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### The Attitude of the Lutheran Church of the 16th and 17th Centuries Towards Missions

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE 16th AND 17th  
CENTURIES TOWARDS MISSIONS

A Thesis presented to the  
Faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary  
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Bachelor of Divinity

by

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OUTLINE.

I. THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.

- A. The criticisms against Luther and his co-workers. (p. 4.)
- B. Luther's attitude toward missions and the missionary command. - and. (p. 6.)
- C. The Reformation itself a real missionary movement. (p. 19.)
- D. The reasons why foreign missions were not attempted. (p. 23.)

II. THE EARLIEST LUTHERAN ATTEMPTS AT FOREIGN MISSIONS.

- A. The work of the Swedes among the Lapps. (p. 30.)
- B. The establishment of an Indian mission in America. (p. 32.)

III. THE ATTITUDE OF THE GERMAN LUTHERANS OF THE 17th. CENTURY.

- A. The reasons for the lack of missionary enterprise. (p. 34.)
- B. The interpretation of the missionary command on the part of prominent Lutheran theologians. (p. 37.)
- C. The missionary element in the hymns of this century. (p. 45.)
- D. Prominent leaders who tried to arouse the Church to foreign missionary activity. (p. 48.)
- E. Justinian von Welz. (p. 58.)

Herbert H. Imbach.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE SIXTEENTH  
AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES TOWARDS MISSIONS.

The interest of Luther and of the early Lutheran theologians<sup>in</sup> in missions has long been the subject of much discussion. There are fervent admirers who claim for these men a missionary enthusiasm which they did not possess<sup>s</sup>, while vice-versa, there are others who deny for them all interest in this vital question. Many have tried<sup>-ed</sup> to excuse the apparent indifference toward the spread of the saving<sup>-ing</sup> Gospel among those ignorant of its saving efficacy; but others, and<sup>and</sup> their number is by no means small (e.g. to cite here only one, Glover, whose indictment is sweeping) have never ceased to censure the apparent lack of interest in the salvation of souls. Assertions<sup>-tion</sup> in support of the latter are repeated again and again in eloquent addresses on the subject of missions, in elaborate articles and books on the same subject, as if they were founded on indisputable facts. Thus e.g. it is held that Luther was not interested in the work of missions, did not engage in it and did not encourage it. But the truth lies midway! The lives and labors of these men of God<sup>had</sup> directly contradict all of the unfounded assertions that have been made concerning their total lack of interest in the work of evangelizing the world in accordance with the Great Commission, given, as recorded in the inspired Word of God, by our Savior to the entire Church of all times and places.

In this thesis it shall be our aim to see on the basis of the facts at hand what really was the sentiment of the 16<sup>th</sup>. and 17<sup>th</sup>. facts at hand what really was the sentiment of the 16<sup>th</sup>. and 17<sup>th</sup>.

century Lutheran Church as regards the sphere of missions. And of course, in the treatment of a subject like this, aiming at a presentation of historic facts, there is but little room for originality. I have not, therefore, sought so much to be original<sup>al</sup> as to be truthful, and have endeavored to gather from every accessible source <sup>al</sup> all such historic data as tended to establish the object in view. The old principle of truthful reporting: <sup>Nihil</sup> Nihil dicere falsi, nihil dissimulare veri, was borne in mind, though how successfully this was carried out remains to be seen.

Before entering in upon our discussion proper, it may be well to call to mind a few cautions, in order thereby to ward off<sup>will</sup> from the very outset certain hindrances to a clear conception of the situation at hand. From the beginning of the 16th. century a new<sup>new</sup> spirit began to manifest itself in Christianity. The reformation of the Church in head and members was everywhere attempted. It culminated in the German Reformation in the person of Martin Luther, and became the most potent factor of human history since the advent of Jesus Christ. We are now living in the fast age of the 20th. century, and though our principles still remain the same<sup>same</sup> as those of the German Reformation yet our outlook, our conditions,<sup>tion,</sup> our opportunities are so different. This we should remember and therefore not try to judge the world of the 16th. century by our 20th. century standards. Again, we dare not judge the Lutheran Church of the 16th. and 17th. centuries, as is so readily done today, on the basis of the Reformed and United Churches presentation<sup>tion</sup> of missions, with its "burning" fervor, unionism, modern mission

tendencies, etc. On this point the otherwise excellent mission <sup>-tory</sup> history of Dr. Warneck errs in affirming that Luther and the Reformers in general lacked not only in missionary deeds but also in real missionary thoughts as well. Finally, the term "missions" in its twofold divisions of Home Missions and Foreign Missions must be clearly understood. To quote the Concordia Cyclopedia p.481 : " We accept the term Home Missions as applying to the dissemination of the Gospel among the descendants of Christian and Lutheran peoples, - people who, at the time, are without the ministration of the Word and the Sacraments. The term Foreign Missions strictly signifies religious work done among the heathen, i.e. such peoples as have not as yet heard the Gospel-Message." All endeavours to spread the Christian faith among foreign non-Christians are indeed missionary, as everyone readily observes. But Home Missions take up a larger sphere of <sup>as</sup> <sup>-tian</sup> <sup>-one</sup> <sup>activity</sup> activity so very close to <sup>-ed</sup> our daily life that frequently they are overlooked as being missionary in character.

The missionary command was " to teach all nations", to go into <sup>all</sup> all the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures. This referred to <sup>all</sup> <sup>Christians</sup> all followers of Christ. For he who lives through and in Him as a Christian should give testimony of Him as Savior of all. This the church as a whole did, never ceasing to fulfill <sup>at</sup> this command of God, though at times not all parts of the church were actively engaged in it. The Lutheran Church is not and never was guilty of neglecting the work of missions. Luther was not devoid of a true missionary spirit, <sup>and</sup> and the Lutheran Church of the 16th. Century was not entirely barren of missionary enterprise. So too the Period of Orthodoxy in the 17th. Century had a conscious recognition in word and deed of its <sup>any</sup> <sup>obligation.</sup> missionary obligation.

Let us first consider the age of the Reformation. The Reformation<sup>-tion</sup> was the God-given means of restoring the Bible in its fullness and entirety. Reading and studying in mission histories treating of<sup>This</sup> this period, the most noticeable thing is that invariably there are<sup>criti</sup> criticisms against Luther and his co-workers. In Glover (p.68) we read: "Despite their clear conceptions and statements of the fundamental doctrines of evangelical faith they (the Reformers) showed a remarkable ignorance of the scope of the divine plan and of<sup>duty</sup> Christian duty in relation to the Gospel". Bliss (p.39) writes: "The first effect of the Reformation on the newly formed Protestant Churches was not in the line of missionary activity, either foreign or home". Again (p.40): "It was not until two Centuries after the Reformation that any portion of the Protestant church manifested a clear conception of the claims of missions". Warneck (p.9): "We miss in the Reformers<sup>-ers</sup> not only missionary action, but even the idea of missions, in the sense in which we understand them today". To quote just one more, Mason (p.53) affirms: "A strange anomaly is found in the fact that there has been hardly any period in the entire history of the Christian Church so destitute of any concerted effort to spread the<sup>Gospel</sup> Gospel ~~to spread the Gospel~~ in heathen lands than just this period of the Reformation". Numerous testimonies to the same end could be cited, but the few foregoing will suffice to show the general opinion on the mission activity of this age. We agree with Dr. Plitt who considers that there are two things lying at the base of these charges: a) an insufficient knowledge of the history, and b) a false judgement<sup>-ment</sup> of the circumstances. The charges as a rule are unfounded, and<sup>-those</sup> those making them are least justified in so doing.

It has been said that Luther was not interested in missions, <sup>and</sup> and certain sections of his Tischreden have been quoted in support of this contention. Or, an inadequate apprehension of the predicted <sup>fu-</sup>future of Christ's kingdom on earth is said by those who wish to <sup>some</sup> somewhat defend his lack of mission effort to have been Luther's. <sup>thereby</sup> Thereby is not meant that Luther had a clearly defined millenarianism, but reference is made rather to a want of duly expanded views <sup>-ing</sup> concerning the predicted scope of our Lord's spiritual dominion here below. <sup>The</sup> The Reformers somewhat generally are <sup>thought</sup> inclined not to have had the thought that there is a divine purpose and an imperative duty concerning <sup>the</sup> the spread of Christianity widely beyond all limits hitherto attained, <sup>it</sup> it is claimed. <sup>the</sup> Their eschatology, which divided the entire course of the world into three periods of two thousand years each, the third <sup>period</sup> period, beginning with Christ being conceived of as shortened in length so that Judgement Day would come in the middle of the 16th. Century, should have lacked such clear and settled consistency as imparts calmness and persistent energy in toiling for a remote end. So it was assumed by Luther that Gospel promulgation had already reached its limits, and his <sup>h</sup>eschatology neither suggested <sup>-ed</sup> nor hardly admitted of foreign evangelism. Considering the Pope to be the Antichrist <sup>and</sup> and the Turks to be Gog and Magog, both messengers of the very last <sup>things</sup> thing why expect further expansion of the kingdom of God on earth, since Judgement Day is just at the door? In reply we say that such a <sup>view</sup> view was not general; to cite only one case: Brenz wishes to see the <sup>bles-</sup> blessing of Catechism instruction spread for thousands of generations. Also, those who did expect the near end of all things so very soon have this thought only <sup>ally</sup> secondarily. Such a feeling is psychological.

explanatory, for also the ceaseless missionary spirit of Paul stresses secondarily this idea of Christ's return soon. True, Luther<sup>Luther</sup> expected the end of the world soon, or rather somewhat soon, but this<sup>this</sup> did not play a primary role in his theology or practical activities. Instead, unto his old age he ever set great zeal on bringing the pure<sup>pure</sup> Gospel to those without it. It cannot be proven, either, that mission-<sup>-ion-</sup>ary thought in the Reformation was put to life when the idea of a close<sup>close</sup> world-end was put in the background.

What really was Luther's attitude toward missions and the mission-<sup>-ion-</sup>ary command? A complete idea of this cannot be acquired, for when Luther speaks of the heathen he uses the word primarily of the non-Jewish nations which constitute Christendom (St. L. XI, col. 1758). The missionary idea does, however, come forth brightly in Luther's writings. Luther's position on missions is today gradually being admitted to have been more positive than was for the longest time thought. Though he lived in a small continental city, Luther probably<sup>-ably</sup> knew of the great discoveries of his day and to him the thought was but natural that upon these lands the glad Gospel had not yet been proclaimed. Thus it was that he was oppressed by the thought that the Pope constantly preached crusades against the Turks, yet never went to<sup>to</sup> them to bring them the Gospel, "dass kein Winkel auf Erden sei, dass es nicht hin erschallen muss vor dem jüngsten Tag". Even the Jews were<sup>were</sup> thought of in a friendly manner by Luther, "denn es sind noch Christen<sup>Christen</sup> unter ihnen zukünftig und werden täglich", though in later years he abandoned hope of Jewish conversion. The heathen world was to him the<sup>the</sup> territory in which the Living Lord through His own would constantly expand His church. Therefore everyone should learn the Catechism<sup>rightly</sup> in order to be able to confess his faith upon occasion, for who knows<sup>for who knows</sup> in order to be able to confess his faith upon occasion, for who knows

what God may have in mind for him? Also on the manner of correct missions Luther had opinions; as Schlunk (p. 83) puts it: "wie viele <sup>viele</sup> Gedanken Luthers unmittelbar bis zur Missionstat führen". He demanded <sup>-ed</sup> that the sermon should be cleansed of all false teaching and political tinge, bringing the grace of God in the foreground. Positive mission ideas are not failing by Luther, and when we consider that mission deeds were impossible as regards foreign fields - why we shall see later, - they stand out all the more prominently. Luther maintained with emphasis the universality of Christianity and its elevation <sup>above</sup> above all kinds of limit, whether of place, time, rank or nation. He was quite certain also that according to the promise the Gospel must speed <sup>spread</sup> through the whole world and reach all nations. However, authors as e. g. Warneck here object that for his own time Luther reckoned the missionary proclamation proper as accomplished and regarded the extension of Christianity in the world as achieved by the missionary history of the past: Luther often has occasion to speak of the missionary commandment, yet he looks back to the past and never draws conclusions as to its abiding validity for the present and the future <sup>draws</sup> <sup>future</sup> As Warneck expresses it (p. 15): "Thus it is with all quotations which seem to show that he expresses in them real missionary ideas; when their connection is examined we are always disappointed". (Yet this same authority on missions makes the concession (p; 14): "It must be granted that some of Luther's sayings seem to stand opposed to this conception, and to suggest the idea that he was cognizant of a missionary task belonging to the church even in the present".) Assertions of this kind, and there indeed many of them, are not founded on facts, no matter how men may twist and turn the words of Luther to prove them. For we are informed in his own writings that t <sup>the</sup>

subject of missions often engaged his attention, and his life <sup>reveals</sup> reveals that he untiringly engaged in it. Like many a claim, such charges carry weight and gain credence because they cloak falsehood with a half-truth.

The following missionary quotations taken from Luther are found <sup>in</sup> in the St. Louis edition of Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften, Volume XI, <sup>the</sup> the Evangelien Theil der Kirchen Postille. Only the most prominent allusions are given, for space does not permit more to be listed. <sup>For</sup> For the same reason missionary references contained in the other volumes <sup>of</sup> of Luther are omitted. Should one desire more references, cf. Der Lutheraner, J. 41, June 1, 1885, #11, p. 84, and The Lutheran <sup>Church</sup> Church Review, Vol. XXXV, #5, Oct. 1916, p. 601. (Also Luther's sermon on Phil; 1;3-11 in Kirchenblatt für Süd Amerika, J. 22, 1927, #7, <sup>50)</sup> P. 50.) Luther writes: Am ersten Sonntage des Advents; #65. "Das Aussenden zeigt, dass das Reich Christi steht in dem öffentlichen <sup>und mündlichen</sup> Predigtamt welches nicht soll still stehen noch bleiben an Einem Ort,- sondern öffentlich, frei, und ungehindert gehen in alle Welt".(col. 29). #68." Jetzt aber, nun Christus kommt, sendet Er Seine Prediger aus <sup>in</sup> in die ganze Welt, und befiehlt ihnen, dass sie stracks sollen vor <sup>sich</sup> sich gehen, und allenthalben von ihm predigen allen Heiden und wer ihnen vorkommt; ohne Unterschied strafen, lehren und ermahnen, er sei wer, wie gross, gelehrt, weise, und heilig er wolle".(col. 30). #72. "Aber <sup>aber</sup> jetzt findet man auch Leute, die meinen, die weil es nicht möglich <sup>sei,</sup> sei dass ma<sup>n</sup>n die Welt bekehre, soll man schweigen, dass sich nicht ein Aufruhr erhebe; es sei doch umsonst. - Das ist eben so viel, als wenn <sup>wenn</sup> die Apostel hätten zu Christo gesagt: Du heissest uns gehen in die Flecken, der wider uns ist; so es denn wider uns ist, was ist's <sup>nütze</sup> nütze das wir hineingehen? Lass uns so mehr aussen bleiben und inne halten.

Aber der Herr widerlegt das fein und spricht: Gehet nur hin, <sup>predigt</sup> predigt nur; was liegt daran, dass es wider euch ist? Dennoch werdet ihr finden, was ich will finden lassen. Also sollen wir jetzt auch <sup>tu;</sup> tun; obwohl die grossen Hansen wider das Evangelium stürmen, und keine Besserung zu hoffen ist an ihnen, dennoch muss man predigen; sie werden sich wohl finden, die es hören und sich bessern wollen". (col. 32). #96." Also sollte dieser Christus in aller Welt gepredigt und bekannt werden, dass Er sei der sieghafte, unüberwindliche König <sup>wider</sup> wider Sünde, Tod, des Teufels und aller Welt denen, die unter denselben gedrückt und geplagt werden, und ein solcher Herr, bei dem sie <sup>el</sup> eitel Gnade und Barmherzigkeit finden und suchen sollen, als ihrem treuen Priester und Mittler gegen Gott". (col. 43).

