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On the cover (clockwise, from the top left): Mark Neumann being sworn into Congress, Elizabeth Platz, J.A. Freylinghausen, Kristoffer Rosenthal, Paul Henkel, F. Melius Christiansen, Robert Van Dusen, 1920 U.S. Census form in background.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

You have in your hands (or on your screen!) the sixth volume of our new publishing series, the *Journal of the Lutheran Historical Conference*, highlighting articles and other information about the history of Lutherans in North America. Thanks for your continued support and interest, we in the Lutheran Historical Conference can bring these items of interest to you, and to other persons interested in this area.

This volume has a mix of different elements to it, stretching from the American Revolution up to the present day. We have a number of different articles that examine such different subjects as Lutheran hymnody, Lutherans in politics and governmental advocacy, immigrant Lutheranism, and two articles about Lutheranism in Central America and the Caribbean. We also include in this issue three first-person accounts of Lutheran pastors about their lives and ministries, material that is not readily available and that we believe you will find fascinating. These accounts include a Civil War pastor in northern Virginia, a Russian Jewish convert to Christianity, and an early Missouri seminarian and pastor. As is usual, there is also the annual LHC bibliography.

There are two further things to call to your attention. First, the biennial meeting of the Lutheran Historical Conference, which will be at California Lutheran University, Thousand Oaks, California, October 4-6, 2018. Please see the LHC website (https://www.luthhistcon.org/) for further details about this meeting. Second, please remember that the 400th anniversary of Lutherans in North America will be celebrated in 2019. Please check with us about more details and events, and start thinking about how you might develop your own commemorations.

Thanks for your continued support of the Lutheran Historical Conference and your ongoing interest in the history of Lutherans in North America.

1

CIVIL UNREST AND THE PASTORAL VOCATION

Halle's Encyclical of 1776 to the Pennsylvania Ministerium[1]

JONATHAN WILSON

Studies of the Halle (or Glaucha) Orphan Institutes have focused on its founder, the Lutheran Pietist August Hermann (A. H.) Francke (d. 1727), and his immediate successors in this early period characterized as the "blossoming time" (*bluhezeit*) of establishment Lutheran Pietism.[2] By 1750 the flower had faded: After his accession in Prussia Friedrich II, preferring the scholars of the Enlightenment, was at best indifferent to the Pietist faction and at worst passively hostile. Francke's son Gotthilf August (G. A.) Francke (d. 1767), lacking both his father's political acumen and the favor his father enjoyed with the ruling class of Brandenburg-Prussia, presided over a lengthy decline in the institutions so that, with his death in 1767, little attention is paid to the Halle Institutes in the final third of the eighteenth century. Interest in the Halle Institutes picks up with the rationalist August Hermann (A. H.) Niemeyer (d. 1828), called the "second founder" of the Halle Institutes.[3] Niemeyer succeeded to the leadership at the turn of the nineteenth century, navigated the institutes through the troubled times of Napoleonic suzerainty, and brought them back to respectability and prosperity.

This decades-long gap in historiographical interest in the Halle Institutes coincides with the era of the American Revolution. Intuitively one might conjecture that, since Prussia itself was not much involved in the American Revolution, neither were the Halle Pietists in Prussia. Those aligned with Halle Pietism that were involved in the American Revolution were, unsurprisingly, German Lutheran emigrants already in the American colonies. Through them Halle Pietism's influence was

especially concentrated in two locations, first at the Ebenezer settlement in Georgia – which produced Georgia's first Patriot governor - and second, in Pennsylvania and its neighboring mid-Atlantic colonies. This article does not treat the constellation of Halle interests in Georgia, and focuses instead on Halle Pietist clergy in Pennsylvania. These pastors were the core of the Pennsylvania Ministerium founded by Heinrich Melchior (H. M.) Mühlenberg (d. 1787), who himself reached retirement age at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

Historiographers writing in the nineteenth century and through the early twentieth, for whom much of the archival material was unavailable, concluded that the senior Mühlenberg was a dyed-in-the-wool patriot based on the well-documented patriotism of his offspring. This orthodoxy was revised by Theodore G. Tappert, the editor and redactor of H. M. Mühlenberg's journals, by the mid-twentieth century.[4] Tappert traced the tortured, reluctant pilgrimage of Mühlenberg's conscience, and several scholars of early American Lutheranism have followed Tappert's lead.[5]

After Mühlenberg the ministers sent to Pennsylvania from Halle, without exception during the tenure of G. A. Francke, were a mixed bag in terms of training, competence, and long-term effectiveness. The most qualified and successful ministers were sent during the brief tenure of Halle Institutes Director Johann Georg (J. G.) Knapp, who died on the very cusp of the Revolutionary era. Knapp had succeeded G. A. Francke but served less than three years before his own death in 1771. The pastors Knapp sent to Pennsylvania, some of whom married into the Mühlenberg family, lived through the American Revolution, succeeded to the synod's leadership, formed new synods on the Pennsylvania Ministerium model, and served into the early nineteenth century.[6]

Until the time that Prussia came under Napoleonic hegemony in Europe, Pennsylvania Ministerium clergy received direct aid and benevolence from the Halle Institutes in cash, books, and medicines, which were distributed at the annual synods. The conventions of the American Revolutionary War ended the shipments of medicine, but cash disbursements from European bequests continued to arrive.[7] Thus Lutheran Pietists tied to Halle were present in America during the Revolutionary War, and they were staked in its issues and its outcomes.

What this stake looked like is not a matter of agreement across historiographical disciplines. Social historians of early American Lutheranism

tend to describe the German Lutheran immigrant culture as being at least as patriotic in proportion as were their English-speaking Euro-centric counterparts; perhaps as fervent a base as were the Ulster Irish.[8] Military historians and social historians focused on the American Revolution as such, however, conclude that the German immigrant population under-performed for the patriot cause. Hessian Studies scholar Rodney Atwood suggests that this lack of participation may have been a product of the Pietist influence among them.[9] Resolving this disparity is a complicated quest, requiring engagement across several disciplines and perspectives.

The early modern Atlantic World is now understood, across disciplines, to be a complex, inter-related entity. One descriptive approach has been to apply network theory to the function of eighteenth century correspondence within that world. When exploring the trans-Atlantic networks of the Pennsylvania Ministerium pastors and their European benefactors, one question is whether and to what degree the European benefactors were also staked in the issues and outcomes of the American Revolution. Mühlenberg always viewed the Halle directors as his superiors, the "Reverend Fathers" who were his line of epistolary report. He was faithful in his correspondence to them, and on the eve of hostilities arranged for his European superiors to become the board of governance for the retirement home that was being built in Providence (now Trappe), PA for the Pennsylvania Ministerium's pastors.[10]

At the same time these Reverend Fathers were a di-polar network relative to the Pennsylvania pastors, with one director in Halle to whom Mühlenberg reported, and another in London.[11] In London the line of report ran through the royal family's chaplain. Although publicly acting as heads of the Church of England, the Hanoverian monarchs were ethnically German and Lutheran in their private practice. The tradition of a Halle-allied Pietistic chaplain dated back to the reign of Queen Anne (d. 1714), whose husband was a Prince of Denmark and a Lutheran.[12] The royal chaplain in London at the dawn of the American Revolution was Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (d. 1776). As part of his role he chaired the board of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), a major conduit of missions support for Halle's endeavors in India and in the American colony of Georgia.[13] It turns out that Halle was staked in the issues of the American Revolution, and their opinion should have carried at least some clout among the pastors of the Pennsylvania Ministerium as direct recipients of their benevolence.

In *Palatines, Liberty and Property* A. Gregg Roeber referred to letters between Pennsylvania Ministers and the Halle Orphan Institute director G. A. Freylinghausen (d. 1785) which were written early in the war.[14] These were included in Kurt Aland's edition of *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs band 4*. Of particular interest is G. A. Freylinghausen's letter of June 1, 1776, sent from Halle as a circular to the Pennsylvania Ministerium. English translations are not yet published.[15]

The Halle Institutes Director through the duration of the American Revolutionary War was G. A. Freylinghausen who succeeded Knapp in 1771 and served until his own death in 1786. He published little and is thus ignored in Pietist Studies. In Martin Brecht's comprehensive *Geschichte des Pietismus,* he receives one sentence. His father Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (d. 1739). was A. H. Francke's son-in-law and successor in leadership. Johann Freylinghausen is noteworthy as a hymn writer, and for the continued growth of both the Orphan institutes and of the influence of Halle Pietism under his leadership from 1728 until his death in 1739. There are 28 references to "Freylinghausen" in volume three of the Tappert-Doberstein edition of Mühlenberg's journals, which covers the years 1777-1787. Johann's shadow is cast to such length that the index erroneously attributes 27 of these references to Johann. Those references belong to the son, Gottlieb, Mühlenberg's contemporary and overseer.[16]

Although ignored in historiography and confused with his father in the apparatus of standard texts, in his own time G. A. Freylinghausen carried clout among Lutherans around the world into the 1780's. G. A. Freylinghausen became Inspector of the Halle Institutes' Latin School in 1742,[17] early in the tenure of G. A. Francke and only two years after Friedrich II became king. Thus G. A. Freylinghausen learned the Orphan Institutes operation during the long reign of an indifferent king and the hardships of the Seven Years War.[18] Brecht sees the decline of the Institutes as a consequence, at least in part, of the economic losses suffered by patrons during the Seven Years War.[19]

The financial stress heightened the importance of the London-based SPCK as a source of funds.[20] In 1777 there were approximately 800 English subscribers to the SPCK.[21] Rebellion against British rule in North America could damage support for the missions of the Halle Institutes, not only to the relatively small interests in North America itself, but to its larger concerns in India. Katherine Carte-Engel writes that during the

Revolutionary War the global spirit of the SPCK "wilted in the face of nationalist sentiment," as evidenced by their choice to distribute 47,000 copies of Thomas Broughton's 1737 tract "Christian Soldiers" to British soldiers in 1780-81.[22] Anxiety among missionary Lutherans for their patronage was well-founded.

By spring, 1776, the war had gone in favor of the rebel patriots. Aside from the set-back at Quebec they still held Montreal; the British had been forced to flee Boston for Halifax and had no strong-hold in the Thirteen Colonies. Yet thousands of British troops and German auxiliaries had taken sail and might be bringing God's judgment, as Heinrich Helmuth, the Lutheran minister in Lancaster, PA, admitted in his letter to G. A. Freylinghausen.[23]

On June 1, 1776, G. A. Freylinghausen answered Helmuth with a circular letter addressed first to Heinrich Mühlenberg. The letter instructs the clergy of the Pennsylvania Ministerium to remain neutral.[24] Freylinghausen begins by quoting inquiries into Mühlenberg's welfare by those who are concerned about him in the midst of the war that God has been "pleased to allow to flare up in America." The second paragraph begins with his joy over the last letters he had received from Pennsylvania, from Mühlenberg's colleagues Kunze and Helmuth,[25] although as Aland notes these were each dated nearly a year earlier, in August 1775. Freylinghausen states: ". . . the Reverend Pastors . . . in this civil unrest remain within the evangelical boundaries and preach repentance and faith, without mixing themselves in the war, which is not their office."

In the next clause he intimates that he has no doubt that in the future Mühlenberg will posture himself in neutrality as well. This is followed by Biblical admonitions, citing Psalms 17 and 37, which promise that God distinguishes between those who fear Him from those who do not. Even if the German Lutherans are caught in the war they can have peace in their hearts that they will not experience more hardships than God in wisdom and goodness has apportioned.

The circular instruction is clear when Freylinghausen states that he wants "these few lines" brought to the others in the fellowship, his term for the Pennsylvania Ministerium. He encourages them to remain established in prayer and trust in God, and encourages the congregations to true repentance, which, he urges, should be included in the liturgy. If the German Lutherans do not despise God's Word with unworthy actions, God

will in no way bring the war against them to oppress them. This fascinating theology is piously hedged: If suffering comes from God it is not more than God has measured out in wisdom. Repentance is the best means of avoiding the divine judgment which is unfolding in the war itself. Repentance, trust, and prayer in the fear of God, will serve both to keep the German Lutherans out of the war and to keep them safe from the war.

Freylinghausen is not advocating pacifism, and a pacifist stance would have puzzled his German American readers. The war in America was *bürgerliche Unruhen* (civil unrest), a challenge to properly ordained governments. The Augsburg Confession's Article 28 stipulates that it is not the office of clergy to "set up and depose kings. It should not annul or disrupt secular law and obedience to political authority."[26] For Freylinghausen this meant that genuine Lutheran faith militates against partisan revolutions. His conviction is that "German Lutherans" who do not despise God's word will be kept safe from war's alarms.

The letter went first to London where it sat for several months. According to Wilhelm Pasche (d. 1792), the successor to Ziegenhagen as Halle Pietism's agent in London, the letter was sent across the ocean in April, 1777 with a flotilla of reinforcements from Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel that had embarked for Quebec.[27] The letter was passed on, finding its way to British General William Howe's headquarters in New York City, and arrived in Philadelphia only by means of Howe's occupation of the city in the fall: Even though the war's conventions allowed unsealed letters to cross through lines, the letter from Freylinghausen appears never to have left the custody of unnamed German auxiliary officers.[28]

Freylinghausen's clout is evident in the stir that his letter caused, not only among Pennsylvania clergy, but also among royalist German officers. On November 12, 1777, Mühlenberg received a letter from Philadelphia from his daughter Margaret and son-in-law, Johann Christoph Kunze. The letter states: "The officers are rather unfavorably informed concerning my father-in-law. It is believed that we have not lived up to Professor Freylinghausen's expectations."[29]

The issue was urgent enough to elicit two lengthy explanations from Mühlenberg's own hand to defend his actions and those of the pastors of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. Mühlenberg journaled his first response in November of 1777.[30] Here he protested that while he had heard for some time of an important letter from Freylinghausen, it had never

reached him in Trappe. Yet Mühlenberg's second-hand knowledge of the letter's content is detailed and precise. In a barbed and thinly veiled critique he expresses "filial gratitude" for Freylinghausen's

> reiteration of the good rule which was inculcated in us when we were called and sent over. . . . What is not our office we are glad not to meddle with, because we are already obliged to do more than we can take care of.[31]

Mühlenberg furthermore felt that he was being pinned with guilt by association to his son Johann Peter Mühlenberg, who had resigned his Anglican ordination and left the highest calling of all for the world of politics and military life.[32] The father's mortification over the son's decision is genuine and his disappointment is sincere and palatable.[33] Yet H. M. Mühlenberg does not share the news that he had written a testimonial for Christian Streit (1749-1812) to serve as a chaplain in Peter's regiment, likely because he knows that this action would not have been received well.[34]

In the early modern Atlantic World representative assemblies were becoming increasingly functional as branches of government. This led to partisan groups forming around shared interests and political ideologies. To apply the Confession's Article 28 consistently, the Lutheran clergy were to remain aloof from choosing between the political parties of the representative assemblies, yet were to remain loyal to the sovereign power. It was thus appropriate to the pastoral office to confer a chaplaincy in the standing army of a sovereign power. To commission a chaplaincy to a regiment of partisan combatants in a civil war, as this was, is to choose sides in a breach of neutrality.

With rumors circulating of royalist threats to arrest him, Mühlenberg wrote his second defense, a long letter to David Grim, a loyalist and elder of the German Lutheran Church in New York City.[35] This letter dates to January, 1778, and recapitulates much of his journaled reflection. He makes his apology in terms that he expects Grim to understand and approve and, perhaps more importantly, that the German officers in Philadelphia reading his correspondence would understand and approve as well. He instructs them all in the ethics of clergy neutrality.[36] Providing an example of these ethics, he writes that he had included prayers for the King until the shift in the local governing power forbade it; after that, it would have been partisan of him to continue the prayers for the King.

His actions reflect, on the whole, agreement with Freylinghausen's understanding of Article 28. However, in the American colonies a partisan revolt had led to the replacement of royal sovereignty with a republican sovereignty. Mühlenberg later resolved that in the volatile conditions of revolution the clergy had to obey the sword that was longer, that is, that power which at any given time is best able to perform the duties of a sovereign government. Sovereignty had to be effective locally for its claims to be valid.

The elderly pastor's proximity to Valley Forge meant the longer sword of the Patriots protected him from arrest, while by the spring of 1778 the battle lines moved out of Pennsylvania permanently. Even these events, first that H. M. Mühlenberg escaped personal harm and second that the season of war was shorted in Pennsylvania's country-side, might be seen as curious fulfillment of Freylinghausen's theology and the promise of the benefits of neutrality in a time of civil unrest.

For the Pennsylvania Ministerium neutrality was a confessional requirement and a strategic posture: First, neutrality helped the immigrant community absorb the stresses of partisan civil war; second, neutrality preserved their relationships with European benefactors. Although it seems that G. A. Freylinghausen and H. M. Mühlenberg talk past each other and fail to communicate, in fact both sides of the Halle network were intentionally communicating to wider readerships than the addressees. Both sides of the Atlantic network needed to preserve the relationship with the London-based SPCK, and both sides desired the Pennsylvania Ministerium to remain cohesive and not to unravel under the partisan stresses of the conflict. After the war the Halle Institutes continued to distribute annual bonuses to the Pennsylvania clergy and their widows as they had done before.

It appears that the influence of clergy neutrality on German American Lutherans might have been negligible on the whole. Indeed, Lutherans throughout Pennsylvania may have been patriots at levels greater than their English-speaking counterparts (particularly given the strong Quaker influence, and the colony's relative toleration of peace churches and sects). This dynamic might be disguised to military historians because, as a marginalized linguistic group, there were few opportunities for promotion from with the ranks of German immigrants into the senior military and political ranks that history remembers. If the neutrality of the pastors was a non-factor in the zeal of immigrant German laity, this

does not make the case that the Lutheran pastoral ministry was ethically or socially irrelevant to the partisans in the pews. As part of the warp and woof of the German Lutheran culture it would have been surprising, and perhaps even troubling, for a sergeant in the patriot militia to hear the pastor rail against tyranny, taxes and royalism. If that was the manner of an English-speaking Ulster Presbyterian in the church down the block, that did not make it appropriate. The clergy had a higher duty and a higher office; this was understood.

The Pennsylvania Ministerium clergy seems to have shared a common understanding with each other and with their benefactors in Prussia that, in their public role, they were neutral. Because of this understanding of the clerical office, both Peter Mühlenberg and his brother Friedrich resigned their ordinations when they took their respective military and political roles. This shared understanding may explain why Christian Streit was the only Pennsylvania Ministerium pastor to be credentialed as a military chaplain, and why just one other Lutheran from outside the Ministerium served as a chaplain to the patriots in the entire war.[37]

On the whole the Lutheran clergy, Halle-sponsored and otherwise, held their office aloof from partisan politics, as they understood to be their calling. Whether it is constructive today for those in the Lutheran tradition to view the clerical vocation as best performed from the posture of non-partisan neutrality is an issue that may bear some reflection.

Endnotes

1 This article re-presents material from Jonathan M. Wilson, *Switching Sides: A Hessian Chaplain in the Pennsylvania Ministerium* (Ann Arbor, MI: Proquest LLC, 2015), especially 131-146.

2 Martin Brecht, ed. *Geschichte des Pietismus* band 1 (Gottingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, 1995) 473.

3 Patrick Ernst, et al, *Die Direktoren der Franckeschen Stiftungen* (Halle, A.S., Germany: Freundeskreis der Franckeschen Stiftungen e.V. Halle, 2006) 30.

4 Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (hereafter HMM), vols I-III, Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Dobertstein, eds. (Philadelphia, PA: Muhlenberg Press, 1942, 1945, 1958).

5 Theodore G. Tappert, "Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the American Revolution" in *Church History* vol. 11 (1942): 284-301.

6 The *Journals* themselves provide Mühlenberg's own estimation of his colleagues and reports of their own outcomes. cf. Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793, Volume 2, The History* (hereafter PP) (Breinigsville, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1981.) cf. *The Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1748 to*

1821 (hereafter DH) (A. Spaeth, H. E. Jacobs, G.F. Spieker, eds. Philadelphia, PA: Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1898.

7 *DH* 152, 155.

8 A. Gregg Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1993) 283ff.

9 Rodney Atwood, *The Hessians*: Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel *(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980)* 32.

10 HMM vol. 2, 713-714.

11 A third pole relative to the Lutheran Pietist settlement in Ebenezer, Georgia is found in the Urlspergers of Augsburg, with whom Mühlenberg was in correspondence regarding his itinerant mediation in 1774-1775.

12 Peter Vethanayagamony, *It Began in Madras: The Eighteenth Century Lutheran-Anglican Ecumenical Ventures in Mission and Benjamin Schultze* (Dehli, India: ISPCK, 2010) 159.

13 Katherine Carte-Engel, "The SPCK and the American Revolution: The Limits of International Protestantism" *Church History,* vol. 81, no. 1 (March 2012) 77-103.

14 Roeber, *Palatines,* 304.

15 In 2013 I obtained digital copies of the original letters from the archives of the *Franckesche Stiftungen*, including the Institute's copy of the letter of June 1, 1776. English translations are not yet published.

16 HMM vol. 3, 765.

17 Ernst, *Die Direktoren*, 21.

18 Roeber, *Palatines,* 256.

19 Brecht, *Geschichte* vol. 2, 319-320.

20 Vethanayagamony, Madras, 159.

21 Karte-Engel, 87.

22 Ibid., 91.

23 Roeber, *Palatines,* 304.

24 Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs* band 4 (Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter, 1995) 730-732.

25 Roeber, *Palatines,* 304.

26 *The Book of Concord,* trans. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis, MN: 2000), 92.

27 The flotilla is identified with that carrying Frederica zu Riedesel and her children, to join her husband General Friedrich zu Riedesel on his overseas deployment.

28 HMM vol. 3, 101.

29 Ibid.

30 HMM, vol. 3, 101 ff.

31 Ibid., 126.

32 Ibid. Johann Peter Mühlenberg figures prominently in "Keeping the Synod German," an article published by this author in the *Journal of the Lutheran Historical Conference vol. 5*, which states that his ordination had been Lutheran. Peter Mühlenberg was never ordained by the Pennsylvania Ministerium, but travelled to England to receive

ordination as an Anglican. While ecclesiastically the difference is meaningful, from a socio-cultural perspective the Anglican ordination is a technicality. The German Lutheran church in Woodstock in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley wanted to be part of Virginia's Anglican establishment, but wanted to be served by a Pennsylvania Ministerium pastor. This arrangement suited H. M. Mühlenberg, who found as much natural affinity between the Anglican and Lutheran faiths as the German Reformed pastors seemed to feel with the Presbyterians. The arrangement was criticized by F. M. Ziegenhagen (. When Peter returned to the laity he became a member of the St. Michael-Zion's Lutheran Church in Philadelphia and a leader in the faction promoting a transition to English.

33 Throughout HMM vol. 2.

34 Parker Thompson, *U. S. Army Chaplains* 130. In Thompson's view this is the first official recognition of a U. S. military chaplaincy by a denominational body.

35 HMM vol. 3, 123 ff.

36 Ibid.

37 Thompson, *Chaplains,* xix.

KEEPING THE KIDS

Lutheran Worship Wars: A Case Study

2

GRACIA GRINDAHL

A question Lutherans in America have asked, almost from the beginning, as they changed their languages to English still haunts us: "Are we singing our children out of the church?" It was, among many others, asked by Paul M. Glasoe (1873-1956) of St. Olaf College, in a 1931 article in the *Lutheran Herald* published by the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America (NLCA). Looking around him, at all Lutherans, not just the Norwegian Americans, he wondered indeed why it was that "this land full of people who once were Lutherans, now are not?"[1] His main grievance was that "in the English part of our program—the morning worship, Sunday school and Young People's Society—we sing Reformed hymns so much that our children and young people become strangers to the Lutheran chorale."[2] He went on to lament that those of Lutheran stock, of whom he estimated at that time to have been 20 million, having learned Reformed Gospel "jingles" in Sunday school, preferred them to the chorales and had left the Lutheran churches.

Every generation has preferred its own music to its parents' music—making it difficult to pass on any tradition, especially in the church. This question was asked with even keener urgency among American Lutherans changing from the old language to the new, in addition to the ordinary questions of passing on the old tradition to a new generation. Given the large immigrant communities, and the way the old language and traditions endured, the question did not seem urgent until well into the second generation of Lutherans when the children wanted English resources for their worship, not the old languages, or even the old hymns translated into an English that was laughable to the younger speakers of English. We can observe this in the struggles of the Eastern Lutheran

churches in the Muhlenberg tradition as they began producing English hymnals in the early nineteenth century: not surprisingly, their books contained few translated hymns by Luther or Gerhardt, and if they did, the translations are rough—something to be expected when the translators are not native English speakers, or if they were, not very good poets. What the books did contain were the classic hymns by Watts and Wesley.[3]

The immigration question always exacerbates the generational split. From the first American Lutheran children being raised up into their tradition were attracted to the music of America, especially the revival and gospel songs of the nineteenth century. Over the centuries Lutheran church leaders have come up with a variety of strategies to transmit their tradition to the young while also accommodating to the American tradition.

The immigrants came to this country for opportunity, for land, and a better future for their families. They thought, as all immigrants do, that they would be able to raise their children to be like them, but with more opportunity to better themselves. However, in the very act of leaving kith and kin in Norway, they became different from their countrymen who did not leave. Many nineteenth century immigrants left Norway as Europeans, but by the time they saw the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor or passed through the immigration gates at Castle Garden or, later, Ellis Island, they had been subtly changed into Americans.

It happened fast. Laur. Larsen (1833-1915), the young president of Luther College, on his return to Norway only some three years after immigrating, in 1860, was saddened to see how much Norway had changed since he left, without recognizing how much he had also been changed by the New World.[4] He still wanted to teach the Norwegian tradition as he knew it to the young men in his charge so they could lead congregations of Norwegians in this country. He and his colleagues at Luther College confidently set up a college which took as its model something of the Norwegian Latin School and began to educate boys for the ministry and serve the tradition. They knew the education of pastors in Norway simply did not fit young men for the rigors of the American frontier. They knew that if they did not teach the Norwegian language and tradition, their charges would be ignorant of their past, and unsuitable for ministry to a largely Norwegian community, and if they did not teach them English, they would have no future—and would not be able to induct their young into the new world. So when the Norwegians established

their educational institution, they were eager to teach their children the culture they knew—Norwegian—even as they built a new culture in this country—Norwegian-American. They taught, in Norwegian, the children's teachings ("bømelærdom") of their church which included Bible history, Luther's *Small Catechism*, and Pontoppidan's *Explanation* of it, the "Forklaring," which was used in much reduced form until the mid 1950s by the Norwegian Lutheran church in America (NLCA). Alongside of that was singing. What they taught the children to sing, and what they included in their hymnals and songbooks give us a mirror into their thinking about their Norwegian Lutheran tradition, the American context where they were living and their convictions about the hymn and song traditions of their past.

The First Songbooks

To teach singing in the schools of the church, whether primary schools, the academies, colleges or seminaries, and Sunday schools as they later developed, was of primary importance. In 1861-1862, the first year of Luther College in Hallway Creek, Wisconsin, the boys received 2 hours of music instruction each week, so they would know the heritage hymns (Kernlieder) of the Lutheran faith—which involved a generous portion of German Lutheran hymns, especially by Martin Luther (1483-1546) and Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676), and then their Dano-Norwegian Lutheran hymns—Kingo, Brorson, and others. To learn them was to learn what it meant to be Lutheran. The first great controversy among the Norwegians, who had a good plenty, concerned the question of the parochial school vs. the common school, or public school. This was forced by two occasions: one, posed by their realization that the public schools could not, nor did they want it to, teach Lutheran doctrine or practice, and two, the growing allegiance of the Norwegian Synod to the Missouri Synod and its strong parochial school tradition. On the whole most Norwegian Americans were not attracted to parochial schools as the way to give their children an American education.

On the other hand, they did realize that they had to teach religion to their children in other ways, and so, as the church grew into what might be calls its vigorous middle period—from the 1870-1920s—it began to establish parochial schools for its children. These met during the early summer months, usually after planting and before haying, when the children could gather to learn Bible history, memorize Luther's

Small Catechism, Pontoppidan, and to sing Lutheran, especially Dano-Norwegian, hymns.

Young women and men, who had attended or were attending the newly established academies or Normal schools of the various churches, were recruited to teach in these parochial schools and pass the faith on to young people, as much as the Norwegian language and culture. Usually these teachers were recruited on the basis of their musical skills as well as their religious understanding, because the ability to sing and teach singing was always considered fundamental. We know these schools today as Vacation Bible Schools, but they are a far cry from the rigors of the old parochial schools, which it was still called back in the 1940s when I first began attending parochial school in Rugby, North Dakota. The Norwegian Lutheran congregations in town rented out the public school and filled it with children. I will never forget the singing we did during opening exercises. They made a deep impression on me. But we did not learn Norwegian songs—we learned the standard repertoire of American Sunday school songs and some few Lutheran hymns.

We would malign the first generation of Norwegian American clergy if we said they did not eagerly teach English to their children and expect that, very shortly, English would be the language of worship and religious instruction. Their setting up of Norwegian as a church language and the Norwegian culture as its temporary basis was a missionary impulse to minister to their fellow immigrants. So many of them flooded the Upper Midwest that they were able to create a fairly strong culture of Norwegian American identity and values that lasted until after World War I. To do this they set up institutions to foster these values in their people. Their educational institutions had to teach their traditions to their children in ways that would shape them into vigorous Norwegian Lutherans, faithful and articulate about their faith, ready to take up the leadership of the communities as the first generation died off.

Various Strategies of Accomodation

There is no need to examine the development of each songbook or hymnal published by these various Norwegian Lutheran churches, for it is a long and impressive list. Looking at them one sees how each editor, usually a pastor in a particular strand of the Norwegian American Lutheran tradition accommodated to the situation in America. Each hymnal or songbook is a mirror of how these men thought of their responsibility both to teach their Lutheran and Norwegian tradition, and

what of American culture and music was important for their children to learn.

The hymnal by Vilhelm Koren (1826-1910) and the Norwegian Synod was the first to be published in this country, in 1874. It is a conservative Lutheran book that makes no concession to America or to its song tradition. It preserved much of the orthodox tradition of German Lutheran hymnody, as well as that of the Dano-Norwegian tradition of hymnody, especially the hymns of orthodox German Lutheranism, as well as featuring the Danish orthodox hymn writer, Thomas Kingo (1634-1703) and the bishop of Bergen, Johan Nordahl Brun (1745-1816). It included nothing of the American tradition, because it was a Norwegian Lutheran hymnal. Koren realized from the first that the language issues raging in Norway were not germane to the immigrants whose Norwegian would look backward, not forward and so his book by design looked backward. It made no accommodation to the new Norwegian language developing in Norway, nor to the American context in which he and his fledgling church worked.

On the other hand, the songbook *Hjemlandssange,* by Pastor Melchoir Falk Gjertsen (1847-1913) of the Norwegian Danish Conference, published three years later, in 1877, was a Norwegian songbook that used many of Swedish Augustana's *Hemlandssånger*. Like the Swedish songbook, it was intended to be used alongside the formal church hymnal, for evening services, young people's meetings. It contained more of the spiritual songs becoming quite popular in Sweden and Norway and in this country. *Hjemlandssange* was praised by Sven Oftedal, the editor of *Folkebladet,* the newspaper of the Conference, and later, the Lutheran Free Church, for including many songs by Hans Adolf Brorson, the Danish bishop whom we know as the writer of "Behold a Host" and "Your Little Ones, Dear Lord, Are We." These were the songs of the Norwegian revival following Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824). They preferred Brorson, the pietistic Dane, probably because hey did not, as in Sweden, have writers or composers of the quality of Lina Sandell (1832-1903) and Oscar Ahnfelt (1813-1882).

They did however include many Swedish songs in Norwegian translation. The Norwegian American pastors, like Gjertsen, who had been educated at the Scandinavian Augustana Synod school in Paxton, Illinois, were eager to use the songs they had learned there that were bursting forth from the pen of Lina Sandell and many of her contemporaries in Sweden.

Lars Oftedal's *Basunsrost og Harpetoner,* also encouraged that use of Swedish materials. Oftedal, (1834-1900), a popular Norwegian preacher and head of the Norwegian Mission Society, brother of Sven Oftedal (1844-1911) of Augsburg College, had visited the United States in 1875 and sung many of these new Swedish songs, creating a demand for them here, so much so that his 1875 book was reprinted by the Norwegian Danish Conference's publisher the next year.[5] Not only did it include several hymns and songs from Swedish sources which were fast becoming part of the repertoire such as "My Heart is Longing to Praise My Savior," (Å at jeg kunne min Jesus prise") it also seems to have established a canon for song books, thereafter, especially in its choices of Brorson, Lina Sandell, Oscar Ahnfelt, and Lars Linderot, another Swede.

Andreas Wright (1835-1917), a gifted man and poet, of the Norwegian Augustana Synod, a small part of the Scandinavian Augustana Synod which separated from the Conference, and whose history continued at Augustana College in Sioux Falls, also published a spiritual songbook *Turtelduen,* (*Turtle Dove*) especially for children, ("nærmest for barn") in 1877, a collection of songs by different authors, among them some by Wright himself. Some were popular American Gospel songs such as "Savior, Like a Shepherd Lead Us," printed in English, while others are Norwegian translations of popular America hymns such as "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." Wright, who had suffered a dramatic conversion in Norway, took seriously the need to teach the Norwegian Lutheran tradition from a pietistic position.[6] Among the Norwegian texts is a charming "Catechism Song" which sums up the five parts of Luther's Small Catechism. Not a few of his original texts are set to American Gospel tunes such as "Sweet Hour of Prayer." In addition Wright used over 20 texts by Hans Adolf Brorson. Once again, his book was meant for Sunday evening services, youth and women's meetings, or to be used alongside the regular hymnal, but not to substitute for it on Sunday morning.

The 1870s were a very active decade for the publication of songbooks among the Norwegian of and the attractions of non-Lutheran worship and song grew -- and, as the new generations became more fully Americanized—the Norwegian American Lutherans realized they had to make more of an accommodation to the American culture which was attracting their children. Ironically, one of the reasons for this came from their homeland: The Anglo-American revival songs were coming with the floods of immigrants from Norway in translations into Norwegian.

Lars Oftedal's book is the first significant example of the many songbooks that contained Norwegian versions of William Bradbury (1816-1868), Ira Sankey, etc. Elevine Heede (1820-1883), a Norwegian Methodist, who wrote both tunes and texts, had, in 1879, translated much of the Ira Sankey corpus into Norwegian. Both Lutherans and non-Lutherans in Norway took to these evangelical songs immediately, as they did in America.

Heede is important to follow. No Gospel song from Norway, however, was as popular as "Den Himmelske Lovsang," thought to be by her, though where it comes from exactly is hidden in the mists of these maddenly anonymous and careless bibliographers who compiled the songbooks of the last century.[7] It was probably English, but no one really knows.

At the end of this same decade, the Sunday school movement had begun to make significant inroads into the Norwegian churches. Since the Norwegian people overwhelmingly accepted the idea of the common (public) school, and shunned the parochial school as had been proposed by the Norwegian Synod at Luther College, attention had to be paid to providing religious instruction for children. Though the aims of the Sunday School movement to save children's souls through conversion rather than baptism, sat uneasily on Lutheran shoulders, they at the same time, recognized that here was a system, well regarded and effective, that they could use to teach their young their own doctrines and traditions. Though they spoke longingly of the days when the father and mother took seriously their Christian duty to teach the young and sing with them in the house as they were working, the pastors were too smart to think they could trust religious education to the family. Thus they shaped the Sunday School movement to their own ends, teaching the "børnelærdom" of their youth to the youth of the day: Bible history, Luther's *Small Catechism*, and Pontoppidan's *Explanation* of it, with songs liberally included in the opening exercises.

