

Appreciating Friedrich Lochner

A Founding Father of the Missouri Synod



Cameron A. MacKenzie

Friedrich Lochner



It was hardly an auspicious beginning. The *Caroline*, a small, two-masted schooner, just four hours after leaving port, struck a sandbar on the Weser River and stuck fast, its voyage from Germany to America delayed no sooner than it had begun on Sunday, April 20, 1845. But apparently the more than 50 passengers aboard were not discouraged; and one of them, a newly ordained clergyman, took advantage of the delay and of the sunny skies to consecrate in marriage four betrothed couples of his new congregation, now on their way to America. But before it was over on June 8, 1845, this voyage of the *Caroline* would experience even more and greater troubles than a river sandbar.

The captain of the ship later recounted that he had never experienced storms so violent in 32 previous years of sailing as on that particular voyage—small comfort to passengers as they suffered from darkness, dampness, cold, and seasickness in their cramped quarters below deck. But storms were not the only prob-

lem. At one point, the *Caroline* collided with another vessel and suffered damage; and then, as the ship approached the shores of Newfoundland, a dense fog rolled over it just as it was sailing through a sea of icebergs. Finally, smallpox broke out among the passengers. Several became ill. Most recovered but four did not, including a two year old child belonging to the little congregation of Lutherans on board.

Some readers will probably recognize this account as the story of August Crämer, the young pastor of that sea-going congregation, who was on his way to the Saginaw valley of Michigan, there to found the Indian mission and Lutheran settlement of Frankenthuth. But Crämer was not the only Lutheran clergyman on that difficult voyage. In fact, there were four others, not yet ordained but looking forward to serving the Lutheran Church in America—men who also endured the hardships of the *Caroline*—and, in fact, one of them is a principal source of information concerning these events. His name was Friedrich Lochner.¹

Although Lochner is one of the lesser-known founders of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod today, his role in the creation of our church was not insignificant. Not only was he present at meetings that led to Synod's founding, he also documented them in words

and pictures. Among other achievements, he was one of Synod's first home missionaries, a prominent defender of Synod's doctrine in the early struggles over Church and ministry, and taught Lutheran liturgy and hymnody for eleven years at Concordia Theological Seminary in Springfield, Illinois. In fact, he later published a major work on the Lutheran liturgy that is of value for students of the subject even today.²

But before examining Lochner's contributions to the American Church, let's consider his background and training in Germany, for Lochner and his fellow candidates for the Lutheran ministry on board the *Caroline* were *Nothelfer*, or emergency clergy, men whom Wilhelm Löhe trained quickly and sent to America to establish Lutheranism in the new world.³

Löhe recruited students from all over Germany and from all walks of life⁴, but Lochner came from Nuremberg, only about 20 miles or so from Neuendettelsau where Löhe was pastor, and from a family which through the years had produced many clergymen for the Lutheran church.⁵ Although Friedrich's father was a printer, he originally wanted his oldest son to become a pastor like so many of his ancestors, but the cost of educating him in



Pencil drawing by Friedrich Lochner (1837, unknown location)

a *Gymnasium* and then a university simply was beyond the father's means. So instead, his parents apprenticed Friedrich around the age of 14 to a copper plate engraver, Johannes Poppel, a local artist well known for his landscape engravings.

Since Friedrich displayed artistic abilities, this seemed a good choice for the young man and indeed, even today, his sketches and paintings of scenes in America are an important part of the historical record of our Church.⁶

But Poppel's influence on Friedrich Lochner was more important than his engraving lessons. Lochner described him and his family as "thoroughly Christian people," and when Poppel moved to Munich, Lochner went with him and lived in his home for three years, a period Lochner later identified as "the most beautiful time of my life."⁷

⁷That time, however, came to an end in a rather traumatic fashion. One day, as he was putting the finishing touches on one of his pictures, Lochner's eyesight failed him and he was forced to lay down his engraving tool, as it turned out, for good. Upon the advice of his physician, who diagnosed his affliction as the result of overstraining the optic nerve, Lochner gave up his career as an artist.

Even before this misfortune, Lochner had already considered becoming a missionary as a result of reading some of the missionary periodicals of the time. Poppel had encouraged him, but not his parents, since they would be dependent upon him for support in

old age. Nonetheless, when on account of his eyes, another career became necessary, Lochner thought again of the mission fields, especially America, where so many of his fellow Germans were going but so few of their clergy.

One of those whose accounts of America so impressed the young man was F. C. D. Wyneken, Lutheran missionary to the American midwest and second pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Ft. Wayne. Wyneken publicized the great need of the church in America not only through his pen but also in person.

At the end of 1841, Wyneken returned to Germany and traveled about, lecturing frequently for about a year and half regarding the condition of the Church in America. He created quite a sensation, and on one occasion Lochner went to hear him. Lochner described the experience:

I hastened to Fürth [where Wyneken was speaking] on the evening train. When I reached the school hall, I found it already crowded to the doors. At eight o'clock Wyneken appeared, escorted by the pastors of Fürth....Wyneken began his lecture. All listened with rapt attention to his vivid descriptions of American church life and of his missionary work....He gave especial attention to the activities of the Methodists. The most brilliant part of his lecture was his description of a camp meeting. When he reached the moment when the individuals are invited to come to the mourners' bench, Wyneken suddenly approached those in the audience who were sitting or standing immediately in front of him, seized their hands, and asked them, 'Don't you, too, want to be converted?' I can still picture to my mind how some of them



F. C. D. Wyneken

stared at the speaker in surprise and how others drew back fearing that an actual Methodist conversion were [about] to take place.

