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The Anniversary of Concordia Theological Seminary

Walter A. Maier
Chairman of the One-Hundred-and-Fiftieth Anniversary
Celebration of Concordia Theological Seminary

Concordia Theological Seminary is in this year 1996 privileged to celebrate the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of its founding. From the time the first classes were taught in the parsonage of St. Paul's Lutheran church in Fort Wayne, in October of 1846, until the present, when the seminary occupies a beautiful campus of two hundred acres near the St. Joseph River, this "school of the prophets" has served as God's instrument in preparing over four thousand men for the ministerium of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. It has also, through its graduate and extension programs, assisted in the advanced theological education of many pastors through the years. These are great blessings from, and grounds of profound gratitude to, the Lord of the church. These are many reasons for the seminary and the church to rejoice during the current celebratory period.

Many months were spent in preparation for the commemoration of this milestone in the seminary's history. An Anniversary Committee, comprised of members of the seminary and of distinguished fellow-Lutherans in Fort Wayne, was brought into being in the summer of 1994 and began the work of planning the events of the celebration. Earlier an Anniversary Thank-Offering Committee, with members from the Board of Regents, the President's Advisory Council, and the Office of Seminary Advancement, had developed a blueprint for an ingathering of gifts and pledges with a modest goal of $1,500,000. All income was earmarked for student aid. The advance phase of this appeal was so successful that this goal was already surpassed by February of 1995. It is noteworthy that the members of the faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary themselves over-subscribed the challenging amount that had been set for them ahead of time in gifts and pledges.

The Anniversary Committee in due time settled upon a series of commemorative events which were scheduled at intervals throughout the celebrative period, set as January 1 through October 31 of 1996. These events, listed with dates and descriptions of each in a color brochure entitled "150th Anniversary Celebration Events," included

scholarly lectures on the founding fathers of the seminary, choral concerts, organ recitals, symposia, "Lutheran Nights" at sporting events in the city, a special recognition of Lutheran educators, an anniversary banquet, and a city-wide Reformation Service in the Fort Wayne War-Memorial Coliseum—the culminating event of the anniversary commemoration. A calendar of the year 1996 featuring pictures and brief biographical accounts of leaders in the history of the seminary was prepared as a companion to the brochure. A short popular history of the seminary bearing the title "Shepherds of Christ's Sheep: Concordia Theological Seminary Meets a Need" was printed for distribution to churches and schools in the area and to visitors on the campus.

In a special service in the chapel at the end of January of 1996 two special contributions were dedicated. The first was a hymn which had been commissioned to mark the seminary's anniversary, with a text written by an alumnus of Concordia Theological Seminary, the Reverend Stephen Starke of Middletown, Connecticut, and a tune composed by Dr. Carl Schalk of Concordia University, River Forest, Illinois. The second was a hand-made banner featuring the symbol of the anniversary. Anniversary banners have been fluttering in the breeze from the light-poles on the campus since the beginning of the year.

Commemorative events through May of 1996 have been well received and attended. One unscheduled but happy event was the installation at the end of April of Dr. Dean O. Wenthe as the fifteenth president of Concordia Theological Seminary. Ahead lies the seminary's participation in the annual Germanfest and Black Expo of Fort Wayne and in the Great Lakes Great Commission Initiative, all in June.

The four-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther's death (on February 18, 1546) is being observed in the same year as the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the seminary. In this connection the seminary is sponsoring a tour of fourteen days July 9-22 to "Lutherland and Alpine Europe." This tour, open to Lutherans and others across the country, is well subscribed—just as have been the tours sponsored by Concordia Theological Seminary to the Holy Land and to Greece and Turkey ("In the Footsteps of St.

Paul") in alternate years.

Dr. Alvin Barry, the President of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, is scheduled to address a large anniversary banquet, which is to be held in mid-September on the evening of the Sunday on which the opening service of the academic year of 1996-1997 is to take place. Dr. Dale Meyer, the speaker of the Lutheran Hour, has been invited to preach at the Reformation Service which has been scheduled, with "Preach the Word" as its special theme, to be held in the Coliseum of Fort Wayne at the end of October.

On the same day, Reformation Sunday, each of the congregations of the synod is being invited to make mention of the sesquicentennial of Concordia Theological Seminary, to pray God to bless richly its future service to the church, and to participate in a thankoffering to be dedicated to the financial aid of its students. These requests are the results of a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the synodical convention held in St. Louis in July of 1995. The complete text of Resolution 5-01 of the Fifty-Ninth Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod is appended to these paragraphs. The faculty and staff of the seminary are exceedingly grateful to the total membership of the church for all of the expressions of support which they have received heretofore and continue to receive as, looking to the Lord for wisdom and strength, they seek to carry on the work of preparing faithful and able ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ for the congregations of the synod and its missions. Soli Deo Gloria!

Resolution 5-01 of the Fifty-Ninth Regular Convention
of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod
"To Give Thanks for Concordia Theological Seminary
as It Celebrates Its One-Hundred-and-Fiftieth
Anniversary in 1996"

Whereas, God willing, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana, will in 1996 celebrate one hundred fifty years of its existence and service in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod; and

Whereas during this period the seminary has been the Lord's instrument in training more than four thousand pastors for ministry in the synod and has also furthered the theological education of many pastors through its graduate and extension programs; and

Whereas throughout its history the seminary has, under God, maintained without interruption a steadfastness in the teaching of the doctrine set forth in the Holy Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions; and

Whereas in recent years, as in its early history, the seminary with characteristic missionary zeal has shown a flexibility in the mode of delivery of theological training in order to meet the needs of, and challenges to, the church; and

Whereas the seminary has through the years and under the blessing of the Lord enjoyed the presence on its campus of enthusiastic, consecrated students and the service of dedicated, capable presidents, professors, administrators, and staff persons who furthered the seminary's mission of preparing pastors to "Preach the Word" (the seminary's motto); and

Whereas the seminary by God's goodness has through the years received the faithful prayers and financial support of the members of the synod's congregations and has educated many students from their families; and

Whereas the seminary will celebrate its sesquicentennial during the months of the year 1996 and will at that time seek to complete an ingathering of funds and pledges for student aid in a 150th Anniversary "Preach the Word" Thank Offering (the reception of gifts is already underway); therefore be it

Resolved that the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod assembled in its fifty-ninth convention in St. Louis thank the Lord of the church for His grace in: giving Concordia Theological Seminary to the synod for one hundred fifty years; providing more than four thousand graduates from this seminary to serve as pastors in the synod since the time of the seminary's founding in 1846; enabling the seminary to maintain scriptural and confessional orthodoxy in its theological programs, while pioneering in the delivery of alternate

route theological education to certain groups in the field; providing the seminary with faithful, dedicated, capable leadership, faculties, and service personnel for the achievement of its mission of preparing pastors to "Preach and Word"; and opening the hearts of the people of the church to furnish substantial prayer and financial support of the seminary and its program, and to encourage likely men to study for the ministry; and be it further

Resolved that the synod encourage its congregations to take note of the seminary's 150th anniversary celebration during a worship service on Reformation Sunday, 1996, at which thanks is given to God for His grace in establishing Concordia Theological Seminary, maintaining it for one hundred fifty years, and blessing the church through the students it has prepared for pastoral service in the synod; and be it further

Resolved that congregational members also be invited on this day to contribute a gift to the seminary for a student aid endowment, as part of a second one million five hundred dollar phase of its 150th Anniversary Thank Offering; and be it finally

Resolved that the synod urge all in the church to pray the rich and abiding blessing of Almighty God upon Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana, its faculty, administration, staff, students, and programs of instruction, that the seminary may continue to provide the church with many able ministers of the New Testament for service in this country and in mission fields overseas through the years to come.

Books Received

Mary A. Kassian. *The Feminist Gospel: The Movement to Unite Feminism with the Church.* Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1992. xi + 287 pages. Paperback. $11.95.

Robert L. Thomas. *Revelation: An Exegetical Commentary.* Chicago: Moody Press, 1992. xxvii + 524 pages. Hardback. $28.99.

David R. Miller. *Breaking Free: Rescuing Families from the Clutches of Legalism.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 176 pages. Paperback.

John Ronsvalle and Sylvia Ronsvalle. *The Poor Have Faces: Loving Your Neighbor in the 21st Century.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 156 pages. Paperback.

A. Andrew Das. *Baptized into God's Family: The Doctrine of Infant Baptism for Today.* Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1991. 136 pages. Paperback. $7.99.

Danna Nolan Fewell, editor. *Reading Between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible.* Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 285 pages. Paperback. $21.99.

J. van Oort and U. Wickert, editors. *Christliche Exegese zwischen Nicaea und Chalcedon.* Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1992. 226 pages. Paperback.

T. H. L. Parker. *Calvin's Preaching.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. xi + 202 pages. Paperback. $22.99.

William F. Keesecker, editor. *A Calvin Treasury.* Second edition. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1963; 1992. 206 pages. Paperback. $7.99.

C. Everett Koop and Timothy Johnson. *Let's Talk: An Honest Conversation on Critical Issues: Abortion, Euthanasia, AIDS, Health Care.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992. 138 pages. Paperback.

Murray J. Harris. *Jesus as God: The New Testament Use of* **Theos** *in Reference to Jesus.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 379 pages. Hardback.

Douglas D. Webster. *Selling Jesus: What's Wrong with Marketing the Church.* Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1992. 165 pages. Paperback. $9.99.

Jack Balswick. *Men at the Crossroads: Beyond Traditional Roles and Modern Options.* Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1992. 218 pages. Paperback. $9.99.

Quentin J. Schultze. *Redeeming Television: How TV Changes Christians—How Christians Can Change TV.* Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1992. 198 pages. Paperback. $8.99.

Joel Marcus. *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. xv + 240 pages. Hardback. $25.00.

Richard Robert Osmer. *Teaching for Faith: A Guide for Teachers of Adult Classes.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. 240 pages. Paperback. $13.99.

David L. Larsen. *The Evangelism Mandate: Recovering the Centrality of Gospel Preaching.* Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway Books, 1992. x + 256 pages. Paperback.

Concordia Theological Seminary: Reflections on Its One-Hundred-and-Fiftieth Anniversary at the Threshold of the Third Millennium

Dean O. Wenthe

Concordia Theological Seminary celebrates its one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of service to Christ with thanksgiving.

We are thankful to the Triune God. His presence and providence have blessed. His grace and goodness in Christ have sustained and nourished.

We are thankful to God's people, the church. Those baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit have supported the seminary with their prayers and gifts. Most importantly of all, they have sent their sons to study and to prepare for the office of the holy ministry.

We are thankful for our alumni. The many faithful pastors who have gone forth to proclaim the crucified Christ from the pulpit, in homes, on the streets, at the bedsides, and before the graves of the blessed departed are God's gifts to the church.

From the divine perspective of the cross, the meaningful events of the last one-hundred-and-fifty years have not been the great achievements of science and technology nor the tragedies of a civil and two world wars.

No, from the vantage point of eternity, the events of lasting significance are the hundreds and thousands of baptisms which have occurred in parishes large and small, the hundreds and thousands of times that the living voice of Jesus (*viva vox Jesu*) has been heard as the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures were proclaimed, and the hundreds and thousands of times that contrite lips have received the very body and blood of Jesus in, with, and under the sacred elements of bread and wine.

To be "stewards of these mysteries" (οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ) is a high and holy calling (1 Corinthians 4:1). It is Christ's call to give His presence to His people. The verbal and sacramental presence of Christ is what the faithful pastor offers every man and woman. Every activity of the seminary flows from this central

conviction and confession.

As we look at God's world the truly cosmic events are not the movements of nations about this earth or into outer space. The most enduring and encompassing event of all is summarized in this: "There is joy in heaven (Χαρὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ) over one sinner who repents" (Luke 15:7).

The foundational character of this passage grounds the seminary as it reflects on a century and a half of history and prepares to enter the third millennium. The Blessed and Holy Trinity rejoices over the single sinner who repents! This fact makes each of us infinitely significant. It makes the holy ministry a calling which is crucial for human welfare now and forever.

Like Isaiah (Isaiah 6), God continues to call men with unclean lips to go forth for Him. Men who, in contrition, have their lips purified by the coals of fire from God's most Holy Place (Isaiah 6:6). The atonement of Christ, prefigured in the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16), reveals the very heart of the heavenly Father. At such great price, He underscores our significance. It is why the seminary is so important. Whether our culture and world perceive it or not, the church and its seminaries are more crucial for the future than Wall Street or Washington.

This needs to be said! Not a few commentators have forecast the end of a Christian culture. As in previous epochs, such predictions do not surprise God's people. Pharaoh (Exodus 1 and 2) and Herod (Matthew 2:13-17) had long ago used all their power to shape a future devoid of God's people. The church's future and the seminary's, no less than Israel's and Joseph's and Mary's, is secure in Christ.

This does not mean, however, that the church and seminary will live triumphantly. Our calling is under the cross. It is also clear that for the foreseeable future that calling will be lived out in a context which is fluid and dynamic. The changes in the cultures of North America and the world will press all Christians to address fundamental questions: Who are we? What are we about? What is changeable and what must remain the same in our Christian calling?

These questions are legitimate. To ignore them is to risk a loss of identity. To avoid them is to jeopardize our ability to communicate Christ in a meaningful manner to our world.

A recent book by Diogenes Allen, *Christian Belief in a Postmodern World: The Full Wealth of Conviction*,[1] seeks to articulate the faith afresh for our context. While the Lutheran reader will differ with some of its assumptions and positions, Allen addresses our cultural context with insight, sensitivity, and knowledge.

Seminaries should be at the center of this effort to confess Christ in a faithful and fresh manner to our generation. It is here that the minds and the hearts of future pastors are formed. Their understanding of Sacred Scripture, the creeds, and confessions, as well as the *ethos* and practice of the church, is shaped here.

In fact, many Christian traditions have become increasingly aware of the strategic position which seminaries occupy. If they are to confess adequately who they are at the beginning of the third millennium, the compelling reasons for such a confession must be taught at the seminaries.

This search for a means to assess how well a seminary is doing has produced a significant literature. A good summary of this quest with working solutions and an extensive bibliography is in the Association of Theological Schools Journal entitled, "The Good Theological School."[2] This journal addresses these key questions:

> (1.) What Is the Character of Curriculum, Formation, and Cultivation of Ministerial Leadership in the Good Theological School?
>
> (2.) What Is the Character of Teaching, Learning, and the Scholarly Task in the Good Theological School?
>
> (3.) What Is the Character of the Institutional Resources Needed for the Good Theological School?
>
> (4.) What Is the Character of Administration and Governance in the Good Theological School?

Each of these questions is pertinent for Concordia Theological Seminary. At the same time, as these questions press us for a clear

response, we recognize that they are now new.

From Paul's contest with the pseudo-apostles (2 Corinthians 11) to his admonitions to Timothy and Titus, the question of the character of Christ's servants is inherent in our fallen condition and that of the world around us. God's people and particularly the called and ordained pastors must be *in*, but not *of* this world.

If the "pastoral" epistles already raise and address the question, the writings of the early church attest its ongoing pertinence. Ignatius of Antioch, writing to Polycarp around 110 A.D., urges:

> I exhort you to press forward on your course, in the grace wherewith you are endued, and to exhort all to gain salvation. Vindicate your office with all diligence, both of the flesh and spirit. Care for unity, for there is nothing better. Help all, as the Lord also helped you; suffer all in love, as indeed you do. Be diligent with unceasing prayer. Entreat for wisdom greater than you have, be watchful and keep the spirit from slumbering. Speak to each individually after the manner of God.[3]

From this early engagement to such recent works as Eugene H. Petersen's *Working the Angles: The Shape of Pastoral Integrity*,[4] the need for a pastor with integrity and authenticity continues. Because that need continues, the need for "good" theological schools continues.

Concordia Theological Seminary is a "good" theological school. Its goodness, however, does not rest in a treasury of meritorious achievements but in the treasure at the center of its identity.

> Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to His abundant mercy has begotten us again in a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that does not fade away (εἰς κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀμάραντον), reserved in heaven for you, who are kept by the power of God through faith for salvation ready to be revealed in the last time. . . . Though now you do not see Him, yet believing, you rejoice with joy

> inexpressible and full of glory, receiving the end of your faith—the salvation of your souls. (1 Peter 1:3-9)

The resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead (1 Peter 1:3) grounds and informs every aspect of the seminary's life. This means that we will and should remain attentive to the things of God: His worship, His presence, His peace, His guidance.

Insightful thinkers in the academy recognize this need for a seminary to keep God at the center. One of the most stimulating and rigorously analytical reviews of contemporary theological education is David H. Kelsey's *To Understand God Truly: What Is Theological about a Theological School?*[5] After surveying various visions for seminary education—scholarly profession, social activist, manager-leader, therapist—Kelsey stresses that the study of God must be central if a school is to remain theological. It sounds self-evident. It is often neglected. Kelsey writes:

> More seriously, theological schooling defined and organized as preparation for filling a set of ministerial functions unavoidably simply omits to cultivate in future leaders the *conceptual capacities they need in order to understand and to engage in those functions as theological practices*, that is, as practices requiring critical self-reflection about the truth and Christian adequacy of what is actually said and done in the congregations' current engagement in the practices that constitute them *as* Christian congregations.
>
> . . . My proposal has been that a theological school is a group of persons whose overarching end *is to understand God more truly.*[6] [emphasis mine]

To understand God more truly is to know Christ. At the core and the very center of Concordia Theological Seminary is Christology. Jesus of Nazareth is the One into whom we have been baptized and with whom we are united (Romans 6:1-4).

He it is to whom we daily listen in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures. It is His body and blood that we receive at the seminary's altar. Apart from Him there is no "good" theological school. There is no clear thinking. There is no future.

In Him there is life that is molded and shaped by the holy vocation to be a disciple. Such a pastor, so attentive to Christ and the holy things of God, is also attentive to Christ's people.

How will such men look to God's people? The following passage captures the concrete contours of a pastor who cares.

> One's heart goes back from this eager, restless, ambitious age to the former days, and recalls with fond recollection the pastor of his youth, who had lived all his ministry in one place, and was buried where he was ordained—who had baptized a child, and admitted her to the sacrament, and married her and baptized her children—who knew all the ins and outs of his people's character, and carried family history for generations in his head—who was ever thinking of his people, watching over them, visiting their homes, till his familiar figure on the street linked together the past and the present, and heaven and earth, and opened a treasure house of sacred memories. . . .[7]

For the past one-hundred-and-fifty years and into the third millennium, this is the kind of pastor Concordia Theological Seminary, under the cross and by God's grace, will form for service. A servant of Christ who is spiritual, knowledgeable, caring, and compassionate will daily turn to Christ. He will also turn to His people.

In the coming issues of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* I will explore more completely four aspects of the pastoral office: integrity of spirit, clarity of mind, charity of heart, and centrality of mission.

The following piece is an introductory overview of these themes with a present description of how Concordia Theological Seminary understands its calling to serve Christ and His church.

Christ's Life: The Heart of the Seminary

Life versus death. The contest is ancient. The contest is modern. The contest involves each of us.

We live in a culture increasingly marked by the dominance of

death. The unborn innocents, the elderly frail, the youthful strong: death by violence ends their life.

In such a culture of death, the resurrection of Christ creates a community of life. Each Sunday's worship echoes Christ's victory over death, so the church rejoices in its hymnody: "Come you faithful raise the strain, Of triumphant gladness! God has brought His israel into joy from sadness" (*Lutheran Worship* 141, stanza 1a).

At Concordia Theological Seminary, Christ's victory over sin, Satan, and death is the center of our life together throughout the year. Christ's life means life for us. It is the basis of our worship. It is the reason for our study. It fills us with confidence as we seek to serve the church in faithful and fresh ways.

At the center of our calling is the formation of confessional and compassionate pastors. Men who confess Christ's life and compassionately carry it to a dying world in baptismal water, eucharistic bread and wine, and the life-giving word of Christ—the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures: they are the heart of the seminary.

How can that heart beat with the vitality of Christ's resurrection? In every passing age, the church is called to this central question: how can we receive and live the abundance life which Christ has bestowed in His resurrection?

Under God's grace and dependent on Christ's resurrection presence, Concordia Theological Seminary is called to send forth servants of Christ who have been shaped by Him, to be His shepherds, through worship, study, and life together.

What will such a graduate look like? They will be very different in background, hobbies, and so forth, as varied as the people whom they will serve. But under God's grace, they will also be recognized by four traits: (1.) integrity of the spirit, (2.) clarity of mind, (3.) charity of heart, and (4.) centrality of mission.

Integrity of Spirit

The future pastor must never view his calling as only a set of tasks or duties. As calendars become congested, a student, pastor, or professor can become so busy in our societal structure that his

spirit is not nourished. As one pastor has written: "So many conferences are concerned with image, with statistics, with schedules that there is no time for matters of God, for solace for the soul."

Worship of and devotion to the Holy Trinity nourish the penitent soul seeking mercy in the sacred blood of Christ's cross. The undershepherds must daily receive forgiveness, strength, and guidance from the Good Shepherd. The chapel is where the life of Christ is received and confessed. Men defined by baptism, gospel, and eucharist have souls that can feed and comfort.

Clarity of Mind

Especially in our culture, a future pastor is called to rigorous and critical reflection. No platitudes or slogans will suffice.

The prophetic and apostolic Scriptures are his delight. The creeds and confessions display the heart of Sacred Scripture. In a word, a pastor is called to know the mind of the church which, defined by the Scriptures, is the mind of Christ.

To bring Christ to this world also calls for a rigorous analysis of our culture's assumptions and commitments. To lead people through the decaying structures of this age to the life of Christ is a divine calling. To behold God clearly and to see this world *as it is* requires the best of our intellect.

Charity of Heart

But clarity of mind must be joined to charity of heart. Christ's compassion marks the caring pastor. His knowledge of God and people is not simply academic. It is in the service of Christ's mission. The sheep will sense that his interest and compassion are not manipulative or self-serving but solely in the service of bringing the person to Christ's gracious presence and word.

They will know that his critique of every idolatry—even comfortable religiosity—is to bring peace in Christ in an age that would keep them in frenzied moralism.

Centrality of Mission

These traits entail a fourth: the centrality of mission. Christ's life

is light in a dark and dying world. The pastor continually displays that light and life before the lost. With the best of soul and mind and heart, he longs to see every knee bow before the cross and join the saints in Christ's presence for eternity.

Conclusion

Integrity of spirit, clarity of mind, charity of heart, and centrality of mission: who can combine them? Only Christ. And Christ bestows them on His faithful servants. Always under the cross and in the frailty of our flesh, but His presence is there. In baptism we were united with Him. In Sacred Scripture we hear His voice. In bread and wine He gives His body and blood. All formation is finally God's gift and work.

The church has always prayed for pastors like this. John Gerhard, a great Lutheran father, in his *Daily Exercise of Piety* (1629), offers a prayer which petitions for just such men of God. Pray with me that God would use the seminary so to supply the church.

> Grant, I ask, to Your ministers the necessary knowledge and pious diligence in all doing, that they first learn from You before presuming to teach others (James 3:1). Govern and enlighten their hearts by Your Spirit so that in the place of God they preach nothing other than God's word; they shepherd the flock committed unto them (1 Peter 5:2), purchased, and redeemed by Your precious blood (Acts 20:28), out of true and sincere love and not out of covetousness or ambition; they shepherd the flock in thought, word, and deed; they shepherd by the prayer of their soul, by the exhortation of the word, and by example; so that they follow in the footsteps of the one to whom the care of the Lord's flock was commended three times (John 21:15). Rouse them that they keep watch over the souls entrusted to them, since they shall give serious account for them in the severe examination of the last judgment (Hebrews 13:17). Whatever they advise in the preaching of the holy word, may they first be diligent in this matter in their own lives, lest being sluggish to work themselves, they labor in vain to arouse others. To whatever good works they inflame others, may

they themselves first be zealous in these works by the fervor of the Spirit. Before they resound with words of exhortation, may they first proclaim by their works whatever they are about to speak.

Send forth into your harvest faithful workers (Matthew 9:38), so that they may gather a great harvest of saints. Open the hearts of the hearers, so that they may receive the seeds of the word with the holy obedience of faith (Acts 16:14). Grant to them Your grace, so that they may guard the holy deposit of the word with a pure heart, and with patience bring forth abundant fruit (Luke 8:15).

The Endnotes

1. Diogenes Allen, *Christian Belief in a Postmodern World: The Full Wealth of Conviction* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1989).

2. "The Good Theological School," *Theological Education*, Volume XXX, No. 2, Spring 1994.

3. Philip L. Culbertson and Arthur Bradford Shippee, editors, *The Pastor: Readings from the Patristic Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 20.

4. Eugene H. Petersen, *Working the Angles: The Shape of Pastoral Integrity* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987).

5. David H. Kelsey, *To Understand God Truly: What Is Theological about a Theological School?* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992).

6. Kelsey, 163.

7. John Watson, quoted in John W. Doberstein, *Minister's Prayer Book* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 210-211.

Celebrating Our Heritage

Cameron A. MacKenzie

In August of 1846 eleven weary travelers arrived in Fort Wayne, Indiana, from Germany. They had been sent by Wilhelm Loehe, pastor of the Lutheran church in Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, to receive training for the holy ministry and to assist in the great work of gathering the German immigrants into Lutheran churches in America. In Fort Wayne they were met by Wilhelm Sihler, the pastor of the Lutheran church there and Loehe's partner in this undertaking. Sihler welcomed the new arrivals, arranged for their housing, and, along with a teacher who had accompanied them, Karl Röbbelen, soon began to instruct them in his own parsonage. A new Lutheran seminary had begun.

Today, one-hundred-and-fifty years later, the institution they began is celebrating its founding and giving thanks to God for preserving it for so many years. To that end, this issue of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* includes two articles devoted to two of the central figures responsible for establishing Concordia Theological Seminary, F. C. D. Wyneken and Wilhelm Loehe. The former not only began to train men for the ministry in Fort Wayne even before the seminary officially began but even more importantly aroused the German Lutherans to the significance of the work here in the American wilderness and encouraged many to support it. Among those who were moved to action by Wyneken's reports on the dismal situation of Lutherans in America was Wilhelm Loehe, who proceeded to recruit and train men himself for the work in America and then took the initiative in establishing a seminary right where the work was being done.

Of course, there were others who took part in this pioneering work. At a future time, we hope, articles on Wilhelm Sihler, the seminary's first president, and August Crämer, professor at the school from 1850 to 1891, will also appear. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the reader will find the two articles presented in this issue on Wyneken and Loehe interesting and perhaps even inspiring as Concordia Theological Seminary celebrates its one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary.

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Craig A. Evans. *Jesus*. Bibliographies, No. 5. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 152 pages. Paperback.

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F. C. D. Wyneken: Motivator for the Mission

Norman J. Threinen

What does Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken have to do with Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne? Unlike Wilhelm Loehe, he was not among those in Germany who resolved to establish a missionary seminary in the new world for the training of pastors in America. He was not among those who collected money and books for its founding. Unlike Wilhelm Sihler, he was not the person who got this seminary off the ground and then constituted part of the initial faculty of the seminary. Indeed, Wyneken was not even the pastor in Fort Wayne any more when the seminary opened in 1846. Nor was he a founding member of the Missouri Synod in 1847 when it took steps to take over the seminary in Fort Wayne. Yet, as Concordia Theological Seminary has acknowledged in making him the focus of a special sesquicentennial lecture, Wyneken was one of the authentic founding fathers. He was a founding father because he began an educational venture in Fort Wayne on which this seminary could later build. But beyond that fledgling educational venture, he is worthy of that honor for much broader reasons.

Where does Friedrich Wyneken fit into the story of Concordia Theological Seminary? If Wilhelm Loehe can be called "Father from Afar"[1] to this seminary, Wyneken can perhaps best be described as the "Motivator for the Mission" of which this seminary was a very important component in the mid-nineteenth century. For behind Loehe, who spearheaded a mission effort among Lutherans in Germany which resulted in the formation of this seminary stood the activist figure of Friedrich Wyneken. Behind Sihler who did much of the on-site work of establishing this seminary and who directed it during its formative years stood the church-political figure of Friedrich Wyneken. It is appropriate, therefore, that the second of the special lectures designed to mark the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne should have had its focus on Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken.

I.

Friedrich Wyneken was born the son of a Lutheran pastor, on May 13, 1810, in Verden in the Kingdom of Hanover. While

Friedrich was still a young boy his father died leaving his mother to care for the family of eleven children. Somehow she was able to have all of her six sons complete university, three of them as lawyers and three of them as pastors. After Friedrich Wyneken had completed his *Gymnasium* in Verden, he went on to study theology first in Goettingen (1827) and then in Halle (1828-1830). We are ignorant of the nature of the religious upbringing which he had at home, but during his two and a half years of study in Halle, Wyneken was influenced toward positive religion by the professor of theology, Friedrich Tholuck (1799-1877), a leading representative of the German Awakening of the nineteenth century.

Following his university experience, Wyneken was a private tutor for four years in the von Henfstengel home in Leesum near Bremen. These were years of spiritual struggle during which he learned to know and appreciate the Holy Scriptures, largely through von Henfstengel, an awakened pastor.[2] Later he commented that he had so little knowledge of the Scriptures when he became a tutor that he began his instruction in biblical history with an exposition of the Book of Maccabees. For a brief period he was the rector of a Latin school in Bremenvoerde and then for another two years was a private tutor, during which time he accompanied his young charge to Italy.

The Awakening in nineteenth-century Germany was marked by an interest in missions, and such an interest was also a characteristic of Wyneken during this time. When the Stade Bible and Mission Society was formed in 1832, several members of Wyneken's family became active participants. Wyneken himself was probably prevented from being directly involved by his tutoring commitments. He had, however, avidly read mission periodicals to which von Henfstengel subscribed and these periodicals alerted him to the great need for pastors in America to gather the scattered German immigrants into congregations.[3] Moved by the desperate conditions depicted in these mission reports about scattered Germans in North America, Wyneken decided to volunteer his energies to being a missionary-pastor on the American frontier. It was not love for adventure nor love for the Saviour or the scattered Germans in America that moved him. Rather, as he later said, "I went contrary

to my will and after great conflicts, from a sense of duty, driven in, and by, my conscience."[4] It was a motivation which one might expect from someone caught up in the spirit of the Awakening.

As soon as he was released from his responsibilities as a tutor, Wyneken took the examination for ministerial candidates and was ordained in Stade on May 8, 1837, along with a fellow candidate of theology, E. W. Wolff. Later that year, Wyneken and Wolff left Germany "sent with the best wishes of the [Stade] Bible and Mission Society."[5] By courtesy of an "awakened" ship-captain Stuerje, the pair were given free passage to Baltimore.

As already indicated, Wyneken was, at this stage, an "awakened" Christian and not yet a confessional Lutheran. Indeed, a fellow Hanoverian pastor later described him as "a fiery zealot against all narrow churchliness"[6] at this time. Thus, he had no difficulty working cooperatively with the Reformed and others who shared his awakening interests. The Stade Bible and Mission Society, with which he and his family were associated, functioned in a similar way. It was officially Lutheran but it had, from the beginning, financially supported the missions of the Reformed Barmen Society and the Moravian mission in Greenland. In 1836 it had joined with several other local (Lutheran and Reformed) mission societies to form the non-confessional North German Mission Society.[7] Later, in Bremen, the port from which Wyneken and Wolff departed Germany, Gottfried Treviranus, the Reformed pastor of St. Martin's Church, befriended them and provided financial help for their journey.[8] Then, when he arrived in Baltimore early in 1838, Johann Heaesbaert with whom he became acquainted was serving a mixed congregation of Reformed and Lutherans. And as Wyneken was sent out by the mission committee of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, it was not with instructions to gather scattered Lutherans but rather to gather scattered German *Protestants*.[9]

II.