Songbooks As Textbooks

Through the 1870s, and 1880s, the movement toward more Sunday school grew, as did the awareness that the churches had to produce their own musical resources or they would be swept away by the music of the Reformed churches. Erik Jensen of the Norwegian Synod produced one of the first: *Songbook for Children and Youth* (*Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom* Decorah, 1878), was something of a textbook for singing, to be

used, according to its preface, in "the home, school, church, and choral unions."[8] Jensen compiled his book of songs for three or four voices to increase people's understanding of "our church's melodies, and to improve singing in the church and congregation."[9] His agenda was to improve singing in the church by teaching the singing of harmony to its youth. The book contained a wide variety of chorale melodies and folk melodies, with some simply nationalistic Norwegian songs such as "Norges Herlighed," ("Norway's Splendor"). Its chief attraction were the harmonizations which made it possible for small groups, trios and quartettes to sing the music pleasingly as anthems. Consistent with the conservative musical tastes of the Norwegian Synod, few "spiritual songs" are included. One feels the pressure of Koren and his ilk bearing down against any spiritual songs, especially America gospel songs, in this book. The editor of the Norwegian Synod's family periodical *For Hiemmet* wrote that Mr. Jensen's book included only "good music" and thus recommended it highly for church schools.[10] Here we see the issue of taste arising among Norwegians as it had among all church musicians of the day. It was used to defend Lowell Mason's work against the *Sacred Harp* tradition, and German chorales against the mongrel Anglo-American gospel songs.

The Conference pastors—those associated with Augsburg Seminary and St. Olaf College—were also publishing textbooks for their youth. Most notable was the series of songbooks called *Harpen ("The Harp")* edited by Pastor Gjermund Høyme (1847-1902) of Eau Claire, and Lars Lund (1845-) of Menomonie. Høyme, who became the President of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church when it formed in 1890, understood his purpose in preparing the book to be one of providing a source for religious education and teaching the old heritage hymns of the Lutheran faith to the children and youth. The songs were arranged frequently in two-parts, sometimes as solos with choral accompaniment. The hymns are often German chorales or ones by Ludvig Lindemann (1802-1880) written for two or three voices. There are occasional American Gospel songs such as "In the Sweet Bye and Bye," but these are not as frequent as one might have expected. They do include, however, a collection of Norwegian and Danish religious folk songs, of the grossly sentimental sort like Hans Christian Andersen's "Mother I am tired, now I will sleep," ("Moder jeg er træt, nu vil jeg sove,") or M. Falk Gjertsen's "I know a Way . . ." ("Jeg ved en Vei saa fuld af Trængsel").

As new editions of this book came out they included more of the popular Swedish spiritual songs such as Oscar Ahnfelt's "Ack Saliga Stunder"

which we know as the melody to LBW 371, "With God as our Friend." Intended for parochial school and Sunday school use, these volumes becomes less traditionally "Lutheran" and more adventuresome as they developed, perhaps on the demand of the younger people.

Pastor Paul G. Østby, (1836-) also of the Conference, entered the lists with his own *Songbook for Children in the Christian School and Home* ("*Songbog for Børn i den kristelige Skole og Hjemmet*") Compiled by the editor to provide children a "systematic" religious education, it contained hymns from the hymnal and hymns written by Østby to familiar tunes which taught the children how much fun it was to go to Sunday School. It included hymns for opening and closing exercises and for Advent and Christmas, with multiple Catechism hymns. Few gestures are made in the direction of the American Gospel song, except for "Jesus, Keep Me Near the Cross," with a Norwegian text, and a Norwegian text to the popular American Gospel song "Hold the Fort."

The most extensive publication of songbooks as textbooks, especially for children, is from the Norwegian Synod: Erik Jensen's *Børneharpen volumes 1- IV,* the third volume edited by John Dahle (1853-1931) and Erik Jensen (1841-), published from 1883-1894. It is once again a text book with helps teach children how to read music and how to sing better. It has various liturgies in it-for opening exercises of Sunday School, a suggested Christmas tree program, and a large collection of English and American hymns. The majority of these Anglo-American hymns are from the Lowell Mason corpus of hymns, considered to be much superior to the maligned *Sacred Harp* tunes of the day. It included no Fanny Crosby texts, except for "Jesus, Keep Me Near the Cross." John Dahle, the Luther Seminary professor and organist at Christ Lutheran Church in St. Paul, and known by his biographer as the Lowell Mason of the Norwegian Lutheran Church, was among the founders of the Choral Union, and is well represented with his "tasteful" melodies and harmonizations.

THE CHORAL UNION

As these books begin to have their effect, there were more singers who could sing sophisticated music. In the fall of 1892, Theodore Reimestad of Augsburg Seminary along with his colleague, F. Melius Christiansen (1871-1955), founded the Choral Union, with the help of John Dahle, (Sangforeningen). This group gathered together young people to sing in massed choirs the music of the faith, as well as the music of the old country. It encouraged them to write anthems and compile

songbooks which they began to do with great zeal and a sense of mission. These annual festivals, like the second one in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, in June of 1893, attracted many young people who came at their own expense to sing together for three days. For their final event, which had the character of what came to be called the "Sanggudstjeneste", or hymn worship service, the massed choirs sang "Built on a Rock the Church Doth Stand." The massed group heard a short talk from Ludvig M. Biørn (1835-1908), the compiler in that same year of the American supplement to Landstad's Norwegian hymnal. Then other speeches, like one from President Høyme. The service concluded with another massed choir number. These anthems were announced in the paper and the participants were expected to bring along or buy the music for practice and performance at the festival. Furthermore we should note that the repertoire included the Lutheran chorales from Germany, as well as the typical Norwegian hymns.

We should note the high priority the church leaders put on these events. Høyme, himself a fine singer, rarely failed to attend these gatherings. His example was followed in every case within the various Norwegian churches. Oftedal was an accomplished singer, as were Koren, Biørn, and many others in the leadership of the various churches. It was not the musicians who tried to get the church leaders to participate in these things, it was the church leaders who knew how important music was and they seemed to accept it as fundamental that they should be there. Planning the services so that speaking and preaching was mixed in with the event also made the event attractive to the preacher as well as the singer. Though at the time these were not for the young children, they were for the young people's societies, and this choral union idea grew and grew for the next 70 years, each year attracting thousand of young people to sing with the college choir conductors like F. Melius and hear the preaching of some of the best evangelists in the church, such as Oscar C. Hanson, father of Mark Hanson, former bishop of the ELCA. It died an untimely death after the merger in 1961 during which it sang Paul Christianson's cantata *Una Sancta*.[11]

It should not escape our notice, either, that during this time, the United Church was gathering energy, even as it was being rent asunder by the conflict between the Augsburg professors, Sverdrup and Oftedal, and St. Olaf. No matter—despite this conflict did not seem to daunt these pastors and musicians. L. M. Biøm, Lars Thorkveen, Erik Jensen, O. M.

Norlie, were at the forefront of the Young People's Society. While these ambitious pastors and laypeople were working on the huge musical extravaganzas, many of the same pastors and leaders were working to establish a church wide Sunday school organization. The decade of the 1890s saw many pan-synodical developments: women's organizations became national, as did mission societies. Though the Sunday schools did not have the same kind of national organization, the students did know that they were part of a larger church. Each of the various Norwegian Lutheran churches had a children's paper of some kind. When one considers the amount of work each of these papers took, and the double duty many of the editors did as editors of other papers, it is a staggering amount of work, which they did for the sake of the children.

The Hauge Synod, which had refused the invitation to join with the other Norwegians to form the United Church in 1890, did very well on its own with the publication *Ungdommens Ven,* edited by Christian Brøhaugh (1841-), the Hauge Synod pastor whose songbooks became very influential and in some small sense still living.[12] Brøhaugh as a singer and writer of songs also understood the crucial relationship between song and youth and published a song in every copy of his magazine. From this publication, several volumes of songs for choirs were assembled under the name *Frydetone*. This book still lives among the Norwegian male choruses and mixed choirs that one might hear at Norwegian American gatherings. It contains everything from organ preludes to choral anthems, in English, Norwegian, or Swedish. It is the kind of eclectic mix of musical styles and traditions that a choral organization would like for its eclectic and varied selections. And it shows the growing cultural assimilation of the immigrants. All of American culture was theirs.

In 1898 to 1899, after the church controversies were somewhat settled down, songbooks and youth hymnals continued to be produced with alarming regularity and numbers. Reimestad's and Gjertsen's *Songbook: a new collection of spiritual songs for Congregations. Sunday Schools. Youth, Mission and Ladies Aides,* contained many hymns and songs by the compilers, chief among them Gjertsen's "Reis deg, Guds menighet" (which appeared in 1985 Norwegian hymnal), and many Ahnfelt and Lina Sandell songs from the Swedish *Hemlandssanger*. As one would expect it also contains many Norwegian folk tune melodies. F. Melius Christiansen had harmonized several of the hymns or songs, plus the typical American hymns such as "Nearer My God to Thee," in Norwegian. The next year, 1899, another Lutheran Free Church pastor, Knut B. Birkeland (1857-1926), produced a

songbook, *Fredsbasunen*. This is very like the former book, except that it was designed to be used by congregations *alongside* the regular hymnal. This has many more of the Gospel songs of the Anglo-American revival and lists the hymns in alphabetical order.

Englishing the Tradition

It was the next generation of songbooks and hymnals that are most revealing in their tendencies. In 1898, Ditlef G. Ristad (1863-1938) of the Norwegian Synod published a Sunday school hymnal on his own. It was in English as were the first two attempts at English hymnals published by the Norwegian Synod and United Church in 1898. Neither of them was very successful, even though they did include some Norwegian hymns. These were all three judged by Olaf M. Norlie and others of the day to have been unsuccessful in preserving the Norwegian tradition. When the Hauge Synod, United Church and Norwegian Synod cooperated in compiling the first English hymnal of the Norwegians, the *Lutheran Hymnary,* published in 1912, it was as traditional a Lutheran chorale book as could be imagined. Hardly any gesture whatever was made to those who might have argued for including the Anglo-American Gospel songs, as Swedish Augustana had in its1901 English hymnal, though of course it did include a generous portion of English and American hymns by Lowell Mason and others like him. The editors chose to use only those hymns which they considered tasteful.

It remained for the compilers of the *Concordia,* of 1916, to achieve a compromise with the American culture that still works to this day in its latest version, *The Ambassador Hymnal* published by the Association of Free Lutheran Churches. The last significant songbook to be published by the Norwegians was in fact the *Concordia,* both its 1916 Norsk-English version, and its revised 1932 version. Andreas Bersagel, the editor of the first version, said in his preface, that

> this book contains three kinds of hymns. First, those ever-living, everlasting, ever-spiritual chorales that come from Latin, Germans, and Scandinavian sources. Centuries of time and trial have made them shine brighter in the realms of hymnology, and made them more precious than ever. Second, the most valuable hymns from the English speaking world. Their origin is usually native, sometimes not. This class is a very rich one. Their inclusion is indispensable. Third, the choicest Gospel hymns. St. Paul advises the use of "psalms and hymns

> and spiritual songs." It is an undoubted fact that the latter also have a place to fill; but great care has been exercised to include in this book only those which has lasting and edifying qualities—the very best ones.[13]

It was bound in three ways: as an English Norwegian book, as an entirely English one, as only a Norwegian book. Though this idea of bi-lingualism was quite similar to the *Lutheran Hymnary Junior* (1916) which had both Norwegian and English texts as well, that book never attracted the longstanding loyalty of the *Concordia*.

In the *Concordia* the various streams of tradition were held together lightly, but well. By its second edition, its editors included T. O. Burntvedt (1888-1960), the President of the Lutheran Free Church. It was a new book entirely, and its editors by this time had been saturated with the Lutheran problem of good taste, their heritage, and appealing to the young. This book, surprisingly, took as its task one of including "only material of a distinctive and upbuilding character, consistent with good taste and spiritual demands."[14] To that end they had gotten rid of many of what they called the "lower" forms of Gospel songs in the first hymnal, and replaced them with folk songs.

> The compilers feel that one of the unique features of this hymnal is the large group of fine folk-tunes which appear here for the first time in hymn form and with sacred texts.
>
> We feel duty bound to be spokesmen, translators, and incorporators of the religious treasures and folk-music idioms to which we are related. We believe that, to a great extent, American hymnology shall be enriched in proportion as each racial group discovers and adapts its own peculiar gifts, and in that way makes its distinctive contributions.

They went on to say that they hoped the leadership of the church would be as discriminating in its choices of music as they would be in their care of the purity of the Word.

> To recognize and prize their choicest treasures, learn and use them for spiritual nourishment, and teach them to their children. Our heritage in this respect is so immeasurable that to leave it for *greener pastures across the stream* would be tragic.[15]

By bridging what, for Norwegians especially, had been an unbridgeable gap, the editors of *The Concordia Hymnal* made a shrewd decision and

created a book which still lives. F. Melius Christianson, whose musical judgments and opinions were vital to the development of the *Concordia,* dedicated his entire career to the three kinds of congregational song: the German Lutheran chorales, English hymns, and the Scandinavian spiritual songs. It formed the repertoire of the Choral Union and his own compositions. It served as the hymnal for the St. Olaf college chapel services. All told, it was a shrewd compromise that worked, of both and, not either/or. In effecting this compromise of bringing the spiritual song together with the chorale and English hymn, they made its appeal much more universal—to youth as well as its regular membership.

One cannot deny the deep impression these huge Choral Union concerts had on the youth that became the leadership of the church after the Second World War. David Preus once told me that his singing in the massed choir at the Luther League conference was the most significant religious experience he had ever had. It was true for many thousands. That was exactly what F. Melius Christiansen with his shrewd mixing of chorale, hymns and songs had hoped for.

Christiansen's leadership of the Choral Union and his continued publication of songbooks, such as the *Concordia* made it respectable for Lutherans to use both the hymnal and the songbooks, as long as they were "tasteful." His directing of the massive choirs of the Choral Union kept kids in the Lutheran church and introduced them to Lutheran chorales as well as the spiritual songs of their ancestors. Lutherans had traditionally allowed for both songbook and hymnal to be used, but not for the same occasions, and not in the same books. The editors of the *Concordia* broke with that tradition and created a book whose history baffles those who prefer either the chorale book, or the songbook. In answer to Glasoe's diatribe in *The Lutheran Herald* a Pastor Bergeson replied that you could hear that question two ways: "Don't sing our youth out of our Lutheran churches with Gospel hymns," while another says: "Don't sing them out by refusing to let their youthful sentiments be expressed."

John Dahle's *Norsk Americansk Musiktidende* concluded that

> Music prepares the way for the Gospel, especially young people, are led to the Gospel by song and in that way learn to know it and grow along with it. No matter what one thinks of Moody and Sankey, it cannot be denied that these singing evangelists have brought thousands and thousands into contact with the Gospel.[9]

It was a generous assessment. It understood the value of both song and hymn tradition, but also made its peace with American evangelicalism. Ironically, both the *Service Book and Hymnal* (1958) and *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978) maintained the split with increasing rigidity The song tradition, not to be stifled, bubbled up in the music of John Ylvisaker (1938-2017), a genuine heir to the songbook tradition of his ancestors, and what became the contemporary worship styles that continued the worship wars. But they were not new battles, these questions were old and nagging. Rather than admitting these two traditions had lived side by side for centuries in the Lutheran churches and always with the same jostlings about what was Lutheran, the traditional side firmly argued the contemporary folk tradition was not Lutheran making the contemporary musicians react against the Lutheran liturgical renewal that swept the church in the late 60s, early 70s. It was a case of ignorant armies clashing by night. It was not until 1995 when *With One Voice* appeared that the song tradition seemed to get official recognition from the Lutheran musical establishment.

The *Evangelical Lutheran Worship* (2006) book included hymns and songs from chorales, hymns and songs with generous abandon. Unfortunately the editors of the ELW did not know and could not access the Scandinavian song material nor this history of the Lutheran tradition of songs and hymns that these early Norwegian pioneers knew well and worked to pass on to their children in effective and worthy ways which we now seem to have forgotten.

Endnotes

1 Paul M. Glasoe, "Singing Ourselves Out of the Lutheran Church," *The Lutheran Herald* (January 1931), 7.

2 Ibid.

3 See the first book by Williston, in 1812 to see the preponderance of the English treasury of hymns included and the few English versions of German hymns included in it.

4 Karen Larsen, *Laur. Larsen: Pioneer College President.* (Norwegian American Historical Association: Northfield, 1936), 124.

5 Sven Oftedal. "*Hjemlandssange*," *Lutheraneren og Missionsbladet* (July 1899), 198.

6 His pamphlet, "Da vekkelsen kom til os" gives a long accounting of the awakening in his home community in Norway.

7 This hymn became the hymn of the Norwegian Malagasy mission. The Malagasy, as is common, made it their own, with their own rhythms and harmonies, so much so that some think it is indigenous to Madagascar. Attention also needs to be paid to Heede whose work as a woman composer and translator, plus theologian, needs further exploration.

8 Erik Jensen, "Forord," *Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom* (Decorah, 1878), n.p.

9 Ibid.

10 *For Hjemmet*. (Decorah, 1878), 124.

11 The reason for the demise of the Choral Union in 1962 was, according to Jerry Evinrud, that it was too Norwegian and needed to be ended as the new church took shape.

12 As late as 2015 when I was giving a speech at a gathering of Norwegian bygdelager a choir came with tattered versions of *Frydetoner* from which they were still singing.

13 Andreas Bersagel, V. S. Boe, Sven Olsen Sigmond. *Concordia: A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. (Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, 1916), Preface.

14 "Introduction," *The Concordia Hymnal.* (Augsburg Publishing House, 1932).

15 Ibid.

3

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AND AFRICAN AMERICANS IN SHENANDOAH COUNTY[1]

NANCY C. STEWART

Taken from a larger historical compilation

In 1790 the Rev. Paul Henkel, the organizer of Davidsburg Church, actively baptized African Americans in Shenandoah County and in his missionary journeys to states surrounding Virginia where Germans had settled. He considered New Market his home although he was frequently gone for months or years at a time before his death in 1825. His autobiography includes numerous references to African Americans.[2]

In 1789 he preached a funeral sermon for a Negress slave of an Englishman named Ward, the woman having died several months before.[3]

In 1800 on a trip to Philadelphia, he preached to the African Methodist Church.[4]

In 1804 he credits a Negro ferryman for saving the lives of his wife and him in Lincolnton, NC.[5] Another "colored man" from Moorefield helped the Henkels cross the "very much swollen" South Branch of the Potomac and they "did not realize our danger until we were over the waters." The Negro "rode ahead of us and showed us the way, for which I rewarded him with a half a dollar and several booklets."[6] In trouble again near Point Pleasant, two Negroes came to take the Henkels from near a creek.[7]

On June 7, 1809, in New Market, Pastor Henkel says: "I made an English address at the burial of Negro George belonging to Louis Zirkle."[8]

Pastor Henkel mentions a Negro who sought instruction in 1811,[9] and he baptized the child of a slave Negress in Ohio.[10]

Back in Shenandoah County on 28 October 1812, he writes: "Mr. Steenberqen's Negro is condemned to be hanged because he wished to become a murderer of white people.[11]

In 1813, at St. Peter's, Shenandoah County, Pastor Henkel "preached in the house in English for the benefit of Christian Strohl's Negroes."[12]

In 1814, Pastor Henkel preached to ail slaves assembled in the house of Mr. Dreher near Charleston, SC;[13] in 1819 he baptized a Negro child in Lincoln Co., NC.[14]

The activities of the Rev. Paul Henkel indicate that the German Lutherans he visited frequently held slaves to whom he preached and whom he baptized and buried. Pastor Henkel held no slaves, but he must have known that one at Moorefield could read for he gave the African American a religious booklet. ‘

Malinda, the wife of Rev. J.P. Cline, was given "Aunt" Jenny Thomas as a dower gift at the time of the Cline marriage. Much is known about Aunt Jenny, born 1811, who lived to be over 100. Pastor Cline was pastor at St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, New Market, 1828-32 and 1847-66.

In 1850 Rev. Anders Rudolph Rude was a Lutheran minister who held 7 slaves. Rev. Rude, a Swede who in 1842 served Shenandoah County as a Missionary of the newly formed Lutheran Synod of Virginia, settled at the hill south of the Shenandoah River, afterwards called Rude's Hill, near the Steenbergen plantation, the recent home of D. Coiner Rosen.

A few African Americans attended Lutheran Churches of Shenandoah County. Easter Kips, a colored woman, is listed by the Reverend Samuel S. Schmucker, 1822, as a member of the St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church, New Market.[15] Pastor Schmucker's second wife, nee Steenbergen, owned an African American dower slave which Pastor Schmucker took along with the family when he moved from New Market to Gettysburg, after 1825, to organize Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary.[16]

In the archives of Reformation Lutheran Church, founded in 1790 as Davidsburg Church, New Market, the following African American members communed:

"Colored Woman," 17 May 1834
Elizabeth, 5 Oct. 1834
Mary Catherine, 5 Oct. 1834
Rachael, 5 Oct. 1834
June, 1835

Catherine, June 1836
Higgins, Peter, wife Susanna, and 2 black children, 2 Dec. 1804
Negro Higgins' children baptized 2 Aug. 1807 by Rev. Paul Henkel
Frazier, Edward, communed 8 March 1867, by Rev. J.A. Snyder
Fields, Robbert, communed 8 Mar. 1867 by Rev. J.A. Snyder
Frazier, Ned, communed 8 Aug. 1867 by Rev. J.A. Snyder
Rolls, Lucinde, communed 18 Dec. 1880 by Rev. J.A. Snyder
Taylor, Felix, preparation service, 16 Apr. 1881, 29 July 188, communed 17 Apr. 1881, 30 July 1881
Taylor, Mrs. Harriet, preparation service, 16 Apr. 1881, 30 Dec. 1882, communed 17 Apr. 1881 15 Aug. 1880, Dec. 1880, Dec. 1881, March 1882, 31 Dec. 1882.[17]

Another Lutheran record book from Strasburg shows the baptism of Nathan, son of Moses and Esther. Child was born in January, 1784, but the baptism date is note given "Godparents: the mother herself."[18]

Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, an earlier Lutheran and Anglican minister, held one slave with his family in the town of Woodstock in 1772 and at the glebe farm while he served in the Revolutionary War (1775-1783).[19]

These instances in Shenandoah County reveal that the Lutheran church, which did not take a stand against slavery, provided baptisms, communion and funerals to a few African Americans. William E. Eisenberg, *The Lutheran Church in Virginia 1717-1962* states: "The Lutheran Church in Virginia...did not bestir itself to win unchurched Negroes into membership or to better their general condition."[20] During Reconstruction, the Lutheran churches discussed but did not act on a proposal from the General Synod South to establish an orphanage or school for African Americans.[21] The paternalistic attitude prevailed and endured.

Perhaps the model of Lutheran pastor as slaveholder had been set by George Caspar Stoever, the first pastor of the first Lutheran Church in Virginia, Hebron Church, Madison County. The idea of Pastor Stoever to invest funds for pastoral salary, without burdening the church members, led to purchase of a 685 acre farm and seven African American slaves in 1743, nine African Americans in 1748.[22] The next pastor, George Samuel Klug, also became a slaveholder.[23] It is little wonder that more German Lutherans than has been thought became slaveholders.

Endnotes

1 Taken from Stewart, Nancy Branner. *The Lutheran Church and African Americans in Shenandoah County, Writings Concerning Our History*. Volume 1. Truban Archives, Shenandoah County Library, Edinburg, Virginia, and used with permission of the author and publisher.

2 *The Autobiography and Chronological Life of the Reverend Paul Henkel 1754-1825*. Trans. W.J. Finck. Ed. Melvin L. Miller et al. (n.p.: Rev. Anthony Jacob Henckel Family National Association, 2002).

3 *Henkel*, p. 44.

4 *Henkel,* p. 70.

5 *Henkel,* p. 99.

6 *Henkel*, p. 155.

7 *Henkel*, p. 219.

8 *Henkel*, p. 172.

9 *Henkel*, p. 188.

10 *Henkel*, p. 200.

11 *Henkel*, p. 209.

12 *Henkel*, p. 222.

13 *Henkel*, p. 236.

14 *Henkel*, p. 273.

15 *Davidsburg Church Baptisms 1785-1845*. New Market. Virginia. Transcribed and translated by John Stewart and Klaus Wust (Edinburg: Shenandoah History, 1983), p. 36.

16 This information appears in his wife's letters in the Gettysburg Library. I have read that Rev. Schmucker later used his house in Gettysburg as a stop on the Underground Railroad, but I cannot give the reference.

17 *List of Baptized Members. Davidsburg Church. New Market. Virginia 1821-1882.* Unpublished.

18 *Strasburg Lutheran German Records 1768-1829.* Transcribed and translated by George M. Smith and Klaus Wust (Edinburg: Shenandoah History, 1997), p. 21.

19 William Edward Eisenberg, *The Lutheran Church in Virginia 1717-1962* (Roanoke: The Trustees of the Virginia Synod, Lutheran Church in America, 1967), p. 62.

20 *Eisenberg*, p. 217.

21 *Eisenberg,* p. 218.

22 *Eisenberg,* p. 13-14.

23 *Eisenberg,* p. 14.

4

THE RURAL AND URBAN DYNAMIC IN IMMIGRANT RELIGION

The Case of Swedish and Norwegian Ethnic Denominations in Minnesota

MARK GRANQUIST

One of the most overlooked dynamic in American religious history are the differences between the ways religion is practiced and organized in rural and urban settings. There is quite a body of anecdotal evidence that significant differences occur among religious groups based on their geographical settings, but little in the way of direct evidence of this. This study will attempt to examine some of the potential differences between rural and urban religion by looking at two Scandinavian immigrant groups, Swedes and Norwegians, limited to the state of Minnesota. We know that this immigration changed over time; the early Scandinavian immigration to Minnesota (1840s-1870s) was primarily rural families, and directed toward farming communities, while the later immigration (1870s-1910s) was more likely to be single young people, who settled in urban areas. We will attempt to trace the difference that this had on the development of immigrant religious organizations, especially the Swedish and Norwegian ethnic denominations. Was immigrant religion relatively stronger in the rural areas than in urban ones? What were the particular rural and urban dynamics that are represented in these two populations, and does the difference between the two groups in retention of immigrants correlate to these dynamics?

We need to set up the questions, and to explain and justify the parameters of this study. First, limiting this study to the state of Minnesota

does touch on the largest population of Scandinavian immigrants to the United States, and thus gives the possibility of a decent sampling of the two ethnic groups. There are three major urban centers in Minnesota at the time (the 1920s), Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth, with significant proportions of Scandinavians in all three. Even though we are sampling only one state, its size and importance to the Scandinavian-American population as a whole makes it fairly typical of the this population.

Second, the period of 1920-1926 is a good time during which to measure these dynamics. This period was the peak of the first- and second-generation of Scandinavian-Americans in the United States; the large nineteenth-century immigration was at an end, and yet there were still large numbers of first-generation immigrants still living. The United State Census of 1920 is very useful in measuring the numbers of "Foreign Born" and "Children of Foreign Born," while the United States Religious Census of 1926 gives detailed information about religious congregations, by denomination, with which we can correlate the 1920 data. 1920 is also useful from the standpoint of the Scandinavian ethnic denominations, as a merger of the Norwegian-American Lutheran denominations in 1917 had created a single, large Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, out of four to five smaller groups. Thus by 1920 the Scandinavian ethnic denominations had been reduced to a manageable number, making this type of study much more feasible. Attempting this study ten or twenty years later (with the 1930 or 1940 Census) would be complicated by the increasing mixture of ethnic identities, and because the last official Religious Census was conducted in 1926.

To begin with, we will determine the numbers of first- and second-generation Scandinavian immigrants in Minnesota, by using the United States Census of 1920. At that time the total population of the state was almost 2.4 million inhabitants, with 560,000 inhabitants who were Swedish- or Norwegian-Americans (about 23 percent of the total population), "Foreign-born," or "Children of foreign-born" (Figure 1). The split between Norwegians and Swedes in the state was almost equal, at roughly about 280,000 inhabitants apiece. One interesting element

Figure 1: Norwegians and Swedes in Minnesota, 1920[1]

Census of the United States, 1920—"Foreign born and Children"
Minnesota: Total population, 2,387,127

Norwegians	280,982	FB: 89,788	CH: 191,194
Swedes	280,077	FB: 112,747	CH: 167,330

here is the difference between the two groups is that the Swedes are more likely to be first-generation immigrants (112,747 for the Swedes as to 89,788 for the Norwegians). This suggests that the majority of these Swedes arrived in the United States later than did the similar population of Norwegians. Knowing that latter elements of the immigration (after 1880) tended to go to the urban rather than rural areas, this would suggest that the urban population of Swedes in Minnesota would be larger than that of the Norwegians.

This does bear out when the Census figures are broken down into rural and urban categories; there were more Swedes than Norwegians in the urban areas of Minnesota in 1920. Here, however, the Census categories are less than precise. The 1920 Census shows that the Norwegians in Minnesota were about 40 percent urban and 60 percent rural, with the Swedish populations being just the opposite, 60 percent urban and 40 percent rural. The problem here is that the Census categories for rural and urban are unhelpful; the Census defines an "urban" area as any town or city over a population of 2,500 inhabitants. This is not helpful for the kind of urban dynamics that we might wish to examine, as they would be very different between a town of 2,500 inhabitants and a city of 250,000 inhabitants.

To get at the true urban dynamics will take a bit more analysis. Since there were three major urban areas (over 100,000 inhabitants) in the state of Minnesota in 1920, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth, we can use the Census data to determine the Swedish- and Norwegian-American population of these three cities (Figure 2). The results show what was already suspected, that in each of the three urban areas of Minnesota, the Swedish population was significantly larger than the Norwegian population. It is interesting to note that while the Swedish- and Norwegian-American population of Minneapolis and Duluth matched that of the general state

Figure 2: Minnesota Urban Populations, Norwegians and Swedes, 1920 Census

Minneapolis:	Total Population	380,582
	Swedes	61,514
	Norwegians	41,237
St. Paul:	Total Population	234,698
	Swedes	24,227
	Norwegians	10,499
Duluth:	Total Population	98,917
	Swedes	16,041
	Norwegian	10,929

population (about 25 percent), the Scandinavian population of St. Paul was much lower (about 15 percent), an ethnic difference that is still in evidence today.

Adding together the Swedish and Norwegian-American figures for the three urban areas of the state, we can see that the Swedes were indeed more likely to live in urban areas than were the Norwegians (Figure 3). The total Swedish urban population was at 101,000, while the urban Norwegian population was only 62,000. The overall urban population of the state (counting all inhabitants) was 717,197 (about 30 percent of the whole), while the urban Swedish population was 101,782 (36 percent), and the urban Norwegian population was 63,665 (22 percent). So not only was the Swedish urban population much larger than the Norwegian population (as a percentage of the whole), the Swedish percentage was even significantly larger than that for the state as a whole.

Having established these numbers, we must now turn toward the Swedish- and Norwegian-American religious denominations. Though the Scandinavian ethnic denominational landscape had been consolidated

Figure 3: Rural-Urban Scandinavian Populations in Minnesota, 1920

	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL	% URBAN
Minnesota	2,387,127	717,197	1,669,930	30%
Swedes	280,077	101,782	178,295	36%
Norwegians	280,982	62,665	218,317	22%

US census rural/urban, Percentage in towns over 2,500

Swedes	60%
Norwegians	40%

by 1920, there was still religious diversity among both Norwegian- and Swedish-Americans. Among the Norwegians the vast majority of members had already been consolidated into a single Lutheran denomination, the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, which represented 96.5 percent of all ethnic Norwegian church members (Figure 3). There were a number of smaller groups at the time, the largest of which was the Lutheran Free Church, but their membership was only a small fraction of the NLCA. Among the Swedes the Lutheran Augustana Synod was the largest group, enrolling about 70 percent of all Swedish ethnic church members, but there were four other Swedish ethnic denominations, all of which were non-Lutheran; the largest of these was the Swedish Mission Covenant Church. In looking at these national figures,

the Norwegian groups had done a significantly better job in gathering in their Norwegian-American population; these ethnic denominations had enrolled about 30 percent of the total of Norwegian-Americans, while the Swedes had only gathered in 20 percent of Swedish-Americans. These figures are rather lower than might be commonly assumed; often it is romantically assumed that these ethnic denominations gathered in the vast majority of their compatriots, an assumption that simply is not true. Looking at these relative figures, one theory that we might trace is this: assuming that it might be easier to gather in the ethnic "flock" in rural areas than in urban ones, can we posit that one reason for a greater

Figure 4: National denominational membership, Norwegians and Swedes

Swedish Americans:	1,457,382	
Augustana Synod	204,075	70%
Other ethnic churches	88,613	30%
Total in denominations	292,688	20% of the total
Norwegian Americans:	1,023,225	
Lutheran	295,489	96.5%
Other ethnic churches	10,205	3.5%
Total in denominations	305,694	30% of the total

percentage of Norwegian-Americans in Norwegian ethnic denominations (30 percent) than that of the Swedes (20 percent) is due to the fact that the Norwegians were more rural than urban?

To examine this question, we will need initially to determine the rural and urban church membership for the Swedish- and Norwegian-American ethnic denominations in Minnesota by counting the membership in congregations in the three urban areas, and correlating it with the total membership and total ethnic population of Minnesota. Figure 5 shows this for the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, while Figure 6 show this for the Swedish Augustana Synod. The numbers have been determined by taking the total membership figures for the two denominations for the state of Minnesota, and then separately determining the relative membership for congregations listed as being in the three urban area, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth. In doing this analysis, it becomes clear that although the two denominations are both largely rural, that the NLCA is overwhelmingly rural (about 95 percent), whereas Augustana has a relatively larger percentage of its membership in urban areas (28 percent). The Minnesota membership in the NLCA

was, by 1920, only about 5 percent urban. Partially this can be explained by a relatively lower proportion of urban Norwegians to urban Swedes, but it still shows quite a gap.

The next step is to determine the numbers of urban and rural members in these denominations as a percentage of the total numbers of Swedish- and Norwegian-Americans in Minnesota. To do this, we will

Figure 5: Norwegian Lutheran Church in America: Members in Minnesota, 1926[3]

Northern Minnesota District*	54,190
Southern Minnesota District*	79,094
Total	133,284
Members:	
Duluth	1,462
Minneapolis	4,475
St. Paul	1,011
Total	6,948
Percentage:	
Rural: 95%	
Urban: 5%	

**non-Minnesota congregations removed*

Figure 6: Augustana Synod: Members in Minnesota, 1926[4]

Minnesota Conference*	67,906
Members:	
Duluth	2,827
Minneapolis	9,968
St. Paul	6,100
Total	18,895
Percentage	
Rural: 72%	
Urban: 28%	

**non-Minnesota Congregations removed*

take the numbers of rural and urban members in the two denominations (and then by extension, the other ethnic denominations), and correlate them with the total population (Figure 7). This analysis shows that the NLCA succeeded in enrolling about 57 percent of all rural Norwegians in Minnesota, but only about 11 percent of all urban Norwegians in the state. On the other hand, the Augustana Synod had only gathered

in about 27 percent of the rural Swedes in Minnesota, and 19 percent of all urban Swedes. To make this a better comparison, we add to these totals the estimated numbers for the other ethnic Scandinavian denominations (3.5 percent for the Norwegians, 30 percent for the Swedes). Thus we see that while 59 percent of the rural Norwegians in Minnesota joined an ethnic Norwegian denomination, only 11 percent of the urban Norwegians did so. On the Swedish side, about 36 percent of rural Swedes in Minnesota joined an ethnic Swedish denomination, while about 24 percent of the urban Swedes are found in their membership. Thus, the Norwegian ethnic denominations were much more successful among their rural populations, while the Swedish ethnic denominations were relatively more successful among their urban populations.

Figure 7: Relative Proportion of Rural and Urban Members to Total Population, 1920

Norwegian (NLCA)		
Rural	57%	(125,932)
Urban	11%	(6,948)
All Norwegian groups (add in 3.5%)		
Rural	59%	(130,300)
Urban	11%	(7,190)
Swedes (Augustana)		
Rural	27%	(49,011)
Urban	19%	(18,895)
All Swedish groups (add in 30%)		
Rural	36%	(63,700)
Urban	24%	(24,500)

Still, it must be said that for both the Swedish- and Norwegian-American ethnic denominations in Minnesota (and, by extension, nationally), it was relatively easier for these groups to gain and hold members in the rural areas than it was among their urban populations. Even though the Swedish denominations did quite a bit better than did the Norwegians in reaching their urban ethnic populations (24 percent to 11 percent), there is still a much larger proportion of rural members to urban members, both in terms of raw numbers, and as a percentage of the entire ethnic populations. There are a number of possible reasons for this, including the availability of other, non-Scandinavian religious options ("English" churches), the availability of non-religious ethnic organizations (such as lodges and fraternal organizations), and

the possibility that urban anonymity allowed ethnic Scandinavians to choose to affiliate with no particular congregation at all.