Am dritten Sonntage des Advents: #32. "Darum ob das Evangelium wohl von aller Welt gehört wird, so wirds doch nicht angenommen <sup>denn</sup> allein von solchen Armen. Ueber das, so lässt sich auch predigen <sup>und</sup> und verkündigen vor aller Welt, wie es sei eine Predigt, usw." (col. 86). #56. "Du aber wisse, dass 'Gott dienen' ist nichts anderes denn <sup>dienen</sup> deiner Nächsten dienen und mit Liebe wohltun, - ohne allen Unterscheid, <sup>wer</sup> wer dein darff, an Leib und Seel, und wo du helfen kannst, leiblich und geistlich. - Ach, Herr Gott, wie gehen wir Narren in der Welt und lassen solche Werke nach, und sind doch aller Enden überflüssig, <sup>an</sup> an denen wir sie üben könnten, niemand sucht noch dringt sich darum". (col. 95). Am vierten Sonntage des Advents: #42. " Das ist nun <sup>das</sup> das andere Amt Johannis und eines evangelischen Predigers, dass er nicht <sup>nicht</sup> allein alle Welt zu Sündern macht, wie droben gehört ist; sondern auch wiederum tröbestet, und zeigt wie man die Sünden soll los werden, <sup>-es,</sup> in dem, dass er den zeigt der kommen soll". (col. 113).

Am Christtage. #32. "So du deinen Nächsten siehest irren, sündigen, Noth leiden an Leib, Gut oder Seele, da sollst du <sup>-en,</sup> zufahren, alles andere lassen <sup>bist</sup> zufahren, und dem helfen mit allem, das du bist und hast". #56. "Die armen Hirten, - das sind alle die Niedringen die ein arm, verachtet, unansehnlich Leben führen auf Erden, und unter dem Himmel wohnen in Gottes Gewalt; die sind das Evangelii begreifig". (col. 138). #57. " Dass aber nämlich Hirten sind, <sup>-entet</sup> bedeutet dass niemand das Evangelium sich allein hören soll, sondern ein jeglicher dem andern sagen der sein nicht weiss, -und also einer <sup>des</sup> andern Hirte sei, weide ihn und warte sein auf dieser Welt, in der Nacht dieses Lebens". (col. 138). Am Sonntage nach dem <sup>Christ</sup> Christ-

tage. #113. " Nun mag der Glaube und Erkenntniss Christi nicht <sup>-schwei-</sup> schweigen. Er bricht aus und sagt von sich, was er weiss, dass er andern auch helfe und sein Licht mitteile, wie der 116 Psalm v. 10 sagt: " Ich habe geglaubt, darum rede Ich auch. Er ist viel zu milde und zu gut, dass er sich selbst allein sollte solchen Schatz behalten".

Am andern Sonntage nach Epiphantias. #35. " Das Schöpfen und Ein-schenken ist, aus der Schrift solchen Verstand nehmen und predigen vor aller Welt, die zur Hochzeit Christi geladen sind". ( col. <sup>476).</sup> 476).

Am Sonntage Sexagesima. # 5. " Diese Früchte sind nicht allein <sup>die</sup> die Werke, sondern vielmehr das Bekennen, Predigen, und Ausbreiten des Worts, dass viel andere dadurch bekehret und das Reich Gottes gemehret werde". ( col. 518). # 10. " Denn es ist eine Predigt, die so gemein soll gehen, dass sie auch allen Kreaturen vorgetragen werde; wie Christus spricht Markus 16: 15; Prediget das Evangelium allen Kreaturen, und Psalm 19: 15: In alle Lande ist erschollen ihr Laut, und ihre Worte bis an der Welt Ende".

Am Sonntage <sup>gesandt</sup> nach Ostern. Erste Predigt. # 13. " Gleichwie mich mein Vater gesandt

hat, so sende Ich Euch. Dass ist das erste und höchste Werk der Liebe, das ein Christ thun soll, wenn er gläubig ist worden, dass er andere Leute auch herzu zum Glauben bringe, wie er dazu kommen ist. Ein jeglicher Christ soll seinen Nächsten unterweisen und <sup>leh-</sup>lehren, dass er auch zu Christo komme. - Alle Christen sind befohlen, dass sie öffentlich ihren Glauben bekennen und andere auch zum Glauben bringen sollen". ( col. 730). Am vierten Sonntage

nach Ostern. Dritte Predigt. # 11. " Zwar der Heilige Geist hat zuvor auch die Welt gestraft durch Predigt von Anfang derselben.- Aber nun soll es erst recht angehen, und <sup>lich</sup>will Christus ein öffentlich Strafen anrichten, so nicht allein im jüdischen Volk, sondern über alle Welt bis an den jüngsten Tag gehen soll". ( col. 888).

Am Tage der Himmelfahrt Christi. # 3. " Das Evangelium eigentlich sei nicht, das geschrieben ist in Büchern; sondern eine leibliche Predigt, die da gehört soll werden in aller Welt und soll frei <sup>-ten,</sup>ausgerufen werden vor allen ~~C~~reaturen, da sie es alles hören müssten, wenn sie Ohren hätten; <sup>das</sup>das ist, man soll es öffentlich predigen, dass es nicht könnte öffentlicher <sup>best,</sup>gepredigt werden. Denn das alte Gesetz was die Propheten gepredigt haben, ist nicht erschollen in die ganze Welt vor allen <sup>Schu-</sup>Creaturen, sondern von den Juden in ihren Schulen gepredigt; aber das Evangelium soll nicht also eingespannt sein, sondern soll frei ausgehen in alle Welt." # 4. " - es vor allen <sup>sei,</sup>Creaturen ausgerufen soll werden, so dass kein Winkel auf Erden sei, da es nicht hin erschollen müsse vor dem jüngsten Tage". (col. 933). #18. " Nun hat es Gott also geordnet, dass unser Glaube soll offengaret werden vor den Heiden". (col. 940). Zweite Predigt. #19. <sup>19.</sup>" Gehet hin in alle Welt: dieser Ausgang ist <sup>angen</sup>angefangen und ausgegangen

wiewohl er noch nicht vollbracht und ausgerichtet ist, sondern <sup>wird</sup> wird je weiter und ferner ausgepredigt, bis an den jüngsten Tag."- #20.

" Es ist eben um diese Botschaft der Predigt, als wenn man einen Stein ins Wasser wirft, der macht Bülgen und Kreise oder Striemen um sich, und die Bülgen walchen sich immer fort und fort, eine <sup>Treibt</sup> treibt die andere, bis dass sie an das Ufer kommen. Wiewohl es <sup>immer</sup> mitten inne stille wird, noch ruhen die Bülgen nicht, sondern fahren für sich. Also geht es auch mit der Predigt zu; sie ist durch die Apostel angefangen und geht immerdar fort, und wird <sup>weiter</sup> durch die Prediger weiter getrieben, hin und her in die Welt verjagt und verfolgt, wird doch immer weiter denen die sie zuvor nicht gehört haben kund gemacht, wiewohl sie mitten unter dem Wege ausgelöscht und für Ketzerei verdammt wird; oder, wie man spricht, wenn einer eine Botschaft lässt ausgehen: Die Botschaft ist <sup>nicht</sup> ausgegangen, wiewohl sie noch nicht in den vorgenommenen Ort oder bestimmte Stelle kommen ist, sondern noch unterwegs geht". ( col.951). Dritte Predigt. #16. " Also <sup>also</sup> heisst nun dieser Befehl: gehet hin und prediget das Evangelium <sup>allen</sup> aller Creatur. Hiermit sieht er sehr weit um sich. Denn er will seine Predigt in keinen Wikel gesteckt, noch derselben Scheu <sup>haben</sup> gehabt haben, oder heimlich und meuchling damit schleichen; sondern <sup>öffentlich</sup> also öffentlich gemacht-". (col.965). #27. " Gehet hin in alle Welt, und prediget das Evangelium aller Creatur. - Es sind hierin begriffen und eingeschlossen alle, die solche Predigt hören, wo sie <sup>sind</sup> auch sind und wie viel oder wenig ihrer sind, Denn 'alle Welt' heisst nicht ein Stück oder Zwei, sondern alles und alles was und wo Leute <sup>sind</sup> sind. Darum hat auch das Evangelium also müssen laufen und läuft noch immerdar, dass ob es wohl nicht immerdar an einem Ort bleibt, <sup>doch</sup> doch

überall muss hinkommen und an allen Orten und Winkeln der Welt erschallen. -Dies ein gemeiner Befehl ist, das Evangelium allenthalben und allen Menschen zu predigen". (col. 970).

Am dritten Sonntage nach Trinitatis. Zweite Predigt. #21. <sup>Denn</sup> "Denn das Evangelium, wo es recht im Herzen ist, soll einen solchen Menschen machen, der - ist so voll Freuden in Christo, hat Lust <sup>und</sup> und Liebe zum Guten, dass er gern jedermann helfe und wohlthue, wo er kann, aus freim Herzen". (col. 1250). Am vierten Sonntage nach Trinitatis. Zweite Predigt. #5. "Christus - vermahnt die, so vorhin schon fromm und gerecht sind, dass sie barmherzig seien, <sup>wie</sup> wie + ihr himmlischer Vater, auf dass die Heiden dadurch gebessert werden und also mit ihrem barmherzigen und unschuldigen Leben die Ungläubige <sup>ige</sup> locken, - bekehret und gebessert werden". (col. 1288).

Am <sup>Will</sup> fünften Sonntage nach Trinitatis. #22. "Wenn man glaubt, so gibt Gott so viel, dass der Mensch allen Leuten hillft, - von inwendig bricht <sup>bricht</sup> er heraus, kehrt andere und macht sie auch reich inwendig; denn ein solcher Mensch kann nicht schweigen, er muss den anderen verkündigen <sup>en</sup> und sagen, wie es ihm gangen hat. - Das geht also zu: wenn ich glaube, so erkenn ich Gott, da sehe ich denn, was andern Leuten <sup>igen</sup> fehlt, fahre zu, und predige ihnen auch das Evangelium". (col. 1312).

Am zwanzigsten Sonntage nach Trinitatis. #29. "Dass aber Christ <sup>Christ-</sup> us zu seiner Hochzeit auch Leute habe, so müssen die Knechte mit ihrer Predigt immer fortfahr<sup>e</sup>n, und herzu laden und rufen, wen sie <sup>ie</sup> finden, - das sind die Heiden, so nicht unter Gottes Volk gezählet <sup>et</sup> sind". (col. 1758). Am 24ten Sonntage nach Trinitatis. #32.

"Diese Werke aber und das Da<sup>n</sup>ksagen will Gott von uns haben, nämlich, dass wir solche seine Güte, Gnade <sup>guten</sup> und Wohlthat vor <sup>und</sup> jedermann bekennen und ausschreien, auf dass auch andre herzu kommen und

lassen sich auch wohlthun, wie es hier gesche<sup>en</sup> ist". (col. 1848);  
Am 25ten Sonntage nach Trinitatis. #28. "Das christliche Leben ist  
nicht gespannt auf die Wüste, sondern soll frei daher gehen, wie  
Christus und die Apostel gelebt haben, dass man hervor trete unter  
die Welt, öffentlich predige und vermahne, dass man die Leute zu  
Christo bringe". (col. 1882). Thus far the quotations from the St.  
Louis edition.

In the exposition of the closing words of Mark, Luther says:  
"Allhie begibt sich eine Frage über diesen Spruch: Gehet hin in alle<sup>alle</sup>  
Welt; wie dieser Spruch zu verstehen ist und zu halten, sintemal<sup>die</sup> die  
Apostel ja nicht in alle Welt kommen sind. Denn es ist kein Apostel<sup>-el</sup>  
her zu uns kommen; auch sind viele Inseln erfunden worden noch zu  
unsern Zeiten, die da Heiden sind, und niemand hat ihnen gepredigt,  
und die Schrift sagt doch, ihre Lehre sei erschollen in alle Lande  
und ihre Richtschnur sei in die ganze Welt ausgegangen. Antwort: ihre<sup>ihre</sup>  
Predigt ist in alle Welt ausgegangen, wiewohl es nicht in alle Welt<sup>Welt</sup>  
noch nicht ist kommen". And in his Hauspostille, 7 Sonntag nach  
Trinitatis, Luther exclaims: "Das ist das höchste und grösste Werk  
und vornehmste Gottesdienst, den wir auf Erden tun können, dass wir<sup>wir</sup>  
andere Leute und sonderlich die die uns befohlen sind, zum Erkenntnis<sup>-nis</sup>  
Gottes und den heiligen Evangelium bringen".

The following additional testimonies are listed in Plitt-  
Hardeland. Luther's firm stress on the Gospel surely did not over-  
look missions; he acknowledged that the order to preach the Gospel  
everywhere held good for all time: he pointed to the path of procedu<sup>re</sup>  
of the Gospel through the Centuries. " Das Evangelium soll  
Niemand verhalten werden, bis dass es komme an die Enden der Welt,  
wie im Psalm steht. Also ist es auch jetzund zu uns kommen, die wir<sup>wir</sup>

liegen am Ende der Welt, denn wir liegen hart am Meere". ( p.6 ).

In Jesus' name alone repentance and forgiveness should be preached:

" Da greift der Herr fürwahr sehr weit um sich und fasset auf <sup>-mal</sup> einmal Alles, was in der Welt ist, es seien Juden, Heiden und wer sie wollen, und kurz, gar keinen Menschen ausgeschlossen, allesamt, <sup>-wie</sup> wie er sie findet und trifft ( ausser Christo), unter Gottes Zorn, schleusst und spricht: Ihr seid alle zumal <sup>-en</sup> verdammt mit alle eurem Thun und Wesen, was ihr seid und wie viel, wie gross, wie hoch, <sup>-wie</sup> wie heilig ihr seid. - Indem er spricht, die Apostel sollen gehen in alle Welt und das Evangelium predigen aller Creatur, so folget, <sup>-dass</sup> dass alle Welt mit all ihrer Weisheit, Kunst und Lehre nichts weiss noch <sup>-noch</sup> versteht vom Evangelio Christi. Denn wo sie es aus ihrem eigenen Kopf wüsste und verstünde, so dürffte sie nicht der Apostel <sup>-ung</sup> Sendung und Predigt. - Darum werden mit diesem Befehl alle Gelehrten dieser Welt, Philosophi, Juristen, Theologi mit alle dem, das sie wissen, verstehen, und in der Welt lehren, zur Schule geführt, und den armen Bettlern und Ungelehrten Fischern, den Aposteln, <sup>-en,</sup> unterworfen, als den Boten von Christo gesandt, die aller Welt Meister sein sollen, und welche alle Welt hören und von ihnen lernen oder mit <sup>-all</sup> all ihrer Kunst und Weisheit verdammt werden sein soll". ( p. 7 ).

There is no folk on earth for whom this preaching was not <sup>-ed,</sup> ordained, no class is too high <sup>-it</sup> or too mediocre, too good or too bad for it.

" Denn der Herr spricht: Prediget allen Creaturen, damit er alle Stände fassen will, dass kein Kaiser, kein König auf Erden so mächtig sein soll, er soll diese Lehre des Evangeliums hören, annehmen und glauben oder er soll verdammt sein. - Darin will Christus nichts Neues oder Anderes machen, sondern lässt sie

bleiben, wie sie sind und heissen; allein dass er der Welt lässt sagen von diesem seinem ewigen Reich, wie man dazu komme, dass man der Sünde und ewigen Todes los werde, dass ihm in dem Alle zugleich ohne Unterschied unterworfen sein sollen und ihn für ihren Herrn erkennen durch den Glauben". ( p. 8).

Because the Gospel had become forgotten in Christianity itself, it was Luther's primary duty to fulfill the mission command by <sup>preach-</sup>preaching the pure Gospel to his own people. The Romish heathen at their very doors were the field for their missionary labor. This he recognized and meant in his mission hymn of 1524, based on Ps. 67 ( # 171, p. 116 in our hymnal);

" Es woll uns Gott genädig sein Und seinen Segen geben;  
Sein Antlitz uns mit hellem Schein Erleucht zum ewgen <sup>Leben.</sup>Leben  
Dass wir erkennen seine Werk, Und was ihm liebt auf <sup>Erden</sup>Erden,  
Und Jesus Christus Heil und Stärk Bekannt den Heiden  
werden Und sie zu Gott bekehren.

So danken Gott und loben Dich Die Heiden überalle,  
Und alle Welt die freue sich Und sing mit grossem <sup>Schalle</sup>Schalle,  
Dass Du auf Erden Richter bist Und lässt die Sünd nicht  
walten; Dein Wort die Hut und Weide ist,  
Die alles Volk erhalten, In rechter Bahn zu wallen".

