⁶⁴

But not only was Wyneken compelled to defend himself against his own brethren. The Methodists and other Reformed

63. Sauer, H. G., op. cit., p. 29-30.

64. Ebenezer, op. cit., p. 61. "What I believe, teach and confess about the Christian Church is the faith of the Lutheran Church, and is, without any subterfuge, clearly and distinctly expressed in our symbolical writings, to which I give assent with heart and mouth, and which, by the grace of God in my weakness, I am willing to uphold and defend to my last breath against all factions and assaults of the devil."

also took up the cudgel against him. A copy of Wyneken's pamphlet which had been published in Germany exposing their vagaries fell into their hands. They answered him in one of their own titled Why Have You Become an Apostate? He ably defended his Church and himself as a loyal pastor of it.

It was during these trying days that the first copy of Der Lutheraner, dated Sept. 7, 1844, published by C. F. W. Walther in St. Louis in the interest of the Saxon Lutherans, came into his hands. After reading it he recognized kindred spirits and is said to have exclaimed: "Thank God, there are other Lutherans in America!" It was with this group that he later joined forces.

In the midst of all this in the fall of 1844, Wyneken received a call from Second Lutheran Church in Baltimore, of which J. Haesbert had been pastor and where Wyneken had preached and ministered in 1838. According to the church records of the Baltimore congregation Wyneken's reply to the call, dated November 20, was as follows:

"There are certain conditions which I must insist upon before I would consider the call which has been extended to me. First, the use of my own Lutheran Agenda, especially for Baptism and Holy Communion (if

65. With the reading of succeeding issues he bombarded Walther with the query: "What is this thing which you continually write about - the invisible church?" He had not recognized it's nature up to that time. Con. Hist. Ins., Wyneken File.

66. Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, VI, 182 and Con. Hist. Ins. Files. Haesbert had resigned suddenly, but remained in Baltimore until Dec. 29; attended the evening service and went from the church directly to the depot. He lived in New Orleans for a while and then went to Brazil, S. A.

this is not allowed please notify me)." He would insist on announcements for communion and the making of the sign of the cross at the proper places in the order of service, and that strict Lutheran doctrine and practice must be followed. Secondly, in the event that the congregations is able to obtain Dr. W. Sihler as pastor, he would willingly withdraw in favor of him, as he, together with the whole church, believed him to be the proper man for such an important place. "I know my own weaknesses....The duty of every true Christian is not to consider self, but rather the good of the Church as a whole....Finally, if the conditions under which you extend the call were not so sad, I rejoice that even though I would leave a congregation, by the will of God, that has become dear to me, I would nevertheless step into another, which had already become dear at the time of my arrival in this country, and ever since has had a special place in my heart. May the Lord and Head of the Church bless our relations as they occur according to His will, that they redound to the furtherance of His kingdom. This is my heartfelt wish and prayer."

The congregation immediately replied that being Lutheran they sought a truly Lutheran pastor to serve their needs and that he, as their pastor, might insist on strict Lutheran doctrine and practice in their midst as this is what they themselves wished. They asked that he come to them.

Thus in February 1845, having received a peaceful release from St. Paul's, Ft. Wayne, he left his first love for the time being. Before leaving Ft. Wayne he recommended Dr. Wm. Sihler of Pomeroy, Ohio, as his successor.

Leaving his family behind (they were to follow later) he mounted his horse for the first portion of his trip. At Zanesville, Ohio, he visited his old friend, Rev. G. Bartels, where he rested and reminisced of earlier times. The next stage of his journey brought him to Pomeroy, Ohio, the home of Dr. Wm. Sihler, destined to be his successor at Ft. Wayne. These two men had never met, but had established

an acquaintance through the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung and through correspondence. A bosom friendship was established which lasted until Wyneken's death. From here his journey continued over the Alleghanies and, after selling his horse, he continued his journey by stage to Baltimore where he arrived on March 7th, 1845.⁶⁷

Wyneken and the General Synod

In 1845 Wyneken attended the convention of the General Synod, assembled in Philadelphia for its thirteenth meeting, as a delegate from the Synod of the West.⁶⁸ The whole Lutheran Church was at this time in an unsettled and agitated state. At Gettysburg, Dr. S. S. Schmucker was not only indefinite in his doctrinal teachings, but was becoming more and more hostile to positive Lutheranism. The Lutheran Observer⁶⁹ stood on the same platform. It was constantly advocating a union of Lutherans with other Protestant denominations. The specific doctrines of the Lutheran Confessions⁷⁰ were boldly attacked and openly repudiated.

67. Amerikanischer Kalendar, 1877, p. 26.

68. Der Lutheraner, 1845, p. 96. Shortly before this Wyneken had denounced the General Synod in an article in the "Lutheraner" as being: "Reformed in doctrine, Methodistic in practice, and laboring for the ruin of the Church, whose name she falsely bears."

69. Edited by Dr. B. Kurtz after 1833 and owned by him after 1853. A religious weekly voicing the religious opinions of the liberal wing of the Lutheran Church. Contained articles, accounts and events of the day and secular and religious announcements. Its columns were open to persons of varying shades of Lutheran orthodoxy.

70. American Lutheran, II, p. 75. Wyneken recognized these tendencies in the General Synod already in 1841 when, in his pamphlet THE DISTRESS OF THE GERMAN LUTHERANS IN AMER*

While in Germany Wyneken had disseminated a description of the real conditions prevailing in the Lutheran Church in America.⁷¹ For this he was called to account by the General Synod and

"The Committee on Foreign Correspondence was instructed to prepare an address to the various ecclesiastical bodies of our church in Europe, setting forth the condition of our church in this country, and calculated to remove the false impressions which have been made there in regard to our doctrine and practice."

Wyneken was not present when this resolution was offered, but when he appeared and heard of it he offered the following amendment:

"That the writings of the Rev. S. S. Schmucker and B. Kurtz, as well as a volume of the Lutheran Observer and of the Hirten Stimme, then edited by Rev. C. G. Weyl⁷² of Baltimore, and other books and papers in which the doctrine and practice of the General Synod are set forth be sent to Dr. A. G. Rudelbach, Prof. G. C. Harless and other editors of prominent Lutheran journals for examination, so that the orthodoxy of the General Synod might be demonstrated to the Lutheran Church in Germany."⁷³

Considerable excitement was occasioned by this resolution, and it was promptly laid upon the table, as Wyneken

ICA he wrote: "They have totally fallen away from the faith of our fathers. Though enthusiastic over the name 'Lutheran' and zealous in spreading the so-called 'Lutheran' Church, they, in a most shameful and foolhardy manner, attack the doctrines of our Church and seek to spread their errors in sermons, periodicals, and newspapers, notably the doctrines of Baptism and the Lord's Supper and the connected important doctrines of grace, and the two natures of Christ, etc.... Besides they are advocates of new measures and altogether Methodistic in their method of conversion."

71. Gerberding, G. H., The Life and Letters of W. A. Passavant, p. 165.

72. Son-in-law of S. S. Schmucker.

73. Gerberding, G. H., op. cit., pp. 165 & 166.

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anticipated that it would be. He then immediately offered the following resolution to supplant it:

"Resolved, that the General Synod hereby disavow and reject the aforementioned writings⁷⁵ of Drs. Schmucker and Kurtz, as well as the Lutheran Observer and the Hirten Stimme, as heretical and as departing from the saving faith."

This demand was considered presumptuous and was not entertained for a moment.⁷⁶

The above is not meant to imply that the conservative element in the General Synod was of little consequence. There were always two distinct currents and both made themselves felt. The one, with Wyneken and others as leaders, was the historic Lutheran position of the fathers, conservative, uncompromising, opposed to any unionistic practice, supporting a rigid adherence to the teaching of Scripture and church doctrine set forth in the Lutheran symbols.⁷⁷

74. Steffens, D. H., Dr. Carl F. W. Walther, p. 240. When Wyneken was chided from the floor for his use of poor English he remarked, "You have heard so much poor stuff in good English that you can well stand hearing something good in poor English."

75. Bente, F., American Lutheranism, II, p. 153. These writings included: Schmucker's "Popular Theology, Appeal, Portraiture of Lutheranism", and Kurtz' "On Infant Baptism" and "Why You Are a Lutheran".

76. Der Lutheraner, III, 32; VII, 133. 153. Beginning already in July 1845, Rev. Weyl in the Lutheran Hirten Stimme and others who took up the same cry began to denigrate Wyneken as a masked Romanist, an enemy of Lutheran doctrines, usages, books and periodicals, and to ridicule his zeal for true Lutheranism.

