

# THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

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## Doctrinal Theology.

### ESCHATOLOGY.

Eschatology is the doctrine of holy Scripture concerning temporal death and the intermediate state of departed souls, the second advent of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, final judgment, the consummation of all things, the everlasting damnation of the wicked, and the eternal bliss of the righteous in the world to come. Concerning all these things God has, in his word, revealed whatever he would have us know concerning them, and while, also in this respect, *whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning,*<sup>1)</sup> the words of the apostle, *Behold, I show you a mystery,*<sup>2)</sup> with which he sets forth one particular point of these *ἔσχατα*, apply to all of them. Here, too, *we know in part, and we prophesy in part,*<sup>3)</sup> and with the psalmist we say, *My soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope.*<sup>4)</sup> The last things, being mostly, in their nature, future events, are, as such, objects of Christian hope, and inasmuch as Christian hope is essentially faith concerning things to come, it must be in all its points based upon the

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1) Rom. 15, 4.

2) 1 Cor. 15, 51.

3) 1 Cor. 13, 9.

4) Ps. 130, 5.

with every revolution of the luminaries above, is drawing nearer and nearer, until the last great sign, *the sign of the Son of man*, the Son of man himself *in visible presence, shall appear in heaven.*<sup>1)</sup>

*Little children*, says St. John, *it is the last time;*<sup>2)</sup> and St. Peter, *The end of all things is at hand.*<sup>3)</sup> And lest we be unmindful of such admonitions, our Savior directs our senses to the signs above us and about us, which are to be to us the tokens of his covenant, *Behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me.*<sup>4)</sup> And to all generations of his disciples he says, *When ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.*<sup>5)</sup> And as in the days of St. John, so in these latter days, and to the end of time, *the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come!*<sup>6)</sup>

A. G.

*(To be continued.)*


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## THEOLOGICAL TRAINING IN THE EARLY LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA.

*(Concluded.)*

When, in 1779, a State University was organized at Philadelphia, Pastor Kunze was made one of the Trustees. He was also a member of the committee of five who were to devise a plan for the organization of the university. Kunze urged the propriety of due regard for the interests of the German element in the population of the state by affording them an opportunity to cultivate their mother tongue together with the languages and sciences, there being entire counties populated by Germans whose children understood not a word of English. After some opposition the Board of Trustees yielded to Kunze's arguments, and it was

1) Matt. 24, 30.

2) 1 John 2, 18.

3) 1 Pet. 4, 7.

4) Rev. 22, 12.

5) Matt. 24, 33.

6) Rev. 22, 17.

arranged that a German professorship be created, and that all the learned languages and the rudimentary sciences should be taught in German by the German Professor. The first incumbent of the office was Kunze himself, and a few years later he wrote: "I am pleased to know that herein I have established something for the Germans of which, by the grace of God, the church and posterity will reap the benefit." His successor in the chair was Pastor J. H. Ch. Helmuth, who had served as assistant instructor in the German department before Kunze's removal to New York. But the hopes which had been entertained for this German work were not realized. The number of German students was small, and of these but few, if any, had the ministry in view. Dr. Kunze complained that at Philadelphia he had but six students, and that he doubted if one of them would study theology. In 1785 the number of German students was somewhat increased, and a few of them contemplated theology. But the ministers complained of having very little time to devote to their instruction.

In 1787 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania held its fortieth convention at Lancaster, Pa., and on the last day, June 5, the following item was entered on the record:—

"19. All the preachers have been invited to attend the dedication of the German High School (Franklin College) on the morrow at 10 o'clock A. M., all accepted the invitation."

At the end of the Protocol, we find the following

"Appendix.

"On Wednesday, June 6th, the entire Ministerium went in procession to the dedication of Franklin College, which was held in the Lutheran church. A reformed preacher, G. Weiberg, opened with prayer, the Episcopal preacher, Mr. Hutchins, delivered an English address on John 7, 15, Preacher Mühlenberg, a German address on Ephes. 6, 4, and the Moravian preacher, Mr. Herbst, closed with an English prayer."