And again, hymn # 65 ( p. 39):

" Er ist das Heil und selig Licht  
Für all die Heiden zu erleuchten,  
Die dich kennen nicht, und zu weiden.  
Er ist dein's Volks Israel  
Der Preis, Ehr', Freud', und Wonne."

As is emphasized in Plitt-Hardeland, pp. 237-end, another strong proof of Luther's true missionary spirit is found in his attitude to the Jews. Among the Jews Luther did mission work and was zealous thereto. He did not wish the Jews because of their unbelief to be treated more severely than so many nominal Christians. Early in 1523 his feelings found expression in his writing addressed to a newly-converted Jew, Bernhard by name: "Dass Jesus Christus ein geborner Jude sei". In this writing we note: "Ich hoffe, wenn man mit den Juden freundlich handelt und aus der Heiligen Schrift sie <sup>-lich</sup> säuberlich unterweist, es sollten ihr viel rechte Christen werden und wieder zu ihrer Väter, der Patriarchen und Propheten, Glauben treten". (p.239). In the second part of this writing Luther specifically uses the superscription: "Wie mit den Juden, sie zu bekehren, zu handeln". At this time he clearly hoped that by the <sup>re-</sup>awakened preaching of the pure Gospel, a new time would come also for the Jews, and he recognized as a Christian duty the necessity of being concerned about this hard-oppressed people. He did not teach a general Jewish conversion, for he noted that the people as such stood under God's curse and would therefore remain obstinate. In later years this his hope of mission work among the Jews changed, mainly because he was realizing that he was a bit deceived in the Jews. The Jews were linked up with all sorts of mysterious and money-making schemes, and especially did they offend Luther with their primary occupation of fostering usury. So in 1543 Luther wrote two books: "Von den Juden und ihren Lügen", and the shorter <sup>-er</sup> "Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi". In these he still kept in view the spiritual misery of the Jews, but he emphatically <sup>stated that, as experience had shown, it did not pay to use mildness</sup> stated that, as experience had shown, it did not pay to use mildness

in dealing with them, since this served only to entrench them deeper in their errors. From the Jewish people as a whole nothing could be expected in conversion; yet always some would be saved and turn to the truth. Throughout his life Luther ever had this goal of converting at least some in Israel, only in his method of so doing did he change his opinion: at first urging mildness, later more severity, as his writings show. Be that as it may, yet this much is certain, that Luther was a strong friend of missions among the Jews.

What further proof do we need to show that Luther did not neglect missions? He saw that in the Church it was unknown what missions really were and how they were to be accomplished. Herein lay his path of reform. And he spoke against the worldly mission idea of converting with the sword, revealing the proper manner of converting the heathen - home or foreign - by dropping the <sup>Sword?</sup> and bringing <sup>instead</sup> the Word. This Gospel he himself preached wherever he had opportunity and emphasized its world - embracing stipulation. Luther did what he could in the time in which he lived, for he laid the foundation to biblical-evangelical missionary enterprise. In conclusion hereto it might be well to summarize what is outlined in Mirbt's "Mission und Reformation" on pp. 29 - 32; Luther als Lehrmeister der deutschen evangelischen Mission. 1) Luther hat als christlicher Theologe die evangelische Mission ermöglicht. 2) Luther hat als evangelischer Kirchenmann missionarischen Scharfblick bewiesen. 3) Luther hat als Prophet der Deutschen für die ganze Christenheit ein unerreichtes Vorbild gegeben, wie das Evangelium in Herz und Leben eines Volkes hineingesenkt werden will. 4) Luther hat als begnadigter freier Christenmensch in der Ausrichtung seines ganzen Berufswerkes einen <sup>unbedingten</sup> <sup>Missionssinn</sup> <sup>bewiesen.</sup> unübertroffenen Missionssinn bewiesen.

When Dr. Warneck says (p. 14) that Luther's mission sphere was the paganized Christian Church, he certainly hits the mark. Dr. Ostertag of Basel clearly states the same fact thus: "In der Reformation war der alte Missionsgeist in seiner ganzen Kraft und Stärke erwacht, aber er musste sich vor allem gegen das Heidentum wenden, das innerhalb der Kirche selbst sich vorfand". It is just by thinking of foreign missions alone under the caption of "missions" <sup>ions</sup> that many critics of Luther err. The Lord Himself indicated the natural and logical sequence of starting missions at home and spreading outwardly: this is exactly what the Reformation did. For the Reformation itself was a real missionary movement in the sense of home missions. It brought the pure Gospel to the paganized Christian world. Luther as founder of Lutheranism certainly had the idea which we find in genuine Lutheranism, i.e. that it is essentially <sup>ally</sup> and necessarily missionary in its character. True Lutheranism is simply a revival of pure and true Christianity, and Christianity is always inherently missionary. Like light, it is diffusive in its nature. Like leaven, it is permeating and transforming. Like the mustard seed, it possesses the elements of life and growth, of enlargement and extension until it cover the earth. In proportion, therefore, as Luther and the Reformers recovered the pure Christian faith and succeeded in imbuing the Church again with her primitive and apostolic life and doctrines, and in again firing her with the old and irrepressible flame of love to both God and man, she also necessarily became missionary in her character. Hence also we find that the revived faith, the pure doctrinal system of the Protestant Reformation, in an amazingly short time spread out from Wittenberg as <sup>as</sup> from a center all over Germany and all over the civilized world. No

one since the days of Paul had more of the pure evangelical missionary<sup>-ary</sup> spirit than had Luther. It burned in his very bones. It lived as a quenchless life in his innermost soul. The Reformation which he kindled was all aglow with missionary ardor and life. And subsequent<sup>-ent</sup> history clearly proves that the principles of the Reformation inevitably led to missionary activity. When once it been clearly apprehended that the open Bible, which the Reformation restored<sup>and</sup> and which the Reformers translated into their respective vernaculars,<sup>is</sup> is the Word of God for all people in their tongues; that salvation by grace for any man implies salvation for every man; that the Kingdom<sup>-dom</sup> of God on earth is a kingdom without frontiers,<sup>-ent</sup> then the Protestant Churches in every land of Europe and America pushed forward with real missionary zeal.

As before mentioned, foremost among these missionary principles of the Reformation was the open Bible. To use the picture given by Singmaster (p/16), tearing out the weeds of false doctrine and practice, Luther cleared the stream of the Gospel to its clear and living spring. Not only did he open the stream, but he also provided<sup>-ed</sup> for its continued freedom. Therefore to his German people he gave the Bible in their vernacular; not the first German translation,<sup>but</sup> but the first ~~such~~ which was readable and true to the original. With the most painstaking care and with the aid of his friends, Luther prepared his version, drawn from the original sources of the languages, true to the German idiom, a joy to laity and scholars alike. So that Warneck is led to state (p.11): " The Reformation certainly did a great indirect service to the cause of missions<sup>5</sup> to the heathen, as it not only restored the true substance of missionar<sup>-ary</sup> preaching by its earnest proclamation of the Gospel, but also preaching by its earnest proclamation of the Gospel, but also

brought back the whole work of missions to apostolic lines". Luther showed of what sort was the message which was to be brought by the Church to all nations. The repentant return to God's Word in its purity is the firmest foundation for building up God's kingdom. Therefore what era since the Apostles' time has done more than the Reformation did for the real spread of the kingdom of God? For what today brings salvation to the heathen is an heritage of the Reformation<sup>-ation</sup> whereby we all have benefitted.

The Lutheran Church had a mighty mission work to carry on at home<sup>home</sup> at this time. It had to oppose the prevailing paganism within the Christian Church, and to restore to the poor people who were spiritually wasting away beneath the slave chains of superstition that freedom to which they were called through Christ. There was a real need to create for the poor people who had been kept in such deep ignorance that even when they had the Bible they could not use it with full blessing, such aids for the understanding of the Word as<sup>such</sup> were given in the German sermon, in the Catechism, and in the evangelical hymns. The Church had to be organized, schools arranged<sup>-ed,</sup>, and everything that belonged to a proper divine service recreated. The constant struggle with the enemies who threatened from without, and with the fanatics, false teachers, etc. within, required all attention to be fixed on home missions.

The mission labors of Luther in the literary field were monumental<sup>-ental.</sup> Just as our missionaries today must do in a foreign field, so with Luther at that time: he had to translate the Bible, write hymns, give<sup>give</sup> to the people the Catechism, carry on correspondence, etc. For the people who were under the despotism of the Church of Rome had little<sup>little</sup> of the pure Word and sacraments. They were Christian in name and of the pure Word and sacraments. They were Christian in name, and

this was practically their only distinction from those living in <sup>what</sup> what we today call heathen countries. Among these folk Luther and his associates labored unceasingly. So to say that Luther and his <sup>friends</sup> friends were not interested in the work of missions is to falsify history. The writings of Luther were carried to all the countries of Europe, and in an incredibly short time the translated Bible was found in practically every city and hamlet throughout the various countries of Europe. Faithful preachers of the pure Gospel, missionaries in the true sense of the word, were sent out from Wittenberg as from a center and from other places to preach everywhere the glad tidings of the restored Gospel. Before 1530 confessors of the true faith were <sup>found</sup> found at work in nearly every province of Europe and in Great Britain. The church historian Mosheim is authority for the statement that prior to 1530 a large number of friends of doctrines as taught by the Lutheran Reformers <sup>the</sup> were found in Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Great Britain, Poland and the Netherlands. Indeed the zeal and labors of the Reformers in the spread of the Gospel knew no bounds.

Why deny to these men then, the credit which belongs to them in bringing the Gospel to the attention of those who knew nothing of its precious truths and promises, and who lived in ignorance, idolatry, superstition and veritable heathenism? The Lutheran Reformers <sup>deserve</sup> deserve all the honor we of the 20th. Century can bestow on them. The Lutheran Church is and always has been a missionary Church, and the brightest pages of her history are those which treat of the history of missions among all classes of people and in all the countries of the world. All of this <sup>is</sup> <sup>is</sup> founded in the Reformation age, in the Reformation lesson that is not in a common task mainly, but in a common faith <sup>fundamental</sup> and

essentially can true unity be attained and through such unity ultimate <sup>-ate</sup> victory won. And " what the Reformation did in its spiritual, intellectual and moral awakening for the Church, it also accomplished <sup>ed</sup> for its pre-eminent characteristic, its missionary development". (Wolf p.3.). Undoubtedly Lutheran missions are correctly dated from the beginning of Lutheranism. The preliminary work always requires more time and attention than succeeding laborers are, as a rule, willing to admit. And we frequently overlook the fact that Luther's work was mostly of a fundamental character, and he laid his foundations deep. The small part which appears above ground is, however, sufficient to indicate the nature of the foundation. It is this, <sup>that</sup> that in the enumeration of his principles Luther laid the foundation for all true mission work in that he would not bind the Word but wished it to have free course throughout the whole world. In that evangelical <sup>ical</sup> missions place the Bible in the middle of instruction, in that they teach the Christian youth to read and use the Bible, in that <sup>through</sup> through the Bible a language is given primitive peoples which often serves as a basis for their literature, the Reformation can truly be <sup>-ed</sup> called missionary. " Dynamisch lebt die Mission von der Reformation" (p.29 in Mirbt, Mission und Reformation), for " die Bibel ist das Buch <sup>der</sup> der Mission so gut wie das der Reformation" (p.20 in Reformation, Bibel und Mission). Dare anyone yet deny that the Reformation itself was, <sup>-al</sup> not a most forcefully real missionary movement?

We have seen that Luther had a positive idea favoring missions and that the entire Reformation was missionary in character as regards home missions. Why then, were not foreign missions at this time attempted? Certainly one would expect great zeal in the field of <sup>of</sup> foreign missions as well as in the home sphere, and rightly so. Yet <sup>of</sup> foreign missions as well as in the home sphere, and rightly so. Yet

let us not be hasty in condemning the lack of foreign missions in the Reformation era. For a closer study of this question reveals certain potent reasons why foreign missions were not and could not be attempted at this time. A good parallel to the method of procedure of the Lutheran Church then is found in the early history of our own Missouri Synod. In 1847 Synod was organized, but first in 1893 foreign missions <sup>attempts</sup> as such were started. Why the delay? Even as in the case of our Synod so at Luther's time there were weighty, though different, reasons to account for it.

Foreign missions could not be undertaken immediately because there were conditions exceedingly unfavorable to any such movements. Social, political and financial affairs seemed to forbid anything of the kind. Christendom had become an ecclesiastical empire, the state was nearly everywhere absorbed in the church, and wealth was largely in the hands of the priesthood. Emperor Maximilian of Austria affirmed that the Pope had a hundred times as much revenue even from Germany as he himself. The peasantry everywhere was in a deplorable condition. The Knighthood had to a large extent degenerated into banditti. As to religion, this was widely reduced to a round of externalities, it was paganized. The abominable abuse of indulgences had become prevalent, and the monks, like a swarm of harpies, preyed on the people. The clergy, exempt from criminal law, was widely corrupt. So that religion had become a synonym for extortion and social corruption, and not simply delinquencies but debaucheries and atrocities as well prevailed. Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) gives us a pen-picture of this time: "All sense of shame has vanished from human affairs. I see that the very height of tyranny has been reached. The Pope and kings count the people not as men but as cattle in the market". If ever <sup>reform</sup> was direly needed right at home, was it not then? For papal reform was direly needed right at home, was it not then? For papal

Christendom had become as truly a missionary field as the unevangelical world is today. To reenthrone Christ instrumentally at the head of His church was enough for the men of the 16th. century to do, and it took all they could accomplish to establish home mission achievements. It was a struggle of life and death in which they were engaged. For how could they in the time of the Reformation think of converting the foreign heathen, when the German populace itself had to first be brought again to a Christian faith? A child must first grow strong on its mother's breast, or, to go back a step farther, it must first be born before it can go anywhere. Therefore it was imperative that the newly-born church first become nourished itself before it could help others. Picture a mother neglecting her own child in order to raise another which is a total stranger; or again, a child nursing the sick in the home of a neighbor and thereby letting its own ailing mother die from want of care. The same principle was at stake at this time, had the Lutheran Church attempted foreign missions. As Dr. Pieper expresses it in Lehre & Wehre, 65, p.379, had Luther engaged in foreign missions at this time he would have done Allotria.

With some show of reason it might be said further that there were neither men nor means for carrying on evangelism outside of the nominally Christian world. The social disturbances, insurrections, and wars that arose kept attention riveted upon the more immediate surroundings. And the reformation of the church itself was a stupendous task, calling for all energy and attention of those engaged in it and being so absorbing and far-reaching that it could not be completed within the limits of a few decades. From whence, moreover, could the church which slowly developed out of the Reformation and the rupture of the monks and priests church obtain men and means for foreign missions? Germany was practically an inland nation, and a divided one at that.

It had at this time no ships, no foreign possessions<sup>s</sup>, no communication<sup>tion</sup> with the heathen world. There were not for the early Protestants as for the early Christians great Roman roads leading the imagination<sup>x</sup> afar, there were no large cities where men of many nations touched elbows. The newly discovered lands were in the possession<sup>s</sup> of Catholic<sup>-ic</sup> countries in whose domain the new Gospel -which was but the old one revived- would have had no hearing. Truly this was a period of great colonial expansion, the first period of world intercourse. But only for the Catholics was there a mission opportunity in the discovery<sup>f</sup> of the new world, in the rounding of Africa by ship, in the discovery<sup>f</sup> of a new sea way to East India. It was on May 3rd. 1493, that Pope Alexander VI drew his famous line of demarcation whereby he divided<sup>-ed</sup> the then newly-discovered from the yet undiscovered lands, granting to Catholic Spain and Portugal alone the colonizing and christianizing<sup>-izing</sup> rights in those places which had been but recently opened up. This policy was carried out in practice as well as in theory. The ultramontanistic Kaiser Karl V took pains that from the struggles for world<sup>world</sup> dominion on the part of Spain, the German Protestants were excluded<sup>-ed.</sup>. When he gave great colonial opportunities in South America to the princely commercial houses of Welser and Fugger, he stipulated that<sup>that</sup> only Spaniards and Catholics should be sent thither. The wholly Catholic Spain and Portugal ruled the sea entirely in the 16th. century and<sup>no</sup> Protestant ship, especially not with clerics on board, would have been permitted to traverse the sea. The then existent European colonial situation greatly explained<sup>s</sup> this lack of activity<sup>-it,</sup> in foreign missions on the part of Protestants at this time. The lands in which the evangelical movement was alive were Germany, Holland, England and the Scandinavian kingdom. None of these were colonizing powers, so contact with foreign peoples was lacking for colonizing powers, so contact with foreign peoples was lacking for

for them. The great Spanish-Portugese colonial possessions did not enter at all into the question of Protestant missions, and instances reveal that in these regions no other confession than that of the ruling nation was tolerated. The principle of cuius regio eius religio<sup>religio</sup> was prevalently dominant. This was harmful in two ways: one could not bring into a heathen country a faith other than that of the controlling power, and it led to a lax sentiment that the rulers should take care of the spiritual welfare of their subjects, both so contrary to the personal and individual element of evangelical missions. Hence e.g. mission work in India at that time was impossible for the Protestants, since India was one of the few known places controlled by the Portugese ( significant here is Luther's remark: " wie ich allhier getauft werde, also wird ein anderer Christ in India eben also auch getauft"). The thoughts of religious freedom, a fruit of the Period of Illumination, became but slowly evident in the sphere of colonial life and were really first acknowledged in the Congo Act of 1885. What chance then did the Protestants of the 16th. century have for foreign missions?

