

Lutheran Pietism Comes to America

By Edward C. Fredrich

[This is the fourth in a series of four essays on Pietism.*]

In his long and large plans for his Lutheran Zion the Lord of the church saw fit to accompany the rise of Lutheran Pietism with a general opening of the New World to Lutheran immigrants. In 1675 Philipp Jacob Spener put out his *Pia Desideria* with its program for improving conditions in the Lutheran Church along lines we now designate as Pietism. Just when Spener's movement was getting into high gear and reaching out from his home base in Frankfurt-am-Main into other areas, William Penn in 1681 broadcast throughout Germany his invitation to one and all that they could settle on his far-distant and far-flung New World holdings. Among the first to react favorably were German Lutheran Pietists.

Over a century later this pattern would repeat itself in Scandinavia. At the turn of the previous century in Norway a dormant Pietism was reawakened by Hans Hauge not too many years before a wholesale immigration to America's Midwest would begin. In the vanguard of those setting out westward from Stavanger were many Norwegian Pietists and a lay preacher, Elling Eielsen, who brought Haugeanism and Scandinavian Pietism to our country's young states and territories in the Great Lakes area.

These are two broad highways of the high seas over which Lutheran Pietism came to America. There are many others. Their sheer number makes it impossible to treat them all in a brief article and they must yield place to the more significant migrations. Attention will center on the migration of Pietism from Halle to Colonial areas in the 1700s and from Scandinavia to our Midwest a century later.

For good measure a third travelogue will be appended. It features Pietism's journey from Wuerttemberg to the Wisconsin Synod a century and a half ago. Admittedly, scope and significance diminish when measured on the large scale of general Lutheran church history. At the same time, there should be for most of this periodical's readers an increase in interest as the subject moves closer to home.

We might well at the outset guard against a common failing in the approach to early American studies, whether they be of the secular or ecclesiastical variety. We are all prone to glorify and glamorize the immigrant and his baggage. The assumption is automatically made that the pioneers were a cut or two above those that followed in all admirable qualities, especially those of the religious variety. This was certainly sometimes the case. More often than not the opposite held true.

At the outset attention might also be called to the old problem in any kind of "comes to America" story of trying to measure and balance the strength of Old World influences and the impact of the new surroundings. Distortion can easily set in if this problem is badly manhandled or completely ignored.

I. From Halle to Colonial settlements

Pietism played a large role in the early migration of German Lutherans to Pennsylvania. When church and civil authorities moved against the *collegia pietatis* that Spener had begun in Frankfurt and that soon sprang up in other places, the disgruntled Pietists could easily cast themselves in the role of immigrants to Pennsylvania.

Under the leadership of such influential and radical Pietists as Johann Zimmermann and Johann Petersen a large-scale movement to the New World was planned for 1693–1694. Petersen, professor at Rostock, pastor at Hamburg and superintendent at Luebeck and Lueneburg, was a member of the Frankfort Land Company that had sent the Moravian immigrants under Pastorius to Germantown in 1683.¹ With the 1694 immigrant Pietists came two of the pioneer German Lutheran pastors: Heinrich Koester and Daniel Falckner. The company on shipboard had chosen the erudite and erratic Koester as their "general instructor." After a checkered academic career, centering mainly on languages, philosophy and law, Koester had added to his mystic and Rosicrucian

inclinations a strong commitment to Pietism. At Berlin he joined a *collegium pietatis* and was influenced by Horb, Spener's brother-in-law, and Zimmermann.

In Philadelphia Koester was soon preaching in German and English to Lutherans, Quakers and all who would listen. He always claimed to be a Lutheran and an adherent to the Augsburg Confession but he was ready to help any denomination that he deemed evangelical. He spent his last years at the Hanover Orphanage and died in 1749.

The other German Lutheran pastor to come to Pennsylvania in the 1694 immigration was Daniel Falckner. He did not come, however, as a pastor but as a legal representative of the land company. Pursuing theological studies, Daniel Falckner at Erfurt sided with Francke when the latter was expelled from the city. He found his place with the 1694 immigrants and was even excommunicated by Koester on shipboard for excessive mysticism. Eventually he was caught up in the tangled financial affairs of the Frankfort Land Company. A term of imprisonment seems to have cooled him to financial and legal activities.