One additional means of looking into this question to examine the results of the very detailed religious Census of 1926, the last one done by the United States government. This census has an extraordinary amount of detail, down to the numbers of rural and urban congregations for each ethnic denomination (Swedish and Norwegian) in each state, and even the membership, by denomination, in major urban areas. In this data we can seem the state membership data by denomination (Figure 8), which seem to correlate well with the numbers previously identified from the denominational reports of 1920. By examining the data from

Figure 8: US Religious Census 1926—Minnesota, Swedish and Norwegian denominations[5]

	MEMBERS	CONGREGATIONS	AVERAGE SIZE
Norwegian LCA	168,622	754	224
Lutheran Free (N)	22,259	169	138
Augustana	82,322	337	244
Swedish Covenant	7,722	94	82

the individual denominational congregations in the three major urban areas (Figure 9), we can see that the urban membership of these ethnic denominations had grown substantially even in the short period from 1920 to 1926. The NLCA had, in fact, been growing very rapidly in Minneapolis, and by 1926 had more members in that city than did the Augustana Synod. Perhaps after 1920 the rural and urban gap between the Swedish and Norwegian-ethnic denominations was closing.

Figure 9: Scandinavian Urban Membership in Minnesota, 1926

	AUGUSTANA	NLCA	LUTH FREE	COV/FREE
Duluth	4,157 (5)	3,150 (6)	227 (2)	584 (2)
Minneapolis	10,206(18)	11,857(19)	4,156 (9)	3,515 (9)
St. Paul	6,974(10)	2,375 (6)	75 (1)	1,085 (3)
Totals	21,337	7,382	4,458	5,184

So, what of our initial questions, then? After this examination of the data, it seems that we can propose at least three possible conclusions. First, the relative greater overall success in gathering in ethnic members by the Norwegian denominations (30 percent) over the Swedish denominations (20 percent) cannot really be traced to a rural and urban

dynamic. The Norwegian denominations did better in gaining rural members, while the Swedish denominations did relatively better in gaining urban members. The idea that rural and urban differences explain varying rates of success would only work if the Swedes and Norwegian gained membership in these two areas in relatively equal proportions. Second, that both Swedish- and Norwegian-American ethnic denominations did considerably better in the rural areas than they did in urban ones; though the Swedes did substantially better in the urban centers, it still was quite a struggle for both groups to do urban ministry. Third, and finally, the data from the 1926 religious census would seem to indicate that these groups, especially the NLCA, were beginning by the 1920s to concentrate more of their efforts on growing their presence in the urban centers of Minnesota.

Endnotes

1 United State Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Population 2,* Table 1, p. 897.

2 Mark Granquist, Table 4, "Swedish- and Norwegian-American Religious Traditions, 1860-1920," *Lutheran Quarterly* 8(3), Autumn 1994, p. 304.

3 *Beretning on den Norsk Lutherske Kirkes første ordinære tallesmøte*, Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 10-17, 1920, pp. 480-512.

4 *Minutes of the Sixty-second Annual Convention of the Evangelical Augustana Synod in North America*, Chicago, Illinois, June 8-13, 1921, n.p.

5 United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of Religious Bodies, 1926*, pp.720-23, 756-59, 808-11, and 1290-93.

5

FROM QUIETISM TO ACTIVISM

The Origins and Development of Lutheran Federal Government Advocacy, 1948-1988

LESLIE WEBER

Lutherans in the United States gradually have shaken off a quietist heritage and have become a more public church.[1] To be sure, some American Lutheran groups were less quietist than others, and each moved "at its own speed."[2] Since Ernst Troeltsch's assertion of Lutheran quietism in his *The Social Teaching of the Christian Church*, American Lutherans have confessed to the problem. In 1929, Conrad Bergendoff, Augustana Seminary president, wrote: "In America we find the idea prevalent that the Lutheran Church has no interest at all in social questions."[3] In 1948, a district president of the Northwestern District of the American Lutheran Church (ALC) offered reasons for Lutherans' quietism:

> The old adage: "Christians are in the world but not of the world," has been so overworked and so generally misapplied that pious and well-meaning pastors and Christians in general have considered it to be a primary Christian virtue to have as little to do with the world around them as possible. This isolationist complex is evident especially among us Lutherans; in fact, so much so that it has almost become a part of our religion.[4]

A reputation for quietism is so ingrained in the American Lutheran psyche that Lutherans have continued to acknowledge it to the present day.

The movement toward activism, that is, engagement with government at the federal level, from 1948 to 1988 when the Evangelical

Lutheran Church in America began, was, I believe, the final, crucial step in Lutherans' adjustment from living in a state-church European context to an American voluntarist, free-church context.[5] Theodore Tappert said that "the most obvious adjustment" that Lutheran immigrants from Europe needed to make "was the replacement of state churches with free churches and an acceptance of pluralism."[6] The "most obvious" was among the hardest.

What precipitated this change from quietism to activism? World War II certainly had an influence.[7] So did a new look at Two Kingdoms theology. A Lutheran ethicist declared that Lutheranism had "cast its lot . . . with the American heritage of civic activism" due in part to reinterpretation of the Two Kingdoms theology.[8] My argument is that it was the enlarged role of government in the post-war years that forced a higher level of activism on the part of U.S. denominations, including Lutherans, than they had ever known.

Social welfare issues—relief for war-torn Europe, resettling of nearly 36,000 European immigrants, and domestic child care policy—first triggered Lutheran engagement with growing government during and after World War II and remained a major impetus for the period under study. Traditional charity approaches were insufficient to address new social needs. Two new strategies were "social action" and "Christian citizenship."

Unlike charity, social action was preventative rather than remedial in nature.[9] It was often understood to include studying and formulating positions on social issues, but it could also include influencing government. In the 1930s, social action gained popularity among Protestant denominations. The United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA) had a Committee on Social Action under its Board of Social Missions by 1939.[10] In 1944, Hartwick Seminary sponsored an inter-Lutheran conference that called on the Lutheran church to "accept and discharge its full mission to the social order" via social action.[11] In 1946, the American Lutheran Church (ALC) renamed its Board of Charities the "Board for Christian Social Action" and brought to the denomination's 1948 convention theses on the "Aims and Purposes" for Christian social action. Thesis 8 said that church and state "stand in a position of mutual subordination and superordination, each serving areas of primary and areas of secondary responsibility."[12] In 1957, the Augustana Lutheran Church's convention changed the name of its Commission on Morals and Social Problems to the Commission on Social Action.

The post-World War II period was ripe for the commingling of social action and Christian citizenship. The 1947 landmark Supreme Court decision (*Everson v. Board of Education*) declaring a high and impregnable wall between church and state made that relationship a subject for renewed scrutiny.

A 1948 citizenship emphasis in the ALC led some districts to urge congregations and members to become more public in their citizenship. The Illinois District was specific and thorough in what it hoped its leaders would do in their congregations:

That pastors and church councils be requested to devise plans whereby certain designated members of their congregations be urged to attend meetings of the local town or city council, school board, or similar public groups, to demonstrate the fact that Christian people are interested in the faithful, unprejudiced conduct of the public business, and that pastors, church councils, and organizations within the church be requested to develop a program whereby the members of our congregations, as individuals, be directed to write to their legislators and congressmen expressing their personal, unselfish convictions as Christians on current social issues such as compulsory military training, labor relations, race relations and civil rights, the admission of displaced persons, and others on which Christians can shed the light of God's will and purpose for the well-being of their fellow men; and that pastors and church councils prior to local, state, and national elections be requested to remind members of our congregations of their responsibility and God-given opportunity to vote faithfully and with discrimination; and that we remind our members to give encouragement and support to such public officers who are faithfully discharging their duties and to encourage qualified persons to offer themselves for public service. . . .[13]

The Illinois District was very clear that individuals, not congregations, should act.

> It was not until after World War II, that most denominations took an active interest in a Washington presence. By 1950, "at least twenty-five national religious groups had offices in Washington. . . ."[14] That number included Lutherans.

Over the period under examination, a *council* united the majority of Lutheran denominations in ensuring representation in Washington—the National Lutheran Council (NLC) from 1948 to 1966, and the Lutheran Council in the USA (LCUSA) from 1966 to 1988.[15] The National Lutheran

Council's newly formed Division of Public Relations, headed by Carl E. Lund-Quist, asked Pastor Robert Van Deusen to make a study of government-related ministry. Robert Van Deusen had joined the NLC in 1944 in its ministry to military personnel. Van Deusen wrote that in late 1947,

> Carl Lund-Quist . . . came to Washington for an exploratory visit. His question was: With the federal government playing an increasingly significant role in the lives of people, shouldn't the churches have an observer at the seat of government, to keep the churches informed of emerging trends in public policy? He asked me to make a year's study, along with my work as [a military] service pastor, of the pros and cons of opening a Washington office of the National Lutheran Council.[16]

Van Deusen later wrote that the decision for the study was due to the growth of the welfare state and the "extensive cooperation" between the government and the church that had occurred after World War II.[17]

In 1948 the NLC decided to place a Washington secretary on the staff of the Division of Public Relations and Van Deusen was selected for the post. He began full-time on March 1, 1949.[18] The National Lutheran Council's executive committee approved seven purposes for the work:

> 1. To maintain effective channels of contact with executive agencies of the government. 2. To conduct research in government organization and procedures and to formulate the results for the use of the participating bodies. 3. To represent the National Lutheran Council in conferences and committees at the request of the Executive Committee or the Executive Director. 4. To carry out special assignments by the participating bodies and their boards. 5. To keep the participating bodies informed of important Congressional legislation hearings through the Division of Public Relations. 6. To set up an information and interpretation service to be channeled by the Division of Public Relations to the regular outlets within the bodies dealing with legislation and with trends and policies in the executive agencies. 7. To channel information about the churches and their work to key people in government, to keep them abreast of current developments in the churches' programs.[19]

The work was *not* intended as "advocacy"—a word that only began to appear in formal church documents in the mid-1970s—but as

public relations and communication.[20] There was a fear that Lutherans across the country would criticize the Council for opening an office in Washington.[21]

At first Van Deusen was only supposed to be in touch with the executive branch, not the legislative branch. According to Van Deusen,

> We were supposed to just listen and not say anything. That came later as we began to realize that the church really has a responsibility to respond to things that are happening before they are all done, before they have all been decided. Even at the end [of my tenure] I was not supposed to be a lobbyist. I was free to get acquainted with the men, to sit down with them, to discuss issues with them, but not to put pressure on them. Once having stated my viewpoint and the church's viewpoint, then it was left to their conscience how they were to act as Congressmen.[22]

As a sign of Lutherans' commitment to relating to government, the executive committee of the National Lutheran Council authorized the purchase of property in Washington.[23]

Attitudes toward the enlarged role of centralized government were unsettled during the early 1950s. There was an upsurge of civil religion among the general populace while, at the same time, some Lutherans thought the welfare state was the American version of totalitarianism.[24] Lutherans were concerned about what government was doing, but NLC leaders were not sure about being "political." For example, in 1951 a sophisticated strategy for a churchwide response to the re-appointment of a U.S. representative to the Vatican was declined by the NLC executive committee.[25] The next year, however, the NLC Division of Welfare showed political savvy in trying to influence the McCarran-Walter Omnibus Immigration Bill.

Though work in Washington only had been in operation a short time, in 1951 Robert Van Deusen called for a study on the relation of the church to the state. He said:

> In view of the increasing impact of the government on the program of the church and the lives of its people, the relation of the church to the state needs careful and comprehensive study. Specifically, the approach of the NLC and its participating bodies to the federal government needs to be explored and defined.[26]

The 1952 report's conclusions included important changes in Washington office operations. First, experience had demonstrated that "limited contact" with the legislative branch was required for the office to be effective.[27] Second, in the past the Washington secretary had arranged for top executives of the Council to speak with legislators; now, the Washington secretary might make some of these contacts. Third, it was now acknowledged that the Washington office might relate to state governments, though "only in rare and major cases."[28] Fourth, the Council could offer congressional testimony "not only in the relatively limited scope of the organized program of the Church, but also in the broader implications of Christian testimony."[29] In other words, testimony could include the implications of the gospel for society. Fifth, congressional testimony "need not always be in terms of general principles only," but could take "[p]ositions on specific legislation" when authorized in advance.[30] And sixth, Washington staff and other NLC representatives needed clearance with executive directors prior to making government contacts.[31]

The responsibilities of the Washington office broadened in the early 1950s to include the development of seminars that would "encourage a better informed church constituency."[32] Three different seminars began to be held: an annual seminar for Lutheran college and seminary students; a biennial and later annual seminar on the Church and National Life for Lutheran governmental, business, and church leaders; and an annual Churchmen's Washington Seminar sponsored by the National Council of Churches with representatives of Lutheran denominations attending.[33] The first two types of seminars were jointly sponsored with the Department of Public Relations of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod. Van Deusen later credited the student seminars for the fact that "[m]any of today's church leaders had their sensitivity to the importance of church-state relations sharpened by attendance as students at one of these seminars."[34]

Much of the work of the Washington office occurred through the Washington Inter-religious Staff Council (WISC) which was formed in 1968. At first, WISC only included member denominations of the National Council of Churches, but later it expanded to include liberal Protestants, Catholics, and Jewish groups, but not conservative and fundamentalist groups who had their own coalition. [35] Political perspectives more than theology united these groups.[36] One strategy that WISC used was the "sign-on letter" to legislators in which those denominational

representatives in agreement or disagreement with a particular piece of legislation, would sign their name on behalf of their denomination.

While the Washington office was carrying out church public relations with government, critical government-related work was also being performed by other NLC offices. For instance, the Lutheran Resettlement Service was very active in monitoring and seeking to affect pending immigration legislation.

Federal nondefense spending nearly tripled from 5.7 percent of GDP in 1955 to 15.7 percent in 1975. Much of the growth was due to such things as Medicare and Medicaid.[37] Robert Van Deusen said that government funding of church programs had grown to "massive proportions" for the construction of dormitories, classroom buildings, hospitals, and clinics. He felt that there was a moral cost for this, for example, church agencies could be seen as "benefitting organizationally from government aid."[38]

The Lutheran civic response to governmental growth was social and political responsibility. In 1956, Edgar M. Carlson, president of Gustavus Adolphus College, published *The Church and the Public Conscience* in which he wrote that there is no discontinuity between creation and redemption, society and church.[39] On the basis of God's law, the church must call the state and other social orders to their tasks. That same year, the ALC produced a statement, "Christians are Responsible Citizens," in which it said that Christians are not of this world but remain in it and are responsible even when they remain silent or do nothing.[40] In 1957, the United Lutheran Church in America's (ULCA) Board of Social Missions published a highly influential three-volume "symposium" on Christian social responsibility titled *Existence Today*.

Governmental growth evoked the validation of neo-corporatism as a necessary vehicle for dealing with the effects of modernity—structural differentiation and diversity of interests. As pluralism—the alternative voluntary, competitive, non-hierarchically ordered system of interest representation—decayed, the "advanced capitalist" welfare state required societal corporatism.[41] Traditionally, corporatism—and more recently, neo-corporatism—is a way of representing "competing, overlapping and pluralistic interests," organizing them into more hierarchical "peak" associations given special status and power.[42]

Pierson described the neo-corporatist context of the new decade:

> After 1960 there was a very sharp expansion in the domestic policy role of the national government. . . . By then, one could

> see a new national state in the United States. This new state had far greater spending capacity, regulatory reach, responsibility for a range of social rights, and ability to structure incentives through the tax code than the national state that preceded it.[43]

Until the 1960s, social protection was decentralized with federal funds channeled through states, localities, and businesses to provide for social needs.[44]

In the early 1960s, the attention of the Lutheran denominations that were part of the National Lutheran Council was consumed by neo-corporatism closer to home—the formation of The American Lutheran Church (TALC) in 1960 and the Lutheran Church in America (LCA) in 1962. During its waning days, the ULCA Board of Social Missions' Department of Social Action appealed for an inter-Lutheran study of church-state relations in a pluralistic society. The rationale was:

> . . . current and anticipated studies by other church bodies do not appear to possess the desired depth or breadth nor do they focus sharply enough on the question of a pluralistic society; . . . the present moment may be the right time (*kairos*) for the distinctive Lutheran understanding of "secularity" (the much-maligned Law and Gospel distinction) to be made articulate institutionally, providing guide lines rather than answers, for the resolution of concrete issues as they arise. . . .[45]

In July 1961 the Commission on Church and State Relations in a Pluralistic Society was formed and by 1963, now under LCA auspices, it produced "Church and State: A Lutheran Perspective, The Interaction of Religion and Law in a Pluralistic Society." For the first time, this document proposed the principle "institutional separation and functional interaction" to describe the relationship between church and state.

The year 1964 was important for religious activism. Hertzke claimed, "With their aggressive lobbying on behalf of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, . . . religious lobbyists moved beyond 'self-interest,' and argued persuasively that as religious leaders it was their moral duty to fight for 'justice.' . . ."[46]

Racial turmoil of the mid-60s had several direct and indirect effects on the growing activism of Lutherans and others. First, the "rights revolution" was "a fundamental part of the nationalization of political

authority and policy. . . ."[47] Going forward, national rather than state or local courts, legislators, and bureaucrats would make decisions and pass regulatory laws on a host of issues. Second, mainstream Protestants that once were solidly Republican began to "drift" towards the Democratic Party and white evangelicals and Catholics that had once been the "core constituency of the Democratic Party" started moving toward the Republican Party.[48] Third, with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the United States was finally fully democratized; the strengthened principle of equality would impact advocacy.[49]

Early in 1966, Robert Van Deusen wrote the following:

> In the last few years rapid changes have taken place in the United States in relationship between the churches and government. . . . A decade ago the pattern of church-state relations seemed fixed. . . . Today the situation has changed. . . . One has the feeling that profound changes are taking place in our social and political structure, and that we are being swept along without knowing the direction of change or its destination. Basic concepts of church-state relations, on which we had come to depend, are being radically altered.[50]

Because "basic concepts" were being "radically altered," that year both the LCA and TALC issued statements dealing with government. The LCA's statement, "Church and State, A Lutheran Perspective," drew upon the 1963 statement by the LCA Commission on Church and State Relations in a Pluralistic Society. The American Lutheran Church's statement, "Church-State Relations in the USA," said that government should steer a course of "benevolent neutrality" in regards to religion and give "equal protection to all religious views."[51]

Lutheran church mergers and the interest of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod (LCMS), not a member of the NLC, in relating to the TALC and LCA, necessitated the formation of the Lutheran Council in the USA (LCUSA). In 1965, the LCA Board of Social Ministry dismissed the Commission on Church and State Relations in a Pluralistic Society and asked the LCA executive council to "explore the possibilities of continuing church and state study under inter-Lutheran auspices."[52] The LCA put this before the constituting convention of the Lutheran Council in the USA in 1966.[53]

LCUSA's constituting convention that November approved the exploration of church-state issues through a long-range study. A planning

committee convened in January 1967 and decided that the objectives for a study consultation should include developing an inter-Lutheran approach to church-state relations within a larger investigation on church and society; looking at the nature and mission of the church; and exploring "the corporate role of the church in relation to society and to government."[54] Church-state relations were, thus, an entry point for understanding how Lutherans together might relate to and impact society, including government.

> Thirteen participants, from the LCA, TALC, and LCMS, gathered at the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago in June 1968 for the consultation on the topic of "Lutheran Views on the Theological Basis for the Relationship between the Church and the Structures of Society." The consultation was charged with exploring "whether or not a consensus exists within American Lutheranism on 'the theological basis for the relationship between the church and the structures of society." The consultation found that consensus did exist but that there were "certain 'strains' upon this consensus" due to "changing emphases in theology" and from "a rapidly changing world." Significantly, differences of viewpoint did "not correspond with the organizational boundaries between the Lutheran bodies. . . ."[55]

Among the points of consensus, the group found that the church had related to the state in various ways over the centuries but "the preferred relationship in the present day" was "'institutional separation and functional interaction.'" The church, participants agreed, claimed "no special privileges from the state" but it did "claim the right to be critical of the government" and other social institutions. Participants thought it was not clear that the "broader ranks" of church members understood or accepted "a socially prophetic role for the church."[56] The consultation was in agreement that "the church does have the right and duty to address the entire body politic on issues of crucial human significance" through official pronouncements.[57]

Then, the consultation came to an historic point of agreement:

> The church must become (and is becoming) directly and *corporately* involved in the social struggle, at all levels from the parish to the national church body. The key here is the word '*corporately*,' for the existing consensus itself holds that

> Christians as individuals, both through their vocations and in their role as citizens, must be so involved; *but what is now asked for is direct, institutional engagement*.[58]

The consultation expressed some of the ways the church might be corporately involved:

> The church is called to be socially responsible also as a corporate structure, and has the opportunity and obligation to use its resources of wealth, influence, and personnel for the welfare of the whole community, and especially of the disinherited. This implies such methods as research on social problems, testimony before legislative bodies, efforts to influence public opinion, the provision of social welfare services, and a scrutiny of the church's budget priorities and investments, as well as a continuing effort to sensitize its own members to urgent contemporary issues.[59]

Ecumenical and interfaith efforts did not relieve Lutherans from "the obligation to do so also through their denominational structures."[60]

Growing out of the 1968 consultation, LCUSA's Division of Welfare Services in September 1969 adopted "The Role of Government in Social Welfare—A Lutheran Perspective." Two months later, division staff presented testimony to the House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means that was in the process of holding hearings on President Richard Nixon's signature piece of legislation: the Family Assistance Act of 1969. This was the first instance in which the three LCUSA member churches (TALC, LCA, LCMS) asked LCUSA to testify on their behalf in the field of social welfare.[61] While the Senate defeated the legislation in early 1970 over concern about the sharp growth of the welfare rolls, the cost to government, and questions about whether to "reward" those who were not working, Lutherans had advocated for a generous approach to human need.

Increasingly over the years, Lutheran leaders and Washington office staff provided testimony to the legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government. In 1968, however, LCUSA General Secretary C. Thomas Spitz wrote to the presidents of member denominations about a question of open housing that the Supreme Court had agreed to review. Spitz asked if the three Lutheran denominations would be willing to file an *amicus curiae* brief. He noted, "We . . . know that some people will question the propriety of attempting to influence judicial decisions. Some

who strongly approve of exercising influence at the point of legislation balk at this 'further step.'"[62] For the first time, Lutherans together were trying to influence the third branch of government.

In the face of federal government neo-corporatism, the "rights revolution," referred to earlier, also sparked changes in American civic life bringing an explosion of civic organizations beginning with the 1970s.[63] Washington lobbying organizations changed as advocacy was re-shaped.[64] Among religious interest groups, two types of organizations became representative. The first type was established to monitor government actions and educate denominations, was accountable to a church hierarchy, was often staffed by people with limited political experience, addressed a laundry list of issues, and "witnessed" by speaking truth to power.[65] Mainline Protestant offices, including the LCUSA office, were of this type. Mainline offices peaked in the 1960s.[66]

The second type was represented by individual membership organizations whose accountability was ambiguous, that were staffed by people experienced in the political arena, that acted with speed and flexibility, and that mobilized members for overt political purposes—"winning" by changing policy.[67] Evangelical groups and think tanks were of this type.

The "rights revolution" also had an ideological side incarnated in the liberation movements of the 1960s. These movements fired the first shots in the culture wars that heated up in the 1980s.[68] Conservers of "family values," neoconservatives who believed there was an anti-American "adversary culture," and religious conservatives who felt threatened by an "increasingly secular state," formed organizations to influence the direction of government and the culture.[69] Individual membership organizations were well suited for ideological warfare.

Evidence of the re-shaping of advocacy may be seen in two name changes of LCUSA's Washington office that took place in the 1970s. In 1973, the Office of Public Affairs, located in LCUSA's Division of Public Relations beginning in 1967, was reorganized as a "separate standing office." Now it began to be called the "Office of Public Affairs and Governmental Relations." It reported directly to the general secretary and coordinated all advocacy efforts of the Lutheran Council.[70] In 1977, the name again changed, this time simply to the "Office of Governmental Affairs" (OGA). Thus, over thirty years, from 1948 to 1977, Lutherans had moved from work that was primarily public relations, to work that gave a different nuance to "public" than in "public relations" by adding

"governmental relations" (i.e. Office of Public Affairs and Governmental Relations), and, finally, to work that focused exclusively on governmental affairs.

It would be a mistake to think of the OGA as a bureaucracy. LCUSA leaders considered it a "patchwork" organizationally and financially.[71] Until 1978, there were only two executive staff in the OGA and a "layering" of other staff shared with Lutheran programs housed in the same location, e.g. the Lutheran Housing Coalition. One administrative assistant supported five staff. Robert Van Deusen headed the work until July 1976 when he was succeeded by Robert L. Anderson. In 1977, Charles V. Bergstrom, another parish pastor, became executive director and served until 1988.[72] In 1967, Susan Thompson, became the first woman assistant director. Thompson came fresh from the Peace Corps and saw things with different eyes. Needs of the Palestinian people, abortion, the women's movement, and the wrongness of the war in Vietnam concerned her deeply. Because the office was not focused on lobbying, Thompson worked behind the scenes to bring about change.[73]

In 1974, a worldwide hunger crisis further re-shaped the churches' advocacy. In July, the Lutheran Church in America convention adopted a resolution establishing a program with an advocacy component to address world hunger. The convention also asked that a task force be appointed to work with other organizations, such as Bread for the World, "to advocate changes in governmental priorities and processes which inhibit or prevent aid from reaching those parts of the world's population suffering from severe hunger."[74] Three months later, The American Lutheran Church convention adopted a resolution establishing an ad hoc committee that would encourage members

> . . . writing to their congressmen encouraging them to vote (a) to provide low interest long term loans to the International Development Association for use in developing nations (for 21 countries classified by [the] United Nations as least developed); and (b) to support U.S. participation in an international program for food reserves allocated for humanitarian purposes. . . .[75]

LCA world hunger advocacy work purchased Washington office staff services. Work on world hunger reveals that as late as 1980 "advocacy" was broadly construed; it included relief, education, development, as well as advocating to change public policy.[76]

The bicentennial of the nation offered a rare opportunity for Lutheran and other churches to consider their relationship to government. The annual meeting of the Lutheran Council in March 1975 heard that plans were underway for a national conference on public policy. In October 1975, the Conference on American Lutherans and Public Policy in the Third Century discussed a document prepared by Rev. Richard John Neuhaus, then a Lutheran, that "articulated a theological-social ethical conceptual framework for dealing with public policy, examined the role of the church in the formation of public policy, and suggested policy goals."[77]

To ensure that government engagement was firmly grounded, in 1977 the Washington office drew up advocacy guidelines, expanding upon ones adopted in 1972. The new guidelines said that "Lutheran testimony should take into account Lutheran policy statements adopted in conventions, be consistent with professed Lutheran beliefs and have the approval of the [Lutheran] council general secretary and the church body presidents or their chosen representatives."[78]

In November 1977, the LCUSA executive committee requested the general secretary "to assess the need and feasibility of a study of the responsibility of the churches to define their institutional nature and ordained ministry in the light of government's tendency to deal with these matters, and further request a report at the next meeting. . . ." Local, state, and federal governments were trying to limit the church and its mission. The final report of the consultation clarified: "There are instances in which laws, rulings, and regulatory procedures on the part of government appear to infringe upon the churches and their agencies and institutions."[79]

For three days for three months, January, February, and March, 1979, a LCUSA consultation convened in Alexandria, Virginia. LCUSA General Secretary George Harkins said in his opening comments that the consultation was "one of the most important assignments ever given to the council by the participating church bodies."

The consultation made several policy recommendations. First, it said that the Lutheran churches "perceive a trend toward greater government intervention and regulation leading to erosion of civil and religious liberties."[80] Therefore, it urged Congress to review regulatory processes in order that adequate notice was given and the public had an opportunity to respond to proposed rulings and regulations.[81]

Second, the consultation recommended that the Lutheran Council encourage the exploration "of all constitutional means of government support for a variety of social and educational services at all levels," including church-related.[82] This recommendation was an endorsement of the use of public, private, and church-related agencies and institutions to achieve the goals of the welfare state.

Third, the consultation said that advocacy for justice was "an integral part of our churches' mission." It disagreed with what was called the "substantiality test": that "no substantial part" of the activities or income of a tax exempt organization could be directed toward "propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation."[83] Such a test penalized churches that saw advocacy as integral to their mission. Another recommendation was to oppose legislation that required names of contributors and fundraising.[84]

Fourth, the consultation said that "Lutherans in America must never be willing to subordinate their rights to such free exercise of religion in exchange for, or as a condition of, the continuation of all benefits of exemptions and deductions. . . ." It also repudiated the idea that exemptions and deductions for organizations in the voluntary sector were "tax expenditures."[85]

Finally, the consultation addressed the important tax-related issue of "integrated auxiliaries." Church-related orphanages, hospitals, nursing homes, charitable activities, as well as educational activities, were not considered integrated auxiliaries by the IRS and thus had to file Form 990. The churches disagreed that the government could say what kind of activity was integral to the church's mission.[86] Lutherans said that they were ready to test the law in court.

The report for the 1979 LCUSA consultation, "The Nature of the Church and Its Relationship with Government," adopted the principle for church-government relations used in 1963, 1966, and 1968, namely, "institutional separation and functional interaction." Thus, this principle was finally fully accepted on an inter-Lutheran basis.

The year 1978 has been called "the great switch point in American politics."[87] From the early to mid-1960s "a majority saw themselves as either liberal or moderate, not conservative, in their political outlook and beliefs."[88] The 1978 Gallup Poll reported that "47 percent of the people interviewed now identified themselves as conservatives; 32 percent, liberals; and 10 percent, middle of the roaders." Taxes, regulations, and

inflation fears fueled the reversal.[89] Theologically and politically liberal "public" Protestants began to be eclipsed by formerly "private" fundamentalists and evangelicals.[90] In June 1979, Jerry Falwell founded Moral Majority.

The year 1980 was the "Year of the Evangelical Right," also known as the Christian Right or New Religious Right. In February 1980, Charles Bergstrom, OGA director, wrote to the presidents of the LCUSA member church bodies that now included the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC), to request that they issue a statement about the planned "Washington for Jesus" march in April. He thought some "Lutheran clarity" might be helpful.[91]

In April, the presidents of the TALC, LCA, and AELC issued a statement that referred to the work of the Religious Right. In a cover letter, Lutheran pastors were told, "The leaders of the Lutheran church bodies have experienced growing concern about the proliferation of religious organizations which uncritically mix religion and politics."[92] The cover letter went on, "Of crucial importance in the current debate is the Lutheran understanding of the churches' advocacy ministry in the realm of public policy—an understanding which rejects all attempts to 'Christianize' government."[93] Lutherans had entered the culture wars.

In the statement itself, the church body leaders pointed to several problems. Political action was taking place under the "guise of religious evangelism, worship or revivalism—or 'in the name of Jesus.'"[94] There was a "pushing for total agreement on moral issues" which was being confused with "advocating for legislation which will enhance the common good." Finally, "religious grounds" were being used "as the exclusive yardstick for determining the quality of candidates for political office."[95] The statement explained "the twofold reign of God" and the principle of institutional separation and functional interaction.[96]

After comparing the distinctive mission of the church and of the civil government, the statement said that it is "a misuse of terms" to say that government or politics are "godless or profane" since "God rules both the civil and spiritual dimensions of life."[97] Thus, to try to "'Christianize' the government" or "label political views of members of Congress as 'Christian' or 'religious'" is "unnecessary and unbiblical." Then, the statement came to what was its most quoted point:

> It is arrogant to assert that one's position on a political issue is 'Christian' and that all others are 'un-Christian,' 'immoral' or

> 'sinful.' There is no 'Christian' position; there are Christians who hold positions. . . . To describe one group's political position as 'The Christian Voice' and one movement's political agenda as a movement 'for Jesus' is wrongly judgmental. It is an affront to Jewish and other religious advocates whose religions hold social justice as a social form of love of neighbor. Devout Christians and Jews agree and disagree between and among themselves regarding political decisions and can agree and disagree with non-believers.[98]

The presidential race of 1980 thrust the Christian Right "further into the national spotlight." Ronald Reagan was elected in the fall of 1980. Lutherans voted for him by 56 percent.[99] An important part of this electoral triumph was Reagan's use of the Religious Right—and their attempted use of his presidency.

The decade of the 1980s represents the reaction of neo-liberalism against 1960's vintage neo-corporatism. Margaret Thatcher led the reaction in Great Britain against what she called "corporatism," while in the U.S., Ronald Reagan called the enemies "big government" and "special interests." One facet of Reagan's neo-liberalism was to make the nonprofit sector more commercial by weakening partnerships with government.[100]

In his first year in office, 1981, Ronald Reagan oversaw his "signature policy" achievement--a "supply-side" tax cut. The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 (ERTA) had large rate cuts, breaks for high-income households, and "sharp reductions" in business taxes. ERTA created an increase in the percentage of people in poverty and a huge deficit.[101] The Omnibus Budget and Reconciliation Act (OBRA) of 1981 also cut $35 billion from the budget for 1982 or $140 billion through 1985.

The Office of Governmental Affairs organized a special initiative around the budget cuts.

> In April of that year [1982] the ALC, LCA and AELC [Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches] bishops and the LCUSA general secretary sent President Reagan and all 535 members of Congress the first of a series of statements on the budget. The statement said in part: "The drastic reduction in social spending proposed for the 1983 fiscal year represents a withdrawal from the national commitment to meet the fundamental needs of the poor and a shrinking of the 'social security net.' While programs serving the poor are being asked to bear a disproportionate burden in the drive to reduce the deficit, the administration is proposing

the largest peacetime increase ever in military spending. Given existing fiscal pressures, more nuclear and conventional arms would be bought at the expense of the programs assisting the poor. . . . We reject an analysis which asserts that the nation has no choice but to cut social spending. Cutbacks in basic nutrition, housing, medical and other social services would in both the short and long term undermine the ability of those at the margins of society to participate as full and responsible members."[102]

The TALC, LCA, and AELC bishops took similar action in 1984.

There was another aspect to the methodology that the OGA took to address the budget cuts. Charles Lutz, the director of the TALC's Office of Church in Society, formed in 1980, told colleagues:

> . . . we are being asked to join with the Lutheran Church in America and the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in a special effort to communicate with our memberships. The effort will be coordinated by the Office for Governmental Affairs of the Lutheran Council USA. In essence, the program is an attempt to share information with members on the implications of the fiscal 1983 federal budget (to be enacted by Congress in 1982) in relation to special concerns of the churches. . . . Members will be asked, if they share the concern, to communicate with their members of Congress at appropriate times during 1982.[103]

Lutz recommended TALC participation, noting "It will mark the first time the three churches have attempted seriously to undertake a mobilization of members for systematic, on-going advocacy with Congress."[104]

For his second term, Ronald Reagan wanted to see tax reform. In late 1985, he submitted proposals that became the basis for the Tax Reform Act of 1986. Welfare reform, therefore, became the big issue for the OGA in 1986 and 1987. It organized a special effort called "More Than Charity." The office conducted seven regional hearings, created a video that examined the key issues of welfare reform, developed a set of "Guiding Principles" based on Lutheran social statements, and presented testimony in both the House and Senate.

In 1983 prayer in public schools once again became an important issue, and the next year the OGA decided to oppose a constitutional amendment.[105] Charles Bergstrom joined 24 religious leaders in sending a letter opposing the proposed amendment because it was "'an

unnecessary intrusion into the delicate balance . . . between church and state in America. Spiritual nurturing is the job of the family and religious institutions, not the public schools.'"[106] Bergstrom, who sometimes referred to evangelicals and fundamentalists as "political fundamentalists" and who had debated Jerry Falwell on television, was influential in the defeat of the prayer amendment.

If the election of Ronald Reagan represented a neo-liberal reaction to the neo-corporate welfare state, the relation of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LCMS) to OGA represented a skirmish in the culture wars of the 1980s. The LCMS maintained a Washington office beginning in 1949 and worked with the NLC in various endeavors. The synod began cooperating in the work of LCUSA's Washington office in 1970.