We are ever prone to forget that in those days the possibilities and opportunities of heathen mission work were much more difficult and limited than today in the 20th. century. Evangelical missions become a possibility as soon as the Gospel becomes a living power among men. This takes time, and the counter-movement of the Jesuits at home greatly checked the onward progress of the evangelical doctrines. The Reformers were fully occupied with the work of laying the firm foundations upon which their successors might build and extend the noble structure of Protestantism. This Protestantism was obliged to act on the defensive and to exert itself to the utmost in order that the good foundation might not be destroyed again by the

counter-reformation of the Papists and through the treachery of would-be allies.

It should be borne in mind also that the very idea of a foreign promulgation of such degenerate Christianity as then dominated Europe had become faint. The mighty spasm of the Crusades was not even military evangelism, and the futility and folly of these were conspicuous. Aggressive sentiment was lacking. For 300 years the Roman Catholic Church had nearly ceased to be aggressive. Resistance to Mohammedans with force of arms appeared to be demanded on the continent by the instinct of self-preservation. But bringing the Gospel to the Mohammedans was a foreign idea. Emancipation of society from the papal thralldom under which it had long been held could not be expected to bring with it immediate breadth and symmetry of religious thought and enterprise. Great moral ideas and forces destined to effect remote regions are always of slow growth, for is an earthquake a favorable opportunity for measurements of latitude and longitude? Dr. Kurtz (Church History vol. II, p.370) well says: " For missions to the heathen very little was done during this (the Reformation) period. The reason of this indeed is not far to seek. The Lutheran Church felt that home affairs had the first and in the meantime an all-engrossing claim upon her attention and energies. She had not the call which the Roman Catholic Church had, in consequence of political and mercantile relations with distant countries, to prosecute missions in heathen lands, nor had she the means for conducting such enterprises as those on which the monkish orders were engaged".

The fact that foreign missions were not undertaken during this time cannot be denied. But on the other hand, we dare not fail to make a sharp distinction between then and now when we consider the huge sharp distinction between then and now. When we consider the huge

uncertainty in previous centuries as regards knowledge of the <sup>earth</sup> earth and of geography we can better understand their situation. In many places it was not known that "hinter den Bergen" people also lived. And even the educated folk had but narrower ideas of the earth and its inhabitants. That Christia<sup>n</sup>ity in the first centuries spread out over a large part of Europe we can well understand, for to go from Greece to Italy, and from Italy to France, England and Germany <sup>was</sup> ~~wa~~ not an inconceivable thing. These people lived comparatively close together and were in frequent touch with each other, either in the peaceful way of tra<sup>d</sup>e and commerce or through war. But what did a person living in Germany at the Reformation time know of the great lands on the continents beyond the sea and of the inhabitants <sup>thereof?</sup> thereof? Asia and Africa with their hundred millions of inhabitants were <sup>mostly</sup> mostly an ultima thula. Of the inhabitants of the Western Hem<sup>i</sup>sphere one could not speak. Or think of China and Japan, both closed to the <sup>world.</sup> world. Certainly there was here then no chance to engage in what we today designate as foreign missions. And had Luther attempted foreign missions in the face of all these unfavorable conditions, he would certainly ha<sup>v</sup>e been marked as a visionary radical. Undoubtedly <sup>too,</sup> too, the Pope would have greatly rejoiced if, instead of warning Christianity of the Antichrist through Gospel preaching at home, Luther <sup>had</sup> had begun a foreign mission.

Other rea<sup>s</sup>ons could also be here adduced to refute the ever highly touted claim of a lack of mission spirit at this time, but space will not permit a more detailed discussion. E. g. it <sup>was</sup> ~~wa~~ but nat<sup>r</sup>al that the people released from papal thralldom were not all of one and the same concensus on doctrine, etc. But the above mentioned considerations will, I believe, suffice to explain and refute the <sup>critical objection</sup> ~~critical~~ objection against the <sup>early Lutheran mission activity.</sup> ~~early Lutheran mission activity.~~ early Lutheran mission activity.

Interest for missions is a thermometer of spiritual life, and all things considered, our 16th. century forefathers were not ailing in this respect. So criticisms as are found e. g. in Mason p. 53 are unfair, since Luther did do real mission work by spreading out in concentric circles upon the foundation of the Gospel. The great era of missions could never have taken place, had not Luther first laid its foundations with the Gospel.

Surely now, if there were evidences of real missionary feeling in the hearts of at least some of the people at this time, ought not history to record some attempts at foreign missions at this age? It does. The earliest known efforts along the missionary line for these early Lutherans were those of the Lutheran pastor Primus Truber, who is known as the Reformer of Carniola in Austria. 25 years after the great Diet of Augsburg, namely in 1555, he translated and published in the Wendic and Croatian languages the New Testament, Luther's Small Catechism, the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, Melancthon's Loci, the Württemberg Church Discipline, and a Book of Spiritual Songs. His evident design in doing this was to christianize the large Slavonic population of Europe and thereby also to bring the knowledge of Christ to the Turks who spoke these dialects. As early as 1551, but <sup>5</sup> six years after Luther's death, he started this work in endeavouring to reform his home duchy of Krain. Paul Vergerius urged him on and Freiherr Hans Ungnad von Sonneck was one of his supporters. But about abiding results of this noble effort we can state really nothing. Still, the noble spirit of the enterprise should not be despised.

Prominent among the earliest Lutheran attempts at foreign missions was the work of the Swedes among the Lapps. Gustavus Adolphus' grandfather, Gustavus Vasa I, king of Sweden 1523-1560,

in 1559 began to incorporate into the evangelical Lutheran Church the Lapps who dwelt in the extreme northern part of his kingdom. In the 12th. century these people had been made nominally Christian, but at heart they remained fundamentally heathen. So Vasa issued a royal mandate, ordering these people to assemble at the winter solstice in order to pay their annual tribute and at this same time to receive instruction in the principles of religion. In reality this state-church mission was more a reforming act of territorial church authority than a proper mission to the heathen, as it consisted only in the sending out of pastors and the establishment of parishes. It failed in the real mission purpose principally because of the lack of missionary qualities on the part of the clergymen who were sent out. Yet the attempt was noteworthy, so that Chamber's Cyclopedia says of Vasa I: "To him the various tribes of Lapps were indebted for the diffusion of Christianity among them by Lutheran missionaries; and the Finns owe to him the first works of religious instruction in their own tongue". Vasa's son when king as Charles IX erected church buildings and parsonages and also supplied the Lapps with pastors, many of whom were unfaithful but did not thereby stop the work. Hitherto the labors of the missionaries had been of little use, since these had preached in the Swedish language which the people in general did not understand; while the Lapland youth who were sent to the University of Upsala died, either in Sweden or shortly after their return to their own country, and thus the hopes which were formed of them proved abortive. So when Gustavus Adolphus ascended to the throne in 1611, he established schools in the country itself. And to encourage the people to send their children to these schools, he allotted a certain sum of money for the maintenance of the pupils as well as for the support of the teachers. Chancellor John Skytte, formerly instructor to the king, undertook to teach in the

schools of Lapland, and these schools did much to extend Christ's kingdom in this northern territory. He is remembered especially in this respect for the school he founded in Lycksele on the Ummeolf. And besides establishing schools for the education of the young, Adolphus ordered useful books to be translated from Swedish into the Lapponeese language. Thus it was that in 1619 pastor Nicolaus Andrea in Piteo edited a small hymnbook with the Order of Service in the <sup>Lapp</sup> Lapp tongue, and in 1648 a manual was printed at Stockholm, containing the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Luther's Catechism, Sacred Hymns, the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, together with a History of Christ's Passion and of the Destruction of Jerusalem, the Ritual and various forms of prayer, translated into <sup>into</sup> Lapponeese by Provost John Tornaeus under <sup>the</sup> authorization of Queen Christina. So a Christian literature was the fruit of the efforts of these early missionaries among the Lapps, together with the establish-<sup>-ish-</sup>ment of churches and schools. This was later also carried into Finland.<sup>and.</sup>

Another such early Lutheran foreign mission attempt, more interest-<sup>-est-</sup>ing to us since it took place in our own country, was the establishment<sup>ment</sup> of an Indian mission here in America. "New Sweden", the new colony established by the Swedes in Dec. 1637 on the southern banks of the Delaware River 37 miles S.W. of where Philadelphia now stands, gave the <sup>-the-</sup> Lutheran Church peculiar advantages for mission work in the new world.<sup>world.</sup> Gustavus Adolphus had planned such a mission attempt as this in <sup>America,</sup> America but the Thirty Years' War ended his life and plans. So Oxenst<sup>erna,</sup> Chancellor under Gustavus Adolphus, continued this plan of an <sup>ican</sup> American mission. Together with others he drew up 28 resolutions for the proper regulation of this colony, and one of these refers to the relation of the colony towards the native heathen. Acrelious states it thus: "The wild nations bordering upon all sides the Governor shall

understand how to treat with all humanity and respect, that no wrong or violence be done to them by Her Royal Majesty or her subjects aforesaid; but he shall rather at every opportunity exert himself <sup>that</sup> that the same wild people may gradually be instructed in the truths and worship of the Christian religion, and in other ways be brought to civilization and good government, and in this manner be properly guided". So the Swedish Lutheran Church sent along with the colonists <sup>- ist</sup> ministers to take care of the spiritual interests of their <sup>- men</sup> countrymen and of the natives . As a result, among the first churches built in the new world were those of the early Swedish Lutheran colonists, <sup>and</sup> and the ministers became engaged in teaching the neighboring Delaware Indians the truths of the Christian religion. It was as early <sup>as</sup> 1642, four years before John Eliot began his Indian mission in New England, that missionary efforts were begun among the Delaware Indians. And foremost among these ~~missionaries~~ pioneer Indian missionaries was the Rev. John Campanius who had come over from Stockholm in 1643 with John <sup>John</sup> Printz. He became deeply concerned about the Indians, learned their language, preached extensively to them, and in 1648 translated <sup>Luther's</sup> Luther's Small Catechism into the Lenni-Lenape Indian language of the Delawares: <sup>and</sup> the first book of Christian instruction ever translated into any of the Indian languages of our country. ( It was not printed until 1696, <sup>1696</sup> John Eliot's Bible translation having been printed earlier, though <sup>o</sup> written later.) Jasper Svedberg, Provost of the Cathedral and Prof. of Theology at Upsala, heartily seconded the efforts of the missionaries in New Sweden. Upon learning that a large amount of property had been entrusted to the Swedish crown for the conversion of the heathen and that this had been diverted from its proper use, <sup>had</sup> Svedberg <sup>- en</sup> begged <sup>begged</sup> the king that these funds be applied in accord with the provisions of the testament. So the king furnished the necessary means for this

missionary work. Thereupon every minister to New Sweden was instructed <sup>ed</sup> anew to interest himself in the spiritual welfare of the Indians, <sup>and</sup> and successful missionary operations were inaugurated. The people were gathered into a Church which showed such life as to call forth <sup>praise</sup> praise and thanks to God for his mercy. From reports it is known that a true <sup>true</sup> Lutheran mission had been established and the precious seed planted. But the horrible Indian wars which followed had of course a bad <sup>effect</sup> effect on such missionary enterprise, and the work of the Swedes gradually lapsed, due partly to the decrease of Indians in this vicinity and to lack of home interest in the work. Still, in 1696 King Charles XI <sup>sent</sup> sent over to America from Sweden 500 copies of Luther's Catechism which <sup>had</sup> had been printed in the Indian dialect of the Delawares (1655 the colony came under the rule of the Dutch, and a decade later of the English; yet Sweden still ~~sent~~ spiritual help). As to the importance of this missionary enterprise for our country's history it is interesting to note that for forty years before Wm. Penn made his treaty with the Indians these faithful Swedish Lutheran missionaries had been laboring <sup>-ing</sup> among these very same Indians with whom Penn later treated, and it <sup>is</sup> is to their influence that Penn was greatly indebted for his friendly reception by these Indians,

These few instances, especially the latter two among the Lapps <sup>and</sup> and the American Indians, prove that the Lutheran Church did early <sup>engage</sup> engage in foreign mission work. And though these sincere attempts did not flourish long, it is not right to entirely forget them.

Let us see what was the attitude of the German Lutherans during the 17th. Century, how they acted in regard to the missionary <sup>-ing</sup> command. Examining the history of this time we note a certain lack of missionary <sup>-ing</sup> zeal. Yes, strange and incomprehensible as it may seem to us now, certain leaders of orthodox Protestantism discountenanced and in some <sup>-ing</sup> cases

cases even denounced foreign missions. However, before passing any sort of judgement on this sad fact, let us pause briefly to consider the reasons for the lack of missionary feeling at this time. In this period after the Reformation called "the age of Orthodoxy" no outstanding mission activity was noticeable in Germany. That was but natural, for the world beyond the sea had not as yet come within the purview of German Protestantism. Germany was still a rather hemmed-in, closed and divided nation and had really no opportunity to extend her activities in missions to foreign shores. For she had a calamity right in her midst at home which demanded her full attention.

The terrible Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) which so devastated Germany by destroying half her population and entailing serfdom upon her peasantry was then in progress. It was this awful life and death struggle in which the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran princes and powers of northern Europe engaged, and from which the Lutheran Church emerged in weakness and weariness, only gradually regaining its strength, that caused a serious setback both within and without the Church as regards progress. Especially the number of the clerics was devastated by this war, e.g. in Wittenberg alone their number was cut from 1046 to 338. So the few remaining had all they could do to take care of the home-folk and to gather what had been scattered. In this way much of the spiritual life of the coming generation, especially at the Universities in the divinity schools, was stifled. But it pleased God to put his Church in this oven of misery. "Dieser Krieg", writes a man of that time, "war wie ein schwerer Hagelschlag zu der Zeit wenn die Saat grünet und die Bäume blühen. Kirchenordnung, Predigtamt, und Gemeinden: es kam Alles durch den Krieg in Unordnung. Nur die Theuren Dichter des kirchlichen Liedes sangen mitten im Kriegssturme wie Nachtigallen während des Donnerwetters, ihre klangreichsten Weisen".

( cf. Lutheraner, J. 19, p.86). On the continent of Europe this long war kept religious antagonism at fever heat and reduced the spiritual life of the Churches to a low degree of vitality. Since this was the case, that in the latter half of our Church's first century such a great disaster arose which almost totally consumed her small power so that long decades were necessary before she recovered from the staggering blow, - in such a situation the Church had all it could <sup>do</sup> do to continue its own cumbersome existence, and it naturally could not <sup>not</sup> then think of foreign missions. Under political circumstances like these, lack of even the thought of foreign missionary effort is readily explained. Furthermore, the theology of the time either did <sup>x</sup> not permit missionary ideas to arise at all, or, if these began to find desultory expression, most keenly combated them. This was the period of lifeless orthodoxy and of fierce polemics in the Lutheran Church, due in <sup>no</sup> small extent to the torpidity of the Church. We shall enter more into detail about this aspect in the next section of our thesis.