Taking up pastoral duties, Daniel Falckner was soon organizing and serving Lutheran groups in the area, among them those at Falckner's Swamp, site of the oldest existing German Lutheran congregation in Pennsylvania, and several in the New Jersey area. Personal eccentricities seem to have caught up with him. In 1731 he resigned his pastorate under pressure.ⁱⁱ The exact year of his death in the 1740s is not known.

The most important thing Daniel Falckner ever did for American Lutheranism was to bring to this country on a return trip in 1700 his younger brother Justus. Justus Falckner had studied theology at Leipzig, become a fan of Francke and Thomasius, and followed the latter upon his expulsion to Halle. Justus finished his theological course at Halle but was not ordained for pastoral service. The precise reason for this looking back from the furrow is not known, although a reasonable surmise is that the Pietists' stringent personal and professional demands on the clergy may have been the predominant influence.

Whatever the case, this enabled Justus Falckner to become the first man officially ordained for the Lutheran ministry in America.ⁱⁱⁱ The Albany-New York parish was vacant for a long time. Andreas Rudman, Swedish pastor at Wicacoa, resolved to serve but soon fell victim to a yellow fever plague. He survived but could not fill the physical requirements of the far-flung parish he had grown to love. His concerns caused him to persuade the recent immigrant, Justus Falckner, to assume this assignment. Consequently upon authorization of the Uppsala archbishop, he ordained Justus Falckner on November 24, 1703 in Gloria Dei—Old Swedes Church in Philadelphia.

For twenty years Falckner served the field that began as the oldest existing Lutheran parish in this country but later divided into what is now a Missouri St. Matthews congregation in New York and a Lutheran Church in America First Lutheran congregation in Albany. Other congregations were added. The Palatinate immigrants became a part of the parish. Justus Falckner was busy carrying out his opportunity to put his theological stamp on New York Lutheranism. His successor, William Berkenmeyer from Hamburg, may have been a confirmed opponent of Pietism, but one doubts whether he could have counteracted all of the Falckner influence.

How much of that influence was in tune with Pietism? Certainly the early Falckner years provide abundant evidence for the *pro* position: Leipzig commitment to Pietism, move to Halle with Thomasius, studies under Francke, inclusion of his hymns in Francke's 1697 hymn book.^{iv} Once Falckner began his New York parish work the evidence points in the other direction. In a situation where there were no enforced church-state boundaries and immediate and very practical concerns pushed into the background finespun theological debating, Justus Falckner showed himself to be a good Lutheran pastor. His pastoral records testify to a deep pastoral concern for his confirmands. In the only book he published in this country, with a long title beginning "Fundamental Instruction," he endeavored to draw clear lines between Lutheran and Reformed doctrine.^v Pietists were not especially noted for expounding such a theme.

A decade after Justus Falckner's death in New York the scene shifts to the youngest and southernmost colony. Georgia was opened to colonization just in time to provide a refuge for the dispossessed Salzburger Lutherans. On the last leg of their wanderings from Austria to Georgia they were shepherded by two Halle pastors. The Augsburg pastor, Samuel Urlsperger, had taken up the cause of the Salzburger and when permitted

to obtain pastors for the migrants, he turned to his friend at Halle, Gotthilf August Francke, for the pastoral supply.

Two Halle trained men, Johann Boltzius and Israel Gronau, went with the Salzburger to Eben-Ezer and served them as emissaries of Halle Pietism. When Gronau died in 1745, Hermann Lemke was sent to replace him. He was a product of both Halle's lower schools and university.

The line of Halle pastors serving the Salzburger in Georgia was continued when a third man was needed and Christian Rabenhorst was sent. The replacement for Boltzius, who died in 1765, was another Halle product, Christoph Triebner. These two men, Rabenhorst and Triebner, began the theological and personal conflict that would plague Eben-Ezer into Revolutionary War destruction. In its own little way this Georgia feud mirrored what was happening at Halle and in Lutheranism at large.^{vi}

Rabenhorst was a typical late Pietist in that he retained the old drives and commitments while at the same time giving way to the emerging Rationalism that enabled Christian Wolff, exiled from Halle and Prussia through Pietist influence in 1723, to return in triumph less than two decades later. Of Rabenhorst a contemporary account can testify: "What a God-fearing preacher we have in our midst we cannot adequately describe with our pen. He preaches two such comforting sermons every day that everyone has to marvel and that always cause many tears to be shed."^{vii} A recent study can also declare: "With Christian Rabenhorst the theology of Rationalism penetrated Georgia."