Heaesbaert became ill shortly after the arrival of Wyneken and Wolff; so Wyneken remained for a time to shepherd the Baltimore congregation. After Heaesbaert recovered, Wyneken was commissioned by the Pennsylvania Ministerium to serve as a

missionary-pastor in Indiana. By the last week in September Wyneken had arrived in Fort Wayne, where Jesse Hoover had laboured for two years. Hoover had started congregations in Fort Wayne and Friedheim but on May 23, 1838, he had died leaving these congregations without a pastor. Wyneken received and accepted a call to serve these congregations, and Fort Wayne became his base of operation as he travelled extensively throughout the surrounding territory. His experiences as a frontier missionary-pastor convinced Wyneken that many more men were needed for the formidable task. He first appealed to the General Synod for more manpower. If the General Synod could not provide more missionaries, he was convinced that an appeal to Germany, particularly to the mission societies, would provide them.[10] Wyneken's travel experiences in the area of Fort Wayne formed the basis for reports and pleas for help which he now sent back to Germany.

His pleas were not without results. On November 15, 1839, a Society for Protestant Germans came into being in Bremen with auxiliary societies founded between 1840 and 1843 in Stade, Frankfurt, Hanau, Kiel, and Hamburg. In 1840 this Bremen Society sent two missionaries to America, and in 1842 five more followed.

Around the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 Wyneken wrote what appears to have been an early version of his famous *Distress of the German Lutherans in North America*. He sent it to the Stade Mission Society, and it was published in one of the first issues of its mission periodical near the beginning of 1840.[11] In this document Wyneken appealed in very graphic form to his fellow Lutherans in Germany for pastors to gather the scattered Germans on the American frontier. By the time he wrote it Wyneken had begun to move in the direction of becoming a confessional Lutheran. He later related that in his early reports "concerning the shocking spiritual need of the Germans in America" he hoped to motivate the formation of mission societies "which would send over preachers who believe in general to help alleviate the need."[12] But his experiences on the frontier had helped him recognize that with "believing" preachers the damage could not be addressed "at its root."[13] He now was anxious to have "Lutheran" missionaries come

to bring the word of God to his German countrymen in America.

One of the men in Germany who read Wyneken's appeal was Wilhelm Loehe. It happened that late in 1840 Loehe was visiting Karl von Raumer, one of his former professors at the University of Erlangen who was a leader of the Awakening in Erlangen. In von Raumer's home Loehe read Wyneken's appeal in the Stade Mission Society's periodical and was motivated by it to do something to support the effort to provide pastors for the American frontier. The heart of his response at this point was simply to gather funds for this mission effort but, to reach a wider audience, Loehe prepared an article for publication in the *Sonntagsblatt* edited by his friend Johann Wucherer.[14] He also provided information to his congregation and prayed for the venture.[15]

Yet when money began to come in, Loehe and Wucherer were unsure where they should direct it. They had no inclination to establish their own mission society which might use it to send pastors. One possibility was to send it to the Stade Mission Society which had printed Wyneken's appeal in the first place. Another possibility was to send it to the Dresden Society for North America. While they were trying to decide, Adam Ernst and later Georg Burger, two tradesmen without any university background, offered themselves for service on the American frontier. Loehe and Wucherer founded the Neuendettelsau Society for Home and Foreign Missions, and a new mission venture for work among scattered Germans in America was born.

III.

Although Wyneken was aware of some results from his pleas for help, he likely was not aware of what was going on in Bavaria. In any case, he felt that he needed to return to Germany to press for more response. The General Synod approved sending him to Germany already in 1840, but Wyneken did not feel he could leave his parish shepherdless. The opportunity to go to Germany came in 1841, when the Stade Mission Society sent G. Jensen to cover Wyneken's pastoral responsibilities. Since Wyneken was also suffering from a throat ailment for which he needed medical treatment in Germany, the timing was fortuitous.

In October of 1841 Wyneken and his young wife, Maria Sophie nee Buuck, set sail for Germany. Upon his arrival Wyneken met with the Bremen Society which was involved in preparing and sending missionaries for America. He also met with several confessional Lutherans in Germany: Ludwig Kraussold and Karl von Raumer in Erlangen; Georg Philipp Edward Huschke, President of the *Oberkirchenkollegium* of the Old Lutherans, in Breslau; Johannes Benjamin Trautmann of the Dresden Mission Society; Franz Delitzsch in Leipzig; and a number of others in Berlin. He also met, for the first time, Wilhelm Loehe from whom he probably learned of the work that was under way in Bavaria on behalf of the scattered Germans in America. Loehe's comment on their meeting was: "We became very fond of him and he of us."[16]

Returning to Lesum, the home of his family in Germany, on May 22, 1842, Wyneken learned that a group of confessional Lutheran pastors and candidates were about to meet in Hanover for a "Pentecost Conference." The conference had been organized by Ludwig Adolf Petri, the director of the preachers' seminary in Hanover. Weary from his travels and suffering from stress because his wife was about to give birth to their first child, Wyneken nevertheless wrote a letter to Petri for the participants in the conference. On Wednesday, May 25, 1842, this letter was read during the noon meal to the fifty-two pastors and candidates of theology attending the conference. The style and content of the letter was similar to Wyneken's earlier appeal. "The need of the church in America . . . should compel every preacher, indeed anyone who takes the church seriously, to do everything he can to help the church in America," wrote Wyneken. He called for the whole Lutheran Church in Germany to come together cooperatively to carry out a plan which would provide pastors who would gather congregations in America through lively preaching and even found synods in America to exercise discipline in doctrine and life. It was a pitch which he had also made in his earlier contacts in Breslau, Berlin, Saxony, and Bavaria.[17] Moved by Wyneken's letter, the gathered assembly of preachers asked Petri to get together with Wyneken to prepare an appeal for the entire German-speaking church and, through G. Ch. Adolf von Harless, G. P. Eduard Huschke, and J. B. Trautmann, to establish contact with the

Lutherans in Bavaria, Silesia and Saxony to undertake such a joint venture.[18]

Wyneken's letter to the pastors and candidates at the Pentecost Conference was indicative of his ability to think organizationally. A year earlier, before leaving America, Wyneken had written to F. Schmidt, the editor of *Die Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, indicating what he thought was needed in America. "I desire with the help of God to have six or eight pastors come to America," he wrote, "who are to parcel out a section of the country among themselves. A superintendent is to be at the head of all, who is to visit each circuit and who should be elected for a period of about four years. The preachers ought to visit their circuits first without attempting to organize the people into congregations. After some time, however, this ought to be done." What was to be their confessional orientation? Still in America before visiting Germany, it is interesting to note that in 1841 Wyneken did not feel that they needed to be Lutheran. "As a confessional basis the Augsburg Confession or, where the people are Reformed, a Reformed confession should serve," he had written.[19]

Wyneken sojourned in Germany for another year after the Pentecost Conference, taking care of his medical needs and raising the sights of German Lutherans to the compelling need for pastors in America. In his lectures he gave vivid descriptions especially of the activities of the Methodists who were influencing many Lutherans, including members of the Synod of the West to which Wyneken and his congregation in Fort Wayne belonged. Friedrich Lochner, who later came to America and became a pastor in the Missouri Synod, experienced one of Wyneken's lectures. "The most brilliant part of his lecture was his description of a camp meeting. When he reached the moment when the individuals are invited to come to the mourners' bench, Wyneken suddenly approached those in the audience who were sitting or standing immediately in front of him, seized their hands, and asked them, 'Don't you, too, want to be converted?'"[20]

After Wyneken returned to America in May of 1843, Lutheran leaders in Germany made some efforts to follow through on his plan. On September 7-8, 1843, a General Conference of Members of the

Evangelical Lutheran Church was held in Leipzig under the leadership of Andreas J. Rudelbach. Beyond this, however, not a great deal seemed to have been done cooperatively in Germany in a formal way. Ultimately Loehe and Wucherer became the key people in Germany for carrying out the front-line work of preparing men for the American mission field. Adam Ernst and Georg Burger were sent to America already in 1842. Six more men were sent two years later. Loehe and Wucherer published a monthly periodical in 1843 to publicize the efforts on behalf of the scattered Germans in America. Called *Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika*, it enlisted the help of others such as Councilor Karl von Maltzen of Mecklenburg.

Petri also did what he could to advance the cause. Loehe's men made their way through Hanover where they were provided with hospitality and financial support for their journey. In addition, by 1846 Petri had motivated seven fully-trained candidates to offer themselves for the North American mission field.[21]

IV.

On his return to Germany in 1841 various people recognized that Wyneken had become more of a confessional Lutheran. In Bremen he had met with Johann Hinrich Wichern in whose "Rauhaus" the missionaries to America of the Bremen Society for Protestant Germans were being trained. His meeting did not go well because of what Wichern perceived to be Wyneken's "Lutheran strictness" and because Wyneken did not trust Wichern's "confessional soundness."[22] Petri also took note of the change in Wyneken. In a letter to his friend Luehr, Petri commented that Wyneken had returned "as a resolute Lutheran and now must help to lead also those here to clarity and decisiveness."[23] In reality, as he met advocates of the growing Lutheran confessionalism in Germany, Wyneken was also strengthened in his Lutheran confessionalism. Thus, when he returned to America, he exhibited a strong inclination to live his confessionalism in his pastoral practice.

Soon after he arrived in Fort Wayne, Wyneken had joined the (Lutheran) Synod of the West of which his predecessor had become a charter member when it was organized in Louisville, Kentucky, in

1835. This synod covered the territory of Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, and part of Ohio and in 1841 became a member of the General Synod. As an "awakened" pastor rather than a confessional Lutheran, Wyneken initially had little difficulty with the open ecumenical stance and weak adherence to Lutheran doctrine and practice of the Synod of the West.[24] Upon his return to America from Germany, however, Wyneken began to follow a more rigid confessional stance in his practice. To help bring matters to a head between himself and the synod, as well as within his own congregation, Wyneken invited the synod to meet in Fort Wayne in October of 1844. An accusation brought against him before the synod by a member of his congregation gave him an opportunity to make a two-hour statement, both in German and in English, to defend his actions on the basis of the word of God and the Lutheran Confessions.[25]

Even then, however, Wyneken did not leave the Synod of the West. In May of 1845 he was a delegate of the Synod of the West to the General Synod. Since Wyneken's appeal had not been complementary to the General Synod, that body resolved to write to the Lutherans in Germany to counteract the negative publicity which it had received. Wyneken's rejoinder was that, if the General Synod felt that he had misrepresented its position, the synod could clear itself of the accusations which he had made in a twofold manner. It could send books and periodicals representing its doctrinal position to Andreas Rudelbach, Adolf von Harless, and other prominent editors of Lutheran periodicals in Germany for their opinion on the validity of the accusations; or it could publicly renounce these books and periodicals and condemn the doctrine and practice contained in them.[26] When the General Synod declined to follow either of Wyneken's proposals, Wyneken and his congregation in Fort Wayne withdrew from the General Synod. The following year the Synod of the West divided and disappeared. The effect of this development was that Wyneken, who by then had moved to Baltimore, was left without membership in a synodical body.

V.

Before his sojourn in Germany, Wyneken had simply appealed to

the Germans for missionary-pastors. As an "awakened" person it would have been obvious to him that they should be true Christians, of course. But whence they were to come, what their confessional orientation was to be, and how they were to be prepared did not seem to be important issues for him. Others could see to that.

An obvious source of missionary-pastors of which Wyneken was aware was his home-church of Hanover. This church and probably others in Germany had an over-supply of such men so that it was not uncommon for candidates to wait many years for a pastoral position. Some of these candidates subsequently responded and came to America with Petri's urging. But many did not. Wyneken later wrote, "What miserable beings the candidates must be that they hear of this wretchedness, have no position yet in Germany, are not deterred by ill health, and still do not come here. . . . They should come by the dozens."[27]

Wyneken also knew that some of the mission societies were preparing missionary-pastors both for the other mission fields and for the American frontier. Wyneken's actual experience with training pastors may not have occurred until he returned to Germany. Indeed, immediately after he arrived back in Germany in January of 1842 he discussed with Wichern the preparation of pastors for the Bremen "Society for Protestant Germans." On that occasion Wyneken laid out for Wichern "clear criteria for the educating of colonial preachers."[28] Since the two parted on less than amiable terms, Wyneken at that time likely voiced his concern with Wichern that these preachers have a confessional basis, a criterion with which Wichern disagreed. Later, when he met with Loehe, Wyneken again encountered a situation where men were being prepared to be pastors in frontier America. This experience was more positive and the two parted good friends, such good friends, in fact, that when Loehe issued his *Agenda fuer die deutsch-lutherischen Gemeinden Nordamerikas* in 1844, he dedicated it to Wyneken. "I have dedicated this Agenda to you, dear friend and brother. For it is prepared in heart-felt love toward my brothers in North America and among these you were the first with whom I became united in the work of love which is occurring on the other side of the ocean. Please accept my gift and my heart-felt greetings."[29] While Loehe

had looked to the Moravians for the pattern for preparing emergency pastors for America, he was preparing his emissaries to go forth as *Lutheran* missionary-pastors, not as generic *Christian* pastors. In his instruction to them, Loehe specifically said, "You seek the office of servant of the German *Lutheran* Church. . . . You embrace with deep devotion the confessions and doctrine of the Lutheran Church."[30]

When Wyneken returned to America in 1843, the need for training German Lutheran pastors for the frontier must have continued to be on his mind. For a year later he began to provide pastoral training for two young men, Gerhard Heinrich Jaebker, who was twenty-three years old, and Carl Heinrich Friedrich Fricke (Frincke), who was twenty years old. Although these educational efforts of Wyneken in his Fort Wayne parsonage were likely far from a formal seminary experience, they are regarded as the beginning of the work which in 1846 became Concordia Theological Seminary.

In actual fact, Wyneken likely followed a tutoring approach to prepare these two men for ministry, an approach which had been used among Lutherans in the eastern United States a century earlier before any formal seminaries were started.[31] How Jaebker came under Wyneken's wing is unknown. About Carl Fricke we have a bit more information. He was born on July 13, 1824, in Braunschweig, Germany. There he received some education before leaving for America in 1842. Eventually he found his way to Fort Wayne. Almost immediately after Wyneken returned from his trip to Germany, Fricke happened to attend a service of worship in Wyneken's church. After the service he challenged Wyneken for preaching from the Bible. Shocked at his forwardness, Fricke's friends tried to silence him. "However, Wyneken," we are told, "clasped his hands together in his manner, laughed uproariously, went to him and said, 'Listen, young man, I like you. A person knows where you stand.'" When Wyneken asked him what he had against the Bible, Fricke responded with some typical rationalistic rhetoric. As Fricke held forth, "Wyneken listened quietly and then spoke to him as only Wyneken could." This conversation changed Fricke's whole orientation. Wyneken opened Fricke's eyes and at the same time won his confidence. For a time Fricke stayed with his secular employment but attended Wyneken's church. Later, as

Fricke became better grounded in doctrine, Wyneken confronted him with the great need of the American Lutheran Church for preachers and strongly encouraged him to prepare for the ministry. After a long inner battle, Fricke agreed, and Wyneken began to offer him theological preparation for his vocation.

Nothing is said in this account about the format or content of Wyneken's preparation of Fricke and Jaebker for the ministry. One historian says that "their theological training chiefly emphasized preaching and catechizing."[33] It was obviously not a protracted program, for Wyneken left for Baltimore on February 23, 1845. On Sihler's arrival in Fort Wayne to become Wyneken's successor, we are told that "the students Jaebker and Fricke were living [with F. W. Husmann] in the parsonage." Following the pattern of his predecessor, Sihler taught them theology and had them carry out practical teaching and preaching duties under his supervision in the area of Fort Wayne.[34]

Actually Jaebker and Fricke may not have been the first whom Wyneken guided through personalized study into the ministry. On May 17, 1840, F. W. Husmann arrived in Fort Wayne to become the first teacher of St. Paul's. Wyneken was the pastor of the congregation at the time. While serving as the teacher of the school, Husmann took up the study of theology. He also pursued intensively the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. The account given by his biographer indicates that he took up these studies "privately." However, it is highly unlikely that Wyneken, as Husmann's pastor and the theological overseer of Husmann's activities as a teacher in Wyneken's school, would not have been involved in assisting Husmann as he pursued these studies. Later when Wyneken was in Germany and a part of the congregation wanted to call G. Jensen, whom the Stade Mission Society had sent to fill in during Wyneken's absence, Husmann played a major role in preventing a split in the congregation. When Jensen accepted a call to Pittsburgh, Husmann preached in St. Paul's Church until Wyneken returned. Both before Wyneken left for Germany and after he returned, Husmann was involved in reaching out to scattered Germans in the same way that Wyneken was.[35] Again, it is difficult to imagine that his preaching and missionary activity would not have

had the supervision of Wyneken.

When Wyneken accepted a call to Baltimore, Husmann became the temporary pastor of St. Paul's Church in Fort Wayne, and it is likely that he also served as a colleague and supervisor for the pastoral preparation of Fricke and Jaebker during the interim until Sihler arrived in July. In October of 1845 Husmann accepted a call to serve as pastor of St. Paul's Church in Marion Township and two neighboring congregations. But he was not ordained at the time, since Husmann still called himself a licensed candidate of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at the pre-organizational meeting of the Missouri Synod in July of 1846 and was actually ordained in 1847 at the synod's constituting convention. Jaebker, meanwhile, accepted a call to serve congregations in Adams County near Fort Wayne, and Fricke continued his preparation for pastoral service under Sihler.

VI.

When Wyneken accepted a call to Baltimore, he effectively moved out of the geographic center in which much of the action was taking place. On September 13-18, 1845, when Loehe's men and some of their associates met in Cleveland, Wyneken was present as well as Husmann and Fricke. Friedrich Lochner, who wrote an account of the meeting, described Wyneken as "humble, charitable, and zealous."[36] The regard in which he was held was evident in that he was one of the four who preached at the meeting.

Wyneken was not in attendance at the meeting in Fort Wayne in July of 1846 when the constitutional framework of the group which became the Missouri Synod was crafted. Husmann and Jaebker, however, were present and were among those who signed the constitution at that time. Then in April of 1847, when the synod formally came into being in Chicago, Wyneken was conspiciously absent, although Husmann, Jaebker, and Fricke were present. By 1848, when the synod met for its second annual convention, Wyneken and his congregation had become members of the nascent Missouri Synod. Then in 1850, with Walther elected to lead the seminary in St. Louis and Wyneken serving Trinity Church in St. Louis, technically as the assistant pastor to Walther, Wyneken was elected president of the synod.

During the years after he left Fort Wayne, we are ignorant of what role, if any, Wyneken played in the formation of Concordia Theological Seminary. As already noted, he was absent from the meeting in 1846 when the details of forming a seminary in Fort Wayne were ironed out and the decision formally made to open the seminary. Yet the idea of founding a seminary in America where the German emergency helpers could get their final preparation was already firmly established in Loehe's mind in February of 1846.[37] As a result the seminary could open in October of that year with Loehe and the other Lutheran benefactors in Germany providing money, a candidate of theology to teach, and eleven students. If Wyneken was involved in some earlier discussions with Loehe on the subject, this information was not known or acknowledged by those on the scene at the time. Sihler certainly did not acknowledge Wyneken's pioneering efforts when he gave notice of the opening of the new seminary on October 24.[38] Nor did he mention it in his tribute and account of Wyneken's life in *Der Lutheraner* at the time of Wyneken's death in 1876.[39]

Regardless of any earlier role which Wyneken may have had in the formation of the seminary in Fort Wayne, his election to the presidency of the Missouri Synod thrust Wyneken into a public role which in various ways had a direct impact on the seminary in its early years. The most significant event in this regard was his trip to Germany with Walther to deal with the developing conflict with Wilhelm Loehe over questions of church and ministry.

VII.

A variety of circumstances in America and in Germany around the middle of the nineteenth century contributed to the conflict. In America Walther and the Saxons had undergone the traumatic experience of having to depose their leader Martin Stephan, after they had invested him to be their bishop just before they left their ships to settle in Perry County, Missouri.[40] Stephan's departure had been followed by debates within the community as to whether they could still lay claim to being part of the people of God, the church. In the course of these debates, C. F. W. Walther emerged as the theological leader of the Saxons in Missouri.

Meanwhile, as the Saxons had been making their way up the Mississippi to St. Louis, two other groups of emigrants, one from Prussia under J. A. A. Grabau and another from Silesia under L. F. E. Krause, arrived in Buffalo, New York. Krause returned to Germany while his group proceeded to Wisconsin. In the absence of a pastor they appointed a layman to conduct services as they had done back home when all of their pastors had been imprisoned for opposing the Prussian Union. When Silesians in Wisconsin asked Grabau in Buffalo whether this action was justifiable, his answer was negative. In December of 1840 Grabau wrote his *Hirtenbrief* to instruct the Silesians in Wisconsin regarding the office of the ministry. Grabau also sent a copy to the Saxons in Missouri.[41]

Because of their own turmoil the Saxons did not come to grips with the contents of Grabau's *Hirtenbrief* until July of 1843. When they did, they stated that they could subscribe to the *Hirtenbrief* in general, but they criticized positions in it which reflected what they saw as the errors of Stephanism. Grabau was disappointed at this reaction with the result that he in turn charged the Saxons with false doctrine. Some congregational situations in which Saxon pastors began to serve people who had been excommunicated by Grabau added to the tensions. At its first convention, in June of 1845, the Buffalo Synod approved Grabau's position as its official position and issued a harsh address to the Saxons. This was essentially the situation when the Saxons came into contact with Wyneken and Loehe's emissaries.

Whether Wyneken and Loehe's men were fully aware of the controversy between Grabau and the Saxons is difficult to know. They were at least aware that both groups existed. To the five emissaries whom he sent to America in 1845 Loehe gave instructions that they should unite "with those members of the faith who have emigrated from Saxony and Prussia."[42] The five emissaries did not get to meet Grabau when they arrived in New York, and he did not endear himself to them when he accused them unjustly of chiliasm without even having met them. Furthermore, when the Loehe men and the Saxons invited Grabau to their meeting in Fort Wayne in 1846 and subsequently to the constituting convention of the Synod in 1847, he declined on both occasions to

attend. Their impression of Grabau would not, therefore, have been positive.

On the other hand, Loehe's men had received a good impression of the Saxons. From what they had read in *Der Lutheraner* they felt a theological kinship. In their face-to-face meetings with the Saxons, they were similarly impressed. Aside from any discussions on issues of church and ministry which might have formally translated into the constitution of the Missouri Synod, no formal discussions on the divisive issues between Grabau and the Saxons were held. Loehe's men and their associates seemed simply to find themselves in agreement with the position at which the Saxons had earlier arrived through intense struggle. Wyneken seems to have had a similar experience. Indeed, Fricke, whose theological direction Wyneken had shaped three years earlier, was sent out by the Missouri Synod at its constituting convention to be a missionary to new settlements while still an unordained candidate of theology, a move which Grabau soundly criticized as being indicative of Missouri's doctrinally unsound view of the office of the ministry.

The issue was apparently so little of an issue to Loehe's emissaries that they did not even seek advice on the matter from Wilhelm Loehe, their "Father from Afar." An indication that these issues may not completely have come to clarity for Loehe himself until 1849 is the fact that none of Loehe's emissaries sided with him against the position reached by the Saxons until 1852 when George Grossman made an issue of it in Michigan. To be sure, Loehe's initial reaction to the Missouri Synod's constitution was not positive; he felt that it had a tendency toward Americanization and was too democratic. But in 1846 Loehe did not feel strongly enough about the issue to discourage his emissaries from joining the new synod. He even stated that, if he himself was in America, he would join it.[43]

In Germany, however, events were occurring which focused Loehe's attention more specifically on issues of church and ministry. The year 1848 was a politically agitated year in Germany. All traditional authority in government and church was challenged. Napoleon's act of unifying many of the approximately three hundred political entities at the beginning of the nineteenth century had already made the earlier state-church structure, based at least

somewhat on the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*, completely anachronistic. Lutheran Franconia, for example, was a part of Roman Catholic Bavaria in the post-Napoleonic political era, which meant that a Roman Catholic king had the right to make appointments for the Lutheran Church in his territory. The events of 1848 provided for a separation of the church from the state, a situation which might have rectified such an intolerable situation. The new situation, of necessity, called for a debate about the nature and function of the church.

As a contribution to the debate Loehe wrote a small document in 1849 entitled "Aphorisms Concerning the Offices of the New Testament and Their Relation to the Congregation." In this document Loehe traced the ministerial office (*Amt*) back to the apostles and stressed that bishops are shepherds of the church who lead or rule the church as well as feed it. In contrast to the democratizing trends in Germany, which wanted to give the general population a substantial say in the affair of government, society, and the church, Loehe took a theological stance which was consistent with the more conservative approach to authority.

Others, however, took an opposing view. Among them were the theologians at the University of Erlangen which Loehe had attended. In his "Principles of an Evangelical-Lutheran Church Constitution," Johann Wilhelm Friedrich Hoefling in 1850 laid out in a systematic way the view of the theologians of Erlangen. In contrast to Loehe, Hoefling held that the office of the ministry came from God through the priesthood of all believers. He saw in ordination nothing more than an ecclesiastical blessing. He saw no need for bishops and wanted the leadership of the church to be reorganized to increase the role of the congregations.[44]

The democratizing trends in Germany were, of course, embodied in much of life in the United States, and this situation would naturally have made Loehe uneasy about any similar trend in the Lutheran Church here. The debate in which he had become involved with professors at his *alma mater* would undoubtedly make him alert to any indications of a viewpoint which was similarly opposed to his own position. These two factors could not help but have a bearing on Loehe's attitude toward the stance of the Missouri

Synod on the issues under discussion. As Loehe himself wrote concerning the conflict between himself and the Missouri Synod, "While our American brethren believe that the administration [*Rechte*] of the congregation must come forth on the basis of the spiritual priesthood of all believers, it appeared to us . . . necessary on the basis of the doctrine of the office of the ministry to make the boundaries between the ministry and the congregation very clear."[45]

The Missouri Synod, on the other hand, was similarly wary of any indication that Loehe might be leaning toward the position of Stephan and Grabau on church and ministry, which it regarded as Romanizing. As C. F. W. Walther expressed it, "On the basis of newspapers and private explanations, our synod believed that Pastor Loehe in the teachings on church, ministry, church-authority, church-government, etc. . . . was inclining toward the teachings of Rome and a separate priesthood. On his side Pastor Loehe thought that our synod had been moved by the prevailing intoxication of freedom [*grassirenden Freiheitsschwindel*] and, sacrificing the divine dignity of the holy ministry and the blessing of an ordered church-government, had given in to democratic principles."[46]

Neither Wyneken nor Walther favored the democratizing trends in Germany and the United States. In his appeal for pastors for the scattered Germans on the American frontier, Wyneken had talked about "the fraud concerning liberty which has been concocted by the unrestrained spirit of man and which is destroying all divine order."[47] The Missouri Synod leaders knew that they had not been motivated by this spirit in the formation of their new synod. To permit him to see this truth and thereby to heal the rift developing with him over this issue, the Missouri Synod in convention in 1850 invited Loehe to come to America to confer with them and to experience how its congregational system worked.

When Loehe was unable to do so, the synod sent a delegation to visit with Loehe in Germany. Strategically, one of the delegates was Wyneken who was not only the president of the synod at the time but also a man whom Loehe regarded as his friend. He was also a man who might be seen by Loehe as somewhat more balanced in his viewpoint since he had not been involved in the debate between Grabau and the Saxons. In a special communication with members

of the synod, Wyneken pointed to four things which made the healing of the rift very important: (1.) the scriptural command "to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; (2.) the heavy responsibility before God not to put under a basket the light which had been given to the synod on the questions under discussion; (3.) the duty of self-preservation to do everything to avoid the rift because continued confusion in the church would have negative consequences; and (4.) our great shortage of preachers makes a close tie with the brethren in Germany a necessity.

It was important, indeed, to do more than heal the rift with Loehe. If relationships with the Lutherans in Germany were to be maintained on a sustained basis, it was important that the debate about church and ministry in Germany come to a conclusion compatible with the position of the Missouri Synod. Thus, Wyneken said, "Now is the time and any delay will be dangerous. For now the debate over church and ministry is still an open question. When it is over, as it appears it will soon have to be under current circumstances in the German Church, our efforts will have little or no value."[48]

To influence the debate in Germany Walther offered an enunciation of a position which had been shaped within the American scene and reflected the sentiments of others within the Missouri Synod. *The Voice of our Church on the Question of Church and Ministry* was published in Germany. It took a stand on the legitimacy both of the ministry and of the congregation. It very clearly affirmed the uniqueness of the ministry without setting it off too strongly from the congregation. According to it, the ministry is unique over against the priesthood of all believers. Yet the ministry is not a peculiar order of superior holiness but is an office of service. It has received its authority to preach the gospel and to administer the sacraments and the keys from God through the congregation. Ordination is not a divine appointment but is an apostolic churchly arrangement which is a public and solemn confirmation of the call.

Wyneken and Walther left New York for Europe by steamship on August 27, 1851. From Walther's report of their journey, it is apparent that Wyneken was much more familiar with the German

scene than Walther. He had not only had more personal contact with the German scene than Walther but his contact with German Lutheranism had been more recent. Immediately upon their arrival they inquired of some Lutherans with whom Wyneken was familiar as to whether the "Prussian separated Lutherans" would be holding a synod that year. None was scheduled. Soon after they came to Germany they spent time recuperating from the journey in Verden with Wyneken's aged mother. On the following Sunday they worshipped in a service led by Carl, Wyneken's brother. Later they also had contact with two other brothers of Wyneken.

Walther also visited friends and relatives in Germany. Later in their journey he visited a couple of his sisters. He also made contact with Franz Delitzsch, a friend from his days in the university. As the two delegates of the Missouri Synod travelled throughout Germany, they were openly received by confessional Lutherans in the various states. Finally they came to Neuendettelsau where Loehe also warmly received them. In anticipation of their coming he had devoted an entire issue of his *Mitteilungen* to them. After their visit with him Walter reported jubilently, "With God's help and grace, the purpose of our visit was reached . . . the faithful friend of our church in America . . . is again completely our friend; his doubts about us have disappeared."[49] The steamship which brought Wyneken and Walther back to America docked in New York on January 16, 1852. The relationship with Loehe and the German Lutheran Church was apparently secure.

While neither Wyneken nor Walther articulated it specifically, the trip had some very important consequences for the seminary in Fort Wayne. For the only purpose of the seminary initially was to receive students from Germany who would complete their preparation for the ministry at this institution. Without the flow of such students it would have little or no purpose for being. Matters eventually turned out differently than Wyneken and Walther thought. By the summer of 1853 fraternal relations between the Missouri Synod and Loehe were irreparably broken. While the seminary survived, the break with Loehe undoubtedly reduced the size and changed the composition of the student body of the seminary. Unquestionably the reduced flow of students from Germany was a

concern for the synod, which prompted Walther in 1855 to propose that a preparatory school for the "practical" seminary in Fort Wayne be established in Germany.[50] A school to recruit students in Germany and to prepare them to enter the synod's preaching and teaching seminaries was later established to replace Loehe's support after Walther returned to Germany for reasons of health and enlisted the help of Friedrich Brunn. An institution was established by him in Steeden in Nassau in 1860 which, over the decade that followed, provided a third of the Missouri Synod's pastors. Many of them were channelled through the "practical seminary" which had begun in Fort Wayne.[51]

VIII.

Wyneken served as president of the Missouri Synod for fourteen years, from 1850 to 1864. That he should have experienced the phenomenal early growth of the Missouri Synod must have felt like a miracle to Wyneken. One cannot help but hear an echo of Wyneken's hopes and dreams fulfilled as he addresses the convention of the Missouri Synod assembled in Fort Wayne in 1852. "With great thanksgiving, our heart must be raised to the Lord anew with each synodical convention which the Lord in His mercy gives us the privilege to experience. For we continue to see His love, grace, and faithfulness even in these last difficult times. It is nothing short of a miracle in my view that, in places where only a few years ago a German Lutheran preacher traversed the vast woodlands and endless prairies only now and then to visit the scattered members of his church to serve them with the bread of life, today a synod can gather which numbers more than a hundred preachers, professors, and teachers as workers in the vineyard, a synod which draws into its membership annually more and more congregations who rejoice that also here the light of true doctrine is once more held high to enlighten hearts with the truth. . . . We must certainly praise the Lord who has truly done such great things among us."[52]

During his years as president Wyneken's natural talent for organization was put to good use as the synod was reorganized into four districts in 1854. Reorganization also affected the seminary in

Fort Wayne. Over the years the idea of combining the synod's two seminaries gained considerable strength; even the seminary's president, Wilhelm Sihler, saw wisdom and blessing in this move. Thus, in 1860, Wyneken appointed a committee to study the matter, and the convention in that year recommended that the practical seminary be moved to St. Louis. The outbreak of the Civil War in the following year made the move urgent, since Missouri granted theological students exemption from military service where Indiana did not. Thus, the practical seminary moved to St. Louis in 1861.[53]

In June of 1864 Wyneken received a call to Cleveland, Ohio. Taking leave both of his pastorate in St. Louis and of the presidency of the synod, he served Trinity Church in Cleveland until October of 1875. For reasons of health he then moved to California, and his last months were spent in the home of his daughter and son-in-law in San Francisco. There he died of a heart attack on May 4, 1876, just short of his sixty-sixth birthday.