Some single enterprises of this time are recorded as missionary. Thus in the beginning of the fourth decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century <sup>seven</sup> seven pious young men from Lübeck, all jurists as it appears, who were together in Paris bound themselves together ( perhaps under the influence of Hugo Grotius) " to awaken the lapsed churches of the <sup>East</sup> East to new evangelical life". Of only three of them do we know that <sup>they</sup> they actually journeyed to the East with this aim, and of two of these, namely von Dorne and Blumenhagen, we find no further tidings. The third man, Peter Heiling, in 1634 went to Abyssinia after a two year's stay in Egypt. Here he exerted some influence and translated the New Testament into Amharic. After about twenty year's work he died a martyr's death here, and his work had no abiding results

because there were no successors to continue it. Grössel ( p.19) claims that Heiling was not really missionary in spirit in this rather torpid age of missions, for a) Abyssinia was practically a Christian land, even though the Church there had many errors and individualities in doctrine and cultus. b) He may have been attracted thither by a general curiosity which at that time was quite common because of various reports coming from that land, - Ernst the Pious, Duke of Saxe-Gothe, ca. 1660 at his own expense sent Lutheran missionaries into Russia, and in 1663 sent an embassy to Abyssinia, one purpose of which was to gain news of Heiling. The orientalist Wansleb went along on this embassy. But the embassy never reached its destination. - Another such had been sent to Persia from the court of Gotha in 1635 in which Paul Flemming ( author of the famous hymn: " In allen meinen Thaten") took part. Its events are well described by Adam Olearus. But it too had no results among the Mohammedan people. - So too there were several other minor and individual attempts at foreign missions in this period, yet nothing in the line of a united effort. While these incidents hardly deserve a place in mission history, they do show evidences of a true missionary spirit at the time. The one remarkably noteworthy effort of this century which was a real missionary enterprise was that of Justinian von Welz, of which we shall treat later. We naturally ask, why was it that the German Lutherans had such an inactive aspect towards foreign missions?

Among the reasons indicated before, mention was made of the negative attitude of prominent Lutheran theologians as regards foreign missions. This was indeed a decisive factor. The interpretation of the missionary command and of the doctrine of the call affected greatly their foreign mission activity. So it is not so amazing that they were inactive in this field. They saw only the duty in their certain sphere of labor

and not the full extent of mission demands in the entire world. As Thompson expresses it, they are like a gladiator who is in the clutches of a boa constrictor and must free himself or perish; his thoughts are not that he must later use his power and strength for other necessary things, but he is all concerned about his present crisis.

If yet at this time there was no mission activity, still in the 17th, century and onwards mission ideas emerge more and more. But <sup>these</sup> these ideas met with the bitterest opposition on the part of some of the <sup>most</sup> most noted leaders of orthodoxy. Following Grössel (pp. 94 & 95), the representatives of these ideas may be divided into three groups: 1) Such as did not recognize a duty resting on the Church to send out missionaries, but who imputed to colonizing Christian rulers of <sup>then</sup> heathen peoples the right and even the duty of christianizing <sup>such</sup> these. 2) Such as owned in principle the missionary duty of the Church, but awaited God's <sup>such</sup> unmistakable sign thereto and therefore did not deem the time and opportunity suitable for the practical discharge of this duty. 3) Such as without reserve affirmed missions to be the <sup>the</sup> business of the Church. Though the number of those belonging to these latter was not so <sup>so</sup> exceedingly large, yet it is thoroughly large enough to evidence the injustice of the oft-made reproach that the 17th. century Lutheran Church had no mission spirit. More about that later. Let us first consider those theologians who had the negative mission attitude.

It was dogmatic confusion, perverting both exegesis and history, which motivated the repudiation of the missionary obligation, as Dr. Warneck correctly states. This consisted in substantially two ideas: the missionary charge was limited to the apostles, and it was regarded <sup>as</sup> as historic fact that these apostles had already proclaimed <sup>the</sup> the Gospel to the whole world; an artificial <sup>theory</sup> theory of the apostolic office and of <sup>to</sup> to the whole world; an artificial theory of the apostolic office and c

its diversity from the office of preaching was constructed, from which <sup>which</sup> it was inferred that the Church had no call to missions to the heathen <sup>-then</sup> and lacked authority to impart such a call. We here call attention <sup>to</sup> to the names of only the best known theologians having this attitude. Men <sup>men</sup> like Porta, Hunnius, Ehinger, Sigwart, Johann Mueller, Balduin, Fecht, <sup>ledt,</sup> Brochmand, Eichsfeld, Osiander, Musaeus and Zentgrav (Aegidius Hunnius <sup>Hunnus</sup> in his Tractatus de s. s. majestate, auctoritate, fide ac certitudine <sup>-ine</sup> Sacrae Scripturae of 1591, p. 33; Christia<sup>n</sup> Eichsfeld in his Orthodoxia casualis of 1655, p. 33; Johann Adam Osiander in his Theologia moralis of 1678, p. 267; Johann Musaeus in his Introductio <sup>-tio</sup> in Theologiam of 1679, p. 448; Johann Paul Hebenstreit in his Dissertatio de moralis Theologiae quibusdam adminiculis of 1704, p. 396; <sup>396;</sup> M. Conrad Porta in his Pastorale Lutheri of 1591, p. 18; Johann Georg <sup>Georg</sup> Sigwart in his Predigt vom Amt der Kirchendiener und Zuhörer of 1609, <sup>1609,</sup> p. 8; Friedrich Balduin in his Tractatus de casibus conscientiae of 1628, p. 69; Philipp Nicolai in his Historia regni Christi, I, cap. 1) furnished exegetica<sup>l</sup>, dogmatical and historical proofs to their own satisfaction and to that of many church members of the day to show <sup>that</sup> that none but the apostles had the call to preach the Gospel to every creature and that they had fulfilled this call by composing the New Testament Scriptures. Other eminent theologians like Praetorius, Calixtus and Johann Ernst Gerhard( son of Johann G. Gerhard) argued that the commission of Christ was given to the Church and that foreign <sup>-sign</sup> mission work ought to be done by the state for the Church. Characteristic <sup>-istic</sup> of this sentiment of Orthodoxy are the two following testimonies <sup>from</sup> from authoritative quarters which were of far-reaching influence.

The Austrian Count Erhardt, Truchsess of Wetzhausen, in 1651 <sup>1651</sup> addressed the Theological Faculty of Wittenberg, which was one of the leading representatives of Lutheran Orthodoxy, in respect to a thorough <sup>-ough</sup> missionary question. Sending various <sup>various</sup> questions to this body for an <sup>the</sup> answer.

Opinion, he in the sixth one dealt mainly with the neglect of foreign<sup>sign</sup> missions by the Lutherans. All of the questions were designated as "Religionskrupel, welche unter dem Nahmen des Hochwohlgebornen Herrn<sup>Herrn</sup> Erhardt, des heiligen Römischen Reichs Grafen, Truchsess zu Wetzhausen,<sup>hausen,</sup> Kaiserlicher Majestät Kammerherrn und Obristen, der Universität Wittenberg und Wien den 27ten. Februar, Anno 1651, auffzulösen zugefertigt, samt beigefügter Beantwortung, hie bevor auf Begehren gestellet". The to us important sixth Skrupel read: "Weil der Glaube<sup>Glaube</sup> allein aus dem Predigt kommt, möchte Ich wissen, wie Orient, Meridies<sup>-ies</sup> und Occident werde zum allein seligmachenden Glauben bekehret werden, weil Ich niemand der Augsburgischen Confession hinziehen sehe, alldort<sup>-dort</sup> zu predigen, und so viel 100,000 Menschen vom Verderben zu erretten, so billig gesch<sup>en</sup>en müsste, dem Befehl Christi zu gehorsamen: Ite in mundum<sup>mundum</sup> universum et praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae, und zu bezeigen die<sup>die</sup> Liebe des Nächsten, weil wir die für verloren halten, die nicht unsres Glaubens sind". In reply this Theological Faculty issued an Opinion which brought out the following ideas: 1) The command "Ite mundum universum" was<sup>the</sup> only a "personale privilegium" of the apostles, like the gift of miracles, etc. and as such was not given to their successors.<sup>was.</sup> It has actually been already fulfilled, for cf. Mark 16, 20; Romans<sup>10</sup> 10, 18; Psalm 19, 4; Colossians 1, 23. Else by virtue of such a command<sup>all</sup> all and every preacher, even the Pope himself, must go out and preach<sup>all</sup> in all the world, which nevertheless does not take place. And on the ground<sup>of</sup> of Acts 14, 23; 20, 18; I Peter 5, 1; Titus 1, 5 it was inferred that, since the apostles appointed b<sup>ishops</sup>ishops and preachers everywhere here and there who should teach only the Church of Christ specially entrusted to them (e. g. Timothy in Ephesus, Titus on the Isle of Crete, Crescent<sup>in</sup> in Galatia, Linus in the city of Rome, Dionysius in Athens, etc.) therefor<sup>fore</sup> neither the Papists nor the Lutherans have a distinct divine command<sup>and</sup> and neither the Papists nor the Lutherans have a distinct divine command to

preach in all the world. Rather each is bound to remain by his church to which he has been duly called. 2) No man is to be excused before God by reason <sup>of</sup> ignorance, because He has not only revealed Himself <sup>all</sup> to all men through the light of nature, cf. Romans 1 & 2; Acts 17, 27, but also in different ages through Adam, Noah and the holy apostles <sup>has</sup> He has been preached to the whole human race. So if anyone is now in darkness, <sup>ness,</sup> it is the punishment for heedlessness and ingratitude. 3) It belongs <sup>to</sup> to the powers of the state which has iure belli brought such sinners <sup>and</sup> and non-Christians under its sway, and to the high sovereign authority which the state has over the Church, specially to promote <sup>ship,</sup> right worship, build churches and schools and appoint preachers, so that <sup>the</sup> everywhere the true knowledge of God shall be spread. As proof for this point the example of the kings of Israel was cited. - The whole Opinion is <sup>exactly</sup> exactly what Grössel (pp. 84-89) says of it, "gewiss ein Meisterstückchen damaliger Exegese".

The same arguments with regard to <sup>forth</sup> foreign missions are set forth by the great dogmatic theologian of Jena, Johann Gerhard (died 1637). In his Loci Theologici (1618), especially in Locus 23 "De Ecclesia", and Locus 24 "De Ministerio Ecclesiastico", he presents a negative attitude of missions to the heathen. By the vocatio universalis he also <sup>also</sup> understands the revelation of God to all men in the time of Adam, <sup>after</sup> after the Flood, and of the Apostles. These last actually preached the <sup>Word</sup> Word to all nations, - as e. g. in the opinion of the first historian of <sup>the</sup> the evangelical Church, Matthius Flacius, the view is expressed that the Apostles had touched the entire world, - or at least the report or echo of their preaching had extended to all nations, as we can judge from Acts 14, 23; 20, 18; I Peter 5, 1; Titus 1, 5; Colossians 1, <sup>6 &</sup> 6 & 13. (Sec. 40). These nations to whom the apostles preached and from whom all families of nations, tongues and peoples are descended, <sup>ought</sup> ought

to have propagated the sincere matter of the Word to their descendants. <sup>-auto</sup>  
That they have not done so happens by the fault of man and does not  
in the least prejudice either the universality of the call or divine <sup>-inc</sup>  
liberality. This attempt of Gerhard to maintain the reality of universal <sup>-oral</sup>  
preaching of the Gospel in the apostolic age is called by Warneck (p. <sup>(p.</sup>  
29) " an instructive illustration not only of the uncritical and naive, <sup>naive,</sup>  
but also dogmatically biased treatment of history which prevailed <sup>at</sup> at  
the time". To repel the Romish pretention that the majority of  
Christians are under the sway of the Pope, Gerhard ( Sec. 186) <sup>holds</sup> holds  
e.g. that in Great Tartary there were more Christians than in all  
Europe, India was full of Thomasites, Egypt of Jacobites, Ethiopia was <sup>was</sup>  
filled with evangelical Christians since the days of the eunuch of  
Candacg converted by Philip. He protested against the Roman Catholic <sup>the</sup>  
missions in America because in these islands the Gospel had long <sup>ago</sup> ago  
been preached. America had been known <sup>to</sup> to the ancients, and had later  
only been closed. Very probably the apostolic preaching of the Gospel <sup>-pal</sup>  
had reached those places long ago already, since Paul testifies that the <sup>if</sup>  
Gospel had brought <sup>forth</sup> fruit in <sup>the</sup> the whole world, and in the early <sup>times</sup>  
of the Christian Church there was no nation known to which the sound <sup>-sound</sup>  
of the Gospel had not reached, as was established by a host of  
quotations from Justin, Tertullian, Jerome, Ambrose, Irenaeus,  
Chrysostom and Augustine. Thus it was argued historically that the  
Gospel had been in the entire world. - Gerhard uproots every mission- <sup>-ion-</sup>  
ary idea in his dogmatic discussions on the apostolate, which were  
invested with all the dignity of church doctrine. There we find the  
following in Locus 24, caput 5, sec. 220. In the apostolate there is <sup>to</sup> to  
be regarded: 1) the ministry of preaching the Gospel and administering <sup>-ing</sup>  
the sacraments with the power of the keys, ~~2~~ 2) supervision not only <sup>only,</sup>  
of the flock of God but even of other presbyters, and 3) authority <sup>to</sup> to

preach in the whole world, conjoined with an immediate call, <sup>gift</sup> the gift of miracles, the prerogative of being an eye-witness, and the privilege of infallibility. The first two attributes of the apostle-<sup>- de -</sup>ship passed over to the servants and office-bearers of the church and so were continuous functions, but with respect to the third there <sup>and</sup> was no successor to the apostles. The command to preach the Gospel in the whole world ceased with the apostles. For these are lacking now: <sup>was</sup> the vocatio immediata, the infallibilitas, the thaumatourgia miraculosa, <sup>the</sup> Christi in carne. - In Sec. 221-225 all pleas<sup>- oca,</sup> which might be adduced <sup>- ducced</sup> in favor of a continuous missionary obligation on the part of the Church ( as they were by Hadrian Saravia and against whom these are directed) are with scholastic dogmaticism refuted as absurd.

The real and primary reason why these men held a passive foreign mission attitude was their perverted doctrine of the apostolate and of the call. For the sake of clarity let us here briefly summarize <sup>- ice</sup> such teachings of the dogmaticians of that time: The apostolate includes two offices and gifts, a) such which apply to all servants of the Christian<sup>- de -</sup> Church, and b) such as pertained only to the apostles. In the former belong the preaching of the Word, administration of the sacraments, and the office of the Keys; to the latter the preaching to the heathen, the gift of speaking in tongues, of doing miracles, and of infallibility, as also the stipulation of personal acquaintance with Christ. That which interests us here most, namely, the assertion <sup>that</sup> that preaching to the heathen was limited alone to the apostles, was <sup>founded</sup> founded on arguments like these: 1) The gifts of speaking in various tongues, of performing miracles, and of infallibility are indispensable stipulations of preaching to the heathen; but since with the death of the apostles, these gifts ceased, so also the command to go out into all the world and preach the Gospel to the heathen had no longer <sup>- or</sup>

significance. 2) If the command of Christ, Matthew 28,19 and Mark 15, 16 pertained to all disciples of Christ, then now yet all servants of Christ without exception would have to go out to the heathen. But the apostles ordered each pastor to be by his congregation, and <sup>there</sup> therefore the clergy are duty-bound to remain by their own individual congregations.

As was but natural, because of such expressions of doctrine the Lutheran Church was attacked especially by the Roman Catholic Church for its inactivity in heathen missions. The apologetics and polemics against such charges reveal the same perverted idea. Heinrich Eckard endeavoured to defend the Lutheran Church against Bellarmin's <sup>-ach</sup> reproach by pointing out that the Roman Catholic Church had not really <sup>-ed</sup> covered the entire world for it had not reached Asia, Africa, Egypt and <sup>Greece</sup> Greece; but a spread of the church among all peoples is not an essential <sup>mark</sup> mark of the church. Such thoughts are found in his "Pandectis Controversiarum Religionis inter A. C. Theologos et inter Pontificos" ( 1611 ), caput 8, p.441 sq. So too the "Velitatio Epistolaris" ( 1631 ) of Elias Ehinger which states that the apostles had an immediate <sup>to</sup> call to preach the Gospel everywhere, but now no one can prove that we have such a call ( p.359, 392 ). More detailedly the Catholic reproof was treated by Johannes Müller of Hamburg in his "Widerlegung der papistischen Einwürfe" ( 1631 ), of which the entire fourth chapter is devoted to a discussion of the conversion of the heathen, especially <sup>-ally</sup> # 132. In defense of the Lutheran inactivity he lists especially two points: a) The command to go out into all the world affected only <sup>the</sup> the apostles, and no one else received a similar call, cf. Acts 20,28; I Timothy 1,3; Titus 1,5. b) Therefore each preacher of the Lutheran Church should remain at his own congregation to which he was called and take care of the flock entrusted to him, cf. I Peter 5,2. If <sup>then</sup> then

also a person of his own free will and without a command went to the heathen, he would handle contrary to his call. However, Müller recognizes the justification of heathen missions under certain circumstances, e. g. such may go to the heathen who have no congregation of their own, yet these must be properly called to this duty by the government and the government must furnish the necessary means. Force in conversion should not be used: not the sword and fire but the Word and sacraments.