Triebner advocated old-line Pietism, and with his coming Eben-Ezer soon split into two factions, demonstrating once again in a New World setting the inveterate ability of the movement to engender strife and division. Even Heinrich Muhlenberg, called in as troubleshooter, could effect only a brief truce. The conflict was renewed and intensified and played its part in the Eben-Ezer decline during and after the Revolutionary War.

The colony may have vanished as the Salzburger descendants moved to other places but the Pietist influence, one can be sure, lingered where it was transplanted. It merged in new areas with a kindred spirit it found there.

One of these areas was Pennsylvania, the stronghold of Colonial Lutheranism. Here attention centers on Heinrich Muhlenberg. After Goettingen studies he taught briefly at the Halle orphanage and became a friend of Francke, who persuaded him to accept the call to fill the vacancy in the triple parish of Philadelphia and its environs. Muhlenberg's coming to Pennsylvania in 1742 began a new and big chapter in Colonial Lutheranism.

Muhlenberg's widely ranging and deeply penetrating influence on this country's Lutheranism is scarcely in dispute. What is in dispute is the Pietistic cast of that influence. A recent writing raises the question, "Was Muhlenberg a Pietist?" The answer suggested leans in the direction of a negative.^{viii} There is considerable evidence for both opinions. A century after his coming to America both a lax and a more rigorous Lutheranism would claim Muhlenberg as an ally and model.^{ix}

The Pietist leanings loom large. The Old World connections have been mentioned. They continued in the New World. Muhlenberg as a matter of course kept in touch with and looked for guidance to Halle. From there he obtained the desperately needed pastors for his growing field.

When it was time to form the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the mother synod of America's Lutheranism, Muhlenberg made sure of the body's theological stance. When the question arose at the constituting convention why there were so few pastors present, the answer was frankly given that all who denounced those assembling as Pietists were not invited.^x

The Pietism of Pennsylvania may not have been as intense as that of Halle. The busy planting and gathering and organizing that the Colonial scene required left little time for elaborate theological debates, such as Spener and Francke and Lange carried on with their opponents in the Old World. But the transplanted Pietism did take root. It survived through the season of Rationalism and was a strong strain in the theology of the General Synod and its Gettysburg Seminary.

That seminary was founded in 1826 with S.S. Schmucker as its first president and professor. At the first inaugural he declared, "Without piety no man can be a faithful minister." When the Gettysburg sesquicentennial was being observed, one of its historians sought to discover and define the common characteristic that linked

the 150 years. He found it in a concern for “constant growth in piety.”^{xi} Others might well have used another term. In the history of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the General Synod, the United Lutheran Church in America and the Lutheran Church in America Pietism has played its part.

It would do that also in the history of the American Lutheran Church and its parent bodies.

II. From Scandinavia to Midwestern areas

Scandinavians by the thousands migrated to this country in the previous century from 1825 on. Almost all were Lutherans and a good number of these, especially in the earlier decades, were Pietists.

At the turn of the century, Hans Nielsen Hauge had ministered as a lay preacher to little groups of pietistically minded Norwegians who did not favor the services and pastors of the state church. Pietism had entered the Scandinavian countries soon after its rise in Germany and won over its share of the clergy. Soldiers serving in the same armies with German Pietists were introduced to the movement and soon joined it.

Also in Scandinavia, as elsewhere, Pietism soon gave way to Rationalism. Laws were passed against unauthorized conventicles, the Scandinavian version of Spener’s *collegia pietatis*. Despite such opposition, Scandinavian Pietism endured, especially in rural areas where little groups of the faithful continued to gather for their mutual edification.

When Hans Hauge began his ministry in Norway in the last years of the eighteenth century, he found receptive hearers. Soon a strong Pietist upsurge was in the making. Hauge suffered a long imprisonment but his work was carried on by others. When the Norwegian emigration to America got under way in 1825, many Pietists from rural areas were soon setting out for new and better farmlands in America’s midwestern states and territories.

Elling Eielsen, born in the year Hauge’s imprisonment began, came to this country in 1839 to serve countrymen in the Haugean, lay-preaching fashion, although he let himself be ordained in 1843. He busied himself organizing low church congregations and finally in 1846 a synod that stressed personal piety and lay preaching. Because of his distaste for order and organization many of his followers deserted him. In 1876 such a split brought the Hauge Synod into existence. Eielsen kept his own few remaining followers in a body that has survived to this day.