At the close of his address, he assailed the numerous candidates of Germany who waited eight and ten years for a charge, while across the seas hungry souls were perishing in the wilderness. It was eleven o'clock when the mission hour came to a close. One hardly realized that it was so late.⁸

No wonder then that Lochner resolved to come to America. Who could resist Wyneken's appeal? Certainly, Friedrich Lochner could not; but how could he find the means to emigrate? The answer lay with Wilhelm Löhe.

Lochner's parents were still reluctant to have him leave and so, for a period of time at their request, he studied to become a school teacher. They finally agreed, however, to let their son enter the missionary training program at Neuendettelsau, which he did in the fall of 1844.⁹ Already a couple of years earlier when Löhe was just beginning the work, Lochner had visited the Neuendettelsau pastor to find out more about the program. Perhaps this meeting came about through the influence of Poppel, a friend of Löhe.¹⁰

At any rate, Löhe encouraged the young man so that when the time was right, Lochner returned to begin his preparations for the ministry. This was in the fall of 1844, when he was 22 years old. Others were already studying with Löhe, among them August Crämer, who had begun just a few weeks before Lochner arrived.¹¹

Over fifty years later, Lochner still had a copy of the curriculum and schedule that Löhe's students followed. The program was

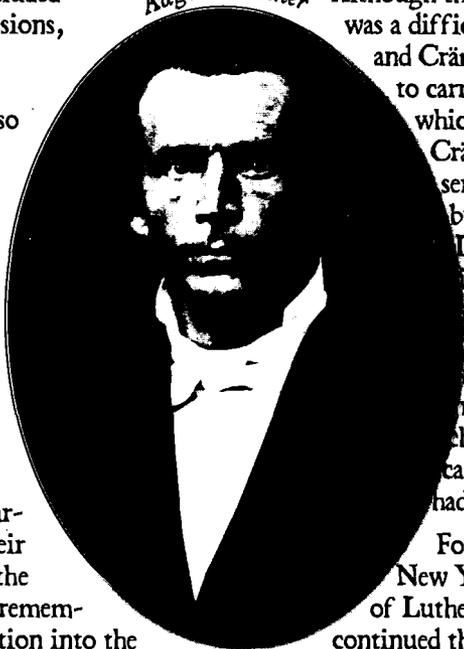
a comprehensive one and included everything from the Confessions, doctrine, and Bible history to penmanship, piano, and English grammar. It was also somewhat cursory, since students usually stayed no more than a year.¹²

But Löhe made good use of the time available. Upon first meeting their mentor, students were somewhat intimidated and they called the experience the “Neuendettelsau purgatory,” since Löhe was concerned to probe their character and the sincerity of their intentions about taking up the task before them. Lochner remembered vividly his own initiation into the program, for when he naively asked a question about room and board, Löhe answered bluntly, “My students have to take care of these things for themselves, for anybody who wants to go to America, has to know how to ‘rough it’ in life [*im Leben durchschlagen*].”¹³

Later, as a faithful Missourian, Lochner broke with Löhe over Church and ministry¹⁴. He called Löhe’s position a “departure from the standard of pure doctrine” and “Romanizing.” Nevertheless, Lochner also remembered Löhe as someone “talented, energetic, and enthusiastic for missions” and as one whose “conduct with his students was stimulating, profitable, and fatherly.”¹⁵

Löhe in turn called Lochner “his most gifted student” as he prepared to send him, Crämer, and the others to America in the spring of 1845. Prior to their voyage on the *Caroline*, Lochner and Crämer spent four weeks in Mecklenburg, lecturing and soliciting support for their mission enterprise from the Lutherans there, including the ruling nobility. But at last, when all was ready, they set out for the new world.¹⁶

August Crämer



Although the voyage on the *Caroline* was a difficult one, both Lochner and Crämer immediately began to carry out the work for which Löhe had trained them. Crämer conducted Sunday services and married and buried as needed, while Lochner conducted morning and evening devotions each day. In addition, they also volunteered to do some teaching, and Lochner instructed several of the children in hymns and the catechism. His life’s work had begun.¹⁷

Following their arrival in New York, the little group of Lutheran clergy and colonists continued their travels together all the way to Monroe, Michigan. Once again, danger threatened when the train in which they were traveling from Albany to Buffalo was involved in a collision; however, as Lochner wrote, they were “miraculously preserved” even though one of their fellow travelers was killed.¹⁸

When they finally reached Monroe and the parsonage of Wilhelm Hattstädt, whom Löhe had sent to America the year before, the two friends, Crämer and Lochner, separated, the former along with his members traveling north to begin work among the Indians (Löhe’s “Outer Missions” to the heathen) while the latter investigated opportunities to serve the German settlers in the American midwest (the “Inner Missions” to the baptized). Finally, Lochner accepted a call as pastor to Salem United Lutheran and Reformed Congregation in Toledo, Ohio, and was ordained on August 10, 1845, by Hattstädt and others.¹⁹

This was the beginning of what was perhaps Lochner’s greatest contribution to the American Church—being a faithful pastor to the

German immigrants. But almost simultaneously with the outset of his ministry in America, Lochner made yet another contribution to the Church and that was in helping to found the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.