It is obvious that with such dogmatic views and with views of history so prejudiced by dogma, an impartial exposition of the missionary charge was as impossible as the practical execution thereof. And it was views like these that up to the 18th. century dominated almost all orthodoxy. As long as this narrow-mindedness remained unchanged, missionary life in the foreign field was impossible. The change came but gradually, and meanwhile the feeble voices and endeavours of the Protestant missionaries and missionary advocates of the 17th. century were derided as outbursts of religious fanaticism. The missionary responsibility was shifted to the shoulders of the rulers of the European kingdoms who were conducting colonial enterprises in America and Asia, and these rulers did practically nothing more than provide the colonists with an irregular supply of chaplains which was far from satisfactory.

Good evidence of real missionary spirit at the time is revealed in the missionary element contained in some of the hymns of the day. In Germany of the 17th. century the Lutherans as a whole were not opposed to foreign missions, as these hymns well prove. It is to the missionary advocates such as expressed themselves in e. g. these hymns that we owe the impetus for the great modern era of missions. Most noteworthy of such hymns and poems of that day which contained real

missionary elements were the following:

1) " O König aller Ehren" (ca. 1606) written by Martin Behm (1557-1622). Here we note especially the first stanza, and the last one,

" O König aller Ehren, Herr Jesu, Davids Sohn,  
Dein Reich soll ewig währen, im Himmel ist dein Thron.  
Hilf, dass allhier auf Erden den Menschen weit und breit  
Dein Reich bekannt mög' werden zur ew'gen Seligkeit".

" Du woll'st in mir entzünden dein Wort, den schönsten Stern,  
Dass falsche Lehr' und Sünden sein von mein'm Herzen fern;  
Hilf, dass Ich dich erkenne und mit der Christenheit  
Dich meinen König nenne, jetzt und in Ewigkeit".

(#59, p. 36 in Lutherisches Gesangbuch.)

2) " Erhalt uns deine Lehre" written by Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664).  
Verse 2 is significant,

" Erhalt dein' Ehr' und wehre dem, der dir widerspricht;  
Erleucht', Herr, und bekehre, allwissend ewig Licht,  
Was dich bisher nicht kennet: entdecke doch der Welt,  
Der du dich Licht genennet, was einzig dir gefällt". (#169, p. 115)

3) "Was alle Weisheit in der Welt", written in 1666 by Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676). The first half of the first stanza,

"Was alle Weisheit in der Welt bei uns hier kaum kann lallen,  
Das lässt Gott aus dem Himmelszelt in alle Welt erschallen".

but especially the seventh verse is here important,

"Ei nun, so gib, du grosser Held, Gott Himmels und der Erden,  
Dass alle Menschen in der Welt zu dir bekehret werden.  
Erleuchte, was verblindet geht, bring wieder, was verirret,  
Reiss aus, was uns im Wege steht und freventlich verwirret

Die Schwachen in dem Glauben." (#150, p. 100)

4) The hymn of Johann Heermann (1585-1647) written in 1630:

- "1. O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht, erleuchte die dich kennen nicht,  
und bringe sie zu deiner Herd', dass ihre Seel' auch selig werd'.
2. Erfüll' mit deinem Gnadenschein, die in Irrtum verführet sein,  
auch die, so heimlich fichtet an in ihrem Sinn ein falscher <sup>Wahn.</sup> Wahn.
3. Und was sich sonst verlaufen hat von dir, das suche du mit <sup>Gnad'</sup> Gnad',  
und sein verwund't Gewissen heil', lass sie am Himmel haben <sup>teil.</sup> teil.
4. Den Tauben öffne das Gehör, die Stummen richtig reden lehr',  
die nicht bekennen wollen frei, was ihres Herzens Glaube sei.
5. Erleuchte, die da sind verblind't, bring her die sich von uns  
versammle die zerstreuet gehn, mach' feste die im Zweifel <sup>getrennt,</sup> stehn.
6. So werden sie mit uns zugleich auf Erden und im Himmelreich,  
hier zeitlich und dort ewiglich Für solche Gnade preisen dich."

(#175, p. 118)

5) Stanza one of the hymn of Johann Gottfried Olearius (1635-1711),

"Komm, du wertest Lösegeld, dessen alle Heiden hoffen;  
Komm, o Heiland aller Welt, Tor' und Türen stehen offen;  
Komm in ungewohnter Zier, komm, wir warten mit Begier."

(#26, p. 14)

6) The hymn of Georg Weissel (1590-1635), (#58, p. 35)

"Nun, liebe Seel', nun ist es Zeit. Wach' auf; erwäg mit Lust und <sup>Freud'</sup> Freud',  
was Gott an uns gewendet: Sein'n lieben Sohn von Himmels Thron,  
ins Jammertal er sendet.

Nicht nur den Juden bloss allein, die sein's Geblüts und Stammes sein  
sondern auch allen Heiden ist aufgericht't dies ew'ge Licht,  
erleuchtet sie mit Freuden."

When eventually the mind of Protestantism had time to think <sup>about</sup> the full significance of its mission as the restoration of true Christianity, it realized with increasing clearness that the Bible must be opened and the Gospel proclaimed in the vernacular of every nation, and that the circle of true Christianity is to be nothing <sup>less</sup> than the circumference of the earth. More and more voices spoke <sup>for</sup> for foreign missions. But general historians are unwilling to find any indication that even in the 17th. century the Church of the Reformation felt an obligation to the heathen nations. Yet history proves that there were at least various individuals to whom foreign missions were a matter of deep concern. The first acknowledgement of the missionary duty for this time came in 1620 in the lectures of Prof. Balthasar Meisner (1587-1626) in Wittenberg. In the dictations he gave his hearers ( published 1679 ) there is found one place dealing with the detriments in the church. Here, under practical needs, he lists the want of missions among the heathen, the Turks and the Jews. Of Meisner Paul Schattenmann says in Schrift & Bekenntnis, J. 8, 1927, p.80:  
" Nicht erst der Pietismus, sondern einen orthodoxen Theologen, Balthasar Meisner, hat in seinen pia desideria von 1626 der Kirche ihre Missionspflicht eindringlich ans Herz gelegt."

Michael Ludwig Dunte of Reval, author of a somewhat prominent <sup>book</sup> book on Casual Theology bearing the title, "Decisiones mille et sex casuum conscientiae, kurze und richtige Erörterung 1006 Gewissensfragen <sup>an</sup> auf vielerlei in theologischen Schulen, Predigtamt und Consistorien fürfallenden Sachen und zutragenden wichtigen Fällen, von M. L. Dunte, Ratzeburg 1664," , writes therein briefly how one should go about <sup>in</sup> in converting a heathen to Christ. In chapter 16 De Ecclesia, section II De falsa religione, quaestio 14, p.542 he points out that if one <sup>wishes to convert a heathen</sup> wishes to convert a heathen ~~a heathen~~ he must, a) because a heathen

will not accept holy Scripture, show him that his religion is <sup>false,</sup> filthy and absurd in the light of nature, as Paul did in Acts <sup>and</sup> 17 and as Lactantius, Augustinus and other church fathers have done; <sup>show</sup> b) show proofs on manifold grounds that the Bible is divine and the <sup>-tian</sup> Christian religion is the oldest religion, in which alone God can be rightly served; c) bring out from holy Scripture the fundamentals of the Christian religion. To this God will give strength and will effect <sup>the</sup> the conversion through His Word. So Dunte was at least aware of the <sup>obli-</sup> obligation to convert the heathen.

Michael Havemann (died 1672), the General Superintendent of <sup>Bremen</sup> Bremen and Verden, referred to the great commercial interests of <sup>-trans</sup> Christian countries in Asia and Africa as a good channel to lift the heathen inhabitants of these continents out of heathenish darkness. His interests in Asia and Africa commercially were not so great as to make him forget that the first duties to these lands were <sup>any</sup> missionary. In his "Jüdische Wegleuchte", p.518, he says: "Es wird zu unsern Zeiten die Begierde, das Evangelium fortzupflanzen, gar eiskalt; <sup>wir</sup> wir wenden viel auf Krieg, Vanitäten und Eitelkeiten, wir suchen freie Commercien, Handel und Wandel in Asia und Africa, darinnen die herrlichsten Kirchen von den Aposteln und deren Nachfolgern <sup>-angest</sup> gepflanzt sind, und ist <sup>-et</sup> Alles ums Geld zu thun. Wie man aber Christum daselbst besser möge bekannt machen und den Völkern aus ihrer alkoranischen und heidnischen Finsterniss heraushelfen, darum bemühet man sich wenig." It is interesting to note that in another writing Havemann also gave von Welz an expression of agreement as to his <sup>idea</sup> mission ideas.

Johann Conrad Dannhauer (died 1666), Prof. in Strassburg, in his "Katechismusmilch", XII, 120, gives one of the finest mission testimonies of the 17th. century. Unlike many others, he urged <sup>the</sup> on the Lutherans to more mission activity in that, <sup>ing</sup> instead of first waiting

for moves on the part of the government institutions for converting<sup>ing</sup> the heathen, they should because it was their duty appoint the government to such undertakings. He strongly advocated the founding<sup>ing</sup> of a seminary and schools for the preparation of missionaries who could be sent not only to the wild tribes, but also to the Jews<sup>and</sup> and Turks. He writes: " Der Allerhöchste wolle unsere evangelischen Fürsten und Potentaten erleuchten, dass sie die Riegel der Hindernisse<sup>isse</sup> abstossen, Seminaria und Schulen anstellen, darinnen auch Fremde<sup>und</sup> und barbarische Sprachen erlernt werden, heilsame Organe aufzuziehen<sup>und</sup> und derselben Personen einen guten Vorrat sammeln und andere Mittel verschaffen, dadurch nicht nur die Wilden in der neuen Welt, sondern auch Türken und Juden vermittelst der Commerciën ersucht und gewonnen würden; so sollte wohl der Unserigen Arbeit mehr gesegnet und den pä<sup>p</sup>stlichen Aufschneidern und Hohnsprechern nicht viel Nachgegeben werden. " Sad to say, this was not realized. Through Havemann, Dannhauer informed von Welz of his agreement with his<sup>plans,</sup> plans, and in various sermons he commanded missions to the heathen.

Christian Scriver ( died 1693 ), Oberhofprediger in Quedlinburg, with the same burden upon his heart, speaks in behalf of the thousands<sup>lands</sup> of souls on the earth who know not their Savior. In his "Seelenschatz"<sup>schatz</sup> III, 15, he exclaims: "O wie wenig mögen sein, die daran gedenken, Gott zu bitten, dass er treue, geistreiche und eifrige Leute<sup>wenden</sup> verwenden und sie als Apostel zu den Heiden senden wolle. Es sind leider die<sup>die</sup> Christen emsig genug gewesen, durch Schifffahrt, Handel und Wandel der<sup>den</sup> Ungläubigen Länder zu besuchen und ihr Gold, Silber und andere Schätze an sich zu bringen; wie wenig aber ist man darauf bedacht gewesen, dass man ihnen den Seelenschatz der Evangelii in Christo wiederum mittheilen möchte. Es haben etliche den armen Leuten mit<sup>und</sup> ihrem unersättlichen Geiz und Golddurst, mit ihrer Grausamkeit und

anderen Übelthaten ein Ärgerniss und Anstoss gelegt und sie von Christo abgeschreckt; etliche haben den christlichen Namen auf <sup>ein</sup> eine Zeitlang und so lange sie in solchen Landen gewesen, gar verleugnet, nur dass sie frei darin handeln und wandeln und ihren Gewinn suchen <sup>-set,</sup> <sup>-er</sup> <sup>-en,</sup> möchten. Also haben sie bezueget, dass es ihnen nicht um die Seelen, sondern um den Mammon zu thun sei, dass es Gott erbarme. Nun ihr christlicher Seelen, erwäget künftighin die Sache fleissiger und betet <sup>betet</sup> mit mehrerem Nachdenken die Worte der Litanei: den Satan unter unsere Füße treten, treue Arbeiter in Deine Ernte senden, Deinen Geist <sup>und</sup> <sup>und</sup> Kraft zum Wort geben, aller Menschen Dich erbarmen; erhör <sup>lieber</sup> uns lieber Herre Gott. " It hurts Scriver's heart that there <sup>-edans</sup> are more Mohammedans than Christians, and more heathen than Mohammedans in the world. .

Philip Spener (1635-1705) of Halle, the " Father of Pietism "; argued that the Church Universal is bound to ~~do~~ what she can to prepare and send missionaries among the poor heathen. In his <sup>sermon</sup> <sup>-tion</sup> sermon on the festival of Ascension Day 1677, he reminded his congregation of its mission duty in words like these: "Die gesammte Kirche ist verbunden, hierin zu thun, was sie kann, und solche Leute wie sie ja immer unter sich solche finden werden die dazu tüchtig sind oder <sup>oder</sup> tüchtig gemacht werden können, dazu zu brauchen und zu senden. Da haben sonderlich die beiden oberen Stände, Obrigkeit und Prediger, als die das Meiste thun können, darauf bedacht zu sein wie solches geschehe. - Was aber versäumt worden, sollt mit so viel mehrerem Ernst <sup>-Ernst</sup> künftig verbessert werden. Die Papisten gehen uns hierin vor, da sie <sup>ist</sup> <sup>weiter</sup> ihre falschen Apostel aller Orten aussenden, ihre Kirche immer weiter auszubreiten, dass wir uns solches Exempels nicht anders als mit Scham erinnern können und uns nicht allemal damit entschuldigen dürfen. - Warum will die Kirche sich einiges Rechts begeben, so sie <sup>ist</sup> <sup>an die ganze Welt hat?</sup> an die ganze Welt hat? Behält sie also solches, warum thut sie dann <sup>ist</sup> <sup>an die ganze Welt hat?</sup> an die ganze Welt hat? Behält sie also solches, warum thut sie dann

nicht alles nach Möglichkeit, was sie in wirklichen Besitz desselben<sup>-en</sup> setzen könnte? Wir können ja nicht sagen, dass Gott solchen armen blinden Leuten solche Hülfe und Gnade versagt habe: warum trachten wir denn nicht, sie dessen teilhaftig zu machen, was ihnen von göttlicher Barmherzigkeit versagt zu sein niemand gern vorgeben wird?"<sup>wird?"</sup> Also in regard to the Jews Spener expressed himself strongly in favor<sup>favor</sup> of mission work. He said it was a conscientious duty for rulers<sup>Try</sup> to try all means of christianizing the Jews under their control in order to bring them to salvation. To this end he strongly advocated prayer, which was to be supported by personal missionary endeavors.

Ludwig von Seckendorf (died 1692), Chancellor of the University of Halle and the celebrated historian of the Reformation, would not apologize for the indifference and inactivity of the people who had<sup>had</sup> been freed from the yoke and error of Rome and yet did not use every<sup>every</sup> means to extend the true doctrine among the barbarian heathen<sup>people.</sup> peoples. In his "Commentarius de Lutheranism" III, sect. 21, #84, 63, p.331,<sup>331,</sup> we read: "Ich will wahrlich die Faulheit und Nachlässigkeit<sup>deren</sup> derer unter den Evangelischen nicht entschuldigen, die von den römischen Irrtümern längst befreit, weder Fleiss noch Mittel, wie sie sollten<sup>-sollen</sup> und könnten, anwenden, dass die reine evangelische Lehre zu den barbarischen Völkern komme."