77. Spaeth, Adolph, Charles Porterfield Krauth, I, 330.

The other, and far stronger element, headed by Schmucker and Kurtz, was drifting farther and further away from the distinctive life and spirit of the church of the Augustana, was infected with unionism, indifferentism and decidedly Reformed in practice.⁷⁸

By 1850 those who were in favor of a Lutheranism that was true to its name and history had started the Evangelical Review.⁷⁹ And the little Missionary had become more and more clear and confessional in tone. By that time Wyneken and Walther, Loehe and Lehman, Passavant and Harms were teaching the Church not only that there is no antagonism between confessional doctrines and living piety, but also that the former demands the latter.⁸⁰

Concerning his connections with the Synod of the West and the General Synod Wyneken wrote:

"When I later became acquainted with the state of affairs (after having labored long and patiently to win it back to true Lutheranism), I felt that I must NOT at once withdraw, especially since no attempt had been made to win over the erring brethren, to a number of whom I had become warmly attached, by means of an open testimony."⁸¹

One nostalgic touch concerning the Synod of the West needs mentioning. In 1864 Dr. Passavant made a missionary

78. Spaeth, Adolph, op. cit., I, 331.

79. A monthly magazine devoted to the work of Home and Foreign Missions in the American Lutheran Church, 1848. Edited by W. A. Passavant, an advocate of conservative Lutheranism in the General Synod.

80. Spaeth, Adolph, op. cit., I, 326.

81. Ebenezer, op. cit., 113.

trip West. He writes of a Ft. Wayne reunion thus:

"Memory will often wander back to the family room in the Rudisill mansion, where genial friends were gathered, and we listened and laughed and cried over the old days when the Synod of the West embraced Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois and Tennessee and the entire West to the Pacific Ocean. Pastor Wyneken, one of the few surviving members, was the soul of the company and described those early days with their sunny and stormy memories, their hard toil and wretched pay, their defeats in one place and triumphs in another, their log cabins and early candle lightings, and weaknesses, oddities and peculiarities of good men, then as now. Vale et Vale!"⁸²

82. Gerberding, G. H., op. cit., p. 370 ff.

Wyneken's Baltimore Pastorate 1845-1850

Up until this time we have become intimately acquainted with Wyneken as missionary, establishing small congregations and preaching places in pioneer settlements and generally acting as "circuit rider" for the surrounding territory. Now we meet him as pastor of a well-organized congregation in a large city and concerned chiefly with the building of the Church in the hearts of his parishioners and outwardly strengthening the walls of Zion.

The Baltimore congregation which he was called to serve was organized in 1835 under the leadership of Haesbert when a number of members from First German Evangelical Lutheran Church (today Zion Lutheran Church) decided to establish their own congregation, with the consent of the mother church. More than 200 members had pledged to support the new project with regular contributions. On the 16th of November, 1835, they purchased the vacant church building at Saratoga and Holliday Sts. for the sum of \$4400.¹

During the vacancy following Haesbert's resignation the congregation was served by Rev. F. Schmidt of Pittsburg who was at this time entering a new field of labor at Washington D. C. He seems to have left the city shortly before Wyneken's arrival on March 7. Two days later, Sunday, March 9, Wyneken was inducted into office by Dr. Daniel Kurtz, pas-

1. 50th Anniversary Book of St. Paul's Lutheran Church Baltimore, Maryland., p. 3.

tor emeritus, living in retirement in Baltimore.² Wyneken delivered his inaugural sermon on the same day as his induction into office. The majority of the members appear to have received him cordially, but there were some who distrusted him because of the rumors which they had heard regarding his resolute stand on Lutheran doctrine and practice. His difficulties were to come to the fore almost immediately.

Upon his arrival in Baltimore Wyneken was taken immediately into the home of Franz Buehler who was residing on Market St. Here a firm and lasting friendship was established and this gentleman seems to have stood Wyneken in good stead throughout his ministry in the city. In May, when his family arrived from the West, the Wyneken's moved into a small house on Fayette Street, in old Baltimore, and this was later traded for the regular parsonage of the congregation located at # 316 Parke Avenue.³

The aforementioned difficulties became evident on the Sunday following Wyneken's induction, when the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated. The preparation of the altar had been entrusted to the sexton. Wyneken's consternation can be imagined more readily than described, when, in the con-

2. Con. Hist. Ins. Files. Kurtz was born 1763 at Germantown, Pa., and at the time he officiated was 82 years of age. He often attended Wyneken's services. Died 1856. Dr. B. Kurtz, editor of the Lutheran Observer was his nephew.

3. Con. Hist. Ins. Files.

fessional service he appeared before the altar and instantly perceived, that in this place the Holy Supper had assuredly never yet been administered after the manner of the truly Lutheran Church! There was wine in a huge earthen jug, and on the plate were wafers and bread side by side. What was to be done?⁴

Wyneken immediately called the deacons into the sacristy and explained to them, that the congregation was not Lutheran at all; that in extending a call to him he had obviously been deceived; that he could not distribute the sacrament in that manner! The good people were filled with surprise and confusion, and declared that they had not been aware that they were not truly Lutheran, and requested him to act in the case in accord with his conscience as a Lutheran pastor. They thereupon urgently entreated him to distribute the Sacrament once more in the manner to which the people had hitherto been accustomed, for the purpose of avoiding the very great dissatisfaction that would otherwise result among the communicants who were present.

Under the existing circumstances Wyneken regarded this as the better course, and acted accordingly. After the sermon, however, he requested the congregation to remain in the church for a short time after the close of the service. And

4. The question may rightly be injected as to whether Wyneken was not aware of this fact from having served this congregation upon his arrival in 1838. The answer may be that during the illness of Haesbert the Lord's Supper had not been celebrated. The Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1877 finally adopted the resolution that, "The distribution of the bread in two forms in the same Communion, is an offence against the law of order and of Christian charity", and

thereupon he declared in the presence of the people, that he had not found them to be a Lutheran, but much more a unionistic congregation, and that therefore the best course for them to pursue would probably be, to dismiss him immediately; that, in case he should remain among them, he would certainly occasion many disturbances and dissatisfactions in the midst of such a mixed group.

The congregation, however, would not consent to his going away, but was decided in its desire that he should remain. "Well, then," said Wyneken, "I will begin on next Sunday to take both the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechisms with me into the pulpit, and will read from and explain both; then each one will have the opportunity of knowing and judging for himself as to which side has and confesses the complete truth of the divine Word!"

This, accordingly, was the course that Wyneken subsequently pursued. He explained from both catechisms the distinction between the Lutheran and Reformed doctrines; he rebuked the practice hitherto observed in administering the Lord's Supper, and showed from the Scriptures, that Reformed and Lutherans cannot possibly be members of one and the same congregation, inasmuch as every congregation that desires to act with true Christian candor and uprightness cannot adopt and adhere to more than one confession.

lists seven reasons. Morris, op. cit., p. 358.

This course resulted in a fearful storm in the congregation. The Reformed element maintained that they had been betrayed, and the greater number of them did not even have the forbearance patiently to hear Wyneken's explanations; and among the Lutherans also, they found erring friends who criticized the course of the new pastor, and desired to abide by the former state of affairs. And not in the congregational meetings alone, but also on the streets and in the homes of the people, lively and often bitter discussions took place. Many children of Reformed parents had become Lutherans; others were intermarried with Lutherans; and this resulted in daughters being opposed to mothers and husbands to their wives. It was truly a time of visitation for the congregation, but the truth prevailed. The Reformed element finally withdrew from the congregation (it is said that on a single Sunday more than eighty names were announced from the pulpit of persons who had severed their connections with the congregation) and organized a German Reformed Church on Calvert Street. It was self-evident that they regarded Wyneken as their enemy, and quite some time elapsed before the matter was forgotten.⁵

Another source of irritation which developed at this time concerned the actions of a brother-pastor C. G. Weyl, editor of the Hirten Stimme, liberal independent organ which

5. Morris, J. G., op. cit., p. 360-361.

had found favor in the East. Being a member of the General Synod by virtue of his membership in the Synod of the West, Wyneken often found himself among strange bed-fellows. Weyl was one of these. He looked askance at Wyneken's Lutheranism intimating that he was leading his flock straight back into the arms of Rome because he insisted on wearing a black pulpit gown and making the sign of the cross at the celebration of Holy Communion.

Both publicly and privately Weyl sought to undermine Wyneken's position in his congregation by raising misgivings in the minds of the parishoners.⁶ Wyneken courageously answered fire with fire and the matter finally was brought to a head, as previously indicated, at the 13th convention of the General Synod which was held in mid-May of 1845 in the city of Philadelphia.

A later remark of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, liberal leader mentioned previously, portrays the attitude of this group toward those found in the conservative camp.

"If our old Lutheran brethren are willing to regard their peculiarities as non-essential and live in peace with us, they are welcome to join hands with us in the works of our ministry and in our ecclesiastical organizations; but if they cannot refrain from either regarding or denouncing us as dishonest, as pseudo-Lutherans, and as perjured because we do not believe everything contained in the Confessions, which we never adopted," and because we will not adopt books as

6. The members of wealthy Zion's Church, Weyl's parishoners, sarcastically referred to St. Paul's, Wyneken's, as "The Church of the Woodcutters" (Holzhacker-Gemeinde) because it was composed to a large extent of cabinet makers and wood workers. Con. Hist. Ins. Files.