This medley was in good keeping with the character of the institution thus consecrated. A charter and an appropriation of 10,000 acres of State land had been obtained from the legislature for a German High School, in consideration, as the petition said, of the great merits of the Germans in behalf of the State. The studies to be pursued in this school were "German, English, Latin, Greek, and other learned languages, Theology, the useful arts, sciences, and literature." The Board of Directors was to consist of no less than 45 members, of whom 15 were to be chosen from the Lutheran, 15 from the Reformed or Calvinist, and 15 from some other Christian church. The President was to be taken from the Lutheran church and the Reformed church alternately. In consideration of the "talents and virtues of His Excellency, Mr. Benjamin Franklin, and the services rendered by him to humanity in general and to this country especially," the institution was named Franklin College. In an announcement to the Germans of Pennsylvania, the Trustees said among other things:—

"In the beginning of this brief address it has been uttered in praise of you that many of you are godly people, and that the Germans generally endeavor to provide for the maintenance of religion. But, dear friends, whence will you in future take preachers and school-teachers, if you neglect to put your children to study? . . . Do you think that in this way your churches and schools will endure? Your descendants will either have to content themselves with most inferior men, or abandon their language and religion, and of this you will have laid the foundation, having, besides, burdened yourselves with a heavy load of sin. . . . See, dear friends, as things have been going on in many places, it is impossible that German churches should continue. The churches which you now have will, within a few years, stand deserted, and what will then become of the increased number of Germans among you? Are there not even now many districts where those who dwell there

hear no sermon for six or perhaps eight weeks, and the poor young people grow up like savages?"

But these admonitions failed of the desired effect. Although, besides Dr. H. Mühlenberg, the first President, three instructors, one of whom was Rev. F. Melsheimer, were engaged, the number of students was and remained small. Contributions were slender, the largest sum being 200 £, which came from Benjamin Franklin. Before the close of the first year the treasury showed a shortage of 244 £, and the Treasurer announced: "I wrote a short time ago, how wretched the circumstances of our College are, and how far we are in arrears. These arrearages are increasing from day to day, and unless you gentlemen at Philadelphia put your shoulders to the wheel, we shall inevitably go down, and soon." The College did not get beyond a struggling existence while it was conducted under the original plan. In 1818, the jubilee year of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, another effort was made to put the school upon a firmer footing. A committee of the German Reformed Synod appeared at the convention of the Ministerium for the purpose of "conferring with a committee of the Lutheran Synod" on the question "how efforts might be made to provide institutions for the education of young preachers." What action the Lutheran Synod took in the matter appears from the following extracts from the Protocol.

"*Resolved*, that a committee be appointed to confer with our brethren of the venerable Reformed Synod concerning the proposed plan. Messrs. Schmucker, Jäger and Mühlenberg were appointed on this committee.

"The committee which had been appointed yesterday to confer with the committee of the Evangelical Reformed Synod, and devise ways and means for the founding of a joint institution of learning, in order to train young men in the future for the ministry, presented the following report:

"1. That they have acted according to their instructions, and have ascertained that in the city of Lancaster

there is an institution known by the name of Franklin College, which, in the year 1787, was given to the German Lutheran and Reformed Churches for this purpose, and to which a present of 10,000 acres of land had been given.

“2. That the committee greatly lament that this institution has been so much neglected thus far, and thereby the purpose which the State, from the beginning, had intended it to serve has been frustrated.

“3. That the committee has carefully examined the charter of this institution, and has found it necessary to recommend that the President of the same be instructed to call a general assembly of all the Trustees of the same.

“4. That Messrs. Hofmeyer and Endress shall see that this convocation be brought about.

“5. That a committee shall be appointed by both Synods in common, to prepare a plan, according to which the above-mentioned institution can be best adapted for the above-mentioned purpose.

“This report was fully approved, and Messrs. Schmucker, Lochmann, Geisenhainer, Sr., Endress, and Mühlenberg, were appointed a committee, in accordance with the 5th section of the report.”

The Minutes of the convention of the Pennsylvania Synod at Baltimore, in 1819, contain the following record:

“Pastor Endress now made a verbal report in the name of the committee appointed the previous year to confer with a committee of the Reverend Reformed Synod concerning the matter of Franklin College at Lancaster.

“*Resolved*, That one hundred dollars shall be paid out of our treasury toward the support of the College at Lancaster, provided the Reverend Synod of the Reformed does the same.