Right at the very time Lochner arrived in America, the first steps toward the formation of the Missouri Synod were being taken. But before Synod could come to life, two important preliminary conditions had to be met, and

Lochner was involved with both. The first of these was the separation of the Löhe men from existing Lutheran church bodies on account of Confessional weaknesses, for they had not come to America to compromise in doctrine or practice the Lutheran faith in which Löhe had instructed them. Indeed, Löhe had insisted and they had agreed that they would be servants of the "German Lutheran Church" and that they "embraced with deep devotion the Confessions and doctrine of the Lutheran Church." Furthermore, they promised to serve Lutheran churches only and to join a Lutheran synod.²⁰

But by the time Lochner arrived, even though he and Crämer joined the Michigan



Cleveland, Ohio, by Friedrich Lochner (pencil drawing)



Fort Wayne, Indiana, by Friedrich Lochner (pencil drawing)

Synod, both that body and the Ohio Synod, with which many of the other Löhe men had affiliated, were proving to be less than satisfactory from the Confessional point of view. Within a year of his ordination—in June of 1846—Lochner along with Crämer and two other Löhe men had separated from the Michigan Synod on account of its decision to accept into membership a man who had not and was not going to pledge himself to the Lutheran Confessions.²¹

Even before this, in September of 1845, the Löhe men in the Ohio Synod had met in Cleveland, there formally to separate themselves from that body on account of its promotion of a unionistic communion liturgy, its going back on its pledge to retain German as the official language of the Seminary, and its reluctance to make authentic Confessional subscription a condition of membership. Lochner was there.²²

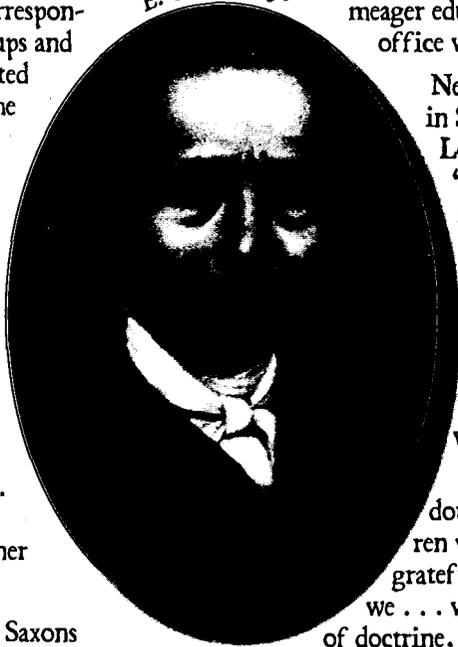
Besides separating from Ohio, the Lutheran clergy at Cleveland also took steps toward realizing a second precondition to the formation of a new synod by inviting the Saxons of Missouri to join with them in the formation of a new and Confessional Lutheran Church

body in America. Already before this meeting, there had been correspondence between the two groups and Löhe especially had instructed his emissaries to seek out the Saxons now that they were free of Stephan's pernicious influence. To that end, therefore, Wilhelm Sihler, successor to Wyneken in Ft. Wayne and first president of the new seminary in that city, and Adam Ernst, Löhe's first *Nothelfer* to America, traveled to St. Louis in the spring of 1846. At Walther's and Sihler's invitation, Friedrich Lochner went along as well.²¹

Not everyone among the Saxons was convinced that this alliance with Löhe's missionaries was going to work. Upon first meeting with Sihler, Ernst, and Lochner, while they were yet traveling to St. Louis, E. G. W. Keyl, Walther's brother-in-law and pastor at Frohna in Perry County, expressed his concern. He doubted the ability of Löhe's missionaries to divide law and gospel properly, since they had not thoroughly studied the works of Luther.

Perhaps, parenthetically, one should also note that the Löhe men had hardly gotten off on the right foot with Keyl, since they had mistaken him and his colleagues for *Methodist* preachers when they first met. Later, Lochner recalled his reaction to Keyl's criticism. "I still vividly remember," he wrote, "how troubled we were in our minds, Pastor Ernst and I, when we retired that night. We

E. G. W. Keyl



asked ourselves earnestly if we with our meager education could continue in office with a good conscience."²²

Nevertheless, the meeting in St. Louis was a success. Lochner mentioned the "cordial and brotherly manner" in which Walther and the rest welcomed them to St. Louis. For their part, the Löhe men also indicated a willingness to receive instruction from the Saxons. Lochner wrote:

I realize that the doubts of the Saxon brethren were justified, and I most gratefully confess that, although we . . . were very unclear in points of doctrine, especially regarding the Church and the ministry, yea, had weaknesses in us, yet we received very fine consideration from these brethren, who did not withdraw the hand of fellowship because they saw that we were honest and upright in our attitude toward the Lord's Word and the Church.²³

Lydia Büniger



As a testimony to the unity of faith revealed at this meeting, Lochner and his companions were invited to preach at the conclusion of their meeting in Walther's own church in St. Louis, Lochner in the afternoon of Ascension Day. By this time, Lochner had a personal stake in the outcome, for, at Sihler's urging, he was using this meeting not only to establish church fellowship but also to court Walther's sister-in-law, Lydia Büniger. All was going well, but according

Die Missionstaube.

Nachrichten

aus dem

Missionsgebiet der Heimath und des Auslandes.

Herausgegeben

von der

Ev.-luth. Synodalconferenz von Nordamerika.

In deren Auftrag redigirt

von

P. F. Lochner und P. C. F. W. Sapper.

Erster Jahrgang.

St. Louis, Mo.