7. Bente, F., op. cit., II, 161-163. The General Synod in its 21st convention at Ft. Wayne, Ind., May 1864, finally

symbolical which contain numerous errors and Romish superstitions; for ourselves, whilst we wish them well as individuals, we desire no ecclesiastical communion with them either in our synods or in the General Synod; and we believe it will be for the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ that they should be associated with those who share their intolerance and bigotry. In less than twenty years they will themselves see their error and change their position, and their children will be worthy members of our American Lutheran Church."⁸

But since that day the General Synod itself has repudiated the position of Schmucker et al. and the Lutheran Church in America, as a result of Wyneken and the conservatism of men who fought for the truth, has asserted its true strength and time and again voiced its conviction of the truth of its symbols.

Another evil which Wyneken had to fight through in Baltimore was lodgery. It has been stated authoritatively that he was the first pastor in the Lutheran Church in America to recognize the evils of this menace. Baltimore was filled with lodges, the Red Men and the Odd-Fellows being particularly strong. Some of Wyneken's parishoners had joined. He investigated the character of the societies, studied rituals and practices, and was soon convinced of their pagan and antichristian character. He proved his point, not from reason, but from Scripture. His testimony was clear and persistent and the warning he voiced was not in vain. The

adopted the Augsburg Confession as a basis for doctrine and practice. Morris, J. G., op. cit., 292-293. At the Atchison Kansas Convention of 1913 the General Synod adopted a complete confessional platform, including acceptance of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the recognition of the secondary symbols, but not as a basis for membership.

8. Schmucker, S. S., The American Lutheran Church, p. 245.

eyes of many persons were opened but it brought down the wrath and displeasure of the orders upon his head. He won through and the lodge stand of Wyneken is that of conservative Lutherans to this day.

Wyneken's bilingual gifts also proved useful in Baltimore. The records of the First Missouri Synod English congregation in Baltimore state:

"Mrs. S., who understood no German, desired to join her husband's church, Old St. Paul's. Pastor Wyneken proceeded to instruct her in English, providing her with a New Testament, the Book of Concord, New Market Edition, and a translation of Meurer's Life of Luther, which had been published in New York. But Wyneken left Baltimore before he could confirm the lady; his successor, Rev. G. Schaller, vicar, completed the course and the confirmation."⁹

Wyneken Joins Missouri

It was also in Baltimore that Wyneken finally severed all connections with the General Synod. Already early in 1845 his Ft. Wayne congregation had taken this step. He is known to have been present at the gathering of pastors in Cleveland in September 1845, at which time the matter of the formation of a new Synod was discussed and plans were outlined for the calling of a convention of conservative Lutherans.¹⁰ It was at this time that he discussed the possibility with Dr. Sihler of visiting Grabau in Buffalo; this did not materialize.

9. Concordia Theological Monthly, XVII, 5, p. 327.

10. Der Lutheraner, II, 42.

Back in Baltimore on July 15, 1846, the matter of synodical affiliation was dropped squarely in his lap. According to the congregational records, Wyneken addressed a letter to the congregation as follows:

"Shortly after leaving the meeting of the Church Board, the latest number of the Lutheran Hirten Stimme came to hand which informs me that the Synod of the West, to which I belonged until now, has been dissolved in favor of organizing three smaller synods. As a result, I find myself without synodical affiliation at this time and know of none to which I can, with a clear conscience, attach myself.

"Quite correctly your constitution states that it expects the man who serves it to be a member of some synod. Thus, through circumstances over which I had no control, through the Hand of God, the bond between the congregation and myself has been automatically severed. I now approach you with the suggestion that you put the necessary machinery in motion to renew my election and call into your midst.

"That this announcement fills me with deep concern, because of its unexpected nature, I am sure you will understand, it is of the Lord and leaves neither myself nor the congregation any alternative. This is my consolation. May the gracious Lord lead the congregation to a happy choice as the last appears to have been; this is my wish and prayer.

"Finally, it is my wish that this occur as soon as possible, that I may provide for my family before the coming of winter either in the West, or wherever the Lord sees fit to lead me."¹¹

The congregation took no action in the matter but simply told their pastor that they would allow him the necessary time to join an orthodox Lutheran Synod. The letter gives us an insight into the conscientious character of the
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 man.

Thus it came about that he was free to join when "Missouri" came into being. In April, 1847, when the Evangelical

Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States was organized Wyneken critically examined the constitution of this body, which appeared in the Lutheraner, and immediately presented it to his congregation for examination and study. As a result of this we find him present at the 1848 Convention (June 21 to July 1) in St. Louis, together with his delegate, Franz Buehler. Here they signed the constitution by which both Wyneken and St. Paul's¹² again became affiliated with a synod.¹³

This affiliation gave both Wyneken and his congregation a new joy and fresh courage, especially since the congregation now saw that their pastor did not stand alone in the cause of Lutheran orthodoxy. From this time on the work in Baltimore prospered both inwardly and outwardly. Both congregation and pastor gained a wholesome respect among the people of the city for their honesty and loyalty to the principles for which they stood.

Wyneken as Preacher

It was during these years in Baltimore that Wyneken reached his peak as preacher. This was, no doubt, due to the fact that he was able to spend much more time and concentration on this phase of parish activity and was not compelled to expend much of his energy as in the Ft. Wayne

12. At this time it seemed to be the usual practice that pastors joined synods and the congregations were then automatically in membership.

13. Synodal-Berichte der deutschen Evangelischer-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und and. Staaten, 1848.

field with the visiting of two widespread congregations and other attendant "circuit riding" activities.

In the matter of sermonizing he becomes conscientious to a fault. Although his sermons, at this time, were never completely written out, nor ever delivered exactly as written, yet he always spent much time and effort in their preparation. His own illness or necessary sick calls were the only things allowed to interfere with his morning study periods. During this time of his life none of his sermon manuscripts were retained; he is said to have destroyed them almost immediately. However, in his weekly diary he always noted text, theme, and parts and other short notes
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for future reference.

Wyneken's concern, anxiety and nervousness (quite common to many good pulpit men) over his Sunday sermon reached its climax late Saturday night and approached something of an illness. His sermon was never complete until preached, for he seemed never to be satisfied with his efforts. His lamp burned steadily into the night and past midnight as he

14. Two sermons appeared in print and provide a pattern for his homiletics of this time. The one may be found in the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, III, 100 ff. held February, 14, 1841, the theme being a warning against apostasy. The text was I Cor. 1, 10, although not specifically mentioned. It is a testimony to his faith, love and the earnestness of his convictions. The other is a synodical sermon, preached on April 25, 1855, in Chicago and strangely enough is based on the same text as that previously mentioned. This is found in Der Lutheraner, XI, 169 ff. Quite a number of his later sermons are to be found in the files of the Concordia Historical Institute in St. Louis, and are fully written out by him. They provide material for a more complete study of Wyneken's methods.

still sat writing and rewriting after having filled himself to the brim with Luther and the Fathers. He then slept fitfully for a few hours and early Sunday morning found him again in his study where he remained undisturbed until the time of service. In these last minutes of preparation his sermon was blended into his very being.

Standing before his congregation in the first moments he seems to have lost his nerve, his voice breaks, he coughs, stutters, makes a misstatement and one would think that he is ready to step down again as he doesn't know where to begin. But finally he strikes a key-note, the word which has eluded him is caught and his nervousness is at an end.¹⁵

From this point on the words flow as a rushing stream, he never stumbles, never needs to grasp for a right word; language is at his command, his timidity and uncertainty are forgotten, his eyes flash, every facial muscle, every gesture, his entire being gives the assurance that he knows whereof he speaks and that his sole purpose is gaining completely for Christ those to whom he speaks.

He never minced words; a spade was a spade to Wyneken, regardless of whom it effected. He always pictured the natural fallen condition of men and, as the text gave oppor-

15. I. e., "We are all up to our necks in greed and miserliness." "All of our Christianity is utter hypocrisy unless we follow Christ in our daily living."

tunity, he castigated "damnable self-righteousness", greed, drunkenness, worldliness, and lack of charity. In short, he preached the Law with such effect that many a sinner cried out within himself: "Woe is me! I am undone!"

But the only answer to man's need was always to be found in the sweetness which he expounded in the Gospel of forgiveness through the blood of Christ. Here Wyneken was at his best. He stressed God's love in Christ for ALL men, for ALL sinners, and pleaded with them to accept this grace, the righteousness of Christ. His preaching was always evangelical in the best sense of the term. He never pointed to heavenly blessings as something far removed; he brought them down to earth and so very close to the individual that they could be touched, felt, examined and willingly and eagerly accepted.

Pastor Herman Fick of Boston writes of Wyneken's preaching to Pastor C. C. Schmidt in 1876:

"As I recall his sermons, the themes always brought to the fore, justification by faith. He virtually lived in the doctrine that Christ died for man's sin and that by faith in Him alone we are saved. Wyneken found in this his whole comfort and it was always his ONE and ALL. Then he pleaded for sanctification and true brotherly love. His motto, insistent and ringing was always: 'More Love!' ('Mehr Herz!')¹⁶

Growing sanctification was always insisted upon by Wyneken as an evident fruit of true faith in Christ. Every sermon contained admonitions to search the Scriptures, encouraged the use of the family altar, Christian charity,

16. Con. Hist. Ins., Wyneken Files.

bearing the infirmities of the weak, walking circumspectly before the world.