During 1976-1977, the LCMS reduced its support for the work of the OGA. President J.A.O. Preus of the Missouri Synod told Charles Bergstrom that the synod withdrew because of publicity and comments emanating from LCUSA over the controversy surrounding the synod's St. Louis seminary.[107] The 1977 LCMS convention in Dallas voted to resume participation in Washington, but in February 1978, the synod's board of directors decided to study the costs involved and eventually asked to purchase OGA services.[108] LCUSA General Secretary George Harkins raised a question about the synod purchasing services when it was not paying its share of all of the programs in which it was cooperating.[109] What gave LCUSA and its other member churches greater pause was the fact that there was no guarantee that the LCMS would participate on a continuing basis.[110] Nevertheless, OGA began "monitoring government activity" for the LCMS on November 1, 1978.[111]

The LCMS convention in July 1979 adopted a resolution to continue its participation in OGA and, by another resolution, connected this participation to OGA seeking a Constitutional amendment related to abortion.[112] In May 1980, the synod's board of directors voted to request LCUSA's approval for additional services that included advocacy.

On September 15, President Jacob Preus wrote to Charles Bergstrom and said that the synod board of directors was reluctant to "go beyond the point of purchase of service"; advocacy related to abortion would incur additional cost. He also said that the board had not made a final decision on payment.[113]

Early in 1981, Missouri Synod Secretary Herbert Mueller wrote to Charles Bergstrom and told him that on February 26-28, the synod board

of directors had decided to withdraw the request to have OGA advocate on behalf of its stand on abortion.[114] Two days later, Mueller again wrote and said that the board of directors had decided to terminate the purchase of service arrangement with OGA. He gave no explanation.[115]

Terminating the arrangement did not end the synod's concerns about the work of the OGA. In December 1981 and again in February 1982, the synod's new president Ralph Bohlmann raised a question about the name of the synod being on stationery used by the OGA.[116] More was involved than stationery. A letter from Bohlmann to LCUSA General Secretary John Houck indicated:

> A news release from the Lutheran Council recently featured statements from the Reverend Charles Bergstrom claiming that President Reagan is at odds with mainline churches. I have written the White House to inform President Reagan and his administration that The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is not a part of the Lutheran Council's Office for Governmental Affairs and that we totally disassociate ourselves from the criticism of the Reagan administration expressed in the aforementioned release. . . . Although the Missouri Synod does not participate in the Office for Governmental Affairs, we nevertheless retain a strong interest in the reputation of the Council itself.[117]

At the time, Edwin Meese III, an LCMS layman, was counselor to President Reagan.

In August 1984, Bohlmann wrote to Houck yet again about the use of stationery carrying the name of the synod that went to Congress concerning the Reagan Administration's actions in Central America. Bohlmann said that the letter did not represent the synod nor LCUSA.[118] Houck wrote to Bohlmann to apologize, discussed the slip-up "thoroughly" with Washington staff, and asked Charles Bergstrom to send a letter to members of Congress explaining which LCUSA members used the services of the OGA.[119] In 1985, the Missouri Synod established its own Office of Governmental Information.[120]

In conclusion, over the course of the second half of the twentieth century Lutherans changed from quietists to activists in terms of federal government advocacy. The traditional liberal-individualist polity of the United States took on neo-corporatist similarity to northern European countries. Lutherans, unlike many other Protestants, weren't

uncomfortable with neo-corporatist government—it harked back to their roots. Lutherans had adapted to the liberal-individualist polity of America, had learned hard lessons about the cost of quietism, and were enticed and pushed by government to look, act, and speak collectively. An individualist approach to government wasn't totally rejected but it was no longer sufficient. Over two decades they re-thought the basis for their engagement. Lutherans, whose sense of justice was heightened by the rights revolution of the 1960s, had their church-state principle of institutional separation and functional interaction in place and were ready by the late 1970s to push back against government intrusion into the church's identity and mission, and in the 1980s to exercise actorhood on behalf of people in need.

Who were these Lutherans? Were they only denominational elites? Yes and no. Yes, they were elites: people involved in denominational and inter-Lutheran structures, national assemblies that adopted statements, and clergy. But, no, they also included a significant portion of people in the pews for whom there was a tension between the principle of government responsibility for the general welfare and their individual lifestyles and behavior.[121]

For a while, these Lutherans included the Missouri Synod. Even in 1976-77, when the synod withdrew from the OGA work, it was not over the office's work per se. Cracks developed in the way in which shared understandings of church-state relations translated into political activism. In 1982, after the LCMS board of directors terminated relations with the Washington office, it decided not to distribute copies of "The Nature of the Church and Its Relationship with Government," a document that grew out of extensive consultation. The seemingly minor misuse of stationery represented what split things apart: LCMS dissociation from LCUSA political activism.[122] The breaking of the relationship was a Lutheran incident in America's culture wars.

Endnotes

1 This essay is dedicated to the memory of the Rev. Russ Siler, pastor, attorney, advocate, and director of the Lutheran Office of Governmental Affairs, Washington, D.C. I wish to thank the staff of the ELCA Archives for assistance and Stanley Carlson-Thies for comments on a draft of this essay.

2 Lloyd Svendsbye, "The History of a Developing Social Responsibility Among Lutherans in America from 1930 to 1960, with Reference to the American Lutheran Church, the Augustana Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the United Lutheran Church in America." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. New York: Union Seminary, 1966, 65.

3 Conrad Bergendoff, "The Significance of the Lutheran Reformation of the Sixteenth Century for the Church of the Twentieth," The Augustana Quarterly, Vol. VIII, No. 2, April 1929, 137.

4 "Concern for Christian Social Action manifested by the 1948 District Conventions of the American Lutheran Church," 18. [ALC 33/3/1/2, Board for Christian Social Action, Executive Secretary Carl F. Reuss, 1946-1960.]

5 In his study of the National Lutheran Council, Frederick Wentz writes that when the council in its last years "began to develop a fresh voice on public issues," this shift in approach "reflected the whole of American Lutheran experience for five decades, what [Paul] Empie called 'full entrance into American life.'" Frederick K. Wentz, *Lutherans in Concert: The Story of the National Lutheran Council*, 1918-1966. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1968, 180.

6 Philip Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria*. Ed: Theodore G. Tappert. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964, 85.

7 William Lazareth wrote, "Since the Second World War, Lutherans have been forced to rethink the biblical and theological foundations of their social ethics." "Luther's 'Two Kingdoms' Ethic Reconsidered" in *Christian Social Ethics in a Changing World; an Ecumenical Theological Inquiry*. Ed: John Coleman Bennett. New York: Association Press, 1966, 119.

8 Franklin Sherman, "Church Social Pronouncements—Open Questions" in *To Speak or Not to Speak: Proposed Criteria for Public Statements on Violations of Human Rights*. Ed: Eckehart Lorenz. Geneva: Lutheran World Federation, 1984, 33. The subject of the re-interpretation of Two Kingdoms theology is not covered in the present essay but I hope to discuss this in future writing.

9 By 1955, E. Theodore Bachmann could write: "Today remedial [social] service is included in the term social work, and preventive [social] service is called social action. Both types of service are recognized as interrelated and mutually dependent in the broad field of social service, now frequently called social welfare. . . . the term social welfare denotes not only assistance but also security and justice." *Churches and Social Welfare*. Vol. I. Ed: E. Theodore Bachmann. National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1955, 117.

10 Minutes, United Lutheran Church in America Board of Social Missions, February 9, 1939, 7.

11 "Paragraphs from Princeton Conference," *The Lutheran*, March 1, 1944, 2.

12 "Aims and Purposes of the American Lutheran Church in Its Program of Christian Social Action," Report of the Board for Christian Social Action, Official Reports to the Tenth Convention of the American Lutheran Church, Fremont, OH, October 7-14, 1948, 157, 158.

13 "Concern for Christian Social Action manifested by the 1948 District Conventions of the American Lutheran Church," Part VI, District Resolutions on Christian Citizenship, 46-47.

14 Robert Booth Fowler, Allen D. Hertzke, Laura R. Olson, Kevin R. Den Dulk, "The Politics of Organized Religious Groups" in *Religion and Politics in America: Faith, Culture, and Strategic Choices*, 119. An earlier study by Hertzke said there were "sixteen major religious lobbies" in Washington in 1950. Herztke, *Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1988, 5.

15 Historically, councils are a type of collegiate body that rulers developed in order to take advantage of "the specialized knowledge of the expert" without thereby relinquishing control.

16 Robert E. Van Deusen, "Kaleidoscope: Three Decades of Change in Church and State," 1974, 4. Based on correspondence, I believe that Van Deusen's dating is off by over a year, that is, that the study actually took place in 1946 and 1947.

17 Ibid, 19.

18 Agenda, National Lutheran Council Division of Public Relations, September 12, 1952, 2.

19 Van Deusen, "Kaleidoscope," 5.

20 John R. Stumme, "The ELCA and Public Policy Advocacy: A Preparatory Study" in *The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and Public Policy Advocacy*. Ed: Roy Enquist. Chicago: ELCA Commission for Church in Society, 1990. Page 8.

21 Robert E. Van Deusen, Oral History Collection, Archives of Cooperative Lutheranism, Lutheran Council in the USA, October 18, 1977 and February 15, 1978. Page 5.

22 Ibid, 7.

23 The ULCA Board of American Missions held title to the Lutheran Church Center and this was transferred to the NLC in 1949 or 1950. Minutes, Executive Committee, National Lutheran Council, January 30, 1950, Agenda, 3. [NLC 1/3, Executive Committee Minutes, 1943-66, Box 1.] In 1953, the NLC sought to sell this property and purchase new property that would also house the Missouri Synod's Armed Services Commission. The original purchase fell through but Washington staff found a better option that would require less renovation. See Minutes, NLC Executive Committee, February 6, 1953, 6; Minutes NLC Executive Committee, March 25, 1953, 9; Agenda, NLC Executive Committee, October 1, 1953, 1; Minutes, NLC Executive Committee, October 1, 1953, 18.

24 American Lutheran Church, "Report of the Board for Christian Social Action," Exhibit, Floor Committee IV, 1950, "Christian Service," 3.

25 Agenda, NLC Executive Committee, November 29-30, 1951, Exhibit E, 3, 5-8, 35.

26 Minutes, NLC Division of Public Relations, September 24, 1951, 4.

27 Report of the Division of Public Relations to the Executive Committee of the NLC, September 17-19, 1952, Exhibit B, 11.

28 Ibid, 1, 11.

29 Ibid, 12.

30 Ibid.

31 Minutes, NLC Executive Committee, February 2, 1953, 3.

32 Ibid, 9.

33 Ibid, 9-10.

34 Van Deusen, "Kaleidoscope," 9.

35 Robert Zwier, "Coalition Strategies of Religious Interest Groups" in *Religion and Political Behavior in the United States*. Ed: Ted G. Jelen. New York: Praeger, 1989, 178, 179.

36 Ibid, 176.

37 Paul Pierson, "The Rise and Reconfiguration of Activist Government" in *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*. Ed: Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007, 22.

38 Van Deusen, "Kaleidoscope," 21.

39 Edgar M. Carlson, *The Church and the Public Conscience*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956, 27.

40 "Official Reports to the Fourteenth Convention of the American Lutheran Church, including actions of the Convention," Blue Island, Illinois, October 4-11 1956, 499-500.

41 Philippe C. Schmitter, "Still the Century of Corporatism?" *The Review of Politics*, 36 (1), 1974, 86, 96, 105, 107. I am using neo-corporatism to distinguish it from the older corporatism of European countries such as Sweden, Denmark, or Norway.

42 W. Richard Scott and John W. Meyer, "The Organization of Societal Sectors: Propositions and Early Evidence," in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Ed: Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, 121.

43 Pierson, "The Rise and Reconfiguration," 31.

44 Steven Rathgeb Smith and Michael Lipsky, *Nonprofits for Hire: The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998, 16.

45 Minutes, ULCA Twenty-second Biennial Convention, June 25-27, 1962, 189.

46 Hertzke, *Representing God in Washington*, 30.

47 Pierson, "The Rise and Reconfiguration . . . ," 29; Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, "American Politics in the Long Run," *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*. Ed: Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007, 3-4.

48 Jill Quadagno and Deana Rohlinger, "The Religious Factor in U.S. Welfare State Politics" in *Religion, Class Coalitions, and Welfare States*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 239.

49 Quadagno, "Theories of the Welfare State," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1987, 123.

50 Robert E. Van Deusen, "Church and State Relations are Changing," *The Lutheran*, February 2, 1966, 12, 13.

51 Over the course of the next two decades, there would be seven more major statements by TALC and LCA that addressed the role of government: LCA, 1966, "Poverty"; LCA, 1968, "The Church and Social Welfare"; LCA, 1978, "Aging and the Older Adult" and "Human Rights—Doing Justice in God's World"; TALC, 1979, "The Nature of the Church and Its Relationship with Government"; LCA, 1980, "Economic Justice: Stewardship of Creation in Human Community"; ALC, 1982, "Toward Fairness in Public Taxing and Spending."

52 Minutes, LCA Board of Social Ministry, April 20-22, 1965, 17. In preparation for this, the LCA Commission on Church and State Relations in a Pluralistic Society proposed a consultation on church and state relations with representatives from each Lutheran group. The consultation was held November 1964 in Minneapolis. Cf. Minutes, LCA Board of Social Ministry, November 17-19, 1964, Exhibit J, 10.

53 "A Prospectus for a Study on 'The Role of the Church in the Changing Social Order,'" Exhibit B, LCUSA Continuing Forum on Church and Society Minutes, 1966-72.

54 Minutes, Special Planning Committee for a Long-Range Study of Church-State Relations, Chicago, Illinois, January 25-26, 1967, 2, 3 [Lutheran Council in the USA Continuing Forum on Church and Society Minutes, 1966-72]

55 "Report of a Consultation 'Lutheran Views on the Theological Bases for the Relationship Between the Church and the Structures of Society," sponsored by LCUSA, June 11-12, 1968, 2.

56 Ibid, 3.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid, 4; emphasis added.

59 Ibid, 5.

60 Ibid.

61 G. S. Thompson, memorandum, "To: Whom it may concern," October 30, 1969, 1.

62 C. Thomas Spitz Jr., letter to Franklin Clark Fry, Fredrick Shiotz, Oliver Harms, and John Kovac, January 2, 1968, 3 [LCUSA 7/2, Division of Welfare Services, Subject Files, 1958-72, Box 5]

63 Theda Skocpol. "Government Activism and the Reorganization of American Civic Democracy" in *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*. Ed: Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007, 46. In 1959 there were almost 6000 groups, by 1970 there were 10,300, by 1980 there were nearly 15,000, and in 1990 there were over 22,000.

64 Lobbying by business corporations was also radically transformed by the 1974 Federal Elections Act and a decision by the Supreme Court (*Buckley v. Valeo*). The political action committee or PAC was born, allowing corporations to influence candidates for office.

65 Robert Zwier, "An Organizational Perspective on Religious Interest Groups" in *Christian Political Activism at the Crossroads*. Ed: William R. Stevenson, Jr. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 1994, 98, 110, 112.

66 Fowler, Hertzke et al, "The Politics of Organized Religious Groups," 138.

67 Ibid., 100, 109, 113.

68 Andrew Hartman, *A War for the Soul of America: A History of the Culture Wars*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2015, 37.

69 Ibid, 5, 19, 37, 51, 66, 71.

70 LCUSA Annual Meeting minutes, Office of Public Affairs and Government Relations report, 1974.

71 Walter Jensen, memorandum to George Harkins, July 7, 1978 [LCUSA 17/1, Box 2, OPAGR/OGA Administration, 1977-79]

72 Bergstrom, Oral History, 6.

73 Interview, August 6, 2010.

74 "Minutes," Seventh Biennial Convention, LCA, July 3-10, 1974, 700, 725-726.

75 "1974 Reports and Actions," Seventh General Convention of The American Lutheran Church, October 9-15, 1974, 675.

76 "Progress Report on DMNA Five Year Goals," Collateral Paper B, September 11-13, 1980, DMNA Management Committee Meeting Minutes, October 30-November 1, 1980. [LCA 400.3, 1979-81]

77 Minutes, 9th Annual Meeting, Lutheran Council in the USA, March 13-14, 1975, 36. Byron L. Schmid, "Report on Conference on American Lutheranism and Public Policy in the Third Century," October 23-25, 1975, Zion, Illinois. [LCUSA 9/3, Box 36, Division of Mission and Ministry, 1]

78 Naomi Frost, *Golden Visions, Broken Dreams: A Short History of LCUSA*. New York: Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., 1987, 50.

79 Minutes, LCUSA Annual Meeting, May 15-16, 1979, 42.

80 LCUSA was among the sponsors of a large conference in February 1981 that brought together representatives of a wide spectrum of organized religion in the U.S. The results of the 1979 LCUSA consultations were shared with the "Conference on Government Intervention in Religious Affairs." LCU 17/1, Box 4, File 2: "Conference on Government Intervention in Religious Affairs, Washington, D.C., February 11-13, 1981."

81 Ibid, 47.

82 Ibid, 50.

83 Ibid, 51.

84 Ibid, 52, 53.

85 Ibid, 54.

86 Frost, 52.

87 Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Winner-Take-All Politics; How Washington Made the Rich Richer—And Turned Its Back on the Middle Class*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010, 96-97.

88 William C. Berman, *America's Right Turn: From Nixon to Clinton*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, 65.

89 Berman, 45, 46.

90 Hertzke, *Representing God in Washington*, 29.

91 Charles V. Bergstrom, memorandum to John R. Houck, James R. Crumley, Jr., David W. Preus, and William H. Kohn, February 26, 1980.

92 John R. Houck, letter to all ALC, AELC, LCA pastors; April 17, 1980. [LCUSA 17/1, OPAGR/OGA Administrative Files, 1966-87, Box 7, File: "Fundamentalism. . . ."]

93 Ibid.

94 Statement, LCUSA 17/1, OPAGR/OGA, Administrative Files, 1966-87, Box 7; "Fundamentalism—Washington for Jesus," 1980-81, 1.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid, 1, 2.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid, 3.

99 A. James Reichley, *Religion in American Public Life*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985, 273. In 1984, Lutherans voted for Ronald Reagan by 66 percent. Ibid., 275.

100 Lester M. Salamon, *Partners in Public Service*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, 10.

101 Berman, 106. In 1981—4.9 percent were at .50 poverty level, 14 percent at 1.00 poverty level, 24.7 percent were at 1.5 poverty level, 35.7 percent at 2.0 poverty level; 1983—5.9 percent were at .50 poverty level, 15.2 percent were at 1.0 poverty level, 25.6 percent were at 1.5 poverty level, and 36.1 percent were at 2.0 poverty level. Robert Wuthnow, *Saving America? Faith-Based Services and the Future of Civil Society*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004, 178.

102 Frost, 53. The Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches was formed in 1976 of moderates who left The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

103 Charles Lutz, "Report of the Director to the Standing Committee, Office of Church in Society, TALC, in preparation for meeting of 12-13 March 1982, TALC National Offices, Minneapolis, Minnesota," 5-6; TALC Office of Church in Society Standing Committee Minutes and Agenda, 1981-1987 [Accession #88-746, Box 1, file for March 12-13, 1982]

104 Ibid.

105 Charles V. Bergstrom, memorandum to David Preus, James Crumley, William Kohn, John Houck, July 26, 1984, 2. [LCUSA 17/1, OPAGR/OGA; Administrative Files, 1966-87, "Fundamentalism"] School prayer was "rendered unconstitutional" by the Supreme Court in *Engel v. Vitale* in 1962. OGA had also worked against a prayer amendment in 1980.

106 Frost, ibid.

107 Bergstrom, memorandum, July 26, 1984, 5.

108 John Schuelke, letter to Charles Bergstrom, February 16, 1978.

109 George Harkins, letter to Herbert Mueller, February 22, 1978.

110 John Schuelke, letter to George Harkins, August 8, 1978.

111 George Harkins, letter to J.A.O. Preus, 3 November 1978.

112 Herbert Mueller, letter to Charles Bergstrom, June 3, 1980.

113 J.A.O. Preus, letter to Charles Bergstrom, September 15, 1980.

114 Herbert Mueller, letter to Charles Bergstrom, March 2, 1981.

115 Herbert Mueller, letter to Charles Bergstrom, March 4, 1981.

116 Ralph Bohlmann, letter to John Houck, December 22, 1981.

117 Ralph Bohlmann, letter to John Houck, September 20, 1983.

118 Ralph Bohlmann, letter to John Houck, August 13, 1984.

119 John Houck, letter to Ralph Bohlmann, September 10, 1984.

120 "Administrative History," LCU 17, Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., Office of Public Affairs and Governmental Relations/Office for Governmental Affairs, 2 [LCUSA Book 3, RG 14]

121 This conclusion is based on a bicentennial survey conducted by the LCA in 1974. See "A Survey: Your Thoughts on the Bicentennial," Consulting Committee on the Bicentenary of the United States, LCA, October 1974. See responses to question 26, p. 11, and questions 16 and 24, p. 24.

122 Washington office staffing was bare bones and LCMS' withdrawal from support may have contributed, ironically, to less attention to the printing and usage of stationery.

MISSOURI IN GUATEMALA

6

Robert Gussick, Jacobo Arbenz, and the 1954 Coup[1]

RICHARD M. CHAPMAN

Not long after the CIA-engineered coup of 1954 that toppled Guatemala's elected president, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, correspondence from pioneer LC-MS missionary to the country, Robert F. Gussick, was quoted in a news brief printed in the *Lutheran Witness*. Sizing up the event's significance, Gussick observed:

> Again the work of "binding up the broken-hearted" goes on as before, only with renewed effort to heal the scars that are sad reminders of the sacrifices that had to be made to free Guatemala from the shackles of atheistic communism.[2]

Gussick's after-the-fact pronouncement ostensibly positioned him as an opponent of Arbenz's government. Indeed, one might reasonably conclude—incorrectly—that he had supported the coup removing Arbenz from power in this pivotal episode of the early Cold War. I argue that the story is far more complicated than Gussick's brief statement makes things out to appear. LC-MS missionaries in Guatemala, led by Gussick, had developed a positive and constructive relationship with the governments of both Juan José Arévalo and Arbenz during Guatemala's decade of political spring beginning in 1944. Moreover, Gussick considered their social and political programs salutary to marginal Guatemalans without political voice—and ultimately beneficial to the promulgation of the gospel in that country. If Gussick really did mean to disavow the Arbenz government as a political impediment to Christian advance in Guatemala, evidence indicates that he did so out of political expedience and not from interior conviction. Untangling Gussick's nuanced position

requires, first, a review of key reforms of the Guatemalan political opening; second, understanding of the timing and circumstances surrounding the coming of LC-MS missionaries to Guatemala; explication, next, of how Gussick thoughtfully aligned the work of the LC-MS with Guatemalan reform; and finally, examination of how the coup effectively blind-sided Gussick, instantly turning social capital achieved with the government in power into a political liability.

Guatemala's Spring: 1944-1954

Guatemala entered a critical phase of national reorganization in the late nineteenth century centered on basic reform of economic relations of land and labor, enabling modernization of the country's coffee industry. A series of liberal presidents, beginning with Justo Rufino Barrios, in 1873, enacted policies that freed Indian labor for capitalist exploitation, expanded landholdings of coffee growers, and opened the door for foreign investments led by businesses that became the United Fruit Company (UFCO). Barrios personally invited Presbyterians in 1880 to enter the country as missionaries, viewing them as potential religious partners in the country's liberalization. His overture became part of a wider process by which Guatemalan leaders cozied up to the United States, culminating with the rule of dictator Jorge Ubico (1931-1944), who despite his predilection for fascism, fell in line quickly with the United States after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Favored deals for United Fruit in terms of tax breaks, port and trade fees, and extensive land acquisitions reflected this economic-political partnership. Most Guatemalans did not benefit from these arrangements and had little access to political influence, indigenous peoples least of all.

Dramatic change would follow in 1944, first when popular protests led by public teachers forced Ubico's resignation. And then when a junior officers' revolt, strongly nationalist in tone and led by younger men indignant over the country's second-class status and lack of integration, removed Ubico's successor, General Federico Ponce, and brought the political establishment to its knees. The coup led to a new constitution and the election of Juan José Arévalo as president in 1945 in the country's first ever open elections. A philosophy professor who had been teaching at the University of Córdoba in Argentina, Arévalo returned home to great popular fanfare. A fervent admirer of FDR, Arévalo dubbed his program "spiritual socialism." His policy departures were hardly radical, except perhaps by Guatemalan standards. He spearheaded establishment

of basic social welfare provisions and the country's first labor code, much to the annoyance of UFCO, whose workers fell under its provisions. In 1949, the company complained more volubly when Guatemala's Congress passed a Law of Forced Rental, a modest land reform measure urged by Arévalo that required large landowners to make fallowed lands available to peasants for rental.[3]

Of greater concern to the US government was Arévalo's nationalistic designs for a Caribbean coalition of independent democratic states. Alongside Costa Rica, he looked to liberate isthmian neighbors like El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua from long-time dictatorships and to foment democratic change in Caribbean islands from Cuba to Grenada. Anastasio "Tacho" Somoza, Nicaragua's strongman, was particularly aggravated by Arévalo's Caribbean diplomacy and cried foul repeatedly to his US promotors.

Arévalo served out his term, accompanied by growing political intrigue, to be followed in office by Jacobo Arbenz, a senior military officer, former professor at the prestigious Escuela Politécnica, and Arévalo's minister of defense. Arbenz won the presidency in the scheduled elections of November, 1950, taking office in early 1951. More radical than his predecessor, Arbenz startled many when he promoted a program of land reform in order to integrate the nation's majority Indian population into the agricultural economy. Premised on the notion that the nation was held back by monopoly land control, the program indemnified owners for lands deemed underutilized, based on tax declarations of their value, and began their distribution to peasant cultivators in June, 1952.

Decree 900 was accompanied by provision of credits and technical assistance to ensure its success, but the agrarian program was finally a major factor in Arbenz's demise. Officials, owners, and legal counsel for United Fruit, many like the Dulles brothers—secretary of state John Foster, and CIA director Allen—in strategic positions of power and influence, importuned the US government to come to the rescue—and it eventually did so in concert with Árbenz's internal enemies: the Catholic hierarchy, the coffee barons, and exiled military officers, mercenaries, and their camp followers.[4]

Behind the scenes the president and his Salvadoran wife, María, were deeply absorbed in Marxian ideas and literature by the time Arbenz became president in March 1951. Members of the *Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo* (PGT), the Guatemalan labor party, the nation's communist

party, were his closest advisers as president—a political inner circle—though he prudently avoided formal affiliation with the PGT until several years after the coup, almost certainly to avoid testing the military's loyalty.[5] If Arbenz discovered in Marxian political theory the best answers to Guatemala's neo-colonial situation, he nonetheless held that a communist future was decades off; that a significant period of capitalist development was necessary before such would even be thinkable. Land reform and peasant integration followed from this assumption, but proved in the end to be Arbenz's undoing. Leading historian of the event, Piero Gleijeses, finally concludes that the coup was less a conspiracy (though it was highly secretive) than a decision reached by top officials, stoked by communist fears, that Arbenz's government posed a genuine threat to broad regional US interests. Ironically perhaps, the LC-MS welcomed the opportunity to parlay with Guatemala's reformist government shortly after the Second World War.

Missouri Comes to Guatemala

Latin America emerged very slowly as an active mission field for Lutherans. Prior to the war, work in the region focused almost exclusively on servicing of churches, seminaries, and schools in German Lutheran ethnic enclaves: work among Spanish, Portuguese, and Indian language groups paralyzed by the notion that they were already Christianized through the impress of Iberian colonization and the Roman church. There were exceptions to this general rule. Within the Missouri Synod, Spanish-language work in its California and Texas districts had begun earlier in the century, and a missionary presence in Mexico dated from the late 1930s.[6] Literature like *Noticiero de la Fe*, the Spanish version of the *Lutheran Witness*, and a Brownsville book concern, *Librería Evangélica Luterana*, not to mention the radio program, *Christ for the Nations*, sowed the word and spread the Lutheran name in Latin America in advance of missionary boots on the ground.

Out of the blue, as World War II was closing, the Missouri church received several entreaties from groups in Guatemala interested in associating themselves with the Lutheran faith or in receiving the services of Lutheran clergy. They included a group of Guatemalan Germans in Guatemala City who had been interned as POWs in the United States during the war (served previously in Guatemala by Lutheran pastors under an arrangement with the German Evangelical Church, the so-called *Aussenamt*, and then by a Lutheran clergyman in North Dakota

during their wartime detention); a group residing in the lowland city of Zacapa missionized by California Quakers who now wished to become Lutheran; and two different smaller communities in the port city of Puerto Barrios, one English-speaking, Anglican, and Afro-Caribbean, the other *ladino*, both of whom apparently knew of the Lutherans through contact with the Zacapans.[7] Zacapa lay midway on the important rail link built by United Fruit between Guatemala City and Puerto Barrios on the Caribbean coast.

Responding to these requests, LC-MS missionary to Mexico, Benjamin Pankow, accompanied by assistant Secretary of Missions, Henry A. Mayer, made a tour of Central America during several weeks in 1946, visiting these and other communities in the region. Pankow made a follow-up visit the next year. Impressed especially with the passion, sincerity, and enthusiasm exhibited in Zacapa and Puerto Barrios, the LC-MS appointed its first missionaries, Robert Francis and Ruth Yunghans Gussick, to serve in Guatemala in the late summer, 1947.[8] Reforms of the Guatemalan spring were already well underway at the moment of their arrival.

Gussick, Missouri, and the Guatemalan Reform

Robert Gussick came of age during a period when the Missouri Synod was moving closer to the American religious mainstream. An ethnic church from its founding in 1847 the LC-MS was now breaking free of its German-American cultural shell in response to generational change, movement of members to urban places, and defensive distancing brought on by two world wars fought primarily against the German state.[9] Theologically conservative and prone towards ecclesiastical exclusivity and doctrinal purity, the Missouri Synod slowly gravitated towards greater inter-church cooperation, socio-political awareness, and doctrinal openness as the church and its leadership adapted to the post-war cultural mainstream. Soon after the Second World War forty-four Missouri leaders gathered in Chicago, promulgating a *Statement* designed to usher their church "into the twentieth century." During the same period, the Church's Spanish language ministry grew in prominence both in Mexico and along the borderlands of Texas and California.[10]

If the sudden emergence of Guatemala as a mission field came somewhat unexpectedly, Gussick's appointment there might have been predicted. Hailing from Milwaukee, Gussick completed his undergraduate studies there at Concordia College, in 1937, before attending St. Louis's Concordia Seminary, graduating in 1941. Gussick began

Spanish-language study on his own as a seminarian, taking non-credit classes with other students who were exploring calls to serve Spanish-speaking communities. Following graduation Gussick spent a year as pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, a Spanish-language congregation in San Antonio, TX. He and Ruth Marie Yunghans were married there in April, 1942. Following ordination at St. Martin Lutheran Church that fall in Chilton, Wisconsin, Gussick remained there as he commenced a pastorate where he fostered contacts with Mexican migrant farm workers, likely *braceros*, and kept up his language skills.[11] As the LC-MS moved to establish mission work in Guatemala in 1947, Gussick appeared primed for the job, accepting appointment there with alacrity and enthusiasm.

Gussick had sole direction of the mission field in Guatemala from his appointment until 1950 when additional missionaries were assigned to the country. Seminary interns supported him and his wife Ruth in the work before that time but they were clearly junior partners whom Gussick supervised. Home for a brief furlough to recover from a bout of malaria in 1950, Gussick captured his mission outlook in a pithy statement picked up by a writer for the *Milwaukee Journal*. "The people are going to build their own Lutheran church."[12] Here Gussick anticipated his "three selves" mission philosophy of a church—self-governed, self-supported, and self-propagated—that would crystallize in a sabbatical study he completed upon departure from Guatemala in 1954.[13] Time and again Gussick showed willingness to enlist lay leaders who showed dedication and experience despite having limited training or a less-than-perfect grasp of Lutheran teachings. In 1949, Gussick declared that "We hardly associate the name Lutheran with our work, as we are only anxious to make and keep people *Christian*."[14] Heavily influenced by the thinking of John Ritchie, Presbyterian missionary to Peru,[15] Gussick met resistance from fellow missionaries concerned that his approach lacked confessional rigor, represented a watered-down Lutheranism, and not least, threatened a reduced role for them. By 1957, however, Gussick had substantially won over workers in the field as well as mission executives at home, though that gets ahead of the story.

Learning firsthand in the field, Gussick made his share of errors and misjudgments. In his first years in Guatemala he imagined that an essential "Latin temperament" would quickly and easily embrace the "meaningful and beautiful historic Lutheran liturgy."[16] Like earlier evangelical missions, Missouri workers instigated social ministry as a foundational part of mission outreach, highlighted by literacy and

educational work alongside Sunday Schools, community presentations, and confirmation classes. Education seemed a cure-all even though its promise of development and social change was always dependent on larger economic, political, and cultural forces. Here Gussick and his colleagues brought the latest in information and image technologies presented efficiently to mass audiences—probably guilty of grand expectations that fundamental change could simply be imported wholesale. Portaging multiple projector technologies powered by Jeep-generator—slide, film strip, opaque, and 16 mm. with sound and motion—to outlying villages, Gussick gleamed, "We shall be able to travel to more places, to have bigger audiences, to hold their attention indefinitely, and to know that they will come back."[17]

Whatever the shortcomings of Missouri's mission enterprise, it found favor in the eyes of Guatemala's reform government. Following the initial reconnaissance trip, assistant secretary for missions, Henry A. Mayer, spoke expectantly:

> The present government of Guatemala seems very favorably inclined to Protestant mission endeavors. We were well received in the various government offices and were given the assurance that absolute separation of Church and State exists in Guatemala. Pastors and religious teachers can enter the country without difficulty.

Mayer then burst forth with a zeal worthy of Pentecost: "Can there be any doubt that the Lord wants us to enter this new mission field [?]."[18]

Mayer was not blowing his trumpet in vain, but he could not have foreseen the favoritism his fledglings would experience. Virginia Garrard-Burnett has found in research of government documents in Guatemala's foreign office that Missouri missionaries were expedited in their applications for visas to enter the country when a surge of nationalism seemed to blockade the passage of other U.S. missionaries.[19] Educator and Missouri missionary Carl Bretscher observed in 1952 that he had attended a mission's conference in Mexico, and then made an "unexpected visit" stateside, a trip that extended for a month-and-a-half "[due] to the heartfelt generosity of the Guatemalan government."[20] In 1947, during one of his visits to Puerto Barrios, Benjamin Pankow had the opportunity to hear Guatemalan president Arévalo speak, to meet him, and to present him a copy of a Lutheran catechism—in Spanish no doubt. The president, as far as we know, graciously received it.[21]

Guatemalan nationalism grew more strident under Arbenz but LC-MS workers remained most-favored missionaries in the country. Their status must be viewed with some surprise in light of the church's German heritage and its work with German *guatemaltecos* in the capital city. It may be that the Guatemalan government played a strategic game of advancing its nationalist agenda at the expense of most North American missionary organizations while favoring a few. Some of the missionary agencies tried to circumvent policy by sneaking religious workers into the country on tourist visas, angering authorities, and then suffered the consequences.[22] Lutherans played by the rules. Moreover, their numbers were small and they were relative newcomers. Nor did the Lutherans conduct services in German in Guatemala City following the war, respecting national language policy rather than risk provoking the ire of Arbenz who remained suspicious of the country's German population.

More fundamentally the LC-MS's social and educational work fit well the reforms that presidents Arévalo and Arbenz were seeking to implement to modernize Guatemalan society. As Gussick observed a few months prior to the coup, theirs was "a situation that calls for Christian action," such that "the Lutheran mission is developing a program that attempts to touch the basic needs of the people."[23] Gussick himself was dubious about the value of schools to grow the church in foreign lands, but by the middle 1950s in Puerto Barrios and Zacapa, hundreds of local children were attending schools sponsored by the Lutheran missionaries. Zacapa's Christian day school, *El Colegio El Divino Salvador*, was founded in 1953. Seventy students attended classes taught by three national instructors, only the religion classes being administered by Lutheran missionary teachers as per government educational policy.[24] In Puerto Barrios the mission school had students attending from both *ladino* and Afro-Caribbean backgrounds, reflecting the cultural make-up of the Lutherans' two pioneer churches there.[25] Illiteracy was rampant in Guatemala among both *ladino* and indigenous populations. Lutheran schools if very small in the larger picture augmented programs of basic education promoted first by Arévalo and then by his successor, Arbenz.