In reporting Wyneken's death in *Der Lutheraner* of May 15, 1876, Walther described him as "a highly gifted spirit, a truly evangelical preacher, a pastor experienced in the school of spiritual struggles, a fearless witness of pure truth, an avid warrior for the same, a faithful guardian of the church, a man without deception whose entire being bore the mark of honesty, an opponent of all lies and hypocrisy, a true Nathanael; in short, a true Christian and a faithful servant of the Lord who recognized in humility only his weakness, not his strength. For a multitude of preachers and laity, he was a model; for thousands, he was a spiritual father; for whole areas of America, he was their apostle."[54]

Friedrich Carl Dietrich Wyneken was the motivating spirit behind much of what became the Missouri Synod and a founding father of Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne. We have good reason to take heed of his example. We have good reason, as well, to praise God because of him.

The Endnotes

1. James L. Schaaf, "Father from Afar, Wilhelm Loehe and the Seminary in Fort Wayne," the first lecture in a series of four on the founding fathers of Concordia Theological Seminary.

2. Rudolph Rehmer, "Lutherans in Pioneer Indiana," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 40 (April 1967): 20.

3. Although missionary periodicals have a practice of copying items from each other, such missionary reports might have originally come from the Basel Mission Society, which sent Friedrich Schmidt to Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1832. The Christian Society for German Evangelicals in North America, popularly called the Langenberg Mission Society, was formed at the initiative of the Rhenish Mission Society in 1837 about the same time, probably in response to similar reports.

4. Letter of F. Wyneken to A. Biewend, November 29, 1842, quoted in Walter Baepler, *A Century of Grace* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 54.

5. Klaus Schroeder and Hermann Seebo, *Geschichte der hundert Jahre der Stader Bibel-und Missionsgesellschaft* (Stade: A. Pockwitz, 1932), 10.

6. Letter of L. A. Petri to Pastor Luehr, around May 25, 1842, partly quoted in E. Petri, *Ludwig Adolf Petri: Ein Lebensbild* (Hanover: Verlag von Heinr[ich] Feesche, 1888), 260-262.

7. Georg Haccius, *Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte*, Erster Teil (Druck und Verlag der Missionshandlung in Hermannsburg, 1909), 141.

8. Gottfried Mai, *Die Bemuehung der Evangelischen Kirche um die Deutschen Auswanderer nach Nord-Amerika (1815-1914)* (Bremen, 1972), 71.

9. Christian Hochstetter, *Die Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherisch Missouri Synod in Nord-Amerika und ihrer*

Lehrkaempfe (Dresden: Verlag von Heinrich J. Naumann, 1885), 94.

10. C. A. W. Krauss, *Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1911), 741, cited in Rehmer, 22.

11. Martin Schmidt, *Wort Gottes und Fremdlingschaft* (Erlangen und Rothenburg o. Tauber: Martin Luther-Verlag, 1953), 57. Contrary to the view that this was the document known as the *Distress of the German Lutherans in North America* is a comment by Wilhelm Loehe in his *Rechenschaftsbericht* to the effect that, after Wyneken had left Loehe, he sent a completed manuscript to his friends in Erlangen, who did not deem it fitting to publish it in its entirety. They took an extract of it and had it published in Harless' *Zeitschrift fuer Protestantismus und Kirche* (February 1843). *Wilhelm Loehe: Gesammelte Werke,* 4:127.

12. Letter of F. Wyneken to L. A. Petri, May 22, 1822, contained in E. Petri, *Ludwig Adolf Petri: Ein Lebensbild* (Hanover: Verlag von Heinr[ich] Feesche, 1888), 272-282.

13. Ibid.

14. Wilhelm Loehe, "Die lutherischen Auswanderer in Nordamerika, Eine Ansprache an die Leser des Sonntagsblattes," in Klaus Ganzert, ed., *Wilhelm Loehe: Gesammelte Werke* (Neuendettelsau: Friemund Verlag, 1962), 4:18.

15. Wilhelm Loehe, "Rechenschaftsbericht der Redaktoren der kirchlichen Mitteilungen aus und ueber Nordamerika ueber das, was seit 1841 geschehen ist, samt Angabe dessen, was sofort geschehen sollte" (1847), in ibid, 4:126; also a letter of Loehe to von Raumer, January 4, 1841, in 1:577.

16. "Rechenschaftsbericht," 4:127.

17. Letter of F. Wyneken to L. A. Petri, May 22, 1842.

18. Undated letter of L. A. Petri to Pastor Luehr, in Petri, *Ludwig Adolf Petri: Ein Lebensbild*, 260-262.

19. Letter of F. Wyneken to F. Schmidt, 1841, cited in Baepler, 58.

20. W. G. Polack, *Fathers and Founders* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938), 56.

21. Petri, 304.

22. Martin Gerhardt, *Johann Hinrich Wichern* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1927), 1:291.

23. Letter of Petri to Luehr.

24. John B. Gardner, "The Synod of the West," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly,* 1 (January 1929): 85.

25. H. G. Sauer, *Geschichte der St. Pauls Gemeinde zu Ft. Wayne, Indiana, vom Jahre 1837-1887,* 29, cited in Edward John Saleska, *Frederick Conrad Dieterich Wyneken, 1810-1876,* unpublished thesis leading to the degree of Master of Sacred Theology, 1946.

26. Walter Baepler, *A Century of Grace* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 63.

27. Chr[istian] Hochstetter, *Die Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherisch Missouri Synod in Nord-Amerika und ihrer Lehrkaempfe* (Dresden: Verlag von Heinrich J. Naumann, 1885), 106-107.

28. Gehrhardt, 291.

29. Wilhelm Loehe, "Vorwort zur ersten Auflage," *Agenda fuer christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses* in *Gesammelte Werke,* ed. Klaus Ganzert (Neuendettelsau: Freimund Verlag, 1953), I:9.

30. August R. Suelflow, "The Beginnings of 'Missouri, Ohio, and other States,' in America" in *Moving Frontiers,* edited by Carl S. Meyer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 99 (emphasis added).

31. Theodore G. Tappert, "The Church's Infancy," in *The Lutherans in North America,* ed. E. Clifford Nelson, revised

edition (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 46.

32. C. F. W. Sapper, "Ehrengedaechtnis des weiland P. Karl H. F. Frincke," *Der Lutheraner*, 62 (February 27, 1906): 77.

33. Erich H. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1989), 20.

34. C. F. W. Sapper, "Ehrengedaechtnis des weiland P. Karl H. F. Frincke," *Der Lutheraner*, 62 (February 27, 1906): 77.

35. E. S. H. Husmann, "Biographical Sketch of F. W. Husmann," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 1:10.

36. Friedrich Lochner is so quoted in Baepler, 88.

37. Schaaf quotes a letter of Loehe to Alt, February 25, 1846. Manuscript, 26.

38. W. Sihler, "Das lutherische Seminar zu Fort Wayne," *Der Lutheraner*, 3 (October 31, 1846), 29-30. On the other hand it may be significant that Wyneken apparently was directly involved in chosing Sihler, the only man with a doctorate of philosophy among Loehe's emissaries, as his successor in Fort Wayne.

39. Sihler, "Lebensabriss . . . Friedrich Wyneken," 105.

40. W. O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 288-303.

41. A detailed discussion of the entire proceedings is provided by Roy A. Suelflow, "The Relations of the Missouri Synod with the Buffalo Synod up to 1866," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 27 (April 1954): 1-19; (July 1954): 57-73; (October 1954): 97-132.

42. H. Ruhland, "Rev. F. Lochner's Report on His First Contacts with the Saxons," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 7 (October 1934): 77-81.

43. Suelflow, 119.

44. For an overview of the discussion see Holsten Fagerberg, *Bekenntnis Kirche und Amt, in der deutschen*

Konfessionellen Theologie des 19 Jahrhunderts (Uppsala, 1953), 101-117.

45. Wilhelm Loehe, *Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika,* 10 (1851), quoted by C. F. W. Walther in "Reisebericht des Redakteurs," *Der Lutheraner,* 8 (March 16, 1852): 114.

46. C. F. W. Walther, "Reisebericht des Redakteurs," *Der Lutheraner,* 8 (February 17, 1852): 97.

47. Wyneken, "Aufruf," in *Zeitschrift fuer Protestantismus und Kirche,* 5 (1843), 157.

48. *Fuenfter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synod von Missouri, Ohio u.a. Staaten vom Jahre 1851* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synod von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1876), 165.

49. Walther, *Der Lutheraner,* 8 (February 17, 1852): 98.

50. Carl S. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), 46.

51. A. Stallmann, *Ein Proseminar vor hundert Jahren,* a four-page pamphlet, originally part of a larger unidentified periodical [1961]: 43-46. AM VII. A. 7 in the Brunn Archives located in the Lutherische Theologische Hochschule, Oberursel, Germany. On Brunn, see the author's article "Friedrich Brunn, Erweckung und konfessionelles Lutherthum," *Lutherische Theologie und Kirche,* 16 (February 1992): 29-47.

52. *Sechster Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synod von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1852* (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synod von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1876), 200.

53. Heintzen, 54-56.

54. [C. F. W. Walther], "Todesnachricht," *Der Lutheraner,* 32 (May 15, 1876), 72.

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Father from Afar: Wilhelm Loehe and Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne

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It is a special pleasure for this student of history to be writing about Wilhelm Loehe[1] in the pages of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly*.[2] It is not just because Loehe's relationship to the American church was the subject of the author's doctoral studies[3] nor that he was asked as his first major translating project to render *Three Books About the Church* into English.[4] The thing, in fact, that gives him the most pleasure in addressing this subject is that Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne and the author's home in Columbus, now called Trinity Lutheran Seminary, share a great deal of common heritage and similar history back in the first half of the nineteenth century. Had things turned out differently, indeed, there might have been only one Lutheran seminary in this part of the American Midwest.

The intention, however, in the article at hand, in this anniversary year of Concordia Theological Seminary, is to deal with Wilhelm Loehe and his relationship to this school in particular. His name is emblazoned prominently on one of its buildings, and most of its students and graduates know his story quite well. Worthy, for example, of much respect is a booklet to be found in the bookstore of the seminary, in which the alumnus Richard Stuckwisch draws a portrait of Wilhelm Loehe and his significance for the congregation which he served, the missionary endeavor which he initiated, and the service rendered by the female diaconate which he established.[5]

Here specifically the intention is to speak of three things. The essay will firstly, then, retell the story of how Wilhelm Loehe, a man who never in his lifetime even saw the ocean, became interested in far-away America and how he began assisting the Lutherans living here. A second section will deal with what went wrong with Loehe's original plans for America and how he had to revise his relationship with the Lutheran churches here. The author, finally, will try to give some idea of Loehe's relationship with Concordia Theological Seminary and discuss why he deserves to be honored as one of its founding fathers.

I.

Born on February 21, 1808, in the Bavarian (more precisely, Franconian) city of Fürth, Wilhelm Loehe spent his boyhood and received his initial schooling there and in nearby Nuremberg. Left fatherless at the age of eight, he showed an early interest in the church and undertook the study of theology at the University of Erlangen in 1826. All of his theological studies, with the exception of one semester, which he spent in Berlin, were taken at Erlangen and upon their completion he was ordained in 1831. For the next five years he served as vicar or administrator in several congregations in Franconia until a permanent pastorate became available for him. It was thus in 1836 that he came to the tiny farming community of Neuendettelsau where he was to serve as parish pastor until his death thirty-five years later. Although he four times sought more prestigious pastorates in large cities, by the time the first decade in Neuendettelsau had gone by he had fallen so in love with this "quiet wilderness" that he was happy to remain there and turn that community into a center of Christian love and missionary endeavor.[6] Today the visitor to Neuendettelsau finds large hospitals, homes for the mentally retarded and unwed mothers, hospices, workshops for the preparation of paraments and communion-wafers, a deaconess-motherhouse, a publishing house, a bookstore, and a theological school (and almost all of these institutions can trace their founding directly back to Loehe). During Loehe's lifetime Neuendettelsau became a spot from which sprang an evangelical pietistic spirit that profoundly influenced the Lutheran Church in Bavaria, and that same sort of spirit can still be felt there today.

During the thirty-five years of Loehe's ministry there, the village pastor of Neuendettelsau initiated many projects that eventually touched the lives of Christians not only in his native Germany, but also in far-off corners of the world. Until only a decade ago, the missionary seminary that he founded there—originally to supply men for the pastorless Lutheran immigrants in America—was still in operation, preparing students to go as missionaries to South America, Papua New Guinea, and other spots in the world where the gospel is needed.[7] The needs of suffering people close at hand induced Loehe to establish a Lutheran order for the female diaconate, and his

pen proliferated writings that have shaped the thinking of generations of readers. At the time of his death on January 2, 1872, just short of his sixty-fourth birthday, worn out from his years of work in spreading the gospel, he was most remembered simply as "a tool in the hand of the Lord."[8]

Aside from the usual work of a village pastor in the early years of the nineteenth century, which undoubtedly kept him very busy, Loehe became captivated by a vision of the plight of his fellow Germans who had left their homeland to emigrate to the New World, and he felt compelled to undertake the task of doing whatever he could to serve them in their spiritual need. Loehe's initial exposure to this task, which was to occupy a great deal of his time and attention for the next decade and a half, came quite indirectly, and one could perhaps say quite providentially. Friedrich C. D. Wyneken, a Lutheran pastor who had come to America in 1838 and affiliated with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, had been sent by that body as a traveling missionary to Indiana in order to gather in the scattered Germans and had located in Fort Wayne.[9] Wyneken noted the obvious fact that perhaps the greatest difficulty confronting the church in America was the lack of an adequate supply of pastors. Particularly was this a problem in the West—Ohio and Indiana were still considered the West at the time—where an increasing number of German immigrants were beginning to settle. And he determined to make that need known to his fellow believers back in Germany.

The means which Wyneken chose to publicize the need (or the "distress," as the common English translation has it[10]) of the German Lutherans in America was a tract that he wrote and had published in Germany early in 1840 by the mission society in Stade, a city near Hamburg.[11] By a rather circuitous route this treatise found its way into the hands of Wilhelm Loehe late in 1840.[12] Moved by the plight of his fellow countrymen in the New World, Loehe determined to spread the message to a wider audience and prepared an article for publication in the *Sonntags-Blatt*, a weekly newspaper published in near-by Nördlingen by a friend and fellow pastor, Johann Friedrich Wucherer, who was subsequently to become his closest associate in the task of assisting the American church. Loehe's address to the readers of the *Sonntags-Blatt* has become a

classic among missionary appeals:

> Our brethren are living in the wilderness of North America—without food for their souls. We sit on our hands and forget to help them. So much more eagerly do the followers of the pope and the adherents of the sects approach them. And their love appears holy; they do not turn away from those who are suffering. To thirsty men the muddy, impure, unhealthy water always seems preferable to death from thirst. Shall we not help? Shall we simply look on while our brethren in the faith are led astray because of a lack of shepherds, merely observe while the evangelical church in North America disintegrates? Shame on us if we here do not do what we can! Will we support our church's missions among the heathen, yet let already established congregations go under? Shall we let thousands starve while we devote so much attention to win individuals? We pray that the Lord will gather one holy church among the heathen, and are we then to let established congregations fall prey to this temptation? We forget those who are so near to us while we stretch out to those who still serve idols. We should not do one and forget the other! Up, brethren, let us help as much as we are able![13]

Readers of the *Sonntags-Blatt,* to which Loehe regularly contributed articles, were accustomed to appeals for funds for charitable and missionary projects, and they responded generously to this one. Within a few months after the publication of Loehe's appeal, a substantial amount of money had been collected and one volunteer had come forward to offer his services to the American mission-field. Adam Ernst, an unlikely candidate for the task, was a journeyman shoemaker who possessed a great deal of enthusiasm and dedication but who had had no education or training that would equip him for a ministry among the American churches. After being discouraged by another missionary organization to which he had applied, Ernst came to Loehe, who thereupon made a decision that was to have far-reaching consequences.

Loehe shared the opinion that Ernst did not possess the necessary qualifications for the ministry, but he determined to offer him some

basic instruction that would equip him to function among the German Lutherans in America as a schoolteacher, for which there was also an urgent need. A few months later Georg Burger, who previously had been occupied as a weaver of the heavy loden fabric that makes indestructible coats, joined Ernst as a second volunteer. By mid-1842 the two men, who had been taken into Loehe's parsonage and instructed by him, were ready to depart and were given lengthy final instructions by Loehe and his associates.[14] They were told, in essence, that they were to remember that they were and were to remain simple artisans. They were to obtain work in America and wait until the Lord opened a door for them. Their primary task was to conduct German schools, where it was self-evident that they were to offer religious instruction as well as education in the usual school subjects. Only in the event they came to a place where no Lutheran pastor was carrying on a ministry were they to seek ordination and then only from an Evangelical Lutheran synod on the basis of all the symbolical books of the church. "It is better," wrote Loehe (in words which may sound like damning with faint praise, but which were understood by him and them alike as a commission to serve wherever they were able), "that the poor sheep be led to the green pastures and the still waters by you than by no one at all."[15]

When Ernst and Burger arrived in New York they were forced to reconsider their abilities, the instructions given them, and how these related to the tasks to be accomplished in America. Advice from men in New York convinced them that their chances of finding employment as schoolteachers among the Germans in the West were not good. They were, however, encouraged to get more training and prepare themselves for the office of the ministry. They were introduced to Pastor Friedrich Winkler of Newark, New Jersey, who was just preparing to leave his congregation there to accept a call as professor of the theological seminary of the Joint Synod of Ohio in Columbus. Ernst and Burger chose to follow him there and enroll as students of theology in the seminary in Columbus.

These two students, as well as six more sent from Neuendettelsau during the next two years, were gratefully received by the Ohio Synod, which was struggling with its problem of ministering to

increasing numbers of members with a limited number of clergy. Loehe had not been totally unacquainted with the seminary in Columbus before this time. When Wyneken had made a trip back to Germany, he had visited Neuendettelsau and had spoken with Loehe, Ernst, and Burger about the conditions in America and had mentioned the seminary in Columbus as one that might easily become one of the outstanding theological institutions in America if only assistance in the form of books, students, and perhaps even professors could be supplied from Germany.[16] When the contact with the seminary in Columbus was initiated by Ernst and Burger, the Ohio Synod entered into correspondence with Loehe. A formal request from a synodical committee was sent to Loehe, asking for more such well-trained men as Ernst and Burger. Although Loehe may have considered them ill-prepared for the ministerial office, their education far surpassed what most of the seminarians in America had enjoyed; for, as the committee reported, "so many of those born here must be accepted [into the seminary] without the slightest schooling."[17] Another way of helping would be to send books:

> What we also need very urgently are books, the right sort of books. The seminary has hardly the beginnings of a library. How many German brethren in the faith who can assist us in no other way may be able to in this way! Is not Germany the land of all literature? And how may our church preserve her truth here, if her preachers do not know German literature?[18]

Loehe eagerly accepted both challenges. In order to initiate a response to the appeal from America, he and some of his friends held a meeting in Nuremberg in February of 1843 to discuss the action they might take. From that gathering came the eventual organization of a missionary society,[19] but the more immediate response was a decision to supply suitable theological books for the seminary library, to send more men like Ernst and Burger to Columbus, and to initiate the publication of a monthly newspaper in order to disseminate information about the church in America and obtain money for these activities. This was the *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, which began publication the next

month.

Immediate attention was given to collecting books for the seminary library. Within six months more than one thousand volumes had been collected and dispatched to America; and when men later were sent to Columbus, they generally took a shipment of books with them for the seminary library. It appears that, between 1842 and 1845, there were at least eight men, in addition to Ernst and Burger, sent by Loehe who found their way into the ministerium of the Ohio Synod, some of them able to bypass the seminary in Columbus and enter directly into the ordained ministry on the strength of the training they had received in their homeland. The books which these *Nothelfer* (emergency helpers), as Loehe called them, brought with them were undoubtedly as welcome at the seminary as the men themselves.

As much as Loehe was concerned about serving the emigrant Germans in the New World, his real heart's desire was that he might establish a Christian missionary approach to the American Indians.[20] Although one of his friends had proposed that the seminary in Columbus be connected with a special Indian missionary seminary that would prepare men specifically for work among the Indians, Loehe believed that a better method would be to supply congregations near Indian settlements with capable preachers who would have a responsibility both to their congregations and to the Indians.[21] By the 1840s, however, there were so few Indians left in Ohio that other fields seemed whiter unto the harvest. When one of the students sent by Loehe was assigned by the seminary to serve a congregation in Monroe, Michigan, Loehe's interest became directed toward that territory with its substantial population of Indians and vast areas unpopulated by Europeans. Before long, a scheme was developed of enlisting emigrants, together with a pastor, who would form a German Lutheran colony in Michigan that would carry on a missionary program among the nearby Indians. The first of such settlements was Frankenmuth, settled by a number of colonists from the Franconian village of Roßtal, not far from Neuendettelsau, under the leadership of August Crämer, who was ordained in Germany before the settlers embarked in April of 1845 for the voyage to the New World. Initial missionary results were promising, three Indian

converts being baptized on Christmas in 1846. Three additional colonies of Germans were begun in the area later, but after 1851, when Crämer left his pastorate in Frankenmuth and the government removed the Indians to reservations, the Lutheran Indian mission in Michigan came to an unfortunate end.

II.

Meanwhile, however, back in Ohio tensions were growing within the Ohio Synod. And the seminary in Columbus came to be the focus of a conflict that was to divide the synod and result, among other things, in the organization of a new synod and the founding of a new seminary.

Even before the Ohio Synod came to Loehe's attention in 1842, it had been having considerable difficulties with what later came to be known as "American Lutheranism." This was a movement, led by a relatively small but quite vociferous and influential group of men, that wanted to "Americanize" the Lutheran church on this side of the ocean, by having it adopt many of the practices common in other Protestant groups, such as camp meetings, non-liturgical worship, revivals, and other methods comprehended under the general heading of "new measures."[22] The lines of battle came to be drawn over the use of English or German as the medium of instruction in the seminary. It was clear to all that some English would have to be used in congregations; but, for the sake of preserving and promulgating Lutheran doctrine within the synod, theological instruction at the seminary would have to be given in German to those students preparing themselves to be Lutheran pastors. (One must remember that at this time there was very little Lutheran literature available in English; the Book of Concord, for example, would not be rendered into English until 1851.) In fact, in 1840 a group of pastors who desired more use of the English language had already withdrawn from the Ohio Synod and formed a rival synod in the area, simply adding to the intransigence of the majority of the synod that supported the use of German.

Naturally, the men sent by Loehe who had recently arrived in America favored the German element in the synod. They had been sent for the express purpose of preserving a German Lutheran church

in the New World, and they became convinced that, when one abandons the German language, he also gives up genuine Lutheranism.[23] It was thus easy for them to take sides in the controversy in the Ohio Synod, perhaps without giving much thought to the consequences of their stand.

The situation at the seminary in Columbus had become acute when Friedrich Winkler arrived and joined Charles F. Schaeffer as the two-man faculty. Both men had come from outside the ranks of the Ohio Synod. Winkler was born in Germany and came to America already an ordained pastor; Schaeffer was born in America and had been tutored in theology by his pastor-father and other clergy. The two men saw many things differently, and not the least of their differences revolved around the linguistic issue at the seminary. Schaeffer believed that students would need to be made capable of preaching and functioning in English where the circumstances demanded it; and consequently he wanted to maintain the seminary as a bilingual institution, which it had been ever since its establishment in 1830. Winkler, however, insisted that lectures in the seminary be given only in German so that true Lutheranism might be inculcated in the students. In addition to this fundamental contrast in approach, there seem to have been personality differences exacerbating the conflict between the two men, and the seminary was soon in turmoil.

The seminary's board of directors, which saw its responsibility as making sure that theological instruction was carried out and that money was solicited in order to pay the bills of the institution, determined that both tasks were being compromised and therefore action had to be taken. Late in 1843 the board called for the resignations of both Schaeffer and Winkler. Schaeffer complied at once and left the institution, but Winkler, apparently believing he had more support in the synod, insisted that his call provided for a six-month notice and refused to comply. Dissatisfied with this arrangement, some students left the seminary and some congregations, feeling that their interest in providing an English-speaking ministry was not being honored, refused to pay their pledges for the operation of the institution. Unable to cope with the situation, the board of the seminary urgently requested a special meeting of the

Ohio Synod to deal with the problem. Until the special session, scheduled to be held in Zanesville in June of 1844, Winkler was permitted to continue temporarily at his post.

The special synodical meeting also gave Loehe's men an opportunity to bring up another matter that had been disturbing them. One major item of dissatisfaction was the liturgy of holy communion used in the Ohio Synod. The synod had authorized two liturgies, a German one also used by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and just adopted by Ohio in 1842, and an English one that had been in use since 1830. What was at issue was the formula for distributing the sacrament. The English formula was simply this: "Take and eat; this is the body of your Lord Jesus Christ. . . ." But the German one added something. It said: "Jesus spricht: Nehmet hin und esset. . . ." To the men newly arrived from Germany this phraseology sounded like the unionistic agenda of the Prussian Union[24] and implicitly denied the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence.[25]

The Americans, who were less familiar the enforced union of Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany in 1817, saw nothing wrong with the formula. But to Loehe and his men it was an important issue, in fact a church-dividing one. Loehe wrote to Ernst:

> You were ordained by the Ohio Synod. When it assembles and celebrates the Lord's Supper it uses the words: Christ says, etc. Professor Winkler holds that this is unobjectionable, but you rightly consider it very objectionable. The American Lutheran church dare not tear itself out of the living and organic unity of the Lutheran church. . . . This is my advice. Simply apply to the synod . . .; declare your unalterable objections and attempt with all meekness and with all emphasis to work that this false formula that contradicts the church may be abandoned. If God gives you success, then remain in the Ohio Synod; if not, the real feelings of those men will have been clearly shown, and you must either join a purer synod . . . or attempt to organize your own synod.[26]

The Ohio Synod hardly saw the situation with the formula of holy communion in the same light. The question of the seminary was

much more urgent, and, especially considering the difficulty and expense of printing or obtaining service-books, the synod was not minded to discard something it considered unobjectionable. Ernst and Burger presented a petition to the convention in Zanesville to delete the two offensive words, "Jesus spricht," but the ministerium voted to give the matter further study and postpone action until the next regular meeting of the synod.[27]

The synod could not postpone, however, the issue of the seminary. The legal question centered in the proper interpretation of a statement in the seminary's constitution:

> The principal lectures [*Hauptlehrvorträge*] given in the Seminary shall and must be delivered, unalterably in all future times, in the German language.[28]

The previous convention had clarified the meaning of this provision by reaffirming a decision made in 1839 when Schaeffer had been called:

> "Declaration—That this Synod not only considers it to be constitutional to give instructions in the Seminary also through the medium of the English language, which course has indeed been heretofore observed, but also deems it to be necessary and useful to appoint for this purpose a second professor, who may meet this claim, on condition, however, that the instructions given in the German language be not thereby superseded." All the lectures, accordingly, are delivered in both languages in the Seminary, by which course alone the claims made upon the Professors or Teachers can be met.[29]

The synod now appointed a committee of twelve members to review the actions of the board of the seminary in calling for the resignations of the two professors and, after two days of deliberation and another day of debate by the entire convention, the delegates resolved by a vote of thirty-eight to ten, with Loehe's men voting with the majority, as follows:

> That, according to the Constitution of the Seminary, the German language is the only medium through which

> theological instruction must be given; but the same constitution authorizes the teaching of the English language theoretically and practically, so that the students may thereby be enabled to preach in both languages where the wants of the church require it.[30]

Then the synod took the action of expressing the wish that Winkler remain as professor of the seminary and taking steps to send out an agent to collect the pledged funds from its congregations. This was clearly a victory for the German element within the Ohio Synod, and Loehe, when he heard of it, rejoiced that "the seminary in Columbus has been saved for the Germans"[31] and dispatched liberal gifts to Winkler to provide financial aid to students.[32]

The victory, however, was only a temporary one. The decision was deplored editorially by the *Lutheran Standard* (the synod's official newspaper),[33] a congregation publicly announced that because of this action it no longer felt obliged to pay its pledge,[34] and the English District of the synod passed an official resolution regretting the action.[35] The agent sent out to collect subscriptions encountered so much opposition that his activities had to be suspended.[36] Obviously the matter was going to become a subject for debate again at the next synodical convention.

The board of the seminary was forced to take strong measures. Once again it called for Winkler's resignation, to take effect before the coming convention, scheduled for May of 1845 in Lancaster. This time Winkler did not protest and accepted a call to a congregation in Detroit. The board then proposed a complete reorganization of the seminary, primarily separating the preparatory department from the seminary proper.[37] The language question would be solved by this compromise:

> As the Seminary is and shall remain German, the principal lectures (according to VI, Section 4. of the Constitution) are to be given in the German language; all theological students shall be required to learn the German language in the College. But, in as much as the wants and welfare of the Church require that ministers be so educated as to be able to preach readily in the English language, all theologi-

> cal lectures shall be delivered also in the English language.
>
> In order, however, to secure the doctrines of our church, German textbooks *only* shall be used in *all* theological lectures, until they appear in such English translations as shall be sanctioned by the Synod; but in all the German lectures the German textbooks shall, for all time to come, be retained.[38]

The minority that voted against this compromise was insistent that its objection be recorded in the minutes. All of the men sent by Loehe who were eligible to vote joined in signing this statement:

> The undersigned do hereby protest against all resolutions and decisions of the Board of Directors that have been and may be made in violation of the literal sense of the constitution of the Seminary and pray that this protest be added to the synodical record.[39]

The Loehe men fared no better with their request to change the liturgy of holy communion. Because this was a doctrinal matter, it had to be decided by the ministerium, which ruled, by a vote of seventeen to three, that "we deem it to be the duty of every member of this Synod to use the liturgy recommended by this body; and that the use of the words 'Jesus saith' be retained ('remain *in statu quo*')."[40]

Other things disturbed the Loehe men about the Ohio Synod. Its failure to pledge all ordinands to the symbolical books, its practice of licensing men as candidates and allowing them to perform ministerial functions, and its toleration of pastors who served union-congregations were also objectional practices; but the decisions on the liturgy and the language at the seminary by themselves were enough to show to their satisfaction, and to Loehe himself, that they had been mistaken in assuming the genuine Lutheran character of the Ohio Synod. Even before the synod met at Lancaster and rejected his proposal, Ernst had been advised by Loehe:

> If the licensure system is abandoned, the errors in the Lord's Supper and wherever else they may be found are changed to conform with the correct practice of the church, if the

> seminary is supplied with teachers of the proper sort and remains German in spirit and in truth, if ordination on the basis of all the symbolical books is introduced and carried out with you, Burger, and Saupert,[41] then such a step forward will have occurred that we may praise God and continue to hope for more. But if this cannot be, if the petition in this matter does not pass, then you cannot accept ordination from the hand of a church that is consciously persisting in error. Then you must separate and form a separate synod, not a branch. For you cannot be a branch of such a tree. In case you must separate, it would be simplest if you who have gone out from us would join together with other committed friends who have gone out from Germany and form *one* synod, whether you are near or far from one another.[42]

This course of events is precisely what happened. In September of 1845 twenty-two like-minded men gathered in Cleveland, eleven of whom had been sent by Loehe, five of them having just arrived three months previously, thus after the meeting of the Ohio Synod in Lancaster. Joining them, among others, were Friedrich Winkler, the former professor of the seminary, and Wilhelm Sihler, a man sent by the missionary society of Dresden who had consulted with Loehe before coming to America in 1844. In a rather unusual action because of his outstanding qualifications (since he had studied at the University of Berlin and had spent five years as a private tutor in Germany), Sihler had been ordained by the Ohio Synod at the special meeting of 1844 immediately upon application without having to serve the usual probationary period.[43]

The purpose of the meeting in Cleveland was to separate from the Ohio Synod and also to lay plans for the formation of a new synodical organization that would be solidly Lutheran. The group present authorized three of its number to explore the possibility of uniting with the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri, who were then under the leadership of C. F. W. Walther. The groundwork for such a union had been laid even before the meeting of the Ohio Synod in Lancaster when Ernst had begun corresponding with Walther. Although Walther could not accept Ernst's invitation to participate

in the conference in Cleveland, he had written Ernst supporting the plan for a new synod and expressing the desire of the men in Missouri for an organic union of truly Lutheran congregations.[44]

The committee of three men journeyed to St. Louis in May of 1846, where the Loehe men first met Walther face to face. It was reported that Walther shed tears of joy when he first heard them preach in St. Louis, so impressed was he by their sound Lutheranism,[45] but the Ohioans were also impressed with the men from Missouri. Loehe, informed by Ernst of the developments, expressed his approval of associating with the Missourians, especially now that the autocratic rule of Martin Stephan had been repudiated. Earlier Loehe had written:

> One recognizes that the scattered Saxons in Missouri have been purified and strengthened through the fire of tribulation, and certainly our hope is not in vain that our friends over there may be able to unite completely with them in *one* holy communion. In this way the work of the church there will flourish that much more.[46]

The result of the meeting in St. Louis was the approval of a draft of a synodical constitution. It became the basis for the formal constitutional convention which opened six weeks later in Fort Wayne on July 2, 1846.[47] All but one of the men originally sent by Wilhelm Loehe joined the new Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States.[48]

III.