Other Norwegian Lutheran church groups with strong roots in Pietism also formed. In the 1890s formation of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church, disgruntled Conference members created the Lutheran Free Church with strong leanings to Pietism. In 1900 the most Pietistic Norwegian grouping, the Church of the Lutheran Brethren, came into being. When the Lutheran Free Church finally entered the American Lutheran Church, those most strongly committed to congregational independence and personal piety formed the Association of Free Lutheran Congregations.

A rule of thumb could state that the most intense Norwegian Lutheran Pietists remained isolated in small independent synods, but it is also true that many who found their way into the American Lutheran Church via the 1917 Norwegian union and the 1960 ALC merger also had strong links to Pietism. A favorite catechetical tool for Norwegian and Danish Lutherans for a long time was Erick Pontoppidan’s *Truth Unto Godliness*. This book was strongly based on Spener’s exposition of Luther’s catechism and helped perpetuate Scandinavian Lutheran Pietism into this century among those whom it trained in the rudiments of the Christian faith.

The Danes have been mentioned. Pietism made strong inroads in Denmark also. When Danes began to come to this country in the last half of the previous century, they tended to divide along Pietist lines. Those more so inclined were known as “Gloomy Danes” and eventually found their way into the American Lutheran Church. Their less inclined counterparts, the “Happy Danes,” are in the Lutheran Church in America.

The Swedish immigrants, among whom were many with Pietist inclinations, eventually formed the Augustana Synod that became a part of the Lutheran Church in America. Thereby another strong Pietist element merged itself with much older but like-minded impulses.

Finland should also be given its attention. There was a strong Pietist movement in the homeland, sometimes reaching extravagant heights. When Finns came to this country, often to mining areas in such places

as Upper Michigan and Arizona, they too divided themselves according to more or less Pietistic leanings. The “mores” are to be found today in the small Apostolic Lutheran Church in America. Those in the middle in the main moved into the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. Others are in the Lutheran Church in America via the merging of the Suomi Synod and others with the United Lutheran Church in America.

This all-too-brief sketch of the move of Pietism “From Scandinavia to Midwestern Areas” makes more than one point. Most firmly, however, it establishes the fact that there are long and strong Pietist roots in both the Lutheran Church in America and in the American Lutheran Church. Their intertwining in the next few years will have no other effect than the creation of an even stronger strain.

A concluding section, as has been promised, will deal with subjects lying closer to home. It will necessarily be brief in comparison to much larger themes previously treated but it will focus on areas that involve us personally. Pietism also came to America

III. From Wuerttemberg to the Wisconsin Synod

Pietism studies have a way of drawing lines between Wuerttemberg Pietism and that found in other areas. One writer states: “Wuerttemberg proved to be good soil for Pietism, and here it took on a churchly character, opposing separatistic temptations.”^{xii} Koehler makes the same point in this way:

A relationship is to be noted between our special history and Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752), father of the Wuerttemberg pietism. His work went on more in quiet. From 1713 till 1741 he taught at the Klosterschule in Denkendorf, and outside of the classics, read with his students there one of the church fathers and the Bible in the original tongues. The fruitage of this work were the two most important achievements in the theological scholarship of that day: the pioneer work in textual criticism and the *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, Bengel’s thoughtful and profound guide-book to Biblical interpretation. The last ten years of his life he held administrative positions as prelate and member of the consistorium.^{xiii}

Bengel was enough of a Pietist to let Spener and Francke influence his Revelation studies in a millennial direction, even to the point of predicting Christ’s return a half dozen years before William Miller’s date. His Pietism, however, avoided other excesses of the movement. Bengel and other Wuerttemberg Pietists did not involve themselves in the bitter wrangling and court policies that characterized the Spener-Francke developments. They contented themselves with serving their parishes, often rural, and promoting piety. Following Bengel’s lead, they also demonstrated a strong and abiding commitment to the Holy Scriptures.

By the time Wuerttemberg people began to come to our Midwest in sizable numbers Bengel’s millennial date had come and had gone and could be ignored, but the reverence for the Bible and the concern for the piety remained.

Many of the Wuerttemberger joined the Wisconsin Synod and the old Michigan and Minnesota Synods, both pastors and lay people. Wisconsin’s first president, John Muehlhaeuser, was from Wuerttemberg, as was the third president, Gottlieb Reim. John Weinmann, who helped Muelhaeuser organize the new church body in 1849 and 1850, was a countryman.