Druckerel des „Lutherischen Concordia-Verlags“.
1879.

Missionstaube

Der Hauptgottesdienst

der

Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche.

Zur Erhaltung des kirchlichen Erbtheils

und zur

Beförderung des kirchlichen Studiums in der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche erläutert und mit altkirchlichen Singweisen versehen

von

Friedrich Lochner, Pastor.

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St. Louis, Mo.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1879.

Hauptgottesdienst der
Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche

Nothwehrblatt.

Herausgegeben

gegen Angriffe und Bestrebungen hierarchischen Geistes innerhalb der
lutherischen Kirche.

Redigirt

von

Friedrich Lochner,

luth. Pastor.

„An ihren Brüdern sollt ihr sie erkennen.“
Matth. 7, 16.

Erste bis dritte Folge 1857—58.

Mitwaukee, Wis.

(Schneepressendruck des „Sechsten.“)

Nothwehr-Blatt



Watercolor by Friedrich Lochner (a wedding gift to his brother-in-law Theo. E. Bünger and his bride Martha, 1829)

to Lochner family tradition, Mrs. Bünger would not give her consent to the match until she had heard Friedrich preach and knew that he could provide properly for Lydia's spiritual well-being. Apparently Mrs. Bünger liked what she heard on that Ascension Day, for on the following Sunday the engagement was announced and one week later, Friedrich and Lydia were married.²⁶

Although Lochner was present at neither the constitutional convention held in Ft. Wayne in July, 1846, nor at synod's first convention the following spring in Chicago, by his participation in the first two preliminary meetings, by making a positive impression upon the Saxons, and not least by forging a personal union with Walther's family, Friedrich Lochner became a founder of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.

But Lochner's contributions to the new synod were hardly limited to its founding. He was a faithful pastor who continued active in the ministry until less than a month before his death in February, 1902, at the age of 79 years. During all those years of pastoral ministry, he demonstrated three characteristics in his work and writing that many pastors today would still recognize as essential: 1) Confessional faithfulness; 2) commitment to Lutheran worship; and 3) a heart for missions.

As far as Confessional faithfulness is concerned, it would be difficult to find material from Lochner's ministry that is not

illustrative of this characteristic. Even at the beginning, when Lochner accepted the call to Salem Church in Toledo, it was with the understanding that this congregation wanted to be Lutheran in spite of the fact that they were, as was typical of the time, a united Church, consisting of both Lutherans and Reformed. Within a short time, however, the young pastor was embroiled in a conflict with his people over what it meant to be Lutheran. Walther counseled him to yield in everything that he could; but at length Lochner was compelled to resign his call because he would not distribute the body and blood of the Lord to the Reformed as well as to the Lutherans.²⁷

At Walther's urging, Lochner and his family relocated to Illinois, not far from St. Louis and helped to gather up German Lutherans into congregations in Pleasant Ridge, Edwardsville, and Collinsville. But in the fall of 1848, Lochner spent about a month visiting various places in Iowa so as to seek out and to encourage the German Lutherans there. He reported on his work in the pages of *Der Lutheraner*, including one incident that he found rather embarrassing. The second day of his trip was a Sunday and he spent it on a Mississippi steamboat; but when his fellow passengers asked him to conduct services he had to refuse on account of his poor English. "This grieved me very much," he wrote, but he also added his desire that "the young men who are preparing themselves in our two seminaries would become so proficient in English that

they could preach in that language as well."²⁸
Not bad for a German Lutheran in 1848.

In June, 1850, Lochner accepted a call to what would become one of the major congregations in Synod during his 25 years there, Trinity Lutheran Church in Milwaukee. Years before, Löhe had hoped that Lochner could become pastor "in a significant city" rather than in the country. Lochner's ministry in Milwaukee proved Löhe's estimation of his abilities correct; but it was not without its challenges.²⁹



Trinity, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (the first church)

Trinity, Milwaukee, along with its sister congregation in Freistadt, Wisconsin, was of pivotal importance in the Missouri Synod's early history, especially since the first members were originally a part of the Confessional Lutheran immigration led by J. A. A. Grabau out of the Prussian Union to America. Since Grabau had stayed in Buffalo instead of going to Wisconsin, L. F. E. Krause had become their first pastor; but unfortunately, Krause and his members in Milwaukee became involved in a horrendous fight over whether the congregation had reneged on a promise to buy Pastor Krause a horse and buggy. The result of the controversy had been Krause's decision unilaterally to excommunicate the whole church.³⁰

When the congregation presented its case to the newly formed Missouri Synod at its first convention, Synod sided with the church and a few months later, E. G. W. Keyl accepted the call to serve both congregations in Freistadt and Milwaukee. When in 1850, Keyl accepted a call to become pastor in Baltimore, the Milwaukee congregation chose Lochner as Keyl's

successor while the congregation in Freistadt chose Ottomar Fürbringer. Before he left Milwaukee, Keyl actually installed Lochner as pastor in his place—a somewhat ironic development, given Keyl's one time skepticism regarding Lochner's suitability.³¹

Lochner now inherited the troubles between his congregation and Grabau's Buffalo Synod, which had sided with Pastor Krause earlier. Lochner and other Missourians were called "mob-preachers" by the Buffalo Synod because they accepted calls to churches whose members had been excommunicated by Krause and Grabau. But Lochner defended his ministry and his church on the grounds that what was at stake was true doctrine. He was convinced that Krause's "misuse of the ban . . . was the result of false teaching . . . regarding church and ministry."³²

Just about a year after his installation, Lochner and his congregation were hosts to the fifth annual convention of the Missouri Synod. Lochner considered this a great blessing for the course of pure doctrine in

Nothweberblatt.