“*Further Resolved*, That a committee on our part be appointed to meet, at the next Reformed Synod at Lancaster, with a committee of the same, to prepare a plan for a Theological Seminary.

“*Resolved*, That Pastors Schmucker, Endress, Lochmann, Mühlenberg, and Ernst shall constitute the committee.”

The further history of Franklin College does not concern us here. It was, as far as the training of ministers for the Lutheran church was concerned, a failure from beginning to end.

Another educational plant which was greeted with fond hopes but bore little or no fruit was *Union Seminary*, in Greene County, Tenn. Its founders were Philip Henkel, one of Paul Henkel's sons, and a young Englishman with a classical education but little theological training, Joseph E. Bell, a Licentiate in the Synod of North Carolina. At the convention of this synod held in 1817 a letter was read in which the writer, “the Rev. Mr. Bachmann, preacher in Charleston, S. C.,” expressed his desire “to see a seminary for the education of preachers established” in the South. The fulfillment of this wish was already in progress. In a book written by the Secretary of the Synod, G. Shober, for the Jubilee of the Reformation in 1817, and published with the approval and recommendation of the synod, we read:—

“A Seminary, on a small scale, to teach Theology, and the Greek, Latin, German, and English languages, was begun in the state of Tennessee, Greene County, under the inspection of the Rev. Philip Henkel and Joseph E. Bell. It is to be continued under the direction of this synod, for the purpose of educating young men to the gospel ministry. The Rev. Joseph E. Bell is now tutor. The establishment is recommended to the fostering care of all our congregations and Christian friends; to establish funds for its support, in the congregations belonging to our sphere, we propose, during next May, to entreat for and receive donations, for the purpose of creating a fund for its support.”

A similar announcement was embodied in the minutes of the convention of the same year, with the following additional remarks:—

“By request the said Seminary was gladly received under our advice and support, in the confiding expectation that, with the help of God, from these small beginnings, in the salubrious and cheap location, an institution so long and earnestly desired may grow to such maturity, that in it many able teachers and missionaries will be educated, who shall be well fitted and instructed to go to all parts of the world as preachers of the glorious gospel of the atonement of Jesus, ready to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in them. Thousands of present and future generations will then, here in time and hereafter in eternity, greet with joyful exultation and repay with everlasting gratitude those who so well instructed them and also those who have contributed their generous gifts toward the support and maintenance of this beginning. And every one who shall enjoy this will share the experience of the sainted Gellert and sing with him:—

What joyful blessing this must be,  
To lead a soul, my God, to Thee!

“Let us, then, dear brethren, cheerfully take up this work and, prompted by the love we bear toward Jesus and the souls he bought with so great a price, contribute from the means he has given us, (as is now done throughout all Christendom), that, also through our service, our Savior’s kingdom may be extended.—Next May a collection will be raised in our congregations for said purpose of what each may be prompted to contribute toward the great object. And the gifts of all Christians will at all times be accepted with many thanks, and every preacher will receive them and deliver them to the treasurer, who will keep a record of all benefactors.”

At the time when this little Seminary came into being and, a few years later, passed out of existence, what is now the oldest school of theology in the Lutheran church of America had begun its course. Ten years after the open-



ing of Hartwick Seminary as an organized institution, the Seminary at Gettysburg was put under way. The rise and progress of these schools marks a new period in the history of theological training in the Lutheran church of our country, and we return to our survey of the era of unsuccessful attempts at providing schools for educating ministers. These failures did not prevent the Lutheran church in those days from having its theological students. They were "home students," the "home" being either that of the student, who dwelled under the paternal roof while he was under his pastor's guidance and supervision as he pursued his studies, or the home of the pastor, who gave his student board and lodging until he was so far advanced that he could be put to work in some neighboring congregation, some affiliated charge of his preceptor, where he would instruct the young, acquire some experience in preaching, and meanwhile continue his course of study and reading. Later he would be given charge of a congregation of his own, to preach and baptize as a licensed candidate, perhaps also to perform other ministerial acts, until he would finally be admitted to ordination and thus become a minister in the full sense of the word. While this work of educating men for the ministry was, in a measure, a private enterprise of individual pastors, it was in various ways under the control of the church. We know that Dr. Wrangel's students began to preach at the discretion of their teacher. But in 1779 the Synod passed the following unanimous resolution:—

"Resolved, that in the future no preacher shall permit a candidate or student to preach without first having brought him before a meeting of the Ministerium, which should first examine him and furnish him with a license."