When South Germans established themselves around Ann Arbor, Michigan, and needed a pastor, they called upon the Basel Mission Institute for help. Basel sent them a Wuerttemberger, Friedrich Schmid, who arrived in 1833 to begin his long career as missionary and pastor and president of two Michigan Synods. On the last leg of his journey from Basel to Ann Arbor, Schmid preached to a group of some thirty Wuerttemberg families in Detroit.^{xiv} Christoph Eberhardt, who helped form the second Michigan Synod in 1860, was another Wuerttemberger.

Notable among the Wuerttemberg pastors of the Minnesota Synod in its early years was C. J. Albrecht, fifth president of the body from 1883–1894. Enough has been said to make the point that there was a strong strain of Wuerttemberg Pietism manifesting itself in the formative years of the Wisconsin Synod and its

neighbors now merged with it. To this strong influence coming from many pastors and some very able leaders one must join that of the lay people found in many of the synod's congregations. All in all, it adds up to a strong influence.

Was it strong enough to warp the synod's theology along the familiar lines of overstressing regeneration at the expense of justification, downplaying confessionalism and promoting a legalistic attitude in sanctification? There are some negatives to report but also more positives.

Wuerttemberg Pietism no doubt influenced some of the wavering in confessional stance that characterized the synod's first decade and a half. Muehlhaeuser and those minded like him had to be contradicted and counteracted on numerous occasions by men with a firmer theological stance if the Wisconsin Synod was to become the conservative and confessional church body it is today. We are grateful for the appearance of such men on the early synodical scene. We are also grateful that those they had to oppose were able to yield to the better opinion with good grace.

In the area of sanctification even the mild type of Pietism could produce some strange behavior quirks and viewpoints. Third-generation Wisconsin Synod young people, especially those that grew up in parsonages, had a difficult time understanding why some playing cards could be used with impunity while the more ordinary kind were forbidden. Perhaps in the long run such restraints did more good than harm.

Most important of all, the high regard for Scripture that Wuerttemberg Pietists for the most part demonstrated was an invaluable asset in helping shape the Wisconsin Synod's unyielding stand for the inspiration and inerrancy and clarity and authority of the Bible and for the heart doctrine of that Bible, justification both in the objective and in the individual sense.

Endnotes

* The following foreword, "The Legacy of Pietism," was written for the series by Edward C. Fredrich.

Volume 82 of the *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* will present four articles that will give special attention to the theological movement called Pietism. The first, appearing in this Winter issue, will be of a bibliographical nature, treating some of the major writings produced by the Lutheran Pietists of Germany [written by Martin O. Westerhaus].

Subsequent articles will center on specific aspects. There will be a study of the Pietist influence in the area of church and ministry [by Richard D. Balge]. Then the great Halle mission enterprises will be highlighted [by Ernst H. Wendland]. A final study will have the title, "Pietism Comes to America" [by Edward C. Fredrich].

Why all this attention to Pietism in 1985? It isn't even an anniversary year. That was 1975, three hundred years after the appearance of Spener's *Pia Desideria*, the book generally credited or blamed for inaugurating German Lutheran Pietism. But in 1975, readers will recall, the anniversary that absorbed our attention was "Grace—125."

If Pietism had to wait for its turn while that anniversary and those of the birthdays of our country, our Confessions and our Reformer were being celebrated, then the year 1985 may not be as inappropriate as might seem for catching up.

Just 300 years ago in 1685, Pietism was getting into high gear. After ten troubled years of controversy and strife at Frankfurt-on-Main where he was located, Spener sought to rescue the infant movement from some of its worst excesses. He broke with the Frankfurt separatists, who would provide Pennsylvania with some of its colorful immigrant groups. The repudiation of the separatists was signaled by Spener's 1685 writing, *Der Klagen ueber das verdorbene Christentum Misbrauch und rechter Gebrauch* ("Misuse and Correct Use of Complaints About the Sad State of Christianity").

In 1685 the other outstanding Pietist leader, August Hermann Francke, was taking the first steps that would soon bring him to his leadership role at Halle. He received an advanced degree at Leipzig that year and then began the Bible lectures that attracted such attention and gave Pietism one of its important characteristics.

Whether this year's concentration on Pietism in the *Quarterly* is timely or tardy can be debated. What is hardly debatable, however, is the value of such concentration on our part any time and any place. There are good reasons for the *Quarterly* and its readers to review periodically "The Legacy of Pietism."