Herausgegeben

gegen Angriffe und Behauptungen hierarchischen Geistes innerhalb der lutherischen Kirche.

Redigirt

von

Friedrich Lochner,
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„An ihren Früchten sollt ihr sie erkennen.“
Matth. 7, 16.

Dritte bis dritte Folge 1857—58.

Milwaukee, Wis.

(Schnellpressendruck des „Beobachters.“)

Nothwehr-Blatt

Milwaukee and Wisconsin, since a principal order of business was a thorough presentation of Walther's theses on Church and ministry, the very issue that had troubled the Lutherans in that area previously.³

The actions of the synodical convention in 1851 did not end the controversy; so a few years later, Lochner published the *Nothwehr-Blatt* "against the attacks and strivings of the hierarchical spirit in the Lutheran Church"—a spirit that Lochner believed led back to Rome and which he identified with the Buffalo Synod! Lochner used his periodical to answer the ongoing attacks of Grabau and others and only ceased publication when the Buffalo Synod announced that it was discontinuing its own periodical in which the attacks had occurred, the *Informatorium*.⁴

In spite of the animosity between Lochner and the Buffalo Synod, in one respect Lochner was very much indebted to Keyl's predecessors in Wisconsin, since they had established the "old Lutheran" liturgy before the Saxons came to minister there. Lochner spoke very highly of this divine service; and in his history of Trinity congregation, he indicated that there was need for improvement in only one area, the singing. The people sang in a slow and plodding manner that Lochner blamed upon Rationalism instead of in the rhythmical fashion that was characteristic of the Lutheran Reformation. Lochner wrote:

Until that time [1852 and the coming of Christian Diez as organist], the congregation sang not only without any rhythm, but also there was an interlude of organ music after every line of the stanza—as was still very common elsewhere from the time of Rationalism. The result was that the singing was tedious and took much more time than was suitable.

It took about two years for Lochner to convince the congregation to change to the more Lutheran form of music.⁵

Lochner and Keyl were especially glad that Trinity congregation practiced "private con-

fession"—in fact, used it exclusively. Private confession was an issue in American Lutheranism at this time, but the first synodical constitution had this to say about the practice:

Where private confession is in use, it is to be kept according to Article 11 of the Augsburg Confession. Where it is not in use, the pastor is to strive through teaching and instruction to introduce it. Yet in congregations where the total abolishing of general confession and absolution is hindered by unsurmountable obstacles, general confession may be kept along with private confession.

What the constitution did not say, however, was whether a congregation could introduce general confession when before it had used private confession exclusively. Three times in Lochner's ministry at Milwaukee this became an issue.⁶

As far as Lochner was concerned, general confession had replaced private confession in many Lutheran churches as a result of Rationalism, and twice he opposed attempts to alter the practice of his Church through the introduction of general confession, since the proponents were contending that "private confession [was] a piece of papistical yeast." On the other hand, a few years later, in 1866, Lochner did permit the introduction of general confession on practical grounds, that is, with the growing number of communicant members, the exclusive use of private confession made more and more demands upon the time and strength of the pastor. After consulting with the St. Louis seminary faculty, the concession was made and general confession took its place along side of, but not replacing, private confession at Trinity, Milwaukee.⁷

Lochner's interest in Church music and the liturgy took on an added dimension in December, 1875, when Lochner received a call to Trinity Lutheran Church in Springfield, Illinois. Reluctantly—and only under pressure from Walther and the district president—Trinity, Milwaukee, gave Lochner its permis-

sion to accept the call. Lochner proceeded to Springfield where he was united with his old friend, August Crämer. Crämer himself had only recently arrived from St. Louis, since Synod had relocated the "practical seminary" to Springfield earlier in 1875 and Crämer was its principal professor.³⁸

As pastor of Trinity in Springfield, Lochner's duties included not only serving as pastor of the Church but also acting as the spiritual advisor to the students and instructing them in Lutheran liturgy and hymns. In this dual role, one might have expected Lochner to exemplify the best of Lutheran liturgy at his church for his students; but in point of fact this was not at first possible, so Lochner gave his students another kind of example, that of pastoral patience that endures some liturgical lapses for the sake of the people. Lochner wrote:

After 26 years of service in one of our old . . . liturgically rich congregations, I was placed into a congregation that was not ready for the old liturgy so that even the chanting at the altar had to remain undone for a time. I could not show my students in my congregational services everything in which I had instructed them; but I could give them an example that a Lutheran pastor puts the highest value on good preaching and can wait for liturgical capacity to reach a better form. With great love and enthusiasm for the old liturgy, one can say with St. Paul in this respect also by God's grace, "I know how both to abound and suffer need. I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me."³⁹

Lochner discharged his responsibilities in Springfield faithfully for eleven years until forced to resign in 1887 on account of ill health. He retired to Milwaukee where his health recovered to the point that he could function as an assistant pastor—which he did at his old Church, Trinity, Milwaukee, until his death in 1902.