By the time the new synod was organized in Fort Wayne in 1846, the growing number of men volunteering for service in America was beginning to cause Loehe some concern. Many of them were past the normal age of schooling, and the urgent needs in America would not permit them the luxury of receiving a long course of instruction. Experience had taught Loehe that simple schoolteachers were not enough; men were needed in America who could serve as both pastors and teachers.[49]

The work of preparing men in Germany was taking ever more developed form. In February of 1846 a group of theological

candidates, headed by Friedrich Bauer, joined together in Nuremberg and dedicated their free time to training and examining the volunteers for America.[50] Their efforts freed Loehe from the task of personally instructing the *Nothelfer* and involved more men in the American work.

The original plan of giving the American volunteers partial training in Germany and then sending them to America where they could obtain instruction on the spot was now, of course, brought to an end by the severing of the connection with the seminary in Columbus. The plan had proved its practicality, however, and Loehe felt that some type of continuation was advisable. Wilhelm Sihler possessed the best education of any of the men whom Loehe knew in America, and so he was the logical one to whom to turn.[51] By this time Sihler had become the pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Fort Wayne, which Friedrich Wyneken had formerly served.[52] Sihler's parish was also well situated in relation to the Indian mission-field in Michigan which August Crämer was serving.[53] Fort Wayne had a flourishing German congregation (the oldest in Indiana) and a pastor qualified to be a teacher of theology, and it promised to be an excellent site for a new seminary that would prepare pastors who could serve the twofold task of gathering in the German immigrants and bringing the gospel to the heathen Indians. By February of 1846 Loehe had already determined in this city to "give our brethren in America a seminary for faithful shepherds of souls."[54]

Now that the activity in Germany had been underway for some time, it did not prove too difficult to found a seminary in Fort Wayne. A sufficient sum of money was available, and Sihler was able to obtain accommodations in the city and later purchase a large tract of land on the outskirts of the town for the school.[55] Loehe promised to support one or two teachers and send books for the library of the seminary.[56] The books previously sent to the seminary in Columbus were removed by Ernst when he withdrew from the Ohio Synod and were reportedly given to the library of the new school.[57]

Although Sihler apparently had begun instructing students earlier, beginning with a group of men present at the convention in Fort

Wayne in June, the school dates its foundation, specifically, from October 10, 1846.[58] On that day eleven students who had been sent by Loehe arrived in Fort Wayne, along with four theological candidates from Northern Germany who were intended to serve as teachers.[59] Of the four teachers, only Karl L. A. Wolter stayed at the seminary in Fort Wayne, the others almost immediately accepting calls to various congregations, leaving Sihler and Wolter to build up the new institution.

Loehe intended the seminary in Fort Wayne to be primarily a training school for *Nothelfer* that would serve as a supplement to Bauer's institution in Nuremberg, but it was also to serve as a missionary institution for the instruction of men intending to serve the Indians.[60] He had considered sending Crämer from Frankenmuth to be the second professor at the seminary but ultimately decided that he was more valuable at his post in Michigan.[61] After Wolter died of cholera, however, in 1849 at the age of thirty-one, Crämer was unanimously elected two years later by the synod to replace him. Because the need for pastors and teachers was greater than the need for Indian missionaries, a special course for missionaries unfortunately never came into being at the seminary, much to Loehe's disappointment.

The question of the seminary's future was broached at the convention in Fort Wayne in July of 1846. Even before the institution went into full operation, a proposal to close it was entertained. Since 1839 the Saxons had operated a seminary at Altenburg in Missouri, which Walther suggested be moved to Fort Wayne and combined with the new school there. Action on the matter, however, was postponed until the next convention in 1847, at which time the proposal was defeated. Instead, the school in Altenburg was moved to St. Louis and served as the "theoretical" seminary of the Missouri Synod, while the institution in Fort Wayne continued as the "practical" seminary.[62]

Loehe was critical of the proposal to merge the two schools and rightly predicted its defeat,[63] but he saw it as "a sign and proof of how seriously our Saxon brethren mean to unite."[64] The two types of institutions had different tasks to perform. The task of the theoretical seminary in St. Louis was to offer a "thorough, academic

education, as we intend to do in our German gymnasia and universities."[65] On the other hand, Loehe wrote as follows of the practical school:

> . . . the seminary in Fort Wayne has the primary purpose of preparing *Nothelfer* for the German brethren in the faith, somewhat as up to now has been done among us in Franconia, only with more and better attention to the conditions there than was possible here in this country.[66]

For Loehe there was no question about which type of school was preferable. "In any case," he wrote, "for the present circumstances in North America the *Nothelfer*-institution is the most important."[67]

Loehe was soon called upon to show his good will toward the new Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri Synod, Ohio, and Other States. At the convention in Chicago on April 30, 1847, the synod voted to ask Loehe formally to transfer the title of the seminary in Fort Wayne to it and, at the same time, to continue to support the school financially because the new synod could not afford to maintain it.[68] After consulting with Wucherer, his closest associate, Loehe replied affirmatively to Walter's official request and determined to make a formal gift of the seminary to the Missouri Synod.[69] Three conditions, however, were attached by Loehe, to which he hoped the synod would agree. The seminary (1.) was always to serve only the Lutheran church, which is to say, a church body accepting the entire Book of Concord, (2.) was to use nothing but the German language in its instruction, and (3.) was not to alter its character as a school for the speedy training of pastors for German congregations. Loehe's major regret, however, was that the school had not been able to carry out his intention of serving as a training school for missionaries to the Indians. In his letter to Walther turning over the seminary to the Missouri Synod, he clearly expressed his disappointment:

> You have already often heard of our concern, and Dr. Sihler, the head of the seminary, has also taken it to heart. We believe that the seminary should also serve to train missionaries among the pagan aborigines of North America. We would like to inform you that it would be extremely

> painful to us if you were to take an action that would affect the support of so many friends of mission in Bavaria. However, we have no doubt that you will also continue to keep this point before your eyes and that this intention will be faithfully executed.[70]

With his gift of the school to the Missouri Synod, Loehe's direct control over the seminary in Fort Wayne came to an end, although for most of the next decade students were still sent to it from the missionary seminary in Nuremberg.[71] Funds continued to be solicited by the missionary society that Loehe had founded, and the task of the missionary seminary in Nuremberg, which by then had come under the aegis of the new missionary society, became solely one of preparing men to go to America where they would enter the seminary in Fort Wayne. With the two schools—one in Nuremberg and one in Fort Wayne—firmly established and a functioning missionary society in place, Loehe no longer needed to be so actively involved in supervising the endeavor on a day-by-day basis. Although the chief focus of the *Gesellschaft für innere Mission im Sinne der lutherischen Kirche* continued to be the support of the two schools in Nuremberg and Fort Wayne, the readers of the *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, which had become the society's journal, found that its reports about the seminary in Fort Wayne were much more routine and less frequent than they had been in the early years of its existence.

Loehe also began to be occupied by other concerns. Ultimately he severed his connection with the Missouri Synod and the seminary in Fort Wayne when the Iowa Synod and its seminary were founded in 1854, and for it he performed the same sort of service in sending money and students that he had previously supplied to the seminaries in Columbus and Fort Wayne. Today, in consequence, there are three theological seminaries in America that can claim Wilhelm Loehe, the pastor of the village of Neuendettelsau, as a "father from afar."

The Endnotes

1. The title used here, as applied to Loehe, derives from Charles Lutz, "Father from Afar," *Lutheran Standard*, 116 (August 16, 1958): 8-10.

2. The original oral form of this essay was delivered on October 25, 1995, at Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne, Indiana, as part of a series of lectures commemorating the sesquincentennial of the seminary.

3. James L. Schaaf, "Wilhelm Löhe's Relation to the American Church: A Study in the History of Lutheran Mission" (doctoral dissertation, Heidelberg, 1961).

4. Wilhelm Loehe, *Three Books About the Church*, trans. and ed. with an Introduction by James L. Schaaf (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969).

5. Rick Stuckwisch, *Johannes Konrad Wilhelm Löhe: Portrait of a Confessional Lutheran Missiologist* (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Student Association and Repristination Press, [1993]).

6. Hans Kressel, *Wilhelm Löhe: Ein Lebensbild* (second edition; Erlangen and Rothenburg ob der Tauber, 1954), 26-30.

7. The original *Missionsseminar* closed in 1985. Its successor is a *Missionskolleg* located in Neuendettelsau.

8. "Noch ein Wort der Erinnerung an Wilhelm Löhe," *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 5 (February 19, 1872): col. 44.

9. On Wyneken, one may see Norman J. Threinen, "Wyneken and Nineteenth Century German Lutheranism: An Attempt to Mobilize Confessional Lutherans in Germany in Behalf of Lutherans in North America," in *Missionary to America: The History of Lutheran Outreach to Americans*, Essays and Reports of the Lutheran Historical Conference 15 (St. Louis: Lutheran Historical Conference, 1994), 113-130; David A. Gustafson, "A Confessional Lutheran Encounters American Religion: The Case of Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken," in *Missionary to America: The History of Lutheran Outreach to Americans*, Essays and Reports of the Lutheran Historical Conference 15 (St.

Louis: Lutheran Historical Conference, 1994), 131-141; and Rudolf F. Rehmer, "The Impact of Wyneken's *Notruf*," in *Missionary to America: The History of Lutheran Outreach to Americans*, Essays and Reports of the Lutheran Historical Conference 15 (St. Louis: Lutheran Historical Conference, 1994), 198-208.

10. Friedrich Wyneken, *The Distress of the German Lutherans in North America: Laid upon the Hearts of the Brethren in the Faith in the Home Country*, trans. S. Edgar Schmidt and ed. R. F. Rehmer (second edition; Ft. Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1986).

11. Threinen, "Wyneken and Nineteenth Century German Lutheranism," 117, n. 14.

12. Schaaf, "Wilhelm Löhe's Relation to the American Church," 7-12.

13. Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Klaus Ganzert (7 vols. to date; Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 1951ff.), 4:18.

14. For the text of these instructions, one may see Schaaf, "Wilhelm Löhe's Relation to the American Church," 201-205.

15. J. Deinzer, *Wilhelm Löhes Leben: Aus seinem schriftlichen Nachlaß zusammengestellt* (3 vols.; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1901 [third edition], 1880, and 1892), 3:8.

16. F. Wyneken, "Aufruf an die lutherische Kirche Deutschlands zur Unterstützung der Glaubensbrüder in Nordamerika," *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, n.s., 5 (1843): 166-167.

17. A letter of the Ohio Synod to Wilhelm Loehe, January, 1843, quoted in *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 1 (1843): no. 2.

18. Ibid.

19. The *Gesellschaft für innere Mission nach dem Sinne der lutherischen Kirche* was formally organized in September of 1849 by Loehe and thirty-three of his friends.

20. One may see Homer Reginald Greenholt, "A Study of Wilhelm Loehe, His Colonies and the Lutheran Indian Missions in the Saginaw Valley of Michigan" (doctoral dissertation, University

of Chicago Divinity School, 1937).

21. *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 2 (1844): no. 1.

22. One may see Vergilius Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology: A Study of the Issue between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheranism* (reprinted edition; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987); Carl Mauelshagen, *American Lutheranism Surrenders to the Forces of Conservatism* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia, 1936; and Paul P. Kuenning, *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism: The Rejection of an Activist Heritage* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1988). For a discussion of "American Lutheranism" as related to the Ohio Synod and its seminary, one may see Willard Dow Allbeck, *A Century of Lutheranism in Ohio* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1966), 84-109, 191-220, and Donald L. Huber, *Educating Lutheran Pastors in Ohio, 1830-1980: A History of Trinity Lutheran Seminary and Its Predecessors*, Studies in American Religion 33 (Lewiston, New York: The Edward Mellen Press, 1989), 42-45.

23. In this regard the new arrivals were following the lead of their mentor Loehe whose later publication (1845) *Zuruf aus der Heimat an die deutsch-lutherische Kirche Nordamericas* is an encomiastic tribute to the German language. For the text of the *Zuruf*, see Martin Schmidt, *Wort Gottes und Fremdlingschaft: Die Kirche vor dem Auswanderungsproblem des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Erlangen and Rothenburg ob der Tauber: Martin Luther Verlag, 1953), 141-179.

24. The Prussian Union was an enforced merger of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Prussia in 1817 at the command of King Frederick William III. All churches were ordered to use a formula in administering Holy Communion that began with "Jesus says . . . ," thus obscuring the difference between the Lutheran and Reformed doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament.

25. One wonders how the complainants reconciled the alleged unorthodoxy of the German formula and the proper Lutheran teaching of the English one with their claim that abandoning the German language leads to false teaching.

26. A letter of Wilhelm Loehe to Adam Ernst, October 28, 1843 (Loehe Archives, 7304a).

27. The Ohio Synod held a regular convention only every three years. The regular conventions were in 1842 and 1845; the meeting in Zanesville in 1844 was a special session.

28. *Minutes of the Nineteenth Convention of the Synod and Ministerium of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Ohio and Adjoining Territory, Convened in Canton, Ohio, in Trinity Week, A.D. 1842* (New Philadelphia, Ohio: Lutheran Standard Office, 1842), 41.

29. Ibid.

30. *Lutheran Standard*, 2 (August 30, 1844): 2. One may also see *Verhandlungen der Extra-Sitzung der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und den angrenzenden Staaten, Gehalten zu Zanesville, Ohio, vom 29sten Juni bis zum 6ten Juli 1844* (Pittsburgh: Druckerei der Lutherischen Kirchenzeitung, 1844), 22.

31. A letter of Wilhelm Loehe to Focke, November 3, 1844, quoted in *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 60 (January 14, 1927): 35.

32. "Zirkular an die Freunde der Amerikanischen Sache," December 10, 1844 (Concordia Historical Institute).

33. *Lutheran Standard*, 2 (July 12, 1844): 2.

34. *Lutheran Standard*, 2 (September 6, 1844): 2.

35. *Lutheran Standard*, 2 (October 18, 1844): 2-3.

36. P. A. Peter and Wm. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio* (Columbus: Verlagshandlung der Synode, 1900), 97.

37. Eventually this plan was implemented when Capital University was founded in 1850, at which time the seminary became the theological school within the university, a relationship that prevailed until 1959 when the seminary again became an independent institution.

38. *Minutes of the Fifth Session of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio, Convened in Lancaster, Ohio, May 17th A.D. 1845* (Zanesville, Ohio: Lutheran Standard Press, 1845), 10.

39. Ibid., 16.

40. Ibid., 22.

41. Andreas Saupert had been sent out by Loehe in 1844, attended the seminary in Columbus, and was licensed as a candidate by the Ohio Synod in 1845.

42. A letter of Wilhelm Loehe to Adam Ernst, February 3, 1845 (Loehe Archives, 585).

43. On Sihler, one may see Lewis W. Spitz, *Life in Two Worlds: Biography of William Sihler* (St. Louis and London: Concordia Publishing House, 1968).

44. Carl S. Mundinger, *Government in the Missouri Synod: The Genesis of Decentralized Government in the Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 172-174. It is doubtful, as Mundinger claims on page 175, that some sort of rough draft of the constitution of the Missouri Synod was made at the conference in Cleveland. One may see Schaaf, "Wilhelm Löhe's Relation to the American Church," p. 108, n. 34.

45. Deinzer, *Wilhelm Löhes Leben*, 3:29.

46. *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 3 (1845): no. 4, p. 3.

47. This organizational meeting of 1846 is not generally regarded as the first convention of the Missouri Synod, even though an ordination took place at it. It was decided that the constitution would not go into effect for a year in order that it might be studied by absent pastors and their congregations.

48. The one man who did not join had never entered the ministry of the Ohio Synod; he apparently secured permanent secular employment. The first Missouri Synod roster listed fifty-three pastors. Twenty-one of them had been sent to America by Loehe; twenty came from the group in Missouri.

49. Wilhelm Loehe, *Rechenschaftsbericht der Redactoren der kirchl. Mittheilungen aus und über Nordamerika über das was seit 1841 geschehen ist. Sammt Angabe dessen, was sofort geschehen sollte. Zunächst für die werthen Freunde der Sache in Mecklenburg geschrieben* (Neuendettelsau: n.p., 1847), 12.

50. Eduard Stirner, "Vortrag über die Wirksamkeit der Gesellschaft durch Aussendung von Predigern und Lehrern," in *Fünf Festreden, nebst Gesängen und Gebeten, gehalten bei der ersten Jahresfeier der Gesellschaft für innere Mission im Sinne der lutherischen Kirche den 19. Juni 1850 in der Kirche zu St. Aegydien in Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: Joh. Phil. Raw'schen Buchhandlung, 1850), 26-27.

51. Deinzer, *Wilhelm Löhes Leben*, 3:33, claims that the suggestion for the establishment of the seminary in Fort Wayne came from Sihler himself, although supporting evidence is lacking. Sihler himself, in *Lebenslauf von W. Sihler, als lutherischer Pastor u. s. w.: Auf mehrfaches Begehren von ihm selber geschrieben* (2 vols.; St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlags, 1879-1880), 2:77, credits Loehe with the plan of starting the seminary.

52. Wyneken accepted a pastorate in Baltimore, Maryland, in March of 1845. Sihler left Pomeroy, Ohio, in July of 1845 to accept the pastorate in Fort Wayne. At the time Fort Wayne had fewer than five thousand inhabitants, among them a number of immigrants who had come from Mecklenburg and Pomerania, from Bremen and Minden, some from Bavaria and Switzerland. Spitz, *Life in Two Worlds*, 40-43. In early 1846 Sihler's congregation numbered more than one hundred families and from eighty to a hundred additional individuals. He was planning to construct a new building because the present one had become too small. There were also a dozen or so congregations that had been established around Fort Wayne. *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 4 (1846): col. 15.

53. Crämer, still a pastor in Frankenmuth, Michigan, and three other men who had been sent by Loehe and were then serving in Michigan withdrew from membership in the Michigan Synod on June 25, 1846, and subsequently joined with the pastors who left the Ohio Synod and the Saxons in Missouri in forming the Missouri Synod. Spitz, *Life in Two Worlds*, 42.

54. A letter of Wilhelm Loehe to Alt, February 25, 1846 (Loehe Archive, 8635a).

55. *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 5 (1847): col. 14.

56. Deinzer, *Wilhelm Lohes Leben*, 3:34.

57. Despite the assistance of the Rev. Robert E. Smith, librarian in charge of public services in the Library of Concordia Theological Seminary, the author has been unable to confirm the present location of any of these volumes.

58. Stirner, "Vortrag über die Wirksamkeit der Gesellschaft," 25.

59. *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 4 (1846): cols. 51-53.

60. Wilhelm Loehe, *Die Heiden-Mission in Nord-Amerika: Ein Vortrag in der General-Versammlung des protestantischen Central-Missions-Vereines zu Nürnberg den 2. Juli 1846*, (Nuremberg: Joh. Phil. Raw'schen Buchhandlung, 1846), 17.

61. A letter of Wilhelm Loehe to August Crämer, June 22, 1846 (Loehe Archive, 8616a).

62. Later, in 1861, the seminary was indeed moved from Fort Wayne to St. Louis. In 1875 it was moved to Springfield, Illinois, and ultimately in 1976 returned to Fort Wayne, Indiana.

63. Loehe, *Rechenschaftsbericht*, 14.

64. *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 4 (1846): col. 75.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., cols. 74-75.

67. Loehe, *Rechenschaftsbericht*, 14.

68. *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 5 (1847): col. 77. Loehe was also asked to assist in obtaining a Pastor Oster from Posen for the faculty of the seminary. Loehe, however, had to report that Oster and his congregation had emigrated to Australia, and thus he was not available for the post.

69. Walther's letter of May 6, 1847, and Loehe's reply of September 8, 1847 (Loehe Archive, 7302), are printed in *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 6 (1848): cols. 42-45.

70. *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, 6 (1848): col. 44.

71. Of the eighty-nine students at the seminary in its first nine years, only one was born in America. All the rest had their initial training in Germany under Loehe and his associates. Spitz, *Life in Two Worlds,* 86.

Books Received

Colin E. Gunton. *Christ and Creation.* Carlisle: The Paternoster Press; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992. 127 pages. Paperback. $12.99.

Robert M. Grant. *Heresy and Criticism: The Search for Authenticity in Early Christian Literature.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993. x + 180 pages. Paperback. $17.00.

William Baird. *History of New Testament Research*, volume 1: *From Deism to Tübingen.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992. xxii + 450 pages. Hardback.

John C. Purdy. *God with a Human Face.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993. 116 pages. Paperback. $9.99.

Sander Griifioen. *Pluralisms and Horizons: An Essay in Christian Public Philosophy.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993. 183 pages. Paperback. $17.99.

St. Irenaeus of Lyons Against the Heresies. Translated and annotated by Dominic J. Unger, with further revisions by John J. Dillon. Volume 1, Book 1. *Ancient Christian Writers*, volume 55. New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1992. vii + 300 pages. Hardback.

Paula Fredriksen. *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988. xii + 256 pages. Paperback. $12.95.

Robert L. Wilken. *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992. xvi + 355 pages. Hardback. $35.00.

Millard J. Erickson. *The Evangelical Mind and Heart: Perspectives on Theological and Practical Issues.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993. 219 pages. Paperback.

David Alan Black. *Using New Testament Greek in Ministry: A Practical Guide for Students and Pastors.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993. 128 pages. Paperback.

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Hugh Wybrew. *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite.* Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press. xi + 189 pages. Paperback. $10.95.

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Carter Lindberg. *Beyond Charity: Reformation Initiatives for the Poor.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993. x + 235 pages. Paperback.

Robert H. Craig and Robert C. Worley. *Dry Bones Live: Helping Congregations Discover New Life.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1992. x + 114 pages. Paperback. $9.99.

Ronald Cole-Turner. *The New Genesis: Theology and the Genetic Revolution.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993. 127 pages. Paperback. $12.99.

William S. Kurz. *Reading Luke-Acts: Dynamics of Biblical Narrative.* Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993. 261 pages. Paperback. $15.99.

The Protoevangelium and Concordia Theological Seminary

Douglas McC. L. Judisch

The fountainhead of all messianic prophecy is recorded already in the third chapter of the first book of the Bible. A literal translation of Genesis 3:15 would constitute the following quatrain:

> I shall place enmity between thee and the woman
> and between thy seed and her Seed;
> He will crush thee with regard to the head,
> and thou wilt crush Him with regard to the heel.

Rightly has the Evangelical Lutheran Church traditionally spoken of this passage as the protevangel, to use the strictly English derivative, which is, in fact, rarely used within Concordia Theological Seminary or the ministerium which has emanated hence. The customary shape, on the contrary, which this term assumes in this school and among its graduates is the original Greek form of the *protoeuaggellion* or, much more commonly, the intermediate Latin form of the *protoevangelium.* The meaning of the term, however, is in any case unchanging, namely, the "first gospel."

At this special time as Concordia Theological Seminary celebrates its sesquicentennial there is a special propriety in some reflection on the special relationship existing between the first prophecy in history and the first seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. There is probably, in fact, no place on earth where the protoevangelium is cited and explained more frequently in chapel or classrooms—indeed, in commons or dormitory or wherever—by professors and by students and, indeed, by administrators and regents. Nor could anyone possibly bypass the singular connection of the protevangel with this institution by virtue of its official seal, which occurs (to give but one instance among many) on every issue of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly.*

It was, actually, a mere four decades ago—fully, therefore, a decade following the observance of its centennial—that this particular connection between Concordia Theological Seminary and Genesis 3:15 was forged. It was only then that the president of the day, Dr. Walter A. Baepler, commissioned the preparation of an official seal of Concordia Theological Seminary. The goal was

specifically to produce an emblem which would express as clearly as possible the purpose of the school—yes, "the reason for its existence."[1] Understandably enough, in his quest for wise counsel, he chose an exegete—and specifically an exegete of the Old Testament—to prepare the design. Dr. Martin J. Naumann served as Professor of Exegetical Theology from 1948 until the time of his sudden death in 1972. One of Martin Naumann's main interests was messianic prophecy and so the results of this commission, although unique, come as really no surprise. With the artistic assistance of his daughter Doris, the professor devised a design which was readily accepted by the Board of Control. The design was announced, on this basis, as the seal of Concordia Theological Seminary in an issue of *The Springfielder* published in February of 1957.[2] The description begins in this way:

> "Preach the Word" is on the left side of the cross in Greek letters which are copied from the facsimile copy of the Codex Sinaiticus in our library. "Preach the Word" is the command of the Lord to the church and particularly to His called ministers.[3]

The reference, of course, is to the motto of the seminary, *keruxon ton logon*, to which is appended its location in Holy Scripture, 2 Timothy 4:2, "Preach the word; be instant in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine." The initial description, at any rate, of the seal of the seminary then immediately proceeds to forge a single christological link between 2 Timothy 4 and Genesis 3:15.

> "Preach the Word" is the command of the Lord to the church and particularly to His called ministers. The word is the word of the cross. The cross is presented as the fulfillment of the promise of Genesis 3:15. The victory of the cross is established by Christ's life and death and by His resurrection. The message of the victory over sin and Satan is symbolized by the cross over the head of the serpent.[4]

Unmentioned in the article which introduced the seal of the seminary is the presence of three circles around the head and arms of the cross. The goal, although unstated, was beyond any doubt to

symbolize the trinitarian dogma expressed by the traditional dictum of *opera ad extra indivisa sunt* (the activities of the several persons of the Holy Trinity in regard to the outside are inseparable). In this case all three persons of the Holy Trinity were participants in the work of redemption although, of course, participating in ways which are clearly distinctive.

Some additional points concerning the seal of the seminary may be delayed to the conclusion of this study. We have, at any rate, noted already that this emblem is less than a third of the age of the institution which it represents. It is, however, the thesis of this essay that the centrality of the protoevangelium in the seal of Concordia Theological Seminary has been aptly chosen to represent its entire history from its foundation onward down to this year of 1996 and, by the grace of God, beyond this year down to the end of time. There are two main points which will be made here in this study to that end.

I.

The first justification, then, of the centrality of the protoevangelium to the seal of Concordia Theological Seminary is its preeminence in the Lutheran Confessions. This institution has been from the time of its foundation irreversibly dedicated to the faithful transmission of the Evangelical Lutheran Symbols to the prospective pastors of the church of God. Its very name, after all, Concordia Theological Seminary, derives from that Book of Concord in which the protevangel is certainly given a special prominence.

Genesis 3:15 is quoted once in the Apology to the Augsburg Confession, cited a second time in specific words, and utilized in addition more implicitly. The quotation of the protevangel occurs already in Article II, dealing with original sin, preceding the following observations (46-50):

> . . . defects and . . . concupiscence are punishments and sins. Death and other bodily evils and the dominion of the devil are properly punishments. For human nature has been delivered into slavery and is held captive by the devil, who infatuates it with wicked opinions and errors and impels it

> to sins of every kind. But just as the devil cannot be conquered except by the aid of Christ, so by our own strength we cannot free ourselves from this slavery. Even the history of the world shows how great is the power of the devil's kingdom. The world is full of blasphemies against God and of wicked opinions, and the devil keeps entangled in these bands those who are wise and righteous in the sight of the world. In other persons grosser vices manifest themselves. But since Christ was given to us to remove both these sins and these punishments and to destroy the kingdom of the devil, sin, and death, it will not be possible to recognize the benefits of Christ unless we understand our evils.[5]

On this basis, then, the references made subsequently in the Apology to the "consensus of the prophets" must therefore be read as embracing the protoevangelium.

The phrase *consensus prophetarum* occurs first in Article IV, the prime article of the symbols on justification, following a citation of Acts 10:43 (83):

> Peter says, "To Him all the prophets bear witness that everyone who believes in Him receives forgiveness of sins through His name." How could he say it anymore plainly? We receive the forgiveness of sins, he says, through His name, that is, for His sake—therefore, not for the sake of our merits, our contrition, attrition, love, worship, or works. . . . in addition he cites the consensus of all the prophets, which is really citing the authority of the church.[6]

True to the promise which concludes this paragraph the *consensus prophetarum* surfaces again in Article XII of the Apology. The opening word of this oracular symposium is clearly identified in sections 53-55 of this article on penitence:

> For the two chief works of God in men are these, to terrify and to justify and quicken those who have been terrified. Into these two works all scripture has been distributed. The one part is the law, which shows, reproves, and condemns sins. The other part is the gospel, i.e., the

> promise of grace bestowed in Christ, and this promise is constantly repeated in the whole of Scripture, first having been delivered to Adam, afterwards to the patriarchs; then, still more clearly proclaimed by the prophets; lastly, preached and set forth among the Jews by Christ and disseminated by the apostles. For all the saints were justified by faith in this promise, and not by their own attrition or contrition.
>
> And the examples show likewise these two parts. After his sin Adam is reproved and becomes terrified; this was contrition. Afterward God promises grace, and speaks of a future seed, by which the kingdom of the devil, death, and sin will be destroyed; there He offers the remission of sins. These are the chief things. For although the punishment is afterward added, yet this punishment does not merit the remission of sin.[7]

The German translation of the Apology introduces an actual quotation of Genesis 3:15 with the statement that "the first gospel was spoken to Adam" (*das erste Evangelium*) and identifies the *semen futurum* as "the blessed Seed, that is, Christ" (*durch den gebenedeiten Samen, das ist, Christum*).[8]

The same primacy of the protevangel among prophecies is therefore to be assumed in section 66:

> Our opponents cry out that they are the church and follow the consensus of the church. But here Peter cites the consensus of the church in support of our church: "to Him all the prophets bear witness that everyone who believes in Him receives forgiveness of sins through His name," etc. Surely the consensus of the prophets should be interpreted as the consensus of the universal church. Neither to the pope nor to the church do we grant the authority to issue decrees contrary to this consensus of the prophets.[9]

Even more clearly is the prophetic primacy of the protoevangelium necessarily implied in sections 72-73:

> Let pious consciences know, therefore, that God com-

> mands them to believe that they are freely forgiven because of Christ, not because of our works. Let them sustain themselves with this command of God against despair and against the terrors of sin and death. Let them know that this is what the saints in the church have believed since the beginning of the world. Peter clearly cites the consensus of the prophets; the writings of the apostles attest that they believe the same thing; nor are the testimonies of the fathers lacking.[10]

The phrase which points here, of course, most obviously to Genesis 3:15 is "since the beginning of the world" (*a principio mundi in ecclesia*) (73).[11] The German version, however, makes the implication quite explicit: "of this the idle sophists know little and the blessed proclamation, the gospel which proclaims the forgiveness of sins through the blessed seed, that is, Christ, has from the beginning of the world been the greatest consolation and treasure to all pious kings, all prophets, all believers. For they have believed in the same Christ in whom we believe; for from the beginning of the world no saint has been saved in any other way than through the faith of the same gospel."[12]

The protoevangelium reappears in the context of properly distinguishing the law and the gospel in the last of the Lutheran Confessions. "Law and Gospel" is, of course, the specific subject of Article V of the Formula of Concord, and, after recalling the insistence of the Blessed Reformer of the Church on distinguishing law and gospel with utmost care, section 23 of the Solid Declaration proceeds in this way:

> From the beginning of the world these two proclamations have been ever and ever inculcated alongside of each other in the church of God, with a proper distinction. For the descendants of the venerable patriarchs, as also the patriarchs themselves, not only called to mind constantly how in the beginning man had been created righteous and holy by God and through the fraud of the serpent had transgressed God's command, had become a sinner, and had corrupted and precipitated himself with all his posterity into death and eternal condemnation, but also encouraged and comforted

> themselves again by the preaching concerning the seed of the woman, who would bruise the serpent's head (Genesis 3:15); likewise, concerning the seed of Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed (Genesis 22:18); likewise, concerning David's son, who should restore again the kingdom of Israel and be a light to the heathen (Psalm 110:1; Isaiah 49:6; Luke 2:32), who was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities, by whose stripes we are healed (Isaiah 53:5).[13]

In this passage the Woman's Seed occurs as the first name of the Messiah in the church of the Old Testament, and the contents of all subsequent messianic prophecies are predicated of the *Weibes Same* or *Semen Mulieris.* Isaiah 53 is cited climactically as the most dramatic depiction in the prophets of the way in which the Woman's Seed would crush the serpent's head, namely, by permitting Himself to be crushed with regard to the heel.[14]

II.