By the requirements made at these examinations, the studies whereby the candidates would have to qualify themselves to meet such requirements were determined both as to quality and quantity. Of an examination held during the synod of 1784 we have the following record:—

“The candidate recommended is Mr. Daniel Kurtz, a son of the venerable Mr. Kurtz, of Yorktown. He had been instructed for almost three years in languages, theological and other sciences, and his teacher, Rev. Mühlenberg, of Lancaster, gave him a good testimonial, in reference to his diligence and good character, and requested that he be examined and granted a license. Hereupon he was brought forward and examined. Pastor Voigt started with Hebrew, and had the first Psalm translated, and asked various grammatical questions. He also had Matt. 28, 19. 20 translated and explained. Dr. Kunze examined him farther in Greek, and Rev. 1, 1—6 and Hebr. 11, 21 were translated.

“The gentlemen present expressed their satisfaction, and gave him the following questions to be answered in writing:

“(1) How is it proved that Christ was not merely a teacher of men, but that he also offered true satisfaction for men?

“(2) What are the works and benefits of the Holy Spirit?

“(3) By what evidence do men know that they are converted?

“(4) How is the baptism of children proved?

“(5) How is the eternity of the punishment of hell accounted for?

“(6) Are the Apostles infallible in the exposition of doctrine?”

This examination was not exceptionally rigorous. Some familiarity with the ancient languages, especially Greek and Hebrew, was deemed necessary for a minister. Thus we find in the record of the synodical convention of 1779 this resolution:—

“Resolved, that Candidate Ernst’s license be renewed until the next synodical conference, and he be exhorted to continue to apply himself to theological studies, and especially the ancient languages.”

In 1788 a Candidate by the name of Lütge applied for recognition. The Ministerium "requested from him a written outline on Mark 1, 15: Repent ye and believe the Gospel." "Mr. Lütge handed to the Synod his outline on Mark 1, 15. It was read, and the decision postponed to the next day." On the next day "the case of Mr. Lütge was again taken up, and on motion, resolved to give him a license to preach and to baptize, on the following conditions: 1. That he shall improve his knowledge of Greek. 2. Keep a diary of his official acts. 3. Present to the Ministerium testimonials from the elders and deacons of the congregations in which he preaches."

At the Synod of the following year "the license of Licentiate Mr. Lütge was upon his request renewed for a year, with the admonition that he should diligently study the original languages, and the other theological branches."

The Constitution of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in force in 1781 contained, in "Chapter Fifth," these paragraphs:—

"§ 27. Every candidate desiring to be received must first undergo a brief examination in the ancient languages and theology, and then only does he receive a license. Before the ordination, however, the licensed candidate submits himself to a stricter examination, in which written questions are answered also in writing. The former may be called a test, the latter an examination."

"§ 30. That licensed candidate who is convinced that, by private application, he has advanced sufficiently to be able to undergo the examination referred to above in § 27 may, in a spirit of meekness, make known his desire to be ordained in open session, but never without the afore-mentioned conviction as to a knowledge of the ancient languages and theology. No one will in future be ordained without both these requirements, unless in a very extraordinary instance, or the most urgent necessity."

All these various regulations were, in the course of time, modified in various ways. Thus, in the Constitution of 1792, which was also adopted in New York, we read:—

“Every ordained minister possessing the requisite qualifications, time and opportunity, has the right and liberty to take under their instruction young men, desirous of devoting themselves to the ministry, and by oral instruction, the recommendation of good books, and practical directions, to prepare them for the service of the Lord, and whenever a student so instructed has obtained a systematic knowledge of the doctrines of salvation, the gift of speaking, an unblemished character and evidences of experimental religion, his instructor may permit him to preach on trial.”

When students were so far advanced that they were considered capable of entering on actual work in the church, they were first made “Catechists.” Of these the Constitution of 1792 said:—

“The catechist is subject to the general superintendence of the Ministerium and its officers, and besides to the particular care of one of the neighboring ordained ministers, who is to be named as such in the catechist’s license, and whom he has to respect as his instructor and father; whose directions he follows in continuing to serve the Lord, and the extension of his theological knowledge, and whose advice he seeks in important cases.”