Throughout his ministry, Lochner promoted the cause of Confessional Lutheranism by

writing for the synodical publications. One of the more significant of those publications was the *Missionstaube* that Lochner edited for the first five years of its existence, beginning in 1879. The purpose of this paper was to keep the members of the Synodical Conference aware of current efforts to spread the gospel both at home and abroad. This, of course, is evidence that for Friedrich Lochner, a concern for missions and a commitment to traditional Lutheran liturgy were not a contradiction in terms. As he said in the first issue of the missions paper, when Christ commanded the apostles to go and teach all nations, "The Church of all times and places received the Missions command from our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and therefore also the orthodox Church" in the United States. They too had received Christ's commission, because they were the very same Church, which, as Lochner contended elsewhere, ought to be committed to the old Lutheran liturgies.⁴⁰

Besides the *Missionstaube* and the *Noth-*

Die Missionstaube.

—
Nachrichten

aus dem

Missionsgebiet der Heimath und des Auslandes.

—
Herausgegeben

von

Ev.-luth. Synodalkonferenz von Nordamerika.

—
In deren Auftrag redigirt

von

F. F. Lochner und P. G. B. Sawyer.

—
Erster Jahrgang.

—
St. Louis, Mo.

Drucker des „Lutherischen Concordia-Verlags“.

1879.

Missionstaube

wehrblatt, Lochner's publications include lengthy biographies of Crämer and Ottomar Fürbringer in the pages of *Der Lutheraner* and a history of his congregation in Milwaukee. He published a volume of sermons on the epistle lessons of the church year and two series of devotions, one for Lent and the other for Easter. His interest in liturgics prompted him to produce a children's liturgy for Christmas and a congregational service for Good Friday. He also was the author of the first "pocket agenda" in the Missouri Synod, a collection of occasional services, prayers and rites, prepared for the pastor and published in a small and convenient format.⁴¹

Amidst all of his publications, however, there is one that stands out as his masterpiece. Almost a decade after retiring from the classroom, Lochner produced one of his most important contributions to the church, for in 1895 he published his *Hauptgottesdienst der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche*. Based upon his classroom lectures at Springfield,

Der Hauptgottesdienst

der

Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche.

Zur Erfüllung des liturgischen Erbteils

und zur

Beförderung des liturgischen Studiums in der americanisch-lutherischen Kirche erläutert und mit altkirchlichen Singweisen versehen

von

Friedrich Lochner, Pastor.

Sozial aller christl. und christl. angehö. — Das Ansehen, das dieser, sein geistl. und kirchl. Werk, sein Werk, sein Werk, ist eines von Tugend, in dem die Welt, sein Werk, sein Werk, 1 Cor. 11, 20. 2011, 4, 4.

St. Louis, Mo.
CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1895.

Hauptgottesdienst der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche

this work, even today, provides an excellent introduction to Lutheran worship. In the first part of the *Hauptgottesdienst*, Lochner discusses the origin and shape of the Lutheran liturgy, with special emphasis upon the contributions of Martin Luther, whom he celebrates not only as a great theologian but also a great musician. In the second part of the work, Lochner goes through each of the sections of the divine service from the introit to the benediction, describes how each ought to be done, and includes the music to be used with each part.

For Lochner, worship proceeds from theology. Already in 1861, in a paper prepared for the Northern District of the Synod, he had argued that Lutheran worship is the mean between the extremes of Rome and the Reformed⁴²; and now in the *Hauptgottesdienst*, he shows in detail how this is true. For Lochner as for Luther, the liturgy revolves about Word and sacrament in their truth and purity, so that what perverts or obscures the gospel must go, while that which proclaims and promotes the gospel must stay. This includes also and especially the music—"text and notes, accent, mode and expression" must work together.⁴³



St. Lorenz, Frankenmuth, Michigan by Friedrich Lochner (ink and pencil, 1882)

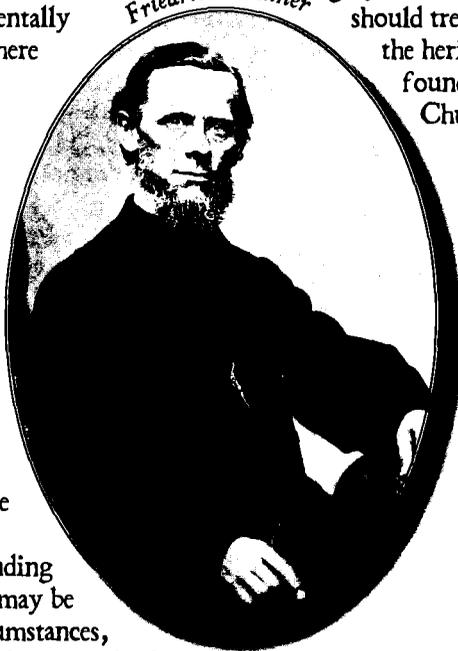
In his introduction, Lochner notes that over the course of his lifetime he had seen an improvement in the liturgical life of the Church as a result of renewed emphasis upon pure doctrine; however, he was afraid for the future. "We are living," he wrote,

in a land of rank Reformed sectarianism, in a fundamentally Reformed country. There will be a growing need of defending the coming generation against the influence of our English-Puritan environment. Furthermore, there is less and less patience and endurance in regard to spiritual exercises. People demand that an already abbreviated service be shortened still more. Again, there is frequently a lack of real liturgical understanding and comprehension, as may be expected under the circumstances, and consequently no desire to retain the liturgical heritage only recently regained. Alas, even the precious doctrine of Christian freedom is no longer applied properly over against the ungodly world, and the spirit of amorality threatens our very existence. As time goes on, there will be an increasing tendency to part with the beautiful ceremonies unhesitatingly, since they are neither commanded nor forbidden.⁴⁴

Lochner could have written this today instead of 1895; and the entire work is equally worth reading. It is filled with the insights of a Lutheran pastor, working in America but committed to Lutheran liturgy as to the Lutheran Confessions for the sake of the gospel and of people who need to hear it.