A second justification of the centrality of the protevangel to the seal of Concordia Theological Seminary is that certainly the predominating view of its faculty through the course of a hundred and fifty years has been the directly messianic interpretation of Genesis 3:15 traditional in the Lutheran Church before the nineteenth century, whereby the word *zerah* ("her Seed") and the third masculine forms of the verse are understood as referring specifically and exclusively to the God-Man whom we call Jesus Christ. During the course, indeed, of the first century of its existence the devotion of the seminary and its synod as a whole to the exegesis of the Blessed Reformer and to the Lutheran Confessions (even to the exegesis therein) placed any challenge to the confessional understanding of the protoevangelium effectively beyond the realm of possibility.

The first century, moreover, of Concordia Theological Seminary included a decade and a half (1856-1871) in St. Louis under the presidency of the chief doctor of the church since the reformers, the Blessed Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. An inspiring and useful example of his approach to Genesis 3:15 can be found in the ninth of his thirty-nine lectures on *The Proper Distinction Between Law*

and Gospel:

> What is the import of these words? It is this: The Messiah, the Redeemer, the Savior is not to come for the purpose of telling us what we are to do, what works we are to perform in order to escape from the terrible dominion of darkness, sin, and death. These feats the Messiah is not going to leave for us to accomplish, but He will do all that Himself. "He shall bruise the serpent's head" . . . means nothing else than this, that He shall destroy the kingdom of the devil. All that man has to do is to know that he has been redeemed, that he has been set free from his prison, that he has no more to do than to believe and accept this message and rejoice over it with all his heart. If the text were to read "He shall save you," that would not be so comforting; or if it read "you must believe in Him," we should be at a loss to know what is meant by this faith. This protoevangelium, this First Gospel in Genesis, was the fountain from which the believers in the Old Testament drew their comfort. It was important for them to know: "There is One coming who will not only tell us what we must do to get to heaven. No, the Messiah will do all Himself to bring us there." Now that the rule of the devil has been destroyed, anything I must do cannot come into consideration. If the devil's dominion is demolished, I am free. There is nothing for me to do but to *appropriate* this to myself.[15]

Such is the exegesis of the protoevangelium which the venerable doctor offers in the course of supporting the fifth of his twenty-five theses on the proper distinction of law and gospel, namely, that "the first manner of confounding law and gospel is the one most easily recognized—and the grossest"—which "is adopted, for example, by Papists, Socinians, and Rationalists and consists in this, that Christ is represented as a new Moses, or Lawgiver, and the gospel turned into a doctrine of meritorious works, while at the same time those who teach that the gospel is the message of the free grace of God in Christ are condemned and anathematized."[16]

In the course, to be sure, of the decade and a half following the

adoption of the official seal of 1956, the previous consensus on messianic prophecy in general was broken by the introduction also in Concordia Theological Seminary of the critical method of biblical interpretation which had already come to predominate (temporarily, of course) in the classrooms of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. There, indeed, by the closing years of the sixties of this century none of those teaching the Old Testament to undergraduate students regarded Genesis 3:15, to this author's knowledge, as a messianic prophecy of any kind or, in consequence, as the proclamation of the gospel. The description of the passage as protoevangelium was, indeed, depicted as hopeless obscurantism. A directly messianic interpretation of the verse was, to be sure, still being asserted with no compromise in the classes and sermons of the primary systematician of the seminary in St. Louis and, indeed, of the church as a whole, Professor Robert Preus, now in glory.

The critical approach made definite inroads during the sixties in Springfield as well, but it also encountered the vocal resistance of several of the exegetical theologians of Concordia Theological Seminary (in alliance, of course, with others in the faculty). One of the advocates of the traditional approach to the Old Testament was the aforesaid Dr. Martin Naumann in his lectures and in various essays. His main contribution to posterity was, to be sure, published only after his death in his *Messianic Mountaintops*.[17] The frontispiece, in fact, of *Messianic Mountaintops* consists, quite appropriately, in a rubrication of the seal of the seminary, with an accompanying note that its design had been "suggested" by the professor by then in glory.[18] Martin Naumann begins, of course, his exploration of the messianic terrain of the Old Testament with the quotation of Genesis 3:15 and this effusion of eloquence:

> But it was not, as has been said, sometimes with tenderness, the first little star in the pitch-black darkness of the night of sin and death that had come on man. No, not a small light, although a tiny light the clearer, the darker the night. Not just a glimmer, but rather the full burst of the sun of righteousness with healing in its wings. The promise of God did not grow from a germ of a seed to a mighty tree. The promise of God and the grace of God was never a

> "more or less" matter. It is as great as God's full majesty; indeed it is God's glory. *Soli Deo Gloria* is sung not only of the majesty Isaiah sees in the temple but always includes also the absolution he receives in the same temple from the same vision. This is God in the fullness of His glory: "God who justifies the ungodly."[19]

Professor Naumann similarly begins the summation of his remarks on the protoevangelium with these words: "Adam and Eve, we see, had much more than a dim star of hope guiding them through life till they finally arrived back in Eden, in the eternal Eden described in Revelation in so many terms borrowed from Genesis. Adam and Eve had the word, a light unto their feet, the daystar from on high. No dim theology theirs, to grow only gradually into a knowledge of a divinity. No constantly changing or ever evolving religious concepts for them. They had revelation."[20]

During the decade of the sixties, moreover. Professor Raymond Surburg of Concordia Theological Seminary emerged as the primary champion in the synod as a whole of its traditional approach to the Old Testament in both isagogics and interpretation. In November of 1972, for instance, Dr. Surburg delivered an essay to the faculty of the seminary entitled "Messianic Prophecy and Messianism," which was subsequently published in *The Springfielder* in June of 1973.[21] Therein, among many points made, he charted the course of the generalizing and critical approaches to the prophecy of the Old Testament, whereby Genesis 3:15 was first reduced to a speaking of the victory of mankind in general (with, one could say, Christ at its head) and then to describing an unending aversion between human beings and snakes.[22] His own conception of the verse he expressed more fully in two works published some ten years later.

In the course of a series of three lectures which Dr. Surburg delivered in Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary in October of 1982,[23] he speaks of messianic prophecy as having "its origin in Genesis 3:15," where the "first messianic promise was spoken directly by God."[24] He utilizes, indeed, the following analogy to describe the fundamental role which Genesis 3:15 plays in biblical christology:

> With this verse began the stream of messianic promises which in the course of the centuries was going to become a mighty stream in terms . . . of the person and work of Christ. By the time this small rivulet, beginning at Genesis 3:15, has swelled into a mighty river and has reached the open sea of the New Testament, a rather concise picture of the Messiah, God's Son, has been revealed.[25]

In the course of these lectures, too, Dr. Surburg obviously concurs in the conception of the Blessed Reformer as to the understanding of the original human audience of Genesis 3:15. As with Dr. Luther, so with Dr. Surburg, the verse not only is the gospel but was clearly understood and believed as gospel by Adam and Eve. It was only, indeed, by such a faith that the first parents of mankind, once they had fallen into sin, could again become righteous in the sight of God and so be saved.[26]

Even more profound, however, is Dr. Surburg's depiction of the protoevangelium in an essay which appeared in this journal in July of 1982, "Justification as a Doctrine of the Old Testament":[27]

> The doctrine of justification of sinners had its origin immediately after the fall of Adam and Eve. By heeding Satan and disobeying God's will, they became subject to death in all its forms: spiritual, temporal, and eternal. By one act of disobedience they forfeited God's divine favor and incurred God's wrath. . . .
>
> When Adam and Eve were summoned before God as Judge, they expected to hear that the justice and holiness of God would require their Creator to pronounce condemnation. But in Eden God, while He pronounced a curse on the serpent and his seed, showed His great mercy and grace by announcing the ultimate deliverance of mankind in Genesis 3:15. . . . Critical scholarship interprets "the seed of the woman" as referring simply to Eve's descendants, thus translating the Hebrew word *zerah* . . . as a plural.
>
> Genesis 3:15, "the Protoevangelium," was the hope of cursed mankind, which was to be redeemed from the curse of the law and restored to the favor of God. Westermann's

> objection that Genesis 3:15 cannot announce the gospel because it appears in a series of curses, simply reflects the bias of anti-scriptural form-criticism. . . . No, Genesis 3:15 was an announcement of God's mercy and, while it was made in general terms and later messianic prophecies would give more and more specific information on many points, "yet it contained enough to lay a solid foundation for faith and hope towards God, and it was the first beam of gospel-light which dawned on a fallen world."[28]

By the time, however, that these words were spoken in the precise form quoted, they were uttered in the context of the theological symposia of Concordia Theological Seminary which were by then being conducted, as now, in the initial month of each year.

It was, indeed, the sainted Professor Robert Preus who initiated and encouraged the forum in which those remarks were first uttered in January of 1982 and in which the remarks now printed here were first made orally in January of 1996. He had, of course, already assumed the presidency of Concordia Theological Seminary in the autumn of 1974. He it was, likewise, who had eagerly urged the posthumous publication of the *Messianic Mountaintops* previously noted. The main contribution, of course, which Robert Preus made to the continuing place of the protoevangelium within his seminary was the pivotal role which he played in deflecting—for his remaining years in this life, at least—the modern critical challenge to the confessional approach to Holy Scripture in general and to the Old Testament in particular—especially in Concordia Theological Seminary (in Springfield and then in Fort Wayne) and in Concordia Seminary in St. Louis (during his term of leadership there before his call to Springfield) but also in many other places to one extent or another.

By no means to be forgotten, however, are the facts that he both utilized passages of the Old Testament as *sedes doctrinae* in lectures and discussions and preached on such passages in the chapel of this seminary. He made his mark, of course, as a systematician, but his exegesis was remarkably precise and dependable. Of particular relevance among his writings would be those which deal with the principles and procedures to be employed or avoided in the interpre-

tation of Holy Scripture in general and of the Old Testament in particular. In an article, for instance, entitled "The Unity of Scripture" he insists in a very useful way on properly distinguishing prophecy from typology:[29]

> In the case of predictive prophecy we have a rectilinear correspondence between an Old Testament descriptive and cognitive prediction and a thing, person, or event described in the New Testament. In typology there is also a straight correspondence, but between a thing or person or event in the Old Testament and a person, thing, or event in the New Testament. In the case of predictive prophecy the *words* of the Old Testament predict; in the case of typology the reference of the words predict. The correspondence or unity between type and antitype in the case of biblical typology is therefore only a unity of two references, type from the Old and antitype from the New Testament. Except in cases where the New Testament itself clearly makes out an Old Testament type, the practice of typological exegesis can become open-ended and precariously arbitrary as a hermeneutical principle since it is an application not of the unity of Scripture, but of the unity of the references of Scripture. It is thus no more based on the explicative meaning of the biblical narrative than the application of the unitary principles of Semler and his followers who believed that there was no unity of Scripture except that which was applicatively derived.[30]

President Preus was particularly insistent in this vein that the authors of the New Testament were always capturing the one intended sense of any prophecy which they cited from the Old Testament. "The New Testament writers," he asserted, "are correct in their understanding and interpretation of the Old Testament, that is, they actually represent the *sensus literalis* and intention of the Old Testament, not a distorted interpretation, or *ex eventu* explanation of typology, or religious insight as they witness to the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy."[31]

Although, however, the designation of anything as a type without the express authorization of scriptural words is necessarily arbitrary,

a prophecy already consists in scriptural words and therefore needs no additional authorization to demonstrate its existence as a prophecy. Dr. Preus had, therefore, no question as to the original and only meaning of Genesis 3:15. The author of this essay—and doubtless many of its readers as well—can recall him, indeed, frequently treating the verse as the protoevangelium—in lectures and sermons and discussions—in a way which was always directly and exclusively messianic. In November of 1973, for example, President Preus delivered a series of lectures in Mankato (again, specifically, in Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary) on the proper interpretation and use of the two testaments of Holy Scripture.[32] In his second lecture he asserts, with the reformers, "Christ as Savior was the object of the explicit faith of Old Testament believers; they were not saved by some implicit faith in the power or goodness of God."[33] Then he endorses the Blessed Reformer's conception of the results of the protoevangelium: "Adam was a Christian long before the birth of Christ. For he had the same faith in Christ that we have."[34] So pivotal, indeed, was the protoevangelium to Robert Preus, and so univocal in its proclamation of the gospel, that he treated Genesis 3:15 as the equivalent in the Old Testament of John 3:16 in the New Testament.[35]

Along the same lines of enduring importance was the way in which Robert Preus encouraged the editing and translation and publication by the seminary of various works of Dr. Georg Stoeckhardt, the leading exegetical theologian in the history of the synod which Concordia Theological Seminary has served through the course of almost all of its years of existence. Thus, although the man whom the synod has historically regarded as the dean of exegetes of Holy Scripture never formally served on the faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary in the first century of its existence, the same seminary has done much in the course of its second century to preserve and disseminate his teaching in lectures and writings. Particularly related to the subject at hand are the translation of the *Adventspredigten*, which was published with the subtitle of *An Exposition of the Principal Messianic Prophecies of the Old Testament*,[36] and the translation and collection in a single volume entitled *Christ in Old Testament Prophecy* of a series of articles which originally appeared in the course of three years of *Lehre und*

Wehre.[37] Both of these works, like many others of Georg Stoeckhardt, were aptly translated by Erwin W. Koehlinger of Fort Wayne, who still continues with his labors in the same arena.

Concluding Remarks

A third justification of the centrality of the protoevangelium to the seal of Concordia Theological Seminary is its preeminence already in Holy Scripture. This institution has been from its foundation, as reflected in its articles of incorporation, dedicated first and foremost to the faithful transmission of the Word of God to the prospective pastors of His church. A necessary premise, of course, in this argument is that Genesis 3:15 records, in fact, the original proclamation of the gospel both in its canonical wording and in its canonical context in particular and in general. The constraints of space involved here, however, require us to postpone to the future any consideration in writing of these specific aspects of the protoevangelium. Those interested can, however, in the meantime have recourse, not only to the author's remarks in the Eleventh Annual Symposium on Exegetical Theology of Concordia Theological Seminary,[38] but much more significantly to the writings of those commentators of previous centuries who still remain more worthy of emulation than any of those alive today.[39]

Returning, then, to the seal of Concordia Theological Seminary, the position of the globe in the design beneath both cross and serpent's head evidently relates to the seemingly elliptical assertion, in *The Springfielder* which introduced the seal, that "sin still is on this world, but it has been overcome by the Seed of the Woman."[40] The idea is presumably that the devil appears to continue in control of this world, but Jesus Christ has actually already defeated Him beyond all recall by means of the cross. His victory, conversely, entails the justification of the world, the news of which Concordia Theological Seminary was founded to prepare men to take to all those dwelling on this globe. For this cause *The Springfielder* sums up the theme of the seal of the seminary thus:

> The message of the men going from this seminary is the message that meets the realism of sin with the real salvation of the Christ. The Cross is the central symbol; it dominates

all.[41]

Also noted as occurring within the inner circle of the seal is the date Anno Domini 1846—in the year of the Lord 1846.[42] Unmentioned in the introductory article is the threefold repetition of the cross in connection with the letters abbreviating the phrase "Anno Domini"—thereby reemphasizing once again the centrality of the cross of Jesus Christ to the mission and so to the theology of the institution then established. For it was, of course, in that year of our Lord 1846 that the foundation of Concordia Theological Seminary took place, the foundation which the church celebrates anew with special gratitude to God in this sesquicentennial year of Concordia Theological Seminary.

The Endnotes

1. *The Springfielder*, 21:5 (February 1957), 8.

2. Ibid. A special expression of gratitude is due at the outset to Mrs. Barbara Steege, who rendered inestimable service to Concordia Theological Seminary through the course of many years as its librarian and was now able to locate elsewhere the issue of *The Springfielder* cited here, which is unfortunately, as of this writing, missing from the archives in Fort Wayne. The assistance of the Reverend Bruce Lucas in contacting Mrs. Steege and others with any possible information is also much appreciated.

3. Ibid. The motto was originally written in the specific kind of characters employed in Codex Sinaiticus, as opposed to the standardized form of Greek capitals which is now used by the seminary—as, for example, on the front cover of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly*.

4. Ibid. The use of capitals and punctuation here and elsewhere has been adjusted to the customary usage of this journal.

5. *Concordia Triglotta: Die symbolischen Buecher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, ed. F. Bente (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), 116-119.

6. Ibid., 118-119.
7. Ibid., 264-267.
8. Ibid., 266-267.
9. *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 191.
10. Ibid., 192.
11. Ibid., 192; *Concordia Triglotta*, 272.
12. *Concordia Triglotta*, 273.
13. Ibid., 958-959.
14. Ibid., 958-959.
15. C. F. W. Walther, *The Proper Distinction Between Law and Gospel: Thirty-Nine Evening Lectures*, trans. W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), 70-71.
16. Ibid., 69.
17. Martin J. Naumann, *Messianic Mountaintops*, ed. David P. Scaer and Douglas McC.L. Judisch (*The Springfielder*, 39: 2, [September 1975]; Springfield: Concordia Seminary Monograph Series, 2), 72 pages.
18. Ibid., on the inside of the front cover.
19. Ibid., 9.
20. Ibid., 12.
21. Raymond F. Surburg, "Messianic Prophecy and Messianism," *The Springfielder*, 37:1 (June 1973), 17-34.
22. Ibid., 30-33.
23. Raymond F. Surburg, "Luther and the Christology of the Old Testament," *The Lutheran Synod Quarterly: Theological Journal of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod*, 23:1 (March 1983), 89 pages, in conjunction with *Supplement to 1982 Reformation Lectures* (Mankato, Minnesota: Bethany

Lutheran Theological Seminary), 1-20.

24. Surburg, "Luther and the Christology of the Old Testament," 34.

25. Ibid., 36-37.

26. Ibid., 35-36, as similarly 23-24.

27. Raymond F. Surburg, "Justification as a Doctrine of the Old Testament," *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 46:2-3 (April-July 1982), 129-146.

28. Ibid., 134-135.

29. Robert D. Preus, "The Unity of Scripture," *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 54:1 (January 1990), 1-23.

30. Ibid., 7-8.

31. Ibid., 7.

32. Robert D. Preus, *How Is the Lutheran Church to Interpret and Use the Old and New Testaments?*, Reformation Lectures (Mankato, Minnesota: November 1-2, 1973): Lecture I, 13 pages; Lecture II, 9 pages; Lecture III, 9 pages.

33. Ibid., Lecture II, 4.

34. Ibid., Lecture II, 4-5.

35. Ibid., Lecture III, 7.

36. Georg Stoeckhardt, *Advent Sermons: An Exposition of the Principal Messianic Prophecies of the Old Testament*, trans. Erwin W. Koehlinger (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1984), 143 pages.

37. Georg Stoeckhardt, *Christ in Old Testament Prophecy*, trans. Erwin W. Koehlinger (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary), 186 pages.

38. Douglas McC.L. Judisch, "The Protoevangelium and the Seminary," Eleventh Annual Symposium on Exegetical Theology (Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary,

1996), which is available on videotape from the Bookstore of Concordia Theological Seminary.

39. Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 1-5*, trans. George V. Schick, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958; *Luther's Works: American Edition*, 1), 188-198; Abraham Calov, *Biblia Testamenti Veteris Illustrata* (Dresden and Leipzig: J. C. Zimmermann, 1719), I, 242-247.

40. The Springfielder, 21:5 (February 1957), 8.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

Books Received

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Margaret M. Mitchell. *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians*. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993. xii + 380 pages. Hardback. $24.00

Juergen Becker. *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles*. Translated by O. C. Dean, Jr. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993. xiv + 513 pages. Hardback. $30.00.

James W. Aageson. *Written Also for Our Sake: Paul and the Art of Biblical Interpretation*. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993. xiii + 156 pages. Paperback. $10.99.

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Preach the Word!

Commissioned for the One-Hundred-and-Fiftieth Anniversary
of Concordia Theological Seminary

Text: Stephen P. Starke, 1995
Tune: "Fort Wayne," Carl Schalk, 1995

1. God gave a vision of the need
That Paul might go where God would lead;
So by the Spirit gently spurred,
He went at once to preach the word.
Far distanced from that time and place
The need remained to know God's grace;
Within a pastor's heart there stirred
A prayer for men to preach the word.

Refrain:
Preach the word, at all times, preach the word;
With great care and patience, preach the word!
Correct, rebuke, encourage, and assure—
Preach the word! Preach the word!

2. God blessed that prayer and students came,
Here learned to speak His saving Name;
Their sure resolve was undeterred:
"O Lord, send me to preach the word!"
The need persists, the hour is late;
The workers few, the harvest great.
Lord, bless our prayer for men not lured
From their desire to preach the word.

3. How can the world God's mercy share
Or call upon His name in prayer?
Can they believe who have not heard?
Some must be sent to preach the word.
Unveil, O Lord, our blinded view;
Anoint our eyes with salve from You
That we might see with sight unblurred,
One vision clear: to preach the word.

The music is available upon request from the Office of Advancement of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

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Confessional Lutheranism in Eighteenth Century Germany

Vernon P. Kleinig

In his highly original treatment of German Protestant apologetics in the nineteenth century, *Der Kampf um das Christentum*,[1] Werner Elert has shown how the apologists who thought they were defending the Christian faith were often the ones who ended up compromising it the most; because they were operating with an inadequate or incorrect conception of the Christian faith. This study, however, will examine the apologetic methods and content of the three best-known Lutheran apologists of the eighteenth century. Here the problem is different than Elert's; we are more concerned to see why it was that people with a correct understanding of the Christian faith were unconvincing in their apologetic efforts. It may be helpful first, however, if we take some note of the background against which the three Lutherans under study here—Valentin Loescher, Melchior Goeze, and Georg Hamann—were operating. Here the emphasis will be not so much on the leading philosophical currents of the time, which have already been adequately examined elsewhere as on some contemporary figures who are worthy of more attention.

Fidelity to the Lutheran symbols was by no means as dead in the eighteenth century as the historical textbooks would lead us to believe. Since, however, confessionalism was no longer the fashionable thing or the leading tendency of the day, its survival has usually been considered unworthy of mention. Here we need to view its survival in terms of two different periods—up to 1740, when there were still a considerable number of theologians who held to Lutheran orthodoxy and the concept of pure doctrine was still understandable, and 1740-1786, when there remained in the main only isolated areas which still had pastors who adhered to the symbols of the Lutheran Reformation. There were men, in the first place, like Erdmann Neumeister, G. Wernsdorf, E. S. Cyprian, and M. H. Reinhardt, who were theologians sharing Loescher's orthodoxy. Rostock, Wittenberg, Leipzig, and, to a lesser extent, Tübingen, and Giessen were still orthodox. Then, too, there were the confessional Pietists, Christian Gerber, Johann Bengel, J. F. Buddeus, Benjamin Schmolk, and Christian Scheidt, to name a few. It is debatable, indeed, whether any of these should even be called Pietists, since most of them spoke out against the excesses of the movement and repeatedly affirmed their loyalty to the Lutheran

Confessions. In many of these we see the best of orthodoxy and of pietism coming together. Bengel was not in favor of changing the confessions and spoke of cheerfully subscribing them (*bona fide cum libertate animi*). And if we look at K. G. Kietmann's list of pastors still loyal to the Augsburg Confession in Saxony, the number is quite impressive. In his *Geschichte der Evangelische Kirche* Rudolf Rocholl claims that the Lutheran Church never had more loyal preachers than it had in the first half of the eighteenth century.

After 1750, however, the lines become harder to distinguish and our information less ample. Yet it ought to be noted that there was still a big enough demand in 1762 for J. F. Cotta to edit and bring out a new edition of Johann Gerhard's *Loci Theologici*. The notes show how orthodox Cotta was, and his brother was hardly the sort of person who would publish such a huge tome as *Loci Theologici* unless it was expected to sell. In 1758, again, the Tübingen faculty was still defending the Lutheran teaching on Holy Communion. In answer to the opposition which ensued, the reply of J. G. Walch and J. A. Ernesti (*Brevis Repetitio et Assertio Sententiae Lutheranae*) in 1765 was unyielding. These latter two both wrote famous studies on the symbols, as did also Professor J. E. Schubert of Griefswald. Other worthy adherents of the old Lutheran faith include F. V. Reinhard of Dresden, P. H. Brandt of Altdorf, Count Reventlow, Buchrucker of Bavaria, S. F. Trescho of Mohrungen (Herder's tutor), J. H. Ress (who made a famous reply to Lessing), D. Schumann of Hanover, and J. F. Burg of Silesia. In 1773 a controversy occurred in Jena when a student asserted the similarity of justification and predestination.[2]

I. Valentin Ernst Loescher

A. Loescher's Life and Works

Valentin Loescher was born in 1673, the son of a professor of theology in Wittenberg, where Loescher himself began his studies, first in history and then in theology. In 1694 he began his epoch-making lectures on the influence of Descartes and the misuse of philosophy in theology since Descartes' time. He undertook some archeological research in 1694, while in the following year he visited Amsterdam, Leyden, Antwerp, Utrecht, Copenhagen, and other cities

of western Europe, to use their libraries and to meet important intellectuals there. He chose to spend the greatest amount of time in Holland, because it was the intellectual frontier of Europe at the time; and, while there, he met the historian M. Leydeccer and other opponents of Descartes. In 1697 Loescher became co-editor of *Acta Eruditorum*, Germany's leading intellectual journal, while in 1701 he inaugurated Germany's first theological journal, *Alles und Neues oder Unschuldige Nachrichten*, through which he came to be considered the leading Lutheran theologian of his time. In 1702 he took up a parish in Delitzsch where he immediately began initiating a host of reforms in education, the visitation of homes, and ecclesiastical welfare and supervision, suggesting fellowship-meals in order to strengthen ties among the people of the parish. He also issued the first pastoral magazine *Evangelische Zehnten.* Somehow in the midst of all of these things (trying some twenty-five different methods of preaching), he managed to keep up his scholarly pursuits, publishing a study of Hebrew (in 1704) in order to improve exegesis of the Old Testament, a history of the Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches, and an exposure of the philosophy of the Enlightenment (in 1707).

In 1707 Loescher accepted a call to Wittenberg, where he immediately set about raising the importance of exegesis and initiating pastoral work among students. He was, indeed, so loved by the students that he was compared with Melanchthon; apparently no professor since Melanchthon had been read or applauded so much by the students.[3] In 1709 Loescher accepted the call to Dresden, the metropolis of Lutheranism in Germany and the leading cultural centre of Germany. Here he was to stay as superintendent until his death forty years later (in 1749), despite calls to many good university posts. He wanted to live in Dresden, where he could witness the cultural and intellectual changes of the day, rather than be isolated from them in a university town. Here he continued his reforms, establishing poor-schools and orphanages, wrote textbooks on theology for laity and for teachers, tutored theological students, promoted home-devotions and funds for the poor, and in every way sought to bind together ecclesiastical doctrine and ecclesiastical life. In Dresden he produced his famous studies on the nature of Pietism (1711 and 1717) and his history of the Middle Ages and the

Reformation. Loescher was instrumental in preventing a union between the Reformed and Lutheran churches; but he also did his utmost to bring about agreement with the Pietists. The culmination of this enterprise was a joint statement of the orthodox theologians in 1716 (the fruit of his long attempts to form a union of orthodox theologians) and the Merseburg Conference with the Pietist leaders in 1719, which Zinzenndorf helped bring about. After these accomplishments Loescher's attention turned to a study of the new philosophies of his time (*Noethige Reflexiones* in 1724), and after ten years of further study, his study on the limits of philosophy (*Quo Ruitis* in 1735-1739). In 1736 he went out of his way to intervene on behalf of the Herrnhutters and show that, although they had a different church-order, they were still loyal Christians. He then turned to a study of exegesis on the basis of Bengel's works and also of English authors. In 1747 he was responsible for holding back the plundering of Dresden by Leopold von Dessau, while his last letter in 1749 was a request to Hofmann to care for the Pietists. Loescher left behind a library of eighty thousand books and a valuable collection of ancient coins.

B. Loescher's Critique of Rationalist Theology

Already in his book of 1692 Loescher sharply perceived that the greatest threat to Christianity lay not in Pietism, but in the new direction which philosophy was taking. Even in his first lectures on philosophy in 1694 he saw that the skepticism and subjectivism of Descartes would lead to far-reaching consequences. He established, in consequence, an order in apologetics. The most intense level of zeal is to be directed against atheists and heathen; the second most intense against those who despised the New Testament as revelation (Jews, Turks, and naturalists); the third most intense against the heretics of Christendom; and the fourth and mildest level against Protestant schismatics. He goes on to say that zeal is to be directed against errors, not against people, to whom obligations of love apply. E. W. Zeeden, at the same time, rightly says that Loescher's confessional attachment, while milder in form than that of his predecessors, is stricter in substance.[4] Although he saw in Descartes the greater danger, it is against Christian Thomasius, the politician and jurist who was actually putting into practice the thoughts let

loose on western Europe by Descartes, that Loescher directed his strongest attacks, since he felt that to fight Thomasius was also to fight Descartes. It was for apologetic reasons, then, that Loescher founded the first theological magazine in Germany, *Unschuldige Nachrichten* (1701-1749). This journal was to become his main apologetic tool and a focal point for the orthodox, since, as well as critiques, the magazine contained reviews of all sorts of new and old books (even ones in English), historical articles, sermonic aids, and devotional material. Loescher felt such a journal was badly needed to aid pastors, teachers, and congregations in the defence of the gospel.