Besides these theologians a philosopher of world-wide fame, Baron<sup>Baron</sup> Gottfried Wm. von Leibnitz (1646-1716), came forward at the close of<sup>of</sup> this century as a vigorous advocate of missions. Usually this<sup>angle</sup> angle of his many interests is overlooked because the others were more pronounced. It was not so much his travels in Holland and England, or his studies in languages and geography, still less his philosophical<sup>-ical</sup> theories, which led him to missionary ideas. Rather it was his intercourse with the Jesuit missionaries to China, dating from his<sup>his</sup>

stay in Rome, but which seem later to have been broken off. This correspondence directed his attention to China as a field for missionaries thoroughly trained in Lutheran theology and in languages. As a connecting-rod he would suggest Russia, for he set great hopes on its Emperor, Peter the Great, and he himself had many negotiations with his advisors. The Brandenburgers he considered best adapted for such mission work because they had received trade privileges from Peter the Great. In reference to missionary labor and especially to the character of missionary preaching, Leibnitz offers some suggestions in the Preface to his little work called "Novissima Sinica", a collection of letters from the Catholic missionaries. His plan he urged with great earnestness, and he had it embodied in a more general form in the regulations of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, founded by him in July, 1700. (cf. the Charter of its Constitution.) The subject of missions he gave a prominent place in the curriculum of this Academy, affirming that missions ought to be treated along with the other sciences. - The brilliant project of Leibnitz never even began to be carried into effect, yet the impulse emanating from it did not fall upon altogether barren soil since it helped to forward on its way the missionary movement of Pietism which was just then originating. The "Novissima Sinica" came into the hands of August Hermann Francke, who then wrote to Leibnitz regarding it. The answer of Leibnitz is a fine testimony to the genuine interest in missions which animated the philosopher. Though there never was any active intercourse between these two men, yet the missionary ideas of Leibnitz bore fruit in Francke and so helped towards the great missionary activity of Protestant Germany.

An entire collection of further reminders to mission duty in this period is found in the "Hundertjährige Bedenken D. Jacobi Andrea"

(1678). The author is Elias Veiel (died 1706), Superintendent in <sup>Ulm,</sup> Ulm, who in this writing calls himself significantly "einen Obadia". On p.100 sq. he bewails the scarcity in the Lutheran Church of missions <sup>now,</sup> among the heathen. Veiel draws some of his ideas from Christoph Scultetus (died 1649) of Stettin. He is also moved by the fact <sup>that</sup> the Collegium Orientale, planned in Kiel by Wasmuth and Raue to <sup>serve</sup> serve foreign missions, could not be realized. And on p. 137 he calls attention to the care of the new converts, the importance of which is stressed by von Welz. - Another testimony for foreign missions we find in Christian Gerbers "Unerkannten Sünden der Welt", the 105th. chapter of which is designated as treating "von der Nachlässigkeit und Schlafsucht in Ausbreitung und Förderung des <sup>und</sup> Reiches Christi und Seiner Ehre". In it one can clearly recognize the influence of von Welz' writings, which Gerber deepens in his own manner. Many of his <sup>his</sup> thoughts as expressed agree almost verbally with those of von Welz. - (Dr. Conrad Mel in his "Pharus missionis evangelicae" submits an entire mission program. - We might here also note the following references regarding the christianizing of heathen colonies: a) Urbanus ~~R~~hegius "Vom Amt und Gebühr der Obrigkeit, vornehmlich die <sup>die</sup> Lehre des heiligen Evangelii zu fördern.", cf. Dedekennus "Thesaurus <sup>- us</sup> consiliorum et decisionum ecclesiasticorum" of 1671, II, 46 sq. b) Leonhard Hutter "Compendium locorum theologicorum" of 1610, p.652. <sup>652.</sup> c) Felix Bide~~n~~bach "Consiliis theologicis", p. 175. d) Melchior Sylvester Eckhard "Christianus religiosus", p.186. e) J. Conrad Dannhauer "Disputationes theologicae" of 1707, p.1321 sq. ) -

At this same time there began also a more earnest <sup>study</sup> pursuit of study in the oriental languages, and this often with a special emphasis <sup>upon</sup> upon the benefits which such an exact study would have for missions. A pertinent expression of such a thought was made already by <sup>A</sup>Adreas

Müller (died 1694) of Stettin, who in 1665 published a resume of various fruits of his oriental studies under the title "Excerpta Manuscripti". In the Introduction p.7 he warmly urges the Elector of Brandenburg to continue his study of foreign languages, since an exact knowledge of such would help to clear up many dark passages of holy Writ, would settle questions, and be of great value in an exact investigation of religious antiquities, as also of immense value for the conversion of the heathen. Similarly Johannes Schindler (died 1681) of Braunschweig expressed his thoughts in his "Geistlichen Hallposaune von Bekehrung der Juden" p.78 sq. If at first only the expressed wish was all, yet a few years later two men stepped ~~men~~ forward who sought to help do away with the described need. These were the two Kiel professors, Wasmuth and Raue. Tencel in "Monatlichen Unterredungen" 1694, p.719 writes: "Mich wundert nur, dass man unter uns Lutheranern nicht auch Leute ausschickt, die Heiden, Türken und Juden zu bekehren, da wir eine solche Menge studiosos Theologiae auf allen Universitäten haben. Ich kann nicht vorbei, den schönen Vorschlag Christian Ravi zu wiederholen, den er am Ende seines "Spolii Orientis" gethan hat, dass man ein Collegium Orientale de propaganda fide anstellen und sechs geschickte Studiosos in den orientalischen Sprachen unterrichten, hernach zu solcher Bekehrung fortschicken sollte, zu dessen Beförderung er nicht allein die Fürsten und Noblesse, sondern auch die Reichen Kaufleute ermahnet." In his "Spolium Orientis, Christiano orbi dicatum, seu catalogus manuscriptorum orientalium" Raue expresses the wish that under government protection a Collegium de propaganda fide be founded, where in a four years' course six gifted students should be instructed in Hebrew, Chaldee-Syrian, Rabbinic, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Ethiopic plus the other theological knowledge, so that then by twos they could be

sent out to convert the Jews, Turks and heathen. Every four years they should be relieved by new forces, and those returning should instruct the new ones. That not only Jews and Turks, but also the heathen were included in the plans is shown by Theophilus Spizel in his "Felix literatus ex infelicitum periculis et casibus sive de <sup>vitiis</sup> literatorum commentationes historico-theologicae" of 1676. In this work Spizel shows himself to be a warm friend of missions. Further proofs that the intention was to reach also the heathen are given in the numerous letters directed to Wasmuth and Raue, in which this <sup>in</sup> <sup>angle</sup> of the project is stated directly.

Raue, or Ravius (1613-1677) in Frankfort, was one of the most learned and important orientalist of the time. So again here, as earlier with von Welz, it was a non-theologian who busied himself with the thought of foreign missions. In his "Spolium Orientis" he <sup>had</sup> expressed only transiently his thoughts about the founding of a Collegium de propaganda fide. And in order to realize this plan, <sup>he</sup> he joined with his colleague Matthias Wasmuth (1625-1688), in Kiel, <sup>who</sup> who was a zealous friend and furtherer of his plans. Together they <sup>sent</sup> sent out in October 1669 a circular letter to government authorities, professors and pastors whom they hoped to win and whose influence would greatly help their cause. The title read: "Christ wohlmeinendl. Vertra<sup>g</sup> wegen meines Collegii Orientalis de propaganda fide et <sup>alias</sup> promovendis studiis Orientalibus, vorgestellet von Christo Raviio und Matth. Wasmuth." The circular was approvingly received by Pfeiffer (Introductio in Orient, p. 14 of the Intro.); nor was he the <sup>one</sup> only one with this attitude. From all sides there came writings of <sup>acknowledg-</sup> acknowledgment containing best wishes for the flourishing of the intended undertaking. Letters like these evidence a more widespread mission thought and reveal more mission friends for this time than is usually <sup>-ally</sup>

conceded to have been the case at that time. There is e.g. a <sup>-ing</sup>writing of the Rostock Professor of Theology Johann Quistorp Jr. dated <sup>9</sup>Dec. 9, 1669 (he died soon afterwards), as follows: "Plur. Rever. Ampl. & Excellent. Dne. Wasmuth, in Christo Frater desideratissime. Was Massen Ich mich erfreut im Geist über Ihr heilsames <sup>Fok</sup>Beginnen kann Ich nicht aussprechen, weil sich doch nunmehr fast niemand bekümmert um das Reich Christi zu erweitern. Ein jedweder suchet das Seine und Christum lässt man allein. Weil Ihr Vorhaben aus Gott, also <sup>-ife</sup>gar nicht an Success; und darum heissen die Academiae Universitäten, dass sie mit ihren Gaben der ganzen Welt dienen sollen. Vale vir desideriorum cum incomparabili Dn. Ravio. Pergite ut coepistis et merces magna erit in coelo." The rulers also favored the planned work, as a letter of Verpoortem in Gotha (died 1686), dated April 25, 1670 shows. Through him Herzog Ernst der Fromme told the two <sup>-ing</sup>leaders of the movement of his readiness to support the undertaking. Worthy of mention is likewise a <sup>-ing</sup>writing of Elias Veiel wherein he states the wish that a) persons in authority might be <sup>-the</sup>gained for the support of the intended Collegium so as to make sure the result, <sup>and</sup> and b) educated persons might be won over who by <sup>-ing</sup>instructing the <sup>-ing</sup>studying youth and by translating important foreign writings could immensely aid Wasmuth and Raue. Martin Brunner, Prof. at the University of <sup>Halle,</sup>Halle, in a letter of Jan. 21, 1670 wishes God's blessings and promises to pray for the new undertaking and help it as much as possible. <sup>an</sup>And so on.

But the thought of heathen missions gradually lost ground, <sup>-ing</sup>ceding it to the thought of Jewish missions. This appears very strongly in an <sup>an</sup>Opinion given April 27, 1670 by the Theological Faculty at Greifswald in response to a request of Wasmuth and Raue. Encouraged by the <sup>-wald</sup>cheery <sup>other</sup>replies, these two men decided to spread their plans in order to win <sup>win</sup>more friends in a wider circle. So in 1670 they put in print a part of more friends in a wider circle. So in 1670 they put in print a part o

their previous writing plus the writings of acknowledgement of their plan under the title "Literae Circulares Wegen Errichtung eines Collegii Orientalis". The double purpose of this Collegium is here treated: the pressing need which till<sup>it is</sup> now was evident at the Universities especially in regard to the study of the original languages of the Bible is shown, and that in the spreading of the Gospel among the unbelievers, especially the Jews and Mohammedans are to be gone after<sup>to</sup> is brought up. To justify Jewish missions they call to mind the promise<sup>mission</sup> of a future conversion of the Jews, and as to the means they refer<sup>to</sup> to the proposals of Hoornbeck, Johann Müller, and Hulsius. However, sad<sup>read</sup> to narrate, the venture turned out just like it had with von Welz. When time for action came no<sup>and</sup> one wished to earnestly grab ahold, and<sup>tion</sup> unsupported, these two brave men could not even think of a realization of their plans. And thus the entire movement lulled itself to sleep. 00

There was one person above all who was vitally concerned about missions. As a bright star, - and a glorious climax to this our thesis,<sup>thesis</sup> - there is this great testifier for missions at this age. It is the outstanding missionary testimony for work in the foreign field to be<sup>be</sup> found at this time. It is that of a layman, Baron Justignian von Welz<sup>Welz</sup> (1621-1668), who was untiring in refuting the apparent grounds of the<sup>the</sup> Lutheran dogmaticians against missions. His shining example is alone ample support for the statement of Plitt-Hardeland (p.22): "Die Behauptung, dass damals in der lutherischen Kirche nicht einmal Sinn für die Mission vorhanden gewesen sei, ist unrichtig." And rightly we<sup>was</sup> may say that he was the first who with great earnestness set before<sup>the</sup> the Lutheran Church the duty of obeying the missionary command by sending<sup>ing</sup> out messengers of the Gospel to the heathen. He was born in 1621 in Chemnitz, the scion of a noble Austrian family, and was educated in Ulm. Chiefly two ideas animated this remarkable nobleman, these being<sup>being</sup>

an uplifting of Christian life and a practical manifestation of <sup>faith</sup> faith by the extension of the Gospel in the non-Christian world. The former, <sup>or,</sup> to which he had been moved by the study of the Bible and of a Kempis' <sup>-is'</sup> "Imitatio Christi", together with Johann Arnd's <sup>-thum,</sup> "Wahres Christenthum", was for him the presupposition of the latter. For him missions and living Christianity were of the innermost connection. In 1641 we <sup>find</sup> find him writing "Justiniani Ernesti, L. Baronis a Welz, Tractatus de tyrranide", and in 1663 "De Vita Solitaria". Important for our discussion were his three principal treatises written from 1664 onward <sup>-ward</sup> after having procured a kind of Opinion from many eminent theologians <sup>-ians</sup> in favor of his project.

The title of the first read: "Eine Christliche und treuherzige Vermahnung An alle rechtgläubige Christen der Augspurgischen Confession. <sup>-ion</sup> Betreffend eine sonderbare Gesellschaft, Durch welche <sup>licher</sup> nächst göttlicher Hilfe unsere Evangelische Religion möchte ausgebreitet werden, von Justiniano. In Verlegung des Autoris, 1664." This was put into print for the notification of "Allen Evangelischen Obrigkeiten, <sup>und</sup> Baronen und Adeln, Doctoren, Professoren und Predigern, Studiosis Theologiae am meisten, auch Studiosis Juris und Medicinae, Kauffleuten, und allen Jesus-liebenden Hertzen." Herein he <sup>i</sup> listed these three missionary questions for discussion: 1) Ist es recht, dass wir Evangelischen <sup>-ends</sup> Christen das Evangelium allein für uns behalten und dasselbige nirgends suchen auszubreiten? 2) Ist es recht, dass wir aller Orten so viel Studiosos Theologiae haben, und geben ihnen nicht Anlass, dass sie anderwärts in dem geistlichen Weinberg Jesu Christi arbeiten helfen, lassen sie auch lieber drei, sechs und mehr Jahre auf einen Pfarrdienst <sup>-erst</sup> warten, oder gar deutsche Schulmeister werden? 3) Ist es recht, dass wir Evangelischen Christen auf allerlei Kleiderpracht, Wohlleben in Essen und Trinken, mancherlei unnötige Kurzweil, kostbare Gebräuche

soviel Unkosten anwenden, aber zu Ausbreitung des Evangelii noch  
bisher auf keine Mittel bedacht gewesen? Before taking any further  
steps, Welz sent this his writing to the more important religious <sup>and</sup>  
civil dignitaries for a formal Opinion, because from these men he  
hoped to gain strong support. As it was he did not receive the awaited  
response, for these leaders took a somewhat cool attitude to his <sup>plans.</sup>  
E.g. Herzog Ernst der Fromme of Sachsen-Gotha, to whom Welz had out-  
lined in a somewhat long letter his detailed plans, through his  
ambassador at the Reichstag of Regensburg, Dr. Avemann, told von Welz <sup>Welz</sup>  
that for the first he preferred to wait a while. - Incidentally, <sup>this</sup> this  
letter of von Welz to Herzog Ernst contains better than any other  
published writings of von Welz his real missionary plans: for in the  
other writings he did not express himself so fully because of the  
fear that the Papacy might take counter-steps to his written and  
rather widely scattered ideas on missions. - So too Herzog Eberhard <sup>of</sup>  
of Württemberg. On the other hand, though, others wished him success <sup>and</sup>  
and encouraged him, even promising aid. Some of these testimonies <sup>Welz</sup>  
published in his two following writings. Of these testimonies the most <sup>most</sup>  
noteworthy are those of Johann Ernst Gerhard of Jena, Michael <sup>-mann</sup>  
of Bremen, Balthasar Bebel of Strassburg, Prof. Raith of Tübingen,  
Michael Dilherr of Nürnberg, Riss of Augsburg, etc. These encouragement <sup>-ments</sup>  
led him to take further steps. So he started a fund with 12,000 Thaler <sup>Thaler</sup>  
which he deposited in Nürnberg and Frankfort, for the founding of a  
seminary to educate young students to become foreign missionaries. <sup>and</sup>  
And to further his ventures he wrote his second important treatise.