The legacy is long. It reaches across the centuries into our own time. It involves such basic and enduring theological issues as the proper relation of sanctification and justification and of law and gospel. It touches on such relevant issues as lay involvement, Bible study and theological education.

There is a danger that the average Wisconsin Synod pastor will give the whole subject the quick and easy brush-off here and elsewhere. If there is one characteristic Wisconsin Synod pastors have in common, it is a profound and congenital distaste for Pietism. The easiest way to win a debate on our conference floors is to charge the opponent with being a Pietist. On the enemies' list of most of us Pietism stands high in third place, just behind Satan and Antichrist. Such an attitude is

understandable. A church body heartily committed to the truth of objective justification cannot help being turned off by the worst vagaries of Pietism.

The antipathy can, however, overextend itself. It can lead to a closed mind that does not reflect and an open mouth that pronounces slogans. These are not assets in our work. We should not throw out the baby with the bath water. We dare not let our dislike for Pietism lead us to a personal or professional neglect of piety. A reconsideration of the flaws and faults in Pietism may help us refrain from recommitting the same blunders and errors. It need not blind us to whatever commendable uses and pluses the movement underscores. Hence, the studies in this year's *Quarterly*.

There is a special reason why a consideration of Pietism is especially in place in 1985. The big new Lutheran Church is in the process of forming. By 1988 it is to be a reality. Many things about this church body are not yet known. But this we do know: the church body that will dominate theologically is the Lutheran Church in America and among its theological emphases Pietism has an honored place. The ancestor ministerium of the LCA was founded by Muhlenberg, an emissary of Halle. Its oldest seminary was founded by S.S. Schmucker on the proposition, "Without piety, no man can be a faithful minister."

Even if these short-range prophecies of a larger lease on life in Lutheranism for Pietism prove false or inconclusive in the years ahead, the movement will always have its place in our concerns. The four *Quarterly* articles in Volume 82 will not by any means satiate those concerns or exhaust the subject. They may arouse a measure of interest and promote personal study.

To that end they are being presented in the 1985 *Quarterly*.

ⁱ Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania* (New York: AMS Press, 1970—reprint of Philadelphia, 1895) pp 60–61.

ⁱⁱ John P. Dem, editor, *The Albany Protocol* (Wilhelm Christoph Berkenmeyer's Chronicle) (Ann Arbor, 1971) pp 4–25.

ⁱⁱⁱ An unofficial, unauthorized ordination by Lars Lock is not counted.

^{iv} Among them is *Auf! ihr Christen, Christi Glieder* that might well deserve inclusion in our new hymnal.

^v The book is soon to be brought out in an English version by the Lutheran Historical Conference. The original low Dutch publication was a product of the William Bradford press. Bradford press also published a Koester writing, the first high-German printing in this country. Someone with interest in early German Lutheran publication in this country might well supply a writing on the Bradford press.

^{vi} See especially the section, *Die Salzburger Exulanten und der hallische Pietismus*, pp 75–86, in Horst Weigelt's *Pietismus-Studien-I. Teil: Der Spener-hallische Pietismus* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1965). The section is part of a larger fifth chapter, *Der hallische Pietismus und die Salzburger Exulanten in Eben-Ezer in Georgia in Amerika*, pp 64–89.

^{vii} *Pietismus-Studien*, pp 78–79. The subsequent quotation is also to be found in this location.

^{viii} Robert Scholz, "Was Muhlenberg a Pietist" in *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 1979–2, pp 50–65.

^{ix} For a more elaborate discussion, see "The Formula of Concord in the History of American Lutheranism" in *No Other Gospel* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1980) pp 106–108.

^x Richard C. Wolf, *Documents of Lutheran Unity in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) p 11.

^{xi} J. Russell Hale, "Gettysburg Seminary—150 Years" in *Lutheran Historical Conference: Essays and Reports—1976*, pp 25 and 34.

^{xii} Conrad Bergendoff, *The Church of the Lutheran Reformation* (St. Louis, Concordia, 1967) p 158. Other writings, from Ritschl's older work to Beyreuther's and M. Schmidt's in recent years, make the same point.

^{xiii} J. P. Koehler, *The History of the Wisconsin Synod* (St. Cloud, Minnesota: Sentinel Publishing Company—for the Prote'stant Conference, 1970) p 16.

^{xiv} Emerson Hutzel, trans., "Selected Letters of Friedrich Schmid" in *Michigan Memories* (Privately published by the Michigan District of the WELS, 1985) p 18.