Loescher showed his new understanding of what was going on by writing against Thomasius already in the foreword to the first edition of his journal: "the incomparable politician . . . through public writings is doing here what others are in Holland—propagating indifferentism. What damage he has brought with his Ahithophelian counsel. Other writings are not being used as widely as his." Loescher sees behind the political rhetoric to the real danger; as he goes on to say, the real threat to Lutheranism lay in this, that its rulers were imbibing the French Enlightenment in the material propagated by Thomasius. "It is time we point out to our rulers the bias in this literature," he continues. Thomasius represents not so much individual new ideas as a whole new form of existence, for behind all his talk of tolerance and freedom of conscience is his absolute state, a state ultimately free of God; he promotes a natural inner law and an invisible church living in all churches, even in religious sects. Everything external in the church should be under the jurisdiction of the state, according to Thomasius. The worst error of Thomasius lies in changing truth to suit his own goal of an absolute state. Loescher sees the religious indifference of the rulers and the political non-religiosity of the absolutism promoted by Thomasius rendering all the old guarantees of the church useless; and the indifference of rulers to these ideas is worst precisely in the Lutheran lands. Loescher claims: "The widespread and crass indifferentism, wearing pretty clothes, dwells in the homes of our kings and princes and, like a bad root, yields so much corrupt fruit."[5] A church reduced to subjective inwardness can do nothing against this absolutism, Loescher reminds his Pietist friends. "More than

individual moral and civic renewal is needed, for if we do not become politically involved, this only helps the spread of religious indifferentism. We need to become rooted in the means of grace if we are to deal with the problem" (1706, 402). Loescher asserts that God's commandment cannot be reduced to a social contract, since there is no right that is not rooted in His will. Far ahead of his time, then, Loescher calls for the formation of the laity so that the church can rule itself. The definition of Christianity by Thomasius as love reduces it to morality and leaves out the redemptive work of God in and for us.

Throughout his life Loescher continued to attack those political ideas which he felt were attacking in some way the gospel. He asserted, for example, in a sermon of 1748 just before his death: "We have rulers in name only. . . . With cries to heaven, the poor are made to surrender their efforts, so that the rulers might feast. . . . O wretched land whose rulers have become faithless. . . . Our land is being ravaged by those who should protect, but have become its enemy. They will receive their reward . . ."[6] It was particularly against the unionistic tendencies of the rulers that he levelled his sharpest criticisms; and he had good reason, for in 1721 he was prohibited from publishing his *Unschuldige Nachrichten.*

His *Praenotiones Theologicae* (1709) was his first comprehensive treatment of contemporary currents of thought. Loescher begins by noting that the present situation is different from all previous ones, because a new world-view is prevailing which is undermining truth in a different way. Now everything in theology is being called into question without any regard to the past. Worse, however, than all this radical doubting of everything is the fact that behind it is, not the question of the truth of God, but a purely immanent self-understanding which is unconcerned about what revelation sees as binding. Loescher is more concerned with defending Christian truth than with attacking certain people or philosophical positions. His concern is not with the problems of philosophical thought, but with their theological consequences, and therefore he criticizes a position only where it undermines the gospel. Otherwise one epistemology is as good as another. He does not, therefore, reject the use or study of philosophy. He urges his orthodox friends, in fact, to spend more

time in such examination. He feels it necessary, however, to point out the significance of philosophy to biblical interpretation. Here is where Descartes becomes a figure of importance; in Loescher's view contemporary doubts about Scripture go back to the skepticism of Descartes and his subjective starting-point, which is what has enabled philosophy since his time to free itself from the claims of revelation.

If subjectivity is the decisive criterion, there is ultimately no difference between "cogito ergo sum" and the "inner light," and reason becomes lord instead of servant. Loescher then reminds Locke how little philosophy itself sees its assertions as absolute. At the same time, however, we need not exaggerate the power of error or think the problem of doubt insoluble. Here Loescher introduces his biblical premises and sees the question of certainty resolved in faith. Reason then makes its peace with faith, not as partner with partner, but as inferior with superior. Faith, then, is not so much opposed to reason, as beyond and above it. Since reason stands in the service of faith, it may then be used against the critics of faith. When reason, however, no longer agrees with faith, Loescher refuses it the last word, for such absolutising of reason would be nothing less than *apriori* prejudice. Loescher is fond of Luther's image of reason as the ass which Abraham had to leave behind, and he goes on to declare: "I can say with greater right than Luther: 'Philip, your philosophy is a nuisance to me.'"

Loescher's real concern here is that Christianity not be judged by criteria extrinsic to the Christian faith. For faith has its own evidence; theology has its own foundations (*demonstrationes*) which we believe and defend against all uncertainty. Theology is not a science and need not, therefore, offer demonstrations which satisfy its demands. Yet it is, at the same time, certain knowledge (*vera notitia*) in which the demonstration of the Spirit is present, who both refutes our unspiritual ideas and positively convinces us of the truth. Here we see the new apologetic argument—no longer arguing on the basis of the divine origin of Scripture, but using a Pauline epistemology (1 Corinthians 2:12-16). Ultimately Loescher views the question of both reason and epistemology in the light of the cross. This view is due to what Martin Greschat calls the "soteriological

concentration" of his thought. Disregarding every rationalist objection to such an approach, Loescher concluded his arguments again and again with Scripture, as he felt that the analogy of faith which made Scripture clear was not as arbitrary as the "enlightened" practice of finding only morals there.

In his *Quo Ruitis*? of 1735, Loescher's critical comments on the new philosophical directions of his day are more thorough, even though his language is milder. Here we have the resolute "No!" of an otherwise positive theologian, as Karl Barth put it. Unlike the Pietist critiques of the system of Leibniz and Wolff, Loescher here attacks it from within, at its very heart—its attempt to unify rationalism and faith—and not merely by dissenting from individual points. In this way he attempts to criticize the system as a whole. Behind Wolff's "sufficient ground" Loescher sees a sort of omniscience being attempted; and, in attacking Wolff's attempt at universality, Loescher strikes at the root of the system. Wolff's desire for a philosophical infallibility is seen by Loescher as the desire to know all, the original sin. He admits, at the same time, that Wolff and Leibniz are great mathematicians and that their philosophy is at least an advance on Spinoza. He treasures what is good in the new philosophy but wishes it were less systematic and mechanistic: "I am convinced that we can have no philosophy *a priori* but must be satisfied with it *a posteriori*, since the greatest part of our knowledge is *a posteriori* and in this way is recognized and proved" (1735, 140; and 1737, 265).[7] Theology would be well advised not to attach itself to any one system of philosophy, but rather to retain its basic freedom in this area; Christianity can never allow itself to be accommodated to philosophy. We must also remember that not everything can be demonstrated logically; mystery is an indispensable element of life. The history of philosophy ought to impress on us the relativity of all system-building and the eclecticism of true philosophy by its very nature. Nor can philosophy think up the truth of itself, but can only seek its traces in the world. To Loescher, consequently, philosophy can have no value in itself. Loescher then attacks the determinism of Wolffian philosophy—as also its view of prayer, the conscience, miracles, and the duration of the world—as being inconsistent with the gospel. What distinguishes Loescher from others is his attempt to wrestle with the responsi-

bility of faith to the world and his refusal to retreat into either a shallow rationalism or an easy irrationalism in the face of his lack of success. After Loescher's death faith and reason were long regarded as antithetical. His historical perspective (considering things worse in the late Middle Ages) enabled him to remain convinced that God's truth would ultimately prevail.

C. Loescher's Critique of Pietism

Because of its often fluid boundaries and its unstructured nature, it is often very difficult to analyze Pietism. S. Hagglund's view is that Pietism was a new theological position based on a different view of reality.[8] Hagglund sees at work here a new epistemology: experience is now the ground for certainty, and faith is seen no longer as knowledge and trust, but rather as a productive power. Loescher, too, saw something more basically wrong in Pietism than aberrations in individual doctrines. Loescher saw through Pietism, because he was of the same temperament as its adherents and shared so many of its concerns; he knew the nature of Pietism, indeed, better than many Pietists. At first, in fact, he even sided with Philipp Spener, defending him against the theologians of Wittenberg and introducing many of his reforms. His initial criticisms (until 1708) were directed only against the more radical forms of Pietism, but after 1708 he saw the movement already beginning to decay and was dragged into a long and painful debate with J. Lange of Halle, in which, however, Loescher consistently showed restraint, charity, and propriety. He did not allow himself to be side-tracked by the slanders of those orthodox who thought he was conceding too much to the Pietists or by the slanders of the Pietists themselves.

Loescher admitted firstly, that there was much to be faulted on the orthodox side. This situation, however, warranted not a special new reformation, but rather the fulfilling of each one's Christian calling:

> The complaints about fallen Christianity in our evangelical church have become so common that every person who is not traitorous and lazy will [now surely] come to his senses and zealously think about renewal and concern for the shame of Joseph. And each must honestly admit that in our Israel a great devastation has occurred as in the sinning

> Israel of Jeremiah's lifetime. Therefore it is necessary that one raise up the fallen. Yet this thing does not require a reformation, but is part of our ordinary calling.[9]

Loescher acknowledged that Halle was more churchly than Dippel and the radicals, but he went on to observe that unfortunately many of the more churchly Pietists still saw the radicals as their brothers in the faith. Loescher conceived of Pietism as a movement opposing the church which had existed since the time of the Reformation and had at last found its way into the church. The danger lay in this, that a movement which valued experience more highly than the means of grace would finally end up destroying the church altogether. Loescher wanted to protect the objective working of God at all costs. He warned the Pietists that no certainty of faith could rest on subjective feelings, while God could work in us even when we did not feel Him doing so. He could give experiences and feelings, but He also wanted faith to live without depending on them. Loescher saw the danger of perfectionism behind the placing of greater emphasis on the fruits of faith than on its object—on what faith does than on what it receives. It is this need to be perfect which the Pietists pressed with such rigor; not only was the *simul justus ac peccator* undermined, but the law took the place of the gospel:

> Now it is clear that the teaching regarding the absolute necessity of a practice of piety to religion, the means of salvation, the ministry, and theology—and the dependence of these on piety—brings such danger with it that the church of Christ cannot be helped, but might once more be torn apart. . . . Here we have the danger of the whole law with all its rigor being again placed in the order of salvation instead of the gospel.[10]

Loescher saw here a threat to the objective validity of the word and also to objective theological scholarship, and he temporarily thought that one way in which he could guard against this threat would be by speaking of an "illumination of impious theologians." It soon became evident, however, that this approach was not viable, and in the end he reacted to the idea strongly:

> It is terrible that it can come to this, that a man who is

> engaged very deeply in the study of pure doctrine, but remains spiritually dead and estranged from the life that comes from God, has let the practice of piety disappear.[11]

His concern was to show that it is also through knowledge that God moves the will, while bad theology can only have the effect of corrupting the will. Loescher found it necessary, therefore, to defend attention to the intellect against its neglect by the Pietists, for he saw in this indifference and neglect a capitulation to rationalism. He saw, indeed, in their indifference to questions of religious truth and doctrinal differences, the Pietists becoming "children of their time." He correctly forecast that it would lead ultimately to a total indifference to all religion to which Pietism itself would end up being sacrificed. A pietistic victory over the orthodox teaching of the church would end up being a victory, not for true Christianity, but for indifference to the church.

Loescher further felt that the Pietists had replaced an objective view of the Christian faith with a subjective one with its query whether a person had been born again or not. In Loescher's view it was untenable to draw an antithesis between the letter and the spirit of Scripture, when these two belong together with neither being absolutised. Loescher then defined piety as the right worship of God based on the means of grace and affecting all that one is and does. Since piety included all these things, it was fallacious to talk about the relationship of piety to life. Pietism thereby became a new form of religion in which the means of grace were no longer central and where legalism concerning trivia could lead to the ignoring of more important things. Things which were *adiaphora* were neither good nor bad in themselves, but depended on one's relation to God and neighbor. The Pietists, however, misunderstood Loescher's discussions of *adiaphora*, seeing not a defence of Christian freedom but, rather, moral indifference behind it. Loescher saw their legalism as an error, not as a sin, although he observed that it could easily lead to sin. What was needed, then, was not more *ecclesiola* but more use of the means of grace and more devotions in the home. As the situation changed, so did Loescher's approach, so that, because by 1716 he felt that things had improved in the Pietist camp, he then worked for rapport with the Pietists. He did so, in

addition, because he needed, he felt, their aid in the battle against the Enlightenment.

Through a churchly theology Loescher hoped to overcome the antithesis between Pietism and Orthodoxy. He saw the church as the connecting link between pure doctrine and pure life. He formulated the theory that, although in times of ecclesial controversy, we may have to work with a particular party within the church (as now with the orthodox), all our work is devoted to the interests not of this party, but of the church as a whole. This approach may mean standing alone, as Loescher did, but only because we are representing the church, not ourselves. In the name of the church Loescher supported what was right on both sides and attacked what was not. Everything Loescher did (including all his pastoral care) was done in and for the church, since he believed that without the church the preservation of the true gospel would be nearly impossible. The church does not demand that we condemn those within it who differ from us, but it must reject those who, when warned, still urge dangerous teachings in opposition to the truth. One can warn a brother and still consider him a Christian. Loescher's approach differed from earlier criticisms of Pietism in never calling it a heresy or sect, but simply showing its promotion of erroneous religious attitudes. His foremost goal was the reinstatement of the treasures of pure doctrine, not of moral discipline, within the church. One of the first things he did was to call for a revival of biblical studies, since he argued that the low state of theology was due to a neglect of exegesis in the original languages. For a sound linguistic interpretation of the text, however, one needs good lexical tools. Loescher did his share to answer this need by producing a study of the Hebrew language of the Old Testament: "One could argue, therefore, whether it might not be better to learn our whole theology—all that we believe—only through an exegesis of Scripture and to lay aside all books, large or small, that are irrelevant to this" end.[12]

We must also, however, look for new ways in which to preserve the old truth and so come to grips with the thinking of our time. Loescher saw it is as important to avoid over-simplifications. He does not, for example, lump all Pietists together, but distinguishes

between the various types. In his analysis of Calvinism, likewise, he points out that it is generally more acceptable in Germany and England than in Switzerland. Loescher, in the same way, distinguished between the basis of justification and its results, without putting doctrine and piety into opposition to each other. He and the Pietists, he concluded, agreed on the goal and necessity of improving lives; now the issue was the means. The saddest thing about the Pietist movement was the down-grading of theology as a whole, its attitude to the *publica doctrina* of the church, rather than its aberrations in individual doctrines. It was just because Loescher held Pietism in such high esteem that he regarded his criticisms of it as correct. We can now understand why Ernest Stoeffler, a leading authority on Pietism, considers Valentin Loescher to have been the greatest representative of Lutheran Orthodoxy.[13]

II. Melchior Goeze

Born in 1717, Melchior Goeze undertook his theological studies at Halle, completing his thesis on primitive Christian apologetics there in 1738. After serving in Magdeburg, he received the high honor of being called as chief pastor in Hamburg in 1754, a call which he was reluctant to take. His sermons there show he by no means lacked heart or was an obscurantist, but an examination of his writings shows his comprehensive knowledge, even of authors writing in English. He wrote a good history of the biblical text, an important history of German translations of the Bible, and one of the best works on the Lutheran symbols of his time. It is, however, *The True Nature of Religious Zeal* (1770) which is his best defence of Christianity. His debate with Lessing (1777-81) was not his first attack on the Enlightenment; he had already written against Basedow (1764), Schlosser (1769), Bahrdt (1773), and Alberti (1769).

It is not easy to evaluate Goeze's attack on Lessing for his publication of the radical and skeptical *Reimarus Fragments*. The surface evidence seems to be that nothing was achieved by the attack but the production by Lessing of some of the strongest invective since the days of Jerome.[14] For, in his use of language, Goeze was no match for the cunning of Lessing. Henry Chadwick, however, rightly says that scholars have created a distorted picture of Goeze

by drawing it only from Lessing's writings. Chadwick also gives an excellent account of the contradictions in Lessing's position on theology.[15] Lessing maintained that he was a true representative of Luther; since, unlike the orthodox (such as Goeze), who only held to the dead letter of Luther, he held to the spirit of Luther (which he saw as freedom from the letter!):

> I will not have you run me down as though I meant less well by the Lutheran Church than you do. For I am conscious of being a far better friend to it than the man who would persuade us that his own delicacy of feeling towards his remunerative pastorate (or whatever it may be) is holy zeal for the things of God. Do you suppose, Mr. Pastor, that you have the slightest spark of the Lutheran spirit? . . . [Luther,] thou didst free us from the yoke of tradition. Who will free us from the unendurable yoke of the letter?[16]

Goeze was quick to point out that here was a "Christian idea" (freedom) shorn of all its religious content. Lessing wanted to be set free from the one thing that alone was able to set us free (John 8:31-32), said Goeze.[17] Where word and spirit are antithetical in the New Testament, law and gospel are meant, argued Goeze; otherwise, as Christ says in John 6:63. it is precisely His words which are spirit and life. Goeze could only judge anyone else by his fruits, and Lessing's claim to be a true Lutheran because he took refuge in Luther's spirit and freedom caused Goeze to cry: "From this preserve us, good Lord!"

Goeze saw the real thinking behind Lessing's statement that no religion was true because the apostles taught it but, rather, they taught it because it was true. Goeze saw therein a denial by Lessing of the objectivity of the Christian faith. How could we find the inner truth of Scripture, which Lessing claimed was all that was valid, without the use of Scripture, which Lessing said we could do without? Goeze saw the heart of Lessing's position in this revealing statement of his: "My whole reason rebels against the assertion that God has a Son who shares His nature." Goeze wondered why Lessing's reason did not rebel, then, against the natural religion and morality of current thinking. It is true that Christianity could not be

proven in the sense of a mathematical equation, for then all freedom would be destroyed, and Christ would make no real disciples in this way. The way shown by Christ in John 7:16-17 was wholly different; it was the inner testimony of the Spirit through the power of the Scriptures that revealed the truth to us. As certainly as the gospels existed, so certain was the resurrection; if the apostles lied, the joy of the early church in the resurrection was impossible to understand. So ran Goeze's arguments. That his interests in this apologetic battle were wholly pastoral, and not merely intellectual, can be seen from these words which he still addressed lovingly to Lessing:

> Dear Mr. Councillor,
>
> Please do not be angry if on this occasion I speak to you differently from the tone you have wrung from me hitherto. God knows, I love you dearly. Nor do I underrate the admirable talents which the goodness of God has bestowed on you, nor the superior knowledge and perceptions you have acquired by the right use of these talents in various branches of the arts. I forgive you wholeheartedly for applying all your powers to ruining me in the eyes of the church, of the world of learning, and of my parishioners, through childish and pointless fobs; . . . my battle-axe does not compare one-seventh with yours. But it is this very love and regard for you which moves me to entreat you, before the face of God, to ponder deeply what I have to say, in some quiet hour when your passions are not seething. You declare, and my whole heart trembles at this declaration, that you will not shudder at the hour of your death on account of the printing of this piece and what was done thereby. For God's sake, and for the sake of your eternal salvation, reflect on what you wrote. Ah, do not shut yourself off from the ways of repentance.[18]

Chadwick calls Goeze a compassionate pastor protecting his parishioners from attacks which they in no way were equipped to answer.

For Lessing the battle was largely a game in which he could enjoy

putting an end to orthodoxy once and for all. For Goeze the battle was a matter of life and death. He was well aware of the strength of the opposition, yet felt it was his pastoral duty to speak out. He dared to do what most pastors would not do today—speak out against a beloved intellectual of his day (as he also spoke against Goethe's glorification of suicide). The amount of slander he endured in return was immense. Yet he was every bit as learned as his opponents, a fact which Lessing acknowledged by always visiting him when in Hamburg (though he did not exactly publicize this fact). The thing to which Lessing really objected was Goeze's answer to his historical criticism of revelation with both a theological and a historical defence. If we look at some of the thirty other critiques of Lessing written at the time, we see that Goeze alone realized that Lessing required an answer with a different approach. D. Schumann and H. Ress, for example, politely replied with the usual arguments from miracles and the fulfillment of prophecy. In 1780 Lessing admitted that Spinoza with his pantheism was his real point of reference, and it is on this point that Georg Hamann so decisively faulted Lessing and vindicated Goeze:

> In what concerns Lessing . . . frankly, my excellent friend, what do you make of the man's honesty and sincerity in the whole business of *The Fragments*? However dull-witted, was not the Hamburger Goeze fundamentally right? When one's head is full of pantheistic ideas, is it actually possible to say a Christian "Our Father"?[19]

III. Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788)

The lay intellectual, J. G. Hamann, was not merely "the most profound Christian thinker of the eighteenth century,"[20] but also an influence on whole schools of thought both inside and outside the church. So rich and many-sided was his thinking that he was a major influence even on opposing schools of thought. He was a close friend of Kant and influenced Goethe, Herder, Hegel, Schleiermacher, C. Harms, Loehe, and Kahler, while Kierkegaard calls him his only master and used him to criticize Schleiermacher.[21] It was while reading the works of Hamann that Kierkegaard experienced his conversion. More has been written in German since 1945 on

Hamann than on any other Christian layman, while works on him are being written as well in Danish, French, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish. His own works are available from a Roman Catholic publishing house. It is recognized that he was the most thorough Lutheran intellectual of the eighteenth century, and he has been called the real philosopher of Protestantism for his noteworthy contributions to biblical study, ethics, linguistics, aesthetics, and the philosophy of history. Some have claimed that he overcame distinctions which had plagued philosophy since Descartes and that he effected a Copernican revolution in the theory of language. In Hamann's thought contrasting emphases were held together: existentialism and ontology, faith and feeling, reason and history, the Bible and culture. He addressed himself to a wider range of questions than did Kierkegaard and in a more churchly way. Hamann found it possible to be both a modern intellectual and an uncompromising Christian, and he enabled people to find religious certainty in an age when everything had been called into question.

Leibrecht points out that certain problems tackled by Hamann have greater relevance today than during the nineteenth century and urges us, contrary to Pelikan, to go back beyond Kant to escape the impasse which Kant's philosophy has tried to impose on theology. Here Hamann's thinking helps us, for in an utterly theocentric way he saw God at work in the whole of existence, and in his assault on the Enlightenment he revived again the insights of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, and those of Augustine, Luther, and Pascal. Hamann's importance and originality is only being recognized now:

> Not yet has a history of Hamann's influence been attempted. The sense in which Hamann was possibly the first modern student of Luther merits considerable exploration in Luther-research. Likewise, it is not clear that Kant-research to date has been aware of the dimensions of his Kant-critique. The book on Hamann and Kierkegaard which must be written has yet to be written. Studies of Hamann's influence on Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schleiermacher, and Nietzsche are still quite hazy, and the hints of Hamann in Dilthey, Martin Kaehler, Benedetto Croce, and Ferdinand Ebner are equally

intriguing.[22]

Born in 1730 in the busy port of Koenigsberg, into the family of a Pietist surgeon, Georg Hamann entered the university of the city in 1746 and began studying theology. Because, however, he held the ministry in such high regard and felt that he was not good enough for it, especially by reason of an impediment of speech, Hamann turned to law and then to literature. Acquiring the command of many languages, he began tutoring. His employers sent him to London where he experienced the "hell of self-knowledge," as he called it—a kind of conversion. This conversion was to become an important event in the cultural life of eighteenth-century Germany. As he describes it, Hamann was converted not by any illuminating new insight, nor by any act of his own will, but by God claiming him as he began to read the Bible. When he returned to Germany, Kant was appalled at Hamann's new state and tried to reconvert him back to rationalism, but to no avail. Hamann himself thought the attempt ludicrous: "I almost have to laugh at the choice of a philosopher as the means of bringing about a change in me."[23] He wrote his first major apology, *Socratic Memorabilia* (1759), indeed, as a response to Kant's attempt; it was directed against the Enlightenment. Hamann remained in his post as a minor official of the government for most of his adult life; from there he launched a succession of verbal and literary offensives against the Enlightenment. His earlier writings concentrate on language and religion, while his later ones deal with problems of philosophy and theology. Toward the end of his life Hamann went to Muenster to teach the Roman Catholic princess Gallitzin; and, after having said a "Lutheran *Pater Noster*," as he put it, he died there. One of his favorite passages of Scripture was engraved on his tombstone: "We preach Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and folly to Gentiles."

A. Hamann: The Humanity of God's Word

Since, as Emil Brunner points out, Hamann was that solitary thinker of the eighteenth century who dared to make the Bible the starting-point of his thinking, the analysis here will begin with his understanding of the word of God.[24] In this word Hamann sees a simultaneous reference to the divine and the human in the sense of *communicatio*; God always reveals Himself to people and speaks to

them only in human words. Hamann undertakes, indeed, to magnify the offense of the paradoxical way in which God works in His word in the face of the philosophical sophistication of its opponents:

> How God the Holy Spirit lowered Himself, when He became a historian of the smallest, most despised, and insignificant events on earth, in order to reveal the decisions, the mysteries and the ways of the godhead to man in man's language, man's own affairs, man's own ways.[25]

The anthropomorphism of the Bible is thus for all, not just for the simple. For neither the letter nor the spirit can be disregarded; we interpret a book in accord with both the sense of the words and the spirit of its author. The word, then, is no intermediary, having an independent existence or acting autonomously, but is God's own means of expression. The fact that He speaks here makes Him the personal God, and we become human when we listen to His word. God's condescension to speak in human words is necessary to His communication. The written word of God cannot be reduced to some pure core, because here human language has become the language of heaven: "He imitated us so that He might encourage us to imitate Him." The highest of truths, then, can only be expressed in the lowest of means. For there is no naked or direct truth; truth comes to us only in a relation enclosed in words. The spoken word of God (preaching) is His way of relating to us. Scripture is the union of the Holy Spirit with things that are concrete: spirit and letter come together in the oral word. For the One became all, the Word became flesh, and the Spirit became letter. Genuine spirit is that which is enfleshed. Hamann speaks of the Bible as being like the worn-out clothes which the Ethiopian used to help Jeremiah out of the cistern. He is consistent, then, when he opposes biblical critics such as Michaelis who think they can make the word majestic by freeing it from its lowliness through a method of research. In his view they are not taking it seriously as a human word. By no means, however, does the Bible have a purely human origin. There "all that is human is divine" and "all theology begins from heaven." Fidelity to the letter is necessary to guard against mystical flights of fancy. It is likewise a distortion of the word of God to read modern philosophical views back into it: "It would be as ludicrous to ask

Moses to explain nature with the aid of Aristotelian, Cartesian, or Newtonian concepts as to expect God to have revealed Himself in the general philosophical language which has been the philosopher's stone for so many learned minds."[26]

It is the perennial tendency of the mind to shrink from the word of God. Probably one of the sharpest barbs which Hamann levels against Kant is to call him a mystic, because of his dislike of natural language. While Kant does violence to the human side of the word, Lessing does the same to the divine. Hamann's debates as to the nature of language never proceed from mere academic interests, but are rather connected with his defence of the divine-human word. He believes passionately that the "word is the only light, not only by which one can come to God, but also by which we can come to know ourselves." The visible is the only gateway to the invisible, and those who refuse to content themselves with *hoc est corpus meum* and the mysteries *sub utraque specie* are sarcastically assailed for thinking there is any other way to the unseen. Hamann is in such language attacking the philosophy of Lessing. There is no other way of taking the word of God seriously than in the human words in which God speaks to us. It was for this reason that Hamann became such a zealous student of the Bible, reading it through several times a year in the original languages and using all other aids to biblical interpretation that were then available: "Flesh and blood know no other Savior than one small man, no other Spirit than the letter. A man can take nothing, for it is given to him."[27]

B. Hamann and the Primacy of History

By starting with Christian revelation Hamann showed the philosophers of the Enlightenment the significance of history. It is his emphasis on the centrality of history in Christianity that distinguishes him from his contemporaries. His most famous statement on the subject was addressed to Moses Mendelssohn, the rationalistic Jew:

> The characteristic distinction between Judaism and Christianity has to do, therefore, neither with "immediate" nor "mediate" revelation in the sense in which this [terminology] is taken by Jews and naturalistic philosophers, nor does it

> have to do with "eternal truths" and "doctrines" nor "ceremonial" and moral law, but simply with "temporal historical truths which come to pass at one time and never recur"—facts which "by a connection of causes and effects at one point of time and space on earth become true, and therefore only at this point of time and space can be thought to be true, and must be attested by authority."[28]

Unlike Lessing, Hamann refused to drive a wedge between facts and their meaning, history and reason; he flatly rejected the distinction between temporal and eternal truths as invalid: "These temporal and eternal verities concerning the king of the Jews, the angel of their convenant, the first-born and head of His church, are the alpha and omega, the foundation and pinions of our faith."[29]

To his rationalist friends, Hamann repeated often, in as many different ways as he could, the fact that the Bible is the history of the gracious acts of God, and not a collection of timeless moral truths. All the terminology of metaphysics and the rational systems of men come up against the historical facts of the cross and incarnation, which show us the necessity of "plowing with another heifer than reason" if history is not to remain a riddle. Hamann is fully aware of the problems of historical knowledge, but he still prefers the truths of history to any other and asks who is so omniscient as to know that historical truth is inappropriate to the deity. The attempts of Lessing to remove God from history are nothing but gnostic hatred of the flesh. Philosophy without history is a matter of fancies and verbiage, while history itself is the best philosophy. It is a philosophy that has its feet firmly grounded in reality, based on data and dependable facts: "Philosophy ought not to carry on empty shadow-boxing with ideas and speculations against data and facts, with theoretical deceptions against historical truths, with plausible probabilities against witnesses and documents."[30]

Truth, then, is tied to time and is not present all at once. Nor can it be poured entirely into the present alone, lest we distort it into an idea. Truth is not divided into dead acts of the past, present ideas, and future guesses; it is, rather, one reality which has happened in the past, can manifest itself in the present, and will be known only in its fullness in the future. Thus, Hamann's answer to the problem

of universality—which Liebniz and Lessing "miscarried," as he puts it—is that the universal is the historical! In a radical reversal of the supposed problem Hamann goes on to claim that this universal is mediated by the word of God, not by reason nor by any other principle which might be derived from this universal. The historical is the universal because man is historical. The historical incarnation of Christ means then that Christianity as an existential message or set of moral principles is impossible, nor can we be independent of the historicity of Christ: "Grace and truth must be revealed historically and can neither be unearthed, nor inherited, nor acquired. This brief ancient and eternal confession of faith says everything which I am *a priori* in a position to say."[31] Hamann's theology as a whole is, in effect, an interpretation of the incarnation and what it means to every facet of theology.

The universal, then, cannot be reached by purifying the truth of the particular, because the particular is at the same time an eternally valid truth. Such truth, however, is as inaccessible to the scholar as to the speculator, since it is mediated by faith. Truth is certainty about a fact that is present prior to my faith, but which I did not recognize before. Such faith in the truth has nothing to fear; while, as Hamann says to Kant, we should be the most miserable of all men if our faith were based on the shifting fashions of critical erudition. Already in his first response to Kant, *Socratic Memorabilia*, Hamann claims that it is, in actuality, unbelief and superstition that are based on shallow physics and shallow history. As nature has been given to us to open our eyes, so history has been given to us to open our ears and in faith to hear God speaking to us, in and through His works in it. Thus, Hamann emphatically opts for a theocentric view of reality, seeing no problem in a non-autonomous man, non-autonomous history, and non-autonomous nature. For, as he sees it, all of reality depends on God for its existence.

C. Hamann's Assault on the Enlightenment

Hamann completely reverses the most famous principle of Descartes, "cogito ergo sum," so as to say "He is, therefore I am and think" and "I believe and speak, therefore I am." In place, likewise, of another Cartesian principle, "It is necessary to doubt all things," Hamann asserts exactly the opposite: "Our own existence and that

of all things must be believed and cannot be ascertained in any other way." It is precisely because existence is reality and no product of the imagination that it must be believed. Hamann's assertion of the centrality of faith is his way of saying that God is all in all. Existence is ultimately the problem of the inescapability of God. Faith is my existence as a whole in relation to God and His gracious condescension in Christ, which is the focal point of all history and all existence. The above axioms of Hamann were addressed to Kant, in whom Hamann saw another instance of the old Cartesian theme in which the knowing subject is more certain of himself than his own experience or, in theological terms, in which man alone with himself is more sure of his own nature than of the acts of God in historical experience. Hamann calls the skepticism introduced by Descartes superstition. To Hamann, indeed, skepticism and superstition are the same thing, since he sees an unexamined faith (superstition) underlying all skepticism. Since it rests on unproven premises, all philosophical argument is argument in a circle. Skepticism, therefore, is really a confession of dogma rather than a neutral method.