Deeply concerned to reach Guatemala's majority Indian population, Gussick's passion for indigenous peoples overlapped with president Arbenz's aim of integrating them into the national polity. Gussick depicted Guatemala's large indigenous communities as "the greatest mission challenge to the Church in Central America today!"[26] The country's *indios*

persistently tormented him, an utterly lost and burdened people, bereft of life's comforts, condemned to a false and unrequited hope. Seeing them "trudging down modern paved highways, laden [with market produce], one's heart cannot but bleed for them." Most of all they knew not true religion:

> Study them as they repeat monotonous rituals before the incense-grimed statues that crowd the churches which the conquerors left for them! See them make their offerings of corn, of candles, of flower petals! Then you will know that Christian joy has never touched their hearts.[27]

An opportune moment to act occurred in 1951 when a Guatemalan physician with medical training in the United States, Dr. Elena Trejo de Carstens, who had just opened a make-shift health center in Antigua, the old colonial capital city, approached the Lutherans about forming a partnership to improve upon the work she had initiated.[28] Gussick seized the day, and the relationship was cemented when the Mission Board agreed to purchase an old hotel to serve as medical headquarters. Gussick's excitement grew from his observation of poor health conditions, malnutrition and malaria, in the countryside, but was further enhanced because Trejo, educated by Protestant missionaries, had indigenous lineage and connections with the Cakchiquel people in Antigua's environs.[29] The hospital signified for Gussick that "the bodily ills of the Indians will receive [Trejo's loving care] while their souls will be brought under the influence of the Great Physician . . ."[30]

Agricultural assistance marked another significant conjuncture between the political reforms of the Guatemalan Spring and the work of the Lutheran missionaries. The arrival of seminarian Kenneth Mahler in 1950, one of many student vicars who bolstered the work in Central America over time, spelled an agricultural departure in the mission's evolving social engagement. A native of North Dakota, Mahler reflected the emergent concern for Latin American missions apparent among Missouri seminarians. An advanced student at the denomination's flagship divinity school in St. Louis, Mahler followed a career that in many respects mirrored Gussick's. Budding an early interest in Spanish language ministry, Mahler joined the Spanish club and took language classes at the seminary from an advanced student and fellow North Dakotan who had served an internship in the borderlands of the Rio Grande Valley. Having already served a required vicarage, Mahler accepted another

that grew his passion for the Latin American field. Traveling by jeep from the United States to Guatemala in the company of Gussick, the two became well-acquainted during their six-week sojourn together. Once in Guatemala Mahler began to work with villagers in the area around Zacapa to raise agricultural yields. Partnered with the newly-elected Arbenz government's ministry of agriculture, improved chicken stocks were introduced along with higher quality seeds to boost productivity, incomes, and nutritional intake.[31]

Mahler's term in Zacapa being impermanent, the missionaries soon after assigned a full-time specialist, Reuben Tafelmeyer, to spearhead the agricultural program. Such assistance, though small, was duplicated elsewhere as part of Lutheran efforts in the countryside. In Guatemala marginal agricultural improvements had a chance to make an appreciable difference for campesinos, especially when combined with the government's program of land reform rolled out in June 1952.[32] Speaking the language of integral mission, Gussick identified the elemental significance of this work to promote agricultural change: "souls burning with love for Christ will live in healthier bodies."[33]

In all of these ways Missouri in Guatemala undergirded the changes set in motion by the country's democratic opening. Gussick's support for the Arbenz government is probably stated most clearly in an article he published in February, 1954, only a few months before the coup that short-circuited Guatemala's political experiment of democratic reform. Challenging the U.S. mainstream media and assuring readers at home that there was no "hammer and sickle" back of Guatemala's "banana curtain," Gussick declared that events in the country marked a "day of reckoning" long overdue in a neo-colonial economy that perennially favored foreign interests over native workers. "What is transpiring in Guatemala is part of a greater awakening . . . evident throughout this area of the western hemisphere."[34] The *Reforma Agraria*, Gussick intoned, is an "attempt to put the Indian back on the land through government edict." Decree 900 had generated "conflict with the large coffee plantation owners, as well as with the U.S. controlled U.F.C.O. with its vast banana enterprises," all of which "serves a meaty dish for front page fare."[35] Gussick would have none of the red scare tactics growing ominously in the press and State Department.

Christoph Jahnel indicates that Gussick's support of Arbenz was no secret among fellow workers in the field, and that he deplored the

president's overthrow.[36] The Guatemalan Revolution had moved the country towards a more open political system, steered a foreign policy independent of the United States, and took determined steps to improve the festering socioeconomic conditions of Guatemalan rural society. That Gussick found such steps praiseworthy should provoke little wonder. He was well aware of Guatemala's stark inequalities, the privileges of the landowning classes and urban elite, domination of US economic interests, and harsh control of the country's peasants and agricultural workers.

Long before the fateful days of June, 1954, Robert and Ruth Gussick and other LC-MS appointees in Guatemala, had grown familiar with political intrigue. Political opposition, take-over attempts, and coup threats swirled vertiginously around the country's reform governments. Literally hundreds of conspiracies unsettled the Arévalo government, the most significant taking place in July, 1949, following the death of Colonel Francisco Arana, Arévalo's military chief of staff. Arana had jockeyed aggressively to become presidential successor, but in the end Arévalo outmaneuvered him. Arana's death in a firefight outside the capital, however, was received by his followers as a signal to revolt.[37]

When fighting broke out, the Gussicks were living in La Aurora, a Guatemala City barrio, along with their young daughter, Carol Ann.[38] Inconveniently, Ruth Marie's parents also happened to be paying them a visit at the time. A full-scale bombardment rocked the National Palace in the central plaza commencing at eight the evening of August 17. The pounding continued intermittently the whole night long, "the roar of cannon, shells bursting, planes diving, machine guns spitting, rifles cracking, and anti-aircraft guns firing" repeatedly shaking the whole house and its occupants. It was a night to remember—or forget—for the Gussicks, one that Ruth said "could not end soon enough."[39] Combat reached surcease only at nine the morning of August 18, Ruth reported, presenting a stitch of "time to pull our shattered nerves together after a night under barrage without sleep."[40]

The Gussicks had discovered abruptly that being on good terms with the government was no guarantee that they or their coworkers would remain out of harm's way. Already in December the year prior, Theodore Kuehn, one of the first vicars in Guatemala, was incarcerated by authorities in Puerto Barrios. Arriving to the port city muddy and disheveled after a hard day's work helping villagers build a thatch chapel in the

countryside nearby, Kuehn struck local police as a suspicious character. His appearance by happenstance coincided with the discovery of a cache of weapons in the port amidst the many political intrigues that dogged the Arévalo government. Kuehn was detained. Tensions were already high in this core operating region of the United Fruit Company, which had been locked in a protracted labor dispute with its workers and the Arévalo government. Guatemala's new national labor code (1947) imposed higher wages and improved workplace conditions on *la bananera* as UFCO was known locally. The company felt it was being singled out unfairly and protested. Police authorities were thus on their guard and in all likelihood jittery. An official of UFCO who knew Kuehn intervened successfully on his behalf, securing the seminarian's release but not before he had spent thirty-three hours behind bars.[41] Much greater heartache, political intrigue, and violence awaited.

1954

The blow that finally ended Guatemala's political thaw came in mid-June, 1954, courtesy of the CIA's Operation Fortune, along with backing of Nicaragua's Somoza, and participation of disgruntled mercenaries and opportunists behind Carlos Castillo Armas, a Guatemalan colonel who-would-be-president and the CIA's darling to lead the country back into the arms of U.S. hegemony. The narrative of the coup's unwinding is equal parts tragic and comical. It was over in less than a fortnight. For a brief time Arbenz held out, seeking to rally the people, but in the end the nation's military forced the president's hand by withdrawing its support. With no options left to him, Arbenz fled into exile.

Though the stand-off continued for ten days, the Gussicks witnessed events this time from the relative safety of Antigua. Missionaries in Zacapa, however, found themselves at the epicenter of fighting since Castillo Armas's troops had staged their invasion from northern Honduras proximate to Zacapa, and targeted the city's strategic location on route to the capital. Three LC-MS missionary families stationed in the city—Kempff, Bretscher, and Tafelmeyer—thus found themselves directly in harm's way. Along with a native teacher at the Lutheran school and her four children, they took the last train out of Zacapa, only to suffer aircraft assaults. Two of the missionaries sustained injury. Reuben Tafelmeyer, the agricultural specialist, lacerated a leg while scrambling under barbed wire to safety when the strafing began. Elaine Bretscher suffered a shrapnel wound to her left arm while protecting her son,

Jimmy, lying prone beside the rail bed during a second strafing run. They escaped with their lives, untold fright, and minor wounds, but three others on board were killed in the attacks. Who knew at the time that the planes threatening their lives were property of the US Air Force, camouflaged to disguise their identity and deployed to cover the invasion and to ensure its success?[42]

The shaken missionaries fortunately found a handrail car, which they rode to a neighboring town, and the following day boarded another train that carried them to the outskirts of the capital. They were met there after dark by Karl Boer, a friend of the community, and fellow missionary, Robert Hoeferkamp. Together they immediately journeyed onwards in two automobiles, chauffeured heroically by Boer in an official-looking black sedan, but followed by Hoeferkamp in "his old green Chevy." Boer's daring-do in risking to run a roadblock, rather than facing possible detention in the capital, under curfew at the time and beset by political unrest, brought the group to the relative safety and remove of Antigua, where they were soothed and comforted by Ruth Gussick's winning hospitality.[43] The missionaries were able to return to Zacapa several days following the coup to resume their work.

In other respects the landscape had permanently changed. Overthrow of the Arbenz government directly called into question important elements of the Lutheran project in the country. Soon after the coup the newly imposed government went after Dr. Carstens and her husband, Augusto, on account of their socialist politics, casting a long political shadow over the clinic in Antigua.[44] The Carstens fled to safety, effectively terminating the Lutheran medical program there. Efforts to restart the clinic would face persistent government red tape. A decade would pass before a comparable medical program reopened.

Robert and Ruth Gussick, meanwhile, left Guatemala for a year's furlough two months after the Guatemalan coup. The furlough had been pre-arranged to provide Gussick dedicated time to develop a formal mission policy for the work in Central America.[45] Though their missionary colleagues were eager that the Gussicks return to Guatemala post-furlough, they would never again serve as permanent missionaries in the country.[46] Was Gussick's favor for the Arbenz government perhaps at issue, now out of step with the direction of policymakers and opinion shapers in the United States, and possibly a source of embarrassment for the Board for Missions in North and South America? It is difficult to say

with certainty.[47] What rises to the surface is not Guatemalan politics per se so much as contention over mission field policy, strategy, and priority. The Gussicks were due for a sabbatical leave, but beyond restoration, its purpose was expressly to provide Robert Gussick, senior worker in the field, opportunity to work through such thorny and controversial matters, to provide a blueprint for consideration, and to chart the future. Gussick's study, completed in January, 1955, met with vigorous debate at a gathering of mission executives and missionaries in May and then again in New Orleans in late October, where Gussick was also present to join deliberations. Stressing measures for the growth of an independent national church, Gussick encountered some resistance regarding church structure, education of church leadership, and the role of the missionaries, but his policy was largely adopted in 1957.[48]

* * *

What then shall we make of Gussick's assertion about breaking "the shackles of atheistic communism" in Guatemala? One might wish to accept it at face value as an honest declaration that, if such was the commitment of a government—western missionaries had only recently been forced from mainland China—the propagation of the gospel could not easily move forward.[49] But Gussick's statement may be better understood against the combined backdrop of Cold War tensions, the fraught missionary situation in Guatemala, and the ideological outlook of the LC-MS church at the time. This, coupled with the media barrage about the political commitments of the enigmatic Arbenz in the ramping up to the coup—*was he a communist, or wasn't he?* The coup's outcome now seemed to provide a convenient answer to that question, even if the president was more Marxian than Marxist, but that a meaningless distinction in any case for policy-makers and pundits in the United States. It was now politic for Gussick to distance himself from the Arbenz government. Declaring the coup to be a boon for Missouri's work in the country achieved this end while also affirming unity of purpose (and politics) with the anti-communism of both the United States government and the home church. Gussick's statement may thus be interpreted as a retrospective one that allowed him, gracefully, to save face. He simply had not known.

Still, and yet, Gussick's mission policy formulation of 1954-1955 embodied some of the core spirit of Guatemala's remarkable political

opening. Gussick spoke forcefully and favorably of a truly national church and the prudence and wisdom that missionaries, being outsiders, respect and honor nationalist movements and aspirations as good politics, good anthropology, and good church-planting. As striking, Gussick repudiated outreach focused on national bourgeois elites as short-sighted and suspect, alongside the tendency to follow the ecclesiastical model of "one man, one parish" as found in the United States. In these respects Gussick anticipated the posture of political accompaniment and the practices of a liberationist gospel, precisely where the Lutheran church in Central America was headed in the generation to come.

Endnotes

1 The author is grateful for research support through the sabbatical program at Concordia College, Moorhead, and particularly for special funding through the generosity of Darlene Ross. Thanks also go to Mark Bliese, research assistant, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri, for gracious and efficient help, and to the library staff of Concordia University, St. Paul, Minnesota, in particular, Karen Brunner, Megan Johnson-Saylor, and Nathan Rinne.

2 See "SYNOD'S MISSIONARIES HAD ANXIOUS DAYS DURING RECENT GUATEMALAN REVOLUTION," photo and story in *Lutheran Witness* LXXIII, no. 16 (August 3, 1954), 14.

3 Here and below I rely heavily upon Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991). See also Stephen C. Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1982).N.J.","source":"Open WorldCat","event-place":"Princeton, N.J.","abstract":"The most thorough account yet available of a revolution that saw the first true agrarian reform in Central America, this book is also a penetrating analysis of the tragic destruction of that revolution. In no other Central American country was U.S. intervention so decisive and so ruinous, charges Piero Gleijeses. Yet he shows that the intervention can be blamed on no single \"convenient villain.\" \"Extensively researched and written with conviction and passion, this study analyzes the history and downfall of what seems in retrospect to have been Guatemala's best government, the short-lived regime of Jacobo Arbenz, overthrown in 1954, by a CIA-orchestrated coup.\"--Foreign Affairs \"Piero Gleijeses offers a historical road map that may serve as a guide for future generations. ... [Readers] will come away with an understanding of the foundation of a great historical tragedy.\"--Saul Landau, The Progressive \"[Gleijeses's] academic rigor does not prevent him from creating an accessible, lucid, almost journalistic account of an episode whose tragic consequences still reverberate.\"--Paul Kantz, Commonweal.","ISBN":"978-0-691-07817-5","shortTitle":"Shattered hope","language":"English","author":[{"family":"Gleijeses","given":"Piero"}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["1991"]]},"label":"page"},{"id":154,"uris":["http://zotero.org/users/2557206/items/UB6FXKJ2"],"uri":["http://zotero.org/users/2557206/items/UB6FXKJ2"],"itemData":{"id":154,"type":"book","title":"Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala","publisher":"Doubleday","publisher-place":"Garden City, N.Y.","source":"Open WorldCat","event-place":"Garden City, N.Y.","ISBN":"978-0-385-14861-0","note":"OCLC: 7652744","shortTitle":"Bitter

Fruit","language":"English","author":[{"family":"Schlesinger","given":"Stephen C"},{"family":"Kinzer","given":"Stephen"}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["1982"]]},"label":"page"}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

4 See Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America*, 2nd edition, revised and expanded (New York: Norton, 1993), 120-128.

5 María de Arbenz informed Gleijeses many years later that "Marxist theory offered Jacobo explanations that weren't available in other theories. What other theory can one use to analyze our country's past? Marx is not perfect, but he comes closest to explaining the history of Guatemala," in Gleijeses, 141.

6 See F.C. Streufert, "The Story of the Development of our Missions in Mexico," March 1944, Board for Missions in North and South America (BMNSA), Supplement XXV, Box 1, Concordia Historical Institute (hereafter, CHI), St. Louis, MO.

7 See "Re: Guatemala Letters Received by Rev. Smith," transcribed and prepared by H.A. Mayer, and H.A. Mayer, "A Few Historical Facts on the Development in Guatemala," [n.d.], BMNSA, Supplement II, Box 19, CHI. *Ladino* is popular usage in Guatemala for a person of mixed native and Spanish-European heritage, roughly the equivalent of the term, mestizo.

8 Henry A. Mayer, "Missionary Assigned to Central America," *Lutheran Witness* LXVI, no. 12 (June 17, 1947): 203.

9 Mary Todd, *Authority Vested: A Story of Identity and Change in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2000), 104–7. Christoph Janel, pioneering historian of the Lutheran Church in El Salvador, persuasively situates the founding of LCMS missions in Central America at a critical juncture of sociological thaw and doctrinal opening in the church's history. See Jahnel, *The Lutheran Church in El Salvador: Becoming a Church in the Context of an American Mission, Denominational Pluralism, Social Anomie, and Political Repression*, trans. Erika Gautschi (Tucson, Ariz.: Servicio Educativo Cristiano-LBCM, 2009), 61-82, who adapts concepts of "religion" and "sect" from the religious sociology of William Sims Bainbridge and Rodney Stark, as tweaked by Benton Johnson, to his analysis. His larger point is that the initiation of work in Central America "coincided with a time of ecumenical and dogmatic opening of the LCMS," 61, an aperture that subsequently closed in the 1970s.

10 See Otto L. Erbe, "'Mexican Jottings' I," *Lutheran Witness* LXVI, no. 10 (May 20, 1947): 166; Otto L. Erbe, "'Mexican Jottings' II," *Lutheran Witness* LXVI, no. 11 (June 3, 1947): 184; "Mexicans," *Lutheran Witness* LXIV, no. 1 (January 2, 1945): 2; Joñas Villaverde, "The Lutheran Church in Latin America," in *Lutheran Churches in the Third World*, ed. Andrew S. Burgess (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1970), 164.

11 See "Robert Gussick" biography, Gussick Biographical File, CHI.

12 Gussick quoted in "Mission Help Needed, Claim Central American Area," *Milwaukee Journal*, 23 June 1950, Gussick Biographical File, CHI.

13 See Gussick, "An Exploratory Study on Proposed Policy in Latin America," Epiphany 1955, BMNSA, Supplement II, Box 11, CHI.

14 "What of Guatemala?" Part One, 74.

15 Ritchie's book *Indigenous Church Principles* (1946), proved pivotal in shaping Gussick's theorizing on these matters, see Jahnel, 97-101.

16 "What of Guatemala?" Part One, 74.

17 Gussick, "What of Guatemala?" Part Two, 87.

18 "A Threefold Call to Guatemala," *Lutheran Witness* LXV, no. 25 (December 3, 1946), 406.

19 Virginia Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 59.

20 Bretscher Christmas letter, December 21, 1952, Carl Walter Bretscher Biographical File, CHI.

21 Mayer, "A Few Historical Facts," CHI.

22 Gussick indicated that, "Although the foreign office has been piqued by some abuse on the part of irresponsible groups that like to smuggle in workers on tourist cards, it has been responsive to our requests." See Robert Gussick, "Guatemala Correspondence," *American Lutheran* XXXVII, no. 2 (February, 1954), 25, in Clippings File, BMNSA, Supplement I, Box 7, CHI.

23 Robert Gussick, "Guatemala Correspondence," 25, BMNSA, Supplement I, Box 7, CHI.

24 See Carl W. Bretscher, " 'G' = Gospel for Guatemala," *Lutheran Witness* LXXIII, no. 10 (May 11, 1954), 6-7, quotation on p. 6; and Minnie Bretscher, "A Missionary's Mother Looks at Guatemala," *Lutheran Witness* 76, no. 16 (July 30, 1957), 8. *Loma* means hill, thus the mission station was denominated "Lutheran Hill."

25 *Ibid*., 9.

26 Robert Gussick, "Step by Step into Guatemala," *Lutheran Witness* LXX, no. 16 (7 August 1951), 257.

27 "Under Guatemalan Skies," *Lutheran Witness* LXXV, no. 22 (23 October 1956), 14. This short plea signed "One of Your Missionaries" refers to "Ruth and me" and therefore Robert Gussick can be identified as the author.

28 See "Mission Hospital in Guatemala Proposed by Rev. Herman Mayer," *St. Louis Lutheran* 14 (March 17, 1951), BMNSA, Clippings File, Supplement 1, Box 7, CHI.

29 Gussick, "Step by Step into Guatemala," 257; Carl Bretscher, "From the Shadow of the Volcanoes," 12 December 1951, Carl Bretscher Biographical File, CHI.

30 Gussick, "Step by Step into Guatemala," 257.

31 Kenneth Mahler, author interview, July 1, 2009, Silver Spring, MD; Gussick, "Step by Step into Guatemala," 256.

32 See Jahnel, 119; Gleijeses, ch. 8, "The Agrarian Reform" for a detailed description of the program; and Jim Handy, *Revolution in the Countryside: Rural Conflict and Agrarian Reform in Guatemala, 1944-1954* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 86-100.

33 Gussick, "Step by Step into Guatemala," 256.

34 Gussick, "Guatemala Correspondence," 13, BMNSA, Supplement I, Box 7.

35 *Ibid*.

36 See Jahnel, 101. Though unable to verify this claim as such it is consistent with all I've learned about Gussick.

37 The intrigue summarized here is expertly narrated in Gleijeses, ch. 3, "The Death of Francisco Arana."

38 Robert Huebner notes for Historia Centroamérica, courtesy of Mark Kempff, email to author, May 25, 2016.

39 Ruth Gussick, "From a Diary on the Revolution in Guatemala," Part One, *Lutheran Witness* LXVIII, no. 17 (September 23, 1949), 280.

40 *Ibid*., 281.

41 Kuehn's experience is recounted in "News from Guatemala," *Lutheran Witness* LXVIII, no. 10 (May 17, 1949), 166.

42 See "NEWS"—"SYNOD'S MISSIONARIES HAD ANXIOUS DAYS DURING RECENT GUATEMALAN REVOLUTION," *Lutheran Witness* LXXIII, no. 16 (August 3, 1954), 14. Gleijeses describes the equipment and training of the exile invasion's air force, 292-293.

43 Telephone interview with Mark Kempff, St. Louis, MO, May 26, 2016; Betty and Gerhard Kempff memories of flight from Zacapa in June 1954, summary document provided to fellow missionary Robert Huebner for his manuscript-in-progress, Historia Guatemala, November 11, 2001, made available to author by Mark Kempff, email, May 25, 2016; "Rebels Strafed Lutheran Missionaries in Guatemala," *New Orleans Item-Tribune*, July 18, 1954, BMNSA, CHI; "St.Louisan Wounded during Guatemala Revolt," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 20, 1954, BMNSA, CHI.

44 In his notes for a History of Guatemala and Central America, Robert Huebner indicates that Carstens's husband's political leanings "forced the work to close." Huebner's manuscript for "Historia Guatemala" contains notes from Professor Jaime Ponce of Zacapa, which states about the Carstens, "Ambos eran socialistas" (They were both socialists), courtesy of Mark Kempff, May 25, 2016.

45 See especially Carl Bretscher to Herman Mayer, May 9, 1954, marked "Exhibit Z," and summary of "Board Action" pursuant to Guatemala, 1954-56, BMNSA, Supplement XXV, Box 10, CHI, both of which make quite clear that Gussick's sabbatical and its purpose were arranged well before the coup in 1954, and further states the expectation that he would return to Guatemala following the sabbatical.

46 *Ibid*. See also "Resolutions of the Guatemalan Conference at Special Session at Zacapa," July 12, 1955, BMNSA, Supplement II, Box 19, CHI, asking that the Board "require" Robert Gussick to come to a decision by the end of August whether or not he would return to Guatemala.

47 Jahnel, 101.

48 See "Report of the Latin American Sub-Committee Meeting in New Orleans," October 26-27, 1955, BMNSA, Supplement XXV, Box 10, CHI; Luecking, 303; Jahnel, 96-97, 101. See also, "A General Statement on Mission Policy," n.d. [1955], marked "Exhibit II" for Mission Board meeting, May 16, 1955, in which Guatemalan missionaries Robert Hoeferkamp, Gerhard Kempff, Carl Bretscher, and Robert Schrank expressed some reservations about Gussick's study report, BMNSA, Supplement XXV, Box 10, CHI.

49 In his furlough study Gussick laments the 'communistic' educational system as a feature of Arbenz's government, but the comment is made subsequent to the coup and in the broader context of his criticism of schools as an adjunct of missionary work, BMNSA, Supplement XXV, Box 10, CHI.

LUTHERANISM IN HAITI 7

The Birth of a Church in Exile

MYTCH PIERRE-NOEL DORVILIER

Introduction

Unlike other denominations which found their way on the Island by the mid-nineteenth century, Lutheranism came very late to Haiti. In this essay I hope to share my personal experiences of working with the Lutheran World Federation for eleven years in Haiti, as well as with the ELCA Division for Global Mission, in order to give an account of what the Lutheran church looks like on the Island of Hispaniola. This paper will shed light on how the Lutheran congregations (initially through LWF/DWS) began local work by contributing to the repopulation of pigs, the reorganization of the labor unions, the empowerment of new leaders, the promotion of human rights, civil rights and political freedom, the advocacy and legal assistance of Haitian refugees in Florida through the Lutheran Ministries of Florida Legal, and the founding of the Eglise Lutherienne d'Haiti (Lutheran Church of Haiti).

First Colonization: The Spaniards

By way of the island named San Salvador, Columbus arrived on the soil of Haiti on 6 December, 1492. When the Santa Maria, the flagship of Columbus' three ships used for his long voyage, ran aground at Mole St Nicolas, on the northwest peninsula of the island, Columbus left behind a small group of about forty men, in hope to return with additional cargo the following year.[1] With the dismantled wood and hardware from what was left of the battered ship, La Navidad was built—the first European settlement established on the island.

Second Colonization: The French

Consumed by their determination to find the gold reputed to exist on Hispaniola, the Spanish subjected the native Tainos people to hard labor, forcing them to search for precious metals, and to till the new settlers' fields. The cruelty of the Spanish settlers toward the Amerindians caused some of the indigenous peoples to flee to the mountains in the interior of the island; others are said to have poisoned themselves in despair. Later the Amerindians were replaced by African slaves from a wide area of West Africa. Having heard of the gold on the island, the French started to come to the western part of Hispaniola. In 1697, the reign of the Hispanic came to an end with the Treaty of Ryswick in Europe, by which the Spanish ceded the western part of the island to the French that became Saint-Domingue.

Duvaliers' Era

Haiti has known many dictators in its long history; but Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier was in a league of his own. The Duvaliers (father and son) ruled in Haiti from 1957 to 1986, with "Papa Doc" remaining in power for fourteen years as president for life until he died in 1971. The next day after his death, the legacy of president for life was handed over to his son, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, who at the time was eighteen-years-old.

Political murders had long been the norm, but Papa Doc added excruciating torture sessions and unspeakable detention conditions which continued during Baby Doc's reign. Entering the political fray had always been a dangerous occupation, but under both Papa Doc and Baby Doc, for anyone to be a distant family member of a political enemy of either Duvalier was sufficient to warrant death or exile.[2] Many politicians fled the country in order to save their lives. Educated professionals and students were targeted. A mass migration of Haiti's citizenry left the country to live in Paris, Africa, the United States, Venezuela, and other places in the world. To this day, Haiti has not recovered from that lost human capital.

Haitian Religion

Vodou was brought to the island by slaves from West Africa and Congolese pantheons and were made to correspond to Roman Catholic saints. As a religion, Vodou is practiced by nearly six million Haitians and remains deeply embedded in the culture. It is, like many other religions

in the world, a system of beliefs and practices that gives meaning to life and expresses of a people's longing for meaning and purpose in their lives.[3] It recognizes the existence of a supreme god, Bondye, which is Creole for *Bon Dieu,* (Good God), but leaves most of the day-to-day heavy lifting—success in business, happiness in love—to scores of spirits, or *lwas*, that are manifestations of Bondye.

The religion played a critical role in the Haitian revolution of 1791, an event that became the most successful slave revolt in history. In August of that year, the revolution began with a Vodou ceremony at Bois Caiman in the northern part of the island. At that ceremony, a pig was sacrificed to the gods of the Haitian people's ancestors. After thirteen years of bloody insurrection, Haiti emerged as the world's first independent black state in 1804, after defeating the best army in the world at the time—Napoleon's French soldiers.

Protestantism in Haiti

Though less numerous than Roman Catholicism, Protestantism has existed in Haiti since the earliest days of the Republic. By the mid-nineteenth century, there were small numbers of Protestant missions, principally Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopalian on the island. Protestant churches, mostly from North America, have long sent many foreign missions to Haiti. Widespread Protestant proselytization began in the 1950s. Since the late 1950s, about 20 percent of the population has identified itself as Protestant. Protestantism has appealed mainly to the middle and the upper classes, and it plays an important role among the educated and in the area of providing educational in the Republic. Almost half of Haiti's Protestants are Baptists; Pentecostals are the second largest group. Many other denominations also were present, including Seventh Day Adventists, Mormons, and Presbyterians.

Lutheran World Federation/Department of World Service

Unlike these other denominations, the Lutheran church did not make its way to Haiti through international missionaries. In 1983, a group of exiled Haitian labor leaders in Venezuela approached the Lutheran Church of Venezuela to ask for support with the installation of a shirt and dress-making cooperative. They were members of a recently reorganized labor union, the *Central Autonome des Travailleurs Haitiens*[4], CATH, affiliated to the Latin-American Christians Labor union, the *Central Latinoamericana de los Trabajadores* (CLAT). They had organized

in Haiti under the pressure of President Jimmy Carter's administration and with the help of the Venezuelan Christian Democratic Party. Sadly, they were later expelled by "Baby Doc" Duvalier. Thus, by 1983, there were 9,000 Haitian exiles living in Venezuela who had been expelled or fled the dictatorship in Haiti. Since only a handful of Haitian exiles had been recognized by UNHCR as political refugees, while the vast majority depended on the good will of VOLAG's (Voluntary Resettlement Program), a report and a preliminary request for assistance were sent to the Director of World Service. As a result, the Lutheran World Service Emergency Working Group decided, in 1984, to send a research team—comprised of Geneva staff and members from related agencies—to Haiti and the Dominican Republic which shares the island with Haiti, and the other French territories. The outcome was the establishing, in 1986, of a program in the Caribbean with Rev. Hansruedi Peplinski as the Program Coordinator and with the main focus being the provision of assistance to Haitians living in and outside Haiti.

Support was first given to a selected group of local organizations, grass-root groups, and parishes who were struggling to improve the living conditions of their constituency. Thus, the parishes of Desarmes and Verettes in the Artibonite valley got support from Lutheran World Service for their swine repopulation project.

The "creole" or black pig has traditionally been the only cash reserve of the average Haitian peasant. The "piggy" bank as a savings account is a crude reality of peasant life. The peasant has no other saving and even if he/she had, he/she would not have access to a bank. His/her whole fortune is therefore in the amount of pigs he/she has. Whenever a peasant needed money to buy tools, clothes, medicines, send a child to school or celebrate a wedding or a first communion, he/she would take a pig to market and sell it.

In 1981, an epidemic of African Swine Fever (ASF) prompted the US Department of Agriculture to request the eradication of the whole swine population of Haiti. Over 6,000.000 pigs were slaughtered. Peasants tried to hide their Creole pigs, but to no avail. The savings of five thousand peasants were wiped out.

If they were at all compensated, peasants received only 20% of the pigs' value. The rest of the financial compensation went into "Baby Doc" Duvalier's pockets. An unacceptable swine repopulation program with *cochon blancs* or white swines from the United States of America was

imposed on the peasantry, which had neither the facilities nor the feeds to grow such pigs which required imported feed and regular medical care. In contrast, the Creole pigs required minimal care. The peasants requested permission, aided by CARITAS and other NGO's, to import "creole" black pigs from Jamaica or Martinique. Both the U.S.A. and Haitian Governments prohibited such imports. The swine issue became a major political sore point until 1988, when President Lesly Manigat authorized that creole pigs could again be brought into the country.[5] In the meantime, wood became the only cash crop for five thousand Haiti peasants.

The destruction of Haiti's forests that had begun during colonization when French planters uprooted the island's ancient trees— "tall trees of different kinds which seem to reach the sky," Columbus had written—to make way for sugar cane and coffee plantations and hardwood to furnish their mansions in Europe, continued whenever poverty struck the peasants. Trees are cut down to make charcoal and build houses.

Confederation des Travailleurs Haitiens—CTH

Immediately after the departure of Jean-Claude Duvalier as President, in February 1986, the Lutheran World Service began the reorganization of the labor union that had been dissolved by Duvalier. In 1987, the organization built its headquarter in downtown Port-au-Prince. A medical center, a pharmacy and laboratory were installed by World Service. Due to some internal conflicts, the organization was divided into two units. One has become CATH and the other CATH/CLAT. CLAT was to show its affiliation with the labor union in Caracas, Venezuela whose headquarter is in San Antonio de Los Altos.

At its first national assembly the CATH/CLAT changed its name to CTH, the *Confederation des Travailleurs Haitiens*. Confederation means the affiliation of several federations. Within those federations are several organizations such as organization of peasants, construction, professionals (lawyers, teachers, nurses, doctors), journalists, artists, tourism and hospitality, red carpet (people who work at the airport and taxi drivers), informal sectors, etc. Amongst the articles of its statutes were not only that the struggle for a worker's labor right but also values like human dignity, democracy, formation of leaders, and international solidarity.

Civil Society and Human Right

Human and civil rights have been abused in Haiti since colonial times. It continued under the dictatorship of the Duvalier. Tragically,

even after the departure of "Baby Doc" Duvalier, several prominent political leaders and presidential candidates were assassinated in broad daylight, including some while they were attending church. Moreover, several labor union leaders and political opponents were incarcerated and tortured. In spite of these atrocities, four human and civil right organizations continued to function in the country. By 1998, LWF/WS has widened its cooperation with the Haitian civil society. More partners were invited and included. The goal was to contribute to civil societies in Haiti as an actor for change and social development, to strengthen organizations and actions towards human rights protection.[6]

Women and Young Adults Empowerment

Through the supports of the LWF/DWS, the *Confederation des Travailleurs Haitiens*—the labor union organization—empowered women and young adults in Haiti.

The organization of labor unions through their affiliation with the *Confederation Mondiale de Travail*, CMT, was able to send young adults to participate in cultural exchange overseas. Young adult leaders who were adherents of the *Commission Nationale des Jeunes Travailleuses*, CNJT[7], an organized commission made up of ten young adults' associations within the *Confederation des Travailleurs Haitiens*, CTH, were identified in their communities to participate in cultural exchanges and workshops in Brussels, Belgium in order to enhance their spoken words, music, and singing skills. Those talented artists were able both to share the Haiti's rich cultural heritage to a broader audience and to learn from the Belgium people as well.

Additionally, several other young adult leaders had been formed in Caracas, Venezuela at the UTAL[8], in community organizing, mission development, and accounting. Personally, for me, through their partnership with the *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*, a political foundation based in Germany, I had a scholarship to study project management for non-governmental organization.

In 1992, an independent women's movement was organized within the CTH. The *Comission Nationale des Femmes Travailleuses* (CNFT) was made up of eight founding women's associations with an initial membership of 420 women from all over Haiti. They were peasants, seamstress, teachers, doctors, and students.

The women's organization addressed not only problems specific to females such as education, equal pay, health care, domestic violence, and child prostitution, but also they challenged the status quo in Haiti.

The leaders were able to gain skills and were empowered to make a difference in people's lives. People like me gained skills as trainers to train others in public speaking, advocacy, and in conducting workshops based on the principles and values of "Ser Humano."[9] *Ser Humano* is the human being God has created with all values and dignity that is inherent in all of us.

Through financial support from LWF and their affiliation with the *Central Latinoamericana de los Trabajadores*, the leaders have learned through their training at the UTAL, *Universidad de los Trabajadores Americano Latinos*, about justice and social justice. They also learned to move from dependency to interdependency by working. They are able to understand and articulate in their own language their identity that had been stepped on since slavery and they are able to promote the Haitian culture overseas. That is, they were able to rebuild the image of the country that has been stained by empires. They are not afraid to speak the truth the way it is no matter the cost. They become culturally sensitive and develop respect for other people's culture. They learned how to be in solidarity with their Haitians sisters and brothers. Solidarity to them is a basic value of the social dimension of human being. They are also peace builders which is indispensable for the life of human beings.