His polemics were sharp and incisive and were directed mainly against Reformed, Catholics, and pseudo-Lutherans. On one occasion the "German Hunters" (Deutschen Jaeger), members of a German fraternal order did him the honor of parading to the church in full uniform in a body to attend the service. It happened but once; he entirely ignored their presence and as they afterwards declared he "scolded quite lustily" (er hat weidlich gescholten).

His sermons were fresh, timely, meaty and long. He thought nothing of speaking for one and a half hours. He was always blunt and outspoken in or out of the pulpit. He preached and spoke a vigorous German, high or Platt, which¹⁷ ever suited his purpose best. In his early days in Baltimore many General Synod members visited his services, but they could not stomach his bluntness. Especially after Wyneken had referred to: "Sows who were wallowing about in the vineyard of the Lord" (Saeuen, die den Weinberg des Herrn zerwuehlen).

Then with the Sunday sermon out of his veins Wyneken's previously mentioned nervous illness immediately disappeared. He became buoyant and relaxed, could laugh and be at ease with his family and friends.

17. I. e., "Statt auf der Strasse herum zu gaffen, steckt die Nase in den Katechismus, denn den koennt ihr noch nicht."

Occasionally some one would remain after the sermon to complain of some of his views and expressions. This never phased him; he always had a ready answer. In a sermon on the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, treating of "The two church-goers", he said, that among the poor sinners who enter the church, there are always some Pharisees to be found. The latter, then, he quite suitably and aptly described and considered in his peculiar style. After the sermon two older members of the congregation came to him and expressed their doubts as to whether there were really any such Pharisees among them. But Wyneken soon convinced them that they need not look to any great lengths for the Pharisees, but could find them very near at hand. They left, and did not soon again undertake to criticize his sermons.

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Wyneken as Pastor and Seelsorger

Wyneken always put forth his best efforts in his confirmation instruction and "Christenlehre". These duties were never sublimated. And whereas in preaching he was blunt and vigorous, he was here the direct antithesis, simple, direct, kind, considerate and spoke with loving concern. It was his desire to impart to the children the pure milk of the Gospel to the best of his ability. He tried to awaken in each child under his care an implicit trust and confidence. (zutrauen). As a text he always used Luther's

Small Catechism and prepared himself diligently for the ex-
 19
 position.

The following incident illustrates his concern for his pupils. One of his catechumens was almost deaf and had also a rather weak mind and memory. Wyneken was, at first, at a loss how to work with her, but soon found a way. He had her visit him during the entire winter, several times a week at his house, and patiently shouted the text of the catechism in her ears, a little at a time, until she had, at last, grasped as much of it, so that he could, with a
 20
 clear conscience confirm her.

Wyneken was definitely parish school minded, deeply interested in the Christian education of the young. Having himself learned the value of this means of instruction in the light of his own previous experience in the West, he could speak for and about their needs with authority. Due to his many pastoral duties in a city parish he could not visit his school as much as he would have liked, but his interest was always evident to teacher and congregation. Both in sermons and in private he admonished his people to send their children regularly, to support the teacher and school, and to see that their children learned their les-

19. His methods were considered so highly that he was requested by Synod to author a textbook for the Catechism in 1849. This later appeared in print and went through numerous editions.

20. Morris, J. G., op. cit., p. 621.

sons and studied at home. He consulted often with his teacher on the needs and progress of school and pupils, sharpened his conscience when necessary, comforted him when difficulties arose, and stood by him when action was called for. At times, in case of illness and the like, Wyneken himself stepped in and taught school. His teachers came to recognize in him not only a spiritual counselor, but also, especially the younger men, a kind and interested father.

This concern for parish education never waned in Wyneken's life. At the Ninth Delegate Synod which convened in Ft. Wayne in October 1857 he gave the following clear analysis of the parish school system at that time:

"It is necessary for me to say that our schools are in need of improvement. Where there are separate teachers, the schools are improving from year to year, and it becomes evident that the appreciation which the German people show for such schools is kindled. For these schools are frequented by so many children of parents not belonging to the congregation that in most cases the children of strangers outnumber the children of the congregation. This is to be noted in the larger cities especially, where, thank God, the congregations are, just on account of the large number of strange children in the school, almost forced to establish new schools, and they are becoming more and more willing to meet the many expenses involved. We sincerely hope the congregations will consider at great length the important mission work done through the schools among our unbelieving German countrymen, and may they soon realize that the Lord has entrusted especially the little children to our care. May he soon enable our Synod to establish a good TEACHER'S COLLEGE, and give us men who are willing and ready to follow this holy calling with its great responsibilities!....A sign of better times is the school teacher's conference recently held in Milwaukee, as well as the prospect of finally opening the academy at Ft. Wayne. It is to be deplored that in most congregations the pastors still must teach school; and as long as Synod does not cease to supply every congregation, be it ever so small, with a separate pastor, rather than establish larger congregations with more

schools, both the office of the ministry and of the schools will have to suffer. This is so self-evident that it need not be dwelt upon any longer."²¹

In his pastoral visitations among the sick and needy of his parish Wyneken was conscientious and tireless. At any time of night or day he was ready to minister to the needs of all and sundry. He went into the most miserable hovels, where filth and disease were rampant, to comfort and console.

In congregational meetings he was tactful and courageous. Often the target of vehement criticism, he was patient to an extreme. None of it impressed itself upon him; it was forgotten as soon as the meeting was over. He had a great presence of mind which stood him in good stead and a vast amount of ready humor, so that he always knew what to say, and seldom failed to silence these extreme outbursts. Many incidents are extant from congregational records which reveal this happy trait in his character.

It is rather revealing to find that Wyneken, in the winter of 1848-49 seriously considered the possibilities of street preaching. In Baltimore, at that time, many street corners were being used for this purpose, especially by advocates of Temperance (Temperenzler), but also others who were preaching repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. Wyneken was about on the verge of taking up this method of winning souls for Christ, but his wife and others voiced their disapproval and he never seemed to understand

21. Report of Ninth Delegate Synod, p. 16.

their bias. They suggested that he already had enough work on his hands, but he argued that he could always stand a bit more work, though maybe he was just too lazy and that was what was wrong with too many other people.

Not many months later, in fact, On October 24, 1849, Trinity congregation in St. Louis sent him the call to be its pastor and serve as vicar in its parish.²² Wyneken received this vocation in November and for some time wavered as to its acceptance in view of the fact that the members in Baltimore pleaded so fervently for him to remain. But after earnest and prayerful consideration he saw the evident hand of God in the matter and the congregation granted him a peaceful release with the stipulation that he remain in their midst until a successor was chosen. Wyneken acquiesced and Pastor E. G. W. Keyl of Milwaukee was called and accepted.

As soon as Wyneken had reached the decision to leave Baltimore and had received his release, the household was broken up. Mrs. Wyneken, wishing to visit her relatives in Ft. Wayne for a few weeks left almost immediately. Wyneken during this time had another opportunity to enjoy the hospitality of his friend, F. Buehler, with whom he had spent

22. This was the mother congregation of the Saxon immigrants in St. Louis and up until this time had been served by Dr. C. F. W. Walther who, because of the pressure of his duties as President of the newly formed Missouri Synod, editor of its official organ, Der Lutheraner, and president and professor of its Concordia College, had asked for assistance in his parish duties.

his first days in Baltimore. This also gave him an opportunity to visit with his friend, Pastor F. Schmidt of Washington D. C., now editor of the Potomac Spectator.

Wyneken preached his farewell sermon on Feb. 21, 1850, taking as his text I Sam. 7, 12.²³ Shortly thereafter he left for Ft. Wayne where, after a short visit, he resumed²⁴ the journey to St. Louis with his family.

23. During the interim of four months the congregation was served by Vicar G. Schaller, who later served in Detroit and under Wyneken in St. Louis.

24. 50th Anniversary Booklet of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Baltimore, published 1917.

Wyneken's St. Louis Pastorate 1850-1859

Wyneken arrived in St. Louis April 16, 1850. Shortly thereafter Walther wrote in Der Lutheraner (VI, 143):

"Wyneken finally arrived here in St. Louis on the 16th of this month with his family; all the friends of Zion in our midst will rejoice to hear these glad tidings.Due to a slight illness he was unable, the following Sunday, to preach his introductory sermon, but we petition the Lord for an early recovery so that he may, on Sunday Cantate, April 28th, bring us the Word of Salvation."

At the time of Wyneken's arrival the combined parish numbered 944 souls, 245 voters, 424 children in four schools, and owned two church buildings and a congregational cemetery. Walther, at this time, still held the title "Oberpfarrer" and was in charge of congregational meetings, preaching once a month in each congregation. Wyneken and, at this time, Buenger who served Emmanuel, were designated "pastores vicarios" (pastoral vicars).