Hamann attacks the philosophy of the Enlightenment in the most scornful terms possible. He calls it "the new despotism," "Babylonian philosophy," "the confusion of Babel," "rational contraband," and "the false god," with the spirit of the age as its idol, deified by superstition (popular philosophy). He maintains that, in order for Christianity to speak to it, it is necessary to substitute "reason" where Paul has "the law." For just as the law was not given to us to make us wise or to save us, but rather to show us our wretched condition, so also with the reason which God has given us. Hamann deliberately uses such offensive language against the Enlightenment in order to awaken its followers out of their incipient paganism. He sees his attack as part of the offense of the gospel, which ought to call into question all our presuppositions if it is the gospel of the incarnation and crucifixion of God. For in the incarnation God seizes the weapons of His opponents to use them against them for their own salvation. The Christian too, therefore, uses every possible means to spread the gospel:

> All means of assistance are holy to the Christian and to be

> used for the spreading of the gospel. Above all is a knowledge of the moral character and taste of the times necessary. The poets (playwriters and novelists) are a help here and are the best assayers, who disclose to us the manner of thinking of men and of a people and their inclinations, and they test the truest and firmest. The testimonies of human art, science, and history serve as seals, human seals of revelation; and as a Christian one has as little cause to neglect or abandon these as Paul to leave behind his coat in Troas. Paul does a poet the honor of calling him a prophet of his people.[32]

Here we see Hamann, the modern thinker, using all his talents in the service of the gospel. Yet he assures Jacobi that his real desire is to restore the misunderstood theology of Lutheranism and to refute the contemporary idealization of Lutheranism by means of a historical realism. He claims: "the themes of your work, Jacobi, idealism and realism, are opposed to mine of Lutheranism and Christianity. . . . Christianity and Lutheranism are the true realities, organs of God and man."[33] Again, he sums up his work in a letter to Schenk: "Golgotha and the lordship of Christ are the true contents of my work, containing evangelical Lutheranism in embryo."[34] Hamann can, then, face the Enlightenment with the full force of the whole Christian message and have no fear of ever having anything to lose by doing so, since he entertains no doubt that in Christ he possesses everything.

Hamann attacks the tolerance of the Enlightenment as based on religious indifference; he instead bases tolerance on the firmest of convictions. By no means does conviction lead to religious imperialism when faith is seen as humility and truth as an eschatological reality. In all his evangelistic endeavors Hamann is concerned to preserve the character of faith as a gift—by emphasizing a humble attitude towards human actions and a concentration on the actions of God. He sees the eighteenth-century concept of tolerance as based not on the dignity of each person, but rather on a rational system in which indifference becomes a "trojan horse" for an assault on the heart. He sees clearly that the real enemies are Kant and Lessing, who, in their subtlety, are thought to go beyond

the Enlightenment and are, therefore, all the more dangerous with their call to the "maturity of autonomy." Hamann sees behind this call to autonomy a false eschatology, a "cosmopolitan chiliasm"; he observes that in this life we always need a divine guide to rid us of false guides:

> My transformation of Kant is that the Enlightenment consists in a departure of an immature man out of a supremely self-incurred guardianship. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom and this wisdom makes us too timid and lazy to compose fictions.[35]

Autonomous reason—that is, reason independent of revelation—can lay down no canons of necessity; and, since Kant's tools determine his results, his conclusions are inconclusive. Hamann sees Kant's judgments in *The Critique of Pure Reason* as the disclosure of a gnostic hatred of matter or a mystical love of form in which the worldliness of the object is rejected for the "certainties" of the subject.

D. Faith and Knowledge in Hamann's Apologetic

Hamann felt it necessary to construct an epistemology radically different from that of the Enlightenment. W. M. Alexander has shown how epistemology is one of Hamann's basic concerns, no matter what subject he is treating, because he sees that a new epistemology involves a different view of truth, history, reason, and reality—and a different set of categories. How we come to know God depends on which God we want to know, for the God of rationalism is not the God of historical revelation. He is known either by historical experience through Holy Scripture or not at all. He is to be found in His condescension in the incarnation, which is not an ontological question for theology, but one of reconciliation, a problem of the knowledge and service of God. The source of all Christian knowledge is faith in the historical word of God, rather than self-found knowledge. An attitude of reverence to God is Hamann's philosophical starting-point, and the gospel is the goal of all wisdom: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and His love in the gospel its end and *punctum*."[36] An epistemological unity is necessary, since a theology cannot be built on multiple

epistemologies; we cannot recognize several ways to one God. Grace is sovereign in this world only when no alien epistemology is erected against it: "from heaven our philosophy must begin!" Truth resides in a concrete historical person, not the most valuable idea. Hamann attacks with all his might the philosophical assumption that truth is embedded primarily in an idea. In a letter to Jacobi on October 5, 1786, Hamann complains that people speak of reason as if it were a real being and of our dear Lord as if He were nothing but a concept.

A non-symbolic epistemology can be only an eschatological reality, which does not, however, mean that we, like Kant, deny knowledge in order to make room for faith. All knowledge is qualified by space and time and so is unattainable apart from our senses. At the same time, Hamann asserts, the certainty of knowledge is dependent not on the mere receiving function of our senses, but rather on the certainty of the object. He attacks the way in which the knowing-subject has been considered in isolation from reality since the time of Descartes, and in the process he calls into question misconceptions of both the subject and the object. It is as foolish for the Christian to borrow philosophy from some other source as to ignore the problems which it raises. The philosophy of the Enlightenment has not succeeded in straining out strange gods. They are embedded in language, reason, categories, and syntheses which are as menacing as open animosities. Experience based on the Scriptures is something with which we can never dispense; for Hamann, indeed, unlike Lessing, one cannot overemphasize the importance of the Bible. The epistemological question is one which concerns a personal relationship to God; people can only know Him in so far as they are committed to Him. Atheism is falsely named, for it is actually a superstition or false faith in fancy dress.

Hamann saw his starting-point in his apologetics as the First Letter to the Corinthians; indeed, his whole apologetics might be seen as a commentary on its first four chapters, countering the wisdom of the world with the foolishness of a humble God on a cross. Hamann highlighted the fact that, since Christianity is essentially historical and particular, it is essentially offensive. He recognized the rise of a post-Christian age and saw that he was

preaching no longer to "Jews" but rather to "Greeks." Since the "Christian" has become indistinguishable from the non-Christian, reaching unbelievers means exposing the difference between contemporary idolatry and true faith. Hamann's view of philosophy and reason as the modern equivalent of St. Paul's "law" enabled him to adopt a positive attitude to the most critical philosophy and still, at the same time, to question its foundations and stop it from becoming a prologomena to theology. This creative evangelical thinker, Johann Georg Hamann, opposed any dualism which sought to banish God from any area of life; he sought, indeed, to re-translate Luther's theological legacy faithfully into the language of a radically different world of thought. Hamann's theology shows that the voice of true Lutheranism continued to sound in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Germany and to offer inspiration to many generations to come.

The Endnotes

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3. Martin Greschat, *Zwischen Tradition und Neuen Anfang* (Witten: Luther Verlag, 1971), 38.

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9. Loescher, *Vollständiger Timotheus Verinus* (Wittenberg: S. Hannauern, 1721), 170.

10. Loescher, 767.

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13. F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 63-70.

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25. J. G. Hamann, as translated by R. G. Smith, *J. G. Hamann: A Study in Christian Existence* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), 66.

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27. *J. G. Hamann, der Magus im Norden, Leben und Schriften*, ed. C. H. Gildemeister (Gotha, 1868), V, 377.

28. *Johann Georg Hamann, Saemtliche Werke*, ed. Joseph Nadler (Vienna: Herder, 1949-1957), III, 304.

29. Nadler, III, 311.

30. J. G. Hamann, in a letter to Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, February 4, 1786.

31. J. G. Hamann, in a letter to Jacobi, January 16, 1785.

32. Nadler, I, 241.

33. Gildemeister, V, 413.

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Book Reviews

EARLY ISRAEL: A NEW HORIZON. By Robert B. Coote. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.

In this work Robert Coote deals with the issues of how Israel originated and what Israel was in the early phases of its existence. He summarizes the understanding of early Israel that has been put forward by certain scholars based upon research (primarily archaeological) of the last decade. Coote also adds his own views, some of which are new to the discussion.

For his reconstruction Coote first of all puts aside the picture of Israel's history presented by Scripture since, he asserts, the biblical narrative does not give a true account of early Israel. The periods of the patriarchs, exodus, conquest, and judges, according to Coote, never existed. He also rejects the model of Alt and Noth (an infiltration of disparate nomads into the Palestine hills, merging gradually in a tribal league) and that of Mendenhall and Gottwald (a peasant revolution).

Setting his time frame for the discussion as the thirteenth century through the end of the eleventh century B.C., Coote holds that Israel (early or otherwise) never had any unique ethnic, national, religious, moral, or social character. The beginnings of Israel were, rather, totally within the framework of typical political relations in Palestine, involving peoples who were indigenous to Palestine. Israel originated, Coote proposes, as the name for a complex, variable tribal affiliation of Palestinian farmers and pastoralists under the lordship of tribal sheikhs, in the north of Palestine. As an organized power, Israel grew in official importance during the thirteenth century B.C., when, according to Coote, Egypt dealt with Israel's tribal heads to create a semi-cooperative surrogate force in the border zone between the Egyptian and Hittite imperial spheres. Moses, in fact, was an agent of Egypt. The fall of Hatti, the incursion of "Europeans" (e.g., the Philistines), and the drastic decline of Egypt in Palestine led to the spread of Israelite tribal villages on the highland frontiers of settlement during the twelfth century. The Israelite center of gravity shifted to the highlands of central Palestine.

Thus, by the end of the twelfth century two main groups faced each other. The Europeans (chiefly Philistines) were in control of the lowlands—the coast, Bethshan and its territory, and parts of the Jordan Valley—and the chiefs of Israel were in control of the central highlands. Both camps were engaged in a struggle for sovereignty over the whole of Palestine. By the end of the eleventh century the Europeans looked as if they were ready to win the struggle. They had helped, however, to establish a highland outlaw named David, who eventually turned the tables on the Europeans and established sovereignty over greater Palestine in the name of the tribes of Israel. The Hebrew Scriptures began to be formed

in the court of David, written in part as propaganda for David and reflecting the new political reality (thus, the anti-Egyptian elements in the "J" document), but giving no actual historical account of Israel's origin and early history.

Coote's book is an indication, in this reviewer's view, of what will become an increasingly strong trend in scholarship on the Old Testament, namely, to discard the traditional phases of Israel's history (patriarchs, exodus, conquest, judges), as presented by Scripture, in favor of a vastly different reconstruction. The pastor reading this book will want to review the discussions of the archaeological evidence already set forth by more conservative scholars. *Early Israel: A New Horizon*, furthermore, shows the need for future studies of new finds in Palestine by those regarding the biblical record as accurate. These studies undoubtedly will set forth legitimate interpretations of the evidence which will be a counterbalance to the interpretations of those scholars in the same school as Coote.

Walter A. Maier III

PAUL AND THE RHETORIC OF RECONCILIATION: AN EXEGETICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE LANGUAGE AND COMPOSITION OF 1 CORINTHIANS. By Margaret M. Mitchell. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993.

This book is a revision of Mitchell's doctoral dissertation presented to the University of Chicago Divinity School in 1989. Her advisor was Hans Dieter Betz, known for his rhetorical analyses of Galatians and 2 Corinthians. Betz encouraged her to undertake a similar investigation of 1 Corinthians. Mitchell argues that 1 Corinthians is a unified composition by a single author, Paul, who urges the congregation to become reunified. Paul's key text, his "thesis statement," is 1:10, "I urge you . . . to all say the same thing, and to let there not be factions among you, but to be reconciled."

With this proposal, Mitchell is contending on two fronts. First, she is opposing the "proliferation of partition theories" which have questioned the unity of 1 Corinthians, especially since the commentary of Johannes Weiss in 1910. Her careful linguistic studies have demonstrated, successfully in my view, that at least one of the pillars of partition is untenable, namely, "that chapters 5-16 are lacking in reference to factionalism." The other front is the position of Johannes Munck (1959) and Gordon Fee (1987), who deny or (at least in Fee's case) understate the presence of factions in the Corinthian church. Mitchell's corrective

at this point is to be welcomed.

Mitchell has drawn on a rich amount of material from Greco-Roman rhetorical handbooks, speeches, and letters. Key terms in advocating peace and concord rather than war and factionalism—words like *schisma* ("schism"), *homonoia* ("harmony"), *sōma* ("body"), and about thirty others—are analyzed in order to throw light on Paul's use of such language in persuading his people. We need not be surprised that Paul, who was so well versed in the language and culture of his day, would draw on terminology that was common coin in contemporary political and social contexts. On pages 180-182 Mitchell gives a useful summary of political and social terminology used in the epistle, beginning with Paul's appeal for "oneness" (the word "one" appearing "a remarkable thirty-one times").

Another welcome aspect of the book is the careful exegetical work in numerous places. Two examples may be mentioned. One is Mitchell's analysis of the *peri de* formula (7:1, 25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1, 12), in which she maintains it may sometimes be simply a shorthand way of introducing the next topic rather than always being a reference to a previous letter (191). A second example is Mitchell's response to Fee's rejection of the authenticity of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 (281).

This reviewer's concerns with the book in hand apply to two major (and related) areas. (1.) There is, in the first place, the emphasis on social and political terminology, without giving comparable attention to the epistle's religious terminology and argument. Mitchell herself is aware of the limitations of her study in this respect: "1 Corinthians is [not] merely a pile of political commonplaces strung together, nor is it [true] that political *topoi* (topics) are the only sources of Paul's arguments . . . Throughout 1 Corinthians Paul draws heavily upon traditional Christian material." These cautions, however, do not remove the impression that Mitchell's study is another exegetical work (as Markus Barth's *Ephesians*) focusing on "horizontal reconciliation" between divided groups of human beings and so lacking sufficient sensitivity to the vertical dimension which gives its characteristic stamp to the gospel, which is God's reconciliation of sinful humanity to Himself through the cross of His Son.

(2.) In seeing 1:10 as the theme verse, secondly, Mitchell is at variance with the traditional Lutheran emphasis on the cross, which finds the epistle's thematic statement in 1:18. A thorough response to Mitchell's argument would take us beyond the limits of this review. We may point briefly, however, to the emphasis on "grace and peace from God" in the

epistle's opening (1:3; comparing 1:4, 7) and on the role of the cross in undergirding the appeal for unity in 1:13, 17, 23; 2:2. Paul states clearly in 1:17 that his primary mission is to preach the gospel of Christ crucified. Mitchell is able to cite 1 Clement, Ignatius of Antioch, the Muratorian Canon, Origen, and John Chrysostom in support of her contention that the epistle's chief purpose is to combat factionalism. Yet she also cites (page 19) W. Bauer's response to the fathers: "It is really rather peculiar and in need of explanation that this extensive and multifaceted epistle is supposed to have had only this purpose."

Gregory J. Lockwood

DANIEL: AN ACTIVE VOLCANO. By D. S. Russell. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1989.

D. S. Russell believes that the interpretation of an Old Testament book should be "dynamic, showing new insights and understandings in each succeeding generation by the illumination of the Holy Spirit" (page 9). That viewpoint, coupled with his seeing Daniel as a paradigm of how God deals with individuals and nations throughout world history, has resulted in *Daniel: An Active Volcano*. Throughout this work Russell reflects on the text of Daniel in the light of both the New Testament and our present world, making applications to the contemporary situation.

His primary aim, therefore, is not a scholarly treatment of Daniel, but one that is confessional, homiletical, and devotional. Two central themes comes through in Russell's discussion of Daniel: first, that being faithful to God may not lead to earthly prosperity but to suffering and death; and, secondly, that in the end, the will of God will prevail, He is in control, and thus the believer can take comfort.

While those themes will find acceptance with many readers of this journal, those conclusions of Russell which are based on historical criticism will not. Russell holds to a date in the second-century B.C. for the authorship of Daniel, and this view colors much of his writing and interpretation. In dealing with the meaning of a passage, furthermore, Russell often presents the original understanding of Daniel's author as being notably different from the later understanding of the Christian church. Russell explains, for example, that the "son of man" of chapter 7 was originally meant to be the representative of those Jews persecuted by Antiochus Epiphanes (page 86). In the course of time Christ and the church applied a messianic significance to the "son of man" (pages 86-87). The conservative exegete will be uncomfortable with a number of

Russell's expositions and applications to the contemporary scene.

Throughout his book, nevertheless, Russell displays a Christian outlook, holding firmly to the centrality of the resurrection of Christ to the interpretation of history. He has interesting insights and makes astute connections between passages in Daniel and verses in the New Testament. The pastor who uses Russell's work cautiously will undoubtedly be rewarded with some helpful ideas for sermons and classes on the Bible.

Walter A. Maier III

LEAVING HOME. By Herbert Anderson and Kenneth R. Mitchell. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993.

Leaving Home concerns itself, primarily, with the leaving home of young adults, as both event and as process. The volume is a provocative study, part theological and part sociological, about pastoral ministry to persons who are leaving home and to the families that are left behind. The authors have provided readers with a thorough study of the process of leaving home. There is discussion about the nature of one's home of origin and about leaving home both physically and emotionally.

The authors deal with the necessity of leaving home as part of the individuation of adult personality. They contend that leaving home is necessary for a person to pursue God's calling for that individual. They explore the grief experienced by the family when a member leaves. They discuss as well the advisability of a spoken "blessing" of the "leaver" which both "frees" the individual to leave home and also to return home when appropriate.

Chapters are devoted to the theological implications of leaving home and to pastoral counseling interventions in the leaving process. The Christian educational-nurturing functions of the family are mentioned; the "home" is viewed as the launching place for the adult. Both "leavers" and those who are left are reminded of God's continued presence and care. It is suggested, finally, that congregations ritualize the home-leaving process. This idea is something to which pastors might attend particularly as they plan worship in the late summer and early autumn.

One of the authors, Kenneth R. Mitchell, died before publication of the book. His death, however, occurred only after he and the co-author had planned a series of books entitled *Family Living in Pastoral Perspective*. *Leaving Home* should be priority reading for parish clergy and pastoral counselors. It is also to be hoped that this fine book is an indicator of the

quality of the series of volumes currently being authored.

Gary C. Genzen
Lorain, Ohio

MASTERING GREEK VOCABULARY. By Thomas A. Robinson. Second Revised Edition. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1991.

The year 1990 saw the publication of two fine guidebooks to Greek vocabulary via cognate groups (word families): Robert E. Van Voorst's *Building Your New Testament Greek Vocabulary* (Eerdmans) and the first edition of Thomas Robinson's *Mastering Greek Vocabulary*. The attractive volume by Robinson, Associate Professor of Religious Studies at Lethbridge University, now appears in revised form.

Robinson builds on word-frequency principles adopted by Bruce Metzger's *Lexical Aids for Students of New Testament Greek* and John Wenham's excellent grammar, *The Elements of New Testament Greek*. He lists cognate groups according to frequency in the New Testament, beginning with the definite article (21,117 occurrences), *kai* (9039), and *auto* (5943). Memory aids are provided. Under *auto*, for example, the aids are "autobiography, autograph, automatic, autistic." Robinson's chapter on cognate groups takes up most of his book (pages 9-118).

His short first chapter ("Identical Greek/English Words") is a gem. From this chapter the student can immediately gain— "without study!—a vocabulary of about 250 words," inspiring "some confidence that Greek is not entirely foreign." The list begins with *abba*—"abba," *abyssos*—"abyss," and *angelos*—"angel." Section 3 lists about four hundred "Derived English Words" ("acolyte," "acoustic," *et cetera*). Sections 4 and 5 explain Greek prefixes and suffixes. Section 6 lists low-frequency words not in the main cognate lists. An appendix explains Grimm's Law of sound-shifts in Indo-European languages. *Mastering Greek Vocabulary* may be highly recommended.

Gregory J. Lockwood

APOSTLE TO THE GENTILES. By Jürgen Becker. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993.

Jürgen Becker intends to provide in this work a study of Paul that takes him "seriously as a human being and as a person of profound religious conviction" (page ix). The reader who takes seriously the New Testament will, however, have difficulty recognizing the Paul that Becker presents.

Becker paints a picture of a Paul who had no idea whatsoever of the importance of his letters (page 8) and who would have been amazed and "perhaps even embarrassed" that his letters are included in the canon of the New Testament (page 9). Becker removes Ephesians, Philemon, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus from the list of Pauline letters and expresses doubts about Colossians and 2 Thessalonians.

Further complicating his task of understanding Paul is the unreliability of Acts, a book written "at the earliest" a generation after Paul by a man who did not know Paul and had probably not read any of his letters (pages 13-14). Becker believes that the author of Acts reports Paul's martyrdom "only quite incidentally (Acts 20:25, 38; 21:13)" (page 15) and records a (fictitious) Apostolic Decree (Acts 15) of which Paul knew nothing and with which he would not have agreed if he did (page 14). Readers of Becker's book will be surprised to discover that Paul conducted no extensive collection for the relief of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem (page 23). Becker suggests that the author of Acts falsified this information (page 26). The Paul pictured by Becker was a linen-worker who was never instructed in the law as a regular rabbinical student (page 37). This Paul was never confronted by Jesus on the road to Damascus (the author of Acts records only a fictional legend in Acts 9, 22, and 26, reflected also in 1 Timothy 1), although he did convert to Christianity at some point in the past (page 73).

Becker suggests that Paul lost the argument with Peter and the Judaizers (Galatians 2). This defeat motivated Paul to begin independent missionary work among the Gentiles (page 125). Paul was wrong to expect an imminent return of Jesus, a view shared by the early church (page 132). With this picture of Paul it is not surprising that Becker understands the doctrine of justification by grace through faith in Jesus Christ as merely a "battle doctrine" which Paul employed in polemical sections of his letters (pages 270, 279-304).

Becker's goal throughout the work seems to be to reconstruct a "flesh-and-bone" Paul, a man who felt called to present the gospel to the Gentiles. There is certainly a need to understand Paul as a human being and to avoid the two-dimensional caricature generated by many well-meaning conservative Christians. A true picture, however, of this apostle to the Gentiles must be drawn from all his letters, not just a few. Luke's account of Paul's ministry in Acts must be given full weight as well. And, finally, to misunderstand the place of justification in Paul's theology is to misunderstand his entire theological framework. Becker's book will

be of interest to those who wonder what is being taught in some German theological circles and reminds us of the hermeneutical question which every interpreter faces as he opens his Bible.

Lane Burgland

DIE RECHTFERTIGUNG DES SUENDERS: RETTUNGSHANDELN GOTTES ODER HISTORISCHES INTERPRETAMENT? By Gottfried Martens. Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht, 1992. *Forschungen zur systematischen und oekumenischen Theologie*, edited by Wolfhart Pannenberg and Reinhard Slenczka, Volume 64.

This book is essentially the author's doctoral dissertation, accepted by the theological faculty of Erlangen in 1990. It is an impressive achievement, just because it is not a tedious array of pedantries, but an illuminating treatment of the heart of the faith by a keen theological intelligence.

Roughly the first third of the text is devoted to a painstaking determination of just what it was that the Reformation, on the one hand, and the Roman Catholic Council of Trent, on the other hand, meant by justification. Special attention is given here not simply to the respective confessional or conciliar texts, but to vital background—first of all in the final negotiations at Augsburg and in the agreed formulas of Worms and Regensburg a decade later and then also in the work of Chemnitz as both confutator of Trent and main author of the Formula of Concord.

From this carefully constructed foundation Martens now proceeds to describe and evaluate some significant contemporary treatments of justification. First comes a thorough analysis of the formulation of the Lutheran World Federation in 1963. Next, four "ecumenical" documents are examined in respect of their treatments of justification: the "Malta-Report" (Roman Catholic and Lutheran [Vatican and LWF], 1971), the "Leuenberg Concord" (European Lutheran and Reformed, 1973), "Justification by Faith" (American Roman Catholic and Lutheran, 1983), and "Lehrverurteilungen—kirchentrennend?" [Doctrinal Condemnations—Church-Divisive?] (German Roman Catholic and EKD [Lutheran-Reformed-Union], 1986).

The various notions of justification are classified broadly into the two categories of the book's title: either God's salvific activity (if preaching, one might be tempted to say, "rescue-operation") or else a piece of historical interpretation. It turns out that Trent and the Lutheran Confessions had at least this in common, that both treated justification as

God's saving action, in the context of worship (*Gottesdienst*). By contrast, the modern documents—despite vestiges of the former approach, particularly in the American paper—treat justification as an intellectual construct, subject to the flux of endless re-interpretations, according to the dictates of modern historicist thinking (in the Continental sense).

It is not surprising that the boldness of this scheme provoked some fury within the academic establishment, as one gathers from Professor Slenczka's commendatory introduction. The approach was, for example, dubbed "a nonsensical alternative." Martens was also accused of a "fundamentalism of the means of grace." It is difficult to imagine a higher tribute to his work.

Given the wealth of data and analysis in the book (the bibliography comprises nearly a hundred pages), any selection of topics for special notice must needs be arbitrary. This review will take up three: (1.) some details of the historicising interpretation, (2.) the *status controversiae* between Trent and the Church of the Augsburg Confession, and (3.) an envisaged broadening of the ecumenical scope to include a comparative study of the theme of "deification" in Luther and Eastern Orthodoxy.

I.

Despite positive elements of the discussion in Helsinki (such as the renewed stress on the link between justification and baptism), Martens notes that the official theme, "Christ Today," came to be distorted into a preoccupation with "today" and therefore with that mythical creature, "modern man" (before, of course, the rise of the "femspeakers," who would rather be "chairs" than "men" of any sort). The "deep chasm" between past and present was thought to prevent reception of the message of the past concerning justification. The gap had to be bridged, instead, by human efforts at making justification "relevant." An obsession with "communication" in turn makes techniques central. If "we" are to "make" the "mere word" "effective," "lively," and "credible," then Martens is quite right to speak of a usurpation of the place of the Holy Spirit and of a "hermeneutical semi-pelagianism" (page 149). Our mediating, communicating activity then also takes over the function of the means of grace. As Martens reminds us, however, "the dialectic of law and gospel cannot in principle be translated into the methodology of detergent-commercials" (page 337).

One result of a further distortion was that "the experience of "today" was made a constant of theological assertions, and the form of the

proclamation of Christ a variable" (page 127). Since "modern man" does not believe in a last judgment, he naturally does not find justification in that sense "relevant." One of the major attempts to secure such relevance was Tillich's method of "correlation," in which Christian symbols are reconceived as answers to questions which "modern man" is allegedly asking. Martens comments trenchantly that "man sees his needs and questions satisfied precisely in *sin*" (page 142). Deploring the substitution of this thin gruel for God's own two-fold action in law and gospel, Martens cites Braaten's astonishing view: "Tillich's method of correlation is a contemporary methodological reformulation of the Lutheran principle of law and gospel" (page 142n).

One theologian (Poehlmann) thought that "overemphasis" on justification was an "intellectual image-cult" which "puts the cult of Mary in the shade" (page 145n). Indeed, the submission of the Theological Commission to the Lutheran World Federation in Helsinki, following the scheme of Warren Quanbeck, had reduced justification to "one of the pictures" for what is central in the New Testament. The references to "pictures" were later, in response to criticism, taken out of the final (unaccepted) report (page 145). Yet the fatal split between "concept" and intended "reality," and the reduction of God's rescuing forgiveness to bloodless abstractions, to be "interpreted" in this way and that, went on apace. As its Theological Commission reported to the next Assembly of the LWF in Evian (1970): "Historical thinking . . . lets us recognize the historical contingency of the biblical statements, as of the ecclesiastical confessions, and thus relativises their validity for the present situation" (page 131).

The "Malta-Report" treated this discounting and relativising of everything "historical" as an axiom. Fixed doctrine was in principle impossible, since the "gospel" always "incarnates" itself anew into a situation (page 189). To cope with the welter of diverse theologies, interpretations, and understandings, even within the New Testament itself, Malta adapted the notion of the "centre of the gospel" from the traditional Lutheran talk about the "centre of Scripture." In sum, "the Pauline proclamation of justification is to be understood as a 'polemic' and a 'sharpening,' which Paul developed in a particular situation and which, accordingly, is not to be regarded as *the* centre of his proclamation even in his own view; rather, it is *one* interpretation of the saving event among others and must let itself be corrected by them" (page 205).

The "Leuenberg Concord," while at least treating justification as a matter for joint confession, also succumbed to the bane of historicist

relativism. Its "dynamic concept of doctrine" replaced the contrast between God's word and man's word with the categories of "ground" and "expression" respectively. The radical contrast between divine truth and human opinion was thus dissolved into the grey sameness of "historical development" (page 226). Once law and gospel are, as also at Malta, bracketed as a mere confessional peculiarity, justification turns into an abstract ghost of itself, open to reinterpretation in sentimental terms and social action (pages 234-237).

The American document *Justification by Faith* receives high praise for actually tackling, in its historical portion, the dogmatic differences in detail. The biblical-exegetical component, supplied by John Reumann, is characterized by Martens, on the one hand, as a "basically superb collection of materials" (page 271), but, on the other hand, as a use of historical-critical methodology "to veil and supplant the necessity of theological judgment in exegesis" (page 246). Scripture, indeed, cannot function as rule and norm "where its pneumatic dimension as word of God is not taken into account at all" and "the aim of exegetical investigation consists simply in a demonstration of the diversity of the theologies and theological interpretations in the New Testament" (page 247).

Theologically the document achieves "convergence" by going beyond the supposed surface-level of doctrinal conflict, to that of the underlying intent or "concern," where a happy compatibility and complementarity prevail. The Roman Catholic understanding of justification as a process and the Lutheran confession of justification as shaped by the contrariety of law and gospel are regarded simply as different but complementary conceptual and linguistic ways of expressing the same thing (page 254). The Lutheran "concern" is then assimilated to the Tridentine teaching, so that the mutual "convergence" is expressed largely in the very wordings of Trent (page 260). The position of the Reformation may represent a "legitimate concern," but in itself it is no more than a Lutheran peculiarity and certainly not the *doctrina catholica and apostolica* which it claimed to be (page 273). The clash between true and false doctrine has been defused into a comparison of "then" and "now" within one evolutionary continuum (page 271). A similar "self-surrender" (page 312) on the part of the Lutherans (joined now by Reformed and Union forces) is registered by Martens in the final document which he considers, which sets aside the "mutual" condemnations of the sixteenth century. The summary here is, of course, sketchy and selective and, therefore, cannot do justice to Martens' exquisitely nuanced argumentation.

II.

The contrast between the Lutheran understanding of justification as divine forgiveness, forensically applied, and the Tridentine scheme of a progressive process, therapeutic and meritorious, is, of course, familiar. Martens, however, does not stop there. He traces the discord also to two incompatible views of reality. Trapped in Aristotelian ethics and metaphysics, Trent was unable to think of imputation as sufficiently "real." Faith was empty unless filled, or "formed," by love. For Luther, on the other hand, that which "forms" faith and gives it its justifying power is Christ Himself in the fulness of His redeeming work. It is this Christ—cross, resurrection, and all—who is present *in ipsa fide*, in faith itself. What faith has, therefore, is not less real but infinitely more real than any love or ethical renewal in us.

Despite, furthermore, its laudable anchorage of justification in baptism, Trent neglected the power and efficacy of the gospel itself (page 74). A corresponding deficiency in the estimation of the "word-event" may be noted already in the Worms-Regensburg discussions, where, as Martens expressly points out, Calvin's presence ruled out unanimity in this matter on the part of the Protestants (page 65n).

The "battle over justification" is "the battle over the right worship of God [*Gottesdienst*]" (page 113). Here is Martens' ringing opening declaration: "'Justification' signifies in the Confessions as *doctrina* that event [*Geschehen*, happening] which implements itself in the church's essential constitutives, word and sacrament, as well as its content" (pages 23-24). And in his conclusion Martens formulates the view in the Lutheran Confessions of justification as "grounding event" (*Grundgeschehen*) splendidly thus: "Justification is throughout proclaimed and confessed as the act of the Triune God upon sinful man, which is implemented in word and sacrament, thus in baptism, sermon, absolution, and supper, and therefore has its place in the worship [*Gottesdienst*] of the Christian congregation" (page 322).

This liturgical determination of justification is vital in an age which habitually misreads "faith" as mere interiority or "spirituality" in the modern sense. Contrary to this conception, the external, objective evangelical channels of salvation (*media salutis*) are essential and constitutive for justifying faith and so for justification itself in accord with the apology to the Augsburg Confession (IV, 53) and the Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord (III, 25).