Some leaders within the organization were able to travel internationally to represent the women in several events and to make valuable connections. They were also trained in Caracas, and Belgium.

Birth of Eglise Lutherienne d'Haiti—ELH

Several leaders were emerged from the labor union organization all over Haiti. Especially, those of us who have been working with the Lutheran World Federation at the main office in Port-Au-Prince, the capital of Haiti. At the office, we have met many Lutheran pastors (females and males) who came from all over the world (Sweden, United States, Finland, etc.). Some of us were very intrigued by the "solas" identified by the Reformation, *sola fide*, *sola gratia*, and *sola scriptura*, that is, by faith alone, by grace alone and scripture alone. There came an urge to continue to know more about these "solas" that continue to be important for a church that seeks to uphold the gospel insights Luther brought to the church.

Some of the leaders of the labor union—*Confederation des Travailleurs Haitiens* and Global Mission team of the Florida-Bahamas Synod (Evangelical Lutheran Church in America) discerned the call of the Holy Spirit to establish a Lutheran Church in Haiti where many people claimed to be Lutheran pastors without the knowledge of Luther's teachings. A young man, Lauvanus Livenson, who at the time was in high school, was identified to be a recipient of a scholarship to attend the United Theological College of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica. Now, Pastor Lauvanus Livenson is the president of the *Eglise Lutherienne D'Haiti*!

The Lutheran tradition that speaks of God's grace given freely to all is not well received in Haiti. With the majority of people being Roman Catholic and Pentecostal, whose teachings and practices have been experienced as pointing to God's grace in Jesus Christ in conditional terms, it is hard to teach that God's grace no matter what is given to all, which is a fundamental Lutheran accent. In a curious, though not surprising way, the Creeds of the church universal and the Lord's Prayers are not accepted by Lutheran congregants in Haiti as theirs as well, since, given their religious socialization, Lutheran congregants view them as belonging to the Catholic Church.

Eglise Lutherienne D'Haiti (ELH, Lutheran Church in Haiti) needs to raise up leaders in its midst who have advanced theological education matched with an evangelical fervor to share the Gospel across the racial-ethnic color, class, gender . . . divided. ELH cannot do this mission for such a time as this with only one person having a Master of Divinity degree. ELH introduces, and establishes a more active lay and diaconate training program leading to the pastoral ministry with the hope of deepening and widening its ministries. Those saints will be out there to proclaim God's Gospel that salvation for all is by grace alone, through faith alone, in Christ alone. It is done through the partnership with the Florida-Bahamas Synod and other churches in United States of America.

The partnership with the Lutheran World Federation still remains strong in Haiti. LWF-DWS Haiti has contributed to the reconstruction of Haiti after the earthquake. An example is the Model Village in Gressier, with new 150 houses plus 30 houses constructed in the old village. In partnership with CODAB, the coffee cooperative, which has begun twenty years ago with the peasants in the area of Thiotte, generates income for nearly five thousand farmers. In short, the mission is alive, with many opportunities still ahead.

Endnotes

1 Desmangles, Leslie Gerald, *The Faces of the Gods: Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti,* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 18.

2 Philippe Girard, *Haiti: The Tumultuous History: From Pearl of the Caribbean to Broken Nation* (New York, N.Y: St. Martin's Press, 2005).

3 Leslie Gerald Desmangles, *The Faces of the Gods: Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 2.

4 CATH: Autonomous Centrale of Haitian Workers

5 This information is from the archive of Lutheran World Federation in Geneva

6 Lutheran World Federation, 1998 Haiti Report

7 National Young Adult Organization grouped more than eight local organizations in different regions in Haiti.

8 UTAL: Universidad de los Trabajadores Americano Latinos is the University of CLAT which CTH has affiliated with.

9 "Human being" in Spanish. To the movement it means "Be who God has created you to be." Given that, a person who is a member of the movement always sees another person for whom Jesus Christ, the Word of God incarnate, died.

GOD'S SERVANT IN TWO KINGDOMS

8

The Mark Neumann Story

JOEL L. PLESS

Introduction

Since our nation's founding in 1776, few Lutheran historians would care to defend the thesis that Lutherans have been **well**-represented in politics and in the governmental affairs of the United States. A noticeable trend is this: *The more theologically conservative a Lutheran synod tends to be—as a general rule—the less likely a member of that synod seeks to run for political office.* In other words, theological conservativism trends toward political quietism. Several exceptions can be mentioned, yes, but exceptions that prove the rule.

Mark Neumann

This observation certainly has been true for the third largest Lutheran synod in America, the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. The Wisconsin Synod was founded in the Milwaukee area in May 1850 by immigrant pastors who had been trained in German mission societies. Yet it was not until the synod was over a century old that a WELS member was elected to serve in the United States Congress.

This is the story of Mr. Mark Neumann, a long-life member of the Wisconsin Synod—who after two unsuccessful attempts—was elected

to represent the 1st Congressional District of Wisconsin in the 104th Congress of the United States.[1] Neumann's election was at least the third time a member of the WELS was elected to serve in Congress.[2] *My thesis: Mark Neumann's understanding of the biblical doctrine of vocation has led him to serve God in two kingdoms.*

Early Life and Education

Mark William Neumann was born on February 27, 1954, in Waukesha, Wisconsin. He was baptized at St. John Evangelical Lutheran Church, Mukwonago (WELS). He spent his early years in Mukwonago and as a fourth grader moved to East Troy, Wisconsin, communities southwest of Milwaukee. He was one of five children of Kurt and Stella Neumann. His father was an electrical engineer for General Motors and later Delco Electronics and his mother was an executive assistant at General Motors. While living in East Troy, the family attended St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church (WELS). Mark attended Stewart Elementary School, followed by East Troy Junior High School. On May 19, 1968, Mark Neumann and Sue Link—soon-to-be his high school sweetheart and eventually his future wife—were confirmed together at St. Paul, East Troy, after first meeting in fourth-grade Sunday School.

High School and College Education

Mark graduated from East Troy High School in 1972. He received an appointment from his Congressman to attend the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, but opted not to pursue a military career. Instead, he attended the General Motors Institute in Flint, Michigan for one semester. He was united in marriage to Sue Link in August 1973 at St. Paul, East Troy by Pastor David Witte. Their marriage would go on to be blessed with three children, Andrew, Tricia, and Matthew. He enrolled at the University of Wisconsin—Whitewater, where he graduated *magna cum laude* with a B.S. in education with a mathematics emphasis in May 1975.

High School and College Mathematics Educator, then Entrepreneur

Mark began his teaching career at River Falls High School, River Falls, Wisconsin in 1975, where he also coached football, basketball and track. While teaching high school mathematics, he began a graduate program at University of Wisconsin—River Falls. He graduated with a Master of Science degree in supervision and instructional leadership in 1977. He also did post-graduate work at the University of Wisconsin—Madison.

After several years in River Falls, Mark and his family relocated to Milton, Wisconsin in 1977, where he continued to teach mathematics at Milton High School until 1979. Mark also began a brief career of teaching college-level mathematics part-time at Milton College until its closing in 1982. Among his classes were calculus and statistics. He also taught math at UW-Rock County, Janesville and UW-Whitewater. In 1980, Mark and Sue began Milton Area Reality in the basement of their home. In 1986, they started Neumann Homes, with this motto: "Family homes for family living." They became known for installing notable features into homes that were not typically found in smaller houses. Additionally, they specialized in constructing affordable homes, notably in Milton and Janesville, Whitewater, and Jefferson, eventually building houses in ten different communities in southern Wisconsin. By 1991, their company was listed as one of the fastest growing companies in the United States by *Inc.* magazine.

A Family Vacation Results in a Decision to Run for Congress

In the late spring of 1989, a Neumann family vacation helped convince Mark to run for Congress in the fall election of 1992. While visiting Washington, D.C. with his family, Mark was struck by the frequent references to God used by the Founding Fathers, many of which had been engraved on numerous governmental buildings and memorials. He was particularly moved at the sight of the Gettysburg Address——inscribed in the southern chamber of the Lincoln Memorial——how President Lincoln described the United States as "this nation, under God." Yet when Mark looked at how the United States government functioned, it seemed that God and the Bible had little or no influence in any decision making. As a local businessman, he also became increasingly concerned with the size of the national debt and the Federal government's inability to pass a balanced budget. The Neumann family was also moved when they visited Arlington National Cemetery. Upon viewing the thousands and thousands of graves of those who had served their country——many of whom had given their lives in defending the nation——this far-reaching thought dawned on the Neumann family: Previous generations of Americans had sacrificed so much so that they and other families might have the economic opportunities they were currently enjoying.

The background for this trip was Mark Neumann's teaching at UW-Rock County. He was teaching adults who needed a math class to graduate. Mark believed that the current national debt—a trillion dollars

in the late 1980s—was a good place to begin. He used the national debt to teach place value. He used the financially-challenged Social Security system to teach the concept of exponents to his students.

These two reasons prompted Mark to run for Congress as a Republican in Wisconsin's 1st Congressional District in 1992. After considering running as an independent, Mark joined the Republican Party of Rock County. He and his wife began attending party meetings. To help prepare a run for Congress, he hired political consultants from Washington, D.C. He ran against and lost to long-time Democratic Congressman Les Aspin in 1992 by a significant margin, 58% to 41%. After Aspin became Secretary of Defense in the Clinton Administration, Mark ran for Congress again in the space of a year. He lost a special election to the 103rd Congress on May 4, 1993 against Democratic State Assemblyman Peter Barca by less than 700 votes. After two failed bids for Congress in the space of a year, Mark Neumann re-entered the home building market with a business associate.

The Neumann family was, however, still not finished with Wisconsin politics. The Republican Party recruited Mark to run yet again for Congress in the 1st Congressional District against first-term Congressman Barca. This appeal came from none other than Tommy Thompson, then the governor of Wisconsin. Governor Thompson made this personal appeal to the Neumanns at the Governor's Mansion on Lake Mendota, near Madison. After some reluctance, Mark and Sue accepted the challenge for a third time.

Mark's third attempt at a seat in Congress proved to be successful. He attributed a large degree of his success to his campaigning on family and personal values instead of listening to professional political consultants. He also spoke much more freely about his Lutheran-Christian faith on the campaign trail during his third attempt to win a seat in Congress. That fall, he ran on the Republican platform, "Contract with America." On November 6, 1994 he was elected, winning with 49.4% of the vote to Peter Barca's 48.8%, a winning margin of less than 1%.

Neumann's victory made him a member of a miniscule fraternity, a WELS Lutheran elected to serve as a U.S. Congressman. Due to his high-profile work in Congress—he also became one of the first WELS members ever to garner sustained national attention. By a narrow margin, Neumann was re-elected in 1996, serving in Congress for a total of four years.

A Lutheran Congressman from Wisconsin

What kind of a Congressman was Mark Neumann in the four years he represented the 1st Congressional District in Wisconsin? Mark freely admits in an interview that he was not the easiest man to work for. He never purchased a home in the D.C. area, but rented a studio apartment for the time he had to spend in Washington. After the last U.S. House vote of the week, he insisted to his staff that he had to be on the next available airline flight back to Wisconsin for the weekend or someone on his staff would be fired.

In the midterm 1994 elections, over seventy new Republicans were elected to Congress. On the day they were sworn in, they committed themselves to fulfilling a "Contract with America," under the leadership of Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich. Part of this "Contract with America" called for a balanced federal budget and reducing the size of the deficit. These two issues became Neumann's passion for the four years that he served in Congress.

Mark Neumann soon made his presence felt in the 104rd Congress, often taking on the Republican establishment even more than the Democrats. He went to Washington, D.C. determined to be an independent-minded, man of Lutheran-Christian conviction and conscience, no matter what the cost, who understood his new vocation in life as an opportunity to further serve God. Two years into his term he made the cover of *The New York Times Magazine*. In a lengthy article, "Adventures of a

Republican Revolutionary," author Jeffrey Goldberg described Neumann as "a sometimes-mutinous soldier in the army of Newt Gingrich who believes that extremism in the pursuit of deficit reduction is no vice."[3] He was appointed to the House Appropriations Committee, one of several freshmen representatives appointed to the committee that year. During his time on the Appropriations Committee, Neumann wrote a version of the federal budget which would have given the U.S. government a balanced budget by the year 1999.

Two well-publicized incidents early in his tenure in Congress displayed Neumann's independent streak and his desire to be true to his convictions and the campaign promises he made. In his first year of serving in Congress, Neumann was thrown off an important sub-committee for the House Appropriations Committee by the committee chair, Representative Bob Livingstone (R-Louisiana), supposedly for breaking his promise to support the leadership of the committee.[4] Neumann's response: "If I get kicked off a committee for voting my conscience in doing what is best for my country, then I am sorry I have only one committee to get kicked off of."[5] He also at the time reaffirmed his principled position: "I've pledged to support one thing and that is what the people of my district sent me here to do."[6] Eventually, he gained back his committee seat. Neumann in fact helped make Congressional history when Speaker Gingrich not only reassigned him to the Appropriations Committee but also added an additional assignment, the House Budget Committee. In a subsequent email to clarify these events, Neumann wrote to the author: "I am the only freshman member in US history to serve on these two major committees simultaneously. All spending in the entire [federal] government is dealt with between these two committees."[7]

The other truly memorable incident during his Congressional career involved the fall deer hunting season. Mark had promised his teenage son Matthew that he would take Matt deer hunting on the night he won the election. As the story goes, in order to do this, Neumann left Washington on a Friday, missing "an unscheduled, last second Saturday session."[8] As *The New York Times Magazine* reports the story—which made national news at the time—Wisconsin Democrats ripped him for that, badly misjudging the reaction in their state. Many state citizens related to the Congressman's commitment to spending time with his son, not to mention his dedication to the fall deer hunting season, which in Wisconsin is viewed as sacrosanct.[9] Neumann's controversial actions nonetheless

created some collateral damage. Not only were Democrats angered, so was Republican House Speaker Gingrich.

Mark's tenure in Congress lasted only four years, but in that time, his ability to work with numbers and to convincingly warn of the dangers of the size of the national debt and deficit spending made him a darling of the right wing of the Republican Party. After serving for two terms, and working extensively to cut spending and achieving some successes, he decided not to run again in 1998. The reason Mark gives for his decision is that he felt he had accomplished what he had come to Washington to do. On December 19, 1997, Neumann announced that the federal budget was in balance for the previous twelve-month period, adding that this marked the first time that federal outlays have equaled receipts for a twelve-month period of time in thirty years.

A closer examination of Neumann's four-year record in Congress showed that the label of him being an obstinate, conservative extremist is not an accurate one. In an interview with the author, he stated he would not compromise if there was a biblical principle involved. He was more than happy to compromise on other issues. For instance, contrary to most conservatives, he voted to increase the minimum wage while serving in Congress, because he did not believe that would affect the growth of federal spending.[10] Mark insisted that he always believed in doing what was right and not what he was told to do by the Republican Party leadership and establishment.

In the 1996 *The New York Times Magazine* article, author Goldberg described Mark Neumann as a deeply observant evangelical Lutheran, conservative on social issues, but not focused on them.[11] His mathematical background made him a numbers man; his insistence on reducing and then eliminating the federal deficit and starting to pay back the trillion dollar national debt will always be what Mark Neumann is remembered for while serving in Congress. For Neumann, it was a moral issue and undoubtedly—to frame it in biblical terms—a stewardship issue. His father Kurt summed up perhaps best when interviewed by *The New York Times Magazine:* "He has a strong belief that balancing the books is the ethical position."[12] In this same interview, Neumann also revealed to interviewer Goldberg that he had a distinctly Christian worldview as he went about his business as a Congressman: "I'm at peace with myself," he says. "I know that everything's just temporary. I have everlasting life through Jesus Christ. So if I'm here in Wisconsin temporarily, I'm in Washington really temporarily."[13]

Life after Serving in Congress

Mark left the House of Representatives after his second term. His successor in the 1st Congressional District is today a familiar name, Paul Ryan, former vice-presidential candidate and retiring Speaker of the House. But the Neumanns were still not finished with Wisconsin politics. State and national pro-life groups lobbied Mark to run against liberal Democratic Senator Russ Feingold in 1998. Mark lost a close election to Feingold that fall, 51% to 48%, which featured some memorable television ads by the Neumann campaign about examples of wasteful federal spending, including one ad about the dubious spending of taxpayer money on Russian space monkeys.

Mark and Sue Neumann were still not finished with participating in campaigns for elected office in Wisconsin. Mark sought the nomination for the Republican candidate for governor of Wisconsin in 2010. The election was eventually won by current Wisconsin governor, Scott Walker. Mark also again ran for a U.S. Senate seat from Wisconsin in 2012 but did not advance past the Republican primary, taking third place.

Today Mark and Sue Neumann live in the Lake Country area of western suburban Milwaukee. Mark sold his Neumann businesses (which includes enterprises in land development, home building, and solar energy) to his son Matthew in 2016, "and today Sue and Mark do independent projects on their own as well as mentor other builders. They have built and rented out a 99 unit apartment complex and are currently constructing a lakefront condominium project in Oconomowoc, WI."[14]

Mark Neumann has retained his interest and support of quality education, especially Christian education. In 2001, he along with other forward-thinking educators founded the first of the Hope Schools in Milwaukee, which are Christian choice schools which emphasize college-preparatory education and which serve underprivileged children in urban areas. Mark is both a past and present Board of Regents member of Wisconsin Lutheran College, Milwaukee and is currently chairing the WLC Board of Regents. He and his wife Sue continue to support many

worthy causes in addition to being faithful and active members of Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church, Pewaukee (WELS).

The Neumann's years in public life have produced a steady stream of invitations from WELS congregations, schools, and institutions, invitations for Mark to speak on his years of being a Lutheran-Christian educator, entrepreneur, homebuilder, and as a United States Congressman. This writer can personally attest to this. Near the end of his fourteen-year parish ministry in the Township of Rib Falls, near Wausau, Wisconsin, Mark and Sue were invited guests at the 1999 Fall Harvest Festival at St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church. After the meal, Mark spoke to a significant gathering of parishioners in the church fellowship hall about his career in Congress and current political and moral issues. The Neumanns remained in the area for an evening engagement, a fundraising dinner for the north-central Wisconsin chapter of WELS Lutherans for Life, which operated the Alpha Pregnancy Counseling Center, located in Wausau.

For those who have listened to Mark Neumann tell his story about his service to God in two kingdoms—the state and the church—at various church and school venues, one can attest to his effective use of four selections of Holy Scripture: Isaiah 64:8: "Yet, O LORD, you are our Father. We are the clay, you are the potter; we are all the work of your hand." Matthew 6:25–34, the portion of Christ's Sermon on the Mount in which Jesus tells his hearers not to worry what will happen tomorrow; Luke 1:39–45, the story of Mary visiting Elizabeth, particularly the reference to John the Baptist leaping in Elizabeth's womb even before he was born; and James 4:13–15, especially verse 15: "Instead, you ought to say, 'If it is the Lord's will, we will live and do this or that.'" When the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod was having some significant budget problems in the early 2000s, it was Mark Neumann who wrote a stewardship letter to the members of the synod, encouraging WELS Christians to step up their mission offerings, so that the synod's work of building up and extending the kingdom of God might not be impended because of financial shortfalls.

To conclude this paper, *God's Servant in Two Kingdoms: The Mark Neumann Story,* I again reference a quotation of Mark found in *The New York Times Magazine* feature on his career as a Congressman. In addressing a weekly luncheon of conservatives in Washington, D.C., Neumann stated how he saw his priorities in life: "To me," he said, "the most important thing is God, morals and ethics first. Then comes family. Then comes your constituents. Fourth would be the party."[15] For those who know him, Mark Neumann continues to be an intensely driven WELS Lutheran-Christian. Faith and family are the two hallmarks which have guided him as an elected official and in his continued service to the church as a layman.

Endnotes

1 The biographical information on Neumann's life and career is from only two sources. Most of his life's narrative comes from an extensive interview the author conducted with Mark and Sue Neumann at their home on May 25, 2016 (along with a subsequent follow-up email). The other source is a feature article, "Adventures of a Republican Revolutionary," written by Jeffrey Goldberg about Neumann's platform and career in Congress, published in *The New York Times Magazine,* November 3, 1996. This article is available online. The page numbers cited from "Adventures of a Republican Revolution" are from a printed copy of the online version of the article and not the original 1996 printed copy.

2 Neumann was at least the third member of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod elected to serve in the United States House of Representatives. In 1964——the landslide election year for the Democratic Party and the year after JFK's assassination—— Democrat John A. Race of Fond du Lac was elected in the largely Republican 6th Congressional District. Race held the seat for only one term before being defeated for re-election by William A. Steiger in 1966. Republican Harold V. Froehlich of Appleton served in the Wisconsin State Assembly from 1963–1973 and served for a time as Speaker of the Wisconsin State Assembly. Froehlich served a single term in Congress from 1973–1975, representing Wisconsin's 8th Congressional District. During his singular term, he was one of the few Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee to vote for the impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon in the summer of 1974. Froehlich was defeated for re-election that fall by Robert J. Cornell, a Roman Catholic priest, partly as a result of the impeachment vote.

3 Jeffrey Goldberg, "Adventures of a Republican Revolutionary," *New York Times Magazine*, November 3, 1996, 1.

4 Ibid., 12-14.

5 Mark Neumann, email to Joel Pless, January 29, 2018.

6 Mark Neumann, interviewed by Joel Pless, May 25, 2016.

7 Mark Neumann, email to Joel Pless, January 29, 2018.

8 Ibid.

9 Goldberg, 14.

10 Goldberg, 18.

11 Ibid., 8.

12 Ibid.

13 Goldberg, 21.

14 Mark Neumann, email to Joel Pless, January 29, 2018.

15 Goldberg, 9.

9

A NOTE ON THE ORDINATION OF LUTHERAN WOMEN IN 1970

COMPILED BY PHILIP M. TEIGEN

[*Compiler's note:* In *anticipation of the 2020 celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the ordination of Lutheran women in the United States, this note calls attention to two documents relating to that event. The first, an interview with Rev. Elizabeth Platz, was made shortly after her ordination on November 22, 1970. A 1965 graduate of Gettysburg Seminary, Pastor Platz has had a long and distinguished career as chaplain and educator at the University of Maryland--College Park. Her interview is excerpted from a longer article in* The Gettysburg (Seminary) Newsletter, *January 1971, 9(1):1, 4*]:

> Gettysburg Graduate Becomes First Woman Ordained by the Lutheran Church in America.
>
> Miss Elizabeth Platz became the first woman to be ordained to the ministry of the Lutheran Church in America on November 22, 1970. The Rev. Paul M. Orso, president of the Maryland Synod, was the ordaining officer at the ceremony which was held in the University of Maryland Chapel.
>
> The congregation, which nearly filled the 1,200-seat colonial chapel, included officials of all branches of American Lutherans and representatives of several other church bodies.
>
> Miss Platz said in an interview that at the time she was graduated from the Seminary she had no desire to be ordained.

She went to the Seminary, she explained, "simply because I wanted to study theology." Besides, she had a "strong concern for the fact that the church tends not to look at laymen as first-class citizens." Thus she didn't mind doing the work of a clergyman without clerical title.

Credit Dr. Heiges

She credits the Reverend Dr. Donald R. Heiges, president of the Seminary, with opening new possibilities for women in church work and awakening her interest. As campus chaplain at the University of Maryland for the past five years her primary functions have been private counseling and conducting study groups with students.

"I'm not much of a Woman's Lib type," she says. "I'm not being ordained to prove a point—that I'm as good as a man. But as a high churchman who cares very much about the liturgical practices of the church, I do care now about being ordained. Ordination is a very special kind of commitment to a life style. I'm liberated enough to choose it on the basis that that's the kind of life I want to lead, not that I've been denied something and want to prove I can have it."

She said her new status probably will serve to "open some professional doors" with co-workers both at the university and in denominational work. She believes that ordination will enable her to provide a fuller ministry, especially in preaching and in celebrating Holy Communion. The title of pastor also may be helpful, she admits.

She hopes to diversify and enrich the campus ministry through such means as experimental forms of worship which she previously has not felt free to undertake. "If we don't do new styles, we lose vigor," says Miss Platz, who has written worship materials with students and by herself. "I find this very exciting." She prefers to accomplish changes within "the context of the office of pastor, for the good order of the church."

The new minister was born in Pittsburgh and was graduated from Chatham College and the Gettysburg Seminary. As her first official action after being ordained, Miss Platz gave

communion to her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Platz of Pittsburgh. . . .

[Compiler's note: The second document is excerpted from the sermon that Rev. Donald R. Heiges (1910-1990) preached at Pastor Platz's ordination. From 1962 until 1976, Heiges served as President of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg (now United Lutheran Seminary). This excerpt comprises the sermon's prologue. In it Heiges forcefully defined his understanding of what that day's ordination meant within the framework of American Lutheran history. It almost appears as if he wanted to have the first word about the meaning of an event that would surely attract the scrutiny of later theologians and historians. The sermon is in the Heiges papers in the United Lutheran Seminary archives.]

Our Ministry Together

Donald R. Heiges

We are met here this evening to celebrate the Presence of Christ and to ordain Elizabeth A. Platz to "the Holy Ministry of the Word and Sacraments." During the past 250 years of the history of the Church in this country tens of thousands of such services of ordination have taken place. This service is just one more in a long and honorable tradition.

It is different from most services of ordination, however, for one thing, its setting is not in a parish church or at a church convention but in the chapel of a university. It is altogether fitting and proper that this should be so inasmuch as Elizabeth Platz is being ordained on the basis of a call of the Church to the campus ministry. Ordination on the basis of a call to the campus ministry is a rare event in the Lutheran Church because of ecclesiastical reluctance to ordain anyone to such a specialized ministry without an apprenticeship in the parish. Nevertheless, in the Lutheran Church in America direct entrance by ordination to the campus ministry is now an acceptable practice. In this instance the ordinand has already demonstrated her competence as well as her devotion to the Church by five years of service at the University of Maryland.

As we are all aware, and some of us painfully aware, the university is on trial today as it has not been on trial perhaps since its appearance on the American scene. Those who

proclaim that "the university is dead" are being a bit premature if not downright ridiculous but, on the other hand, no one will deny that the university is in travail not unlike that of a woman in childbirth and that the outcome of her suffering may indeed be death or it may be new life. In this period of turmoil in the university it is especially important that the Church be there as the bearer of God's judgment and God's grace. Not to be there would be gross betrayal of its mission in the world. And so it is highly significant that this ordination is taking place in a university chapel.

Furthermore, this service is different in another way. In fact, it is unique. Everyone here knows why. Never before in the western hemisphere has the Lutheran Church ordained a woman to "the Holy Ministry of the Word and Sacraments." Our sister churches in Europe have been far ahead of us in this regard, having in most countries authorized the ordination of women decades ago. It is rather ironical that in the new world of America with its vaunted record of pioneering in almost every field of human endeavor the Lutheran churches have been so cautious about admitting women to first class citizenship in its life and work.

I mention this element of uniqueness in this service with some reluctance partly because it is always difficult to make a public confession—in this case a public confession that it has taken Lutherans far too long to give women the recognition they deserve in the Church. But there is another reason for my reluctance, namely, a possible implication by calling attention to this fact that what is about to take place this evening is in any way different from what has taken place in the preceding thousands of Lutheran ordinations. Elizabeth Platz is being ordained without qualification to serve the Church anywhere at any time as minister of Word and Sacraments. Having now made this confession and this affirmation on behalf of my Church, the womanhood of the ordinand will not be highlighted again in what follows. . . .

[Compiler's note: As compelling and persuasive as many readers will find these excerpts, we can safely say that twenty-first century

historians—expressing their historiographical liberty—will approach the ordination of Lutheran women from a variety of directions. Some, for example, may view the events of 1970 as the climax to long-term historical developments among American Lutherans. Others may conceive these events in terms of Lutheran identity, gender identity, and/or pastoral (professional) identity. Still others may relate Lutheran ordination to the history and practices of other denominations. However future historians configure and reconfigure the meaning of ordaining Lutheran women, prudent ones will surely begin by fully exploring how Platz, Heiges, and other participants thought and felt about what they did.]

10 AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LETTER OF A NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN LUTHERAN PASTOR

KRISTOFFER ROSENTHAL

Editor's introduction: The life stories of many American Lutheran pastors are rather predictable, with their countries of origin and ethnic background mostly determining their lives and career trajectories. But this letter indicates that such is not always the case. This is a fascinating story of a man who was born Jewish in Lithuania in 1862, became as a young man a Lutheran Christian in the Baltic countries, lived in Finland, studied in Sweden and in America, and became a pastor in a Swedish-American Lutheran denomination (the Augustana Synod) in the upper Midwest.

This letter tells of his early life up to the time of his ministerial studies in the United States, roughly 1862-1892. The letter is address to Dr. Olof Olsson, who was at the time (1892) President of the Augustana College and Theological Seminary in Rock Island, Illinois, the theological school of the Augustana Synod. In a letter seeking admission to this seminary, Rosenthal sets out the course of his life up to that point.

St. Paul, August 19, 1892[1]

Dear Doctor O. Olson,

I hereby again request admission for the upcoming academic term at the seminary in Rock Island. I feel an unconditional need to acquire more knowledge. I am asking therefore if I may come and at least make

an attempt. If it is not the will of God, then I shall not continue I have always found, ever since I came to know either ministers or people in general within the Augustana synod, that they treated every person as a person should be treated. As far as my confession is concerned, it is as far as l know Lutheran in its grasp of reconciliation and the Holy sacraments, also in question of sin and grace. In points in which I am not clear I hope, with God's help and through good instruction, to gain better understanding. I know that people have wanted to burden me through the associations I have had. This however depends more on the position I had as a missionary serving the Chicago Hebrew Mission. But that was exactly the reason I resigned from there. As far as my means are concerned, I have at least about enough for the fall term. The Lord alone knows what shall follow then. It is my wish, the Lord willing, to come to Rock Island next Saturday, the 27th and request a personal conversation with you. I will bring with me the necessary documents at that time. In asking to be received as a fellow Christian, I enclose for the benefit of the faculty, my gratitude for their services.

Respectfully,

Kristoffer Rosenthal[2]

"My Life's Experiences, by Kristoffer Rosenthal 1892"

Under the government of Western Russia, specifically in Kawno in the city of the same name,[3] stood my crib, I was born in Russia's granary on April 22, 1862. One half year after my birth I lost, through death, my father. He left behind three sons, every one helpless. But God, who is the widow's and orphan's protector, helped my poor mother through all of her difficult trials. But my mother found that she could not provide for our needs in the big city where everything was so expensive, for my father had not left any kind of fortune behind So, she moved to a small town a few miles away. Here she reared us and provided us with bread and clothing by doing-all kinds of housework for more fortunate families among Jews. My oldest brother left us a few years after my father's death. He learned how to make shingles and so could help my mother and us. My next oldest brother stayed at home longer, but learned shoe making. Since I was the youngest my mother had the greatest cares about me. I was brought up in the Jewish faith as well as she could.

However I was often badly treated in my youth, because I was left alone while my mother was gone working to provide me with food and

clothing. I began school rather early, but since I had no father, I was often able to do whatever I wanted, although my mother wanted to be strict. Then, the Jewish teachers were considered to have authority to discipline orphans and fatherless children as they wished, and dealt with them often too strictly. That made for a certain uneasiness among children when they had to go to school. I remember how we, instead of going to school, stayed in the town square and watched the soldiers drills. As a result, in my childhood I got no further education than was necessary to be a devout Jew. I read the five books of Moses in Hebrew, but I never became very knowledgeable in the language. Upon reaching my twelfth birthday, I was forced to leave my mother and to move to another place in Russia, where I could work and earn my own support. My mother accompanied me a little while on the road, and when we parted, she hugged me and wept bitterly. She begged me that I should by all means remain a devout Jew.

At that time I knew nothing good of Christianity, but much evil, so I could gladly promise her to remain faithful to Judaism. But, God had other plans. I set my course for Kurland, one of the Baltic provinces in Europe.[4] I knew of no other Christians by name than the Catholics, who I had learned to despise. Here in Kurland I began trading and had, in my travels in the country, better opportunities to learn more closely to know Christianity, but in a better form. For here in Kurland, the Lutheran confession prevailed. I wandered about, with a passport, for two months, when one cold winter day, I came to a house where I was very lovingly received. At the same time began a sharp cold spell and I was rather thin clad. My host and hostess asked me to stay until the cold weather passed. It was here that I for the first time I experienced Christian love. It was here also that I for the first time heard the wonderful stories of Jesus from the Gospels. Indeed I disputed all that they said, however I got a certain interest to find out more about Christianity.

People came to me, first the one and then the other, to try to convince me to leave that place. Sometimes they saw that here, one could not accomplish anything, so they came more of them at a time. I remember especially how I, upon seeing one such flock's approach, ran out and hid in a shed. When they saw, however, that neither their threats nor promises had an effect on me, they wrote to my mother, informing her of the danger in which I was, and that I wanted to become a Christian. As soon as my mother got word, she hurried off to see me although she

was sickly and poor, in such circumstances as these, there were no hindrances or difficulties. I had never seen my mother so forlorn as then, even though as a widow she had undergone many difficulties and trials. Convulsively crying, she took me by the neck and lamented and through bitter tears she begged me not to bring such shame and disgrace on our people and our family. "Think," She said, "about your beloved father in his grave, and how you would draw a black curtain over his grave." She meant by that that since I now wanted to convert to Christianity, my Father's punishment would be lengthened and in that way he would be hindered from getting to paradise.

As I had not as yet determined whether to accept Christianity, I followed with her home. I could not stay at home more than one month, for the street boys played all possible pranks on me. They threw rocks at me, and other such things. Even older Jews were very unfriendly toward me. Therefore, I left my mother after a month's stay, to return to that same place in Kurland. Here I was left undisturbed for over one year. In that I came to a complete belief in the truth of Christianity. Jesus became now for me my savior, the Messiah for whom the Jews wait, I decided now to become a Christian and be baptized.

I had hardly grasped the significance of my decision when I through a difficult test of my faith. One day when I was looking out a window at the farm, who did I see, but my old mother for the second time. God alone knows how that sight was felt in my heart. I loved my mother very much, and now there was a spark of love for the Lord Jesus in my heart. It was a critical instant. I had to give up one thing and follow the other, or vice versa. Had it been up to me, I would have certainly followed my mother and given up Christ. But I was no longer my own, and an invincible power drove me to, do as I did. As my mother entered through one door, I left through another. This cost me many tears before I took that step. I hid myself in a farm building and remained hidden until my mother had turned homeward again. After that most deplorable incident, my hosts contacted a minister, at my request, to instruct me in Christianity and to baptize me. Not one of the ministers they asked would do that. Finally after much seeking, they found a missionary in the middle, a Jewish Christian with, the name Dwarkovitz. I could come and receive instruction from him.

I had just begun learning from the New Testament and had been there three weeks, at the missionary's home, when I received a new

visitor. This time it was not my mother, but my oldest brother. When my mother saw that she could not get me away from the Christians, she wrote to my oldest brother about the misfortune that was presently taking place, that I was becoming a Christian. She asked him above all else to come to me, and so he did. All that time I was under age and there was a law in Russia that no one under age could be baptized. 21 was considered legal age, but I was only 14, going on 15. So, since I was under age, my brother took me with him to Finland. For three long years I had to endure all kinds of suffering. The glimmer of truth was at work in my heart. I wanted so to meet with other Christians, but could not. In all secrecy, I had sent a letter to the missionary and informed him of my suffering. He wrote to some Christians in Helsingfors (Helsinki), Finland's capital city, and asked them to help me. I was living in Tovastehus.[5]

Sometimes I tried to meet Christians, but when my brother found out that I was out on such an errand, he brought soldiers over to meet me when I came home. I was stretched out on a bench, and while a couple of soldiers held me, one beat me until the blood almost ran. Sometimes I was stripped and barefoot and was dropped off in the bitter cold, since I had tried to go the Christians. But when I wanted to leave, I was not allowed to go. I had namely tried three times to run away, but had no luck each time. My suffering became altogether unbearable. My brother did all that he could to take away from me my interest to become a Christian. He enticed me with sinful pleasures and lusts, just to get me to remain a Jew. He would no doubt have succeeded in his endeavors if God had not, in his unique way, been with me. The Christians had indeed tried to help me, but they did not succeed. But God himself comforted me in my suffering, in that He gave me the hope that sometime I would be free of this suffering.