Of course, there is a great deal more to Friedrich Lochner than what we have covered in this introduction to his life and work. Not only as a liturgics professor but also as a pastor, not only as defender of the faith but also as a proponent of it, Lochner exemplified what it means to be a Confessional Lutheran—dedicated, evangelical and faithful. His

Friedrich Lochner



legacy is one that Lutherans everywhere should treasure as they thank God for the heritage of Friedrich Lochner, a founding father of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.

1. Herman F. Zehnder, *Teach My People the Truth* (n.p., 1970), 21–29; Theodore Graebner, *Church Bells in the Forest* (St. Louis: CPH, 1944), 33–35; Friedrich Lochner, "Ehrendächtniss des seligen Herrn Friedrich August Crämer," *Der Lutheraner* 47 (1891): 165–66.
2. See Kevin Hildebrand, "Friedrich Lochner and *Der Hauptgottesdienst*" (M.A. thesis, Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft. Wayne, 2008).
3. James L. Schaaf, "Wilhelm Löhe's Relation to the American Church" (Th.D. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1961), 16–22, 48. For a brief description of Löhe's work in training missionaries for America, see Erika Geiger, *The Life, Work, and Influence of Wilhelm Loehle, 1808–1872* (St. Louis, CPH, 2010), 91–98, 105–109.
4. Schaaf, 49–50, 192–97.
5. John Karl Lochner, et al., "The Lochner Family Chronicle, 1602–1948," (privately printed, n.p., [1948]), chapter 28 [no page numbers]; and Gotthold H. A. Loeber, et al., "500 Years—A Genealogy of the Loeber Family," (privately printed, n.p., [1980]),

6. "Lochner Family Chronicle," 18; Friedrich Lochner, "An Autobiography," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* [CHIQ] 4 (Jan., 1934): 110; and Otto F. Hatt-staedt, "The Life and Works of Pastor Frederick Lochner," CHIQ 21 (1948-49): 167.
7. Lochner, "Autobiography," 110.
8. Hattstaedt, 167-69. For the quotation regarding Wyncken, see Walter Baepfer, *A Century of Grace* (St. Louis: CPH, 1947), 59-60. For German original, see J. C. W. Lindemann, "Lebens-bild des hoch-würdigen amerikanischen Evangelisten Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyncken: Dem lutherischen Volke Amerikas in dankbarer Liebe gezeichnet," *Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner auf das Jahr 1877 nach der Geburt unsers Herrn Jesu Christi* (St. Louis: Barthel, 1876), 23-24.
9. As it turned out, Lochner and his siblings were able to provide for their parents in America, since Lochner's family followed him to America a few years later. Lochner writes, "Toward the end of December, 1849, my father and mother, together with three of their children, followed me, after my eldest sister, since 1852 the wife of the Rev. Chr. Loeber (until recently director of the local Concordia College), had preceded them in 1848. Since the two brothers who remained in Germany have died in the mean time, it has come to pass, through my own emigration and that of the rest of the family, that the main branch...has been transplanted into this land of civil and religious liberty." "Autobiography," 114-15.

The Loeber family history provides additional detail as to how the family came to America. When Friedrich's first wife died in 1848, he wrote his parents and asked them to send his sister Marie (b. 1834) to America, apparently to keep house for him. She arrived in November, 1848, after a three and a half month trip only to find that her brother had remarried. Instead of living in his household, she took a position as a maid in the home of Wilhelm Sihler, pastor in Ft. Wayne. By the spring of the following year, the young professor of the Ft. Wayne semi-nary, August Wolter, was seeking her hand in marriage, and in June, 1849, they were betrothed. Wolter was eager to have the rest of Marie's family join them in America, and so he used some money he had received in a

- legacy to pay for the trip of Friedrich's and Marie's parents as well as three younger siblings to come to America at the end of 1849. Unfortunately, Wolter died in 1849 and then Friedrich's father in January, 1850, just shortly after rejoining his son in Illinois. Mrs. Lochner remained a widow for the next 35 years, living with her children in America, especially with Marie, who in 1852 married Christoph Loeber, pastor at Frohna in Perry County. "500 Years—A Genealogy of the Loeber Family," 44-45, 64-65.
10. Wilhelm Löhe to L. A. Petri, Hannover, 23 January 1845 (Letter 6583 in Wilhelm Löhe, *Gesammelte Werke* (Freimund-Verlag Neundettelsau, 1986) 1: 685; Lochner, "Autobiography," 168-69.
 11. Lochner, "Crämer," 156.
 12. Erich Heintzen, "Wilhelm Loehe and the Missouri Synod, 1841-1853" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1964), 48; and Friedrich Lochner, "Die ersten Anfänge durch Pfarrer Löhe," in *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum des praktischen evang.-lutherischen Concordia-Seminars zu Springfield, Ill.*, 1846-1896 (St. Louis: CPH, 1896), 22-24.
 13. Lochner, "Ersten Anfänge," 25.
 14. For a good introduction to debates over Church and ministry in nineteenth century Lutheranism, see James H. Pragman, *Paradigms of Ministry: A History of the Doctrine of the Ministry in Lutheran Theology* (St. Louis: CPH, 1983), 127-53. For the specifics of the controversy between Löhe and the Missouri Synod, see Heintzen, "Wilhelm Loehe," 177-239.
 15. Friedrich Lochner, *Geschichte der Evang.-Luth. Dreieinig-keits-Gemeinde, U.A.C. zu Milwaukee, Wis.* (Milwaukee: Germania Publishing Co., 1897), 22-23; "Crämer," 1891, 204-205; and "Jubiläum," 18.
 16. Lochner, "Autobiography," 111; Löhe letter 6583, *Works* 1: 685.
 17. Zehnder, 24-25; Lochner, "Crämer," 1891, 165.
 18. Lochner, "Crämer," 1891, 166.
 19. Heintzen, "Wilhelm Loehe," 77; Lochner, "Autobiography," 111.
 20. Carl S. Meyer, ed. *Moving Frontiers* (St. Louis: CPH, 1964), 99; for German original, cf. *Kirchliche Mittheilungen* 2(1844), #6, cols. 1-5.