This writing he called "Einladungstrieb zum herannahenden Grossen  
Abendmahl: und Vorschlag zu einer Christ-erbaulichen Jesus Gesellschaft <sup>schaft,</sup>  
Behandelnd die Besserung des Christentums und Bekehrung des Heidentums <sup>Tums</sup>  
<sup>wohlmeinend an Tag gegeben durch Justinianum. Nürnberg, gedruckt bey</sup>  
wohlmeinend an Tag gegeben durch Justinianum. Nürnberg, gedruckt bey

Wolf Eberhard Felsecker, im Jahr 1664." Herein he was supported by the <sup>the</sup> legal practitioner Johann Georg Gichtel in Regensburg (later on <sup>-der</sup> founder of the Engelsbrüder sect) who earnestly sought to arouse propaganda <sup>for</sup> for von Welz' project. A report has it that he deposited 30,000 Thaler <sup>in</sup> in Reinbeck for the cause of missions, but this seems to rest on a mistake. <sup>take</sup> However, to give the proposition more weight, von Welz and Gichtel decided to apply to the Reichstag zu Regensburg, 1664, which was charged with caring for the interests of Protestantism, for support <sup>in</sup> in their endeavor. Though advised by Dr. Avemann, the representative <sup>of</sup> of Herzog Ernst of Gotha, not to do so, they submitted both "Eine Christ-<sup>lich-</sup>liche und treuherzige Vermahnung" and the "Einladungstrieb zum heran-<sup>-an-</sup>nahenden Grossen Abendmahl" to the Corpus Evangelicorum of the Diet. At first a faint response was given and mention <sup>was</sup> of these writings was made in the official minutes, a memorial being given; yet the matter was neglected. Then when soon thereafter the verdict of Superintendent <sup>-dent</sup> Ursinus, to whom both writings had been given for a formal Opinion, <sup>was</sup> was returned unfavorable to the project, even those who at first had <sup>spoken</sup> spoken up for the enterprise were very silent, since, as they expressed it, " <sup>von</sup> nicht praktizierlich sei". Disappointed and discouraged, von <sup>von</sup> das Werk Welz withdrew himself for a while, yet he could not long remain very silent even after such a setback. He was too ~~tho~~ thoroughly convinced <sup>of</sup> of the right and of the need of his intentions to give up his plans so readily. Therefore, still in the same year he wrote his third treatise. <sup>-tise.</sup>

This bore the title "Wiederholte, Treuhertzige, und Ernsthafftte Erinnerung und Vermahnung, die Bekehrung ungläubiger Völcker vorzu-<sup>-ander</sup>nehmen. Allen Evangelischen Obrigkeiten, Geistlichen und Jesus-liebend<sup>en</sup> Herten überschicket von Justiniano. In Amsterdam gedruckt bey Christo Cunraden, 1664." In this he sharply rebuked all those who had so <sup>-ed</sup> cowardly left him in the lurch, and with impressive words he addresse-

himself to the<sup>s</sup> evangelical Christians of all positions and rank for their support. As grounds for missions in these latter two writings<sup>he</sup> he adduces: 1) The will of God to help all men and to bring them to the knowledge of the truth. 2) The example of godly men who have amid<sup>hard-</sup> hardships extended the kingdom of Christ among non-Christians. 3) The petitions in the liturgy that God may lead the erring to the<sup>edge</sup> knowledge of the truth and enlarge His kingdom. 4) The example of the Papists who had founded the society "Congregatio de propaganda fide". To these<sup>these</sup> leading motives von Welz added a convincing refutation of the<sup>ing</sup> seeming reasons offered by orthodoxy as valid against practical mission work, as follows: a) The argument that the missionary commandment was for the<sup>the</sup> apostles only cont<sup>ra</sup>dicts the whole history of missions. Christ's<sup>words</sup> words shall not pass away: if so, why do we then let the words which He so plainly spoke before His ascension have no worth for us? b) That the Gospel may not again be preached where its light has<sup>been</sup> extinguished is proven false by Gallus, Columbanus, Boniface, etc. who show that love constrains us to redeliver the captives. c) That without a call no preacher has a right to go the heathen and that preachers who are<sup>called</sup> called have been designated to their congregations opposes the law of love<sup>which</sup> which is binding upon all Christians. God may call a man extra<sup>or</sup>ordinarie, as the history of the Church shows. d) That Christianity should be<sup>ed</sup> raised to a better position at home and then first the Gospel should be<sup>brought</sup> brought to the heathen takes too long a process, whereas instant help is<sup>ed</sup> needed. The one duty must be done and the other not left undone either, especially since so many students of theology are roaming about idle while waiting for office.

Von Welz above all urges: 1) A society shall be founded with the extension of the kingdom of Christ both within and beyond Christendom<sup>dom</sup> as its aim. This should consist of three groups, the Promotores (or

home base), the Conservatores (on the order of our mission boards), and the Missionarii themselves. 2) For actual foreign missionary <sup>work</sup> the Missionarii, besides a thorough study of the country, people, religion and language, should in particular do literary labor by making translations of the important writings and by sending home reports. 3) As mission fields he proposes the Danish, Swedish and Dutch <sup>Dutch</sup> colonies because he ascribes before all to the civil powers governing <sup>ing</sup> heathen nations a missionary duty in preeminent degree. We have but <sup>to</sup> look at the sharp <sup>conclusion</sup> of his third treatise to note the urgency with which <sup>which</sup> he presses his contemporaries to set at last to missionary operations: "So ihr Geistliche nun aus Hoffart, aus Einbildung grosser Weisheit, aus Verachtung aller wohlgemeinten Vermahnungen den Heiden keine Barmherzigkeit erweisen wollt; so ihr, sage ich, ganz nicht gesinnet seid wegen eures wollüstigen Lebens, das Reich Christi zu vermehren helfen und Busse zu thun, so komme über euch und eure Kinder und <sup>n</sup> Kideskinder all der Fluch im 109 Psalm verfasst." (For a well detailed <sup>detailed</sup> outline of von Welz' mission plans cf. esp. pp.52-61 in Grössel.)

Even the strenuous appeal of the third treatise had no practical result, due greatly to the reply to von Welz by Ursinus. So then, fully disappointed, von Welz dropped all attempts to arouse <sup>to</sup> Germany to its mission duty towards the heathen. He left Regensburg for good, going to Holland to follow up his missionary teaching at least with his own missionary action. In Zwoll he was soon thereafter ceremoniously <sup>ceremoniously</sup> consecrated as an apostle to the heathen by the pastor of the Lutheran <sup>Lutheran</sup> congregation there, his friend Friedrich Breckling. (Noteworthy here is the "Unterschiedlichen Schriften Brecklings, die Allgemeine Not dieser <sup>dieser</sup> Zeit betreffend", published by Heinrich Ammersbach. The third part bears the title: "Schriftliches Bedenken auf Justiniani Brief und Buch <sup>Buch</sup> von der neuen Jesus-liebenden Gesellschaft aufzurichten, und das

Evangelium bei den Heiden fortzupflanzen." It is dated June 22, 1664<sup>1664</sup> and defends von Welz; so too the fifth part of this book.) His baronial<sup>baronial</sup> title he laid aside, and bade farewell to his friends in an impressive<sup>- in</sup> farewell-speech to be found in "Justiniani Verleugung sein selbst" printed in Amsterdam 1664. Two years yet von Welz remained in Europe and used this time for a somewhat different attempt, namely to found a philadelphian society for the practice of Christian love. To this end he wrote his "Academia Universalis Philadelphica seu Collegium Samaritanorum". Finally he went to Surinam and Essequibo in Dutch Guina, where he soon found a lonely grave by the river Serena in the beginning of 1668. Spener in 1678 gave out the report that he was eaten by wild beasts, but this is nowhere substantiated. - Summing<sup>up</sup> up his sentiment, we may say that his idea was: a living Church must do mission work. In the essentials he had in view our modern missionary idea and system, thereby proving that in our church of the 17th. century<sup>century</sup> there were at least a few who really recognized the need of foreign mission work: so that we too can say of von Welz, "the indubitable sincerity of his purposes, the noble enthusiasm of his heart, the sacrifice<sup>sacri-</sup> of his position, his fortune, his life, for the yet unrecognized duty of the Church to missions, in<sup>-ed</sup> sure for him an abiding place of honor in missionary history." (Warneck, p.37)

Mention was made before of a negative reply to von Welz' plans<sup>by</sup> by Ursinus. This was a detailed and sharp, scholastic-theologic refutation<sup>-tion</sup> of the missionary projects by the man who was applied to by the Corpus<sup>Corpus</sup> Evangelicorum of the Reichstag at Regensburg for a formal Opinion, the otherwise excellent Superintendent of Ratisbon, Johann Heinrich Ursinus<sup>Ursinus</sup> (died 1667). At first he tried to refute von Welz orally, but when the latter wrote his "Wiederholte Erinnerung und Vermahnung", he responded<sup>the</sup> with a "Wohlgemeinte, Treuherzig und Ernsthafte Erinnerung an<sup>-redic</sup>

Justinianum, Sein Vorschlag Die Bekehrung des Heydenthums und <sup>ung</sup>Besserung des Christenthums betreffend. Gedruckt im Jahr Christi MDCLXIV." In this written statement Ursinus recognizes a relative missionary <sup>of</sup>duty of the church, and even developes many sound views in reference to the opportunity for discharging it; but he ultimately rejects the <sup>appeal</sup>appeal of Justinian as a chimera, charging him with self-conceit and with blasphemy against Moses and Aaron, reproaching him with a piety of <sup>his</sup>his own devising, a deceiving of the people, a spirit akin to that of Münzer and the Quakers, and warning against the proposed "Society of Jesus". We note his following points: 1) For Christians there lie <sup>in</sup>in the way of the conversion of the heathen such high requirements and such great obstacles that people will with difficulty be found who <sup>shall</sup>shall rise to them, e.g. as regards the heathen language, political <sup>situation,</sup>situation, etc. 2) The heathen are in a state which gives no prospect of their conversion because the devil works among them. One unified, certain form and manner in teaching must then be used, <sup>- down</sup>else the devil's kingdom will be built up among the heathen in Christ's name, <sup>- to</sup>and this is too difficult to do. 3) It is not the will of God that <sup>to</sup>to the heathen <sup>of</sup>of this age the way of salvation through Jesus Christ should be shown otherwise than by the ordinary and special means of providence, as hitherto He has willed to lead all in general and some particularly, <sup>- by,</sup>according to the measure of His grace, to the knowledge of His salvation. For: a) There is no nation under heaven so utterly <sup>savage</sup>savage that God has not left to it, along with reason, a portion of His <sup>law</sup>law by which the heart may be kindled to seek after God, as even also heaven and earth with their witness and then too the manifold chastisements of God and death itself are an admintion to all <sup>thin</sup>to this end. b) All kinds of Christians live among the heathen, whose <sup>if</sup>duty it certainly is to manifest their Christianity by word and behavior. <sup>The</sup>The <sup>Greeks were responsible for the Turks, the Danes and Swedes for the</sup>Greeks were responsible for the Turks, the Danes and Swedes for the

Greenlanders and Lapps. Where there are Christians missions are superfluous, and where there are no Christians missions are hopeless. For it is absurd and even wicked to cast the pearls of the Gospel before the dogs of the heathen. "Freilich sind alle Christen schuldig, an ihrem Orte alles zu thun, was zur Heiden Heil nach Gottes Wort thunlich ist: schuldig, ihr Licht leuchten zu lassen und einen guten Wandel zu fñhren unter den Heiden." But Ursinus urges missions as a work not of individuals, but of the congregation which is to seek where and when God gives it mission opportunities. The people of Germany have in this respect no indication from God, for they are cut off from the heathen outside and have no access to them. This they cannot change, so they must wait until God alters the circumstances. And hence, he who of his own free will, without a special call and not knowing the circumstances and conditions of the heathen, goes to them alone in trust upon God's help sins against the command: Thou shalt not tempt the Lord, thy God. For he who places himself in danger perishes there. Therefore a society as von Welz proposes, which wishes to help support God by sending out missionaries, is a work of the devil. As a result, the propositions of Justinian are unreasonable, impracticable, yea even godless!

As Heinrich Ammerbach says in his "Fortpflanzung der Jesusliebenden Gesellschaft", Ursinus could easily have been refuted by the fact that at various times and places God employed special ways and means for his ends: hence perhaps also von Welz might have been chosen as one such. As it is, the entire argumentation of Ursinus is not well understandable especially, he nowhere speaks well of the neglect of missions to the heathen. In a way it seems that personal reasons colored his arguments for the sharp attacks in the "Wiederholte Erinnerung", coming from a man aided by his strong opponent Gichtel could easily have embittered

him. - This "Erinnerung an Justinianum" of Ursinus was not long <sup>without</sup> without a reply. In the same year there appeared Breckling's "Widerlegung <sup>der</sup> der Schrift Joh. Heinr. Ursini, die er wider Justinianum, Baronem von <sup>Welz,</sup> Welz, ausgegeben." Printed in 1666 first as an Appendix to Breckling's Synagoga Satanae under the caption "Widerlegung Ursini und seines Anhangs". In this he called Ursinus a Pharisee who had attacked von Welz for two reasons: a) jealousy in that he would not grant to a non-theologian that he would do more for the glory of God than he himself, and b) use of only human reason, rejecting God's work in converting the heathen because humanly it is not understandable.

From all that was previously stated, we rightly do conclude that there was a missionary spirit within the Lutheran Church during the period of Orthodoxy. Moreover, recent intensive research has shown the same thing, that "die Orthodoxie des 17ten. Jahrhunderts nicht blos negative zur Mission stand, sondern auch ein positives Verhältniss dazu bewusst gepflegt hat, und zwar in Wort und Tat." (Dr. Fuerbringer in Lehre und Wehre, 73, p.161). The work of Dr. Heinrich Frick in Giessen, who presents really new contributions to the theme: "Die Mission und die evangelische Kirche im 17ten. Jahrhundert", is in this connection worthy of mention. It appears in the "Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift, J.50, 1923, p.7 sq. under the title: "Giessener und Frankfurter Orthodoxie über die Mission". At the close of this article Frick says that he could grasp together his researches in the following words of his previously printed book ("Die Evangelische Mission", 1922 p.129): "Man muss also auch die Orthodoxie als Missionsanregerin würdigen; auf die Quantität ihrer Leistungen kommt es nicht an. Die Gerechtigkeit verlangt, dass man zuerst einmal fragt, welche Möglichkeiten überhaupt vorlagen, Diese Möglichkeiten waren im Vergleich mit heutigen Missionsgedanken recht gering. Aber das orthodoxe Luthertum

hat innerhalb seiner Schranken keine dieser Möglichkeiten versäumt. An  
Intensität des Missionseifers kann es etwa die hessische Kirche im  
Dreissigjährigen Krieg mit den heutigen Kirchengemeinden wohl aufnehmen;  
denn im allgemeinen ist heute bei uns die Mission Sache kleiner <sup>Kreise,</sup> Kreise,  
während der grösste Teil der Kirchengemeinden ziemlich gleichgültig  
zuseht. Die Judenmission im 17ten Jahrhundert fand ein verhältnis-  
mässig viel stärkeres Echo. Wenn man die Dinge so betrachtet, dann  
ergibt sich ein anderes als das gewöhnliche Bild von dem Aufkommen  
evangelischer Missionsgedanken. Es ist nicht mehr so, als herrsche vor  
dem Pietismus eine allgemeine Finsternis und als breche erst mit ihm  
die evangelische Missionszeit an. Ein neuer Tag zieht allerdings mit  
Francke und Zinzendorf herauf; aber ihm sind andere Tage vorausgegangen,  
die auch ihre Schönheiten hatten." In conclusion, the words of Grössel  
(p.123), who had gathered all the existing testimonies of this time,  
bear greatest weight: "Das aber hat jedenfalls unsere Untersuchung  
ergeben, dass, entgegen der bisher weit verbreiteten Anschauung, auch  
im 17ten Jahrhundert bereits der Mission von vielen Seiten - selbst-  
verständlich nicht ausnahmslos - ein genügendes Verständnis und  
lebhaftes Interesse entgegengebracht wurde."

The attitude of the Lutheran Church of the 16th. and 17th.  
centuries towards missions has been shown to have been partly negative  
and partly positive. The facts of history bear out our contention that  
interest for missions was not as dead during these two centuries as  
many authors claim. For even if these attempts at and expressions of  
thought for missionary labor in the early history of our church were  
not crowned with brilliant success, they nevertheless prove that the  
real missionary idea was present, together with a will for the work,  
and not an enmity against it. Though feeble and somewhat fruitless,  
these literary and actual missionary endeavours which we have treated

of reveal germinant thoughts. This was but the natural order of growth. The blade was then scarcely above ground, and first in the 18th. century with Pietism and the Danish-Halle missions was the <sup>ear</sup> able to be seen. The full corn in the ear, however, did not show itself until the era in which we now live. Without the bed-rock foundation of the 16th. and 17th. centuries, perhaps today we would not yet have the splendid missionary enterprises so evident <sup>where,</sup> everywhere, tending to the glory of God.

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