Following Chemnitz, Martens knows well and often deploys this litmus test: What precisely is it that can alone secure our acquittal before the judgment seat of God? And in his treatment of the modern ecumenical discussion, the Roman-Lutheran contrast is sharply drawn. Yet the handling of the Council of Trent itself seems done surprisingly gingerly. Of the dreadful Canons 24 and 32 which have good works "increase" justification and "truly merit" eternal life, only one is mentioned, and that in a footnote. The issue of "merit" is dispatched with more excuses than criticisms. At this point words like "problematical," "insufficiently," and "danger" (page 82) have a distinctly trivializing effect. And the plausible weaving together of an "inner-biblical net of correlations [*Beziehungs-netz*]" capturing "central New Testament sets of facts [*Sachverhalte*]" (page 76) is not, of course, unique to Trent. We have all seen such perversely ingenious "nets," for instance, in the case of Jehovah's Witnesses, who learnt the art from the Arians.

On the other hand, one might wish that more leniency had been extended to Martens' fellow-confessional Lutheran, Dr. Gottfried Hoffmann, even if public expression of disagreement had been deemed necessary. The undersigned sees no vitiation of Hoffmann's view of Apology IV:72 in his recasting of the passive *iustum effici* into the active form, *iustum efficere*, for his title (page 34n). Hoffmann also rightly criticizes Schlink for extending the meaning of "regeneration" in the Apology's treatment of justification beyond the creation of saving faith to humanly observable change (see page 45n). In his distinction, moreover, between justification and sanctification in respect of *nova vita* in Apology IV (page 43n), is Hoffmann doing anything other than insisting, with Luther, on "the clear distinction of grace and gift," lest the two be fudged into "a *mixtum compositum*," as Martens himself puts the matter so well on page 312? Such, at any rate, are the reviewer's humble perceptions. These incidental reservations, however, are not meant in the least to gainsay the genuine significance and brilliance of Martens' treatise.

III.

The "ecumenical" discussion of justification considered here is, of course, really an event within the Western church. Perhaps that is not surprising, since the Christian East in a way missed out twice on the debate about saving grace, once in the time of Augustine and again in the time of Martin Luther. Naturally Eastern theologians have assimilated the issues in various ways, and these matters are now pursued in dialogues between churches. The most interesting Eastern-Lutheran dialogue of

recent years is doubtless that between the (Lutheran) Church of Finland and the Russian Orthodox Church. This dialogue, which began in 1970, has been enormously fruitful in stimulating a new and far-reaching departure in the study of Luther, focusing on the patristic "deification" (*theosis*) theme in Luther and its relation to justification.

The pioneering work was done by Professor Tuomo Mannermaa, of the University of Helsinki, and is being continued and extended by his students. Martens lists the relevant material of Mannermaa in his bibliography, as well as the important (deriving from a symposium in Helsinki) volume *Luther und Theosis*, published by the Luther-Akademie of Ratzeburg. Since these materials appeared in 1989 and 1990, however, and Martens' dissertation was completed in 1990, he could obviously not at that late date incorporate a major new component. Even less able to do it justice is this short review. Two observations will at least indicate the import of the new scholarship in Helsinki. There is, first of all, Luther's insistence, in his commentary on Galatians (*Luther's Works*, vol. 26, page 129), that justifying faith does not have Christ simply for its "object," in some abstract conceptual way, but rather that *in ipsa fide Christus adest* (in faith itself Christ is present"). What are the implications for the understanding of justification in Article Three of the Formula of Concord (SD) when that article itself concludes by directing those interested in a more detailed explanation of the matter to Luther's "beautiful and splendid" commentary on Galatians?

Secondly, as Mannermaa's student Risto Saarinen in particular has argued in some detail, there is a systematic flaw in the conventional portrayal of Luther's theology, owing to certain philosophical prejudices adopted by Ritschl and transmitted to the "Luther-Renaissance" initiated by Karl Holl. This bias dislikes essence and substance and talks, instead, of operations, actions, or influences, distorting Luther's views accordingly. His ontologically robust biblical, incarnational, and sacramental realism was starved down to spectral thinness, and the resulting insubstantial wraith then was then hailed as "dynamic."

The implications are, of course, enormous. Martens' work, for one thing, on the ecumenical debate about justification needs to be supplemented with an equally rigorous examination of the christological underpinnings. If, as Marc Lienhard assures us, the Leuenberg Concord, for instance, really meant by the "collapse of traditional thought-forms" the "two-natures doctrine" and "the doctrine of the communication of attributes" (*Lutherisch-Reformierte Kirchengemeinschaft Heute*, page 107),

it is difficult to see what concrete meaning and value could then be left to *any* agreed formulas about "justification."

It is greatly to be hoped that Martens' masterful investigation will soon be made available in English. It is far too fashionable among modern Lutherans to take justification for granted as a non-controversial, even slightly boring, cliche. Martens' work can shake us out of our complacent slumbers. In his introductory commendation Reinhard Slenczka cites these words from Hans Joachim Iwand: "An evangelical church which regards the doctrine of the righteousness of faith as something self-evident, which need not detain us since other questions are more urgent, has in principle robbed itself of the possibility of arriving at consistent solutions in these other questions" (page 5).

Kurt Marquart

TEXTS FOR PREACHING: A LECTIONARY COMMENTARY BASED ON THE NRSV—YEAR B. By Walter Brueggemann, Charles B. Cousar, Beverly R. Gaventa, and James D. Newsome. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993.

The idea of a lectionary commentary certainly seems appealing: by purchasing one volume, a preacher can have on his shelf a reasonably in-depth treatment of every likely sermon text for a whole year. Some may find *Texts for Preaching* to be just such a book. Lutheran lectionary preachers, however, are likely to be disappointed.

The disappointment will not be with the concept. A commentary specifically on preaching texts offers several advantages on which this volume capitalizes. First and most importantly, every text is examined with a view to its place in the ecclesiastical year. An introduction for each Sunday connects the lessons for the day with each other and with the season. These are generally insightful and extremely relevant to preaching. Inclusion of the psalm of the week further enhances this commentary's liturgical usefulness. Secondly, directed as they are toward sermon preparation, the authors often suggest applications of the text which could easily find their way into the pulpit. On the crowd's reaction to the feeding of the five thousand in John, for example: "It is the kind of thinking that skews the reality of grace and seeks to make of Jesus a genie or an errand boy" (page 446). Thirdly, this commentary is designed for easy access by preachers of greater or lesser scholarly inclination. The original languages are assumed, but word studies and grammatical issues are always elaborated in the vernacular.

Nor will there be disappointment with the scholarship of the authors, either. The work is credible enough. Brueggemann in particular is a name familiar to students of the Old Testament.

The fact is that Lutheran preachers will be disappointed with something very much out of the hands of the authors. They have, of course, commented on the lessons assigned in the *Revised Common Lectionary* (1992). Unfortunately, therefore, this commentary simply does not address almost thirty percent of the pericopes in the lectionaries used by most Lutherans, such as that in *Lutheran Worship*. Some of the omissions will be especially missed, such as Genesis 22:1-18 and Romans 8:31-39 (First Sunday in Lent), all the lessons of Pentecost including Ezekiel 37, Mark's passion and account of Easter, Ephesians 5:21-31 (on the Fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost). A number of the omitted texts are included in Years A and C of the *RCL*; Westminster-Knox Press expects to publish *Texts for Preaching* for these years too. The point is that one volume does not meet every Sunday's need.

There are, in addition, exegetical concerns with this commentary. Inerrancy and historicity are questioned (pages 9, 453, *et alia*) and traditional authorship refuted (page 82). Interpretations of the Old Testament vary between surprisingly clear connections to Jesus (page 5, for example) and complete discounting of major messianic passages. ("It is enough to see that . . . [the first Servant Song] models profound faith in a situation of exposure and vulnerability," page 241. Likewise, the poetic interpretation of Isaiah 53 is at once insightful and inadequate.) In many instances the commentary raises questions, challenging grist for the preacher's mill, but avoids answering some of the tougher ones. A preacher devoted to the pericopes—even of the Lutheran cycle—might want this book as a source of material. Most readers of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* probably would not find it to be the best available source.

Carl C. Fickenscher II
Garland, Texas

BECOMING MARRIED. By Herbert Anderson and Robert Cotton Fite. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993.

This book is the second book in a series about major events of life, viewed from a pastoral perspective. The first book, *Leaving Home*, written several years ago, I reviewed in an earlier issue of the *Concordia Theological Quarterly*. Herbert Anderson is a professor of pastoral

theology, and Robert C. Fite is a pastoral counselor. In this new book pastors are provided substantial "food for thought" concerning issues related to premarital counseling, planning of weddings, and something probably rarely done, scheduled post-marital counseling during the first few years of marriage.

The book advocates the use of an informal genogram as the primary instrument for use in premarital counseling. In the genograms the couples tell their family stories back a few generations. Using this instrument, the couples decide which familial customs, patterns of life-style, and religious values they wish to bring into their new marriage. Instructions on how to do a genogram are provided. The wedding ceremony is viewed as an important public part of the ongoing process of becoming married.

The book incorporates a current sociological study of marriage, and also seeks to set forth a general theology of Christian marriage. Lutherans will not likely be comfortable with the sacramental label given marriage, though the use of the term by the authors differs from traditional Roman Catholic usage.

The book deals with the fact that more couples are living together prior to the wedding ceremony. While not endorsing this practice, the implications for the wedding ceremony and for the marriage are discussed. While the authors contend that lifelong marriage may be more difficult in a day when people live much longer, that certainly does not abrogate God's intention for marriage.

The book contains advice about the content of the wedding homily. Also provided is a list of texts of Scripture usable for weddings. There is also advice about the construction of the wedding ceremony. In that area most Lutheran pastors will presumably continue to reach for the *Agenda* pure and simple.

The work is thoroughly furnished with footnotes, which provide suggestions for further reading. This is definitely a book for pastors to read and ponder. It is exceedingly readable and continues the good work done in the earlier book. One can hope that the authors will see the series through to completion. One may not wish to scrap his present pattern of premarital counseling work to use the genogram primarily. Yet one is likely to come away viewing it as an additional modality in such work.

Gary C. Genzen
Lorain, Ohio

A FAMILY OF SERMONS. By Arthur Drevlow. Mankato, Minnesota: Walther Press, 1993.

It is true that a family of writers, six no less, is involved in the production of this book of sermons, brothers and nephews, all of whom bear the surname Drevlow. But the primary author and contributor is Arthur Drevlow, a graduate of Concordia Theological Seminary in 1941, now retired after many fruitful years as pastor chiefly in southern Minnesota. To his credit it must be acknowledged that this conscientious *Seelsorger*, besides tending to his parish and its school, remained a student himself, constantly growing. His sermons evince the love he cherished for the scriptural word, the theology of his beloved church and its leaders, notably Luther and Walther, and the history of the synod which he served. A mere casual reading will soon demonstrate his ability to expound the text (helpfully the texts are printed out) and to benefit his hearers with pertinent comments and lively illustrations. Thus, for example, in preaching on the beginnings of this, he points out in his introduction how on July 4, 1853, the first president of the synod, C. F. W. Walther, gave thanks to God for having made America "the greatest wonder of the century," referencing chiefly the blessings resulting from the religious freedom to worship without let or hindrance. Ten years later, Drevlow goes on, "President Lincoln reminded his countrymen of their Creator's blessings: 'We have been the recipients of the choicest blessings of heaven.'" Drevlow's text was Psalm 33:12, "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, and the people whom He has chosen as His own inheritance" (NKJV). The sermon turns on three poles, the past, the present, and the future (the once, the now, and the tomorrow). Vividly Drevlow makes his points. As regards America's past, for example, he states: "To apply the terms righteous and upright to any nation, past or present, is indeed a mark of God's unlimited love. Think of these terms as you consider the America of by-gone days. Imagine students coming to Harvard University in September 1992 and being greeted by the Rule of September 26, 1642: 'Let every student be plainly instructed and earnestly [advised] to consider well: the main end of his life and studies is to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life, John 17:3.' Think of college students in 1992 being told that Jesus Christ is 'the only foundation of knowledge and learning.'" Obviously we have come a long way from that day, and Drevlow acknowledges "that will seem strange to us" in our troubled times.

Similar sorts of trenchant comments appear in the sermons that highlight the Lutheran Confessions, one of the five sections in the book.

The skill and technique of teaching (in sermons) concerning these confessions was the focus of the author's project-dissertation of the Doctor of Ministry degree of Concordia Theological Seminary a number of years ago. Of the approximately fifty sermons in the book, forty are by Arthur Drevlow; the remaining ones are contributed by other members of the Drevlow family, Adolph, Otto, Ferdinand, David, and Marcus. The book thus becomes a fitting memento of this family that has contributed significantly to the ministry of the word for more than a half century.

Eugene F. Klug

MATTHEW'S CHRISTIAN-JEWISH COMMUNITY. By Anthony J. Saldarini. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Saldarini maintains that Matthew was intended for a community of Jews of which he was part. Matthew writes with the hope that the Jews, who were not monolithic in their beliefs, may recognize Jesus as the Messiah. This study is fascinating, since Jesus is presented as the Jew He really was. Failure to understand Matthew in this way, as Saldarini has admirably done, leaves important aspects of the life of Jesus untouched.

As valuable as this fundamental principle is, it results in overstated conclusions incompatible with certain understandings. Matthew is so enmeshed in Judaism that the church and the synagogue are no longer seen as fundamentally opposed. Its apologetic against first-century Judaism, the view offered by Davies and Allison, is obliterated. Saldarini's approach requires putting a positive face on negative references to Jews and neutering favorable references to Gentiles. This approach destroys Matthew's literary and theological genius of creating a tension between negative references to Gentiles (e.g., their useless, long prayers) and positive portraits of them (e.g., the magi, the centurions, the Canaanite woman). Matthew creates a similar tension by offering salvation to the Jews who then rarely believe and are finally excluded. One may consider side by side the pericopes of the healed leper who follows Jesus' command to present himself to the priest and of the centurion who requests the healing of his servant. Saldarini correctly sees Jesus as an observant Jew. Ignored is the comparison between the lepers and priests who do not respond to miracles and the centurion who believes without seeing one. Should Matthew's reader fail to see this contrast, he is told the sons of the kingdom will be thrown into outer darkness. Any tension between the two groups is conclusively removed when the Gentiles are said to include Jews. The account of the alleged robbery of Jesus' body

is taken as an apology for the resurrection, which it surely is; but omitted is the repudiation of the perfidy of the Jews who preach their own lie. No mention is made of Joseph's concern with Mary's alleged adultery, which is squarely targeted to Jewish slanders. The removal of the actual tension obscures Matthew's purpose in establishing a basis for the mission to the Gentiles and in warning the Jews of damnation. References to the disciples of Jesus being thrown out of Jewish synagogues challenge this view of a peaceable kingdom of Christians and Jews.

Even if, however, Saldarini takes his fundamental thesis too far, he rightly places Matthew within the vortex of the struggle between two movements. *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* is aptly titled and gives a valuable insight into the emerging church. The same evidence, nevertheless, could show Matthew's readers to be believers who struggle with their ties to the synagogues. A secondary audience might be found among Jews who are attracted by Jesus but remain with their synagogues. Matthew, then, still addresses Jews, but this point can not be made without taking the teeth out of his message or softening his indictment of the Gentiles.

David P. Scaer

A HISTORY AND CRITIQUE OF THE ORIGIN OF THE MARCAN HYPOTHESIS 1835-1866. New Gospel Studies, 8. By Hajo Uden Meijboom. Translated and edited by John J. Kiwiet. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1993.

Published in 1866, this Dutch dissertation surfaced in a seminar under the late Karl-Heinrich Rengstorf in 1979. Meijboom challenges the two-source hypothesis with Mark as the first gospel, then formulated by Holtzmann in *The Synoptic Gospels, Their Origin and Their Historical Character* (1863), which remains basic to research on the gospels. Meijboom (1842-1933), a virtual unknown, began his career when the tumult created by Strauss's *Life of Jesus* (1835) was settling down. Following the latter's critique of the gospels, which savaged the historical Jesus and threatened to emasculate Christianity, scholars attempted a recovery in favoring the shorter Mark who was not disadvantaged by narratives of a miraculous birth and resurrection.

There is good reason to put aside any hesitancy as to the value of a mid-nineteenth-century work. While modern dissertations strive to be detached, Meijboom at the age of twenty-four had no difficulty in showing how the evidence was manipulated to support the Marcan hypothesis. He

divides his work into three parts with the first tracing the development of the hypothesis from its inception in the 1830's to its dogmatization in 1866. The arguments used on its behalf are answered in the second part. No basis for Marcan priority is found in its brevity. Its christology is not primitive but developed. In the final part Meijboom offers an exegetical assessment of Mark.

On several counts this work is fascinating. John J. Kiwiet, the translator and a professor at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, has supplied the footnotes lacking in the dissertation. His introduction serves as a history of theology when the theory of Marcan priority was crystallizing. For ease of reading he expands the translation, but preserves Meijboom's integrity by bracketing the additions. Since Kiwiet makes Meijboom's work his own, the woodenness of a translation is overcome.

A final intriguing feature is Meijboom's exegesis. Mark 9:49-50, for instance, is an enigmatic and uniquely Marcan pericope (included in the new three-year series of pericopes): "For everyone will be salted with fire, and every sacrifice will be salted with salt. Salt is good; but if the salt has lost its saltiness, how will you season it? Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace with one another." Meijboom opines that Christians were held together by an unhealthy desire for martyrdom (an argument for a later date). As martyrdom would not continue, they had to look for inner peace to hold them together.

Along with the author's detailed table of contents, the translator includes his own and adds indices of topics and persons. Meijboom devoted the remainder of his career to social causes and to studies of the early church, favoring Marcion. He may have lost his first love and gave no answer to the form-criticism of Dibelius and Bultmann. The general editor of the series, William R. Farmer, challenges Marcan priority once again by bringing Meijboom into the debate. Only posterity will know the results.

David P. Scaer

CATHOLIC, LUTHERAN, PROTESTANT: A DOCTRINAL COMPARISON OF THREE CHRISTIAN CONFESSIONS. By Gregory L. Jackson. St. Louis: Martin Chemnitz Press, 1993.

This book is clearly a labor of love, and like most good theology, arises out of pastoral experience. When members of different churches fall in love, careful doctrinal guidance is both necessary and difficult. On the

one hand, the spiritual future of a new family is at stake. On the other hand, the rosy illusions of romantic love are notoriously inhospitable to a sober assessment of differences, let alone differences about matters of ultimate import. Dr. Jackson neither waffles nor scolds. He calmly unfolds the essential issues, concerned not only to show the differences between the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran churches, "but also to emphasize how much they have in common."

Gregory Jackson is well qualified to write this book, the title of which at once reminds one of Will Herberg's classic, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*. A graduate of Yale (S.T.M.) and Notre Dame (Ph.D.), the author also studied at various Lutheran schools, including Augustana College in Rock Island, Waterloo University in Ontario, Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne, and Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary in Mequon. Jackson's broad perspective reflects this personal odyssey. Knowing perfectly well the vast confusions in all churches today, he wisely concentrates on the official positions of the churches, not on unrepresentative personal opinions.

The book progresses pedagogically from "Areas of Agreement" (Part One) to "Partial Agreement" (Part Two) and then to "Complete Disagreement" (Part Three). One is not surprised to find the Trinity and Natural Law in Part One. The Two Natures of Christ are treated there as well. It might have been good to indicate that the Reformed deviations on christology, which Jackson deplores, are foreshadowed already in medieval scholasticism, which departs from the full incarnational realism of the New Testament and the ancient church, to which Luther returned. It is surprising to find Scripture treated also in this first, agreed, area. This approach is made possible by limiting the issue to the Bible as the authoritative word of God—which all the historic confessions affirm—and by approaching it through appropriate citations from the ancient fathers. This approach is probably most helpful to the interested inquirer, who is thus helped to see the issue not as an eccentricity of the Reformation, but as part of much older common Christian ground. The papal evasions and violations of biblical authority then come in a later chapter dealing with disagreements.

Under "Partial Agreement" the author treats the sacraments as means of grace. While noting the partial agreement here between the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic churches, Jackson stresses the sharp discontinuity between the historic church (including Luther) and Zwingli and Calvin—and thus between the Lutheran and the other Protestant churches.

"American Lutheranism," he writes incisively, "has suffered from such a fear of succumbing to Roman doctrine that many positive, historic aspects of liturgical worship and practice have been avoided or abandoned in favor of Zwinglian rationalism, Evangelical revivals, and Pentecostal praise festivals replete with staged healings and calculated emotionalism" (page 77).

The most detailed discussions, naturally, occur in the five chapters devoted to areas of "Complete Disagreement." These deal with justification by faith, purgatory, papal infallibility, mariology, and the antichrist respectively. A great strength of Jackson's treatment of justification is that he is not afraid to refer expressly to "objective justification"—sometimes derided by superficial critics as a "Missourian" invention—and to make that doctrine central and crucial. Apt quotations from the sources make the issues abundantly clear. (The citation on page 106 from the prime dogmatician of the Wisconsin Synod, A. Hoenecke, should say, in English, not that, according to Rome, "faith is not a means of grace," but that "faith does not justify as means or instrument.") Also quite valuable are up-to-date discussions of the deep affinities between pre-Reformation synergism and that of modern Protestantism. Bracketing Pelagius with Norman Vincent Peale, Robert Schuller, and "Star Wars" (page 112) helps modern readers to see the relevance of ancient heresies.

The chapter on purgatory goes into fascinating historical details, showing the origins of this superstition in Plato's opinions. Also noted are the strong links between that notion and the importance of mariology and the "sacrifice of the mass" in Roman thought. Nor are modern Protestants immune from a superstitious mingling of pagan and Christian elements: Paul Yonggi Cho, much-quoted founder of Yoido Full Gospel Church in Seoul, Korea, taught people to visualize-to-order exactly what they wanted from God in prayer: "Let's order him now. Until you see your husband clearly in your imagination you can't order, because God will never answer. You must see him clearly before you begin to pray. God never answers vague prayers" (page 138).

Similarly instructive is the chapter on mariology. Many modern Roman Catholics—not to mention Lutherans and others—would be surprised to learn that Thomas Aquinas rejected the notion of the Blessed Virgin's "immaculate conception"—that is, her alleged exemption from original sin. Both the "immaculate conception" and the "assumption" of the Virgin Mary were proclaimed as dogmas by papal authority, without benefit even of a council. The one was defined by Pius IX in 1854—already before

he was declared infallible (1870)—and the other by Pius XII in 1950. Yet Jackson does not advocate the typically Protestant over-reaction. He shows the biblical sobriety of Luther's mature position and the contrast with Calvin, who, together with Nestorius, rejected the term "Mother of God." The final chapter defends Luther against his detractors, again with a wealth of interesting historical details, including the quite revolutionary views of Luther held by some leading modern Roman Catholic scholars.

There are few places at which one is tempted to disagree with Dr. Jackson. Perhaps the main one for this reviewer is the apparent surrender of the term "Protestant," which, like the word "Catholic," has, after all, a perfectly respectable pedigree. Yet one cannot gainsay what Jackson has learnt from bitter personal experience: that the blight of modern Lutheranism's self-devastation festers almost entirely in the "Protestant" direction. It is to the church's historic faith and heritage that he eloquently calls us back. All in all, the book is informative, relevantly argued, and well-documented, to be sure. But it is not merely academic or cerebral. It is at bottom a confession of faith, and closes, fittingly, with the author's remembrance of his daughters, Bethany and Erin Joy, who have gone before him to heaven in their baptismal faith. He concludes with the prayer from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*: "O God! Complete my pilgrimage. Conduct me safely there."

K. Marquart

BEYOND CHARITY: REFORMATION INITIATIVES FOR THE POOR. By Carter Lindberg. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.

Carter Lindberg is a professor of ecclesiastical history in Boston University. The great value of his study is that it very convincingly shows that Christian love and charity, hence Christian ethics, must be seen as emanating from Christian faith. It was Luther's signal contribution, after all, to show that God's word taught the formula *fides format caritatem* ("faith forms charity") and not the reverse as in Augustine and then in medieval theology, especially monasticism. There the formula was *caritas format fidem* ("charity forms faith").

Lindberg sets the agenda straight. For too long a time Luther's contributions to social welfare have been dismissed. Ernst Troeltsch characterized Luther as engrossed only with theology and somewhat indifferent to social justice and the welfare of the masses. Reinhold Niebuhr, according to Lindberg, chanted the same dirge and portrayed Luther as, for the most part, given to quietism and defeatism in regard to

the social, political, economic structures around him. The reviewer recalls from a conversation in Leipzig with Max Steinmetz (a leading ideologue of the East German communist state) that he, too, deplored Luther's failure to advance the cause of the common man—especially in the Peasants' Revolt after having opened windows for the peasants. Lindberg avers that these are distortions of Luther's theology and praxis; and, without trying to romanticize Luther's contributions, he hopes by his study to stimulate "a fresh look at Luther's contributions to social ethics." Otherwise, contends Lindberg, we shall be left with "a deficit in the contemporary life of the church" (162). "Luther was effective not because he told people what they ought to do, but because he first told them what God has done for them. . . . Luther had the boldness to address structural sources of injustice and to advocate legislative redress of them because his social ethic was rooted in the worship and proclamation of the community. The congregation is the local source in which God 'creates a new world'" (162-163). A key element, according to Lindberg, in Luther's bequest to the church is the way in which liturgy follows upon liturgy among Christian people—the *Gottesdienst* of serving one's neighbor and thus fulfilling the second table of the law flows from the Reformer's conviction, based on God's word, that the *Gottesdienst* of word and sacrament in worship forms the foundation of Christian service of whatever form—relief of the poor, care of the sick, help for the weak (children, women in various circumstances, prisoners, *et cetera*).

The debate on social issues will always go on. How is poverty to be defined, and what is its cause, and how shall it be addressed, *et cetera*? There are always those who, while willing to work, are unable to find work that will support them and their families. Hence throughout history a distinction has been made between the so-called worthy poor and the unworthy. In medieval theology and in the theology of many within Christendom down to the present day the thinking was and is that, on the one hand, there is a special blessedness in poverty and the poor are the favored of God and justified by their poverty (24) and that, on the other hand, the wealthy can earn heaven no more quickly than by charitable works. It was such thinking and preaching that radically undercut the gospel *sola gratia sola fide* and so also the fruits which are to flow from faith for the sake of Christ.

Professor Lindberg has done a unique and necessary work with this study. He has traced the whole story of poverty and charity through the history of the Christian church, with special attention to the Reformation, including valuable references to the church-orders of various Lutheran

cities and territories. He shows what Luther contributed to a genuine sense of individual and communal responsibility in dealing with the social needs which always surround us. Lindberg has researched the matter with evident empathy, written various studies on the question, and gained personal knowledge of the problems involved through his service on several boards and commissions relating to social welfare in his denomination.

Eugene F. Klug

Indices to Volume 59 (1995)

I. Index of Authors and Editors

II. Index of Titles

III. Index of Book Reviews

A. Authors of Books

B. Titles of Books

Books Received

Richard A. Muller. *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, volume 2: *Holy Scripture: The Cognitive Foundation of Theology*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993. xvi + 543 pages. Paperback.

H. Richard Niebuhr. *Radical Monotheism and Western Culture: With Supplemental Essays*. Library of Christian Ethics. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993, reprint of 1943. 144 pages. Paperback. $9.99.

Norman R. Peterson. *The Gospel of John and the Sociology of Light: Language and Characterization in the Fourth Gospel*. Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1993. 170 pages. Paperback.

Gale A. Yee. *Jewish Feasts and the Gospel of John*. Zacchaeus Studies: New Testament. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1989. 93 pages. Paperback. $6.95.

Arthur A. Just, Jr. *The Ongoing Feast: Table Fellowship and Eschatology at Emmaus*. A Pueblo Book. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1993. xviii + 307 pages. Paperback. $21.95.

Constantine N. Tsirpanlis. *Introduction to Eastern Patristic Thought and Orthodox Theology*. Theology and Life Series, volume 30. A Michael Glazier Book. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1991. viii + 277 pages. Paperback. $16.95.

Richard D. Balge, general editor. *Sermon Studies on the Epistles (ILCW Series B)*. Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1993. 332 pages. Hardback. $19.99.

Donald Capps. *The Poet's Gift: Toward the Renewal of Pastoral Care*. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993. xi + 192 pages. Paperback. $15.99.

Raimon Panikkar. *A Dwelling Place for Wisdom*. Translated by Annemarie S. Kidder. Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1993. vi + 179 pages. Paperback. $12.99.

D. A. Carson, editor. *Worship: Adoration and Action*. Carlisle, United Kingdom: Paternoster Press; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993. 256 pages. Paperback.

Millard J. Erickson. *Evangelical Interpretation: Perspectives on Hermeneutical Issues*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993. 132 pages. Paperback.

Kurt Brink. *Overcoming Pastoral Pitfalls*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: The Reverend Kurt Brink, 1992. 138 pages. Paperback.

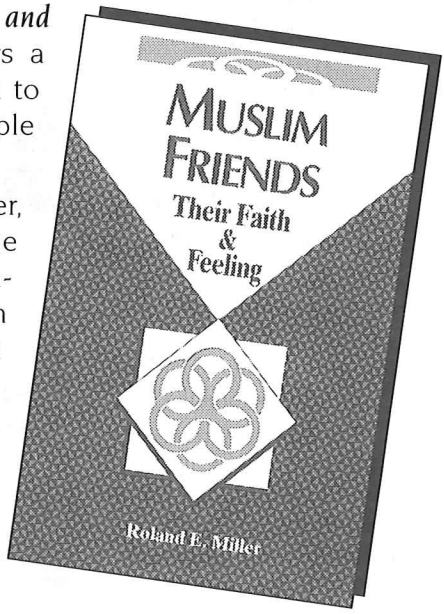
Andre Vauchez. *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*. Edited and introduced by Daniel E. Bornstein. Translated by Margarie J. Schneider. Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993. xx + 350 pages. Hardback. $36.95.

Edouard Massaux. *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, Book 1: *The First Ecclesiastical Writers*. Translated by Norman J. Belval and Suzanne Hecht. New Gospel Studies 5:1. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters Press; Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1990. xxvi + 172 pages. Hardback.

Additional lists of "Books Received" by the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* are to be found on pages 6, 18, 46, 74, 94, 96, and 126.

Reach Out to Your Muslim Neighbors

Muslim Friends: Their Faith and Feeling by Roland E. Miller offers a perceptive and unique introduction to the Islamic faith and the people who follow it.



Written for the general reader, Miller looks beyond the false stereotypes of Islam and caricatures of its believers to offer an objective description of the Qur an and Islamic beliefs. He describes the fundamental beliefs and practices of Islam and how they permeate all aspects of Muslim culture through the family, friendships, social understanding, festivals, and rites of passage.

As a result, *Muslim Friends* accurately explores the richness of the Muslim culture and offers a rarely-seen portrait of individuals who have normal ideals, goals, and a rich heritage and culture.

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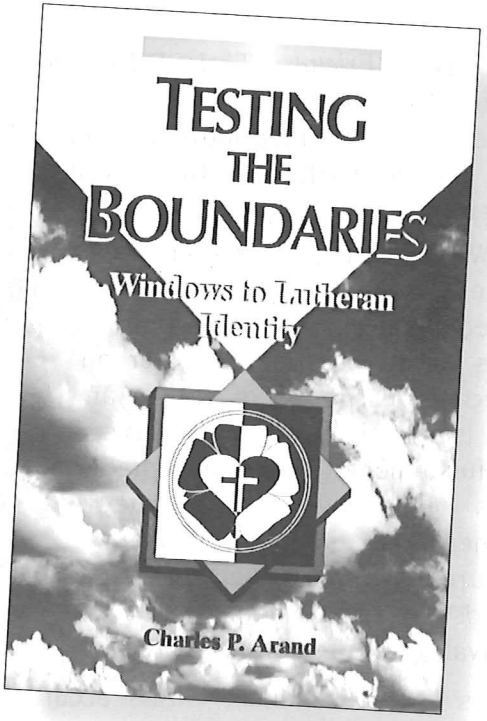

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