21. Lochner, "Crämer," 1891, 174; Heintzen, "Wilhelm Loehe," 99-100.
22. Baepfer, 80-88; and Heintzen, "Wilhelm Loehe," 137-42.
23. Lochner, "Autobiography," 78-79. "Hattstädt's Instructions," *Moving Frontiers*, 100.
24. Friedrich Lochner, "Report on His First Contacts with the Saxons," *CHIQ* 7 (1934-35): 7-80.
25. Lochner, "Report," 80.
26. Lochner, "Report," 80-81; Lochner Family Chronicle, section XXVIII.
27. Lochner, "Autobiography," 112; Carl S. Meyer, Letters of C. F. Walther (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 76-83; and Th. Stephan, "Die Geschichte des Iowa Distrikts," in *Synodal-Bericht, Proceedings Thirty-Third Convention of the Iowa District (German-town, Iowa, August 22 to 28, 1928)*, 116.
28. George A. W. Vogel and Walter S. Wendt, *Seventy-five Years of God's Grace* (n.p.: Iowa District East and Iowa District West, 1954), 10-11; and Stephan, 117-18.
29. Löhe letter 6583, *Works* 1: 685.
30. Roy A. Suelflow, "The Relations of the Missouri Synod with the Buffalo Synod up to 1866," Part II *CHIQ* 27(1954): 62-65; and Lochner, "Trinity," 3-11.
31. Lochner, "Trinity," 19.
32. Lochner, "Trinity," 4.
33. Lochner, "Trinity," 4, 8, 22-23, 58-59.
34. *Notwehr-Blatt*, 1, 159-60.
35. Lochner, "Trinity," 16, 26.
36. "Our First Synodical Constitution," trans. Ray [sic] Suelflow, *CHIQ* 16 (April, 1943): 13; and Lochner, "Trinity," 61.
37. Lochner, "Trinity," 63-64.
38. Erich H. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets: The Anatomy of a Seminary, 1846-1976* (St. Louis: CPH, 1989), 66-68, 80-89.
39. Friedrich Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche* (St. Louis: CPH, 1895), vii-viii. Interestingly, the congregational history of Trinity, Springfield, remarks that in view of Lochner's liturgical interests and abilities, "it is one of those strange inconsistencies that the congregation up to the year 1921 had a very meager and insufficient liturgical service." Herman H. Koppelman and Mildred Bowden, "125 Years of Grace, 1966" (n.p., [1967]), 5-6.
40. Friedrich Lochner, "Vorwort," *Missions-Taube* 1(January, 1879): 1.
41. Friedrich Lochner, "Ehrendächtniss des seligen Herrn Friedrich August Crämer," *Der Lutheraner* 47(1891): 147-49, 155-57, 165-66, 173-74, 181-82, 190-91, 197-98, 205-205; 48 (1892): 3-5, 12-13, 27-28, 39-40, 48-49, 55-56, 70-72, 79-80, 85-86. "Ottomar Fürbringer: Ein Lebensbild," *Der Lutheraner* 49 (1893): 155-56, 163-64, 171-72, 179-80, 187-88, 196-97; 50 (1894): 3-4, 11, 28-29. *Geschichte der Evang.-Luth. Dreieinigkeits-Gemeinde, U.A.C. zu Milwaukee, Wis.* (Milwaukee: Germania Publishing Co., 1897). *Predigten über die Episteln der Sonn- und Festtage des Kirchenjahres* (n.p., 1886). *Passions- und Osterbuch, Andachten zur häuslichen feier der heiligen Passions- und Osterzeit* (St. Louis: Barthel, 1877). *Liturgische Formular für etliche Hand-lungen und Acte, nebst Gebeten, Collecten und einem Anhang* (n.p., 1895). *Liturgie für einen Charfreitags-Gottesdienst* (St. Louis: L. Volkening's Buchhandlung, 1893). *Liturgie für eine Kinder-Gottesdienst zur Feier der heil. Weih-nacht* (St. Louis: CPH, n.d.). *Hattstaedt*, 172-74, gives a brief overview of his work.
42. Friedrich Lochner, "Referat über die rechte Mitte der lutherischen Liturgie" in *Lehre und Wehre* 8 (1862).
44. Fred H. Lindemann, trans., "Der Hauptgottesdienst" in *American Lutheran* 34 (Nov. 1951): 12.
45. Lindemann, *American Lutheran* 34 (April 1951): 7.