Not a great deal is known of Wyneken's actual pastoral activities at Trinity during this time and it is to be assumed that he carried it on much in the same manner as in Baltimore. There was plenty of visiting, preaching, teaching and school visitation to be done. A cholera epidemic in the early years was an added burden to visiting and the preaching of many funeral sermons.

One interesting anecdote is recorded in the congregational history regarding his lengthy sermons which too often reached one and a half hours. This pleased neither Wyneken nor the congregation. After a discussion in the congrega-

tional meeting it was decided to take the matter in hand. At his suggestion the congregation was to purchase an hour-glass for the pulpit. The minutes record that two of them were obtained from Germany, none being available in America at that time. But they failed to solve the difficulty. Wyneken always glanced at it occasionally to note if the hour was up or not, but in the heat of his preaching it often happened that he calmly turned the glass over and continued for the usual hour and a half.

It is admitted that the high esteem in which he was held by Walther was obtained by his viewing Wyneken in action just during these years of his ministry. His high estimate is recorded in Wyneken's Nachruf which is to be found in Der Lutheraner (1876, p. 73). Pastor C. J. Otto Hanser, one of Wyneken's successors at Trinity, gives an apt comparison between Wyneken's and Schaller's ¹ preaching.

"Schaller was the direct counterpart of Wyneken. The latter, especially in his sermons, fiery, powerful, heart-stirring; the former calm, engaging, heart-refreshing, heart-rejoicing. Wyneken's sermons rushed forward like a torrent sweeping everything relentlessly before it; Schaller's like a brook, flowing unperturbed."

It may be added here that Wyneken ministered, with interruptions, at Trinity from 1850 to 1859 and, though absent, was still called its pastor until 1864. The interruptions were caused by the fact that he became synodical president almost at once, and spent some months in Germany with Walther at the request of Synod.

1. Wyneken's one time vicar and successor.

VII

Wyneken as Synodical President 1850-1854,

General President 1854-1864

Only a few months after his arrival in St. Louis, Wyneken attained to new heights. At the fourth annual convention of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States, held in St. Louis from October 2 to 12,¹ he was elected to the chair of President, replacing Dr. Walther who had held it until this time. Thus in the space of two short years Wyneken had gained the confidence, admiration, and respect of these men who tendered him the highest office in their midst. It is somewhat of a peculiarity to note that he was registered by the convention as vicar-pastor and was non-voting. During the period the vote was being taken Walther, as chairman, turned over to Wyneken, not the vice-president, and, by acclamation Wyneken was voted into office. At the close of sessions Walther tendered the customary thanks to the Body and turned the meeting over to Wyneken who closed the sessions with prayer.²

At the following, fifth convention, held in Milwaukee from June 18 to 28, 1851, Wyneken's absence was excused due to the continued cholera epidemic in St. Louis. Sihler,³ vice-president, presided and read Wyneken's reports.

1. Postponed to this late date due to a cholera epidemic.
2. Synodical Report, IV, 152-153.
3. Ibid., V, 164-165.

During the intervening years until 1854 his synodical work demanded the greater of Wyneken's time. Not only was it necessary for him to preside at synodical sessions and draw up the program, but he was kept engaged in much correspondence, and it was demanded of him that he visit, at least once a year, all congregations and circuits under his supervision. Thus Wyneken, though he had little time left for his parish activities in St. Louis, had stepped into an office which he had already in 1841 visualized as being a necessity--a "superintendent" of churches, but in a much larger sphere than he had ever imagined or anticipated.

He was eminently qualified for this task. His broad experience of twelve years in the field was of immense value and his outstanding organization~~al~~ ability could receive full play. His visitations near and far brought him in contact with every congregation, pastor, and teacher in Synod. He knew intimately the problems and possibilities. With few exceptions he was welcomed wherever he went and highly esteemed as a true friend and wise counselor, for he knew the gentle art of dealing with people.

A number of his experiences are worth noting. On one occasion he visited a disturbed congregation in the West. At the conclusion of a noisy and ineffectual meeting which had lasted until midnight, he was standing in the dark vestibule of the church, while the pastor extinguished the lights. While standing there, he overheard some of the most

violent of the opposition, principally young men, disputing violently about him on the other side of the street, and threatening to give him a sound thrashing. Without any hesitation Wyneken stepped suddenly in front of them and said in his best Platt-Deutsch: "Young men, I would like to tell you something. I am not afraid of the very devil, and do you think that I would be afraid of you? You are a miserable set of fellows, etc." Having given them a severe going over in his choicest phrases he quickly left. They looked at one another quite bewildered, and proved that they had conceived a sudden and wholesome respect for the Platt-Deutsch president in the next meeting by peacefully submitting to him.⁴

Wisconsin was at that time known as the "Church Militant", and often Wyneken was obliged to go up and settle quarrels, especially in the neighborhood of Milwaukee. In one of the congregations trouble had been brewing for some time. He was called to restore order. Immediately after the opening of the meeting the storm broke. The chairman, in spite of all his remonstrances, was completely ignored. Then Wyneken jumped up and, stamping his feet on the ground, called into the assembly with a voice of thunder, using the Platt-Deutsch dialect, "Wait, you boys, I have the floor." ("Teuf, ju Buben, ick hevt's Wurd.") Quiet was immediately restored.⁵

4. Morris, J. G., op. cit. 630.

5. Con. Hist. Ins. Quat., IV, 67.

The Break with Loehe

It was during Wyneken's early years as President, that events transpired which were destined to effect the status of the conservative groups among the Lutherans in America and also the friendly relations which had been especially beneficial to the Missouri Synod from abroad. Hot fires of controversy had broken out between the Missouri, Iowa and Buffalo Synods. These debates continued before and throughout the period of Wyneken's office. They caused dissensions, and realignments all along the line. Missouri had been debating with Buffalo⁶ on the doctrines of the ministry, the Church, and the office of the keys, and the question of relationship of Church to State. There was also debating with Loehe and the men of the Iowa Synod on the same topics and, in addition, on the so-called "Open Questions".⁷

The real issue on which Loehe in Germany and the men who later organized the Iowa Synod finally separated from Missouri was that of the Church and Ministry. Loehe took an intermediate position between Missouri and Buffalo with strong leanings toward Buffalo.⁸

Already in 1850 Loehe had intimated that the time had

6. Under the leadership of J. A. A. Grabau, called "The Synod of the Lutheran Church Emigrated from Prussia." Strongest around Buffalo and in Wisconsin.

7. I. e., the binding character of the confessions, the divine obligation of Sunday, the "Wucherfrage", the anti-Christ, etc.

8. Der Lutheraner, VIII, p. 115, Mar. 16, 1852.

perhaps come when he would be compelled to carry on his work in America apart from the Missouri and in another territory. "At any rate," he said, "although we do not agree with these our brethren in North America, we shall let charity and peace prevail toward them."⁹

That there should be any doctrinal difference between them, and especially a doctrinal difference which might mean a disruption of the relationship which had existed until this time between the Synod and Loehle, the ardent benefactor, filled both Wyncken and Walther with alarm. The convention of 1850, which had elected Wyncken to the presidency, like the previous conventions, cordially invited Pastor Loehle to visit America and attend the convention in Milwaukee in 1851, where matters might be thoroughly discussed. When, however, Loehle found it impossible to accept the invitation, Synod, acting upon the suggestion of the St. Louis District Conference, the St. Louis congregations, president Wyncken, Doctor Sihler and others, resolved to send Walther and Wyncken to Neuendettelsau for a conference with Loehle. Every possible effort was to be made to remove existing differences and avoid a possible rupture. Incidentally, it was hoped that a personal acquaintance on the part of these two men with some of the leaders of the Church in Germany might prove to be of great benefit both to the Church in

9. Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 23.

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America and to the Church in Germany.

Accordingly, Wynken and Walther sailed for Europe in the late summer of 1851, shortly after the convention,¹¹ landing without incident in Hamburg. A full account of this journey and its immediate results are tabulated by Walther in Der Lutheraner.¹² Also a long letter to his wife, dated Erlangen, October 11, 1851,¹³ supplies many details. They met Dr. Marbach, opponent of Walther in the noted Altenburg debate, visited Dr. Guericke in Halle, Dr. Kahnis in Leipzig and Dr. Harless in Dresden. In Erlangen, Walther renewed the acquaintance of Dr. Franz Delitsch, a friend in his youth, who introduced them to other members of the faculty, Professors Hofmann, Thomasius, Hoefling and Schmidt. The two men attended various conferences and meetings. Everywhere they were received cordially.