“No one is to be admitted as catechist, whose walk and conversation is not blameless; he must be at least twenty years of age, have acquired a systematic knowledge of Christian doctrines and ethics; he ought to possess some knowledge of human nature, manifest a gift of speaking, and above all things a practical knowledge of experimental religion.”

“He is to be examined by the Ministerium, and appointed by a license to the office of a catechist, before he can officiate in that capacity.”

“It is his duty to keep a journal of his official acts, and to send annually the same, with two catechetical ser-

mons that he has written, for the inspection of the Ministerium and the Ministerial Session, together with his license for renewal.”

The examination and licensure of catechists and candidates was assigned to the Ministerial Meeting, which was held after the adjournment of the Synod and the dismissal of the lay delegates. Hereof the VII Chapter of the Constitution said:—

“1. After the transaction of all the Synodical business the Ministerium holds a meeting for a half or an entire day.

“4. If candidates are to be licensed or ordained, or if catechists are to receive license as candidates, or if students are to be appointed as catechists or as candidates, first of all they are to undergo an examination respecting their doctrine and life.”

“5. The President asks all the licensed candidates and catechists to hand in their journals, sermons and licenses and divides the ordained ministers into committees, to examine the journals and sermons, and have them read by the candidates and catechists, accompanied by their comments, for the improvement of the understanding and heart of the composers; he also appoints the hour to report thereon to the Ministerium.”

“6. After examination of candidates the licensed candidates and catechists withdraw from the Ministerium; the committees report and the Ministerium decides upon the reports and the issue of the examination. . . .”

The Constitution left it to “every ordained minister” to decide whether he “possessed the requisite qualifications” for preparing young men for the ministry. But in 1803 the Ministerium of New York appointed Dr. Kunze, certainly its ablest theologian, to this important task, making him the first Professor of Theology appointed by a Lutheran Synod in America. His successor in this office as in the Presidency of the synod was F. H. Quitman, a rationalist who had retained little more of Lutheranism than the

name. In 1804, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania also resolved "that, in accordance with the plan adopted, Rev. Mr. Melsheimer, in Hanover, the preachers in Philadelphia [Helmuth and Schmidt], Rev. Mr. Lochmann in Lebanon, Rev. Mr. Schmucker in Hagerstown, Rev. Mr. Geisenheiner in New Hanover, Rev. Mr. Streit in Winchester, be teachers for the instruction of young preachers." The students who pursued their studies under these recognized teachers of theology were looked upon as wards of the church. In 1807 the Synod was "informed that several young men were desirous of devoting themselves to the ministry, namely, Messrs. Heine, Simon and Henrich Riemenschneider." It was "*Resolved*, That the sum of one hundred dollars from the Synodical Treasury be granted each of these students, to enable them to continue their studies, which sum, however, is to be paid to their teachers." In other instances the aid extended to indigent students was granted "as a loan." In the Synod of North Carolina a "Philological Society" was organized for the publication of periodical literature, and a part of the proceeds was to be devoted to "the support of needy students of theology."

Of the results of this home student method of theological training it must be said that, as a rule, they were not of a very high order at any time, and that they sank to a perceptibly lower level in the course of time. This is evident from a great many manuscripts still extant and bearing evidence of the attainments of their writers. The examinations were less rigid in later than in earlier days. In 1789 a resolution was passed "that the Licentiates should hand in to the Ministerium their journals and four complete sermons each year, as otherwise the ministerium had no opportunity to judge correctly of their presentation of divine truth." In the Constitution of 1792 the number of sermons to be submitted was reduced to two, which, with the diaries, were to be examined by committees of the Ministerium. The records of later years show that these rules were very

rarely carried out. In very few instances two sermons were handed in. In some cases the sermons, in others the journals, in still others both, were absent. The report of 1811 says:—

“The committees brought in their opinions of the papers of the candidates and catechists.

“First committee: Mr. Mensch’s has our entire approval; we recommend him for ordination. Mr. Scriba’s, middling (*mittelmaessig*). Mr. D. Schaefer’s, inferior even to Scriba’s disposition.