While I was in Finland I worked in a tobacco factory, for which my brother was a travelling agent ever since he finished his service as a soldier. Here, I saw sin in all forms. Under no conditions did I want to be in such a place, but my brother made me stay. If nothing else helped, I was bound by contract to stay at such a place. But just when my Brother made certain that I would stay there, God intervened. My brother fell in misfavor with the factory director. He discharged him, and so I left with my brother. I knew. And now, God had arranged the right time for me to be free from my suffering and to realize my longing to become a Christian. In the spring of 1881, when my brother was gone a trip, I was

able, with the help of Christians, to board a steamer, whose captain was a believer. This took me to Riga (Latvia), and so after three years of suffering, I came back to the same missionary. I travelled first to my old friends and stayed there over the summer, after which I went back to Riga and came to live in the home for converts in the city. It had just opened.

While I was staying there I underwent instruction in Christianity. I instructed in the following subjects: Luther's Little Catechism, Bible History, together with some study of the Augsburg Confession. All this was in the German language. After three months instruction I was finally baptized on Christmas Day 1881. After my baptism, I travelled to my old friends in Kurland and stayed there through Easter, 1882. In the Spring of that year I travelled back to Finland and stayed a couple of months in Helsingborg with my Christian friends. On their advice and by their recommendations, I travelled to Sweden, arriving in Stockholm on July 20, 1882. I looked up Pastor Lindstrom, who received me with a spirit of friendship, and promptly moved into the home for converts. I stayed there for three years, receiving further instruction in Christianity and preparing for enrollment in Fjellsted's School[6]. In the fall of 1885, I began studying at Fjellstedt's School in the second year class. I was there until the spring of 1888, when I quit due to lack of funds and because of my health. For the next two years, I went out preaching in Småland and Skane (provinces). In the early summer of 1890, the Lord led the way here to the United States. I came to Chicago on July 4, 1890, preaching here and there in different churches both in Chicago and other towns in the surrounding area. On December 26 of the same year, I accepted my post at the Chicago Hebrew Mission and worked in cooperation with them until December 1891.

Here I have briefed my eventful life. In concluding, I can do no other than to cry out with old Samuel, "Thus far the Lord has helped. Whatever shall yet come is in the Lord's hands." Here in America, the Lord has given me a good spouse, who follows me and suffers together with me though the present trials. My soul is full of thankfulness to God for all that. He has done for me. May God now allow me to see many believing children of Israel here in Chicago. That is my sincere prayer to God.

Your humble servant,

Kristoffer Rosenthal

Kristoffer Rosenthal Obituary[7], *Lutheran Companion,* December 9, 1922, p. 788.

> REV. KR. ROSENTHAL.
>
> On the 23 of November last Pastor Kristoffer Rosenthal breathed his last in St. Ansgar's Hospital, Moorhead, Minn., where he had been taken after he had suffered a stroke of paralysis a month before.
>
> Pastor Rosenthal was a Russian Jew by birth. He was born in Kovno, Russia, April 22, 1862, of Jewish parents. At the age of sixteen he was converted to Christianity which brought down upon him the enmity and persecution of his people. As a consequence he left Russia, going first to Finland, where he was baptized in Riga, and afterwards to Sweden, at the suggestion of Christian friends. In Sweden he staid (sic) eight years, studying in Stockholm and at Fjellstedt Institute in Uppsala. He came to America and after completing the course in the theological seminary at Rock Island, he was ordained at St. Peter Minn., in 1894.
>
> Pastor Rosenthal has served churches at Fort Dodge, Iowa; Erwin, So Dak, Stockholm, Canada; Kennedy Minn. and the Maple Cheyenne—Herby charge, N.D. He is mourned by the widow and seven children.
>
> Kristoffer Rosenthal is said to have been a profound preacher. Because of his early training well versed in the Old Testament and ever since his conversion an earnest student of the New Testament, he was thoroughly acquainted with the way of salvation as it is revealed to us in Christ Jesus. Because of his erenic (sic) temperament he was well liked by his brother ministers. Kristoffer Rosenthal was a true Israelite in which there was no guile.

Editor's Notes:

In his entry for Rosenthal in the *Augustana Ministerium* (see note 6), Conrad Bergendoff lists that he was ordained in 1894, then lists the five locations where he served as pastor. Then Bergendoff remarked that he "left parish work for work among the Jews, 1898." Bergendoff must be mistaken here, for it would not make sense that Rosenthal would have

served in five parishes in four years. From various sources,[8] the list of his congregational service is as follows:

Fort Dodge, Iowa—1894-1900 (?)
Erwin, South Dakota—1900-1902
Stockholm, Saskatoon, Canada
Kennedy, Minnesota
Maple-Sheyenne parish, Prosper, North Dakota—1916-1922

It is possible that Rosenthal did leave the Fort Dodge, Iowa congregation in 1898 to work as a missionary to the Jews, but he was back in the parish in 1900 at Erwin, South Dakota. Given his early experience, it is within reason to suppose that from time to time he did indeed continue with his missionary work among the Jews, although in the upper Midwest where he served there would not have been much opportunity for such work.

The one logical place to search for Rosenthal's possible missionary work among the Jews is the independent Lutheran mission group called the *Zion Society for Israel*. The group, originally founded in 1878, consisted primarily of Norwegian-America Lutherans, although there were pastors and others from the Swedish-American Augustana Synod also involved in its work. This group was centered around Minnesota, having mission stations in Minneapolis, Chicago, and Omaha. If Rosenthal was associated with any of the Jewish missions started by American Lutherans, the Zion Society would be the most natural place with which he could have associated. However, in looking at a history of this group,[9] or its periodical (*Zions Rosta*) there is no mention of Rosenthal. Interestingly, there mention of several other workers within the group who had very similar backgrounds to Rosenthal—Eastern European or Russia Jews who were converted to Lutheran Christianity in Eastern Europe, and who then immigrated to the upper Midwest.

I have not found any listing of his wife and their seven children. The only notice I could discover was of a mention of an "Esther Rosenthal," who was the "Junior Secretary" of the Junior Missionary Society of the Red River Conference of the Augustana Synod in 1916.[10]

Endnotes

1 In his correspondence, Rosenthal states that he had arrived in Chicago in 1890 and had worked with the Chicago Hebrew Mission until December 1891. There is no record of why he moved to St. Paul, from where he was writing this letter. This is obviously a second request. This letter and the autobiography came into the posses-

sion of the editor, but under circumstances that he cannot now remember, nor does he know who translated it. The original is most likely in Swedish and in the records of Augustana Seminary.

2 One would assume that, being born Jewish, his original first name would not have been Kristoffer (Christ-bearer). What his original first name was, and when he changed it is not clear.

3 In Russian, this city was named Kovno, but are in present-day Lithuania, and the city is now called Kaunas, the second-largest city in that country. Before World War II it had a substantial Jewish population, perhaps as many as 30,000 people.

4 A territory in Western Latvia.

5 I have not been able to ascertain where this location is.

6 Fjellstedt's School was a mission training school in Sweden, set up by Peter Fjellstadt in 1856. This school was for training missionaries and church workers, but not for ordained priests in the church of Sweden. A number of the pastors in the Augustana Synod were trained in this school. In Emmet F. Eklund, *Peter Fjellstedt: Missionary Mentor to Three Continents*, Rock Island: Augustana Historical Society, 1983, pp. 165-79, there is a listing of 29 such pastors, but not of Rosenthal. In the entry for Rosenthal in Conrad Bergendoff, *The Augustana Ministerium*, Rock Island: Augustana Historical Society, 1980, the listing for Rosenthal, p. 56, mentions that he studied in "Finland and Sweden 8 yrs," but there is no reference to Fjellstedt's School.

7 There is also an obituary in Swedish in *Korsbaneret: Kristlig Kalendar för Året 1924*, Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1924, pp. 134-37.

8 Especially Emil Lund, *Minnesota-Konfersensens och dess Församlingars Historia*, 2 volumes, Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1923.

9 C.K. Solberg, *A Brief History of the Zion Society for Israel*, Minneapolis: Zion Society For Israel, 1928.

10 J. Edor Larson, *History of the Red River Conference of the Augustana Lutheran Church*, Blair NE: Lutheran Publishing House, 1953, p. 144.

11

A BRIEF SKETCH OF MY EARTHLY PILGRIMAGE FOR MY CHILDREN

Carl Christian Johann Lohrmann (1847-1935)

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY MARTIN J. LOHRMANN
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY DAVID K. LOHRMANN
AND MARTIN J. LOHRMANN

Introduction

May 1, 1858; New York City. *Carl Christian Johann Lohrmann, age eleven, disembarked from the steamship* Borussia *at the end of a two-week voyage from Hamburg, Germany, accompanied by his four sisters, their parents Heinrich and Christianne Lohrmann, and grandparents Joachim and Sylvia Lohrmann. Following a devastating house fire two years earlier—in which they lost almost everything they owned—the family decided to emigrate from their home in Bergfelt, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Germany for a fresh start in America. After an overland journey by rail, they settled in Sturgis, Michigan.*

Carl became a Lutheran minister and married Eva Maria "Mary" Heinemann. Their union produced ten children: Olaf, Theodor, Mary, Waldemar, Clara, Justus, Laura, Therese, Karl and Agnes. During his lifetime, Carl served churches in several states and Canada until failing hearing and vision led to his retirement in 1925. He spent his last years in Michigan until he died peacefully in 1935 at age 88 and was buried in the cemetery adjoining St. John Lutheran Church in Amelith, Michigan, where his son Waldemar taught school.

In 1927, when he was 80, Carl penned an autobiography which he titled "A Brief Sketch of My Earthly Pilgrimage for My Children." Unfortunately, this 124-page journal appears to be only the first portion of Carl's lifetime memories as

his narrative ends on the last page with events occurring in 1889. No additional journals by Carl are known to exist.

In the following excerpt (pages 12-41 of the journal), Carl described experiences as an immigrant, a resident of Missouri during the Civil War, and a student of early leaders of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, including C.F.W. Walther and F.A. Craemer. Along with recollections of the 350th anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation and memories of daily life at the seminary, perspectives like these provide intriguing glimpses into a complex period.

Carl and Mary Lohrmann

A note about the text: Carl wrote his journal in Sütterlin script, a unique style of handwriting taught in German schools until 1941 when Adolf Hitler banned it as being "impure." Consequently, relatively few people are able to read it today. Under the organization of Bob Lohrmann, Katherine Schober of SK Translations in Boston was retained to transcribe the Sütterlin script into modern German; costs were shared by nearly two dozen of Carl's direct descendants. Rev. Dr. Martin Lohrmann, Assistant Professor of Lutheran Confessions and Heritage at Wartburg Theological Seminary and a great-great grandson of Carl, then used the transcription to translate the journal into English.

In the narrative below, Carl had just left his home and family in Michigan to begin his seminary career in St. Louis. He was sixteen years old.

St. Louis

At noon on April 7, [1863], I arrived at the college that would be my home. My heart was moved. I can hardly describe the energy which flowed through my young heart. It was still Easter vacation. If I remember correctly, the college was hosting a pastoral conference. The dear Herr Professor Craemer, with whom I had first corresponded, greeted me first with a hearty German welcome: "God greet you!" He was also

the housefather for the students, and the dear Frau Professor was the housemother. He immediately asked me, "You probably have not yet had lunch." And without waiting for my answer, he called out, "Mother, a hungry young student has just arrived up here." Then, to me, "When you have eaten, please come to my room."

After the meal—which tasted delicious to me—I went to his study. Though he hadn't had much time, he had already ordered his son Heinrich (who was a student then) to lead me into the room where I would live. Heinrich then entrusted me to the care of a worthy classmate, who showed me how to go get my luggage, which the college's carriage would pick up from the city. With a strong sense of reverent fear, I spoke to the students with the formal German "You" after I had given them my own name. In response, they said that there weren't any formalities here: we are all *du*'s.[1] This seemed right to me, because everyone was helping me find a bunk and mattress in the friendliest ways. With the next day still free, I could buy the necessary books: Latin and German grammars, among others. A student named Steinmann invited me to study with him at his table. That is where I got myself arranged for studies of the Book of Concord and a dogmatics text, as well as the catechism, a world history handbook, and a history of the United States, along with a useful atlas.

One more joy was still in store for me: on the next day—April 8—another youngster arrived who also wanted to study. His name was Dubpernell. He went to the same room as me. By God's wonderful providence, we would accompany each other through life. God willing, I will say more about this later. Although I could have advanced to the higher Latin class, I preferred to repeat the more basic class. I did not need to take mathematics any more, since I had already progressed further in high school than was required. I was also far ahead in English and no longer needed to attend the lessons. So I had things relatively easy. I took great enjoyment from lessons in the ancient history of the Greeks and Romans. The introductory instruction in the Bible and dogmatics provided special joy. We had to learn Luther's Large Catechism by memory with Professor Craemer. For the most part, the memorization required by the dear Professor Craemer—who had a prodigious memory—was a great burden.

Thus, by God's good will a beginning had been made toward fulfilling the desire that God had implanted in my heart through the Holy Spirit

years earlier. On Pentecost of this year, the newly called Professor Herr Pastor A. Brauer of Pittsburgh arrived, taking his office as professor of logic, confessional writings, and preacher of practical books of catechesis and catechetical preaching, lecturing also for the advanced seminars.

The big pastoral conference of Missouri took place at Pentecost, too, at which I met Mr. P.M. Hahn, who was J.L. Hahn's brother. He warmly invited me to come and stay with him in Benton County, Missouri during the long vacation in July and August. With the approval of my dear parents, I accepted the invitation.

A fellow student named F. Koch would travel with me to California, Missouri. We were both poor and had no traveling money. We found a solution by going to the superintendent of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, which at that time started at Sedalia, Missouri. We talked to him and showed our credentials, that we—I as a poor student invited there and he going back home—would be traveling back in September. He looked at us somewhat bemused and said [in English], "Well, I declare. What can I do?" We said, "Please give us a pass to California."[2] So he did. He took a ticket and wrote on one "Pass to California" and on the other "Pass to McKossick." When we got back to the college, our classmates laughed and laughed at us. But on the next day at our departure, we stepped up to the train, showed the conductor our tickets and arrived in California, Missouri about six hours later. We had to wait there for the Fourth of July. My friend was picked up from there by his brother, continuing onward by foot. I stayed there until the following day. I then took the train twenty miles to Tipton, where Mrs. Hahn had stayed with her parents on the way to and from St. Louis. There the pastor picked us up with the oxen, taking us to Lake Creek, about sixteen miles from Tipton. Because of rain, though, the streams or creeks had grown somewhat swollen, so we had to turn around and spend the night with a German Methodist family. At ten o'clock the next morning we arrived in Lake Creek.

This was during the Civil War, which filled our entire land with war from the years 1861 to 1865. This was an especially troubled time for Missouri. Missouri belonged to the southern slave states and the previous governor had even tried to remove this state from the Union along with the other southern states. Only the tremendous effort of the strong German element prevented this. Sometime in 1861 the southern rebels had built a camp and enlisted some soldiers for the southern states. So it was the Germans who had brought things to a head at Camp Jackson—as

they called it—right around the time when southern officers in the Southern Hotel in St. Louis met to plan how to take the large weapons arsenal.[3] This was after the southern-sympathizing governor had left and a different governor had been elected by loyal pro-Union Germans.

In all this, though, the unrest and war fever had not dampened. Especially in the southern part of the state, several battles took place with the state militia and some regular soldiers. All able-bodied men between ages eighteen to sixty were organized into a state militia. At the governor's command, they had to be ready to fight in case danger of rebellion threatened. Many slaveholders who had held up to seventy or eighty slaves lived in the southern and southwestern part of the state. That emboldened other marauding riffraff, who found splendid opportunities to hide themselves and their plunder in the rugged Ozark Mountains. In groups of seven, eight, fifteen or twenty men, they would overtake the smaller towns, especially German communities. Many—especially people loyal to the Union—were often overtaken at night, called out of their houses and wickedly shot. Houses and barns were also burned, with the plunder taken back to the Ozarks via the Osage River.

Because the authorities could not protect the citizens, the governor gave this call to the German communities: "Try your best to defend yourselves." This resulted in many small and larger settlements coming together to arm themselves for self-defense. First, each house had loaded weapons. If someone suspected such a posse of unknown, armed robbers, they had a bugle horn in the house whose call could be heard from one or two miles away. Telephones did not yet exist then. Three short bugle blasts in a row meant "there is danger." That would be repeated three times. After this, the number of bugle tones told which direction the marauding band was going. These tones were repeated as the danger increased. Then everyone would grab their weapon and saddle their horse or donkey to meet at a gathering point and be ready to provide the requisite protection.

On the third day of my being in Lake Creek (as the post office there was named), the horn blew. In ten or fifteen minutes, a heavily mounted parishioner entered. Pastor Hahn also wanted to go and saddled his horse, but four or five people kept coming, until there were about fifteen men. They said, "No, you already have a strong captain" (meaning Jesus). H.P., who had been visiting the house and was also captain of the militia, said, "Ride over to the post office. There are many things there to protect, too." The post master was a member of the church, who also ran a

shop. It might well have been that the posse would intend to go back to the shop, which did have some ammunition they would need for attacks.

I would have ridden along but I had no horse. But allow me to describe the exceptional series of events, as I later heard it from the captain. The goal of the raid had not been the post office and Mr. Hennrolfs' store but rather something else. A week earlier, a parishioner named Mr. R had sold a horse to the government for $300 (horses were expensive then).[4] The bandits learned about this through spies, which they had everywhere. They wanted to take the money and then carry out acts of revenge in the village. They took the gold from Mr. R after one of the robbers hit him in the head with a revolver. But an alert and clever daughter of this Prussian had previously taken the bugle (as described earlier), ran away a good distance, and then blew the succession of warning sounds.

But the brash robbers—they were fifteen in number—did not let themselves be deterred. And so, instead of going back into the mountains, they still wanted to get their revenge in the village that was about six or seven miles away. There they shot a man, robbed a house, and plundered a store. Among these villagers arrived brothers of the victims who suggested gathering others who were coming in response to the bugle call. Going full gallop, they would take two good and fast horses towards the robbers, quickly attack, and then get away, such that the robbers would try to follow them. Our people should then make their way through the woods, and then—when the brothers were safe—shoot the robbers.

It happened just as our people planned it. Hardly had the two brothers left the farm when they showed themselves to the robbers and attacked with some shots. The better part of the robbers left their horses and were drawn further away. They were sparing with their shots, because they thought to keep the horses and therefore tried to avoid shooting and injuring them. The rest of the robbers followed. The two brothers hid themselves, galloping quickly among the trees, picking off the robbers as they crashed through the woods. One of the robbers was flung from his horse and injured. He soon had twenty-four bullets in him from four revolvers. So it went in the woods. Then the captain walked up to him, saying in his Hanoverian Plattdeutsch, "Let me relieve you of your pain" and shot him. Another one of the robbers was shot by a different man but six of them got away.

This is just one episode from the time. The older people in Boone, Lafayette, and other counties know many other terrible tales they can

tell. This much is certain: everyone was very careful. But under the shelter and shield of the true God one is always well protected. As it says, "You who live in the shelter of the Most High, who abide in the shadow of the Almighty, will say to the Lord, 'My refuge and my fortress; my God, in whom I trust'" (Psalm 91:1-2).

I could tell another similar firsthand experience but it would be too much. That summer, I had the opportunity to be somewhat helpful to Pastor Hahn at the school. The congregation had had a teacher before, but they had to dismiss him because of a rude offense. Therefore, the pastor then had to hold school, even though he already had a large and somewhat fractured congregation in his care. In the mornings, then, the pastor would give religious instruction first. Then I took over the sciences, reading, writing, and arithmetic, along with some geography and English.

Although some of the students seemed to be about twenty-five years old, none of the older people could speak one sentence of English. Because there were still not any reading books published in English in the area, the older students used the basic primer and reader text the same as the little children. No class had gone above the second level reading text. According to Pastor Hahn's directions, they should be able to translate into English from German. But even their German left much to be desired, because the children learned a spoken Plattdeutsch at home. This resulted in wonderfully strange translations. One example will suffice. Either in the first or second class, one especially spirited girl read the sentence [in English], "Our old cat has got six young ones." After thinking about it a little, Anna then translated this into German as, "Our old cat had six little boys."[5]

Mostly, I was doing that for which I had read and studied, except that I also helped the pastor clear out his garden. I also occasionally visited neighbors, who invited me to do some handy work. For this the dear people generously paid me. As the summer vacation ended, the pastor asked the congregation if they might not want to take up an offering for me. One member stood up and said, "The student taught school and worked. And so we should not talk about offerings, but rather all members should voluntarily come together and pay him his earnings." How much that should be, he would not say. The congregation agreed. Everyone—especially those whose children had been sent to school—would then either personally or through the pastor determine an amount to pay. By my recollection, $60 was collected.[6] The man who had spoken before came to me and said, "I shall give you ten cents." He then gave a ten-dollar bill.

I have written this to show how wonderfully the true God helps poor students. My parents were not rich enough to give me very much. Father had paid for the house he built himself. Despite his eighty-four years, Grandfather was still quite robust and helped as much as he could, but the family had grown. God had blessed my parents with four boys and five girls. Although this made thirteen people altogether, we were truly a happy family.

Now I could not only afford my return trip but could also buy several books and a suit, as well as pay my room and board.

From Lake Creek, a young chap named J. Brave traveled with me to St. Louis. Because he planned to become a teacher, however, he wanted to travel on to Ft. Wayne, which at that time was the teachers' seminary. In 1911 we greeted each other once again as synod delegates in St. Louis. Many other students entered the seminary, including a number from Germany sent by Pastor Bauer. There were now over 80 students. In the exams after one of the vacations, I was assigned to the sit in the first class of the lectures.[7] We were given exercises about many branches of our discipline, along with German, Latin, U.S. history, and German history, which were also the basis for the teachers' college. My studies continued quite happily.

In October of this year, there was a synodical meeting in Ft. Wayne. After the synodical meeting, I was called in to Professor Craemer. At my entrance, smoking from a long pipe, he looked at me for a moment, mustered up his words and opened up to me, saying, "The teachers' college had closed—now don't be shocked" (he noticed that I was somewhat shocked, as he had been describing the close of the prized teachers' college). Then he continued, "You should—as early as tomorrow—go to Washington, Missouri and take over the school there. Professor Matuschka, who has been there, has traveled to New Melle about fifteen miles away, and would serve the Washington school as a branch every three weeks. The school in Washington is not being allowed to close. You, therefore, should hold school. On Sundays when Professor Matuschka is not present to lead worship, you will lead the service and read a sermon from Luther's *Postils*.[8] Professor Matuschka will notify you about all this."

Speechless, as if I had been struck, I stood up. Herr Professor looked at me, then finally said in his unique way, "What now?" I replied, "Herr Professor! I cannot do it. I am still too young and unlearned!" "I am glad

to hear," he said back, "that you recognize this for yourself, because God the Holy Spirit gives aptitude to those who know their own ineptitude. You can go write immediately to your dear parents." I stood there shaking my head, not knowing what to say. He then started to assure me with the words of the prophet who said, "I am too young."[9] Finally I said, "The honorable college of professors is responsible for this." He retorted simply by saying, "Let us close with a dear Our Father.[10] Get yourself ready to travel. Here is travel money. The Lord will guide you." Since I still had a lecture on the Large Catechism to attend in the afternoon, he said, "Can you be ready to travel in an hour?" I replied, "There is not much to get ready. My luggage and bag are packed." Grinning, he looked at me and said, "The Lord will be with you."

Using the college carriage a student named Steinmann drove me, my luggage, and the violin I had bought (with which I could play hymns and other songs if needed) to the train station. Professor Matuschka led me the next day to the school. They held church in there, but the first three rows were furnished with folding tables. My lodgings were with an elder named Mr. Wehmüller. Fifteen children were put in my care. Pastor Matuschka, however, also said that I should hold catechetical lessons on Sundays. It helped that I had finished working through an explanation to the catechism with Pastor Tramm in La Porte. It had been written under the direction of Dr. Sihler, Professor Craemer, and Pastor Selles of the Ft. Wayne pastor's conference. A copy of it was now in my possession. I read a passage of it to Pastor Matuschka, which he found to provide a good explanation. He said it only lacked a little something in the application, before he said, "Well, what kind of application can you expect when you're teaching teenagers!"

There was—and still is—a large congregation nearby, with a pastor and a new German teacher. But both were given to frustration. It often happened that they enjoyed themselves too much. One Christmas (or maybe it was New Year) they drank too much, so that the teacher could not play the organ right and the pastor could not preach. Many of the best church members rightly took deep offense at this, so that some of the children were not allowed to come anymore. In the new year, then, I had to incorporate a great number of children. Without further question, I accepted them all. Little by little, the children started coming to the church.

To the good pleasure of the congregation—which had started with about fourteen or fifteen families—I proved up to the task, despite my

weakness and ineptitude. The school and congregation grew greatly. Pastor Matuschka was also pleased with my modest effort. God's blessing was with me in the work that I carried out in holy fear. Pastor Matuschka and I remained lifelong friends. At his funeral in 1916, I was permitted to share some words of comfort to his dear family together at the coffin.[11] I would often visit the congregation in Washington during a Christmas or Easter vacation. On Easter 1866 I preached my first sermon in front of a congregation there. I served for a quarter year in 1867 as an assistant with Pastor Matuschka in New Melle. August Wehmüller, who was my bedfellow in Washington, remained my dear friend.

In the long vacation of the summer of 1864, I was allowed to travel home [to Michigan] and greet my parents, grandparents and siblings. Sturgis and Burr Oak (which had recently joined it) were served from Hillsdale. They also still had no parochial school. Through the previously mentioned disastrous split,[12] the devil had done great damage there. Now that I had come home and greeted everyone, my dear father said to me, "You are going to be here two months. I have no better work for you than that you start to instruct your brothers and sisters who are old enough." As soon as the neighbors heard that I would be holding school for my siblings, a great number of children appeared, whose parents asked me to teach their children, too. I think it was about fifteen altogether. And so I had a summer job. I took Saturdays off to go fishing, which I gladly did to relax at the pretty lakes that are all around there.

Quick as a flash, the summer vacation was past. Now I sat in the first class of lectures, but still did not have to take mathematics, English or U.S. history. Instead, some other classmates and I took special classes on education. I was able to dedicate myself to studies that year without interruption. I was invited to spend both the Christmas and Easter vacations with my acquaintances in Washington, but the college had given me a special role in St. Louis. The teachers' college named me the garden inspector, which I kept through the following year. That happened because I had three summers' experience at a nursery and tree farm. Under God's blessing, the college garden was more productive than before, so that necessary things did not go missing and we had things that previous gardeners had not tried.

In the summer vacation of 1865, I had to teach school in Sturgis again. Pastor J.L. Hahn and I took a missionary trip, not by railroad, nor by horse and carriage, but rather *per pedes apostolorum* [with apostles'

feet] from Sturgis to Three Rivers. We needed four days to go there and back. We went first through Centerville and then came back through Colon. We told the story of dear Pastor J.L. walking on such sore feet to a congregation member who often came to church in Burr Oak. Thus was a preaching station in Colon started. We called it *Trost* [comfort], because we were ready for a break, I was tired and we needed comfort, and we still had nine miles to go to Burr Oak.

We met German Lutherans in both Three Rivers and Centerville, with whom we had conversations with Pastor Hahn. Praise God, now there are Lutheran congregations there.

Because a cholera epidemic—which often killed hundreds of people within 24 hours—had broken out in St. Louis, the vacation that year was extended to October 15. Nevertheless, some individuals would come earlier. I was among the first to arrive to Professor Craemer, who ran the boarding house along with Frau Professor Craemer. They were not inclined to send away the poor students to save money. Professor Craemer said to me when I arrived, "In case any of the students fall ill with cholera, you can come immediately to me. Dr. Schrade has given me some proven cholera drops, which should stop any outbreak. May God protect our institution from this disease."

Because I had settled in to the seminary, the lessons started to change: dogmatics, eisegesis,[13] logic, comparative confessional church history,[14] New Testament exegesis, homiletics and catechesis, along with pedagogy. Pastoral theology first came in the final year. At Easter, I gave my first sermon in front of a congregation in Washington, Missouri. Before this, I had read a sermon to Herr Professor Craemer. The sermon I would preach to a congregation also needed to be approved by the Herr Professor. Toward the end of this year, a sermon at the college in front of the class and the professor also need to be given and criticized.

When I came home for vacation in the summer of 1866, it turned out that the congregation in Sturgis and Burr Oak had received their own pastor during the year in the person of Pastor E.G. Evers. So I was not allowed to hold classes, which meant the enjoyment of my first real vacation. However, Pastor Evers was hardly there two years until he was called away, so that he was gone already by the next year when I came home.

My parents had sold their house in Sturgis and bought a farm of 45 acres near a pretty lake called Grays Lake (also called Crossman Lake).[15] Father did not want to let my growing brother Johann or any of the other

remaining siblings grow up in town, but instead wanted to keep them under the watch of him and Grandfather, giving them more to do than was possible in town. That was also very nice, except that now I once again had to teach school during vacation, walking the two miles each way into town in the company of my siblings. This year I preached my first sermon to the congregation in Sturgis and Colon. Because the congregation in Sturgis still did not have its own church, they held their worship in the high school auditorium. Father had arranged this with the approval of the school trustees. In this, as with most things, Father enjoyed a good reputation among the Americans.

Should I now describe my first independent sermon and worship? It had become known both in and outside the congregation that I would be preaching, so that a fairly large number of people found their way there as members of the congregation that day. I also had to chant. Father sat there smiling and my dear mother waited nervously in a corner. She whisked her eyes around as I stepped up to preach. But they all listened silently and attentively. How scared I was to see so much of my known history in front of me, I cannot say. But I had memorized the sermon with special care, then called fervently upon God that I might give grace to the poor people and that I might not through some momentary malfunction wander into any error. Perhaps even too severe a glance might make someone angry with me. Because we now lived close to that lake I mentioned, I could enjoy fishing in the evenings after school. Often in the mornings before school, I could head out and practice swimming. I got much better by being near that nice beach.

So I returned in good strength to St. Louis after the vacation. Through the teachers' college, I and a few others would be reckoning with pastoral care, which would either become a course about theological literature or maybe about pastoral theology. Because I had completed my church history courses, this subject fell away, even though I had gladly taken it for a long time because our class was so big. And so this year began amid rich work, although it was interrupted twice. The teachers' college requested that I teach a seminar for those who had needed to stop their studies because of an eye infection epidemic. But after a month, I was also afflicted with it. At Pentecost of that year I also had to help out in New Melle at the urgent request of Pastor Matuschka, because he was sick. Then came again the summer vacation, which I again enjoyed at the lake in Michigan, teaching school in Sturgis.

Near the end of vacation, I met with an accident. I was cutting my toe nails. I had set the scissors on the table. The sharp edge of the blade sliced into my left foot. It only bled a little but it hurt a lot. The next morning my foot had swollen all the way up to the ankle. The doctor who was called said it might be tetanus or blood poisoning. I could hardly put on my shoes all through September. In October I traveled to St. Louis to resume my studies. But—on doctor's orders—I had to spend two weeks' rest in the hospital there so that the foot could heal.

On October 31 in the year 1867, the 350th anniversary of the Reformation was widely celebrated in the Lutheran church, with special solemnities taking place in St. Louis. To this purpose, popular *Denkmünzen* (commemorative medallions) were printed, along with a unique version available for students in the college, which I—still—attended. On the morning of October 31 *ejusdem anni*,[16] our student choir sang at the doors, accompanied by the college orchestra, with "A Might Fortress Is Our God" as the final song.[17] Then the 95 Theses were tacked onto the school's main entrance door by some students, in the presence of the faculty.[18] Dr. Walther gave a speech in Latin, because all of the people at the morning worship service were church workers.[19] In the evening, the college was lit up, with many specially prepared banners in German and English hung about. The banner in front of the central building said: *Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr vergehet nun und nimmermehr*.[20] In the highest place was a banner that said in English: "The just shall live by faith,"[21] and other things. The tower sparkled in candlelight. Professor Craemer and Professor Brauer gave speeches from the gate tower of the college. A speech in English was also given, but now I don't know by whom. This candlelit spectacle was later repeated at the request of a church member who was willing to pay for the costs.

An almost incomprehensible crowd of people had found their way to the college and filled the entire street in front of the college. Naturally, the college choir sang several more choral pieces. On the following day, congregations in and around St. Louis gathered for a large festival in Concordia Park. The procession gathered itself at the House Church and then walked south on Broadway to Concordia Park. Each congregation had a trombone band and a young men and women's group. The procession was so big that it took three hours for everyone to reach the final destination. In the park, more speeches were made by Pastor Buenze and others. In the evening of the following day, the students gave presentations on the Reformation in the school hall of Trinity Church. One

of these presentations was a public disputation between a Jesuit and a Lutheran, which lasted three-quarters of an hour.

On the evening of the fourth day another afterparty took place with another candlelit celebration hosted by the college. Without a doubt, this festival was highly edifying and faith-building for every true Lutheran. For what could be as great a joy for a Lutheran Christian than to be with a thousand believers in the true God, to enjoy and to ponder the riches of God's grace in Christ Jesus, which he blessedly created in us through unmerited grace. A good many people were confirmed in their faith and recommitted themselves to seeking heavenly truth.

Under God's gracious providing, our hard studies now really took off for the year. My foot healed by and by. Pastor Matuschka again invited me to New Melle for Christmas and Easter holidays. I was going to go for Pentecost, too, but shortly before Pentecost our class (I was in the highest class) was told early that summer that we should prepare ourselves for exit examinations on June 11.

That left no time for vacation. Instead we had to constantly review our core lessons. All the subjects we had taken during seminary had to be reviewed in order to pass the exam. Additionally, we had to provide a written sermon about a text and prepare a catechism lesson. The text of my sermon was Hebrews 11:24-26. With all that studying, the days were not long enough, so that the nighttime also had to be used. And so, June 11 arrived faster than we expected. A classmate and I finished our review two days before the exam, which meant we could use those remaining days for a bit of recreation. Not that we weren't worried, but our heart and soul had not been overcome with studying. That was good. We were tripped up a bit in dogmatics, because—despite all our studies— we were asked something in the oral examination with Professor Craemer that we had not directly covered, namely about the nature of grace in general and in the holy sacraments specifically. Still, it went fairly well. There was only one question that I could not answer, but—to my delight—no one else in the class could answer it either.

Exegesis went fine, because—to our delight—the professor used a section of Acts 15 (or something like it) that we had studied in the last quarter of the year. Church history also went well. So did the Latin exam, in which we had to read and translate the section on original sin from Martin Chemnitz' *Examination of the Council of Trent*.[22] Pastoral theology with Dr. Walther went well. Twenty-one students took the exams: ten from the theoretical division (two of whom were Norwegians) and eleven from the

practical seminary (one Norwegian). My sermon received a grade of 1.5.[23] Only one classmate received a 1. My catechism work was crowned with a 1.

On the evening of our exams we held a banquet in the dining hall, to which the honorable faculty were also invited. After the meal, the candidates had bought two barrels of beer, several gallons of wine, and cigars, too. In the presence of the Herr Professors and invited relatives, these were consumed along with songs, declarations, and five speeches. Among the 190 students in the two houses of studies of the time, not one of them would have thought anything of having three or four glasses of beer and one or two glasses of wine. That evening we were allowed to stay up until midnight. That was exceptional, because 10:30 was our usual time for lights out.

Such a boarding school had to follow strict rules. Students would be chosen by the faculty for pastoral offices or other roles. Many of these remembered their time as students, and how the honorable professors held them accountable for various roles like inspector of library areas and sleeping quarters, stairway and entranceway inspectors, or garden inspector (the office I had worked and labored in for the past three years). To this, still other heavy burdens were added to my quite weak and still unskilled shoulders. The strong and true God helped me. And praise be to God. He who is mighty and strong in silence helped.

Many of the graduating candidates had enjoyed the good fortune of previously experiencing the place to which they would be called. Most of them, in fact, had tried to make this happen one way or another. As one might imagine, this is naturally a subject of great importance to poor candidates for the office of ministry. Hardly anything else is the topic of such conversation among students as where God might lead them. Filled with a holy timidity when I thought about it, placing it entirely in the hands of the true God, I did not want to devise some plan to learn where I might go. The question posed to the candidate was this: "Do you already know where you are to go?" I answered, "No. First I want to pass my exams."