Reaching Neuendettelsau, they were warmly welcomed by Loehle, who immediately dedicated a special number, beautifully edited, of his paper, Kirchliche Mitteilungen, to his two visitors. It almost seemed as if a perfect understanding had been reached. After this first conference Loehle met the two delegates twice in Nuernberg, and they called on him twice at Neuendettelsau. After making several visits in northern Germany, they returned home, reaching St. Louis, February 2, 1852.¹⁴

10. Steffens, D. H., op. cit., 291; Mauelshagen, C., op. cit., 147-148.

11. Sihler, from Ft. Wayne, served the congregation during the vacancy with G. Schaller as vicar.

12. VIII, pp. 21, 33, 54, 105, 113, 132, 137, 153, 161.

13. Briefe von C. F. Walther an seine Freunde, Synodalgenossen und Familienglieder, II, 60.

14. Steffens, D. H., op. cit., 292.

Results of the Visit to Germany

Sihler, whose judgment in these matters is apt to be correct, writes in his autobiography:

"Unfortunately, they (Wyneken and Walther) had not attained the main object of their journey. Pfarrer Loehe, it is true, was unable to oppose anything valid to the convincing arguments, still he clung to his vague assertions that the Confessions of our Church had no such binding force as we held them to have."

Walther gives the reason in a letter to his wife:

"One finds one thing almost everywhere with all this cry of Lutheran Church; namely, one is not minded to seat one's self with childlike simplicity at the feet of our old teachers, and before one attempts to seek everything out of Scriptures, to first hear those teachers who have spoken unto us the Word of God following their faith and considering the end of their conversations." (Heb. 13, 7)¹⁵

As matters turned out, these German theologians made the criticism against Walther and other Missourians that they had produced nothing new. The word was Fortentwicklung (progressive development). In the letter quoted above Walther adds these significant words:

"Now, after I have seen much in Germany which encourages me to praise God, I must, nevertheless, say, God has still done the greatest to us in America."¹⁶

Viewing the entire situation and its attendant background we are led to believe that Wyneken and Walther found that the decided reaction within church circles against political revolutions had prejudiced the clergy in Germany against the liberal church polity of the Missouri Synod.

15. Sihler, Wilhelm, Lebenslauf bis zu seiner Ankunft in New York, I, 78.

16. Steffens, op. cit., 292-293.

It must be remembered that they were accustomed to a consistorial form of church government, and coupled with the reactionary trends of that time, it was natural for the German clergy to be kindly disposed toward Grabau's conception of the Church and Ministry and the supervisory system he advocated as an effective method of maintaining church discipline in an atmosphere of complete separation of church and state.¹⁷ Had it not been for the extremes which Grabau advocated it is quite probable that he might have found a ready voice and cooperation in Germany and eventually replaced the Missouri Synod.

Having failed to convince Loehe that their doctrine was based upon sound Lutheran and Biblical theology, Walther and Wyneken, nevertheless seemed to have returned to America confident of Loehe's continued cooperation.¹⁸ These hopes were, however, dispelled after Grabau's and von Rohr's conference with Loehe the following year, 1853. Fortunately Loehe seemed less inclined to follow Grabau because of his extreme position and finally decided to continue his efforts in America independent of either.¹⁹

Though Wyneken's and Walther's visit to Germany failed to restore Loehe's confidence, it did help to dispel much

17. Synodalbericht, VIII (1853), 39.

18. Der Lutheraner, VIII (Mar. 16, 1852), 114 & 115.

19. Deinzer, op. cit., III, 86, 87, 98. This led to the founding of the Iowa Synod, 1854.

of the prejudice within the ranks of the clergy and in official circles where they were known and highly respected. By debate and formal and informal discussions and conferences they had found opportunity to clarify their position both in their own minds and those of many prominent theologians. At least, they succeeded in rekindling in official and clerical circles an interest in the Missouri Synod's work among the immigrants.²⁰ Before leaving Germany they were asked to draw up a statement about the "Missouri-Buffalo" controversy, which was to be given publicity in Germany.²¹

Following Wyneken's return to St. Louis, February 2, 1852, he was confronted with an avalanche of work as pastor, but especially as synodical president. During the course of five years the young Synod was showing a remarkable growth. Wyneken's duties as president still required that he visit all parishes of Synod at least once a year and, if possible, preach in each church. The difficulties of this can only be understood when one recalls the slowness and difficulty of travel in those days. Trinity in St. Louis was still responsible for his full salary and thus he was obligated to serve her needs also.

Wyneken's presidential address stressing the rapid growth of Synod in 1852 is a precursor of events to follow.

20. Der Lutheraner, VII, 40.
21. Ibid., VIII, 99.

Already in 1851 the matter of the division of Synod was broached. In 1852 the matter was presented to the congregations for study. A portion of his presidential address is worthy of note:

"At every new synodical convention that the Lord permits us in His mercy to hold, our heart is moved anew to give thanks for the wonders of His love, grace and faithfulness toward us in these last, evil times. For it is nothing less than a miracle to my eyes that where only a few years ago a lone German Lutheran preacher sadly journeyed through the vast forests and prairies to visit the scattered members of his church and serve them meagerly with the Bread of Life, a Synod can meet today which numbers in pastors, teachers, and professors more than a hundred workers in the vineyard of the Lord, to which as time goes on more congregations join themselves and rejoice together that here also the light of the true doctrine has been set on a candlestick and with its life-giving rays lights up the hearts of those who are of the truth....Above all, however, we must praise the Lord of the Church for this, that He has by His grace kept the hearts of the servants of the Word until now in true unity of faith and love, and that the enemy has not yet succeeded in arousing the conflict within our body which he has raised up against us outside of it....In our congregations also the Word seems to take ever deeper root, and many of our brethren in office who have administered their duties with grief are beginning to breathe more freely and praise God for having given them patience and endurance, so that the Word was blessed."²²

The following year, 1853 the plan of division was adopted whereby four Districts were formed: the Northern, Western, Central, and Eastern, and in 1854 the last Convention of the General Body was held and the organization of Districts completed. This somewhat lessened the burdens of Wynken, but his calendar nonetheless was heavy enough for one man.

22. Synodical Report, VI, 200-207.

From June 23 to July 3 of 1852 the sixth convention met at Milwaukee. At this time a complete report of the mission to Neuendettelsau and Germany was made. August 30, Wyneken participated in the dedication of the new parochial school of his congregation in St. Louis.

The years 1852 and 1853 saw the controversy with Grabau and Buffalo and the men of Iowa reach an intense heat. Through correspondence and personal contacts Wyneken worked incessantly, strengthening his brethren in the fight. In this capacity he proved himself an able warrior and a worthy synodical executive. The seventh convention in Cleveland, June 1-11, 1853, resulted in lengthy deliberations regarding correspondence with Buffalo. Coupled with Walther his abilities stand out; these two men seem to have worked together as a perfect team.

According to a letter of Walther's dated July 25, 1854, Pastor G. Schaller of Detroit was called by Trinity to serve as vicar under Wyneken in order to relieve him of much of the pressure of parish duties in a growing congregation. On November 5, Schaller entered upon his work and Wynaken's appreciation may well be imagined.²³

With the convention of 1854, held in St. Louis June 21 to July 1, and the synodical reorganization, Wyneken was elected General President. This is an indication that he

23. Con. Hist. Ins. Quat., XVI, # 3, 84-85.

had proved his mettle as president to the satisfaction of all and their confidence in his ability had not been misjudged. The general body was now to meet every three years and in the two intervening years the individual Districts were to convene. Wyneken was obligated to visit every congregation within three years, and, if possible, preach in every church. He was expected to attend every District Synod and preach, and also be present at pastoral conferences. By 1857 these visitations were humanly impossible and the time was extended to a period of six years.²⁴

With the establishment of the General Presidency Wyneken began receiving his salary from Synod, beginning, it seems, with 1857. The Synodical Report of 1860 shows an expenditure of \$2400 for the triennium in salary and \$410.07 for²⁵ traveling expenses. In the same report, with a general increase in salaries for professors and other synodical officials, Wyneken's salary is also increased to \$1000 per year plus traveling expenses.²⁶

With the division of Synod into Districts we are presented with a remarkable survey of the energetic vigor of this ^{only 44 in 1854} aging patriarch. He seems tireless in spending himself in behalf of the Church. Interesting stories of his far-flung activities abound. He was fearless of all op-

24. Polack, W. G., The Building of a Great Church, 82-87.

25. Tenth Synodical Report, 1860, 93.

26. Ibid., 76.

position from within and without and wholly unselfish toward all who manifested an interest in building God's kingdom.

During these years, in his capacity as president, he often visited the schools of the congregations; he loved to hear the children sing. He always insisted on punctuality, order and strict discipline, but also a warm-hearted concern and affection on the part of the teachers. As a result, in his visitation, he could tell all the facts to the congregation concerned.

On one occasion in his journeys as president he sat next to a typical American who inquired concerning Wyneken's business and travels. Having received full information he observed facetiously: "Well, then, you are President of the United States?" "Yes, and Canada, too," was Wyneken's quick reply.²⁷

In the light of today, Wyneken carried on an amazing amount of correspondence, which may be the reason why his production of larger literary works is unassuming. They include the previously mentioned "Die Noth der Deutschen Lutheraner in Nord Amerika," 1841, and "Spruchbuch zum Kleinen Katechismus Lutheri" published in Baltimore, 1843. Among the many articles from his pen in Lehre und Wehre, the professional organ of the Missouri Synod, are notably the following: "Eine Erklarung Herrn Pfarrer Loehe's" nebst einigen daran haengenden Bemerkungen; and "Die Methodisten".