“Second committee: Mr. Hecht’s, middling and dry, adorned with poetic flight; Miller’s fine, thorough, edifying; Baetis’, good and from the heart, but full of Anglicisms; S. Schäfer’s, good, if he had had another text than Noah’s dove.

“Third committee: Mr. Heim’s, simple, but from the heart, full, however, of orthographic errors; Engel’s, good, but it is doubtful whether he wrote it; Weigand’s, simple, but much for the heart; Ulrich’s, it is very doubtful whether he wrote it himself.

“Fourth committee: Tiedemann’s petition for renewal of his license shall be granted; Merckel’s paper is very defective, and taken from others; Osterlo’s, doubtful whether he wrote it himself; Sackmann is a useful man, and his sermon is full of common sense; Meendsen and Vanhoff give evidence of great diligence and skill.”

Two of the candidates, Sanno and Heine, had submitted neither a sermon nor a journal, and we have seen what the opinions of the examiners were of some of the papers before them. Yet the record says:—“The licenses of the following men were renewed: Sanno, Mensch, D. Schäfer, Heine, Baetis, Ullrich, Weigand, Heim, Osterlo, Vanhoff, Merckel, Sackmann, S. Schäfer, Scriba, Miller, Hecht, Meendsen.”

In the subsequent year an apparent effort was made to raise the standard of qualification for the ministry. A “mo-

tion for an addition to the constitution" introduced at this convention contained the following regulations:—

"A fourth rank of preachers shall be appointed, with the title of Ordained Deacons.

"The number of preachers hitherto ordained shall not be increased by receiving any who

(a) does not have, in addition to other theological attainments, also the ability correctly to translate the Greek Testament and a Latin prose writer, at least with the aid of a lexicon, and who cannot write his mother tongue orthographically;

(b) who has not had a three years' course of theological training in the United States or for the same length of time served congregations here in an exemplary way.

(c) With these limitations it is left to the judgment of the Ministerium, to ordain candidates immediately as pastors or only as deacons...."

During the same session "the President declared in the name of the Ministerium, that hereafter none should be ordained as pastor who has not been regularly educated for the ministry."

The motion mentioned above was "given over to be considered until next year." But before the next meeting of the Synod the father of the bill had himself stepped out of the ranks of the ministry, and it was not until 1815 that the matter again came up for consideration. In the Ministerial Meeting of that year the wish was again expressed "that another class or order of preachers might be introduced." The action of the Ministerium, according to the protocol, was this:—

"According to a resolution of the Ministerium, none could be made pastors except such as had received systematic instruction by an ordained preacher for the term of three years, and had done something in the languages. But since there are many good and useful men to be found in our connection who have had no opportunity to acquire



such knowledge, and since it was not desired to exclude them from ordination altogether, it was deemed just and necessary to ordain them, at least as deacons.

“In the year 1812 already, at Carlisle, a motion of this sort was presented to the Ministerium for consideration, and it was now resolved to adopt the said motion, made at that time.”

But the rule was made to work the wrong way. In the Ministerial Meeting of 1816 it was “resolved that (as an amendment to a resolution adopted at Carlisle, in the year 1812) if a preacher have already received formal ordination as deacon, by the laying on of hands, no further formal laying on of hands shall be deemed necessary to advance him to the office of a pastor; that, therefore, a simple declaration of the assembled pastors, through the President or Senior of the Ministerium, shall be regarded as sufficient for this purpose.” On the same day it was, furthermore, “resolved that Messrs. Hecht, Mueller, Vanhoff, Ernst and Ulrich be declared Pastors, and Messrs. George Heim, Baetis, Engel, Sackmann, Meendsen, Becker, Münnig, Tiedemann, Hemping, Schindel, and Herbst be ordained to the office of Deacon.” A few years later thirteen Deacons were, on the same day, “advanced to the grade of Pastors.” On the same occasion six candidates were ordained Deacons, and the Report says: “It had always been customary to hold examination before ordination, but because of a lack of time, and other urgent business, it was omitted this time.” In the subsequent year, 1821, another number of candidates were ordained Deacons, and again it was “*Resolved*, To dispense with the other customary examinations this year.”

This was in the dark Middle Age of American Lutheranism.

A. G.

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