At that time, calls were mostly sent through the district presidents to the honorable college faculty.[24] A companion letter from the president described the available openings, as well as the qualities that candidates might possess to match those needs. The faculty, knowing the candidates quite well, would write the names that they thought would best fit the calls.

Having passed our exams, diplomas were handed to us that evening. It was very simple. It had a large rainbow, on which it said that the Herr Professors recognized that we had completed the requirements for taking up the office of ministry in an Evangelical Lutheran congregation. It also said that we had demonstrated a Christian way of life. Then came the signatures of the Herr Professors and the college seal. Herr Professor Craemer called for me the next morning. He greeted me with a word of reproval: "Why didn't you answer the first question that I asked you in the dogmatic exam? You knew that it was not a proper examination question, and wanted to make me look bad." I had to honestly assure him that I had given no such intention.

Then he made a friendly face, reached out his hand to me, and said, "Now, we don't want to separate as enemies but as friends. Here is a call for you, which is being shared with you after careful consideration by the faculty. It is to the Canadian province of Ontario. Your neighboring pastor will be Pastor Dubpernell, who I believe was a student during your time here. The congregation just recently pulled out of the old Canada Synod, which is affiliated with the old General Synod.[25] It stands about two miles away from another congregation that is still affiliated with the Canada Synod. Now here is the call and a longer detailed companion letter. Read both of these through very carefully and consider it in prayer to God. Ask God for joy and courage to accept the call.

I can hardly imagine how I looked in that moment. I would have much rather gone to the far west than to Canada, against which I was filled with many prejudices. Somewhat defeated, I could only stutter a little and then left. I kept myself from crying, but once I came to my room I could not stop it any longer. I threw myself rather than set myself on my chair, stuck the letter of call in my opened desk, and cried, even before I read the letter of call and its companion letter. In my crying to God in prayer I finally found some composure and started to come to myself again. Then in the company of friends, I started to seriously consider this.

It read: "Call to a congregation of 39 members, which has a church and parsonage." All sacred duties were also described: "The Ten Commandments according to God's word, the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and the confessional writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the 1580 *Book of Concord* should be accepted and carried out among the old and young in the congregation in good days and

bad. The children shall be instructed and prepared for confirmation, the sick visited," etc. What did the congregation pledge for this service? "We want to provide for you." It also said something about being loved and honored as a pastor. Anyone can imagine how this troubled and vexed me. For Canada can be tremendously vast, such that water and bread can run out.

But somehow—praise God!—no doubts overcame me. It was the call of a congregation, which had been established after separating from a unionistic church fellowship that had wanted it to sign away its right to the synod, which would thereby become lord of the congregation. The call required its pastor to proclaim God's word purely and clearly according to the confessional writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and to preserve and dutifully use the holy sacraments according to Christ's holy institution. That is a divine call! I had to admit that to myself as I battled my prejudices. I also thought about Christ's words: "someone else will fasten a belt around you and take you where you do not wish to go" (John 21:18). This "someone else" is the Lord God. I said a prayer, read through the letter of call and its companion letter several times, and returned to the Professor after four in the afternoon.

I said to him, "Herr Professor, with God's approval and after considering all my thoughts and prejudices against becoming an English subject in Canada,[26] I have decided in the name of God and in confidence of his help and presence to accept the call." He replied, "God bless your decision. God will certainly not deny his merciful presence of help. Now write to the congregation and to Pastor Dubpernell that they send you the travel money that you will surely need. Because you will be relatively far away from any other pastors, you should also take along a good number of books from here." This last bit was very important. My library then was still quite small.

After sending my letter, I waited fourteen days before the travel money arrived. In between, I made a farewell visit to New Melle and Washington. In order to buy the necessary books, Mr. Stein loaned me $50, which I was unfortunately not able to repay until 1872.

Now A Few Other Reminiscences about My Time in College

For me and almost all my dear classmates, a blessed transformation and treasure came to us from our highly-prized professors, who gave monumental efforts for many years in our seminary. They were led by

Dr. C.F.W. Walther, F.A. Craemer, and E. Brauer, with a little help from the honorable P. Brohm and several students from the first and second levels of the theoretical seminary and the practical theology proseminars. May the Lord reward them greatly in eternity. For me, it is still almost inconceivable how they possibly managed this work. For instance, there were two divisions of the theoretical and practical seminary. There were three class years in the theoretical seminary, which were not of a terribly large number, but still, it was three classes of students to oversee. There were also three classes in the practical seminary and two in the proseminars.

The theoretical division especially focused on exegesis of Old Testament books in Hebrew and New Testament books in Greek, along with interpretation. The practical division focused on German doctrinal theology, as well as exegesis of the German Old and New Testaments and confessional theology in both divisions. We studied the confessional writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, church history, logic, catechetics, and especially homiletics. We had pastoral care from an encyclopedic work. We also had weekly book study groups. In the proseminar—with the help of students and eventually a full professor, Dr. Schaefer, we polished our German, English, and Latin. We read the Lutheran confessional writings in these three languages, as well as translated the *Examen* by Martin Chemnitz and Johann Gerhard's *Loci Communes*. The more gifted students would translate these things into Greek in order to better read and use the New Testament. Additionally, Professor Craemer taught ancient and modern world history, mathematics, geography, and Luther's Large Catechism, which had to be orally recited. As the dear professors spared nothing for themselves, but were full of zeal for Christ and his kingdom, so they let us know they expected similar from the students. Despite painful headaches, Herr Professor Craemer never missed a lecture. In addition, he was the editor of the journals *Der Lutheraner* and *Lehre und Wehre*. Dr. Walther was later president of the Missouri Synod after President Wyneken grew ill. Yes, indeed, they certainly dedicated their lives to Christ and his kingdom. Their way of life was similarly devoted to service. Who knows how many theological opinions they wrote—especially Dr. Walther as president—except that at least two volumes of his books are filled with them. The true God will assuredly honor them with promised grace in blessed eternity, as it says in Daniel 12:3, "Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever."

The students had a fraternity—the *collegium fratrium*—which Professor Craemer had founded earlier in Fort Wayne. The proseminar students were also allowed to join. The brothers from the theoretical division also took part—for they regarded themselves as equals—but without formally joining. This fraternity addressed all kinds of practical and doctrinal questions. A president and a secretary were elected each month. Proceedings were led according to strict parliamentarian rules. Upon approval from the fraternity, any member could pose a question about college life or a theological question, which would then receive a formal written reply. The fraternity could decide whether to address the matter or not. You can easily imagine the incredible kinds of questions they usually produced, as well as the amazing cliffhanging arguments we had about them. On Friday evenings, we would then meet to discuss them during our "book study" time with a professor, who helped us make sense of things. Brothers would frequently offer lectures to the group, too.

Lectures might discuss the ruinous union of the Protestant churches[27] or various chapters of Reformation history. Afterwards, the lectures would be discussed and evaluated. In any case, these gatherings had the positive effect of providing an introduction for how to lead later congregational meetings, as each pastor is called to do in their office. Each year began with a celebration of the college's founding, to which both the theoretical division and the teachers' college faculty were invited. This celebration opened first with a festival worship service in the church hall, followed by a common meal in the dining hall and a pleasant social time for the evening. At that time, we sang folksongs and heard exhilarating speeches and declarations, until the event closed at precisely 10:30. The program would be put together by a specially elected committee, to which the seminary president belonged *ex officio*, so that nothing too frivolous or dishonorable to Christendom might occur.

In my last two years as a student, we had started an English fraternity in order to practice vernacular English. In many ways, it was built upon the example of the *collegium fratrium*, except that we held debates in English. This was highly valuable, because we otherwise had almost no practice in the vernacular when it came to theological lectures. Many of us—myself included—had almost forgotten how to use English, which is what made this group so important. For we would not only need this in our daily inactions with the people, but we would also need it to defend against all kinds of attacks from unbelievers and false beliefs, as well to share the bread of life with the many spiritually unlearned but yearning

souls, of whom God knows there are so many, as I later learned when I entered the office of ministry.

Life in the academy was ordered down to the smallest thing. Reliable Herr Professor Craemer oversaw the house and dear Frau Professor was the housemother, providing meals with the assistance of three girls who wanted to help these poor students who would go on to serve the church. A monument to the Craemers' self-giving love should be erected by the honorable synod. But the Lord will do—or already has done—that by erecting an eternal and imperishable home.

An older student was lodged in each room as a residential assistant (we called him the *Stubenbock*, room goat).[28] Each student had to take turns with the weekly care of the room, bring water, clean, build a fire in the winter, and bring the necessary coal. One of the students was the dorm inspector and had oversight of the pots and linens. He would tell the students to sweep twice a week, following an alphabetical list. Another student was the wash inspector, whose job was to make sure each student had a washbasin, hand towel, soap and brush. Like the other inspectors, he made sure that the washroom was clean. At that time, there was still space for a garden, which also had to be worked and planted. For three years in a row, I had the honor of being the garden inspector, because I had earlier worked for some summers in a nursery and was therefore viewed as having some competency. There was also a courtyard and firewood inspector [*Hoff- und Holzinspektor*], whose job was to make sure that the area around the buildings was nice and orderly, so that the courtyard was not littered with clothes or other things. He also need to make sure there was split firewood for the kitchen. Students would split firewood, as well as plant in the gardens, usually between three and six in the afternoons. In an open space to the north was some gymnastic equipment: a high bar and parallel bars. On summer days when the students were relaxing or swimming in the Mississippi, they would stretch their limbs on these. Gymnastics was highly recommended but not obligatory. Often we would go for distance runs in the open fields from the south to the northwest of the churchyard to exercise our lungs and legs.

Allow me to tell just one more story. In the springtime of 1867, the front of the college at Jefferson Avenue was dug up so that it could be paved.[29] It was about four or five feet deep. Before then, the curb was only about two steps above the street, but now it was five or six feet. There was nothing keeping the ground from eroding, as one can often

observe around the hills and farmland of the Missouri countryside. It had to be protected. Professor Brauer advised that we cover the slope good and fast with grass sod. But where to get the grass? There was enough open land around but was one allowed to take the grass? There, near the Marina Fort about two blocks across from the seminary was a pretty plateau with fine grass.[30] Other people had already taken some nice grass sod from there. So why not us?

One Wednesday afternoon, therefore, a whole flock of students under the leadership of courtyard inspector C.C. Schmidt went over there with the college wagon. Soon they had already brought back two wagonloads. My humble position as college gardener designated me as the one responsible for helping make sure that the volunteers set the sod securely so that it could grow and not dry out from the sun or get washed away by rain.

Suddenly there came an alarming noise! The college wagon was coming, not at its usual trot but at racing speed with only the driver on it, followed by all the rest of the students. A very angry man was storming after them at full gallop, asking, "What's the meaning of this?" All work in front of the seminary came to a halt. The man was a well-dressed American sitting atop his horse. He said [in English], "O I see now what you want with the turf or sod you were getting. Well you can go back and get all you want. This chase gave me fun."

I should add that while the dear students had been at their work, the same man had been riding around saying [in English], "What are you doing here? You are trespassing upon my premises." He turned on one of the student workers who had been sent over to us from Steden, Germany, by Pastor Bauer. This student was quite terrified and stunned, not understanding one word. This student then looked around for the courtyard inspector, calling out to everyone, "Run, run!" back to the college, as I described. Our brave college coachman had just hitched up the horse, and so ran back to the college at a gallop. One last interesting part of this story is that the street crew from the workhouse was just then busy at the corner where Jefferson and Carondelet Avenue met. They were on a platform with donkey carts. With the rising noise and our boys having to make a quick turn around the corner, the donkeys took fright and bolted southwards back to the workhouse with their passengers still on, leaving others in danger behind them. You can imagine how glad everyone was to learn what had just happened. As far as I know, no one was injured at the time. I have often had a good hearty laugh when I think back on this situation.

Endnotes

1 In German, there is a formal you, *Sie*, and an informal you, *du*.

2 California, Missouri.

3 This is a reference to a chapter of the Civil War called the "Camp Jackson affair."

4 About $5000 in today's dollars.

5 "Young ones" in English sounds like the German *Jungens*, meaning human boys (not kittens).

6 $60 in 1863 would be about $1000 in 2017.

7 In the old gymnasium system, the first class with the highest grade.

8 In his *Postils*, the reformer Martin Luther (1483-1546) provided sermon commentary on the weekly Bible readings used for each Sunday.

9 Jeremiah 1:6.

10 The Lord's Prayer.

11 Later in his career—after pastorates in Ontario, Michigan, and New York—Carl was a pastor near Meta, Missouri.

12 Earlier in the narrative, Carl described controversies between Lutheran and Reformed Germans that divided local congregations.

13 A branch of theology covering introductory study of the Bible.

14 Probably a historical and theological study of different denominations.

15 Likely Grey Lake, just north of Sturgis.

16 Carl used the Latin here, which means "of the same year."

17 A famous song composed by the reformer Martin Luther.

18 Luther's posting of the 95 Theses on October 31, 1517 is widely recognized as the start of the Reformation.

19 C.F.W. Walther (1811-1887) was the first president and a leading theologian of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

20 In English: "God's word and Luther's teaching shall never pass away."

21 A citation of Habakkuk 2:4 and Romans 1:17.

22 Martin Chemnitz (1522-1586) was an important second-generation Lutheran reformer. His *Examination of the Council of Trent* was a Lutheran response to that Roman Catholic council (held between 1545 and 1563).

23 The German grading system goes from 1 to 5, with 1 as the highest grade. 1.5 is therefore comparable to an A or A-.

24 In the Missouri Synod (and other Lutheran groups), districts presidents are clergy who fulfill roles similar to that of bishops in other traditions.

25 The Evangelical Lutheran General Synod of the United States of America [usually shortened to General Synod] was a collection of American Lutheran church bodies. Without overstating differences, member churches of the General Synod differed with the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod on issues like worship style, church polity, and view of the Lutheran confessional writings. At the time, the Canada Synod was a member of the larger General Synod.

26 Canada had just become a semi-autonomous dominion of the British Empire in 1867. Carl's call began in 1868.

27 Beginning in 1817, the Prussian government started uniting its Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinist) Protestants into a single "Union" church. Founders of the Missouri Synod were among those who protested this union.

28 *Stubenaufseher* means residential assistant; *Stubenbalken* is an old word for the same. *Stubenbock* (room goat) sounds very similar to *Stubenbalken*.

29 Before moving to Clayton just outside the St. Louis city limits in 1926, the seminary was in the city near the intersection of Jefferson Avenue and Winnebago Street, not far from the Mississippi River and just south of downtown.

30 The old seminary was near what is now called the Marina Villa neighborhood.

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THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF A BORDER-STATE LUTHERAN PASTOR

XENOPHON J. RICHARDSON
EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY EDWARD W. SPANNAUS

Introduction:

The following letters, written by Rev. Xenophon J. Richardson from Lovettsville, Virginia, were published in The Lutheran Observer in the winter of 1864-1865. When Rev. Richardson, who had been the president of the Virginia Synod for two years, came to New Jerusalem Lutheran Church in Loudoun County in early 1860, he had little idea of the isolation, turmoil and lawlessness that he would face over the coming years. Nonetheless, he managed not only to keep his sizeable congregation together despite its deep divisions during the Civil War, but he actually enlarged it, while other nearby churches were shutting their doors.

Rev. Richardson was born in Page County, Virginia, in 1821, and died in Washington County, Maryland, in 1889. Here, in his own words, is his remarkable account of his travails—and the faith that sustained him—during these awful years. His letters have been transcribed from microfilm of the Lutheran Observer in the United Lutheran Seminary's A. R. Wentz Library at Gettysburg.

Lutheran Observer December 23, 1864, p. 3

MESSRS. EDITORS:

I am ministerally isolated from the world around me. Though nominally connected with the Virginia Synod, that connection amounts to nothing practically as I have not attended any of its meetings nor

forwarded any parochial reports since the commencement of the war. Military movements, together with a total suspension of mail facilities, have been the cause of this. I am, however, laboring in my pastorate with a view to an account of my stewardship during these years of horrible war, that I expect to render to the synod some day, if a merciful providence shall continue my life to meet with my brethren in synodical convention once more. Meanwhile, I have concluded to report to the church generally, through the medium of the *Observer*, what I have been doing the last two or three years, the progress the church has made, and its present condition and prospects. And if the Observer reaches any of the members of the Virginia Synod who attend its meetings, or can communicate with it, I shall be much obliged to them if they will preserve these numbers containing my papers and forward them for presentation at the next meeting. I hope all the members of the synod will be gratified to hear from me and know what I am doing.

But I cannot commence my report proper without saying something first in regard to my painful ministerial isolation. From the time I was licensed until the commencement of this war, about twelve years, I was present at every annual convention of synod; I really loved to be there. Every minister, with the soul of a christian brother in him, knows the pleasantness of these annual seasons of fraternal communion and conference. They are the green spots in ministerial life. They are seasons of refreshing. The heart is warmed anew with holy love, faith is strengthened, zeal is animated, all the christian graces are quickened, and we go away prepared to engage with increased vigor in the work we have to do. Need I say, then, that the loss of these annual meetings of synod, and of the conferences during the intervals, is a serious ode to me? Moreover, our synod was indeed a band of brethren. I believe we all truly loved one another. In all our business transactions and discussions, the feelings and opinions of the humblest member were always respected by all the rest. In our debates embittering personalities were scarcely ever heard, and if heard never failed to receive merited rebuke. The result, was, that our partings were always regretful, and with cordial wishes and earnest prayers for each other's welfare. Pardon me, Messrs. Editors, for writing thus, for some of the most pleasant memories of my past life are connected with the Virginia Synod; and one of my chief ministerial sorrows now is that the prospect for a repetition of them is so dim. . . .

X.J.R.

Lutheran Observer, January 13, 1865, p. 1

MESSRS. EDITORS:

It is a source of devout gratitude to God, that during these years of civil war, my church has been wholly free from internal strifes and dissensions. Other churches, both north and south, and, indeed, some not far from us, have been rent and torn asunder, the pastors are gone, and the doors of the sanctuaries in which they worshipped are scarcely ever opened now. But it has not been so with us. God's grace has mercifully preserved us from this, and I deem it worthwhile to note, in passing, the means we employed to accomplish an object that was certainly no less desirable to others than ourselves, but which they failed to secure.

The fierce political excitement, which, for months immediately preceding the war, so fearfully agitated the country, affected this community as well as others. Here appeared a fearful danger against which I felt it my duty, as a minister of the Gospel and pastor of a church, to guard with all the care and diligence of which I was capable. The question with me was, shall this political strife enter the church and rend it in pieces? Shall those who have so long worshipped in the same temple of God, so often communed around the same altar, and in so many precious seasons of revival, labored, prayed, and rejoiced together—shall they now become enemies to each other, to the dishonor of the Gospel, the ruin of the church, and the curse of the community? With God's help, I determined that this should not be. I therefore avoided all political discussions, and preached no political sermons, nor would I allow any subject to be introduced and action taken within our council or congregational meetings liable to a political construction. I tried to show my people their sins, and held up, to view as well as I could in all their aggravated guilt, the iniquities of the nation on account of which the just judgment of God was about to overtake us, and only the more fearful because so long delayed. Thus, as the storm gathered strength and increased in awful threatening, I tried to keep the attention of my people directed to the moral aspects more than its political. The leading members of my church approved of my course, seconded my efforts, and exerted all their influence to preserve peace and godliness among us; members of other churches whose pastors are gone have lent us their aid in this good work; God's gracious blessing has rested upon us, so that, as will be seen in my future numbers, we have not only held our own, but have enjoyed no small measure of spiritual prosperity.

This is the general course that I have pursued in my ministerial and pastoral work since the commencement of the war. Is any argument necessary to show that I did right? Perhaps so, for the majority of ministers around me, of the leading denominations, acted differently, treating their people Sabbath after Sabbath to fiery political discussions of the war, its causes and results. Let me remark then the *Christ's kingdom is not of this world.* What have we then as *ministers*, as *christian* people, as subjects of a purely *spiritual* kingdom, with a work in the world, of an exclusively *spiritual* character to perform, and having our conversation in heaven, to do with earthly affairs? What may be our duties, rights, and privileges as subjects of earthly governments, or members of the social state, is not the question now; nor is it denied that political subjects as well as others may be legitimately introduced into the pulpit and discussed in their internal [?] aspects and bearings, but further than this, in my humble opinion, ministers and churches should not go. . . .

X.J.R.

Lutheran Observer, January 27, 1865, p. 1.

MESSRS. EDITORS:

I assumed the pastoral care of this church about one year before the commencement of the war. Its condition then was not good. Various causes had operated to produce dissensions, heart burnings, and alienations. I was, however, kindly received by all, and a general disposition was manifested to aid and sustain me in my efforts to do good. My first object, of course, was to improve the spiritual condition of the church, to remove as far as possible the causes of distraction and disaffection, and to bring back again those who had become estranged away. In this I was as successful as could be expected. After some months I had a protracted meeting; the Holy Spirit was poured out upon us in copious measure, christians were revived, sinners were converted, and fifty members were added to the church by confirmation. The influence of this season of grace upon the church was of the most happy character. It united the church as it had not been before for years, increased its moral power in the community, and gave me a hold upon the confidence and affections of my people, that has been of incalculable value to me and my efforts to save the church from evil, and the distractions of succeeding war.

From the spring of 1861 to the fall of 1863, we did not deem it prudent, in consequence of military excitements and for other reasons, to

open the church at all for night service. Our ordinary Sabbath appointments were, however, but seldom suspended; we held our sacramental meetings as often as the condition of things around us would permit, and special attention was given to Sabbath School and catechetical classes. With God's blessing, we were thus enabled to keep up a religious interest in the congregation. The Sunday School in the summer of 1863 numbered 166 scholars, with a corresponding force of officers and teachers.

But with all this there was one direction in which we failed to accomplish the good we earnestly desired -- but comparatively few of our young people were being gathered in from the world and added to the church. True, we never had a communion without confirmations; but the number was not large. Meanwhile, wickedness of every description was on the increase, and demoralizing influences were become daily stronger. What was to be done? Last winter (1863-'64). I appointed several special prayer meetings in different parts of the congregation, to be held, all except one, semi-weekly, sometimes at school houses, and then at the houses of members, changing from place to place, so that all could occasionally attend, for the purpose of confessing our sins and imploring the pardoning mercy and compassion of our God. No public announcements were made of these meetings, the appointments were privately circulated among the members, and but few attended them or knew of them except those who would go to pray. It was good to be there. The Spirit of heavenly grace descended upon us. Christians renewed their covenant with God, and were blessed. Then the burden of unconverted souls began to come upon us as it had not before. We prayed for them in all the earnestness of longing desire for their conversion.

Thus we continued in prayer until the later part of last February, when, without any public announcement, I commenced a protracted meeting at the Tankerville school house. The power of God was manifested, sinners were converted, they prayed for mercy, and found peace in believing on the Lord Jesus Christ. The whole community seemed to become aroused, and in the course of two or three nights the school house became so crowded that we had to move away privately to another place, confining ourselves to the instruction of mourners. As the meeting progressed, we several times found it necessary to have services at two different places at the same time, in order to meet the interest and prevent disorder. The result was the conversion of more than forty souls. From the deep impression made upon the minds of the people I am

satisfied this result would have been doubled but for lack of house room to accommodate the congregations. . .

X.J.R.

Lutheran Observer, February 3, 1865, p. 3.

MESSRS. EDITORS:

In my last number I gave a brief account of a work of grace with which this church was blessed last winter and spring. We entered upon a series of meetings with fear and trembling. This county for the past two or three years has been neutral ground—neither army holding it, and detachments from both overrunning it. We feared interruptions by soldiers, but, to their credit, and the praise of God's restraining grace, let it be said, they caused us no trouble. We feared collisions between opposing parties, but though we had both occasionally, providentially they never met at any of our meetings. But how unfavorable, in human view, was such a condition of things for a work of this character. To God's grace be all the praise for the success that crowned our humble efforts to promote this glory. His ear is never heavy that he cannot hear, nor his arm shortened that he cannot save. . . .

The situation of churches and communities along the border is to say the least a very unenviable one. We have no civil law; at least this is the case here, and I presume it is the same elsewhere. There is not a single *human* instrumentality in operation to protect the good and punish the wicked. Society is dissolved into its original elements, and every man, according to his own moral instincts and feelings, has become his own protector and avenger. Sometimes armies pass through, leaving destruction and desolation to mark their course; while scarcely a week elapses that we do not have scouting parties and detachments from both armies going in almost every direction. This state of things causes continued excitement and alarm, and its fearfully demoralizing tendency can only be known and appreciated by those whose lot is cast within its range. The worst passions of human nature are aroused, and every man, except where the most thoroughly tested confidence exists, is disposed to look upon his neighbor with suspicious distrust. No wonder, therefore, that we hear of neighborhoods filled with contention and strife, where mobs will, in all their fiendish violence, and murders are the order of the day. But in our church, and in this community generally, we have had peace. The Gospel has taught us to love one another, and under the

influence of that love we respect each other's rights, bear each one another's burdens, and meet our mutual responsibilities. It is under such circumstances, as those that have surrounded us here, that the power and value of the christian religion, as the only effectual conservator of social morality and order, are peculiarly manifest. And this is effectual wherever it is cordially embraced. Let the Gospel of Jesus Christ take deep roots in the hearts of the people, and its spirit pervade society, and we have comparatively little use for human courts and laws; men then do right from religious principle, and not from any compulsion of political legislation. . . .

It may be supposed that, under the circumstances, we are bound, as pastor and people, very closely together. It would be hard for me to leave them, and I believe not less sorrowful to them to see me go. I have no wish to do so. They give me a comfortable support, and still assure me, not withstanding their heavy losses, that as long as they have, I shall not want. Sore calamities have befallen us recently, and others still, however, may be in store for us. But hitherto the Lord hath helped us, and we will trust his mercy and grace for the future.

X.J.R.

Background:

Lovettsville, the northernmost town in present-day Virginia, was settled by Germans coming from Pennsylvania and Maryland starting in 1731—part of the wave of internal migration which brought thousands of Germans and Scotch-Irish into the Great Valley of Virginia just to the West across the Blue Ridge Mountains. The area of northern Loudoun County comprising what was known as "the German Settlement," along with the adjoining Quaker area around Waterford, voted heavily against secession, while the rest of Loudoun County voted to separate from the Union. During the War, north Loudoun was caught "between hawk and buzzard," or "between Reb and Yank," as writers have put it, subject to occupation and raids by both armies, while often being unable to obtain the necessities of life from merchants and traders from either side. From its founding in 1765, New Jerusalem Lutheran Church (New Jerusalem) in Lovettsville, Virginia, had always been a member congregation of the Maryland Synod and the General Synod—and of the Pennsylvania Ministerium before that -- and had never been part of the Virginia Synod. This is not surprising, since Lovettsville is situated just two miles

from the Potomac River and the Virginia-Maryland border, and most of the settlers there had originally come from southeast Pennsylvania.

In 1858, when the Rev. J. B. Anthony began his ministry here, he took New Jerusalem into the Melanchthon Synod, which had been formed a year earlier. The Melanchthon Synod, centered in western Maryland, was an expression of the "American Lutheranism" championed by S. S. Schmucker and Benjamin Kurtz.

Xenophon Richardson, who had served various congregations in western Virginia since 1848, was elected Virginia Synod president in 1857 and again in 1858, while serving at Mt. Tabor in Augusta County. On February 27, 1860, Richardson accepted a call to New Jerusalem, and at the October 1860 convention of the Virginia Synod, the Lovettsville charge (comprised of New Jerusalem and St. Paul's in Neersville) applied for admission to the Virginia Synod, which was approved. One suspects that entering the Virginia Synod may have been a condition of Rev. Richardson's accepting a call to New Jerusalem.

At the same time, there was much turmoil, including boundary disputes, within both the Maryland and Virginia Synods, over the breakaway Melanchthon Synod. But at the 1860 convention, proposals were received recommending a merger of all three synods. The Maryland Synod was urging a merger, and it scheduled a meeting with the Virginia Synod to discuss this. The Virginia Synod appointed a committee, including Richardson, to present a plan to a joint meeting of the Virginia and Maryland Synods to be held in Winchester on May 29, 1861; the decision of the Winchester meeting was then to be reported to the next annual convention of the Virginia Synod, which, interestingly, was set to convene in Lovettsville on October 17, 1861.

In April 1861 the war broke out, and in May, Virginia seceded. Because of the war, it was considered "inexpedient" to meet in a border area such as Lovettsville. Unable to attend the convention, Richardson sent a letter asking to be excused, and again inviting the Virginia Synod to hold its 1862 convention in Lovettsville. However, the convention decided, in view of the disturbed condition of affairs in the border counties, that it would still be inexpedient to meet in Lovettsville the next year. Richardson was still associated with the Virginia Synod's Education Society, and he was also designated to supply the Smithfield congregation in Clarke County (although it is unlikely that he was able to do this). Lovettsville did submit a parochial report to the Virginia convention, listing 450 communicants —making it by far the largest charge in the Virginia Synod.

And at the same time, because of the war, the Virginia Synod withdrew from the General Synod, and sent a delegate to participate in the founding of the General Synod of the Confederate States -- a split which was not resolved until 1918. The convention urged members to patronize the *Southern Lutheran* as an alternative to the Maryland-based *Lutheran Observer*. A committee report, adopted unanimously, declared that the war of the rebellion was "a defensive war," waged against "an invading foe," and was "just and righteous."

In 1862, 1863, and 1864, Richardson was unable to attend the annual Virginia conventions, and no parochial reports were submitted to those conventions. It is this state of affairs that Richardson laments in his first letter to the *Lutheran Observer*.

In the second letter, he relates how he has avoided any discussion of politics and the war. Now, Richardson may have regarded this as a necessity, since the congregation was deeply divided between Unionist and secessionists. Pastor Michael Kretsinger in his 1976 congregational history counted 28 members who joined the Unionist Independent Loudoun Rangers, a local cavalry and scouting unit. The number-two leader of the Loudoun Rangers, 1st Lt. Luther W. Slater, was not only a communicant, but he had attended the Lutheran preparatory schools at Roanoke and then Gettysburg, apparently on a path to becoming a Lutheran minister. There were at least two other New Jerusalem members beyond those 28, who joined other Union Army regiments: William Wiard, and William B. Downey. A number of other New Jerusalem members, including some of the Coopers, John F. Downey, Gideon Householder, and Luther Potterfield, were scouts and clandestine intelligence operatives for the Union Army command at Harper's Ferry.

We know of fewer New Jerusalem members in the Confederate army, but there was Peter Kabrich, William Snoots, and James Jacobs. Pastor Richardson likely performed a marriage ceremony for James Jacobs on Oct. 24, 1864, and he preached the funeral for Peter Kabrich, who was mortally wounded in the fight against the Loudoun Rangers at Waterford Baptist Church on Aug. 27, 1862. To make matters worse, Kabrich was shot (while trying to steal a horse belonging to the Loudoun Rangers) by Charles Webster, who a few months later married into the Downey family, who were New Jerusalem communicants and Union loyalists. In the case of New Jerusalem's Snoots family, it was literally a case of brother against brother, when the Confederate William Snoots had to be restrained from killing his Unionist brother Charles, after the Loudoun Rangers had

surrendered at the Waterford fight. That gives you an idea of what Pastor Richardson was facing during the war.

Despite his banning of any political discussions in the church, Richardson's loyalties were known. In the public vote on the Ordinance of Secession in May 1861, he voted against secession. In February 1864, he was one of 150 men and women who petitioned Secretary of War Stanton for relief from the Union-imposed blockade which prevented loyalists from obtaining food, clothing, and other necessities of life from across the Potomac in Maryland. The signers declared that that "we have borne the horrors of this ungodly war with all patience and forebearance in our power, while we hope for its speedy close and proud triumph of the Union Arms."

In May 1864, Richardson wrote to the military commander at Harper's Ferry asking for permission to go with his son and "other young men from the neighborhood" to Pennsylvania College in Gettysburg (the feeder school for the Lutheran Seminary). The Commanding General replied that Richardson had permission to send his son and others to school in Pennsylvania, but that he could not go with them; and that he had permission to correspond with his son subject to approval by the military authorities at Harper's Ferry. (This is also interesting, because the Virginia Synod had decisively broken off all connection and support for Gettysburg Seminary early in the war.)

In January and February of 1865, there was a Union Army winter encampment literally right outside the church door. 2500 Union cavalry troops were encamped in a circle around Lovettsville, and there were camps in the fields right across from the church and its cemetery. There is no indication that New Jerusalem was used as a hospital or barracks. The strongly-secessionist Presbyterian church was taken over for use as a hospital during the 1865 encampment, suffering a great deal of damage, and there are some indications that the German Reformed church (also more secessionist than Unionist) was also used by Union troops.

Apparently there was some damage to New Jerusalem, or at least wartime deterioration, because later in the year Pastor Richardson wrote in the church records: "The church having undergone a thorough repairing was re-opened for divine service on Sabbath Dec. 10, 1865, and formally re-dedicated to the service of the Triune Jehovah, the Rev. C. Startzman of Maryland being present and assisting the pastor on the occasion."[1] We wonder how Pastor Richardson would have reacted to the fierce polemics

emanating from his beloved Virginia Synod, and other Lutheran synods, during the war years. In addition to the statements reported above that were adopted by the 1861 Virginia convention, the resolution declaring the Synod's withdrawal from the General Synod denounced those "yet adhering to the remaining unscrupulous despotism in Washington."

The 1864 Virginia Synod president's report lamented those who had fallen by the sword, but stated: "Yes, they fell defending their homes and families from the assault of a murderous foe who have invaded our soil, armed our servants, plundered our property, burned our dwellings, murdered our men, exiled our women and starved our children. To repel this horde of barbarous vandals have our citizens, our members sacrificed their lives. Peace be to their ashes, bliss to their souls."

On the other side, the 1864 convention of the Maryland Synod acknowledged that it is not normally permitted to introduce political matters into the sanctuary, but nonetheless stated that "we do regard it, not only as a right but as a bounden duty of our Ministers to pray for the preservation of the national existence against a rebellion destructive in its aims at once of the life, the freedom and honor of our great and good Government, and both by word and deed, as far as is consistent with their spiritual calling, to uphold and defend it."

The General Synod, meeting in May 1862, had declared that "the rebellion against the constitutional Government of this land is most wicked in its inception, unjustified in its cause, unnatural in its character, inhuman in its prosecution, oppressive in its aims, and destructive in its results to the highest interests of morality and religion." It avowed that the suppression of the rebellion was "an unavoidable necessity and a sacred duty," and urged its people to pray for military success, "that our beloved land may be speedily be delivered from treason and anarchy."

This is what Richardson, isolated in Lovettsville, was surrounded by, north and south. To what degree he was fully aware of these bitter intra-church polemics, we cannot say.

Richardson was finally able to attend the October 1865 convention of the Virginia Synod held in Rockbridge County; he preached at the convention on October 26, and served on at least one committee. But after preaching, he was granted a leave of absence due to a son's illness. For the first time since 1861, a parochial report was submitted for the Lovettsville charge, showing 492 communicants (an increase from 450 in 1861), two Sabbath schools, 33 teachers, 190 scholars, and three prayer meetings.

At the October 1866 Virginia Synod Convention, Richardson was present, and he asked, on behalf of himself and New Jerusalem, for permission to withdraw from the Virginia Synod, so that they could unite with the Melanchthon Synod. This was granted. In October 1869 a joint convention of both the Maryland and Melanchthon Synods was held at Williamsport, Md., and all the members of the Melanchthon Synod were welcomed into the Maryland Synod. And Rev. Richardson was immediately elected president of the enlarged Maryland Synod!

Rev. Richardson stayed at New Jerusalem until 1873, when he was called to Trinity in Smithsburg, Maryland, near Hagerstown, where he served until 1887. He died in 1889, and is buried in Smithsburg with his wife Mary.[2]

Endnotes

1 Rev. Christian Startzman had been a founder of the Melanchthon Synod in 1857.

2 Two of Xenophon and Mary's children, son H.M.M. and daughter Virginia, are buried at New Jerusalem. Another son Arthur Franklin went on to become a minister, and daughter Susan married the Rev. Dr. John Weidley, long-time pastor and pastor emeritus of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation in Washington, D.C. and a president of the Maryland Synod UCLA.

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