27. Con. Hist. Ins., Wyneken Files.

Der Lutheraner contains more than a dozen articles from his pen. "Die Noth der Lutherischen Christen" is an historical work which remained unfinished. His letters published under the pseudonym "Hans", are intensely interesting. His last work of this kind is titled "Allen Respect vor den Seligen Harms! Nur Keine Menschen-Vergoetterung, und Keinen Kultus Lebendiger oder Verstorvener Heiliger in der Lutherischen Kirche." Quite a collection of his sermons are extant in the files of Concordia Historical Institute in St. Louis. His presidential addresses through the years, as published in the Synodical Reports, evidence a keen knowledge and insight into conditions in his own church body and in the entire Lutheran Church at large, not to mention affairs in contemporary life and history in America with its problems and opportunities.

In June 1855 he attended the first session of the newly formed Northern District, meeting in Milwaukee, and preached the opening sermon on Isaiah 51, 15-16. In September while on a trip East he was suddenly stricken with a critical illness at the home of Pastor Th. J. Brohm in New York City. March 31, 1856, he assisted in the installation of Profs. Biewend and Schick at Concordia College, Ft. Wayne. In this year Wyneken also attended all four District Conventions and preached the opening sermons, in each instance basing his sermon on I Pet. 5, 1-10. He was also present at the Free Conference with members of the Ohio

Synod at Columbus, Ohio.

In the 1857 General Convention held at Ft. Wayne he preached the opening sermon and conducted the debate on Chiliasm in which Pastor G. Schieferdecker, then president of the Western District, took a leading part. The greater part of twelve sessions were devoted to this discussion. In 1858 he again attended the four District Conventions and preached the opening sermons on various texts. He was also present at the Free Conference held in Cleveland. In 1859 he preached all the opening sermons at the four District sessions, basing them on Psalm 67. He was also present at the Free Conference at Ft. Wayne. In this year he also found it necessary to direct two synod-wide appeals for remittances to the synodical treasurer.

During these last years, beginning with 1856, on all too frequent occasions Wynken showed signs of poor health, and by 1859 he was forced to petition Trinity congregation in St. Louis for a leave of absence to regain strength and health. He had wished to resign, but was graciously retained as pastor and during his absence, Vicar G. Schaller took full charge of the work. Thus late in 1859 he left the city of St. Louis and moved his furnishings and family to Adams County in Indiana where he spent the winter in rest and recuperation. In the spring of 1860 he settled

28. Synodical Reports, 1855 & 1856.
29. Ibid., 1857, 1858, 1859.

down on a manor in the neighborhood of Ft. Wayne. This ma-
nor was presented to him by a few wealthy friends. ³⁰

30. Jensen, J. C., American Lutheran Biographies,
p. 867 ff.

VIII

Wyneken's Ft. Wayne Residency 1860-1864

During these years Wyneken constantly fulfilled all the duties of his ever enlarging office as President. On January 15, 1860, despite his own health, he made the journey back to St. Louis in company with Professor Craemer to visit Walther who was seriously ill at that time. March 2, he addressed a letter to the pastors of Synod asking for contributions toward a fund to allay the expenses of Walther's trip to Germany for the restoration of his health. In mid-October he was back in St. Louis to preside at the Tenth General Convention of Synod. Due to the condition of his health, he did not preach the opening sermon.¹

In the year of the outbreak of the Civil War, 1861, Wyneken observed the usual schedule. In April he preached the opening sermon of the Western District sessions at Altenburg, Missouri, on Psalm 117. In early June he attended the Northern District Synod convention at Monroe, Michigan, and spoke on Hosea 14, 1-8. In October he attended the Central District convention at Cleveland but did not preach.²

In 1862 the same schedule was observed; in May he was at Crete, Illinois, for the meeting of the Western District and preached on Gal. 1, 3-5. In June he attended the Northern District meeting at Watertown. In August he was pre-

1. Concordia Historical Institute Files.
2. District Synod Reports, 1861.

sent for the Eastern District sessions at Pittsburgh and in October for the meeting of the Central District at Neundettelsau, Ohio. At the three latter conventions he did not preach due to weakness and illness.³

The 1863 correspondence of Wyneken included a letter to the congregations asking for financial support for a church in New York which was in dire need; a letter in Der Lutheraner regarding the establishment of an English Lutheran congregation in Baltimore and Wyneken's answer to Dr. Gustave Seyffarth.⁴

When Synod met for its Eleventh regular convention in Ft. Wayne in October, 1863, Wyneken requested that he be relieved of his duties as President, but no action was taken. The burden of his manifold duties and responsibilities were beginning to take their toll. He was no longer able to stand the extended and arduous travel which his office necessitated, nor the sad experiences which he encountered with some pastors, teachers and congregations with their nerve-racking disputes and quarrels. Coupled with this was the ever-increasing amount of mere routine office work, the heavy correspondence, and the attendant old age and failing health which tried his capacities severely.⁵

3. District Synodical Reports, 1862.

4. Concordia Cyclopaedia, 700-701. 1795-1885. Philology, Theology and Philology student. Noted Egyptologist. Professor of archaeology at Leipzig. Met Walther and Wyneken in Germany, 1851. Professor at Concordia Seminary, serving gratuitously for three years. Prolific writer.

5. Report of General Convention of Missouri Synod, 1863.

In February of 1864 he preached the sermon for a church dedication at Laporte, Indiana, using as his text Luke 10, 1-10. He had traveled some thirty miles in an open wagon to reach the place.⁶

In view of a full calendar of work and changes in the constitution governing the office of General President and other attendant matters, the General Body of Synod, in the convention of 1863, had asked the officers to remain until the following year when an extra session of Synod was called for the purpose of studying the recommendations which had been made and acting upon them.⁷

Thus in October, 1864, when Synod again convened in Ft. Wayne, Wyneken's plea was granted and he was relieved of the office which he had held for fourteen years. Dr. C. F. W. Walther was again elected to the office.⁸ Wyneken had presided at six General Conventions during his incumbency, had attended some 21 District sessions and had preached at most of them; he attended numerous pastoral conferences including Norwegian and Free Conferences, and had traveled the length and breadth of the country on visitations. His indelible impression has been left on the Church he served, an impression that lingers until this day. In summing up his work as President, we quote the words of Director J. C.

6. Der Lutheraner, XX, 134-135.
 7. 11th Synodical Report, 1863, p. 103.
 8. 12th Synodical Report, 1864.

W. Lindemann, who, in his biography of Wyneken, says:

"The blessings that God through him, as long as he was President, showered on the entire Synod cannot be known or described at this time. That our Synod took the evangelical direction which now distinguishes it so remarkably from many other church bodies, in a large measure, was due to him. At synods and conferences, in ministerial studies and congregational meetings, he had hundreds of opportunities to warn against legalism, to demonstrate and enforce evangelical practice....The Lord had set him up as His instrument in these numerous councils in order that the Word might resound purely, in order to give to the American Church the eternal light of His Word brightly and clearly."⁹

In recognition of his outstanding work as leader of the church, the Rev. F. Sievers addressed a letter to all pastors and teachers of Synod requesting contributions for a Wyneken fund with which, it was hoped, it would be possible to purchase a piano and a set of Luther's works in the Walch edition, to be presented as a token of esteem.¹⁰

9. Quoted in The Building of a Great Church, Polack, W. G., p. 87.
 10. Con. Hist. Ins., Wyneken Files.

Wyneken's Cleveland Ministry 1864-1875

On June 12, 1864, before he was relieved of the burden of the presidency, Wyneken had received a call from Trinity congregation in Cleveland, Ohio. For a number of years he had voiced the hope that in his later years he might again serve a smaller compact congregation with not too many attendant duties. Now this wish was to be granted. However, he was still considered pastor of Trinity in St. Louis, and had never been released, as this congregation had hoped that eventually he would return to them. Approaching them for a release he found that the congregation was not minded to acquiesce, as they believed that they still had first call on his services. After much¹ correspondence, however, it was finally granted.

Shortly after the General Convention, on November 7, 1864 (25th Sunday after Trinity) he was installed as pastor of Trinity by his old friend and former teacher of St. Paul's in Ft. Wayne, pastor F. Hussmann. For the two previous months Trinity had been served by neighboring pastors. Wyneken's nephew, Pastor H. C. Schwan, vice president of Synod, later President, was serving nearby Zion² congregation.

Trinity gave Wyneken a cordial reception which filled him with new zeal and courage and revived his spirits. The congregation was not too large and, better still, the mem-

1. Amerikanischer Kalender, 1877, 41-42.
 2. Men and Missions, op. cit., p. 53 ff.

bers lived close to the church. It was well-ordered and peace prevailed in their midst, something which Wyneken as President thought was almost non-existent. The climate was favorable for his ailments, for up until this time he had suffered from rheumatism, gout and asthma. He had aged, but lightened burdens brought back much of his former wit, fire, and cheerfulness. In June, 1866, Pastor P. Cramer was called as assistant by the congregation and remained for three years. With his departure the congregation proceeded to call Wyneken's son, Henry, to assist and the young man preached his inaugural on Christmas Day of 1870. Some three years later, February 17, 1874, Trinity allowed Henry to take full charge as pastor and the aging patriarch became his assistant.³

During these years Wyneken conscientiously attended the sessions of the Central District and also the General Conventions of Synod. At the 14th Convention he preached in the opening service at the request of the President. He was present at the organization of the Synodical Conference in Milwaukee, June 1872, and attended regularly until 1875, when it was invited to convene in his own parish in Cleveland. He also served as guest speaker for many church dedications during this time.

But now the once powerful and vigorous frame of this pioneer churchman was weakening from year to year. His

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3. Men and Missions, op. cit., 54. ST. LOUIS, MO.

face and bearing were showing traces of suffering and toil which had been his down through the years. He had become a revered and honored patriarch not only to the city in which he lived, but throughout the Church which he had served. His son, having accepted a call to serve as professor at Springfield's Practical Seminary in 1865, Wyneken, upon the advice of his physician sought a well-earned rest and relief from his ailments, now aggravated by a heart condition, in California.

Having received a peaceful release from Trinity, he preached his farewell sermon on October 6, 1875, and thereupon left Cleveland and crossed the continent to spend his last days of his crowded and fruitful life in the home of his son-in-law, Pastor J. M. Buehler, in San Francisco. A short time after his arrival he became homesick and his wife, who had remained in Cleveland, hastily made the trip to his side in February, 1876. Under her care he rallied, and plans were made to return to Cleveland on May 4. But the Lord had planned otherwise. It was evident that he was nearing the end of his pilgrimage from the frequency of his heart attacks.⁴

4. Men and Missions, op. cit., 55 ff.

X

Wyneken's Last Days 1876

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On April 2, Judica Sunday, he had preached a forceful sermon on the Gospel for the day in San Francisco. Later in April he had been asked to preach in San Jose, but the above sermon, based on John 8, 46-49, was to be his last service of the Word. May 2 he wrote his last letter, addressed to a friend in Baltimore. On May 4 a letter was received from him by his son living in Zanesville, Ohio, with whom a younger unmarried daughter of Wyneken's was staying; in it he stated that they hoped to be on their way back to Cleveland on May 4. But on that day, at 6:30 A. M., Wyneken fell asleep with the name of his Savior on his lips. He had attained the age of sixty-six years less one week.

The news of his death swiftly spread the length and breadth of Synod. In St. Louis, where the Western District was in session, a memorial service was held in Trinity Church the following Sunday, May 7, Jubilate, in which Pastor Buenger preached the sermon on Romans 7, 24-25. This text Wyneken himself had chosen many years before.

Wyneken Funeral Rites, May 6-16, 1876

With the death of the patriarch, plans were immediately made for his interment in Cleveland. Saturday evening, May 6, a service was held in San Francisco with Pastor Buehler, his son-in-law, preaching the sermon. Next day, ^{the body} which was

to be accompanied by the widow and son-in-law, was placed aboard the train for St. Louis. Their arrival at St. Louis coincided with the birthday of the deceased, May 13.

The following day, May 14, the body, having laid in state in Trinity until the afternoon, Dr. C. F. W. Walther conducted the funeral rites and preached on the text, I Cor. 2, 2, to a crowded church. Early next morning, shortly after six o'clock, May 15, the remains arrived in Ft. Wayne and were met at the station by the two pastors, the professors and students of Concordia College, and a host of relatives and friends and former congregation members, who escorted the body to St. Paul's Church where it was again laid in state. At ten o'clock, services were conducted for an overflow congregation at which Pastor W. S. Stubnatzy of Emmanuel Church was the liturgist and Dr. Wm. Sihler of St. Paul's preached the sermon, using as his text, Prov. 10, 7.

Shortly thereafter the remains were entrained for Cleveland and arrived in that city at seven o'clock next morning, May 16. At two o'clock the final service was held for another overflow audience composed not only of Lutherans, but also including Catholics, Methodists, Evangelicals, Reformed, and people of no faith at all, who had come to pay tribute to a man whom they had learned to love and respect.

The sermon, in the German language, as were the previous ones, was preached by Pastor Theodore Brohm, long-time friend of the deceased, who based his sermon on Heb. 13, 7.

Thereafter, Professor W. F. Lehmann, representing the faculty of Capitol University of Columbus, Ohio, spoke in the English language. Pastor F. Niemann of Cleveland conducted the rites at the grave.

A final memorial service in Wyneken's honor was conducted in his former Baltimore congregation on the evening of May 28, by Pastor C. Frinke, the pastor of St. Paul's.

Thus was finally laid to a well-earned rest the earthly remains of the man who was rightly called "The Father of Home Missions in the Missouri Synod".²

No finer tribute can be paid his memory than that which was voiced by Dr. C. F. W. Walther when he wrote shortly after Wyneken's death:

"He was a highly gifted person, a truly evangelical preacher; eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures; thoroughly experienced in the school of spiritual trials; a fearless witness to the pure and unadulterated truth and its valiant defender; a faithful watchman in his Church; a man without guile, whose whole life bore the marks of uprightness and singleness of mind; a foe of all falsehood and hypocrisy, a true Nathanael. In short, he was an upright Christian and faithful servant of the Lord, who, however, in true humility knew only his weakness and not his strength. To a host of pastors and laymen he was an example, to thousands a spiritual father, an apostle to a large section of America, beloved and honored of all who knew him, one of the finest men who have graced our Lutheran Zion and one of her mightiest champions, whose name will never be forgotten, but will remain blessed as long as the Lutheran Church in our country remains true to her name."³

2. Der Lutheraner, XXXII, # 15, 113-114 and Amerikanischer Kalender, 1877, 46-47.

3. Der Lutheraner, XXXII, # 10, 73.

Conclusion

Wyneken's contribution to the remarkable growth and doctrinal solidarity of the Missouri Synod and the entire Lutheran Church of America can scarcely be overestimated. Neither can the influence of the Body which he led through fourteen eventful years as President and leader go unrecognized for the influence it had on other bodies. Nor may we overlook his unrelenting testimony for a confessional Lutheran consciousness in the synods with which he was affiliated prior to his joining "Missouri". Nor dare we overlook his contribution toward a definite Home Mission policy, and the establishment of relations with Europe which were of such far-reaching importance to the Church.

Sensing the need of a synod with a definite doctrinal loyalty he brought not only this trait to "Missouri" in 1848, but also a broad understanding of the religious needs of immigrant Germans, through his former experiences in the Middle West. By means of family connections in Europe, he was able to draw to the support of the Church many of the government officials of Hanover who rendered invaluable service in channeling emigrants into the Lutheran Church of America.

The ties of common interest and fellowship of the "Missouri triumvirate" (Wyneken, Walther, and Sihler) enabled the Synod to rise to a position of influence and leadership among those of the "old Lutheran" orthodoxy. Through the

forty years of their leadership the strict confessional reins were drawn tightly and the machinery of synodical activity was so well developed, that today, without question, the Missouri Synod stands as a monument to their untiring efforts.

The question as to whether confessional Lutheranism could stand transplanting to a new environment and become typically American, surviving a break with the past and ridding herself of foreign influence, has been answered in the light of past history. The broad cultural education and sincere religious convictions of Wyneken et alia, born in a severe spiritual struggle, under extreme physical hardships, coupled with the help of men of influence and understanding in the Lutheran States in Germany enabled them, with the help of God, to adapt their church organization to a new environment and bridge that perilous gap between a new America and an old Germany without sacrificing one iota of the doctrinal position for which they were willing to fight and lose friends while influencing people and congregations and synods.

That the emphasis was on the German language is well understood. This was for the reason of establishing a close bond of fellowship with the German immigrant and the means of molding him in a strict confessional conviction for the building of a solid American church.

These men successfully and under terrific pressure form without and within adjusted their Church organization to an American environment by establishing complete congregational

autonomy with lay and ministerial equality in all matters effecting either congregation or synod, and this order found ready acceptance in America, thoroughly democratic, though foreign to the minds of the typical German.

Under Wyneken's able leadership and through his testimony the ranks of "Missouri" were not only rapidly filled, but the Church that he headed was eminently successful in spreading a measure of discontent in "American Lutheran" circles, and turning the neutral groups into strong confessional channels and leading to their final affiliation with groups having a Lutheran symbolical consciousness.

The final result has been that Wyneken, while associated with men of like convictions, has been successfully instrumental in transplanting a Lutheran Church, now thoroughly American and suited to its environment, yet thoroughly conscious of its heritage of doctrinal strength and confessional conviction. He has given her that which has molded her being and thinking down through the many years of her existence on American shores.

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